

**AN APPRAISAL OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST MISSION
IN SOUTH AFRICA**

A MISSIOLOGICAL EVALUATION

by

ANTONIO PANTALONE

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ABSTRACT

July 1997 marks the 110th anniversary of the Seventh-day Adventist (SDA) Church's existence in South Africa. During this time the denomination has augmented both organizationally and numerically. Notwithstanding the expansion in these dimensions though, a thorough perusal of the denomination's history and present *modus-operandi* makes it clear that all is not as it should be within the denomination.

In an attempt to discover the fundamental causes for the malaise that exists within the denomination, **chapter one** begins by succinctly tracing the growth of apocalyptic and millennial thinking.

Beginning from the Maccabean era it reveals not only the numerous transformations that took place in millennial discernment throughout the subsequent centuries, but also demonstrates how these oscillations prepared the "soil" which allowed the emergence of the Millerite Movement - the immediate forerunners of the SDA church.

Chapter two unveils the emergent movement in America initially opposed to the formation of any formal organizations and hesitant to commission any missionaries to foreign lands.

This period was destined however to also be an era of maturation. In the wake of the doctrinal consolidation that eventually took place, came not only an evolvement of missionary consciousness but also the successful development of a unique tri-lateral missiological approach that the denomination would employ with great success on the world's mission fields.

In July 1887 the first SDA missionaries stepped onto South African shores. **Chapter three** reveals this emergent church greatly stirred by the organizational, institutional and missiological developments experienced by the church in America, looking set to rapidly emulate both the missionary paradigm and numerous accomplishments of its mother church.

Chapter four discloses however, how this once dynamic, intrepid, missionary-minded church very quickly became bogged down in a quagmire of difficulties. Many of these occurrences and other serious issues that followed in the ensuing years of the twentieth century were indisputably detrimental to the church, seriously affecting both its missionary expansion and its development in this country.

As the denomination in South Africa stands on the brink of the twenty-first century there is no question, that unless some drastic measures are taken, that it could very soon find itself under the sword of Damocles.

This impending crisis is augmented not only by its almost total lack of involvement in crucial social issues, conspicuous inconsistencies present in its organizational structure, and its manoeuvre from a once dynamic evangelistically orientated movement to an institutionalized organization, but also by the fact that indispensable facets of its missionary strategy are at the present moment no longer in evidence in its continued operations.

There is no question that the denomination is faced not only with a missiological identity crisis but also with the very sobering question whether it is indeed fulfilling the missionary mandate it ironically still preaches and still so strongly believes in.

LIST OF COMMON ABBREVIATIONS USED

AD	African Division
ANC	African National Congress
APHS	Adventist Professional Health Services
BSAC	British South African Company
CC	Cape Conference
EAD	Eastern African Division
EGW	Ellen G. White
GC	General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists
GHC	Good Hope College/Good Hope Conference
HC	Helderberg College
HCA	Helderberg College Archives
NA	North America
n.d.	No date (Used with undated source material)
NTC	Natal-Transvaal Conference
ONC	Oranje-Natal Conference
ORC	Orange-River Conference
SAC	South African Conference
SAD	Southern African Division
San.	Claremont Sanitarium
SAPC	South African Publishing Company
SAUC	South African Union Conference
SAU	South African Union
SDA	Seventh-day Adventist
SPA	Southern Publishing Association/Sentinel Publishing Association
SUC	Southern Union Conference
SUM	Southern Union Mission
s.b.	Systematic Benevolence
TAD	Trans-Africa Division
TMS	Tract and Missionary Societies
USA	United States of America
WHRI	Western Health Reform Institute
ZUM	Zambezi Union Mission

AN APPRAISAL OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST CHURCH
IN SOUTH AFRICA
A missiological evaluation

Abstract	i
List of Common Abbreviations Used	iii

Acknowledgments	1
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INTRODUCTION: THESIS STRUCTURE AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

1. Paucity of Studies on Seventh-day Adventism in South Africa .	3
2. Thesis Structure and Methodology	5
3. Sources	7

CHAPTER ONE: THE BIRTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF
THE SDA CHURCH IN NORTH AMERICA

I.	THE MILLENNIUM	9
A.	The Roots of Millennial Thinking	10
B.	Millennial Expectations in the Early Christian Era .	11
II.	DIVERGENT INTERPRETATIONS CONCERNING CHRIST'S SECOND ADVENT AND THE MILLENNIUM	11
A.	Premillennialism: Firm Belief of the Early Church . .	11
B.	The Birth of Amillennialism	11
C.	The Rise of English Radical Millennialism	12
D.	The Development of English Postmillennial Thinking .	13
III.	MILLENNIALISM ERUPTS ON AMERICAN SOIL	14
A.	Puritan Migration to America	14
B.	The Great Awakening in Colonial America	15
C.	The Era of Good Feeling	15
IV.	THE NEGATION OF THE AMERICAN DREAM	16
A.	American Millennial Fever	16
B.	The Millerite Movement	16
V.	STRONG EMPHASIS PLACED ONCE AGAIN UPON A PREMILLENNIAL SECOND ADVENT	19
A.	Renewed Interest in the Second Advent of Christ . . .	19
B.	1843-1844: The Final Year of Earth's History	20
C.	The First Disappointment	21
D.	The Great Disappointment	22
VI.	THE EMERGENCE OF THE SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST CHURCH	22
A.	Beyond the Great Disappointment	22

CHAPTER TWO: THE DEVELOPMENT OF SDA MISSIONARY
CONSCIOUSNESS AND SUBSEQUENT
EXPANSION INTO EUROPE

I.	THIRTY-YEAR HESITANCY IN ADVENTIST FOREIGN MISSIONARY ENDEAVOURS	24
A.	The Rise of Anti-Millerite Sentiment	24
B.	The Shut-Door Theory	25

C.	Adventist reluctance to Organize	26
D.	Peril of Spiritual Decline	27
II.	TRANSFORMATION IN ADVENTIST MISSIONARY OUTLOOK . . .	27
A.	The Development of Church Order	27
B.	The Development of an Effective Organization	28
III.	THE FORMATION OF A SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST	
	THEOLOGY OF MISSION	30
A.	The Development of A Trilateral	
	Philosophy of Mission	30
1.	SDA Health and Medical Ministry	30
a.	The State of Medicine in America	
	in the Nineteenth-Century	30
b.	Seventh-day Adventists: Health	
	and Medical Reformers	32
2.	Seventh-day Adventist Educational Ministry . . .	34
a.	Agitation for Educational Reform	
	in America in the Nineteenth-Century . . .	34
b.	The Development of a Seventh-day	
	Adventist Philosophy of Education	36
3.	Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Ministry . . .	38
a.	Early Publishing Impetus Lost	38
b.	The Establishment of a SDA	
	Printing Press	39
c.	The Development of the "T and M" Society .	40
IV.	CALLS RECEIVED FROM OUTSIDE OF AMERICA	
	FOR SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST MISSIONARIES	41
A.	The first SDA Missionary Sails to Europe	41

CHAPTER THREE: THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SDA CHURCH IN
SOUTH AFRICA AND ITS MISSIONARY
EXPANSION INTO AFRICA

I.	SEVENTH DAY ADVENTISM ARRIVES	
	ON SOUTH AFRICAN SHORES	43
A.	The Discovery of Diamonds in Kimberley	43
B.	William Hunt: The First Seventh-day Adventist	
	Arrives in South Africa	43
C.	Locals Residents of Kimberley Embrace	
	the Seventh-Day Sabbath	44
1.	George.J.Van Druten	44
2.	Pieter.J.D.Wessels	45
D.	SDA Missionaries arrive from America	46
II.	THE ORGANIZATION AND EXPANSION	
	YEARS (1887-1902)	48
A.	No Time lost in Planning	48
B.	Beaconsfield: The first SDA Church	
	in South Africa	49
C.	Evangelistic Labours in Cape Town and the	
	Establishment of the Roeland Street Church	50
D.	Seventh-day Adventism reaches the Eastern Cape . . .	51

E.	The Arrival of Asa.T.Robinson	52
F.	The Inauguration of the South African Conference (1892)	53
G.	Claremont Union College: The First SDA tertiary institution in South Africa	54
H.	Seventh-day Adventist Elementary Education	55
I.	The Claremont Medical and Surgical Sanitarium	55
J.	Plumstead Orphanage	58
K.	Printing and Publishing Endeavours	59
III.	FINANCIAL IMPETUS FOR SOUTH AFRICAN SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST MISSIONARY ENDEAVOURS	60
A.	Diamonds discovered on Wessel's Farmland	60
IV.	MAJOR ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGES IN THE CHURCH'S STRUCTURE IN SOUTH AFRICA (1902-1983)	61
A.	General Conference Reorganization	61
B.	The Formation of the South African Union Conference	63
C.	The Establishment of the African Division	64
D.	Orange River Conference Disbanded	65
E.	Amalgamation of the Cape and Natal-Transvaal Conferences	65
F.	The Formation of the Transvaal and the Oranje-Natal Conferences	66
G.	South African Union Conference Separated from the Trans-African Division	66
V.	SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST MISSIONARY ENDEAVOURS INTO NEIGHBOURING AFRICAN STATES	67
A.	British Imperialism Prepares the Way for the SDA Church's Mission in Matabeleland	67
B.	Seventh-day Adventism Expands Northwards	68
1.	Land Grant Received from Cecil John Rhodes	68
2.	Solusi Mission Established	69
3.	Seventh-day Adventist Educational Philosophy Implemented at Solusi Mission	71
4.	Vocational Training An Integral Part of the Educational Missionary Philosophy At Solusi	72
 <u>CHAPTER FOUR: AN EVALUATIVE STUDY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF SDA MISSION IN SOUTH AFRICA</u>		
I.	ONE CENTURY OF DEVELOPMENT OF SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISM IN SOUTH AFRICA	75
A.	Worldwide Seventh-day Adventist Church Expansion	75
B.	A Decade of Unbounded Missiological Fervour	77
II.	OPTIMISM AND ENTHUSIASM OUTPACES DISCRETION IN THE INITIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHURCH	79
A.	Membership Growth does not keep pace with the Rapid Institutional Development	79

III.	THE SECOND ANGLO-BOER WAR AND THE DEPRESSION AFFECTS THE OPERATIONS OF THE CHURCH IN S.A.	82
A.	The Wessels Family Lose their Wealth	82
IV.	DEBT SEVERELY CRIPPLES THE CHURCH'S MEDICAL AND EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS	85
A.	Institutional Expenses Exceed Monetary Contributions Received from the Wessels Family	85
B.	The Demise of the Medical Sanitarium	87
C.	The Depression and the War and its Repercussions on Union College	90
V.	OVERCENTRALIZATION OF THE CHURCH'S ORGANIZATION AND INSTITUTIONS	91
A.	Cape Town becomes the Nucleus of Seventh-day Adventism in South Africa	91
VI.	EARLY INITIATIVES NEVER REGAINED	94
A.	Intended Institutional Expansion Severely Halted	94
B.	SDA Medical Missionary Endeavours in South Africa Come to an End	94
1.	The Plumstead Sanitarium 1904-1925	94
2.	The Plumstead Nursing Home (1925-1934)	96
3.	Unsuccessful Attempts to Re-Introduce Medical Work in South Africa	97
4.	SDA Medical Practices Presently in Operation in South Africa	98
C.	Lack of Continuity Greatly Hinders Educational Progress in South Africa	100
1.	Inconsistencies Evident in the Education Offered at Union College	100
2.	Union College Relocated to Spion Kop in Natal (1917)	105
3.	Spion Kop College Moves back to the Cape (1928)	110
4.	The Plans to Build a Sanitarium at Helderberg College Never Carried Out	112
5.	Transition in Educational Trends Evident at Helderberg College	113
a.	1928-1959	113
b.	1960-1980	117
c.	1981-1993 (The years of Transition)	119
D.	Printing Endeavours in South Africa Gains little Sanction	123
1.	Significance of Printing and Literature Distribution Recognised by the first SDA Missionaries	123
2.	Lack of Substantive Support Becomes Evident for the Printing and Literature Ministry	125
3.	South African Publishing Company Remains Small For Many Years	125
4.	Setbacks Experienced by the Publishing Company at the turn of the Century	126
5.	One hundred Years of Printing and Publishing Endeavours in South Africa	127

VII.	RACIAL INEQUALITY AND ITS DETRIMENTAL CONSEQUENCES ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHURCH	131
A.	Separatism Evident in Early History of the Church . .	131
1.	The Practice of Separate Education	131
2.	Seventh-day Adventist Medical Work: A Prerogative of the European Community	139
3.	Racially Divided Organizational Structure	143
4.	Racially Divided Places of Worship	147
VIII.	FAILURE OF THE CHURCH TO ADAPT TO THE LOCAL SOUTH AFRICAN SITUATION	151
A.	No Dutch Ministers Available to be Sent to South Africa	151
B.	Deep Discontent Arises Amongst the Dutch Believers	152
C.	The Dire Lack of Locally Trained People	154
D.	Strong Antagonism Arises Against the Church	157
E.	Lack of Support for SDA Education in South Africa From the Local Constituencies	160
IX.	THE SAUC FORCEFULLY SEPARATED FROM THE TRANS-AFRICA DIVISION	162
A.	The Reorganization of the Denomination's Work in Africa	162
B.	The Trans-Africa Division Oppose the Separation	165
C.	The South African Denomination Ostracized From the Eastern African Division	168
D.	South African Denomination Suffers as a Result of the Separation from the Division	169
X.	THE DENOMINATION'S TRANSITION FROM A DYNAMICALLY DRIVEN MOVEMENT TO AN INSTITUTIONALISED CHURCH	171
A.	Evangelistically Driven Seventh-day Adventism	171
B.	The Denomination makes its Position known through the Press	173
C.	The Denomination's Relations with Government and State Departments	174
D.	The Denomination Forcefully Combats Doctrinal Diatribes Directed Against it	175
E.	The "Boom Years" of Seventh-day Adventist Evangelism (1930-1945)	176
F.	The Church's Rapid Decline towards Institutionalization	177
G.	The Establishment of a Union Conference (1903) and the African Division (1920)	178
H.	The Institutional Years (1950 - 1965)	181
I.	The Silent Years (1965 - 1996)	184
	CONCLUSION	186
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	201

This Thesis is dedicated
to every person
whose obedience to the Great Commission of Christ
will never permit them
to settle for anything less
than its most authentic expression

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It is reputed that Bernard of Chartres once remarked:

"We are like dwarfs standing on the shoulders of giants, so that we can see more than they...not by virtue of any sharpness of sight on our part...but because we are carried high and raised up by their giant size"

This thesis is certainly no exception! In the research, compilation and writing of this work, I was carried and aided on more than one side in one of the busiest and most strenuous years I have ever experienced.

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INTRODUCTION
THESIS STRUCTURE AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

1. Paucity of Studies on Seventh-day Adventism in South Africa

An academic investigation into the historical and missiological development of the Seventh-day Adventist denomination in South Africa could very easily be equated with an expedition about to be undertaken upon uncharted waters.

Up to the time of writing this thesis, South African scholars of missiology and history have enigmatically given very little or no study at all to the development and missionary endeavours of the SDA church in South Africa or in its neighbouring African states.

A prime example of this is Kritzinger's book *The South African Context for Mission*. In this work the author carefully outlines the history of missions in Southern Africa from 1652, mentioning by name the myriad of churches and missionary societies that were operative in this part of Africa, without giving even the slightest mention to the SDA church (Kritzinger, 1988:14-32).

There are of course a myriad of other examples that I could use, but for the purpose of this introduction it will suffice to use just one more portent example. Namely, *The History of Christianity in South Africa vol.1* edited by Hofmeyr and Pillay, wherein once again not even the briefest of references is made to SDA missionary enterprise in Southern Africa (Hofmeyr, Pillay, 1990).

Admittedly, mention must be made that:

The SDA church was a rather late arrival to the shores of South Africa when compared to other missionary organizations, the first Seventh-day Adventist missionaries only arriving from America in mid 1887;

It is true that the South African SDA denomination is rather small and relatively unknown when compared to the larger mainline missionary churches that once operated or that are still active in Southern Africa;

The denomination has often been groundlessly classified as a cult (Clark, 1965:25-49) and therefore not considered in the same category as the rest of the Christian denominations in South Africa;

The denomination remained largely aloof from all political involvement and operated on such a level that it seldom had contact with this country's government or others that were active in public affairs.

Can even the above reasons though, repudiate the role that the SDA church has played in Southern Africa and warrant its strange exclusion from the South African missiological and historical annals?

Leading on from what has just been stated in the above paragraph, this thesis has therefore a threefold aim, aspiring:

Firstly, to remedy what has been perceived to be a lacuna in South African missiological studies, by adding, to all that has been already written, a historical study on Seventh-day Adventist missionary enterprises in South Africa;

Secondly, as the thesis title *An Appraisal of the Development of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in South Africa* suggests, to carry out a systematic and thorough evaluation of the organizational, missiological and institutional development of the SDA Church as it enters into its second century of existence in South Africa.

And then finally it drives beyond the above academic aspirations. Endeavouring to look back into the history of the denomination and take a candid, realistic examination of what has transpired during its first century of existence in South Africa. It seeks furthermore, even if some of the events were injurious and did bring reversals to the church's development, to also challenge the denomination to better structure and shape its organizations, its churches and institutions as it ever seeks to empower itself for the greater service of all the people of South Africa.

2. Thesis Structure and Methodology

Chapter one

The first chapter of this research assignment deals explicitly with the emergence, the subsequent rise to prominence and development of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in America and its ensuing expansion as a world-wide missionary movement.

It was imperative from the start though, in order to gain an adequate and more comprehensive understanding of the historical, religious and social context from which the denomination arose, to step much further back in history than was originally intended.

The rationale for this conviction only makes good sense when the historian perceives what an indispensable role, millennial thinking played in allowing for the emergence of the Millerite Movement - the forerunners of the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

Chapter two

From the first chapter came the understanding for the many salient factors that led to the emergence of the SDA Church in the mid-nineteenth century in America. The second chapter continues by seeking to resolve the reasons behind the lengthy delay or hesitancy manifested by the SDA Church before it finally became established, developed its institutions, adopted a formal name for itself, and eventually gave its first missionary the mandate to go beyond the borders of North America.

I was of course fully aware that this research paper is dealing expressly with an appraisal of the development of SDA missionary endeavours in Southern Africa and not the organizational and missiological development of the Seventh-day Adventist church in America. There was however a very specific reason why I chose to go in this direction.

As I wrote I became more and more convinced that the reasons for the rise of specific types of organizations and institutions; and the reasons for certain *modus-operandi* employed by the denomination in this country would only be properly comprehended, once the reasons for the formation and development of the church organization in America

and the subsequent rise and the formation of the trilateral or threefold SDA missiological philosophy had been delineated.

Chapter three

The purpose of this study has been to critically reflect upon the historical development of Seventh-day Adventist mission in South Africa. Before this task could however be constructively carried out, it was imperative to firstly present an overview of the one-hundred years of the denomination's development in all its different phases. This was precisely the endeavour of this third chapter.

Chapter four

My task in this paper was obviously to also go beyond the faithful presentation of what has transpired in the history of the SDA denomination. Delving below the events that occurred, seeking to find, as far as possible, all the reasons and circumstances surrounding specific occurrences.

I am of course acutely aware that the tendency has very often been, to base historical and missiological appraisals upon a simplistic interpretation of history, wherein appraisals have been made by merely taking chronological historical occurrence into consideration.

This simplistic view can of course never do full justice to the complexity of history. This chapter, therefore which deals with the evaluation or appraisal of Seventh-day Adventist mission and its development in South Africa, has been based instead, as far as it possibly could, upon a historiographical interpretation.

In contrast to the simplistic view, the above view firstly acknowledges that the historical occurrences which affected the SDA denomination in South Africa never took place in a societal or cultural vacuum. Secondly it also recognizes that unfolding events were inextricably linked to decisions that were made by people and that these occurrences themselves were furthermore also subject to the push and pull of a myriad of factors.

And then, even though it was admittedly never altogether possible, historical and missiological endeavours, along with the accomplishments, failures or shortcomings of the denomination were examined and evaluated not through the "glasses" of contemporaries but

were regarded as products of the cultural, social, economic, political, religious and contextual milieu in which they occurred.

3. Sources

Mention has already been made in the introduction of this thesis that there is not an abundance of published scholarly material on the history of the Seventh-day Adventist church in South Africa.

Four major contributions have been made in the last forty years on the history of the denomination in South Africa. *The Third Angel Over Africa part I*, an unpublished, typescript by the late Virgil Robinson offered a general but somewhat limited perspective on the history of the church. This was written some forty years ago and is therefore terribly outdated. I did however make extensive use of the document especially for the early history of the church.

The late Francois Swanepoel's thesis *The Origin and Early History of the Seventh-Day Adventist Church in South Africa, 1886 - 1920* is an accurate and carefully prepared document and was of immense value in this research project.

Ronald Thompson's Doctoral Dissertation, *A History of the Growth and Development of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Southern Africa, 1920 - 1960* not only takes over from where Swanepoel's research ended but elaborates on both the history of the denomination in South Africa and its neighbouring states from 1920 until 1960. This encyclopedic work was clearly thoroughly researched and well prepared and a great deal of my research was based upon it.

The fourth source is Dr Isak J van Zyl's *Lecture Notes on Church History part 5*. This source also offered reliable and constructive information both for the third and fourth chapter of my thesis. This document has however been compiled mainly as study notes for theological students and was clearly therefore not intended to be very comprehensive.

The greatest frustration in the preparation of this research assignment was unquestionably, firstly the paucity of primary sources and secondly the lack of any historical material written from an African, Coloured or Indian perspective.

The majority of South African administrators have clearly not given much regard to preserving documents for posterity and in the years gone by it appears that much valuable material could have been thoughtlessly destroyed.

This valuable material could lamentably include all the minutes of the *South African Conference* (1892 - 1903), the earliest records of the *South African Union Conference*, the minutes of Claremont and Plumstead Sanitariums and the early minutes of both the *Cape Conference* (1902 - 1925) and the *Natal-Transvaal Conference* (1902 - 1957).

Neither did I regretfully manage to trace any publications of *The Sentinel* or *De Wachter*, these being the earliest papers put out by the *South African Publishing Company*, the first publishing establishment of the SDA denomination.

Because of the absence of the above material I had to rely largely upon the four historical sources I mentioned above and upon other sources in the form of personal letters, memoirs, handwritten recollections of the history of the church, typescripts, college year books and other unpublished papers.

An invaluable help for this research came from the *African Division Outlook*, the *Southern African Division Outlook*, and the *Trans-Africa Division Outlook*, these being the official "newspaper" of the respective divisions for over sixty years from 1920 until 1983.

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CHAPTER ONE
THE BIRTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF
THE SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST CHURCH IN NORTH AMERICA

I. THE MILLENNIUM

Conscientious scrutiny of eschatological events, makes it readily apparent that they can never be understood as unconnected, independent topics. But rather, that each represents one aspect of a single expectation and that all these aspects function within this expectation and that they each have a definite bearing upon one another.

Eschatological occurrences as foretold in the Bible include the:

- Coming of God's kingdom;
- Signs pointing to the end of the age;
- Appearance of the Antichrist;
- Second Advent of Christ;
- Resurrection of the body;
- Millennium;
- Final judgement.

These events are all crucial. This chapter though, focusing primarily on the anticipated Second Advent of Christ in America in the mid-nineteenth century, and the consequent development of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, will be limited solely to a succinct examination of the evolution of millennial understanding up to the mid-nineteenth century.

The word "millennium" itself is not found in the Scriptures (Walvoord, 1970:4) and is derived from two Latin words *mille* and *annum*, *mille* meaning "one thousand" and *annum* referring to "years" (Wainwright, 1993:22).

The term "millennium" is given in the Merriam-Webster unabridged dictionary as:

"1. A thousand years... 2. Specif., the thousand years mentioned in Revelation 20, during which holiness is to be triumphant. Some believe that during this period Christ will reign on earth." (Quoted in Froom, 1954:33).

A. *The Roots of Millennial Thinking*

The roots of millennial thinking have been traced back about two hundred years before the birth of Christ, to the politically and religiously turbulent period of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (Clark, 1965:25; St.Clair, 1992:23).

During these times of military, social and spiritual oppression, a myriad of apocalyptic material materialised. These writings not only encouraged, and comforted the people that were living during this era but also sustained their national, linguistic and religious identity which was seriously threatened, firstly by the Hellenistic culture and later by Roman military oppression (Van Zyl, 1979:220-222).

The writer of the First Book of Maccabees depicts this great pressure that was placed upon the people to adopt Hellenistic cultural practices:

"And when the king [Antiochus] had built an idol altar upon God's altar, he slew swine upon it, and so offered a sacrifice neither according to the law, nor the Jewish religious worship in that country. He also compelled them to forsake the worship that they paid their own God, and to adore those whom he took to be gods; and he made them build temples, and raise altars in every city and village and offer swine upon them every day. He also commanded them not to circumcise their sons, and threatened to punish any should they be found to have transgressed his injunction. He also appointed overseers, who should compel them to do as he commanded," (I Macc.1 Book XII chapter V in Josephus pp.363) [square brackets added].

Much of the apocalyptic material that appeared during these troublesome times crucially underscored the belief that while the world was indeed dominated by destructive, diabolical forces, the time would surely come when God's saints would rise up, achieve supremacy over the evil powers and enter into a theocratic kingdom of righteousness glory and peace (St.Clair, 1992:23).

B. Millennial Expectations in the Early Christian Era

Christians living subsequently in the first to the third centuries A.D. were not merely faced with the loss of religious and cultural identity, but also the terror of ferocious persecution, imprisonment, torture, death, and numerous other perils that threatened all the inhabitants of the Roman Empire.

To those living during these trying times it was mainly the Apocalypse (the book of Revelation) written by the Apostle John that brought them the promises they so much needed to hear. The book revealed Christ, the rider on the white horse, who was soon to make His appearance and destroy His enemies, throw the beast and the false prophet into the lake of fire and establish His glorious kingdom upon the earth for one thousand years (Rev.19:11-20:6).

II. DIVERGENT INTERPRETATIONS CONCERNING CHRIST'S SECOND ADVENT AND THE MILLENNIUM.

A. Premillennialism: Firm Belief of the Early Church

Much of the literature of the early Christian church, such as the *Epistle of Barnabas*, *1-2 Clement*, the *Didache* and *The Shepherd of Hermas* were charged with an air of eschatological expectancy and continued to exemplify a premillennial understanding, the belief that Christ would reign on earth for one thousand years subsequent to His Second Advent (Froom, 1954:303-304).

The interpretation of the millennium however soon began to arouse considerable disagreement within the ranks of Christendom (Wainwright, 1993:12-13; Walvoord, 1970:3; Sandeen, 1970:4) and its orthodox interpretation seriously challenged (Walvoord, 1970:113).

B. The Birth of Amillennialism

The denial or attempted elimination of a literal thousand year reign of Christ, (amillennialism, literally, "no-millennialists"), has been traced back to the allegorical writings of the Church Fathers.

Origen (185-254) who spiritualized the resurrection and opposed all millenarianism (Froom, 1954:310) presented the kingdom of God as an event which would take place not in space or time but merely in the souls of believers (Cohn, 1970:29).

One hundred years later Augustine of Hippo (354-430), continued to teach that a literal interpretation of Scripture was crude and exaggerated, and that the millennium as spoken of in Revelation 20 should be interpreted allegorically and understood as a period when the righteous saints would "reign" with Christ through an inner spiritual triumph (Dick in Land, 1992:1).

This ammillennial teaching, so forcefully supported by the Roman Catholic church, the dominant religious establishment in Europe, was to decisively mute apocalyptic and millenarian impulses for the following ten centuries (Froom, 1954:785; St.Clair, 1992:98).

C. The Rise of English Radical Millennialism

Seventeenth-century England, caught in the throes of political instability, rampant poverty, a series of poor harvests, the collapse of traditional social controls, two bloody Civil Wars and the execution of the English king, gave many of its people a sense that they were living at the climax of earth's history (Cohn, 1970:288)

When Charles I (1600-1649), came to the throne in 1624 he stirred up widespread dissatisfaction. Firstly because of his sympathies with the Roman Catholic Church and secondly by his attempts to introduce a high church liturgy into the Church of England, (Moyer, 1968:84) which was interpreted by the Protestants Puritans as disguised popery (Morais, 1944:44) and Catholic idolatry (Wentz, 1990:65).

As a result, the English Parliament became radically divided leading to its disintegration in 1629 (Williams:1990,96), a decade of civil war and the king's execution for treason in 1649 (Walker, 1986:556).

Millenarian expectations during the Civil War reached an absolute fever pitch. Numerous predictions were made that Christ had already come. Others preached that He would return before the end of the seventeenth century to destroy the Antichrist (the royalist forces) and usher in His promised thousand years of peace.

When the Royalists forces were finally vanquished by the army of Oliver Cromwell, millennialists were jubilant, understanding it to be the clearing away of the final obstacle before the immanent return of the Messiah.

Their jubilancy was however very shortlived. It all too soon became clear to them, that those who had expropriated the mantle of leadership from the king did not share their millennial visions.

This state of disappointment and disillusionment allowed for the emergence of a radical revolutionary millenarian group known as the "Fifth Monarchy Men" who became engaged in a desperate but vain attempt to revive flagging millenarian excitement (Walker, 1986:561).

So eager were they to bring this fifth monarchy to prominence that they were prepared to advocate any means to do so, including violence, attacks on property, and even armed insurrections against the existing government (St.Clair, 1992:211). The means they advocated to achieve these ends was to however lead to the inevitable waterloo of this movement (Clark, 1965:32; Sandeen, 1970:4).

When plots of sedition against the government were exposed, it led not only to the prohibition of any further meetings of the movement, but also to the arrest and execution of many of its influential leaders and its ultimate disappearance from English history (Wainwright, 1993:72).

In direct response to the pernicious and negative demeanour of the Fifth Monarchy, the eighteenth century saw the rise of a new millennial theory, namely that of postmillennialism or Whitbyanism (Sandeen, 1970:5).

D. The Development of English Postmillennial Thinking

Even though there were earlier exponents of postmillennial thought (Wainwright:1993,77), the birth of postmillennialism has been credited to Anglican Unitarian, Daniel Whitby (1638-1726) (Walvoord, 1970:22).

In 1703 Whitby wrote *A Treatise of the True Millennium* interpreting the millennium as described in Revelation 20 to mean one thousand years on earth of unfailing human progress and advancement prior to the return of Christ (Sandeen, 1970:5).

According to Whitby's teachings, world conditions would not get worse but would instead ameliorate (Froom, 1979:71), eventually ushering in an extended period of peace, bliss and happiness which he called the "golden age". This period would eventually come to a climax after one thousand years with Christ's promised appearance (Sandeen, 1970:5).

These optimistic teachings were perfectly keyed into the idealistic thinking of the times. The literature of the times were filled with allusions to new beginnings. People revelled in the increased knowledge of the world, while emerging rationalistic convictions coupled with rising humanism and burgeoning scientific innovations also fitted extremely well into this picture.

It was furthermore, not only what people wanted to hear, but was perfectly suitable both to conservative and liberal thinkers. Appealing to the conservative because it was in perfecting keeping with the Biblical promises and predictions of a golden age of peace and righteousness. Acceptable though, also for the liberal who did not believe in the prophets but who nevertheless optimistically postulated that humankind were able to improve themselves and their environment (Walvoord, 1970:23) without any supernatural intervention (Sandeen, 1970:5).

By the end of the eighteenth century, Whitbyanism was not only destined to supplant previous forms of millennial understandings in Protestant England but would also take firm root in its American colony (Schwarz, 1979:25).

III. MILLENNIALISM ON AMERICAN SOIL

A. *Puritan Migration to America*

The king of England's association with the Roman Catholic Church led not only to the dissolving of the English parliament in 1629 and the English Civil War, but also initiated a large Puritan migration of some 700 people to America in 1630 (Quint,Candor, 1970:9).

Led by John Winthrop (Handy, 1976:22) these English religious dissenters, so named because of their nonconforming stance towards the established Church felt that they were divinely mandated - specially commissioned by God Himself to leave their homeland and build a "city upon the hill" where it would serve as a model for the rest of the world (Quint,Candor, 1970:9; Wentz, 1990:71).

This assertive Puritan conviction that they were God's chosen people was to inevitably influence future American eschatological understanding (Sandeen, 1970:43).

Protestant Christian leaders, poets, and social reformers not only plunged into their work with the unbridled confidence that God was blessing their efforts, but also with the firm understanding that the American continent in particular had a special function in the divine plan (Wainright, 1992:180).

Still others regarded the founding of America as a preparation for the millennial glory and that from God's New Israel, the blessings of truth, freedom, prosperity and virtue would spread over the whole earth (Damsteegt, 1977:6).

B. The Great Awakening in Colonial America

In 1737, a little more than one hundred years after the Puritan migration led by John Winthrop, Calvinist preacher George Whitefield (1714-1770) set sail from England to America making a series of evangelistic tours which helped to spark what became known, as the Great Religious Awakening of the 1740's (Handy, 1976:82; Wentz, 1990:177).

It was Whitefield's contemporary, however, Jonathan Edwards (1703-1758) a Calvinist Puritan, steeped in the writings of Enlightenment thinkers John Locke and Isaac Newton (Handy, 1976:86) whose preaching not only added impetus to the religious revival but also gave Puritan millennialism, a postmillennial gloss (Damsteegt, 1977:7; St.Clair, 1992:270).

Borrowing the earlier views of Daniel Whitby and Moses Lowman, Edwards published a series in 1739 entitled *History of the Work of Redemption* in which he argued that instead of coming after the mighty return of the Jesus Christ, the millennium would arrive before the Second Advent through the preaching of the gospel and the use of the ordinary means of grace (Weber, 1979:14).

C. The Era of Good Feeling

This discernment that the world was evolving into a better, safer, more prosperous place can be easily detected in the writings of the time:

Samuel Hopkins (1721-1803) American theologian and postmillennialist, converted under the preaching of Whitefield and a student of Edwards, wrote that the world of the millennium would be a sanctified state

where people would practice piety and benevolence and live in an extended era of universal peace, with a united church and a single language (Wainwright, 1993:177).

President of Union College at the time, Eliphalet Nott, wrote that the millennium was at the door and would be "Introduced by human exertions" (Froom, 1954:90).

It can be discerned from the above perceptions that American humanitarian, social, intellectual and religious leaders firmly believed, that in spite of humankind's depraved and unregenerate past, that by gradual progressive steps (Handy, 1976:191) a new order of things, intellectual, political, spiritual and moral would soon be inaugurated with America leading the way.

IV. THE NEGATION OF THE AMERICAN DREAM

A. American Millennial Fever

As in the case of seventeenth-century England, America caught in the fervour of a revolution, also experienced a great eruption of millennial fever in the dozens of religious sects which came to prominence during the following six to seven decades (Handy, 1976:159). Speaking of this period Sandeen says that "America was drunk on the millennium" (Sandeen, 1970:42).

B. The Millerite Movement

Although there were millennial groups that arose during this time that did achieve a degree of permanence such as the Shakers (officially known as the Millennial Church) and the Church of Latter Day Saints (better known as the Church of Mormon), attention at this point is focused upon the Millerite movement - the adherents of William Miller, who were destined to become the largest of the nineteenth-century American millenarian movements (St.Clair, 1992:305).

William Miller (1782-1849) not only became a household name in America (Nichol, 1945:17) but has also achieved historical notoriety as one of the best known (Sandeen, 1979:50) and least successful millennialists in American history (Williams, 1990:213).

Using the widely accepted Biblical chronology of Irish Anglican Archbishop James Ussher, a Bible and a *Cruden's Concordance*, Miller

came to the alarming conclusion that the second coming of Christ, would take place somewhere between 1843 and 1844 (Clark, 1965:35; Nichol, 1945:33; St.Clair, 1992:312; Weber, 1979:15).

Making reference to Miller's discovery and his Biblical interpretation, Professor Ernest Sandeen states:

"William Miller taught a doctrine of last times that differed remarkably little from that proclaimed by nineteenth-century millenarians" (Sandeen, 1970:51).

In the same vein, Everett Dick, quoting Whitney Cross, wrote:

"Miller achieved no startling novelty. His doctrine in every respect virtually epitomised orthodoxy...On two points only was he dogmatically insistent: that Christ's Second Advent would come, and that he would come about 1843" (E.Dick in Land, 1986:5).

Edwin Froom has estimated that William Miller had between 50,000 and 100,000 adherents at the climax of the Millerite movement (Froom, 1971:70).

Michael St.Clair writes that 50,000 may have been convicted, but there could have been more than a million people who indicated an interest in his message of the Second Advent (St.Clair, 1992:311).

The questions that needs to be raised at this point, if the findings of Miller were indeed so orthodox, are:

What caused the Millerites to gain such immense nation wide publicity? (St.Clair, 1992:310; Schwarz, 1977:34);

And what attracted over 200 ministers (Damsteegt, 1977:14-15) and the great number of people from so many different denominations to Miller's message?

The prime reason for the mercurial rise of the Millerites must undoubtably be found in the fact that the message of William Miller spoke directly to the times.

The conventional understanding in the latter eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth-century in America had irrefutably been optimistically

postmillennial - Belief that Christ would return to the earth after one thousand years of progress and peace.

William Miller's preaching though not only reinstated the Apostolic belief that Christ's Second Advent would be premillennial, occurring prior to the millennium, but also conclusively challenged the American dream - the core belief of the nation that the anticipated golden age could be brought about by human endeavours.

In 1831, when Miller began to preach, the great optimism of the previous century was unquestionably on the ebb (Handy:1976,192). The bright hope that the golden millennial age could be brought about by American efficacy no longer stirred the heart of the nation (Cross in Damsteegt, 1977:12).

Cracks had already begun to appear in the post-millennial paradigm some years before, with the outbreak of the French Revolution. The violent uprooting of political and spiritual institutions and the cataclysm of this event on the European continent bursting forth with such devastating force that it profoundly thwarted the progressive and rationalist cosmology envisaged in the eighteenth century (Froom, 1954:733-734).

Neither could the decisive defeat of the Napoleonic forces in 1815 by the Duke of Wellington exonerate faith in the ultimate success of virtue and reason. In the minds of too many people the French Revolution remained as a bitter disillusionment with contemporary society and a frustration of hopes built upon faith in humankind's ability (Sandeem, 1970:13).

