Relations Between the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod and the Igreja Evangelica Luterana Do Brasil

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RELATIONS BETWEEN THE LUTHERAN CHURCH-MISSOURI SYNOD
AND THE IGREJA EVANGELICA LUTERANA DO BRASIL

A Thesis Presented to the Faculty
of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis,
Department of Historical Theology
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Sacred Theology

by
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Brazil, a vast land of startling geographic and climatic contrasts, began to exert a pronounced attraction upon the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod (LC-MS) at the end of the last century. This land, of approximately the same size as continental United States, had been discovered by the Portuguese navigator Pedro Álveres Cabral in 1500. Because of the Treaty of Tordesilhas between Portugal and Spain, signed some six years earlier, this new land belonged to the crown of Portugal. Portugal was a Roman Catholic country in which there was a historic control of the church by the crown through the right of patronage. No other religion besides Roman Catholicism was tolerated in colonial Brazil. Brazil became an independent nation in 1822. The constitution of the Brazilian empire (1822-1889), promulgated in 1824, made the Roman Catholic faith the religion of the country but permitted the private exercise of other cults. The proclamation of the republic in 1889 brought with it the separation of church and state and freedom of worship.

Generally speaking, all of Brazil's 3,288,050 square miles of continuous area belong to the tropical and subtropical area. But, taking into account several geographic and climatic factors it is possible to be more specific and divide the country into several fairly
well-defined zones: a) the south in the temperate zone; b) the coastal plain with high temperatures; c) the mountainous area of the southeast (the area of greatest development and densest population); d) the São Francisco river valley; e) the great central plateau; f) the swamp area to the west of the central plateau; g) the drought areas of the northeast; h) the vast wet tropical jungle of the Amazon valley.

Brazil has always been a predominantly agricultural nation. Its industrial development only began in the twentieth century. Several factors, such as inadequate resources of fuel, climatic and geographic conditions, an inadequate quantity of manpower, and political factors account for the tardiness of that development.

The distribution of the Brazilian population has always been very uneven. During the colonial period the Brazilian population was composed by the Portuguese colonists, the aboriginal Indians, and the Negro slaves imported from Africa. The process of miscegenation, one of the characteristic aspects of racial relations in Brazil, was begun at that time. European immigration began to be encouraged when measures against the slave traffic began to be enforced by the British in the nineteenth century. European immigrants came pouring in in even greater proportion after the abolition of slavery in 1888. Predominant among these immigrants were Germans, Italians, and Poles. The Germans settled mainly in the south of Brazil, particularly in the state of Rio Grande do Sul, a temperate area where they could adjust more readily than in any other part of the country.

1J. A. Camacho, Brazil an Interim Assessment, 2nd ed. (London and New York: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1954), pp. 9-10. See also Appendix 6.
It was at the end of the nineteenth century that the LC-MS became increasingly aware of the presence of a large number of German immigrants in the south of Brazil. ² It was known that most of these immigrants were Evangelicals or Lutherans. The question was: had someone taken care of the spiritual needs of these immigrants, or were they spiritually abandoned? When the LC-MS discovered that a large number was in the last category, it felt compelled to do something for its brethren both of race and faith. As a result, a few years later a Brazil District was added to the districts of the LC-MS.

This study is an attempt to describe and analyze the relations between the Synod (LC-MS) and the Brazil District, the Igreja Evangélica Luterano do Brasil (IELB). A study of this nature seems to be particularly timely now that the traditional relations between Synod and District have given place to a new relationship in which both organizations see themselves as partner churches.

The author's interest in this study results from his experience in the church life of both the IELB and the LC-MS. Moreover, his family has been involved in these relations since they began.

The study covers the relations between the LC-MS and the IELB from the establishment of the Brazilian mission in 1900 to the

²According to a figure of 1910 the number of German immigrants in Brazil was second only to that of German immigrants in the United States. See: L. F[uerbringer], "Ausland," Der Lutheraner 67 (2 May 1911):139.

³The author's maternal grandfather was one of the first students at the first Brazilian Lutheran seminary, founded in 1903. Later he went to the United States where he graduated as a pastoral candidate from Concordia Theological Seminary of Springfield in 1910. He returned to Brazil and served the Brazil District as parochial teacher and pastor until his retirement in 1951. One of his sons also serves the IELB as pastor.
administrative independence of the IELB in 1980. The attempt to cover this whole period of relations necessarily led to the sacrifice of minute data.

Sources used for this study are located in the Concordia Historical Institute, Saint Louis, and in the library of Concordia Seminary of Saint Louis. Original sources include periodicals and convention proceedings of both the LC-MS and the IELB. Secondary sources used are basically those which deal with the history of the IELB.

The result of the research is presented in topical manner. A chronological sequence has, however, been preserved within the topics. Each chapter is preceded by a brief introduction and each major topic concludes with a summary.
CHAPTER II

IMMIGRATION, PREPARATION AND ESTABLISHMENT

Introduction

This chapter deals with the beginning of the LC-MS mission work among the German immigrants in Brazil. An attempt will be made to answer questions such as: Under which conditions did the German immigration to Brazil occur? What was the spiritual situation of the immigrants? When and under what circumstances did the LC-MS become concerned about these immigrants? How was the mission work of the LC-MS in Brazil started? How did this work expand during the years preceding the organization of the Brazil District?

Lutheran Immigrants in Brazil

Origin of the Immigrants

The first Lutheran immigrants in Brazil apparently were those who settled at Pernambuco in 1532. They came from Augsburg and Ulm. After keeping their Reformation faith for sixty years they were forced by the Inquisition to abandon it.¹

It was, however, not before the nineteenth century that a significant number of Lutheran immigrants started to come to Brazil.

The Brazilian government was interested in attracting immigrants to people the vast extensions of land throughout the country. From 1812

until 1822 some attempts were made to settle German immigrants in the states of Espírito Santo, Bahia and Rio de Janeiro on the central-east part of Brazil.  

Later on the government decided to direct the German immigration to the south of the country. There the climate would be more favorable to the immigrants and at the same time they would assure the possession of that still unoccupied province to the Brazilian crown.  

The German immigration movement to the state of Rio Grande do Sul started on July 24, 1824, when the first forty-three immigrants arrived at São Leopoldo. Until the year 1830 the total number of German immigrants in Rio Grande do Sul is given as 4,855.  

The majority of them were Lutherans or Evangelicals. Wars and a revolution interrupted the immigration almost completely until 1844.

The typical German immigration to Rio Grande do Sul ended in 1875. It is estimated that between twenty and twenty-five thousand German immigrants settled in that state during the first fifty years of immigration. More than half (54 percent) of these were Lutheran or Protestant.

The first groups of immigrants came predominantly from northeastern Germany, particularly from Hamburg, Holstein, Mecklenburg and

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3 This investigation will be restricted to the immigration in the state of Rio Grande do Sul. Besides being the state which is of particular interest to the history of the LC-MS work in Brazil, it is also the state where the majority of the German immigrants settled.

4 Rambo, p. 81.

5 Ibid., p. 84.
Hanover. After 1826, however, the main stream of emigrants came from the region of the central Rhine and of the Moselle. Another center of emigration was Pomerania. Also Westphalia and Württemberg contributed significantly with emigrants particularly towards the end of the main emigration process. A large number of German Lutherans also came from Russia, particularly from the Volga area.

Most of these immigrants were farmers, next came the artisans, and very few among them were the intellectuals.

Reasons for their Emigration

What attracted these immigrants to the new world was above all the desire to improve their economic situation. The Napoleonic continental blockade of 1806 had resulted in serious social and economic grievances in Germany. Initially, in fact, it had benefited the German industry but later on it proved to be harmful to large segments of the population. The industrialization caused the impoverishment of the rural population. After the 1840's also the artisans began to suffer from the...
effects of the industrialization. At this same time a rapid increase of the population occurred in certain areas of Germany, for instance in the South and Southwest. These areas had in addition been experiencing bad harvests and famines. Another factor which contributed to the emigration was the continuous division of farm lands when the children inherited the property of their parents. Martin N. Dreher explains the situation:

Wurden diese Ländereien aber nicht durch die Erbteilung aufgesplittert, so erhielt sie nach geltendem Erbrecht der älteste oder aber der jüngste Sohn, so dass die übrigen meist zahlreich vorhandenen Geschwister von dem erbenden Bruder abhängig wurden. Wer sich da nicht fügen wollte, dem blieb oft keine andere Wahl als die Auswanderung, denn die wenigen bestehenden Industriebetriebe waren nicht in der Lage, die wachsende Bevölkerung aufzunehmen.9

Those who lived in West Germany and owned small properties desired to have larger and more productive farms. Still more attractive seemed the possibility of owning one's own piece of land to those who like the Pomeranians lived in East Germany where the majority could only be tenant farmers in the large estates. The reform of the agrarian structure which brought about the liberation of the farmers seems to have made their situation worse instead of improving it. This reform was introduced by law in Prussia in 1807. Eventually it also contributed to the emigration:

Den größten Gewinn bei der Aufhebung der Leibeigenschaft aber trugen die Grossgrundbesitzer davon; die Bauer selbst gerieten dadurch in eine immer schwierige Lage und mussten schliesslich oft ihr Land an den ehemaligen Herrn verkaufen. Nach Verlust von Grund und Boden konnten sie vielfach nur noch Tagelöhner werden oder aber auswandern.10

At first the Brazilian government offered free transportation, a free piece of land of seventy to seventy-five hectares (172.90 to 185.25

9Dreher, p. 33. 10Ibid., p. 34.
acres), as well as implements, and seed until the first crop was harvested. The influx of Germans was so large that the government later reduced the advantages to free transportation for new farmers.  

After some time colonization began to be promoted through immigration companies such as Die Hamburger Hanseatische Colonisationsgesellschaft located in Hamburg. These companies purchased extensive tracts of land and resold it at low prices to the immigrants who were brought in at the company's expense.  

Conditions in their New Home

The early times were hard for the immigrants. Many adjustments had to be made. Instead of living in villages as in Germany, they were forced to live dispersed in view of the fact that their new tract of land was ten times larger than the former. Certain crops from Europe did not grow in Brazil and the immigrants had to learn how to grow others. Also the method of agriculture had to be changed to meet the new conditions. In Europe there had long been a clear separation between forests and agricultural lands. In Brazil all land was covered by the primeval forest. It took time before someone became prosperous or even wealthy. Usually, however, the immigrant and his large family, with an average of ten children, had enough food and clothing. Some cases of hunger and

11Burgdorf, pp. 20-21. Until 1854 the land was offered freely by the government after that it was sold to the new immigrants.


13Rambo, pp. 96-102.

14Ibid., p. 93.
even starving were, however, also recorded.\textsuperscript{15} The economic situation improved with time.\textsuperscript{16}

In terms of education, the majority of the immigrants had only learned to read, write and count. They were, however, very concerned in passing this limited education on to their children. To this end they soon gathered in educational societies (Schulgemeinden) and built schools. They were, however, confronted by the complete absence of trained teachers. This led them to accept all kinds of degraded and unqualified people who were willing to act as teachers.\textsuperscript{17}

In regard to their spiritual and religious needs the immigrants remained abandoned for a long time. Among the first groups of immigrants were to be found three pastors. Probably only one of them, F. C.


\textsuperscript{16}Mahler, for example, wrote: "Die Ansiedlungen die nun schon vom dritten Geschlecht bewohnt werden, machen den Eindruck eines freundlichen deutschen Dörflins. Solch alte Kolonien bringen nun auch einen besseren Gewinn. Es können darauf Ersparnisse gemacht werden. So ist mancher im brasilianischen Urwald durch Gottes Segen zum wohlhabenden Mann geworden." An illustrative example of this situation was the settlement of the Pomeranians in the Sao Lourenco area. Broders gave the following description of this settlement after he had visited it: "Die wohllegerichteten Farmen, die schönen Häuser, die grossen Scheunen, das wohlgeführte Vieh, die reichen Grasfluren verrathen einen Wohlstand, dem man sonst nirgends in Süßbrasilien begegnet." [C. J. Broders], "Eine Missionsreise in Brasilien," Der Lutheraner 57 (25 June 1901):196.

In an urban area like Porto Alegre the German immigrants and their descendants had, about 1915, a significant participation in commerce and industry. Ma[hler], "Unsere Mission in Südamerika," Der Lutheraner 71 (6 July 1915):264.

Klingelhoefter was an ordained minister. All of them had come on their own initiative. The church in Germany took no measures to provide a religious assistance to their fellow-countrymen who had crossed the sea. It has been said that even while still living in Germany they already were without spiritual assistance. This situation of religious abandonment lasted for several decades.

Left to themselves most of the immigrants had to be satisfied with the printed Word. So, for example, the Lutheran Pomeranians settled in the São Lourenço area had brought along the Bible, Luther's Catechism with an exposition by Jaspis, Vollhagen's Hymnal containing 1400 hymns, as well as prayer and sermon books particularly those of Stark and Hofacker.

The immigrants, however, soon came to the conclusion that they needed a person to perform such religious functions as Baptisms, weddings, and burials. The same lay person who had been chosen to teach their children was then charged with this additional function. Some of these so-called tramp preachers (Pseudopfarrer) worked faithfully. With the passing of the years the new generation, however, became less concerned about the moral qualifications of the people chosen for that office.

Adventurers, fortune-hunters, spiritual charlatans, and mountebanks, some of whom would have been put behind the bars in their native

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country if they had not made their escape, donned the clerical robe in South America...21

After some time superstition, contempt for the Gospel, and worldliness became widely spread.

By the second half of the nineteenth century some pastors began to be sent from Europe. So in 1899 the Prussian High Church Consistory (Oberkirchenrath) had sent pastors to seven Brazilian congregations. A year before the Lutheran Gotteskasten had sent three ministers to the state of Santa Catarina. Three or four pastors from Basel worked in the state of Parana. A larger number of pastors had been sent by the Evangelische Gesellschaft für die protestantischen Deutschen in America with headquarters in Barmen. About seventy pastors and teachers had come to Brazil through the agency of this society. Thirty-eight of these pastors worked in the state of Rio Grande do Sul. They were not united in doctrine but followed the usual Reformed-Lutheran doctrinal mixture prevalent at that time.22 This number was completely insufficient to take care of the spiritual needs of the more than one hundred thousand German protestants then living in that state. As a result, many remained without

21 Burgdorf, pp. 24-25. The same author adds a little further: "In 1903 there were 39 congregations there, in which the functions of the ministry were discharged by tradesmen, mechanics, factory employees, farmers, journalists, nurses, officers, subalterns, and even actors. Adventurers with a checkered past preach and minister to the souls. Thus it was possible that a Catholic, who is also director of a theater, could take up this work." See also L. F[uerbringer], "Ausland," Der Lutheraner 67 (2 May 1911):139. E. Wille, pp. 130-131. L. F[uerbringer], "Brasilien," Der Lutheraner 55 (30 May 1899):98.

any spiritual care and others, in the south, were served by about forty tramp preachers.  

The first attempt to organize a synod of the evangelical congregations which had been established in Rio Grande do Sul was made in 1868. The leading figure in this attempt was Pastor Herman Borchard. Borchard had received his theological training in Germany and had been sent to São Leopoldo, Brazil, by the German Oberkirchenrath in 1864. But when the nine pastors and nine laymen met in the São Leopoldo parsonage, they hesitated to accept a constitution modeled on that of a German territorial church. The opposition to Borchard's plans and constitution was led by Pastor Johann P. C. Häsbärt. 

Also from the authorities in Berlin, Borchard received a negative answer in relation to a possible attachment of the synod to the Prussian Union Church.

Johann Peter Christian Haesbaert

Pastor J. P. C. Haesbaert had come from the United States to Brazil in 1845. At that time he was the only ordained pastor there. He was born in Clevel in the Rhineland on September 6, 1807. At the age of twenty-one he went to the United States where he received his theological training. In 1832, at the completion of his studies, he accepted a call to St. Paul's church in Baltimore where he worked for twelve years.


25Ibid., pp. 42-43.

26Rehfeldt, p. 15.
There he became a close friend of Pastor F. C. D. Wynecken, one of the founders of the LC-MS, who came to the United States in 1838. When Wynecken arrived in Baltimore and sought a Lutheran church, he was informed that Haesbaert was a Lutheran pastor. Wynecken was received and hosted in Haesbaert's home. Soon after this Haesbaert became ill and requested Wynecken to serve his congregation until he recovered. Wynecken served for six weeks. Thereafter Haesbaert was instrumental in sending Wynecken as a missionary to the state of Indiana by the Mission Board of the Pennsylvania Synod. In 1843, Haesbaert met with another of the future leaders of the LC-MS, Dr. W. Sihler. In Brazil Haesbaert served the congregation of Hamburgerberg (Hamburgo Velho) for forty-one years. His death occurred in 1890 at the age of eighty-three.

Organization of a Synod

Although Dr. H. Borchard already had attempted to organize a synod, it took two decades before that plan could be accomplished. On May 19 and 20, 1886, under the leadership of Dr. Wilhelm Rotermund, the Riograndian Synod (Riograndenser Synode) was organized. A proposal was made by Pastor J. F. Brutschin that the Synod accept the Confessions as an Evangelical Lutheran Synod. This motion, however, was not adopted and the Synod "became united in character, more Reformed than Lutheran."27 However, in the same way, the name Vereinigung evangelisch-unierter Gemeinden was also rejected. There was, thus, an attempt to avoid a clear confessional identification in order to permit that all Germans,

27Ibid., p. 17.
of whatever confession of the Reformation, could be accepted as members of the Synod. 28

Rotermund became the first president of this Synod, from 1886 until 1893, and again from 1909 to 1919. Although he was a Hannoverian Lutheran, he tended to minimize the Lutheran Confessions:

He was broadly evangelical, speaking of the "confessions of the Reformation" rather than of anything more specifically Lutheran, and making use of Luther's catechism but not of the Augsburg Confession until its inclusion into the Riograndian synodical constitution in 1923.29

In 1901 the synod changed its name to German Evangelical Synod of Rio Grande do Sul (Deutsche Evangelische Kirche von Rio Grande do Sul -- Riograndenser Synode). As time went on the dependance on Germany increased. Germany became both a court of appeal and the source of pastors and money.30

Johann F. Brutschin

The Rev. Johann F. Brutschin, who had proposed that the synod which they were organizing should become confessional Lutheran, was born on January 20, 1842 at Dossenbach near Loerach in Baden, Germany. He studied theology in Chrischona, Switzerland. In 1867, when he graduated, he was sent to Brazil by the Evangelical Society of Barmen. He went to the state of Rio Grande do Sul where he first served as assistant to the Rev. Dr. Borchard at São Leopoldo. In 1868, he became pastor at Dois Irmãos near to the town of São Leopoldo and at that time a part of São


29 Bachmann, p. 44.

30 Ibid.
Leopoldo County. He served this congregation until 1890. Besides the congregation at Dois Irmãos, Rev. Brutschin also served the congregations at Picada dos Suevos (Travessão), Picada Verão, Herval, Padre Eterno, and Sapiranga. He was one of those who attempted to organize a Synod under Dr. Borchard's leadership in 1868. In 1886 he was again one of the founding members of the Riograndian Synod. In 1890 he resigned from his pastorate in Dois Irmãos and moved to Novo Hamburgo. There he started a private school in a room of his own home. It was probably about this time that he severed connections with the Riograndian Synod. The precise reasons of this step are unknown. Presumably he did not want to remain in a Synod which was not Lutheran. In 1901 he received and accepted a call from the congregation at Estância Velha where he served until 1904. In 1894 he also became pastor of a congregation which had separated itself from Rotermund's congregation at São Leopoldo.

Pastor Brutschin became acquainted with the doctrine and the work of the LC-MS in the last years of his work in Dois Irmãos. One of his friends and classmates at the Chrischona Mission Institute, Wendelin Linsenmann, had gone to the United States at the same time when Brutschin had come to Brazil. Linsenmann was born on September 18, 1841 in Behringen, Württemberg. In the United States he became affiliated with the LC-MS serving several congregations for almost half a century. He died January 20, 1911. In his obituary, published in Der Lutheraner, the following remark was made: "Der Entschlafene war es Übrigens auch, der

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32Ibid., p. 30. 33Ibid., p. 31.
Brutschin also corresponded with Pastor Emil Duerr of Wayside, Wisconsin. Through the letters and publications of the LC-MS which his friends sent him Brutschin became convinced that the LC-MS had the correct doctrine and practice. When, for reasons of ill health, Brutschin decided to return to Germany he asked the LC-MS to send a substitute to serve his congregation. In 1900 Brutschin asked for affiliation in the LC-MS.

The LC-MS Becomes Concerned about the
Lutherans in Brazil

News About the Conditions of the German
Immigrants in Brazil Reach the LC-MS

News about the massive immigration of Germans to Brazil had come to the attention of leaders of the Missouri Synod. They knew also that Brazil was a thoroughly Roman Catholic country, and that there might be around sixty thousand Protestants deprived of any religious care. Already in 1894 there was a sense of responsibility toward these immigrants. On the one hand their condition evoked thankfulness that the spiritual conditions in the United States were different but, at the same time, it was remembered that such needs demanded prayers and action.\(^{35}\)

In the last decade of the nineteenth century, Dr. Ludwig Fuehringer continually reminded the readers of *Der Lutheraner* of the German Lutheran immigrants in South America and their spiritual needs.\(^{36}\)

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\(^{36}\) L. F[uehringer], "Ausland," *Der Lutheraner* 54 (5 April 1898): 62. L. F[uehringer], "Innere Mission in Süd-America," *Der Lutheraner*
He knew that Germany would not be able to take care of those needs in a satisfactory way. He insisted, therefore, that the Lutherans in the United States should look for an opportunity to establish contact and begin mission work there.

Toward the end of the decade also *The Lutheran Witness* began to report about the distressing spiritual conditions of the great majority of German immigrants in Brazil.

It has been said that one of the reasons why the Missouri Synod did not decide to start its mission in Brazil before the close of the last century was the fact that Dr. Heinrich Christian Schwan was the president of the Synod at that time. Dr. Schwan, president of the LC-MS from 1878 to 1899, had been ordained as a pastor in 1843 in Germany and had then gone to Brazil. He remained in Leopoldina, state of Bahia, from 1844 to 1850 as a private tutor in a German settled coffee plantation. He also seems to have served the personnel of the plantation as pastor.

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37. In 1898 he reported that now the Lutheran Gotteskasten of Germany had sent a missionary to the state of Santa Catarina. Until that time only a united synod was working among the German immigrants. L. F[uebringer], "Ausland," *Der Lutheraner* 55 (2 May 1899):83.


40. Carlos H. Warth, *Crônicas da Igreja* (Porto Alegre: Concordia S. A., 1979), p. 9. It seems that an economic factor was also involved. This was expressed in the fear that a new mission might be detrimental to the mission in the United States. L. Lochner and others, "Sollen wir in Südamerika, sonderlich in Brasilien, das Werk der Inneren Mission in Angriff nehmen?" *Der Lutheraner* 55 (28 November 1899):218.
and, although there is no clear evidence, "on the basis of his later work in America we may assume that he engaged in as much mission work on the side as possible." On April 4, 1850, he married Emma Blum, a daughter of a German physician. In the same year he went to the United States disappointed with the religious indifference of the German immigrants in Brazil. He seems to have lost all hope in the possibility of better results in a future attempt. So it has been indicated that in the discussions which took place at the 1899 LC-MS convention about the decision to start mission work in Brazil, Dr. Schwan opposed the idea.

Paul Schelp, for instance, states:

Weil Schwan in seiner Tätigkeit in Bahia wenig Erfolg gehabt hatte und die kirchliche Arbeit in Brasilien deshalb für erfolglos ansah, war er dagegen, als man auf der Delegatensynode in St. Louis im Jahre 1899 beschloss, einen Missionar nach Brasilien zu schicken. Aber Schwan hatte nur den Norden Brasiliens kennengelernt und hatte deshalb ohne Zweifel nicht das richtige Bild von unserem Lande.43

The Synodical Convention of 1899

The LC-MS synodical convention of the year 1899 met at the Holy Cross church in Saint Louis from April 26 to May 6. Two memorials asking for the beginning of a mission in Brazil were brought to the consideration of the convention.44 The committee assigned to examine the

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44 Vierundzwanzigster Synodal-Bericht der Allgemeinen Deutschen Ev. Luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio und Andern Staaten, versammelt als Neunte Delegatensynode zu St. Louis, Mo., im Jahre 1899 (St. Louis:
matter was composed of C. W. Sapper, H. Wunder, F. Zucker, H. Mesenbink, and C. Bauernfeind. This committee gave a favorable report. 45

After due consideration of the spiritual needs of the immigrants in Brazil the convention decided, on April 28, to refer the two memorials to the synodical Board for Home Missions. The Board was urged to give a special consideration to this matter and was empowered to begin the mission if, acting in agreement with the president of the synod, Dr. F. Pieper, it would come to the conclusion that the conditions were now favorable. 46

It seems clear from what has been said above that the convention did not take decisive action regarding the beginning of home mission work

Concordia Publishing House, 1899), p. 99. This author has not been able to determine the origin of these memorials. On the one hand it has been said that one came from the pastoral circuit of St. Louis and the other directly from J. F. Brutschin who had sent it to Pastor Rademacher of Staplehurst, Nebraska. (See C. H. Warth, Crônicas da Igreja, pp. 9-10). And another version has it that one of the memorials was sent to the convention by R. Kretschmar, president of the St. Louis pastoral circuit, and the other by a pastor who had formerly worked in the State of Rio Grande do Sun, Brazil. (See Rehfeldt, p. 25).

45C. H. Warth, Crônicas da Igreja, p. 11.

in South America, rather it empowered the synodical Board for Home Missions to take such final decision after due investigation of the conditions had been made. Since that board reached such final decision only after it became acquainted with Rev. Brutschin's request for a Missouri pastor, it seems completely justified to say that the Missouri Synod started its mission in Brazil in response to a call from Brazil.

J. F. Brutschin Sends a Call for Help

Already in 1894 the Der Lutheraner brought a note about Pastor J. F. Brutschin's activities in Brazil. It was reported that he was a Lutheran pastor and that he had severed connections with the united Rio-grandian Synod.

Brutschin had corresponded with some Missourian pastors living in the United States whom he knew from Germany. For a long time already he read the periodicals of the Missouri Synod and identified completely with its doctrines. For reasons of impaired health he had decided to return to Germany. He desired, however, to have a Lutheran pastor as

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47 Rehfeldt, "The First Fifty Years," p. 25.


50 Different sources give the names of the following pastors as those with whom Brutschin corresponded: Emil Dürr, Wendelin Linsemann - who is said to have been his former classmate - Rademacher of Staplehurst, Nebraska. C. H. Warth, "Vor 70 Jahren," Der Lutheraner 130 (January and February 1974):7. "Nosso Cinquentenario," Mensageiro Luterano 37 (June 1954):43. Carlos H. Warth, Crônicas da Igreja, p. 10.

his successor in his congregation at Estância Velha. This led him to write a letter to Pastor Rademacher of Staplehurst, Nebraska, asking for a Missourian pastor.  

Since Brutschin's letter is no longer extant, it is not completely clear when it arrived in the hands of the LC-MS leaders. On the one hand it has been affirmed that it arrived before the 1899 synodical convention and that it was this call that led to the decision to start the work in Brazil. This position seems to be supported by a note published in Der Lutheraner less than a year after the synodical convention:  

Bekanntlich beschloss die letzte jährige Delegaten-Synode, die Innere Mission in Südamerika, sonderlich in Brasilien und Argentinien, in Angriff zu nehmen, weil der Synode nicht nur bezeugt wurde, dass eine beträchtliche deutsche Einwanderung nach Südamerika stattfinde, sondern auch eine direkte Aufforderung aus Südamerika vorlag, die Arbeit daselbst aufzunehmen.  

This direct call from Brazil has been pointed out on many occasions, particularly to defend the work of the LC-MS in Brazil against accusations of meddling into another's field.  

52 Ibid., p. 230. Warth, Crônicas da Igreja, p. 10. As Mario L. Rehfeldt points out, the story that the LC-MS started the mission in Brazil because Brutschin requested money for a pair of mules, because his mules had been stolen, is questionable. The same author indicates that this story can be traced back only as far as Dr. F. C. Streufert (See: F. C. Streufert, My Trip to South America (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1948), p. 7. Rehfeldt, "The First Fifty Years," p. 28.  


On the other hand it has also been affirmed that the decision of the synodical convention of 1899 resulted from a feeling of responsibility toward the spiritual well-being of the Lutherans who had immigrated to Brazil and not from any call from South America. According to this point of view, the letter from the Rev. Brutschin was received by the General Board for Home Missions soon after the synodical convention of 1899 rather than before it. This opinion finds support in an article published some months after the convention by the synodical Board for Home Missions in the *Der Lutheraner*. After quoting the resolution of the convention the Board adds:

Darnach hat die Commission gehandelt. Ihr wurde nun unter anderem mitgeteilt, dass in Brasilien ein deutscher Pastor seit vielen Jahren gearbeitet habe, der schon seit langem ein Leser unserer Publicationen sei und bekannt habe, dass er sich völlig einig wisse mit der Lehre unserer Synode, ja, sogar sich in dieselbe aufnehmen lassen wolle. Der wolle uns auch gerne mit Rath und That beistehen, wenn wir eine Mission dort beginnen wollten. In letzter Zeit hat sich nun aber die Sachlage geändert. Dieser Pastor will geschwächtener Gesundheit wegen bald nach Deutschland zurückkehren und bittet uns, ihm einen Mann zu senden, dem er sein grosses Feld überweisen und in dasselbe einführen könne. . . . Hier sind also jetzt nicht nur eine grosse Anzahl theuer erkauffer Seele, . . . sondern hier ist auch der directe Ruf an uns ergangen: "Kommt herüber und helft uns!"  

Two important conclusions can be drawn from this quotation. In the first place, it seems clear that at least the synodical Board for Home Missions became acquainted with Brutschin's call only after the synodical convention. Secondly, there is no doubt that the final decision

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to start the mission among the German immigrants in Brazil was taken only after the call from Brutschin had been received, and that this call seems to have played a decisive role in that decision.

Rev. C. J. Broders Sent to Brazil

The members of the synodical Board for Home Missions were very conscious of the doctrine of the call in the decision-making process which had been entrusted to them. They believed that the Lord would show a clear sign and provide an open door if He wanted the Synod to start a new mission. Such necessary prerequisites they saw fulfilled by the Rev. Brutschin's request for a Missourian to serve his congregation.

Working in conjunction with the president of the Synod, Dr. Francis Pieper, and with former members of the Board, the synodical Board for Home Missions now reached the conclusion that the time had come to bring the Gospel to the Germans in Brazil. Two large pastoral circuits whom the board had asked for advice came to the same conclusion.

Acting according to the decision of the convention the Board brought the matter to the knowledge of the congregations urging, at the same time, contributions to enable it to send an explorer to Brazil.

57Ibid., p. 217: "Unsere Synode hat immer so gehandelt, dass, wenn die Noth auch gross und die Arbeit auch vielversprechend schien auf einem Felde, sie sich doch immer erst die Frage vorlegte: 'Will uns der Herr dort? ruft Er uns dort in die Arbeit? Wenn, so wird Er uns auch schon einen deutlichen Fingerzeig und eine offene Thür geben.'"

58Hier sind also jetzt nicht nur eine grosse Anzahl theuer erkauffer Seelen, die uns als Deutsche recht nahe stehen, hier ist nicht nur grosse Noth, da Hunderte und Tausende unserer Brüder und Schwestern geistlich verschmachten, sondern hier ist auch der direkte Ruf an uns ergangen; 'Kommt herüber und helft uns!'"
This was done in Der Lutheraner of November 28, 1899. They planned to send the missionary already in February of the next year.

