A MISSIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF STRATEGIES OF THE SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST CHURCH MISSIONARIES IN SOUTH AFRICA

Sicelo James Williams

A thesis submitted in fulfilment

of the requirements for the degree

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Practical and Missional Theology

Faculty of Theology and Religion

University of the Free State

Bloemfontein, South Africa

Promoter: Prof. Eugene Baron

Co-Promoter: Dr Khamadi Joseph Pali

(November 2022)

DECLARATION

I, Sicelo James Williams, declare that the thesis hereby submitted for the qualification Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) at the University of the Free State is my own independent work and that I have not previously submitted the same work for a qualification at/in another University/Faculty.

I herewith cede the copyright of this thesis to the University of the Free State.

Signature: Sicelo James Williams

_____

Date: 6 December 2022

DEDICATION

I dedicate this project to my children, Jonathan, David, and Nikilitha Williams, for their love, support and understanding when I was engrossed in my books for my studies. I also dedicate this thesis to my late father, David Nqebelele Williams, who passed away in 2021.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I want to express my profound gratitude to God, for giving me the wisdom, dedication, and health to be able to finish this project.

I also acknowledge my children, Jonathan, David, and Nikilitha Williams, for their continuous support and understanding when I could not be with them from time to time while I was busy with this project. From today onwards, I am all yours.

I thank Dr Osca Themba Mgqibisa, for his inspiration in pursuing my doctoral studies.

I thank the Cape Conference President, Pr. Xolisa Lefume, and the Executive members of the Cape Conference of the SDA Church, for giving me the permission to do my research on the three places of the Cape Conference. I also thank the secretary, Sr. Rene, for always assisting with communication with the Secretary General and the President.

I also want to thank my employer, Mr Themba Ngwenya, for his unfailing assistance, encouragement, and financial support; not forgetting Vicky Marekwa, my colleague, for her support while I was studying.

I also want to thank the Square Hill Park SDA Church, for their love and unfailing support while I was conducting my studies.

I also want to thank Ps. Mandla and Aevia Lupondwana and their children, for hosting me at their house during the times when I had to attend sessions with my supervisor at the University of the Free State.

My sincere gratitude also goes to Dr Khamadi Joseph Pali who has been with me throughout the duration of my studies. Your encouragement and your support are greatly appreciated. I also want to thank Prof. Eugene Baron, who is the new guru of missiology at the University of the Free State, for his valuable assistance, understanding, and support. Without your help, Prof., I would not have finished this programme.

Last, but not least, I want to thank Mr Hanekom, for his willingness to assist as the language practitioner for this work.

ABSTRACT

The Seventh-day Adventist Church (SDA) was organised in 1860 in the United States of America (USA). In the 1890s, the church was established in South Africa among White people (Mafani 2011:84). The church employed different strategies to convert the people in South Africa. The reason for this study was to identify and analyse the strategies used by SDA missionaries to convert people to Christianity in South Africa. The researcher used the praxis cycle of Madge Karecki as an analytical framework to analyse the missionary activities of the SDA missionaries at three mission stations. This was done by reading the primary “missionary reports” and “archival documents” written by SDA missionaries, or others who wrote about SDA missionary work in South Africa. The researcher visited the archives, selected books on the missionaries, and documented the histories of the missionaries, as well as others on the mission activities that took place. The study found that the strategies were marked by evils such as racism, militant sectarianism, and blind support of oppressive economic and political systems. The missionary strategies were not contextualised to fit in the local situation of the African people. The missionary strategies focused only on the teachings of the Bible and failed to address issues of human dignity and social justice. The SDA missionary strategies were Eurocentric and failed to consider the local cultures of the African people.

KEYWORDS

- Seventh-day Adventist Church
- Missionary strategies
- Western mission
- Conversion
- Christianity
- Culture
- Contextualisation
- Western Christianity
- African traditional religion
- Salvation

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

ADRA	Adventist Disaster Relief Association
AIDS	Acquired Immuno-Deficiency Syndrome
ATR	African Traditional Religion
CDA	Critical Discource Analysis
CMS	Church Missionary Society
GC	General Conference
HIV	Human Immuno-Deficiency Virus
JMV	Junior Missionary Volunteers
LMS	London Missionary Society
MOWCS	Meals On Weals Community Services
MV	Missionary Volunteers
NEWSTART	Nutrition, Exercise, Water, Sunlight, Temperance, Air, Rest and Trust in God
SAC	South African Conference
SAU	South African Union
SDA	Seventh-day Adventist
TM	Traditional Medicine
VOP	Voice of Prophecy
WCC	World Council of Churches
WHO	World Health Organization

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Studies on the work of Western missionaries and the strategies they used to convert African people to Christianity are well documented (cf. Pawlikova-Vilhanova 2006:113-112). These studies illustrate how the strategies of Western missionaries influenced people on the African continent both positively and negatively. Although numerous studies address this phenomenon, this thesis particularly identifies and critically discusses the strategies used by the Seventh-day Adventist (SDA) missionaries from North America to convert South Africans to Christianity. This chapter briefly discusses the rationale and the need for such a research project, as well as how the researcher intends to address it. This research presents the strategies of the American missionaries in South Africa, and describes their benefit or harm caused to the South African SDA ministry.

1.2 Literature review

The Western missionary project started as early as the eighteenth century. In 1910, at the first World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh, Protestant Mission gained momentum under the flagship the “West to the Rest” (Ferguson 2011:138). Western missionaries went to all “other” non-Western parts of the world to spread the gospel. Various missionaries and mission societies came to the shores of Africa and South Africa to do missionary work.

William Carey is argued to be the pioneer in establishing mission organisations and societies that engaged in missionary work abroad. For him and others, the goal of mission was to send and equip people for Christian proclamation and service overseas and to muster “home” interest and support for their work. Carey was later sent as a missionary to India, according to the model of the newly formed voluntary missionary society (Walls 2000:260). Following his work, mission stations were established, and the Bible was translated into different languages. Subsequently, more people came on board and volunteered to do missionary work abroad. Missionary work became more organised into various missionary societies based in Europe and later also in America. In South Africa, in particular, some of the societies

included the Berlin Missionary Society (BMS), the London Missionary Society (LMS), the Glasgow Mission, the Rhenish Missionary Society, and many more (Swanepoel 2022:2).

Through these societies, various missionaries were sent to Africa, Asia, and the islands of the Pacific. Bosch (1991:190) interprets the historic development of missions, and attributes the reason for the existence of these societies to the Western missionaries' belief that people in Africa are in darkness and need to be Enlightened by the Christian message.[1] When the Western missionaries arrived on these continents, they employed different strategies to convert the people to Christianity. For example, "befriending the local king" (they were mostly invited by the kings) was one of the strategies used (Dayton & Fraser 1980:149). The missionaries tried to maintain friendly relations with the local kings, with the hope that, if the kings accepted the Christian faith, they would then legislate that all their subjects accept Christianity. The missionaries would then be allowed to proceed with missionary work in the areas of those kings' jurisdictions. Building of schools and hospitals was another strategy employed by the missionaries. The Western missionaries viewed the African belief system as unchristian. However, on closer examination, studies on Western missionary work reveal that the "Christian message" that was proclaimed and presented to Africans was dressed in "Western cultural clothes", and what Hiebert (1982:44-45) argues to be through a "two-tier" world view. In explaining the "two-tier" world view, Hiebert states that Western missionaries only "addressed the natural world of people and things, and the spiritual world of God and eternity", but failed to recognise the world in-between these two (Hiebert 1982:39, 44-45). Explaining the world in-between those two, Hiebert (1982:40, 46) argues that it refers to the "local gods and goddesses, ancestors, dead saints and ghosts, spirit and evil spirits, angels, demons and different powers which were seen quite readily by people of non-Western cultures" (cf. Anane-Asane *et al.* 2009:191; Moreau 2000:363). Although much of the work done by missionaries in Africa was perhaps genuinely so – a need to spread the gospel of Jesus Christ – it was not without a Western cultural bias. Furthermore, their work was not only limited to preaching and evangelism work, but also to establish hospitals and clinics that contribute to the people's health and well-being. However, this should not be

[1] This is Bosch's interpretation of the historic development, not his personal opinion.

interpreted in such a way that modern medicine was the only remedy for illness and diseases; rather it complemented other indigenous remedies. Therefore, this contests the idea that, when missionaries arrived in Africa, the continent was "underdeveloped" (Rodney 1972:33-71). Rodney (1972:20-21) further states that "underdevelopment is a paradox". He asserts that the capitalists from the developed parts of the world tried to explain the paradox and often made it sound as though there was something "God-given" about the situation. Rodney (1972:21) further espouses the interpretation that underdevelopment is somehow ordained by God to the racist trend in European scholarship:

> It is in line with racist prejudice to say openly or to imply that their countries are more developed because their people are innately superior, … the responsibility for the economic backwardness of Africa lies in the generic backwardness of the race of black Africans.

However, the perception and the strategies of missionaries in South Africa have provided more evidence of their perceptions thereof.

Nevertheless, in some instances, Western knowledge did contribute to the well-being of Africans. For example, the vast majority of ill people depended for cures on concoctions of herbs, roots, and barks of trees, which hardly helped and sometimes caused death. The missionaries also erected schools for the locals at the mission stations, which contributed to increasing the literacy levels of the locals, and subsequently enabled them to read the Bible in their vernacular language. Many young people who were educated in mission schools became leaders in the fight for independence, including Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, and, at Lovedale Institute in the Eastern Cape, Nelson Mandela and Steve Biko, among others (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2015:307).

Nevertheless, on closer examination, the strategies used by European missionaries were detrimental to the survival of African epistemologies, religion, and spirituality. The integration of Christianity with Western culture had an adverse effect on mission in Africa. This strategy made a mockery of the cultures of Africa and made Western culture synonymous with a Christian lifestyle. As a result, many African Christians are still looking down on their culture and embrace the Western culture/Christianity as the one, according to their understanding, that best represents Christianity. Another strategy that had a negative impact on Africans was the rejection of the

African belief system. As mentioned earlier, the missionaries thought that the African belief system was totally evil and only had to do with ancestral worship. On the other hand, Africans did not at all trust Eurocentric[2] Christianity as a novice religion. Consequently, many African Christians perceived the "God" of Christianity as a "strange God",[3] the god of the White man, who is unfamiliar with the local spiritual problems. To these Africans, Christianity was of no practical use in times of existential crises. It seemed much more pragmatic for them to revert to traditional practices when faced with serious situations unfamiliar to the god of the White man (Galgalo 2012:69).

Hiebert (2008:316) argues that world views change when life crises or special events in life call for radical paradigm shifts. Hiebert (2008:319) calls this change the "radical reorganisation in the internal configurations of the worldview". Kraft (1996:2) argues that, when people's model to face life situations such as "illness, breakdown of interpersonal relationships, oppression by spirits, personal or group misfortune" fail, they are under great "pressure for change" in their mental grid and more likely to undergo a paradigm shift. Adventism was born in a world where they had to face all these different experiences of people, and still had to present the gospel of salvation to them.

The SDA Church emerged and participated as a player in the great missionary era. It was officially organised as a church in 1860, in Battle Creek, Michigan (USA), when its name was officially accepted as the "Seventh-day Adventist" (SDA) Church. During its early establishment, it was numerically insignificant compared to other Christian denominations at that time, and it was also ridiculed[4] because of its

[2] As the colonisers viewed matters, God placed the benefits of Western civilisation and Christian faith in the hands of White people – Europeans and North Americans – in order for them to share with the rest of the world. That responsibility, according to them, was "the White man's burden": to take to the rest of the world the benefits of industrialisation, capitalism, democracy, and Christianity (Gonzalez 1985:305). Eurocentric Christianity is Christianity from a European or Western perspective.

[3] The word 'strange', as used in this research, refers to the fact that the god does not belong to the African people, but is a god who is worshipped by the European people. This is a god who neither understands nor sympathises with the African way of life.

[4] People have always laughed at Adventists for worshipping on Saturday, when all or most of the Christian churches worship on Sunday. When they prophesied that Jesus was going to come on 22 October 1844 and He did not come, the scoffers would be asking them, "What! Haven't you gone up yet?", and they had to come up with a reply: "And if I had gone up, where would you have gone?" (Schwarz 1979:53). There are still people who are laughing at the Adventist description of the second coming of Christ, which they say is visible (Revelation 1:7) and audible (1 Thess. 4:13-18).

“strange doctrines” related to the second coming of Christ and the observance of the Sabbath on Saturday.

The chronicles of the SDA Church relate that, in 1871, Ellen White received a vision to address the need for a more dedicated and committed presentation of Adventism to others. Since then, the church sent abroad missionaries of the home-based church in the USA to bear witness to the tenets of the SDA. In 1873, SDA’s home-based church in the USA sent its first missionary to Europe, while other missionaries were commissioned to different parts of the world.

Adventist missionaries, who were sent to Africa, employed different strategies in converting people to faith. Since they were preaching the imminent return of Christ, they devised methods of spreading the core tenets of their doctrine to all the people worldwide. Their strategies ranged from evangelistic campaigns in the areas where they did missionary work to using a Correspondence Bible School method, called the Voice of Prophecy Bible School, to convert people to the faith. These Bible Study courses were sent to different people in their vernacular languages. The other strategies were to establish racially based churches (European and African), and to estrange African converts from their communities (Crocombe 2007:4). However, it is not clear to what extent these strategies were nestled within the Western Christian system. This would need some further investigation.

Some strategies had a positive effect on the SDA ministry, while others had a negative one. The evangelistic campaigns brought many people to the church and assisted the church in raising the number of members on the various continents. While people had to come to the evangelistic campaigns, those who would not come were intercepted by the other strategy, namely the Voice of Prophecy Bible School. As this was a correspondence school, people could do the modules/classes in the comfort of their homes. Many people came to know about the Sabbath and other Adventist doctrines either from the campaigns or from the Voice of Prophecy Bible School.

Most of the SDA scholars focused on different aspects of the history of the SDA. Some focused on the Adventist missionary work among specific cultures, while others focused on some individual contributions to the Adventist missionary work. Schwartz (1979) focuses on mission strategies and only mentions the strategies as

part of his historical narrative research without analysing them. Despite all the research done so far, there still is a gap in terms of a critical missiological analysis of the missionary strategies used by the SDA missionaries in South Africa. The above factors thus indicate that a knowledge gap had to be addressed.

Crocombe (2007), in particular, mentions the name of Pieter Wessels, a White South African convert, who found pleasure in mocking 'Coloureds' as inferior and did not want his children to play with their children. He further laments the racial lines along which the SDA Church operated before and during the time of apartheid. In his thesis, Swanepoel (1972) mentions some facts about the Adventist missionaries, while Pantalone (1996) narrates the history of challenges of Afrikaner SDAs. Du Preez (2010) provides a history of the SDA's 'Coloured' people, while, in his paper, Sokupa (2015) talks about an African SDA missionary. In his thesis, Buwa (1985) deals with the Adventist work in East Griqualand.

1.3 Definition of terms

1.3.1 Conversion

Scholars have offered their explanations for conversion. Some state that "conversion suggest[s] a changing of religions" (cf. Stendahl 1976:7; Beker 1980:144; Gaventa 1986:18). In defining the pietist understanding of the experience of a person during conversion, Bosch (1991:67) states this as "tormented and guilt-ridden because of his sins and experiencing an inner conflict which eventually lead to conversion". According to Stendahl (1976:7), the phenomenon of the "introspective conscience", of penetrating self-examination, coupled with a yearning to acquire certainty of salvation, is typically Western.

In her study on conversion in the New Testament, Gaventa (1986:4-14) distinguishes between alternation (a relatively limited form of change that develops out of one's own past), and transformation (a radical change of perspective that does not require a rejection or negation of the past or previously held values, but nevertheless involves a recognition of the past). In the language of Kuhn (1962), conversion is "a pendulum-like change in which there is break between past and present, with the past depicted in strongly negative terms" (Gaventa 1986:4-14).

According to Bosch (1991:122), conversion must be an “inclusive experience” that includes “politics, racism and structural injustice”. He concludes by saying that, if it lacks in the other areas, “it is a conversion to a predominant culture only, and not to the Christ of the gospel” (Bosch 1991:123). Similarly, Stone views evangelism as being distorted when it is reduced to “getting right with Jesus” as a private spiritual affair. For him, the gospel of Scripture has social, political, and subversive dimensions of a new order. He argues that “[a]nything less can never be a full ‘offer’ of Christ” (cf. Bosch 1991:124).

Adventists regard conversion as

> the product of God’s grace alone, which effect[s] a new status and right relationship of sinners with God and, arising from that relationship, transforms them into the image of Christ (White 1958:396).

1.3.2 Christianity

Christianity is a global phenomenon. According to the Bible, the church is one people, the new humankind created in Christ Jesus. Goheen (2014:187) describes Christianity as “a multinational and multicultural community that spans the globe, which together share a mission as a people sent into the whole world”.

> The global expansion of Christianity during the final century of the second millennium of the Christian era eclipsed anything that had previously taken place within the span of any single century. The increase in the number of believers worldwide, and the enhanced impact the faith had on political, economic, and social, as well as religious affairs, in great tracts of the world was without precedence (Smith 2007:95).

The first Christian church was the New Testament church, where the Roman church became prominent among the churches of Asia Minor and later became known as the Roman Catholic Church. In 1517, Martin Luther, a Roman Catholic monk, nailed 95 theses on a door in Luxembourg. This led him to be excommunicated from the Catholic Church. He was joined by others who were later known as the Protestants. They protested against the evil perpetuated by the Catholic Church under the guise of Christianity. The third church is the Orthodox Church, whose schism was the result of power control. They did not want to be under the pope of Rome. They became known as the Orthodox Churches in July 1054.

At present, approximately 33 per cent of the world population are Christians. The most prominent traditions within Christianity are Protestantism, the Roman Catholic

Church, and the Orthodox Churches. Roughly 10.3 per cent or 543 million are Protestant; 16.8 percent or 892 million are Roman Catholic, and 4.1 per cent or 215 million belong to the Orthodox Churches. Marginal Christian groups make up 1.6 per cent or 83.7 million people (Meiring & Meiring 2015:26).

1.3.3 Mission strategies

Missionaries use mission strategies in their attempt to communicate the gospel to others. Missionaries have used many strategies on their missionary journeys, including the communication model (translation of the Bible, and producing vernacular literature); the conversion model (preaching and teaching the Bible); the church planting model (building churches, schools and hospitals, and teaching vocational skills) (Kane 1978).

Some missiologists have lamented that some of these strategies were marked by flagrant evils such as racism, militant sectarianism, and blind support of oppressive economic and political systems (Newbigin 1978:134). Newbigin, a missiologist, asks pertinent questions as to how this form of evangelism can be evaluated, if it is uncommitted to radical obedience to the plain teaching of the Bible on the issue of human dignity and social justice? He also asks the question as to how this evangelism can be defended, if it has nothing to say about the big issues of public righteousness and talks only of issues of personal and domestic behaviour? (Newbigin 1978:134). Olapino (2010:33) agrees with Newbigin, stating “[t]he Gospel was seen as a Western imposition which aimed at colonising the mind of the indigenous African”. According to Witt (2012:19), “mission was based on the missionaries’ understanding of it”. Mission was a task of missionaries and, as such, it had to be viewed from their own understanding. In fulfilling this mission, the missionaries “ignored the Africans’ understanding about God and religion and their values were marginalized” (Healy 1981:25; Mafico 2011:57; Mbiti 1990:3; Oladipo 2010:45).

This research focuses on the missionary strategies of the SDA missionaries. It observes and analyses these strategies to verify the allegations of the evil and good found in the strategies. This study critically examines the SDA missionaries’ strategies from 1890 to 1960.

1.3.4 Western mission

“Western” refers to the people in the West, or to mission according to the understanding of Western[5] people. Mission is a mandate that Christ gave to his disciples, and to all those who follow Him, whether they are from the East, the West or the North, to spread the gospel to everyone. Mission is connected to the great commission viewed as God’s marching orders (Williams 2021:34) and to put their feet to their faith (Williams 2021:34). This is the old way of understanding mission. The new understanding of mission is *Missio Dei*. The new focus of mission is not on men spreading the gospel message to others, but it is the “Mission of God” or the “Sending God”. This concept has become increasingly important in missiology and in understanding the mission of the church since the second half of the twentieth century (Vicedom 1958:2).

Mission is not only what Western missionaries were doing by way of saving souls, planting churches, and imposing their ways and wills on others. Mission must never be limited exclusively to this empirical project; it has always been greater than the observable missionary enterprise. Mission is *Missio Dei*, which seeks to incorporate into itself the *missiones ecclesiae*, the missionary programmes of the church. The church does not “undertake” mission; rather, the *Missio Dei* constitutes the church. Mission is a multifaceted ministry in respect of witness, service, justice, healing, reconciliation, liberation, peace, evangelism, fellowship, church planting, contextualisation, among others. The other word, ‘missional’, was developed in the process of contextualisation of theology and for churches in their postmodern context (Bosch 1991:25; Newbigin 1986:61).

The following statements are some aspects of the church’s role in mission:

- Missiology is ‘the mother of theology’.
- The church is not the sender but the one sent. Its mission (its “being sent”) is not secondary to its being; the church exists in being sent and in building up itself for the sake of its mission.
- Missionary activity is not so much the work of the church as simply the church at work.
- Since God is a missionary God, God’s people are a missionary people.

[5] It should be noted that Western, in this instance, refers to the mindset.

- It has become impossible to talk about the church without at the same time talking about mission. One can no longer talk about church and mission, only about the mission of the church.
- A church without mission or a mission without the church are both contradictions (Bosch 1991:372; Barna 1998:6; Sweet 1999:50).

1.3.5 Seventh-day Adventist (SDA) Church

The SDA Church started as a denomination at the time of the Great Awakening, when people from the most religious persuasions focused on eschatological matters (Brown 1952:441-458). A nominal farmer, William Miller, after studying his Bible, concluded that Christ would come in 1844 (Schwarz 1979:31-34). A group of people from different denominations followed and accepted his preaching (Schwarz 1979:34). His followers were called Millerites. When the prediction did not materialise, many were disappointed, and some left the Millerite movement (Arthur 1961:18-20). The remaining small group of people later organised themselves as the SDA Church in 1860. The name mentions two of the beliefs of the SDA Church, namely, the seventh day, which they believe is the Saturday, the Sabbath initiated by God in creation, and the Adventist, referring to the second coming of Christ (Schwarz 1979:78). Chapter 3 of this thesis discusses the SDA in more detail.

1.4 Problem statement

Various studies document and present the different strategies used by Western missionaries to convert Africans to the Christian faith. There are well-documented studies on the missionary work of Western missionaries and the strategies they used to convert African people to the Christian faith (Pawlikova-Vilhanova 2006:113-112). Researchers such as Ndlovu (2018), Magagula (2019), Du Preez (2010), Pantalone (1999), and Kritzinger (1988) illustrate how the strategies of missionaries influenced people on the African continent, both positively and negatively. Although numerous studies address this phenomenon, this thesis, in particular, identifies and critically discusses the strategies used by the SDA missionaries, from the North American context, to convert South Africans to the Christian faith. This research is a missiological study on the influences of the mission of the SDA Church on South African society.

1.5 Research question

In light of the discussion above, the researcher phrases the research question as follows:

- What are the strategies that SDA missionaries used to convert South Africans to Chistianity?
- What is the theological reflection of these strategies?

This study addresses the following subquestions:

- What are the strategies used by Western missionaries to convert people to Christianity in Africa?
- What are the mission strategies, the theology, and the context that influenced the missionary work of the SDA missionaries at three mission stations in South Africa to convert people to Christianity?
- How does current missiological research assist with re-envisioning the mission strategies for the SDA ministry.

1.6 Research objectives

- The researcher will identify and describe the strategies used by Western missionaries in Africa.
- The researcher will identify and describe the strategies used by the SDA missionaries in South Africa.
- The researcher will identify and critically discuss the mission strategies, the theology, and the context that influenced the missionary work of the SDA missionaries at the three mission stations that were established in South Africa to convert people to Christianity.
- The researcher will present the findings of this analysis of the SDA missionary strategies found at the three mission stations in South Africa and make recommendations for future mission strategies of the SDA ministry.

1.7 Research methodology

This study employs a literature review as methodology. According to Snyder (2019:336), four phases may be used to do the literature review.

1.7.1 Phase 1: Designing a literature review

A study's literature review is a survey of the scholarly literature related to the topic being researched (Cooper 1998:124). Scholarly literature refers to the articles, books, and other sources such as dissertations and conference proceedings relevant to a particular topic to describe, summarise, and critically evaluate the research work (Ramdhani *et al.* 2014:45). A literature review involves identifying sources, recording discovered knowledge, understanding and meaning-making of source, as well as transmitting the information for others to read.

Two approaches are used for a literature review study. First, the literature review can be part of the background section of the researched document, synthesising the literature and identifying the knowledge gap. It can also provide a theoretical foundation for the study, explain the research problem, and justify the research. Secondly, the literature review can be done as an original, valuable, and independent research study. In this instance, it does not function as a base for the researcher's work, but its point of departure is synthesising the literature (Rowe 2014:245). This study's literature review is the independent and original work of the researcher who collected, synthesised, and analysed various scholarly sources concerning the topic of this study.

The literature review has many benefits, but the researcher will discuss only those that are relevant to this study. Paré and Kitsiou (2017:157-158), for example, argue that a literature review study is cited and downloaded more often than any other published studies, because the literature review study combines many sources and various perspectives of knowledge. The researcher collected different sources with various perspectives on the strategies of the SDA missionaries and analysed them in relation to the topic of the study.

The purpose is to provide information that can be used for further study through empirical research or another literature review. The literature review helps scholars identify topics or research questions that need further investigation to contribute to

knowledge production. This study did not answer all the research questions, but it highlighted, where necessary, those aspects of knowledge that need further research. Lastly, the literature review provides an overview and detailed knowledge of a researched question and references to the most useful primary sources. It is hoped that the literature review in this study provides adequate knowledge concerning the research questions of this research for further study.

There are various types of literature review designs such as systematic, semi-systematic, and critical literature reviews. This study uses a critical literature review. According to Paré and Kitsiou (2017:169), a critical literature review provides a critical evaluation and interpretive analysis of existing literature on a particular topic of interest to reveal strengths, weaknesses, contradictions, and controversies concerning theories, hypotheses, research methods, and results. It attempts to take a reflective account of the research done and to assess its credibility by using critical interpretive methods. In this study, the researcher reflects on the consequences of the SDA missionary strategies. Did they facilitate the conversion of Africans to Christianity? Or did they contribute to harming Africans' identity and human dignity? In short, this study highlights the weaknesses and strengths of the SDA missionary strategies and their contribution to the conversion of Africans to the Christian faith.

The critical literature review is also a study design that uses critical interpretive methods to analyse data or sources. This study uses the praxis cycle developed by Magde Karecki to analyse various dimensions of the SDA missionaries through their conversion strategies that reveal their cultural bias. This study uses literature sources from inside the SDA Church and outside (non-SDA) perspectives.

Engaging critical interpretive methods highlights the credibility of the literature identified, by corroborating, comparing, and critically subjecting the identified literature to such interpretive research methods. To further ensure the credibility of sources, the researcher not only took any other literature as part of the study. However, the relevant literature was selected using a search criterion such as missionary strategies, decolonising missionary strategies, conversion strategies, SDA missionaries, and others.

1.7.2 Phase 2: Conducting a literature review

The researcher conducted a pilot study to determine what was documented on the missionary strategies of the SDA. Several SDA scholars conducted research on the SDA Church, but hardly any scholarly literature is available on the SDA missionary strategies. To close that literature gap, the researcher visited three SDA mission stations (Western Cape – Helderberg College and Good Hope College; Northern Cape – Beaconsfield SDA Church, and Eastern Cape – Bethel College) in South Africa to read primary documents about the strategies used by the SDA missionaries to convert Africans to the Christian faith. This research is limited to the Cape province and the strategies used at the three mission stations are similar to the ones used in all the provinces of South Africa.

The process followed to identify relevant documents was mentioned earlier; that is, one has to read the abstract, introduction, methodology, and findings of the document. To ensure quality and reliability, the researcher sought the assistance of two trained reviewers to help with the reading of the abstract, methodology, and findings of the sources consulted and included the relevant ones in the study. The reviewers did not need any training as they were already conversant with research. The researcher simply informed them about the topic of this study and the keywords. The reviewers were Adventists and knew the background of the SDA Church and its operations. The literature selection process was documented and reported to avoid losing the reference to the literature. It also involved documenting the selected literature according to the themes relevant to the study.

1.7.3 Phase 3: Analysing the literature review

The type of information that was abstracted to fulfil the purpose of the study includes those dealing with the topic of the study and were classified into conversion strategies of the missionaries in Africa, conversion strategies of the SDA missionaries, weaknesses and strengths of the SDA missionary strategies on Africans, and the historical background of the SDA Church. As mentioned earlier, the analyses of the literature in these identified themes were subjected to critical discourse analyses and the praxis cycle analytical tool.

1.7.4 Phase 4: Structuring and writing the literature review

The researcher ensured that he communicates this review's motivation and needs. The appropriate reporting standards were also used for this specific review, and the researcher included all the information needed in the review. In this phase, the researcher provided sufficient information to allow for transparency, so that readers can judge the quality of the review. The results of the review are presented and explained in the study, with the ultimate purpose of sharing the results with the SDA Church leadership and members, the interested members of society, and academic scholars. The following discussion elaborates more on the critical discourse analysis and praxis cycle.

1.8 Critical discourse analysis (CDA)

According to Rodgers (2004:2), "[c]ritical discourse analysis includes not only a description in context but also explains why and how discourse works". Van Dijk (2006:252) states that critical discourse analysis is interested in and motivated by the endeavour to understand pressing social issues. Roger et al. (2005:368) argue that critical theories are generally concerned with issues of power and justice and the ways in which the economy, race, class, gender, religion, education, and sexual orientation construct, reproduce, or transform social systems. Human subjects use texts to make sense of their world and to construct social actions and relations in everyday life. Simultaneously, texts position and construct individuals, making available various meanings, ideas, and versions of the world (Luke 1999:12). CDA deals with the long-term analysis of fundamental causes and consequences of issues. Therefore, it requires an account of detailed relationships between text, talk, society, and culture. Learning strategies and events can be better understood by examining the community's social issues as well as the language and type of text used. This study is approached from a theological perspective.

According to Locke (2004:1), CDA aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of casualty and determination between discursive practices, events and texts, as well as wider social and cultural structures, relations, and processes; to investigate how such practices, events, and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles for power. Luo (2022:4) suggests steps for conducting a CDA. Step 1: Define the research question and select the analysis

content. Step 2: Gather information and theory on the context. Step 3: Analise the content for themes and patterns. Step 4: Review the results and conclusions. Section 1.13 of this Chapter shows the application of these steps and where these steps are discussed in the chapters of this thesis.

1.9 Praxis cycle (analytical tool)

This method is frequently referred to as the “circle of praxis”, because it emphasises the ongoing relationship between reflection and action. It is related to what has been called the “hermeneutic circle”, or the method of interpretation where new questions are continually raised to challenge older theories by the force of the new situation. Karecki (2005:162) developed the praxis cycle into a fivefold model, which situated spirituality at the center of the cycle and used slightly different terminology such as identification, context analysis, theological reflection, and strategies for mission.

Holland and Henriot (1983:7-8) describe the cycle of praxis as a sequence of four related movements of action and reflection: “(1) insertion, (2) social analysis, (3) theological reflection, and (4) pastoral planning”, placing experience in the middle. Holland and Henriot (1983:8) credit the term “praxis” as “reflection and action directed at the structures to be transformed”.

According to Peterson (2012:1), the cycle of praxis is a framework for creating sustainable, human-centred solutions in response to complex community challenges. It is both a toolbox and a road map. As a cycle, it is responsive to the dynamic nature of problem-solving, by providing the structure that facilitates intentionality in analysis and action. Practitioners of the praxis model believe that, in this concept of praxis, they have found a new and profound way that, more than all others, can deal adequately with the experiences of the past (Scripture and tradition) and those of the present (human experience, culture, social location, and social change).

In their book *Social analysis: Linking faith and justice*, Holland and Henriot (1983) present a model of the “pastoral circle” or “circle of praxis” for faith communities to engage deeply in discerning the social reality of their context, in order to develop fair action plans. The strength of the model lies in the way in which it helps participants unpack the “social, moral, and ethical implications of particular social issues” to affect social change grounded in Christian faith and values (Trokan 1997:148).

This study uses the dimensions of the praxis cycle, as adapted by Karecki, to understand the mission strategies of the SDA missionaries in South Africa. The praxis cycle, according to Karecki, consists of the first dimension of the cycle which interrogates the agency of the participants in a missionary context. This study focuses on literature that has helped the researcher understand the role and positions of all the participants within “missionary work”. It also analyses the kind of relationships that exist between the participants in such missionary engagements. The following are some of the questions the researcher asked in this regard during the literature analysis: Who are the participants? What is their historical background? Who are those who receive the gospel message? What is their role in the conversion process? How are the missionaries related to those in the communities with whom they interact?

The second dimension of the praxis cycle focuses on a thorough analysis of the context. According to Karecki (2005:164), this dimension is interested in understanding the context in which the mission activities take place. Karecki (2005:180) indicates that this analysis would critically examine what influenced the missionary activities, for instance, the economic, political, cultural, and structural factors, and so on. These factors do affect how the missionary activities were influenced. The following questions could be asked when interrogating the context: How do they understand their community? What do they see as good and bad around them? What are the problems they seek to address?

The third dimension of the praxis cycle focuses on the theology underlying the mission activity. In this regard, the researcher asked the following questions when critically reading the literature: What biblical text did they use? How did they interpret those texts? How did those texts relate to the context of the community? What was the relationship between the text they used and the contextual issues that confronted the community?

The fourth dimension of the praxis cycle is influenced by all the other three dimensions and dictates the strategy used by the missionaries. The following question could be important during such an analysis. What decisions, actions, and activities did they do to transform the realities of the community?

The researcher uses the above analytical framework of Karecki to analyse the missionary activities of the SDA missionaries at the three mission stations, by reading the primary “missionary reports” and the “archival documents” written by SDA missionaries, or by others who wrote about SDA missionary work in South Africa. The researcher visited the archives, selected books on the missionaries, and documented the histories of the missionaries and of others on the mission activities that took place. The researcher sought specific information that would address the different questions (according to the dimensions of the praxis cycle) provided above.

1.10 Ethical considerations

Ethics is imperative in research work and refers to moral principles or values that generally govern the conduct of an individual or group. Researchers have responsibilities towards their profession, clients, and respondents and must adhere to high ethical standards, in order to ensure that both function and information are not brought into disrepute (World Medical Association 2001:373).

The researcher is responsible for ensuring that the subjects of the research are respected and protected.

> Investigators must balance their interest in gathering data and answering research questions with society’s mandate to protect the rights and safeguard the welfare of research subjects (National Institute of Health 2004:1).

To be ethical in this research is the goal of the principal researcher. The researcher promises to protect those people whose names are recorded in the archives. Some recordings have hurt people, of whom some are still alive. The researcher uses confidentiality in such cases. The objective of the study is not to discredit anyone, but to allow past information of the SDA missionaries come to light. In addition,, the sources in the archives were old and worn out, so the researcher took precautions in handling them. These records were left in the same condition as they were found.

The researcher was allowed to have access to the archival sources of these three SDA mission stations. The researcher also worked hand in hand with the gatekeepers of the three SDA mission stations to ensure that no damage occurs that would dent the name of the researcher or the University of the Free State in using unethical methods in gathering the data needed for this research work. The

researcher also received approval from the University of the Free State to conduct the research work.

1.11 Value of the study

1.11.1 Academy

The study of missiology should benefit from this study, as the research focuses on the strategies of Adventist missionaries in South Africa. This would contribute to missiological research, which is currently not available, by highlighting the role of SDA missionaries in South Africa, identifying strategies used by SDA missionaries, and analysing the impact of SDA missionaries on Africa. It should also provide upcoming researchers with valuable information that should assist them with references and content for future research on this topic. The study should also add to the knowledge provided by other missiologists such as David Bosch, Andrew Walls, and Paul Hiebert about mission and should also, through the lessons gained in focusing on the SDA missionary strategy, help chart a way in which missionary strategies should be conducted in future.

1.11.2 Church

The research is important to the church, because it should highlight the work of the missionaries and identify areas where the “European” cultural bias has been imported in the church and which can be altered to fit the African milieu. It should assist the church in never repeating the mistakes missionaries made in their strategies of converting people in the past. Lastly, it should also share the good initiatives of missionaries and encourage the church to work with the same enthusiasm in spreading the gospel to other people.

1.11.3 Society

The study should inform society about how the Adventist missionaries worked while they were in South Africa. It should also inform them about how the indigenous life of the society was severely affected and replaced by the culture of Europeans. It can also help society easily recognise those African customs that have been ended or amended by the missionaries.

1.12 Limitations of the study

The research was limited to the missionary activities of the SDA missionaries in Africa and South Africa, in particular. The research only covered three mission stations (Western Cape: Helderberg College and Good Hope College; Northern Cape: Beaconsfield SDA Church, and Eastern Cape: Bethel College) of the SDA Church. It was only limited to analysing the SDA missionary strategies; it did not examine the impact of these strategies on the African people: this topic can form part of another study at a later stage. This study also analysed only the archival documents found at the three missionary stations. Further study of this concept should include the impact of the SDA missionaries on the SDA congregants.

1.13 Chapter outline

1.13.1 Chapter 1: Introduction

This chapter introduces the topic of this thesis, namely to analyse the strategies used by the SDA missionaries to convert people to Christianity in South Africa. The chapter also analyses the key concepts of the study such as, for example, conversion, Christianity, mission strategies, and Seventh-day Adventists. The chapter provides literature and shows the gap in the current research and the rationale for conducting this study.

1.13.2 Chapter 2: Western missionaries' conversion strategies in Africa

This chapter scrutinises the way in which the missionaries operated in Africa. There may be many commonalities in the way in which all missionaries of the different denominations and missions operated. This should also assist in giving the background to how Western missionaries converted Africans to the Christian faith as well as the strategies used by these missionaries to do so. In this chapter, the researcher also discusses the link between missionaries and colonial powers. When referring to missionaries, Bourdillon (1991:269) states that "it is evident that they were part of the colonial structure". This chapter seeks to analyse and explain that connection. Njoku (2007:128) also mentions that missionaries and colonisers wanted to transform African societies. He also deals with how they wanted to achieve the "mission to civilize". All these aspects are discussed in the chapter. The chapter also describes and analyses the strategies used by the missionaries in Africa. These

strategies are scrutinised through the lens of the praxis cycle, which mentions the four dimensions of agency, contextual analysis, theological reflection, and strategies for mission. This cycle helps identify the strategies and categorise them according to the four dimensions of the praxis cycle. Each strategy is explained and analysed and the impact of each strategy on the people is given.