Abandoned confidence therefore in humankind's competence to bring about significant and lasting social progress, disillusionment brought about by the Christian church's inability to stem the rising tide of evil and corruption, coupled with the occurrence of several natural disasters and a panic brought about by a severe economic depression in 1837 (Schwarz, 1979:46) left many Americans living at this time wondering what had ever happened to the notion of human progress so readily annunciated just a few decades before.

At a time when people were not securing satisfactory answers to the dilemmas that encompassed them, Miller's predictions of the fast approaching Second Advent and God's impending premillennial judgment not only seemed to make a great deal of sense but also offered a way

out of the religious, social and intellectual labyrinth which had until then failed to redeem civilization (Cross in Damsteegt, 1977:16).

V. EMPHASIS PLACED ONCE AGAIN UPON A PREMILLENNIAL SECOND ADVENT

A. Renewed Interest Arises in the Second Advent of Christ

From 1840 onward as a result of the substantial exposure that the Millerites began to receive in Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Washington it was transformed from an occurrence of local curiosity into a cause that would receive nationwide attention (Schwarz, 1979:34).

As the year 1843 drew closer, the time that Miller had predicted that Christ would come, strategies employed by the Millerites to promote and fortify that fact intensified and were simultaneously discerned in many parts of America (D.T.Arthur in Gaustad, 1974:160).

There was firstly, especially from 1840 onward, massive media coverage given to the anticipated Second Advent of Christ (Schwarz, 1979:38). From states that, "From first to last the power of the press was one of the foremost factors in the success of the vigorous, expanding movement" (Fromm, 1954:621).

By May 1844 it was announced by the Millerite leadership, that more than five million copies of advent newspapers, books and tracts had been printed and distributed (Schwarz, 1979:38). So wide was their circulation that it is very well possible that thousands, or perhaps even millions of people who had never attended a single public lecture were also alerted to the expected return of Christ (E.Dick in Land, 1986:13).

There was in addition to the enormous press coverage, a dramatic increase in public meetings. Besides the continued public lecturing and preaching by the adventist evangelists, revivalist-style tent camp meetings were developed on the frontier pattern which had been so successfully employed by the Methodists in the early 1800's (Fromm, 1954:44).

The first of these camp meetings was held in June 1842 with a great deal of apprehension, uncertain of what the reaction of the public would be. The response was in fact so astonishingly overwhelming that thirty-one such meetings were held that year instead of the three that had been planned, followed by forty in 1843 and fifty-four in 1844 (Schwarz, 1979:41).

Even though no records were kept of those who attended these open-air meetings, an estimate has been made of at least 500 000 people over the period of three years (E.Dick in Land, 1986:17). From records that these camp meetings were the beginning of a farflung movement that literally "shook the nation" (Froom, 1954:643).

B. 1843-1844: The Final Year of Earth's History

Before 1843, William Miller had felt that it was unnecessary to set a definite date for Christ's second coming. He had furthermore not pressed the point beyond "sometime between March 1843 and March 1844". However as the pressure from the Millerite opponents began to mount, Miller was persuaded by some of his followers to be more specific as to the time when Christ's arrival could be expected (Schwarz, 1979:43).

Up to this point of time, Miller had based his prophetic calculations for the return of Christ upon the Jewish computation of time which he assumed was from the vernal (spring) equinox of 1843 to the vernal equinox of 1844.

Upon subsequent examination and study though, it was discovered that there were in fact two methods for determining the parameters for Jewish year. The first, determined by a Rabbinical reckoning, commenced on April 1, 1843 and terminated on March 29, 1844. The second was derived from the strict Karaite Jews who commenced the new year with the appearance of the new moon nearest to the Barley harvest in Judea. Using this computation the Karaite Jewish year in 1843 commenced on April 29 and terminated on April 17, 1844.

The dilemma for the advent believers was to determine which date was the correct one. Even though there was once again clearly no unanimous agreement amongst all the Millerite leaders (Schwarz, 1979:48) it appears that the majority settled for the Karaite date of April 18, 1844 for final year of earth's history (E.Dick in Land:1986,26).

C. *The First Disappointment*

Expectations in March and April 1844 were high among the advent believers. As the final days approached, the camp meeting tents were folded away for the final time, business affairs and personal matters were wound up as an expectant generation eagerly awaited the promised signs of Christ's coming in the clouds of heaven (E.Dick in Land, 1986:25).

The month of March passed as did the month of April without any sign of the returning Messiah (Martin, 1959:28). Even though severe disappointment rippled strongly through the ranks of the believers and many did become disillusioned and leave, it did not signify the demise of the Millerites (Nichol, 1945:172).

In fact many of their antagonists were astonished when the larger part of the distraught believers remained expectant and continued on with renewed hope and determination (E.Dick in Land, 1986:26).

William Miller himself wrote:

"I confess my error, and acknowledge my disappointment, yet I still believe that the day of the Lord is near, even at the door" (St.Clair, 1992:313).

Several months later in the summer of 1844 the tidings came that the Millerites were so badly waiting to hear (Martin, 1959:28). At a camp meeting held in August a lecturer by the name of Samuel Sheffield Snow (Hoekema, 1983:91) presented what came to be known as the seventh-month message (D.T.Arthur in Gaustad, 1974:162).

According to this message, Snow was convinced that Christ's return was due in the autumn of 1844 and not in the spring as had been expected.

He had based his findings upon *Yom Kippur*, the Jewish Day of Atonement which was a type of the Final Judgment Day, and maintained therefore that Christ's Second Advent would therefore take place in less than two months, in the seventh month (*Tishri*) of the Jewish year on the 22 October 1844 (Hoekema, 1983:92; Martin, 1959:28)

D. *The Great Disappointment (October 1844)*

As the 22 October 1844 dawned, anticipation was at a climax as an estimated one hundred thousand people gathered in churches, tabernacles, in meeting tents, and in private homes, throughout the length and breadth of the nation to confess their sins and await the Second Advent of Christ (Froom, 1954:855).

Tabloids of the time reported that on this particular day, many businessmen closed their stores. Numerous printing presses had also stopped rolling (St.Clair, 1992:315). Countless employees had given up their jobs, farmers had abandoned their harvests, teachers, government officials and even magistrates had resigned their posts (E.Dick in Land, 1986:29) in expectation of the triumphal return of the Messiah.

Contrary to the great and fervent expectation, the 22 October again passed like any other day and to the bitter disappointment of so many people, Christ did not make His expected appearance (St.Clair, 1992:316).

This day has since become known as the day of Great Disappointment (Williams, 1990:213).

VI. *THE EMERGENCE OF THE SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST CHURCH*

A. *Beyond the Great Disappointment*

For the second time that year, the advent believers had been severely shaken. Many who had so conscientiously calculated the chronology and so spiritually prepared themselves for the advent of Christ, must have asked themselves, what could have gone wrong? As persecution and derision began to rain upon the devastated advent believers the outcome was almost predictable:

Some who were either spiritually lukewarm or fearful of judgment because of guilt rather than faith, became disenchanted and totally lost their faith in the Bible;

Many of the Adventist believers interpreted this disappointment as yet another failure in the time calculations and strongly opposed any further time calculations;

Others, whose numbers also included several prominent leaders and preachers of the Millerite era, renounced the message they had so forcefully presented and joined the Shakers, which so often became a final refuge for those who became disillusioned by other religious experiences (St Clair, 1992:317);

Others groups continued setting new dates, building their calculations upon anything they could find;

One group however, numbering perhaps a few thousand people (Ibid.,317), remained faithful to what they had heard from Miller and turned back to their Bibles in an endeavour to find out why Christ had not come as expected in October 1844.

From this minority group, from the ashes of an apparent fiasco came the pioneers and the beginnings that would eventually consolidate and grow into the Seventh-day Adventist Church (Damsteegt, 1977:103).

CHAPTER TWO
THE DEVELOPMENT OF SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST MISSIONARY CONSCIOUSNESS
AND SUBSEQUENT EXPANSION INTO EUROPE

I. THIRTY-YEAR HESITANCY IN ADVENTIST FOREIGN MISSIONARY ENDEAVOUR

A. The Rise of Anti-Millerite Sentiment

This chapter, dealing with the development of SDA missionary consciousness and its subsequent world-wide expansion, begins with an intriguing question. Namely, why did almost three decades have to pass by, before the church eventually commissioned its first missionary, to carry the Adventist message to countries outside the borders of North America?

While there are of course numerous reasons for this delayed missionary endeavour, it necessitates a return to the summer of 1843, when a very significant occurrence took place within the ranks of the Millerite Movement.

Cordial relations had initially existed amongst the Millerite believers. William Miller himself had strongly admonished that those waiting for Christ's second advent were to remain in their respective denominations. This situation was however, especially from 1843 onward, to radically change.

In July 1843, Charles Fitch, a preacher from Ohio delivered a sermon that was to have serious repercussions for the interconfessionalism of the movement (Van Zyl, 1990:11). His text, "Babylon the great has fallen...come out of her my people," taken from Revelation 18:20 was well-known to the Millerites, as it was to the majority of Protestant believers. It was however Fitch's interpretation and application of this specific text that was to set the cat among the pigeons (D.Arthur in Gaustad, 1974:165).

The Roman Catholic Church had, for many centuries been identified with fallen Babylon. Fitch's sermon though which was reproduced and widely circulated, not only associated Catholicism with Babylon but maintained that it also embraced spiritually bankrupt or apostate Protestantism (Damsteegt, 1977:79).

To this, Fitch added that separation from such corrupt spiritual powers was inevitable and anyone who was truly converted had to show it by adhering to the command of God and by coming out of the confusion of Babylon (Damsteegt, 1977:80; D.Arthur in Gaustad, 1974:167).

As a result, as many as one hundred thousand Millerite believers broke away from their denominations (Froom, 1954:783), an action which was strongly censured by William Miller (E.Dick in Land, 1896:28).

Fitch's message not only produced great disagreement amongst the believers themselves but resulted also in great animosity rising up against the Millerite movement. The very thing that the Millerites had not wanted, happened - the movement became divided (D. Arthur in Gaustad, 1974:171).

To many denominations, Millerism became synonymous with fanaticism and they not only disfellowshipped many of those in their ranks who had chosen to remain loyal to the teachings of Miller, but also barred the doors of their churches and homes to anyone associated with the Millerite Movement (Froom, 1954:765).

B. The Shut-Door Theory

The full brunt of the antagonism directed towards the Adventist believers though, would only be fully revealed in the days following the Great Disappointment.

The very next day, a deluge of physical persecution and verbal abuse burst out against the Millerites. Newspapers reported that in some cities, angry mobs stormed their meeting places and dragged out the worshippers. In other locations, meeting places and tabernacles were actually stoned and badly destroyed in the process (E.Dick in Land, 1986:30).

Neighbours and fellow townsmen added to the anguish of the steadfast believers by letting loose with a torrent of malevolent scorn and scoffing. Many, already devastated by their unfulfilled expectation spoke sadly of the mockery and their severe humiliation at the hands of adults and children alike (Damsteegt, 1977:107).

In the wake of the severe disappointment, hostility and overt rejection espoused by the once amicable Protestant denominations, there arose within the ranks of the devastated believers, the perception that, on the 22 October 1844, the door of mercy and salvation had forever shut for those who had not passed through the 1844 experience (Damsteegt, 1977:149-150; J.Butler in Gaustad, 1974:178-179).

Presuming therefore that probation had ceased for sinful humankind, this extreme view which came to be known as the "shut-door theory", brought, until somewhere in 1852 (G.Anderson in Land, 1986:40), all Adventist missionary endeavours to non-Adventists to an absolute stop (Damsteegt, 1977:149; J.Butler in Gaustad, 1974:179).

C. Adventist reluctance to Organize

The strident call to "come out of Babylon" had not only persuaded many Millerites to leave their denominations in the years 1843-1844, but led also to a great reluctance on behalf of the Adventist believers in the post October 1844 years to establish any organized institutions (G.Anderson in Land, 1986:36)

George Storrs an influential person in the Millerite era, writing early in 1844 for the *Midnight Cry*, a Millerite newspaper, admonished:

"Take care that you do not seek to manufacture another church. No church can be organized by man's invention but what [sic] it becomes Babylon the moment it is organized" (J.Butler in Gaustad, 1974:177).

This deep-rooted fear and apprehension to be associated with "Babylon" and the resultant obdurate reluctance of Adventist believers to organize resulted not only in a delay of almost 20 years before the denomination was finally given a name in 1861 and established in 1863 (G.Anderson in Land, 1986:46), but was also to profoundly impede both the denominational progress and missionary advancement of the church in the early years of its emergence (Froom, 1971:136).

D. Peril of Spiritual Decline

During the time of the Millerite Movement, the Adventist believers had been held together by a host of charismatic leaders and by a strong and effective bond forged by the common hope and expectation of Christ's second advent (Froom, 1971:134-136).

By 1852 however, the Second Advent of Christ had still not materialized. In addition, many of the Millerite leaders had not only experienced serious doctrinal disagreements amongst themselves but had also gone their separate ways to begin a myriad of Adventist splinter groups (G.Anderson in Land, 1986:36-38). Simultaneously, during this time, many of the Sabbath-keeping Adventists had participated in the great migration to the Western part of the United States.

These believers now isolated and scattered over such a vast territory, had not only diluted contact with each other but also stretched the already scant financial and human resources of the budding church to an absolute limit. Months would often pass by before believers living under such circumstances would hear a sermon or even see a gospel minister of their own persuasion.

Under these, physically, financially and spiritually exacting conditions it is little wonder that severe discouragement and apathy began to set in (Schwarz, 1979:86) not only amongst the Adventist believers but also in the ranks of some of its most prominent leaders.

II. TRANSFORMATION IN ADVENTIST MISSIONARY OUTLOOK

A. The Development of Church Order

The latter half of the 1850's was however to see significant changes take place in Adventist thinking, which would in turn prepare the firm foundations upon which the edifice of future missionary outreach to non-Adventist believers would be built (Damsteegt, 1977:165).

These momentous moves towards change were precipitated firstly by the rejection of the shut-door belief (D.T.Arthur in Gaustad, 1974:191). By 1855, continued evidences of interest in the message of Christ's Second Advent and subsequent conversions and baptisms of new believers, led to the repudiation of the theory that probation had forever closed for the sinful world (J.Butler in Gaustad, 1974:191).

The comprehension that the door of salvation was in fact still wide open, consequently refocused the attention of the Adventist believers for the first time since the disappointment of October 22, upon an obligatory ministry to lost and perishing souls (Damsteegt, 1977:277).

Secondly, as the number of believers began to rapidly increase, it became evident to Adventist leaders with foresight that satisfactory future progress for the church would depend upon having an organizational entity which would have to plan, support and finance whatever missionary projects were undertaken (Schwarz, 1979:91; Spalding, 1962:294-296).

There were many who continued to hurl anathemas at those who were canvassing for the development of an organizational structure. It was not very long however before the first tentative steps were taken towards a rudimentary form of organization for the individual Adventist congregations (G.Anderson in Land, 1986:48).

In 1853, ministerial identification cards were issued to credentialed workers to protect the church against impostors (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1043).

In 1859 a plan of systematic benevolence or tithing system was adopted whereby Gospel ministers would be able to put in full-time service and not have to support themselves by outside employment as they had previously been compelled to do (Froom, 1971:136; Schwarz, 1979:89).

Even though this tithing system, whereby believers promised to set aside a particular sum of money for the support of the ministry, caught on rapidly (G.Anderson in Land, 1986:53), one great dilemma remained, namely, to whom should the money be paid, and what exactly should be done with all the money received? (Spalding, 1962:297).

B. The Development of an Effective Organization

Before long it became apparent that in order to conduct the affairs of a fast developing church in an organized and orderly fashion, that it would not only need a name and a corporate existence but also a legal holding organization for its buildings and property (Froom, 1971:139; S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1044).

There were, as has already been mentioned, vociferous objections, with claims that any holding organization would be "returning to Babylon"

and that a name would make them just "another denomination" (J. Butler in Gaustad, 1974:179).

After continued deliberation though, the name "Seventh-day Adventist" was proposed and accepted in October 1860 as a name that was most expressive of their faith and position (Damsteegt, 1977:255).

From this point onwards, still not without opposition though, the organization of the church began to develop fairly rapidly. In April 1861, during the opening days of the American Civil War, a delegation was called together in Battle Creek to prepare the plans for an effective church organization.

Six months later in October 1861, at a second conference held that year at Battle Creek in the state of Michigan, a further recommendation was made and accepted that all the SDA churches in the State of Michigan be united under the auspices of one conference with the name *The Michigan Conference of Seventh-day Adventists* (Schwarz, 1979:96).

This institution which incorporated seventeen organized churches in the state of Michigan became the first SDA Conference in America (Froom, 1971:141).

The capstone to the organization of the church though, came one year later in May 1863. At the annual meeting of the Michigan Conference, twenty elected delegates from the newly formed state conferences were invited to meet together so that a *General Conference* could be organized.

At this conference a committee that had been appointed to draft a constitution brought in its report on the 21 May 1863 (Van Zyl, 1990:21).

By the end of this first, four-day *General Conference*, the delegates were ecstatic (Spalding, 1962:307). There had been deep and bitter opposition to organization during the past decade, many had decided to split from the church as a result, but the feelings that pervaded, were that God had set His seal upon the proceedings and that the hurdles had finally been overcome (G. Anderson in Land, 1986:64).

The SDA Church now officially named, and consisting at the time of a membership of about 3500 members, 30 ministers (Van Zyl, 1990:23) and

125 churches (J.Butler in Gaustad, 1974:180) had after almost two decades finally established a firm organizational basis upon which it would charter its future missionary advancement (Spalding, 1962:310).

III. THE FORMATION OF A SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST THEOLOGY OF MISSION

A. The Development of A Trilateral Philosophy of Mission

Notwithstanding the difficulties and numerous hurdles encountered by the emergent church, it nevertheless still continued to develop positive ideas, and improve the techniques and institutions to carry out what they regarded as their God-given task (Vandevere in Land, 1986:66).

In response to the social alienation and the negative image that had become part of their baggage since the Great Disappointment in 1844, it is imperative to take note that the SDA church of the mid 1860's unquestionably began to take a more optimistic view of its missionary undertakings. This would bring to light, crucial, interlocking *modus operandi* that would be employed by the Seventh-day Adventist Church not only in America, but also in all its future world-wide missionary endeavours.

This trilateral of threefold approach of missionary work employed by the church which will all be revealed again in later chapters in this research paper, will be discussed at this time under three main headings, namely the medical, educational and publishing aspect of the denomination's work.

1. Seventh-day Adventist Health and Medical Ministry

a. The State of Medicine in America in the Nineteenth-Century

Even though there were definite, and decided agitations for reform (Guthrie, 1960:299-302), the state of medicine in America, at the time of the emergence of the SDA Church in the mid-nineteenth century, was clearly still very much in a primitive and undeveloped stage (Robinson, 1965:15; Schoepflin in Land, 1987:143-144; Schwarz, 1979:104).

Contemporary medical practices were still characterised by their practicality and severely handicapped by the disregard of any sanitary practices and an almost complete lack of suitable surgical instruments.

There were few theorizers and those who wished to become medical practitioners did not very often travel to European medical institutions to study medicine but apprenticed themselves to local practising doctors. With these doctors they learnt to roll pills and mix remedies, reading the doctor's medical books and generally mastering the art of surgery at the bedside of their patients (Armstrong, 1991:2-3).

The majority of early nineteenth-century American doctors, without adequate medical qualifications and without any laboratory practices, still utilized the diabolical antiquated custom of bleeding their patients (technically known as phlebotomy).

Others became mere dispensers of large doses of dangerous drugs and opiates on a trial-and-error basis. These medical practices probably responsible for killing more people than both the American Revolution and Civil War combined (Armstrong, 1991:1-2).

John Harvey Kellogg a medical doctor who was destined to head one of the first Seventh-day Adventist hospitals in America and achieve international acclamation (Schwarz, 1979:282), wrote in 1876, regarding the accepted medical practices to treat fevers:

"Twenty years ago, when a man had fever, the doctors thought he had too much vitality - too much life - and so they bled him, and purged him, and poisoned him with calomel, and blue mass, and sundry other poisons, for the purpose of taking away from him a part of his vitality - his life - in other words, killing him a little" - J.H.Kellogg, M.D., in the *Health Reformer*, January, 1876. (Quoted in Robinson, 1965:18).

When the spotlight is placed upon the American public living at this time, it displays no finer picture.

Many people were suffering from a host of maladies and diseases, ranging from cholera, typhoid fever, yellow-fever, diphtheria, malaria, scarlet fever, dyspepsia and tuberculosis, with little or no

idea what caused or what would cure these infirmities (Armstrong, 1991:9; Damsteegt, 1977:221; Schwarz, 1979:104).

The poor dietary practice of the average American, consisting mainly of starches, sweet preserves, pickles and spicy meats cooked in liberal quantities of animal fats, (Robinson, 1965:24) with very little eating of fresh fruit and vegetables, also did much to impair health and induce sicknesses (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:390-391).

Some time in 1867 a physician wrote:

"That people are sick needs no argument. From almost every hamlet the wail of the sufferer is heard, and very few houses exist under whose roof some poor victim has not ended his sufferings, and been relieved from his misery by the king of terrors. And most who do die at the present time, die prematurely" (Robinson, 1965:20).

And then to aggravate this acute predicament of public health even further, infectious diseases were being rapidly brought into America from Europe and other places in the world, by the constant influx of new migrants (Singer and Underwood, 1961:233).

Statistics of the time reveal that between 1830 and 1850 over two million immigrants landed on American shores (Quint, Cantor, 1970:197).

b. Seventh-day Adventists: Health and Medical Reformers

It was during this time of crisis, ignorance and general dissatisfaction with the medical profession, that Seventh-day Adventism, in the same manner as the Millerite Movement had done four decades before, rose up to challenge contemporary misunderstandings and unyielding social practices (Damsteegt, 1977:221; S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:391).

Inheriting many tendencies that had existed before and during the time of the Millerites (Ibid., 221), Seventh-day Adventists began more and more to regard themselves as reformers in matters of diet, medicine and healthful living (Vandevere in Land, 1986:66).

By applying the Biblical injunction that the body is the temple of the Holy Spirit (Spalding, 1962:327), great emphasis was placed upon the need for men and women to abstain from the use of snuff, tobacco, intoxicating beverages, and any other physically harmful practices (Van Zyl, 1990:28).

They also strongly stressed that disease was often a result of the transgression of natural law (Damsteegt, 1977:221; S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:136).

Implementing also many of the ideas of health reformers such as Sylvester Graham (Armstrong, 1991:51; Schoepflin in Land, 1987:148; Vandevere in Gaustad, 1974:69), they taught that the closer a person lived to nature, the more a person lived in harmony with the divine laws of the human organism, the healthier their bodies and moral and intellectual faculties would be (Van Zyl, 1990:28).

In September 1866, as a direct result of such perceptions on health, and the treatment of disease, the Western Health Reform Institute was established at Battle Creek in the state of Michigan (Devereaux, 1988:106; Van Zyl, 1990:29) a flourishing manufacturing town of about 5000 people.

The function of the institute, beginning with a team of only two doctors, a nurse and two attendants (Robinson, 1965:153; Schwarz, 1979:113) was both the treatment of disease and the teaching of health reform principles (Damsteegt, 1977:238).

There was not only an uncompromising stand taken by this SDA reform institute against contemporary medical practices and the dangerous drugs that were being so freely prescribed by the physicians of the time but great stress was also placed upon the use of natural healing remedies (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:136).

In place of these drugs the Institute recommended a simple vegetarian diet, an abundance of pure, soft water to be used as a beverage, frequent bathing, exposure to sunlight, light massage, adequate ventilation and quiet undisturbed rest.

An editorial in the *Review and Herald*, a Seventh-day Adventist newspaper, elaborating upon the function and work carried out at the institute, recorded that it was not merely a hospital for the infirm, but also a place where people could come and see the practical

workings of health reform, learn temperance and thereafter carry what they had assimilated into their own homes (Spalding, 1962:328).

In 1867 only one year after the Institute had opened, Dr. Horatio S. Lay, the medical superintendent who had served as a physician at the influential water cure institution at Dansville, New York wrote:

"Patients are coming to the Health Institute so rapidly that we are already crowded for room. We do not dare to advertise the institution to any great extent, for fear we shall not have place for those that may wish to come" (White, 1986:192-193).

The opening of the Western Health Reform Institute in 1866 clearly marked a new era in the history of the SDA denomination.

Within a space of only twenty years, with the renowned Dr. John Harvey Kellogg at its helm (Vandevere in Land, 1986:70), and its name changed in 1877 to Battle Creek Sanitarium (Schwarz, 1979:116), it was soon to play a pivotal role in inaugurating a SDA worldwide medical ministry (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:137; Van Zyl, 1990:102).

2. *Seventh-day Adventist Educational Ministry*

a. *Agitation for Educational Reform in America in the Nineteenth-Century*

As the passion for "reform from all abuses" intensified in the initial decades of the nineteenth-century in America, it inescapably also brought the focus to bear upon the prevalent educational systems (Quint, Cantor, 1970:192; Schwarz, 1979:118)

As a result of such desires it led in 1815 to the formation of the American Educational Society (Handy, 1976:174).

A number of years later, during the 1820's, James Carter (1795-1849), a member of the Massachusetts Legislature was mandated to look into the matter of public education. To his great dismay, he reported that the improvement of public schools had been almost totally neglected for more than forty years (Bates, 1940:429).

Even though the rudiments of education had been provided, he discovered that educational facilities still generally consisted of badly heated, poorly ventilated, dimly-lit, unattractive one-room schoolhouses, and were usually staffed by undereducated and poorly paid teachers (Shenton, 1963:291).

Carter's work on educational reform paved the way for Horace Mann (1796-1859) a deeply religious man (Latourette, 1961:141) who has been acknowledged by many as the leading educational reformer in America in the nineteenth century (Bates, 1940:141; Knight, 1983:5; Quint, Cantor, 1970:193; Shenton, 1963:291).

Horace Mann was responsible for the eventual establishment of the public school system throughout the United States, (Bates, 1940: 429; Knight in Land, 1987:162-163).

He also more importantly sought to implant in the mind and the conscience of the nation, the conviction that public education should be universal, non-sectarian, and free (Quint, Cantor, 1979:200) and that its main objective should be the upliftment of social efficiency, and the fostering of good citizenship and moral character (Latourette, 1961:141).

To put his ideas for reform into practice he campaigned for higher salaries to be given to teachers, the improvement of buildings, and the establishment of public libraries (Shenton, 1963:291).

He furthermore discouraged the use of teachers without proper qualifications, placing teaching methods in use under constant surveillance.

He also encouraged the use of regular examinations and made it compulsory for children within stipulated ages to attend school, the object of all these measures being to secure for American students the very best education possible (Quint, Cantor, 1970:202).

By the mid-nineteenth century, as a result of Mann's insistence that education was the foundation stone of the nation, school reforms had gained widespread acceptance.

Education had furthermore also been converted into a right rather than a privilege, a responsibility of the community rather than of the individual.

In 1801 whereas there had been only 25 colleges of all kinds in the entire United States, by 1850 this number had arisen to 120 (Froom, 1954:430).

*b. The Development of a Seventh-day Adventist
Philosophy of Education*

In the light of the great emphasis given to the anticipated Second Advent of Christ by the Millerite leaders during the 1840's, it once again comes as no great surprise to discover, that there was little or no consideration given by them to the furtherance of education or the need to reform existing schooling facilities (Knight, 1983:1; Van Zyl, 1990:29).

The experience, expectation and the firm belief of many Adventist parents that their families would soon be taken to heaven, taught them not only to be sceptical towards higher education but also to regard even an elementary education for their children as wasteful and relatively nonessential (Knight, 1983:2-3; Schwarz, 1979:120-121; Spalding, 1962:91).

As the years after 1844 passed though, and as Adventist thinking developed with regard to organisation, the church's missionary mandate and health reform, their attitudes toward education also naturally began to mature.

As a result of the subsequent comprehension that arose, that children would have to be adequately trained to cope with life's skills, several small Adventist schools were opened in private homes in the early part of the 1850's (Knight, 1983:2; S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:135).

Owing mainly to the lack of organizational support and financial difficulties that the early believers were experiencing at the time though, these first schools achieved no great permanence (Schwarz, 1979:121).

It was only a decade later in 1868 when the first Seventh-day Adventist school was opened in Battle Creek that a degree of permanency was obtained.

Of particular interest is the fact that the principal initially chosen for this denominational school was Goodloe Harper Bell (Devereaux, 1988:91-93; Vandevere in Land, 1986:70), a product of the educational reform-orientated Oberlin College (Schwarz, 1979:122).

Bell's influence was all too clearly evident in the well balanced education that the school initially offered, harmonising the study of academic subjects with physical labour (Lindsay in Knight, 1983:53; Van Zyl, 1990:30).

The school's curriculum made it compulsory for male students to take instruction both in agricultural and mechanical lines, while female students were well schooled in the domestic arts. Duties, it was believed, that would fit them well for the practical responsibilities of adult life. (Devereaux, 1988:95).

It was during these formative years that, what would come to be regarded as the "blueprint" of SDA education was developed.

Succinctly, according to this understanding, "Proper Christian Education" was one that paid careful attention to the effective and harmonious development of all the facets of a student's life, physical, moral, mental and spiritual.

SDA educational philosophy was believed to be an integrated system which had the Bible and most naturally God at its centre. All subjects were therefore to be studied in the light of God; all the social sciences were to be illuminated with the purpose of God; all the mathematical sciences to be seen as an expression of God's mind.

The combination of all these four facets soon came to be understood as the education of the heart, the head and the hand (Vandevere in Land, 1986:71).

The "Heart" referring to the cultivation of the spiritual faculties; the "Head" referring to the development of the moral and mental powers; and the "Hand" the pragmatic implementation of the physical prowesses.

As in the case of the health/medical ministry, the educational lines of work, envisaged, planned and put into practice initially in America, would expand in the subsequent decades and be patterned upon in many many places, all forming part of the backbone of worldwide Seventh-day Adventist missionary endeavours (Schwarz, 1979:132).

3. Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Ministry

a. Early Publishing Impetus Lost

The setting up and initiating of both the medical and educational ministry had taken place in the years subsequent to the Great Disappointment of October 1844. The publishing ministry was one however that had already developed into a powerful evangelistic instrument during the years of the Millerite Movement.

Chapter one has already recorded how the Millerite printing presses had, after turning out literally millions of tracts, books and pamphlets on the Second Advent, stopped rolling in October 1844 in anticipation of Christ's arrival.

In an endeavour though to fortify the devastated believers, they began to print again quite soon after the Great Disappointment (Schwarz, 1979:53).

It was only natural in the post 1844 era that the sabbatarian Adventists would want to draw upon their Millerite experience to spread their expanding concepts of religious truths to other Adventist believers.

It however did not take very long, chiefly because of the animosity that had arisen against them and the refusal by so many to print "new light", before this advantageous avenue was forever closed to them.

Richard Schwarz makes note of the fact that for a period of time the sabbatarian believers had from these mighty beginnings actually been reduced to copying their bulletins by hand and making themselves dependent upon personal labours and donations to provide the funds to meet publication needs (Schwarz, 1979:72-74).

*b. The Establishment of a Seventh-day Adventist
Printing Press*

Undaunted, once again trusting that God was leading them, these believers persevered, inspite of the discouragement and opposition, in their aspiration to open up a channel of communication amongst the Adventist believers through the printed page.

By 1849 *Present Truth*, "an eight-page paper, devoted mainly to the illumination of the Sabbath truth, was printed. One year later, in 1850, it was replaced by a sixteen-page paper entitled *Advent Review* (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1208).

The latter paper using primarily extracts from the pre-October 1844 period attempted to prove that the sabbatarian Adventists alone continued to see the Millerite movement as "God-directed and designed" (Schwarz, 1979:76).

Note must be taken that these papers appeared during the period when the "shut door" theory was still very much alive in the minds of many of the Adventist believers. It therefore comes as no surprise to discover that this view was still being strongly promulgated in the newspapers that were being printed at the time (Damsteegt, 1977:273).

These initial endeavours, still holding some extreme views, not without severe problems and at this time still progressing very slowly, were nevertheless the origins of what would in time become the "missionary" press of the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

By 1852 at a cost of 650 dollars, a Washington hand-operated press had been purchased and the *Review and Herald* Printing Office established in Rochester, New York (Spalding, 1962:205-206).

The press had to move from no less than four rented locations before eventually finding a permanent place in Battle Creek in 1855 (Van Zyl, 1990:32), in the first building owned by the denomination (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1208).

However publications of all kinds soon began to increase greatly as the necessary funds became available.

After only two years in Battle Creek, the volume of printing had in fact increased to such an extent that the old Washington hand-printing press that had been purchased in 1852 had to be replaced by a steam-powered press, at an enormous cost of 2500 dollars.

As in the case of the Millerite Movement, it was the publication and distribution of pamphlets, books and periodicals, dealing mainly with doctrinal, educational and medical concerns, that helped to establish the members of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in the fundamentals of the faith and welded them into a strong church (S.D.A Encyclopedia, 1976:1167).

c. *The Development of the "T and M" Society*

By the year 1869, the Seventh-day Adventist Church, now braced with a regular source of income, an established organization, a thriving medical institute, a school and a flourishing printing press that could make literature available when it was needed, could finally begin to reach out with confidence to non-Adventist believers.

An unexpected avenue to effectively reach out once again in friendship to people of other religious persuasions was provided by a local women's group from Massachusetts called *The Vigilant Missionary Society*. (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1495).

Formed in June 1869, the members of this group were not only actively involved in visiting the sick, the handing out of religious tracts and helping the destitute (Schwarz, 1979:152), but more especially specialized in correspondence and the mailing out of religious literature on a large scale (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1555).

Church administrators all too quickly discerned the immense value of the work that was being done by *The Vigilant Society*. It was not long therefore, before the pattern that they employed had been emulated and the first Seventh-day Adventist Tract and Missionary ("T and M") Society formed in 1870 for the newly formed *New England Conference*.

In just a number of years the "T and M" societies had not only been approved by the *General Conference* and subsequently spread to every State Conference but had also permeated right down to the local church level, where church members themselves were strongly encouraged to partake in the important work of missionary correspondence (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1496).

In this fashion SDA books, periodical, journals and tracts began to increasingly and systematically appear in public places where they had never been before.

Ensuing chapters of this research paper will reveal how the account of the opening of SDA missionary work in many parts of the world, working in close conjunction with the spiritual, medical and educational ministry, can be attributed directly to the distribution of denominational literature and the sterling work carried out by many faithful literature evangelists.

IV. CALLS RECEIVED FROM OUTSIDE OF AMERICA FOR SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST MISSIONARIES

A. The first SDA Missionary Sails to Europe (1864)

Note has been taken thus far of the "maturation" process that the SDA church underwent in regard to its missionary consciousness and its subsequent development in the field of health reform, education and printing. It had however still not, by the late 1860's, advocated sending missionaries to Europe or Africa.

As early as 1864, Michael Belina Czechowski (1818-1876), a Polish Catholic priest who had been converted to Seventh-day Adventism in Ohio in 1857 (Spalding, 1962:197), had approached the church leadership with the request that he be sent to Europe as a missionary (Dabrowski in Leonard, 1985:190; S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:365).

Sadly, Czechowski's request did not come at a very opportune time. The organization was at that stage still too new and frail, and clearly not yet ready to wrestle with distant enterprises (Spalding, 1962:198), and his request was consequently turned down (Damsteegt, 1977:286; Schwarz, 1979:90).

Disappointed, yet undaunted and still adamant to carry out his desire to preach the gospel outside of America, Czechowski sailed for Europe in May 1864 with neither an endorsement nor any financial assistance from the Seventh-day Adventist Church (Dabrowski in Leonard, 1985:191; S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:365).

Although he had not received a mandate from the SDA church, Czechowski proved to be a loyal and an indefatigable Christian worker.

He soon began to give Bible studies and preach the message of the seventh-day Sabbath and the Second Advent in Northern Italy, Rumania and Switzerland (Vandevere in Land, 1986:87). As a result of his work several groups of Sabbatarian Adventist believers were initiated in these countries.

In addition he also established a periodical entitled *L'Evangile Eternel* ("The Everlasting Gospel") which was published in Switzerland for about two years (Dabrowski in Leonard, 1985:195; S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:365).

Very soon after Czechowski left Switzerland in the year 1868, the leader of the newly established group, Albert Vuilleumier, who could read English, discovered the postal address of the SDA Church headquarters in Battle Creek in a copy of the *Advent Review* left behind by Czechowski.

Eagerly he wrote, appealing for someone to come to Switzerland and teach them the complete Seventh-day Adventist message (Damsteegt, 1977:287; Spalding, 1962:199; Vandevere in Land, 1986:87).

Battle Creek's response returned to them in the form of an invitation for a representative from the Swiss group to come to America instead.

The following year in 1869, James Erzenberger a young theological student from Basel came to be instructed at the SDA school (Vandevere in Land, 1986:87), returning to Europe a year later in 1870 as a trained minister of the Adventist faith (Spalding, 1962:199).

However as the 1870's progressed and the calls continued to intensify from places as far off as Russia, Australia, and New Zealand, pleading for publications and missionaries, the church eventually consented to move forward and send someone from America (Dabrowski in Leonard, 1985:198-199).

On the 15 September 1874, John Nevins Andrews (1829-1883) a gifted SDA scholar, minister and author of several books, sailed from Boston to Europe to join the group in Switzerland, becoming the first official missionary of the Seventh-day Adventist church to set foot in Europe (Damsteegt, 1977:291; Devereaux, 1988:86; Spalding, 1962:203-204).

CHAPTER THREE
THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SDA CHURCH IN SOUTH AFRICA AND
SUBSEQUENT MISSIONARY EXPANSION INTO AFRICA

I. SEVENTH DAY ADVENTISM ARRIVES ON SOUTH AFRICAN SHORES

A. The Discovery of Diamonds in Kimberley (1871)

The early 1870's were not only years which found the Seventh-day Adventist church in America on the threshold of reaching out in ever increasing world-wide missionary endeavours, but were simultaneously years during which the history of South Africa and its people would be irrevocably changed (Blake, 1977:25; Cammack, 1990:1; Hinchliff, 1968:75; Muller, 1973:266-268; Van Jaarsveld, 1975:159-160).