The response to this appeal came immediately and surpassed all expectations. The Der Lutheraner of January 9, 1900 reported that the treasurer of the Eastern District had sent more than two thousand dollars in one single remittance for this new mission.59

The rest of the plan was now rapidly unfolded. In the person of Pastor C. J. Broders, pastor in Scranton, Mississippi, a suitable man was found for this mission.60 Broders had served as military chaplain in the Spanish-American War and had demonstrated his missionary capabilities in Cuba.61

On February 19, 1900, Pastor Broders left New York aboard the Wordsworth. Due to a heavy storm occurring soon after departure and disabling the engines of the ship, it had to be brought back to the port.

59F. P., "Innere Mission in Südamerica," Der Lutheraner 56 (9 January 1900):18. It has been said that this contribution was made by a man whose name never became known. See: Karl Schmidt, "Gute Nachrichten fuer Brasilen und Argentinien," Der Lutheraner 67 (7 March 1911):74. It should be noted that Karl Schmidt was already at that time a member of the Board for Home Missions.

60L. Lochner, "Innere Mission in Südamerica," Der Lutheraner 56 (23 January 1900):23. C. J. Broders was born on November 22, 1867 in New Orleans. He received his theological training at Concordia Seminary, Saint Louis, Missouri. In 1891 he graduated and accepted a call to Scranton, Mississippi. Seven years later he went to Cuba where he served as an United States chaplain in the Spanish American War. He returned to his congregation in Scranton and in January 1900 he accepted the call to serve as a missionary explorer in Brazil. He declared his willingness to remain in that country for as long as two years, but made it also clear that, due to family circumstances, he would have to return to the United States. Rehfeldt, p. 30.

three days the machinery had been repaired and, on March 1, the long trip started again. After three weeks, on March 21, Broders arrived at Rio de Janeiro, at that time the capital of Brazil.  

From Rio de Janeiro Broders went to Novo Hamburgo, state of Rio Grande do Sul, to meet with Pastor F. Brutschin. After ten days of several conferences with Brutschin, Broders reported about the prevailing conditions in Brazil in a letter dated April 9 and addressed to the synodical Board for Home Missions. The economic situation was bad and Broders was able to make a prediction which time has proved to be more correct than he could have imagined:

> Es wird darum auch die Mission in Brasilien der Synode nicht unbedeutende Auslagen verursachen. Auf Jahre hinaus werden wir derselben unter die Arme greifen müssen.

But even more sad was the religious and ethical situation. The German immigrants who lived in urban areas showed great indifference toward religious matters and preferred to spend Sundays in amusements and dancing instead of going to church. The schools were being served by teachers of a low moral condition who had been forced to leave Germany because of bad conduct. Most of the Germans in the Novo Hamburgo area were members of the Masonic lodge.

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63 L. F[uerbringer], "Wie steht es mit Unserer Mission in Brasilien?" Der Lutheraner 56 (24 July 1900):230. Rev. Broders said that the mission in Brazil would require great expenses on the part of the Synod and that such support would be needed for many years.

64 Broders summarized his impression in this way: "Noch nie habe ich eine so rohe Form der Sitten wahrgenommen." Ibid., p. 230.
Thirty-nine ordained evangelical pastors worked in the state of Rio Grande do Sul serving 93 congregations. Besides these, Broders reported the existence of six non-ordained "pastors" who were misleading the people. Broders added that in Rev. Brutschin's opinion the LC-MS was starting its mission too late, at least as far as the state of Rio Grande do Sul was concerned. In any case the mission would have to reckon with the opposition of the evangelicals.  

Concerning Brutschin, Broders informed the Synod that he was planning to move from Novo Hamburgo to Estância Velha, at the end of the month, in order to dedicate himself entirely to that congregation where he would also start a parochial school. This represented a change in his original plan of returning immediately to Germany. He had now decided to serve one more year in the congregation in Estância Velha, until February 1901.

Broders was very well impressed with Brutschin and reported that the latter had, on his own initiative and after mature consideration, decided to join the Missouri Synod.

On April 10, Pastor Broders preached a Good Friday sermon in Brutschin's congregation. It was his first sermon in Brazil. The


congregation at Estância Velha made a very favorable impression on him. The character and morality of this rural people was on an incomparable higher level than that of the people in the cities.67

After this, Broders made his first missionary trip. He went to the São Jerônimo area which had been visited by Brutschin six years before. At that time no church had been present in the area. But Broders discovered that now the Riograndian Synod had already been serving the whole area for four years and was strongly supported by Germany. All the places which could have been regarded as mission fields were already occupied. In view of this he concluded: "Ich kann daher die Provinz Rio Grande do Sul als Missionsgebiet nicht empfehlen."68 The people who had not joined the Riograndian Synod were completely indifferent to religious matters. On Quasimodogeniti Sunday, Broders held a service in that area. During the sermon he noted complete disinterest on the part of the people.

67 L. Fuerbringer, "Wie steht es mit Unserer Mission in Brasilien?" Der Lutheraner 56 (7 August 1900):244.

68 "I cannot, therefore, recommend the Province of Rio Grande do Sul as mission field." Ibid., p. 245. It has usually been said that Broders made the above-mentioned statement in view of the religious indifference and moral decadence of the people. The context in which these words are found suggests, however, that the main reason was the fact that in Broders' opinion the Riograndian Synod had already occupied the areas which could be regarded as promising mission fields. For the former view see: F. Otten, "Vierzig Jahre Kirchliche Arbeit in Brasilien," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Kirchenblatt fuer Suedamerika 35 (1 and 15 March 1940);18. "40 Anos de Bencaos Divinas," Mensageiro Luterano 23 (March and April 1940);18. M. L. H[asse], "As Glorias de Uma Igreja Cincuentenaria," Mensageiro Luterano 37 (June 1954);46. "Nosso Cincuentenario," Ibid., p. 43. Rehfeldt, p. 35. C. H. Warth, Cronicas da Igreja, p. 15. L. Kaminski, "Dennoch," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Kirchenblatt fuer Suedamerika 44 (15 June and 1 July 1954);91. For the latter view see: W. Mahler, "Der Anfang in Brasilien und Argentinien," p. 21. C. H. Warth, "Kurze Geschichte der Ev.-Luth. Kirche Brasiliens," Der Lutheraner 124 (December 1968);182.
That same impression was confirmed during the week when he visited the people in their homes.  

Summarizing the predominant evils among the German settlers, Broders mentioned the zest for gambling, self-indulgence, sensuality, indifference, the fact that a board of elders (Kirchenvorstand) was in charge of all ecclesiastical matters of a given settlement so that its decisions were binding for all the settlers, and the overwhelming influence of the freemasonry.  

Publishing this report in the Der Lutheraner, Dr. Ludwig Fuerbringer added three remarks. He first emphasized the fact that this was only a preliminary report and that Pastor Broders would continue to gather information and undertake new missionary trips. Secondly, he remembered that the pure Gospel of Christ is the power of God among indifferent and depraved people also and that they too could be rescued, converted and saved through this Gospel. Finally he added that such a report should evoke the gratitude of the North American readers because God had given them the pure Gospel through his free Grace.  


70Ibid.  

71Ibid.
Completely disappointed with the area which he had been surveying, Broders began his second missionary trip. This trip took him to the area of Pelotas and São Lourenço, more to the south of the state.

About 10,000 Germans, predominantly Pomeranian, lived in this colonization area. The Riograndian Synod was not working here. The people, deciding religious and ecclesiastical matters for themselves, had organized about thirty educational societies (Schulvereine) which also had the character of an ecclesiastical congregation (kirchengemeindlichem Charakter).

These congregations were served by so-called tramp preachers, that is, laymen without any theological training. Their primary responsibility was to teach in the schools but, in the absence of any ordained pastor, they were also expected to perform all the pastoral activities.\(^72\)

For some time Broders stayed in Pelotas, the largest city in the area, trying to contact the farmers who daily arrived with their loaded wagons to sell their products in town. At first he met with suspicion, being regarded a sectarian preacher.\(^73\) Finally he was informed that in a settlement named São Pedro, about thirty miles from Pelotas, there was a group of Lutherans without any spiritual assistance. Rev. Broders


managed to get a ride on the wagon of a farmer who was returning to Sao Pedro after selling his products in Pelotas.\textsuperscript{74} This farmer took him to the house of Mr. Wilhelm August Gowert, an authentic Lutheran layman who exerted a pronounced leadership in spiritual affairs in that settlement.\textsuperscript{75} Mr. Gowert had a good knowledge of the Christian doctrines and made a thorough examination to find out if Broders was in fact a Lutheran minister. After that, notice was sent out that a Lutheran congregation was to be organized. On the following Sunday, July 1, 1900, seventeen families organized the first congregation of what would become the IELB.\textsuperscript{76} Four of these families, of German Russian descent, had already held services each Sunday for many years and had been praying that God would send them a faithful messenger of the Gospel.\textsuperscript{77}

On the next day Broders sent a letter to the synodical Board for Home Missions. His joy found expression in this initial phrase: "I struck oil, and some of the finest quality."\textsuperscript{78}

\textsuperscript{74} It has been said that the name of this farmer was Reinaldo Stein. B. G. Flor, "O Nosso Trabalho no Sul," Mensageiro Luterano 33 (May 1950):39.


\textsuperscript{76} A monument remembering this event was erected on that site on March 19, 1961. "Respigando Fatos," Mensageiro Luterano 44 (September 1961):103.

\textsuperscript{77} L. Lochner, "Vorläufige Mitteilung über Unsere Mission in Brasilien," Der Lutheraner 56 (11 December 1900):389.

\textsuperscript{78} Ibid.
The congregation of São Pedro immediately sent a call to the synodical Board for Home Missions asking for a resident pastor. On the eleventh Sunday after Trinity, August 25, 1900, a chapel was dedicated.\(^79\) The chapel was also to be used as school rooms. Two spacious rooms had been prepared to serve as a parsonage.

On August 26, Broders started a parochial school with an initial enrollment of twenty-two children. Since no books were available the missionary had to dictate all the contents to his pupils. He did it, however, cheerfully and tried to use the school as a missionary agency.\(^80\) The congregation decided to celebrate Christmas according to the traditional Lutheran way. Even a Christmas tree was decorated. Seventy-two children took part in the celebration. Many strangers attended a Lutheran service for the first time on this occasion. The church was overcrowded with about two hundred and fifty attendants. At the Christmas day service the throng was even greater. Some guests came from Pelotas (about thirty miles from São Pedro) and also from São Lourenço.\(^81\)

\(^79\) In fact the chapel was a transformed store whose owner was known as the "Flying Dutchman" and which on weekends had been usually converted into a dance-hall. Burgdorf, p. 50.


\(^81\) [C. J. Broders], "Aus Brasilien," Der Lutheraner 57 (5 March 1900): 69-70.
Broders won the confidence and affection of the people. He was able to observe how the members valued God's Word and how diligently they participated in the activities of the congregation. At the end of the year 1900, the membership in the congregation had risen to twenty-three families. He was able to introduce some reforms. So, for example, he had the whole congregation decide on important matters instead of leaving all decisions to the board of elders (Vorstand). The whole neighboring area took notice of the presence of a Lutheran pastor and congregation in São Pedro. Some congregations even requested a Lutheran pastor from the LC-MS and others gave indications that they would do so in the future.

The call which the São Pedro congregation had sent to the Mission Board was extended to Pastor William Mahler, then pastor at Stark, Nebraska, who also accepted it. On February 20, 1901 he and his family

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82Ibid.

83The first commentary on the part of the Riograndian Synod about the actual beginning of the LC-MS' work in Brazil seems to have been written by their pastor at Pelotas and published in the Sonntagsblatt, the official paper of that Synod: "In the neighboring colony the Missouri Synod has gained a footing by organizing a congregation, at present in charge of Rev. Broders. Synod has given the congregation financial aid and still supplies nearly all the means for the maintenance of its missionary. The spirit, discipline, and order in the small church are good. We would rejoice far more over this work for the souls of our German fellow-believers if a strong stressing of its confessional Lutheran position did not keep it from associating in any way with other 'Evangelical' congregations." Burgdorf, p. 51.


85"Brasilien," Der Lutheraner 57 (22 January 1901):23. William Mahler was born on November 16, 1870 at Polkwitz, Silesia. In 1890 he started his theological studies at the Theological Seminary, Kropp, Schleswig. Coming to the United States, he continued his studies at Concordia Seminary, Saint Louis, where he graduated in 1893. The next
left New York. 86 Four weeks later they arrived at São Pedro. They found it hard to adapt to the primitive conditions which prevailed in Brazil but were, at the same time, well impressed with the kindness and in particular the Christian character of the members of the congregation. 87

Before returning to the United States, Broders undertook another missionary journey. On Good Friday afternoon, 1901, he and a guide set out to make an investigation in the interior of Pelotas and São Lourenço. He preached and held congregation meetings at several places. 88 This trip acquainted the people of all that area with the work of the LC-MS. Soon after this trip Broders returned to his country. 89

About this time the congregations of Santa Coleta, Santa Eulália, and Bom Jesus resolved to extend a call to a pastor. To serve these congregations the Synod send Pastors A. Vogel, H. Stiemke, and J. Hartmeister who arrived in that same year. 90 However, before they arrived Mahler wrote to the Mission Board asking it to send, without delay, year he married Louise Cattenhusen. He worked in Nebraska until the end of 1900, when he accepted the call of Director of Missions for South America. From 1904 until 1910 he served as President of the Brazilian District of the LC-MS. He was also President of the Seminário Concórdia at Porto Alegre in 1907-1908. In addition he served as the first editor of the Evangelisch-Lutherisches Kirchenblatt fuer Suedamerika from 1903 until 1914. Rehfeldt, p. 39. Warth, Crônicas da Igreja, p. 265.

89 Burgdorf, p. 53.
90 Mahler, "Der Anfang in Brasilien und Argentinien," , p. 28. See also, L. Lochner, Der Lutheraner 57 (25 June 1901):197.
three additional pastors. The first three were installed respectively on the first, second, and fourth Sunday of Advent. All the four Missouri pastors, then working in this mission, were at the same time teachers in parochial schools.

Mahler had great expectations for the mission work in the Pelotas-Sao Lourenco area. But soon he and his fellow-pastors met with strong opposition. Already Broders had given some indications of a rising opposition by the tramp preachers. Using all kinds of lies and defamation they were able to incite the people against the work of the LC-MS. The Lutheran pastors were derisively called "North Americans" and accused of being political agents who had come to survey the land in the interest of the United States. The hope that most of the people in the area would join the LC-MS was never fulfilled. Only a few more isolated congregations asked for a Missouri pastor.

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96 "Man sagte den Leuten: Diese Nordamerikaner sind politische Agenten. Die sind gekommen, das Land zu erkunden! Sie wollen alles nordamerikanisch machen! Sie wollen den Leuten ihr Kirchen- und
To make things worse, the Riograndian Synod also decided to start work in this area now. According to Mahler this was done with the decided intention of suppressing the Missourians.  

Another hindrance to the work in that area was the fact that the people, who during several decades had not been nourished with the Word of God, felt repulsed by a decided Lutheran practice and doctrine.  

The opposition which was intended to suppress the work of the LC-MS in the Pelotas-São Lourenço area became a factor for its expansion throughout all the state of Rio Grande do Sul. Had all the hopes for that first area been fulfilled there would not have been enough laborers to start a mission in due time in other areas.

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In August 1901, Mahler undertook a missionary survey trip to the north-west of Rio Grande do Sul. This trip was made in response to a request from a former member of the congregation at São Pedro who had moved to Rincão dos Vales, near the town of Cruz Alta. Not finding any congregation there, this man got together with neighbors and they decided to ask for Mahler's visit. As a result of this visit a call for a pastor was made.

But this trip was also blessed with other unexpected and very significant discoveries. While he was on his way to Rincão dos Vales, Mahler met a business man from Rincão São Pedro, near Santa Maria in the central part of the state. This man told him about the religious needs of his home town and begged him to pay a visit to that place. In January of the next year, 1902, at the occasion of a second visit by Mahler, four Lutheran congregations in that area were organized and called LC-MS pastors. These were the congregations of Rincão São Pedro, Toropi, Nova Santa Cruz and Jaguari.

On his journey home from the first missionary trip (1901) Mahler went to Novo Hamburgo where, for the first time, he met the Rev. Brutschin. From there he went to Porto Alegre. Because of his stay, there were consequences of decisive importance for the future work of the LC-MS in Brazil. A young waiter of the hotel took great interest in the

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100 Ibid.


work of the LC-MS and asked Mahler to start a parochial school and a
congregation in Navegantes, a district of Porto Alegre, where his par-
ents lived. Mahler visited his parents and agreed with them that they
should contact their friends and neighbors and then send him a request
to start mission work there. Such a request with several signatures
arrived soon after Mahler's return to São Pedro.103

In view of the strategic importance of a mission in the capital
of the state, Mahler decided to move to Porto Alegre. The synodical
Board for Home Missions and the congregation of São Pedro expressed their
agreement and so on September 29, 1902, Mahler arrived at Porto Alegre.104
He rented an empty hall of a closed down machine factory for ten dollars
per month. In the meantime a new missionary from the United States,
Pastor H. Klein, arrived at Porto Alegre. Working together, the two pas-
tors started a school with an initial enrollment of nine. At the end of
the first week they already counted eighteen pupils. Each Sunday they
had services in the same hall. Attendance was very good.105 At the re-
quest of some young people who desired to learn to read and write a night-
school was started. On December 7, 1902, after six weeks of work, a con-
gregation was organized.106

103 Ibid.
104 W. Mahler, "Aus Brasilien," Der Lutheraner 59 (17 February
1903):53. He described the mission in Porto Alegre in the following way:
"Porto Alegre, ein grosses, wichtiges, aber schweres Arbeitsfeld, ist
gegenwärtig wohl unser schwerstes Feld in Brasilien." Ibid., p. 53.
105 On the first Sunday it rained. Only sixteen adults attended.
On the following Sunday they counted 84 attendants among whom were forty-
seven adults. In the next services every seat in the hall was occupied.
Ibid., p. 53.
106 Fourteen voting members signed the constitution of the con-
gregation. At that time the enrollment in the day school had increased to
forty-two and in the night school to 24 pupils. Ibid., p. 53.
Besides being the capital of the state and as such its most important city from which leadership was naturally expected, Porto Alegre was also a main center of the German immigrants. Of a total population of one hundred thousand inhabitants, twenty thousand were of German descent. Among the workers there was to be found a heavy concentration of Russian-German Lutherans. In the district of Navegantes, where the first LC-MS congregation was established, more than half of the population was German. 107

Only three German congregations had been organized when Mahler came to Porto Alegre. One of these was of the Riograndian Synod, another was Roman Catholic and a third Baptist. According to Mahler's estimation more than ten thousand people of German descent had no church connection at all.

From 1902 on, the official headquarters of the Igreja Evangelica Luterana do Brasil has always been in Porto Alegre.

Thus in the short period of two years the mission of the LC-MS had spread to four distinct areas in the state of Rio Grande do Sul. Already at the convention of 1902 the synod expressed its joy and surprise at the unexpected success of the new mission. 108

This great expansion was not accomplished without an equally great opposition. The mission had to face much enmity and distrust. The enmity was directed against the Lutherans, the distrust against the North

107 Ibid., p. 52.

Americans.\textsuperscript{109} It was said that the missionaries were North American agents who, on the basis of the Monroe doctrine, had a propaganda capital of a thousand dollars at their disposal to accomplish the end of taking the congregations away from the Riograndian Synod and to win the Germans to North American influence for political and economic reasons. Rumors of this kind were spread in periodicals and magazines in Germany, Brazil, and the United States.\textsuperscript{110} An address of a Pfarrer Beckmann, reproduced in a German Newspaper, \textit{Lübecker Nachrichten}, describing the situation before the convention of the Gustav-Adolf Vereins read:

\begin{quote}
Neben einem kräftigen Gemeindeleben sind dort doch Anzeigen vorhanden, dass das Deutschtum gefährdet ist. Denn auf Grund der Monroe-doctrin had die Missouri-Synode eine Million Dollars bewilligt, um Prediger in die deutschen Gemeinden Brasiliens zu schicken und so diese deutschen Gemeinden zu amerikanischen zu machen. Die Geistlichen stellen sich in Gemeinden ein, wo Unzufriedene sind, sammeln diese, bauen auch Kirche, Schule und Pfarrhaus von amerikanischem Gelde und treiben so einen Keil in die deutschen Gemeinden hinein. Hier gilt es, wascham zu sein und die Deutschen in Südamerica nicht zu vergessen.\textsuperscript{111}
\end{quote}

The irony of the situation was that, besides the fact that in all the places where the LC-MS was working it was doing so upon request, the location of the areas which were being served was such that the possibility of a clash with the Riograndian Synod was out of the question. When

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{111}L. F[uerbringer], "Ueber Unsere Kirchliche Arbeit in Brasilien," \textit{Der Lutheraner} 59 (12 May 1903):152.
\end{itemize}
When the LC-MS started its work in these areas the Río Grande Synod had either never been interested in the areas or had given them up as not worth while.\textsuperscript{112} In order to defend the mission against such attacks a periodical was started, the \textit{Evangelisch-Lutherisches Kirchenblatt für Südamerika}, in 1903.\textsuperscript{113}

Two other significant developments in these early years of the Brazilian mission were the opening of a Seminary in 1903 and the organization of the Brazil District in 1904.

\textbf{Summary}

A massive German immigration to Brazil started in the second decade of the nineteenth century. The religious factor does not seem to have been prominent among the reasons for the immigration. It was, rather, political and economic interests which, on one side of the sea, led the Brazilian government to welcome German immigrants and, on the other side of the same sea, made German farmers anxious to emigrate.

In a thoroughly Roman Catholic country, the German Lutherans saw themselves religiously abandoned. After several decades some pastors were sent from Europe. Their number was, however, completely insufficient and thousands of immigrants remained without the proclamation of the true Gospel.

Becoming aware of the spiritual needs of their brothers in South America, the Lutherans of the LC-MS decided to send help. At the

\textsuperscript{112} Mahler, "Der Anfang in Brasilien und Argentinien," p. 30. Mahler's conclusion was: "Nur Nachlese war es, die wir gehalten hatten. Es war deshalb nichts als böser Neid, wenn nun auch die Evangelische Synode unsere Arbeit aufs heftigste angriff und befehdete."

\textsuperscript{113} Ibid.
beginning of this century a man was sent over to examine the missionary possibilities. Having at first a very negative impression of the conditions the explorer advised against the starting of a mission. Later he found a promising field where a small congregation could immediately be organized. Opposition from individuals and from a church body was instrumental in spreading the mission throughout the entire state. In two years the LC-MS was working in four different areas of the state of Rio Grande do Sul including the significant capital, Porto Alegre. In the third year the mission already had its own periodical and its own institution for the training of native ministers. In view of this astonishing development the Synod urged the organization of a Brazilian district.
CHAPTER III

ORGANIZATION: FROM DISTRICT TO PARTNER CHURCH

Introduction

This chapter deals with the structure and organization of the Brazil District of the LC-MS in 1904. The following topics will be examined: the formation of Pastoral Conferences; the formation of the Brazil District; the administrative relation between the District and the LC-MS; theological aspects within the District; the internal structure of the District in terms of its administration and organization; and, significant steps leading to the achievement of partner-church status by the Brazil District.

The Brazil District of the LC-MS

The Organization of Pastoral Conferences

The first steps to organize the Brazilian mission on a higher level than that of the congregational were taken in 1903. In that year and the next, three pastoral conferences were organized. These conferences met for study of doctrinal questions, to decide matters of the circuit, and for mutual counseling. Before this the Mission Director, Pastor W. Mahler, had been the only connection among the Brazilian Lutheran congregations.

The Southern Pastoral Conference was organized in Bom Jesus from April 20 to 22, 1903, by six pastors of the São Lourenço area.
The Northwestern Pastoral Conference was organized in Jaguari on November 9, 1903, with five pastors as members.

The Porto Alegre Pastoral Conference was organized in Porto Alegre on April 5 and 6, 1904, also with five pastors as members.¹

Rev. Lochner's Visitation

The LC-MS convention of 1902, assembled at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, decided upon suggestion by the synodical Board for Home Missions,² to ask that this board, in conjunction with the president of the Synod, should at the proper time help the pastors and congregations in Brazil to organize their own synodical district. While the formation of the district had not yet been accomplished the Brazilian pastors and congregations were encouraged to affiliate with the Southern District of the LC-MS.³

¹Mario L. Rehfeldt, "The First Fifty Years of the History of the Igreja Evangélica Luterana do Brasil, the Brazilian District of the Missouri Synod" (S.T.M. thesis, Concordia Seminary, Saint Louis, 1962), p. 58. The Southern Conference District had as members the pastors F. Brandt of Morro Redondo, R. Mueller of São Pedro, H. Stiemke of Santa Eulália, A. Vogel of Santa Coleta, J. Hartmeister of Bom Jesus, and W. Mahler, the Director of Missions. The Northwestern Conference District was organized by the pastors R. Kern of Jaguari, J. Harder of Rincão São Pedro, H. Wittrock of Rincão dos Valles, P. Petersen of Alto Jacuí, and W. Mueller of Toropi. The Porto Alegre Conference District was organized by the pastors W. Mahler, R. Mueller, H. Frehner, H. Klein, and J. Brutschin. They served the congregations of São Leopoldo, Dois Irmãos, Estância Velha, Conventos, Conventos Vermelhos (Roca Sales), and Porto Alegre. In the same month in which the Porto Alegre Conference District was organized, April 1904, the Rev. Brutschin returned to Germany being substituted in the Estância Velha congregation by the Rev. H. Klein.

²The Brazilian mission was classified as a home mission because it was conducted among German immigrants with a Lutheran background.

³Fünfundzwanzigster Synodal-Bericht der Allgemeinen Deutschen Ev.-Luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio und Andern Staaten, versammelt als Zehnte Delegatesynode zu Milwaukee, Wis., im Jahre 1902 (Hereafter referred to as LC-MS Proceedings), (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1902), pp. 69, 73.
Another resolution of the same convention was to recommend to
the president of the Southern District to have a member of the synodical
Board for Missions visit the Brazilian mission as soon as possible.\(^4\)

The man chosen to make the visitation trip to Brazil was the
chairman of the synodical Board for Home Missions, Pastor L. Lochner.\(^5\)
He left New York aboard the \textit{Tennyson} on April 5, 1904. After a six
thousand miles trip, the ship arrived at Rio de Janeiro, at that time the
Brazilian capital, on April 23. Two days later Lochner went to the city
of Rio Grande, located seven hundred and twenty miles to the south. After
another sea trip of nine days, he arrived at Rio Grande where he met Pas-
tor W. Mahler, the Brazilian Mission Director.\(^6\)

On May 5, Rev. Lochner, together with Rev. Mahler, started to
visit the congregations. The visitation\(^7\) lasted for almost two months,
until the end of June. About 1700 miles were covered, largely by horse-
drawn wagons (\textit{Colonistenwagen}).

\(^4\)Ibid.

\(^5\)Ludwig Lochner was born on April 7, 1842, in Nürnberg. He was
confirmed by Rev. Friedrich Wyneken in Saint Louis, Missouri. He re-
ceived his theological education under Dr. C. F. W. Walther, graduating
in 1864. After working for a short time in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, he was
called to serve a congregation in Rich, near Chicago, Illinois. He mar-
rried Luise Knab. In 1866, he accepted a call to Richmond, Virginia.
Eleven years later he was called to Trinity Church in Chicago, Illinois.
As president of the synodical Board for Home Missions he made a visitation
trip to the Brazilian mission field in 1904. His death occurred on Novem-
ber 9, 1909. Aug. Burgdorf, "Wie die Missourisynode dazu kam, das Panier
Christi unter dem Südlichen Kreuz Aufzupflanzen," \textit{25 Jahre Unter dem
Südlichen Kreuze}, ed. Otto H. Beer (Porto Alegre: Casa Publicadora Con-
córdia, 1925), pp. 9-10.

\(^6\)L. Lochner, "Visitation in Brasilien," \textit{Der Lutheraner} 60 (6 De-
cember 1904); 389.

\(^7\)The purpose of a visitation was to examine how the work was being
conducted, to investigate any special problem which had arisen, and to
possibly give suggestions which might enhance the progress of the work.
The usual pattern followed during the visit to the individual congregations included a sermon by Lochner, a meeting of the congregation, and a school inspection.

The visitation started at the Southern Pastoral Conference. There Lochner visited the congregations of São Pedro, Morro Redondo, Santa Búalía, Santa Coleta and Bom Jesus. The first two had been organized by the LC-MS, the other three had existed before, having been served by so-called tramp preachers. The visitation in this area took eleven days ending on May 15.

The visitation in the Porto Alegre Pastoral Conference started on May 26. In this area Lochner visited the congregations of Estância Velha, São Leopoldo, and Porto Alegre. Due to the bad conditions of the road, he did not visit the congregation at Dois Irmãos but its pastor, Reinhold Müller, and ten members came to meet him at São Leopoldo.

In the Northwestern conference the visitation started on June 6. The congregations visited in this area were Rincão dos Vales, Alto Jacuí, Jaguari, Toropi, Rincão São Pedro, and Serro Branco.

At the end of the visitation a general meeting was held by the pastors and delegates of the congregations who assembled to decide on the organization of a Brazilian District of the LC-MS.

After the visitation, Lochner declared himself very impressed by the growth of the Brazilian mission in the short period of three and a half years during which it had spread to four distinct areas of the state of Rio Grande do Sul. He emphasized also the dedication and self-denial of the missionaries. Finally he urged the members of the LC-MS to pray
for the Brazilian mission and missionaries and to support the mission with contributions. 8

The Organization of the Brazil District

The main objective and the culmination of Lochner's visitation was a general meeting of pastors and congregation delegates to decide on the organization of a new synodical district. The pastors had already discussed the matter with their congregations; the Evangelisch-Lutherisches Kirchenblatt fuer Suedamerica had published instructive articles about it; and during the visitation this important question had also been dealt with at the congregational meetings.9

The first session of the meeting started on June 23, 1904, at three o'clock in the afternoon in a hall of the "Hotel Central" at Rincão São Pedro. Eight pastors, eight lay delegates, one teacher and Rev. L. Lochner attended this session which was formally opened by the pastor of the local congregation, Rev. J. F. Harder.10 Lochner was unanimously elected to preside over the sessions. His synodical address was based on


10Rehfeldt, p. 63. Carlos H. Warth, Crônicas da Igreja (Porto Alegre: Concordia S.A., 1979), p. 24. Later one more pastor and the lay delegate of his congregation arrived. Five pastors were unable to attend but they sent a written statement agreeing with the organization of the District.
John 8:31-32 and its theme was: "Warum soll eine rechte Synode bei Jesu Wort bleiben?"

The agenda of the meeting included the organization of a District; the Kirchenblatt, the official periodical of the Brazilian mission; the Seminary of Bom Jesus; the organization of an agency of the Concordia Publishing House; the Mission report; the Baptism of luso-Brazilian children;¹¹ and the use of the Portuguese language.