1.13.3 Chapter 3: A historical background of the SDA Church

This chapter provides information on the SDA ministry. It focuses on the characteristics of the SDA Church and provides more information on its origins, growth, the church polity, and mission strategy. This chapter also explains the mission strategy of the church. This should assist in understanding the missionary strategies of the church in the next chapter. It is important to know the connection between the missionary movement and the SDA Church, if it exists. The chapter also mentions the reasons given by the pioneer as to why the church was formed. Knowing the background that motivated its establishment and formation as a church should explain the activities of the church.

This chapter also discusses the mission strategy of the SDA Church. This explains how the SDA Church understands its mission and how it sees itself in that mission. The chapter also compares the SDA Church with other sister churches. In this chapter, the reader should gain a clear understanding of the mission strategy of the SDA Church as well as the encouraging factor that propelled SDA missionaries to go out to other places for missions. The chapter exaplins the doctrines of the SDA Church.

1.13.4 Chapter 4: The SDA missionary strategies in South Africa

In this chapter, the researcher identifies and critically discusses the data collected at the four mission stations. Through the use of the dimensions of the praxis cycle as a hermeneutical instrument, the chapter critically discusses the agency of the missionaries and the converts; the context in which the missionary activities took place; the theology underlying the mission activity, and the activities and strategies used by the SDA missionaries. The chapter discusses the North American context and explains how it differs from other SDA contexts of missionaries who came to South Africa.

1.13.5 Chapter 5: Conclusion and recommendations

In this chapter, the researcher critically reflects on the missionary strategies of the SDA missionaries and links them with recent scholarly work on mission. The analysis of the implications of what was found from the archival documents forms the basis of this chapter. The chapter explains the fruits or results of decolonisation, in anticipation that it should provide some perspectives on the missionary work of the SDA that would contribute to the *Missio Dei*.

In this chapter, the researcher recommends how to minimise or eradicate the fruits of colonisation. These recommendations can help the SDA Church sort out the challenges caused by the negative missionary strategies and function well in the absence of the problems identified in this thesis. This chapter should also help the current missionary strategists of the church steer away from outdated missionary strategies and highlight the current trend in missional strategies that leave no trail of affecting the missional organisation negatively or disadvantage those on which these strategies are implemented.

CHAPTER 2: WESTERN MISSIONARIES' CONVERSION STRATEGIES IN AFRICA

2.1 Introduction

This chapter offers a critical analysis of the strategies used by missionaries who came from other continents to do missionary work in Africa during the nineteenth century. It also scrutinises the missionary activities of Western missionaries in Africa. This will provide some knowledge, in order to understand why foreign missionaries used specific strategies to convert people in Africa, using the praxis cycle (cf. Karecki 1991) as a theological method to analyse the kind of transformation taking place during mission encounters. The praxis cycle will, first, be instrumental in analysing the mission encounters between Western missionaries and people in Africa, by taking into account the context in which the encounter takes place. Furthermore, the role of the missionary and those being converted (agency), as well as the theology that informed the strategies use d during the mission work will be discussed. This is done in the above order, but randomly where such evidence exists.

2.2 Western missionaries' perceptions of Africa and Africans

It is commonly known that Western missionaries who came from foreign countries to Africa had a certain perspective of Africa and Africans (cf. Biko 1978:28-29). Their own Western world view and orientation of Christianity in their home countries made them approach Africans in a particular way. Biko (1978:28-29) responds to the approach of such missionaries in South Africa and argues that they tended to take Africans for granted and engage them from a position of superiority. This study aims to show the general perception[6] by Western and, in particular, European foreign missionaries of Africans. This should assist in analysing the perception of the

[6] Missionaries viewed Africans as "savages" and "primitive" (Nkomazana & Setume 2016). To them they were pagans and heathens who knew nothing about God (Nkomazana & Setume 2016). According to Moffat (1842:245), Africans look at the sun with the eyes of an ox. The missionaries usually equated non-Western cultures with degradation, barbarism, ignorance, and darkness (Moffat 1842:224) They treated African religions as evil and did everything possible to ensure that it was ousted (Nkomazana & Setume 2016).

missionary agents influencing their strategies used in Africa. The researcher will focus on this perception starting from Africa, in general, to South Africa, in particular.

Fanon provides some insight, not limited to Western missionaries, but to Europeans, in general, and their attitude towards Africans. Fanon (1986:7-9) argues that "in Europe, the Black man is the symbol of evil". When Fanon mentions Europe, he denotes mostly all the nations and countries of European descent.[7] Most of the countries originated in Europe. For example, America was populated by people who fled the Christian persecution[8] in Europe. The Statue of Liberty was a gift from France that characterises their European neighbour and origin. The Whites in South Africa are usually known as "Europeans", as an indication of their European descent (Jacobs & Maier 1998:13-34). This clearly distinguishes them from the locals. When Fanon mentions Europe, he includes all the European countries, most of which would view a Black man as a symbol of evil. Fanon illustrates this point when he meets a White man's child who, when he saw him, exclaimed, "Mama, see the Negro! I'm frightened!" (Chachage 2011:5).

> [T]he first white settlers at the Cape entertained strongly hostile views of its indigenous inhabitants even prior to their coming into sustained contact with them (Slabbert & Welsh 1979:12).

In terms of the then reigning colonial understanding, "all conquered people of colour were regarded as heathen 'objects' of mission" (Giliomee 2003:166). The Great Trekkers regarded themselves as "instruments in God's hand to promote Christian civilization and to protect blacks from internecine murder, pillage and violence" (Giliomee 2003:166).[9] "[A]s long as one cannot understand this fact, one is doomed to talk in circles about the 'black problem'" Fanon (1986:10). Evangelicals viewed the natives as 'half-devil, half-child' (Beidelman 1982:51) who, due to their 'depraved' nature, were in need of civilising influence to "materially contribute to the amelioration of their civil and moral state" (W.M.S. 1826:2).

[7] This statement was a general statement.
[8] Others immigrants emigrated for various other reasons.
[9] Strangely enough, though, "[t]he Trekkers themselves played no or little part in promoting Christianity among the Zulu" (Giliomee 2003:116). This phenomenon of playing no role among the Zulu was repeated when an Adventist School operated in a Zulu territory (refer to Chapter 4, section 4.1.2.1.2 and pages 160 and 161 of this research).

Joseph Houldsworth Oldham (1925:31), one of the influential missionaries of the twentieth century, argues that it is striking that "young children seldom show any sign of colour prejudice". However, Keith (1919:17) disagrees, stating "that racial antagonism is deeply situated in the primitive organisation or the human brain". Oldham's argument rests on the evidence displayed when children interact with each other. Oldham (1925:31) provides an illustration to explain his position:

> A friend in India told me that his children, aged three and five, on their first visit to India would play with equal readiness with the children of his European colleague next door, and with those of Indian sweeper: they made no discrimination of any kind.

Devos (2008:61-84) argues that past experience mediates favourable or unfavourable experience" on the mind, and that these thoughts and experiences influence behaviour "of which an individual may not be aware" (Gawronski & Payne 2010:674). In considering crime, Eberhardt (2004:876-893), social psychologist at Stanford University, holds that "blackness is so associated with crime that you're ready to pick out these crime objects". Belenko (2014:97) sums this up by stating that "certain exposures may influence our minds and they can cause subconscious racism in our behaviour towards other people".

A White Afrikaner, Grand Southey, who was interviewed on evangelism and race in South Africa, stated:

> As teenagers I remember discussing with a good friend why people of other races were not allowed to join in events like us and we felt it was wrong, but for our entire lives so far this is the way it was (Transformation 1990:31).

One can assume from this comment that some Afrikaners in South Africa were indoctrinated from childhood to behave in a certain way or treat people of different races differently from the way they treat other Afrikaners.[10] Furthermore, according to Loram (1917:10), it was commonly believed that the African suffered from an arrested intellectual development that set in at puberty and that s/he, therefore, needed to be protected from White competition.

When discussing race relations, one comes to a deeper understanding of the perceptions of White missionaries and their African missionary recipients. Oldham

[10] It must be remembered "that the first [W]hite settlers at the Cape entertained strong hostile views of its indigenous inhabitants even prior to their coming into sustained contact with them (Slabbert & Welsh 1979:12).

(1925:32) refers to five causes of racial antagonism. First, racial antagonism may be due to economic causes, because of the mental state of either the employer or the employee; secondly, racial antagonism may be due to political causes that highlight the differences between the colonial power and the colonised country; thirdly, racism caused by differences in national temperament and character which is mostly influenced by social traditions that are different with each race; fourthly, antagonism that may arise from differences in civilisation, where the fact of Western civilisation will serve as a matter of pride to the Western people to a point where they discriminate against those who are not as civilised as they are, and fifthly, racial antagonism may be due to feelings of superiority, on the one hand, and inferiority, on the other, which are apt to be engendered by the existing political and economic predominance of Western people. Oldham (1925:33) attempts to explain that racial antagonism was an acquired trait and that children were not born with it. Based on his research, Western missionaries' way of viewing Africans and Africa is based on one or more of his views.

Racism in South Africa started long before the apartheid system was formally introduced in 1948. As mentioned earlier, this racism was created by those of European descent. According to Oldham (1925:40), racism is "heightened by habit and association". De Gruchy (1979:13) affirms this, stating that, when the British came to South Africa, they associated with the Afrikaner people, and subsequently continued in the same pattern (racial), enacting racial policies that initially started with the Afrikaners and their Dutch counterparts. The Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa started to legislate separate churches based on colour:

> The Dutch Reformed Church was the initiator of the concept of segregation of Whites and [B]lacks in South Africa. In 1857, the synod of that church decided that Whites and [B]lacks would be separated in the church. It was done for purely pragmatic reasons. But from the 1950s they started to say that it had a biblical justification (DRC General Synod 1857:45)

The Dutch Reformed Church, in justifying the decision, mentioned that they made it "due to the weakness of some Whites" (De Gruchy 1979:8). Although the Cape Colony government instructed the Whites (Afrikaners and British) to apply "friendliness and amiability to natives", that was supposed to end there; they were not supposed to have any relations with the natives (De Gruchy 1979:7). Some

missionaries belonging to the London Missionary Society South Africa, including Van Der Kemp, who married a ‘Coloured’ woman, were accused of “immorality, and others of treason” (De Gruchy 1979:13). At the time, the British and the Afrikaners regarded the natives, including the ‘Coloured’, the Xhosa, and other ethnic/racial groups in South Africa, as inferior to them. Therefore, the Immorality Act under colonial-apartheid times in South Africa. Blacks were also regarded as cattle thieves. Because of the Xhosa wars, the Xhosas were regarded as the enemies of the British settlers (De Gruchy 1979:13). In that situation, anyone who was seen to be sympathetic to the needs of the natives and to have any connection with them was regarded, by both Afrikaners and British people, as reprehensive (De Gruchy 1979:13).

Terms were coined to describe the condition of Africa and the term “dark continent” seemed a proper fit for Africa. People used different terms to depict the way of Africa and Africans. Njoku (2007:49) mentions that “the inhabitants of a great portion of it are very ignorant, being illiterate, unlettered, untaught”. This was an indication that Africans were uneducated, and the reason why missionaries would later introduce Western education to address this challenge. Njoku (2007:38) continues: “all what they know is what was handed down from generation to generation”. This derided the age-old tradition where the older folk instructed the young ones. Njoku (2007:39) concludes, by indicating the way in which Africans were insulted, “they are therefore rude, barbarous, unmerciful, and superstitious”. Hutchinson (2000:290) takes the insult of Africans even further by viewing them as “savages, cultural and spiritual have-nots, the dregs of humanity”. Kollman (2005:49), as if he was pitying the continent, regards Africa as the “most unfortunate and abandoned”. He proceeds to describe the “deleterious effects of the curse of Ham”, “slavery”, “idolatry”, “savage customs like infanticide and cannibalism”, as well as fierce beasts and inclement climate (Kollman 2005:49). Njoku also remarks that Africans are depicted as idolaters, ignorant of God, savages, and descendants of Ham (Njoku 2007:28).

Thompsell (2021:7) mentions that the most common answer to the question, “Why was Africa called the Dark Continent?” is that Europe did not know much about Africa until the nineteenth century. But that answer is misleading and disingenuous. This is a crucial question to answer because it reveals the picture that people wanted

to paint about Africa, which would justify whatever actions they embark upon in Africa.

> Europeans had known quite a lot about Africa for at least 2,000 years, but European leaders began purposefully ignoring earlier sources of information to justify colonialism and anti-Blackness (Thompsell 2021:7).

Lloyd (1975:142-155) confirms the above:

> It is true that up until the 19th century, Europeans had little direct knowledge of Africa beyond the coast, but their maps were already filled with details about the continent. African kingdoms had been trading with Middle Eastern and Asian states for over two millennia. Initially, Europeans drew on the maps and reports created by earlier traders and explorers like the famed Moroccan traveller Ibn Battuta, who travelled across the Sahara and along the North and East coasts of Africa in the 1300s. During the Enlightenment, however, Europeans developed new standards and tools for mapping, and since they weren't sure precisely where the lakes, mountains, and cities of Africa were, they began erasing them from popular maps. Many scholarly maps still had more details, but due to the new standards, the European explorers – Burton, Livingstone, Speke, and Stanley – who went to Africa were credited with (newly) discovering the mountains, rivers, and kingdoms to which African people guided them.

The maps created by these European explorers did add to what was known, but they are also responsible for the myth about the dark continent. The phrase itself was popularised by the British explorer Stanley (1889:28) who, with an eye to boosting sales, titled one of his accounts "Through the Dark Continent", and another, "In Darkest Africa". However, Stanley himself recalled that, before he left on his mission, he had read over one hundred and thirty books on Africa. Summarising this issue, Brantlinger (1985:166-203) mentions that

> [c]alling Africa the Dark Continent further codified the association between whiteness, purity, and intelligence and Blackness as a pollutant that made one subhuman.

He also mentions that "[t]he myth of the Dark Continent" referred to the inferiority that Europeans convinced themselves was endemic to Africa, to further their political and economic agenda, so the idea that Africa was a "dark continent" is not true.

The slave trade is another activity that degraded the worth of Africans. From the inception of the Atlantic slave trade in the fifteenth century to its abolition in the nineteenth century, Africa suffered unprecedented loss in both human life and labour. The practice severely undermined the indigenous socio-ethical system by

exacerbating warfare and kidnappings, which were the means to obtain captures. The practice distorted age-old values of human worth, dignity, and respect. According to Greene (2015:642-661), the slave trade "had ravaged black Africa like a bush fire, wiping out images and values one vast carnage…" and, in some places, greater value came to be accorded to animals rather than to human beings.

Because of the widespread negative terms describing Africa and the perceived needs of this continent, Western missionaries regarded Africans as people who desperately needed the gospel in order to change. Saayman (1991:43) also asserts that the (Western) missionaries perceived Black people as pagans who had to be evangelised. Bosch (1991:102) views them as "people totally deprived of the benefits of the Christian work". The conquest of African societies by European missionaries and colonialists was accompanied by an unprecedented attempt to transform African societies, in order to achieve their objective of the "mission to civilize" (Conklin 1998:640). Indeed, civilising Africans entailed an extensive enculturation process that portrayed all aspects of African culture as inferior (Njoku 2007:128). In observing the current situation of Blacks, Kollman (2005:62) has this to say:

> [W]hen we look at the condition of black people anywhere in the world today, we may be tempted to think that they are cursed by God from the outset … Everywhere, they are a truly miserable condition of ignorance and superstition.[11]

This section discussed how Europeans viewed Africans and how the missionaries connected the state of the African people and their need of conversion.

2.3 A conceptual, critical discussion about "conversion" in Africa

Before the researcher embarks on the conversion strategies of the missionaries on the African continent, it is important to first comprehend their understanding of the word 'conversion', which should assist in better connecting their activities in fulfilling this task. The Bible explains conversion as a process where a "person is being born again", and "becoming a new creature" (John 3:3; 2 Corinthians 5:17). According to Benson Commentary of John 3:3, Jesus, knowing the prejudices Nicodemus laboured under, both as a Jew and a Pharisee, judged it necessary immediately to

[11] Rev. Paul Kollman is associate professor of theology at the University of Notre Dame. His scholarship focuses on African Christianity, mission history, and world Christianity. He has carried out research in Africa and in archives around the world (University of Notre Dame 1990). It must be understood that this was the general perception of an African by most of the Europeans at the time of the missionaries. They viewed people of colour as heathen "objects" of mission (Giliomee 2003:166).

acquaint himself with the need to experience a thorough change of both his heart and his life, to be wrought by divine grace. Benson also mentions that this change is so great that it might appear as if one comes into the new world by a second birth, and would bring the greatest and most learned men to the simplicity, teachableness, and humility of little children (Benson Commentary 1977). The commentary of the verse in 2 Corinthians 5:17 states that,

> [i]f any man be in Christ he is a new creature, or as the words might be rendered, 'there is new creation', and not only is he renewed, but all things are become new. He is a new Adam in a new world (MacLaren's Expositions 1988).

According to the understanding of Jones (1978:73), "[t]he conversion of Constantine to Christianity around 314 A.D. is an issue that is debated by many scholars". Brown (2003:60) argues that

> Constantine was a sun worshipping pagan and the conversion that is mostly spoken about is the switch over from paganism to Christianity.

Monuments such as the Arch of Constantine, which he commissioned, contained no reference to Christianity. Brown (2003:60) further argues that, as the conversion of Constantine was doubtful, he continued to worship his sun god, *Sol Invictus*, whose inscriptions were minted on the coins that he produced, even after he converted to Christianity. Constantine was baptised near the time of his death (Bardill 2012:251-255). Scholars may doubt the conversion of Constantine, but the motives of his conversion are not known. People can only speculate. One thing is certain: Constantine and his successors created a civil society, composed mostly of Christians, in which Christianity was the dominant force (Jones 1978:35).

According to Greshake (1983:19), evidence suggests that there was a biblical understanding of conversion from the Catholics. The church fathers studied many topics, including salvation, extensively and documented their understanding of these topics. They knew that salvation entails the renewal of life in Christ. They were aware that "one can never talk about human guilt and sin without referring simultaneously to forgiveness, renewal by Jesus Christ, and redemption" (Greshake 1983:19). In fact, Bosch (1999:48) describes the church's understanding of salvation as follows:

> In the Byzantine church, redemption was a process in which human nature, by means of a "pedagogical" progression, was taken up into the divine; in the West, the emphasis was

> on the ravages of sin and the reparation of fallen humanity through a crisis experience. The theology of the Eastern church was incarnational; its emphasis lay on the "origin" of Christ, on his pre-existence. The theology of the Western church was staurological (from stauros, Greek for "cross"); it emphasized the substitutionary death of Christ for the sake of sinners.

For Stark (2000:114), religious conversion "marks a transformation of religious identity and is often symbolised by special rituals". This is the case when people convert from one religious persuasion to another.

The Catholics understood that those who were converted should be baptised. Again, there was a difference between Christians and non-Christians. During the Middle Ages, the Catholic law tended to deny non-Christians the same rights as Christians. They only had "natural rights" as "creatures of God". Once baptised, however, they were granted the same political rights as their fellow Christians (Kahl 1978:60-62). According to Bosch (1991:199), it was to their material and political advantage to become Christians. For these reasons, the Catholics had a mission first, to have colonies and, secondly, to have a duty to Christianise the colonised (Bosch 1991:203). Catholics understood that there was no salvation outside the formal membership of the Roman Catholic Church and that it was to people's own eternal advantage if they could be made to join this body (Bosch 1991:210). The Catholic Church had a high view of their calling as they and the church took the matter of salvation literally and used the verse in Luke 14:23, "compel them to come in" (Bosch 1991:211). This "compelling them to come in" later became the motivation for the Crusades, a movement that forced a particular form of Christianity on people. According to Hoekendijk (1967a:317), it is arguably so that colonisation could be regarded as the "modern continuation of the Crusades". "Although Crusade projects failed, the Crusade mentality persisted." (Runciman 1954:24).

During and after the Reformation, Protestants in Europe started sending missionaries to Africa. It is, therefore, important to understand how they conceptualised conversion and how it affected Africans. The notion of salvation centred around the conceptualisation of sin. They believed that, because of the sinful nature of human beings, there was an immense distance between them, creation, and God. Nevertheless, in His sovereignty and grace (*sola gratia*), God took the initiative to forgive, justify, and save them (Niebuhr 1959:18). Their doctrine of

justification became the one on which all other doctrines hinged (cf. Beinert 1983:208). They believed that individuals would be justified by faith when they become aware of their sinful nature and turn to God for salvation. The Protestants also had a low view[12] of the church; for them, the church was only the bearer of mission (Bosch 1991:317). Whereas Catholicism tended to concentrate on the many sins of individuals, Protestants emphasised the sinful nature of human beings, also known as *corruptio totalis* (total depravity) (Luther 1523:432; Gonzalez 1985:33; Gründel 1983:120). Gonzalez and Grundel explain Protestant Theology, initiated by Martin Luther, in contrast to Catholic Theology.

According to Catholic scholars, the reformers were indifferent, if not hostile, to mission. Already in the sixteenth century, Bellarmine (1593:54) stated, with reference to the Reformers, that "they manifested a poor missionary record". Bosch (1991:217) gives five possible reasons for the Protestant inactivity in missions:

> **Firstly**, Protestants saw their principal task as that of reforming the church of their time; this consumed all their energy. **Second**, Protestants had no immediate contact with non-Christian peoples, whereas Spain and Portugal, both Catholic nations, already had extensive colonial empires at the time. The only remaining pagan people in Europe were the Lapps, and they were indeed evangelized by Swedish Lutherans in the sixteenth century. **Third**, the churches of the Reformation were involved in a battle for sheer survival; only after the Peace of Westphalia (1648) were they able to organize themselves properly. **Fourth**, in abandoning monasticism, the Reformers had denied themselves a very important missionary agency; it would take centuries before anything remotely as competent and effective as the monastic missionary movement would develop in Protestantism. **Fifth**, Protestants were themselves torn apart by internal strife and dissipated their strength in reckless zeal and in endless dissensions and disputes; little energy was left for turning to those outside the Christian fold.

This section highlighted the different understandings of the concept 'conversion' by the Catholics and the Protestants who brought these understandings to Africa. Chapter 3 of this research study highlights the understanding of conversion, according to the Adventist Church, the Protestant body, under research in this study.

[12] At the time, the Protestants did not have a clear mission of Ecclesiology, since they had recently severed their connection with Rome. Only at a later stage did they have a clear mission strategy, and that view changed.

2.4 Mission and eschatology

Bosch mentions that there were periods when Christianity was running high in eschatological feve and adds that, as time proceeded, this fever was even on a higher pitch. True to what he mentions, some eschatologists announced the end of the millennium. David Koresh was one of them. Seventy-nine of his cult members perished in a mysterious fire (Pitts 2012:13). The other one was Jim Jones who believed in the imminent second coming of Christ. He led nine hundred and nine of his cult members to commit mass suicide.

According to Bosch, Christian eschatology lent itself, at times, to becoming a playground for fanatical curiosity. He also mentions that it will simply do to label all millenarians crackpots. Pre-occupation with eschatological issues led to an absence of mission. He seems to believe that the proponents of this concept are not for the salvation of the people but for the damnation of everyone. As an example of this, he mentions the Qumram Community[13] in the first century who thought of salvation as separation from the masses who are on their way to damnation. Bosch criticised those missionaries who leave the world to rot, while they eagerly await the imminence of the parousia.

Bosch is correct in his assertion that mission cannot be neglected because of eschatological beliefs. A gospel mandate to every Christian believer is to espouse the Great Commission and go to all parts of the world to preach the gospel of salvation.

Bosch's emphasis on labelling the millennials crackpots or fanatics is unfortunate. Not all those who believe in the imminent return of Christ are crackpots and fanatics. The SDA Church is one of the churches that believes in the second coming of Christ. While the SDA Church is waiting for the second coming of Christ, they have a mission to assist in warning and preparing people for this great event. They have a radical mission-oriented programme that is geared towards opening new churches and evangelising people. As evidence of this radical mission to the world, the SDA Church is one of the fast-growing churches in the world (Schwarz 1979:547). The

[13] The Qumran sects are Jewish monastic groups known, in modern times, for their preservation of the Dead Sea Scrolls, believed in a messianic pair: a priestly messiah from the house of Aaron (the brother of Moses) and a royal messiah from the house of David (Hempel 2012:160-161).

SDA Church is present in all the countries of the world and boasts about its 21,760,076 members worldwide (Feichtinger 2016:382-401).

2.5 Mission post-Enlightenment

The Protestant missions took a turn during the era of the Enlightenment that began in the seventeenth century (cf. Oberman 1986:1-17). Bosch (1991:231) maintains that, for Protestants, "virtually everything that happened since the eighteenth century was, in one way or another, profoundly influenced by the Enlightenment". At the time of the Enlightenment, they perceived themselves as "lacking the urgency about evangelism" (Hutchinson 1982:169). In America, it was increasingly thought that the overseas mission of the American churches consisted in sharing the benefits of the American civilisation and way of life with the deprived peoples of the world (Hutchinson 1982:169). The scientific advance was also regarded, in a rather simplistic way, as a sign of heralding the advent of the kingdom of God (Bosch 1991:248). The responsibility of all missionaries to proclaim salvation to individuals became the hallmark of nineteenth-century missions. By the end of the century, missionaries were pouring in their thousands into Africa and Asia, confident that they had something to offer to the deprived peoples of those continents and convinced that Africans and Asians were eagerly waiting to embrace what they had to offer (Bosch 1991:253).

The Enlightenment era also affected the Catholics. In 1622, the Catholic mission organisation sent the Capuchin representation to the Congo to do an extensive evangelisation effort (Sundkler & Steed 2004:7). They were actively busy with the problem of conversion in Africa. The Catholics devoted themselves exclusively to wholesale mass baptism (Sundkler & Steed 2004:56).[14] They expected people to be baptised in large numbers; the masses would assemble in the marketplaces and queue up to the baptismal font (Sundkler & Steed 2004:51). In one day, they would baptise two hundred and sixty-four people; on another day, two hundred and sixty-nine, and at another time, two thousand and seventy-three people would be baptised. Yet there were exceptions.

[14] The Roman Catholic Church uses biblical accommodation as part of its mission approach. The concept of biblical accommodation is related to the concept of accommodation and condescension, which is described as the view that divine revelation is adjusted to the disparate intellectual and spiritual level of humanity at different times in history (Benin 1993:14). As the representatives of God in a mission, they are to reach as many human beings as possible in their different situations.

> The day after the ruler's baptism at Ngobila, Fr Caltanisetta asked him to have the herald announce that all were to be baptized, but the ruler refused, feeling that each one should be free to decide for him or herself. The energetic Caltanisetta strangely took this to mean that he could begin baptizing everybody "without distinction". But he had overstepped his mark. As the people did not know the Sacred Baptism, they fled into the bush and it was in vain that we pleaded with them to receive Baptism, by which the sons of the Devil would become Sons of God and inheritors of Holy Paradise. Thus, I could not manage to baptize more than 248 (Sundkler & Steed 2004:83).

To most people, it became obvious that those who were associated with the Christian missions received preferential treatment. Fear and insecurity, coupled with the realisation that Christianity had suddenly become a badge of honour, persuaded many people to reconsider their position regarding the Christian missions (Olatunde 2016:20). There is strong evidence, however, that social position was a significant factor in conversion. Mission communities attracted second-class citizens and social outcasts because these people were seeking an opportunity to build a new identity and to join a society in which they could participate and exert some influence. In other words, mission Christianity provided the potential for social mobility. At the same time, however, converting to Christianity was a personal commitment that threatened to sever all old familial and social ties (Spindler 2005:68). While the Khoi people had found favour primarily among White settlers, the Mfengu settled among Xhosa-speaking people as "clients", until they found an opportunity to ally themselves with the colony against the Xhosa-speaking people. They were rewarded with land that had been taken from the Xhosa-speaking people and were more willing than the Xhosa-speaking people to adopt European customs and practices, including Christianity (Spindler 2005:71).

There were times when missionaries would use other methods to gain more converts to the Christian church. Writing about the Catholic Church in Uganda, Rev. Dr John Waliggo (1978:34) emphasises that "prayers to and for the dead and the baptising of the dying to assure them of heaven, had a great appeal [with] the converts" (cf. Nthamburi 1991). This was perceived as something altogether different from the approach of the old evidence which "suggests that the impact of Christian eschatology has been widespread and profound" (Waliggo 1978:35; Mthamburi 1991:29). In other areas where missionaries did not always note down the conversion numbers they wanted, they began to allow their congregants to mix

African spiritualism with Christianity. African spirituality beliefs allowed Africans to communicate through ancestors. This was the spirituality of the southern Africans. The Catholics allowed their congregants to pray via their dead relatives to the Christian God, in order to gain more members (Mthamburi 1991:30).

The Enlightenment had an impact on Christian mission. The Enlightenment revolutionised the way in which things were done in the past and introduced new thoughts and methods of action. This time, also known as the "Age of Reason", swept away the traditional structures of the ancient regime (the monarchy, the privileges of the nobility, and the political power of the Catholic Church). It unleashed a new religion and celebrated ideas of liberty and equality for everyone. Although the main aim of Enlightenment was to "improve human conditions on earth rather than concern with religion and afterlife", it helped revive the church's role in society. Soon after this time of Enlightenment, the church saw its role in society. Many missionary societies arose, with the aim of spreading the gospel. They came to Africa, Asia, and the Pacific to spread the gospel of salvation. During this time, Christianity experienced scathing attacks and criticism from philosophers such as Voltaire, who claimed that "Christianity was going to cease to exist in the coming century" (Ages 1965:67-79). These attacks assisted in revolutionising the mission of the Christian church. In his comments on this time, Hastings (1994:34) observes:

> One of the most powerful cultural transformations in Africa in the modern history has been the dramatic expansion of Christianity in the 19th and 20th century.

This same time is the motif for this research, namely the impact that these mission societies had on the African continent post-Enlightenment.

2.6 The practice of slavery in African missions

The trading of slaves and putting them in service of the mission stations was another strategy used by the missionaries. Before the researcher embarks on this strategy, it is important to highlight some of the significant issues about slavery. First, slavery operated in the world between the 15th and 19th centuries. Slave trade was prevalent among both African tribes and Arab traders prior to the coming of Europeans to Africa. It is also believed that

> Between the 15th and 19th Centuries,[15] it is estimated that up to twelve million Africans were forced onto European slave ships and taken across the Atlantic (Ross 2007:56).

The slaves were Black people who were taken from African countries mostly by African slave raiders to be sold as slaves to Europeans. The European demand for slaves provided a lucrative business for these African slave raiders in the interior. Historians write that "people were captured by force through raids before being sold to other parts of the world" (Hitchens 2011:177). By then, slavery was an acceptable trade and no one was excluded from it. Hitchens (2011:178) posits that "[t]he most devout Christians made the most savage slaveholders" (cf. Rae 2018:par. 2).[16]

> The slave trade had negative effects on Africa in both the short and long term. In addition to displacing a significant percentage of the population, the slave trade encouraged African nations to wage war and disrupted local cultures and economies. This destabilized the region as a whole and made it almost impossible for African countries to industrialize, which in turn made the nations of Africa far more susceptible to European colonization and exploitation (Smith 1895:24).

The slave trade left African countries in such a poor condition that they were susceptible to colonisation and exploitation. The other effect of the slave trade was to instil a spirit of distrust between African nations. Battles were waged between different nations and civil war erupted between people of the same countries.

> History analysts are divided on the effects of slavery on African demographics, but they all underscore the fact that it changed the composition and the size of the population. Slave trade alone is approximated to have affected over ten million Africans while the form of slavery that exercised between 600 and 1600 is said to have displaced over six million able individuals. (Hacket 2003:12).

In the eighteenth century, the slave trade with its rapidly increasing profits became particularly cruel. Fr Francisco M. Bordale wrote in 1835:

> The outrage and horrors in the oppression of the Natives – crimes committed here without punishment – are the causes of the threatening depopulation of the country (Hacket 2003:137).

Slave traders took able men and women, and soon their countries in Africa were left with weak people who could not be recruited in the workforce or who became

[15] Slavery was practised in biblical times. However, slavery is believed to have started in roughly 1619 in America (Library of Congress 1863).
[16] Most of the Christians defend slavery "as an institution of God". Others state that slavery was widespread in the Roman world, and yet Jesus never spoke against it (*Christianity Today* 1960).

soldiers to protect the countries. All the strong people were taken as slaves to America and Europe.

The slave owners did not want their slaves to become Christians. According to English law,[17] it was illegal to enslave Christians. This meant that, if their slaves convert to Christianity, they had to liberate those slaves when they were baptised. According to them, Christianising their slaves would cause pride and arrogance in the mind of the slaves and elevate them, make them lazy, think highly of themselves, and become rebellious. They also feared that Christianising their slaves would make the slaves too comfortable to a point when they would forget that they are "foreign" and think "that they are more human in their eyes" (Raboteau 2004:75-76). It is important to note that slaves were not viewed as "human" by their masters; they were simply there to carry on with all the menial jobs in which no one wanted to engage. The slaves did basically everything their masters were too lazy to do. They worked in mining, did all menial agricultural work, and worked in plantations. The fear that Christianity would elevate the slaves was set aside, when "there was a colonial declaration that baptism was not altering the status of slaves" (Raboteau 2004:75). After this declaration, slaves were allowed to become Christians.

Christian missions took a leading role in lobbying to end the slave trade and to suppress slavery. This was a time when "abolitionists" were speaking strongly about the sinfulness of slavery (Diouf 2003:145). Religious societies had been sending their members to Africa and other lands to spread the message of the Gospel, assist the people with social services, and help suppress slavery and the slave trade. According to some, this was the solution to guarantee the abolishment of slavery that had exploited Africans for centuries (Budros 2005:941-966).

The slave trade was abolished in 1809, but this announcement was met with different reactions. In South Africa, slave traders rejected the idea that slaves were freed. They always regarded slaves as their servants; hence, they wanted the slave

[17] In the earlier centuries up to the mid-nineteenth century, Christianity was the dominant religion in England and Scotland. It was also said that "the eternal principles of natural religion are part of the common law" … so that any person reviling, subverting, or ridiculing them, may be prosecuted at common law. The direct enforcement of Christian orthodoxy by the law was finally removed when the common law of blasphemy was abolished in 2008 (Rivers [n.d.]:144). Christianity was part and parcel of the common law of England. Under this law, all citizens were protected and more especially the Christians were even more protected than others. Under this law, no Christian could be enslaved. (The American Law Register 1890).

trade to continue. The British, who were in power at that time, proposed a system of equality among the inhabitants of the Cape colony. This did not go down well with the Afrikaners.[18] They could not imagine a future where they would be equal with their servants. According to De Gruchy, the Dutch settlers mentioned that the freedom of slavesdid not drive them to such lengths, as they were being placed on an equal footing with Christians, contrary to the laws of God and the natural distinction of race and religion, so that it was intolerable for any decent Christian to bow beneath such a yoke. Because they regarded this as an impossible task, they decided to "withdr[a]w in order to preserve our doctrine in purity" (De Gruchy 1979:19).

Catholics and Protestants had a different way of handling Africans. Catholics tended to welcome Africans and to convert them simply and with hardly any hassle. Protestants, on the other hand, tended to insist on instruction and conversion before baptising Africans into the church. In British colonies, the Anglican Church was notoriously reluctant and hesitant to convert enslaved people, mainly because of the opposition and hostility they would experience from the colonisers (De Gruchy 1979:16, 17).

According to Kollman (2005:79), the mission of the Spiritans (Catholic missionaries) was the "evangelisation of former slaves". The Spiritans benefited immensely from the abolishment of slave trade, but instead of returning the freed slaves to their original homes, they recruited them against their will to be inhabitants of the mission stations. This could easily be regarded as another form of slavery. Kollman (2005:79) further mentions that the missionaries envisaged these ex-slaves as colonisers of the interior, a nucleus of the dependable Catholics, around whom they would then build up the church by attracting the surrounding people to the prosperity and good order of the mission. Because of their importance, the missionaries set their sights on doing all they could to transform these ex-slaves into the best

[18] The Dutch settlers, most of whom were farmers (Boers) often living in remote country areas, had begun to lose touch with their own European culture and were starting to mould a new one with its own language and traditions (Afrikaans and Afrikaners). The British Colonial agents and the British settlers who came to South Africa in 1820 to settle in the Eastern Cape frontier were a different European breed (De Gruchy 1979:10).

Catholics possible (Kollman 2005:5). The Spiritans and the slaves they evangelised met in the same place and time, yet they imagined themselves very differently.[19]

The Church Missionary Society (CMS), an offshoot of the Anglican Church, began to work in the freed slave villages in Sierra Leone in 1804, and the Methodist Church in 1811. Speaking about those freed slaves of Sierra Leone, Goheen (2014:45) has the following to say:

> After British abolitionists founded Sierra Leone as a colony for the return of rescued slaves to Africa, African American Baptist preacher David George (d., 1810) led a group of hymn-singing former slaves ashore to colonize it in 1792. Groups of former slaves flowed into Sierra Leone, many of whom were convinced that their liberation from slavery was a divine calling for the evangelization of Africa. Through evangelical religion, modern agriculture, trade, and literacy, Sierra Leone Christians hoped to undercut the slave trade at its source, and to spread Christianity throughout West Africa.

In fact, the CMS has been credited as being "the first to become firmly established chiefly among the freed-captive and freed-slave settlers" (Heinegg 2005:1). The early success of the missionaries included areas such as Freetown and the neighbouring villages. Some early success includes the Liberian coast where Afro-Americans and freed slaves were converted. The others include the French trading posts at Grand Bassam (Ivory Coast), Assini, and Libreville in Gabon.