For thousands of years, with its enormous wealth many feet below the earth's surface still concealed from the sight of humans, South Africa had slumbered largely undisturbed.

From 1871 onward though the face of the "old" South Africa speedily vanished (Millin, 1934:41) as the word "diamonds" suddenly appeared on people's lips (Vambe, 1972:82; Williams, 1902:172).

As diamond fever raged in the city of Kimberley, the largest man-made excavation in the world soon appeared with some 30 000 miners (Dow, Jones, 1991:97) of all nationalities, races, genders, ages, and creeds digging feverishly, frantically, hardly appearing to pause for food, drink or rest (Cammack, 1990:1; Williams, 1902:127-128; 203-205).

B. William Hunt: The First Seventh-day Adventist Arrives in South Africa (1871)

Among the many thousands of optimistic prospectors who hastened to the Kimberley diamond fields, was an American miner by the name of William Hunt (Andross, 1926:254; S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:611; Swanepoel, 1972:1).

William Hunt (1822-1897) not merely a fortune seeker, but also a man who had a deep preoccupation in Biblical prophecy, had been converted to Seventh-day Adventism on the gold-fields of Nevada in the United States in 1869 (Swanepoel, 1972:1).

In 1870, he decided to relocate to some other part of the world to seek his fortune, eventually ending up on the diamond fields of South Africa (Robinson, n.d.:2; Swanepoel, 1972:1). The record of Hunt's precise arrival and his activities in South Africa are regrettably very vague.

What is known, through a letter received in the United States in 1878 from a local Methodist minister from Kimberley by the name of J.H.C. Wilson, is that William Hunt appeared to be enthusiastically sharing both the SDA faith that he had acquired in America and his SDA literature with the local people in Kimberley (Schwarz, 1979:224; Swanepoel, 1972:2).

It is also known that, by the time he came to South Africa, he had not only bought practically every book published by Seventh-day Adventists, but was also a subscriber to the weekly paper *The Advent Review and Herald* and was steadfastly honouring the seventh-day of the week (Saturday) as the Sabbath (Swanepoel, 1972:1).

It was however an intriguing combination of events that would bring some local Dutch people from the districts of Kimberley in contact with William Hunt (Schwarz, 1979:224) eventually leading not only to the first Seventh-day Adventist missionaries coming to South Africa from America in 1887 but also to the inauguration of the SDA Church in South Africa (Andross, 1926:253-254).

C. Locals Residents of Kimberley Embrace the Seventh-Day Sabbath

1. George. J. van Druten

Unknown to William Hunt, two Dutch residents and their families from the Kimberley district, George.J. van Druten and Pieter Wessels, had also begun to observe the seventh-day Sabbath without an inkling of the existence of a Sabbath-keeping church in America.

Both these incidences, without any initial relation to one another, appear to have come about as a direct result of personal Bible study (Schwarz, 1979:224; Swanepoel, 1972:2).

Van Druten, a storekeeper from Alexanderfontein a district in Kimberley (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1363), had been on his way to Bloemfontein by wagon with a sick child when he outspanned on Saturday evening because of his usual custom not to travel on Sundays (Review and Herald, "First Call From South Africa", January 25, 1951, pg.6).

As a result, Van Druten's wife became very incensed, insisting that they should go on with their journey inspite of their usual practice of honouring Sunday as a holy day (Swanepoel, 1972:2; Van Zyl, 1990:79).

Placed in this dilemma, Van Druten turned to his Bible to find an answer. To his amazement, as he studied, he came to the realization that the day that God commanded to be kept holy was in fact the seventh-day (Saturday) and not Sunday (Review and Herald "First Call From South Africa", January 25, 1951, pg.6).

As Van Druten wrestled for deeper comprehension he first visited the Dutch Reformed minister who could not adequately explain the change of worship from the seventh-day Sabbath to Sunday. From there he went to a Jewish Rabbi who showed him the immutability of God's commandments of which the seventh day Sabbath was an integral part (Van Zyl, 1990:79).

It appears that from this time onward (no reference found for an exact date), Van Druten and his family began to worship God on Saturday instead of Sunday.

2. Pieter.J.D.Wessels

Strangely enough, as in the case of Van Druten, it was also sickness that led Pieter Wessels to discovering the seventh-day Sabbath. At the age of twenty-nine while working in his vegetable garden, from which he supplied vegetables to the diamond miners in Kimberley (Swanepoel, 1972:3), Pieter, a devout and extremely conscientious man (Manuscript Notes I.J.Hankins. pg.3. Helderberg College Heritage Room, File number HR 2), became so seriously ill that his family feared that he was going to die (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1579).

After much prayer by his family and friends though, his life was miraculously spared and he consequently dedicated his life wholly to serving God and to the intensive study of the Bible.

Some time later though, after some sarcastic insinuations from his older brother Johannes, about keeping the true Sabbath (Saturday) Pieter Wessels began to diligently search the Bible for answers (Swanepoel, 1972:5; *African Division Outlook* "The Rise of the Third Angel's Message in South Africa" August 22, 1929).

Again as a result of conscientious and prayerful Bible study, Pieter Wessels, as had Van Druten, also arrived at the conclusion that Sunday was not the legitimate day of worship (Personal letter "Early Experiences of Mr.P.J.D. Wessels" Helderberg College Archives. Document file number DF 506).

His conviction resulted not only in the rise of considerable hostility and antagonism from former Dutch Reformed church members, but led also to his eventual dismissal from the congregation where he worshipped (Robinson, n.d.:5).

He however remained adamant in his new found belief and along with his immediate family began to honour the seventh-day as a day of worship in November 1885, even though he knew of no other Sabbathkeeping Christians (Olsen, 1926:484; S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1579; Swanepoel, 1972:6; Van Zyl, 1990:1978).

D. Seventh-day Adventist Missionaries arrive from America

Both Van Druten and Wessels, who were already familiar with each other because of their attendance at the same local Dutch Reformed Church in Boshof (Swanepoel:1972,2), soon began to compare notes after they discovered that they were both keeping the seventh-day Sabbath as a day of rest and worship (Andross, 1926:254; Robinson, n.d.:6).

Van Druten had by this time also become acquainted with William Hunt when it came to his notice that the old miner never worked on Saturdays (Van Zyl, 1990:80).

To his amazement Van Druten soon learnt from Hunt, not only that he and his family were not the only Christians who worshipped God on the seventh-day Sabbath but that there was in fact a Sabbath keeping church in America as well (Robinson, n.d.:6; Schwarz, 1979:224).

Pieter Wessels, soon introduced to William Hunt by Van Druten (Swanepoel, 1972:6) was as equally elated when he learnt of the existence of the church in America (Manuscript Notes I.J. Hankins pg.7; S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1364).

He had needed no prompting and had studied and unashamedly shared his new found belief converting many members of his family, including his mother and father.

The religious literature that Hunt had shared with Wessels though, was written in English and Pieter Wessels' acquaintances and family who spoke mainly Dutch were finding it very difficult to read and understand (Swanepoel, 1972:6).

As a result, some months after their initial meeting with Hunt in 1886, a heartfelt letter was penned to the *General Conference* in America by William Hunt on behalf of Wessels and Van Druten who were not so conversant in English (Robinson, n.d.:6).

Together with the letter they sent a sum of 50 pounds requesting that a Dutch speaking Gospel minister be sent to further instruct the Adventist believers in South Africa in the teachings of the Seventh-day Adventist Church (Andross, 1926:254; Swanepoel, 1972:6).

It was not the first time that tidings had reached Battle Creek that an interest had been generated in South Africa. The church in America, preoccupied with a *General Conference* session in Michigan at the time (Swanepoel:1972,9), were however electrified at the contents of the letter.

Eruptions and shouts of adulation and tears of joy were evident on many faces at the news that SDA missionaries were required in Africa (Andross, 1926:254; S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1364; Schwarz, 1979:224; Van Zyl, 1990:119).

Unlike the hesitancy that had been shown more than a decade before when the calls for missionaries had come from Europe, the church leadership, with G.I. Butler holding the reins as *General Conference* President wasted little time.

Almost immediately, even though they had no Dutch ministers at the time, they put some contingency plans into action to send missionaries to South Africa (Swanepoel, 1972:10). Within a short space of only six months the first missionaries chosen to come to South Africa were on their way.

The group consisting of two ministers, D.A. Robinson, and C.L. Boyd and their families; two literature evangelists, G. Burleigh, and R.S. Anthony; and a Bible instructor, Miss Corrie Mace, sailed from New York on May 11, 1887, arriving in Cape Town harbour two and a half months later on July 28, 1887 (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1364; Spalding, 1962:6; White, 1977:4).

II. THE ORGANIZATION AND EXPANSION YEARS (1887-1902)

A. No Time lost in Planning

An exhaustive commentary on SDA missionary endeavours in Southern Africa is understandably outside the parameters of this specific research paper.

It is imperative however, before being able to make an adequate appraisal, to continue by succinctly tracing the establishment and development of the major denominational institutions. Again only accentuating the most significant occurrences and organizational advancements that took place in the early years of the denomination's history.

*[The chronological history of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in South Africa has already been adequately dealt with in L.F. Swanepoel's *The Origin and Early History of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in South Africa, 1886 - 1920* (M.A. thesis, UNISA, 1972); and R.C. Thompson's *A History of the Growth and Development of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Southern Africa, 1920 - 1960* (Ph.D., Rhodes University, 1977)].

Pieter Wessels was naturally disappointed when he learnt from the General Conference in Battle Creek that the missionaries that were coming to South Africa were not Dutch-speaking (Personal letter "Early Experiences of Mr. P.J.D. Wessels" Helderberg College Archives. Document file number DF 506).

It appears however that it did not deter him a great deal and was on hand to personally meet them when their ship berthed in Cape Town (S.D.A Encyclopedia, 1976:1579). In fact, to better prepare himself to meet the American missionaries, he had even begun to study the English language (Robinson, n.d.:10).

No time at all was lost and very soon after the American missionaries had disembarked, a meeting was held at "Pelgrimsrust" the Wessels family homestead in Wellington (Swanepoel, 1972:12).

At this meeting the strategies were discussed for the evangelistic work that was to be carried out by the *African Mission* (as the South African SDA denomination was then referred to in America).

It was decided at this meeting that D.A.Robinson one of the ministers, R.S.Anthony the literature evangelist and Corrie Mace the Bible worker would remain and labour in Cape Town.

C.L.Boyd the other minister and George Burleigh the second literature evangelist would travel with Pieter Wessels to Kimberley where several candidates were already awaiting baptism as a result of the work already begun by Pieter Wessels, Van Druten, William Hunt and others (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1364; Swanepoel, 1972:7).

B. Beaconsfield (1890): The first Seventh-day Adventist Church in South Africa.

In August 1887, only a month after the missionaries had arrived from America, C.L.Boyd conducted the first SDA baptismal service in Kimberley. One month later on September 27 1887, regular worship meetings were inaugurated in a farm school-room with 26 charter members (Andross, 1926:254; Swanepoel, 1972:12).

Three years later in May 1890, after many more Bible studies, copious literature distribution and further evangelistic meetings conducted by C.L.Boyd in a tent which the local Adventist believers from Kimberley had purchased (Ibid.,13), a wood and iron church building was erected in Kimberley at a cost of 500 pounds (Van Zyl, 1990:81).

This church which became known as the Beaconsfield Church becoming the first SDA church building to be erected on the African continent (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1364).

The original document of the contributions that these initial SDA believers made towards purchasing this meeting tent has miraculously survived.

Upon this document the names of Hunt, Wessels, Tarr and Davies and the amounts that they contributed for the purchase of this tent can be very clearly seen (Helderberg College Archives. Document file number HR 25).

C. *Evangelistic Labours in Cape Town and the
Establishment of the Roeland Street Church (1892)*

The evangelistic work in Cape Town got off to a much more difficult start mainly because there was not an established interest on which to build upon as had been the case in Kimberley (Swanepoel, 1972:15).

Nevertheless in March 1889 a small congregation, consisting initially of only sixteen believers was begun in a house in one of Cape Town's suburbs (Van Zyl, 1990:81).

This also came about mainly as a result of the numerous meetings held in the surrounding districts of Cape Town by Ira.J.Hankins who had come from America to replace D.A.Robinson in February 1888, after the latter had requested that he be recalled back to America (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1364; Robinson, n.d.:12; Swanepoel, 1972:15-17).

Two months later in April 1889, at a meeting of SDA workers and laymen held in Cape Town, the first formal organization of Seventh-day Adventists in South Africa was also created (Van Zyl, 1990:99).

At this meeting, the South African Branch of the *International Tract and Missionary Society* was formed, to conduct literature sales and to care for the business transactions of the church (Swanepoel, 1972:17).

It was also decided at this same meeting, as a result of the continuing interest that was being generated in the Adventist messages, that a permanent place of worship was needed in Cape Town.

A plot of ground was therefore purchased, large enough so that a church could later be built on it, at a cost of 2,357 pounds. The church eventually built and completed three years later in 1892 at a cost of three thousand pounds, becoming known as the Roeland Street Seventh-day Adventist Church. (Robinson, n.d.:14; Swanepoel, 1972:17).

The *Cape Times* recorded the opening of the church in the following way:

"Yesterday afternoon the dedication services of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Roeland Street were performed, a large congregation being present. The church has only recently been completed and is a handsome structure and quite an ornament to the thoroughfare" (*Cape Times*. no date or page numbers visible on the microfiche. Helderberg College Archives. Document file number DF 3001-a).

Strangely enough, for reasons not given, it was the church erected in Cape Town and not the one in Beaconsfield that was destined to house the headquarters of the SDA church in South Africa (Swanepoel, 1972:25), an association that was to last from 1892 until 1920 (Robinson, n.d.:26).

In 1889 and 1890 impetus was added to various facets of the expanding work of the church in South Africa. In August 1899, the *International Tract Society*, personal Bible Studies given to the public, and missionary work at the Cape Town Docks, was given an added boost by the arrival of four more missionaries from America.

One year later, in December 1890, two more missionaries arrived in Cape Town for a period of five months to give proper training in salesmanship to eleven South African literature evangelists (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1367; Swanepoel, 1972:22).

D. *Seventh-day Adventism reaches the Eastern Cape (1889)*

As a result of an encounter in Kimberley in 1887, prior to the arrival of the SDA missionaries from America (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1462), between Pieter Wessels and some English-speaking transport riders, which included D.F.Tarr a Methodist lay-preacher from the Eastern Cape and his cousin Albert Davies (Manuscript Notes I.J. Hankins pg.13; Schwarz, 1979:224; Swanepoel, 1972:8), the message of the seventh-day Sabbath was also accepted by them and taken back to that part of the country (Van Zyl, 1990:80).

After ministerial labours conducted by Ira.J.Hankins who moved to work in this area from Cape Town two years later (Swanepoel, 1972:20), another Seventh-day Adventist congregation with a membership of

eighteen was begun in 1889 at Rokeby Park (Van Zyl, 1990:83), a farming district some 18 miles from Grahamstown (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1365; Thompson, 1977:72).

The Adventist message, accepted by D.F.Tarr, soon reached the Cathcart district and the following year in 1891 his brothers, Walter and James Tarr and their families were also baptised (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1462) thereby starting a second group of Seventh-day Adventist believers in the Eastern Cape (Swanepoel, 1972:20-21).

E. The Arrival of Asa.T.Robinson (1891)

It was however under the tenacious leadership of Asa.T.Robinson who arrived in South Africa in January 1892 to replace C.L.Boyd whose failing health necessitated his return to America a year before, that the early SDA missionary endeavours in South Africa would reach a climax and make its most rapid strides (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1222;1579).

Robinson's six-year leadership in South Africa (1892-1897) was destined to see:

The *African Mission* elevated to conference status (1892);

The completion of the church building in Roeland Street, Cape Town (1892);

The inauguration of Africa's first SDA tertiary college (1893);

The establishment of the first SDA elementary school (1893);

The first visit to South Africa by a *General Conference*, President (1893);

The establishment of a children's orphanage (1895);

The publication of denominational newspapers both in English and Dutch;

The printing of the first tracts in an African vernacular language (1895);

The building of a SDA medical hospital (1896);

And the first missionary expansion from South Africa into Matabeleland (Southern Rhodesia) (1894).

Mention must be made once again, that what is about to follow is not intended to be a detailed chronological study of the history of the denomination, and only the most essential historical details concerning the church's development have been delineated.

F. The Inauguration of the South African Conference of Seventh-day Adventists (1892)

On the 8th of December 1892, eleven months after Asa.T.Robinson had arrived in South Africa the wheels began to roll.

At a meeting of SDA workers and laypersons convened in Cape Town, a resolution was taken by those present to raise the status of the *Africa Mission* with all the churches presently under its jurisdiction, to that of a financially self-supporting *South African Conference of Seventh-day Adventists* (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1049; Van Zyl, 1990:99).

Asa.T.Robinson was chosen as its first President (Swanepoel, 1972:26-27) and its headquarters established in the newly built church building in Roeland Street (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1365).

The territory over which the newly established conference would have jurisdiction would be the Cape Colony, the Transvaal and Zululand (Van Zyl, 1990:99).

G. Claremont Union College: The First SDA Tertiary Institution in South Africa (1893)

As early as 1890 serious concerns were being expressed by the church leadership because there was no SDA school in South Africa.

In just a short period of time twelve SDA students had already left South Africa to further their studies in America (Robinson, n.d.:41; Schwarz, 1979:224-225).

By 1892 the number of South African Seventh-day Adventists students studying in the United States had grown, most of them attending at Battle Creek College (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1367; Swanepoel, 1972:23-24).

As a result, with Asa.T.Robinson doing a great deal to encourage the idea of building a school, twenty-three acres of farm land was purchased in 1892 in Kenilworth, in Cape Town (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:577).

The purchase of this land also included concrete plans to build a SDA college in South Africa, where workers could be trained to work amongst their own people (Robinson, n.d.:27) - an idea that was received with considerable enthusiasm by the local Seventh-day Adventist believers in South Africa (Swanepoel, 1972:23).

The school building named Claremont Union College, was finally completed at the beginning of 1893 at a cost of 7300 pounds (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1365).

The *Cape Times* dated January 4, 1893, carried the first advertisement of the College inviting any prospective students to write to the principal for particulars regarding the subjects offered at the school (Robinson, n.d.:73).

Staffed initially with two teachers and the principal, Eli. B Miller, who had taught at the Battle Creek College (Robinson, n.d.:73; S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1996:71), and begun with an enrolment of 65 students, classes commenced on February 1, 1893 (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1367; Swanepoel, 1972:29).

The school became not only the first SDA tertiary institution in Africa but also the first SDA college to be operated by the denomination outside the borders of North America (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:577).

H. Seventh-day Adventist Elementary Education (1893)

At a time when there was still no free public education in the country, the realization of the importance of an efficient elementary education for their children soon developed amongst the Adventist believers in South Africa, as it had in America four decades before.

As a result, beginning with the first church school which opened in Beaconsfield in 1893, elementary schools soon sprang up in various locations in the country (S.D.A. Encyclopedia:1996,635).

It is important to take note that these first schools were open not only to Seventh-day Adventists students but to children of all races and religious persuasions (Robinson, n.d.:76;90).

I. The Claremont Medical and Surgical Sanitarium (1896)

Many South Africans that had been given the privilege to attend at Battle Creek College did not only come home with college diplomas, but also returned with vivid impressions of the numerous other denominational institutions that had been inaugurated in America (Robinson, n.d.:29; S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1365).

The institution that had made the greatest impression upon their minds though, was the *Battle Creek Medical Sanitarium* headed by Dr.J.H.Kellogg which by this time had become a thriving medical establishment (Personal letter from J. Wessels to J.H.Kellogg. April 24, 1906. pg.3. Helderberg College Archives. Letter number 0099).

They had seen how the medical work had given the church prestige and standing in America, and by 1893, when O.A.Olsen the General Conference President visited South Africa, talk was already being heard about opening up a similar medical institution in South Africa (Robinson, n.d.:97; S.D.A Encyclopedia, 1976:1579).

That very same year in 1893 a committee was appointed by the *South African Conference* to secure a location for the erection of a medical sanitarium.

After some careful consideration by the committee and valuable advice from leading physicians from Cape Town, 123 acres of prime land was bought at a cost of U.S.A. \$ 17000 on the outskirts of Cape Town (*Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, April, 1897,pg.253. Helderberg College Archives. Document file number DF 3000-c).

When the erection of the buildings began early in 1895, no cost was being spared to make the Sanitarium the finest hospital of its kind in South Africa (*S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, 1976:306).

The 51 roomed, elaborate four-storey building, was patterned on the sanitarium in Battle Creek (Van Zyl, 1990:102). Its facilities included a modern x-ray machine, a hydraulic lift for the safety and convenience of its patients, a spacious gymnasium, and a steam laundry.

It took almost two years to build at a cost of 50,000 pounds and was ready to begin operations in January 1897 *South African Medical Journal* "Lost hospitals of the Cape" June 1983, pg.37-38. Helderberg College Archives Document file number DF 3000-c).

The "San" as it soon became known was an instant success with the public and within a week of its opening all 51 beds were occupied (*S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, 1976:306; Van Zyl, 1990:102).

In the next two years, besides the more than 800 patients that had been admitted to the sanitarium, the medical superintendent reported that he had also made 1798 professional medical visits in the city of Cape Town itself (*Medical Missionary Year Book* 1896 "Medical Work in South Africa" pg.47).

As the reputation of the "San" grew, patients came from far and near for the many water treatments in which it specialized. The extensive bathrooms afforded facilities for the employment of all recognized hydro-therapeutic measures. At an added expense the sanitarium also secured the use of an "Electric Radiant Heat Bath" which was used for the treatment of gout, rheumatism and malaria.

Only four months after it had opened, because of the increased patronage, plans were already underway to expand in an additional property that had been purchased in the city of Cape Town (*Good Health* 1899 "The Sanitarium Idea" pg.758. Helderberg College Archives. Document file number DF 3000-c).

This branch of the sanitarium which became known as "Roeland Street Baths" had its own doctor and three trained nurses. It was furthermore thoroughly fitted and converted into a bath house with Turkish, electric, hot and cold bath facilities for both ladies and gentlemen (*Advent Review and Herald*, April 20, 1897. pg.253. Helderberg College Archives, Document file number DF 3000-c).

A special feature of this bath house was a radiant-heat bath imported at a great expense from America. The bath equipped with 200, 16-candle power Edison incandescent lights proved to a wonderfully effective agent in combatting certain diseases (*Claremont Medical and Surgical Sanitarium Prospectus*. Helderberg College Archives. Document file number HR 1).

In 1898, as a result of the great demand for treatment, an additional doctor was called to assist from Battle Creek (Schwarz, 1979:206; S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:306) and plans were drawn up to extend the main sanitarium's floor space so that it could accommodate the increased volume of patients (Van Zyl, 1990:102).

By December 1898 the Claremont sanitarium had been enlarged and the number of patients taken in increased from sixty to over two-hundred (Personal Letter from J.Wessels to E.G.White Dec.30, 1898. Helderberg College Archives. Letter number 0019).

In addition to the hospital work carried out at the sanitarium the medical staff also made concerted efforts to provide education for the community in the art of healthful living. On the first Monday of each month a special public lecture was conducted. At these meetings the various aspects of disease prevention were introduced: for example the necessity to maintain healthful eating habits, the effective use of natural remedies and the benefits of adequate exercise were also all stressed.

In an effort to reach even a wider audience the sanitarium also began to issue a monthly publication called *The South African Journal of Health*.

J. Plumstead Orphanage (1895)

Another American denominational institution that was patterned upon in South Africa, was the *Haskell Memorial Home* for orphans begun in 1891 in Battle Creek (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1054).

The prime mover in the venture to establish an institution of this nature in South Africa was Fred Reed, a pharmacist from Kimberley, who had been converted to Seventh-day Adventism (*Medical Missionary Year Book* 1896 "Medical Work in South Africa" pg.100).

Upon his subsequent return from America he urged that an orphanage be established to take care of needy children and offered to donate liberally towards the cost of erecting the necessary facilities (Robinson, n.d.:97; Swanepoel, 1972:44).

Mrs. Maria Wessels, Pieter Wessels' mother who was a member of the Cape Town SDA church at the time, also became very interested in Reed's project and donated a piece of her Timour Hall estate for the establishment of an orphanage in Plumstead, a suburb of Cape Town.

At a cost of two thousand pounds a building named the *Plumstead Orphanage*, was erected which began to function on the 8th of March 1895 (Robinson, n.d.:97; S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1129).

The primary object of the orphanage was to furnish a home for children of Seventh-day parents, as at the time of its erection there were several such orphans in great need of help. However other children were also later taken in to the orphanage.

It was furthermore the purpose of the home to harbour the children until they were of age. The children were also given training in industrial lines, taught to assist in domestic work and gardening (*Medical Missionary Year Book* 1896 "Medical Work in South Africa" pg.100).

A description of the home in the *South African Sentinel* described it in the following manner:

"...all the rooms in the building are large, light and well ventilated. Being situated in a beautiful grove, with no other buildings near, the children are provided with ample scope for out-door exercises, with anyone seeing them at

their sports would be convinced they heartily appreciate. There is a large school-room on the premises, fitted up with the latest and most approved school furniture. A teacher thoroughly experienced in kindergarten and primary work, is now on her way to this country and is to have charge of that department on the work" (Swanepoel, 1972:45).

K. *Printing and Publishing Endeavours (1890)*

Although the first SDA missionaries had brought a generous supply of denominational literature with them when they arrived in South Africa in 1887, they soon came to the realization that it would be expedient for the mission to have their own printing press to print announcements, sermons and evangelistic appeals.

When a request was made by D.A. Robinson to the offices of *The Review and Herald* offices in America, a small hand-printing press finally arrived in 1890 (Van Zyl, 1990:113). [I could not ascertain whether this press was perhaps the first hand-printing press bought in 1852 to begin the printing work in America].

Bearing the name *The South African Publishing Company*, the printing press was located in the basement of the Roeland Street Church in Cape Town for about four years before moving in 1896 to occupy a more permanent place in three rooms at Claremont Union College (Ibid., 113-114).

The press however, preoccupied with printing mainly denominational periodicals and newspapers at this stage, made no attempt to print the larger books, which were all being printed and imported from overseas printing presses (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1320-1321).

Notwithstanding these diminutive beginnings, the distribution of religious literature was, as it had done in America in the 1850's, soon to play a prominent part in the spreading of the SDA Church's message into many parts of Southern Africa.

In just under two decades, SDA newspaper, book and literature distribution which had begun with William Hunt in Beaconsfield in the late 1870's (Robinson:n.d.,62), had spread to the Cape Province, Queenstown, Grahamstown, Bathurst, Bloemfontein, East London, Natal, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal both in the Dutch and English

languages, greatly preparing the field for the evangelists and the Bible workers which followed.

1895 was also a monumental year for the *South African Publishing Company* when the first literature tracts were made available in the Xhosa language (Van Zyl, 1990:113).

These were followed in due time by periodicals, songbooks and textbooks in the various African languages which would in the future be taken north by the missionaries as they expanded the boundaries of the church into the neighbouring African states that surrounded South Africa (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1320).

III. FINANCIAL IMPETUS FOR SOUTH AFRICAN SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST MISSIONARY ENDEAVOURS

The remarkably rapid institutional growth of the SDA church in South Africa, in such a short space of time, can only be regarded with astonishment by the researcher.

In less than 10 years, no less than five churches; a major medical hospital; a tertiary educational institution; a children's orphanage had been erected, and the printing press had been begun, not forgetting all the land that had to first be procured on which to erect these buildings.

Even though the church in America had began almost four decades before, it could clearly, not even at this stage of its existence, afford to invest so heavily in a foreign mission field.

Where did the church in South Africa then, so recently begun and with a very small constituency, acquire the vast resources needed to build such elaborate and costly institutions?

A. Diamonds discovered on the Wessel's Farmland

Just prior to Asa.T.Robinson's arrival in South Africa in 1892, the farm Benaauwdheidsfontein in the Kimberley district upon which was located the Wessel's estate (Williams, 1902:344-345) was bought by *De Beers Consolidated Mines*, for a staggering 350 000 pounds (over one and a quarter million dollars) after rich diamond deposits had been discovered on the property in 1890 (Robinson, n.d.:28; S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1365;1579; Schwarz, 1979:225).

Pieter Wessels' father, Johannes, who had been converted to Seventh-day Adventism through the testimony of his son, although at times very generous to the church, was extremely cautious with this vast fortune that had come his way (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1365).

Sadly, Johannes Wessels died shortly after he had sold his farm and it was through this tremendous wealth that was consequently passed down to the Wessels family that the SDA church was able to make such rapid advances.

Impressed by what they had observed at Battle Creek and wishing to see the church expand in similar fashion the now extremely rich Wessels family generously gave thousand of pounds for the development of the church in South Africa.

Apart from the liberal property donation in Cape Town upon which the Plumstead Orphanage was built, literally thousands of pounds were contributed by the Wessels family to the SDA church in South Africa, for:

The erection and establishment of the College in Claremont;

The completion of the church in Cape Town;

The building of the Claremont Medical Sanitarium (Schwarz, 1979:225; S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1365).

Further reference will be made to the financial involvement of the Wessels family in the undertakings of the church, in the fourth chapter of this research paper which deals with the appraisal of SDA missionary endeavours in Southern Africa.

IV. MAJOR ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGES IN THE CHURCH IN SOUTH AFRICA (1902-1983)

A. General Conference Reorganization (1901)

By the turn of the century it had become apparent to many Seventh-day Adventist leaders that radical and far-reaching changes were needed in the organizational structure and management of the church in America (Schwarz, 1979:274;373).

These changes would also inevitably affect existing denominational structures in South Africa.

Various factors contributed to make these changes obligatory in America:

Firstly, by 1901 the church membership in America had grown to such an extent and the worldwide missionary program had expanded so rapidly (Schwarz, 1979:267) that it had made the existing centralised control at Battle Creek managerially impractical and ineffective (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1050; Van Zyl, 1990:23-24).

Secondly, it became clear, that far too many demands were being made upon individual church leaders (Schwarz, 1979:269). Prior to 1897, the president of the General Conference had also been the president of the Foreign Mission Board, president of the International Tract Society, the president of the SDA Publishing Association, besides being a member of numerous other committees and boards (Ibid.,163).

This situation led to the resolution, at the 1897 General Conference session, that the excessive authority and control given, up to this point, to the president and the executive of the General Conference would no longer be tolerated and a decentralization of decision making and responsibility would have to take place (Schwarz, 1979:276; S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1050).

Thirdly, the rapid augmentation of the various denominational institutions, operating largely as independent organizations, had also created a terrible imbalance.

The Battle Creek Sanitarium in America for example, was operating with a staff of nearly 1000 people (Schwarz, 1979:206) - more than all the other church agencies combined - while other denominational organizations had encountered serious financial difficulties (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1050; Schwarz, 1979:199-200; Van Zyl, 1990:24) - with the General Conference having very little jurisdiction over them (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1050).

As a result the General Conference Session, held in April 1901 at Battle Creek, working from recommendations made by a preliminary Committee on Counsel (Schwarz, 1979:277), put a number of major changes into operation.

The two most important ones to be taken note of for this research paper were:

The decentralization of decision making and responsibility through the establishment of Union Conferences. Under this clause the world-field would be divided into organized Union Conferences. The local conferences would be under the jurisdiction of the Unions, while the Union Conferences themselves would be directly responsible to the General Conference in America (Ibid.,279).

The integration of existing organization through the establishment of departmental representation on the conference executive committees. This particular clause included the transfer of ownership and management of all church institutions to the local conference with which they were by location directly connected (Schwarz, 1979:279; S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1051). Organizations were however not deprived of representation at the General Conference (Van Zyl, 1990:24).

B. The Formation of the South African Union Conference (1903)

In harmony with the above organizational changes adopted at the General Conference Session in America in 1901, far reaching changes also took place in South Africa (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1996:633).

The *South African Conference*, which had been in operation for almost ten years and had administered all SDA Church work in South Africa and in the mission fields to the north (Branson, 1925:15), was elevated to the status of *South African Union Conference (SAUC)* in January 1903 (Van Zyl, 1990:99).

This reorganization included the creation of two new South African conferences, the *Cape Conference* and the *Natal-Transvaal Conferences* respectively.

Both these newly created conferences fell under the jurisdiction of the SAUC, with the territory of the Orange Free State divided between these two conferences, until it too achieved conference status ten years later in 1913 and became known as the *Orange River Conference* (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1366).

For the next fifteen years until 1917, the SAUC would not only administer the affairs of the SDA church in the four provinces in South Africa but would also take responsibility for any missionary undertakings in Matabeleland (Southern Rhodesia), Basutoland (Lesotho), and Nyasaland (Malawi).

In 1917 the *Zambesi Union Mission* was set up to take charge of all missionary work north of South Africa (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1366; Thompson, 1977:31).

C. *The Establishment of the African Division (1920)*

Continued efforts by the leadership of the SDA church in America, to provide more effective leadership and to give better direction for church activities in Europe and Africa, led them in 1913, to establish divisional organizations under the leadership of elected General Conference vice-presidents - Appropriately explained as:

"The implementation or creation of added organizational structures which would group the existing union conferences and missions in a given geographical area into a Division, under the jurisdiction of the General Conference" (Schwarz, 1979:374).

The organizational changes implemented by the church in America and Europe resulted in the formation of the *African Division* (AD) in 1920 (Thompson, 1977:1).

Vested with the same authority, initiative and decision-making powers as the other world divisions (Ibid.,1) the newly formed *African Division* became the overall body of organization to direct and co-ordinate the entire church work in the territory of South Africa, North and South Rhodesia, Southwest Africa, Angola, Portuguese East Africa, Nyasaland, Belgian Congo, French Congo, French Cameroons, and the French Sudan (Branson, 1925:15).

The SAUC, one the four church organizations under the auspices of the African Division (the other three were the *Zambezi Union Mission*, *The Congo United Mission*, and the *South Atlantic United Missions*), moved from the church building in Cape Town, to make room for the division headquarters (Spalding, 1962:9).

The SAUC eventually located itself in its new headquarters in Bloemfontein in 1924 (Thompson, 1977:55) with three local self-supporting, self-governing conferences and a mission under its jurisdiction namely:

The Cape Conference with its headquarters in Port Elizabeth;

The Orange River Conference with headquarters in Bloemfontein;

The Natal-Transvaal Conference its headquarters in Pietermaritzburg;

and the Bechuanaland Mission Field with its headquarters located in Mafeking (Branson, 1925:15-16).

D. Orange River Conference Disbanded

In 1929, under circumstances that still evoke diverging responses from scholars of SDA history, the *Orange River Conference* was dissolved and absorbed into the two larger conferences (Thompson, 1977:62-68).

For the next thirty years save for a few years after the Great Depression there were only two conferences operating under the auspices of the *South African Union Conference*.

E. The Amalgamation of the Cape and Natal-Transvaal Conferences (1933)

In April 1933 as a result of the Great Depression which had begun with the "Wall Street Crash", financial appropriations from the *General Conference* to the church in South Africa had been reduced by more than 40 %.

The denomination was not at this time forced to close down any of its institutions or retrench any of its workers. The decision was taken

though to amalgamate the Cape and the Natal-Transvaal conferences into one conference called the *South African Conference* (*Southern African Division Outlook* "Cape and Natal-Transvaal Conferences Amalgamated" May 15, 1933 pg.6).

F. *The Formation of the Transvaal Conference and the Oranje-Natal Conference (1958)*

In 1958 the increase in SDA membership in the Transvaal, led to the resolution by the SAUC to divide the Natal-Transvaal Conference.

As a result all the churches and institutions in the Transvaal were united into the *Transvaal Conference* with its headquarters in Johannesburg, while all the churches and institutions in Natal, the Orange Free State and East Griqualand were incorporated in the *Oranje-Natal Conference* with its headquarters remaining in Pietermaritzburg (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1366).

G. *South African Union Conference Separated from the Trans-African Division (1983)*

In June 1931 the *African Division* changed its name to the *Southern African Division* (Thompson, 1977:69).

Thirty-two years later in 1964, in order to be able to more effectively co-ordinate the missionary work in the African states to the north of South Africa the division headquarters moved from Claremont in Cape Town to Salisbury and became known as the *Trans-African Division* (*Southern African Division Outlook*. March 15, 1957. pg.2).

The affiliation between the TAD and the SAUC continued for another nineteen years until total separation took place in 1983 (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1996:788), for reasons that will be further elaborated upon in the fourth chapter of this research paper.

V. *SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST MISSIONARY ENDEAVOURS
INTO NEIGHBOURING AFRICAN STATES*

A. *British Imperialism Prepares the Way for
the SDA Church's Mission in Matabeleland*

In order to be able to adequately introduce the SDA Church's missionary endeavours into the states of Africa, it is imperative to take just a very brief glance, at the existing political climate in Southern Africa in the final two decades of the nineteenth century.

The history of the second half of the nineteenth century was strongly characterised by the great acceleration of imperialism, stimulated by a burgeoning of people's desire to see the exaltation, glorification and the rise to prosperity of their own nations (Blake, 1977:31; Wills, 1964:121-122).

Powerful nations such as America, France, Germany, Italy and Portugal, in rivalry with one another and spurred on to become the leading nations in the world, soon turned their eyes upon the materially lucrative states of Africa (Blake, 1961:9; Phimister, 1988:5; Sibbald, 1993:10; Vambe, 1972:85; Wills, 1964:129-131).

Britain, with her African colonies already established in the Cape in 1795 and in Natal in 1843 (Hinchliff, 1968:29;42) was not about to be left out in the "scramble for Africa" and also augmented her desire to greatly expand her territory.

This aspiration to see the British Empire firmly established in Africa unquestionably reached its apex in the closing decade of the nineteenth century in the ambitious undertakings of Cecil John Rhodes (Vambe, 1972:83).

Rhodes was not only instrumental in amalgamating the unorganized diamond diggings into the powerful *De Beers Consolidated Mines* company (Millin, 1934:52-53; Walker, 1968:410; Wills, 1964:136) but also acquired mines on the Witwatersrand gold-fields which developed into the *Consolidated Gold fields of South Africa*, making him one the richest and most influential men in South Africa (Blake, 1961:9;35; Keatley, 1963:106).