The second session was held on Friday, June 24, 1904. Upon request, Lochner explained the reasons for the organization of a synodical district. The past experience of the Missouri Synod, he said, was the strongest reason. Having been organized by twelve pastors in 1847, it had developed into a large Lutheran synod. The LC-MS now hoped that identical blessings should also be experienced by the Brazilian Lutherans. Furthermore, the creation of a district would cause no harm to the existing relations with the mother church and no changes would occur in regard to the relations with the Mission Board. Financial support would continue. An additional blessing would be a closer fellowship between the Brazilian congregations. A debate followed this exposition which resulted in the election of a committee to present a request to the LC-MS concerning future relations between the Brazilian District and the Synod.

Then the meeting voted for the formation of a separate synodical district of the LC-MS. The motion had been made by Pastor John Hartmeister. The election results for the officers of the fifteenth district of the LC-MS were: Pastor Wilhelm Mahler, president; Pastor H. Klein, Pastor.

¹¹ Luso-Brazilian is a designation applied to Brazilians of Portuguese descent.
vice-president; Pastor R. Kern, secretary; and teacher Mr. H. Wilke, treasurer. The new district was subdivided into three visitation circuits.

The task of having the district recognized by the LC-MS was entrusted to the district president. At the end of the second session it was decided to have the next district convention in January 1905, when it would be summer, at Jaguari.

In the third session the visitors for the conference circuits were elected: Rev. J. Hartmeister for the São Lourenço District; Rev. H. Klein for the Porto Alegre District; and Rev. J. Harder for the Northwestern District.

In the same session Pastor John Hartmeister gave a report of the Seminary which had been founded in Bom Jesus in 1903. The Seminary was officially accepted as an institution of the Brazil District.

The name of the district was chosen at the fourth session, on June 25: Der Brasilianische District der deutschen evangelisch-lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten.

A motion made by a lay delegate led to the decision to send a request to the Concordia Seminary at Saint Louis to offer an elective course in the Portuguese language. This request was all the more striking since the teaching at the Saint Louis seminary was still mostly in German at the time with a few courses taught in English. The study of the Biblical languages, Hebrew and Greek, was also required.

On Sunday, June 26, a service was held with Holy Communion.

The fifth and last session was held on the morning of June 27. At the concluding ceremony President Mahler expressed the gratitude of
the Brazilian District to Pastor Lochner for his help and guidance. Lochner then stressed the high significance of the step which had been taken and expressed his gratitude to God for his protection and blessings.12

Mahler, first president of the district, many years later described the organization of the district as a very blessed measure. The congregations developed a feeling of unity and became interested in common affairs of the whole church.13

The District Under the Mission Board of the LC-MS

The founders of the Brazil District were aware of the problems connected with the unique situation in which this district found itself. One of the basic problems was the distance in relation to the other districts of the synod. It would be impossible for the new district to defend its own interests before the Synod in the United States. Besides, the district had no means, for instance in financial terms, to singly carry on mission work. In view of this situation the Brazilian missionaries proceeded to organize the district on the assumption, and in the hope, that the Synod would take the uniqueness of this district into account and create means to meet its special requirements. The organizational meeting of the district, therefore, elected a committee to formulate a request to the LC-MS concerning the future relations between Synod and the new district.


The request of the Brazil District was presented to the synodical convention of 1905. It asked that the existing relations with the Board for Home Missions continue in the sense that this board also in the future assist the district with advice and action, and that it represent the district before the Synod in all cases in which the district would be unable to send its president or another delegate to the United States. At the same time the district asked for financial support for as long as it should be needed. The synodical convention expressed its gratitude for the rich blessings which God had bestowed upon the mission in Brazil providing such growth that the organization of a new district had been made possible. Furthermore the convention decided to grant what had been requested by the Brazil district. Concerning the continuation of the existing relations with the Board for Missions the following resolution was adopted:

Beschlossen, dass das bisherige Verhältniss des Brasilianischen Districts zu der Allgemeinen Inneren Missionscommission insoweit fortbestehe, dass letztere auch in Zukunft dem genannten District mit Rath und That beistehe und denselben bei der Allgemeinen Synode


vertrete in allen Fällen, in welchen derselbe keine Vertreter aus seiner eigenen Mitte zu uns nach Nordamerica senden kann.\textsuperscript{15}

The reason for the classification of the Brazilian mission as "Home Mission" and its consequent association with the synodical Board for Home Missions was to be explained by the fact that, although conducted in another land, it was not "foreign" in the sense of "heathen," but was mainly among people of, and coming from, a Christianized country.\textsuperscript{16}

Eventually the mission work in foreign lands had grown so much that the Synod found it necessary to divide the board into two. This was done at the synodical convention of 1923 when the synod elected one Mission Board for Europe and another Mission Board for South America.\textsuperscript{17}

The Mission Board for South America, which directed the work in the Brazil District after 1923, was entrusted with several functions. One of its tasks was to rouse and maintain the interest of the Synod in the South American mission. To this end the board published articles in the periodicals of the Synod, and sent out pamphlets and other printed materials depicting the mission field and describing the mission work which was being carried on.\textsuperscript{18} In addition, the synodical convention of 1908 decided to appoint a representative in each synodical district to defend the interests of the Brazilian mission.\textsuperscript{19} The results of this measure have been evaluated in different ways. On the one hand it was

\textsuperscript{15}LC-MS Proceedings, 1905, p. 71.
\textsuperscript{16}Ibid., 1917, p. 37.
\textsuperscript{17}Ibid., 1923, p. 106.
\textsuperscript{18}Aug. Burgdorg, p. 16.
\textsuperscript{19}LC-MS Proceedings, 1908, p. 79.
regarded as helpful and on the other as harmful because of the one-
sided descriptions which were being made by these representatives.  

The actual execution of the mission work in Brazil was carried
on in a cooperative manner between the board in the United States and
the local boards in Brazil. This arrangement was put into action, in such
instances as in the matter of sending manpower from the United States; in
cases of financial support to congregations or to special projects of the
district; and in the election of professors for the Seminário Concórdia
in Porto Alegre.  

An indication that this arrangement seems not to have been re-
garded as completely satisfactory is to be found in the repeated requests
for alterations. For instance, the Brazil District on several occasions
asked for a special Director of Missions in its mission field. It was
felt that an experienced Mission Director was necessary to advise and
direct the young pastors and the congregations. This matter was brought

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20 Ibid., 1911, p. 115. It was reported to the convention of 1911:
"Die Einrichtung der vorigen Delegatensynode, 'dass in jedem Synodaldis-
strikt ein Vertreter bestimmt werde, der auf der Distriktsversammlung der
Mission in Brasilien das Wort redet,' hat sich als gut erwiesen, und wir
bitten eine Ehrw. Synode, auch bei ihrer jetzigen Sitzung solche Vertre-
ter zu bestimmen." In contrast to this stands the evaluation which the
president of the Brazilian District, Rev. W. Mahler, presented to the
convention of that district: "Es sind leider sehr viele einseitige
Darstellungen über unser Werk in unsere Kreise hinausgegangen. Die einen
haben nur die Lichtseiten geschildert, die andern nur Schattenseiten.
Vereinzelte Zustände sind verallgemeinert worden. Das hat nicht dazu
begünstigt, das Interesse an unserm Werke zu fördern. Unsere Allgemeine
Kommission hat auch hier ihr Bestes getan, aufklärend zu wirken. Aber ist
unmöglich, dass sie überall hinkommen kann." Dritte Synodal-Bericht des
Brasilianisches Distrikt der Deutschen Ev.-Luth. Synode von Missouri,
Ohio und anderen Staaten, versammelt bei Santa Cruz, Rio Grande do Sul,
Brasilien, vom 13. bis zum 18. Januar 1909 (St. Louis: Concordia Publish-

21 Burgdorf, pp. 16-17.
to the attention of the synodical convention in 1914.\textsuperscript{22} In 1923, Synod again became aware of this necessity and resolved "that the Brazil District be empowered to call a Director of Missions if it deems it necessary."\textsuperscript{23} Only two years later, in 1925, the convention of the Brazil District decided to send a request asking the synodical convention to endeavor to find a solution for the problems connected with the administration of the Brazil District which were caused mainly by its distance from the United States.\textsuperscript{24} The synodical convention of 1929 resolved, upon request of the Brazil District, to choose a representative and an adviser, residing in the United States, but spending sufficient time on the South American mission-field to be sufficiently familiar with its needs and thus able to advise the respective boards in the United States and the brethren in South America in their work.\textsuperscript{25}

This resolution was, however, not carried out at that time because "all attempts to secure a man who was to spend a greater length of time there were unsuccessful. With the consent of the Board of Directors no further attempts were made."\textsuperscript{26} Only in 1959 did the Synod send an adviser

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{22}LC-MS Proceedings, 1914, pp. 21, 94 (German edition), and p. 34 (English edition).
\item \textsuperscript{23}Ibid., 1923, p. 36 (English edition). This author was not able to determine if this resolution was carried out or not.
\item \textsuperscript{24}IELB Proceedings, 1925, p. 83. In order to give an idea of how this distance hampered an effective communication and cooperation suffice it to say that even as late as 1935 a letter from South America took approximately one month to reach the Board in the United States. LC-MS Proceedings, 1935, p. 151.
\item \textsuperscript{25}LC-MS Proceedings, 1929, p. 85 (English edition). See also p. 86.
\item \textsuperscript{26}Ibid., 1932, p. 125.
\end{itemize}
who resided in São Paulo, Brazil, namely Walter Dorre.\textsuperscript{27}

At the beginning of the decade of 1940 a significant change in the policy concerning South American districts was set into effect. It was decided at the synodical convention of 1941 to place the Districts of Brazil and Argentina on the same basis with the subsidized Districts of North America.\textsuperscript{28} Reasons given were: 1) the goal of building an indigenous Church in South America; this was regarded as of special significance at that time in view of the ongoing process of nationalization; a subsidized district, it was said, could more fully establish itself and be recognized by the government of the country as a local organization and Church; 2) it would put the entire supervision, direction, and development of missions in South America in the hands of the district mission boards and the district officers, this would eliminate the problems caused by a long-distance control of missions in a foreign country; 3) it would, thus, grant a greater measure of self-government and, consequently, greater responsibility to these districts.

At the same convention it was resolved that the district presidents or men appointed by them should be present at the triennial synodical convention.\textsuperscript{29}

Another change occurred in the same decade when, in 1947, the missions in South America were placed under the jurisdiction of the same


\textsuperscript{28} LC-MS Proceedings, 1941, pp. 220-21. A motion to this effect had already been presented to the synodical convention of 1935 being, however, declined at that time. Ibid., 1935, p. 153.

\textsuperscript{29} Ibid., 1941, p. 221.
board as Home Missions in North America and the missions in extraterritorial regions. The new Board was called the Board for Missions in North and South America.  

Theological Aspects

The LC-MS began its work in Brazil among German immigrants who had received no spiritual care or a very inadequate amount for many years. Congregations organized by these immigrants could barely be recognized as Lutheran congregations in terms of doctrine and practice. Pastor C. J. Broders, the missionary explorer sent to Brazil by the LC-MS, saw the need for patience to slowly edify true Lutheran congregations. In a letter sent to the Synod soon after his arrival in Brazil he wrote:

Es bleibt noch vieles aufzubauen, zu wecken, zu stärken, zu sammeln und zu unterstützen, doch die Leute lassen sich belehren. Langsam voran. Wer im Sturm die Leute, denen bis vor kurzer Zeit nur Stoppeln geboten wurden, in die rechte Praxis hineingeführen will, wird es hier nur 'Ärger' machen.  

In subsequent years, LC-MS pastors were able to see a clear difference in the religious level of new immigrants and those who had been living for some time in Brazil or had even been born there. New immigrants were usually more open to the church and showed some acquaintance with the Lutheran doctrine. This was especially true in relation to the German-Russians. One of the pastors stated: "Wo wir mit eingewanderten Deutschrussen arbeiten konnten, haben wir es regelmässig leicht gehabt, unser lutherisches Gemeindewesen einzuführen."  

But many problems

31 L. F., "Wie steht es mit Unserer Mission in Brasilien?" Der Lutheraner 56 (7 August 1900):244.
32 Ma[kler], "Unsere Mission in Südamerika," Der Lutheraner 71 (7 December 1915):479.
prevailed in congregations located in older settlements which had been organized before the LC-MS had come to Brazil. A Lutheran practice such as the Communion announcement met with strong opposition in many cases. It was regarded as a modified form of the Roman Catholic auricular confession and as such, an expression of spiritual tyranny. One of the congregations refused the sign of the cross, another opposed the use of the host at Holy Communion. Church attendance and Holy Communion participation was usually very sparse during the first years. Contributions were low. Many of the congregations had adopted the tax or fee system according to which each house-father paid an established amount to the congregation. This system, although opposed by the pastors, was still being used by some congregations as late as 1915, when it was denounced as legalistic and unjust by the District Convention. LC-MS pastors accepted a call to these congregations on the basic condition of a mutual commitment to the Holy Scripture and to the Lutheran Confessions. Usually these congregations accepted the Lutheran doctrine and practice with time. But the opposite reaction was also registered: "Etliche dieser Gemeinden haben auf die Dauer die Lutherische Lehre nicht leiden mögen. Sie haben unsere Pastoren wieder vertrieben." In some cases losses of members and even congregations may have been, among other factors, due to pastors who showed an excessive zeal to introduce practices which they regarded essential to a true Lutheran congregation. Broders' advice, for patience, seems not always to have been followed. The emphasis upon true Lutheranism and all its aspects seemed

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the more necessary, however, in order to establish a clear-cut differentiation in relation to the unionistic Riograndian Synod congregations.\textsuperscript{35} Rivalry and polemics between the LC-MS and the Riograndian Synod continued during most of the history of the Brazil District. The Missourians accused the Riograndian Synod of unionism, laxity, and of placing more emphasis on the preservation of German culture and customs (Deutschtum) than on the preaching of the Gospel. The Riograndian Synod accused the LC-MS of illegal competition, "sheep-stealing," of neglecting the Deutschtum and of arrogantly presenting itself as the only true Lutheran Church. A special investigation would be necessary to examine the factual basis for these mutual accusations. Such an investigation is beyond the scope of this study.

No major doctrinal issue arose within the Brazil District. This can certainly be attributed to the fact that the theological training which the pastors received in Porto Alegre, Saint Louis, and Springfield, was very similar. Moreover, the practical demands of large parishes left little time for theological speculations.

The Internal Structure of the District

The Administrative Body of the District

The administrative structure of the IELB has been developed during a long period of time. Part of it was patterned after the structure of the LC-MS and part of it resulted from the particular conditions prevailing in Brazil. The structure here presented is the result of a

process of development up to the time when the IELB became a partner church of the LC-MS and as such was regarded to have achieved its administrative maturity.

According to its constitution the basic unit of the IELB is the congregation. Several congregations are usually grouped in parishes and these parishes then constitute districts. Presently the IELB has thirty-three districts divided into four ecclesiastical areas determined by locale.

Since the organization of the district, the district convention has always been its main deliberating and legislating organ. These conventions were initially held annually, except each third year when the synodical convention of the LC-MS took place. More recently the conventions are held every two years. The parishes are represented at the conventions by their pastors, teachers and a lay delegate. Each congregation (parish) has two votes, namely, one by a lay delegate, and one by one of its pastors.

In the period between the conventions the executive power of the IELB is in the hands of the Board of Directors. This board is formed by: 1) the officers of the District (the president and the four vice-presidents, the first and the second secretaries, and the first and second treasurers); 2) the executive secretaries of six boards of the IELB (Mission, Education, Communication, Parish Education, Finances, and Social Ministry Board) and five laymen of the four ecclesiastical areas.

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IELB Proceedings, 1934, p. 56. In 1929 the synodical convention of the LC-MS approved a request from the South American District in which they asked permission to have annual meetings, i.e., also in those years in which the synodical convention convened. LC-MS Proceedings, 1929, p. 124 (English edition).
In addition to the above-mentioned boards the IELB has several commissions, as for example, the Commission of Appeals; the Commission on Constitutional Matters; and the Commission on Theology and Church Relations.  

Following the example provided by the LC-MS the lay people of the IELB also developed organizations.

The Three Lay Organizations of the IELB

The Brazilian Walther League

The importance of a youth association was felt very early by several congregations in Brazil. Already on September 23, 1906, Christ congregation in Porto Alegre organized the Evangelisch lutherischer Jünglings und Jugendverein zu Porto Alegre. The next year a youth association was formed in Dois Irmaos. Both of these associations published their own newsletters.  

Until 1925 the several youth associations existed separately without any connection between them. This situation had negative effects upon the individual associations causing some of them to become discouraged and to dissolve.  

On May 31, 1925, two associations, one of the St. Paul's congregation of Porto Alegre and the other of Picada Hartz, came together at


38 Warth, p. 200.

Picada Hartz and organized the Brazilian Walther-liga. This name was chosen as an indication that it followed the same spirit and direction as the Walther League which had been formed on May 23, 1893 in the United States.  

At its third convention in 1927 the League resolved to include a youth supplement in the periodical of the Brazilian District, the Evangelisch-Lutherisches Kirchenblatt für Südamerika. To make this publication possible, the Walther League of the United States sent a donation of three hundred dollars. Later on, however, it was decided to publish a separate periodical instead of a supplement and so, at the end of 1928, the first edition of the Die Walther-Liga Brasiliens was published. The next year its name was changed to Walther-Liga Bote. In 1940 this periodical was published in Portuguese with the name O Jovem Luterano. In 1950 the name of the league was changed to Juventude Evangélica Luterana do Brasil (JELB). The League holds regular district and national conventions. In recent years it has given financial support to missions of the IELB.

The Brazilian Lutheran Women's League

Like the first youth association so also the first society of women of the Brazil District was formed in Christ Church, Porto Alegre, in 1909. The aim of this society was to provide for poor students of the Seminário Concórdia.  

\[40\] Warth, p. 201.

\[41\] Neumann, p. 53. Warth, p. 201.

In 1952 when several congregations had already formed their own women's societies, Mrs. Ottilie Mueller, wife of Rev. George J. Mueller, made an appeal that these societies come together to form districts. As a result several districts were organized.

A meeting to plan the formation of a national women's league was held at St. Paul's congregation, Porto Alegre, on July 4, 1956. Mrs. Mueller was again the leader. At that meeting Prof. L. C. Rehfeldt spoke enthusiastically about the work of the Lutheran Women's Missionary League in the United States. He said that during the twenty-five years of existence of the league the women had not only been actively working in their own congregations but had also helped to support the missions of the church. 43

The official formation of the Brazilian Women's League took place the next year, January 16, 1957. This event took place at the Seminário Concórdia, Porto Alegre, with the participation of twenty-three ladies' societies and the presence of 103 delegates. A constitution patterned after that of the Lutheran Women's Missionary League in the United States was adopted. 44

Besides involvement in the activities in their home congregations, the women of the Brazilian Lutheran Women's League are very active in supporting the mission work of the IELB.

A periodical has been published by the Brazilian Lutheran Women's League since 1959. Its name, since 1966, is Servas do Senhor (Servants of the Lord).

At its convention in 1975 the league had the privilege of being addressed by the president of the International Lutheran Women's Missionary League, Mrs. Florence Montz. It was the first time that a president of this international league had visited a women's convention outside of the United States. 45

The Brazilian Lutheran Laymen's League

Although there was a society for Laymen in Brazil at least as early as 1948,46 the formation of a Brazilian Lutheran Laymen's League is a recent event.

The official formation of this league occurred at a meeting held at the Instituto Concordia, São Leopoldo, from January 15 to 17, 1971. Twenty-nine laymen's societies sent about ninety-seven delegates to this meeting which approved the official hymn of the league and elected its first officers.47

The Brazilian Lutheran Laymen's League had an active participation in the achievement of the administrative independence of the IELB. Recently it has been making efforts toward its financial independence.48

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46 Warth, Crônicas da Igreja, p. 207.

Relations Between the District and the Brazilian State

The Brazil District had its constitution registered with the Brazilian State on April 13, 1920. The name then adopted was Synodo Evangélico Lutheran do Brasil (Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Brazil).49 The incorporation of the District under this name was sanctioned by the synodical convention of the LC-MS in 1920.50

The name of the district was changed, at the Brazil district convention in 1951, to Igreja Luterana Brasileira (Brazilian Lutheran Church).51

In 1956 the synodical convention of the LC-MS approved, upon request from the Brazil District, the change of the name of the latter from Sinodo52 Evangélico Lutheran do Brasil to Igreja Evangélica Luterana do Brasil. The reason given for this change was that it was believed it would facilitate the work of the Brazil District.53

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49 J. K[unstmann], "Registrierung Unseres Synodaldistrikts, Evangelisch-Lutherisches Kirchenblatt für Südamérica 15 (15 June 1920):90.

50 LC-MS Proceedings, 1920, p. 55 (English edition); p. 128 (German edition). This constitution was somewhat altered in 1933. IELB Proceedings, 1934, pp. 56-58.


52 The different spelling of the word (Synodo or Sinodo) is due to a revision suffered by the Portuguese language.

53 LC-MS Proceedings, 1956, p. 467.
The IELB as Partner Church

The intention of building an indigenous church in Brazil existed since the beginning of the mission of the LC-MS in that country. The first concrete and important step in this direction, the foundation of a Seminary, was taken even before the organization of the Brazil District. That this Seminary, founded in 1903, fulfilled the hopes of the missionaries is attested by the fact that only twenty years after its foundation more than half of the pastors of the Brazil District had received their theological training in that school. The Brazilian Seminary was probably the most important single factor toward the formation of an indigenous church. In addition to this, its foundation itself can be considered an indigenous event since it was carried out by the missionaries without any suggestion or help from the LC-MS Mission Board.

Another step intended to further the building of an indigenous church in Brazil was taken in 1941 when the synodical convention of the LC-MS resolved to place the Brazil District on the same basis with the subsidized districts in the United States. One of the reasons behind this decision was that it would allow the district to establish itself more fully and be recognized by the government as a local church. This was very important for the IELB in view of the fact that the Brazilian

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54 At this point of the study the focus of the investigation will be on matters pertaining to the administrative area of the IELB. Since the administrative independence of the IELB happened when it was not yet a self-supporting church the question of its financial relation with the LC-MS will be considered in a separate chapter.


56 LC-MS Proceedings, 1941, p. 221.
government was at the time passing several strict nationalization laws. At the same time, it was expected that the granting of a greater measure of self-government with corresponding responsibility would develop latent leadership in the district.

In 1959 Synod's first Resident Mission Counselor for South American Missions to live in Brazil, Rev. Walter E. Dorre, came to São Paulo. One of his functions was to study together with the officers of the South American districts the means and possibilities of their achieving financial and administrative autonomy.57

About the beginning of the 1960's the IELB had developed its leadership, had made progress in missionary expansion and had improved its educational program. In view of this she decided to ask the 1962 synodical convention of the LC-MS for "sister-church status" beginning in 1965. The convention decided to grant the district authorization to take the initial steps toward the achievement of such status.58

One of the reasons why the administrative independence was postponed in the following years seems to have been the fact that the new president of the district, Rev. Elmer Reimnitz, was against the idea. He believed that the IELB would lose much prestige and influence by detaching itself from a world-wide known church.59 Another factor which delayed


this independence were the doctrinal disputes within the LC-MS which came
to a culmination about the beginning of the decade of 1970. The conven-
tion of the IELB which convened in 1972 rejected, therefore, a proposal
asking for the independence and decided that the district status should
still be maintained.60

In 1974 the convention of the IELB elected Pastor Johannes Gedrat
as its president. He regarded the administrative independence of the
IELB as a necessary step to be taken. The next convention, in 1976, re-
solved, as a step in that direction, to put the educational institutions
of the district, which were under synodical supervision, directly under
the structure of government of the IELB.61

To the 46th Brazil District Convention, assembled at São Leopoldo
in January 1978, were submitted overtures concerning the administrative
independence by the Lutheran Laymen's League of Brazil, the Vale do Ijuí
Circuit, and the "Christo" congregation of Assis Chateaubriand.62 The
official representative of the LC-MS at the convention, Dr. Robert Sauer,
assured the convention that the LC-MS was in agreement with the request
of administrative independence. A period of two years should, however,
be established before this independence became effective in order that

60 Warth, Crónicas da Igreja, p. 262. A year before, 1971, it was
decided at the synodical convention of the LC-MS to make further studies
about the matter of granting sister-church status to the Brazil District
since the District had declared that it was not yet willing to assume
that status. LC-MS Proceedings, 1971, p. 131.


62 This was a legitimate procedure since overtures could be sub-
mited by any individual member, organization, or congregation affiliated
with the District.
all the questions concerning the relation between the LC-MS and the IELB could be properly settled. 63

The study committee then submitted a proposal requesting that the IELB declare its administrative independence and that this independence become effective at the district convention of January 1980. 64 The convention approved this resolution by unanimous vote. After that a motion to be submitted to the next synodical convention of the LC-MS was also unanimously approved by the convention. 65


64 The proposal had this wording: "1. That the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Brazil approve its administrative independence at this convention; 2. That once the administrative independence is approved, the Bylaws of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Brazil become effective and that all its departments and units, including its schools, respect them as foreseen in their article 92 (1977 edition); 3. That the Board of Directors of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Brazil be the only representative of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Brazil toward the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod and other church organizations; 4. That the Board of Directors of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Brazil be authorized to take all necessary steps to implement the administrative independence; 5. That the convention determine that the administrative independence become effective at the January 1980 District Convention; 6. That the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Brazil thank the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod for all the help it has provided through the years; and 7. That the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Brazil assure the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod of its firm intention to keep working together with it as a partner church and to keep fostering the traditional fellowship between the two churches." Convention Workbook. 53rd Regular Convention The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, St. Louis, Missouri, July 6-13, 1979 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1979), p. 32.

65 The following motion was sent to the LC-MS convention: "The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Brazil (IELB) to The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod: Greetings in Christ. Whereas, the 46th Convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Brazil (Brazil District of the LCMS), assembled at the Instituto Concordia, São Leopoldo, RS, Brazil on January 25-31, 1978, resolved: 1. To express its deep gratitude to The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod for the assistance provided through the years; and 2. To approve its administrative independence from The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod; the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Brazil herewith
In the opinion of Dr. Robert Sauer the decision of the convention marked the beginning of one of the strongest Lutheran churches in today's world.  

The president of the LC-MS, Dr. Jacob A. O. Preus, in his report to the synodical convention of 1979 recommended that the request of the Brazil District for partner-church status be granted. He called attention to the fact that the mission in Brazil was the greatest mission field of the LC-MS in history. He also explained that the church was now entirely indigenous having no North American missionary in its work. In addition, the initiative of becoming a partner church had been taken by the Brazil District itself without any influence, for or against it, from the United States.

When the motion asking partner-church status for the Brazil District was brought to the consideration of the convention, it was unanimously approved.

requests that the 53rd Convention of The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod Resolve: 1. To recognize it as a partner church in the interest of common service to the Lord Jesus Christ; and 2. To determine that the partner church status become effective at the 47th Convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Brazil in January 1980. In name and at the request of the 46th Convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Brazil (IELB), Johannes H. Gedrat, President, Paul K. Jung, Secretary, Geraldo P. Seifert, Treasurer. Porto Alegre, RS, Brazil, January 19, 1979."

Ibid., p. 32.


67 LC-MS Proceedings, 1979, p. 61.

68 Leopoldo Heimann, "O Vosso Futuro e Brilhante," Mensageiro Luterano 63 (January and February 1980):6. The resolution recognizing the Brazil District as partner church reads: "Whereas, God has blessed the more than 75 years of mission efforts of The Luther Church-Missouri Synod in Brazil and has gathered 180,000 of His people into 1,500 Christian congregations that have been organized in a District of The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, known as the Brazil District (Igreja Evangélica
The protocol document establishing the terms of the partnership was then prepared by representatives of the LC-MS and the IELB. This document was submitted to the 1980 convention of the IELB. On the afternoon session of January 25, 1980 it was read in English and Portuguese and after that signed by the president of the IELB, Rev. Johannes H. Gedrat, the president of the LC-MS, Dr. Jacob A. O. Preus, and the Executive Secretary of the Board for Missions of the LC-MS, Dr. Edward A. Westcott, Jr.69

The goal of the partnership was defined as being "the goal of fulfilling the mission Christ has given to His church."70 The two churches pledged "to share the resources God gives to each of our church bodies" in order to achieve the proposed goal.

69 "Igreja Adquire Independencia Administrativa," Mensageiro Luterano 63 (April 1980): 8. For the text of the protocol document between the IELB and the LC-MS see Appendix 3.

70 See Appendix 3.
The objectives of the partnership were defined as cooperation and sharing of resources in: Higher education; new congregations, fields, or stations; world mission outreach; programs of nurture; programs which enable the members to put their faith into action; and mass media and literature projects.

A long cherished aspiration of the Brazil District had become true. The goal of becoming self-supporting had, however, not yet been achieved. The LC-MS assured its new partner church that support in this area would continue but also encouraged the IELB to gradually assume its administrative expenses. 71

Summary

The first attempt to establish some form of organization among the several individual congregations of the Brazilian mission was the formation of Pastoral Conferences. Soon after the first three Conference Districts had been created, the organization of the Brazil District took place. This step was taken following a resolution of a synodical convention of the LC-MS. In view of the distance from the United States, the Brazil District requested that the synodical Board for Home Missions continue to be the connection between the District and the Synod.

In 1923, the synod divided the synodical Board for Home Missions into two. The Brazil District was put under the supervision of the Mission Board for South America.

The distance from the United States continue to be a major problem to the administration of the Brazil District in the subsequent decades.

In 1947 the District was placed under the jurisdiction of the newly created Board for Missions in North and South America.

The administrative structure of the District has been developed during its history. Much of it was patterned after the structure of the LC-MS.

Following the example of similar organizations in the LC-MS, the lay people of the Brazil District formed leagues which have actively participated in the work of the church.

In Brazil the District was, since 1920, officially called Synodo Evangélico Luterano do Brasil. This name was changed in 1956 to Igreja Evangélica Luterana do Brasil.

Since the beginning of the mission in Brazil the missionaries cherished the idea of building an indigenous church. A very successful step in this direction was the foundation of a seminary.

A larger measure of self-government was granted to the Brazil District in 1941 when the synodical convention resolved to place it on the same basis with the subsidized Districts of North America.

In the following decades the District saw the emergence of native leadership both at the pastoral and the lay levels. The administrative structure was improved and the same happened to the educational system. The lay people started to realize their responsibility toward the mission program of the church and became actively involved. The sending of manpower from the United States began to decrease until it ceased completely.
At its convention in 1978, the Brazil District resolved to declare its administrative independence. This step was approved by the synodical convention of the LC-MS in 1979. As a result, the LC-MS and the IELB relate to each other as partner-churches since the beginning of 1980.
CHAPTER IV

HUMAN RELATIONS

Introduction

This chapter examines the relations between the LC-MS and the IELB in the areas of manpower and official visits. The first topic investigates the extent to which the LC-MS succeeded in supplying the Brazilian field with personnel, how the LC-MS pastors adjusted to Brazilian conditions, and the main problems connected with these matters. Thereafter, an overview and evaluation will be made of the official visits to Brazil or the United States undertaken by officers of the Synod or the District respectively.

Manpower from the LC-MS

A study of the relation between the LC-MS and the IELB in terms of supply of manpower shows the existence of several problems. A short pastorate in Brazil followed by the return to the United States was the rule for most of the LC-MS missionaries sent to Brazil. The rapid turnover of personnel which was thus created was one of the great hindrances to the spiritual growth of the Brazilian congregations. This is especially true in regard to the first decades of the work of the LC-MS in Brazil. It often happened that a pastor left a congregation when he was just starting to get better acquainted with the individual members. ¹

It usually took a long time until a new pastor could be obtained and when that finally happened the previous experience was then, in many cases, repeated. The reason for the frequent transferences was the chronic shortage of manpower which by its turn was mainly caused by the return of the missionaries from the United States to their country. The majority of the pastors who came to Brazil from the United States were young ministerial candidates who had just graduated in Saint Louis or Springfield. They often stayed in Brazil just long enough to gain some experience and then returned to the United States, or even just left the ministry in some cases.