Kollman (2005:45) asserts that the targets of the missionary zeal, the Africans, came to Zanzibar, the Catholic mission, from various places and were taken against their will. He further mentions that the treatment of these ex-slaves was similar to the treatment of people in penal institutions. According to him, most of them arrived at the mission after being ransomed by the Spiritans (from Zanzibar's slave market or less formal situations), or after being freed at sea (usually through British interventions). A small number of them came to the Spiritans from the streets of Zanzibar or other places from which they probably either escaped or where they were abandoned by their masters. Later, the Spiritans received refugees and

[19] In his book, *Evangelization of slaves and Catholic origins in Eastern Africa*, Kollman (2005:8) argues that the Spiritan missionaries regarded the ransomed slaves as slaves. However, Henschel (2016:46) contends the statement of Kollman, by stating that the Spiritans regarded the ransomed slaves as free persons and evangelised them as such. He quotes the Spiritans Constitution of 1878 which was binding to all missionaries: "The missionaries had to commit themselves to fight slavery and the dreadful slave trade. They shall ransom as many slaves as possible and lead them to Christianity". Nnamunga (2019:188), Rector of Spiritans, argues in support of Kollman's statement.

orphans from war, the children of families suffering famine, and those released by the Germans from slave caravans (Kollman 2005:45).

Finally, there is a factor that was not appreciated previously. Nearly all the Spiritans were exposed to nineteenth-century penal institutions designed for the reform of juveniles (Kollman 2005:46). After the abolishment of slaves, freed slaves were converted to Christianity in many parts of the world. The abolition of slave owning in 1807 and slave trading in 1834 throughout the British Empire proved to be two important turning points. Outlawing the slave trade and converting freed slaves became a powerful motive for setting up European Christian missions. Sierra Leone and Liberia became colonies set up by freed slaves (Mugovera 2016:178).

Eurocentric Christianity was a new form of slavery.[20] The slaves now had new masters to serve, the missionaries. They were also supposed to obey all the rules of the mission station, or face expulsion. The missionary was superior and demanded absolute obedience from the new converts (Kollman 2005:5).

2.7 The fusion of Christianity with Western culture

Another missionary strategy was to view other nations as heathen[21] and use the Western culture as Christian culture. For the missionaries, this was the Christianity they were bringing to Africa, and they expected it to be accepted by Africans with open arms. Most of the missionaries[22] [23] regarded Western culture as the superior culture and there was no distinction between the Western culture and the Western religion, as Van den Berg (1956:157) states: “the one set of characteristics

[20] This kind of Christianity made the Africans to mimic and to do all the cultural actions of Europeans. “Western theology” was transmitted unchanged to the burgeoning Christian churches in other parts of the world. These churches, of a lesser order than those in the West, needed benevolent control and guidance, like children not yet come of age (Bosch 1991:257). In 1880, Otto Schott, a Basel Mission director, complained that the missionaries controlled the industries even to the smallest detail, that they distrusted the Indians, and that the local Christians had become “slaves and pliable members” of the church who could easily be dismissed from their work (cf. Rennstich 1982:97).

[21] Mokoka uses terms such as “barbaric” and “uncivilized” to describe the way in which missionaries viewed the African culture. He also mentions a Roman Catholic missionary among the Zulu people, Father Joseph Gerald, who mentioned that he came to work among people who have no idea of decency (in Mokoka 1984:117).

[22] According to Edusa-Eyison (2006:93-123), these European missionaries did not respect the people’s culture as “everything Africa was primitive, pagan, fetish, and heathen in the eyes of Europe”. Hence, Africans were told that to become Christians they must renounce their cultural practices and accept that of the Europeans (this was a kind of package deal).

[23] For some of these early missionaries, a bit of “[W]hite man’s” civilisation will be good to the “heathen” Africans. They thus proceeded to caricature the people’s cultures and traditions, presenting theirs as superior. Onyeoma (2009:16) affirms that “some missionaries were not actually presenting Christ but rather the superiority of their culture and personality”.

presupposed the other". This meant that all converts were to accept not only the Western religion, but also the Western culture. Their own nationality was supposed to cease and the Western culture was to be accepted. Kane (1978:345) mentions that, with few exceptions, the missionaries go to non-Christian people whose values system may be entirely different from their own. According to Kane, the missionary may sincerely desire to identify with the culture, but he can go only so far and then he runs into trouble. Showing the challenge of this strategy, Kane (1978:345) concludes with a bold statement: "Becoming all things to all men in a non-Christian culture poses some vexing problems for the Christian missionary".

The missionaries denounced the African way of doing things. They condemned drums and dances so dear to the African soul (Wilkinson 1898; Adu-Gyamfi & Ampadu 2000). Instead, they used musical instruments imported from the West. Lamenting over this situation, Sookhdeo (1987:95) avers that the Anglican Church in Africa inherited the *Prayer Book* written in AD 1662 in the English language, which was translated literally into local African languages.[24] He adds that the *Prayer Book* has important principles of worship, but it leaves no room for including African expressions and useful traditional elements in worship. Instead of adapting the teaching and practices of the "new" religion to suit indigenous values, as happened when the same Christian religion adopted Greek, Roman, German, and Anglo-Saxon native practices, the early Christian missionaries condemned them as totally "pagan" and to be avoided by their converts, whatever they considered strange (Nyadzi 2022:15).

After denouncing the African culture, the missionaries began to introduce Christianity which was connected to their culture. According to Kane, missionaries failed to encourage the indigenisation of Christianity. It never entered their minds that Christianity could retain its essential core while simultaneously being expressed in Oriental and African forms. They seemed to think that the form was essential to the substance and must forever remain Western in motif. They erected church buildings

[24] There missionaries worked tirelessly in translating material for the African cultures. One of these dedicated missionaries is Lamin Sanneh whose prodigious writing and distinguished career as a historian, scholar of World Christianity, and advocate of interreligious dialogue turned the narrative of missionary complicity in the colonial project on its head. He did not deny that some missionaries were problematic in their individual attitudes towards local cultures. He showed that there is much more to the story, and that had to do with the nature of the gospel itself (Heschel 1962:3).

replete with spire, bell, and cross. They introduced hymns with Western words and Western tunes. The liturgy was Western in style (Kane 1978:282).

The introduction of Western-style Christianity uprooted African culture and left the African confused. African scholars endeavoured to salvage the situation and to "Africanise" Christianity. Attempts are now being made to use important principles of worship as a basis of enriching the *Prayer Book* with elements of African traditions and culture (Sookhdeo 1987:95). "Together we shall sing and dance in jubilation to the beat of [the] drum and to the sound of the reed". It can be deduced from the above that, while liturgy in its fullest form, marks the form of African Christian worship, spontaneity in the movement of the body, for example, "dancing and clapping of hands must be allowed for worship in Africa, as a form of ecstasy as opposed to Western forms where quiet solemnity rules". Worship in Africa is always festive, spiritual, oratorical, rhetorical, musical, poetic, and physical. "Love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy mind and with all thy soul" (Hans 1972:31).

Walls concludes that some African theologians have asked Western theologians some pertinent questions. The theologians, he continues, from the new (or younger) churches [of the South] made their pilgrimages to the theological learning of the older churches [of the North].

> They had no alternative. They have eaten theology with Western missionaries; they have drunk theology with them; they have dreamed theology with them … They know the Western missionaries theologically. The question they posed to the Western Theologians was: do they know them theologically? Would they like to know them theologically? These are questions that only Western theologians can answer (Walls 2000:255).

This statement is a cry from African theologians for Western missionaries to understand and accept the way in which Africans perceive theology. A platform must be created to discuss an understanding between the two parties. This mutual respect and understanding will assist in spreading and accepting Christianity among Africans.

2.8 Preaching to the African people

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the European missionaries used preaching as one of the tools to convert the people of Africa. Ntsikana, a Xhosa prophet (1780-1820) (Booi 2008) caught the spirit of the Christian religion from the preachings of Dr

Van der Kemp (1748-1811), who was a missionary among the Xhosa people. After his conversion, Ntsikana founded his own church (Booi 2008). Kollman (2005:45) calls it the "common strategy", and Kane (1978:297), when listing the duties of an evangelist, mentions preaching as one task that a missionary was supposed to do, in order "to make disciples of all nations." In South Africa, this strategy was marked by trading among different nations. It was a time for trade relations; the slave trade was still rife. The following information on the situation was documented:

> If the expansion of white settlement under the British led to a vast expropriation of African land and labour, it also led to a rapid expansion of unequal trading relations. Black-[W]hite exchange existed in the frontier zone from the early, 18th century. British traders soon crossed colonial frontiers and were at Shaka's court by the early 1820s. They exchanged African cattle and crops for beads and brandy and on occasion may have purchased slaves, although even settlers well beyond colonial boundaries now disguised this as "apprenticeship" and "indenture". The establishment of republics throughout the 19th century meant that Black Africans continued to lose land and ultimately their independence to [W]hite-dominated governments (De Gruchy 1979:167).

It is undeniable that the missionaries who, as mentioned in the previous section, were channelling racial attitudes against the Africans, intended to view the latter becoming Christians. It is not clear whether the preaching was for the Africans to repent to Christianity or to espouse civilisation. But it was more towards civilisation than towards Christianity. The following quotation alludes to that fact:

> From the end of the 18th century, European missionaries were crucial in the transformation of African society at the Cape. With Christianity came Victorian notions of civilization and progress. Progress meant that Africans produced agricultural products for export and entered into the labour market (De Gruchy 1979:120).

The aim of missionary preaching was to convert the African people. The following question comes to mind: Who is an African? A rough description of an African is someone who is loud, likes to dramatise things naturally without attending drama school, and sings and speaks with passion. Mathema (1999:182) illustrates this point and argues that "Africans are notoriously religious". Another question is whether the missionaries were prepared to have a sermon to satisfy the African's characteristics mentioned earlier. White people often used the following style of preaching:

> The British preacher came from a church which had a strong low-context orientation. In low-context churches, the sermons are usually, as James Plueddemann points out, expository sermons which "concentrate on what the Bible says and less on the

> immediate felt needs of the people". The sermons are logically structured and usually delivered in a calm and dignified manner. They are usually verse-by-verse expositions of a particular biblical passage. Verse-by-verse expository preachers often go consecutively through a biblical book. The worship service in low-context churches typically follows a certain order and starts and finishes precisely at the set times. The accompanying songs and hymns tend to contain good biblical theology and often focus on the attributes of God and the work of Christ (Prill 2020:3).

The following form of sermon appeals to an African congregation:

> In high-context churches, the sermons are often delivered in a lively way. Most African preachers preach with passion and expect the congregation to respond spontaneously. Exclamations such as "Amen", "Hallelujah", or "Preach it Pastor" are very common25. The same is true for the rest of the worship in such churches. There tends to be a lot of body movements among the worshippers and the songs which the congregation sing are often vigorous songs with simple repetitive messages. In high-context churches worship means an energetic and enthusiastic celebration (Prill 2020:4).

The missionaries did everything to convey their message to the African people. It must be remembered though that this message was given in a Western style and did not appeal to the African. They used different platforms to present their message. In outlining the work of missionaries while preaching, Njoku (2007:135-136) mentions the following. First, the intial missionaries preached on the streets and marketplaces; secondly, they preached to people who gathered at various compounds; thirdly, they toured towns and villages and would stay in the place for a few days; fourthly, chiefs offered them hospitality and protection, and they would stay and preach to the crowds … They denounced polygamy, native healing practices, divination, rainmaking, rites of passage, festivals, and several other religious and cultural practices. Initially, mission Christianity, which includes preaching, hardly appealed to Xhosaland residents who were still economically and politically independent of the Cape Colony (Erlank 2003:19). Until the 1840s, the rate of conversion to Christianity among the Xhosa remained low, despite the concerted efforts of Protestant missionaries who settled in Xhosaland (Erlank 2003:19).

[25] These actions are common in both African Independent Churches and Charismatic Churches. These churches incorporate their "shout traditions into their Christianity" (Kemp 1956:5). But this phenomenon is not noted among Black Mainline Churches. Often, in these churches, such actions are strongly opposed and those who make these noises are rebuked as sowing confusion in the church.

The missionaries failed to perceive the culture of the people, in order to align their preaching to appeal to that culture. Because of this neglect, they did not always reach the people with the gospel message. Frost and Hirsch (2013:107-108) rightly state that, when the British missionaries arrived in what was then called Rhodesia in southern Africa to preach the good news about Jesus, they came with all the trappings of the colonial era. Bound up with their preaching were certain assumptions and inherent belief systems that were thought to be Christian, but now seem to simply reflect the culture of Victorian England. The following illustrates that the Whites did not consider the background of the people to whom they were preaching.

When the British preachers evangelised the Zanaki people of what is now called Zimbabwe, they quoted Revelation 3:20: “Here I am! I stand at the door and knock. If anyone hears my voice and opens the door, I will come in and eat with him, and he with me.” In polite and proper British culture, when visiting someone else’s home, the door would be closed and probably locked, and the inhabitants would be privately and securely ensconced inside. Therefore, one knocked loudly on the front door to gain entry.

> In Zanaki culture homes have no doors. To enter the home of your friend in your village, you would call out loudly at the doorway. In a small community your voice would be immediately recognized, and you would be invited to enter. The only people who knocked were thieves. They did not wish to be identified. Having knocked surreptitiously, if the thieves heard stirring inside the house, they would sneak away (Frost & Hirsch 2013:107-108).

If you knew this about the Zanaki culture when you come to Revelation 3:20, in which Jesus talks of himself both knocking and calling out, which would you emphasise? Because the British missionaries had no knowledge of Zanaki customs, they blithely preached that Jesus was knocking on the door. And by doing so, they “inadvertently made him out to be a sneaky thief” (Frost & Hirsch 2013:107-108).

Before long, the local converts carried on with missionary preaching. Njoku (2007:135) mentions that the other missionary groups had the assistance of catechists and teachers who were trained in their schools. These catechists and teachers understood the native religious practices much better than expatriate missionaries. As a result, their preaching was more penetrating (Njoku 2007:135).

Missionary preaching, mostly done by local converts, was responsible for bringing many converts to the Christian faith. Preaching took place in church buildings, at the homes of prospective believers, and at marketplaces. Missionaries used the evangelistic campaigns widely as a strategy to convert many Africans (mass evangelisation). This afforded the missionaries the opportunity to present their message in an organised and convincing way. At the end of the sermon, an appeal would work directly with the heart and sometimes the emotions of the listeners, many of whom would come forward and join the Christian church.

Preaching was perhaps the most important tool of mission. Most of the converts were those who listened to the gospel of salvation, as interpreted by the missionaries. Peel (2003:182-186) points out the following stages, as early missionaries commenced their work in the Yoruba territory. The missionaries pleaded with the people to repent and accept Christianity. Their insight into the Gospel and culture dynamics indicated the quality of truth that would set the people free. They pointed to the nonpartial patterns of God's working in history, and encouraged people of all cultures, and particularly those from "primal" backgrounds, to believe that Jesus wishes to find a home among them. They also inspired hope that it is possible to work for the conversion of their cultures and to realise the biblical and eschatological vision.

Commenting on the conversion of young people, Njoku avers that, as in other parts of Africa in the late nineteenth century, missionaries played a big role as the new belief system began to gain precedence among young people (Njoku 2007:61). He states that people responded fairly slowly to the initiative of the missionaries by accepting their invitations to join the church (Njoku 2007:134-135). But there was a challenge in the conversion of more people to Christianity. Njoku (2007:135) argues that, as more people converted to Christianity, the fabrics of the indigenous religion weakened even more.

Once the people were converted, the missionaries required them to burn their old religious symbols:

> burning of effigies, icons, ritual plants, and other symbols of the indigenous religion were common during parish missions or retreats, especially among the Catholics (Njoku 2007:137).

According to Njoku (2007:137), the new converts surrendered their protective charms and other religious symbols, as the condition for full admission into the church (cf. Olatunde 2016:163).

Some people used the opportunity presented by the missionaries for their own hidden agendas. According to Njoku (2007:59), since the times were not ideal for doctrinal contestations, Mutesa, a king from Buganda, simply pretended ignorance before the Europeans. Njoku (2007:59) mentions that this cunning and diplomatic king and his chiefs simply gave their promise to accept the Christians' Bible, even though this obviously meant that Mutesa hoped the goals he failed to accomplish with his espousal of Islam might still be attained with the White man's religion. According to Njoku (2007:59-60), Mutesa hoped that European guns and technology would flow into Buganda with the mission's presence. In summing up Mutesa's plan, Njoku (2007:60) states that, while Mutesa's interest in a new religion was motivated by his uncanny obsession for survival, it was not lost to the indigenous religion elite – the oracular agents, priests and diviners – those that his manoeuvres endangered their powers, and by implication, the very foundation of society. In other words, Mutesa sold his nation for what he would gain by pretending to convert to Christianity.[26]

In speaking about the kind of conversion that is needed among nations, Walls comments that, recently, Christianity and traditional religion operated along parallel tracks, with the result that the primal traditions were only partially converted. He then provides a solution, stating that there is a need for total conversion, and the interpenetration of the two traditions. In other words, work for conversion within primal religion, rather than conversion from it (Walls 2000:223).

The challenge with Christianity is that newly converted Africans reversed to their old religion as soon as they were challenged and in crises. Fr Mullan, a contemporary during the colonial period, mentions the following on African Christianity: "Its roots in its new soil are not strong"(Walls 2000:223). He argues that Christianity radically alienated the Africans from the securities they had enjoyed within their cultural pattern of life. In times of crisis, the converts fell back on their familiar securities

[26] Although Mutesa pretended to be converted by the missionary's preachings, he had a secret plan to obtain guns through his connection with the missionaries. To be converted or to attend a missionary school was a notable and recognised cleavage in African society in Xhosa land in 1850 (Mayer 1980:1).

(Njoku 2007:137). Omoyajowo (1973-1975:26) asserts that Christianity does not have deep roots in African converts:

> Today many African theologians are concerned to formulate a genuine African theology because Christianity has remained foreign to African believers. Perhaps African Christians received the new faith with a grain of salt. As long as Africans remain split between two faiths, we cannot expect either religion to take hold seriously, nor should we blame either one for not being efficacious.

Christianity needs to be understood by Africans and be articulated within the African context, in order to be fully assimilated in the cosmology of Africa. Without this, the new African converts will always practise their African religions in private.

2.9 The separation of African converts from their contexts

To ensure the commitment of new converts to Christianity and avoid the influence of unconverted communities, the missionaries established mission townships for converts. Salems[27] protected the converts from possible maltreatment from their families and friends (Agbeti 1986:67), but they also broke family ties and weakened community, tradition, and culture. As Busia (1967:13) observes, “African converts [to Christianity] have been invited to separate themselves from their own communities by rejecting their own traditional beliefs and practices”. Sarbah (2014:7) paraphrases Graham as noting that “even those Christian converts living with non-Christians were encouraged not to eat with the latter”. Thus, early Christian converts were isolated from their communities and society. Oduyoye (2009:43) asserts that the liberty of the African converts was relative to their willingness to leave their African community. They were supposed to leave their “heathen” tribes to be Christian converts. This was not the word to nations; it was to “individuals”.

> The individual responsibility of missionaries to proclaim salvation to individuals became the hallmark of nineteenth-century missions. The people after accepting the missionary’s message had to leave their communities and join the mission stations. Here they were further instructed not only in the gospel but to understand the Western culture (Bosch 1991:87).

The ability of missionaries to convert people and keep them on their stations also seems to have been somewhat in doubt. According to Etherington (1983:134), only

[27] Groundless fears that the converts would become contaminated with ‘paganism’ led some of the Christian missionaries, notably the Presbyterians, to separate the Christians from the rest of the township (Adu-Gyamfi & Ampadu 2000:23).

twelve per cent of people on mission stations were there for “spiritual” reasons. The majority sought either psychological security or material advantage. Campbell (1815:224) claims that missionary stations are surrounded by moral atmospheres or have a moral and civilising influence on a considerable distance around them, beyond which it is extremely hazardous for White men to go. Africans resented the missionary’s presence and acted on those who had associations with them. Erlank (2003:36) mentions two examples of this happening in a Fingo mission station called Falconer (Ncwazi) in 1855:

> While most people, following Zibi, condoned Christianity, some did oppose it. Ncwanya Zibi was repeatedly solicited to abandon his Christian ways and return to the red clay. Laing rnentions another occasion when he and Ncwanya spoke to a mother who was preventing, her daughter from attending worship. “She pleaded the common excuse which people plead when they wish to have nothing to do with religion, by saying she was stupid or ignorant”.

Whole populations moved away from the mission stations; individuals suspected of Christian leanings were administered magic and emetics, and converts were ostracised and quarantined to missionary settlements, thus being effectively purged from the group’s polity and its social functions (Frescura 2015:12).

Missionaries recruited residents for the mission station by buying slaves or getting new converts from the local communities. Other people who were recruited in the mission stations were slaves (Kollman 2005:78). According to Kollman, the slaves’ first encounter with the missionaries came through a process of transaction effected by the decisions of the missionaries to purchase them, to receive them (mostly) from the British, or to gather them. Upon arriving at the mission, the slaves procured by the mission were probably prone to obey those deemed above them, especially if they were children (Kollman 2005:79).

The life of the converts at the mission station was one of obedience to the missionaries. The missionary took them in their “residential” stations, after which they became virtual wards of the mission. The missionary in charge provided them with food, clothing, shelter, and security; taught them to read and write; gave them land, seed, and tools to make a garden, and taught them a trade. All they asked in return was obedience. If they did not accept the discipline of the community, they

were chastised. In rare cases, they were even flogged. The greatest punishment was expulsion from the community (Kane 1978:282).

Keeping Africans at the mission stations affected them and their families. To ensure the commitment of new converts to Christianity and to avoid the influence of unconverted communities, the missionaries established mission townships for converts. As could be expected, this separation created animosity and hatred among families and friends.

2.10 The pursuit to change the world view of Africans

Some scholars argue that it was a strategy of missionaries to change the converts' world view and lifestyle to the Western ones. Baur (1994:55), for instance, argues that missionaries were convinced of the absolute superiority of their culture and sought to annihilate the African cultures, condemning the practices in these cultures, and labelling them as barbaric and heathen. The missionaries declared that "[u]nless African pagans adopted much of Western culture and civilization, it was difficult to measure the success of the missionary work" (Bediako 1999:227). As mentioned earlier, "there was a perception that the African was a heathen and that all his ways were evil, superstitious and savage",[28] and that the missionaries were justified in their efforts to convert them to Christianity.

The missionaries were quick to implement this strategy of changing the African world view to their own. But to accomplish this change, they had to change the whole African system of belief and practice. They first had to disapprove of African dress, music, religion, housing, and so on (Kritzinger 1988:105-106). Different missionaries took different positions towards African practices. Some missionaries strictly opposed tribal and customary practices associated with the ancestral cult, libation, and animal sacrifice. In Ghana, "Christian Akans were forbidden to participate in the rites of ancestor-worship" (Barrett 1968:234). Converts were not allowed to observe ceremonies such as drumming and dancing related to festivals, as they were considered unchristian. Other missionaries allowed their converts to be onlookers, but not participants. A third response allowed Christians to participate in a modified

[28] The prominent European missionaries in Botwana were Robert Moffat, David Livingstone, John Mackenzie, and William Charles Willoughby. They made Tswana religion to appear to be a morass of bizarre beliefs and practices of a people generally believed to be savages and primitive (Nkomazana & Setume 2016).

form of these rituals (Boaheng 2018:9). Tippet (1987:146) avers that the missionary was supposed to learn and respect Africans' values, world view, and way of doing things; that it was wrong for them to cage a community and treat people like guinea pigs for experiment or museum display, in order to inflict their paternalistic, Western, ecclesiastical systems upon them. Tippet (1987:146) further mentions that the missionaries, in doing what they did, were "ethnocentric and paternalistic". The ideology of missionaries was the radical transformation of heathens: an activity that destroyed the Africans' customs and lifestyle and changed their whole system of belief and practice (Fanon 1967:250). Williams (1970:380) asserts that missionary Christianity threatened the African way of life in many ways.

The African world view differs from the European world view. Much of African life operates with a world view quite different from that of the Enlightenment.[29] According to Walls, the contemporary strength of Christianity in Africa may derive from a number of factors. First, its independence of Enlightenment views; secondly, its openness to the accommodation of other visions of reality, visions in which the frontier with the spiritual world is crowded with traffic in both directions, visions that involve communal solidarity and do not run like the authority of the individual as a defining category. Walls calls for a new approach that deals with such African concerns as witchcraft, demon possession, the interface between emerging African neo-Pentecostal prosperity theology and suffering, ethnic conflicts and genocide, and salvation as a communal affair (Walls 2000:209-210).

In missionary times, Christianity was clothed in Western garments. Walls (2000:212) comments that, for a thousand years, Christianity provided both the matrix and the motif of Western civilisation, including art, music, sculpture, literature, philosophy, and, of course, theology. Medieval history is largely church history. African and Asian students, so often trained according to a Western curriculum, received a distorted view of Christian history (Walls 2000:213). The missionaries were under the impression that the Christianity they were bringing to the Africans was supposed to be mixed with the European culture. Religion has always been an integral part of culture. When two elements have been together for hundreds of years, it is virtually

[29] Enlightenment was a European intellectual movement of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in which ideas concerning God, reason, nature, and humanity were synthesised into a world view that gained wide assent in the West and that instigated revolutionary developments in art, philosophy, and politics (Duignan 2019:76).

impossible to separate them. This fact should be borne in mind when one is tempted to castigate the missionaries for their failure to do a better job (Kane 1978:281).

In most cases, the Western missionaries tried to impose upon Africans some way of seeing and being or values and attitudes that betrayed not only their self-righteousness, but also their limited understanding of African societies. Initially, the Congo non-secular performances within the independent *ngunza*[30] churches – including practices such as trembling, jumping, and using traditional instruments – were regarded as subversive movements that threatened the smooth running of the colony and the hegemony of the European-led missions. However, attitudes towards these practices and the way in which they were used for different purposes changed over time and in varying contexts. During colonial rule, the colonial officials succeeded in altering, to certain degrees, some of the embodied practices such as dance in much the same way that the economy, social and political structures, language, and manners of dress of indigenous populations were subject to changes (Njoku 2007:5). Music and dancing played an important role in healing and evoking the spirit, which would possess one's body and lead to ecstasy. According to Njoku (2007:79), "[t]he visionary and his disciples read the Bible, sang protestant hymns, danced, and engaged in grotesque contortions". According to the missionaries, this was unacceptable.[31]

Because of the way in which it was imposed on the people, Christianity became a strange religion in Africa. Kane argues that the missionaries took along with them a large amount of excess luggage: moral and social taboos, personal prejudices and predilections, ethical and legal codes, economic and political institutions – everything from the *Magna Carta*[32] to Robert's *Rules of Order*. In so doing, they placed a yoke on the necks of their converts that was more than they could bear. Christianity, as it developed in the Third World, was labelled "Made in the USA".[33] Little wonder that it

[30] This is a Kikongo (a language of the Congo) word for 'prophet' in the Baptist translation of the Bible (Britannica 1768).
[31] The early Christian missionaries totally condemned as 'pagan' and to be avoided by their converts whatever they considered strange. Often, drumming and the harmless songs and dances of the people were condemned (Adu-Gyamfi & Ampadu 2000).
[32] A *Magna Carta* is a charter of liberties, to which the English barons forced King John to give his assent in June 1215 at Runnymede. It is a document constituting a fundamental guarantee of rights and privileges (www.merriam-webster.com).
[33] During the American Revolution, *Magna Carta* served to inspire and justify action in liberty's defence. It was also used by the American President, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, in his inaugural

came to be known as a “foreign religion” in Asia and the “White man’s religion” in Africa. Certainly, it bore all the earmarks of a Western institution (Kane 1978:280).

The forced change of an African world view can be blamed for some of the ills in African communities. When the African world view was changed, they struggled to adopt the new world view and lifestyle of the West. They had to be educated, and once they had assimilated the instruction, only then could they attempt to comply with the new required behaviour. On many occasions, when this instruction was not given, many did things they did not understand. The reasons for the persistence of traditional beliefs among Christians and the relapse of Christians into their former religious state are not far-fetched. Some attribute the situation to the “lack of depth of the Christian faith and shallowness of the Christian life for many people” (Sarbah 2014:23). Converts were baptised in large numbers with no adequate instruction. The people did not really understand what had happened to them; they thus yielded to the slightest temptation to adher to traditional practices that contradicted the Bible. For Idowu (1968:45), African converts reverted to their old practices because they did not find spiritual satisfaction in the new religion (Christianity).

The impact on Africa of alien influences from the Western world produced an array of reasons within the traditional framework of thinking to seek radical religious adjustment and change (Oduyoye 2009:90). The people who were converts of the missionaries’ preaching often experienced confusion as to how to act as new Christians. Sometimes, the people who turned from their old ways at the preaching of the evangelists would ask the newly arrived representative of the mission church whether a Christian should eat special food, or whether it was necessary for Christians to sleep, as Europeans did, above the level of the ground (Haliburton 1973:221) These were not trivial issues. Having abandoned the rules of one tradition, they must know all the demands of the one that is to replace it (Haliburton 1973:222). Saayman (1991:32) mentions that missionaries destroyed the African perception of themselves, and replaced it with the perception of themselves as abject, colonised human beings.

Missionaries looked down on the culture of Africans. In Kenya, missionaries did not present Christianity to Africans in the correct way, declaring that all African customs

address: “The democratic aspirations are no mere recent phase in human history … It was written in Magna Carta.” (Roosevelt 1941:14).

and beliefs are bad, and that, before an African can adopt Christianity, s/he must cast such things away, and overlook the fact that Africans obtain much good by adhering to their beliefs, and that the idea of “brotherhood” is such a great part of African beliefs and life. Missionaries obtained most of their ideas of African customs from converts for whom their old gods have become devils. Co-operation with Africans themselves is what is required, for African beliefs and customs maintained a social system adequate to African needs (Meg 2017:23). The missionaries condemned African religion, music, art, festivals, and customary practices. For example, they made the African people view polygamy and puberty rites as pagan practices. They impressed upon their converts not to have anything to do with these traditional practices (Ibewuike 2006:352).

Missionaries have often been accused of undermining the local culture and replacing it with the Western culture. It is true that they introduced Western learning. In some cases, notably China, it ultimately undermined the old classical system of education. Some European authors maintain that the missionary did not set out to destroy the indigenous culture. They regard the missionaries as trying to preserve the best in those cultures (Kane 1978:286). Unfortunately, these assertions are a drop in the ocean of Black and White authors who admit to the atrocities committed by the missionaries in Africa. France’s President Chirac once admitted the fact that Europeans changed the culture of Africans: “Africans are good for nothing. And in the name of religion, we destroyed their culture” (Kasinja 2020:32). Stewart and Dianne (2005) also observe that the missionary insisted that Western Christian culture was the antidote for African spirituality, religion, and culture. Africans had to equate all their inherited traditions with a sinful past if they were to convince the missionaries of their authentic conversion to Christ. European Christianity forced African religion underground (away from public view and influence), where it remains even to this day. Onwuegbuchulam (n.d.:51) gives an example to prove this point:

> Some are then in the middle and are termed as schizophrenics of faith as they live a double identity of faith; practicing their Christian faith in the morning and going to their traditional African practises, rituals, and ceremonies at night in the likeness of Nicodemus (in John 3:1-21) when nobody will see them and lay accusation of them engaging in pagan practises.

To give an example of this, “missionaries framed indigenous cultures and religions as inferior and associated it with the devil” (Ndibe 2014:67).

Breaking down a culture was also considered to be one of the strategies to convert the people. According to Saayman (1991:60), by 1840, most of the missionaries were convinced that their mission work would only succeed if the structure of the traditional Xhosa society and culture could be broken down. The missionaries hated African practices so much that they wanted to abolish them. Njoku (2007:73) asserts that, within colonial contexts, embodied practices such as dance were also likely to be altered by the dominating power in much the same way that the indigenous populations’ economy, social and political structures, language, and ways of dress were subject to change. The Western missionaries had no respect for the Africans’ way of life, religion, or culture. A Capuchin missionary in the Congo illustrates such negative attitudes:

> On my way, I found numbers of idols which I threw into the fire. The owner of these idols … seemed very annoyed. To calm him down by humiliating him, I let him know that if he persisted in anger, I should see that he himself is burnt with his idols (Olatunde 2016:163).

In Zanzibar, the Spiritans refused to give full membership to Africans who attended European churches. They were made to take vows that were renewable each year and they were regarded as “associates”, not full Brothers. At the same time, they had to keep the vows of obedience, poverty, and chastity. Those who had these arrangements imposed on them were frustrated and left the congregation (Nnamunga 2019:189). These negative attitudes characterised the missionary work of the foreign missionaries.

Missionary defenders justified the course of action of missionaries at all costs. According to Kane (1978:38), some authors mention that a missionary does not make a mistake. This could have been influenced by the many accusations that the missionaries received from different authors. The missionary defenders also mention that the missionary is the bearer of culture. They also claim that the missionary has not only an evangelistic mandate, but also a cultural mandate; that the missionary must neither be defensive nor apologetic about being an agent of cultural change, and that he is simply following in the footsteps of the Master (Kane 1978:38). There is no evidence that points to the fact that Jesus, our master, did to the people in his

day what the missionaries did to African people. It is not the first time that people invoke the name of God to cover up their wrong actions.

The fathers of the missionary movement had expected that Christianity would assimilate Africans to a European lifestyle (Walls 2000:203). The synoptic description helps us understand the position of the uniquely confident Victorian subject (usually White and male) who believed that it was a God-given mission to subdue and Christianise Africa, and who effortlessly divided the world into the civilised and the savage in a subject-object framework. Within the traditional humanist concept of subjectivity, a belief in trans-historical truth made it possible to view culturally determined categories such as “civilised” and “savage” as unmediated and literally God-ordained. Colonial forms of knowledge depended on a notion of masterful Western subject as a repository of truth and immutability (De Kock 1996:10). Muzorewa (1985:21) argues that, for the missionaries, “[u]nless African pagans adopted much of Western culture and civilization, it was difficult to measure the success of the missionary work”.

As an institution introduced by agents with radically different values, Christian religion damaged the culture and traditional beliefs of the people of Africa. Instead of adapting the teachings and practices of the “new” religion to suit indigenous values, as it did when the same Christian religion adopted Greek, Roman, German and Anglo-Saxon native practices, the early Christian missionaries totally condemned whatever they considered strange as “pagan”, and to be avoided by their converts (Mahamba 2014:3).

2.11 The superiority of Western culture vs inferior African culture

The missionaries considered Western culture superior to the cultures of the people they came to convert. Hutchinson (1982:174) agrees that “Western cultural norms were imposed upon converts in other parts of the world”. The European missionaries assumed moral and spiritual superiority over Africans (Njoku 2007:7). Indeed, civilising Africans entailed an extensive enculturation process that portrayed all aspects of African culture as inferior (Njoku 2007:28). In Africa, the missionaries were believed to be coming from a superior race. Kane (1978:221) sums up the superior attitude of missionaries: “The nineteenth-century missionary did not have to act like a tin god, he was a tin god.”

This superiority complex was dominant in the churches established by the missionaries. In the past, a newly established church was under the mother church in the West. In his comment on this issue, Kane (1978:264) avers that

> Christianity in the third world in the past was not free to chart its own course; it was supposed to project its own image with reference to Western patterns of thought.

Missionaries often unwittingly imported their cultural preference into the churches they established. Early African churchgoers were taught to sing hymns accompanied by a piano and to listen to sermons while sitting on rows of benches in a concrete building.[34] Well-meaning Westerners simply mimicked their own church experiences rather than encouraging Africans to develop their own practices. Nowadays, many established churches continue to operate in a Western fashion, even as some newer churches choose to worship using drums and dance or to teach God's Word using call-and-response patterns, while sitting on mats under trees (Clinton 2018: 23).

The goal of presenting the gospel message must reach every people's culture. One of the definitions of contextualisation

> is to present the message in such a way that it makes sense to people within their local cultural context, and to penetrate their worldviews and give them the opportunity to follow Christ while still remaining within their own cultures.

To be able to penetrate a culture and influence the people with the gospel message of salvation, one must first understand that culture. The African missiologists lament that the missionaries did not take the time to study and understand the cultures, in order to find points of entry to proclaim the gospel message. From the missionaries, "[u]nless African pagans adopted much of Western culture and civilization, it was difficult to measure the success of the missionary work" (Bediako 1999:227). They only wanted to implement what they thought was the solution to the Africans' lives.

Two examples show that Christianity can be fused with the cultures of the people it encounters in Africa. Ntsikane is a prominent Xhosa Prophet. He lived a traditional Xhosa life, marked with circumcision, polygamous marriage, and the praise as an orator, singer and dancer at Qawukeni, where his mother and family lived (Ntabeni 2014:2). He was introduced to Christianity by the likes of Reverends Van Der Kemp,

[34] The missionaries could have used the African drums for music in the African setting, but unfortunately, they used a piano, an instrument with which Africans are not familiar. Apartheid crushed the African way of singing when the colonial types of music were introduced in African churches (Elphick 1997:325).

Read and Williams of the London Missionary Society. Although he was still a Xhosa, doing what all Xhosa people were doing, he believed in prayer and said in Xhosa, “Lento indingenileyo ithi makuthandazwe” (This thing that has come over me says there must be prayers) (Ntabeni 2014:2). In Ntsikana, Xhosa tradition and Christian religion fused into a world and a religious one that did not betray what was most important in both (Ntabeni 2014:2). Many members of online churches are turning to African Independent Churches, of which the Zionists have roughly 80 per cent (IBMR 1997). Western-style Christianity among South African Blacks – however effective it may have appeared in the past – has been unable to relate authentically to the taproot of African Traditional Religion. But the Zionist Churches have (IBMR 1997).

The Christian mission in South Africa was supposed to be like the above two examples in the nineteenth century. They could have been like Ntsikane who did not push his people or their cultural practices away but found a way of combining his culture with the new religion. The Zionists used their methods of African dancing and singing in their Christian worship. The African person must be able to say “I follow Jesus in an African way” (Fotland 2005:36).

2.12 The Christianisation of Africans by missionary schools

2.12.1 The establishment of mission schools

Missionaries started schools, clinics, and hospitals at the mission stations. At face value, these were regarded as good initiatives, but authors indicate the purpose for starting the schools. Missionaries viewed education foremost as a means of conversion (Ayandele 1966:286; Bassey 1991:36; Berman 1974:527; Foster 1965:85; Sheffield 1973:11). In order to emphasise who was to be converted, Njoku (2007:101) adds that the “evangelical missions used the provision of Western style education and health services as an extra-doctrinal technique for winning African souls”. A report of another school committee mentions that “education was the instrument for colonizing the African’s mind” (Lopez & Rugano 2018:16). Lauwerys (1970:46) describes the missionary schools in South Africa as follows:

> Church mission schools attempted to replace the preliterate tribal education of native Africans in the South African colonies. Established from 1789, they were dedicated to converting the indigenous peoples to Christianity and generally inculcating an attitude of service and subservience to Whites. The mission schools were virtually brought into the

> state system through government subsidies and through provincial supervision, inspection, and control of teaching, curriculum, and examination standards.