These successes, bringing in an income of more than one million pounds per year, was used by Cecil John Rhodes to try and attain his life's ideal (Wills, 1964:125) - a federation of Southern African states under the British flag and a railway line stretching straight across British territory from 'Cape to Cairo' (Blake, 1977:37; Keatley, 1963:84; Muller, 1973:275; Walker, 1968:410).

Rhodes of course realized how vital it was for British commercial interests to keep the road open to the north, particularly because of the great interest that both the Germans and the Afrikaner Transvaal Republic had shown in the same territories.

Rhodes soon managed, by skilful diplomacy and political manoeuvring, to annex the territory of Bechuanaland (now called Botswana) in 1885 and make it a British protectorate (Blake, 1977:31).

After the success that Rhodes had attained in Bechuanaland, which was regarded at the time as the "gateway to the north", his following territorial undertaking was the procurement of Matabeleland and Mashonaland (Southern and Northern Rhodesia respectively).

He gained these states five years later in October 1889 after a terrible political blunder by President Paul Kruger who relinquished, under circumstances that this research cannot possibly delve into, all claims to the north for the Transvaal Republic (Davenport, 1978:136-137; Muller, 1973:278).

B. Seventh-day Adventism Expands Northwards

1. Land Grant Received from Cecil John Rhodes

The acquisition of the above territory by Britain, the subsequent defeat and death of Lobengula, the warlike chief of the Matabele in 1893 (Blake, 1977:111; Vambe, 1972:115), the discovery of gold in Mashonaland and the promise of land at reasonable rates by the *British South African Company* (B.S.A.C.) finally opened the way for white settlers and missionaries to enter the country (Hofmeyr, Pillay, 1994:129).

This was also an opportunity that certainly did not escape the notice of the SDA Church in South Africa (*Southern Africa Division Historical Files* pg.1; Schwarz, 1979:225).

In 1893, members of the Wessels family who had travelled to America as delegates of a *General Conference* session not only voiced their aspirations to establish a mission outside the borders of South Africa (Schwarz, 1979:225) but also contributed a generous amount of 3000 pounds (Van Zyl, 1990:99) for the express purpose to get this missionary endeavour off the ground as soon as possible (Robinson, n.d.:29;41).

The *General Conference* President O.A.Olsen, who was on a visit to South Africa in 1893 (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1028), was also of the firm opinion that no time at all should be lost in pushing SDA missionary work into the interior and issued a stirring appeal to men and women in America to come and do missionary work in Africa.

No time at all was wasted and the task of appealing for land in Matabeleland, to be used as a mission station, was left to Asa.T.Robinson the *South African Conference* president.

After applying in person to Cecil John Rhodes, Robinson was handed a sealed letter with specific instructions that it should be handed to Dr.Leander Starr Jameson, the administrator of the B.S.A.C. in Matabeleland, when the missionary advance party reached Bulawayo (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1358; Schwarz, 1979:225).

2. *Solusi Mission Established (1894)*

On Sunday, May 6, 1894 the missionary advance party, consisting of seven persons in all and their provisions, wagons and mules, left Cape Town by train.

They travelled as far as Vryburg, which was the head of the railway at the time after which they continued the rest of the long 600 mile journey to Matabeleland with the wagons (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1358).

Upon their arrival at Bulawayo six weeks later in July 1894 and the presentation of the still sealed envelope, they had received from Rhodes, to Dr.Jameson, they were granted permission to peg out any tract of land, which had not already been taken, 12,000 acres in dimension (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1358; Schwarz, 1979:225).

After several days of careful scrutiny they finally decided upon a location some 32 miles west of Bulawayo (*Southern African Division Historical Files* pg.2 Helderberg College Archives) near Chief Solusi's Kraal hence the name, *Solusi Mission* (Spalding, 1962:13).

Quite soon after the advance party had arrived, they built some African styled houses, bought some 200 head of cattle and started a regular Sabbath worship service for the local people they had laboured with.

The main party however soon returned to South Africa, leaving Fred Sparrow who was conversant in the Sindebele dialect in charge of the mission station (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1358; Thompson, 1977:73).

Almost one year later, in May 1895, five months after the mission had been formally registered (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1358), the second party of missionaries arrived.

This group which came from America with their families included a minister, G.B.Tripp, and a medical doctor, A.S.Carmichael, who had worked at the Sanitarium in Battle Creek (Branson, 1925:19).

After their arrival at the mission, with the comprehension that the mission would be entirely self-supporting, a farm was begun and a trading shop, a church and a school house erected (*Review and Herald* "Early Mission Experiences in Africa" January 26, 1950 pg.3).

The following few years were however arduous ones for this newly established mission station.

Hardly had the mission station found its feet when, in March 1896, the bloody Matabele War broke out (Blake, 1977:124-125; Philmister, 1988:18; Ranger, 1976:1; Vambe, 1972:121).

The war not only forced everyone at the mission station to flee to Bulawayo for safety (Schwarz, 1979:227) but resulted in the complete interruption of the station's missionary programme for almost seven months (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1358; Van Zyl, 1990:87).

The rebellion was quelled quickly by the British Imperial armed forces from South Africa (Philmister, 1988:18; Ranger, 1976:170; Vambe, 1972:124).

It resulted though not only in the killing of a great number of Africans but also the wanton destruction of food stored up for the winter (Van Zyl, 1990:88) and disregard to plant any subsistence crops for the following year (Branson, 1925:19).

The repercussions were disastrous. In 1897 a severe famine set in and thousands of people literally starved to death in Matabeleland (Blake, 1977:137; S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1358; Van Zyl, 1990:88).

To add to the privations and woes of the mission station, a serious outbreak of rinderpest in Matabeleland in 1897 (Blake, 1977:123) also destroyed its entire cattle herd (Schwarz, 1979:226; S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1358).

Just a year later however, in 1898, the mission station suffered its cruellest blow up to date, when no less than five missionaries, including the medical doctor, A.S.Carmichael, and the minister, G.B.Tripp, became ill and died from malarial fever (Branson, 1925:19; Robinson, n.d.:107; Schwarz, 1979:226; Spalding, 1962:13; S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1358).

3. *Seventh-day Adventist Educational Philosophy Implemented at Solusi Mission*

These initial tribulations experienced at the mission station, and a directive from the *Foreign Missionary Board* almost closed down the mission station (Schwarz, 1979:226).

Notwithstanding these adversities, Solusi Mission remained open and would not only see the first SDA mission church erected in Southern Africa (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1358) but also the first mission school.

This school providing the first converts to Seventh-day Adventism from amongst the Matabele people and the first SDA African Gospel worker, Jim Mayinza, for the Matabele field (Branson, 1925:23; S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1358).

It was perhaps ironic that the nucleus of this first school at Solusi was formed by about 30 children who had been left orphaned and destitute by the war and the famine of 1897 (Branson, 1925:23; *Southern African Division Historical Files* pg.2; S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1358).

By the year 1910 the meagre number of children at the school had increased dramatically as local African parents, who had once been reluctant to support the mission, began to encourage their children to attend the mission school.

Elder M.C. Sturdevant who arrived at Solusi Mission from America as missionary superintendent in April 1902 was in later years, to fondly recall the development of the mission during the first decade of the twentieth century,

"By the time we left this mission [1910] to go further inland, our boarding students numbered 100, our day school students nearly 200 and we had started 12 outschools (Square brackets added). Several of our trained teachers had been called to help at other mission stations. By this time we had also baptized 150 natives, who were living devoted lives and our regular attendance at the Sabbath services had reached 300. On Sabbath afternoons some of the teachers and older students would go out and hold meetings in the near-by kraals. In this way we were all sowing the seed for a harvest in the rising generation" (Branson, 1925:25).

It was of great interest to take note in this research assignment that Albert Lutuli (1898-1967), Nobel Peace Prize winner in 1961 and President of the *African National Congress* in the 1950's (Hofmeyr and Pillay, 1994:261) was, as an ex-student of the school at Solusi, part of this SDA mission heritage (Van Zyl, 1990:88).

By 1922 advancement and improvement of facilities had continued at the mission with the church membership increasing to 266 with 342 others in the baptismal classes preparing for church membership.

By this time elementary outschools attached to the mission had also grown to 22 with an attendance of over 900 students (Branson, 1925:25).

4. *Vocational Training An Integral Part of the Educational Missionary Philosophy At Solusi*

It is significant to take note that the reasons for Solusi's successful accomplishments have never been attributed to coincidence but to the farsighted, well planned and faithfully implemented,

educational, vocational, and spiritual, trilateral missionary programme formulated and brought to maturity in America four decades before.

In 1895 when the second group of missionaries arrived from America they had in their possession a directive, given to them by the *Foreign Missionary Board*, with twenty-seven emphatic guidelines on how to manage mission work in Africa. Point number ten and eleven of the directive stipulated the following:

10. "That the natives as far as practicable shall be taught useful trades and industries, especially those that pertain to practical life and usefulness, such as farming, house-keeping, proper dress, etc."

11. "That the objective points in all such labour and instruction, together with all the other means employed, shall be to bring them to a saving knowledge of the Gospel" (*Southern African Division Historical Files "A Brief History of Solusi Mission" pg.4. Helderberg College Archives*)

Although these recommendations were not initially well received by the students at the mission, the wisdom behind their motivation was evident in the continued propitious experience of the mission in later years.

Missionary students at Solusi did not merely acquire an adequate Biblical and pedagogical background at the mission school but were also taught industrial skills such as carpentry, stone masonry, farming, gardening and were taught to work in the dairy (*Southern African Division Historical Files pg.8. Helderberg College Archives*).

These skills were not only expedient for the students as it qualified them for efficient adult life later on, but it, as the students worked in the various departments of the mission, also made the mission largely self-supporting very early in its existence (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1359).

The land that had been selected by the missionary advance party in 1894 had consisted solely of sandy bush land, without any form of improvement and without even a single building.

By 1911 the mission farm had already reached a point where in that year it had marketed 1258 lbs of its own butter, 188 dozen eggs, 1,540 bags of mealies and 25 bushels of peanuts (Thompson, 1977:311) bringing in an income of 733 pounds in profit for the mission station (*Southern African Division Historical Files* pg.11).

In the same year the Assistant Inspector of Schools, after spending two days evaluating the work being carried out Solusi, is reputed to have commented that the mission school was producing adequately educated students, and that the industrial training department of the school was also of a higher standard than that of the other Christian mission stations he had visited thusfar in Southern Rhodesia (*Southern African Division Historical Files* pg.11. Helderberg College Archives).

CHAPTER FOUR
AN EVALUATIVE STUDY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF SDA MISSION
IN SOUTH AFRICA

**I. ONE CENTURY OF SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST
DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA**

A. Worldwide Seventh-day Adventist Church Expansion

Statistics from the 209 different countries of the world in which the SDA denomination was working in 1993, portrayed:

A dramatic increase from the 3500 members found in North America in 1863 to 8,173,662 adherents worldwide;

37,747 organized churches;

5,530 schools with a combined student enrolment figure of 828,833;

148 hospitals or sanitariums, 354 dispensaries and clinics and 79 nursing homes or retirement centres;

56 publishing houses printing material in 206 different languages;

And an active ministerial working force of 136,539;

Additional statistics for the SDA church reveals that the denomination accepted, either by baptism or by profession of faith, 653,864 members in only the period July 1, 1993 to June 30, 1994 (All the above statistics taken from the *Seventh-day Adventist Yearbook 1995* "World Statistics for the SDA Church 1993").

In a study entitled *Missionaries* by Pettifer and Bradley the SDA denomination was delineated in the following way:

"On the mission field, the Adventist operation is one of the best financed and most well organized of all" (Pettifer, Bradley, 1990:62).

Similarly, statistics for the Seventh-day Adventist denomination in 1993 in the Republic of South Africa revealed:

An affirmative growth from only 351 members in 1902 (Robinson, n.d.:118), to 54,956 baptised adherents ninety-one years later;

The existence of six organized conferences and one field conference, all operating under the auspices of the *Southern African Union Conference*;

An increase up to the same time period, from the first church established in Kimberley in 1887, to 481 churches spread throughout the length and breadth of the Republic;

That, from the first SDA missionaries who initially came from America in 1887 to preach the Gospel on the southernmost point of Africa, the ministerial workforce including the number of credentialed workers had since augmented to more than 300.

That denominational institutions in operation in South Africa included: two tertiary educational centres; five high schools; seven primary schools; fifteen centres serving either as retirement homes or infirm care treatment centres for the aged; six clinics, dispensaries or medical practices; one publishing house; and a Bible Correspondence School (*Seventh-day Adventist Yearbook 1995*, pgs.340-345).

Notwithstanding the quantitative growth in membership and the ecclessial, organizational and institutional development of the denomination in South Africa - it was imperative in order to gain a balanced perspective on the development of the denomination, to take cognizance of aspects that were to severely hinder both its greater progress and its more productive missiological development not only in South Africa but also in its neighbouring African states.

B. *A Decade of Unbounded Missiological Fervour (1887-1900)*

When the first party of American missionaries disembarked in Cape Town in July 1887 they had in their possession, a carefully worded letter from America advising them on how the missionary work in South Africa ought be planned and best be put into practice (Van Zyl, 1990:97; White, 1977:7-13).

Prominent in the above directive was the frequently repeated counsel to the missionaries not only that they were to plan well but also to maintain a very high standard in all their missionary endeavours:

"There is great importance attached to the starting in (sic) right at the beginning of your work" (White, 1977:7).

"But there must be no haphazard, loose, cheap manner of work done in any place" (Ibid.,9).

"There must be continual advancement with ever-varying changes. New duties will arise, new fields of labour open before you and thoroughly organized effort will bring success" (Ibid.,9).

"Let no stinted efforts be made in this line, and the work, if commenced wisely, and prosecuted wisely, will result in success" (Ibid.,13).

From the preceding chapter of this thesis comes the undisputed confirmation that from the outset of their duration in Africa, these pioneer missionaries did indeed, in almost every aspect, attempt to plan and put into practice a very high standard of missionary work.

Specific reference will have to be made again in this chapter to the state of both the SDA medical and educational work in South Africa at present. It will suffice however at this point to begin by saying that the medical hospital begun in 1897 at Claremont was unquestionably one of the finest examples that can be used to demonstrate the exceptionally high quality of philanthropic work put out by the church in South Africa at the time.

R.S. Anthony the medical superintendent at the sanitarium writing some two years after it had opened, recorded:

"...Our institution is known far and wide, and we have won the hearts of the people..." (Letter from R.S. Anthony, Claremont Medical and Surgical Sanitarium, 8 March, 1899. Helderberg College Archives, Document file number DF 3000-c).

Likewise, even though it was perhaps not designed and built on such a grand and extensive scale, Claremont Union College the first SDA tertiary educational institution in South Africa, had no reason to exist in the limelight of the hospital.

Like the "San" it did not have to pass through a pioneer period when equipment was short and insufficient. The brand-new three storey school building was located at a prime spot in one of the more affluent suburbs of Cape Town. When it opened its doors for the first time it began with a carefully prepared school curriculum and the classes handled by experienced staff members trained at American institutions.

From its inception, the college, which also operated both a primary and a secondary school on the same grounds, offered a first-class full four-year Collegiate Degree. This degree offering the students a study of Greek and Latin, calculus, trigonometry, geometry, astronomy, logic, chemistry, physics, advanced algebra and moral sciences (*Claremont Union College Annual Calendar 1894* pg.14-15).

Its education was also unique in the sense that it stressed the total development of the student.

An early calendar outlined the object of the institution's educational programmes:

"The design of our institution is to give its pupils the advantage of thorough education in all those subjects usually taught in a college of the first class. At the same time it will seek to impart instruction in those principles that aid in the development of true character, thus fitting the student for the higher responsibilities of life. It will also give instruction concerning the laws of health, and bring into active use all the powers of the body, thus giving to the pupils physical training and culture. In a word, the object of the institution is to educate every part of the being that the students may become the

possessors of true refinement, culture, and Christian character, with physical power and grace as well" [underlining added] (*Union College Year Book 1894*, pg.6).

The previous chapter of this research paper has already recorded how, in almost every place where SDA missionaries went and whatever they undertook, whether in the field of public evangelism, foreign missionary endeavours, literature evangelism, tract society work and Bible studies, the same almost limitless zeal and intensity was evident in their endeavours to place the denomination on the very best footing possible.

Even the General Conference President, O.A.Olsen, who visited South Africa in 1893 was caught up in the prevailing euphoria and optimism and encouraged the church to firmly establish itself and swiftly expand its missionary horizons into the rest of Africa (Robinson, n.d.:40-41; Swanepoel, 1972:68).

II. OPTIMISM AND ENTHUSIASM OUTPACES DISCRETION IN THE INITIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHURCH

A. Membership Growth does not keep pace with the rapid Institutional Growth

Nevertheless, while on the surface everything looked to be moving very briskly and advantageously for the SDA church in South Africa, there were those with keen and discerning foresight who perceptively sensed that proceedings were not as auspicious as what they appeared to be.

In fact these warnings had already begun to sound as early as mid-1894 when S.N.Haskell a missionary from America had come to spend several months in South Africa. In a letter, he wrote to America later that same year, he expressed the concern that the extensive institutional growth and missionary expansion was perhaps moving at a far too rapid pace (Letter to W.C.White, October 12, 1894).

It would be quite easy at this point, with one hundred years of hindsight and perceiving that the church did eventually experience severe difficulties, to be very critical and forcefully castigate the church's leadership at the time. Firstly for failing to adhere to counsel such as the one given above and secondly to curb the swiftly expanding enterprise.

In order to obtain a balanced perspective on these times however, it must be taken into account that 1894, the year in which Haskell's exhortation was given, was part and parcel of an era in SDA history when:

An optimistic picture of the firmly established work of the SDA church in America had already been gleaned by those South Africans who had travelled abroad. The ardent aspiration no doubt developing that they should likewise emulate their enterprises in South Africa (Robinson, n.d.:29);

The extremely affluent Wessels family were lavishly financing many of the various church projects in South Africa (Ibid.,29);

A period of intense missionary fervour pervaded, with the first missionary advance party having by this time already reached Bulawayo;

Claremont Union College, the first SDA tertiary College had just been completed:

The site had already been procured and grandiose plans formulated for the erection of the SDA medical hospital in Claremont;

Literature evangelists were moving into new areas in South Africa and scores of denominational books, tracts and newspapers were being printed and circulated both in Dutch and English languages;

In less than seven years, five SDA churches had been already erected at different centres in South Africa.

No specific minutes or records have been traced thus far of any response to Haskell's admonition. There can be little doubt though that this exhortation concerning the church's rapid expansion would have, in the light of the above zealotry and tangible development, been regarded by some church leaders, missionaries and administrators alike, with hilarity and deemed as pessimistic rhetoric.

Further scrutiny of Haskell's correspondence though, discloses that his apprehension was not focused exclusively upon the institutional augmentation and expansion of the church. He no doubt comprehended like all others that the very reason why the denomination had come to Africa was to firmly establish itself.

Haskell's words were however clear and to the point and went beyond the aura of optimism and excitement uncovering the real position of the church at the time in South Africa. "The numbers," he wrote, "have not advanced in proportion to the institutions built" (Letter from S.N. Haskell to W.C.White. October 12, 1894)

Historical records of these times corroborate Haskell's words. In 1891 it reveals total SDA church membership in South Africa still at 140. They disclose furthermore that by 1894 four years later it had added, inspite of all the earnest evangelistic work that was being done, only a meagre 21 members, bringing the tally to only 161 (Robinson, n.d.:29).

From the above admonishment it can be deduced furthermore that Haskell's concern was deeper than just the church over-extending itself institutionally in proportion to the small membership. He undoubtably astutely also comprehended that the *South African Conference* just so recently organized (1892), its financial resources not yet properly established and its workforce already stretched to the limit, would never, in the possible advent of adverse economic conditions, be able to support the newly built costly institutions.

Another perusal of the missionary mandate given to the missionaries when they arrived in South Africa, reveals not only the counsel that their endeavours needed to be properly planned, but also that in different areas, that church work in its various phases should perhaps be initiated at a much slower pace (White, 1977:9).

On the contrary, the annals of the church reveal that, instead of moving slowly and instead of applying the brakes to the swiftly moving enterprises, the few years just prior to the turn of the century were in fact "boom" years for the SDA church in South Africa. Years of optimistic ascendancy during which the church experienced its most rapid missionary growth and institutional development.

Sadly, within less than ten years after Haskell had penned his letter to America, a combination of factors, most of them not within the control of the denomination, was destined to abruptly eclipse the mercurial rise of the church.

By the year 1901, the "San" erected at such a tremendous cost and performing such sterling medical work in the mid-1890's was forever lost to the church. Claremont Union College found itself floundering in serious debt and facing possible closure. The Plumstead Orphanage had been closed down. Literature evangelists, such valuable contributors to spreading SDA literature were taken off the church payroll. With the *South African Conference* unable, just as Haskell had foreshadowed, to do anything to alleviate the situation of detriment.

It is very true that Haskell's admonishments and other repeated warnings that were directed to church leaders in South Africa were clearly disregarded. It must however be borne in mind that it was also extremely unfortunate for the fledgling church that in the very years that it was coming to prominence that a savage, disruptive and destructive war erupted as Afrikaner nationalism confronted British imperialism in South Africa.

III. THE SECOND ANGLO-BOER WAR AND THE DEPRESSION SERIOUSLY AFFECTS THE OPERATIONS OF THE SDA CHURCH IN SOUTH AFRICA

A. The Wessels Family Lose their Wealth

The Anglo-Boer War which began in October 1899 (Sibbald, 1993:29) was over in less than thirty-two months (Davenport, 1977:147; Walker, 1968:488). It however had not only involved the whole of South Africa and influenced the entire course of South African history (Muller, 1973:288) but would also seriously alter the course of history for the Seventh-day Adventist Church in South Africa.

Apart from the incalculable suffering, deprivations and damages that came about as a result of this titanic struggle in South Africa (Van Jaarsveld, 1975:210), the war came in the wake of a severe depression which had already begun shortly after the Jameson Raid (Robinson, n.d.:78-79).

Other factors that compounded the difficulties in South Africa included:

The massive exodus of skilled artisans and high unemployment figures (Cammack, 1990:13-14);

The closure of the gold-mines during the war (Muller, 1973:282; Walker, 1968:508-512);

The cessation of industry and the massive wanton destruction of farms and agricultural lands (Davenport, 1977:140; Van Jaarsveld, 1975:213);

The previous chapter has already disclosed how the SDA church acquired, through the generosity of the Wessels family, the finances it needed in order to sponsor the erection of the various denominational institutions and its missionary endeavours into Matabeleland.

The depression however, the Anglo-Boer War and the subsequent stagnation of the property market that followed brought severe hardships upon the Wessels family who had much of their finances tied up in real estate (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:306; "Early Experiences of Mr.P.J.D. Wessels" Helderberg College Archives. Document file number DF 506; Swanepoel, 1972:88).

This reversal in their fortune also sadly resulted in the unforeseen cessation of the flow of their much needed funds into the church's treasury (Robinson, n.d.:78).

This was only the beginning of terrible adversities that would come upon the Seventh-day Adventist church in South Africa.

Because the Wessels family had supported the denomination in South Africa so willingly during the 1890's, the General Conference had not needed to provide the church in South Africa with any appropriation funds (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1365).

When the money from the Wessels family was no longer available to the South African Conference (SAC) though, the General Conference was unfortunately still in no position to provide the funds the church needed and the days of financial prosperity drew to an end and the

tide turned strongly against the church (*South African Conference Minutes*, September 27, 1901).

To gain fuller understanding of this inauspicious predicament that came upon the church in South Africa, a brief reference must be made once again to chapter two, where the tithe (systematic support) system of the SDA church was outlined.

From the late 1850's onwards the SDA church in North America, and later as it expanded in all areas of the world including South Africa, acquired the necessary financial support from the tithe and freewill offerings that it received from its members.

The tithe income gathered in by the conferences, utilized to pay the workers of the denomination, and the various offerings collected, employed to support or subsidize the denomination's institutions and activities.

The tithes received by the SAC in the early 1890's reveals a most intriguing picture:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Tithe</u>	<u>Membership</u>
1891	596--12--0	140
*1892	608--12--0	*128
*1893	6,815---8--0	*138
1894	6,310---4--0	161

Particularly prominent is the dramatic tithe increase of more than six-thousand pounds from 1892 to 1893. Note must be taken however that while this took place, the total church membership only increased by a mere ten members (Swanepoel, 1972:38).

The enormous tithe increase has of course been attributed to the tithe paid to the church by the affluent Wessels family after they had inherited their enormous wealth after the death of Johannes Wessels ("Early Experiences of Mr.P.J.D. Wessels" Helderberg College Archives. Document file number DF 506).

Besides the large amounts of tithe that they were paying, mention has also already been made that the members of the Wessels family also invested heavily in the various denominational buildings and projects.

With this lavish kind of financial support, it is not surprising that the SAC could undertake not only to build the institutions but also provide the necessary subsidies or budgets for their operating expenses.

By 1901 however, with their main source of generous revenue dried up and the country still reeling from the effects of the war and in the grip of a long and severe depression, the SDA church's organization, with its total membership still having not reached 400, found itself struggling deeply in debt and trying desperately to make ends meet (Swanepoel, 1972:39).

IV. DEBT SEVERELY CRIPPLES THE CHURCH'S MEDICAL AND EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

A. Institutional Expenses Exceed Monetary Contributions Received from the Wessels Family

Although confronted with this financial predicament which arose as a result of the financial depression and the Anglo-Boer War the situation merits further consideration.

The likelihood can of course never be totally discounted that the SAC could have perhaps still managed to remain solvent and keep its various institutions strongly operative, were it not for the massive amounts of debt that it had incurred when they undertook these projects.

Records of the time unmistakably reveal that in spite of the donations that had come so liberally from the Wessels family for the church's building projects, the costs to erect, equip and furnish these institutions proved to be of short term advantage and by far exceeded even the thousands of pounds they had contributed (Van Zyl, 1990:102).

For the erection of the college buildings in 1892 the Wessels family contributed 1420 pounds towards the 7300 pounds needed (Swanepoel, 1972:38), leaving the church organization to carry a debt of more than 5000 pounds.

The costs to build the "San" amounted to an enormous 50 000 pounds of which the Wessels family contributed 30 000 pounds (Van Zyl, 1990:108; S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:306; Swanepoel, 1972:38). This however still left the SAC with a liability balance of 20 000 pounds (*Medical Missionary Year Book 1896*, pg.47) - a considerable sum of money at the turn of the last century.

The reason for the church opting for such elaborate and costly institutions hardly needs to be speculated upon. Even though it is admittedly only an assumption on behalf of the researcher, the reasons must be attributed primarily to the whims of the Wessels family, the principal financial contributors for these establishments.

Photographs taken at the time reveal striking structural resemblances between the sanitarium in South Africa and the one at Battle Creek in America. This gives rise to the conviction that the plans for the "San" were very likely drawn up while members of the Wessels family had been in America (Swanepoel, 1972:159).

Additional records also make mention that most of the fittings, furniture and much of the building material was imported from England and America (Letter from JJ Wessels to EG White. Dec.6,1896. Helderberg College Archives. Letter number 0008). The cost for the importation of all this material no doubt part of the reason for the great expenses incurred in building the sanitarium.

Regretfully, even after a protracted search, no authentic records for the purchase of the properties upon which these institutions were built and who paid for them has thus far come to light. What has been documented though was that the 123 acres of land between Newlands and Claremont upon which the "San" was built, cost \$ 17 000 (*Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* "The Claremont Sanitarium" April 1897, pg.253).

The 23 acre farm property upon which the college buildings were erected was initially a dairy farm belonging to a Mr. Ernest Ingle but here again no records have yet been traced as to the amount it was purchased for, and who paid for the property (S.D.A. Encyclopedia:1976,577; Swanepoel:1972,168).

Again notwithstanding the paucity of any records of these transactions, certain assumptions in this regard can still be made.

If the pattern of the contributions made towards the erection of the sanitarium and the college buildings is emulated, it was in all probability once again the Wessels family who were so much in favour of beginning these enterprises in South Africa, who contributed to their purchase and the *South African Conference* left to cover or carry the remaining balance.

As a result, when the medical sanitarium, the college and the children's orphanage opened their doors to the public for the first time, they were destined to begin their operations deeply in debt. A plight that attained crisis proportions when the war came and the Wessel's money was withdrawn from the church organization's treasury.

B. The Demise of the Medical Sanitarium

Just a little more than a year after the sanitarium had begun operations, in order to cater for the increased patronage, the decision was entertained to enlarge the main building by adding thirty extra rooms (Swanepoel, 1972:48; Van Zyl, 1990:102). The desire to expand the establishment is clearly revealed in the following letter:

"The brethren here [in South Africa] have just decided to make an addition to the present sanitarium building. This was done because it is far too small to hold our help and patients too" [square brackets added] (Letter by John Wessels to Ellen White, April 7, 1897. Helderberg College Archives. Document file number DF 506).

Ellen G. White, the person who posted the reply from America, no doubt perceiving, as had Haskell three years before, the perilous position that the church in South Africa could find itself in, declared unequivocally that it was not in the best interests of the church to expand the sanitarium's premises:

"The erection of building after building in Battle Creek has not been after the order of God. Plants should have been made in other localities. The same mistake has been made in Africa as in Battle Creek" [underlining added] (Letter 17, 1899, pg.3. Helderberg College Archives).

Records and photographs of the time reveal that the counsel from America was once again disregarded. The alterations continued and by late 1898 the sanitarium had been enlarged as planned (Swanepoel, 1972:159; Van Zyl, 1990:103). Correspondence from John Wessels the business manager at the Sanitarium reported the additions to the sanitarium in the following way:

"Our building here [Claremont Sanitarium] is now large enough, to my mind it can accommodate about 200 people & a nice gymnasium & diningroom have been added" [square brackets added] (Letter from JJ Wessels to EG White Dec. 30, 1898. Helderberg College Archives Letter number 0019).

Other documentation penned during these times though, once again lifts the veil of time and allows deeper insight and evaluation of the real situation prevailing at the sanitarium.

In 1899, R.S. Anthony, the resident medical doctor at the Claremont Sanitarium was to write:

"There is patronage quite sufficient to fill it, but we have no capital, and are so greatly in debt it seems a great pity that an opportunity to do so much good should be lost" [italics added] (Letter from R.S. Anthony, Sept. 21, 1899. Helderberg College Archives. Document file number DF 3000-c).

From the contents of the above letter comes the assessment that the writing was unmistakably on the wall for the sanitarium. Additional correspondence reveals that the alterations had cost a massive 20,000 Pounds (Letter from JJ Wessels to E.G. White, Dec. 30, 1898. Helderberg College Archives. Letter number 0019).

These expenses undertaken to extend the establishment had clearly so added to the existing financial burden, that it was making it practically impossible, in spite of the generous support still coming from the public, to keep the sanitarium financially viable for very much longer.

It was however once again an intriguing combination of events that would finally spell the end of the sanitarium's existence in South Africa.

By 1900 with the Anglo-Boer War in progress for several months, the British army, which by this time had already occupied several other well known establishments in the Cape, among them the famous Mount Nelson Hotel (Williams, 1989:186), commandeered part of the sanitarium for its convalescent military officers (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:306; Van Zyl, 1990:103).

This sudden appropriation of the sanitarium's facilities once again came at a most unfavourable time for the church. Placed in a situation where it had undertaken such enormous debts, the sanitarium was vitally dependent on its continued patronage.

Although the British army never remained very long at the sanitarium, its presence coupled with the effects of the subsequent post-war depression unquestionably affected the status of the hospital and its popularity and public support began to greatly diminish (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:306; Van Zyl, 1990:103).

The drop in patronage and subsequent decline of the sanitarium's fortunes also brought in its wake a severe strain in the relationship between some members of the Wessels family and the church leadership in South Africa.

With so much of their capital invested in property, this once affluent family found their riches slipping away as the price of real-estate rapidly declined during the war.

In an attempt to cover some of their losses the Wessels family, who had invested so heavily in the sanitarium made it known to the church that they wished to obtain control over the business affairs of the sanitarium in order to increase its profits (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:306; Swanepoel, 1972:91).

The SAC tried desperately to retain control over its most prestigious institution. However when the Wessels family retaliated and informed them that they intended to go to court to ensure that they received the legal right to the sanitarium, the SAC chose, rather than to take the matter to the bench, to hand over the sanitarium to a syndicate formed by the Wessels family (South African Conference Minutes, September 27, 1901 in Swanepoel, 1972:92).

In his address to the delegates at the *South African Conference* session, W.S.Hyatt, the conference president at the time, mournfully reported that the sanitarium, its most prestigious institution, had passed from the hands of the conference (Swanepoel, 1972:92).

In April 1902 only several months after the sanitarium had been taken over by the Wessels syndicate the continuing depression and loss of popularity forced them to sell the "San" to a hotelier who converted it into a place of entertainment (*Cape Times*, "A Popular Institution in the suburbs of Cape Town", Dec.1901). This venture was as equally shortlived and before the end of that same year it went insolvent (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:306).

In July 1905, after standing vacant for almost three years, it mysteriously caught fire and burnt down to the ground (*Cape Times*, July 20, 1905. Helderberg Heritage Room. Document file number HR 1).

C. The Depression and the War and its Repercussions on Union College

Even though the building debts and operating expenses of Union College were nominal when compared to those of the sanitarium, the debts that it had accumulated and the adverse times which brought about the demise of the sanitarium were to also profoundly affect the operations of the college.

Because of the generous financial allocations that the SAC was making to the college when it opened, all students were subsidized and tuition fees could be set very low (Robinson, n.d.:78). When the Anglo-Boer War started though, and the money from the Wessels family was no longer available, the SAC also found itself so deeply in debt that it could no longer support the school in the same fashion (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:577).

Because the post-war depression prevented the fees from being increased, terrible hardships ensued for the students and staff members of the school alike.

In his notes on the history of Union College, historian Virgil E. Robinson makes mention that very often during these times of privation, when the boarding students came for breakfast, the college could only provide them with brown bread and tomatoes, while the

teachers were asked to continue their work for the barest remuneration possible (Robinson, n.d.:79).

Even though Union College never once closed down during the depression or the war, the dilemma of debt was to seriously hamper this institution throughout its entire existence (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:577).

Robinson's notes once again discloses that as late as 1913, more than a decade after the war, the college was still struggling to overcome the debt repayments (Robinson, n.d.:79-82).

As in the case of the sanitarium, decline in public support was a serious blow for the college. During the years when sufficient funds were available the college provided, besides the various high-quality academic programmes that were being offered, training in industrial and practical subjects such as carpentry, bootmaking, typesetting, laundry work and gardening. When the necessary funds became scarce though, many of these courses had to be discontinued, adding to the woes of the college and seriously affecting its enrolment figures (Swanepoel, 1972:176).

For this and a number of other reasons which will still be dealt with in this chapter, Union College records reveal that at certain times there were only as few as 30 students in the entire school (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:577).

V. OVERCENTRALIZATION OF THE CHURCH'S ORGANIZATION AND INSTITUTIONS

A. Cape Town becomes the Nucleus of Seventh-day Adventism in South Africa

At this point another facet which adversely affected the development of the SDA church in South Africa needs to be carefully analyzed. Namely, the strong tendency that it acquired very early in its history to centralize all its institutions and organizations in single localities.

Chapter three already very succinctly touched on this particular point when it questioned the church's decision to establish its first headquarters in Cape Town instead of Kimberley.

The church leadership's resolution for undertaking this step may become even more enigmatic when cognizance is taken:

Firstly, that at that particular point of time, the SDA church membership was bigger in Kimberley than in Cape Town;

Secondly, of the fact that as a result of the evangelistic work and literature distribution carried out by SDA pioneers such as William Hunt, and Pieter Wessels the denomination was much more firmly established in Kimberley than in Cape Town;

Thirdly, that Kimberley was not only more centrally situated but with the diamond mining that was taking place and subsequent movement of people through the town, it could be described as an evangelistic central point that was assisting Seventh-day Adventism to spread quite rapidly to the various parts of South Africa.

And then fourthly that Kimberley had seen the establishment of the first SDA elementary school which had in just a short space of time attracted a considerable number of children, most of them from non-SDA homes.

In addition to the headquarters of the Seventh-day Adventist church which had been located in Cape Town, the same city and its suburbs was home also to no less than three SDA congregations, the Claremont Sanitarium, the Carnavon Bathhouse, a medical and health Centre in Stellenbosch, Claremont Union College, the Plumstead Orphanage, and the *South African Publishing Company*.

Correspondence from America once again not only highlights the close interest that was being taken by American Seventh-day Adventists in the development of the denomination in South Africa, but also the admonition that the denomination could experience severe difficulties as result of placing all their institutions in one city:

"The erection of building after building in Battle Creek has not been after the order of God. Plants should have been made in other localities. The same mistake has been made in Africa as in Battle Creek" (Ellen White, *Manuscript Releases vol.4*, 1899 pg.395) [underlining added].

Available hindsight with the accompanying knowledge that the denomination did experience difficulties, could once again very easily lead to the censure of the actions and decisions taken by church leaders. Firstly, for clustering all the denominational institutions in one locality and secondly, for their failure to adhere to the given counsel not to follow such modes of operation.

Cognisance of population demographics, modes of transport, postal systems, and communication systems prevalent in South Africa in the latter half of the nineteenth century could however dramatically alter this perspective. It must be borne in mind that this was an era:

Before the advent of tar roads, efficient transport services, telephones, telegrams and a speedy postal system which makes communication and travelling between the various cities of the country at present so effective and easy;

In South African history before the birth of the major cities that we have today;

When the European populations of the country were still very small with the majority of people still living scattered far apart on farms in the various rural areas (*African Division Outlook* "When the Message was Young in South Africa" September 12, 1929 pg.2).

During which the emerging organization was still dependant on a mere handful of evangelistic workers.

Mention has been already made how vital, public patronage was for the denomination's institutions most especially for the sanitarium and the college.

With the country's populations therefore mostly concentrated in the few towns and cities which were in existence at the time and communication and the transport of necessary material so vital for the denomination's institutions, there can be little doubt that under these circumstances, the church leaders undertook what they considered the best option open to them at the time. Namely, to first build up strongly in the city of Cape Town where the few workers were based and where there was quick access to the sea port and available railroad

transport, and then thereafter decentralize and spread out to the other towns and cities of the country.