The LC-MS sent ninety-one pastors to Brazil. Eighty of them left the Brazilian field again. Their stay in Brazil lasted from some months until several years. The average time of their service in Brazil was a little over eight years. Only eleven of the pastors who had received their training in the United States remained in Brazil for all their lifetimes.

The precise reasons for the short pastorates of most of the North American missionaries in Brazil are hard to determine in every specific case from the evidence available to the author. Illness in the missionaries' families was indicated as a reason on several occasions. That was, for example, the reason of the return to the United States of John

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2 See Appendix 4.

Hartmeister, Wilhelm Mahler, and John Busch. In each of the cases the wives of the missionaries had become ill. Others, however, left with apparently no justifiable reasons at all. A report to the synodical convention of 1914 points to one instance when this happened: "Zwei Pastoren haben sich durch alles Bitten und Vorhalten der grossen Not nicht abhalten lassen, ihr Amt niederzulegen und nach den Vereinigten Staaten zurückzukehren. Beide sind vorläufig nicht berufbar."\(^4\) In order to avoid such problems in the future, the synodical convention of the LC-MS passed a resolution in 1920 to the effect that traveling expenses and a recommendation for a call to a congregation in the United States should only be given to returned missionaries when they presented a certificate from the authorities in Brazil with their applications.\(^5\)

Why did such problems occur? Did the missionaries have a lack of commitment to their call? Had they been inadequately trained for their work? Additional research may uncover evidence to answer these questions. In any case, many simply seem to have found it too hard to adjust to Brazilian conditions.

Adjustment to Brazilian Conditions

The North American missionaries who came to Brazil had to adjust to a different culture, with different costumes and conditions. The adjustments were often of a hard and trying nature. Also their work was affected by some adverse conditions. One of these was the large number of stations which they had to serve. The expansion of the mission field


\(^5\)\textit{LC-MS Proceedings, 16th Delegate Synod at Detroit, Mich., 1920}, p. 55 (English report), pp. 122, 127 (German report).
was always accomplished at a faster pace than the corresponding growth of the number of missionaries. Since most of the missionaries returned to their home country after some years of work in Brazil the shortage of man-power became a chronic problem. Large parishes were the rule as this article of 1939 points out:


This was not an unusual situation or one which only happened at that specific time. In 1915, for instance, the Pastor Paul Weber served fourteen congregations.7 In 1920 one of the missionaries, John Busch, reported: "Ich selbst bediene fünfzehn Gemeinden und Predigtplätze, die alle von sechs bis dreizehn Stunden per Reittier von meinem Wohnsitz entfernt sind."8 Pastor Victor C. Lehenbauer served fourteen stations in 1942.9 More than a decade later, in 1955, one of the pastors served twenty-eight congregations and preaching stations. At that time each pastor served an average of seven congregations.10

7"Nachrichten Aus Unsern Missionen," Der Lutheraner 71 (27 April 1915):165.
convention of the LC-MS in 1956 points out that "pastors are struggling to serve 10, 15, 18, 20, 27 stations."\textsuperscript{11}

A factor which made the work in these large parishes particularly difficult was the great distance which usually existed between the several congregations and preaching stations. The only way of traveling on the bad roads, in the first decades, was on horseback or by farm-wagons. Many of the missionaries spent most of the time traveling, away from home. It was reported about one of the pastors who, in 1944, served an average parish of six stations: "Just to reach all stations once, the man spends fifty-three and a half hours in the saddle."\textsuperscript{12} In many of these trips the missionaries had to endure hunger and cold. In some areas they sometimes had to sleep outside, in the jungles. One of the pastors who worked under such conditions was John Busch. At one occasion he reports that besides serving fifteen congregations and preaching stations he also worked from four to five days a week as teacher in a parochial school.\textsuperscript{13} In 1921, when forty pastors worked in the district, it was reported: "Almost every one of these 40 pastors teaches school."\textsuperscript{14}

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textsuperscript{11}LC-MS Proceedings, 1956, p. 389.
\item \textsuperscript{12}LC-MS Proceedings, 1944, p. 109. The name of this pastor is not indicated.
\item \textsuperscript{14}T. W. Strieter, "Our Work in South America," The Lutheran Witness 40 (22 November 1921): 384.
\end{enumerate}
exertions several missionaries became ill and were temporarily or definitively unable to perform their duties.\textsuperscript{15}

The conditions under which the missionaries worked were somewhat improved when the district started to import buggies from the United States for the missionaries. One of the pastors described the change thereby effected:

What is a buggy worth? What is it worth to our mission work? These two Sundays have shown me, by their contrast, that it is worth more than can be well put into words. It is worth the difference between torture and moderate comfort while on the road. Considering the consequences of such trips, it may mean the difference between disease and health. When pulled by two horses instead of one, it is worth a real difference as to time saved. Compared with the local wagons and even with horseback riding, it is safer from turning over, falling, and other accidents; thus it may be worth the difference between sudden death or being crippled and life with whole limbs.\textsuperscript{16}

In order to help the pastors in their efforts to reach the outlying stations the District Mission Board of Brazil sent a petition to the Board of South American Missions asking for automobiles for those missionaries who needed them in order to accomplish a better work. This petition was submitted to the synodical convention of the LC-MS in 1932. But, on the allegation that the road conditions in South America made the use of autos impossible in most cases, and that the prices for automobiles in South America were prohibitive, the Synod denied the request.\textsuperscript{17} Later, in 1947, another petition was submitted to the synodical convention asking for autos for Brazilian pastors. This time the Synod decided to


\textsuperscript{16}L. B. F., "What is a Buggy Worth," The Lutheran Witness 43 (4 November 1924):404.

\textsuperscript{17}LC-MS Proceedings, 1932, p. 129.
encourage the Mission Board to intensify its efforts to provide transportation facilities, such as automobiles, jeeps, and motorcycles, for those missionaries who really needed them in order to be able to do their work.\(^{18}\)

But not only large parishes, long distances, bad roads and bad transportation facilities troubled the missionaries. Several other factors contributed to make it difficult to live and work in Brazil.\(^{19}\) The prevailing primitive conditions, the isolation without telephone connections and other modern conveniences which were taken for granted in the United States, the poor mail service, the difficulty to obtain medical care, the bad housing conditions, the high cost of living made many missionaries homesick. But there was still another factor which made it difficult to retain the missionaries in South America: "The trouble is not so much with the mission workers themselves as with the dear parents and parents-in-law who dread the separation by thousands of miles from their loved ones."\(^{20}\) The necessity of granting periodical furloughs to

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\(^{18}\) LC-MS Proceedings, 1947, p. 379. The resolution read: "In regard to the automobile question, we are informed that the Board has provided assistance wherever that was possible in the past and that the problem is not so much a matter of finance as of inability to get the necessary cars. We recommend that the Board intensify its efforts to assist missionaries in providing transportation facilities, such as automobiles, jeeps, motorcycles, etc., for the missionaries wherever their lack would seriously retard the work of our missionaries in South America."


\(^{20}\) LC-MS Proceedings, 1914, p. 27 (English report).
give the missionaries an opportunity to visit their home country and
their relatives was already acknowledged at the synodical convention in
1908. 21

Several of these hardships were, of course, also shared by the
families of the missionaries. Those who lived in towns or cities usually
spent more time together with their families but those who lived in the
country were often several days away from home. One of the pastors wrote
in 1925:

Wir könnten genug Fälle berichten, in denen der Vater drei, vier und
fünf Tage von seiner Familie abwesend sein musste, um entweder eine
zu seiner Parochie gehörende Gemeinde oder eine vakante Gemeinde
kirchlich zu bedienen. 22

At least on two occasions before 1925 children of missionaries
died and were buried while their fathers were away from home serving
their congregations. It had been impossible to reach them in time so
that they might at least be present at the funeral. 23

In most cases, therefore, the education of the children of the
missionaries was an almost exclusive responsibility of the mother. An-
other difficult problem was the formal education of the children beyond
the elementary level. It was particularly difficult to find a suitable
school for girls. 24

21 LC-MS Proceedings, 1908, p. 56.


23 Ibid., p. 107.

24 Concerning a formal education for the children a pastor's wife
complained in 1942: "As they grow up they have little opportunity to get
the proper education. Since we cannot have a school of our own, we must
make use of the schools offered by the state. These are so poorly
In spite of the hardships some of the pastors learned to like Brazil and to love it as their second homeland. One of them wrote back to the United States:

Uns gefällt es hier in unserm neuen Platz recht gut. Wir haben es hier im äusserlichen so gut, wie wir es in Brasilien nie gehofft hätten zu bekommen; natürlich tüchtig Arbeit, aber dazu sind wir ja hier... Gott erhalte uns alle gesund, damit ich ihm noch recht lange hier dienen möge!25

Another pastor, who was subjected to many privations in the first times he spent in Brazil, wrote to his sister in the United States expressing his desire to return to "God's land." His sister answered that if he had not found a land of God in Brazil then he should work to turn it into such a land, because the church had sent him to Brazil to this end. He stayed and worked faithfully in Brazil for fifty-four years.26

Shortage of Manpower

As has already been indicated, the shortage of pastors in the Brazil District was a chronic problem during most of its history. This happened in spite of the fact that the Synod was able to send some candidates manned. The teachers are insufficiently trained. At best these schools offer two or four grades. Oh, if we only had a girls' school to which we could send our girls for further training! The Roman Catholic Church has these everywhere. The sectarian churches have them in many of the large cities. Our District talked of coeducation at our college. But since there is no coeducation nowhere in the land, it will hardly do for us to try to introduce coeducation at our college. F. C. Streufert, "Mistress of the Parsonage in Brazil," The Lutheran Witness 61 (21 July 1942):264.


each year without interruption until 1916 when the first graduates of
the Seminário Concórdia of Porto Alegre were sent into the field. The
constant return of North American missionaries to their country after
only a few years of stay in Brazil must be regarded as one of the main
factors for the persistence of the shortage problem. No attempt will be
made here to list all the requests for pastors sent from Brazil to the
United States. The instances here referred to are only intended as ex-
amples.

Two years after the beginning of the mission in Brazil it was
already felt that the LC-MS was not able to adequately supply the rapidly
expanding mission field with pastors. Five LC-MS pastors were working in
Brazil in 1901. At the time of the synodical convention of 1902 seven
more calls had been sent to the United States.27 Not only pastors but
also parochial school teachers were needed.

Although the Synod had been able to send five pastors to Brazil
in 1902,28 there was already a need for more pastors at the beginning of
1903. The president of the synodical Board for Home Missions, Pastor L.
Lochner, wrote an article in the Der Lutheraner at that time, stressing
the necessity and importance of supplying the Brazilian mission field
with a sufficient number of workers.29 He explained that the vacant

27 LC-MS Proceedings, 1902, p. 21.
29 Ibid., pp. 84-85.
congregations which had to wait for a long time after extending a call run the risk of being taken over either by the Rio Grandian Synod or by the North American sects which had now started to work among the Brazilian Germans. Since the work was at its beginning, every congregation lost would be an extremely serious loss.

The Brazilian mission requested five pastors from the Synod in 1904.30 But, due to the shortage of pastors in the Synod, only one candidate came to Brazil that year.31

In 1905, the Brazilian congregations had a total of about six thousand members.32 All of the pastors were overworked. The difficulty of calling North American men to Brazil persisted. The few who came were tempted to return to their country at the first opportunity. The necessity of training a native ministry became abundantly clear.33

Of the eight pastors requested by Brazil in 1906 the Synod was able to send only three. In 1907 the Brazil District called ten pastors and two teachers. The Synod, however, could only release five ministerial candidates and one teacher to that district. Eventually only two of

30Ma[her], "Kirchliche Nachrichten," Kirchenblatt 1 (1 September 1904):167.
the candidates and one teacher came to Brazil that year. A third candidate went to Argentina. About the same time three pastors who had been working in Brazil returned to the United States.

The north of the state of Rio Grande do Sul had become a very promising field about 1915 but it was necessary to place workers there without any delay. The Brazil District convention of 1915, therefore, resolved to better inform the LC-MS about the severe shortage of manpower. To this effect the convention resolved that the local mission board make a list with description of the places which were most in need of a pastor and that this list should be sent to the synodical Board for Home Missions, to the president of the Synod, to the presidents of the districts, to the representatives of the Brazilian mission at the districts, to the faculties at St. Louis and Springfield, and to Der Lutheraner and The Lutheran Witness. In response to the great need the Synod was able to send seven more workers into the Brazilian field that year.

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In 1916 the Seminário Concórdia of Porto Alegre was able to send its first class of graduates into the mission field. Although this helped to fill some of the vacancies, the problem of the shortage of pastors persisted. The LC-MS which had been sending pastors to Brazil each year during the period from 1900 to 1915, now ceased to do so for four years. Only in 1920 did the Synod again send four more pastors to Brazil. More LC-MS pastors were sent to Brazil in the subsequent years until 1924 when no pastors were sent from the United States to Brazil but, for the first time, two pastors, accepted through a colloquy in Brazil, went to serve the church in the United States. They were the pastors A. Adam and P. Hannemann. Both had formerly worked in the Rio-grandian Synod.

That the problem of the shortage of pastors and teachers in the Brazil District persisted in the 1920's is emphasized in an article in Der Lutheraner of 1925 where it is stated that about twenty missionaries could be immediately placed in the German settlements in Brazil. The Synod, however, was able to send only three pastors to Brazil that year.

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38 L. F., Der Lutheraner 74 (1 January 1918):5.


No more LC-MS pastors came to Brazil in the rest of the 1920's. The annual sending of LC-MS pastors to Brazil was, however, resumed from 1931 to 1938. Nevertheless, the shortage of manpower continued to be extremely severe toward the end of that decade as an article written in 1937 clearly shows:

Our Church in Brazil suffers a lack of laborers in church and school as hardly known before in the history of our District. This year (end of 1937) four students were graduated into the ministry. Eighteen places ought to have been filled. In the succeeding years, humanly speaking, conditions cannot improve. If during the next ten years all students now enrolled in our institution should really complete their course, even then only eighteen pastors will have graduated, for whom sufficient vacancies exist at the very present, and seventeen teachers, all of whom we could well engage right now and still have places left for more. And what all can happen before the ten years will have passed! How sorry we are that within the following ten years we shall be able to prepare only 35 men - 18 pastors and 17 teachers.43

One of the main reasons why the number of students at the Brazilian seminary did not increase seems to have been the fact that most of the Brazilian Lutherans were unable to pay the expenses involved in the training of a student.

In 1939 and the following years the nationalization laws required that all pastors in Brazil must preach in the Portuguese language. Foreign pastors or missionaries did not receive permanent visas. The tourist visa under which they could enter gave them permission to remain for a period of only six months.44 This made it still more difficult for the LC-MS to relieve the pressing need for manpower. More emphasis was therefore put on the training of a native ministry.45

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43 LC-MS Proceedings, 1938, p. 92. This is a translation of an article which was published in the Kirchenblatt in 1937.
44 LC-MS Proceedings, 1941, p. 175, 214.
however, progressively increasing so that it gradually became able to satisfy the demand for pastors in the Brazil District.

Observations

The matter of adequately supplying the Brazil District with manpower remained an unsolved problem throughout the years. The LC-MS found it very difficult both to find pastors and teachers who were willing to work in Brazil, and also to retain those who had followed a call to that vast mission field. A chronic shortage of manpower was the result. The training of a native ministry did not readily solve the problem because for a long time the number of Brazilian graduates was extremely small compared to the needs of the district.

One of the main reasons which caused the great majority of North American pastors to again leave Brazil and return to their native country after only a relatively short period of time seems to have been the primitive conditions which prevailed in Brazil during most of the first half of the century. Even in 1947 many of the conveniences which could be found in the "most ordinary homes in the United States (refrigerators, electrical appliances, washing machines, carpets, carpet sweepers, etc.)" were lacking in Brazilian parsonages. The end result of the many hardships


50 LC-MS Proceedings, 1947, p. 375.
which had to be endured was that most of the missionaries were unable or unwilling to work in Brazil over a longer period of time.

The rapid turnover of personnel severely hampered the spiritual growth of the individual congregations as well as the expansion of the mission as a whole. Many congregations remained vacant for a long time during which they could not readily be served by neighboring pastors who were already overworked in their own large parishes.

But to give an accurate picture of the situation it also has to be said that many of the missionaries, even if they only stayed a few years in Brazil, did their best, under the most trying and difficult conditions, to further the cause of the Lord of the Church in Brazil. Many returned to the United States with an impaired health, or with illness in the family, or even after losing a child through death because of the lack of medical care. A small number of the missionaries also learned to love Brazil as their second homeland and remained there during their entire lifetime.

Visits

Preliminary Observations

The visits here examined are those of an official character made on behalf of the Missouri Synod to Brazil or on behalf of the Brazil District to the United States. No attempt will be made to enumerate private trips such as those made by missionaries on furlough, for health reasons, or for any other reason even though such trips also, on occasion, served the official interests of the district.

Since most of the visits from Brazil to the United States occurred in connection with synodical conventions, they will not be exhaustively
enumerated. It should be noted, however, that the district representa-
tives, in addition to attending the convention, on many instances also
took such opportunities to solve pending problems or to further the cause
of the district in one way or another. They, for instance, met with
Synod boards and individual officers or visited districts and congrega-
tions to make them better acquainted with Brazilian needs. Visits made
from the United States to attend district conventions in Brazil are not
exhaustively enumerated either.

Overview of the Visits

Few personal contacts between the LC-MS and the Brazil District
occurred during the first two decades of the latter's existence. The
long travel time necessary for an ocean voyage as well as other difficul-
ties connected with sea transportation were probably the main factors
discouraging more frequent contacts. During the following decades, how-
ever, such contacts became progressively more frequent.

Convention Visits

The first synodical officer of the LC-MS to make an official visit
to Brazil was Pastor L. Lochner, chairman of the synodical Board for Home
Missions. This trip was made upon a resolution of the synodical conven-
tion of 1902.\textsuperscript{51} Lochner was instrumental in the organization of the
Brazil District in 1904. His visit has already been discussed in connec-
tion with that topic.

The next official visit of an LC-MS officer to Brazil occurred in
1916. The synodical President F. Pfotenhauer attended the convention of

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{51}LC-MS Proceedings, 1950, p. 73.
\end{flushright}
the Brazil District that year upon request of the synodical Board for Home Missions. This visit and its results will be discussed below.

In accordance with the resolution of the LC-MS convention in Detroit, 1920, Pastor August Burgdorf, a member of the Board for Home Missions, visited South America in 1922. This visit was also requested by the Brazil District. One of the main problems then afflicting the district was the schism caused by Pastor Johannes Kunstmann, a former president of the district and of Seminário Concórdia, who had left the LC-MS together with the congregation in Porto Alegre in 1922.

Burgdorf arrived at Porto Alegre on February 16, 1922. There he visited the Seminário Concórdia, attended the meeting of the district Mission Board, and visited the congregation in São Leopoldo. He then went to Argentina where he visited all the parishes except one. He subsequently returned to Brazil, where he also visited many congregations and also attended the Brazil District convention held in São Leopoldo from April 26 to May 2, 1922. He preached at the opening service, using 2 Cor. 13:5 as his text. During the convention he assisted with timely advice. Two full days were devoted to the discussion about Kunstmann's case. A special committee was chosen to prepare a report on the matter, which found Kunstmann unworthy of the office of pastor. The report was


53Ibid., pp. 176-77.

54P. S[chelp], "Persönliches," Kirchenblatt 17 (15 April 1922): 61.

55IELB Proceedings, 1922, p. 3.
unanimously accepted by the convention and later published in the Kirchenblatt. After having visited almost all the Brazilian congregations, Burgdorf returned to the United States on June 14. The synodical Board for Home Missions reported his impressions to the next synodical convention, in 1923:

Den Missionaren liegt das Wohl Zions am Herzen. Sie arbeiten fleissig, manches schier Uber ihre Kräfte und unter Entsagungen mancherlei Art, und zwar willig.

A representative of the Synod was again sent to attend a Brazil District convention in 1928. This was Mr. Henry Horst, a member of the Board of Directors of the LC-MS. He was the first layman of the LC-MS to

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56 C. J. Gundermann, "Sunodalversammlung zu São Leopoldo," Kirchenblatt 17 (15 May 1922):79. L. Wentzel and others, "Bericht über den Fall Herrn Prof. Kunstmanns," Kirchenblatt 17 (15 May 1922):76. Johannes Kunstmann had received his theological training in the United States where he graduated in 1893. After working as Professor at the Murtoa Seminary in Australia from 1894 to 1901, he served as Pastor of the Free Lutheran Church of Saxony from 1901 to 1914. He then accepted a call to Seminário Concórdia in Brazil. He was president of this seminary from 1915 to 1922. He was also elected Vice-president of the Brazil District from 1916 to 1921 and Treasurer from 1916 to 1922. From 1921 until his schism in 1922 he was District President. In 1922 he had a quarrel with former District President Emil F. Müller. This quarrel seems to have been over administration matters in the congregation of Porto Alegre. Both Müller and Kunstmann agreed that they would leave Brazil. Müller resigned from his pastorate in the Porto Alegre congregation and the congregation resolved to call Kunstmann as their pastor. Breaking his written promise to leave Brazil, Kunstmann accepted the call and left the Synod together with the majority of the members of the congregation. It was also discovered at about this time that Kunstmann had written a letter to the synodical President Pfotenhauer on December 21, 1921 accusing the whole Synod and its officers of corruption and requiring that the Synod pay him $25,000. After his death in 1942, his son Walter succeeded him as pastor of the "Christ" congregation. Walter again affiliated with the Synod in 1945. The congregation officially rejoined the Synod in 1959.


58 LC-MS Proceedings, 1923, p. 96 (German edition).
visit Brazil in an official capacity. Commenting about it, Professor Schelp wrote in the Kirchenblatt:

Wir freuen uns, dass diesmal, was ja zum erstenmal geschieht, ein Laienglied unserer Kirche in Nordamerika uns besucht. Wir sind überzeugt, dass es viel dazu beitragen wird, das Band zwischen uns und der Mutterkirche eng zu knüpfen. 59

Mr. Horst arrived in Porto Alegre on February 2. He attended meetings of district boards, visited congregations, and finally went to Dois Irmaos to attend the District Convention from February 22 to 28. He was allowed a half hour in every morning session to speak about the synod and its work. 60 Horst encouraged the district to make serious efforts to eliminate the debt which it had incurred and to strive for its self-support. Most of the time during the afternoon sessions was devoted to the district's twin problems, repayment of the debt and self-support. Until that time there had been no self-supporting congregation in Brazil, but at the convention ten congregations, represented by their pastors and lay delegates, declared that they would make every possible effort to become self-sustaining in the near future. After the convention, Mr. Horst went to Argentina where, from March 13 to 19, he attended the convention in which the Argentina District was organized. 61


As an important consequence of Horst's visit, mission work was begun in Central Brazil. Horst himself visited Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, and came to the conviction that it was time to start a mission there. He encouraged the district to send an explorer to Central Brazil, and offered to pay the expenses of this exploration. Pastor Rodolpho F. Hasse, a native Brazilian who, after his graduation from Seminário Concordia in 1918, had worked as a missionary among the Portuguese speaking population in Lagoa Vermelha, Rio Grande do Sul, was chosen for that mission. Hasse went to Central Brazil and was able to establish new missions in the aforementioned cities as well as in several other cities and states in Central-North Brazil.

After his return to the United States, Horst continued to work for the South American mission. He prepared an illustrated report in English and German which was sent to the various districts of the LC-MS. He also wrote several articles and delivered four addresses on the same subject over the radio.

Almost a decade had passed before the Synod sent another representative to attend a convention in Brazil. Pastor Paul Schulz, a member of Synod's Board of Directors, visited South America in 1936. After attending a district convention in Argentina, he went to Brazil. He visited the Seminary and congregations in the area of Porto Alegre and went from there to the District Convention, held in Bom Jesus, São Lourenço do Sul from March 4 to 9. He himself summarized his activities during the convention:

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63 P. Schelp, "Die Wirksamkeit Herrn Horsts," Kirchenblatt 24 (1 July 1929):100.
As representative of the President of Synod I preached at the opening service, made addresses every day, and of course took part in all the proceedings of the District convention. Here as in Argentina I spoke of our Synod, its glorious history and blessed work; on the use of the means of grace; on missions, particularly in Brazil; on schools and the proper care for the young people; on giving and on self-support, which must ever be the goal of all mission-congregations.64

The convention requested that Pastor Schulz urge the Synod to send a representative to visit all the congregations of the District. It also resolved to begin contributing to the Synod.65 One of the highlights of the convention was the dedication of the memorial which the congregation of Bom Jesus had erected beside their church to honor the site of the first institution for the training of Lutheran pastors and teachers in South America. Approximately seven hundred people gathered for this event.66 After the convention Schulz returned to Porto Alegre where, for a day and a half, he attended a meeting of the Mission Board of the Brazil District.67 On March 13 he, together with District President August Heine, left Porto Alegre on a tour of the congregations and missions in Central Brazil.68

Upon the suggestion of Pastor Schulz the Bom Jesus convention resolved that the Mission Board introduce a resolution before the next

64. P. S[chulz], "Down to Rio and Beyond," The Lutheran Witness 55 (16 June 1936):201.


66. S[chulz], "Down to Rio and Beyond," p. 201.


synodical convention that the Synod should provide for regular representation of the Brazil District at all subsequent synodical conventions.69

This was done, and the Synod subsequently adopted the following resolution at its convention in 1941: "Resolved, That the presidents of both Districts [Brazil and Argentina] or men appointed by them be present at the triennial convention of Synod."70 The Brazil District fulfilled its obligation concerning this resolution upon every occasion but one; no delegate was sent to the synodical convention of 1944 because the existing war conditions made traveling too hazardous and difficult.

Only in 1948 did another synodical representative travel to Brazil to attend a District convention. Dr. F. C. Streufert went to Brazil that year as a representative of the synodical president, the Board of Directors, and the Board for Missions in North and South America.71 He attended the District convention, which was held in the chapel of the seminary at Porto Alegre from January 25 to 31. He preached the opening sermon, and was given the opportunity to address the convention during four of the morning sessions. During these times he spoke about the mission work of the LC-MS. Among other things, he emphasized "the imperative necessity


70 LC-MS Proceedings, 1941, p. 221.

necessity of developing a native, or a national, ministry" in the dist-
trict, since the LC-MS faced increasing difficulty in its efforts to
supply missionaries for Brazil. At the same time he declared that he
was impressed by the efforts which the district had already made toward
becoming an indigenous Church. After the convention Streufert went to
Uruguay, and from there to Argentina.

In 1950 the Brazil District celebrated its golden jubilee. The
jubilee convention, held in Porto Alegre from January 22 to 29, was at-
tended by Synod's Assistant Secretary of Missions, Pastor H. A. Mayer, who
represented the President of the Synod, Dr. J. W. Benken. Mayer de-
nivered the opening sermon, and during the convention he spoke about
Synod's work in the United States as well as in foreign countries. After
the convention he, together with District President R. Hasse, visited
several congregations in the District.

It was only from the 1956 District convention on that the Synod
was able to send representatives to all the Brazil District conventions.
The only exception occurred in 1968 when the man who had been chosen to
represent the LC-MS at the District convention was unable to be present.

72Ibid.

73LC-MS Proceedings, 1950, p. 431. Elmer Reimnitz, "Golden Ju-
Hans Rottmann, "Fünfzig Jahre Treulutherische Kirche in Brasilien," Der
Ibid., "Coisas Que Notei ao Visitar o Brasil," Mensageiro Luterano 33
(April 1950):32-34.


75W. Kunstmann, "Versammlung des Brasilianischen Distrikts 24.-
to have been caused by an accident which he suffered in Caracas, Venezuela,
while on his way to Brazil.
The participation of the synodical representatives at the Brazil District conventions can be summarized by saying that they usually preached the opening sermon, spoke about the Synod and its work, and encouraged the District to increase its efforts to become financially independent.

The Brazil District first sent an official representative to a synodical convention of the LC-MS in 1908. The representative chosen by the District in convention earlier during the same year was its president, W. Mahler. After the convention in Fort Wayne, Mahler made a trip throughout the United States. He spoke about the Brazilian mission to more than forty congregations and, in accordance with a resolution of the synodical convention also collected money for the congregation in Porto Alegre which had financial problems. Mahler's trip lasted seven months.

Emil Wegehaupt, president of the Seminário Concórdia of Porto Alegre, represented the Brazil District at the LC-MS synodical convention held in St. Louis, May 10-20, 1911. He gave an oral report about the seminary and the mission in Brazil, stressing particularly the severe shortage of pastors and teachers. Wegehaupt remained in the United States for some time after the convention, lecturing widely to further interest in the South American mission.

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80 L. F., Der Lutheraner 67 (11 July 1911):222.
Emil F. Müller was the second president of the Brazil District to attend a synodical convention of the LC-MS. This happened in 1920, twelve years after the visit of District President W. Mahler.\(^8^1\) This convention was held in Detroit, Michigan, June 16 to 25. Müller was given the opportunity to present an oral report about the mission in South America.\(^8^2\)

Upon request by the synodical Board for Home Missions the convention resolved that a member of this Board should conduct a visitation in the Brazil District every three years.\(^8^3\)

Thereafter the Brazil District was able to send one or more representatives to every synodical convention of the LC-MS except those of 1932, 1935, and 1944. Mr. Waldemar Goerl was the first lay delegate of the Brazil District to a synodical convention of the LC-MS. He attended the convention held in Houston, Texas, from June 17 to 26, 1953.\(^8^4\)

**Visits of Synodical Presidents to Brazil**

Only three synodical presidents of the LC-MS visited the Brazil District. The first of them was President F. Pfotenhauer who went to

\(^8^1\) LC-MS Proceedings, 1920, p. 127 (German edition).


\(^8^3\) LC-MS Proceedings, 1920, p. 128 (German edition).

\(^8^4\) LC-MS Proceedings, 1953, p. 21. The largest delegation of Brazilian representatives to a convention of the Synod was the one which attended the 1973 convention in New Orleans. Eighteen voting delegates composed this delegation. They had been especially invited by a group in the LC-MS to re-elect President Jacob A. O. Preus and thus "save orthodoxy in the Synod." Arnaldo Schmidt, "Interview to the author," (The cassette tape containing this interview is in the author's possession).
Braziin 1916 at the request of the synodical Board for Home Missions. One of the main problems troubling the Brazil District at the time was a $5,000 deficit brought about by an incompetent handling of the District treasury.

Pfotenhauer left New York on January 22, 1916 and arrived in Porto Alegre February 17. During the two weeks of his stay in the district he held conferences with district officers and met with several district Boards, and with individual pastors. Furthermore, he attended some classes at the seminary and at the parochial school of Porto Alegre. He also preached in Porto Alegre, São Leopoldo, and Maratá, and attended the meetings of the congregations in Maratá and Porto Alegre.

On March 3, Pfotenhauer went to the area of Santa Maria where he toured the congregations at Toropi, Sertão, and Vila Clara. He visited these stations on horseback. On March 11, he went to Ijui where he preached on Invocavit Sunday. From there he went to Sitio, Santa Cruz, to attend the District Convention.