Christian missionaries would set up schools for the children. Often, they would teach, but also use the services of local teachers. As missionaries, they would typically incorporate the Holy Bible, as well as Christian doctrine and ethics into the training. In their attempt to spread the Christian faith, win converts, and transform African societies, Christian missions of all denominations established schools. Although the missionaries pioneered African education extensively, the colonial governments were also involved in some form or another (Hailey 1939:1213). The South African schools were mostly run by missionaries, but when the National Party came into power, they seized all the schools and placed them under government regulation and monitoring. The Bantu Education Act of 1953 (Act No. 47), which came into force on 1 January 1954, was a revolutionary measure, designed as it was to educate the African along his own lines, so that they would be forced to occupy subservient positions in White society (Statutes of the Union of South Africa 1953:258-276).

The missionary education curriculum was designed to accomplish definite tasks. According to Njoku (2007:135), missionary schools served two major functions: to educate young people in the secular subjects and to convert them to Christianity. He further explains that “the brass ceiling of missionary education was moral formation, skill acquisition, and production of native teachers”. Other tasks focused on enabling the pupils to read the “Bible and devotional literature”. Other functions included “moral re-orientation that would subvert the traditional worldview and culture”, “imaged as the bondage of superstition, and victory for the civilizing mission”. The goals that were planned for Africans were to “reform the Africans” to what they were before into what the missionaries wanted them to become. They wanted to obliterate the African way of viewing things (Njoku 2007:135, 136). In South Africa, to justify their action on giving inferior education to Africans, they claimed to have conducted an intelligent study of the African people. The theory that Africans suffered from “arrested development” was adopted by social psychologists such as M.L. Fick, who, after having conducted a series of intelligence tests, reached the conclusion that the African was inherently inferior to the White (Fick 1939). All these activities constituted a different approach to the goal of planting Christianity. But in

conjunction, they acted as tools for supplanting African cultures and identity and as opportunity for collaboration between missionaries and colonial officials (Njoku 2007:132). Rev. D.D. Stormont (1847:24), Principal of Blythswood Institution, Butterworth, insists that education in the Cape Colony certainly taught the people to improve their hygiene and physical surroundings, acquire higher ideals in life, and the capacity to dissent from tribal ties and family control.

Some of the people who became experts in education and who started schools were not qualified educators. The autobiography of the Anglican missionary Cecil Tyndale-Biscoe makes the point well. Like Bishop Mackenzie, Biscoe was one of the many Cambridge graduates who participated in successive waves of missionary outreach in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Tyndale-2019:45). However, Mackensie and Biscoe were rather different characters, representing different ends of the Anglican missionary spectrum. Mackenzie was an outstanding graduate in Maths from St Johns who was made Fellow of Caius before founding the Anglo-Catholic Universities Mission to Central Africa (Tyndale-Biscoe 2019:46). Biscoe, graduate of Jesus College, joined the evangelical Church Missionary Society. He was a great all-round sportsman who coxed the Cambridge crew to victory in the Boat Race of 1884. He made a rather unpromising student. After completing his curacy in the slums of White Chapel, London, Biscoe was summoned to a meeting with Frederick Temple, then Bishop of London.

> On his desk were my examination papers, and as he turned over the sheets, he exclaimed loudly:
>
> Bishop: Shocking! Shocking! You don't know anything Biscoe".
>
> Biscoe: "I know I do not."
>
> Bishop: Then how do you think you can teach anybody if you do not know anything yourself?
>
> Biscoe (scratching his head): Well, sir perhaps there may be some people in the world almost as ignorant as I am.
>
> Bishop: I doubt it! I doubt it! You are only fit to teach the blacks, there now!
>
> Biscoe: Sir, if you can only persuade my parents and the Church Missionary Society to send me to central Africa, I shall be most grateful.
>
> Bishop: Ah, then you'll do! You'll do! (Tyndale-Biscoe 2019:47).

The embodiment of muscular Christianity, Biscoe ended up in Kashmir, where he was renowned for founding schools, introducing soccer, and for his strong imperial sentiments. Although he was scolded as one knowing nothing at home, he was

enlisted in the missionary school and became a hero who founded schools in Kashmir. This is typical of some of the missionaries. Although they were failures at home, in the mission field they were celebrated as heroes. The missionaries along with their ignorance, as in the example of Biscoe, would also demonstrate arrogance. Another missionary, D.L. Mayfield, worked as a volunteer among refugees. She had a deep longing to be a hero that she did not previously know she had. She viewed herself as a do-gooder who would save everyone and fix everything. Try as she might, she was not even able to teach some of her oral-learner refugees' friends to read, much less get everyone saved and everything fixed (Udall 2019). She was an ordinary person at home and also became an ordinary person in the mission field. In her article entitled "When missionaries think they know everything", Medina (2017:3) mentions the attitude of arrogance that missionaries display when they are serving in their host countries. She scathingly rebukes them to remember that "we are guests in our host countries … let's be considerate ones".

There is currently a considerable body of literature in which scholars argue that Catholic and Protestant missionaries were responsible for much of the knowledge produced about Africa and parts of Asia and the Pacific. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when amateur science was viewed as an educational and recreational activity at almost all levels of society, "missionaries also viewed themselves as both scholars and representatives of science of every kind" (Mackenzie 1902:70). Working in collaboration with museums, universities, collectors, and arm-chair academics, these amateur intellectuals made contributions to zoology, entomology, botany, medicine, and, in particular, linguistics and social anthropology. They were also zealous practitioners of other fields of measurement and delineation ranging from geography, cartography, meteorology, and hydrography to archaeology and palaeontology (Boaheng 2018:11).

According to Njoku, some individuals used the schooling system for selfish reasons. Like many in other parts of Southern Africa, the Africans embraced mission education in the early twentieth century, in order to create new identities and relieve themselves from the extractive colonial labour demands. African-funded schools provided the people with opportunities to construct new identities and ask for membership in the new mission community (Njoku 2007:6). For many decades, the missions were the sole purveyors of education. In country after country, the first

schools to be opened were mission schools (Njoku 2007:288). The was a close connection between the school and the church. Nowadays, there is hardly a leader in any walk of life who did not receive at least part of his/her education in a mission school (Njoku 2007:220).

Schools emphasised literacy, because the ability to read offered Africans the opportunity to both study the Bible and advance in society. Many young people educated in mission schools became leaders in the fight for independence, including Nelson Mandela in South Africa and Julius Nyerere in Tanzania (Etherington 1983:116).

Unfortunately, the emphasis on reading gave the impression that literacy was necessary in order to learn Scripture, and uneducated people were unintentionally alienated (Agu 1987:57). Missionaries had not yet embraced traditional oral teaching methods such as stories and songs, as many have nowadays.

Missionary education created a class of Africans who served as an efficient instrument in the establishment of colonial rule. As in Central Africa, Chief Lewanika attained some education from those schools and Semei Kakungulu in East Africa colonised Eastern Uganda not for missionaries but for colonialists. They were all products of those missionary schools such as Bishop Ajayi Crowther (Ayandele 1966:286). Closely related to the above, the missionary education system was responsible for a linguistic revolution in Africa. The products of missionary education would speak and write English, French, German, Dutch, and their own local languages. This study of languages removed the language barrier that would have disturbed the establishment of colonial rule (Ayandele 1966:286). The academic education purposely did not train Africans for the higher level positions of colonial administrations, which were mostly reserved for Europeans (Ayandele 1966:295; Sheffield 1973:42), a practice that created dependency on the colonisers, as without them the colony did not have qualified administrators. In addition, while missionaries ran many academic primary schools, they provided hardly any secondary education, a practice that prevented natives from becoming “too educated” (Ayandele 1966:286).

Being ignorant of the significance of certain institutions and practices of the people of West Africa, and occasionally being misled by their over-zealous followings into

wrongly interpreting the people's heritage, the missionaries compelled pupils in their schools and docile adult converts to shun their own ancestral practices. A notable example is the Asafo Company, a purely military and social organisation of the peoples of Ghana, which was condemned by the early missionaries because of its presumed connection with fetish practices. Yet the Asafo provided most of the services a community needed: protection against military attacks, communal services, etc. (Adler 1992:76).

2.13 The establishment of health facilities

2.13.1 Modern scientific medicine and medical facilities

The missionaries also had a strategy of addressing the health of African people when they introduced medical facilities in the areas of their missionary stations. These health facilities in South Africa were areas with the European style of medical practices. The first colonial medical services were geared towards the Europeans and were only concerned with the indigenous people when epidemics struck. In her book, Beck (2000:74) writes that the African contingent of the population, used to tropical climates, need not be a concern of the medical administration except in emergencies. According to Olutunde (2016:7) health "was a great impact that affected the lives of people that were neglected by the government of the day". The early missionaries established medical centres, at first at their mission posts, and later far and wide, to attend to the sick. In due course, leprosariums and orphanages were built to supplement their medical services (Adu-Gyamfi & Ampadu 2000:3).

Prior to the advent of the Christian missionaries and indeed well into the pre-independence period, the vast majority of people who were ill depended for cure on concoctions of herbs, roots, and barks of trees. African people had their own traditional medicine and the traditional doctor who was in charge of the health of the people. The World Health Organization (WHO) coined the description of Traditional Medicine (TM) as

> the sum total of knowledge, skills and practices based on the theories, beliefs, and experiences indigenous to different cultures, whether explicable or not, that are used to maintain health, as well as to prevent, diagnose, improve or treat physical and mental illnesses (Sibanda 2019:89).

Nevertheless, in the traditional African healers' understanding, their healing process is holistic (Thorpe 1993:123).

Although modern scientific research has confirmed the medicinal properties of these concoctions, traditional medical practice has several shortcomings. As preventative medicine was hardly known, different kinds of epidemics were frequent. Often, traditional doctors could not diagnose illness accurately. They often attributed natural ailments to supernatural causes and resorted to mystic cults to appease the "unknown spirit", before applying medicine to the ill person.

For the traditional African, health is not simply about the proper functioning of bodily organs. Good health for the African consists of mental, physical, spiritual, and emotional stability of oneself, family members, and community; this integrated view of health is based on the African unitary view of reality. Good health for the African is not a subjective affair (Omonzejele 2008:120).

Taboos are also a social or religious custom prohibiting or restricting a particular practice or forbidding association with a particular person, place, or thing (Westerlund 2006:139).[35] According to the African, "[d]isobeying these taboos could lead to severe illness to the person(s) or community involved" (White 2015:2). However, the European doctors strongly denounced the use of these taboos. They said of the Africans that "[t]hey (African) also prescribed many taboos which, in the light of modern medical science, had no relation whatever with the illness being treated (Brown 2003:234).

From the Western medical point of view, missionaries believed that traditional African therapeutic practices were not only ineffective, but also undermined essential Christian tenets. In the beginning, according to Njoku (2007:289), they had to fight the witchdoctor and the medicine man, to say nothing of the fear and superstition of the illiterate populace. Europeans regarded African medicine as irrational and superstitious witchcraft or magic. The missionaries discouraged converts from using African medicine or consulting any of its specialists. Converts, who consulted African medical practitioners or used their advice or prescriptions, were often reported to the missionaries. Such converts were required to denounce the traditional practice

[35] A taboo is an activity that is forbidden or sacred based on traditional, religious beliefs or morals. Breaking a taboo is extremely objectionable in society (Merriam-Webster's Dictionary 1847)

(Njoku 2007:139). However, Aguwa (2007:127-145) strongly emphasises that the introduction of the Western medical system by the missionaries resulted in the destruction of the indigenous healthcare system – just as other elements of the Western culture impacted on indigenous ways of life.

In the more primitive areas of the world, the peasants are the victims of age-old superstitions that prevent them from coming to the mission hospital. Only as a last resort, when all other methods have failed and they have nothing to lose and possibly something to gain, do they consent to be treated by strange foreigners with White skin, blue eyes, and blonde hair. By that time, many of them were beyond help and had to be sent home to die. Many women patients were filled with fear at the sight of a male doctor (Kane 1978:314).

In missionary life, the greatest of all assets is versatility. Dr Paul K. Rodriguez, of Gospel Missionary Union, refers to himself as a jack-of-all-trades.

> When a couple decides to marry, they come to me for premarital counselling. When the wedding day arrives, I perform the ceremony. I preach to them on Sundays, baptise them after conversion, and share with them the Lord's Supper. When they have spiritual problems, I give spiritual counsel. When the wife is expecting a child, I provide prenatal care. When the time comes, I deliver the baby. When they need surgery, I perform it. When they die, I sign the death certificate. I also officiate at the funeral. When they need permission for burial in the evangelical cemetery, I sign the authorisation papers. After the funeral, I comfort the mourners. I am a jack-of-all-trades. I am a missionary doctor (Rodriguez 2018:23).

There are also other good stories of successful medical doctors who made a huge difference in Africa. One of these is Albert Schweitzer. He is applauded for his contribution in the medical field in Africa. When he saw the need for medical doctors in Africa, he resigned from his position as a pastor, amid protests from family, friends, and colleagues, to study to become a medical doctor in Africa. He wanted to minister to the people, not only in preaching, but also through healing. After his studies, he opened a hospital in Gabon. When he needed funds, he organised concerts and other fundraising so that he could equip the small hospital. He first used a place that was a former chicken hut, and later he built the hospital with corrugated iron. When he needed funds for machinery for his hospital, he organised lectures, gave organ recitals and other fundraising initiatives. He was so loved by the community where his hospital was situated that, when he wanted to build other

structures of the hospital, the local people and the patients were willing to assist him with the building work. He spoke strongly against the injustice perpetuated against African people. In 1952, he was awarded the Noble Peace Prize for his outstanding contribution in the medical field (Brabazon 2000:84).

This section focused on the establishment of medical institutions by missionaries; the doctors who dedicated their lives in the service to African people, and how the African medical institutions were destroyed and left in disarray. As this matter was abruptly left in the hands of African medicine men, they had to decide what to do, in order to make their institution sustainable in the wake of the missionary's disapproval.

2.14 Missionaries and the colonial project in Africa

There was a strategic connection between missionaries and colonisers. Colonial administrators encouraged missionary endeavours, with the hope that Christianity would provide support for colonial rule as the number of African converts increased (Njoku 2007:7-8). The first London Missionary Society's missionaries to South Africa depended on imperial assistance and sanction (Njoku 2007:11).

There was cooperation between the missionaries and the colonisers. Missionaries sometimes assisted colonisers in commerce. Beginning in the 1810s, British colonial authorities set about to regulate commercial contacts between the various peoples living in the Transorangia region north of the Cape colony and the colony itself. In establishing these links, colonial administrators called on Christian missionaries living beyond the Cape border to serve in a variety of roles as intermediaries to facilitate and advance this commerce (Porter 1985:597-621). Missionaries depended in many ways on the colony. They brought with them Christianity, the symbol of civilisation and status within the colony. They also served as representatives of the colonial government and presented to the Cape Town authorities Griqua wishes as they perceived them in matters of commerce and frontier politics (Bourdillon 1960:269). Legassick (2010:23) notes that the missionaries remained deeply dependant "on their attachment to the colony, logistically, culturally and personally", and the government frequently took advantage of this dependency to "control the missionaries and their mission station residents" (Njoku 2007:15).

Colonial administrators were also involved in the activities of mission stations. Missionaries would assist the colonisers in their mission to colonise the African people. According to Njoku (2007:74), in the Congo, secular performances, *makinu* – that incorporate dance, traditional instruments, and song – were regarded as "indecent" threats to public morality, and were thus persecuted and prohibited by both Protestant and Catholic missionaries and were the subject of fervent debate among the colonial administrators. However, the relationship between the missionaries was also engaged in activities that would aid the colonial government (Njoku 2007:75). One could easily question the involvement of the heathen colonisers in the running of the mission station and its occupants. It is easy to notice that the missionariues welcomed the colonisers to comment on anything, especially the colonisation and Christianisation of the Africans. In turn, the missionaries also assisted the colonisers in making certain to stamp out every African action that would endanger the mission of the coloniser. On many occasions, African independence was viewed as a threat to the colonial regime. The practices of Kimbangu[36] (trembling, jumping, etc.), which Morel, the missionary of Congo, witnessed at Nkamba, led him to regard these as quite different from Protestantism and conclude that its goal of founding an African religion is, in fact, pan-Africanist[37] and thus a threat to the colonial regime. They feared that the natives would say that they found the God of the Blacks (Njoku 2007:80).

Missionaries and colonisers both claim to have a divine mandate to evangelise and civilise Africans (Sweet 2003:78). Despite the huge amount of work done in a European attempt to supplant African religion, a great deal of attention was not being paid to the interconnectedness between these two aspects of African life and the attempt made by both colonial officials and missionaries to supplant them. Both missionaries and colonialists shared a common conviction about their divine mandate to evangelise and civilise (Sweet 2003:79). The architects of colonialism claimed that they were engaged in evangelical work, even while it was obvious that their task was secular (Sweet 2003:80). Yet, they believed that God was using them

[36] Simon Kimbangu was a Congolese religious leader who founded the Christian new religious movement Kimbanguism. He was one of the charismatic movements of Congo. Kimbanguists consider him to be an incarnation of the Holy Spirit (Sundler & Steed 2004:49).

[37] Pan-Africanism is a worldwide movement that aims to encourage and strengthen bonds of solidarity between all indigenous and diaspora peoples of African ancestry. The father of modern Pan-Africanism was the influential thinker W.B. du Bois, who, throughout his long career, was a consistent advocate for the study of African history and culture (Hill 2007:1950-200).

to extend civilisation and salvation to the barbarous savages who inhabited remote parts of the earth (Njoku 2007:127).

The missionary and the coloniser mutually benefited each other in their different roles as they worked together. Transformation of African societies was the goal that missionaries and colonisers wanted to achieve. The conquest of African societies by European missionaries and colonialists was accompanied by unprecedented attempts to transform African societies, in order to achieve the object of the "mission to civilise". Indeed, civilising Africans entailed an extensive enculturation process that portrayed all aspects of African culture as inferior (Njoku 2007:128). Missionaries obtained land grants for schools and mission stations from the colonial government. The colonial government favoured missionary work in many ways. In the early years, they made land grants for schools and mission stations and later subsidised mission schools. Without such aid, the missions would never have been able to maintain all their Christian schools. The colonial officials, representing as they did the paramount power in the colonies, enjoyed a good deal of personal prestige in society. Some of this prestige rubbed off on the missionaries, for they too belonged to the White race (Kane 1978:219).

It appears that civilisation and Christianity have been "travelling fellows" for a long time. The relationship between missions and colonialism was by no means uniform in all parts of the world. Some countries experienced active and cordial cooperation, while others experienced mutual distrust and recrimination. Colonial governments did not always look with favour on the missionaries. Often, they opposed them (Kane 1978:246). In the missionary literature of the nineteenth century, the three words "commerce", "civilisation", and "Christianity" occur again and again as if they belong together. In most of the countries, there was a good deal of mutuality between the missionaries and the colonial administrators (Kane 1978:248). Missionaries and colonisers cooperated in evangelising and civilising the African people. The colonial administrators and the Christian missionaries travelled in the same ships, served under the same flags, worked in the same countries, and were mutually helpful. The missionaries carried on a "civilising mission among the "natives". The colonial government reciprocated in kind, giving the missionaries land for their stations, subsidies for their schools, and protection in times of danger (Kane 1978:284).

From the evidence presented in this section, missionaries cooperated with the colonisers in their mission of civilising the Africans. This joint venture destroyed the culture and practices of the Africans and forced them into Western civilisation, irrespective of whether they were prepared for it or not. To accomplish this, the missionaries had to justify their actions by denying any previous good on the side of the Africans. This leads us to the next section.

2.15 The denial of African Traditional Religion

Missionaries looked down on the traditional religion of Africans. Speaking about the way in which Westerners view the religion of Africans, Kane (1978:279) asserts that missionaries looked down on the religion of the African people. He mentions that they regarded their religion as "pagan" and sought opportunities to present their own true religion to them. Commenting on their attitude against the African religion, he mentions that the "Europeans were unnecessarily negative in their attitude towards these religions and often preached against idolatry in terms that were quite offensive to the listeners" (Kane 1978:280). Hastings (1969:27) also comments, stating that "the missionaries treated anything pre-Christian in Africa as either harmful or at best valueless". When missionaries came to Africa, they discarded all the

> African customs and religion as being pagan and connected to ancestral worship [and] all new believers were instructed to avoid all those practices (Mahamba 2014:3).

Missionaries deliberately denied the African's knowledge of God. They prided themselves as the ones who introduced God to them. Mbiti is highly appreciated as Africa's greatest scholar in African Traditional Religion (ATR) and his convictions in African Christianity, in which he firmly believes, that God who is revealed in the Bible is the same God worshipped as "Creator and Omnipotent God" in the traditional African communities before the advent of Christianity and Islam on the continent (Mbiti 1969:70; see Oborji 2019:67).

Prior to the arrival of missionaries, Africa was a deeply spiritual place where religion was the way of life of the community (Olupona 2015). In clearing the perceived misunderstanding on African religion, Njoku (2007:128-129) asserts that

> [r]eligion was important in the African indigenous society. Its force permeated every aspect of life and institutions. Individuals became religious merely by being born into such religious milieu. Religion was like a way of life to the African people … Religious

> ideas were evident in the native myths, folklores, traditions, beliefs, institutions, and relationships in such ways that no sharp division could be made between the sacred and the secular.

This statement negates the missionary statement that African people are “spiritual have-nots”, cursed and ignorant of God (Kollman 2005:49; Njoku 2007:28). In fact, it is clear that Africans were spiritually rich. According to Kane, the Africans, despite their primitive animism, believed in a Great Spirit, a factor that helped pave the way for the introduction of Christianity to Africa. He adds that this Great Spirit was called by different names in different tribes; but his existence was recognised by all. This, according to Kane, was a foundation for the acceptance of Christianity by Africans, because when the missionary brought to the African a clear knowledge of the One True God, Maker of heaven and earth, and Jesus Christ, His only Son, the African mind found it easy to embrace such a doctrine (Kane 1978:221). In agreement with Kane, Njoku mentions that the supposedly “new” ideology brought by the Europeans was not entirely new to the Africans. Mentioning a particular case, he avers that the Ganda people (from Uganda) had, before the Europeans, professed concepts of one God or Creator (Katonga) or Lord of Heaven (Gulu) or Master (Mukama) who had brought life to human beings. Alluding to African religions, Njoku (2007:59) avers that Africans also believed in the survival and immortality of the human soul. Hence, a French priest, Rev. Julien Gorju, wrote in 1920 that “the Buganda were Christians in origin”.

Contrary to the missionary belief that Africans were heathens, there were many deities in African religion. Mbiti (1969:74) confirms this, stating that the spiritual world of African people is very densely populated with spiritual beings, spirits, and the living dead. When one examines the above quotations, one might be tempted to say that the Africans have many gods. Mbiti points to this and argues that it is difficult to know where to draw the line, especially since different writers loosely speak of gods, demigods, divinities, nature spirits, ancestral spirits, and the like. Mbiti explains the divinity of Africans: “Divinities are on the whole thought to have been created by God, in the ontological category of the spirits.” He adds that “they (Divinities) are associated with Him (God), and often stand for His activities or manifestations either as personifications or as the spiritual beings” (Mbiti 1969:75). More notably, the authority of the Kabaka (King of Buganda) could not transcend that of the major gods

of the land. In an indigenous polity only peasant intellectuals – elders, clan chiefs, mediums, priests, and diviners understood the language of the gods (Njoku 2007:55).

The Western way of religion is different from the African traditional religion. Speaking of the religion of the West, Kane (1978:345) argues that the "Western religion is pretty well confined in the eleven o'clock hour on Sunday morning". This statement portrays a situation where Western religion is not a lifestyle, but an occasional, event-oriented commodity.[38] Kane (1978:345) states that the situation is not so in other parts of the world where religion is so closely interwoven with the pattern of daily life that it is virtually impossible to separate the two. Sookhdeo (1987:78) comments that Christianity is on a permanent term as a citizen in Africa, and that it must be enriched from within and not from outside. He adds that Africans must allow their rich heritage to contribute to Christianity, and ends by saying that nothing may be added to the gospel, because it is an eternal gift of God. Howver, Christianity is always a beggar seeking food and drink, cover and shelter from the cultures and times it encounters in its never-ending journey and wanderings (Sookhdeo 1987:78).

In affirming, Appiah-Kubi (1996:23) affirms:

> There is not a tribe on the continent of Africa, in spite of the almost universal opinion to the contrary, in spite of the fetishes and greegrees which many of them are supposed to worship – there is not, I say, a single tribe which does not stretch out its hands to the Great Creator. There is not one who does not recognize the Supreme Being, though imperfectly understanding His character – and who does perfectly understand his character? They believe that the heaven and the earth, the sun, moon, and stars, which they behold, were created by an Almighty personal Agent, who is also their Maker and Sovereign, and they render to Him such worship as their untutored intellects can conceive. There are no atheists or agnostics among them.

The proof and arguments presented in this section show that Africans did worship God even before the arrival of missionaries on the African continent. This should serve as a lesson for those missionaries who opine that the Africans were heathens and did not know God. Although the Africans did not have the Bible, yet they knew God and where he was. The work of the missionary was simply to put the Bible in their hands and explain more about the God they already knew.

[38] This statement does not belittle Western religion; it only attempts to explain it and compare it with the African "religion which constitutes an inextricable part of the African society" (Mbiti 1999:15).

2.16 The missionaries and vernacular literature

Another strategy of Christian missionaries in Africa was the development of literature in the local vernaculars, including the translation of the Bible into the vernacular languages. Devlin (2018:5) argues that the translation of the bible "started as a missionary tactic to convert people to Christianity". Europeans and Africans were on their most equal footing: understanding neither the language nor the lives of the other (Olsen 2008:9). From the outset, the missionaries (because they did not know the language of the Africans or the local people) used interpreters to communicate the gospel, as was the case with Van Der Kemp, missionary among the Xhosa people. According to Olsen (2008:25), "Van Der Kemp preached to the Xhosa in Dutch with the help of various interpreters, who were usually of mixed descent". There were sometimes challenges in finding a local person who knew the European languages to use as an interpreter. At a later stage, another plan had to be made.

A process of vernacularisation, as a plan to translate the Bible in the languages of the people, was implemented:

> It was the vernacularisation process itself that laid the foundations for modern missions. The idea that each person should read the Bible in his or her own language, and that the Bible could be interpreted by its readers rather than by educated elites, was a Reformation-era version of the early church's emphasis on hearing the gospel in different languages at the time of Pentecost in Acts 2. Unlike Islam, in which Arabic is seen to be the very word of God and the translation of the Koran is technically forbidden, Christianity delights in the translation of the Bible into languages that represent a multiplicity of cultural identities (Dana 2009:2).

The vernacularisation process required an insider's and the missionary's knowledge of the local language and customs of the people. It also required them to put the language into written form and to create a language grammar for it. Ultimately, schools were required to teach ordinary people to read and to use a printing press, in order to spread the message. Vernacularisation – and its close cousin inculturation – were two-way processes. Understanding another culture required learning as much about it as possible. Eighteenth-century Catholic and Protestant missionaries became ambassadors of non-Western cultures back in Europe. Some of them even became the means of cultural resurgence within the indigenous language (Dana 2009:3).

The Catholics were the first missionaries to be involved in the process of inculturation, as they attempted to transmit the gospel in cultural forms familiar to ordinary cultures. In 1534, Ignatius Loyola founded the Jesuits, a Catholic organisation, to regain Protestant areas and to take new territory for the Roman Catholic Church (Goheen 2014:138). One of the new strategies of these Jesuit missionaries was to adapt the faith to these new cultures. This was their practice of inculturation. This way of cultural adaptation led to intense criticism, especially from the Dominicans, who viewed it as syncretistic compromise with Confucianism (Goheen 2014:138). Early on, Ignatius of Loyola required that Jesuits learn the local language, and because of their adaptation strategies in unfavourable situations, they did not find the task to be problematic. The mission practice of inculturation – adapting themselves to the cultures they went to serve – made the Jesuits significant as missionaries, besides their ability to stay on course despite isolation and hardships.

It is important to note that, initially, the vernacularisation process was not the plan of the Catholic Church, as Goheen alludes to that fact:

> Jesuit methods were controversial in the Catholic Church. Just at the moment in history when Catholicism was tightening its grip on doctrine, reaffirming the Latin language, and increasing regulation of myriad practices in response to the Protestant threat in Europe, Jesuit missionaries were adapting the faith to non-Western cultures through the use of vernacular languages, study of non-Christian holy books, and cultural immersion. Jesuits wrote and printed vernacular catechisms for the instruction of converts, but their support of vernacularisation was limited by Catholic regulations upholding the Latin Mass and Latin Bible (Roberts 2009:39).

The Protestants' vernacularisation approach was aligned with their engagement of aspects of indigenous cultures. They also attempted to translate the gospel into vernacular writing that would be understood by the ordinary people. Missionaries in West Africa initiated the following methods in this process: most of the missionaries were the first to produce grammar and dictionaries in African languages. Later, they translated the Bible into different African languages and developed some vernacular literature in those languages (Adu-Gyamfi & Ampadu 2000:33). The same process took place in South Africa, where missionaries translated the Bible into the local languages of the people. Hermanson (1995:56) outlines the missionaries who translated the Bible into local languages in the following chart:

Missionary's name	Bible translated into	Year
Robbert Moffat	Tswana	1817
Eugene Casalis and Samuel Rolland	Sesotho	1839
George Champion and Newton Adams	Zulu	1865
William Shaw and William Boyce	Xhosa	1833

Figure 1: Missionaries who translated the Bible into local languages

Some local missionaries also assisted in this process. The first ordained African minister in South Africa, Rev. Tiyo Soga (1871), translated *Pilgrim's progress* into Xhosa, an African language (Roberts 2009:49).

> Unfortunately, the emphasis on reading gave the impression that literacy was necessary to learn Scripture, and uneducated people were unintentionally alienated (Clinton 2018:18).

Africa is deeply grateful to missionaries who first committed the indigenous languages to writing in South Africa. Missionaries also distributed literature on this continent, and later went on to encourage Africans to produce the first fruits of indigenous authorship (Oosthuizen 1970:140). Their pioneer work in African languages was crucial from a scientific perspective. By producing grammars, dictionaries, textbooks, and translations of religious texts, missionaries laid the foundations for literature in African languages (Sanneh 2002:160).

The benefits of the translation of the Bible into local languages are as follows:

- The translation of the Bible promoted education in Kenya. The Bible was used as the first textbook. The missionaries started schools.
- More people became Christians because they had the Bible in their own languages.
- The translation helped the missionaries learn the local languages.
- The missionaries were able to preach to the people easily and effectively in a language they could understand.
- The Africans were able to have a clear understanding of the Holy Scriptures. This enhanced their faith (www.tutorke.com).

It is also important to note that the missionaries did not take time to learn the world views and cultures of the African people; they only wanted to achieve their goal of converting them to Christianity. The next quotation bears witness to this assertion:

> Missionaries were the first group of Europeans who tried to achieve an understanding of native African culture, although their focus remained on the transformation and conversion of natives into civilised beings and Christians, rather than on a validation and preservation of African culture. Even a successful missionary such as Robert Moffat, who, after spending decades amongst the Batswana people and learning their language by the immersion method, was still capable of commenting that he would not bother with a description of the manners and customs of the Bechuanas, as this would be neither very instructive nor very edifying (Ross 1998:249).

The missionaries helped make the Bible available to the Africans in vernacular languages to enable them to know more about God in their own languages. To many cultures, this work was the first literary work in that culture. This prepared the Africans for the introduction of vocational skills later.

2.17 The missionaries and vocational skills

Missionaries identified a shortage of vocational skills in Africa. They thus introduced this strategy to address it. The missionaries played a strangely ambiguous role in the history and affairs of South Africa during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. On the one hand, they were obsessed with a strong desire to genuinely serve humanity and bring about social and material changes that would improve the Africans' quality of life. On the other hand, their moral self-righteousness led them to pass hasty and uninformed judgements about indigenous traditions, customs, and standards which they were not equipped to understand. Casalis (1889:183) highlights the above statement. In 1833, at Thaba Bosiu, Lesotho, he wrote:

> … we said that, wishing to provide entirely for our own subsistence, we must have a site where we could build houses and cultivate the ground according to our own ideas and habits. Our buildings and plantations would also serve as a model for the Basutos, whom we regretted to see dwelling in huts, and living in a manner so precarious and so little worthy of the intelligence with which they were gifted.

On the subject of local labour, among other things, a South African local newspaper editorial of March 1873 urged missionaries to:

> … single out all the unemployed young men they know of, at their various stations, and talk over the matter with them individually. The missionary's work is not done when the work of the pulpit and the duties of religious instruction are over. He must follow these up, by seeing how the young men growing up under his care, set themselves to the first duty of practical Christianity – which is to earn an honest livelihood (Wilson & Perrot 1973:54).

The Secretary for Native Affairs in the Cape administration, Charles Brownlee, also regarded mission stations as a potential source of employment and issued a circular in November of that year wherein he stated:

> The great difficulty has been, how to employ the young men who have been brought up at mission stations. Many of them look for employment as teachers, interpreters, and constables, but in these lines only a limited number of them can be employed. Now, however, ample employment can be given to all (Brownlee 1896:113).

According to Loram (1917:19), the African was regarded as inferior to the European and the inferior nature of his vocational education would not allow the African to compete with his/her counterparts. This stimulated a belief in separate development and gave rise to the view that the administration of African education be transferred from provincial control to the Native Affairs department.

Whilst these views might have been well intended, they were potentially very divisive (White 1987:50). The missionary purpose, however, was to train Africans in skills that would equip them to enter a European-oriented world. The Africans needed to be raised to the level of Western civilisation and this would not have come about if only indigenous crafts were encouraged. To the missionaries, the small, low, and dark hut symbolised the primitive state of the Africans. In order to raise the level of civilisation, it was thus necessary to break down this traditional village structure (Ehret 2002:481).

Africans have long been denied the opportunity to experience intellectual innovation (Etherington 1983:5). Agricultural school graduates did not compete with European industries or European farmers, as they mainly grew crops that could not be grown in European climates. Furthermore, they were skilled farmers who could grow cash crops such as cocoa from Ghana to be consumed back in the mother country (Foster 1965:153). Mission schools provided a steady stream of educated Africans capable of filling the lower levels of the colonial administration and operated vocational and agricultural schools (Ayandele 1966:295; Foster 1965:90-91; Sheffield 1973:10-11).

The academic education purposely did not train Africans for the higher positions of colonial administrations, which were mostly reserved for Europeans (Ayandele 1966:295; Sheffield 1973:42). In addition, while missionaries did run many academic primary schools, they provided hardly any secondary education, a practice preventing natives from becoming "too educated" (Ayandele 1966:286) and potentially subversive. Moreover, it was not in the colonial power's interest for the natives to become too educated, as they might become self-reliant and could conceivably demand independence from the colonial power. It was in the governments' interest to encourage the less intellectual agricultural schools. The missions' agricultural schools were especially beneficial for colonial governments, considering that governments believed that manual labour was a means to prevent "discontent and unrest" in the tribes (Hansen 1984:232). Stewart (2005:12) emphasises the importance of industrial manual training. He mentions that Africans should be able to obtain the best education the country could offer, but that it "should go hand in hand with real work" (*Christian Express* 1910:809).

The vocational skills taught by missionaries facilitated the process for Africans to obtain Eurocentric employment. Vocational skills could be regarded as the missionary's last resort to convert the African not to Christianity, but to Western civilisation. The local people believed this, as the following statement confirms:

> Local acceptance of early missionaries in the Eastern Cape hinged more upon their technological ability to introduce furrow irrigation into an otherwise drought-stricken land than upon their Christian teachings (Williams 1959:20).

As part of the vocational skills, the building of square houses with rooms was taught, and "this was done to raise the African onto a higher social level" (White 1987:49). At a mission station in Lovedale, the missionaries noted a need for carpentry, building, and painting to be offered as industrial courses (White 1987:52). Noting the vital importance of transport in any developing society, they emphasised "blacksmithing and wagonmaking". Printing and bookbinding were also obviously crucial to the Africans as their language and level of education was rapidly evolving (White 1987:53). In the missions in Rhodesia, the vocational skills taught to Africans included carpentry, farming, nursing, preaching, reading, teaching, and writing (Roberts 1965:76).

In Western Africa, vocational skills also played a role in the lives of African people.

> Without denying that prior to the introduction of Christianity in West Africa the people had developed their own crafts, one must admit that it was Christian missionaries who introduced modern forms of crafts such as carpentry and masonry. The early missionaries set up craft centres as part of their educational programmes. Also, the missionaries set up model farms where scientific agriculture was taught and new crops were introduced for the people, to go alongside longstanding indigenous production. A notable example, in Ghana, was the Methodist experimental farm near Cape Coast whose crops included cotton, coffee, black pepper, mango, ginger, cinnamon and olive trees (Adu-Gyamfi & Ampadu 2000:23).

Vocational education propagated Christianity on the African continent. Imparting vocational knowledge was never the primary or exclusive focus of Christian evangelism (the communication of the basic tenets of Christian belief), but vocational training was always viewed as a complementary form of cultural transfer that could potentially give Africans who converted a way to make a living (Barnes 2020:7). According to Yates (1976:48), vocational studies in Africa was not about training workers for the secular job market. Vocational education concentrated on preparing religious workers. The vocational skills offered by the missionaries helped Africans enter Western civilisation and secure jobs to support their families.

2.18 The recruitment of catechists and local leaders

In order to be effective in preaching to the local people, the missionaries had to recruit people and allow them to teach and preach to their own people. Although this was a good idea, not all the missionaries approved it. Most of them viewed all Africans as lost in sin and, therefore, in need of someone outside of themselves to preach the gospel of Jesus to them. Only a few agreed to involve the African:

> The more enlightened amongst them realised that indigenous priests, because of their knowledge of local languages and cultures, were in a better position than they were to convert the masses (Dennis 2007:112).

Sundkler and Steed (2004:659) praised the work of the catechist: “The village catechist, with his slender qualifications and very modest pay, is the real hero of the Christian situation in Africa.” The catechists became effective in winning more people over to Christianity than it would have been if missionaries were the only ones involved in converting the Africans. Roberts (2009:49) confirms the statement:

> It might take a pioneer European missionary twenty years to make one convert, but one native Christian could influence dozens of family members and neighbours. Indigenous Christians working as evangelists, catechists, and “Bible women” typically outnumbered the foreign missionaries and were essential to the spread of the Christian message.