While this centralized system provided for the operation of the denomination's work in a co-ordinated way though, it also incorporated the risk of failure, or injury to the organization, if any person or group were to work at cross-purposes to the rest.

The tight-knit organization therefore while striving to provide a basis for strength and efficacy also incorporated a potential flaw in its organizational structure.

VI. EARLY INITIATIVES NEVER REGAINED

A. *Intended Institutional Expansion Severely Halted*

Regretfully, with the reversals that the SDA denomination in South Africa experienced as a result of the war, the depression, and the withdrawal of much needed capital, came not only the closure of the medical sanitarium, the Carnavon Bathhouse in Cape Town, and the children's orphanage, but also severe hardships for the college and the printing press.

Lamentably with the advent of these adverse conditions the envisaged expansion or decentralization process which should have taken place within the borders of South Africa was very severely retarded.

A perusal of the continued history of the denomination allows an insight into the fact that besides those institutions that were closed down, the others that survived such as the college and the printing press still continued their operations but never really regained the initial initiatives, dynamism and vigour that it lost in the troublesome years at the turn of the century.

B. *SDA Medical Missionary Endeavours in South Africa Come to an End*

1. *The Plumstead Sanitarium 1904-1925*

In 1904, three years after the Claremont Sanitarium had been handed over to the Wessels family, a second sanitarium was opened on the premises of the children's orphanage which had been forced to cease its operations, and became known as the Plumstead Medical Sanitarium

(Manuscript Notes I.J. Hankins Helderberg College Heritage Room. Document file number HR 2; *South African Conference Minutes*. September 27, 1901; S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:231; Spalding, 1962:11)

This institution was initiated during the times of severe depression and was never even nearly as elaborate as its predecessor (Van Zyl, 1990:103). Sincere attempts were however made to build this second sanitarium into a highly creditable and beneficial institution.

In July 1905 just one year after it had opened, Dr. Geo Thomason the doctor at Plumstead could already write:

"We recently completed our first year of work in this country. Reference to our records shows that we have been consulted by more than two hundred patients personally, to say nothing of the many who have made medical inquiry by mail" (*South African Missionary*. Cape Town, July, 1905. Helderberg College Archives. Document file number DF 3000-c).

Even a member of the Wessels family who had experienced such a great financial loss with the first sanitarium wrote with enthusiasm concerning the medical work begun at Plumstead:

"I am glad to say that the prospects for successful work in this line is as bright and promising as it ever was. The little institution under the medical supervisor [sic] of Dr. Thomason is certainly doing well. At the present it is filled to its utmost capacity" (Letter from J.Wessels to Dr.J.H.Kellogg. April 24, 1906. Helderberg College Archives. Letter number 0099).

Four years later in 1910 even General Louis Botha, then serving as the first Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa was recorded as a patient at the sanitarium (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:231).

The attractive forty-three bedroomed sanitarium was strategically situated. It was close to the Plumstead railway station and the main road. Its facilities included adequate recreational grounds, sun baths in a properly equipped solarium, turkish baths, exercise rooms, hydrotherapy, and was staffed with well trained personnel, and a certified masseuse from London.

It however still did not draw enough patients to make the institution a financially viable prospect (*African Division Outlook* September 15, 1923 pgs. 3-4 in Thompson, 1977:132).

Just as in the case of the Claremont Sanitarium several decades before, the denomination tried its utmost to retain the sanitarium by raising a loan in 1922 of over three-thousand pounds to keep it going (Thompson, 1977:42).

In a bid to resuscitate the sanitarium's popularity, the premises were furthermore taken over two years later by the *African Division*, which fully renovated its facilities and had the establishment extensively advertised and promoted (Thompson, 1977:132).

However in spite of their efforts an increased patronage was still not forthcoming (*Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* June 6, 1926. pg.23. Helderberg College Archives).

By the mid-1920's the balance sheets of its operations revealed a rather sorry picture. Because of its serious liabilities therefore, it was forced to suspend its operations (Thompson, 1977:142-143) and for the second time in just over twenty years the South African SDA church had to once again bear witness to the closure and sale of a denominational medical institution.

In 1925 the Plumstead Sanitarium was sold for 5700 pounds (Thompson, 1977:42) and turned, by its new owners, into the Lady Michaelis Orthopaedic Hospital, a care centre for handicapped children (*South African Union Conference Executive Committee minutes* June 1925; "A History of the Lady Michaelis Hospital" Helderberg College Archives. Document file number DF 3000-c).

2. *The Plumstead Nursing Home (1925-1934)*

With greatly diminished medical services the operations of the sanitarium was transferred to rented quarters and renamed the Plumstead Nursing Home.

Under the able guidance of graduate nurse from Battle Creek, Ida Thomason (*Southern African Division Outlook* July 15, 1933 pg.8; S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:231) and with plans that as soon as another hospital was built it would move again it continued to provide medical services to the community.

The plans to move however never came to fruition and the nursing home unable to survive the financial disaster brought about by the Great Depression of the 1930's finally closed down in 1934.

3. *Unsuccessful Attempts to Re-Introduce Medical Work in South Africa*

There were, after the final closure of the Plumstead Sanitarium in 1925 and the nursing home in 1934, other sporadic attempts to open up such medical institutions.

The Plumstead Nursing Home itself eventually became the Sunnyside old-age home which is still in existence today (*Southern African Division Outlook* "First Home for the Aged in the Division" August 15, 1959. pg.3; Thompson, 1977:280).

A treatment centre called the *Maritzburg Health Institute* was also begun in Pietermaritzburg (Olsen, 1926:486). Information concerning the above centre is regrettably scarce. I could not therefore establish when it was opened or what led to its closure. The building still stands today but sadly no longer belongs to the SDA denomination (Letter from J.Coss to Bro. Wiggill. 6 October 1986. Helderberg Archives. Document file number DF 3001-c).

Strangely enough after these initial attempts and a few others in East London, Bloemfontein and Pretoria to inaugurate medical institutions, never again would the denomination attempt to re-establish the medical work in a big way amongst the white population group in South Africa (Spalding, 1962:11; Swanepoel, 1972:164; Thompson, 1977:134; Van Zyl, 1990:104).

Various reasons have been proposed, amongst those already given already in this chapter, both for the collapse of the medical work and for the paucity of efforts to once again open up medical hospitals in South Africa, they include:

The very small European population to which the two medical institutions were exposed;

The frequent change of medical doctors at the sanitariums (Swanepoel, 1972:165)

The introduction of unconventional medical practices into a conservative South African Dutch community (Ibid.,165)

The difficult times brought about by the post World-War I era (in the case of the Plumstead Sanitarium);

Competition from other established hospitals in the Cape that were perhaps not only better staffed and equipped but which also offered the public greatly subsidized medical services (Thompson, 1977:133).

With regard as to why no further attempts were made to open up another sanitarium, the denomination's annals reveal that the sale of the Plumstead Sanitarium seems to have corresponded with an era in the history of the denomination in South Africa when much greater emphasis was being placed on erecting medical institutions in the mission fields in countries to the north of South Africa's borders instead (Thompson, 1977:52).

Spalding comments that it was no coincidence that the Division was named the "African Division" for it appeared resolute during the 1920's to conquer Africa for Christ (Spalding, 1962:9).

This decade which began with only ten mission stations ended with over thirty, the majority of which were newly pioneered and founded during this period (Thompson, 1977:115).

During this very time of missionary expansion, firm medical foundations were laid instead in the Bechuanaland Protectorate (Botswana) where a hospital was built at Kanye in 1923. Two years later in 1925 Malamulo hospital was built and opened in Nyasaland (Malawi). And in 1927 Mwami hospital was also opened in Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:174;837;943; *African Division Outlook* "A Great Medical Missionary Programme" September 1, 1927; Thompson, 1977:117-123).

4. SDA Medical Practices Presently in Operation in South Africa

As a result of South Africa having to leave the European Commonwealth because of political pressure in the early 1960's, the South African based SDA denomination was also forced to retract from all their missionary work towards the north. As a result of this, small medical

practices were initiated instead within the borders of South Africa in Bethlehem, Ficksburg, Maseru, Swaziland, Kroonstad and Zululand.

In 1983 these medical practices came under the auspices of the *Adventist Profession Health Services* (APHS) an inter-Union organization with its headquarters located in Bethlehem.

In 1991 a resumé listed the following medical practices in operation within the borders of South Africa ("Resumé of the Church's modern medical work in South Africa" 11 March 1991. Helderberg College Archives Document File number DF 3001-c-1:

<u>Medical Institution</u>	<u>Date Initiated</u>
Maluti Medical Services, Ficksburg	1963
Maluti Ophthalmic Services, Ficksburg	1965
Maseru Dental Services	1970
Babanango Medical Services (Zululand)	1969
Swaziland Dental Services	1974
Bethlehem Ophthalmic Services	1973
Bethlehem Obstetrical & Gynaecological	1973
Kroonstad	1977
Swaziland Ophthalmic Services	1986
Helderberg Dental Services	1986
Centre Point Clinic (?)	1987

These institutions listed as SDA medical practices and run by SDA doctors are unquestionably performing sterling medical work.

These centres are however, without even the slightest trace of discredit to the manner in which they are operating, mainly practising conventional medicine and are not employing the forms of medical treatments and natural remedies espoused by much of the writings of the denomination and as has been outlined in chapter two.

Greater comprehension for the absence of any major SDA medical institutions in South Africa will be better understood in the context of the relocation of the denomination's school which will be highlighted in a subsequent part of this chapter.

C. *Lack of Continuity Greatly Hinders
Educational Progress in South Africa*

1. *Inconsistencies Evident in the
Education Offered at Union College*

Looking back over the twenty-five year existence of Union College several anomalies in its educational system become apparent:

There was firstly the very frequent changes of teachers and principals (Swanepoel, 1972:173-176). No less than eleven principals are recorded who served at Union College during its existence. They are:

Eli.B. Miller (1893-1894)
Mrs. A Druillard (1894-1896)
Miss. S.Peck and H. Elffers (1896)
J.L Shaw (1897-1900)
W.A. Ruble (1901-1907)
C.H. Hayton (Only the month of Aug. 1907)
W.S Hyatt (Aug. 1907 until the end of year)
J.F. Olmstead (1908)
C.P. Crager (1909-1915)
W.E. Straw (1916-1917)

Secondly, in the wake of the principals who all too frequently came and left, an explicit inconsistency becomes evident when trying to determine the educational philosophy employed at the college.

Upon closer scrutiny two views emerge, their goals clearly the same in that both wished to graduate well equipped students. It was however the means employed to achieve this end that were radically different.

This paper has already made mention that the college, especially at its inception and during its initial years, placed much emphasis upon a first class intellectual classical academic programme, using all the subjects taught at other notable academies and colleges, and at times even taking the students beyond what was required.

The other programme set in motion was evidently different in that while it still maintained a very high standard of work, it had a strong religious basis and followed a greater line of also implementing and teaching denominationally relevant material.

This educational stream also placed a great deal of emphasis upon a thorough holistic, practical work programme and the teaching of Bible doctrines alongside the obligatory academics subjects taught at the school.

This vacillation in the type educational philosophy at the college becomes evident firstly in the considerable discontent expressed by many of the parents of the college's students, concerning the choice of subjects offered at the college (Swanepoel, 1972:174).

It is evident, secondly in the numerous changes in courses and subjects offered. Union College year books reveal the continual curriculum reviews and numerous changes that were implemented over the years;

And thirdly, these constant changes are disclosed in some of the letters of Union College students which are still in existence today.

In a letter written probably some time in the mid-1890's, a student's concerns were recorded in the following manner: "Since we have found out that the Lord has never designed us to pattern after any other school in existence, we should endeavour more and more each day to follow the true pattern He has given us in His Word" (Letter written by a student at Union College. Helderberg College Archives. Document file number HR 10) .

From such correspondence come the unmistakable indication that many students at Union College were extremely unhappy about the curriculum and choice of subjects that were being offered at the time at the college.

It has not been ascertained precisely when the changes took place because of the paucity of historical documents pertaining to that time, but a great reorganization in the college's curriculum seems to

have implemented at the college round about 1896. A student's correspondence once again records:

"...but at last in the year 1896 there was brought a great change in our classic [sic] and also in our whole school. New teachers took the place of old ones...

...Instead of an education which would fit us for this life only, there was taught a higher, and more spiritual one..." (Union College student's letter. Helderberg College Archives. Document file number HR 10).

The above letter also records that it was at this time that Professor Shaw took over as principal of Union College and the indications are that it was his arrival that brought about the fundamental changes to the College programme.

Historical records also confirm that it was under his guidance and leadership that a dairy was begun along with the setting in motion of the various industrial departments such as carpentry, shoe making, printing and broom-making (*Southern African Division Outlook* "Fifty Years of Christian Education" October 15, 1942. Helderberg College Archives).

Professor Shaw's greatest contribution to the college however appears to have been the great attention that he gave to the students. As a result of these endeavours the numbers of students grew to such an extent that by the end of 1898 the college was again functioning with a full student capacity.

This noticeably more practical programme continued with Shaw's immediate successors, Mr W.Ruble and Mr Hayton.

It was during Mr Hayton's time that the college's woodworking department was brought to such a stage of proficiency that it could begin to supply wooden step-ladders and wooden window-frames to dealers throughout the Peninsula (*Southern African Division Outlook* "Fifty Years of Christian Education" October 15, 1942. Helderberg College Archives).

While a very high standard of excellence remained the goal of the college, Union College yearbooks reveal that by 1901 a two-year Normal Course had been initiated in place of the four-year degree.

In this new programme, denominational Biblical subjects, music, drawing and elocution were clearly given more emphasis. A very interesting change was the inclusion of manual training in which the students were taught carpentry and the correct use of hand tools. It is also extremely interesting to note that it was from this two-year course that many of the students of Union College would eventually graduate.

Up to 1913, Union College's calendar reveals that the above form of education was still in place in the school's syllabus and seemed to be functioning very well indeed. This year's calendar recorded the object of its educational philosophy in the following manner:

"To merely give students a knowledge of books is not the purpose of this institution. Such an education can be obtained at any school in the land. The study of books only give students the discipline they need. A more complete education is required-one that will encourage a skilful hand, a ready mind, and a good heart...this school was established, not merely to teach the sciences, but for the purpose of giving instruction in the great principles of God's Word, and in the practical duties of everyday life" (*Union College Calendar 1913* pgs.6-7).

By 1916 however, with the arrival of Mr W.E. Straw as Union College principal, it is appears that the pendulum swung back once more, with the college once again offering the classical education that it had introduced at its inception in 1893.

Although the two-year Normal Course was not done away with, alongside it reappeared a fully academic four-year degree, once again offering subjects such as literature, philosophy, astronomy, Latin, Greek, geology and chemistry.

Almost as if in opposition to what had been stated in 1913, the college's calendar in 1917 made the following recommendations:

"The Normal Course is designed especially for those who have perhaps neglected their education and now desire a quick preparation for Bible or mission work. However we recommend the longer course [four-year degree course] for all who can possibly take it, as it will develop strong

staunch, well balanced workers. Nature makes cabbages and tomatoes in one season, but she takes several years to develop strong, solid oaks" [square brackets added] (*Union College Yearbook 1917*).

A perusal of the graduation exercise records from Union College reveals that the first graduation only took place in 1901, nine years after the college had begun:

UNION COLLEGE GRADUATES

1901	1910
<i>Normal</i> - Helen M.Hyatt, William Haupt, Arthur Commn.	<i>Normal</i> - Susan (Visser) Venter. <i>Bible Academic</i> - William George.
1902	1911
<i>Normal</i> - Amy (Ingle) Birkenstock.	<i>Normal</i> - Ethel.M.Edmed, Laura (Page) Bredenkamp, Willis L.Hyatt, Evert F.Birkenstock, Eric A.Royston. <i>Bible Academic</i> - Irwin R.Williams.
1903	
No graduates	
1904	
<i>Normal</i> - Keznia (Lawrence) Beckner, Adeline V.Sutherland, Mary (Lawrence) Beer.	1912
	<i>Normal</i> - Hubert Sparrow.
1905	1913
<i>Normal</i> - Frances (Haupt) Moolman, Minnie.M.Tarr.	<i>Normal</i> - Edna R. (Edmed) Clifford. Owen Sparrow, Lewis Williams.
1906	1914
<i>Normal</i> - Mollie (Tarr) Commn.	<i>Normal</i> - Annie L.Visser.
1907	1917
<i>Normal</i> - Victor Wilson.	<i>Ministerial</i> - Willard Staples, Vivian Cooks, Florence Hansen. <i>Preparatory</i> - Daphne (Peach) Milne.
1908	
No graduates	
1909	
<i>Normal</i> - Jane (Page) Wilson, John J.Birkenstock.	

Other factors that emerge from the above record of graduates reveals firstly not only very small graduation classes, at times only a single graduate, but also that in 1903, 1908, 1915, and 1916 that there were no graduates at all.

Secondly the above list of graduates also reveals that there were only five male student graduates during the first decade of the twentieth century with their numbers only slightly increasing in later years.

Lastly, the records of the above students reveal that of the thirty graduates from Union College, sixteen of them (more than half) were female students.

For some strange reason it seems that few SDA historians have made any attempt to give the above issues much attention.

It appears however safe to state that this delay in producing college graduates and the "meagre" graduation years, must be attributed primarily to the vacillations in evidence in the educational philosophy implemented and to the frequent changes in teachers and principals that is in evidence in the history of the College.

The other factors which affected the enrolment at the college will be dealt with in another section of this chapter.

2. *Union College Relocated to Spion Kop in Natal (1917)*

As early as 1907 concerns were already being expressed by some South African SDA administrators and church leaders that Union College should be moved (Swanepoel, 1972:176). The chief reason they gave was the rapid urban encroachment that had taken place around the college's grounds which they believed was having a detrimental effects upon the students and the school alike.

As a result, ardent desires were soon being expressed that the Claremont property should be sold and that the college should be relocated elsewhere (Memorial to the African Division November 1924. Helderberg College Archives. Document file number HR 54).

Those that desired to see the college relocated believed firstly that it was in harmony with the many testimonies that had been received

from America that the church's schools should rather be situated in a rural environment.

They secondly supported their arguments for relocation by stating that the college should not only become self supporting but should also be in such a location so it could aid students to gain experience in the practical dimensions of life (Swanepoel, 1972:177).

And thirdly they expressed the desire to move to another location so that another sanitarium could be established (Ibid.,177).

After some contemplation the decision was finally taken to move away from Union College to Spioen Kop in Natal, the scene of one of the many famous battles that had been fought during the Anglo-Boer War (Swanepoel, 1972:178; Thompson, 1977:135).

Although the 2 200 acre farm located on a two-mile stretch of the Tugela River certainly appeared to be a most suitable location, many others believed that it would be a serious blunder to move the college to that particular location (Thompson, 1977:136).

Division and eventually deadlock arose on this issue whether to move the college or not. In opposition to those who wished to see the college relocated, numerous reasons were tendered as to why the college should not be moved to Spioen Kop:

Firstly they insisted that the new location was far too remote - the property situated some eighteen miles away from Ladysmith which itself was still at the time only a small village (Thompson, 1977:136);

Secondly they raised the issue of the lack of suitable transport. There was at the time neither any tar roads nor effective means of road transport available, making the proposed location for the new school quite inaccessible;

Thirdly, stemming from both the above points they maintained that the new site was also too far out to make any possible business ventures at the college viable;

Fourthly, they also insisted that the soil was unsuitable for maize farming.

Notwithstanding all the many objections and words of warning that were being expressed by those concerning this relocation of the school, by the end of 1917 yet another chapter had closed for the SDA denomination in South Africa.

Hardly had the last graduation taken place at Union College when the very next day, workmen began to dismantle the college's dormitory to use part of the material to build the new school at the location of Spioen Kop (Swanepoel, 1972:179; Thompson, 1977:135).

The move to Spioen Kop necessitated not only a break of one entire academic year but also two name changes firstly to *The South African Training School* which began its operations in 1919 and two years later in 1921 when the name was again changed to *Spion Kop College*.

Neither did the continual changes in the educational programmes end with the relocation to Spioen Kop. In its initial year, as opposed to the final year at Union College, *The South African Training School* offered only classes from standard 5 to 8 and a "Workers Course" - a course akin to the two-year Normal Course offered at Union College (Swanepoel, 1972:180).

Most of the years that were spent at this location appears to have been an era when the intention was to graduate students to become, as the 1920 *South African Training School* calendar puts it:

"Efficient stewards to God, whether in public and in private life" (*South African Training School Calendar 1920* Helderberg College Archives. Document file number HR 54).

To achieve this, courses of study were developed that aimed not only at the development of the intellect but which also gave attention to the fundamental training of the moral and the physical elements of the students.

A forceful statement that was made in this aspect needs to be highlighted:

"A man might have a brilliant mind, he may be quick to catch ideas, but this is of little value to him and to others if he has no knowledge of practical work"

In 1921 the school again went through another transition in its educational process. It appears that by this time it was felt that the standard of education was not high enough and had to be raised.

In order therefore to better qualify its graduates, a decision was taken to raise the educational standard of the school to that of a junior college (Thompson, 1977:157-158). Accordingly, the name of the school was also changed from *The South African Training School* to *Spion Kop College* and a more advanced course of study was once again introduced.

A one-year course in Shorthand (Stenographic Course) was offered, alongside a Normal Course of two-years and a four-year regular training course (with Physics, Chemistry, Astronomy, Greek, French, Zulu and German) the latter for all who desired a more thorough academic course.

Here again we discern evidence of yet another attempt to move the education back to what it was at Union College in its final year.

In support of what has been stated in the above paragraph we need to take specific note of the similarities between the section of the 1922 college calendar which is about to follow and the wording of the Union College calendar in 1917 (refer back to pg. 103).

"We recommend the longer course for all who can possibly take it, as it takes time to develop strong, staunch, well-balanced workers..." (*Spion Kop College Calendar 1922*. pg.16. Helderberg College Archives Hr 54).

This four-year course however did not seem to have found much favour, for in the very next year it seems to have been phased out altogether from Spion Kop College's syllabus.

In 1923 Spion Kop College once again offered a two-year Theological Course, a two-year Bible Workers' Training Course a two-year Teachers Training Course and a two-year Commercial Course. All the above courses except the Commercial Course continued to be offered at Spion Kop until its final year in 1927.

The list of graduates from *The South African Training School* and *Spion Kop College* reads as follows:

SOUTH AFRICAN TRAINING SCHOOL GRADUATES

1921

Teacher Training - Irene (Honey)
Callard, Emilie (Jeffrey)
Allnut.

SPION KOP COLLEGE GRADUATES

1923

Normal - Alice (Armer) Visser,
Leonie (de Beer) Pienaar, Eileen
(Crouch) Regnier).

Theological - Basil Burton,
Francis Clifford, Violet
(Harding) Westman, John
Raubenheimer.

1924

Normal - Wilfred Mason, Martha
(Snyman) Raubenheimer, Winifred
Tickton, Beatrice Webb.

Bible Worker's Course - Irene
Armitage, Rose (Hyatt) Watts.

1925

Theological - Leslie Billes.

Normal - Wesley Herbert, Ida
(Honey) Ingle, C.C. Marais, Max
Webster.

1926

Normal - Jean (Crammond) Cripps,
Virginia (Fortner) Stockil, Ella
(Snyman) Holbrook.

Theological - Ross Ansley,
Robert Buckley, Johannes v.d.
Merwe, Stephanus Swanepoel.

1927

Literary - Henry Bell, Beatrice
(Howard) v.d. Post, Elaine
(Giddings) Le Butt.

Theological - Stephen Hiten.

A perusal of the list of those students that graduated from Spion Kop reveals firstly a three year gap from the final graduation at Union College in 1917 to the first graduation which took place at *The South African Training School* in 1921.

At this graduation the trend to graduate female students continued with only two female students graduating from the Teacher Training course.

The above list of graduates once again shows, as that of Union College, that there were more female graduates than male.

It also shows that like many of Union College students, almost half of the graduates from Spion Kop graduated from the Normal Course, with an increasing number of students also receiving Theological Diplomas and certificates as accredited Bible Workers.

3. *Spion Kop College Moves back to the Cape (1928)*

Not very many years went by however, before the prudence of those who had balked at the relocation of the college to the site at Spioen Kop was very abruptly revealed. In a letter several pages long sent to the *African Division* President, W.H.Branson, The Spion Kop College Board, strongly expressed its dissatisfaction with the situation at Spion Kop College:

"...Since that time the College Board and management have been carefully working to carry out the plans adopted at the Educational Convention and to loyally abide by the decision to leave the College at Spion Kop. But the dissatisfaction on the part of the constituency has increased, and the general feeling continues to grow that a mistake was made in the location of the College...

...We give below some of the disadvantages and handicaps in connection with operating the College at Spion Kop...

...Ladysmith is 20 miles away and is only a village, so we are too far away to let our lights shine or make our influence felt...

...With the exception of a narrow strip of land along the river bottom, the soil of the farm is exceedingly shallow and unsuitable for general farming...

...The inconvenience of not being accessible to medical and dental aid is accentuated in times of severe crises...

...It is practically impossible to operate school industries profitably in this isolated location, so far away from any market and handicapped by the heavy expense of transportation..." (Memorial by the Spion Kop College Board to *African Division* November.1924. Helderberg College Archives. Document file number HR 54).

In addition to these recommendations, by 1925 operating expenses at the college had amounted to over seven thousand pounds, expenses that had to be covered by the *African Division* (Thompson, 1977:43).

Just a little over a decade after the move to Natal the college was, in order to avoid yet another financial disaster, moved again back to the Cape Province (Ibid.,137).

This time however, not back to the busy suburbs of Cape Town but, after more than fifty farms had been inspected (Ibid.,138) to "Bakkers Kloof" a 400 acre apple and almond orchard situated on the slopes of Helderberg Mountain about four miles from the village of Somerset West (Ibid.,139).

In the light of the decision that was eventually taken to move away from Spioen Kop it is most intriguing to read the principal's report some eight months before the school was finally moved to Somerset West.

"In the meantime, our school work at Spion Kop has been going forward in a strong way. Each year has seen an increasingly higher standard of scholarship prevail, until it is only fair to say that our work compares very favourably with the work done in a like standard in any of the schools of this country or our schools in other lands...

...The school is well organized and the staff the strongest we have carried since my connection with the school. A high standard of scholarship is being maintained in every department, so that I consider the work of this year superior to that of any year heretofore" (*African Division Outlook* "Report of the Spion Kop College" June 15, 1927. pgs.10-11).

This progress at Spion Kop had however come too late. Building plans had already been initiated at Somerset West and by March 1928, two buildings had been erected and the school which took the name *Helderberg College* was ready to begin school (Van Zyl, 1990:110).

4. *The Plans to Build a Sanitarium at Helderberg College Never Carried Out*

Commenting one final time on the demise of the medical work in South Africa, it is most significant to note that when the decision was finally taken by the *African Division* to move Spion Kop College to its new location, the committee of leaders appointed by the Division Council to find a new site was called the "new school and sanitarium locating committee" (Thompson, 1977:138).

It is clear from the name given to the committee chosen to find the new site that the intention to build another sanitarium was very much part of the Division's agenda. In actual fact Thompson has pointed out quite explicitly that part of the money used to buy the college's grounds came from the proceeds of the sale of the Plumstead Sanitarium (Ibid., 139).

When interviewed, J.W.MacNeil, a member of the locating committee described the new location in Somerset West in the following manner:

"This farm is, to my mind, the most suitable place that I have ever seen in Africa for the establishing of a training school and a sanitarium. Every advantage that we could ever hope for is there. The site for the sanitarium is beyond anything we have ever seen anywhere"

In his turn J.F.Wright a future Division president depicted the farm in this manner:

"The requirements of both college and sanitarium have been considered, and we are confident that every essential need is fully met in the farm now decided upon" (Supplement to the African Division Outlook. January 1, 1926).

Even W.H.Branson the *African Division* President at the time wrote:

"It is planned to establish, a small rural sanitarium as soon as possible in connection with the training school. This sanitarium will be under the same management as the school and thus operated with the minimum amount of overhead expense" (*African Division Outlook* "Extension Plans for our Educational Work" January 1, 1926).

The reasons why this sanitarium was never built has not yet come to light. An overview of the time though zeroes in on what can probably be the two main reasons. Firstly this was a time of great financial stress. The Great Depression begun shortly after Helderberg College had opened and money was scarce.

Secondly and perhaps a greater reason than the first was that it was a time when great energy was centred on expanding Helderberg College's facilities instead (Thompson, 1977:140-141;242).

It appears that as the college grew and the needs of the students became greater, the decision to establish another sanitarium was put on the back burner and eventually lost sight of and forgotten (Ibid.,142).

Over sixty years later in 1993, while I was still occupied with undergraduate studies at Helderberg College, strong sentiments were still being expressed by some members of the constituency and an attempt was made to open up a sanitarium on the college's premises. The Helderberg College Board however balked at the idea and by 1996 still nothing had come of their request.

5. *Transition in Educational Trends evident at Helderberg College*

a. *Educational Trends: 1928-1959*

Although student enrolment at Helderberg College began to grow quite steadily (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1996:687) and the institution expanded

quite rapidly in the years subsequent to the Great Depression (*Southern African Division Outlook* "Principal's Report-Helderberg College" December 15, 1936. pg.3; *Southern African Division Outlook* "Fifty Years of Christian Education" Oct. 15, 1942) greater analysis needs to be made on the evolving trends that becomes evident in the type of education offered at the college over its seventy year history.

To try and enumerate all the various educational courses and changes that took place in the history of college and to subsequently carry out an evaluation would understandably be an encyclopedic assignment which on its own could merit an entire thesis.

After many many hours of study and reflection on the courses and subjects offered at Helderberg College during its almost seventy years of existence though, a most intriguing pattern developed, one that can be perceived as falling into three distinct eras:

The first from 1928 to 1959; the second from 1960 to 1980; and the final era from 1981 to 1993.

While only the most significant additions and changes have been recorded in the first two periods, the final period from 1981 to 1995 will receive greater analysis for it is undoubtably during these last twelve years that the educational philosophy at the college underwent its greatest transformation.

Whereas there had been a nine-year delay before the first graduation at Union College and a three-year break between graduations when the move occurred from Union College to Spion Kop, graduation took place in the very first year that the college moved to Somerset West.

Taking note of the fact that the five students graduated from a two-year course at Helderberg in 1928, gives rise to two convictions. Firstly that there must have been an unbroken connection between the choice of subjects and curriculum offered in the final year at Spion Kop and the first academic year at Helderberg College. And secondly that these first Helderberg College graduates must have begun their training at Spion Kop College the year before in 1927.

For the next five years from 1928 until 1931 the courses offered at Helderberg remained almost entirely unchanged with the exception of a three-year Theological Normal course offered for the first time in 1932.

The Helderberg College yearbooks of the following three decades discloses the following changes or additions to the educational syllabus:

In 1936 a three-year Literary Course was added to the existing college syllabus.

In 1937 a two-year Commerce Course (Book-keeping, Shorthand III, Typing III, Office Practice) was added to the existing courses. In the same year a course in music directing was added to the three-year theological course.

In 1939 a three-year Domestic Science Course was introduced for the first time. This constituted the Normal Course which was being offered at the time with subjects such as practical cookery, art in the home, first aid and home nursing, child nutrition, housewifery and laundering.

In the war-years (1940-1945) there was once again little change to the courses offered at the college save for a two-year Bible Instructors course which was begun in 1944.

In the years from 1946-1949 there was little change to the existing academic courses being offered.

In the 1950's the first great changes in the education syllabus become evident. In 1950 a three-year Teacher's Training Course was offered for the first time. Some subjects taught in this course included Teaching I, II & III, Principles of Education, Pedagogy and Classroom Management, Comparative Education and Educational Psychology.

In 1951 a one-year Stenographic (Secretarial) course offered for the first time.

1951 is also an important year for the college in that it became affiliated to UNISA (University of South Africa) for the first time in its history and offered four-year degrees

in Teacher Training, Theology and Economics (Thompson:1977,247).

In 1955 the Economics Course's name is changed to the Domestic Science Course. This course aimed at teaching female students to become missionaries and to train girls in the art of true home-making.

From as early as 1955 it appears that the affiliation to UNISA comes to an end when no mention is made in this year nor in the next five years of any UNISA courses offered at Helderberg College

The years 1957-1959 once shows no major changes in the existing academic structure.

What the entries of these yearbooks cannot of course fully reveal is that during these first thirty-one years of the college's existence, its emphasis was largely upon preparing students, both male and female for evangelistic work on the mission fields.

Thompson substantiates this when he records:

"The College courses were practical and adapted to the needs of the mission field, even to the inclusion of courses in agriculture and Advanced Missions for theology students" (Thompson, 1977:157).

As early as 1936, continuing to build upon the strong practical programme inherited from Spion Kop College, G.E.Shankel the principal at Helderberg College wrote:

"If we tend more and more to the formal, theoretical and classical type of education then we must of necessity minimise the practical end...In a general sense it would appear that the larger interests of our work as a whole in Africa would be better served by emphasising the practical training of our students. We have attempted to do this by incorporating vocational subjects in the curricula so that each student shall pursue some practical subject each year while in school" (*Southern African Division Outlook* "Helderberg College Principal's Report" pg.3. December 15, 1936. Helderberg College Archives).

Seven years later in 1942 as SDA education celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in South Africa, the emphasis on presenting a balanced practical education was still being very strongly stressed:

"Our students learn while they labour, [sic] and earn. They learn to appreciate the privilege of work and to have confidence in themselves. They learn how to serve themselves and others. They learn co-operation and steadiness and poise. They learn to carry the burdens of real practical every-day life. In a word, their education is balanced" (*Southern African Division Outlook "Industrial Opportunities"* pg.3. October 15, 1942. Helderberg College Archives).

There is admittedly no precise date that can be designated for the change of emphasis from this practical/missionary orientated programme offered at Helderberg College. It appears however quite safe to say that the first changes appear to coincide quite accurately with the time in the early 1960's when South African missionaries had, for political reasons, to withdraw from the mission fields to the north of its borders (Thompson, 1977:247).

**b. Educational Trends
1960-1980**

By 1960 the yearbook once again discloses that:

Helderberg students could once again take academic courses of study that were being offered by UNISA.

In this year a one-year pre-nursing course appeared for the very first time. Along with this appeared numerous other courses such as a two-year Primary School Teaching Course; a two-year Teacher Training Commercial Course; a three-year Music Teacher Training Course; a four-year Arts and Education course; a four-year Arts and Economic Course and a five-year Theological Course.

In 1961 the academic courses remained similar to the previous year.

In 1962-1963 the existing programme was once again not greatly moderated except for the dropping of the five-year theology course.

In 1964-1965 a new three-year business course was offered for the first time.

In 1966-1967 private secretarial courses offered at Helderberg for the first time. A four-year High School Teacher Training degree was also implemented.

In 1968 another new course was added to the curriculum namely a four-year Science Research Course (B.Sc). The Majors available in this course included Chemistry, Botany, Geography, Psychology and Zoology.

In 1969 no major changes in the choice of subjects offered except that Nederlands-Afrikaans course seems to have introduced into the Theology course in which a study of Nederlands literature and the growth of Afrikaans from Nederlands was studied.

In 1970 a four-year Business Course introduced.

Could not locate 1971 yearbook.

In 1972-1973 courses offered remains largely unmodified except for the secretarial course which was lengthened to three years of study.

In 1974/1975 the Secretarial course was expanded so that students could either graduate from a one, a two, or a three year course.

In 1975/1976 the Science department only offers a three-year diploma. The department of theology also offers a three-year diploma in Bible Instruction for the first time.

In 1976 Helderberg College becomes affiliated to Andrews University in the United States allowing the college to offer an Andrews University a four-year Bachelor of Theology degree and a four-year Bachelor of Business Administration degree.

In 1977-1979 no major changes in the courses of study are in evidence from the previous year.

In 1980 a number of changes becomes evident in the college's academic programme. The Business Faculty offers both a four-year Bachelor of Business degrees and a three year diploma in Business Administration. Furthermore the college also offers no less than six different courses in the Secretarial field with Higher Certificates offered in private and medical secretarial courses.

In this same year three different diplomas were also offered in the Arts and Education department.

As has been stated much greater emphasis will be given at this point to the final fifteen years of the educational subjects and syllabi offered at the college.

*c. Educational Trends
1981-1993 (The Years of Transition)*

The 1981 college yearbook reveals numerous additions to the existing courses namely, a three-diploma in Science and two-year Diploma in Agriculture. The latter course especially, preparing the prospective student for mixed general farming by offering subjects such as Animal Husbandry, Feeding, Breeding, Dairy Management, Crop Production, Veterinary Science, Veld And Grazing Management, Plant Ecology, Pomology and Viticulture.

The 1982/1983 year book reveals no significant changes to the study programme of the previous year.

In the 1983/1984 study programme there were once again no additions or alterations made the existing programmes.

1984/1985 once again no major changes except for the inclusion a two-year Andrews University Associate in Business Administration introduced into the Business Faculty.

1985/1986 The three-year Science Diploma is no longer offered and a two-year Science Associate appears to have been implemented in its place. In the Education Department both four-year diplomas

in secondary education are no longer offered as in the previous years.

1987/1988 Several additions made in the Business department with the expansion of the existing four-year Bachelor of Business Administration degree into the disciplines of Accounting, Information Science, Marketing and Management. Various diplomas in the field of Management, Marketing and Personnel Management are also introduced at this time in this department.

Public Relations Diplomas are introduced to the existing programmes.

This year also sees the introduction of an Andrews University four-year Bachelor of Arts degree in Elementary Education.

This year, for some reason, however also sees the removal of both the Science and Agricultural Diplomas from the College's study programme.

With the disappearance of the latter course the syllabi already so "stripped" of its practical dimension begins more and more to accelerate towards a wholly theoretical study programme.

The 1989/1990 year book reveals no major changes except that in this year the diploma in Primary education came to an end and the Bachelor of Theology was replaced with a four-year Andrews University Bachelor of Arts (Theology).

The college yearbooks from 1991 - 1993 showed little changes or additions to the study programme of the previous years.