The District Convention, held in Sitio from March 16 to 22, 1916 was attended by thirty-one pastors, three teachers and seven lay delegates. President Pfotenhauer preached at the opening service. Much of the convention's time was spent in discussion of the financial problems.

which the district was having. It was deplored that many congregations were contributing below their capacities and that church attendance and Holy Communion participation was very weak in several congregations. Pastors and congregations were encouraged to work toward the solution of these problems.  

Resolutions were also adopted to prevent future disorder in the district treasury. President Pfotenhauer frequently shared advice with the convention, and also presented a report about the mission work of the LC-MS in North America.

At the end of the convention Pfotenhauer went to Argentina to inspect that mission field. Back in the United States he wrote about the self-sacrificial work done by the missionaries in South America:


The synodical Board for Home Missions described the effect of the visit to the LC-MS synodical convention of 1917:

His visit was productive of much good: the missionaries, most of them young men, and their charges, were advised and encouraged, and congregational and synodical matters were properly regulated. Even financially the visit was very successful, the expenses of the trip being covered within six months by the increased offerings in South America, with corresponding decrease of support from our Board.

89 Ibid., p. 52.

90 J. K[unstmann], “Nachrichten Aus Unsern Distrikt,” Kirchenblatt 13 (1 July 1916):100.

91 LC-MS Proceedings, 1917, p. 38.
The synodical convention of 1917 endorsed the action of the Board for Home Missions in sending the President to South America. It also authorized the Board to continue such visitations in the future, and determined that the expenses should be met out of the Mission Treasury.92

Only in 1957 was the Brazil District again visited by a president of the Synod. Dr. John W. Behnken, who came to Brazil together with Pastor Harold Ott, gave the following reason for his visit:

The answer to this question goes back to a resolution of the St. Paul Convention to reorganize the program of training pastors and teachers in Brazil. The reorganization called for the purchase of some additional properties, a matter which concerns both the Board of Directors and the Board of Missions for North and South America.93

Both visitors inspected a number of possible sites in Rio de Janeiro, and decided that one of these should be purchased. In São Paulo, where a Normal School was to be located, they also viewed a number of proposed sites. From there they went to Porto Alegre to attend the District convention, held from January 20 to 27, 1957. Dr. Behnken preached in the German language at the opening service. Pastor Ott gave a report of Synod's mission activities. The discussions during the convention largely centered upon the synodically-approved reorganization of the training program for pastors and teachers.94 After the convention, Synod's representatives inspected several proposed sites in the Porto Alegre area, where the Pretheological Department was to located.

92 Ibid.

93 John W. Behnken, "Visiting Brazil and Argentina," The Lutheran Witness 76 (12 March 1957):127.

Dr. Jacob A. O. Preus, the third LC-MS president to visit the Brazil District, attended the forty-second Brazil District convention which was held at the Instituto Concórdia of São Paulo from January 21 to 27, 1970. It was the first and only District convention to be held outside the state of Rio Grande do Sul. Dr. Preus addressed himself several times to the floor of the convention and, among other things, encouraged the District to increase its efforts to become self-supporting.95

Dr. Preus again visited Brazil at the occasion of the forty-seventh convention of the District held from January 23 to 29, 1980. At this convention the IELB was officially recognized as a Partner-Church of the LC-MS. Preus preached at the opening service, spoke several times to the convention, and, together with Dr. Edward A. Westcott, the Executive Secretary of the synodical Board for Missions, and District President Johannes Gedrat, signed the protocol document which established and defined the partnership between the Igreja Evangélica Luterana do Brasil and The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod.96

Other Official Visits

All the official visits, except one,97 occurring during the first four decades between the LC-MS and the Brazil District were made in


97LC-MS Proceedings, 1923, p. 108 (German edition), p. 36 (English edition). The only exception occurred in 1926 when Pastor L. Schmidtke visited the greater part of the mission field in Brazil and Argentina. In fact, this visit had been planned for the year before when the Brazil District was celebrating its twenty-fifth anniversary. The
connection with conventions. Beginning in the 1940's, however, official visits from the United States to Brazil made for reasons other than attendance at District conventions began to be rather frequent. The first of such visits was made in 1942 when the Brazil District was suffering the effects of the Brazilian Nationalization laws and later the effects of World War II. Dr. F. C. Streufert, Secretary of Missions of the LC-MS, made this visit in fulfillment of a resolution by the synodical convention held at Fort Wayne, Indiana in June 1941, that a synodical representative visit South America within the next triennium. Streufert arrived in Buenos Aires, Argentina, on February 22. He attended the convention as well as several other meetings of the Argentina District; then he visited its congregations and schools. Having done this, Streufert proceeded to Brazil. He recorded his first impressions in Brazil by noting that:

The haggard look and downhearted attitude of the pastors and faculty members that came to welcome me at the airport spelled evil forebodings. Brazil had entered the war. The use of the German language had been forbidden. The language of the country, Portuguese, was the only language to be spoken. What this meant for our churches we can well realises. I visited a large number of pastors and congregations in the cities and faraway colonies, thanks to the courteous permission of the Brazilian authorities.99

After visiting many congregations in the state of Rio Grande do Sul, Streufert went to Central Brazil, where he also visited congregations

synodical convention of 1923 had resolved to send congratulations to the District on that occasion and had also resolved that a representative of the Mission Board should then visit Brazil, take part in the festivities and regulate other matters which might be pending. But in spite of this resolution, "no representative of Synod was able to attend the chief celebration during the meeting of the District." LC-MS Proceedings, 1926, p. 96 (English edition).


99 Ibid., pp. 148-49.
In several states, giving them and their pastors a most needed word of encouragement. On May 23 he returned to the United States. 100

Streufert visited Brazil three more times (1945, 1948, 1949) in the following years. 101 Only in 1948 did he attend a District convention in Brazil. During his visits, Streufert gave advice and encouragement, helped the District in the planning of missionary methods and practices and in the discussion of stewardship matters, 102 and emphasized the necessity of developing a native ministry in the District. 103

Another official visit to Brazil in the 1940's was made by the president of Concordia Publishing House in Saint Louis, Mr. Otto A. Dorn. Dorn, the second layman of the LC-MS to make an official visit to South America went to Brazil in 1947 mainly to inspect the Casa Publicadora


Concordia, the publishing house of the District, and the new building of the Seminário Concordia.  

Visits made to Brazil in the 1950's were aimed at the reorganization of the District training program and to assist the District in becoming an independent church. In 1955 the District was visited by Pastor Harold A. Ott, Secretary for Latin-American Missions, and Mr. Edwin Schumm, a lay member of the Board for Missions in North and South America. During their visit in the months of February and March, they studied the possibilities of expanding and reorganizing the training program in the institutions of the District. A motion supporting these efforts was submitted to the Synod at the subsequent convention. This motion was adopted.

Dr. Arnold H. Grumm, first vice-president of the LC-MS, and Pastor A. Haake undertook a six-week visit to Brazil in 1958. They toured the educational institutions of the District, inspected its activities throughout the country, and had conferences with district officers as well as with pastors and teachers. The main concern in these meetings was to prepare the District to become self-sustaining and self-governing native churches capable of furthering mission activities in Brazil and of helping sister-churches carry the mission into the rest of the world. Problems

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relating to work in the congregations, the parochial schools, Evangelism, and Stewardship were studied in light of this goal.

A unique event in the relationship between the LC-MS and the IELB occurred in 1959 when a synodical Resident Counselor for South America moved to São Paulo, Brazil. The man chosen for this position was Pastor Walter E. Dorre, a member of the Mission Board for North and South America. Among other things he was to assist the District in the study of means to the achievement of its financial and administrative autonomy.

Besides visits resultant from an exchange program of theological professors started in 1963, there were three other occasions when the Brazil District was visited by LC-MS officials between District conventions in the 1960's. In October 1966, the District was visited by the Pastors Delmar Glock and Walter Dorre. Dorre arrived in Porto Alegre on October 28 for a series of meetings with the Boards of Finances, Mission and Higher Education, the Boards of Control of the Theological and Pretheological Seminary, and the Construction Committee for the Instituto Concórdia in São Leopoldo. Glock, Director of the International Lutheran Hour for Latin America, arrived in Porto Alegre on October 29. He attended meetings designed to reorganize and improve the radio broadcasts of the church in Brazil. He also came to further a better relationship between the District and the International Lutheran Hour.

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109 These visits are described below in connection with Education Matters. Infra, pp. 133-34.

In March 1968, Dr. Otto A. Dorn, President of Concordia Publishing House, made his second visit to Brazil. He met with the Board of Directors of the Casa Publicadora Concórdia to study matters related to the printing of church literature and the expansion of the Brazilian publishing house.\footnote{111}

The third visit in the 1960's occurred in connection with the dedication of the new Pro-Seminary of the Brazil District, the Instituto Concórdia of São Leopoldo, on March 16, 1969. The Synod was represented on this occasion by the secretary of its Board for Higher Education, Dr. Arthur Ahlschwede, and by the secretary of its Board for Missions, Dr. Herm. Koppelmann.\footnote{112}

Several visits from LC-MS officers to Brazil were also registered in the last decade before the Brazil District became an independent church. For instance, Pastor Waldo Werning, Chairman of Synod's Board for Missions made a short visit to Brazil in 1973 meeting with the District Mission Board to discuss matters of common interest.\footnote{113}

When the Brazil District celebrated its seventy-fifth anniversary in 1979, the Synod sent two representatives, Dr. Edward A. Westcott, Jr., Executive Secretary of the Board for Missions, and Mr. John P. Schuelke, Chairman of the Division of Administration, to participate in the festivities.\footnote{114} They attended a special commemorative meeting of the District

\footnote{111}{"Besuch in Südamerika," Der Lutheraner 124 (July 1968):5.}
\footnote{112}{"Die Einweihung des Pro-Seminars zu Sao Leopoldo," Kirchenblatt 59 (June 1969):9.}
\footnote{113}{Mensagem Luterano 56 (April 1973):24.}
\footnote{114}{Bruno Felipe Riet, "Celebrando 75 Anos de Bencaos," Mensageiro Luterano 63 (January and February 1980):17.}
Board of Directors in São Leopoldo on June 23, and also a special service of praise and thanksgiving held the next day. Dr. Westcott delivered one of the addresses at this service, which was attended by about six thousand people.

Official visits from the Brazil District to the United States were always made in connection with synodical conventions. The exceptions to this rule occurred only during the last two district administrations, roughly corresponding to the last decade and half of the District’s existence.

Evaluation of the Visits

Visits played an important role in the relationship between the LC-MS and the IELB. Their benefic effects, in particular for the IELB, can hardly be over-emphasized. It was usually young and unexperienced missionaries who worked in Brazil during the first decades of the District’s existence. A visit from the United States was thus always an opportunity to receive encouragement and advice. This was all the more necessary because of the isolation in which most of the missionaries lived in Brazil, sometimes taking a whole year before they were able to meet a fellow-missionary. The LC-MS visitors were in addition able to assist in the solution of special problems existing in the District, in the planning of methods of missionary expansion, in the development and promotion of a stewardship program designed to help the District achieve its self-support and in the development of the District educational system. Finally such visits enabled the LC-MS to gain a better insight into the problems and potentials of the work in Brazil, and were an opportunity to encourage and assist the District toward becoming an independent church.
It should, however, also be mentioned that a certain degree of paternalism sometimes also found expression in these visits.

Visits of Brazilian representatives to the United States served to promote the interests of the District, to acquaint the LC-MS with the unique circumstances prevailing in Brazil, to request assistance, and to increase interest in the Brazilian mission at LC-MS conventions, in the individual districts and in congregations.

Observations

Although both the Synod and the District were aware of the importance of personal contacts, these were rather infrequent during the first two decades of the District's existence. Difficulties connected with sea transportation seem to have been mainly responsible for this fact.

From 1920 on, the Brazil District began sending representatives to LC-MS conventions on a regular basis. It was, however, only in the 1950's that the Synod also began to send representatives to every District convention. However, official visits other than those connected with representation at conventions were originally made more frequently by synodical officials to Brazil than by Brazil District officials to the United States. Only within the last decade and a half have such visits by officers of the District to the United States become more frequent. Since the visits were usually designed to focus attention on district developments, its benefits were also mainly felt by the District.
CHAPTER V

EDUCATION, LITERATURE, AND CRITICAL TIMES

An attempt will be made in this chapter to examine the relations between the LC-MS and the IELB in the areas of education and literature, and also in three critical periods. The first topic deals with the history of the Brazilian parochial schools, the history of the Brazilian seminary, and an overview of graduate studies undertaken in the United States by Brazilian pastors. Concerning the area of literature, this study will examine the efforts made to supply the Brazil District with church periodicals and books. The chapter will conclude with an evaluation of the effects of the two World Wars and of the Brazilian nationalization period upon the relationship between the Synod and the District.

Education Matters

Parochial Schools in Brazil

When the LC-MS started its work in Brazil the scarcity of schools in that country was acutely felt. The state government was completely unable to provide for that need. Twenty-five years later the situation had not changed: "Brasilien steht unter allen zivilisierten Ländern mit seinem Schulwesen hintenan."¹ A figure of that same time indicates that about 83.2 percent of the total population of the country were illiterate.

The German immigrants and their descendants, among whom the LC-MS started its work, had, in fact, already made some efforts to mitigate the problem. On their own initiative they had organized educational societies (Schulvereine). In the south of the state of Rio Grande do Sul alone, about thirty of these societies had been organized. The main problem, however, was to find teachers. Since the people were unwilling and unable to spend much money, and since no educated teachers were available, incompetent and inadequate people were often charged with the responsibility of teaching.

When Pastor C. J. Broders came to Brazil to survey the field for the LC-MS he immediately started a parochial school in São Pedro, at the first congregation which he organized. He saw this school as a missionary agency. He wrote to the synodical Board for Home Missions:

Die Ehre. Commission erzieht hieraus, dass ich beflassen bin, durch die christliche Kinderschule tüchtig Mission zu treiben. Ja wollen wir überhaupt hier missioniren, so müssen wir besonders die Schule dazu verwerthen.²

The LC-MS pastor who came to Brazil in the following years had the same opinion as Broders in this matter. Therefore, they also organized and promoted parochial schools. In 1904 all of the LC-MS

²Ibid., p. 66.

congregations in Brazil had parochial schools. The aim of these schools was to provide both a secular and a religious education.

The parochial school proved to be a significant factor in the expansion of the mission work in Brazil. The LC-MS was called to some areas by religiously indifferent groups for the sake of the schools they would establish. Pastor W. Mahler, the Mission Director, pointed out the importance of the school for the congregation: "Die Schule steht in allen unsern Gemeinden im Vordergrund. Hauptsächlich der Schule wegen bilden sich die Gemeinden. Die Schule ist der Zusammenhalt der Gemeinde." Thus, for example, the mission in Porto Alegre was begun with a school. Sometimes missionaries complained that the people were only interested in the schools while they neglected the church. However, Pastor Mahler was able to see the potential blessing of the parochial schools for the future of the Brazilian mission:


At the synodical convention of 1902 the synodical Board for Home Missions considered whether it would be convenient also to send synodical

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4Rehfeldt, "Unsere Schulen," p. 76.
6Ibid., 59 (17 February 1903):53.
7W. Mahler, "Wie Sieht es in Unsern Brasilianischen Gemeinden Aus?" Der Lutheraner 59 (10 November 1903):357.
teachers to Brazil. At that time all the pastors in Brazil also had to function as schoolteachers. The convention resolved to authorize the mission board to act on the matter at the proper time. Consequently, already within the next year Mr. Henry Wilke, a teacher from the United States, accepted a call to Brazil. Subsequent to his graduation from the teachers college at Addison, Illinois, he was installed in the school at Porto Alegre, on the twenty-first Sunday after Trinity, 1903. A second teacher, Mr. Karl Neukuckatz, came to Brazil in 1907. He succeeded Mr. Wilke in the school in Porto Alegre. In 1909, the teacher Herman Sonntag arrived. He also worked in Porto Alegre. Teacher Karl Nauman came that year as well. He was called to Linha 8 Oeste, Ijuí. Two years later, in 1911, Mr. John Steiner accepted a call to Erechim. In 1913, Mr. Herman A. Weinrich came to Brazil and became a teacher in Maratá. The same year Mr. John Neukuckatz also came to teach in Porto Alegre. Teachers Naumann and Weinrich were graduates of the teachers college in Seward, Nebraska. All the others had received their training in Addison, Illinois. Teacher Wilke left the church after four years of work to become a teacher in a school belonging to the Deutschen Hilfsvereins, a German club. Teacher Karl Naumann became ill and retired after eleven years of service. He remained in Brazil, where he died in 1967. All the others returned to the United States. Karl Neukuckatz returned after twenty years of service,
Herman Sonntag after three years, John Steiner after ten years, Herman Weinrich after three years, and John Neukuckatz after fifteen years.\[^{11}\]

In view of the difficulty in obtaining teachers from the United States and keeping them in the service of the Brazilian mission, it was soon decided that native teachers should be trained in Brazil. In 1903 an institution was founded in Bom Jesus for the purpose of training both teachers and pastors. This institute was discontinued early in 1905, but was reopened two years later in Porto Alegre. Until the early 1960's, when the program was discontinued, the training of teachers for the IELB was done at the Seminário Concórdia in Porto Alegre. But twenty-three years after the beginning of the Brazilian mission, a severe shortage of teachers still remained, even though almost every pastor was teaching school. The LC-MS was unable to send teachers because it was not even training enough men to meet the needs in the United States.\[^{12}\]

The Seminário Concórdia was also unable to train enough teachers for the mission. As a result the IELB started to accept the services of men who had received no formal normal training. To help these men equip themselves for their task, the pastors gave them private instruction. The church also held special training conferences and prepared an obligatory correspondence course for them. In spite of these measures many vacancies still remained which could not be filled.\[^{13}\]

\[^{11}\]Ibid., pp. 73-74. Crônicas da Igreja, pp. 332-33.


\[^{13}\]Ibid. L. C. Rehfeldt, "Unsere Schulen," p. 75.
The Brazil District convention of 1925 resolved to start a new school for the training of teachers and pastors in Guarani. This resolution, however, was rejected when submitted to the synodical convention of the LC-MS in 1926, which resolved "that no new school of this kind should be started at this time, but that the seminary at Porto Alegre should be fostered with all possible care," explaining that "the Brazil Pastoral Conference is of the same opinion, and because, according to synodical regulations, no institution should be started except by resolution and order of Synod."  

The Brazilian missionaries also submitted a request to this same synodical convention, asking assistance for the establishment of a high school for their children, particularly their daughters. Although the synod recommended that this school be founded, the plan "could not be carried out because of the lack of funds."  

Not only the teachers, but also the textbooks for the schools came from the United States during the first years of the mission in Brazil. But in 1923 a religious publishing house was founded in the Brazil district. One of its main objectives was to publish appropriate textbooks for the Brazilian schools of the LC-MS.  

Shortly before the Second World War, when a strict nationalization program was implemented in Brazil, the parochial schools of the Brazil

14 W. Rehr, "Versammlung des Brasilianischen Distrikts," Der Lutheraner 81 (1 September 1925):287.
16 Ibid., p. 100.
17 Ibid., 1929, p. 84.
District were severely affected. All teaching had to be done in the Portuguese language, and the principals of schools had to be native Brazilians. Since many of the teachers and pastors who were teaching in the schools of the district were not native Brazilians, the LC-MS had to close twenty-four of its 139 parochial schools during 1938 alone. More schools had to be closed in subsequent years. By 1941 the total number of LC-MS parochial schools in Brazil had decreased to ninety-one.

After the war the parochial schools in Brazil began to flourish again. In 1950 a total of 5,990 pupils were enrolled in 128 schools. These numbers increased to 8,400 pupils and about 148 schools by 1956. Subsequent to 1956, however, the state government began to open more and more public schools. These began to undermine the parochial schools because the latter had to be maintained by the congregations while the former offered free education. Many members of the congregations, therefore, opposed the continuation of parochial schools on the allegation that they had become unnecessary. The majority of the parochial schools of the IELB were thus closed.

The Seminário Concórdia

The Institute in Bom Jesus

The need for the training of an indigenous ministry for the Lutheran Church of Brazil was acknowledged very early. The matter was

19LC-MS Proceedings, 1941, pp. 175, 215. Mario Rehfeldt, p. 166.
20Ibid., 167.
21Ibid., 193. LC-MS Proceedings, 1956, p. 391.
considered at the very first meeting of the Pastoral Conference of São Lourenço, from April 20 to 22, 1903. This conference, held in Bom Jesus, São Lourenço, was attended by Pastors F. Brandt, R. Mueller, H. Stiemke, A. Vogel, and J. Hartmeister, and W. Mahler, the Mission Director. Mahler moved that an Institute for the training of preachers and teachers be founded for the work of the Lutheran Church in South America. The motion was adopted. In fact, according to Pastor John Hartmeister, who became the first professor at the Institute, the idea had already been brought from the United States:

The will to train an indigenous ministry in Brazil went with us from the Seminary in St. Louis. We had before us the example of the fathers in Perry County, Missouri. Most of us had seen the venerable log cabin at Altenburg, which was then standing in a pasture and was pointed out to us as the first College of the Missouri Synod. From church history under A. L. Graebner we had learned by the example of the Swedes on the Delaware that a Church without an indigenous ministry is doomed to extinction. We had come to Brazil to plant the Church of the pure doctrine. If our work was to succeed, we needed a school for the training of native church workers.

Nevertheless, the foundation of this seminary was mainly an indigenous effort because it was the result neither of a synodical resolution, nor of a proposal by the synodical Mission Board. The resolution adopted by the Brazilian missionaries was carried out with Brazilian resources.

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24 J. Hartmeister, "The Sowing of a Mustard Seed," Concordia Historical Quarterly 22 (January 1950): 166. (Hereafter referred to as CHIQ).

The conference decided to begin the Institute in conjunction with Pastor Hartmeister's church in Bom Jesus, a small settlement of Pomeranian farmers.

Pastor Mahler remained in Bom Jesus after the conference and preached there on the following Sunday, April 26, 1903. After the service he informed the congregation about the resolution of the conference and obtained their consent to the project.26

After several difficulties had been removed, the Institute opened on the afternoon of October 27, 1903. Only three students were initially enrolled. They were Emil Wille from a neighboring congregation, and Heinrich Drews and Ewald Hirschmann from the congregation in São Pedro. A few weeks later Franz Hoffmann arrived from Santa Coleta. Finally, the last student, Adolf Flor, arrived on March 2, 1904. He had been teaching school in Osorio. All the teaching was done by Hartmeister who could only devote the afternoons to this task. Besides serving the congregation, he also taught in the parochial school every morning. About his work in the Institute he wrote: "The two and a half hours between two thirty and five pass quickly in hard and profitable work. How different it would be if students and teacher could devote all their time and effort to this work."27

The students paid no fees for board or tuition and took their meals at the pastor's table. Hartmeister received no salary besides the four hundred dollars a year which he received for serving the congregation.

26J. Hartmeister, p. 167. He adds: "But no written minutes were kept of the transaction."

27Ibid., p. 174.
With this salary he tried to maintain himself, his wife, two children, and the five students. To help earn their board and room the students worked four hours a day, from 7:30 to 11:30 a.m. One of them helped to prepare the meals and the other four worked in the fields.  

There were two main reasons for the foundation of that Institute: to spare the high cost of the tours of duty of foreign missionaries in the future; and, more important, to provide the Brazilian Church with a native ministry. The intention was to build an indigenous church: "Dann erst, wenn die hiesige Kirche selbst ihre Lehrer und Prediger ausbildet, kann sie hoffen, einmal selbständig und vom Ausland unabhängig zu werden."  

Two different curricula were designed. One, requiring about four years of study, was for the training of teachers. The other, of longer duration, was for the training of pastors.

At the first convention of the Brazil District the Institute at Bom Jesus was recognized as an official institution of the district. Resolutions were also adopted to provide help for it. Pastor Louis Lochner, the Chairman of Synod's Board for Home Missions, had also visited the Institute, seen the difficulties, and promised help. Still, all this encouragement had little practical effect. Hartmeister later wrote:


30Ibid.

All the fine resolutions of the Synod in Rincão São Pedro did not alleviate our situation. Lochner never redeemed his pledge to me, "Hartmeister, Ihnen soll geholfen werden" ("Hartmeister, you shall receive help"). So we carried on as best we could with the means at our disposal. The boys worked hard and suffered with us. If we could not buy butter for our bread, we ate lard. It was cheaper. When we could not hire help, we did the work ourselves. And most of the physical work fell on my wife. The boys helped her as much as possible, but too much of that work could be done only by her.32

In September of 1904, Hartmeister's two year old daughter, Rahel, died in an epidemic of whooping cough.33 That was a great shock particularly for Mrs. Hartmeister who, nevertheless, carried on until the beginning of 1905, when she broke down entirely. Hartmeister felt compelled to dismiss the students and returned to the United States.34 Pastor Emil Schulz, who succeeded him in Bom Jesus in May of 1905, did not continue the work of the Institute.

The work of the Institute had not been in vain. When it was discontinued, the five students were employed as helpers in schools. Later, in 1907, two of them, Emil Wille and Adolph Flor, went to the United States to enter the Seminary at Springfield. Both graduated in 1910 and became faithful and efficient workers in Brazil.35 Franz Hoffmann and Ewald Hirschmann continued their studies in Porto Alegre where the seminary was reopened in 1907. Hoffmann became a teacher and Hirschmann became a pastor.

34 M. Mahler, Kirchenblatt 2 (15 December 1905):189.
35 J. Hartmeister, "The Sowing of a Mustard Seed," p. 30. Emilio Wille, p. 27.
To commemorate the Institute, a granite monument was erected next to the church in Bom Jesus. It is about twelve feet high and was dedicated on March 8, 1936, when a convention of the Brazil District was held in that community.36

When, in 1953, the Brazilian Seminary celebrated its jubilee, Hartmeister's work was recognized by naming one of the buildings of the seminary in his honor.37

Reopening in Porto Alegre

The second convention of the Brazil District resolved to transfer the Institute from Bom Jesus to Porto Alegre. This convention was held in Jaguari, from April 28 to May 2, 1905. Hartmeister was still in Bom Jesus but had already firmly resolved to return to the United States. The decision to transfer the Institute was made even though it was recognized that the expenses would be much greater in Porto Alegre than in the


country, because in Porto Alegre more teachers would be available. Porto Alegre was the capital, as well as the largest and most important city of the state of Rio Grande do Sul. This state was the only Brazilian state where the LC-MS was working at the time. The president of the district also lived in Porto Alegre and served a flourishing congregation there, occasionally with the help of assistant pastors. The school at Porto Alegre was the only one of the district which at that time was being served by a synodical teacher. This congregation, therefore, offered the most promising conditions for the operation of the Institute at that time.

The actual reopening of the Institute occurred on May 1, 1907, when four students began their studies in a rented building on the Avenida Patria. The delay of two years was due to the fact that no assistant pastor had been available for Porto Alegre during that period. The students had to pay for their board: a fee of twenty-five milreis (about six or seven dollars at the rate of exchange of that time) per month. A special fund was established for needy students, and congregations from the neighborhood of Porto Alegre sent farm products to the seminary.

The teaching was done by Pastor Mahler. He was helped by the assistant pastor, E. Wegehaupt, who became the house-father, and by Teacher Wilke, who taught Portuguese. In November 1907, Wegehaupt took charge of the Institute, and in 1908 he was elected Director. In March


39 J. Hartmeister, "The Sowing of a Mustard Seed," p. 31. C. F. Lehenbauer, "Unser Seminar in Porto Alegre, Brasilien," Der Lutheraner 99 (18 May 1943):149. This source states that the fee was twenty milreis per month.
1908, Teacher E. Boeckel from São Leopoldo was engaged to teach Portuguese.  

At the district convention in Sítio, January 13 to 18, 1908, the name was changed from "Institute" to Seminário Concordeia. It seems that about this time financial support for the institution also started to come from the United States: "The synod in North America also promised to pay the rent for the housing of the boys and of two professors, 200 milreis per month."  

In 1909, the number of students had reached nineteen and a larger building, at the Rua Voluntarios da Patria, was rented at the end of that year. That building, however, proved to be damp and deteriorating and the rent was high. It was, therefore, decided that a piece of land should be bought to build proper quarters for the seminary. Professor Wegehaupt was sent to the LC-MS synodical convention of 1911 to request twenty-five thousand dollars for the land and the building. The synod, however, approved only a grant of $5,000. The Board for Home Missions was asked to contact the congregation in Porto Alegre to find out if it could add to that sum. The convention also directed Pastor Wegehaupt to lecture before congregations in the United States, informing them of the needs of the Brazilian seminary. He was able to raise about $3,000 through these lectures. The remainder of the $5,000 was taken from the synodical construction fund (Synodalbaukasse). During Wegehaupt's

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41 J. Hartmeister, "The Sowing of a Mustard Seed," p. 31.
42 Ibid.
43 LC-MS Proceedings, 1911, p. 32; 1914, p. 91.
absence, classes were conducted by the assistant professor, M. Frosch, who had been called to replace Boeckel after the latter had resigned. By that time a joint-stock company, the Sociedade Concordia, had been formed in Brazil by pastors and laymen. They bought a piece of land next to the church in Porto Alegre. When the money arrived from the United States they sold the property to the synod at the cost of purchase. The Brazil District also contributed about 5,000 milreis. The construction of the building was begun in 1912. On September 29 of the same year, the building was dedicated. Theological classes were held in the seminary for the first time in 1913. The theological students underwent three years of training in the pre-theological department and another three years in the theological department. Those who became teachers received five years of training. The first class of teachers, comprised of Karl Roll, Friedrich Strelow, and Franz Hoffmann, graduated in 1912. Three years later, in 1915, the first ministerial candidates graduated. They were Ewald Hirschmann, Wilhelm Döge, Kurt Rachke, Reinhold Güths, and Berthold Ergang.

Mahler resigned and returned to the United States in 1914. In response to a request for a third professorship, the LC-MS synodical convention of 1914 resolved to establish a theological chair at the Seminario

45 Ibid.
47 P. S[chelp], Kirchenblatt 34 (15 April 1939):62.
48 J. K[unstmann], pp. 180-81.
Concordia. Consequently, another pastor from the United States, J. Kunstmann, was called to serve as president and theological professor. He began his work at the Seminário Concordia in 1915. Professor M. Frosch accepted a call to a congregation in 1916 and, therefore, left the seminary. Professor E. Wegehaupt returned to the United States in 1917. Pastors L. C. Rehfeldt and Paul Schelp were called to replace them, the former in 1918 and the latter in 1920. Both had graduated in the United States. Rehfeldt had already served a congregation in Brazil for ten years and Schelp was a ministerial candidate from the United States. A native Brazilian, L. Tietboehl, was engaged in 1918 to teach Portuguese.