Native catechists were actively involved in the missionary work after the missionaries arrived in their homeland, but the church authority recognised them later as catechists (Thang 2001:12). Initially, the church did not accept the local catechists. The only focus was on the missionaries. Their work was not valued and, according to Dennis (2007:110), “[r]eference to local pastoral helpers was infrequent and almost always anonymous”. Although they were neither recognised nor honoured, the results of their work directed the attention of the historians to them.

The missionaries could not accomplish anything without the work of the catechists. In his appraisal of their noble work, Thang (2001:70) had this to say about them:

> They honoured their great privilege of assisting to the foreign missionaries, teaching the catechism, protecting the persecuted priests and lay faithful, and giving witness to the faith until death as a worthy service in the missionary Church. They undoubtedly played a special role in the missionary countries in which Churches that are flourishing today would not have been built up without them.

The local leaders were also effective in encouraging the local believers because they understood the struggles that the people were facing. They did excellent work within the Christian church:

> Forming believers into mature Christian congregations, providing theological and pastoral counsel against dangers arising from inside and outside churches, strengthening believers both individually and corporately as they face suffering and persecution (Kostenberger & O’Brien 2001:268).

They provided a service that the missionaries could not give to the individual church members.

Often, the missionaries and the church pastors discriminated against the catechists. “In Cameroon, a generation ago, a pastor could expect the catechist to work for him in his garden” (Sundkler & Steed 2004:661). This discredited a person who was supposed to only be involved in spiritual work, thus treating the person as a slave. In a similar case,

> where caste distinctions existed between nobility and peasant groups, the priest from the nobility could not eat with catechists of the peasant strata (Sundkler & Steed 2004:661).

Because of their treatment, some churches referred to them as the “poor, locally recruited, and untrained catechists” (Sundkler & Steed 2004:661).

The training of catechists was not the kind of training that would be given to a leader who is expected to stand in front of people to teach them. On one occasion, two men from the east and west of the African continent had to represent the Catholic catechists. One of them recalled what happened in the catechism lessons. The Bannabikira (Daughters of Our Lady), who were known as the Ganda nuns, were the teachers:

> We repeated after them, thereby completing the dialogue. The nun, for example, asked: “Who created all of you and placed you on this earth?” Answer: God created us and placed us on the earth. Then all of you answer.” We answered, “God created all of us and placed us on this earth.” And then, “Who is God?” And she gave the answer, “God is all spirit and has no body. All of you repeat.” And then we repeated, “God is all spirit and has no body.” She asked again, “Where is God?” and gave the answer, “God is in Heaven. Now all of you repeat.” And we answered, “God is in Heaven.” The teacher: “What is Heaven.” And then she told us, “Heaven is a pleasant place where good people see, stay, and enjoy themselves with God forever. Now you all repeat.” And we repeated what she had said (Sundkler & Steed 2004:662).

The person who gave this report suggested that the students had to stay at the mission for six months for such a course. One could agree with the author that the course “seemed to be an exercise in memorization rather than in understanding” (Sundkler & Steed 2004:662). Only when there was dissatisfaction with the work of the catechists, and when people would say: “[i]t is degrading for an educated man to go into a rural district and become a catechist … we must get rid of our group of catechists” (Sundkler & Steed 2004:660), efforts were made to recruit full-time pastors to shepherd the churches.

The desire to train African church leaders led to the establishment of seminaries and Bible schools. This was better than the six-month training for catechists. Unfortunately, African pastors were often not empowered to be self-theologising – that is, examine Scripture and develop contextualised answers to the African church’s questions (Clinton 2018:14).

Catechists and local leaders were appointed to work with missionaries. They were more successful in spreading the Christian message because they related more with their African brothers and families.

2.19 The allocation of Christian names in Africa

Western missionaries also gave people in Africa “Christian” names. Olutonde (2016) as well as Adu-Gyamfi and Ampandu (n.d.) affirm that “all indigenous names were also censured by missionaries” (CMS), and that they advised the African people to take Christian names. The changing of names was not optional for the Christian converts in Africa. The process of changing names was gradual. Adu-Gyamfi and Ampandu mention that the converts were indoctrinated to frown upon indigenous names, while Olutonde (2016:20) avers that the missionaries “censured” the use of indigenous names.

Two reasons were given for changing people’s names. First, the missionary teachers who were often European did not want to learn the local language or how to pronounce the names. It was thus normal to give European names to the learners with indigenous names. Secondly, the missionaries taught them that the African names were pagan. In other instances, according to the missionaries, Africans had given their children pagan names to glorify pagan deities before they converted to Christianity and given the understanding of the importance of names in both societies (Mott 1955:40). The second reason for the existence of African deities is a matter that invokes debate, as Africans have been known as people who worshipped God, although they did not have the Bible and were not aware of Jesus Christ.

Christian names were given to the African people after their indigenous names were changed. When the Zanaki people from Rhodesia were baptised, they were given “Christian” names such as James, William, and Charles. These names had no connection with the African culture. A similar renaming of people also happened among the Asaba people of Nigeria (Olatunde 2016:31). This process meant imposing their standards on the African people in their own land. This resulted in many Africans doubting or losing their African history. The researcher is also a victim of this method. He is a Black African, yet he has a European surname which he inherited from his father. That is the reason why the person in the movie “Roots” went from America to his original country of Ghana to search for his family. It is also understandable that not all people have the time and means to embark on this extensive search. But what is important is that the cultural damage has been done.

As a way of enforcing this practice, Christian converts in Africa who disobeyed were punished. Ibewuike (2006:353) states further that the African converts were left in a dilemma, because their people back home (these converts were staying in Salems) wished to give their children indigenous names, whereas the missionaries condemned this practice. They did not know whom to obey and whom to disobey, although both had negative consequences. Any couple who decided to name their child in the African traditional manner had to face suspension from the church, or, if the child was baptised in the church, the couple was alienated from their families back home. This was the situation in which the missionaries put the new African converts. As a result, many children were given names that were strange in Africa (Ibewuike 2006:353).

This section dealt with the missionaries giving Africans what they termed “Christian” names. It also addressed the African challenges with the giving of these names. The onus remains with Africans to decide whether to continue with this practice or to give only African names to their children.

2.20 The construction of buildings

One area where the missionaries had an influence on the African way of doing things was in the building of houses. They did not like the old grass huts in which the converts were living. “Rarotonga passed a resolution encouraging the people at all the stations (mission stations) not to live in badly built but well-built houses” (Frescura 2015:3). In another instance, the

> missionaries favoured moving individuals and families out of the big house (African converts’ house) as quickly as possible and moving them into Victorian clapboard houses (missionary style built houses), which were seen as better suited from all angles (Spindler 2005:216).

The reason given for this move was that the big house used by the converts has

> the dirt floor, the dark interior, the smokiness, the lack of privacy, the sheer number of residents – things which were going to be overcome in the Victorian house (Spindler 2005:216).

In their writings, the missionaries were horrified by the “unsanitary” conditions of the traditional big house.

> We can read “immoral” as the two concepts of physical and moral health were intertwined and virtually inseparable among these missionaries who, after 1892, were also trained physicians (Spindler 2005:213).

> The horror at the dark, smoky interiors, and the potential vices (primarily if not exclusively in the missionary minds) that could occur in such interiors lacking in the “privacy” that was like the English bourgeois house, was pronounced (Spindler 213:113).

They soon started a mission where they introduced their own way of building houses for the Africans.

The problem the missionaries had with the African houses was more spiritual than physical. They identified the house as the house of devils, which would not assist the new converts in their new spiritual journey. Explaining the negatives of living in such houses, Spindler (2005:214) writes:

> Someone who attended services in the mission church or who expressed an interest in Christian teachings but then disappeared into the miasmic interior of a big house, in which forty kinsmen also lived, could not be so easily isolated and, in the end, converted (Spindler 2005:214).

Explaining more about the spiritual issue of the converts’ houses, Spindler (2005:214) states the following:

> Extracting persons from the larger house was homologous with the process of baptizing and renaming them; each aided in the creation of an identifiable and localizable person, who could be held responsible for his or her moral deeds or (more likely) misdeeds.

The missionaries thus reckoned that it was necessary to remove the converts from their own houses and encourage them to build another house, in Victorian style, in order to facilitate their conversion. They wanted to take them away from their relatives in the big house. This transformed African communal living to a European individuality. The spiritual implication of the African houses was exclusively in the missionary’s mind. After the condemnation of the African houses, the missionaries encouraged and assisted them to build Victorian-style houses. They first had to build their own houses as the missionary.

The German academic and theologian, Gustav Warneck (1888:34), writes:

> First the missionary builds a simple small house for himself, to which he soon adds a school and a church. Generally, he must himself superintend this work; often enough, indeed, he must execute it with his own hand, and it stands him in good stead to have been a tradesman at home. But he induces the natives also to help him, and much

> patience as it requires on his part, he undertakes to instruct them. Gradually his word and his example produce their effect, and the converts from heathenism begin to build new and more decent dwellings for themselves.

Once their own houses were built, Germond (1967:97) also verified that they had to "train the (South Sotho) to erect proper and comfortable homes for their own families".

The missionaries were satisfied with the progress of building better houses for the new African converts. They reckoned that they achieved their goal. Inspecting the Victorian clapboard houses, they remarked:

> These houses were characterized by large windows, wooden floors, adequate ventilation, and separate rooms with closing doors between them. As one missionary, the wife of the physician, stated, the better houses were places where "everything is scrupulously clean, where there are blinds and curtains on the windows, paper on the walls, oilcloth on the floor, a well-polished stove, and neat furniture in the room" (Spindler 2005:216).

In 1879, the magistrate for Gatberg, Griqualand East, reported that he was happy to say that there was a marked progress in many ways. He added that the square house and substantially walled round hut superseded the old grass huts, and that the use of European clothing was more generally adopted (Cape of Good Hope Blue Book on Native Affairs 1880:23).

The missionaries themselves were not slow in announcing the fruits of their labours, according to a report from Leloaleng, in 1910:

> Since its foundation the work of the school has had a marked influence in improving the class of (South Sotho) houses, as in almost every village of importance are to be found neat stone buildings which reflect great credit on the intelligence and enterprise of their builders (Paris Evangelical Missionary Society 1913).

A house furnished with new items purchased with the wages of honest labour was considered the pinnacle of civilisation (Spindler 2005:219).

This section addressed the building of houses by missionaries. Currently, the Africans have the benefit of both systems of building houses: the African way and the missionary way. The Africans still use these methods in building their houses.

2.21 Conclusion

The Africans needed to be freed from some of the Western styles of worship and be allowed to have a positive input in many areas of the Christians. It is true that missionaries made positive contributions in Africa and elsewhere but they also caused some damages in the process of proclaiming the gospel in Africa. Africans must scrutinise these damages to find ways of removing the bad effects.

Africans must be proud of their own heritage. They must not depend on Eurocentric strategies used in Christianity. They must create African Christianity, of which they will be proud. Because of all these influences, other Africans discarded Christianity and the Bible as the strategies of the oppressors. African people must be able to separate Christianity from the European culture. They must be able to be who they are, culturally, while being Christians at the same time. A process of Africanising of Christianity must be initiated.

The missionaries initiated good things in Africa that equipped the African people with new skills. The opening of schools and clinics, as well as the translation of the Bible into African languages were innitatives that added value to African people.

The missionaries also imposed negative things on Christians by combining aspects of the missionaries and the colonisers. These include, but are not limited to changing African names to European names. Africans must be proud of their African names and of who they are. Africans must also initiate ways of worshipping God according to their culture.

According to Tippet (1987:102), missionaries could not realise the fallacy of their actions against the social structure of another culture. They needed a more considered action of working through social structure. For the good initiatives that missionaries did in Africa, the name of God must be praised for their sacrifice and efforts.

CHAPTER 3: A HISTORICAL REFLECTION ON THE ECCLESIOLOGY OF THE SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST CHURCH

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides information on the SDA Church ministry, the characteristics of the SDA Church, its origins, growth, and polity. This information should assist in understanding the missionary strategies of the church (Chapter 4). This chapter also examines the missionary activities and the reasons behind the formation of the SDA Church by the pioneers. This information should assist in understanding the reasons behind its missionary activities. The reason for the study of the mission strategy of the SDA Church should explain how the SDA Church understands its mission and how it views itself in that mission. The researcher also describes the relations between the SDA Church and other churches as well as the doctrines of the SDA Church.

3.2 History

3.2.1 The establishment of the SDA

3.2.1.1 Forerunners of the SDA Church

The SDA developed in America against the background of the great advent awakening in the early years of the nineteenth century (Brown 1952:441-458;10-130; Ahistrom 1972:41). At that time, conventional Protestantism displayed increasing vigour while it was becoming fragmented. This new energy led to a greatly expanded interest in communicating the gospel to the non-Christian world (Schwartz 1979:17). This time was not marked by great emotional outbursts, but rather by a sudden earnestness in Christian devotion and living. Church attendance increased noticeably, and many spoke of having experienced conversion. The awakening resulted in the founding of several societies whose purpose was to make the gospel known. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was founded in 1810 and the American Bible Society in 1816. The former was the result of a covenant made by a group of students meeting on a haystack, who vowed to devote themselves to foreign missions (Gonzalez 1985:245).

Early in the nineteenth century, Bible interpreters worldwide spoke of, and wrote about the nearness of the second coming of Jesus Christ (Schwarz 1979:25; Kidd 2007; Ahlstrom 1972:415-454). Intensive studies on the prophecies in the biblical books of Daniel and Revelation led many to conclude that the prophetic time periods were about to end (Dederen 2000:2). The researcher lists some of the people who were significant during this period.

3.2.1.2 Manuel de Lacunza

For centuries, the Roman Catholic Church had either virtually ignored Christ's return or projected it onto the far-distant future (CCC 674; Blomberg, Craig, Chung & Sung 2009). Manuel de Lacunza, a Jesuit born in Chile, studied the Bible for twenty years before writing *La venida del Mesias en gloria y magestad* (The coming of the Messiah in glory and majesty). Lacunza's work was translated into English by the London preacher Edward Irving, who attached to it a report of the first Albury Prophetic Conference. At the Albury Conferences, held yearly from 1826 to 1830, clergy from different churches and communions gather to study the nearness of the Second Advent, the prophecies of Daniel and Revelation, and "the duties of the church arising from these questions" (Froom 1971:276).

Even before the publication of his book, *The coming of the Messiah in glory and majesty*, the manuscript translations of Lacunza's work in Italian and Latin were in circulation. Once printed, it spread rapidly, creating a considerable stir throughout southern Europe and Latin America. Because Lacunza believed that the coming of Jesus was the focal point of all history, he called for a thorough examination of the Bible for light on the imminent return of Jesus. He accepted the early Christian church's position that there were to be two resurrections of the dead, separated by a millennium. His understanding of the second advent, as occurring at the start of this millennium, placed him in direct opposition to Whitbyan postmillennialism[39] (Schwarz 1979:26).

As Lacunza had feared, the Sacred Congregation of the Index condemned his book.[40] In 1824, Pope Leo XII officially forbade its publication "in any language

[39] In Christian eschatology (end-time theology), postmillennialism is an interpretation of Chapter 20 of the Book of Revelation that views Christ's second coming as occurring after the "Millennium", a Golden Age in which Christian ethics prosper (Steineker 2010:132).

[40] The Sacred Congregation of the Index was a thorough examination and scrutiny of the books by two people. At the meeting, they collectively decided whether or not the works should be included in

whatsoever". Far from ending its influence, the papal ban was a virtual recommendation to Protestant scholars (Froom 1971:303-324).

3.2.1.3 Joseph Wolff

The son of a German-Jewish rabbi, Joseph Wolff found himself attracted to Christianity as a youth. He travelled widely and was known as "the missionary to the world" (White 1858:358). Repulsed by rationalism that was prevalent in German Protestantism, Wolff turned to Catholicism. He later became the favourite of the Pope and the cardinals, but later found himself an enemy of the church when he denounced the "burning of heretics" by the church as the violation of the commandment "Thou shall not kill." Wolff's independence and radical theological ideas brought him under surveillance of the Holy Office and ultimately led to his banishment from Rome. Shortly thereafter, he cut his ties with Catholicism and migrated to England, where he became an Anglican (Schwartz 1979:28-29). Wolff was one of the twenty people who attended the 1826 Albury Conference; he travelled extensively throughout Western and Central Asia, teaching that Christ would come in roughly 1847 to establish a millennial rule in Jerusalem (Dederen 2000:2).

He was an advent believer who heralded the good news of this anticipated event over a wider area. An expert in six languages and able to converse freely in another eight, Wolff was a compulsive missionary to Jews, Moslems, Hindus, and Parsees. When he travelled to America, he was asked to address the American Congress. At that time, he was asked what he would do if, when 1847 came, the millennium did not begin. He answered that he would tell them that "Joseph Wolff was mistaken" (Froom 1946:461-481).

There is no indication whether Wolff was involved in the beginning of the Adventist Church, but he was the forerunner. He widely proclaimed the message that would be one of the main pillars of the Adventist Church.

3.2.1.4 Francois Gaussen

In Geneva, Francois Gaussen, driven from his pulpit by the rationalist state clergy, became a teacher in the Evangelical Society's School of Theology. As a "zealous

---

the Index. Forbidden books were listed in the Index of Prohibited Books, and Catholics were forbidden to read them (Grendler 1988:45-46).

advocate" of the second advent, he paid special attention to the prophecies in his teaching. He originated a unique way of creating interest in the prophecies, by giving a series of Sunday School lessons on Daniel to the children of Geneva. This series attracted several adults, including many who visited the city from other areas of Europe. In these lessons, Gaussen showed that Daniel and Revelation portray the history of the world, which would soon come to a close (Froom 1971:687-700; Schwarz 1979:29).

Like the other SDA Church forerunners, Gaussen was not directly involved in the formation of the Adventist Church, but his ideas became the bases of the doctrine that was later espoused by the Adventist Church.

3.2.2 Early Adventist movement

3.2.2.1 William Miller and the Millerite movement

William Miller, a farmer in Low Hampton, New York, began a careful study of his Bible at the time of his conversion in 1816. He developed sufficient skill in writing, so that he was frequently called upon to write letters for other people and compose verses for his friends (Schwarz 1979:31). He became a deist, and his friends introduced him to sceptics such as Voltaire, Pain, and Hume. Later, he noted that deism lacked hope for life beyond the grave. He then became a Christian and accepted Christ as "personal Saviour". He now had to face the ridicule from his friends who used the same arguments he had previously used against the Bible. He developed a systematic Bible study to both answer these challenges and build a firm foundation for his faith.

He used a concordance to assist him in his study of the Bible, and he let the Bible be its own interpreter. He started from the book of Genesis and continued as long as he was able to explain each passage satisfactorily. When faced with an obscure or difficult verse, Miller looked up all the other verses containing the same keywords. Early in his study, he concluded that the Bible should be interpreted literally, unless the context clearly indicates that the writer used figurative language (Nichol 1944:27-34).

As Miller was studying the prophecies of Daniel 2 and 7, he started noting that the prophets frequently spoke in figurative language, and that their predictions were fulfilled by literal events. From this analogy, it was logical to assume that the second

advent would also take place literally. After two years of investigation, he concluded that, according to the prophecy of Daniel 8:14, “in about twenty-five years … all the affairs or our present state would be wound up” (Gale 1975:33-35). The cleansing of the sanctuary that was to take place at the end of the 2,300 days of Daniel 8 was the church that would be purified at the Lord’s return.

After this understanding that Christ was about to come, he had a conviction to share this “good news” with other people. In excusing himself from this assignment, he reasoned that he did not have the training to be a public speaker. But the impression did not go away, until one day, in his study, he promised God that,

> [i]f I should have an invitation to speak publicly in any place, I will go and tell them what I found in the Bible about the Lord’s coming (Gale 1975:23).

After making this promise, he felt relieved. As he had never been invited to go and preach, he felt entirely safe in making the promise. As he was making this promise, his nephew was on his way from a nearby town with an invitation for him to tell the members of the Baptist Church his views on the second coming of Christ (Schwarz 1979:33).

Although Miller was, at first, angry that he had made such a promise, because he was a man of his word, he honoured the invitation and went to preach at Dresden. The next day, he delivered a convincing sermon on the second coming of Christ at the small Baptist Church. The church insisted that he continue his studies through the week, which he did. When he returned home, he found another letter awaiting him with another preaching invitation. Sermons by the hundreds followed in quick succession in Methodist, Baptist, and Congregational Churches. Miller devoted his time to preaching. From October 1834 to June 1839, Miller’s log records 800 lectures given in response to direct invitation (Dederen 2000:2).

As preachers from other denominations joined Miller, the number of believers grew. Those who participated in the movement were called “Millerites” or “Adventists”. When the Adventist Movement started, people from the Methodist, Baptist, Lutheran, Congregational, Presbyterian, and even Roman Catholic churches were part of this mighty religious awakening. The Advent Movement was not a single voice, but a colossal choir made up of people from many denominations and countries, who sang the same theme song: Christ is coming: The end of all things is at hand.

As the Millerite movement became more influential, tension arose between them and the Protestants. These churches became critical of the Adventists. The next step for these churches was to discipline their ministers and laymen who promoted the Adventists' views. Rumours about the fanatical beliefs of the Millerites were rife. Newspapers carried articles containing more fancy than truth. One stated that the Adventists were preparing ascension robes. There were some charges on the local newspaper that Millerite teachings caused increased insanity and suicide (Schwarz 1979:47). The public ridicule, to which Millerites were subjected, led most of them, in 1843, to separate from the churches to which they had belonged.

3.2.2.2 The Great Disappointment

Miller reckoned that Christ would return in 1843. By the summer of that year, he expressed disappointment that Christ had not yet come, but urged believers to continue watching for the imminent coming of the Lord. In February 1844, Samuel Snow set a date. He explained his research to the Adventist leaders. Miller and the prominent leaders of the movement supported his explanation, and the new date of 22 October 1844 was accepted (The General Conference 1956:175).

During the weeks preceding 22 October, the Millerites began to engage in thorough preparations for the imminent return of Christ. "Crops were left unharvested, potatoes undug. Shops were closed; workers resigned from their posts"(Schwarz 1979:73). The Millerites did not see a reason to be engaged in such "mundane activities" (Schwarz 1979:73). According to Maxwell (1977:31-32), people spent their last days "settling their quarrels", "confessing their faults", and "donating their money so that the warning message concerning the second advent could be published".

With solemn joy and great expectation, the Millerites met in homes and churches on 22 October 1844 to await the returning Christ. Most of the believers continued waiting expectantly until clocks tolled midnight. But the great day passed. Confusion and despair became the sad experience of those early Adventists. Their neighbours' mockery added to their disappointment. They were devastated. The faithful, sure that their movement had been led by God, tried to understand where they had gone wrong (Dederen 2000:3).

3.2.3 Adventist Church organisation

The Adventist Movement was not a church; it was an organisation whose members belonged to all the other churches, whose purpose was to encourage the people as they were waiting for the coming of Jesus Christ to earth. George Storrs, a prominent leader in the movement, wrote: “Take care that you don’t seek to organise another church.” (Spalding 1961:291-295; Schwarz 1979:86). He added that “no church can be organised by man’s invention but what it becomes is Babylon the moment it is organised” (Spalding 1961:295; Schwarz 1979:86).

The situation forced the members to change their minds about organising the church. When tent ministry became an effective way of spreading the gospel, it required a full-time commitment of a large number of ministers. This was not possible without some regular form of support. Finances were, therefore, carefully studied, and plans were voted. Then some suggested that a form of organisation was needed to hold the church property. Opposition arose and accusations of “going back to Babylon”, “union of church and state”, “power mongers”, greed and position were all used as the debate became emotional rather than fact and essential reality. Reality slowly began to kick in, and at a general meeting held at the end of September 1860, the name “Seventh-day Adventist” was selected to represent the movement and a unanimous vote was taken for the formation of a publishing association. Ellen White wrote: “the name SDA carries the true features of our faith in front and will convict the inquiring mind” (Great Advent Movement 2013:35).

3.2.4 The meaning of the sanctuary given

Many Millerites drifted away soon after the disappointment. However, a nucleus of the Remnant Church included Hiram Edson, Joseph Bates, James White, and Ellen Harmond. These believers shared the heartache of the disappointment with other believers. On the morning of 23 October 1845, Edson and some close friends went to the barn for a season of prayer, which gave them confidence that the Lord would show them the way.

After breakfast, Edson said to one of the believers who remained, “Let us go out to comfort the brethren with this assurance.” The two men walked through the field where Edson’s corn was still in the shocks. They went with mediative hearts, thinking of the disappointment. Edson stopped in the middle of the field. He seemed to see

the sanctuary in heaven and Christ as High Priest going from the Holy Place of the sanctuary into the Most Holy.

> I saw distinctly and clearly that, instead of our High Priest coming out of the Most Holy of the heavenly sanctuary to come to this earth on the tenth day of the seventh month, at the end of the 2300 days, He for the first time entered on that day the second apartment of that sanctuary and that He had a work to perform in the Most Holy before coming to this earth (Edson 1844:4-5).

This cleansing of the sanctuary marked the beginning of the investigative judgement.

The group of Sabbatarian Adventists found it easy and reassuring to accept the idea that Christ had changed his position and work in the heavenly sanctuary on 22 October. This reinforced their convictions that their understanding of the prophetic time was correct. They found it more difficult, however, to grasp what Christ's new work was, and how this related to both them and the advent (Schwarz 1979:62).

3.3 Polity of the SDA Church

3.3.1 Ecclesial polity of the SDA Church

The SDA has four generally recognised forms of church government. These may be summarised as follows:

1. **Episcopal** – the form of church government by bishops, usually with three orders of ministers, as bishops, priests, and deacons.

2. **Papal** – the form of church government in which the supreme authority is vested in the Pope. From him, the church is governed by cardinals, archbishops, bishops, and priests. The local church of individual members has no authority in church administration.

3. **Independent** – the form of church polity that makes the local church congregation supreme and final within its own domain. This is usually referred to as congregationalism.

4. **Representative** – the form of church government that recognises that authority in the church rests in the church membership, with executive responsibility delegated to representative bodies and officers for the governing of the church. This form of church government also recognises the equality of the ordination of the entire

ministry. The representative form of church government prevails in the SDA Church. (*SDA Church Manual* 2010:25, 26).

3.3.2 SDA organisational structure

The SDA Church is organised with a representative form of church government. This means authority in the church comes from the membership of local churches. Executive responsibility is given to representative bodies and officers to govern the local church. Four levels of church structure lead from the individual believer to the worldwide church organisation:

1. The local church made up of individual believers.

2. The local conference, or local field/mission, made up of several local churches in a state, province, or territory.

3. The union conference, or union field/mission, made up of conferences or fields within a larger territory (often a grouping of states or an entire country).

4. The General Conference, the most extensive unit of organisation, made up of all unions/entities in all parts of the world. Divisions are sections of the General Conference, with administrative responsibility for geographical areas.

Each level is “representative”, as it reflects a democratic process of formation and election. Local churches elect their own officers and church boards are governed by majority voting. Churches elect delegates to the conferences that meet “in session” every two or three years. Executive authority between sessions is exercised by the Conference Executive Committee and the executive officers (normally the President, the Secretary, and the Treasurer), all of whom are elected by the sessions.

A similar process operates for Union sessions, usually 5 years, and General Conference sessions, at which times officers and committees are elected, reports given, and policies decided.

Within these four levels, the church operates various institutions. In their world outreach, Adventists serve the person as a whole and have developed educational, healthcare, publishing, media (radio, print, television, web, satellite), and other institutions. The multiple units of the world church, whether congregations, conferences, healthcare institutions, publishing houses, schools, or other organisations, all find their organisational unity in the General Conference of the

Seventh-day Adventists in which they have representation (Adventist Organisation 2012).

The General Conference is the highest earthly authority of the church. The General Conference in session, and the Executive Committee between sessions, are the highest organisations in the administration of the church's global work and are authorised by its constitution to create subordinate organisations to promote specific interests in various sections of the world. When differences arise in or between organisations and institutions, appeal to the next higher organisation is proper until it reaches the General Conference in session, or the Executive Committee that shall constitute the body of final authority on all questions where a difference of viewpoint may develop. Administratively, the global church has 13 divisions, which are composed of churches grouped by a collection of missions, fields, or states into union churches. The North American Division is one of the 13 divisions (Dederen 2000:18-20).

3.3.3 Pioneers of the church

3.3.3.1 Joseph Bates (1792-1872)

According to Schwartz (1979:59), Joseph Bates rose from cabin boy to captain and retired from the sea before the first angel's message came to him. God had been leading him; always a man of good principles and lover of right and truth, he gave up the use of tobacco and alcohol while sailing the seas. He was a member of a Christian church and about fifty years of age when he was called to preach. He organised one of the first temperance societies in America. Bates saw a need and initiated a method of intervention to solve the problem. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, various factors contributed to an epidemic of alcoholism that went hand in hand with spousal abuse, family neglect, and chronic unemployment (Rorabaugh 1981:20-21). Bates was the first temperance advocate and vegetarian Adventist (Clark 1968:246; Land 1998:55). By 1844, Bates had given up all forms of alcohol, tea, coffee, meat, tobacco, and "greasy and rich food" (Clark 1968:246; Meister 1983:42). Later, Bates' health principles influenced the SDA Church and, by the 1860s, Adventist publications discouraged the use of alcohol, coffee, and tea (Land 1998:55; Meister 1983:42). He poured his money into the work

until, at the time of the Great Disappointment, he had hardly any left. After that, he lived much by faith.[41]

Bates was the first of leaders who later became SDA ministers to accept the Sabbath truth and introduce it to other leading workers and believers. They also wrote the first comprehensive Sabbath tract that was printed. From then on, Bates spent much of his time travelling the "unworked West" (as they referred to it), even in the winter snows of Canada and in all parts of eastern America. "He shrank from no hardship in his untiring zeal" (Dederen 2000:5). He was older in years than his more youthful associates, the Whites, and they learned upon his fatherly advice in the pioneering days of the movement. He was active until the end of his life. He died in 1872 and is buried near his home in Michigan (Schwarz 1979:59-60).

3.3.3.2 James Springer White

James White was a pioneer minister in the Advent movement. In spite of physical impairments, he felt that God wanted him to warn the world of its nearing end. He went on a preaching tour, carrying the first angel's message[42] to many towns. He was a persuasive speaker and a good singer, but above all, he was a leader of men.

> James White, intrepid, resourceful, far-seeing, eager leader of the infant Seventh-[D]ay Adventist Church, who in the early decades of its history had a chief part: first, in framing the doctrines and bringing out a people to stand upon them; second, in promoting and organising the ecclesiastical polity; and third, in founding and managing the institutions – corporate church, publishing, health and educational – which make up the pillars of the cause. He was a born leader. All his co-workers felt the dynamic power of his spirit. (Spalding 1868:138).

White served as president of the General Conference for three terms, amounting to ten years (Schwartz 1979:66)

3.3.3.3 Ellen Gould (Harmon) White

Ellen Gould Harmon was born on 26 November 1827, on a farm at Gordam, Maine, roughly 12 miles west of Portland. With her twin sister, she was the youngest of a family of eight. She was a normal, happy child with a pleasant disposition and a deep sense of the importance of religion, which she received from her devout parents.

[41] Section 3.2.2.2 of this chapter discusses the Great Disappointment of the Adventist Church.
[42] The first angel's message is one of the three angels' messages in Revelation 14:6, 7 (Fear God, and give glory to Him, for the hour of His judgment has come, and worship Him, who made heaven and earth, the sea, and the springs of water) that are proclaimed worldwide by the Adventist Church.

Ellen and her parents were among the families that joined the Millerite Movement and experienced the Great Disappointment. In 1846, she married James White. She received her first vision after the Great Disappointment, and encouraged the disappointed flock (White 1929:13-17). Most of the Adventists believed that, through this young girl, God was giving them light. Since then, until her death in 1915, her ministry to the Adventist Church as leader, writer, counsellor, and lecturer was extensive, and her influence has been enormous. She wrote many books that covered different subjects from eschatology to soteriology, health to education, and childcare to church organisation. Not only did she counsel and write about missions, but she was also a missionary. She spent eleven years in Australia and Europe doing missionary work (Schwarz 1979:210).

3.3.4 Prophetic ministry and the significance of Ellen White in the SDA Church

Ellen White held an important position in the Adventist Church. She was encouraging and giving testimonies to guide the movement on its way to heaven. She refused to be called prophetess or pastor. She only wanted people to refer to her as the messenger of God.

After two men turned down the offer from God to serve the church, Ellen Harmon was the third person selected by the Lord to be the messenger to the others. In December 1844, two months after the Great Disappointment, when the Adventist believers needed the voice of assurance from heaven, God gave a vision to Ellen, a young seventeen-year old woman. Briefly, a symbolic representation of the future of the church was portrayed to her. The time covered was from 22 October until the saints entered the New Jerusalem. She saw that the coming of Jesus was not as near as they had hoped. The glory of the vision of heaven was so real to Ellen that, when she came out of the vision, everything seemed dark about her. She wept as she realised that her experience was only a vision. She was homesick for heaven.

About a week after Ellen’s first vision, she was given a second revelation. She was told to go from place to place and relate the divine messages that had been revealed to her. At the same time, she was shown the trials she would face. Reluctantly, she began to go from place to place, giving her testimony. On one of these trips, she

worked with a young Adventist preacher, James White. They were married on 30 August 1846 (Dederen 2000:7).

3.4 Theology of the SDA Church

3.4.1 The church doctrines

When one examines the twenty-eight fundamental beliefs of the SDA Church, their similarities with other Protestant Church groups are evident. As noted earlier, Adventists stemmed from various Protestant Churches. Consequently, most of their beliefs derived from those denominations. However, specific differences sometimes constituted doctrinal controversies between them.

The early SDA leaders rejected creeds not only because they could be misused, but also because they were fallible human documents that could lead to affirm aspects that were contrary to Scripture and thus could even lead to infidelity or apostasy (Encyclopaedia of Seventh-day Adventists 2021).

The Adventists accepted the Bible as their only creed; they confessed that the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament were given by the inspiration of God and that they contained an all-sufficient revelation of His will to humanity. Thus, any teaching that was contrary to them was to be rejected. The SDA encouraged both members and non-members to read and study the Bible (Neufeld 1976:156). Seventh-day Adventists are the hermeneutical heirs of the Reformation. And as did the radical reformers of the sixteenth century, they continually seek to go “back to the roots”, to base all their presuppositions, principles of interpretation, faith, and practice upon the absolute authority of God’s infallible Word (Dederen 2000:40).

However, one opinion holds that Adventists considered Ellen White’s writings to be above those of the Bible. This was mainly owing to the thirty-one books and articles she wrote and to the fact that, since her death, the church has continued to compile and publish her unpublished manuscripts. The Adventist believers appreciated this literature, but it could not replace the Bible. White (1980:29, 30) wrote to Adventists and others about this opinion:

> The Lord desires you to study your Bibles. He has not given any additional light to take the place of His word. In public labour do not make prominent, and quote that which Sister White has written, as authority to sustain your positions. To do this will not increase faith in the testimonies. Bring your evidence, clear and plain, from the Word of

> God. A “Thus saith the Lord” is the strongest testimony you can possibly present to the people. Let none be educated to look to Sister White, but to the mighty God, who gives instruction to Sister White.

With regard to the relationship of her writings to the Bible, White (1980:30) further writes: “Little heed is given to the Bible, and the Lord has given a lesser light to lead men and women to the greater light.” White upholds the Bible as the revelation of God’s character, the reliable record of God’s dealings with humanity, and the unerring standard of faith and doctrine.

Adventists believe in the Trinity. There is one God: Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, a unity of three co-eternal persons. Naturally, they believe in Jesus who also became truly man, because he was conceived and born of the Virgin Mary. He lived and experienced temptation as a human being, but perfectly exemplified the righteousness and love of God. He suffered and died voluntarily on the cross for our sins and in our place, was raised from the dead, and ascended to minister in the heavenly sanctuary on behalf of his people. He will come again in glory for the final deliverance of his people and the restoration of all things. His coming will be literal, personal, visible, audible, and worldwide. This return was the hope of the church and the climax of the gospel (SDA Church Manual 2002:18).

> Christ, the Light of the World, veiled the dazzling splendour of His divinity and came to live as man among men, that they might, without being consumed, become acquainted with their Creator (White 1905:419).

Adventism distinguishes between two principal sacraments. First, baptism by immersion in water was a symbol of union with Christ, the forgiveness of sins, and the reception of the Holy Spirit (Romans 6:1-6). Secondly, the Holy Communion was a participation in the emblems of the body and blood of Jesus as an expression of faith in him. Preparation for the supper included self-examination (1 Corinthians 10:16, 17). White (1898:37) instructs that

> [t]he ceremony of foot washing and the Lord’s Supper, in its simplicity and spirituality, is to be observed with true solemnity, and with hearts full of thankfulness.

White (1898:40) also instructs that

> the ordinance of foot washing is not to be deferred because there are some professed believers who are not cleansed from their sins. Christ knew the heart of Judas, yet He washed his feet.

The fundamental difference between Adventists and other Christians is the observance of the Lord's Day, the Sabbath. The fourth commandment of the Ten Commandments, which requires the observation of the seventh day, is valued. This holy institution is simultaneously a memorial of creation and a sign of sanctification, a sign of the believer's rest from his own works of sin, and his entrance into the rest of the soul that Jesus promised to those who came to him (Genesis 2:1-3; Exodus 20:8-11; Hebrews 4:1-10). The Sabbath, as a memorial of God's creation power, points to Him as the maker of heavens and earth. Hence, it is a constant witness to His existence and a reminder of His greatness, wisdom, and love. "Had the Sabbath always been sacredly observed, there could never have been an atheist or an idolater" (White 1890:48).

Death is compared to a person who is "sleeping". When a human being dies, s/he does not go to live in another world. Damsteegt (1981:306, 307) provides the following scriptures in explaining the state of the dead. He remains in an unconscious state until the resurrection. In death, work and thus rewards cease (Ecclesiastes). Love, hate, and envy perish, along with participation in life's events (verse 6). Thought, knowledge, and wisdom no longer exist (verses 5 and 10). The dead cannot lay plans (Psalm 146:4), and there is neither remembrance of the dead (Psalm 6:5; Ecclesiastes 9:5) nor praise of God after death (Psalms 88:10,11; 115:17; Isaiah 38:18). There shall be a resurrection for both the just and the unjust. The resurrection of the just will take place at the second coming of Christ; the resurrection of the unjust will take place a thousand years later, at the close of the millennium (John 5: 28, 29; Revelations 20:5-10). God will make all things new. The earth, restored to its beauty, will forever become the dwelling of the saints of the Lord (Revelations 21:1-7).