It appears once again quite difficult to make an adequate appraisal of the educational trends during this time just by taking note of the various subjects and courses listed in the college yearbooks.

It is however fortunate that I had the opportunity not only to do the research for this thesis but also to spend almost five years at Helderberg College from 1990-1994 which gave me the added insight I needed in this direction.

If I stated at this point that the practical dimensions of the educational programme has been totally done away with this statement would be severely contested by the college's administrators. The importance for students to be exposed to a practical work programme is still evident in the most recent college prospectus. This is fortified by statements such as the following one:

"...exposure to a practical work experience on or off campus is an integral part of the students preparation for graduation" (*Silverleaf Helderberg College 1893-1993* pg.27).

The statement which is about to follow (from the same source incidentally) however, once again gives the impression, as it did during the history of Union College, that a transition has materialized in the educational philosophy that is being offered at the college at present.

"The work activities have changed over the years, but it is still possible for a student to be exposed to a wide variety of activities should he or she choose. Today it is no longer compulsory to work a fixed number of hours as in the past" (*Silverleaf Helderberg College 1893-1993* pg.27).

The dilemma arises when trying to correlate the first statement with the second one. While the former clearly states that practical work experience is compulsory for graduation, the latter appears to place the practical work on a noncompulsory basis, whereby the college students may work if they so choose.

Even the above working opportunities though, are a far cry from the mandatory practical programmes in the early existence of the college. The modern student may at present apply and obtain a bursary and then work for a certain amount of hours on the farm, in the kitchen, in the library or maintenance to cover this bursary.

Part and parcel of the college's programme in the past were programmes which included the art of homemaking for female students, carpentry, bricklaying, farming, motor vehicle maintenance and plumbing.

These practical programmes resulting in well equipped missionaries, teachers, evangelists, Bible workers who were thus able to turn their hands to most tasks in the careers of their choice.

Many school students and college graduates who studied at Helderberg college during these times even rightly claim a share in the building of entire college buildings. Many others used these life-skills that they learnt as students on the many mission stations of Africa.

I can say with deep sincerity and honesty that what has just been stated has not been done to disparage the administration, or those that occupy positions of leadership, or the college, which unquestionably still offers the very highest standard of education.

It has been done however to show how the college's educational philosophy has once again dramatically shifted. From a well-balanced programme that was initially dedicated to preparing men and women for effective and pragmatic Christian missionary service, to one that is once again theoretical in almost all its dimensions. A situation that is once again, just as in the days of Union College, eliciting great concern amongst both students and members of the denomination in this country.

There is of course no question that higher learning is absolutely vital. The concern however once again focuses upon the imbalance that exists at present in the type of education what is offered at the college and the fact that in this "fully theoretical" state the college cannot meet all the needs of its constituency.

And then in all sincerity with the vital facet of practical work missing from its education philosophy can the college truthfully state it is still offering a holistic education or practising the education of the "heart the head and the hand"?

I was approached just very recently by a mother, in the community in which I am pastoring two churches, with some grave concerns about her son's future. She told me that her son had just completed his matriculation exams. Even though he had passed, he unfortunately had not obtained an exemption in order for him to enter a tertiary institution.

As she told me more about her son, I discerned that he was a very practically orientated person able to work very well with his hands rather than able to concentrate on academic material. I was also pleased to hear that he desired to go a school where he could further his education in a practical/work orientated sphere. What I was not prepared for, was the intense disappointment he expressed when he

discovered but there was no such study facilities for him at Helderberg College.

After this experience I could not help wondering how many other such people we have in the community who cannot fulfil their desires to go to Helderberg because it is lacking the practical dimension in its educational philosophy.

On a more positive note was my recent experience at the Seventh-day Adventist retirement village at Anerley. A senior citizen deep in his seventies who spent only one year at Spion Kop College shared not only the lucid memories of the carpentry shop, the dairy, the clothing industry and the peanut butter factory at the college but told me how these practical skills he had acquired as a Spion Kop student had better prepared him for adult life (Dialogue with Tommy Dahl former Spion Kop student. Anerley Haven 14 October 1996).

Even after all that has just been stated in regard to the inconsistencies, the reversals, and the imbalance that existed and still exists within the South African SDA educational institutions, nothing could ever fully measure the great harm and retardation that has come about as result of the lack of continuity and the divergent trends that arose at these three educational institutions.

D. Printing Endeavours in South Africa Gains little Sanction

1. Significance of Printing and Literature Distribution Recognised by the First SDA Missionaries

Previous chapters of this thesis have already accentuated how vitally significant the printing and publishing enterprise and literature distribution had been to both the Millerite Movement and to the emerging SDA denomination in America and how it had contributed to much of the successful development they had experienced.

In its initial endeavours it appeared that the SDA church in South Africa was setting itself up to parallel the pattern followed by the Millerites and the SDA printing establishment in America.

This becomes evident in that:

The first missionary group that came to South Africa included two literature evangelists (le's), George Burleigh and R.S. Anthony, who brought with them a copious supply of religious literature from America to distribute in South Africa;

The South African church leadership very early requested that the *General Conference* at Battle Creek send someone to train more literature evangelists (Van Zyl, 1990:114);

Quite soon after the arrival of the first missionaries the church obtained its own printing press;

In these initial years (1887-1900) the distribution of tracts and literature and the sale of denominational newspapers in all the provinces of South Africa, although not enormous by today's standards, began to bear some encouraging results;

Within only three months of their arrival the le's had sold two hundred and fifty copies of the book *Daniel and Revelation*. In 1888 only a year later they had taken four hundred subscriptions for the publication *Good Health* and an equal number for the *Present Truth* magazine (Robinson, n.d.:62).

In 1889 impetus was added to this line of work when the South African Branch of the *International Tract and Missionary Society* was formed. This society was called together firstly to conduct literature sales.

It however also provided valuable service by distributing tracts and other religious literature not only amongst the sailors who visited at the Cape (Robinson, n.d.:63) but also to the Boer prisoners of war in St. Helena, Ceylon and the Bermudas (*South African Conference Minutes*. Sept. 27, 1901).

One year later in 1890 George Burleigh moved to work in the Transvaal where he not only had great success, selling more than 500 books in just several months, but it is reputed that he even managed to sell a Dutch SDA book to President Paul Kruger (Swanepoel, 1972:63)

1895 was also a memorable year for the newly established printing press. Not only were denominational newspapers printed for the first time in both Dutch and English, but also Gospel tracts in the Xhosa vernacular language (Swanepoel, 1972:185-187; *Trans-Africa Division Outlook* January 15, 1983).

2. *Lack of Substantive Support Becomes Evident for the Printing and Literature Ministry*

Notwithstanding this initial impetus brought about by the promotional work carried out by the le's and the effective distribution of literature in the different provinces of South Africa it is very puzzling to observe that the emphasis and financial support provided for this endeavour was negligible when compared to the enormous favour and priorities that the medical and educational institutions received.

Both the sanitarium and the college had begun their respective operations in new and elaborate buildings costing thousands of pounds, with no want for furniture and equipment.

The tract society though began its operations in a church basement after which it was "relegated" to a small cottage near the entrance of the college buildings.

In similar fashion the printing press which was also initially situated in the same basement (*Trans-Africa Division Outlook* January 15, 1983) was granted a mere three rooms in 1896 in the college building from where it directed its operations for more than twenty years until 1917 (Swanepoel, 1972:184; Thompson, 1977:135; Van Zyl, 1990:114)

3. *South African Publishing Company Remains Small For Many Years*

Even though a printing press had been obtained from America in 1889, mention has already been made that the *South African Publishing Company (SAPC)* as it became known, was not provided with neither substantial means nor the necessary equipment and facilities to print its own books.

As a result of the lack of facilities and paucity of substantial financial support, the assets of the SAPC and its endeavours to effectively distribute literature was severely retarded and destined to remain mediocre for many many years (Robinson, n.d:65). In addition, because the English material had to all be printed either in America or Australia and the Dutch material printed in Germany (S.D.A. Encyclopedia:1976,1320-1321) it also made, for many years, the procurement of the necessary denominational books and evangelistic literature very difficult and painfully slow.

In his thesis, Swanepoel contends that the denomination was not slow in using the printed page (Swanepoel, 1972:184-185).

This was certainly true. When we however take into account the tremendous expenditure undertaken and efforts ploughed into the other denominational enterprises as opposed to the delayed move to firmly establish an institution specifically responsible for the production and distribution of denominational literature, we can only lamentably label it as a gross oversight and a serious blunder on behalf of the early church leaders in South Africa.

4. Setbacks Experienced by the Publishing Company at the turn of the Century

The Anglo-Boer War, the subsequent declaration of martial law, area restriction, and the depression which followed also inevitably disrupted, as in the case of the sanitarium and the college, the undertakings of the SAPC (South African Conference Minutes Jan.16-25 1903 pg.53).

Besides the unavoidable and numerous interruptions in printing, circulation of newspapers and privations that the war brought upon SDA publishing endeavours in South Africa, the SAC was forced, because of the terrible debt that it found itself in, to take another drastic step, namely to take the le's off its payroll.

A letter discovered in the Helderberg College Archives once again reveals this situation of detriment:

"We have been wrestling with the financial problems in our conference, and it is evident that we shall have to cut off some of our workers, or reduces salaries, unless our tithe income increases" (Letter from Ira J.Hankins to E.Willmore.

April 5, 1905. Helderberg College Archives. Document file number DF 3001).

When the SDA le's had begun working in South Africa the licence laws of the South African government in regard to the sale of books were very strict and required a twenty pound licence fee. An exemption from this fee could however be obtained should the le's receive part of their salary from the church, a step which the church undertook (Robinson, n.d:63).

As the church began to find itself deeper and deeper in financial difficulty though and the funding for the institutions became scarce, part of the conference's pruning process involved a drastic reduction in the conference's labour force (*South African Conference Minutes*. 27 Sept., 1901).

Initially the salaries of the literature evangelists were halved but they were in 1907 finally taken off altogether from the conference payroll.

5. One hundred Years of Printing and Publishing Endeavours in South Africa

While time and space once again does not allow an exhaustive history of the printing and publishing work in South Africa, specific occurrences dealing with its development have been succinctly highlighted.

As a careful analysis is made of the history of the church most especially during the early twentieth century, it appears that cognizance was once again taken of the importance of the printing and publishing work.

In the years just prior to the formation of the *African Division*, the *South African Publishing Company* not only changed its name to the *Sentinel Publishing Company* but also took over the vacated premises of Union College when the college moved to Natal in 1917 (*S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, 1996:677).

Only one year later in 1918, modern printing machinery arrived from America, while in 1921 in an effort to boost the denomination's printing endeavours, the *Sentinel Publishing Company* was taken over by the *African Division*. Later that same year it was to receive a

financial grant of 2 874 pounds from the General Conference (Swanepoel:1972,128).

During subsequent years, Thompson records that, for the first time in more than 30 years adequate production and distribution of locally printed material could finally take place in South Africa (Thompson:1977,131).

While this is perhaps true, what Thompson has failed to mention in his thesis is that, at the close of 1925 the *Sentinel* was already operating quite deeply in the red.

A report from the publishing department in the mid-1920's reveals:

"At the close of 1925, we were owing on loan accounts 4,600 pounds and overseas publishers 2,296 pounds" (*African Division Outlook* "Report of the Sentinel Publishing Company" June 15, 1927. pg.10).

Although the building's premises were expanded in subsequent years and modern equipment acquired in concerted efforts to increase its production, it appears that lack of capital, small or no profits and debt repayments were once again the nemesis of this denominational endeavour.

Almost 25 years later M.E.Dawson the Manager at the *Sentinel* reported on the financial standings of the *Sentinel*, stating:

"...We have the responsibility to the many colporteurs who are devoting their full time to spreading the printed message of truth...We are seriously short of capital...and our chief liability is the money advanced by the Division to make up this lack" [underlining added] (*Southern African Division* "Report of the Sentinel Publishing Company" June 15, 1951).

Five years later in 1956 the new manager of the *Sentinel*, P.W.Willmore began his financial report with the following words:

"The fiscal year 1955 has closed with a small margin of profit. Repayments at the rate of 3000 pounds per annum are being made on the loan from the Southern African Division. Our profits therefore must be viewed in the light of these

repayments" [underling added] (*Southern African Division Outlook* "Report of the Sentinel Publishing Company" February 15, 1956).

By the end of the 1950's things had clearly still not improved at the Publishing house. Yet another publishing report recorded:

"...We need new equipment so much that we sometimes wonder how much longer we can continue with what we have" (*Southern African Division Outlook* "Sentinel Publishing Company" pg.28-29. January-March, 1959).

It is once again significant to take note that in 1955, notwithstanding the fact that profits at the plant were still meagre, and that loan repayment predominated, plans were placed before the Town planning committee of the Cape Town City Corporation for an extension of approximately 1300 square feet to the existing plant.

This application was subsequently refused because of the zoning restrictions (*Southern African Division Outlook* Feb. 15, 1956).

I could not ascertain how they got around this restriction but by 1958 we read that the premises were in fact extended. (*Southern African Division Outlook* "A Message from the Manager" pg.7. May 15, 1958).

Amazingly enough we read that six years later the premises were once again extended and new machinery was procured as a result of overseas aid (*Trans-Africa Division Outlook* "The Sentinel Serves" 15 May 1964).

In 1963 it was thought expedient by the Division to replace the word "company" with "association" and the publishing house became known as the *Sentinel Publishing Association* (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1996:676-677).

For the next twenty years, under its new name and served by several publishing managers (mostly non-South Africans), the publishing house continued to operate, printing material both for the denomination in South Africa and for the African states in the *Trans-Africa Division* further to the north.

In 1982 the name of the publishing house was once again changed from *The Sentinel Publishing Association* to *The Southern Publishing Association* (*Trans-Africa Division Outlook* "Sentinel Publishing House Receives a New Name" January 15, 1983. pg.5).

Although expansion of its premises continued and its machinery modernized in an effort to boost its production, it appears that the publishing house still could not operate on a satisfactory profit and financial matters continued to deteriorate.

In an attempt to cover the severe financial deficits at the publishing house, the building from it had been operating since 1917 was put up for sale in the closing years of the 1980's (Van Zyl, 1990:115).

The sale was however far from cut-and-dry and the publishing house once again encountered severe problems. Unforeseen circumstances caused a lengthy delay after the contract with the buyers had been signed and the envisaged profit that the publishing house was hoping to make from the sale of the building was not forthcoming.

After the old premises had eventually passed to *Barlows*, the new owners, a modern factory was built in Ottery, a suburb of Cape Town (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1996,677).

In the ensuing years the publishing house continued to ail, with matters attaining crisis proportions sometime in 1994. It was clearly time to take drastic action. And this is precisely what happened.

The changes that were enacted at this time included managerial changes, the sale of most of its machinery, and a drastic reduction in the publishing house's staff from 40 to only 20.

The present situation of the publishing work in South Africa is almost akin to the situation that existed almost one hundred years ago..

With a new manager from America (*Publishing News* "New General Manager - S.P.A." March 1996) the publishing house, which incidentally has rented out part of the factory to tenants, now only prints small amounts of work for the local SDA institutions, while it is importing most of its printed material from denominational publishing houses outside the borders of South Africa.

VII. RACIAL INEQUALITY AND ITS DETRIMENTAL CONSEQUENCES ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHURCH

A. Separatism Evident in Early History of the Church

1. The Practice of Separate Education

The one issue that has lamentably gained the least attention in SDA history is the one concerning the relationship that has existed between the different race groups of Seventh-day Adventist believers in South Africa over the last 100 years.

It appears that historians, writers and administrators over this period of time, have either been afraid, have chosen to ignore, or otherwise hoped, that perhaps the issue of racial discrimination in the history of the denomination would forever remain dormant.

This is extremely perplexing when almost from the onset it is so clearly evident that the SDA denomination mirrored the practices of a South African society that was strongly committed to racial inequality.

As a result, the missionary work and evangelistic endeavours of the denomination in South Africa in almost all its forms, remained divided along racial lines for the major part of this century.

Although many will most certainly choose to disagree, the tendency to separate the different ethnic groups along racial lines is evident firstly in the denomination's educational endeavours.

Strangely enough when Claremont Union College opened in 1893 there is substantial evidence that both Coloured and African students were permitted entry to study there (Robinson, n.d.:76; S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1996:686).

The issue of different race groups at the college was to however elicit a very negative response from some members of the local SDA constituency who threatened to remove their children from the school should the situation not change (Robinson, n.d.:76).

These strong feelings of antagonism towards people of non-European descent are all too clearly evident in some of the correspondence of the time:

"SO [sic] there is the colour line wthch [sic] is very distinctly drawn here in society. For my part I do not care [sic] I can shake hand [sic] with the colored [sic] people and so forth. But our association with them is going to spoil our influence [sic] with others who are accustomed to these things...to have any influence [sic] with the Higher [sic] class of people we must respect these difderances [sic]. As far as we can. Further more [sic] I do not want my children to associate with the lower classes or colored [sic] people. I will labor for them and teach my children to do so But I do not want my children to mix up with them for such is detrimental to their moral well fare [sic] Nor do I want my children to think there is no diferance [sic] in so ciety [sic] that they should finally associate and marry into colored [sic] blood..." (Letter from Pieter Wessels to Ellen G White January 14, 1893. Helderberg College Archives Document file number DF 506).

Robinson makes a note that while some students were withdrawn from the school as a result of such opinions, the leadership initially remained firm and for a few years both Coloured and African students were allowed to remain at the college (Robinson, n.d.:76-77).

The endeavour to keep the school open to all races was however ephemeral, and it appears that no African, Indian or Coloured students remained, or were allowed to remain long enough to finish their education and become graduates of Union College.

Swanepoel records however, that by 1913 a great need had arisen to train Coloured church workers for the growing constituency.

It appears that by this time though, entry to Union College was barred to them. So instead of opening the school to these students and allowing them admission it necessitated the calling together of a special committee with the task to seek a new suitable location to begin a separate training school for the Coloured community (Swanepoel, 1972:182).

The move in this direction, no doubt mainly because of the adverse financial times, was once again very slow and almost twenty years had to pass before a single-roomed church school was opened in 1929 at the Salt River Church (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:523).

Following this, another two years passed before the school could produce its very first graduate a D.J.Williams from the Teacher Training Course (Thompson, 1977:145).

Thompson regards this move toward establishing a training school for the Coloured community as a "bold step forward" (Ibid.,143).

Considering that this school was opened during the lean and arduous years of the Great Depression, such a move could perhaps be understood to be a bold endeavour.

However after making some comparisons with Helderberg College which had opened up just the previous year in 1928, this viewpoint is radically transformed.

While fastidious endeavours were made to secure the best possible location for Helderberg College and thousands of pounds spent to secure the 400 acre site and erect suitable dormitories, dining-rooms, administration buildings, industrial buildings, and classrooms (*African Division Outlook* "Our New Training College and Sanitarium" January 1, 1926), it has already been noted that the school for the Coloured community began in one small room behind the Salt River Church.

From this single room, the training school was transferred in 1930 to "Riverside" a six-acre farm near Athlone in the Cape where the school took the name *Good Hope College (GHC)* the name that it still holds at present (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:523-524).

Conditions at the Coloured school however, especially when compared to the facilities and enormous expenditure undertaken at the European training school (Thompson, 1977:138;140;159;242), remained alarmingly poor.

An old dilapidated farm house on the property was used as classrooms during the day and sleeping quarters at night. This same old farm house also served as the kitchen and girl's dormitory, while the living conditions for the boys, a weather beaten old tent, was not much better (Thompson, 1977:144).

Although the establishment of the first African educational institution began quite a number of years before that of the Coloured constituency, it moved and developed very much along the same lines.

In 1909 the first African training school within the borders of South Africa was opened some 25 miles from Grahamstown and given the name Maranatha Mission (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:151-152; Swanepoel, 1972:125; Van Zyl, 1990:85)).

The training school was destined to remain at this location for the next seven years before it was moved in 1916 to a 300 acre farm, five miles from Butterworth in the Transkei where three years later in 1919 Bethel Training School was opened (Thompson, 1977:110;148; Van Zyl, 1990:111).

Conditions at this location were once again, as at the beginning of the Coloured school, very crude, the first buildings erected consisting simply of small, mud-walled structures with thatched roofs (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976,151).

Under these very primitive conditions student enrolment during this time at Bethel understandably remained small, the school never having more than seventy-five students in attendance (Thompson, 1977:148).

In the year 1928 a great change was however initiated when Spion Kop College moved to its new site in Somerset West.

At this time it was considered expedient by the *African Division* to transfer Bethel Training School to the vacated premises at Spion Kop College, whereupon its name was changed to the *Spion Kop Missionary Institute* ("Memories Bethel College 1982" pg.5. Helderberg College Archives Document file number DF 3003-a).

The move however, from the Transkei to Spion Kop, was clearly not an advantageous one for the mission.

As early as 1926, two years before the school moved to Spion Kop, W.H.Branson, the *African Division* President at the time reported that the efforts at Bethel were taking place under difficult conditions and that it should be moved to Natal. In his report on the envisaged extension of the educational work in South Africa he recorded the following:

"Up to the present time, the mission department of the Union has been carrying on this training work under great difficulty at the Bethel mission station, situate [sic] in the Eastern Province of the Cape. This, however, has always

been considered a temporary location and no proper equipment has been provided for the work of the training school. The Spion Kop school will provide abundant facilities for their work and ought to prove a splendid location for a school of this character [underling added] (*African Division Outlook* "Extension Plans For Our Educational Work" January 1, 1926. pg.2 Helderberg College Archives).

Considering however the numerous difficulties that the European training school had experienced at Spion Kop and that it was moved to Somerset West precisely because it had not proved viable to remain there, the Division President's optimistic description of Spion Kop's location and the decision to move Bethel to this location is very difficult to comprehend.

Once again not many years went by, when in 1937 yet another school move took place. While there had been a slight improvement over the years in student enrolment at the missionary college, the same problems that had plagued Spion Kop College still existed and the decision was finally taken to sell the Spion Kop farm property (Thompson, 1977:170; Van Zyl, 1990:111).

At this time, after almost ten years at Spion Kop, the mission made a full circle and returned to the premises it had occupied before and renamed *Bethel Training College* (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:152).

There is ample evidence that both the Coloured and African schools did in time overcome their very rudimentary beginnings, expanded and grew to be of considerable influence to their respective constituencies.

Thompson goes even so far as to describe the *Good Hope Training School* as an "epitome of strength and vitality for the Coloured community" and a "turning point in the history of the Coloured work" (Thompson, 1977:145).

While the above optimistic remark was certainly true, one cannot but help to wonder however, how many needless moves, wasteful delays and unnecessary expenditures could have been avoided. And more importantly, how much stronger and more advanced the evangelistic work of the denomination might have been for all the different people of this country had the educational work not been run on separate racial lines.

I will attempt to support what I have just stated in the above paragraph by the use of some statistical reports:

STATISTICAL REPORT FOR THE AFRICAN DIVISION 1918-1925

WHITE				NATIVE		
Year	Churches	Members	Baptisms	Churches	Members	Baptisms
1918	29	918	74	22	1247	267
1919	28	953	87	22	1430	207
1920	32	989	48	23	1716	381
1921	32	1119	149	23	2120	627
1922	32	1264	110	35	3159	502
1923	35	1348	145	36	3653	874
1924	40	1538	220	48	4367	881
1925	35	1580	170	59	5306	1355

The statistics in the above table are admittedly of the entire *Africa Division* of which the *South African Union Conference* only constituted a part. What is significant though is the contrast in evidence in both membership growth and baptisms between the "white" and "native" work.

Whereas "white" SDA membership in the entire *Africa Division* had grown by only 662 in seven years, the growth in SDA "native" believers was over 4000 and their baptisms had grown by over one thousand a year.

Trying to derive some answers from the above findings was admittedly no small undertaking and much time could be spent deliberating on the many reasons for this trend.

There is however something significant that I discerned in conjunction with the above statistics and wish to highlight at this time. Namely, that while the training of local teachers and evangelists was begun almost immediately in the mission fields, thus rapidly setting in motion the most vital process of self-propagation, this did not occur at the same pace within the boundaries of South Africa.

In the short section on Solusi College in chapter three, I did not only highlight the educational philosophy that was implemented at the mission station but also stressed how the indigenous people themselves were trained to assist and add impetus to the work begun by the missionaries from South Africa.

The *Africa Division* president himself, referred to this mode of operation:

"Several of our trained teachers had been called to help at other mission stations. By this time we had also baptized 150 natives, who were living devoted lives and our regular attendance at the Sabbath services had reached 300. On Sabbath afternoons some of the teachers and older students would go out and hold meetings in the near-by kraals. In this way we were all sowing the seed for a harvest in the rising generation" [emphasis added] (Branson, 1925:25).

In order to meet the ever increasing demands for trained teachers in the territories to the north of South Africa, the *Africa Division* responded to the challenge by establishing numerous training schools in the initial years of its existence.

In the Zambezi Union Mission no less than three schools were started, Solusi becoming the training school for Southern Rhodesia, Rusango Mission for Northern Rhodesia and Malamulo Mission for Nyasaland (Thompson, 1977:146-150).

Even as new mission fields were opened in the African states further north, the same *modus-operandi* was evident and African training schools were rapidly established in Angola (Bongo Training School), in the Belgian Congo (Katanga Training School) and in Ruanda (Gitwe Mission).

Additional statistics lamentably reveal however, that the process of training non-European SDA evangelists and teachers within the boundaries of South Africa at the same time was proceeding at a much more sedate pace.

It will suffice again to use just one example to substantiate this. The Annual Report of the *Southern African Division* in 1931 dealing once again with items such as the number of workers, number of churches, memberships, and baptisms reveals that:

The Cape Conference had at the time (1931) in its employment, a total of twenty workers. This number consisting of five ordained ministers; six licensed ministers; thirteen licensed missionaries and four other trained workers.

The Cape Coloured ministers, who had by this time had still not formed their own conference, had in contrast, a total tally of only three trained ministers (*Southern African Division Outlook "Annual Report 1931"* May 1, 1932. pg.4 Helderberg College Archives).

To maintain a balanced perspective in this regard, note must be taken of the fact that the ministers of the "white" conferences did not only work exclusively amongst their own people. Many of them were employed by the denomination to labour among those of African and Coloured descent.

The point that this section is trying to emphasize though, is the dire lack that existed of trained indigenous people in South Africa in these early decades, to work amongst their own people, as was happening in the mission fields. This was a process that unquestionably greatly hampered and slowed down the more rapid development of the denomination amongst the African, Coloured and Indian segment of the population in South Africa.

The denomination's stance of maintaining its educational institutions strictly separately, was destined to persist until the mid-1970's when Coloured students were permitted, for the first time since the days of Union College almost seventy years before, to enrol as students at Helderberg College.

Even at this time though, the process towards full integration and whole hearted acceptance moved very slowly. While teaching facilities had been made available to these students, some doors still remained tightly shut.

Some Coloured students still recalled many years later how they had to travel long distances to the college because they were still barred from boarding in the dormitories. Still others remembered how they were at one stage not even permitted to use the college's dining room facilities.

For the African community the doors of Helderberg College were only to be opened some years later, the greatest influx occurring at the beginning of 1991 when all the theological students from Bethel, under circumstances that most administrators still cannot really explain, transferred to Helderberg College to continue their studies.

The transfer of the entire theological faculty from Bethel to Helderberg College was unquestionable a severe blow to the training school in the Transkei. In conjunction with a secondary school that was being run at Bethel, the main emphasis at college level became the training of teachers.

In the years following the transfer of so many students to Helderberg College it appears that the difficulties at Bethel got so severe that there was a great possibility that the school would have to be closed down.

Early in 1995 the *Southern African Union Conference* made their decision known that there were intentions to sell out.

At the Bethel College Alumni Convocation held over the easter weekend of 1995 however, which was attended by over four-hundred former Bethel College students, very strong sentiments were expressed that it would be a serious mistake to take the above step.

As a result several committees were formed in order to investigate how to keep Bethel open, and the school was not closed (*Maranatha "Save Bethel"* December 1995)

2. *Seventh-day Adventist Medical Work: A Prerogative of the European Community*

In similar fashion, the various medical missionary institutions erected at such elaborate costs within the borders of South Africa were once again directed primarily at the European segment of the population.

Besides some old photographs of the sanitariums which shows a solitary African face, who in all probability was merely an employee, there is no evidence that these medical institutions were open to the people of non-European descent.

The only writing in regard to African SDA medical work that I discovered in my research was done by Dr. Geo Thomason the first medical superintendent at the Plumstead Sanitarium:

"We are anxious that as soon as possible the benefit of these principles shall be extended to other classes in this country. The sphere of vision must be enlarged to see the need of suffering humanity of whatever colour or station. Our plans in this respect have not been crystallized into definite shape, but in trying to peep into the future we have seemed to see a little building located in one corner of our grounds devoted to the care and treatment of the coloured [sic] people" (*South African Missionary* Vol. III. July, 1905 pg.2).

In the doctor's words we once again discern concrete evidence of the clear lines that were drawn between peoples of different colour.

It however and very sadly also shows, not only the contempt with which those of non-European descent were regarded, but also the ambiguity that existed in Dr. Thomason's words. How does one understand his aspiration to altruistically enlarge the existing vision of the denomination, with his plan to relegate those that needed treatment to one small corner of the property?

More than three decades were however destined to pass by before Dr. Thomason's aspirations to begin medical work for those of non-European descent become a reality.

By the mid 1930's when the need finally arose to open up a hospital in Sophiatown in western Johannesburg for the African population, a new 60 bed Seventh-day Adventist Hospital called Nokuphila Hospital was built and officially opened on the 14th of October 1936 (Thompson, 1977:184; S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:978).

The name "Nokuphila" which in the Zulu and the Xhosa languages means "The Mother of Health" (*Southern African Division Outlook* "Good News From Nokuphila Hospital" March 15, 1938) was a worthy name for this institution.

The hospital's success went beyond everyone's expectation. In just the first year, over five hundred patients were cared for in the hospital and just as in the case the Claremont Sanitarium four decades before, a dire need soon arose to increase the bed capacity of the hospital (*Southern African Division Outlook* "Good News From Nokuphila Hospital" March 15, 1938).

Over the ensuing two decades, Nokuphila continued to experience substantial success. A nurses' training programme recognized by both the Transvaal Provincial Government and the S.A. Nursing Council was initiated from which numerous African nurses graduated (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1996:184).

As the hospital became better known it also began to receive substantial grants from the Native Affairs Department. In addition to the above grant the Indian community in Johannesburg raised a considerable amount of money to provide the nurses with recreation amenities such as a tennis court and the purchase of a pianoforte (*Southern African Division Outlook* "Nokuphila Hospital Johannesburg" April 1, 1949. pg.3).

More importantly though, the hospital began to acquire a very good reputation. In spite of the close proximity of both the Coronation Non-European Hospital and the Baragwanath Hospital, Nokuphila continued to enjoy an increasing patronage not only from the African population but also from the Coloured and Indian people.

The following statistics discloses the support that the hospital received in 1947 and 1948:

HOSPITAL IN-PATIENTS

	1947	1948
Patients admitted	1,575	1,783
Surgical cases	1,136	1,244
Medical cases	439	539
Beds occupied (Daily average)	41.1	48.75

DISPENSARY OUT-PATIENTS

	1947	1948
Patients treated	13,800	16,939
(Daily average)	44.1	53.9 *

* (*Southern African Division Outlook "Nokuphila Hospital Johannesburg" April, 1 1949*).

In spite of the sterling work that was carried out by the hospital amongst the people of Sophiatown it was tragically a move brought about by the apartheid system in South Africa that would signal its demise.

When the minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Dr Verwoerd, had Sophiatown condemned and issued the order to have it razed to the ground in 1958 (Modesane, 1986:14) it also necessitated the African population's relocation to Soweto.

As a result of this, Nokuphila Hospital was sadly forced to close down (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1996:184; Thompson, 1977:223; Van Zyl, 1990:105).

At a subsequent meeting of the church's leadership in May 1962 decisions on the future of this institution was taken. At this meeting the decision was voted in the following manner:

"that we look forward to the re-establishment of the hospital in a new area that is to be proclaimed as a native township and towards this end we take the following steps:

1. To make application to the Johannesburg City Council for a new site of not less than ten acres in the new native township, which is to be established.
2. That an amount be aside each year from Harvest Ingathering Funds so as to build up a sum that will be available when the appropriate time comes for building.
Further

VOTED: that the above scheme be placed before the Division for their counsel and approval.

3. That in the planning for the new institution steps be taken to provide facilities so that strong soul-winning can be carried forward" (Sub-Committee on SAU Group I and II. May 6, 1962. Helderberg College Archives Document file number 3001).

As in the case of the closure of the Plumstead Sanitarium when the SDA medical missionary work had largely ended amongst the European population in South Africa, once again nothing came of the above decision.

As a result, the closure of Nokuphila Hospital also appears to have sadly signalled the demise of any major SDA medical work amongst the African population in South Africa as well (Thompson, 1977:223).

3. *Racially Divided Organizational Structure*

As with the educational and medical missionary work, the issue of racially separated organizational structures that existed in the SDA church in South Africa once again warrants much consideration.

Prior to 1920, the meagre amount of missionary work carried out both within the borders of South Africa amongst the African, Coloured and Indian people (Thompson, 1977:112) and the missionary work to the north was initially directed and financed by the *South African Conference* and then from 1903 by the *South African Union Conference*.

During all these years from 1887 until 1920, it is significant to note, in contrast to the rapid northern missionary expansion, that only one mission station was established within the South Africa's borders. Namely, Maranatha Mission which as we have already seen was eventually to become known as Bethel Training College (Swanepoel, 1972:125; Thompson, 1977:112).

At the inauguration of the *African Division* though, the SAUC relinquished its responsibilities of leadership in the mission fields to the newly organized *Zambezi Union Mission (ZUM)* which was set up to care of the missions north of the state of South Africa, and the *Southern Union Mission (SUM)* which would take responsibility for missions within the borders of South Africa.

While this took place though, the African Division was still nevertheless introduced as the overall body of organization to direct and co-ordinate the entire church work within the South African Union Conference and the two newly formed "Union Missions." (Thompson, 1977:31).

It is however portions of the constitution of the newly formed Division which appears in Thompson's Dissertation that gives deeper insight into the associations that existed between the members of the different race groups serving the denomination.

It reveals that while the "white" work in South Africa was self-supporting and therefore granted a constitution based on self-government, the "native" or "kaffir" work as it was often termed (Thompson, 1977:35), was not self-supporting and could therefore not be regarded as self-governing.

As a result of the above rationalisation, an invisible yet perceptible dividing line, which would remain in place for more than seventy years, was thus drawn in the Division's form of church government. With the self-supporting, self-propagating "white" conferences under the jurisdiction of the SAUC and the "native" fields coordinated by the SUM.

Only one year later in 1921 though, a decision was taken, firstly for economic reasons and secondly because it was perceived that the church work in South Africa was over-organized, to amalgamate the SAUC and SUM under the name the South African Union Conference (Thompson, 1977:54).

It seemed superfluous to administrators, and rightly so, to have two sets of officers travelling the same territory in South Africa, the one group supervising the African work and the other group supervising the European work. And so as a result, from 1921 only one governing body, namely the SAUC took charge of all the mission work in this country (Thompson, 1977:55).

By 1925 though it had become quite clear to the administrators concerned that the above composition was not advantageous for the greater development of the mission fields in South Africa. The local self-supporting conferences that had taken over the responsibilities for the extension of the work amongst the non-European populations

clearly tending to give more emphasis to the European church work (Thompson, 1977:58)

As a result, the organizational structure once again reverted back to the pre-1920 mode of operation with the mission fields under the jurisdiction of the SAUC but separated from the local "white" conferences.

This action saw the creation of two mission fields namely the *Transvaal-Delagoa Mission Field* (co-ordinating all missionary work to the north) and the *Kaffirland Mission Field* (taking care of the missionary work in the southern part of South Africa) with their headquarters at Bloemfontein and Umtata respectively (Ibid.,56).

It is still imperative at this stage though, to continue to build upon the above racially divided method of church government, by succinctly examining the powers of the African ministry as defined in the *African Division's* constitution. I quote directly from Thompson:

"Native ministers had the right to baptize with the approval of the Mission Field executive committee regarding such candidates for baptism, and could administer the ordinances of the church such as Holy Communion and Foot-Washing. But they were in no case to take precedence over a European church elder, even if he was not ordained" [underlining added] (Thompson, 1977:32).

This patronizing, hierarchical form of church government continued to operate in South Africa for the next sixteen years, until 1936 when the first of several name and headquarter changes were enacted.

At this time, for some reason, the *Transvaal-Delagoa Mission Field* and the *Kaffirland Mission Field* were dissolved and the *North Bantu Field* and the *South Bantu Field* created in their place with their headquarters situated in Johannesburg and East London respectively (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1996:632-633; Thompson, 1977:57,177).

The next major re-organization in the denomination's organizational structure came almost a quarter of a century later in 1960 when yet another innovative, condescending name was conjured up for the still racially divided church organization.

From 1960 "Group I" designated the organizations (*Transvaal, Cape and Oranje-Natal Conferences*) serving the European population and "Group II" (divided at this time into no less than nine fields) caring for all the African population of the same territory.

The year 1965 was to see yet another shuffle and yet another name change to the denomination's existing structures. In November of that year, "Group I" and "Group II" were dissolved in favour of the *South African Union* which undertook responsibility for the work among the White, Coloured and Indian population and the *Southern Union* which administered the work amongst the African population.

Even after much reading and research, besides the name changes, the formation of another union conference and the belief that this was to place greater responsibility upon African leadership, I honestly still could not really fathom the rationality for the denomination's decision to undertake the above actions.

The above arrangement whereby the two unions remained separated was again destined to continue for more than two and a half decades.

Finally in December 1991 at a historic and moving meeting which took place at Helderberg College the two unions amalgamated for the first time in their history to form the *Southern African Union Conference* (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1996:634).

Besides the formal ending of a racially structured organization which had lasted for almost one hundred years, what made this meeting even a greater highlight was that Pastor D.W.B.Chalale was elected to become the first African to head all the work of the denomination in this country (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1996:633).

Even though it may appear that this particular section of this thesis is ending on an optimistic note, there is no question that all is still not well within the existing organizational structures.