Since this site, too, on the Avenida Eduardo, also eventually proved to be inadequate for the seminary, the Brazil District convention of 1919 elected a committee to find a better location. The LC-MS convention of 1920 was also requested to give its permission and allocate funds to move the seminary. Before the convention met, the Brazilian committee found an excellent location on the Mont' Serrat; and, acting on its own authority, the committee made a down-payment of twenty percent of the total price, using reserve funds from the District treasury. The committee also agreed to pay the remainder within six months. The synodical convention sanctioned the purchase and appropriated $35,000 for the
purchase of the site and building, $12,000 for the erection of three professors' dwellings, and $15,000 for additional buildings. The Brazil District promised to raise $8,000 of the total sum. Another $5,000 was realized from the sale of the old seminary.53 On August 25, 1920, the purchase of the site, with a mansion and other smaller buildings, was completed. The seminary was transferred to the new location at the beginning of 1921. The first new classroom and dormitory building of the seminary on the Mont' Serrat was dedicated in 1926. Several professors' residences were built in subsequent years. In 1943, a second wing was added to the main classroom and dormitory building, and a chapel was erected also. The synodical convention appropriated $25,000 for this purpose, and the Brazilian congregations also made contributions.54 A second large building, housing classrooms, dormitory facilities, a library, and a laboratory, was dedicated in 1948.55

The Seminary as a Synodical Institution

Aware of the importance of the seminary for the mission in Brazil, but feeling itself unable to support it adequately, in its convention of 1908, the Brazil District resolved to ask the LC-MS to recognize the Institute as a synodical institution. The LC-MS convention, which was held that same year in Fort Wayne, resolved that the Institute should for the time being remain an institution of the district. It did, however, place the Institute under the supervision of the synodical Board

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54 Ibid., 1941, p. 94. Ibid., 1944, p. 105.

for Home Missions, and it promised to provide the necessary support for it. Although the synod supported the seminary, elected its professors and determined their salaries, it was not until more than a decade later, in 1920, that a synodical convention of the LC-MS officially recognized the Seminário Concórdia as a synodical institution.

Professors

The first professors of the Seminário Concórdia have already been mentioned: John F. Hartmeister, 1903-1905; Wilhelm Mahler, 1907-1914; E. Wegehaupt, 1907-1917; E. Böckel, 1907-1911; M. Frosch, 1911-1916; J. Kunstmann, 1915-1921; L. Tietböhl, 1918-1921; L. C. Rehfeldt, 1918-1959; and P. Schelp, 1920-1969.

Before the beginning of the school year in February 1922, the president of the seminary, J. Kunstmann, resigned and left the synod for personal reasons. L. Tietböhl also resigned at about the same time because of ill health. As a result, all the teaching at the seminary was done by only two professors, Schelp and Rehfeldt, from the beginning of 1922 until August 1923. To relieve the situation, synod sent the ministerial candidates Alfred Meyer and Ewald Plass to serve temporarily as assistant teachers. Both had already done graduate studies, earning a master's degree in theology (S.T.M.). They started their work at the Brazilian seminary with the second semester of 1923. Plass returned to

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56 Ibid., 1908, p. 78.
57 Ibid., 1920, p. 28 (English edition); also 1911, p. 115.
58 Ibid., 1923, p. 82 (German edition).
59 IELB Proceedings, 14th Synodical Report Brazil District, 1924, p. 68.
the United States in January 1925. Meyer stayed one more semester upon the special request of the Board of Control.60 To replace Meyer, Pastor K. Rupp was called to serve as assistant professor in 1925.61 He had graduated the year before and was the first pastor trained in Brazil to teach at the seminary. Later he was elected Professor and taught until his death in 1961.

After Kunstmann's resignation several efforts were made to obtain a president for the seminary. Nonetheless, the post remained vacant for three years. Finally a pastor from the United States, Dr. J. N. H. Jahn, Ph.D., accepted the call and arrived in Porto Alegre in September 1925.62 He was President of the seminary until 1939, when, after returning from a furlough in the United States, he was compelled to leave the country. This was because the Brazilian nationalization laws made it impossible for him to obtain a permanent visa.63 During Jahn's period of furlough, 1937-1938, Pastor George Müller came from the United States to replace him at the seminary. Thereafter Müller accepted a call to a Brazilian congregation.64

In 1929, Pastor Francisco Carchia, who had been accepted into the Brazilian ministry through a colloquy in 1924, was installed as professor of Portuguese. He resigned because of poor health in 1944.65 In 1938,

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60Ibid., 1925, p. 78.
61Ibid., 1927, p. 68.
63LC-MS Proceedings, 1941, p. 90.
64Ibid., 1938, p. 89.
the Brazilian government appointed a professor, Dr. J. C. de Lemos, to see to it that the nationalization program was carried out in the seminary. He resigned in December 1945.\(^{66}\) In 1940, Pastor O. Schueler became an assistant professor. In 1943, he was elected Professor, and he served in this capacity until his retirement in 1968.\(^{67}\)

Pastor O. A. Goerl, who had been elected to succeed Dr. Jahn in the presidency of the seminary, assumed his duties in March 1940.\(^{68}\) Goerl was a native Brazilian, a required condition for the head of any school in Brazil at that time.\(^{69}\) He was the first Brazilian to become president of the seminary, and also the first Brazilian to be elected Professor at the seminary. He remained a professor there until his retirement in 1979.

Pastor W. Wadewitz, who had come from the United States in 1937, was elected Professor in 1947. He started his activity at the seminary in 1948 after a year of furlough in his country.\(^{70}\) In November 1948, Pastor M. Strasen arrived from the United States. He was installed on November 7 as a theological Professor at the seminary.\(^{71}\) He began teaching in 1949. In that same year, Instructor G. Thome was elected

\(^{66}\)Ibid., 1941, p. 90; 1947, p. 135.

\(^{67}\)Ibid., 1941, p. 90.

\(^{68}\)Ibid. During the vacancy, after Dr. Jahn's return to the United States and before Goerl assumed, Pastor Carlos H. Warth was appointed to preside over the seminary.

\(^{69}\)Ibid., p. 215.

\(^{70}\)Ibid., 1947, p. 135; 1950, p. 132.

Professor.  As the number of students and classes increased, theological students and candidates were engaged as assistant professors and instructors.

Professor Strasen resigned in May 1950. Pastor H. Rottmann was elected to replace him. He had received his training in Springfield, Illinois, and had worked in Brazil since 1934. He began teaching at the beginning of 1952. At the same time Pastor A. Gueths, a graduate of the Seminário Concórdia, was elected instructor of the Portuguese language.

The Brazil District convention of 1956 resolved to separate the preparatory department from the theological department of the seminary. This step was approved by the synodical convention of the LC-MS which met later that same year. As a result, two boards of control were elected from that time on. The first president of the preparatory school, Professor A. C. Gueths, was elected in 1958. In 1969, the pro-seminary moved to its own campus in São Leopoldo. Another pro-seminary had already been in existence for several years, first in Baixo Guandu, 1952, then in Rio de Janeiro, 1957, and finally, 1962, in São Paulo.

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75 Ibid. LC-MS Proceedings, 1953, p. 117.
76 Crónicas da Igreja, p. 254.
78 Crónicas da Igreja, p. 296.
In 1959, W. G. Kunstmann was elected as a theological Professor of the seminary. With this election the Seminário Concórdia, for the first time in its history, had separate professors for each of the four major areas of theology. 79

In 1962, A. J. Schmidt, who had been elected the year before, assumed the presidency of the theological department. 80 He succeeded Professor Goerl. Like him, he was a native Brazilian who had received his training at the Seminário Concórdia.

During the second semester of 1963, Dr. A. Rehwinkel from the faculty of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, came to the Seminário Concórdia as an exchange professor. He described his task as the beginning of an exchange program for professors of the various faculties of the LC-MS. The bonds of friendship and theology between the faculties of our church must become closer always, he said. 81 After the end of the school year he taught in a special summer course for pastors held at the seminary in Porto Alegre.

In October 1963, M. L. Rehfeldt was elected Professor of Historical Theology. He had received his theological training in Brazil and had afterwards earned a master's degree in theology (S.T.M.) at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis. 82

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80 Ibid., p. 40.


82 Reports and Memorials, 1965, p. 249.
Two professors from the St. Louis faculty taught a special summer course for pastors held at the seminary in Porto Alegre, January 15 to 25, 1965. Dr. M. Franzmann lectured on the Epistle of James, and Dr. H. Bouman on the doctrine of the Scriptures in the Lutheran Confessions. 83

In 1969, when Professor Schelp retired after teaching for forty-nine years at the seminary, two new professors were elected: M. C. Warth for the systematic chair, and D. Schueler for the New Testament chair. 84 Both were native Brazilians and graduates of the Seminário Concórdia. In the second semester of the same year Dr. M. Naumann came from the faculty of the Springfield seminary to teach three courses in the area of Old Testament exegesis while Dr. Kunstmann was teaching in Oberursel, Germany. 85

Professor Oswaldo Schueler was called in 1972 to teach courses in the areas of History, Philosophy, and Sociology. He died the next year in consequence of apoplexy. 86 Yet another professor, W. O. Steyer, was added to the faculty in 1973. He was elected to the Practical Department. 87 Three more professors were added in 1974: M. W. Flor, and H. G. Rottmann to the Practical Department; 88 and A. Raymann to the

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84 Crônicas da Igreja, pp. 304, 309.
86 Crônicas da Igreja, p. 377.
87 Ibid., p. 312.
88 Ibid., pp. 299, 315.
Exegetical Department in the area of Old Testament exegesis. All these men were Brazilians who had received their theological training in Porto Alegre.

In 1976, a professor of the **Seminário Concórdia**, Dr. M. C. Warth, went to the United States as a guest professor--a "first" in the history of the Brazilian seminary. Dr. Warth taught at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis from November 1976 to May 1977.

At the beginning of 1979, A Schueler was elected Professor at the **Seminário Concórdia**, the last to be elected while the IELB was still a district of the LC-MS.

In 1979, the faculty of the seminary consisted of ten members: Dr. Martim C. Warth (Acting President and Professor of Systematics); Mario L. Rehfeldt (Church History); Dr. Donaldo Schueler (New Testament); Hans G. Rottmann (Church Music, Liturgics); Walter O. Steyer (Missions); Acir Raymann (Old Testament); Arnaldo J. Schmidt (Homiletics, Pastoral Theology); Dr. Johannes H. Rottmann (New Testament); Dr. Otto A. Goerl (Homiletics, Symbolics); and Arnaldo Schueler (Symbolics, Philosophy). All of them, except Dr. Johannes Rottmann, were native Brazilians who had received their theological training at the Brazilian Seminary.

**Support**

It has already been mentioned that after the transference of the Institute to Porto Alegre, synod began to support it financially. At first this was done through a special fund for mission in Brazil; but the

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89 Ibid., p. 325.
90 LC-MS Proceedings, 1979, p. 179.
91 Ibid.
synodical convention of 1911 resolved to do it through the synodical
treasury. After that the Seminário Concordia received the same treat-
ment as any of the other synodical institutions. Synod sent the greater
part of the money for the purchase of the property for the seminary, the
construction of buildings, and houses for the professors. Synod also
determined and payed the salaries of the professors and elected the board
of control.

Besides this official support, organizations and individuals of
the LC-MS also occasionally sent help to the Brazilian seminary. For
instance, in 1914 the women's league of the congregation in Kendallville,
Indiana, sent the seminary several pieces of bed-linen. Two years
later, Emmaus Church in St. Louis and Mr. T. Lange, editor of the Abend-
schule, each sent $50.00 for the equipping of two rooms at the seminary.
Several years later, in 1926, a member of the synodical Board for South
American Missions, Mr. H. F. Rohrmann, donated a telephone to the semi-
mary. On several occasions the seminary also received donations of
theological books from the United States. A particularly valuable assort-
ment of books came from the library of the late Dr. E. Krauss, a professor
at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis. It consisted of sixty-three volumes.

92 Ibid., 1911, p. 116.
Since until recent years practically no Lutheran theological material was available in the Portuguese language, it was necessary to import the theological books.

In 1979, the library of the seminary had about 22,000 volumes. Although it is small when compared with those of similar institutions in other countries, it is considered one of the best theological libraries in Brazil.

Most of the support which the Brazilian congregations have given to the Seminário Concórdia has been directed to alleviate the needs of the students. It has been a tradition during the entire history of the seminary that the congregations send provisions for its kitchen. Ever since the seminary was transferred to Porto Alegre a special fund for needy students has been maintained in the Brazil District. This was necessary because, although the students did not have to pay any educational fees, most of them were too poor to be able to pay for the board and other expenses. People in the United States who were aware of the needs of the Brazilian seminarians also occasionally sent help. A letter which was addressed in 1914 by the Allgemeinen Nord-Illinois Pastoralkonferenz to the pastors of the Brazil District ended with these words:

Wir möchten Sie daher ermuntern, nach so vielen brauchbaren Zöglingen, wie nur möglich, Umschau zu halten und sich auch durch den Mangel an den nötigen Geldmitteln zum Studium nicht abhalten zu lassen, dieselben auf’s Seminar zu senden. Wir wollen noch mehr als zuvor versuchen,


Individual members of the LC-MS also helped to support the students. In 1958, for example, Dr. W. Mahler, the first president of the Brazil District who was again living in the United States, sent one hundred dollars to the district fund for needy students. On several occasions, seminarians in Porto Alegre have received full scholarships from members of the LC-MS.

Graduate Studies

Since there was no Lutheran seminary in Brazil which offered a program beyond the undergraduate level, Brazilian pastors or candidates who wanted to do graduate work had to go elsewhere. The first Brazilian to do so and earn an advanced degree was Mario L. Rehfeldt. He came to Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, in 1962 and earned an S.T.M. degree with a major in historical theology. After his return to Brazil he became an assistant professor at the seminary. Subsequently, in 1964, he was elected Professor of Historical Theology.

Hans Gerhard Rottmann, who had graduated from the Seminário Concordia in 1960, studied in St. Louis during 1961-1962. He did graduate work in the area of music and liturgics at Concordia Seminary and also took courses in music at Washington University.


Johannes H. Rottmann, a Missouri-trained man who had come to Brazil in 1934, and had been a professor at the Seminário Concórdia since 1952, earned an S.T.M. degree from Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, in 1963. After that he continued to teach in the area of New Testament at the Brazilian seminary.103

Martim C. Warth came to St. Louis in 1964 and, after a year and three months of studies at Concordia Seminary, he received his S.T.M. degree in 1966. He went back to Brazil and continued to teach in the pro-seminary at Porto Alegre. In 1968 he went to Germany and the next year to the United States where he completed his work for a Doctor of Theology degree. His thesis was on "Existential Faith in a Secular World: A Comparative Study of Francis Pieper and Gerhard Ebeling on the Nature and Function of Faith." He was the first graduate of Seminário Concórdia to earn a Th.D. degree. In 1969, he was elected Professor of Systematics at the Seminário Concordia.104

Elmer Flor, who graduated from Seminário Concórdia in 1964, continued his studies at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, in 1965 completing the requirements for an S.T.M. degree in Old Testament exegesis in 1966.105

Nestor Beck went to the United States in 1966 and concluded his studies for an S.T.M. degree at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, during the


next year. He continued his studies in Germany and then returned to St. Louis where he gained his Th.D. degree in 1973. His thesis was on "Faith and Works: A Study of Articles IV-VI and XX of the Augsburg Confession (1530)."\(^{106}\)

Martim W. Flor continued his studies at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, in 1967-1968. He earned an S.T.M. degree.\(^{107}\)

Acir Raymann went to Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, in 1972 and completed the requirements for an S.T.M. degree with a major in Old Testament Theology.\(^{108}\)

Rudi Zimmer studied from 1974 to 1977 at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, working toward a Doctor of Theology degree. His major was in the area of Old Testament theology and he wrote a thesis on: "The Toledoth Formula in Genesis." His Th.D. degree was granted in 1980.\(^{109}\)

At the beginning of 1976, Paulo Gueths and Roberto Kunzendorff spent some months in the United States for a special training program in stewardship and evangelism. They chiefly sought to observe the methods used within the LC-MS and to become better acquainted with the literature produced and used by the LC-MS in these areas.\(^{110}\)

\(^{106}\) *Crónicas da Igreja*, p. 317.


Paulo Weirich was the first Brazilian to continue his studies in Fort Wayne, Indiana. He completed the requirements for an S.T.M. degree in 1978, majoring in the area of Practical Theology. 111

Paulo F. Flor came to Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, in 1978 and worked toward an S.T.M. degree until 1980.

Martinho Sonntag came to the United States in 1980 spending three months in a special training program in campus ministry. Besides visiting several university campuses throughout the country, he also took some courses in the area of Practical Theology at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, in the fall quarter.

After several years of planning, the Seminário Concórdia of Porto Alegre started its own graduate program in 1979. The first classes were conducted by Dr. Martim A. Haendschke from the faculty of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis. From July 2 to 27, 1979, he taught two courses: Advanced Pastoral Counseling and Crisis Intervention. Twenty-six Brazilian pastors attended this course. 112 Two more courses were offered in 1980, from July 8 to 31. 113 This time Professor Louis A. Brighton, also of the St. Louis seminary, taught one course on Revelation and another on evangelism. More than twenty Brazilian pastors also registered on this occasion. During both summers the classes were conducted in the English language.


Observations

Parochial schools played a very important role in the establishment of the Missouri Synod's mission in Brazil. All of the congregations had a parochial school and all of the pastors taught school in the early years of the mission. Some local missions started with the opening of a school. The school was seen as a missionary agency. Synod was unable to send an adequate number of teachers from the United States. Provisions had to be made to train them in Brazil. Persons without formal pedagogical training had to be employed together with the trained teachers in order to satisfy the demand. A relatively large number of parochial schools had to be closed at the time of the Brazilian Nationalization period. After World War II, the schools began to flourish again until they faced the overwhelming competition of the public schools.

The necessity and advantage of a native ministry in Brazil was felt very early. The first missionaries from the United States resolved, on their own initiative, to start a training institution. This institution was begun and operated without any assistance or support from the mother church. Due to adverse circumstances, it had to be closed in 1905, after only a short period of operation. Two of the students completed their studies at the Springfield seminary, in the United States. The Brazilian school was reopened as Seminário Concórdia after two years, with synodical support. The synod also provided the professors. Even so, it remained a district institution until 1920. Synod, however, provided most of the money necessary for the purchase of property and construction of buildings. Organizations and individual members of the synod also gave assistance to the seminary.
The first graduation at the Seminário Concórdia took place in 1912, when three students completed their teacher-training program. The first five pastoral candidates graduated in 1915. However, the need for North American pastors persisted long afterward because the graduating classes at the Brazilian seminary were much too small to meet the demand for pastors in Brazil.

The first Brazilian-trained pastor to teach at the seminary was called in 1925, twenty-two long years after the beginning of the seminary. It was not until 1940 that a Brazilian-trained pastor was at last elected President of the seminary.

The pro-seminary department and the theological department remained under the same administration until 1956. The pro-seminary was moved to a separate campus in 1969. Another pro-seminary had been founded in Central Brazil in 1952.

Three professors from St. Louis and one from Springfield served temporarily as guest-professors in Porto Alegre. On one occasion a Brazilian professor taught as a guest-professor in St. Louis.

The Brazilian faculty was substantially increased in the last two decades. Presently, with one exception, all of the professors have received their theological training in Brazil.

Several Brazilian pastors have done graduate studies in the United States during the last two decades. All but one studied at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis. Other pastors came to the United States for special training programs.

A graduate school was inaugurated at the Seminário Concórdia in 1979. Classes taught by professors of the St. Louis seminary were offered during the last two winter intermissions.
The first LC-MS pastors to work in Brazil faced the problem of the absence of printed material for use in church and school. No Lutheran materials were being printed in Brazil at the time. Pastor C. J. Broders, who started the first LC-MS congregation and school in Brazil, reported about the latter: "Aber welche Mühe und Arbeit kostet es mir, den Kindern die biblische Geschichte und geistliche Lieder beizubringen! Ich muss, da die Bücher fehlen, ihnen alles vorsagen, bis sie die Geschichte und Lieder auswendig können." A similar situation was faced by pastor John Hartmeister, the first professor of the Brazilian Institute for the training of teachers and pastors. He reported access to the Bible, the Small Catechism, a German hymnbook and only two additional textbooks, one for German and the second for world history. Regarding the other subjects which were taught (arithmetic, grammar, geography, botany, zoology, and Latin), he wrote: "All the instruction had to be dictated and written down into notebooks." That even such secular textbooks were unavailable to Hartmeister was certainly due to the fact that his parish was located in a rather isolated area. Furthermore, he used the German language in his teaching and books in that language were not readily obtainable in Brazil where Portuguese is the official language. Be that as it may, some action was necessary to solve the problem of the absence of books and other religious literature.


The organizational meeting of the Brazil District, June 23-27, 1904, resolved to ask Concordia Publishing House of St. Louis to establish an agency or clearing house for the most needed books, such as Bibles and Catechisms, in the state of Rio Grande do Sul. Preferably, this would be located in the city of Porto Alegre. At the same meeting Teacher H. Wilke was elected to be book agent. The agency was established the next year.

In 1910, the Louis Lange Company of St. Louis, presented a small printing press to the Brazil District. It enabled the District to handle some minor printing tasks.

During the First World War the Brazilian book agency had difficulty in obtaining books from the United States. In addition, the Brazilian currency suffered a substantial depreciation. The agency was almost reduced to bankruptcy, having a deficit of about two thousand dollars in 1921. To solve the problem a group of pastors and laymen of Porto Alegre decided to found a publishing company. The plan was submitted in 1923 to the pastoral conference of the Porto Alegre Circuit, which approved it. The organizational meeting was held on April 12, 1923, with twenty-four people attending. They bought a house at the Rua São Pedro. In 1925, the publishing company also bought some typographical machinery from a firm which was being dissolved subsequent to the death of

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116 Crônicas da Igreja, p. 214.
118 P. S[chelp], "Die 'Casa' gehoert Uns," Kirchenblatt 51 (1 and 15 October 1961):165.
119 Ibid., p. 166.
its owner. In 1926, it was ready to begin printing the *Kirchenblatt* (the official periodical of the District, first published in 1903), the *Mensagem Luterano* (the Portuguese periodical of the District, first published in 1917), the *Luther-Kalender* (a family annual which first appeared in 1925), the Brazil District *Synodal-Bericht*, textbooks for the parochial schools, hymnals, tracts, and other publications.  

Synod at first was not very enthusiastic about this undertaking. Instead it sent a warning stressing the difficulties involved in such an enterprise. It also declared itself unwilling to send help in case of need. Paul Schelp, one of the founders of the Brazilian publishing house, described the situation:

> Von der Mutterkirche, besser gesagt, vom Allgemeinen Direktorium der Synode warnte man uns. Man wusste, was es in Nordamerika gekostet have, um das "Publishing House," das auch so angefangen wurde, endlich ins Leben zu setzen und zu Blüte zu bringen. Wortwoertlich schrieb man: "Wir sind Ihnen die Warnung schuldig, dass Sie Ihrer Unternehmungslust nicht ohne gründliche Ueberlegung die Zügel schiessen lassen." Man fügte hinzu, dass die Missionskommission nie willens sein werde, uns im Notfalle zu helfen.  

Because the financial situation of the publishing house was at first very precarious, it was decided that commercial printing orders be handled in addition to the publications of the church. In the long run, this proved to be a very wise measure, for it provided the capital necessary for the *Casa Publicadora Concórdia* to expand.

In a meeting on April 20, 1939, the publishing company (*Sociedade Anonima Tipografica*, or Impersonal Typographic Corporation) decided to

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121 Schelp, "Die 'Casa' Gehoert Uns," p. 166.

122 Ibid.
transfer ownership of all the property of the publishing house to the Brazil District. This transference was completed in 1942.\textsuperscript{123}

In May 1941, Porto Alegre suffered the worst flood of its history, a disaster which also caused considerable damage to the stock and machinery of the \textit{Casa Publicadora Concórdia}. The old building had become undermined by the effects of the water; therefore it was decided to build a new one. This was done with the help of a substantial loan from the LC-MS whose initial opposition to the enterprise had by now already ceased to exist.\textsuperscript{124}

The \textit{Casa Publicadora Concórdia} played a very important role in the Brazil District when the nationalization laws required a sudden transition from German to Portuguese. Since Brazilian churches and schools were no longer allowed to use the German language the \textit{Casa Publicadora Concórdia} started to print the needed materials in the Portuguese language.

In 1947, and again in 1968, the \textit{Casa Publicadora Concórdia} was visited by Dr. Otto A. Dorn, the president of Concordia Publishing House in St. Louis.\textsuperscript{125} During his first visit he helped the board of directors plan the expansion of the \textit{Casa Publicadora Concórdia}. The LC-MS granted a considerable loan to facilitate this expansion.\textsuperscript{126} In 1968, he made the necessary arrangements for the publication of youth literature, and particularly the \textit{Arch Books} in the Portuguese language. He also declared that

\textsuperscript{123}\textit{Ibid. Crônicas da Igreja}, p. 218.


\textsuperscript{126}\textit{Crônicas da Igreja}, p. 219.
he was very impressed with the progress made by the Brazilian publishing house during the twenty years between his first and second visit.  

A loan from the LC-MS enabled the Casa Publicadora Concordia to purchase new machinery in 1962. The considerable expansion effort also necessitated the purchase of new property. This was done in 1968 with the help of another loan from the LC-MS.

After this period of great expansion the Casa Publicadora Concordia again carried a considerable deficit through the decade of the seventies. Since no more satisfactory solution to this problem could be found, it was decided that the printing office be closed and only an editorial office and a bookstore be maintained. The printing office was, consequently, closed in 1979.

Periodicals

The first periodical to be published in the Brazil District was the Evangelisch-Lutherisches Kirchenblatt fuer Sud-America. The decision to publish it was made in the United States by the LC-MS synodical convention of 1902. The periodical was intended to present the doctrinal and practical position of the LC-MS, to defend its work in Brazil against slanderers, and to promote interest for the Brazil mission in the United States. The synodical convention of 1902 especially desired that the

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128 Cronicas da Igreja, p. 219.
129 Ibid., p. 220.
131 LC-MS Proceedings, 1902, p. 72.
periodical should gain a large circulation in the LC-MS congregations of the United States in order to help defray publication costs. A similar resolution was adopted at the next synodical convention in 1905. It reads:

Beschlossen, dass die Glieder unserer Gemeinden auch dadurch der Mission in Brasilien ihre Unterstützung gewähren wollen, dass sie das vom Brasilianischen Distrikt herausgegebene und durch unser Concordia Publishing House in St. Louis zu beziehende "Kirchenblatt für Südamerica," dessen Ertrag bis jetzt noch nicht die Herstellungskosten deckt, halten und lesen.

Pastor Wilhelm Mahler was chosen to be the first editor of the Kirchenblatt. The first issue was published in Porto Alegre on November 1, 1903.

In subsequent years the cause of the Kirchenblatt was defended by J. T. Müller. On several occasions throughout the years he wrote articles in the Der Lutheraner urging his North American readers to subscribe to the Brazilian periodical. Occasionally he also reproduced articles from the Kirchenblatt in the Der Lutheraner.

During the First World War the printing of anything in German was prohibited. The publication of the Kirchenblatt was, therefore, interrupted from October 1917 to November 1919. In view of that situation the Brazilian Mission Board appointed three pastors, L. C. Rehfeldt, E. Muel ler, and T. Strieter, to edit a new periodical in the Portuguese

132 Ibid.
133 Ibid., 1905, p. 71.
The first issue of this periodical, then called *Mensagem Cristão*, was published December 25, 1917. Since May 15, 1918, it has been published under the name *Mensagem Luterano*. Its chief aims were to present the basic doctrines of the Lutheran Church and to refute false doctrines, particularly those of the Roman Catholic Church. At the time of the Second World War the *Mensagem Luterano* became the official organ of the Brazil District. Since then it has featured more news about the Brazil District and its congregations.

A German annual for the family, the *Luther-Kalender*, was first published in 1925. The publication of *Der Walther Liga Bote* for the Brazilian youth was begun in 1929. In 1940, the name of this periodical was changed to *O Jovem Luterano*, and it was published thereafter in Portuguese. Since 1973, it has been included in the *Mensagem Luterano*.

A children's periodical, the *Evangelisch Lutherisches Kinderblatt*, was first published in 1939. From the end of 1939 it, too, was published in Portuguese, under the title *O Pequeno Luterano*. Since 1973, it has also been published as a supplement of the *Mensagem Luterano*.

From 1933 until 1935, the Brazil District published *Unsere Schule*, a journal for the teachers of its parochial schools.

In 1936, the district began the publication of *Wacht und Weide*, a theological journal for pastors and teachers. Its name was changed to

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137 *Crónicas da Igreja*, p. 223.

138 Ibid.

139 Ibid.

140 Ibid., pp. 223-24.
Igreja Luterana in 1940, with the shift to publication in the Portuguese language.

The Portuguese annual, O Lar Cristão has been published since 1938. A periodical of the Brazilian Lutheran Women's League has been published since 1959. In 1966, this periodical was given its present name, Servas do Senhor.\(^{141}\)

In addition to several books in Portuguese and German written and published in Brazil, the district also published works translated from other languages. J. T. Mueller's Christian Dogmatics has been one of the most important works published in English by the LC-MS to be translated into Portuguese.\(^{142}\) M. Franzmann's Romans, and H. Sasse's This Is My Body (first published by Augsburg in Minneapolis) have also been translated. Only a few other theological books have been published in Brazil, however, because Brazil has been the only country in the world where the Lutheran Church had addressed itself to a Portuguese-speaking society. Since, therefore, the prospective clientele of interested pastors and professors is relatively small, publication costs would be prohibitive. Furthermore, the rate of exchange between the North American and the Brazilian currency has made it almost impossible to import theological books from the United States. In view of this situation, Paul Schelp, a professor of the Seminário Concórdia of Porto Alegre, made repeated appeals in the Der Lutheraner and in the Lutheran Witness, asking North American pastors to send to Brazil those theological works for which they had no immediate use. These requests were satisfied on several occasions.

\(^{141}\) Ibid., p. 212.

\(^{142}\) LC-MS Proceedings, 1950, pp. 433-34.
The LC-MS synodical convention of 1956 deplored the fact that "of all the confessional writings of the Lutheran Church only the Augsburg Confession and Luther's Small Catechism are available in a Portuguese translation."\(^{143}\) The same convention, therefore, decided that the time had come to translate all the Confessional writings of the Lutheran Church into Portuguese. The Board for Missions in North and South America was authorized to appoint a committee to prepare this translation and the Fiscal Conference was "advised to provide the necessary funds for printing and publishing this edition."\(^{144}\) In spite of this resolution no action seems to have been taken in the subsequent years. It was only after more than two decades had passed that a translation of the entire Book of Concord was available in the Portuguese language. This translation, prepared by Arnaldo Schüler, was published in 1980. The expenses involved in this publication were covered mainly by financial grants coming from the United States: all the expenses involved in the translation, made in St. Louis, were paid by the Aid Association for Lutherans; the publication itself was made possible through grants from The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, the American Lutheran Church, the Lutheran Church in America,\(^{145}\) and a collection raised in the congregations of the IELB.

\(^{143}\) Ibid., 1956, p. 393.  \(^{144}\) Ibid.  

\(^{145}\) The ALC and the LCA took part in this project due to their previously existing relationship with the Igreja Evangélica de Confissão Luterana no Brasil (Evangelical Church of Lutheran Confession in Brazil), the only Lutheran church body to exist in Brazil besides the IELB. The Igreja Evangélica de Confissão Luterana no Brasil (IELB) had a limited involvement in the publication of the Book of Concord through its representatives at a joint publication committee formed by representatives of the IELB and the IELB. The function of this committee is to promote joint publications of Lutheran literature and it was thus also entrusted with the publication of the Book of Concord.
Observations

The first LC-MS missionaries in Brazil practically found no printed material which they could use in their work as pastors and teachers. Following a request from the Brazil District, the LC-MS established an agency of Concordia Publishing House in Porto Alegre in 1905. When World War I, together with a substantial depreciation of the Brazilian currency, made it difficult to import books from the United States, a group of pastors and laymen of the Brazil District decided to found a publishing house in Brazil. Although the LC-MS at first advised against this undertaking, the Synod later cooperated with the enterprise, both with advice and with loans. Another factor which played a vital role in the maintenance and expansion of the publishing house was the handling of commercial printing orders.