From those principles, Adventists derive a certain ethic that guides their behaviour based on the Bible. Simplicity typifies their attitude *vis-à-vis* life. For them, life is good health. Accordingly, they cannot drink alcohol or smoke. They are temperate in everything, prefer a vegetarian diet to meat, and are not involved in politics. They consider themselves citizens of this world who must obey the authorities according to 1 Peter 2:13 (KJV): "submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake: whether it be to the king, as supreme". The fact is that some Adventists are like some other Christians who profess such things and do the opposite.

> No one can believe with the heart unto righteousness, and obtain justification by faith, while continuing the practice of those things which the Word of God forbids, or while neglecting any known duty (White 1844:396; cf. also White 1844:366; White 1902:145).

Adventists also believe that

> Nothing will open the doors for the truth like evangelistic medical missionary work. This will find access to the hearts and minds and will be a means of converting many to the truth (White 1974:513).

White (1923:20, 21) mentions that

> [t]he health reform is one branch of the great work which is to fit a people for the coming of the Lord. It is as closely connected with the third angel's message as the hand is with the body.

3.4.2 How the Sabbath came to the Adventists

The Adventist believers were not worshipping on the Seventh-day Sabbath. During the time of the Midnight Cry in 1844, Rachel Oakes (later Preston), a Seventh-day Baptist (SDB), came to Washington, New Hampshire, to visit her daughter, who was one of the Advent believers. Oakes was an ardent believer in the Bible Sabbath and brought with her a supply of tracts. Soon she accepted the Advent doctrines, and continued to keep the Sabbath. The tracts, which she quietly distributed, bore fruit. At a Sunday morning service, one of the Adventist believers stood up and said that he was convinced the seventh day was the true Bible Sabbath, and that he, for one, was resolved to keep it. Several others expressed themselves as like-minded, and within a few days practically the entire company of forty became Sabbath keepers.

The first Adventist minister to accept the Sabbath was Frederick Wheeler of the Washington group. He was formerly a Methodist minister and an associate of William Miller. Joseph Bates followed in the footsteps of Frederick Wheeler. Bates heard of a company in Washington, New Hampshire, that kept the Sabbath, and he decided to visit them to observe what this all meant. He went to New Hampshire, studied the subject, noted that their views were correct, and accepted the light.

The doctrine of the seventh-day Sabbath soon became a test for those wishing to join the Sabbath-keeping Adventists. The reading of a single article was sufficient to convince Bates. Edson also readily accepted the Sabbath truth. Wheeler and William Farnsworth needed only the introduction to the subject and a little time to study; soon they were Sabbath keepers. James and Ellen White were not impressed with the

importance of the Sabbath doctrine at first. After their marriage, the Whites studied the pamphlet that Bates had published, and they soon accepted the Sabbath. At that time, the movement began as a Sabbath-Keeping church (Schwartz 1979:58, 59).

3.4.3 The theology of the SDA

The SDA pioneers, adhering to the Bible as the only basis for faith and doctrine, eschewed doctrinal statements or creed. The SDA Yearbook was published without any doctrinal statement. As the church grew, numerous questions arose regarding the SDA beliefs. In 1930, the General Conference requested a committee of four to draw up a statement. The next Yearbook included the “Fundamental Beliefs of the Seventh-day Adventists” (Dederen 2000:20).

The SDA took some time to refine their doctrines. They obtained different doctrines from different churches or organisations, namely the doctrine of baptism from the Baptists; the doctrine of the Sabbath from the SDB Church; the doctrine of the second coming of Christ from the Millerites, and the doctrine of holiness from the Methodist Church. Adventists collected all Bible-based doctrines from the different churches to ultimately form their “Fundamental Beliefs” (White 1859:249).

The preamble to the most recent doctrinal statement of the SDA Church (1980) clearly affirms that the church is still open to new illumination and new understanding of the Bible (Dederen 2000:20). The statement was adopted in 1980 when the church had 27 fundamental beliefs, as alluded to earlier. In 2005, the 28 Fundamental Belief was added (Andrews Organisation 2010).

3.4.3.1 The SDA understanding of salvation

Seventh-day Adventists view themselves as heirs of and builders upon Reformation insights into biblical teaching on justification by grace through faith alone, and restorers and exponents of the fullness, clarity, and balance of the apostolic gospel.

In explaining the solution to the great controversy, Adventists, through study, reflection, and divine guidance, concluded that salvation contains no threat of human devising (White 1844:396). Salvation is the product of God’s grace alone, which effects a new status and a just relationship of sinners with God. Arising from that relationship, salvation transforms them into the image of Christ. At the heart of Adventism is the Christological understanding that Christ is both Saviour and Lord. “If we accept Christ as the Redeemer, we must accept Him as the Ruler” (White

1979:16). As Saviour, Christ offers mankind the gift of salvation and, as Lord, He calls on mankind to walk in renewal of life (Romans 6:4), manifesting the fruit of the Spirit (Galatians 5:22), and obedience to God's law (Romans 8:4; Revelation 14:12), as the "service of allegiance of love", "the true sign of discipleship" (White 1892:60).

The Adventists also believe that every man is free to choose or reject salvation. When people accept Jesus as the personal Saviour, "the character is revealed, not by occasional good deeds and occasional misdeeds, but by the tendency of the habitual words and acts" (White 1892:57, 58).

3.4.3.2 The eschatological position of the church

The Adventist Church is an eschatological movement that drew some of its doctrines on the last days' events. They share doctrines such as the Trinity, the Deity of Christ and spiritual gifts with other denominations. Some of the Adventist Church's doctrines such as the state of death, the sanctuary, the Remnant and its mission, as well as the gift of prophecy are uniquely theirs. Important points emphasise the eschatological position of the church.

Based on a historicistic interpretation of prophecy, Adventist eschatology is characterised principally by the premillennial second coming of Christ. The Adventists believe in the second coming of Christ. This doctrine was the first doctrine to be accepted by the Adventist Church. The Adventists look forward to the imminent return of Christ and use their resources to sponsor a worldwide mission in an attempt to convince all nations, tongues, and peoples of the world to prepare and be ready for His glorious coming.

The fact that there will be a Remnant Movement of God that keeps the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus is another point that makes Adventism an eschatological movement. The church believes in the existence of this Remnant, as the prophecy suggests. They also believe that they are the Remnant Movement of prophecy that emerged at the prophetic time. They believe that all people of all walks of life are called to come and be part of this fellowship as they prepare for the coming of Christ. Often, the Adventists have been accused of being "heavenly focused as to be of no earthly use" (Singata 2018:23).

The Seventh-day Adventists also derive their eschatological position from the fact of the three Angels' messages that will be proclaimed throughout the world prior to the

coming of Christ. The Adventist Church is the only church that is engaged in the proclamation of these messages on earth. These messages are contained in Revelation 14:6-12. The Adventists have been fearless in denouncing the worldliness that has currently crept into the Christian church and been on the forefront of denouncing it as the prophecy said that “Babylon has fallen”. They are calling people to come and join those who keep the commandment of Christ and the faith of Jesus, as stated in Revelation 14:12.

Adventists also believe what the Bible prophecy stated in Revelation 14:6, namely that the judgement hour of God has begun. They believe that, since 1844, when Christ moved from the Holy Place to the Most Holy Place, he took up a new responsibility as “Our High Priest” in heaven interceding on our behalf. They believe that, as the Bible indicates this event, the names of believers are either being written or blotted in the book of life (Schwarz 1979:168-170).

3.5 Mission of the SDA Church

3.5.1 An SDA perspective on mission

3.5.1.1 The SDA understanding of the mission of the church

Mission and its importance have been a significant thread from the Adventist Movement to the organisation of the Adventist Church in 1860. The church never lost its understanding of its role in spreading the message of the imminent coming of the Saviour to the world. This has been the goal and motif for the existence of this movement.

When he found out from his assessments of Daniel 8:14 that the coming of Christ was imminent, William Miller got a conviction to preach and tell the people about his findings. This farmer-preacher was not interested in simply securing intellectual assent for his mathematical calculations; his greatest desire was to see men and women, especially agnostics and infidels, accept Jesus Christ as Saviour and look forward with joy to His imminent return (Schwarz 1979:33). Miller was a missionary who wanted to see many people being saved and prepared to meet Jesus.

The Millerites were also missionary people who wanted to spread the message of the imminent coming of the Saviour in the short time that was still left, prior to the advent of Christ. Their mission was to publicise the advent. Months prior to the date

that was set for Christ to come, an increasing number of ministers and other lecturers carried the advent message to new regions. It became customary to launch papers to publicise the cause (Arthur 1961:21-26). The Millerites used every opportunity for their advent mission and spent their time and resources to make a success thereof.

The same motif that encouraged the Millerites to spread the advent message before the Great Disappointment, encouraged the Remnant people that their mission was still the same. When Edson received the explanation of what transpired in heaven and that Christ was not coming to earth but moving from the Holy Place to the Most Holy place in the heavenly sanctuary, his mind, after the explanation, “was directed to Revelation 10, with its account of the book that was sweet in the mouth and bitter in the belly”. Edson (1844:45) recalls that the chapter ends with the angels’ instruction to prophecy again. The message of Scripture in Revelation 10:11 instructs “to prophecy again about many peoples, nations, tongues, and kings”. This was understood as a text that spoke to the situation of Adventists in 1844, after their experience of the Great Disappointment. Although they were greatly disappointed that Jesus did not come again as expected in 1844, they would prophecy again to many peoples.

Even after it was formally organised as a church in 1860, the Adventist Church continued to be a mission church. Soon after its organisation and sensing its calling for mission, the church appointed John Nevins Andrews as the first appointed official overseas missionary who was sent to Switzerland. The mission was to spread the message of the second advent along with other beliefs held by the church, including the seventh-day Sabbath (General Conference Youth Department 2005:37).

3.5.1.2 God’s mission (Missio Dei)

Adventists noted that *Missio Dei* was the first point of contact regarding mission in the world. The *Missio Dei* influenced their mission (*Missio Ecclesia*). God was the One who wanted to save humanity and He was sending them. This sending was coming from God (Robertson 2006:3-19). According to Matthew 20:19, “Go ye therefore and make disciples of all nations”, God wanted all the nations of the world to be saved to His kingdom. God gave the church the great commission to do His mission in the world. White (1911:9-12) views the church as

> God's appointed agency for the salvation of men. Its mission is to carry the gospel to the world. And yet, enfeeble and defective as it may appear, the church is the one object upon which God bestows in a special sense His supreme regard. It is the theatre of His grace, in which He delights to reveal His power to transform hearts.

3.5.1.3 The three angels' messages

The Adventist Church has a unique understanding and meaning of the three angels' messages in Revelation 14:6-12. White understands that the three angels' message was the reason for the existence of the SDA Church. This is verified by the fact that the mission of the SDA mentions the duty of the SDA Church in light of the three angels' messages:

> The mission of the Seventh-Day Adventist Church is to proclaim to all peoples the everlasting gospel in the context of the Three Angels messages of Revelation 14:6-12, leading them to accept Jesus as their personal Saviour and to unite with His church, and nurturing them in preparation for His soon return (Adventist Statements Book 2012:7)

The many doctrines in the three angels' messages are summarised as follows. The first angels' message calls to give allegiance to God, the Creator of the heavens and earth, and warns that the judgement hour has come. The second angels' message declares that spiritual Babylon has fallen. The third angels' message warns men and women living in the time of the Remnant Church against receiving the mark of the beast.

White (1868:19) views the Seventh-day Adventists as special people who must convey the three angels' messages to the world. She sometimes calls them "watchmen and light bearers" to the world. Anything other than this special gospel message would compromise the SDA mission.

3.5.1.4 God's last warning message

White has a unique understanding of the mission of the SDA to the world, namely to herald the last warning that God would give to the world (Revelation 14:6-12). White (1868:206-207) views this important message as extremely urgent: "There is no other work of so great importance. They (SDAs) are to allow nothing else to absorb their attention". A warning is given at the end of the world to nations, tongues, and people of the world to prepare for the imminent return of Christ:

> They (SDAs) have a message of so great importance that they are represented as flying in the presentation of it to the world. They are holding in their hands the bread of life for a

> famishing world. The love of Christ constrained them. This is the last message. There are no more to follow, no more invitations of mercy to be given after this message shall have done its work. What a trust! (White 1868:19).

3.5.2 The missionary expansion of the SDA Church

The Adventists expanded quite extensively within a short space of time. This missionary expansion was mostly influenced by their sense of urgency to spread the gospel message to different parts of the world, in order to prepare all nations for the imminent return of Christ. The other reason was that the church started at a time of missionary expansion among different organisations in the 1800s and 1900s. They regarded the time of their existence as a time to make every move to reach all people in the world through the gospel of Jesus Christ.

In the 1870s, the denomination turned to missionary work and revivals, tripling its membership to 16,000 by 1880 and establishing a presence beyond North America in the late nineteenth century. Rapid growth continued, with 75,000 members in 1901. By this time, the denomination operated two colleges, a medical school, a dozen academies, 27 hospitals, and 13 publishing houses. By 1945, the church reported 20,000 members in the USA and Canada, and 360,000 elsewhere; the budget was $29 million; 140,000 were enrolled in church schools.

Currently, the church has a worldwide baptised membership of over 20 million people and 25 million adherents. As of May 2007, it was the twelfth largest religious body in the world, and the sixth largest highly international religious body. It is ethnically and culturally diverse and maintains a missionary presence in over 215 countries and territories out of the 235 countries of the world. The church operates over 7,500 schools, including over 100 post-secondary institutions, numerous hospitals, and publishing houses worldwide, as well as a humanitarian aid organisation known as Adventist Development and Relief Agency (ADRA) (South African Union 1997).

3.5.3 Challenges the SDA Church has faced

The Adventist Church, like any other church, has faced challenges from both within and outside the church, but the mission and the reason for its existence have always kept them above water. They refused to lose focus of the unique mission they had.

In spite of these challenges, they continued to spread the three angels' messages to the world.

The SDA Church had no shortage of challenges from within its own ranks. Starting from the time of the Great Disappointment up to the time after the organisation of the church, there were always groups that left the Adventist Church and started to challenge it. These groups such as the Smoke and Chew party indulge in practices disapproved by the Seventh-day Adventists. This did not last for long. The other group was the Ballenger group that interpreted the sanctuary differently and challenged the prophetic ministry of Ellen White. Ballenger travelled extensively to convey the name of the church in different places. After his death, his movement was also dissolved. After the death of Ellen White in 1915, Mrs Rowen indicated that she was also receiving visions like Ellen White did, and claimed to have received the gift of prophecy. After examining her writings, the church leaders publicly denounced them as they contained errors. The police later arrested Mrs Rowen for criminal activities and she was sentenced to ten years in jail. This ended her group's attack against the SDA (Schwarz 1979:450-453).

The Seventh-day Adventists also experienced other challenges outside the church. At some point, other churches labelled the Adventist Church a cult because of its "strange" doctrines (Hoekema 1963:41). The church leaders had to organise debates with these churches, in order to clarify the issues (Martin 1960:23). The issues of war and conscription of soldiers to go to war challenged the church to a point where they had to give a presentation to convince the American government that they had a Corps programme that would serve as an alternative for Adventist young people rather than to go and kill other people in war. Fortunately, the American government accepted this.

The resilience in facing these challenges was the mission and work they were supposed to accomplish in the world. White (1893:359) observed the challenges facing the church: "We have nothing to fear for the future, except as we shall forget the way the Lord has led us, and His teaching in our past history".

3.5.4 Ecumenism and the SDA

The Adventist Church had to deal with other churches throughout its existence. They often had to face antagonism from other churches, mostly because of their doctrines.

The church had to come up with ways to answer the occasional challenges. There were times when the church had to use diplomacy in facilitating the involvement or non-involvement in other demands for cooperation that the other churches placed on the Adventist Church at times.

The Adventist Church had to devise a way to deal with the Sunday law enforcement in America during the final two decades of the nineteenth century, when a number of Adventists were prosecuted for “Sunday labour” (Schwarz 1979:532). They finally found a response to meet that challenge:

> Adventists considered Sunday laws as essentially religious and a violation of both the United States Constitution and Christ’s injunction in Matthew 22:21 to “render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar’s and unto God the things that are God’s”. Still, in 1902, Ellen White counselled her fellow believers not to antagonise other Christians and thus impair their witness to them by flagrant Sunday-law violations. It would be better, where persecution threatened, to devote the first day of the week to missionary rather than secular activities (Adventist World 1848).

Although the Seventh-day Adventists have worked closely and well with other Christian churches and groups in the pursuit of common goals such as prohibition and religious liberty, they considerably refrained from participating in the formal ecumenical movement. The Adventist Church is not part of the World Council of Churches (WCC). One of the reasons for not joining the ecumenical movement is the fact that the ecumenical leaders seem to take the eventual organic unity and communion of the great majority of the churches for granted. On the other hand, from the perspective of Adventist leaders, the eschatological picture of God’s church prior to the second coming is not one of a megachurch gathering of all humankind together, but of a “remnant” of Christendom, those keeping the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus (cf. Revelation 12:17). Although the church is not part of the ecumenism structures, Adventist members and their pastors are encouraged to join other Christians whenever possible in humanitarian endeavours and in efforts to improve the moral obligations of their communities. They are also encouraged to join the specially proclaimed days of prayer or joint services of praise and thanksgiving. Nichol opines that such local contacts were essential to dispel the notion that Adventists were a Pharisaic, “holier-than-thou” people (Schwarz 1979:541).

White (1868:77) supported the idea of Adventists mixing with other Christians:

> Adventists have not been called to live in a walled-in-ghetto, talking only to themselves, publishing only for themselves, showing a certain spirit of isolationism. It is, of course, more comfortable, and secure to live in a Seventh-Day Adventist fortress, with the communication drawbridges all drawn up. In this setting one ventures from time to time into the neighbourhood for a quick evangelistic campaign, capturing as many "prisoners" as possible, and then disappearing with them back into the fortress.

It is obvious that White did not believe in the isolationist mentality. She encouraged the pastors to meet with the other pastors of other denominations "to pray for and with these men, for whom Christ is interceding" (White 1868:77). White (1868:78) concludes by saying that "[a]s Christ's messengers we should manifest a deep, earnest interest in these shepherds of the flock".

3.5.5 The SDA Church and race relations

Race relations in the SDA Church is a controversial topic. While the church has acknowledged the evils of racism, some institutions of the church practised this odious evil. The researcher wants to highlight this matter and simultaneously point out the inconsistencies of this racial stance within the structures of the SDA Church.

The official statement of the church on racism is the following:

> One of the odious evils of our day is racism, the belief or practice that views or treats certain racial groups as inferior and therefore justifiably the object of domination, discrimination, and segregation. The Seventh-Day Adventist Church deplores all forms of racism, including the political policy of apartheid with its enforced segregation and legalized discrimination. As a worldwide community of faith, the Seventh-Day Adventist Church wishes to witness to and exhibit in her own ranks the unity and love that transcend racial differences and overcome past alienation between races (Adventist Organisation 2022).

As the prophetic voice of the Adventist Church, White dealt with the issues of slavery that include the element of racism. In her comment on the responsibility of the church on this matter, White (1899:201) argues:

> God calls upon Christians, high or low, to represent Christ in their treatment of the Coloured people. God calls for His workers to consecrate themselves to the cause of justice and reform … The age in which we live calls for decided reformatory action; but wisdom must be exercised in dealing with the race that has so long been degraded and abused. That which is now undertaken cannot be carried forward as it might have been, had the white churches at the time of the abolition of slavery acted as Christ would have done in their place.

White also understood that Adventists, as citizens of the countries in which they live, are expected to be active in the voting processes and to not stand idly aside and allow the forces of evil to rule in these countries. In her diary entry for 9 March 1859, White (1859:27) comments on a visit by "men of intemperance" to the publishing office who commended the Sabbath-keeping Adventists for avoiding politics and not voting. But the leaders of the Battle Creek Church had just reached a consensus that they should use the vote "in favour of right and against wrong" (White 1859:27) rather than by inaction contributing to the electoral success of "intemperate men". White concurred and perceived the influence of "Satan and his evil angels" behind the "flattering manner" of the visitors: "May Satan be disappointed, is my prayer" (White 1859:28).

While it is comforting to understand that Adventists do not tolerate racism in all its forms, the practical application of this in some Adventist institutions is the opposite of the Adventist opinion on racism. Sokupa (2015:141) assesses the situation:

> In general, the SDA church has always taken an apolitical stance, due to a strong belief in the separation of religious affairs form the state, and this has led to the church having virtually no influence in the politics of some countries such as South Africa.

Morgan (1994:239-240) also agrees with Sokupa: "Initially, the Adventists' apocalyptic expectation was of such immediacy and intensity that it overrode any impulse toward social activism." They employed a Radical Republic critique of slavery on behalf of their apocalyptic judgement of America. In the 1850s and 1860s, however, they believed that political action for liberty would be a futile distraction from the supremely urgent task of preparing for their Lord's return.

Singata (2018:12) boldly argues that "[t]he South African Adventist church has failed to confront the inequities of apartheid". Adventists have been silent on matters dealing with racism and apartheid. They are active in a global mission to prepare the people of the world for the second coming of Christ. The church was last recorded as the second richest church in the world after the Roman Catholic Church. Many people averred that the Adventists are so involved in heavenly things that they are earthly useless. This may not be the case in other matters. Under the watchful eye of the church, gross racial differences occurred in the various church institutions. The SDA Church was embarrassed at the time of The Truth and Reconciliation

Committee hearings (held between 1995 and 1998, post-apartheid), when it was forced to apologise for the position it took at the time of apartheid:

> The Seventh-Day Adventist Church in South Africa was one of these communities and broadly speaking it participated wholeheartedly in the South African government's policy of apartheid. Such participation and support came easily, as there was already a great deal of racial separation and discrimination already present in the Seventh-day Adventist Church (Crocombe 2007:4).

The researcher does not indicate all the instances of racism where the church failed to act, but concludes this section with a quote from Singata (2018:13), who put the matter as if, when they were quiet to act, the Adventists were expecting Jesus himself to be the one acting:

> It is crucial to note that Adventists came to acquire a posture of Apocalyptic anticipation, which led Adventism be very pessimistic about political action that sought to right the wrongs of this world, but to look to Jesus to fix things himself when He returns, instead. This point about how apocalypticism engenders a spirit of pessimism towards political activism.

3.5.6 The SDA understanding of culture

The Adventist Church in Southern Africa realises that there are many different cultures with their cultural practices in this region. The church also acknowledges that colonial regimes severely affected the African cultures. The church adds that "the historical process of the formation of Adventism in Africa is basically the result of the action of European and American missionaries in this territory since 1887 (Spalding 1962:9).

The Adventist Church has a plan of action to address the wrongs of the past. According to the church, Adventists seek to contextualise the Adventist message, in order to make it understandable and relevant to the local context (Dybdahl 1999:23). The Adventist presence in some areas must be made from the theological, ecclesiological, and missiological point of view (Reid 1999:24). The church also admits that the peoples of other continents do not quite understand the cultural reality in Southern Africa (Johnsson 2006:34) and that many discussions about these issues are currently taking place in Southern Africa (Jordache 2018:21).

The church also addresses cultural differences in worship. It acknowledges that different cultures have different worship needs. It describes and accepts the Whites'

relatively quiet and conservative style of worship and the Africans' noisier style of worship, where the emotional atmosphere is clearly felt (Ndlovu 2013:116). The different styles of songs for Whites and Africans have also been highlighted (Mwesa 1988:90). Committees and meetings previously addressed these matters, and there would still be changes when the need arose (Review and Herald Publishing Association 2010:248).

3.5.7 The SDA Church and the African people

3.5.7.1 The understanding of the African world view

SDA missionaries who came to work among Africans hardly tolerated the African culture and had hardly any or no knowledge of the African world view. They discarded everything they did not know or could not understand, whether it was right or wrong. This system made Africans feel unwelcome in the Christian church. Hence, the following statement:

> The Church continues to suffer under the inadequacy of inherited Western church structures, policies, constitutions, orders, and theology which, by and large, are ill-fitting for the African context. The church in Africa is yet to read the Bible through its own lenses and find a way to plant the gospel message appropriately and effectively in the African soil and realise the incarnation of the Word in the cultural African setting (Bujo 1992:18).[43]

Since initiation was one of the foundation pillars of South Africa's African communities, it automatically became the target of the church, European schools, and governments. Vigorously and relentlessly, European institutions attacked the institution from all directions. All those who practised initiation were regarded and labelled as uncivilised and heathen (Steward 2005:105-113).

In its later years, the Adventist Church, with the assistance of its African scholars, had to create a platform for understanding the African world view, in order to understand and accommodate the Africans in their cultural setting.

It is not uncommon to find Bible-believing Christians in Africa reverting to un-Christian practices from time to time, and especially, in times of felt needs and crises. Like many other African scholars, Mbiti (1969:256-259) recognises the compelling force of world view on the lives of many Africans, including those who are

[43] This statement does not apply to SDA directly. It is a general comment regarding Christian churches in Africa.

practising Christians. Mbiti (1969:264) speaks of disturbing vacillation between Christianity and traditional African practices among believers. He describes the vacillation as a “religious concubinage” that satisfies the practitioner’s felt need which was not met in Christian practice.

A strong sense of community also contributes to the African religious concubinage, as Mbiti (1969:17) asserts. The religious formation of the traditional African, the socialisation process, and the cultural conditioning in which the African is engaged, join forces to strenghthen those family bonds among people of the same tribe, clan, or community. In typical Xhosa culture, phrases such as “mntwana kamama”, meaning “my mother’s child” characterise the people. This provides a tremendous sense of belonging, identity, and fellowship. Such expressions refer not only to a brother and sister, but also include people of the same community, those who are not yet born, as well as the departed ones (Donkor 2011:42).

The solution for this is that the world view of African people must be left unchanged and that the African must be allowed to view Christianity from an African perspective (Baur 1994:17). There may be areas of African tradition that are at loggerheads with the biblical narrative. These must not be harshly condemned like the missionaries did in the past, but the African must first be understood and those areas shaped in such a way as to fit the biblical narrative. For example, Africans’ belief in ancestors can be changed to Jesus as the Great Ancestor until the Africans understand. The idea of the ancestor can be dropped later. Christianity needs to interrelate with African culture and African traditional religion if it is to survive in Africa, and if a truly African theology is to be formulated. Africans cannot exist separate from their African heritage (Shorter 1986:14, 15).

The church needs to be aware of the African world view and of the origin of the vast majority of Africans. Mathema (1999:190), an Adventist professor at the Adventist University of Africa, offers the following advice to the church:

> An adequate response by the Adventist Church requires that it be aware of the power of the traditional African worldview that is not just cultural but has strong religious overtones; it carries with it obligations and constraints that are religious in nature. There is a need not just to proclaim the gospel but also to disciple persons in a way that deals effectively with the African worldview. People who accept Christ must be helped to internalise Him and His values in ways that will overcome their cultural religiosity and

> replace their spiritualistic notions with authentic spiritual insights that anchor a person on the solid Rock who is Jesus Christ.

3.5.7.2 How does the church deal with the African customs?

The way in which missionaries, in general, dealt with some African customs in the past created an antagonism towards Christian faith. There were times when they criticised the African custom of *lobola* without understanding what it entails (Mugambi 2002:3). In 1881, the Wesleyan Methodist clergy, James Lwana and Abraham Mabula, were disciplined for accepting *lobola* for their daughters (Mills 1980:9). Currently, the church realises the challenges caused by this way of dealing with issues. There is, at present, some advice to those who are faced with this issue.

> The view that all that is African is sinful and all that is Western is holy is a form of idolatry. All cultures are fallen but would also reflect some good virtues as well as evil tendencies. The gospel does not presuppose the superiority of any culture to another but evaluates all cultures according to its own criteria of truth and righteousness and insists on moral absolutes in every culture. African Adventists should exercise the right to enculturate some of African[s'] customs. This means that those elements that are opposed to the Bible will be discarded (Encyclopaedia of Seventh-day Adventist 2012).

Religion encompasses the beliefs and practices of African people prior to the arrival of the missionaries in Africa. The African believes that the Spiritual Realm "is densely populated with spiritual beings, spirits and the living-dead" (Mbiti's [1982:75] words for ancestor. The notion of "living together with the ancestors" involves the African in an ancestral cult of veneration. Whether this cult constitutes a religious or social phenomenon remains a debate among missiologists (Triebel 2002:192). Idowu (1973:192) emphasises ancestral veneration as follows:

> Certainly, the cults of the ancestors do not constitute African traditional religion; and it is a gross error to equate them with religion. The proper meaning of the ancestral cults derives from the belief of Africans that death does not write "finish" to life; that the family or community life of his earth has only become extended into the life beyond in consequence of the "death" of the ancestors. Thus, the cults are a means of communication between those who are living on earth and those who have gone to live in the spirit world of the ancestors.

The concepts of 'religion' and 'culture' have different definitions. 'Culture' expresses how human beings experience and understand the world, whereas 'religion' is a fundamental way in which human beings experience and understand the world

(Adams 1993:193). Culture is generally defined as the way of life of a particular people (Barker 2002:8). Culture defines a particular people and what is at the core of their world view and attitude towards life. People are born into cultures with which they identify themselves. Culture forms many aspects of people's lives and is evident in the way they eat, their clothes, their beliefs, their language, their values and vices, their etiquettes, and so on (Barker 2002:8). People always refer to their cultural codes when making certain decisions in life; it is the reference book containing unwritten codes to which they always have recourse. One cannot but agree that God ordained culture for the good of people. After all, "behold they were all good" (Genesis 1:31).

"No longer was reference made to African culture, it became barbarism. … religious practices and customs were referred to as superstitions" (Biko 2004:31). When missionaries came to Africa, they destroyed the Africans' culture (Magesa 1985:46-47) and gave them a religion laced with European culture (Newbigin 1993:230-231). Religion never operates within a vacuum. It needs to be closed in a costume of the culture of the person with whom it interacts.

Only now do African scholars work tirelessly to Africanise Christianity (Baur 1994:17) and allow the African to be truly African, worship in an African way, while simultaneously being truly Christian (Oladipo 2010:35).

3.5.7.2.1 Circumcision

Circumcision is another African custom that is still practised by some African Adventists in Southern Africa. In its attempt to help, the church issues an ambiguous statement pertaining to the use of circumcision to those who are still practising this custom:

> While there may be families that observe traditional adult circumcision in some African cultures, this is officially discouraged by the church. The church still needs to give guidance to such families on how to deal with the observance of this rite (Encyclopaedia of Seventh-day Adventist 2011).

It must be understood that the church is still in a process of requesting submission from African scholars on how it should act when facing people who are still using these practices. The church is still grappling with many issues of African culture, and it is waiting for the Africans themselves to issue statements that will answer all the questions.

3.5.7.2.2 Ancestral worship

In Southern Africa, African traditional religion is ancestor centred (Mbiti 1969:224). Ancestors permeate all aspects of life, directly or indirectly. African theologians continue to argue for the relevance of ancestors in African Christianity. This shows the level of respect these theologians have for the cult of ancestors. African Christianity is, to a large extent, influenced by the African world view. The vast majority of African theologians embrace a theological model that favours continuity between the African world view and the biblical world view (Ncube 1980:15). These theologians argue forcefully that, without the recognition of the notion of ancestors, no proper African model of church is possible.

Based on this argument, the African is expected to institutionalise African rituals, in order to maintain this balance between ancestors and Christ. Several African theologians, writing from different cultural contexts across Africa, focus on one salient point: No African Christianity can exist without a proper acknowledgement and recognition of ancestors (Donkor 2011:78). These views seek to neutralise the dual religious consciousness that tends to produce a schizophrenic African Christian. African Christianity has long been plagued by the notion of one being a Christian during the day and an African at night. The solution proffered is that what is done in the African village must be celebrated in the church, as ancestors and Christ are viewed as allies (Stinton 2004:133). It is not uncommon among Africans to refer to Jesus as ancestor. Kuster (1999:63-64) points out the parallels between Jesus as Ancestor and the role of ancestors in an African context:

> Jesus can be Ancestor because He mediates life, because He is present among the living, because He is simultaneously the eldest and because He is the mediator between God and human beings.

The idea of Jesus and the ancestors working as allies has no biblical support. The Bible indicates that the dead “know nothing” (Ecclesiastes 9:5) and that they cannot be involved in the lives of the living (Psalm 145:10).

It is important to understand how to deal with the African and his belief in ancestors. Stinton (2004:133) attempts to find a way of pointing to Jesus as the ancestor, without necessarily crushing the Africans’ beliefs in ancestors. According to Stinton (2004:134), “[f]or Africans Jesus can be a Great Ancestor” because, according to Numberger (2007:30), ancestors, being big and powerful, are expected to perform

and give certain things for the community in which they live. Jesus is also powerful like the ancestor; he is also an ancestor. According to Fotland (2005:37),

> [a]ncestor is the most significant African title to be used for Jesus Christ, because the ancestor is the most visible and prominent aspect of the transcendent realm.

But this can present a challenge. According to Nurnberger (2007:105), if Jesus becomes the Ancestor, this will mean the acknowledgement of the complete system of ancestor veneration with all its implications. Stinton (2004:140) asserts that "the living Ancestor, namely Jesus, becomes the connection between humankind and God". Beyers and Mphahlele (2009) disagree with the idea that Jesus is an ancestor.

> The moment Jesus is equated with an ancestor, the divinity of Jesus is negated or ignored. An ancestor cannot simultaneously be God and of human nature.

Although it may be an honest effort for indigenous Christianity in an African context (Stinton 2004:159) to portray Jesus as Ancestor, it creates too many problems. The Adventist Church provided some guidelines to assist those people who are still involved in ancestral veneration, without necessarily keeping quiet about crushing their ancestral belief.

The appropriation of the African world view into African Christianity has far-reaching implications. The meaning and significance attached to rites of passage in the African world view are carried over to the African church. This means that African Christianity will look favourably at practices embedded in the observance of the rites of passage. Some of these practices have to do with honouring the ancestors. Those advocating for a radical distinction between the African and the Christian world views, especially as far as ancestors are concerned, hold a different view of the meaning of the rites of passage and their observance (SDA Encyclopaedia 2019). Unfortunately, Seventh-day Adventists cannot ignore the issue of ancestor veneration, as it affects its African members in different areas.

Seventh-day Adventists regard godly family traditions and values, but distinguish clearly between respect for the dead and veneration of ancestors. Ancestor veneration is an open negation of biblical doctrines and should not be practised by believers (Ecclesiastes 9:5, 10; Deuteronomy 18:10-12). The following guidelines should help the church deal with those involved in ancestor veneration:

- Where practices of ancestor veneration are observed among church members, pastors and/or elders should draw the attention of those involved in these practices to the incompatibility of the gospel with the belief in the living dead and urge them to accept the biblical world view and to desist from these practices.
- Church members involved in ancestor veneration should be taught to let go of their fear of suffering adverse consequences for standing on biblical principles, commit their lives more fully to the Lord, and accept the victory of Christ. They should be prayed for.
- According to Scripture, Jesus is the one and only mediator between God and humanity.
- (1 Timothy 2:5). The mediatorial and intercessory work of Christ must be highlighted as having made obsolete all other mediators, including the ancestors.
- The biblical doctrine of the state of the dead does not leave room for the concept of the living dead. This biblical teaching, along with other doctrines held by Adventists, must receive special attention in personal Bible study, group Bible studies, Sabbath afternoon Bible classes, seminars, and so on.
- Church members should be encouraged to help their children and/or their families make the right choices by arranging for, and expressing their wishes for a Christian burial before they die.
- Under all circumstances, pastors and church elders should stay away from practices that would indicate acceptance of, or indifference to ancestor veneration. They should set a good example in these issues.

  The local church family must plan to support the bereaved member who, following the biblical teachings, suffers negative consequences (for example, rejection by family members). This support should be both emotional and economic where necessary (Donkor 2011:232-233).

3.6 Possible solutions based on theological reflection on some of the issues listed above

3.6.1 Racial integration

The burning issue in the Adventist Church is racism, as "the SDA is structurally divided along racial lines" (Crocombe 2007:1). The SDA Church must learn to take its 1985 statement on racism, namely "The Seventh-day Adventist deplores all forms of racism" seriously (Adventist Organisation Statement 1985).

The church must take a decisive step in eradicating racism from its structures. Bosch (1982:35) views the church as a community where people find their identity in Christ rather than in their race, culture, social class, or gender. On this basis, Bosch (1982:34) declares that

> any church which closes its doors to worshippers from other ethnic backgrounds is placing its cultural distinctives above the cross of Christ, and is falling captive to an non-Christian ideology … it is perpetuating nothing but a heresy.

According to Flemming (2013:156),

> Jesus' mission was inclusive and boundly breaking … the good news, by its very nature, crosses boundaries. It resists any single, standardized cultural expressions. The Spirit leads the church on a journey into new ways of articulating the faith, as it encounters new circumstances.

This is an indication that Jesus' mission was inclusive of all races and that it broke down boundaries. The Adventist Church must also be decisive in including all nations in its mission and radical in breaking down the racial boundaries that divide people according to race. The SDA Church should cease to be racial and should take the form and express itself according to every culture that it encounters. It should also find new ways of articulating the faith as it encounters new circumstances. Only the Holy Spirit will lead the church onto this new journey.

3.6.2 Articulating the message in different cultures

The Adventist Church in South Africa has been known to have an "American character" (Pantalone 1996:157). The reason for this is that the church was started in America, with its headquarters in Washington DC. The first missionary who came to South Africa was American. He left behind an American culture and disregarded

the local cultures. The SDA Church must "build bridges[44] that create the possibility of open communication" between the cultures. This can be done through a process of contextualisation of the message to fit a particular culture. According to Hiebert's (1987:104-112) explanation of contextualisation,

> The goal of contextualization is to communicate in word and deed and to establish the church in ways that make sense to the people within their local cultural contexts, presenting Christianity in such a way that it meets people's deepest needs and penetrates their worldviews, thus allowing them to follow Christ and remain within their own culture.

The SDA Church leadership must create a platform to communicate the Adventist message to other cultures. The act of viewing those who start to manifest their cultural background as derailing the Adventist message must be stopped.