Although almost five years have passed since that momentous meeting at Helderberg and the merging of the two upper echelons, only one of the three existing conferences in South Africa, namely the *Oranje-Natal Conference*, has followed their lead.

In November 1994 at a meeting held at Anerley on the Natal south coast, 300 delegates from the *Oranje-Natal Conference* and the *Natal Field* voted to amalgamate and a new, fully integrated conference was formed.

This new conference, initially named *The KwaZulu Natal-Free State Conference* under the presidency of Pastor C.F.Venter would administer the work of the denomination for all the ethnic groups in the two provinces of KwaZulu/Natal and the Free State, with effect from the 1st of January 1995.

At a subsequent meeting in March 1995, because the name for the new conference proved to be too ponderous it was voted:

"To accept the name *Natal-Free State Conference* as the official name of the Conference" (Action No.96 Executive Committee Meeting of the *KwaZulu Natal-Free State Conference*. 12 March 1995).

Up to the time of writing this thesis, the other two conferences namely the *Cape Conference* and the *Transvaal Conference* have still not, even after repeated deliberations, reached the resolution to follow the example of the merged *Natal-Free State Conference*.

One of the main reasons given for the hesitancy to merge at conference level in these two provinces, without going into great detail, appears to be focused upon the envisaged costs and financial implications of such an endeavour.

Whatever the reasons, when all is said and done, the South African denomination's organizational structure is at present, with its apparent lack of assertiveness to be able merge on all levels, undoubtably presenting a most peculiar and indecisive portrait of itself both locally and internationally.

4. *Racially Divided Places of Worship*

With racial separatism so strongly affecting the organizational structures, the educational and medical missionary work, its influence could hardly avoid being felt also in the places of worship.

Nowhere have I found this great rift that existed amongst the SDA believers, who all adhered to the same fundamental beliefs, but who were separated because of skin colour, so poignantly described as in William 'Bloke' Modisane's now unbanned book, *Blame Me on History*.

As one of the team of black writers of the 1950's who created the *Drum* magazine, Modisane was once given an assignment on the question of colour-bar in the Christian churches; the article was to be titled: 'Brothers in Christ?'

Modisane accepted the challenge and with a white photographer ready to record the actions on film he began, in January 1956, to 'infiltrate' the churches of the various Christian denominations in Johannesburg.

The first church he visited was a Dutch Reformed Church in Troyeville. The service had hardly begun when he was forcefully evicted, a pattern which was to be repeated over and over again in almost every one of the fifteen white Christian churches he entered.

One of the churches on Modisane's list was the English Seventh-day Adventist Church in Johannesburg (Unfortunately no other details given).

Modisane writes that he remembers gaining a little courage when he heard that it was an English church. He however records the reception at the church in the following manner:

"On Saturday morning in my newly pressed suit we went to the Seventh-day Adventist church which was not very difficult to steal myself into through a side entrance...I threw my antenna to feel out the slightest hostility to my presence, but it was like trying to feel for something in a vacuum. There was no contact. Then I felt the warm breath on the back of my ear, the voice whispered: 'This is a white church, there's a Seventh-day Adventist church for natives in Sophiatown.'

'Yes I know,' I said, brushing his objections aside, 'but I want to worship here.'

I leaned forward out of the reach of his whispering voice which was breathing warm into my ear, and peered into my Bible. After a few more attempts which were ignored he rose from his seat and walked over to the main entrance to return with one of the elders who was a member of the welcoming committee; there were no polite insinuations in his voice. I was not wanted.

'I'm asking you to leave.'

I was determined that if I was not wanted it was their responsibility to have me thrown out, I was not prepared to co-operate with them for the benefit of my own expulsion; but their determination was very discreet, almost like helping a blind man across the street-you hold his hand firmly and steer him across the street...

In the editorial conference of the next week it was decided that one reporter could only attend two services, that joined by another reporter the story would receive a wider coverage in church attendance; Can Temba was invited to join me in the assignment, and he immediately proved luckier than I was, his personality invited a more violent reaction, in one church, than I had managed in mine...

His first church of call was revisit to the Seventh-Day Adventist church; brash and bubbling with bravado, Can whistled his way to the main entrance and into the hands of a hostile, enormous Christian who with two other hallooed [sic] for help and manhandled the black intruder into a waiting car; and as they were forcing him into it his head knocked against the top of the car causing a flow of blood. He was taken to the Marshall Square Police Station and charged with trespassing and allowed out on bail" , (Modisane, 1986:195-200).

These two incidents which took place in the mid-1950's in one SDA church in Johannesburg cannot of course speak for each and every white SDA congregation. It does nevertheless give deeper insight of the animosity that many "white" SDA Christians had against any people of non-European descent and how they resented any 'intrusion' by these people into their places of worship.

The saddest part of the above report though, is that even if Modisane had happened to be a member of the Seventh-day Adventist church there was no question that he would have been evicted out of his own church in the same brusque manner, by fellow Seventh-day Adventist believers purely because of this skin colour.

On the eve of the *General Conference* session in New Orleans in 1985 the President of the *General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists*, Niel Wilson, released a statement on racism in which he declared:

"The Seventh-day Adventist Church deplores all forms of racism, including the political policy of apartheid with its enforced segregation and legalized discrimination" (*Adventist Review*, November 14, 1985. pg.2).

Although the above statement was issued from the highest controlling body of the church and although more than a decade has gone by since the *General Conference's* declaration, the church in this country has remained totally inactive in combating racism in South Africa.

Never have I come across a single document or any record of any European South African SDA minister or administrator that ever took an emphatic public stand on behalf of those who were being discriminated against and oppressed both within the church and in society.

Lamentably, neither has there been a public confession forthcoming, as the Dutch Reformed Church has recently done at the Rustenberg Conference in 1991, from the SDA Church (Louw, Chikane, 1991:179;261).

Firstly admitting, as Professor Willie Jonker from the DRC did at Rustenburg, that the Seventh-day Adventist church with its own system of racial segregation has wronged people in the past. And secondly, avowing to those who have suffered during the long years of suffering and deprivation in so many different ways because of such sinful practices, that it will never happen again.

To the above statements there are bound to be those who will ask: It is really necessary for the church's leadership to make the above type of confession?

My response to such a rejoinder is short and to the point. What difference was there really in these racialistic actions that were performed in many of the Seventh-day Adventist churches and the blatant racial segregation brought about by Verwoerd's notorious 'Church Clause' of 1957 which was specifically designed to impose racial segregation in the worship services of the Christian churches?

VIII. *FAILURE OF THE CHURCH TO ADAPT
 TO THE LOCAL SOUTH AFRICAN SITUATION*

A. *No Dutch Ministers Available to be
 Sent to South Africa*

The speed with which the church had begun in South Africa and its extremely rapid deployment inevitably carried in its wake another factor that would adversely affect the denomination's more propitious development.

When Pieter Wessels and George van Druten had first written to the *General Conference* at Battle Creek to send a Dutch minister to South Africa to teach them all the facets of Seventh-day Adventism, the Adventist message had not yet spread to Holland and trained Dutch SDA ministers were not as yet available to be sent as foreign missionaries (Swanepoel, 1972:10).

Therefore, because there were no other ministers, the GC sent two American, English speaking missionaries and two literature evangelists to South Africa instead (Van Zyl, 1990:72).

In the light of the paucity of Dutch speaking ministers, a deep farsightedness and sagacity is once again evident in the missionary mandate that the first missionaries received when they arrived in South Africa. Part of that letter alluding to the notion that the South African denomination was to as soon as possible begin to make full use of the indigenous people in the running of its programmes:

"No one man's ideas, one man's plans, are to have a controlling power in carrying forward the work. One is not to stand apart from the others and make his plans and ideas the criterion for all the workers. There is to be with individual members sent forth together, a board for counsel together. One is not to stand apart from the others and argue his own ways and plans, for he may have an education

in a certain direction and possess certain traits of character which will be detrimental to the interests of the work if allowed to become a controlling power" [underlining added] (White, 1977:8).

This admonishment is admittedly not spelt out in the missiological terminology we are now so familiar with. In it however, if we read between the lines, is unquestionably not only the first indication that the new missionaries and future denominational leaders were not to take all decision making and responsibility upon themselves, but also that they were to begin to employ those from the local culture. This initiating the process whereby the South African church would eventually become self-governing, self supporting, and self propelling.

B. Deep Discontent Arises Amongst the Dutch Believers

A scrutiny of the denomination's annals reveals that this admonishment was never really adhered to and implemented especially in the early years of its existence in South Africa (Van Zyl, 1990:72).

The failure to move in this direction is evident as early as 1890 at the Third General Meeting of Seventh-day Adventists in South Africa.

Amongst all the concerns that were raised at this meeting was the need for a Dutch worker for the church and for additional literature in the vernacular Dutch language (Swanepoel, 1972:23).

It is the correspondence that has survived though that once again reveals some of the strong national feelings that were emerging during this period of time.

The following letter was written only some six years after the first missionaries had arrived in South Africa:

"...And I can see myself that a great deal needs to be done especially among our Holland Nationality [sic]...There [sic] is our Holland Field. It is so to say a vacant field. And Every one [sic] of that nationality who can work, ought to assist their people...Our English bretheren [sic] seem hardly to realize our needs...Some questeons [sic] have arisen regarding the Holland work to need more attention.

This my bretheren [sic] cannot see. But this does not rectify the matter. Whether we cannot see someting [sic] when the need is there and is felt" [underlining added] (Letter written by Phillip Wessels to Ellen G White. January 14, 1893. Letter number 0002 Helderberg College Archives. Document file number DF 506).

Four years later, things in this regard had apparently still not ameliorated for we read again:

"...but what about the Dutch work is the question. Hardly anything is done for them" (Letter written by Pieter Wessels to Ellen G White. April 26, 1897. Letter number 0013 Helderberg College Archives. Document file number DF 506).

These ominous feelings of discontentment that had arisen amongst the Dutch SDA believers in South Africa had apparently become so evident that the rumblings even reached America, compelling the *General Conference* to take a hand in the matter (Swanepoel, 1972:89).

In an attempt to get to the root of the problem the GC called in Professor WW Prescott the Educational Secretary of the *General Conference* who had already spent some time in South Africa (Ibid., 35-36) to give them some added insight into the prevailing situation.

In his report Prescott noted, amongst other factors that were detrimental to the denomination's development, that there existed a conflict between the indigenous development of the church in South Africa and the doctrinal and organizational concepts that had been "imported" from America.

"The church", in Prescott's opinion, "needed careful instruction and exceptionally stable leadership, in order to develop along orthodox lines" (Ibid., 89).

In an attempt to rectify this situation Asa Robinson, who had evidently aroused some animosity with the local people was moved to Australia and replaced by William Hyatt.

This was unfortunately not a very favourable time for an American to take the office as the new *South African Conference* President (Robinson, n.d.:112).

He not only arrived on the eve of severe financial difficulties for the church but also at a time when nationalistic feelings were running very high as a result of the impending war between Britain and South Africa.

This chapter has already taken note that the organization was not only short of funds to pay all their workers but also had to undertake the unpleasant task to curtail some the conference's workforce. As a result of financial reforms that he tried to introduce, Hyatt understandably became even more unpopular with the local people in South Africa (Swanepoel, 1972:90).

At some stage several Dutch church members even begun to withhold their tithe from the conference because they felt that not enough was being done for the Dutch part of the community, further intensifying the financial predicament that the denomination was facing.

C. The Dire Lack of Locally Trained People

A very legitimate question will no doubt arise at this stage in response to the above allegations. Namely, remembering that the church did not yet have any trained Dutch workers and still had such a small work force to meet the needs of so many people in this country, what other course of action was open to the church leadership at the time?

On a deeper level though, the dilemma was clearly not merely about a meagre workforce. And then, as ambiguous as what the following may sound, neither was it about the paucity of ministers from Holland.

It was wrapped up in the church's direct failure or inability most especially in the early years to indigenise or adapt its various modes of operation to the ways of the Dutch and then later to the Afrikaans people of South Africa. It can never be discounted that even if there had been Dutch ministers available, who of course were still not South Africans, that could have also failed to meet the needs of the local people.

The outlook on life of the Dutch South Africans understandably differed considerably from that of the Americans, and they felt that not enough was being given to provide worship experiences, sermons and religious literature in their own dialect.

In the light of the denomination's missionary experiences and actions in Europe just two decades before there exists once again a mystifying oversight on behalf of the church's leadership.

Chapter two has already taken note that when the *General Conference* received the tidings in 1872 that Czechowski's labours had generated an interest in Switzerland they did not immediately send missionaries.

Initially they invited James Erzenberger a theological student from Basel and then a short while later Albert Vuilleumier a recognized leader in the local indigenous Swiss SDA community and his brother Ademar (Spalding, 1962:199), to come to America to not only become better acquainted with Seventh-day Adventism but to receive the necessary training.

These local Swiss believers once properly trained and thoroughly prepared in theology, English and in the evangelistic sciences (Spalding, 1962:9) were then sent back to Switzerland as ministers of the Seventh-day Adventist faith going on to become pillars of strength in their communities (Ibid.,42).

Spalding makes it very clear that by the time that JN Andrews, the first official SDA missionary set foot in Europe, much effort had already been made by both Vuilleumier and Erzenberger, resulting in some solid SDA foundations already being layed in Switzerland (Spalding, 1962:204).

Although there were still no headquarters, no directing head and no buildings by 1874, the work had been inaugurated by these local people and already several companies of SDA believers had been raised.

Shortly after Andrews had arrived in Europe two conference meetings were held, the first one in November 1874 and the second in January 1875 with the six companies of believers represented.

After these meetings it is most enlightening to note not only of the rapid success with which the SDA message began to spread across the European continent, but more specifically of the fact that Andrews worked in close conjunction with Erzenberger who spoke German and Swiss and was acquainted with the customs of the local people (Ibid., 205-208).

Although the work in South Africa had begun in 1887 just a short while (fifteen years) after the denomination's entry into Europe, it was to enigmatically take a very different pattern.

In my research I came across no recorded invitations for Dutch men and women to come and receive the necessary training at the educational academies in America.

And then sadly, even deep into the twentieth century in almost every area of the denomination's work, whether in the medical, educational, printing fields there appeared to be a reluctance to place local people at the head.

This is also true in the organizational make-up of the South African denomination where it becomes evident that for many many years the presidents of the local conferences, unions conference and even of the *African Division* were not local South African or even African people.

At the turn of the century it appears that the Anglo-Boer War helped to stimulate such strong nationalistic feelings among the Dutch that there was talk that the time had come to establish a purely Dutch speaking SDA church (Swanepoel, 1972:93).

In the year 1900, AG Daniells, a future president of the *General Conference* was also mandated to go and study the situation in South Africa.

While he was in South Africa he made extensive recommendations for the re-organization of the denomination's organizational structures and employment of its workers.

Again for some reason, as had already happened so many times before, these "American" recommendations to the church in South Africa were either slighted or just never put into practice (Swanepoel, 1972:90).

While such a Dutch SDA church community was never formed and Swanepoel elaborates on the subsequent growth of the Dutch speaking community as from the year 1905 (Ibid.,100-109) some of these experiences left deep wounds that were to surface again with devastating effect.

In the late 1960's an Afrikaans speaking Conference was finally formed in the Transvaal by a group who severed themselves from the *Transvaal Conference* because they felt that their needs as Afrikaners were not being met [This particular issue will be fully dealt with in my Doctoral studies in 1997].

The church's failure to properly adapt firstly to the Dutch and then to the Afrikaans segment of the South African population must once again be regarded as yet another disabling factor in its development in South Africa.

D. Strong Antagonism Arises Against the Church

Some historians have rightly noted that it was its interpretation of certain features of Christianity in the strongly Dutch Reformed Church community that made things so difficult for the church.

One these features was unquestionably the denomination's theological interpretation on the holiness of the Seventh-day Sabbath (the reverence of Saturday as the Sabbath instead of Sunday).

Other discrepancies that the SDA faced included the strong stance that the SDA church took against the doctrine of predestination, the practice of infant baptism, and the immortality of the soul, these all being ardent beliefs in the strictly Calvinistic church in South Africa

While the above is certainly true, Swanepoel makes a very relevant point when he states that it was also its essentially American character that placed it in such a difficult position and incited so much prejudice against it. And for this reason, Swanepoel adds, "It is not surprising that the church membership grew rather slowly" (Swanepoel, 1972:78-79).

In 1892 the prestige of the "foreign" SDA church was dealt a telling blow when some lengthy debates took place in Paarl between itself and the Dutch Reformed Church (Ibid.,82).

The background to this debate is most intriguing. For many years I had heard the story circulating amongst church members that the President of the *Zuid Afrikaanse Republiek* Paul Kruger had been approached by Gert Scholtz, a relative of Pieter Wessels, on the issue of Sabbath (Saturday) worship.

A recent visit to the archives in Cape Town confirms this meeting between Scholtz and the president.

In the book *Memoirs and Reminiscences* Sir John Gilbert Kotzé at a time Chief Justice of the High Court of the South African Republic records their meeting in the following words:

"Mr Kruger was rather given to applying biblical illustrations to mundane affairs and often displayed great ingenuity in the practice of this habit, for he was thoroughly at home with his Bible. On one of my weekly visits to him he handed me a pamphlet, which he had written and published for the purpose of converting the teaching of a certain Mr. Scholtz or Schulz, who lived in the western border of the Transvaal and preached the doctrine that the true Sabbath was on Saturday, the last day of the week, not on Sunday. On presenting me with this pamphlet he asked me to read it carefully and give him my opinion at our next meeting. When we met again we discussed the matter in which the President was so much interested. I told him that so far as I could venture to express an opinion, there could be no doubt or controversy in the question. It was plain that while the Jewish Sabbath was fixed and observed on the Saturday or the last day of the week, the Christian Sabbath had, ever since the establishment of the Christian Church, been fixed and held on Sunday. This seemed to satisfy Mr. Kruger, and our conversation then took a more secular turn" (Kotze, n.d.:126-127).

It was in all probability this pamphlet written in High Dutch, *Open Brief van S.J.P. Kruger aan G.D.J. Scholtz*, that set the scene for the debate between Scholtz and the Reverend S.J. du Toit the editor of *Die Patriot* and a strong advocate of the teachings of the Gereformeerde Kerk.

The debate was far from a haphazard venture. Swanepoel records:

"Everything was carefully planned: rules, mutually agreed upon by both parties, were published and adhered to; each of the opponents had a moderator, whom they had named who could decide on matters of conflict which arose during the debate; the basis of the debate was to be the word of God, accepted by both parties as the unfailing authority; the debate would be carefully reported, and this report, after being corrected by both parties would be published" (Swanepoel, 1972:80).

Reverend du Toit had by this time not only received numerous letters requesting information on the SDA church but the impending debate itself had also generated a considerable interest especially in the town of Paarl.

Matters unfortunately did not proceed favourably for the SDA church during the five-evening debate from August 29 to September 2, 1892. All of Scholtz's enthusiasm could just not measure up to du Toit's logically presented arguments and the key questions that he was asked to respond to.

Swanepoel records some of Scholtz's discouraging comments on the first evening of the debate. Clearly sensing that he was unable to effectively respond to du Toit's challenges, at some time in the debate, Scholtz addressed the audience with the following words:

"Ik kan niet tot u spreken zooals de vorige spreker, want ik heb geen geleerheid, maak wat ik weet heeft God de Heer door Zijnen Heiligen Geest mij geleerd" (Swanepoel, 1972:81-82).

*Translation "I cannot speak as well as the previous speaker for I do not have an adequate education, but I know what Almighty God has taught me through the Holy Spirit"

The case for the SDA church's teachings were in fact to become even more suspect after the debate both for the local people in Paarl and the surrounding districts when Scholtz appears to have emigrated to the United States with bothering to present his final summary for publication.

As a result of this debate, Paarl and the surrounding areas was virtually shut for any entry by the Adventist church for the next three and half decades.

It was not only this debate that blemished the name of the church. At this time numerous books and articles were published in the vernacular languages in South Africa, warning the local people against what they termed the "deceptive" teachings of the SDA church.

These deleterious articles which came at a time when the SDA church had neither a printing press in operation, nor people proficient enough in the vernacular language capable to convincingly respond to the attacks, unquestionably made deep inroads into its effectiveness to reach the Dutch people of South Africa in the early decades of the twentieth century.

*E. Lack of Support for SDA Education in
South Africa From the Local Constituencies*

Before leaving this section on the failure of the church to adapt to the local South African context, reference must be also made to the adverse influence that it had upon Claremont Union College.

In conjunction with the college's inadequate leadership, its apparent inability to carry out the educational philosophy of the denomination effectively, there was an additional factor that was to put the school in a very unfavourable light with the local community. Namely, whether the school board should or should not allow the students to write the South African government matriculation examinations.

The local constituency were in favour of their children writing these exams. The American teachers though, with their mentality still very much in the mould of the early Adventist believers just after the Great Disappointment in 1844, thought differently (Thompson, 1977:155).

They reasoned that because Christ was coming soon, matriculation was of little value and that students should be prepared to go quickly into the mission fields and proclaim the Gospel instead.

As a result of such thinking the college not only lost the confidence of the small SDA church membership but that of the public as well. Robinson records that in only the second year of the school's existence such actions precipitated a severe drop in student enrolment (Robinson, n.d.:74).

Peter Wessels himself wrote of his intentions for the education of his children:

"...I am thinking of sending the elder boy to Battle Creek...our school here is not up to much. I am afraid it is not the head but rather the tail" (Letter of Pieter Wessels to Ellen G.White. April 26, 1897. Helderberg College Archives Letter number 0013 Document file DF 506).

Sixteen long years were in fact destined to pass by before the school consented to allow its students to sit and write the matriculation examinations for the first time. This occurred in 1908 with the arrival of C.P.Crager as principal who believed that it was possible to prepare students both for government examination and service for the church (Robinson, n.d.:82).

Crager's actions together with his strong leadership boosted the confidence at school to such an extent that by 1910, for the first time in many years, it was once again operating with a full student capacity (Swanepoel, 1972:176).

The move to Spioen Kop though appears to have abruptly curtailed this course of action and in its first year the matriculation examinations were once again done away with (Swanepoel, 1972:180; Thompson, 1977:156).

In the post 1921 period at Spion Kop when the college was upgraded to the status of a junior college it appears that the secondary school did offer schooling up to standard X. These students though, still did not sit for the government examinations (Thompson, 1977:155).

The matriculation issue was however destined to surface again when the educational programme was being redrafted for the intended move to Helderberg. A large delegation was drawn up to study this question. The decision taken though, was not to incorporate the matriculation syllabus into the secondary school programme (Thompson, 1977:156).

In 1935 the matriculation course was re-introduced once again but only on a voluntary basis.

For the next twenty-two years this issue was allowed to lie dormant without much encouragement given to the students to sit for the government examination. The fear was once again that this would impose undue hardship upon the students or that they would lose their spirituality.

Finally in 1957 the first South African principal in the history of Helderberg College allowed the entire matriculating class to sit for the National Senior certificate.

Out of a class of twenty in 1957 all but two students passed while the following year the entire class passed their matric examinations.

Thompson is once again very emphatic when he states that one of the reasons why the student enrolment never kept pace with the development of the physical plant in the mid-1950's was in fact this persistent reluctance of some administrators to promote and encourage the students to enter for the government examinations (Thompson, 1977:243).

IX. THE SAUC FORCEFULLY SEPARATED FROM THE TRANS-AFRICA DIVISION

A. The Reorganization of the Denomination's Work in Africa

In 1967, just three years after the *Trans-Africa Division's* headquarters had been moved from Claremont to Salisbury, Robert H. Pierson who was then the *General Conference* President began to receive an increasing amount of correspondence indicating the need for providing a more contemporary organization for the development of the denomination's work in Africa.

Over the ensuing decade and a half, numerous committees were established to consider the various possibilities to better structure the denomination's work on the African continent.

Some of recommendations that were received led to the establishment of a new division in 1970. This division was formed by uniting the *East African Union*, the *Ethiopian Union*, and the *Tanzania Union* and became known as the *Afro-Mideast Division* (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:19).

The formation of the *Afro-Mideast Division*, along with the *Trans-Africa Division*, and the *Euro-Africa Division*, and the *Northern Europe-West Africa Division*, brought the number of divisions operating in Africa up to four.

In later years correspondence was however still forthcoming from Africa, this time calling for the *General Conference* to establish a fifth division consisting only of the French-speaking Unions situated in Central Africa.

In March 1973 the *General Conference* president once again visited Africa and a committee was organized to study the matter under question.

Three months later in June 1973 a recommendation from the committee approved the formation of another division in Africa which would become known as the *West Equatorial-Central Africa Division*.

Part of the above committee's report also suggested some adjustments in the existing African Divisions in order to make up this new French speaking Division.

Political instability and deteriorating military conditions in the regions of Central Africa at the time however, led to a postponement of any actions being taken on the above recommendations.

Deliberations however still did not cease as concerns from the African states persisted. As a result two more major meetings were held. The first one, the Consultation on African Affairs met in Cairo in June 1977 during which plans were made to open up a French-speaking college in Rwanda.

The second meeting, a Consultation on African Division Reorganization, was held in Abidjan from April 30 to May 2, 1979. Some conclusions eventually reached as a result of the above deliberations in Abidjan included the following:

I. "...The contributions of leaders and missionaries from Europe are largely responsible for the significant advance of the Adventist message among the people of the African continent. General Conference leaders believe, however, that the time has now come when new political and social conditions in Africa require a new stage of development and that Seventh-day Adventist work in Africa should now be administered from headquarters located in Africa. Following are some of the reasons leading to that conclusion:

- A. The present arrangement, in which three out of the four divisions under which the Africa union conferences are organized are located outside of the African continent, is unfortunate in terms of the political [sic] and social conditions in Africa. Many regard this arrangement as an aspect of hold-over colonialism, which may give rise to antagonism toward the Seventh-day Adventist Church on the part of some African citizens and government officials. Many Africans already look upon the Seventh-day Adventist Church as a "foreign church," dominated by foreigners. Every year that goes by makes it increasingly inappropriate for work in Africa to be directed from European or Middle East-based division headquarters.
- B. Seventh-day Adventist membership has grown more rapidly in the African part of these divisions than the European part, thus rendering it appropriate that the administrative offices be located in Africa where the largest part of the membership resides; this would enable the administrative and departmental leadership to live near the majority of the membership to serve them better. This will result in further strengthening of the Seventh-Day Adventist work in Africa.
- C. It would be more economical to administer our work in Africa from headquarters in Africa [sic]...
- D. African Seventh-day Adventists need to accept increasing responsibility for the financial support of our existing work and for the advancement of our work into new areas. The committee felt that the African members would respond more favourably to accepting

this responsibility if the direction of the work in Africa is located in Africa, and if Africans are given increasing responsibility in leadership roles within local missions, unions, and the division..." (Consultation on African Division Reorganization Abidjan, April 30 to May 2 1979. pgs.7-9. Helderberg College Archives Document file number DF 3000).

In the light of the above conclusions, the President's Executive Advisory of the General Conference also recommended the separation of the *South African Union Conference* and the *Southern Union* from the *Trans-Africa Division*.

Following the above consultation the General Conference representatives met with the *Trans-Africa Division* Committee six days later on May 8 1979.

B. *The Trans-Africa Division Oppose the Separation*

A week after the meeting with the General Conference the Trans-Africa Division submitted its own memorandum to the General Conference in Washington on the proposed Division re-alignment.

The memorandum not only included the surprise reaction from the TAD Committee at the General Conference's decision to sever the SAUC and Rhodesia from the Division, but also inserted some very forceful statements to the effect that it would be most detrimental to put this enforced separation into action.

In what is about to follow are some of these recommendations from the TAD Committee made the General Conference in this regard:

They stated that although the *South African Union Conference* had the least amount of churches in the Division and almost the smallest membership, its tithe income was twice that of three East African and two Portuguese-speaking Unions combined. They included in their memorandum the table below.

<u>Union</u>	<u>Churches</u>	<u>Membership</u>	<u>1977 Tithe Income US \$</u>	<u>1977 Tithe Per Capita</u>
South African	167	16,446	* 2,730,323	181.37
South East African	202	38,646	68,305	1.90
Southern	190	14,696	326,295	23.64
Zambezi	267	47,034	453,240	10.77
Zambia	190	28,845	195,296	7.85
Total	1,016	145,667	3,773,459	26.84

SDA Membership Density - 3.2 per 1000 population (1:313)

Secondly the memorandum decried the fact that separation would be injurious to the denomination in South Africa in several ways. I quote from the document itself:

4.1 "It would lead to a feeling of rejection and isolation in the hearts and minds of our membership which would adversely affect the progress and support of the Church program [sic]. Especially affected would be two Unions with the largest per capita tithe and mission offering income on the continent.

4.2 In the unfortunate event that the Church in the South would be separated as envisioned in the African Consultation Committee proposals, another important factor which deserves careful consideration by that Committee is the inherent danger of the resurgence and development of splinter movements that would seriously jeopardize the relationships of the work in the South with the GC...

4.3 Separation breeds suspicion. Only as people freely associate with one another is there understanding and appreciation of each other's culture and point of view.

4.4 The countries of Lesotho and Swaziland, which fall within the territory of the Southern Union, are sovereign independent states belonging to the OAU. These countries surrounded physically by South Africa, would object to being isolated from the Church in Africa.

4.5 Isolation of Rhodesia and South Africa would deprive South Africa of a mission field outlet. Such a step would adversely affect a section of the church community which, in recent times, has experienced a revived interest in the world mission of the church. To stifle this would plunge the membership of South Africa into constricted and disastrous preoccupation with self. The Church in South Africa has fulfilled a leading role in the pioneering and subsequent development of the work in the territories to the north, Many workers from South Africa are currently serving in the territories outside of its borders.

4.6 The world is erecting walls of separation around South Africa. By isolating it from the World Field, the church in South Africa, not to mention the governments of the states concerned, would be led to conclude that the leadership of the Seventh-day Adventist Church is joining hands in adding to the already evident political, economic and social boycott--a reprehensible spiritual embargo".

After making some alternative recommendations to the ones suggested in Abidjan the TAD's memorandum concluded with the following words:

"Careful and prayerful study by the TAD Committee has led to the conviction that the proposals put forward at Abidjan do not reflect the sentiments of the Unions in the TAD which are involved in the realignment. To separate Southern Africa from the rest of the continent would cost more in loss of faith and support than would be the gains envisioned..." [underlining added] (Memorandum from the Trans-Africa Division 1979 Mid-Year Committee on the Proposed Division Re-alignment Held at Blantyre, Malawi May 15, 1979. pgs.1-6)

C. *The South African Denomination Ostracized
From the Eastern African Division*

The response from the *General Conference* to the *TAD* came via the Division President at the time, Merle Mills, in July 1979. In a letter addressed to the *Trans-Africa Division* Committee he succinctly stated the GC's decision.

"Our brethren in Washington held several meetings and gave careful and sympathetic study to this memorandum. After considerable discussion they re-affirmed their position that there must only be two divisions on the continent of Africa. It was felt that to have one division for the French-speaking and West Africa unions, and two mini or compact divisions for the East African countries and the *Trans-Africa Division* would not be satisfactory...

In harmony with this concept it is being recommended at the coming Annual Council that there still be two divisions in Africa along the same territorial lines as had been discussed. One division would consist of the Central Afric [sic] and West Africa unions; and the other, the Afro-Mideast and *Trans-Africa* divisions being merged into one" (*General Conference Response to TAD Memorandum on Re-organization. July 3, 1979. Helderberg College Archives Document File number DF 3000*).

The above response from the *General Conference* carrying a note of finality appears to have effectively ruled out any possibility of further dialogue with the *TAD*.

In 1983, when the *Trans-Africa Division* was finally dissolved and the *Eastern African Division (EAD)* formed, both the *South African Union Conference* and the *Southern Union* were left out of the Divisional structure and administered directly from Washington by the *General Conference*.

It is most interesting to return just one more time, before this section is concluded, to a recommendation made by the *TAD* to the *General Conference* in 1979, that I intentionally omitted before and only added at this particular point:

4.7 "It must be kept in mind that the separation of Southern Africa from the Africa Division would result in the reduction of Helderberg College from a Division Institution to a Union school. Solusi College, the pioneer mission school would cease to serve the Division. The Sentinel Publishing Association would likewise also be adversely affected. The effect on these institutions by having their constituencies reduced would result in serious financial problems and in turn would create a great financial burden for the church" [underlining added] (Memorandum from the Trans-Africa Division 1979 Mid-Year Committee on the Proposed Division Re-alignment Held at Blantyre, Malawi May 15, 1979. pg.4).

D. South African Denomination Suffers

As a Result of the Separation from the Division

The above recommendation, with specific reference to the underlined section, shows once again how much better those in Africa could read and understand the local situation. Not many years passed before their sensibility was revealed. The institution that suffered the most as a result of the GC's action appears to be the *Sentinel Publishing Association*.

A preceding section has already dealt with the development of the SPA and very specifically stressed the adverse financial predicament that it faced. This thesis has however reached the placed where it can eventually fully reveal the dire straits that the publishing house really found itself in, and why the original premises had to be sold.

Although antagonism was in evidence against South Africa for a number of years before its separation from the division because of the political situation in the country, the SPA, which incidentally was still being run by the division, had still managed to keep its markets to the north alive.

When the SA denomination was however ostracized from the *Eastern Africa Division* in 1983 the door was finally slammed shut and it lost all its markets to the north. To say that this was a terrible blow to the SPA is a gross understatement.

Being the only large publishing house in the division it could, by supplying printed material to the north, continue to generate capital which was so necessary for it to pay back the enormous loans it had taken from the General Conference. When this avenue was no longer available and its market was suddenly reduced to only the South African denomination the writing finally appeared on the wall for the publishing house.

The loss of the SPA's northern markets after the separation from the division was however only one of the detrimental consequences that it experienced.

For all the years that the South African denomination (this includes all the conferences and fields) had been under the jurisdiction of the division, it was the division that had taken care of the retirement schemes for its workers.

When the separation took place it necessitated a reallocation of these funds that had been built up over a period of more than sixty years. Without going into a great amount of detail, it will suffice to say that even after this monetary redistribution, the SDA organization, now having to also take care of a pension scheme for its workers, was once again faced with a major fiscal dilemma.

Part of some of the corrective measures taken by the church's leadership meant that the all various conferences and their respective denominational institutions had to plan to establish their own retirement schemes for their workers.

This was understandably no easy undertaking! There were scores of workers with many years of experience which required an enormous amount of money having to be paid in to this scheme by the various organizations.

This of course also applied, even though it was still attached to the division, to the SPA. Because it was already experiencing such financial difficulties with debt repayments there was little chance that the publishing house could raise the necessary funds which would cover the pension of its retired and retiring workers.

There appeared only one way out for the publishing house and the division eventually took the decision to sell the building. By doing this they were hoping to sell at a lucrative price and thereafter use the profit from the sale to cancel some of their debts, establish its pension fund and build another factory elsewhere.

Lamentably, we have already taken note that the events that transpired only served to drive it into further difficulty compelling the publishing house to sell off their large four-colour printer, cut down its staff and take its work load to the barest minimum.

The SAUC and SUC's separation from the EAD was to not only foster a financial burden for some its institutions though and drive the SPA to ruin, it also seriously affected the greater growth and development of the denomination in Southern Africa. The Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia is actually very emphatic on this issue and states:

"The remaining constituencies of the Trans-Africa Division, along with part of the Afro-Mideast Division, became the Eastern Africa Division. This marked the close of a 19-year history of a remarkable period of growth of development" (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1996:788).

X. THE DENOMINATION'S TRANSITION FROM A DYNAMICALLY DRIVEN MOVEMENT TO AN INSTITUTIONALISED CHURCH

A. Evangelistically Driven Seventh-day Adventism

Notwithstanding all the reversals and adversities that the denomination encountered and the diatribes that were directed against it by other religious groups in South Africa it was still characterized, most especially during the first six to seven decades of its existence in this country, as an evangelistically driven church (Swanepoel, 1972:34).

It is quite appropriate to begin by saying that when Ira J. Hankins came to the unknown shores of South Africa for the first time in 1888, he chose to draw his bearings upon a white speck which he thought was probably Robinson's evangelistic tent. And that is exactly what it turned out to be (Swanepoel, 1972:16; Robinson, n.d.:12).

This first public tent meeting in Cape Town, along with the one erected at the same time in Kimberley (Swanepoel, 1972:13) were to set a precedent for the South African SDA evangelists as they assertively adopted techniques and strategies very similar to those practised by the preachers of the Millerite Movement in the early nineteenth century in America (Ibid.,51).

Precisely one hundred years ago in 1896, Camp Meetings, another avenue employed with great success both by the Millerites and early Seventh-day Adventist Church in America, also made its appearance in South Africa.

In January of that year the first Seventh-day Adventist Camp Meeting to be held in this country was held in the suburb of Mowbray in the Cape.

It is once again most important to take note that these Camp Meetings, which were entirely new to the South African scene (Ibid.,51), did not only cater for the spiritual needs of Seventh-day Adventist believers but were also structured for evangelistic purposes (Ibid.,52).

The different Camp Meeting tents would be pitched to cater for the various activities or programmes offered, which often lasted for more than ten days. The main tent, usually the largest one, would be used for the main meetings where there would be at least two preaching services every day. Then there were also special tents for youth and children's meetings, tents for the display and sale of Christian literature, and the various tents of course for accommodation, ablution and for dining purposes.

It is once again very intriguing to read of the interest that these early SDA meetings generated amongst the South African public. Swanepoel records not only that special trains had to be scheduled at reduced fares to bring the many people who wished to attend the Camp Meetings, but also that these meetings were usually accompanied by a very festive atmosphere (Swanepoel, 1972:53).

These Camp Meetings and public campaigns which were held at various cities around the country did not only give Seventh-day Adventism great public exposure (Ibid.,37) but many people, some going on to become prominent leaders in the church, joined the ranks of the denomination as a result of them (Ibid.,16).

*B. The Denomination makes its
Position known through the Press*

As a result of such public exposure during the 1890's even the local newspapers of the time not only regularly contained news of the church's activities but also commented favourably on the denomination's college that had been erected in Claremont.

Throughout 1892 and 1893 the *Cape Argus* even published, for a nominal fee, quite a number of selected sermons preached in the Seventh-day Adventist church in Cape Town.

Only one year later in 1894 when legislation arose seeking to provide stricter observance of Sunday, the SDA church was to feature once again in the public spotlight.