Upon resolution by the LC-MS, the first periodical of the IELB was put into publication even before the new district had been organized. Its main objectives were to spread the doctrinal and practical position of the LC-MS, to defend its Brazilian mission against attacks, and to cultivate interest in this mission in the United States.

Prohibition of the use of the German language during the First World War led to the publication of the first Portuguese periodical of the IELB. Several other periodicals and journals were added in subsequent years. Practically all of these were written in German, but were converted into Portuguese at the time of the Second World War.

Relatively few theological works have been published by the IELB because of the small prospective clientele. Some books published in English by the LC-MS have been translated into Portuguese. Efforts to
translate all the Lutheran Confessions contained in the Book of Concord were not realized until 1980.

Relations in Critical Times

The First World War

Brazil entered the First World War in 1917. From then on the country suffered the direct political effects of the war in addition to the economic effects which the war had exerted from the beginning.

Because of the torpedoing of a Brazilian merchant ship by a German submarine, the Brazilian government severed diplomatic relations with Germany in April 1917. At the same time it also enacted and enforced laws against the use of the German language. A decree issued in October 1917 forbade the publication of periodicals in the German language and closed the schools where no Portuguese was taught. The Kirchenblatt, therefore, appeared for the last time on October 31, 1917. The same decree also forbade the use of German in letters.146

Most of the parochial schools of the District had to be closed temporarily because they could not adapt themselves to the exclusive use of the Portuguese language. The church was also severely affected. No sermons were to be preached in German. The result was that in many places the churches remained empty for a time since neither the members nor the pastors were able to speak or to understand Portuguese.147

Even the Seminário Concórdia remained closed during the school year of 1918 by order of the Military Police, because it was suspected


that the German language was being used there. In addition four sorely needed theological candidates from the United States were not able to travel to Brazil because of the war conditions.

Since congregational life almost stopped in many places, the contributions also decreased, while the cost of living increased. The pastors, therefore, appealed to the Mission Board Treasury. Upon the recommendation of the Synod's president, who had visited Brazil in 1916, the Board raised the average annual salary of a missionary to $800. Synod also telegraphed the district officers, authorizing them to act according to their own judgement during the war and to assure that the pastors and teachers should suffer no need. Synod promised to provide whatever funds were necessary.

The district officers emphasized the North American origin of the mission in their efforts to convince the government that the Synod had no connection with the German State Church.

Because of the language prohibition, one of the lasting effects of the war was that it gave the district its first impulse toward adoption of the Portuguese language. While the prohibition against the use of German lasted, the pastors translated hymns, prayers, and portions of the liturgy into Portuguese. Also, a Portuguese periodical, the Mensageiro

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150 LC-MS Proceedings, 1920, p. 121.
152 Ibid., p. 113.
Cristão (later called Mensageiro Luterano), was first published during the period in which the Kirchenblatt was interdicted.\textsuperscript{153}

The consequential opening of the Luso-Brazilian mission (that is, the mission among the Portuguese speaking population) proved to be another related, though unanticipated, result of the war. Until 1918, all the mission work of the LC-MS in Brazil had been conducted among people of Germanic origin or culture. During that year, however, Pastor T. Strieter and district President E. Mueller visited the county of Lagoa Vermelha to survey the mission opportunities there. As a result, R. Hasse, a ministerial candidate who had just graduated from the Seminário Concordia, was chosen to be the first missionary in this area. At about the same time, a mission among black people living in Solidez, Canguçu, was started by Pastor August Drews.\textsuperscript{154}

\textbf{Nationalization and World War II}

A presidential election was scheduled to take place in Brazil in 1937. Political activity, however, had deteriorated to such an extent that it only served private interests. "The weal and woe of Brazil no longer seemed to be matters to be concerned about, but hate, vengeance, and personal advancements dictated the different party platforms.\textsuperscript{155}"

Then, on November 10, Getulio Vargas, who had occupied the presidential chair since 1931, created the \textit{Estado Novo} (the New State). The

\textsuperscript{153}Ibid., p. 114.


\textsuperscript{155}Paul Schelp, "Things Are Happening in Brazil," \textit{The Lutheran Witness} 58 (19 September 1939):327.
presidential election was canceled and all political parties were disbanded. Getulio decreed that he would continue to govern the nation for another seven years. A strong reaction against any foreign influence soon followed. "Our country was declared in a state of siege. Boards of censors were nominated. A social and political police was organized. The slogan of the country was: Nationalization."\textsuperscript{156}

The effect of the nationalization laws was severely felt by the Brazil District. The requirement of the use of Portuguese during the First World War had been lifted at war's end, so the district had largely returned to the use of German in church and school because most of the members were unable to understand Portuguese. Consequently, by 1938, eighty-four percent of the preaching was still done in German, while only 16 percent was done in Portuguese.\textsuperscript{157} Although the district had been encouraging the teachers to teach the secular disciplines by means of Portuguese and had even printed textbooks in that language, it was not prepared for a sudden and complete return to the war standard. The new law now required that no foreign language usage whatsoever should occur in the school or even on the school grounds. The resultant problem was not so much with the teachers, who were able to adapt to the Portuguese, but with the children, who did not understand that language.

Compliance proved even more difficult with another point of the law, which required that only native Brazilians could be principals of schools. Only forty of the ninety pastors and synodical teachers of the district were native Brazilians. As a result, twenty-four of the district

\textsuperscript{156} Ibid.

schools were closed in the year 1938 alone and so remained until the end of the war.\textsuperscript{158}

A third problematic clause forbade that any building used for public worship could also be used for academic purposes.\textsuperscript{159} These regulations were strictly enforced, with any irregularity being severely punished.

The effects of the school laws were tragic for the Brazil District, even though they were not directly aimed against private schools or Protestant churches. According to Professor Schelp, the real reasons behind them were of a different nature:

The driving power behind the new rules and regulations of Brazil has been neither enmity against private schools nor a persecution of Protestant churches nor the hatred for everything foreign nor war propaganda. It is merely a national awakening, but a thorough one. Formerly the Brazilian viewed everything with awe that came from a foreign country. Not now any more. A change has taken place. The Brazilian is awake. He has national pride. He loves his country with a passion unknown in some Northern countries. He feels that he is the equal of any man in the world. To be sure, foreign capital and foreign brawn may still be welcome but not foreign brain. He needs but few foreigners. Only Brazilians may serve in the army. Two thirds of the men employed by any firm must be Brazilians. Diplomas of doctors awarded in a foreign country are worthless. A foreigner dare not receive more pay than his Brazilian fellow-worker provided the work is the same. The editors responsible for the contents of the newspapers must be born Brazilians. Brazil is proud of the fact that Brazilian music as sung by Carmen Miranda at the World's Fair in New York won recognition. The school boards of the state uphold the idea that foreigners, Catholic priests or Protestant pastors, are not the proper educators of the future Brazilian citizens and soldiers.\textsuperscript{160}

A district convention held in Porto Alegre in January 1940 was largely conducted in the Portuguese language although the police had

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\textsuperscript{158} Schelp, "Things Are Happening in Brazil," p. 328.

\textsuperscript{159} Schelp, "Aus der Lutherischen Kirche Südlich vom Äquator," p. 313.

\textsuperscript{160} Schelp, "Things Are Happening in Brazil," p. 328.
grant special permission allowing those who could not converse in Portuguese to speak German. 161

The next year the government decreed that all sermons had to be preached in the national language. A German sermon could, however, follow the Portuguese one in areas where the Portuguese was not sufficiently understood. 162

The district periodicals which had been published in German were converted to Portuguese in 1940. 163 Only the Kirchenblatt and the Luther-Kalender continued to be published in German until August 1941, when a new decree forbade all publications whatsoever in a foreign language. 164

One of the reasons why the government enforced such strict measures against the use of foreign languages was that it feared that those who understood these languages might more easily be influenced by the political propaganda of foreign enemies. Coelho de Souza, Education Secretary of the state of Rio Grande do Sul, said in a public address in Rio de Janeiro that although the Lutherans of the IELB were not politically minded, they still were not harmless because they understood German and were thus more easily approachable by Nazi propaganda. 165

In August 1942, Brazil entered the War against Germany and its allies. Immediately thereafter, mob rule broke out and several pastors

165 Ibid.
and lay members of the district suffered harsh persecution. A church in Passo Sant' Ana, RS, was destroyed and burned. The libraries of seven of the pastors were confiscated because the books were in German. The use of the German language was entirely forbidden. Even the use of German in pastoral care in private homes led, in some cases, to imprisonment and the prohibition of preaching. Indeed, about seven of the pastors were not even allowed to preach in Portuguese. Nineteen of the pastors were imprisoned for varying terms, but all, with the exception of two, were released before the end of the year, 1942. Among the imprisoned were Pastors August Heine, the district president, and Germano Beck. Heine was sentenced to thirty years of prison, and Beck to twenty years. But after four years, in December 1946, both were declared innocent, released, and allowed to continue their work.

Instructions at the theological seminary suffered for a while because of the prohibition of the use of German. All the theological courses were taught in the German language before the war. With the exception of the Portuguese Catechism, no textbook was available in

167 Ibid.
Portuguese. Since "Pieper's Dogmatics, Guenther's Symbolics, Walther's Pastoral Theology, Stoeckhardt's and Kretzmann's commentaries" could not be used during the war, all instruction had to be given without the aid of textbooks.\textsuperscript{171}

Relations between the Brazil District and the LC-MS were severely hampered during the war. The postal service was very irregular. Many letters and reports were delayed or did not arrive at their destination at all.\textsuperscript{172} The synodical Board of Missions for South America reported to the convention of 1944:

\begin{quote}
War clouds, war measures, war hysteria, censorship, delayed and lost mail, have cast their shadows upon and handicapped, the work of Synod's Board of Missions for South America during the greater part of the last triennium.\textsuperscript{173}
\end{quote}

Some members of the synod voiced the criticism that the Brazil District was too slow in its transition to the Portuguese language. Professor Schelp replied that the judgment was unfair. He noted that in the United States, even after fifty years of work, the LC-MS had introduced English preaching in hardly ten congregations. In Brazil, on the other hand, there had already been for years an insistence that teachers give part of their religious instruction in Portuguese even though it was probable that in many schools of the time not one child had a sufficient knowledge of that language to understand the exposition.\textsuperscript{174} Schelp also noted that criticism also came from Germany, although for the opposite reason:

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{172}Lehenbauer, "Gottes Walten in Brasilien," p. 5.
\textsuperscript{173}LC-MS Proceedings, 1944, p. 108.
\end{quote}
Brethren in Germany are inclined to believe that the opposite is true. They feel that we are too willing to loosen our grip on the religious work in the language of Dr. Martin Luther. Das Schwarze Korps, an official Hitler organ, denounced the writer of this article as a German traitor, who ought to be incarcerated. Nine periodicals of the German State Church that we received (there may have been more) were overeager to aver that they had nothing in common with our point of view in the language question in church- and school-work.  

Others indicated that the major problem in the transition to Portuguese was the fact that a large number of the members could not understand the language. Most of them lived in isolated rural areas where German was the only language to be spoken.

The nationalization laws practically ruled out any possibility for the LC-MS to relieve the pressing need for pastors in Brazil. In 1939, the Brazilian government started to issue only tourist passes which gave permission to stay only for six months. Changing the temporary visa into a permanent one was certain to involve a long and very costly process, promising very uncertain results. The synodical Board of Missions for South America concluded: "Obviously it would be most impracticable and useless to send North American men to Brazil under these conditions." The president of the Seminário Concórdia, Dr. J. Jahn, who returned to Brazil in 1939, after a leave of absence, had to return to the United States during that same year because he was unable to obtain a permanent visa. Only one candidate who had received his theological training in

175 Schelp, "Things Are Happening in Brazil," p. 327.
177 LC-MS Proceedings, 1941, p. 214.
the United States, Victor Lehenbauer, was allowed permanent entry into Brazil during the war. This was possible because he was a native Brazilian. 179

The district was visited twice during this period by Synod's Secretary of Missions, Dr. F. C. Streufert. Besides meeting with district officials, he visited a large number of pastors and congregations, giving them encouragement and gathering information for a first-hand report of the situation upon his return to the United States. 180

The government of the United States also assisted the Brazil District through its representatives in at least one situation during this critical period: this was in connection with the ultimately successful attempt to gain the release of the imprisoned pastors of the district. Paul Schelp could report that he "had the wholehearted co-operation of the American Consul in Vitoria, Espirito Santo, and of the American Consul here in Porto Alegre." 181

At the end of the war the situation in Brazil returned to normal. Bans against the use of German were no longer enforced. The Kirchenblatt resumed publication on January 1, 1947. 182 Nearly one ton of used theological books was sent from the United States to replace the libraries lost in the war. 183 Pastors from foreign countries were again allowed to enter and remain in Brazil.

179 LC-MS Proceedings, 1941, p. 215.
180 More details about these visits are given above. Supra, pp. 105-106.
181 Lehenbauer, "Good News from Brazil," p. 446.
However, the suppression of the German language for eight years had at last largely changed the Brazil District into an indigenous church. Nearly all of the congregations continued to use Portuguese, either exclusively or alongside the German. This situation still persists at the present time.

Observations

Prohibition of the use of German during the First World War had a severe effect on the Brazil District, since it was doing almost all its work in that language. The seminary was temporarily closed. Activities came to a virtual halt in many of the congregations, causing financial difficulties for the pastors. The LC-MS, however, was able to help by raising the missionaries' salaries and promising to provide other necessary funds. The sending of additional missionaries from the United States was temporarily interrupted by the war. Yet the war had the positive effect of giving the district its first impulse toward the adoption of the Portuguese language. Some translations were made, and the first official Portuguese periodical of the district was published. More significantly, the district began to extend its work beyond the German-speaking population.

The Nationalization period, together with the impact of the Second World War, exerted much more drastic effects upon the district. Strict rules and regulations intended to avert any foreign influence led to the closing of several of the district's parochial schools. Pastors were

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persecuted, forbidden to preach, and even imprisoned. Some of them had their libraries confiscated. The work of the seminary was hampered because of the lack of Portuguese textbooks. Relations between the district and the LC-MS also suffered as communications between the two countries became difficult. The possibility of sending more North American missionaries to Brazil was practically ruled out. Synod reacted by sending its Executive Secretary of Missions on two missions to Brazil to give encouragement and to gain a better insight into the situation. After the war Synod made efforts to replace the lost libraries. The collective trauma of the Nationalization laws and of World War II did, however, force the district to shift permanently to the use of Portuguese in its literature as well as in its parochial, administrative and academic activities. This was crucial for the process of building an indigenous church.
CHAPTER VI

FINANCIAL SUPPORT

Introduction

This chapter investigates the financial dimension in the relationship between the LC-MS and the IELB. Questions discussed include: Why was it necessary that the Synod support the District for such a long time? What were the main problems connected with this support? How did the salarial question affect the relationship between the Synod and the District? What steps were taken in the District toward achievement of self-support and how successful were these steps?

Financial Support

Although it was aware of the predominant spiritual needs in Brazil, the Missouri Synod for some time hesitated to begin mission work there. The main reason for the hesitation was a financial one, specifically, the fear that it would deprive the Home Mission in the United States of necessary funds. Therefore, the 1899 synodical convention stipulated in its resolution to start mission work in Brazil that contributions for this mission should be kept "scharf gesondert von den Geldern der bisherigen Kasse für Innere Mission." The same concern was

1"Kept sharply separated from the moneys of the hitherto existing fund for Home Missions." Vierundzwanzigster Synodal-Bericht der Allgemeinen Deutschen Ev.-Luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio und Andern Staaten, Versammelt als Neunte Delegatensynode zu St. Louis, Mo., im Jahre 1899 (St.
voiced again when the Board for Home Missions brought the synodical resolution to the attention of the congregation and asked for contributions to start the Brazilian Mission. The article in the Der Lutheraner concluded with this remark.

A special fund for missions in Brazil was thus created. Although the creation of special funds for specific missions was not unusual at the time, it nevertheless reflected, at least in this case, the financial preoccupation described above. The response to the initial request for funds for the Brazilian mission was immediate and beyond expectations. Before the end of 1899 the treasurer of the Eastern District had already sent more than two thousand dollars in one single remittance. The name of the donor, or donors, was never revealed. Funds were thus available to send an explorer to Brazil and to begin the work there.

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Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1899), p. 69. (Hereafter referred to as LC-MS Proceedings). The Brazilian mission was associated with the Board for Home Missions because, although conducted outside the United States, it was not a mission among "heathen" but among people of, and coming from, a Christianized country. See: LC-MS Proceedings, 1917, p. 37 (English edition).

The two main expenditures of the Brazilian mission in the following years were the missionaries' trips and a considerable portion of their salaries. Appeals for contributions had to be published from time to time.

Pastor Wilhelm Mahler, the Mission Director in Brazil, remarked in 1901 that the chances of the Brazilian congregations eventually becoming self-sustaining appeared very good from the outset. Nevertheless, he indicated that Synod would have to provide them with a substantial subsidy for years. He offered three reasons: 1) many of the congregations were small, and, at the same time, could only with difficulty be gathered into a large parish; 2) the congregations were usually much poorer than the North American congregations and, in addition, the cost of living was higher in Brazil; 3) the Brazilian congregations had not yet become fully aware of their responsibility to contribute for God's kingdom and cause. The preaching of the Gospel would produce such a consciousness. Considering the minimal spiritual nourishment they had long been receiving, the congregations had, nevertheless, accomplished much. They had maintained teachers with sacrifice, and most if not all of the congregations owned church property. Mahler had confidence in the future of these congregations:

Die Gemeinden werden das Geben immer besser lernen. Und sie werden nicht nur schliesslich selbständig in Bezug auf ihren eigenen Gemeindehaushalt dastehen, sie werden auch ihr sauer erworbenes Geld zusammenlegen, um damit ausserhalb ihrer Kreise Mission zu treiben. 

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5. Ibid., p. 307.
Retrospectively, Mahler's words sound almost prophetic. Nevertheless, many years were to pass before his expectations were realized. The Brazil District, organized in June 1904, sent an official request to the synodical convention of 1905 asking that the Synod continue to give financial support to the district for as long as it was needed. The convention granted the request. 6

The district numbered thirteen pastors, one teacher and seven assistant teachers in 1905. Two congregations were self-sustaining; all the others contributed something but needed substantial support. The Mission Board was sending about $8,000 a year to Brazil, the least expensive of Synod's missions at the time. 7 Although some of the Brazilian congregations were contributing below their capacity, many others were quite poor. This was particularly true in new colonization areas.

In Porto Alegre, where most of the members were factory workers, the situation was not much better. A worker with a good salary received about thirty dollars a month. The house rent was about eight dollars.

The average salary of a Brazilian missionary was $400 per year, calculated in American dollars but paid in Brazilian currency. This caused a serious problem for the missionaries, due to the constant fluctuation of the Brazilian currency. Mahler pointed out that $400 was equivalent to 1600 milreis in 1904, but to only 1100 milreis in 1905. 8

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6 LC-MS Proceedings, 1905, p. 64.


the cost of living was much higher than in the United States. Any delay in the payment of the salary was thus severely felt by the missionaries. Aware of this situation, the synodical Board for Home Missions sent money even if there were no funds available. The result was that the fund for Brazilian mission had built up a significant debt already by 1905.\(^9\)

The 1905 synodical convention resolved to also grant loans from the synodical church extension fund to Brazilian congregations.\(^10\)

The report of the synodical Mission Board to the 1908 synodical convention shows that the Synod was broadening the area of subsidies granted to Brazilian congregations. It was now also sending support for the purchase of property for a cemetery in Porto Alegre, for the construction of a school, and for the seminary in Porto Alegre.\(^11\) The same convention also authorized the Brazil District president, W. Mahler, to visit congregations throughout the United States, to lecture about the Brazilian mission and to collect funds for his congregation in Porto Alegre.\(^12\)

Another resolution of the 1908 convention was passed to raise the salaries of the Brazilian missionaries from $400 to $600.\(^13\) The synodical Board for Home Missions was authorized to pay even more than $600 in specific situations, since an American dollar had the purchasing power of only about sixty-five cents in Brazil. Brazilian prices were two or three times higher than in the United States.

\(^9\) L. Lochner, *Der Lutheraner* 61 (5 December 1905):389. The source does not indicate the amount of the debt it simply refers to "eine bedeutende Schuld."


\(^11\) Ibid., 1908, p. 128. \(^12\) Ibid., p. 79. \(^13\) Ibid., pp. 78-79.
The annual subsidy to the South American mission had been increased from about $8,000 in 1905 to about $12,000 in 1911. The treasury, however, remained in debt. Many members of the Synod were reluctant to contribute to this mission because they thought that the people in South America were indifferent to the preaching of the Gospel since they themselves did not contribute. The Board for Home Missions, however, pointed out that while contributions in South America were naturally low because most of the people were poor and because the Gospel had only been preached for a short time there, nevertheless, contributions were beginning to increase. The congregations showed the following progress in their contributions: in 1908, $2,679.12; in 1909, $3,728.36; in 1910, $4,285.77.

The 1911 convention also granted $5,000 for the purchase of land and construction of proper quarters for the Seminário Concórdia of Porto Alegre. Professor Wegehaupt was directed to raise this money from congregations in the United States. He raised $3,000, and the remainder was taken as a loan from the synodical church extension fund. The convention, furthermore, resolved that the support for the Brazilian seminary should no longer be taken from the fund for mission in Brazil but from the synodical treasury.

The debt in the treasury for Brazilian mission was about $10,000 in 1912. The Brazil District president, Adolph Vogel, reported in a letter sent to the United States in September 1912:

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14Ibid., 1911, p. 114. 15Ibid., p. 115.

16Ibid., p. 82. Ibid., 1914, p. 91. 17Ibid., 1911, p. 116.


Vogel continues by explaining again the reasons why the Brazilian congregations were not giving more liberally. He then concludes:

Ich bitte um Verzeihung, wenn ich einmal offen in dieser Sache geredet habe, aber ich bin von meinen Brüdern dazu beauftragt worden, weil es uns scheinen wollte, als beurteile man uns in diesem Punkte nicht ganz richtig. Unsere lieben Christen möchten also nicht die Lust verlieren, für unsere brasilianische Mission zu geben, denn diese ist eben ihre Mission, die der Unterstützung der Christen in Normamerika dringend bedarf.20

Although appeals like this one do not seem to have been very effective, they frequently appeared in the Der Lutheraner. The debt in the fund for South American mission persisted.21 In fact, both the lack of contributions and the ever-increasing amount of necessary subsidy was responsible for this debt. Hence, although the contributions had reached about $20,000 in 1914, the needs of the Brazilian mission for that year were $25,000. The debt of $5,000 had increased to $15,000 in August 1915.22

The contributions of the Brazilian congregations were slowly increasing. Some had become self-supporting before 1915.23 Several

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20 Ibid.
congregations had also started to contribute for outside needs like the Brazilian seminary, needy students, and missions.

The problem which the fluctuation of the Brazilian currency posed to the missionaries had been solved by 1915. Any decrease of the salary caused by changes in the rate of exchange were now covered by the synodical Board for Missions.24

The first visit of an LC-MS synodical president to Brazil seems to have been caused mainly by a financial problem. In September 1915, a committee appointed by President F. Pfotenhauer to audit the district account books had discovered that a lack of order in the bookkeeping had resulted in a deficit of about 20,000$000 (twenty thousand milreis which was equivalent to about $5,000) by the end of 1915.25 Pfotenhauer came to Brazil the next year. He attended the district convention held in Sítio, Santa Cruz, from March 16 to 22, where the financial situation was largely discussed. The convention adopted a set of regulations intended to avoid further disorders in the treasury. President Pfotenhauer promised that the synodical fund for Brazilian missions would cover $4,000 of the existing deficit.

Also discussed at the convention were the low contributions of many Brazilian congregations.26 Although some congregations were already self-supporting, many others were not yet aware that they should work to


26 Ibid., pp. 17-24.
that end. A great hindrance in this connection was the bad economic situation of the country, but many congregations also showed a lack of gratitude for the preaching of the Gospel. In many cases, however, the Gospel certainly had been preached for too short a time to already bring about great results.

A main factor contributing to the low offerings in many congregations was the tax or fee system. According to this system, each housefather—the only contributing members—paid the same established amount to the congregation. This system had been introduced in the time of the so-called tramp preachers, before the LC-MS had started to work in Brazil, and was deeply rooted in many congregations. President Pfotenhauer was very surprised that such a way of raising salaries could be in use in Christian congregations, and remarked that not even a state was so unjust as to require the same amount of taxes from every citizen, independent of his economic condition. The convention also denounced the injustice of this system and declared that it should be abolished by the congregations because of its conflict with the Christian spirit and mind. The pastors and teachers were directed to instruct the congregations in this matter. The convention furthermore requested that several congregations become self-sustaining or increase their contributions. Upon suggestion of President Pfotenhauer, it was resolved to create a synodical fund (Synodalkasse) and a mission fund (Missionskasse) in the district.

Pfotenhauer's visit had an immediate effect upon the district finances, as this report of the Board for Home Missions to the synodical convention of 1917 shows:

Even financially the visit was very successful, the expenses of the trip being covered within six months by the increased offerings in
South America, with corresponding decrease of support from our Board.27

This same synodical convention appropriated the sum of $35,000 per annum for the mission in South America over the next three years.28

The 1920 synodical convention approved the purchase of a new site and building for the Brazilian seminary. "$35,000 was appropriated for the purchase; $12,000 for the erection of three professors' dwellings; $15,000 for additional buildings."29 These appropriations included the $8,000 which the Brazil District had promised to raise, and the $5,000 realized from the sale of the old seminary. The seminary was also recognized as a synodical institution on this occasion.

The Synod also approved at this convention the raising of the normal salary of a missionary in Brazil to $800 per year holding that it was "rather too low than too high."30 It was furthermore resolved that the salaries of the individual missionaries should be established by the synodical Board for Home Missions in conjunction with the Brazil District Mission Board.

The salary question was again discussed at the 1923 synodical convention. This time, however, the tendency was not to raise the salaries but rather to lower them. The synodical Board for Home Missions in Foreign Countries reported that the ever increasing number of South American missionaries represented an always higher demand of subsidies which, however, was not being met by a corresponding increase in contributions for that mission. As a solution, the Board proposed to let the South

27 LC-MS Proceedings, 1917, p. 38. 28 Ibid.
29 Ibid., 1920, p. 28. 30 Ibid., p. 55.
American congregations fix the salaries: "Die dortigen Gemeinden würden Gehälter, zumal auch andere Löhne dort geringer sind als hier, nicht nach hiesigen Verhältnissen gewähren, sondern wie es den ihren entspricht." \(^{31}\)

The proposals of the board led the Synod to pass the following resolutions concerning the salary question:

1. That South American congregations fix the salaries of their ministers and teachers themselves since they have both the right and the duty to do so;
2. That subsidy may be granted to such congregations as are unable to raise the salaries of their pastors, provided they present a request for the amount they are unable to raise in spite of earnest effort;
3. That the subsidy be granted by having the Board for Missions in South America fix the normal salary, including minimum and maximum;
4. That this salary apply also to missionaries who are entirely supported by Synod;
5. That in special cases the board be empowered to act according to its judgment in the matter.\(^{32}\)

The synodical convention of 1926 upheld the principles laid down in the previous convention and encouraged the Mission Board "to continue paying salaries in keeping with South American conditions, always, however, aiming at the eventual self-sustenance of those Districts."\(^{33}\)

The debt in the fund for mission work in South America had not yet been eliminated, but it had also not been increased in the preceding triennium.\(^{34}\) South American congregations were beginning to increase their contributions for their own support.\(^{35}\) The congregations also offered liberally for the Brazilian fund for needy students, from which all but five seminarians were drawing their support.\(^{36}\)

\(^{31}\)Ibid., 1923, p. 97.  
\(^{32}\)Ibid., pp. 35-36.  
\(^{33}\)Ibid., 1926, p. 100.  
\(^{34}\)Ibid.  


\(^{36}\)LC-MS Proceedings, 1926, p. 83 (German edition).
A significant portion of the subsidy granted to South America seems occasionally to have been spent on trips and maintenance of missionaries on furlough. The prospective figures for 1926, for instance, indicated that of a total synodical subsidy of $66,000 for Brazil, Argentina, and Paraguay, $14,000 would be needed for six missionaries who were coming to spend their furlough in the United States and for two who were returning to South America. 37

A report to the synodical convention of 1929 stated that "we have no self-supporting congregations in Brazil at the present time." 38 An article published in the Kirchenblatt at the end of the same year states that there were only two self-supporting Brazilian congregations (one of these being a new one). 39 This seems to indicate that former self-supporting congregations again became dependent on subsidy, since reports from previous years refer to "some" self-supporting congregations as has been mentioned above.

Representatives from eleven Brazilian parishes declared publicly at the district convention of 1928 that their parishes would "make every possible effort to become self-sustaining in the next few years." 40 It seems, however, that these pledges could not be carried out very

37 "Die Lage in Südamerika," Der Lutheraner 82 (9 November 1926): 374-75.
38 LC-MS Proceedings, 1929, p. 83.
successfully, as an article published in the Kirchenblatt in December 1929 indicates:

Auch die Erklärungen der Vertreter verschiedener Parochien auf der Synode im Februar 1928, die dahinlauteten, dass sie dafür sorgen würden, dass ihre Parochien in einer bestimmten Reihe von Jahren selbständig würden, hatten nicht den gewünschten Erfolg.  

The resolution to let the Brazilian congregations fix the salaries of their pastors and teachers was apparently creating unexpected problems at this time. Salaries were often kept below an acceptable level in terms of local conditions and the payment also seems to have been delayed:


The pressure to reduce requests for subsidy from the Synod seems to have possibly been among the factors which led the congregations to lower the salaries. That pressure increased when the Great Depression started to affect the LC-MS. In fact, the Synod's financial troubles had started even before the depression,

. . . the rural constituency of the Synod had suffered losses in the immediately previous years . . . The treasuries of Synod were suffering and the budgets were not being met. Perhaps the Synod had overextended itself in the capital funds drive for the new Seminary [in St. Louis] and other needs; perhaps the stewardship programs of the Districts and congregations had not as yet been sufficiently developed.  

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42 Ibid.
The debt in the synodical treasury had exceeded one million dollars by the end of 1932. \(^{44}\) In the midst of this financial crisis, the Synod adopted this resolution: "That Synod encourage all congregations in South America to make every possible effort to become self-sustaining as soon as possible." \(^{45}\) Officers of the Brazil District also appealed to the congregations to give the matter consecrated thought. \(^{46}\) That these appeals were effective is shown by the following statistics. The synodical subsidy to the Brazil and Argentina district could be reduced a little more than thirty-six and a half percent from 1932 to 1933. The total subsidy for both districts was $33,191.68 in 1933. \(^{47}\) According to a report to the 1935 LC-MS convention, there were eleven self-sustaining congregations in Brazil. Six of these achieved this goal in the preceding three years. \(^{48}\) However, it was also said that the brunt of the reductions in synodical subsidies had been borne by the missionaries. One Brazilian pastor reported that the method employed in his parish when it became self-sustaining had been to subtract a tenth from his salary and to increase the contributions in the parish. \(^{49}\)

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\(^{45}\) LC-MS Proceedings, 1932, p. 129.