3.6.3 Understanding African world views and cultures

3.6.3.1 World views

"They are cruel in war, have no religion, but plenty of superstition, and great faith in their witch doctor" (Hawkins 1920:15)

> [They] have no form of worship, and have no word in their language to express praise or gratitude. Some say they are incapable of feeling thankful, and only feign friendship for the object of gaining all they can, acting the deserter after securing the booty, and laughing at the folly of those who give (Wessels 1890:3)

> They have a frightening custom, so common with the natives, of abandoning their aged. They build a fence about them, leave them a little fire, food, and water, and abandon them to perish (Wessels 1895:2).

In addition, the Hottentots were a poor missionary risk, according to Mrs Hawkins. Many converts had totally given up Christianity.

The above statements show that Adventists did not take time to understand the native people of South Africa or their world views. Because they came with the preconceived idea that the people were heathens and uncivilised, everything they did fell within the category of heathenism. They could not perceive anything good coming out of them. Mbiti (1975:233) argues that "[m]ission Christianity failed to penetrate deep into African religiosity". Van der Walt (1991:8) indicates that, by

[44] It is better to build a bridge is the term use by Nel (2014) when he spoke of the two groups of the URCSA and NGK on bridging the gaps between the two.

refusing to take the African's religion and world view seriously, "the missionary gospel workers weakened the impact of Christianity in Africa". The Adventist Church leaders must take time to study and understand the Africans' world view, in order to assist them on their Christian journey. They must also be aware of the power of the traditional African world view that is not only cultural, but also has strong religious overtones; "it carries with it obligations and constraints that are religious in nature" (Mathema 1999:43). With the knowledge and understanding of the African world view, the Adventist Church can better deal with the issues related to this matter.

3.6.3.2 African customs

While living with the local culture, the Adventist Church in Southern Africa was influenced by the Adventist Church in Europe and America (Spalding 1962:9). People from other continents did not understand African culture (Johnsson 2006). According to the statement that the Adventist Church members were influenced by the Adventist Church in Europe and America, this means that every aspect of Adventist belief came from these foreign places, and again the culture of the local people was not understood by the people from the same continents.

The missionaries did not understand the customs of *lobola*, circumcision, and polygamy. They regarded *lobola* as "treating women as chattel" (Grout 1852:21), discouraged its use (Olatunde 2016:34), and punished those who were found to be involved in using this custom (Olatunde 2016:34). The Adventist Church discouraged circumcision (Encyclopaedia of Seventh-day Adventist 2011). The women who were married in polygamy were denied baptism by church leaders (Lawson 2018:7). The church could have done better, had it taken the time to understand the custom correctly. The Adventist Church does not have biblical support in discouraging its members from engaging in *lobola*. They must simply guide the members to do it and ensure that there are no practices in the ceremony that contradict the biblical mandate. The Adventist Church does not have a say in discouraging the practice of circumcision. They can simply ensure that everything is done during the circumcision ceremony. When the Adventist Church supports its members in this way, the bonds of trust between the church and its members will be strengthened. When the lines of communication between the church and its members are open, the members will trust the church and their faith and love for the church will also grow stronger.

3.7 Conclusion

The researcher could have shared more information on the history of the SDA Church. Yet, as this study is not solely about the history of the SDA Church, the information suffices for this study's goal: to analyse the strategies used by SDA missionaries to convert people in South Africa. The researcher shared this information to allow the reader to understand more about the Adventist Church. The reader has gained adequate background knowledge of how the SDA Church was started and by whom and has knowledge of their beliefs and missionary and leadership structure. This chapter was a foundation for the next chapter, in which the researcher shares additional information on the operations and strategies of SDA missionaries in South Africa. The researcher then analyses these strategies to meet the objectives of this study.

CHAPTER 4: SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST CHURCH: MISSIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE STRATEGIES OF THE EARLY SDA MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES IN SOUTH AFRICA

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the researcher identifies and critically discusses the data collected at three mission stations. Using the dimensions of the praxis cycle as a hermeneutical instrument, the researcher critically discusses the agency of the missionaries and the converts; the context in which the missionary activities took place; the theology underlying the mission activity, and the activities and strategies used by SDA missionaries.

After visiting the mission station and getting all the material and information of the mission station, the researcher provides a short history of the mission station and lists the missionary activities that took place at that particular mission station with the intent to analyse them. The researcher not only provides the information as a mere historical data. For the purpose of this research, he aims to analyse the information using the praxis cycle with its four steps mentioned in the previous paragraph. The researcher also aims not to use his preconceived ideas in describing the missionary activities, but he allowed the data collected to share the information to be analysed later based on the similar data from the SDA Church overseas or from the missionary activities in Africa. The researcher also mentions other prominent missiologists in his analysis of the data collected. In this work, the researcher intends to only use the comments of the primary sources.

4.2 Adventist health ministry

4.2.1 Ellen White's instructions

The connection between health and the gospel mission for Adventists was very important. In her book, Ellen White (1901:58; 1970:513) comments that

> [n]othing will open doors for the truth like evangelistic medical missionary work. This will find access to hearts and minds and will be a means of converting many to the truth.

White viewed and described this connection as that “[m]edical missionary work” is characterised as “a great entering wedge” (White 1893:535) and “the right, helping hand of the gospel” (White 1901:58, White 1970:513; cf. White 1902:59) that “will break down prejudice as nothing else can” (White 1909:211). White called for the blending of the “gospel work” and the “medical missionary work” (Schwartz 1979:276).

In her vision of the health message delivered in 1863 in Otsego, White (1875:1; 1970:514) mentions the importance of health mission and argues:

> I have been instructed by my guide that not only should those who believe the truth practice health reform, but they should also teach it diligently to others; for it will be an agency through which the truth can be presented to the attention of unbelievers. They will reason that if we have such sound ideas in regard to health and temperance, there must be something in our religious belief that is worth investigation.

According to White, health reform was “one branch of the great work which is to fit a people for the coming of the Lord” (Robinson 1943:185-188). White (1899:par. 10) further categorises health as the right arm of the gospel:

> As the right arm is connected with the body, so the health reform and medical missionary work is connected with the third angel’s message

It must work efficiently as the right arm for the defence of the body of truth.

4.2.2 State of health in the early nineteenth century

Even though there were definite and decided agitations for reform (Guthrie 1960:299-302), the state of medicine in South Africa and other countries, 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, 1943:15; Schoepflin 1987:143-144; Schwartz 1979:104).

Others became mere dispensers of large doses of dangerous drugs on a trial-and-error basis. These medical practices were responsible for the death of many people (Armstrong 1991:1-2).

The spotlight on the South African public living at this time displays no finer picture. Many people were suffering from cholera, typhoid malaria, scarlet fever, dyspepsia, a host of maladies and diseases, fever, yellow fever, diphtheria, and tuberculosis.

They had hardly any or no idea of what caused or what would cure these infirmities (Armstrong 1991:9; Damsteegt 1990:221; Schwartz 1979:104).

The timing of this strategy in Kimberley came at the time of great need during the Kimberley siege.[45] Robbins (2001:23) depicts the siege as follows:

> The food and water supply were managed closely by the military authorities. Rationing was imposed as the food supply dwindled, with the inhabitants eventually resorting in the final states of the siege to eating horse meat. Vegetables could not be grown easily because of a shortage of water. The scarcity of vegetables took the hardest toll on the poorest people, notably the 15,000-strong indigenous population; a local doctor suggested that they eat aloe leaves to avoid contracting scurvy, while Rhodes organised a soup kitchen.

At the time of the medical missionaries, people came to Kimberley to what is called the Diamond Rush. Roberts (1976:23) describes the situation at the time of the Diamond Rush as follows:

> Some men lived in covered wagons, some in bright white canvas tents, some in huts built of reeds, and some slept on the open veld, where they could … It was said that, of the 6000 first arrivals, only 20 had a mattress. Drink could always be had at a price, but food was always a problem, the diet consisting chiefly of game meat. Inevitably, the early diggers suffered from an exceptionally poor diet, as they had little access to good vegetables. There were no sanitary arrangements at all to speak about and, in an age when the great killers like typhoid and cholera had not been controlled, that was a grievous omission. At frequent intervals, fever swept through the camp, killing hundreds of men.

4.2.3 Health intervention of Beaconsfield Church

At this stage, the SDA Church wanted to be health reformers, in order to improve the health of the people. This spirit of health reformer rubbed on the South African brethren: “Seventh Day Adventists began more and more to regard themselves as reformers in matters of diet, medicine and healthful living” (Vandevere 1986:66).

The health message was an important component of mission to the Beaconsfield Church. The first SDA Church was erected in Beaconsfield, near Kimberley in the Northern Cape. In 1890, the SDA Church was built in Blacking Street, Beaconsfield, using corrugated iron. In 1964, the South African Heritage Resource Agency

[45] The siege of Kimberley is an exceptional situation and cannot serve as an example of everyday medical conditions in South Africa. This was merely an illustration to show how the SDA health strategy was put to use.

declared the church a monument. In 1967, the church was described in the *Government Gazette* as a

> [s]mall, corrugated iron, L-shaped church with gothic windows and entrance portico. This church is the original church in the Republic of South Africa of the Seventh-day Adventist Church (SAHRA 1999).

It had the potential to assist them to stay healthy and served as a good icebreaker in spreading the gospel message to others. The church had to provide for the needs of the families who were affected at this time. “A benevolent home, providing food, lodging, and medical help for the increasing number of destitute persons, was begun in the Kimberley area” (Schwartz 1979:225). The researcher found a page listing the agenda matters of the Deacons and Elders meeting. The agenda items included the “needs of people” and “destitute family”. The researcher also found an item on first aid in an announcements paper. This means that, by training its members in first aid, the church wanted to be useful to the neighbouring communities. It is clear that the leadership of the church devised plans to assist those in need.

The SDA Church has a high regard for health ministry in its mission. Through the ministry of Ellen White (1902:24), the Lord indicated that the “gospel of health” was to be the “right arm” of the third angel’s message.

The right arm of the body of truth is to be constantly active, constantly at work, and God will strengthen it. But it is not to be made the body. At the same time, the body is not to tell the arm: “I have no need of thee.” The body needs the arm, in order to do active work. Both have their appointed work, and each will suffer great loss if they work independently of the other (White 1909:288).

In 1905, White (1905:22) consolidated her counsel of health into a concise statement with the abbreviation NEWSTART: N – Nutrition, E – Exercise, W – Water, S – Sunlight, T – Temperance, A – Air, R – Rest, and T – Trust in God.

The SDA Church believes in a vegetarian diet and encourages its members to become vegetarian. Subsequent studies have shown a significant increase in longevity in those people living the Adventist lifestyle (Ganong 2005). When a new SDA Church is established, the health ministry cooperates with the gospel presentation and is the focus besides the gospel, as it was the case with the Beaconsfield SDA Church.

4.2.4 Sanatorium idea from the United States of America

The Sanatorium idea came from the United States of America. The SDA Church wanted the new converts to have a deeper knowledge of the SDA Church. They thus afforded South Africans an opportunity to go to the SDA Church headquarters in the USA. Many South African Adventists grabbed the opportunity to attend Battle Creek College.[46] They were eager to learn more about the SDA Church. When they returned home, they not only had diplomas, but also vivid impressions of the numerous denominational institutions in America (Robinson 1943:29; SDA Encyclopaedia 1976:1365). They wished to see these institutions in South Africa.

While they were abroad, they were taken to most of the institutions of the SDA Church and had time to photograph them. As a result, some of the South African institutions resembled Xerox copies of those in America. For example, photographs taken at the time reveal striking structural resemblances between the Sanatorium in South Africa and the one at Battle Creek in the USA. The plans for the "Sanitary" were very likely drawn up while members of the Wessels[47] family were in the USA (Swanepoel 1972:159).

This section provides details of the Wessels family and why they were in the USA. Pieter Wessels was the first in his family to become an Adventist. His father, a Dutch farmer at Benaudheidfontein, near Kimberley, was married twice and had sixteen children (Schwarz 1979:34). Pieter Wessels and Van Druten studied the Bible and were convinced that the Sabbath was on a Saturday and they began to keep it. They soon heard that there were other Sabbath keepers in America, and after obtaining their address, they wrote a letter to the church with the request to send them a Dutch minister to explain more truth about the Sabbath Church (Hachalinga 2020:2).

Pieter Wessels worked enthusiastically among the Dutch-speaking community. When his parents heard that he had become a Sabbath keeper, they summoned him to their farm in Wellington, near Cape Town. There, Bible study led his parents and some of his brothers to accept the Sabbath truth (Robinson 1954:5).

[46] The SDA College was in Battle Creek, the SDA Church headquarters before they moved to Washington DC. The idea of the church leaders was to show the South Africans some of the church institutions to give them an idea when they start their own in their country.
[47] The Wessels were part of the delegation to the church headquarters.

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 thousands of pounds to develop the church in South Africa (Pantalone 1996:86).

In 1893, members of the Wessels family, who had travelled to America as delegates to 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 3,000 pounds (Van Zyl 1990:99) for the express purpose to get this missionary endeavour off the ground as soon as possible (Robinson 1943:41).

As mentioned earlier, they were taken to different institutions of the church, but the health centre impressed them more than the other institutions. Battle Creek Medical Sanatorium, headed by Dr J.H. Kellogg, who started Kelloggs, the breakfast cereal, made a great impression on them (Wessels 1906:3). The initial plans to establish the Sanatorium in South Africa possibly started there.

4.2.5 The sanatorium and mission

The reason for establishing Sanatoriums was, first, to promote the present truth (White 1905:32; 1992:59). The sick who came to them for treatment were receiving relief from physical suffering and could also receive spiritual help. Those who came to the Sanatoriums as patients were shown the way of salvation. The Sanatorium was not a hotel. Only those people who had the desire to conform to the correct principles were accepted as patients.

The Sanatorium specialised in modalities of treatment familiar to every Adventist mind: hydrotherapy, diet, exercise, sunshine, fresh air, and an outstretched hand to touch the hand of the Great Physician.

- No liquor or meat was served at the Sanatoriums. The principles of healthy living were taught, but in different ways.
- There was a resident chaplain in each Sanatorium.
- Doctors and nurses made special prayers on behalf of the patients. Nurses prayed at their bedsides, and watched little cribs with anxious mothers, and prayed with weeping fathers.

- Nurses held cottage meetings at the Sanatorium and at various places in the neighbourhood. Worship was conducted in the parlour every evening. Chaplains opened the Word of God to frightened souls, who were afraid of an uncertain future.
- Nurses were also conducting Bible study classes at the Sanatorium.

The name Sanatorium was not inspired, unlike the principles to be followed by Adventist medical institutions. These principles have not, and will not become obsolete (Ministry Magazine 1978).

4.2.6 Opening of the sanatorium in Kimberley

The South Africans who had travelled abroad already gleaned an optimistic picture of the firmly established work of the SDA Church in America. They ardently aspired to develop similar enterprises in South Africa (Robinson 1943:29). Plans were drafted to start a sanatorium in Kimberley, where Adventists started their church in South Africa.[48] In 1890, the church started treatment rooms for hydrotherapy treatment, also known as the Kimberley Baths. These were used to treat people who had been injured or who needed to be nursed back to health (Pantalone 1999:50).

4.2.7 The Kimberley Baths (sanatorium) during the Kimberley Siege

Because of the Kimberley Siege of 1899, this facility came at the right time. Robbins (2001:59) describes the situation at the siege as follows:

> On 14 October 1899, Kimberley was besieged at the beginning of the Second Boer War. The British forces trying to relieve the siege suffered heavy losses. The siege was only lifted on 15 February 1900, but the war continued until May 1902. By that time, the British had built a concentration camp at Kimberley to house Boer women and children.

During the siege of Kimberley, the treatment rooms of the Benevolent Home were in great demand, and the home was making a profit (Pantalone 1999:50). The facility was used to treat injured soldiers from the Boer War.

The Dutch people used this strategy to win over other Dutch people. As the Adventist message was, at this time, communicated mostly among the Whites of Kimberley (Pantalone 1999:47), there is no mention of Blacks or Coloureds who benefited from the Kimberley Baths.

[48] The SDA Church in South Africa started in Kimberley; hence, the first building of the church is in Blacking Street and is a monument.

The Kimberley Baths remained a prominent example of the principles of "rational medicine" until 1920 when the property was sold. The Baths closed (Pantalone 1999:50). It is tragic to note that the Kimberley Baths could not keep its doors open for long. Because of the financial situation of the times and the Beaconsfield struggle to maintain the Benevolent Home, the home (in Kimberley) closed its doors for good in 1921. This idea of the hydrotherapy treatment rooms was practised with success in the Western Cape.

4.2.8 Reasons for the baths to close

When it started, the Beaconsfield SDA Church had over 100 members. As time went by, the membership decreased, as more people who came for the diamond rush returned to their places of origin. This matter was not considered when they planned the sanatorium.

In fact, these warnings were already heard as early as mid-1894 when S.N. Haskell, a missionary from America, spent several months in South Africa. He wrote a letter to America later that same year, in which he expressed his concern that the extensive institutional growth and missionary expansion was perhaps moving at a far too rapid pace.[49] When the church found it difficult to take care of the sanatorium, the higher organisation had to step in and take over the institution and its debts. When the debt was paid, the South African Union Conference decided to sell the institution.

The extremely affluent Wessels family were lavishly financing many of the various church projects in South Africa (Schwarz 1979:225). Unfortunately, this situation, as far as Kimberley is concerned, did not remain the same. The Wessels family experienced some financial difficulties that resulted in their minimising their financial assistance to the church. The Wessels family also moved to Cape Town, which at that time, had more active church activities and more church members than Kimberley. Several church workers and ministers diverted their energies from Kimberley to the Cape Peninsula (Mafani 2011:24).

4.2.9 Lessons to be learnt from this missionary strategy

1. The Sanatorium was an idea from America and could not be sustainable in a South African setting.

[49] Letter to W.C. White, 12 October 1894. This document can be found in the Helderberg College archives.

2. The people (in this case, the Wessels), who initiated the institution, were over eager in their ambition to see the church fully represented in South Africa and did not examine the other factors pertaining to their proposed venture.
3. The people were not medically trained and the Sanatorium was more of a trial-and-error institution. It depended on probabilities for its success.

4.3 Education

Ellen White (2008:131) previously stressed the importance of establishing a place of education for the children: “In all our churches, and wherever there is a company of believers, church schools should be established.”

The SDA educational philosophy was believed to be an integrated system, with the Bible and most naturally God at its centre. All subjects were, therefore, to be studied in light of God; all the social sciences were to be illuminated with the purpose of God; all the mathematical sciences were to be viewed as an expression of God’s mind. The combination of these four aspects soon came to be understood as the education of the heart, the head, and the hand (Vande Vere 1986:71).[50]

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 copied in many places, all forming part of the backbone of worldwide SDA missionary endeavours (Schwarz 1979:132).

In 1893, the first elementary school, of which Mrs Jose Rogers from America was the first teacher, opened in Beaconsfield, South Africa. At a time when there was still no free public education in the country, the Adventist believers in South Africa realised the importance of an efficient elementary education for children, as it had in America four decades earlier.

As a result, beginning with this first church school in Beaconsfield, elementary schools soon sprang up in various locations in the country (SDA Encyclopaedia, 1996:635). The South African Division (2020) kept on mentioning Johannesburg, Durban, and Cape Town, where elementary schools were opened.

[50] 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” refeering to the pragmatic implementation of the physical processes.

It is important to note that these first schools were open not only to Seventh-day Adventist students, but also to children of all races and religious persuasions (Robinson 1943:76, 90). White comments about the issue of people of colour. At that time, she was speaking about the issue of equality and the African Americans of America. Perhaps her clearest statement of “equality” was in 1896 when she described the Negroes as

> men standing in God’s broad sunlight with mind and soul like other men, with as goodly a frame as has the best developed white man.

In this same letter, White (1970:110) spoke of the crippling effects of racial prejudice, stating that “lives are embittered by the prejudice against them, being stigmatized as unworthy to associate with the Whites, even in the worship of God”. The following are Ellen White’s comments on the work in South Africa.

Part of White’s (1977:8) instruction reads as follows:

> No one man’s ideas, one man’s plans, are to have a controlling power in carrying forward this 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 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.

White commented on racial differences in the American context, stressing that

> [i]t is in particular, Adventists’ responsibility to repair the egregious wrongs and injustices perpetrated on African Americans by engaging in systematic efforts in the South to educate, evangelize, and better their quality of life (Black SDA History 1960).

Although White was clear on the matter of race and that it was not supposed to be practised by SDA people, she warned against racism and did not know that she would soon receive a letter from South Africa perpetuating the same attitudes she was trying to curb.

On 14 January 1893, Pieter Wessels (1893:1) wrote to White:

> I do not want my children to associate with the lower classes of Coloured people. I will labour for them and teach my children to do so. But I do not want my children to mix with them for such is detrimental to their moral welfare. Nor do I want my children to think there is no difference in society that they should finally associate and marry into

> Coloured blood. So, there is the colour line drawn which is very distinctly drawn here in society. For my part I do not care. I can shake hands with the Coloured people and so forth. But our association with them is going to spoil our influence with others who are accustomed to these things, to have any influence with the higher class of people, we must respect these differences.

Wessels made these racial utterances in the same year when the elementary school was opened. It is obvious that he did not want a combined school, where the children of different races could be taught in one classroom; he wanted the races to remain separate. Wessels predicted, unwittingly so, racial separation and tensions in the SDA Church education structures in South Africa. His utterances could have been the sentiments of the Dutch at this time. These would be practised actively by the Adventist Church.

4.3.1 Possible explanations for racial tensions

- The antagonism between the Dutch and other locals in the nineteenth century, as described by Majeke (Van den Berghe 1965:33).
- The South African Boers' hatred of the Africans. British victory in the war (. The employment of Black people by the British army fanned the flames of anger and hatred of the Boers (McCord 1952:280, 311-312; Martin 1957:102-103; Boyce 1967:502; Patterson 1957:37; Van den Heever & De Pienaar 1945:102; Wilkins & Strydom 1978:37).
- Their own struggle as the Afrikaner for identity in South Africa: Life was very difficult for the settlers (Spilhaus 1966:1; De Klerk 1975:7-8; Elphick & Giliomee 1989:10-11; Hofmeyr et al 1994: 235).

Adventist authors have much to say about the discrimination policy of the church (including the church schools) at this time and when apartheid was introduced in 1948. Crocombe (2007:2) points out that "the Seventh-Day Adventist Church was structurally divided along racial lines well before the formal introduction of Apartheid in 1948". In support of Crocombe, Du Preez and Du Pre (1980:116) lament the fact that the church was "far ahead of the government of the day in applying racial segregation in the church" and that they had been practising it for twenty or more years prior to apartheid. After the introduction of apartheid, Stevenson (1959:33) describes a situation where

> [r]acial tensions are becoming more acute, and suspicion and distrust meet our missionary workers in a degree never before encountered in South Africa (Swanepoel 1972:160).

In a church segregation situation like this, one could expect some people to stand up or be vocal about it; unfortunately, this was not the case.

> despite the recognition of the “difficulties” that apartheid caused the SDA church in South Africa, condemnation of apartheid itself was entirely absent from the South African SDA Church’s literature of the time (Crocombe 2007:4).

Accortding to Singata (2018:2), the “church had a pessimistic view of political activism”. This means that, even when the church noticed the atrocities caused by apartheid and the information of its members who were implicated in segregation, it remained silent. The only time when the church was vocal was in the impediment of religious liberty, which was a threat to the church to exercise its own religious convictions without government interference. In this instance, the church encouraged activism (Osborn 2013:238; Sokupa 2015:145-146).

The Beaconsfield SDA school started in 1893, prior to the Kimberley Siege of 1899. The Boer War started seven years after the introduction of the Adventist school in Kimberley. Unfortunately, the school did not last until the Boer War. The researcher did not find the exact year when the school ceased to exist, and information on the operation of the school is nowhere to be found. As the Kimberley Baths were of great help at the time of the Kimberley Siege, an Adventist school in Kimberley could be of great assistance at this critical time. Unfortunately, the Beaconsfield SDA school was marked by racial utterances, and could not continue to serve the community in which it was located. The Beaconsfield school soon died out. The reasons could be that people were not living as permanent residents in Kimberley at that time; many were looking for diamonds and, on finding them, would move to other parts of South Africa. The other reason was, according to Mafani (2011:24), that “the members of the mother church at Beaconsfield were scattered over a large area”, including Hebron, Warrenton, and Modder River. This not only posed serious challenges for the church to meet frequently, but also for the school to have children come to school daily. The other reasons could be that the resources of the church were not adequate to sustain this goal.

4.4 Literature evangelism

4.4.1 Colporteurs

Literature evangelism was another strategy used by Adventists to spread the gospel to other people. White (1949:209) stresses that

> the message of truth is to go to all nations, tongues, and people; its publications, printed in many different languages are to be scattered abroad like the leaves of autumn.

She adds that "[w]riting and publishing were means of spreading the truth from the very beginning of the message". Looking at the impact of the literature, White (1949:213) avers that "[t]he publications will do a far greater work than can be accomplished by the ministry of the word alone".

In commending the first SDA Church colporteur in America, White (1949:163) mentions that "George A. King was a layman who burned with desire to forward the cause". Out of his personal experience in selling literature and his determined advocacy of the plan arose the subscription book side of literature distribution, which has, through thousands of colporteurs, spread the truth throughout the world.

When the two pastors, Boyd and Robinson came to assist in establishing the Adventist Church in South Africa on 28 July 1887, they saw the importance of the literature ministry work. They came with two colporteurs, G. Burleigh and R.S. Anthony (Pantalone 1996:49). Since the early 1880s, one of the most effective ways of introducing Adventism into a new locality was through the work of literature evangelists (Schwarz 1979:348).

The missionaries in South Africa noted the need to train the local people in literature evangelism work, and

> two more missionaries were sent to come to Cape Town for a period of five months to give proper training in salesmanship to eleven South African literature evangelists (SDA Encyclopaedia 1976:1367; Swanepoel 1972:22).

Anyone could do colporteur work. People can be part-time or full-time colporteurs and earn their living by selling books. The church used this strategy to introduce the Adventist message before they started a new mission station or a new SDA Church. That was the reason why the two American pastors, who were coming to assist in

organising the church in Beaconsfield, were accompanied by two colporteurs, as confirmed by Swanepoel (1972:7):

> 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 (SDA Encyclopaedia, 1976:1364).

This work included explaining, in black and white, the teachings used in the preaching of the gospel, and the books would always do their work, even when the preachers were finished preaching. There is an indication that proves that books were distributed in Kimberley:

> Three years later in May 1890, after many more Bible studies, *copious literature distribution* (researcher emphasis) and further evangelistic meetings conducted by C.L. Boyd in a tent which the local Adventist believers from Kimberley had purchased (Swanepoel 1972:13).

The distribution of literature indicated the presence of Dutch literature evangelists or colporteurs, although they are not mentioned. Mafani (2011:29) argues that Moko was "selling isiXhosa pamphlets and smaller publication" for a living. In other words, he was a colporteur. There were times when the books carried by the colporteurs got them into trouble:

> With them they brought a lot of literature, among which were the isiXhosa and Afrikaans versions of "God's Answers in Man's Questions". These were the books that got them into trouble. As they went into the local municipal offices to fetch a permit to work in the area, they were interrogated on these books, and they became subject of investigation (Mafani 2011:85).

The printing of the material was another section of literature evangelism. That is the reason why the American pastor in Cape Town, upon his arrival in South Africa, requested a printing press in South Africa to make sure that he could continue to print the material.

Several writers view the work of the literature evangelists as great. Mafani (2011:85) views them as people who were sent to prepare the ground for planting the seed. This means that, prior to an evangelistic campaign, which is the planting of the seed, the colporteurs were sent to sell books to prepare the hearts of the people for the planting of the seed. On noticing them selling the books, White (1949:213) noticed that they were selling books and states that they are "not agents of display", but "soul

winners". In appreciating the work of colporteurs, Pantalone (1996:41) avers that this is "sterling work carried out by many faithful literature evangelists".

4.4.2 Printing press

As the dissemination of literature was critical to spreading the gospel message, so was the printing press, even more important, to print such literature. As alluded to earlier about the two pastors arriving in South Africa, Robinson remained in Cape Town and Boyd went to Kimberley. After settling in Cape Town, Robinson requested the *Review and Herald* to send a printing press. This was sent and housed in Roeland Street, the first SDA Church in the Western region. This press printed church notices and Xhosa literature (Pantalone 1999:50).

This was a time when missionaries from various denominations translated the Bible into the local languages. The Bible Society of South Africa, which started in 1821, was active in bringing the Bible to all the nations in South Africa. The following Bibles were translated into the local languages: Xhosa Bible (1856); Zulu Bible (1837); Sotho Bible (1840s), and Setswana Bible (1842). The Adventist Church missionaries also made their mark in translating and printing work, by making other spiritual books available to the people in their own languages. Moko and Kalaka, who were converted at an institute and became members of the Beaconsfield SDA Church, translated Ellen White's book *Steps to Christ* into isiXhosa and SeSotho. The book helps individuals know what to do when they want to experience conversion, and it was to be used for mission work by these African men of God in their respective communities (Mafani 2011:25).

The American missionaries introduced printing to the South African converts; later, the Dutch and the Xhosa started using it with their own people. There was no mention of any Coloured person at this time in Kimberley; it was only at a later stage that Coloured believers contributed in the Adventist Movement. The fact that there was literature available in Dutch and Xhosa indicates that Dutch and Xhosa people translated the English material into their own languages.

> In just under two decades, SDA newspaper, book and literature distribution which had begun with William Hunt in Beaconsfield in the late, 1870s (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; Mafani 2011:27).

Moko, a Xhosa man who became the first Black pastor of the SDA Church in South Africa, mentioned that the tracts were available in Xhosa. As Moko was a qualified teacher, translator, and court interpreter (Mafani 2011:22), those skills became valuable in translating English Adventist material into Xhosa. These Xhosa translations were a great help to him as he worked for the people in King William's Town at a later stage (Mafani 2011:27). The success of this strategy is highlighted as follows:

> 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 (SDA Encyclopaedia 1976:1167).

4.5 Bible studies

4.5.1 The standing of the Bible in the SDA Church

The Adventist Church took Bible study as a serious duty, which, if taken lightly, could have a negative impact on the individuals and the church. White (1896:430) points out that "all who handle the word of God are engaged in a most solemn and sacred work". The work is not an end in itself, but the insights obtained are to be shared with those who are in darkness, so that they may walk in the path leading to salvation (White 1896:430). White (1896:430) adds that "[w]e cannot obtain wisdom without earnest attention and prayerful study".

> Texts do not naturally give rise to reading communities. It is a reading community that gives authority to the texts. In the social and cultural world in which many of us live, we are members of many groups that are held together by a large variety of forces, including common interests, family or ethnic ties, beliefs, and pragmatism. Yet a surprising number of these groups, both professional and social, anchor themselves to the production or consumption of written words (Satlow 2014:34).

The SDA Church firmly believes in the Bible as the Word of God and the fact that it was to be understood exactly as it was stated. The church followed the principles of Bible interpretations that were started by Luther. In interpreting Scripture, Luther used four principles. The first principle was *sola scriptura*, "the Bible only", as the

final authority over tradition and human philosophy. This principle later became the battle cry of the Reformation and was used by all the churches that derived from the Roman Catholic Church. The second hermeneutical principle was “Scripture, its own interpreter” (*scriptura sui ipsius interpres*), which also has solid biblical foundations. Luther rejected philosophy, as well as patristic interpretation and ecclesiastic teaching authority as keys to interpret Scripture. All the other Reformers, including Zwingli, Calvin, and the Anabaptists, accepted Luther’s (1523:412) first two principles (cf. *Review and Herald* 1876:116).[51]

The Adventist Church also accepted the historical grammatical method in interpreting Scripture. Dederen (2000:89-95) explains the method as follows:

> They are, therefore, the hermeneutical heirs of the Reformation. And as did the radical reformers of the sixteenth century, they continually seek to go “back to the roots,” to base all their presuppositions, their principles of interpretation, their faith, and their practice upon the absolute authority of God’s infallible Word.

Dederen (2000:89-95) also describes the historic criticism method of interpreting Scripture:

> On the other hand, historical criticism is a closed system of cause and effect with no room for supernatural intervention. Scholars using it bracket out the supernatural and look for natural causes and effects. The literary productions of the Bible are usually divorced from history and regarded as works of fiction or myth, with their own “autonomous imaginative universe” and “imitation of reality”. Emphasis is placed upon the various literary conventions utilized consciously or unconsciously by the writer as he or she crafts the biblical story into literary work of art.

Adventists do not accept historical criticism as the method of interpreting Scripture. In support of the historical grammatical method of Bible interpretation, White (1853:595; 1881:700; 1882:78; 1900:39, 110, 111; 1905:462; 1970:256) states:

> But God will have a people upon the earth to maintain the Bible, and the Bible only, as the standard of all doctrine and the basis of all reforms. The opinion of learned men, the deductions of science, the creed, or decisions of ecclesiastical councils, as numerous and discordant as are the churches which they represent, the voice of the majority – not one nor all of these should be regarded as evidence for or against any point of religious faith. Before accepting any doctrine or precept, we should demand a plain “Thus saith the Lord” in its support.

[51] *Review and Herald* is a book published by the SDA Church, not a newspaper.

Bible study has a high value in the SDA Church. It is used as one of the methods of spreading the gospel message to other people.

4.5.2 Beaconsfield and Bible studies

When the researcher visited the monument to the Beaconsfield SDA Church, he found a library with books that were marked, as an indication that the church operated its own library, where members could borrow spiritual books for spiritual nourishment. This was an indication that the church leadership wanted the members to have a deeper understanding of the Bible message themselves before they can relate it to other people. This was a continuation of the “Bible Reading Plan” first used by the SDA Church in 1882 (Cooks 1961:82). The Adventists were known as the people of the book, because their mission is to call people to study the Scriptures (Skan Adventist Friend 1850).

The researcher found slide and filmstrip projectors of the early 1900s in the Beaconsfield SDA Church. In modern times, these have been replaced by video projectors. The Adventists employed every way to convince the people of the truth. They used projectors to project pictures on the wall, in order to spread the Word of God to the world. They did this even before television was invented.

The researcher found three projectors in the cabinet of the Beaconsfield SDA Church. These projectors were used to conduct Bible studies. One projector was used for cassettes and filmstrips to present the Bible study and the other two were for the slides and filmstrips. The projectors also used filmstrips and slides. There were three in Afrikaans: the first one was “In sy spore” (“In his footsteps”), a series of Bible lessons describing the process of discipleship; the second one was “Daar staan geskrywe” (“It is written”), lessons containing evidence to prove that the Bible was true, and the third Afrikaans lesson was entitled “Die toekoms geopenbaar” (“The future revealed”), lessons containing the Prophecies of Daniel and Revelation and how to understand them. The only English lesson, entitled “20th century Bible course”, contained lessons designed for, and tailored to modern people. The presence of more Afrikaans lessons indicated that the vast majority of people in Beaconsfield were mostly Afrikaans-speaking. This method of Bible study has been called Bible readings. According to White,

> [r]eadings have been prepared and have even been put into “tapes” for use in the homes of people who are willing to listen and look at the supplementary films (Cooks 1961:82).

One of the comments on the material found at the church read: “Elder Rogers conducted the service and administered the graduation of twenty-four participants …”. This event took place on 26 June 1897 and shows that the church was very active in Bible studies. The twenty-four individuals could have been participating in the Bible study course and were graduating after the completion of the series.

The Dutch people and a few Americans who came to teach them the Adventist way of doing things were the main agency. The Dutch used Bible studies to convince their own people of the true Sabbath and the second coming of Jesus.[52] The fact that there were more Afrikaans lessons than English ones confirms the above statement that Afrikaner people were in the majority. There was only a handful of Black people in the church, and those who were converted and became part of the church had to know Afrikaans. Moko, the first black Adventist pastor in South Africa, was a teacher and a court interpreter (Mafani 2011:22).

4.6 Missionary volunteers

4.6.1 The youth’s involvement in mission

The involvement of youth in mission was important to Adventist Church leaders. According to White (1949:118), “The need of enlisting and teaching the children and youth was not hidden to the more clear-sighted of the Adventist pioneers”. Messages from Mrs White were frequently drawing the attention not only of parents and leaders to provide for the conversion and training of the young, but also of the youth themselves to take up the weapons of God and wage the vigorous warfare against sin and evil which their forebears had waged (White 1949:119). In December 1892, White (1949:121) wrote:

> We have an army of youth today who can do much if they are properly directed and encouraged. We want them to act a part in well-organized plans for helping other youth. Young men and young women, cannot you form companies, and, as soldiers of Christ, enlist in the work, putting all your tact and skill and talent into the Master’s service, that you may save souls from ruin? Let there be companies organized in every church to do this work…Will the young men and young women who really love Jesus organize

[52] Refer to the Preaching strategy for the confirmation of the two messages preached by the Adventist missionaries.

> themselves as workers, not only for those who profess to be Sabbath keepers, but "for those who are not of our faith?

The missionary volunteers department is the church working for and through its youth on two age levels: "Junior, ages 10-15; and Senior, ages 16-30 years … The purpose of this organisation is to save from sin and guide in service" (White 1910:208). Its activities are explained in many missionary volunteers leaflets and manuals.

A.G. Daniells, a General Conference President in 1900, stressed the responsibility of young people to carry the gospel message to the uttermost parts of the earth (Schwarz 1979:125). At a later stage, at a Camp Meeting in 1899, they were officially recognised as the "Christian Volunteers". They had to sign a pledge of service which reads as follows:

> Recognizing the preciousness of God's gift to me, I volunteer for service for Him anywhere in the wide world that His Spirit may lead, and in any form of service that He may direct (Schwartz 1979:386).

In 1907, they were given the name "Seventh-Day Adventist Young People's Society of Missionary Volunteers", familiarly known as MV. The aim, motto, and pledge were also voted (Schwartz 1979:386).[53]

At the General Conference Session of 1909, a resolution was passed with plans for a separate Junior Missionary Volunteer Society (JMV). It was felt that the youth also needed spiritual, physical, and mental activities to strengthen their walk with the Lord. The training of leaders followed this resolution that youth, aged 10-16 years, would have a programme only for them.

4.6.2 Organising the missionary volunteers in Beaconsfield

The Beaconsfield Church also had the missionary volunteers society that took care of the programmes for young people. The researcher came across a page with the announcements for the church, with the item missionary volunteers among the announcements. Some of the hymn books were also donated by the "Kimberley MV society" in 1968. There was no mention of other activities of the youth at that time.