The proponents of this legislation sought to minimize travel on Sundays, have the places of amusement and entertainment closed and prevent all building projects from taking place on Sundays.

By the time the above bill was finally ready to be presented to the government, the SDA church had already, mainly through the sermons of Asa Robinson and various pamphlets which were all published in the *Cape Argus*, prepared itself to present its teachings on religious liberty.

When the various deputations were invited to present their cases the SDA church also sent its representatives in the form of the *South Africa Conference* president Asa Robinson and Steven Haskell who was visiting the country from America. Cecil John Rhodes was evidently sympathetic to their appeal for they received the assurance from him that no legislation would be passed which would embarrass their position (Swanepoel, 1972:50).

In similar fashion when disparity materialized in the press against some of the denomination's unorthodox medical practices employed at the Plumstead Orphanage, the response was as equally forceful.

The above home was established on the principles that were in practice at the Battle Creek Sanitarium in America. The diet prescribed was fully vegetarian with a strict programme of school work, exercise and the necessary rest. The children were in addition also taught to assist in the domestic work and in gardening.

Shortly after a reporter had visited the orphanage a comprehensive article appeared in the *Cape Times* on its modes of operation. The response from the public was far from cordial. Many reacted in ire that the children were being treated in that fashion. Others were appalled that the children were only receiving meals twice a day. Other members of the public reacted even more strongly, calling for the complete closure of the institution.

Dr. R.S. Anthony who was the medical superintendent at the Claremont Sanitarium was not slow in responding to the above belligerent allegations. Writing in strong defence of the practices employed at the orphanage and stressing the good health record of the children who were at the orphanage, he did much to ease the tension and animosity that had arisen against the church and its institutions.

C. The Denomination's Relations with Government and State Department

When the *African Division* was formed in 1920 it did not merely continue with the trend that it had inherited from the SAUC but embarked upon a dynamic programme whereby it sought to make itself even better known both to the South African public and highest levels of authority in South Africa alike.

William Henry Branson (1887-1961) who was elected as the first African Division president was only thirty-three years when he took office. What he lacked in years though, he made up in aggressive drive and was to provide dynamic leadership for the division for the next ten years (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:179).

In January 1921 only one year after the African Division had been formed, a delegation of ten members from the denomination in South Africa presented themselves to the Governor-General of South Africa. Their address firstly expressed the denomination's loyalty to the rulers of this country and secondly it clearly outlined to the Governor-General the object of the church's work in South Africa (Thompson, 1977:5).

During the ensuing years the denomination continued to make direct contact with the country's leaders. In 1924 a petition was drawn up to fully legalize government recognition of Seventh-day Adventist principles relative to military service in non-combatant units such

as the Medical Corps, and exemption from parade-ground exercises on the Sabbath (Saturday).

In 1926 even the Minister of the South African Railways and Harbours (SARH) C.W.Malan was approached with a strong appeal that Sabbath observance should be allowed for the members of the denomination who worked for the SARH (*African Division Outlook* April 13, 1926 pg.4).

Neither was the African Division content just to concentrate its attention on local matters in Southern Africa. In 1931 it also made its presence felt when it sent a petition with over twenty-two thousand signatures to the Secretary-General of the *League of Nations*, protesting against the proposed change in the Gregorian calendar which they stated would break the continuity of the weekly cycle (*Ibid.*, 26).

D. *The Denomination Forcefully Combats Doctrinal Diatribes Directed Against it*

It was also during "the Branson years" that the faith and doctrine of the SDA church in South Africa was most clearly spelled out to the South African public (Thompson, 1977:19).

Unlike the years when Scholtz had no answer to Reverend du Toit in the Paarl debate, in the 1920's the SDA church had a worthy champion in W.H.Branson.

Sometime in 1923 a tract "Those Seventh-day Adventist Mistakes" written by the Reverend Garratt of the Baptist Church in Cape Town appeared which were dealt out countrywide threatening to interfere with the denomination's evangelistic endeavours. Other tracts also materialized from the Dutch Reformed Church at this time once again warning the public against Seventh-day Adventist heresy.

Against these doctrinal offensives the church's leadership were determined that the truth about Seventh-day Adventism needed to be clearly spelled out. It was Branson's trenchant pen that replied to Garratt's article in April 1924 with a sixteen-page paper of which ten thousand copies were made and distributed throughout South Africa.

The *Cape Argus* newspaper also entered into the "religious tract wars" when they approached Branson to write an article for the paper under the heading "Why I am a Seventh-day Adventist".

It is of course impossible to determine precisely what effect Branson's apology on behalf of the SDA church had on the South African public. What is infinitely more important though, is to take note that during these years the denomination not only underlined its conviction that it was here to stay, but it also powerfully verbalized the fact that it had a right to publicly voice and define its aims and purposes.

*E. The "Boom Years" of Seventh-day Adventist
Evangelism (1930-1945)*

These bold assertive drives by the denomination to evangelise the South Africa public and its tenacious endeavours to present the SDA church in a positive light was destined to continue throughout the ensuing years attaining its greatest successes, ironically, in some of the leanest and darkest periods in South Africa history.

There is no doubt that the SDA church throughout the world including South Africa experienced serious adversities because of the Great Depression (Thompson, 1977:164-167,201). It is however imperative at this time that an intriguing factor be highlighted.

Unlike the years at the turn of the century when a depression had severely hindered the church's growth and development, the early 1930's and the years leading up to World War II saw in contrast a sizeable increase in the church's membership. There is no question that this was brought about mainly by the stress that was being placed upon the church to become involved in public evangelism (Ibid.,204).

Notwithstanding the fact that there was a drastic drop in the sale of literature during this time and a sizeable reduction in the General Conference appropriation fund to the Southern African Division, the SDA denomination experienced a record number of people attending SDA meetings and joining the denomination.

It was during these difficult years that leading SDA evangelists both from South Africa and abroad such R.G.Morton, B.W. Abney, A.W.Staples, J.Raubenheimer, P.Wickman, J. van der Merwe, and E.L.Cardey came and held some of the most dynamic and largest SDA public evangelist meetings ever held in this country.

Many of these great evangelists were innovators in evangelistic methodology and as many as 2500 people at a single sitting would come to some of these evangelistic crusades which were held in the big towns and cities such as Johannesburg, Cape Town, Potchefstroom, East London, Port Elizabeth and Kimberley (Ibid.,206-209).

These public meetings which climaxed during WW II resulted in an influx of newly baptised members that the denomination had never experienced before. As a result of these additions, numerous new congregations were also established throughout the provinces of this country (Ibid.,210).

Thompson records that in only fifteen years from 1930 to 1945 the membership of the denomination in the division had increased from 14 995 to 46 460 (Ibid.,214).

It is clear from the above trend that the SDA message had, as in the times of William Miller, a great appeal during times of adversity and apprehension.

Many of the above evangelists capitalized on unfolding world events and presented opportune messages with captivating titles to draw the crowds. Raubenheimer for example opened his meeting in Standerton in 1931 with the title "The Crash of Nations". In later years during WW II the same evangelist while preaching from the book of Daniel entitled his series "Hitler's Doom".

A close scrutiny of the obituary columns from the denominational magazines continues to reveal just how many people (including my wife's late mother) were baptised during these evangelistically orientated years.

F. The Church's Rapid Decline towards Institutionalism

Lamentably, the above modes of evangelism did not persist with such vigour after the termination of the Second World War.

In 1953, R.S.Watts the president of the division at the time expressed his concern that the church had clearly embarked upon a change from evangelism to institutionalism, pointing to 1949 as the watershed in this regard.

In his address he highlighted the fact that in 1949 the percentage between those in soul winning work and administration was 47,2 per cent and 52,8 per cent respectively. By 1953, just three years later, he pointed out that the percentage of those engaged in evangelism had dropped to 42 per cent while the those in administrative work had increased to 58 per cent.

Institutionalism in this context refers to the creation, development, staffing and maintenance of denominational enterprises, while evangelism points to the endeavours by the denominational workers in actually preaching the Gospel and striving to win souls and increase church membership.

There are of course a combination of reasons that historians have highlighted for the tendency that the church developed to move towards institutionalism.

Thompson himself devotes a number of pages in his dissertation to record how some of the most successful evangelists such as Wickman, Staples, Hurlow, Clifford and Raubenheimer were transferred in the 1940's from evangelistic duties and given administrative responsibilities (Thompson, 1977:210;292).

He also elaborates by showing the increase of women in the church who took denominational employment as teachers and office workers rather than Bible workers (Ibid.,290).

While the above is most assuredly true, this relocation of both men and women from evangelistic work to administrative duties at this time does not present the total picture, and only came in the wake of a denominational trend that had begun some five decades before.

**G. *The Establishment of a Union Conference (1903)
 and the African Division (1920)***

In the light of the very severe financial difficulties that the denomination was experiencing at the turn of the century, another enigmatic occurrence must be examined. Namely, the augmentation of its existing organizational structures.

It has been repeatedly mentioned that the turn of the century was a time of great financial adversity for the denomination. Not only had it already lost the Claremont Sanitarium, the Roeland Street Bath house and the Plumstead Orphanage but it could barely afford to give any educational allotments to Union College.

Mention has also been made that it was also a time when the denomination's leadership were in fact in the very process of cutting down on the amount of workers that it had on its payroll.

The records show furthermore that up to this time neither had there been a considerable growth in denominational membership.

Notwithstanding these severe exigencies that the denomination found itself in, and bearing in mind that the country was still reeling from the effects of the depression it still undertook to expand its organizational structure.

This was, without exaggeration, one of the most enigmatic actions ever taken by the church leadership up to the time.

In accordance with the organizational changes that had been implemented in America, the *South African Conference* was dissolved and superseded by the *South African Union Conference* in 1903. Simultaneously in the same year two new conferences, namely the *Cape Conference* and the *Natal-Transvaal Conference* were established.

Some may contend at this point, and quite rightly so, that the South African denomination had perhaps no choice but to follow the organizational guidelines as they had been determined by the *General Conference*.

A closer examination of the stipulations made at the *General Conference* in 1901 however, discloses that the very opposite appears to be true.

The first of the six major organizational changes intended was worded in the following way:

"...the organization of union conferences and union mission boards in all parts of the world where either the membership or the staff of workers make it advisable" [underlining added] (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1051).

If I understand the above stipulation correctly - the reorganizations at this time were to be primarily regarded as a recommendation or a guideline rather than a mandatory order from the *General Conference*.

It discloses, secondly that the decision whether to form a union conference or not depended upon the prevailing conditions in the various countries worldwide where the denomination was located.

And lastly it appears to state that the decision whether to form union conferences had to be taken at local leadership level.

Although the church in South Africa was clearly in no position at the time to undertake these changes, it nevertheless chose to restructure its existing organisation and emulate the paradigm as set out by the upper echelons of church leadership.

A short comparative analysis of the growth of the church organization in South Africa with that in America allows for some intriguing insights:

At the inauguration of the *Michigan Conference* in 1862 it began with no less than seventeen organized churches under its jurisdiction and a total membership of over one thousand (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:880-881).

In contrast when the *South African Conference* was begun in 1892 it consisted of only three churches, a total membership of just 128 believers and less than ten workers in its employment.

By 1901 when the recommendation materialized for unions to be formed, the number of conferences in North America had increased to 57, the membership to 78,188 while its evangelistic working force had grown to over 1600 (Schwarz, 1979:267).

In comparison, in 1903 when the *South African Union Conference* was inaugurated not only was it financial destitute, but consisted of only two conferences, a total membership was just over 600 and a working force numbering only 35 (Van Zyl, 1990:99)

When the *African Division* was eventually formed seventeen years later in 1920 its total membership (including all the mission stations outside the borders of South Africa) was still under 3000 and the number of churches just over 50 (*African Division Outlook* "Statistical Report for the African Division 1918-1925" March 1, 1926).

This initial augmentation in denominational structures in the light of its small membership was to unquestionably set a precedent for the gross imbalance that would eventually materialize in later years between administrative staff and the working force on the front line (Van Zyl, 1990:101).

H. The Institutional Years (1950 - 1965)

The post-WW II era was once again years characterized by accelerated institutional expansion. In the short space of only a single decade several new denominational institutions and organizations were established. They are listed below:

In 1943 the *Voice of Prophecy Bible School* was established;

In 1951 the *Natal-Transvaal Conference* opened up a secondary school in Heidelberg called *Sedaven High School* (Thompson, 1977:276; Van Zyl, 1990:112);

Just four years the denomination opened up *Tru-Foods* a vegetarian food factory also in Heidelberg (Ibid., 283-284);

The year 1958 saw the founding of the *Transvaal Conference* while only one year later in 1959 the *Good Hope Conference* was also established (S.D.A. Encyclopedia, 1976:1366);

1959 also saw the establishment of the *Sunnyside Home* the first SDA old-age in South Africa at Plumstead in the Cape. One year later in 1960 another old-age home called *Adventhaven* was opened on the campus of *Sedaven High School*;

1965 witnessed the inauguration of the *Southern Union Conference*;

This array of new denominational institutions and organizations did not only require a massive financial outlay but also demanded the necessary personnel to operate them.

Besides the latest organizations that were added to the denomination, these years also witnessed an increase in staff at the existing establishments such as the *Sentinel Publishing Association*, and the *Voice of Prophecy Bible School* (Thompson, 1977:293).

By 1960, statistic clearly reveal the trend that the denomination had adopted:

CONFERENCE PERSONNEL

<u>Transvaal Conference</u>				
	1957	1958	1959	1960
Administrative & Office Workers	10	10	10	15
Educational Workers	8	9	9	23
Pastoral & Evangelistic Workers	19	14	13	15
Institutional Workers	1	1	3	3
Regular Literature Evangelists	8	8	8	6

Clearly evident in the above table is the increase in educational and administrative workers against the decline in evangelistic workers.

What the above table of course does not show is that the increased educational and administrative workers were very often the men and women that had once occupied front line positions in the field.

Over the years preachers, church pastors, evangelists, literature salespersons, Bible workers, many of them seasoned successful soul winners for the denomination were either called into leadership, administrative, managerial, or educational positions and were very often lost to the evangelistic endeavours of the church.

Even in the light of what has been stated though, it would be erroneous at this time to think that all administrators were oblivious to the fact that institutionalism was taking headway over evangelism.

This section has already taken note of the division president's concern in this regard and as early as 1953 he attempted to reverse the situation by calling, throughout his term of office, for greater emphasis upon evangelism in all its forms (Thompson, 1977:295-296).

He "hit the nail on the head" when he also decried the fact that too many denominational workers were spending time with other things instead of preaching the gospel (Ibid.,296).

The efforts of R.S.Watts climaxed in 1958 at the end of his term of office as president of the *Southern African Division* with a total baptism in the Division of 78 238. This figure representing the largest number of baptisms in any division in the world during a quadrennial period (Thompson, 1977:299).

Even though this evangelistic trend continued with his successor R.H.Pierson it still could not offset the move towards greater institutionalism (Thompson, 1977:302).

Several years ago Peter Drucker the doyen of organization theorists, proposed four characteristics symptomatic of malorganization. First he pointed to the multiplication of the numbers of management levels within an organization. While intended to assist the wellbeing of the organization, each addition level instead serves to distort objectives and to misdirect attention. Drucker warns that every extra link in the chain sets up additional stresses and creates further sources of inertia, friction and slack.

The second symptom has to do with the recurrence of organizational problems. Problems are supposedly solved by continually reappear in new guise. This suggests Drucker, is the result of the rigid application of traditional organizational principles.

The third symptom is succinctly put - too many meetings attended by too many people. Drucker observes that the human dynamics of meetings are so complex that it makes them poor tools for getting any work done effectively. Drucker offers the opinion that, with some exceptions, executives who spend more than a quarter of their time in meetings provide a *prima facie* case for malorganization.

The final symptom identified by Drucker is what he terms "organisitis". This malady is characterised by chronic and ongoing concern with the nature of the organization. When problems emerge, the solution is often to look inwardly at the organization.

Throughout the ensuing years in the 1960' and 1970's, evangelists, mainly from abroad, such as B.L.Hassenpflug, H.Turner, Alvin E. Cook, Kent, and Cherry continued to come to South Africa often holding evangelistic campaigns in the large cities and towns that lasted for several months, baptising many people in the process.

In the last two decades though, mainly for financial reasons, these types of evangelistic crusades have also been discontinued and the move has largely been towards the holding of seminars for smaller groups instead.

I. The Silent Years (1965 - 1996)

In the wake of the trend towards institutionalization came also the denomination's apparent tendency to divorce itself from all the social issues of the country.

Unlike the years when the denomination believed that it had a right to voice its opinions, state its aims and objectives, and defend its position on issues of vital significance, it appears to have gone completely "underground".

This chapter has already mentioned that the denomination in South Africa never ever took any emphatic stand against the evil and sinful practices of apartheid.

The Seventh-day Adventist church's reluctance to become involved in other social concerns becomes even more apparent, when one takes note that it does not appear as if it has issued any public statements on abortion, euthanasia or pornography - issues that are all

unquestionably not only affecting society but also members of the denomination itself.

There can be no question that the denomination's volte-face from a once forcefully dynamic evangelistic movement, to a strangely silent, stifled organization has not only driven the church into obscurity with the South African public but has also undoubtably eroded confidence in its mission as a prophetic movement.

CONCLUSION

The Challenge for the Seventh-day Adventist Church

There is no question, after having taken specific note of all that has transpired in the history of the Seventh-day Adventist church in South Africa, that it is probably being faced with challenges unrivalled in all its years of existence in this country.

I am furthermore fully convinced that it will be the responses of both the laity and the church's leaders to the crucial issues that are facing the church at present, that will largely determine whether they will either become stumbling-blocks or stepping-stones for the church as it faces its second century of existence in this country.

In the light of all that has been stated in this research assignment on the historical development of the church, just what type of responses can be expected?

I am convinced that two responses can most likely be anticipated:

These challenges could, as has so often happened in the past, elicit a purely academic response.

This reaction, analogous to that of Middle-Age Monasticism, entails an attitude or stance whereby the dire circumstances in which church find itself and the necessary changes which are needed, are viewed in an aloof, fairly abstract manner.

The results and insights gleaned from the above study "filed" simply for the purpose of scholastic interpretation, usually accompanied with the utmost care not to cause any disruptions to the present status-quo of the church.

There is of course also a second rejoinder that the situation could generate, namely, a pastoral response.

The latter response, in strong contrast with the former, is not merely an intellectual exercise but is instead a wholehearted, committed endeavour to see the "wider picture".

As this study continues, we will perceive that this augmented view so vitally takes into account the church's very *raison d' être*.

It also explores furthermore, the reality of the church's circumstances from an involved, historically committed stance, discerning the present situation for the express purpose of working for desired change, both in society and in the church.

There is no question that the time has finally arrived for Seventh-day Adventist churches to transcend the theoretical and often so ephemeral solutions that have been proposed in the past.

I also believe that the time has come for the church to critically reflect upon its timidity and the superficial poverty of its witness in this country, especially over the last three and a half decades.

The hour has also simultaneously struck to adequately prepare the SDA denomination in South Africa so that it can enter into the twenty-first century, with renewed confidence, with a decisive message from the Word of God and a committed programme of action aimed at all the people of this country.

Some obvious questions that will be asked at this point are:

How will the above process action be brought about?

And what transformations must take place both within the church's higher organizations and at local church level, so that it can attain the above goals?

The "Circle of Praxis"

I would like at this point to propose the examination of a hermeneutical framework for the remaining part of this study termed the "circle of praxis" of which the pastoral response forms an indispensable part.

I do not want though, by the use of one single framework, for one moment to appear to sound trite, or detract from the enormity of the challenges that lie before the church.

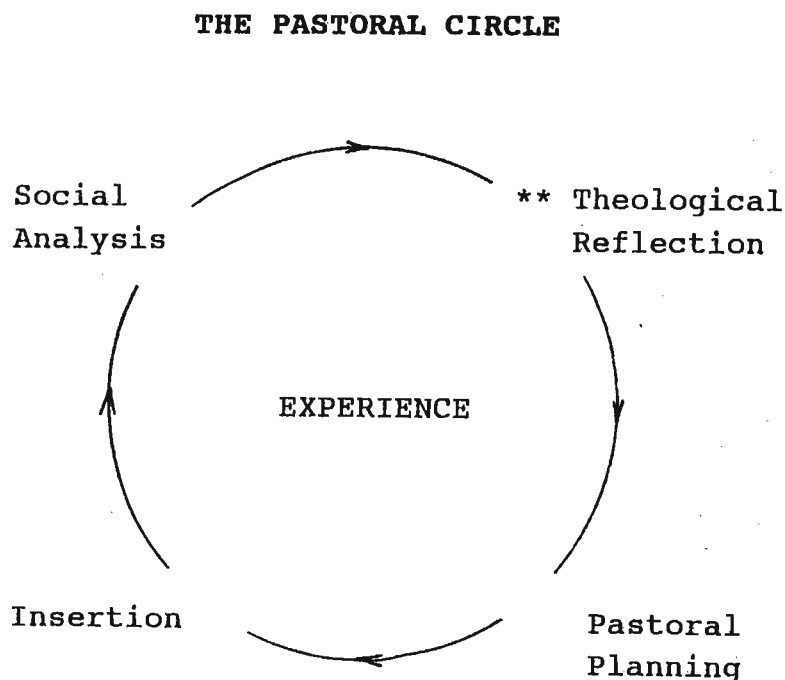
The future success and well being of the denomination will obviously need to go beyond the mere examination and implementation of a framework and is undoubtedly going to take much deliberation, planning, dedicated hard work and cooperation from many people before the denomination will find the answers to the many challenges it faces.

Although the above hermeneutical methodology is usually encountered in the context of Liberation Theology, I found the 'four movements' that exist within this "circle of praxis" not only extremely relevant, worthy of deeper examination but also enlightening for the reflective study on the role of the Seventh-day Adventist church in South African society.

The concept of *praxis* (the on-going relationship between critical reflection and action) was developed by Paulo Freire in his *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* and was later related to what has been called the "hermeneutic circle" a method that was explored in great detail by Jean Luis Segundo in his book *The Liberation of Theology*.

This "circle of praxis" has also been referred to as the "pastoral circle".

In diagrammatic form this circle is usually given as follows:



** For the purpose of this specific study I have chosen to amend the terminology of the third movement from "theological reflection" to "reflection upon the Word of God".

Before I begin to explain and analyze the constituent elements in the "circle of praxis" I want to emphasize how absolutely crucial it is for the above undertaking to be initiated and take root at ground level with the local churches themselves.

The implementation or undertakings at grass-roots level is unquestionably one of the main reasons for the phenomenal growth of the Liberation Theology movement in Latin America. While Latin American priests and bishops acted as catalysts for the growth of the movement, its dynamism was provided by the ordinary people themselves as they met in small communities which became known as *comunidades de base* (Ecclesial base communities).

In just the space of ten years, these lay people from all avenues of life, meeting together to pray and to study the Bible in the light of their own social reality, grew to over one hundred thousand (Sigmund, 1990:177).

What is infinitely more important though, is that these ecclesial base communities not only provided the very necessary pastoral care needed, but through these established groups the people began more and more to perceive themselves as the people of God, active in the work of the church.

Insertion

The first movement in the "circle of praxis" is *insertion*. This initial step for the local church is absolutely vital for it accentuates the importance of locating the geography of its pastoral responses in the lived experiences of both individual and communities.

Only in this manner, as the church "implants" itself among the people to whom it wishes to witness, can the church take deep cognisance of what the people are feeling, what experiences they are undergoing, how they are responding to the various crosscurrents prevalent in society.

There are far too many Christian churches in South Africa, including Seventh-day Adventist churches, which have over the last number of

years allowed themselves to fall into the trap of "long distance ministry".

This is a practice not far removed from that of the church of the Middle-Ages, which was for a long period of time characterized by a spiritual life so remotely removed from the "worldly" concerns of society that it was loath to be of service to surrounding humankind.

Is it not because a similar estrangement has taken place between faith and life in many of the Christian churches that has turned them from vibrant, evangelistic movements, into mere pedantic promoters of impotent institutionalism?

The movement of *insertion* constrains Christian denominations to take their programmes of action off the drawing boards, out of the seminary classrooms, out of the church's precincts, to the places where they are most vitally needed. To the places where people are living, where people are hurting and suffering, where people are hungering to hear the Word of God.

As the church takes the above step though it will be inevitably confronted, most especially in the "melting pot" of Southern Africa, with the vast divergence of thought-forms, customs, languages, world-views and value systems that are encountered in this country.

Taking cognisance of what has happened during most of this century not only with the African, Coloured, and Indian people but also with the Dutch people, the Seventh-day Adventist church, as did so many other Christian denominations in this country, clearly failed to effectively indigenise and contextualize its practices.

The Seventh-day Adventist church in South Africa has up to the time of writing this thesis also not appeared to have initiated any effective programmes to reach all the various ethnic groups in South Africa.

There have been some endeavours in the last number of years to reach the Polish, Portuguese and German communities in the Transvaal and in Somerset West. Some churches have been started as a result with Polish, Portuguese and German ministers to cater for their needs, but this is clearly only a drop in the bucket.

Individual churches will have to in the future also be thinking of the viability to launch other such programmes intended to evangelize the Greek, Chinese, Italian, Spanish and French communities in South Africa, to mention just a few.

Even though I have not included them in the above list it does not mean I have forgotten the Moslem, Hindu, and Buddhist religions which also have to be targeted with the Gospel.

The bottom line in this regard is precisely this: If the SDA church is seeking to effectively reach the vast spectrum of people that live in this country with the Gospel in the following century, it will out of necessity have to find new ways to express itself, in all its endeavours, in culturally acceptable thought forms and practices.

Social Analysis

Insertion is of course only the first step in this process and it is imperative that all four movements in the "circle of praxis" be understood in all the richness of their interrelatedness.

From the diagram we take note that the second movement in the "circle of praxis" is *social analysis*.

Social analysis, a concept that has sadly been very misrepresented in many Christian churches and branded as blatant Marxist philosophy, has been explained by some authors as the effort of the Christian church to try and obtain a more complete or more realistic picture of a particular social situation (Holland, Henriot, 1988:14).

In his book *A Theology of Reconstruction*, Professor Charles Villa-Vicencio comments on the above understanding of social analysis. He states that social analysis is more than just the separating of different components of society but also involves the addressing of the most urgent needs of society, the uncovering of the causes of injustice, suffering and exploitation in society (Villa-Vicencio, 1992:40).

In *Sanctorum Communio*, Bonhoeffer undertook an exhaustive investigation of the social structure of the "fellowship of the saints". In this work he also, even though he never actually uses the term "social analysis", explicitly states that Christian doctrines can

only really be understood in their relation to their social dimension.

The fourth chapter has already commented upon the fact that the Seventh-day Adventist church appears to have totally withdrawn itself from the need to address many of the urgent social needs that have materialized in South African society.

This is of course not to suggest that there are no SDA churches that are constructively involved in altruistic projects in their communities. There are many Seventh-day Adventist churches that are being sponsored by the organisation and are operating ongoing welfare projects, such as feeding schemes for the aged and destitute children.

What I am more specifically referring to though, are issues of controversy and crisis that have emerged at national level.

Some of these issues would include:

The present state of violence and the drive for peace in this country;

The practices of racial discrimination;

The controversy surrounding capital punishment;

The very relevant debate on abortion;

The rampant spread of AIDS in Southern Africa;

The sudden rise of people who are campaigning for the recognition of an alternate sexual lifestyle;

The increase in drug trafficking;

The revoking of South Africa's gambling laws;

The debates concerning whether or not pornographic material should be legally introduced into South African society.

As so many people wait in apprehension for messages from the various Christian churches in this country on such vital issues, Seventh-day Adventist churches have remained strangely mute.

What does the silence or "paralysis of analysis" exhibited by Seventh-day Adventist churches on these issues imply? What does it say about the mission of the church? What does it say about its prophetic nature?

When Dietrich Bonhoeffer was imprisoned by the Gestapo for his conspiracy in the bomb plot on Hitler's life in 1944, he wrote an article entitled 'After Ten Years':

"We have been silent witnesses of evil deeds; we have been drenched by many storms; we have learnt the arts of equivocation and pretence, intolerable conflicts have worn us down and even made us cynical. Are we *still* of any use? Will our inward power of resistance be strong enough, and our honesty with ourselves remorseless enough, for us to find our way back to simplicity and straightforwardness?" (Chikane, Louw, 1991:183).

There can be little doubt that Bonhoeffer was thinking of the *kirchekampf* (church struggle). During this time the very timid and unassertive opposition that the German Evangelical churches presented to the onslaught and wicked practices of the totalitarian Nazi state became all too evident.

The same question that Bonhoeffer asked of the German situation though, can be applied to our situation. Can a church in South Africa that remains so silent and far removed from the above vital social issues *still be of any use*? Can it still call itself a prophetic church - a church with a decisive word from God?

I am convinced of course that the answer is clearly an emphatic no! No church, however in the minority it may be, that believes that it is being led by God can maintain a position of apathy and indifference to the serious problems of society.

This question of social responsibility with regard to the Seventh-day Adventist church is anything but innovative. We only need turn back to chapter two of this thesis and see that the reluctance to become involved in temporal affairs had its earliest roots in the post-1844 period.

As the realization dawned though that Christ's Second Coming might not take place in the immediate future, the early church pioneers soon refashioned their thinking and some did certainly become involved in major social issues that were prevalent at the time.

One of these issues, was that of the deteriorating race relations in America in the latter part of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century.

A prominent figure who took a forceful stand in this regard was Mrs Ellen G. White (refer to Appendix pg.231) an early pioneer in the SDA church. In March of 1891 in her first urgent appeal for evangelistic work to be carried out amongst the Negroes she included the following statement:

"I know that that which I now speak will bring me into conflict". Even though she clearly did not cherish conflict, she added, "I do not mean to live a coward or die a coward, leaving my work undone" [underlining added]

In the same speech she also stated:

"You have no licence from God to exclude the colored [sic] people from your places of worship...They should hold membership in the church with the while brethren" (The above quotes taken from Ellen G. White's book entitled *The Southern Work*, 1966 edition:9-18).

Several years later in 1908 she continued to write:

"I am burdened, heavily burdened, for the work among the colored [sic] people. The Gospel is to be presented to the downtrodden Negro race...Among the white people there exists a strong prejudice against the Negro race. We may desire to ignore this prejudice but we cannot do it [underlining added] (*Testimonies For the Church* vol.9 pg.204).

An analysis of the background though, during which time the above writings were done, allows us to see that these statements of Ellen White were not made in a cultural or social vacuum. It was precisely during these years that racial concerns were rocking American society.

It was in January 1895 when Booker T. Washington made his famous speech at the Cotton States Exposition in Atlanta and assumed leadership of Negro affairs in the country.

The newspapers of the time reveal furthermore that this was also the time when there was an increasing tendency in American society to separate the Negro from the Caucasian in the every phase of American life (Graybill, 1970:17-19).

If I have understood and interpreted the above situation correctly, I have no doubts that were many of the Seventh-day Adventist pioneers alive today they would adopt, and indeed expect their church to also fully embrace, the very same bold stance on the various social issues facing the church at present.

If the SDA church wishes to be relevant, if it wishes to play a meaningful role amongst the people of this country in the twenty first century, it can no longer afford to be a silent witness on social concerns. It will have to in the future stand up and boldly speak, whatever its philosophical and theological stance may be, on all matters which are affecting the people of South African society.

Was it my intention by the direction I chose to go in the above paragraphs to introduce something foreign or inflammatory into the practices of the Seventh-day Adventist church? Heaven forbid!

On the contrary as I read and researched the material for this thesis I discovered an increasing amount of counsel that the church, while retaining its own identity and distinctive witness, should not only be involved where crying human needs are to be met, but should in fact also be sowing seeds that will influence both society and politics [underlining added] (Beach, 1985:105).

Can we not in this regard also derive meaningful examples and lessons from the Old Testament prophets such as Micah, Joel, Isaiah, Amos and Jeremiah? Did they not, in obedience to the commands of God forcefully denounce and condemn the evil social practices that were prevalent at the time?

The forceful example drawn from the book of Amos that is about to follow is of course only one among the myriads which can be derived from the Word of God.

This is what the Lord says:

"For three sins of Israel,
Even for four, I will not
turn back my wrath.
They sell the righteous for
silver,
and the needy for a pair of
sandals.

They trample on the heads
of the poor
as upon the dust of the
ground
and deny justice to the
oppressed.
Father and son use the same
girl
and so profane my holy
name" (Amos 2:6,7).

Reflection Upon the Word of God

Notwithstanding the significance of the above movements though, should the ultimate goal of the church not still rise above the endeavours to establish culturally acceptable churches and the combating of social ills: freeing the world from hunger, disease, poverty, and degenerating moral issues?

Most assuredly so!

The Christian church must therefore reach a point where it asks: What is the ultimate goal of the *missio Dei*? The third movement therefore in the "circle of praxis" has been appropriately termed *critical reflection* upon the Word of God.

Even though we clearly understand that this is the point where God's directive for the church must brought to bear upon the situation, we must try and ascertain just precisely what this mandate really is.

During the last three hundred years, during the modern era of mission, the ultimate goal of the *missio Dei* has been delineated in several ways:

In the seventeenth century many missionary agencies with their emphasis on personal salvation viewed their task as essentially one of saving individual souls.

Count Nicolaus von Zinzendorf organizer of the Moravian Brethren described his work with the word *Einzelbekehrungen* which in the German dialect means conversion of individuals

In the century that followed other movements arose which strongly emphasized the plantatio ecclesiae (implanting of churches) amongst peoples or groups who had not yet heard the gospel as the main purpose of mission.

In more recent times, largely in reaction to the exclusive emphasis that had been placed upon individual conversions during the previous centuries, the true goal of Christian mission was thought to be the Christianizing of society.

By the middle of this century, mainly under the influence of "Church Growth School" of Donald McGavran the conviction evolved that all the priorities of the Christian church had to be firmly rooted in church growth.

The above goals just mentioned are all important and all unquestionably play a vital role in the life and growth of Christian churches. Critical reflection on God's Word though, allows us to ascertain that God's mission both in the Old Testament and the New Testament was ultimately His way of dealing with the problem of sin and its destructive power.

With the entry of sin upon this planet, Satan, in direct opposition to God, came to establish His own kingdom of rebellion.

From John 3:16, a Bible text so well known, we discern that our God is in actual fact a missionary God, He Himself *sending* His own Son to restore the broken relationships and establish His peace in the world.

There was also another purpose in Christ coming to the earth though, namely, to restore the kingdom that Satan has tried to usurp (John 12:31-33).

When Christ opened His public ministry and began to preach, is it a coincidence that the Bible writers recorded that He began with the following words?:

"Repent and be baptised for the kingdom of God is at hand"
(Matthew 3:2).

The church therefore, which received its missionary mandate from Christ Himself and which the Bible recognizes as the body of Christ (Ephesians 4:11-16), must not only be a sign and an instrument of God's missionary activity but has also been called to participate in the above process of restoration. Each institution and each function of the Christian church worldwide finding meaning and a right to exist only as it leads to the above elevated purposes.

We have finally arrived, by identifying God's mission in salvation and restoration, at the essence of Seventh-day Adventist mission - a posture that all its churches should be forcefully operating on two parallel tracks: namely, evangelistic proclamation and service.

1. The evangelistic proclamation is naturally God's good news - the story of Christ's life, death, resurrection and His promised soon return in glory.

While this evangelist burden is imperative, service to humankind must also be given a priority.

2. Service meaning that Seventh-day Adventist churches with an awakened social conscience must become involved in meeting the needs of all the different people of South Africa. This must be effected through all the activities and agencies that the church has at its disposal such as the health and medical ministry, welfare work, literature evangelism and tract distribution, education, famine and disaster relief.

Pastoral Response

Since the ultimate purpose of this "circle of praxis" has been designed to bring about positive decision and action, the fourth movement in the circle, namely, the *pastoral response* is vital.

This movement, lamentably not very often appearing to reach this stage, involves the very vital transition from the "anecdotal" (academic response) to the "analytical" (pastoral response).

In the light of the analyzed experiences gleaned in the first two movements and the critical reflection based upon the Word of God, this fourth movement must determine precisely what responses are being called for by all seventh-day Adventist churches in the specific communities in which they are located.

The churches themselves should determine furthermore just how these response should be designed and carried out, in order to be most effective not only in the short term but also in the long term.

No one theory or course of action can obviously be prescribed for each and every church. Different churches in the various localities of the country will have to tailor their planning and subsequent programmes to meet the varying social, spiritual, physical and economic needs with which they are confronted. This is precisely why I so strongly emphasized earlier in this chapter that this strategy needed to be implemented at local church level.

It is imperative to note also that the response of action in each particular situation brings about a situation of new experiences. These experiences in turn call for further mediation through *insertion, social analysis, reflection upon the Word of God and pastoral planning*.

The pastoral circle is in actual fact therefore, more of a spiral than a circle. Each approach not simply retracing old steps but continually breaking new ground.

In conclusion I would like to succinctly relate a story I read about a biologist who performed some intriguing experiments with some processional caterpillars.

For this particular experiment the biologist took a number of these caterpillars and placed them on the rim of a round flowerpot to see what they would do.

The caterpillars soon began to move. Around and around the rim of the flowerpot their circular journey continued, day after day without respite.

After some time the biologist placed some food in the centre of the flowerpot to see if he could entice the now visibly worn out caterpillars to break rank.

To no avail. Oblivious to food and rest they continued their journey until they all dropped off the edge of the flowerpot one by one, so exhausted that they all died.

The lessons that can be drawn from this account are vital for the church.

Firstly, if the Seventh-day Adventist church is going to reestablish its role as a vibrant prophetic/evangelistic movement in South Africa:

Can it continue to espouse a processional role?

Can it continue to advocate a stance whereby it remains at the periphery, seemingly oblivious to what is happening at the nucleus of society, declining to participate in meaningful dialogue, and neglecting to contribute and play a leading role in so many vital issues?

The answer to the above questions is once again an impassioned no!

The church can no longer continue to limp after reality. A church that is truly prophetic is one that leads, one that sinks its roots into the very pulse of history, one that effectively uses all the missiological, theological and evangelistic resources that it has at its disposal, and of course one that is continually ready to illuminate history with the Word of God.

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