\(^{48}\) LC-MS Proceedings, 1935, p. 150.

entitled to furloughs had to give up this privilege during the years 1933 and 1934 because of a decision of the synodical Board of Missions for South America:

In order to cooperate with the Board of Directors and to keep within the budget allotted to your Board, no furloughs were granted during the two years 1933 and 1934. Although this was a keen disappointment to the men entitled to furloughs, they cheerfully labored on in their respective fields, knowing that thereby they were serving Him who so readily served us.50

To ease the financial situation of the Brazilian missionaries, Synod's Board of Directors granted them a bonus of 49,000 milreis (approximately $2,900) in 1937.51 This represented about $43.90 for each of the sixty-six missionaries.

A special debt-reducing collection was held in the LC-MS congregations in the United States in November 1934. President Pfotenhauer urged the South American congregations to participate in this collection. He wrote to the Brazil District president: "Mir liegt daran, dass sich auch unsere Gemeinden in Südamerika beteiligen unter anderem zu dem Zweck, dass das Bewusstsein der Zugehörigkeit gehoben wird."52 The money raised through this collection was to be used by the congregations themselves so that the synodical subsidy could be reduced.

Das Geld selbst möge die einzelne Gemeinde behalten als Mehrbeitrag zum Gehalt ihres Pastors und sich dann anstrengen, ihren Zuschuss von der Missionskommision um diese Summe zu verringern. Man mag auch die Summe, wo es vorgezogen wird, an den Kassierer einsenden. In jedem Fall hoffen wir dann, weniger aus der Missionskasse Nordamerikas zu benöti gen.53

50LC-MS Proceedings, 1935, p. 149. 51Ibid., 1938, p. 145.


53Ibid., p. 50. No figures concerning this collection were available to the author.
The fact that the Brazil District had thus far not contributed to the work of the Synod (with the exception of small contributions for heathen missions) was pointed out at the district convention of 1936. The convention resolved to change that situation and thus created a synodical fund (Allgemeine Synodalkasse), urging the congregations to send at least one annual collection to this fund.54

Several more Brazilian congregations had become self-sustaining by the time of the district convention held in January 1940.55 Progress in this direction continued in the next years. At the 1947 LC-MS synodical convention it was reported that there had been "an increase in contributions of 111.63% from 1943-1946." in the Brazil District.56

Synod continued to encourage the District to make every effort to become self-supporting. Dr. F. C. Streufert, Synod's Executive Secretary of the Board for Missions, visited Brazil in 1942, 1945, 1948 and 1949 and "gave new impetus to the training in stewardship consciousness."57 It was, however, also recognized that different conditions naturally led to lower contributions in Brazil.

When, as is the case, the average daily wage in Brazil is one fourth of what it is here in North America, it is folly to expect our Christians there to give one half as much as our Christians in North America are giving.58

54P. S[chelp], "Ein Wunder Punkt," Kirchenblatt 31 (1 April 1936):54.
55Theo. Schmidt, "Aus Unserm Brasilianischen Distrikt," Der Lutheraner 96 (2 July 1940):228. The number of congregations is not indicated in this report which reads: "Es war erfreulich, zu hören, dass einige Gemeinden in der letzten Zeit ihre Selbstständigkeit erreicht hatten."
57Ibid., 1944, p. 174. 58Ibid., pp. 174-75.
The salary question of the Brazilian missionaries was again thoroughly discussed in the 1940s. The cost of living was rising substantially in South America. It was reported in 1941 that "the cost of living had increased 50 percent plus during the last three years." In 1943, it was reported that Brazilian prices of food and other needed products had been increased from 250 percent to 400 percent in ten months. A cause for concern was the fact that the salaries of the missionaries were not being raised in proportion to this increase of the cost of living. "Relief for missionaries to meet the increased cost of living," was mentioned as "one of the greatest and most urgent needs" of the South American mission at the LC-MS synodical convention of 1941. The synodical Board for Missions in South America reported that, although it had been sanctioning emergency grants in case of illness and a bonus at the end of 1940 ("made possible by an extremely favorable rate of exchange"), it had not been able to solve the problem on a permanent basis. Upon recommendation of a floor committee, the Synod adopted the following resolutions concerning this matter in 1941:

Resolved, That the officials in charge of this work adopt such measures as will relieve the present emergency and increase the subsidy to meet all the demands for an efficient prosecution of the work; and be it further

Resolved, That the officials collaborate with the pastors and congregations in carrying out the aforementioned resolution.

A memorial deploring the hardships to which South American missionaries were being subjected and requesting better salaries for them was

59Ibid., 1941, p. 216.


61LC-MS Proceedings, 1941, p. 218. 62Ibid.
submitted to the LC-MS convention of 1947 by the Pastoral Conference of the Algona Circuit, Iowa District West. The Board of Missions for South America explained extensively the problems connected with this question in a report submitted to the same convention. After explaining that the salaries were fixed in South America and not by the synodical Board in the United States, the Board stated:

The fixing of salaries of our South American missions has ever been a problem for our South American District Home Mission Board. And this largely because of the prevailing standard of living in South American countries. Our missionaries and their wives coming from North American homes and going to the faraway colonies in Brazil and Argentina must forego the use of many conveniences found even in the most ordinary homes in the United States. \(^{63}\)

The report goes on to explain that giving the missionaries the usual conveniences found in North America would create a barrier between them and their parishioners. To establish "a double standard in salaries, one for the missionaries coming from North America and another for the missionaries from South America, for obvious reasons would not serve the best interest of the cause." \(^{64}\) Furthermore, the very idea of a double standard had been unanimously rejected by the missionaries themselves some years before. But what about lifting the salaries of all missionaries to the North American standard? "To do this would make the eventual building of a self-supporting Church in South America impossible." \(^{65}\) Furthermore, the missionaries and their families had not been permitted to suffer want.

'But how can they survive and live in decency with the salaries as low as $50 to $60 per month?' you will say. Not knowing South American conditions and economic values, the buying power of the U.S. dollar, one might unjustly criticize the South American District Home Mission Boards. The basic salary of 12,000 cruzeiros (equivalent to approximately $600 in U.S. currency per annum) plus children's allowances, plus rent and cost of travel, was fixed and adopted by the District

\(^{63}\) Ibid., 1947, p. 375.  \(^{64}\) Ibid.  \(^{65}\) Ibid., p. 376.
convention of Brazil, by the missionaries themselves, nearly all of them receiving subsidy. We know that these Mission Boards perform the task placed upon them conscientiously, in the fear of God, and will not permit any of the missionaries to suffer. . . . To our knowledge none of the missionaries suffered want unless they did not make known their need to their respective Mission Boards.66

The salary question was studied by a floor committee and its recommendation was adopted by the 1947 synodical convention:

Your Committee on Missions has devoted much time to a thorough study of the salary and automobile situation in South America and, after a thorough investigation in the presence of the Board and the Presidents of the two Districts involved, feels perfectly satisfied that the Boards in both North and South America, in cooperation with the two District Presidents, have done their utmost in adjusting salaries in a proper Christian and sympathetic manner, and we heartily commend the efforts of these brethren. Your committee expresses sincere regrets that now and then complaints have been made and dissatisfaction aroused in conferences and congregations owing to misunderstanding or lack of consultation with the proper officials and Board. . . . Since the cost of our missions has risen with all the cost of life, we urge this Convention and the membership of Synod to support both our Home and Foreign Mission treasuries even more liberally than in the past so that the work of the Lord may not be hindered for lack of funds and our missionaries may be able to devote their time to their work without having to worry about the necessities of life.67

Churches, schools, and parsonages were usually built by the Brazilian congregations with their own funds. Some larger projects, however, received generous assistance from the Synod's General Extension Fund. A District Church Extension Fund was also established in Brazil. A special grant of $10,000 was appropriated by the Synod at its 1944 convention to strengthen the district fund. The same convention also authorized the

66Ibid., pp 376-77.

67Ibid., pp. 379-80. Concerning the automobile question, also discussed at this convention, supra., pp. 79-80.
district to include a reasonable sum for this fund in its request for subsidy during the following years. 68

Progress in the direction of self-support of the Brazil District continued to be reported in the 1950s. 69

At its Golden Jubilee convention in 1950, the district resolved to set aside Sunday Jubilate, April 30, for a District-wide celebration. It also resolved that one half of the offering for that day should be ear-marked for the district mission treasury and the other half "as a token thank offering to the mother church in the United States. 70

Pastor Harold Ott, representative of the Synod at the Brazil District convention of 1956, ended his presentation about Synod's work with the question: "Why does the Brazil District not contribute to this work?" The immediate reaction of the convention was to mark the offerings of the opening and closing services of the convention to the synodical mission treasury and to recommend the congregations to mark an annual collection to the same end. 71

A plan of reorganization of the theological and teacher-training program in the Brazil District was adopted at the 1956 synodical convention


71M. W. Flor, "33. Synodalversammlung der Ev.-Luth. Kirch Brasiliens," Kirchenblatt 46 (1 March 1956):38. "Nossa Igreja Marcha," Mensageiro Luterano 39 (March 1956):22. The author was not able to determine if this resolution was carried out in the following years.
of the LC-MS. The plan called for the organization of the departments of
the Seminário Concórdia (theological, teacher-training, and preparatory)
into three separate institutions, each with its own campus. The prepara-
tory department should remain on its campus in Porto Alegre. The theologi-
cal department was to be located on a new campus in or near Porto Alegre.
The pedagogical department was to be located in São Paulo. A new prepara-
tory school for ministerial and teacher-training students was to be es-
tablished in Rio de Janeiro. The Synod assumed the financial responsibility
for this undertaking, resolving that "the capital investments necessary to
accomplish this reorganization be authorized by the Fiscal Conference."72

The Brazil District convention of 1959 resolved to raise a col-
lection of 8,000,00 cruzeiros ($55,000) for the necessary constructions.
This collection, raised during the same year, exceeded the proposed goal.73

A report submitted to the 1956 LC-MS convention shows that while
all other salaries to Brazilian workers were paid in Brazilian currency,
pensions continued to be granted according to a 1941 resolution establish-
ing that "our South American workers shall receive 75% of the minimum
Pension in U.S. currency."74 It was pointed out that this resolution,
according to which the South American Pension beneficiaries were receiv-
ing $75 a month in U.S. currency, was "contrary to the policy fixed by
Synod's Board of Directors, that salaries in any foreign land shall be
paid in the coin of the realm," and provided "benefits in excess of the

72LC-MS Proceedings, 1956, pp. 392-93.
73Carlos H. Warth, Crônicas da Igreja (Porto Alegre: Concordia
74LC-MS Proceedings, 1956, p. 647.
average cash salary obtaining in either the Argentina or the Brazil District. The Synod, therefore, rescinded the 1941 resolution and authorized the Board of Support and Pensions to adjust the Pensions in the South American Districts each year according to the average salary of workers in the respective countries, "keeping also in mind the value of the coin of the realm." Pension benefits had been paid in Brazil in the year 1955 to "3 retired workers, and 3 widows of Pension Fund members, and also 3 workers who received Support only, as well as 4 widows and 1 orphan." The resolution of the 1956 convention as described above does not seem to have been a satisfactory solution. Most of the Brazilian pastors depending on pension had to request additional help from the Support Fund because the Pension granted was inadequate.

Although resolutions to begin contributing to Synod's work had already been adopted in the past, it was only in 1960 that the Brazil District officially made its "first pledge toward a synodical budget." This pledge was made by district's treasurer, M. C. Warth at a meeting of synodical officers in Valparaiso. The amount pledged for the year 1961, 50,000 cruzeiros ($277.77), was intended as a demonstration of gratitude for Synod's financial help and counsel. The meeting received this pledge with a standing ovation.

The early years of the 1960s were marked by a spiraling inflation in Brazil. Synod became concerned about the Church Extension funds deposited there and was considering the development of "some system by which

75 Ibid.  
76 Ibid., p. 653.  
77 Ibid., pp. 646-47.  
congregations will repay Church Extension loans in terms of purchasing power rather than simply paying back the face value of the loan."79 Inflation also hampered congregational efforts to become self-supporting.

In spite of the economic problems affecting the country, the Brazil District resolved at its 1962 meeting to attain the status of a sister church by 1965. Plans calling for a progressive decrease of subsidy were to be formulated. The year 1983 was established as the goal for reaching the financial independence.80 Synod's representative at the convention, Pastor Edwin A. Sommer, was able to see the difficulties involved in the plan and commented:

Because of this acute inflationary pinch and repeated recessions, it seems to me that the South American Districts will require subsidy from Synod for a long time to come.81

Within the district, however, there was hope that the financial independence would soon be a reality. President Arnaldo Schmidt, for example, declared that as soon as the country would achieve a period of economic stability, and with the help of a thorough stewardship program, the financial difficulties of the district would be removed in a short period of time.82 The LC-MS convention of 1962, to which the plan of the

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82"Der Präsdes ist Führer der Kirche," Kirchenblatt 54 (1 November 1964):171.
Brazil District was presented, authorized the district "to take the initial steps toward 'sister-church status.'"\textsuperscript{83}

Although the district made significant progress, increasing the contributions for the District budget by 600 percent, or 120 percent per year, in the period of five years, 1959-1962, the question of administrative independence was postponed fifteen years beyond the initial goal.\textsuperscript{84}

The Brazil District also requested to the 1962 LC-MS convention permission to carry on the mission in Portugal (which had been started by the district in 1952) with its own means and under its own responsibility. Synod granted the request.\textsuperscript{85}

A memorial requesting Synod to reconsider the salary question of North American missionaries in Brazil was also submitted to this convention. It contains some interesting information on the subject:

WHEREAS, the salary which has been paid to North American missionaries in Brazil has been quite inferior to the remuneration which was and still is being given to laborers in other mission fields; and
WHEREAS, North American workers employed at our seminary in Porto Alegre always drew a higher pay than other North Americans working in the field; and
WHEREAS, many missionaries returned home after but one or two terms, to the great harm of our largest mission field; and
WHEREAS, returning workers find it difficult to re-equip a home and even harder to provide a college education for their children; and
WHEREAS, it is the best interest of The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod to ward off bitter complaints; therefore be it
RESOLVED, that different provisions be made with respect to the salary for North American missionaries who are willing to work in Brazil.\textsuperscript{86}

\textsuperscript{83} LC-MS Proceedings, 1962, p. 93.
\textsuperscript{84} Reports and Memorials, 1965, p. 9.
\textsuperscript{85} LC-MS Proceedings, 1962, pp. 93, 174.
\textsuperscript{86} Ibid., 174-75.
The convention resolved to leave the question to the discretion of the Brazil District. Actually, only a small number of North American missionaries were still working in Brazil at this time, and only three more came to Brazil afterwards.

Besides the official subsidy granted by the Synod, the Brazil District also received financial assistance from individual members and congregations of the United States. For instance, a congregation donated $2,376.66 in 1967 for the purchase of an automobile for a pastor in Brazil. Several students of Seminário Concordia received scholarships from members and organizations of the LC-MS. The International Lutheran Women's Missionary League offered $25,000 for social and religious work in Belem, Para, in the north of Brazil in 1972. The Lutheran Orphanage at Moreira, RS, received a gift of $19,000 from the Minnesota South District of the Lutheran Women's Missionary League about the same time. In 1979, the Minnesota South District of the LC-MS promised to raise the sum of $110,000 for mission work in Brazil.

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87Ibid., p. 93. The author has no information as to whether this question was afterwards presented to the Brazil District.

88"A Foto Que Não Foi Publicada," Mensageiro Luterano 50 (October 1967):15. The source does not indicate the location of this LC-MS congregation, it simply gives its name: Mount Calvary Lutheran Church.


92Johannes H. Gedrat, "Página do Presidente," Mensageiro Luterano 62 (September 1979):2. This district had already started to support mission work in Brazil some years before.
That progress toward self-support continued to be made in the Brazil District is shown by the figures indicating that at the beginning of the 1970s, 120 Brazilian parishes were self-supporting and only thirty-nine continued to be supported. Over half of the subsidy received from the LC-MS was being spent on theological and pretheological training. The Board of Directors of the District established the goal of achieving the financial independence of the district by 1978. The District President, Elmer Reimnitz, made clear that serious efforts would be needed:

In order to accomplish this goal it will be necessary for much stewardship work to be undertaken in the parishes and also to have investments to help underwrite the cost of the seminary and pretheological training schools.93

Investments made during the Reimnitz administration, allegedly to achieve the financial independence of the Brazil District, turned out to be the subject of much controversy within the District, eventually being one of the reasons for the dismissal of Reimnitz in 1973. The cause of the controversy was the fact that Reimnitz had resolved to make these investments without consultation with or authorization from other District authorities. When the District Board of Directors became aware of the situation it rejected the plan of investments.94

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94 Arnaldo J. Schmidt, "Interview to the author on February 16, 1981," (the tape of this interview is in the author's possession). When questions about these investments were raised at the 1973 LC-MS convention, Synod's Treasurer, Dr. Milton Carpenter, "made it very clear that no fees were involved in the Brazil transaction and that no one benefited from it in a personal financial way." He added that "this investment can be of great service to the church in Brazil and had a precedent in similar investments which have been made in Japan." LC-MS Proceedings, 1973, p. 36.
The goal of self-support by 1975 was not achieved. Two years later, however, it was reported that "the stewardship level of Brazilian members is also increasing rapidly, with many of the mission stations becoming self-supporting within 3 years." 95

The administrative independence of the Brazil District was achieved in 1980. The LC-MS promised to continue supporting the new partner-church but it was also made clear that the IELB would have to progressively assume its own financial expenses. 96

Summary

LC-MS members initially contributed liberally to the Brazilian mission. Enthusiasm, however, began to wane as the Brazilian congregations proved unable to attain a sufficient level of self-support through their own contributions. As a result, a debt developed in the synodical fund for the mission, which remained for a long time despite efforts to explain that the low contributions in Brazil were less a result of indifference to the Gospel than of the relative poverty of most of the members and the high national cost of living imposed by chronically poor economic conditions.

The constant fluctuation of the Brazilian currency occasionally caused severe hardships for the missionaries working in Brazil but receiving their salary in United States currency. At first, attempts were made to solve the problem by raising the salaries. Later, however, it

95Ibid., 1977, p. 39.

was decided that it would be better to pay the salaries in Brazilian currency since this would avoid problems caused by fluctuation of the currency. In the 1920s it was resolved to let the Brazilian congregations fix the salaries according to local conditions. Since salaries in Brazil were lower than in the United States, this measure was expected to reduce the subsidy needed in Brazil. Complaints related to the salary question were registered from time to time because Brazilian congregations tended to fix the salaries below levels of acceptability relative to their local conditions. A standard salary proposed by the District Mission Board was also sometimes criticized as inadequate. Synod, however, insisted that its intention with respect to the fixing of salaries was to motivate the district toward eventual self-support.

After three decades of work in Brazil the LC-MS began to insist that the District reduce requests for subsidy and strive toward financial independence. Efforts to do so were, however, repeatedly frustrated by inflation. Nevertheless, progress toward self-support continued at the congregational level. The pretheological and theological schools, however, continued under maintenance by synodical funds. For this reason, support from the LC-MS was still necessary at the time the IELB became administratively independent from the Synod.
CHAPTER VII

POSTSCRIPT

Summary

Summaries have already been provided at the close of the major topics. Consequently, this section will only touch upon the most general aspects of the relationship between the LC-MS and the IELB.

Relations between the LC-MS and the IELB began in 1900 when the LC-MS sent its first missionaries to Brazil. Following a resolution of the Synod the LC-MS pastors working in Brazil assembled in 1904 and organized the Brazil District.

One of the greatest problems in the relationship between the LC-MS and the IELB concerned the supply of manpower for the IELB. The LC-MS was never able to send an adequate number of pastors to satisfy the needs of the district, and those who were sent could not be retained there for more than a few years. The Brazilian seminary was for a long time not able to solve the problem since only a relatively small number of native Brazilians were willing or financially able to undertake a theological education.

The opening and operation of parochial schools played a significant role in the establishment of the LC-MS mission in Brazil. Local missions sometimes started with the opening of a school. The school was seen as a missionary agency. A normal department for the training of teachers was, therefore, operated in connection with the Seminário.
Concordia. This seminary came into being by a resolution of the Southern Pastoral Conference in 1903, was accepted as an official institution of the District in 1904, and received recognition as a synodical institution in 1920. It began to receive financial support from the Synod soon after its relocation to Porto Alegre in 1907. Thereafter, Synod also provided the professors.

The Synod took the initiative of providing literature for the IELB when it resolved at its 1902 convention that a periodical should be published in Brazil. Upon request from the Brazil District, Synod also established an agency of Concordia Publishing House in Porto Alegre in 1905. Although the Synod had advised against the undertaking, a religious publishing house was founded in Brazil in 1923 by members of the IELB. Later, however, Synod also cooperated with the enterprise, both with advice and with loans. The IELB published several periodicals and some religious books on its own initiative. A few theological works first published by the LC-MS were translated into Portuguese.

Personal contacts between the LC-MS and the IELB have been frequent after the second decade of the century. Most frequently they occurred in connection with LC-MS or IELB conventions. These contacts were primarily designed to focus attention on district developments or to resolve the occasional problems which confronted the IELB, rather than to further synodical programs.

World War I had some negative effects upon the relations between the LC-MS and the IELB. The main effect was the temporary interruption of the sending of manpower from the United States. The effects of the Brazilian nationalization laws and of World War II were, however, much more severe and permanent. Communication between the United States and
Brazil became difficult and the sending of additional manpower from the United States was effectively brought to a halt. This crisis, however, also forced the IELB to intensify its efforts toward becoming an indigenous church. The District was forced to shift permanently to the use of Portuguese, and its leadership passed to the hands of native Brazilians. A native Brazilian became president of the Seminário Concórdia in 1940. Another Brazilian was elected president of the district two years later.

The financial dependence of the IELB from the LC-MS was a problem which resisted solution. Low contributions from the Brazilian congregations were due not so much to a lack of gratitude as to the relative poverty of most of their members and the high national cost of living imposed by chronically poor economic conditions. Repeated complaints were made about the low salaries received by missionaries working in Brazil. Initially they were fixed by the Synod; later, in 1923, this task was entrusted to the Brazilian congregations. Thereafter, however, these complaints about inadequate salaries continued, although the Synod declined to intervene in this matter in order to motivate the district toward eventual self-support, and to prevent the establishment of an unfair double standard between the salary scales of the missionaries and native pastors. Efforts made by the IELB toward financial independence were repeatedly frustrated by inflation. The ever-expanding mission field was another factor which delayed financial independence. Financial dependence, therefore, persisted beyond the time when the IELB became administratively independent.
Conclusion

This study shows that the relations naturally existing between the LC-MS and the IELB received a unique character from the facts that the Synod and District were separated by a relatively large geographical distance and, more important, that it was assumed from the beginning that the District would eventually become an independent church. Significant steps towards the achievement of that goal were taken, on different occasions, both by the LC-MS and the IELB. During this relationship the IELB maintained doctrinal identity with, and developed an organization similar to the LC-MS.
APPENDIX 1

The regional origin of the German immigrants to Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Settlement</th>
<th>Year of Settlement</th>
<th>Origin</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>São Leopoldo</td>
<td>1824</td>
<td>Hunsrück, Sachsen, Württemberg, Sachsen-Coburg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santa Cruz</td>
<td>1849</td>
<td>Rheinland, Pommern, Schlesien</td>
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<tr>
<td>Santo Ângelo</td>
<td>1857</td>
<td>Rheinland, Sachsen, Pommern</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nova Petrópolis</td>
<td>1859</td>
<td>Pommern, Sachsen, Böhmen</td>
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<td>Teutânia</td>
<td>1868</td>
<td>Westfalen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>São Lourenço</td>
<td>1857</td>
<td>Pommern, Rheinland</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: This is not a comprehensive list of settlements and places of origin. This table is intended only as an example. Bibliography: Martin N. Dreher. Kirche und Deutschtum in der Entwicklung der Evangelischen Kirche Lutherischen Bekenntnisses in Brasilien. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978, p. 36.
Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BM</td>
<td>Board for Missions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DE</td>
<td>Board for Higher Education</td>
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<td>DM</td>
<td>Board for Communications</td>
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<td>DEP</td>
<td>Board for Parish Education</td>
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<td>DAS</td>
<td>Board of Social Ministry</td>
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Auxiliary Associations

National Conventions

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<th>JELB</th>
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District Conventions

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<th>Women</th>
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<td>Officers</td>
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Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LLB</td>
<td>Brazilian Lutheran Laymen's League</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LW</td>
<td>Brazilian Lutheran Women's League</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JELB</td>
<td>Brazilian Evangelical Lutheran Youth</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX 3

PROTOCOL DOCUMENT

between

IGREJA EVANGELICA LUTERANA DO BRASIL

and

THE LUTHERAN CHURCH-MISSOURI SYNOD

THE BASIS OF OUR PARTNERSHIP

Thankful to God for 75 years of working together as District and Synod, the Igreja Evangelica Luterana Do Brasil (IELB) and The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod joyfully enter into a formal partnership as two separate yet interdependent bodies. We gratefully acknowledge that this partnership is deeply rooted in the Holy Scripture which has produced a common bond of faith, doctrine, and fellowship. Neither of us takes this bond lightly, confessing together, in agreement with Article 3 of the Igreja Evangelica Luterana Do Brasil,

"The IELB accepts all the canonical books of the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament as the infallible Word revealed by God. She accepts all the confessions of the Lutheran Church as contained in the Book of Concord of the year 1580 as the only correct exposition of Holy Scripture, and she will not admit any change whatsoever of this norm."

and Article II of The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod,

"The Synod, and every member of the Synod accepts without reservation:

"1. The Scriptures of the Old and the New Testament as the written Word of God and the only rule and norm of faith and of practice;

"2. All the Symbolical Books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church as a true and unadulterated statement and exposition of the Word of God, to wit: The three Ecumenical Creeds (the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, the Athanasian Creed), the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, the Apology of the Augsburg Confession, the Smalcald Articles, the Large Catechism of Luther, the Small Catechism of Luther, and the Formula of Concord."

an unconditional commitment to the Holy Scripture as the inspired, infallible, and inerrant Word of God and to the confessional writings of the Lutheran Church as the correct exposition of the Word of God.
We, therefore, confess boldly and zealously that Jesus Christ is our Lord and Savior, the Son of God and the Son of Man. There is no salvation apart from Him. Our common faith and confession is focused on God's atoning work in His Son, Jesus Christ, and is clearly stated in the doctrine of justification by grace through faith without works. It is commitment to this article of faith as revealed in the Holy Scripture that binds us together and forms the basis of our partnership.

THE GOAL OF OUR PARTNERSHIP

Based on this common confession and faith, our partnership has the goal of fulfilling the mission Christ has given to His church, namely, "You shall be My witnesses . . . to the ends of the earth" (Acts 1,8), so that "every tongue may confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father" (Philippians 2, 11). This goal shall be our chief endeavor. To this end we pledge to share the resources God gives to each of our church bodies.

In order that the goal our Lord has given us may be pursued with all zeal, and that this partnership may be carried out in Christian peace, harmony, and joy, we agree to the following:

THE OBJECTIVES OF OUR PARTNERSHIP

In our efforts to fulfill Christ's mission, we will cooperate and share resources in:

1) Higher Education to provide adequate facilities and faculties for properly educating the needed full-time national church workers;

2) New congregations, fields, or stations in order to have a growing church;

3) World mission outreach so that we may have the pleasure of planning and sharing resources to bring the Gospel to the whole world.

4) Programs of nurture that help our members grow "to mature manhood" (Ephesians 4, 13) in their faith in Christ;

5) Programs which enable the members to put their faith into action, and demonstrate their genuine love and concern for all needs and conditions of people; and

6) Mass media and literature projects to support both mission outreach and nurture in cooperation with the auxiliaries and agencies of their respective church bodies.
THE REPRESENTATIVE OFFICES AND PERSONS

In order that our goal and objectives may be carried out in Christian harmony, peace, and joy, and in all order and decency, we agree to relate to each other and be officially represented by the following offices and persons:

1) by our respective Presidents in all matters of theology and church relations; and

2) by the Board for Missions of The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod through its Executive Secretary or their designated representatives and the Board of Directors of the Igreja Evangelica Luterana Do Brasil through its President or their designated representatives in all areas of administration, operation, planning, and finances, or by such persons and offices as are mutually agreed upon from time to time and specified in the Operating Agreements attached to this Document.

CAPITAL INVESTMENTS

We agree that the property and buildings provided in the past by The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod are the property of the Igreja Evangelica Luterana Do Brasil and will be regarded as a sacred trust. The disposition or sale of any or all of such property will be done only after consultation. We agree that the proceeds from such sale will be used only for immediate or future capital projects which further the objectives of our partnership.

SOLICITATION OF FUNDS

We agree that the administration of both churches must be aware of all requests for funds. To implement this we agree that all projects of either partner requiring funding from their other partner, its Districts, congregations or constituency, will have the approval of the Igreja Evangelica Luterana Do Brasil Board of Directors and The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod Board for Missions. We also agree that inquiries by individuals, congregations, or districts/circuits of either church body will be referred to the above mentioned Boards for decision before any funding is initiated. We further agree that projects begun with funding from sources outside each partner will not become the responsibility of either partner unless agreed to in the planning stage.

COMPLIANCE WITH GOVERNMENTAL LAWS

In accordance with our Lord's instruction, we agree to comply with all governmental laws applicable to our joint activities so long as such laws do not violate the Scripture.
FINANCIAL REPORTING

We pledge ourselves to be good stewards of all the resources the Lord provides for our use. We agree, therefore, to each maintain our books and financial records in accordance with generally accepted accounting procedures of our respective countries. Copies of financial statements audited by independent public accountants will be shared with one another.

FELLOWSHIP WITH OTHER CHURCH BODIES

We deeply respect the fellowship and partnership we have with each other in Christ. We, therefore, agree that we will consult with each other before entering into fellowship or partnership with another church body or church federation. We also agree, however, that each of us is finally responsible to the Lord of the Church for decisions taken in this matter.

OPERATING AGREEMENTS

We agree, finally, to the necessity of preparing mutually agreed upon Operating Agreements detailing the administration, programming, and funding of the objectives of our partnership. We agree to review and update these Operating Agreements at least every three years. Minor changes may be made annually based on new developments and the availability of personnel, operating, and capital resources.

We pray that the Holy Spirit will both bless and guide our joint efforts in meeting the challenges placed before us by the Lord and which are summarized in this Document. God helping us, we pledge our best efforts in meeting the goal and objectives of our partnership.

Dated this the ______ day of January, 1980

President - The Igreja Evangelica Luterana Do Brasil

President - The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod

Executive Secretary - The Board for Missions of The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod
APPENDIX 4

LC-MS PASTORS WHO TEMPORARILY SERVED IN BRAZIL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Years of Service</th>
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APPENDIX 5

HONORARY DEGREES

LC-MS Men to Receive Honorary Doctor's Degrees from Seminário Concórdia, Porto Alegre:

Wilhelm Mahler October 1963
John F. Hartmeister October 1963
Adolph A. Vogel October 1963
John Busch 1965
Bill Kniffel 1975

IELB Men to Receive Honorary Doctor's Degrees:

From Concordia Seminary, Saint Louis:

Paul Schelp May 1944
Rudolfo Frederico Hasse June 1953
Hans H. Rottmann June 1961
Otto A. Goerl May 1964

From Concordia Theological Seminary, Springfield, Fort Wayne:

Louis C. Rehfeldt 1945
Johannes H. Gedrat 1980
APPENDIX 6

MAPS

Geographical Zones of Brazil
This map shows the LC-MS congregations existing in the state of Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil, in 1925. The congregations are indicated by small circles.
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