[53] Mission – The salvation of youth through Jesus Christ. The Youth Ministry is that work of the church that is conducted for, with, and by young people. Aim – The Advent message to all the world in my generation. Motto – The love of Christ compels me. Pledge – Loving the Lord Jesus, I promise to take an active part in the youth ministry of the church, doing what I can to help others and to finish the work of the gospel in all the world (Adventist Youth Ministries 2023).

The Afrikaner youth were active at that time and there is no mention of Black or Coloured children. It is also sad to note that White South African youths are no longer involved in the church's missionary volunteers programme.

The SDA Church's youth activities started in the early 1900s and intensified in the late 1900s. By this time, after the First World War, countries forced many youths to conscript as a way for the church to provide training and discipline and give them spiritual instructions. The missionary volunteers provided a better alternative for the youth than to go to war.

The activities in this strategy involved the senior and junior youth, including the scouts. They also had their officers, uniforms, and orders like soldiers in an army. Those who joined the club had to follow a curriculum. This strategy was very effective for the discipline and spiritual progress of many of the SDA youths.

4.7 Sabbath School as a mission school

4.7.1 The purpose of the Sabbath School

The purpose of the SDA in establishing the Sabbath School is for it to be a place of formation in "Present Truth" for the children of the believers. In this school, nearly an entire hour was spent on Bible study, and those attending were divided into classes of six to eight "scholars", who were thoroughly quizzed and drilled on the assigned lesson. To have an active Sabbath School was a requirement for every congregation. To plead an insufficient number of children was not a valid excuse. D.M. Canright wrote that, "if there were but two children in a congregation, there should be a Sabbath School for them" (Schwarz 1979:121).

4.7.2 Sabbath School in Beaconsfield

Beaconsfield SDA Church had active Sabbath School classes for children. The researcher found two children's desks that could have been used in children's Sabbath School classes. There were also "perfect record cards of honour" to be given to those who were "present and on time in the Sabbath School". This was an indication that the leaders were passionate about the work done at the Sabbath School and that they were using incentives to encourage more people to attend the Sabbath School. There is also a book with the "Sabbath School Minutes of the 4 January 1908", including the membership and the attendance list. On 4 January, the

Sabbath School had thirty-seven members and twenty-seven non-members. On 11 January 1908, the Sabbath School membership was thirty-five and the non-member attendance was twenty-nine. There was also a card with the names of the Sabbath School teachers of 1945. This is important as there is no school without a teacher. It could be, though not stated, that the Sabbath School teachers were meeting and sharpening each other's skills before going to their respective classes. *The Youth's Instructor*, started in 1852, was a publication containing the curriculum of the Sabbath School (Schwarz 1979:123). In 1872, the following topics were covered in this publication: the Sabbath, the Law of God, and the "Ark of the Testimony". Later, the lessons covered the prophecies of Daniel and the doctrine of the sanctuary (Schwarz 1979:123).

Sabbath School is not only about teaching the Bible; there is also music, and time for missions and prayer. In Beaconsfield, the researcher found different hymns on the bookshelf that used to belong to, and were used in the church. Many of these hymns were donated to the church by its members. The church's organ enhanced the singing of the congregation. The researcher found an envelope for annual offerings to missions. There is no doubt that the people who were worshipping in Beaconsfield were very generous. They donated money and books for God's mission.

At this time, the Afrikaners used the Sabbath School to attract other Afrikaners. There is no indication as to the involvement of any people of colour at the church. Mafani (2011:83) had the following to say on the involvement of Black people:

> The Africans could not worship on their own without supervision until the church was sure they had fully grasped the Adventist doctrines.[54] All those who got converted worshipped in the fellow [W]hite Adventist churches.

The strategy came at a time when the people were thirsty for knowledge, and it had to make sure that that was taken care of. This was similar to what other churches called "Sunday School". The "Sabbath School" had a curriculum and a textbook and the teachers were elected by the church to teach the classes. All new SDA Churches were meant to have active Sabbath School classes that cater for all ages. On each Sabbath, teachers were sent to other areas to teach in the Sabbath Schools of a particular church.

[54] This is a general remark about all African SDA new converts.

4.8 Preaching

4.8.1 The importance of preaching to SDAs

White (1946:186) made a wonderful contribution to all the pulpits worldwide:

> Let the Word of God speak to the people. Let those who have heard only traditions and maxims of men, hear the voice of God, whose promises are Yes and Amen in Christ Jesus. Second, at the core of preaching, in content and in appeal, should stand Jesus Christ. Jesus is the living centre of everything. Put Christ into every sermon. Let the preciousness, mercy, and glory of Jesus Christ be dwelt upon until Christ is formed within, the hope of glory.

Preaching is important in the Adventist Church as in most of the other religious institutions.

4.8.2 Preaching in Beaconsfield SDA Church

When proclaiming the Advent message, the Adventists used the medium of preaching, sometimes in the house of a prospective member and at other times in tent meeting in an evangelistic campaign. Most of the Adventist Church ministers and laypeople used this method, which produced many converts. The church also used preachers from different local SDA Churches and from abroad to come and preach to them and the visitors they invited. The researcher found another paper showing that, on 13 July 1897, “Prof. Endfirs arrived and held sessions on the 4-7 July”, and the writer added “and the Lord blessed us on this session”.

The early work of the SDA Church in Southern Africa was solely among Whites and attempts were made to start work among the African people. Schwarz (1979:224) points out that

> C.L. Boyd became interested in presenting the message of salvation to the African peoples in the area (Kimberley area) but his “individualistic temperament” kept him from gaining support among his fellow workers. Before he could develop a program for native Africans, he was recalled in 1890 to America.

The time came when the missionaries started their work with the Black people. In 1894, A.T. Robinson and S.N. Haskel arrived at the Diamond Fields to conduct evangelistic meetings. They had meetings in the evenings and in the mornings before people went to work. In one of these meetings held on a Saturday afternoon,

Mr Moko,[55], a Xhosa man, joined the meeting to listen to the sermon. He became interested and, after receiving further lessons, he and his wife were baptised and became members of the Beaconsfield Adventist Church. Later, he became an SDA minister and worked extensively for the Xhosa people (Swanepoel 1972:56).

From 30 November to 31 December 1897, O.A. Olsen, the new President of the South African Conference, conducted a meeting at the African Institute in Kimberley. In July 1897, Moko and Rogers began to work among the African people living in the Kimberley vicinity. They conducted evangelistic meetings and a Bible School on specific evenings of the week. Olsen's programme, called the Institute, was a much more intensive programme for reaching the African people. Classes were held daily – both before the regular workday started, and in the late afternoon and evening. Roughly a dozen men attended regularly, and by the end of the Institute, four of them were baptised and received into the membership of the church. These were D. Kalaka, J. Rilley, Nero, and C. Felix. Shortly after the Institute, White's book *Steps to Christ*, was due to be published in both Xhosa and Sesotho and to be used as a basis for mission work by these men among their own people (Swanepoel 1972:59).

Africans and Coloureds, who were converted to Adventism, were incorporated in the predominantly White Beaconsfield Church. As noted in the previous paragraph, the Africans who were baptised after the African Institute became members of the Beaconsfield SDA Church. Mafani mentions that it took over half a century before the African church was established in Galeshewe. He also asserts that Africans were worshipping in White Adventist Churches, and provides the reason why they were not independent: "Africans could not worship on their own without supervision until the church was sure that they had fully grasped the Adventist doctrine" (Mafani 2011:83). I agree with him because, in the early years, all institutions starting from conferences of Black people and colleges with predominantly Black people were presided by White presidents and rectors. This shows that Black people were not trusted yet to be independent of their White counterparts (Williams 2015:23).

The Dutch occupied the leadership position in the church and were in charge of this strategy that was an initiative of the Beaconsfield SDA Church. The few Blacks who

[55] Richard Moko worked as an interpreter and colporteur. He became the first Black African ordained minister in the Seventh-Day Adventist Church in South Africa (Sokupa 2022:13).

were in the church did not have any say in this strategy; they were expected to follow the rules set by the church leadership.

Mafani (2011:24) mentions that the ministers, who met Moko in Cape Town, taught him the word of God and His Holy Sabbath (Exodus 20:8). Mafani (2011:22) also mentions the preaching of the imminent coming of Jesus in a tent pitched in Wellington, near Cape Town. In fact, the two doctrines are found in the church's name: "Seventh day" referring to the Saturday Sabbath as a day for worship and "Adventist" referring to the second coming of Christ.

The activities that were embarked upon with this strategy were preaching in different forms. This was an age when the crusades gathered many people in large stadiums and auditoriums. Many evangelists were getting converts through this method. The SDA was no different from other Protestants[56] in using this strategy. The preachers were also making their mark in homes, during night vigils, and during the divine services in church. All the churches used these different methods of preaching and sometimes there seemed to be a competition between the churches (especially in night vigils) to show which church was more convincing.

4.9 Meals on Wheels Community Services

In 1964, Dr Denis Baird, an SDA member in East London, South Africa, founded the Meals on Wheels Community Services (Mowcs) project. Baird wanted to address the severe need among the ageing community of East London. As part of the initiative, he launched a fund-raising project aimed at financing the Meals on Wheels delivery vehicle to deliver food to the elderly people. He then gathered a few caring ladies, arranged to use a local church kitchen during weekdays, and had the food delivered to the needy people. The programme has since evolved into a national programme targeting the poorest of the poor and vulnerable people in South Africa (Meals On

[56] Evidence of Protestants evangelism events. Open-air preaching was often employed by Protestants because it could reach eccentric people living in the cities who would not otherwise hear the gospel (Spurgeon 1977:257). Sometimes one Christian will do a "one-to-one" or "personal work" in evangelising one non-Christian, or only a few non-Christians, in private(Barret n.d.:721). A gospel tract is a leaflet with a gospel message. It is a short presentation of the Gospel over only a few pages, and is printed on small pieces of paper (Barret n.d.:725). Many churches have a gospel message preached in a sermon. This will often include an alter call where the people are invited to come forward to the mourner's bench and accept Christ. This method is popular among the Methodist and Baptist Churches (Alexander 2008:24). Many Reformed Churches object to this form of evangelism on the grounds that they believe that it creates false conversions (Warren 1998:81).

Wheels Organisation 2022). The Head Office of Mowcs islocated in Bloemfontein at the South African Union Conference (SAUC).

There is a great need for food in South Africa. In a country ravaged by apartheid and with the rising rate of unemployment, the SDA Church uses this plan, among its intervention plans, to assist the needy. The apartheid system divided people according to race and gave economic privileges to a few White people. This has contributed to many people not having education or work to sustain life. After the abolishment of apartheid, some White people who previously enjoyed benefits are currently in need. This organisation was created to assist all these people in their different situations. Mowcs also provides its services to people of every race, gender, religion, or political affiliation.

Meals on Wheels incorporates mission in its operations. Although their services are available to all people, irrespective of religion, they subscribe to Christianity. Many of the centres are located in the buildings of SDA Churches. Their advertisement and marketing slogan is “Love in Action”. In all their operations, they want to show love in action to the communities in need. Their aim is to make this point in a tangible manner, in order to improve the lives of the people.

This organisation delivers food to the community daily with its own transport. Crèches, old-age homes, and orphanages receive food from Mowcs. Food parcels are also given to the needy with the assistance from supermarkets and other organisations such as food banks. From time to time, Mowcs embarks on activities for the young and the old. Currently, Meals on Wheels has its own vehicles to deliver food to the needy in most of the cities of South Africa. They render service from one day per week to five days per week, depending on the need of the community and the available funds (Meals On Wheels Organisation 2022).

This strategy has immensely assisted the poor people from all walks of life. Many people have attested to the fact that Mowcs “has come in and assisted them in their time of need”. The only challenge with Mowcs is the limited funds available to prepare more food for the people.

4.10 Adventist Disaster and Relief Agency (ADRA)

The Adventist Disaster and Relief Agency (ASDRA) is another strategy that was started by the SDA Church. This humanitarian agency started with the purpose of providing individual and community development and disaster relief. It was founded in 1956, and its headquarters are in Silver Springs, Maryland, United States of America. Currently, ADRA has branches in the major cities of the world. Through an international network, ADRA delivers relief and development assistance to individuals in over 130 countries – regardless of their ethnicity, political affiliation, or religious association. ADRA collaborates with communities, organisations, and governments in assisting the people. It was established to improve the quality of life of millions of people around the world (ADRA Organisation 2022).

ADRA is run by local people from the community and benefits other local people in need. This organisation does not operate on a racial basis; the centres of ADRA represent the racial demographic situation in each specific community. Although it is an Adventist initiative, people from all denominations are involved in its operations. In an age ravaged by disasters, floods, and catastrophes, the need for such an organisation is important. ADRA comes in handy to assist in these times.

The activities of ADRA include those offered in disaster areas such as floods, fires, or earthquakes: building materials, mattresses, and blankets. ADRA is also involved in food gardens, disaster preparedness, and HIV/AIDS (ADRA Organisation 2022).

ADRA serves the disaster areas of the communities. The problem with ADRA is that it is only situated in specific areas such as in Bloemfontein, and it is difficult to access these areas when disaster strikes.

4.11 Adventist missionary work in the Western Cape

4.11.1 The initial mission activities

Adventism work in the Western Cape is the result of a letter written by believers in Kimberley, requesting the General Conference to send them a Dutch-speaking Minister. It took some time for the request to be granted. In 1887, the church sent D.A. Robinson and C.L. Boyd, who could not speak Dutch. Robinson remained in Cape Town and Boyd went to Kimberley (Crocombe 2015:5). Later, Asa T. Robinson (brother to DA Robinson) joined them from Canada (Pantalone 1996:26).

4.11.2 The first people to be evangelised

The Robinsons managed to make some inroads pertaining to the growth of the SDA Church in Cape Town. The Roeland Street Church in Cape Town became the second SDA Church in South Africa. In 1892, there were 130 members in South Africa, and the Cape Colony Conference was organised with Asa T. Robinson as its first President. The conference administration was located in a building at 28a Roeland St, Cape Town. The first printing press was donated by the Review and Herald Publishers in America and arrived in South Africa in 1890. In 1892, the printing press moved to the basement of the Roeland St Church in Cape Town where it operated for four years. In September 1895, the *South African Sentinel* was the first magazine to be published; 4,300 copies were printed. Its Dutch counterpart was *De Wachter*.

As the SDA Church's work in the Western Cape started among the White people, it was soon accepted by non-Whites. D. (Danie) C. Theunissen was the first Coloured ordained SDA minister. In 1905, he was given a six-week Bible worker's course and employed as a full-time evangelist. He was ordained in 1911. Theunissen worked in Cape Town and was instrumental in founding the first Coloured SDA Church in South Africa. It was built in York St, Salt River, in 1918. In 1922, he unwillingly retired at the age of 49 – apparently for financial reasons. Despite this, he continued to work full-time as a minister. In 1930, he travelled as a delegate to the San Francisco GC Session. His son Daniel Gold Theunissen was the first graduate from the Good Hope Training School to enter ministerial work.

4.12 Missionary institutions in the Western Cape

4.12.1 Helderberg College

4.12.1.1 The blueprint for Adventist educational institutions

Ellen White (2008:131) stressed the importance of establishing a place of education for children: "In all our churches, and wherever there is a company of believer, church schools should be established".

White also wrote that "those who are just entering the ministry may be taught at least the common branches of education so that they may learn more perfectly the truth of God's word" (Schwarz 1979:124). White also indicated that such education should

pay attention to the physical, mental, moral, and religious life of students. In this kind of education, teachers were not to control the mind, will, and conscience of students. While teaching students to respect and follow experienced counsel, they were also to teach students to act on the basis of reason and principle. According to White, the ideal educational programme would combine study and physical work. She also advised that such a school should have industrial departments where all students, regardless of financial need, should be taught to work. She added that, by instructing young men in agricultural and mechanical lines, they would be equipped for the "practical duties of life". She concluded that young women in such schools should be schooled in the domestic arts, while young men who desired to be preachers should get a thorough grounding in Bible study. This was to be the "blueprint" for Christian education (Schwarz 1979:124).

4.12.1.2 The establishment of the first Adventist educational institution in South Africa

In early 1890, the church leadership expressed serious concerns because there was no SDA school in South Africa. A short while later, twelve SDA students left South Africa to further their studies in America (Robinson 1943:41; Schwarz 1979:224-225). By 1892, the number of South African Seventh-day Adventist students studying in the United States had grown, most of them attending Battle Creek College (SDA Encyclopaedia 1976:1367; Swanepoel 1972:23-24).

In 1893, land was purchased in Kenilworth and a school building named Claremont Union College was completed by 1893. When the classes commenced, the school had 65 students, half of whom were non-Adventist students. There were three teachers, one of whom was also the principal of the school. It must be noted that the "school's constituency remained almost entirely white" (Crocombe 2007:2), and the management of the school referred to it as "an all-white South African educational institution" (Du Preez & Du Pre 1994:109-113). Claremont Union College was the first Adventist educational institution outside North America to offer primary, secondary, and tertiary education (See SDA Encyclopaedia 1976:1367; Swanepoel 1972:29).

At a later stage, because of financial difficulties coupled with the threat of urbanisation, the school had to relocate to a new place. Commenting on this move, Swanepoel (1972:178) and Thompson (1977:135) state:

> After some contemplation the decision was finally taken to move away from Union College to Spion Kop in Natal, the scene of one of the many famous battles that had been fought during the Anglo-Boer War.

It was decided to relocate the school to a more rural setting, thus fulfilling the education philosophy advocated by Ellen White. A rural setting was necessary, as the agricultural activities would help the students and the school financially. The first option of a rural area was a farm located some 32 kilometres from Ladysmith, Natal. This place was purchased with the aim of "serving as a mission station for the work among the Zulu people" (Swanepoel 1972:177). It is interesting to note that an "all-white African educational institution" (Crocombe 2007:2) was willing to serve as mission station for work among the Zulu people. The practical application of this wish is not known, as the historians who were mostly White had no record of any interaction between the school and the Zulu people. It is highly possible that the statement was a blanket statement to appear to "have a vision" for the conversion of African people. The place was far away and secluded from any prospect of urban civilisation. The farm Spion Kop had ample land for farming and grazing, and the Tugela River provided an abundant water supply for cattle and irrigation (Swanepoel 1972:178). After the farm was purchased, buildings were erected and classes commenced on 19 February 1919, with the enrolment of 27 students. No African student was given an opportunity to enrol at the college, not even the Zulus who would, according to the statement of the school, be the beneficiaries of this mission station. Crocombe (2007:2) writes that the "school's constituency remained almost entirely white until 1974".

The Zulu nation was ravaged by the Anglo-Zulu war that started in 1879, resulting in many Zulu casualties. The worst war was the Zulu civil war where the "Zulu chiefs in 1887 fought themselves to a standstill" because of their disagreement over an arrangement initiated by the British commander. In this civil war, Cetshwayo was soundly defeated at his newly built capital at oNdini in 1883, with the level of bloodshed exceeding anything the Zulus had experienced during Cetshwayo's reign. Matters worsened for the uSuthu when Cetshwayo died in late 1883, as the balance

of power in Zululand had now shifted decisively to the Imperial administration and its supporters in Zululand. In Natal, pressure mounted for the annexation of Zululand, which was inevitably annexed to the Crown in 1887 (SAHO 2012).

When the College moved to Natal, the Zulu people were tired of the wars and were trying to find themselves as a nation. This was a good opportunity for the College to present the Gospel of Jesus Christ to a nation that was always involved in wars with either the British, the Dutch or themselves. They were ready for a message that would direct their attention to the heavenly kingdom. Unfortunately, the College missed this opportunity.

At a later stage, they realised that Spion Kop was not the ideal place after all. Its remote location made things difficult for the school: getting supplies was considerable hardship. The students in ministerial training had no opportunity to experience actual “soul winning” work because they had to travel a long distance from the College to reach the people and there were problems with the transport to Ladysmith. It became clear that the Zulu people would only be the target of “soul winning” from ministerial students at the school, but as the statement says, that was not the case, “because of long distance travelling”. This challenge would be eliminated, if “soul winning” were done by the Zulu people for their own people. During the time of Beaconsfield, African converts took Adventism to their respective places (Mafani 2011:25).

It was also discovered that the soil was unsuitable for general farming and that the school was too far from the business market and emergency aid (Thompson 1977:136-137). The administrators of the school noted that these factors were preventing the school from carrying out the ideals outlined by Ellen White. They then started seeking another suitable place for the school. After viewing some 50 farms in the Western Cape, they purchased a farm in Somerset West that was suitable for the school.

In 1928, the College moved from Spion Kop to Bakker’s Kloof farm. The location was ideal since it was out in the country, yet close enough to civilisation. It adapted the name Helderberg College, named after the mountain behind it.

The school had an embarrassing history of the experiences of its racial policies. In 1968, Alwyn Du Preez became the first non-White to graduate from Helderberg

College, after completing the third and fourth years of the theology course. In 1957, he graduated from the two-year Good Hope course. His presence was a “special concession” by the College; Du Preez was required to live off-campus and was barred from using a College facility other than the classrooms and the library. He was not permitted to attend the Helderberg College graduation ceremony in 1968. In 1971, Robert Hall, a Black student from Zimbabwe who had completed three years of the Theology course at Good Hope College, was grudgingly permitted to enrol at Helderberg College. Similar restrictions to those of Du Preez were imposed on Hall. He was not permitted to board in the dormitory, nor to eat in the cafeteria, nor to graduate with his class in 1971 (Du Preez & Du Pre 1994:104-105). That same year, the administration of Helderberg College asked the South African Government “to rule on the acceptance of a foreign non-white at an all-white South African educational institution”. They were told that “it was not, and never had been, government policy to interfere in the training of ministers by any denomination”. As pointed out, “this meant that Adventists of colour had been barred from Helderberg College all these years because of naked racist attitudes, not by government laws!” (Du Preez & Du Pre 1994:109-113).

When Nelson Mandela became the first Black president of South Africa, Helderberg College invited him as guest speaker to the graduation ceremony. He refused, citing the racial policies of the church as the reason for his decision. The school then invited Mangosuthu Buthelezi, a Zulu, as guest speaker at that graduation. Buthelezi came to an Adventist institution because he had an Adventist upbringing from the hands of his mother who was a faithful member of the Adventist Church in Natal. Was it not for his connection with Adventists from his mother, I opine that he had a stronger reason than Mandela to refuse to be part of any function with a school that had an opportunity to enrol Zulus and minister to them but neglected to use that opportunity.[57] In 1974, after the College was renamed Helderberg College, Coloured fourth-year Theology students were officially admitted (Du Preez & Du Pre 1994:181-182). Helderberg College currently has 60 per cent Africans, 30 per cent Coloureds, and 10 per cent White students.

[57] There was no official decision to NOT minister to the Zulu people. This was simply a missed opportunity.

4.12.2 Good Hope College

Since there was racial discrimination at Claremont Union College, a special school for Coloured learners was started in connection with Claremont Union College. While Miss Hellen Hyatt taught the White learners in the church school, her mother, Mrs Hyatt, taught the Coloured learners elsewhere on the same grounds (Robinson 1943:17). This idea of a White teacher in an all-White school teaching Coloured children did not sit well with the Coloured brothers, so much so that, in October 1912, Pr. D.C. Theunissen, who "for a long time was the only South African worker of mixed race in South Africa" (Du Preez 2010:277-278) and Pr. D. May, both Coloured pastors, made a first attempt at organising a rented hall in Parow, where a Coloured teacher Miss Isabel was appointed to teach the Coloured children.

> 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 church school lasted for a few years. The next attempt to cater for the educational needs of Coloured Seventh-day Adventists was in 1929 at Salt River. The Salt River Church School was in operation from January 1929 until April 1930 when the Good Hope Training School opened.

Thompson (1977:145) regards this move to establish a training school for the Coloured community as a "bold step forward". Considering that this school was opened during the lean and arduous years of the Great Depression, such a move could perhaps be understood as a bold endeavour (Pantalone 1996:133).

The Salt River Church School was a temporary arrangement until a suitable rural site could be found to establish an educational institution for the Coloureds (Du Preez & Du Pre 1994:64).

Good Hope Training School opened on 1 May 1930, on a plot purchased along Klipfontein Road. The school's curriculum included primary school education, three grades of secondary school education, as well as a course in tertiary education. Manual work was incorporated into the curriculum in line with the Adventist philosophy of education. The first principal of the institution was Miss A.V.

Sutherland, and her assistants were Mrs E. Heubner and Miss M. Africa. Thirty-five students enrolled when the institution opened in 1930.

While fastidious endeavours were made to secure the best possible location for Helderberg College and thousands of pounds were spent to secure the 400-acre site and erect suitable dormitories, dining rooms, administration buildings, industrial buildings, and classrooms (African Division Outlook 1926), the school for the Coloured community began in one small room behind the Salt River Church.

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 farmhouse on the property was used as classrooms during the day and sleeping quarters at night. This same old farmhouse 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).

In 1956, the Good Hope Training School upgraded to junior college level when Matric replaced Standard 9 (Grade 11) as the prerequisite for training courses (Du Preez & Du Pre 1994:86). The school was renamed Good Hope Training College. At roughly the same time, it faced the same threat that Claremont Union College faced while it was situated in Kenilworth, namely increasing development in its surrounding area. A farm named Vorentoe (Afrikaans for "Forward") was purchased in Kuils River, and the institution was transferred thereto at the end of 1962.

Thompson (1977:145) 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".

On 1 January 1963, the high school and college divisions of the institution were established on the new campus in Kuils River. The school became known as Good Hope College "in keeping with developments in the educational field" (Du Preez & Du Pre 1994:93). The primary school remained on the Riverside campus and was named Riverside Primary School. Presently, the Riverside Primary School is still in operation and shares the Riverside campus with the beautiful Riverside Church, the Danie Theunissen Hall, the Cape Conference bookshop, and a few apartments.

Since 1972, plans were considered to integrate third-year theology students from the Good Hope College with the Helderberg College, in order to complete a full four-year Theology Diploma. Both Helderberg and Good Hope College were institutions of the South African Union Conference, and it made no logical or practical sense to divide resources to operate two small colleges that were merely 22 kilometres apart. Complete integration was first realised in 1974, when fourth-year theology students from the Good Hope College attended Helderberg College for the first time. At the beginning of 1975, third-year theology students from the Good Hope College were allowed to attend Helderberg College. At the end of 1975, the Theology department at the Good Hope College closed completely. By the end of 1976, all college classes ceased at the Good Hope College, and Helderberg College became an integrated college institution for both White and Coloured students.

Coloured students attended the Good Hope College – established in 1930 – which, when compared with Claremont/Helderberg College, was grossly under-resourced, understaffed, and underfunded.

4.12.3 Claremont Sanatorium

In 1863, Ellen White had “an epochal vision” where the great subject of Health Reform opened before her. In this vision, she saw that temperance included far more than the simple abandonment of liquor. This also extended to working and eating. Pure, soft water was revealed to be a much better medicine than the many drugs in general use. A meatless diet was the healthiest diet. Of basic importance was the idea that “it was a sacred duty to attend to our health and arouse others to their duty” (Robinson 1943:77-80).

White’s second vision instructed the church to open a “home for the afflicted, and those who wish to learn how to take care of their bodies, that they may prevent sickness” (Numbers 1974:58,59; Robinson 1943:134-142). After her two visions on health, White counselled that Sanatoriums be established in every country of the world. A branch of the Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association[58] was also formed in South Africa.

[58] This Association was an organisation tasked to supervise the health reform work of the church and the Sanatorium and to launch vegetarian and hydropathic treatment rooms.

P.J.D. Wessels and other members of the Wessels family visited the Adventist Church's headquarters in Battle Creek, Michigan, while attending the 1893 Annual General Conference Session. The Battle Creek Sanatorium was one of the impressive institutions they visited. They wished for a similar institution to be established in South Africa.

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

P.J.D. Wessels is one of the first two pioneers to receive the Adventist message and to be converted in Kimberley. Pieter Wessels and his family were among the people who moved, as "numerous church workers and ministers diverted their energies from Kimberley to the Cape Peninsula" (Mafani 2011:24).

The South African Conference Committee appointed another special committee to seek a location at which to establish the Sanatorium. The Sanatorium building plans were drawn up and the building project was initiated in Claremont Valley. This four-storey building consisted of 51 rooms, a modern X-ray machine, a steam laundry, a gymnasium, a bakery, with all rooms lit by electricity; its hydraulic lift made the movement of patients to the upper floors convenient (Stevenson 1972:7). Expensive furniture was carefully selected and imported from Europe and America. After the establishment of this costly facility, the surrounding real estate appreciated in value (Stevenson 1972:8).

The Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association appointed Richard Selden Anthony as the physician for the Sanatorium. Anthony had come to South Africa ten years earlier as a colporteur, but later returned to America to study medicine after marrying one of the Wessels' daughters (Swanepoel 1972:158). The Sanatorium also had a section for training nurses. Over the next two years, besides the more than 800 patients that had been admitted to the Sanatorium, the medical superintendent reported that he had also made 1,798 professional medical visits in Cape Town itself (Medical Missionary Yearbook 1896:47).

The work done at the institution was very impressive. They focused on restoring the natural function of the human body, by fixing faulty processes until the normal health

of the body returned to its original state. The treatment at the centre included hydrotherapy, diet, exercise, rest, massage, and a positive mental outlook based on faith in God (Robinson 1943:80). This method of treatment, developed in America by SDA physicians, is called rational medicine. There is no record of remarkable cures, as this method of treatment requires time and patience (Swanepoel 1972:48). Most of the health foods available at the Sanatorium were imported from Battle Creek or from the Sanatorium in England. Attempts at manufacturing health foods locally did not yield the desired results (Swanepoel 1972:163).

Speaking of the Sanatorium, Pantalone (1996:77) avers that it has an "exceptionally high quality of philanthropic work put out by the church in South Africa at the time". Anthony (1899:23), medical superintendent at the Sanatorium, records some two years after it opened: "Our institution is known far and wide, and we have won the hearts of the people…".

The management and degree of control by the Wessels family caused friction in the institution (Stevenson 1972:14). J.J. Wessels was the Sanatorium's business manager. Anthony, the medical superintendent who married one of the Wessels' daughters, was not happy with his way of management. He expressed concerns in his letter, dated 23 May 1899:

> I have been strongly opposed to this family affair ever since I have connected with this work in South Africa. It is for this reason that I have felt that I was out of this place, my wife also being a Wessels … Dr. Davies and his wife are coming here. They are both physicians. His wife and my wife are sisters; so, you see the combine [*sic*] is not broken yet (Anthony 1899:14).

It is obvious that Anthony found himself in a tight corner. After he married a Wessels daughter and was subsequently sent to study medicine in the USA, and now, as a medical superintendent of the Sanatorium, Anthony was forced to keep quiet when the Wessels held their control over him and the institution. He decided not to keep silent. Although this tension between Wessels and his son-in-law had no direct connection with the Sanatorium, it simply illustrates the control in the administration of the Sanatorium, and it had an impact on its running.

Likewise, when J.J. Wessels left for Australia, his brother P.J.D. Wessels replaced him as business manager. On 21 September 1899, Anthony wrote in another letter:

> There is a general feeling among the brethren in Africa that the Wessels family are simply schemers, and only wish to make money, even from their investment in the cause.

In the same letter, he also mentioned that the institution did not have working capital and that it was in debt.

At this time, Pieter Wessels was the Sanatorium's business manager. He had been a controversial figure in the Adventist history. His conviction resulted not only in the rise of considerable hostility and antagonism from former Dutch Reformed Church members, but it also led to his eventual dismissal from the congregation where he worshipped (Robinson 1943:5).

Pieter Wessels had an attitude against the Coloured people. In 1893, in a letter addressed to Ellen White, he indicated that he did not want his children to have any association with these people of lower classes or mix with them, as that would be detrimental to their moral welfare (Wessels 1893).

His strong and often irrational positions on several matters caused tensions in the church later. Dr Anthony of the Claremont Sanatorium described some of Wessels' extreme views as follows:

> He has told me repeatedly that all our Sanatoriums are a standing denial of faith – that we should banish all human instrumentalities for the alleviation of pain and restoration of health, as these things are in the hands of God, and we must seek Him as our physician. He wholly ignores water treatment and says that no SDA member should use them. He is one of those who takes an extreme position on the subject of faith-healing (Anthony 1899).

Anthony experienced some difficulties in dealing with Pieter Wessels. It is not clear who wrote to Ellen White to inform her of Wessels' extreme views. It could, however, be safe to assume that he wrote the letter himself to try and convince Ellen White of his position, as Phillip did when he had extreme views on their contact with the Coloured people. Towards the end of the 1890s, Wessels received several letters from White, who was in Australia at the time, giving him spiritual encouragement and warning him against his extreme views on faith-healing (Durand 1985:18). Wessels' response to White's warnings is not documented, but the outcome was clear: "his ministerial licence was withdrawn, 1896" (Swanepoel 1972:42).

At the time when Wessels was the Sanatorium's business manager, the situation at the institution worsened. Towards the end of 1899, the Second Boer War broke out. Early the following year, the British imperial government requested the new section of the Sanatorium building for the treatment of its wounded soldiers. Military officers ate their meals in the general dining room, mixing freely with hospital workers and patients. In their part of the Sanatorium, the army officers set up a bar, at which liquor was sold. This was in contradiction of the health principles of the Sanatorium. In her letter to W.S. Hyatt, who had replaced A.T. Robinson as president of the South Africa Conference on 15 May 1898, Ellen White observed, in general, how the war situation could have been different, had the work in Africa proceeded as it should have. While the war raged on, Anthony left South Africa aboard a military ship. It is obvious that Anthony was tired of Wessels' control and could take it no longer. Although the military moved out of the Sanatorium in 1901, the medical work never recovered its former prosperity, as patronage drastically diminished, due to the prevailing economic depression.

As they had paid more money than the church to build the Sanatorium, the Wessels syndicate demanded complete control of the Sanatorium, in order to increase its profits. The legal property-holding rights for the Sanatorium were not with the Conference nor with the South African branch of the Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association, and this made matters more difficult (Robinson 1943:84). The issue, in this instance, "was the question of the ownership of the Sanatorium" (Swanepoel 1972:90). It must be noted that the Wessels family donated more money to the church in establishing the Sanatorium and they regarded that as a debt owed to the family (Swanepoel 1972:91). The very affluent Wessels family thought that they would control the church. On the other hand, the church could be blamed for stopping its appropriation of the institutions which the Wessels were financing. Because the Wessels family had so willingly supported the denomination in South Africa during the 1890s, the General Conference saw no need to provide any appropriation of funds to the church in South Africa (SDA Encyclopaedia 1976:1365). When the money from the Wessels family was no longer available to the South African Conference (SAC), the General Conference was, unfortunately, still in no position to provide the funds the church needed, and the days of financial prosperity

ended. The tide turned strongly against the church (South African Conference Minutes, 1901).

When the Wessels family realised that the church was not giving them complete control of the Sanatorium, they went the legal route. The church, which was represented by a committee chosen to take charge of the affairs of the Sanatorium, voted to hand over the Sanatorium to a syndicate formed by the Wessels family. Following the handover of the Sanatorium, the Wessels syndicate renounced the principles upon which the institution was founded, as they tried to run the institution like a first-class hotel. The Sanatorium situation worsened following the depression after the South African War. This situation severely damaged the operations of the Sanatorium. In April 1902, the Wessels syndicate sold the Sanatorium to a hotelier (Sanatorium 1896). At the time of the depression, no one could afford hotel life, and the hotel went bankrupt. Finally, after standing empty for some time, a mysterious fire burnt the entire building to the ground (*Cape Times* 1905). Arson was suspected, but since there was no properly registered insurance policy, nothing was recovered from the loss (Stevenson 1972:19).

4.12.4 Plumstead Sanatorium

The SDA Church sought to adhere to Ellen White's (1902:23) counsel in which she urged that

> [s]anatoriums should be established, and with these institutions are to be connected workers who will carry forward genuine medical missionary work … These institutions are to be established outside the cities and in them educational work is to be intelligently carried forward.

The conflict of the church and the Wessels family over Claremont Sanatorium, which led to the church handing over the institution to the Wessels family, left the church without a Sanatorium. The Plumstead Orphanage, which cared for between ten and 20 children, was also run by the Wessels family since 1895. Mrs Wessels was willing to have her former Orphanage building run as a Sanatorium (Swanepoel 1972:164). Immediately after the Orphanage closed, she donated one section of the building to the church to be used as a Sanatorium. The work of the Sanatorium, managed by Armer, started at this building on a small scale. The church leaders, still reeling from the previous conflict with the Wessels family on the issue of the Sanatorium, were seeking another site for the Sanatorium.

Dr George Thomason came to South Africa to operate the new Sanatorium, and Ida Thomason, his sister, also from the United States, served as matron in the Cape Sanatorium. The Sanatorium was applauded for its excellent work and the nursing school was also said to have a very good class of young ladies in training.

The Plumstead Sanatorium only benefited White people. Thomason had plans to extend the work of the Sanatorium to cater for Coloured people.

> 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 1905:2)

In his reaction to the plans that Thomason was also catering for the Coloured people at the Sanatorium, Pantalone (1996:140) writes:

> 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?

Over three decades later, Dr Thomason's aspirations to begin medical work for those of non-European descent became a reality (Pantalone 1996:140).

Thomason also had plans to select natives to be trained and sent back to their countries as medical missionaries to their own people. However, Pantalone (1996:139) disagrees:

> Besides some old photographs of the Sanatoriums which show 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.

Crocombe (2007:2) concludes that "[i]t is probable that no Black patients were ever treated at Plumstead".

Missionary activities did occur at the Sanatorium. It assisted many patients by presenting the truth to them, and others were interested in it. The Sanitary workers did Bible readings and prayer with the patients for their spiritual upliftment and encouragement. They also enrolled the patients in Bible study programmes, and the

Sanatorium had graduation ceremonies for the patients who completed their lessons. Baptisms also took place at the Sanatorium.

At a later stage, the operations of the Sanatorium began to decline. W.H. Bramson, president of the Africa Division, a higher structure of the church, reported to the General Conference that the “medical institution for Europeans, situated in Plumstead” (Schwarz 1979:79) does not enjoy the same degree of success as the medical work among the native people. For several years, the patronage had been low, and the Sanatorium operated on a heavy annual deficit. Attempts were made to save it from being shut down. A committee of the division was elected to manage the institution, with the hope that more effort could save the institution. Bramson reported that consultation took place with the conferences that were served by the Cape Sanatorium and that there was an agreement to sell the Sanatorium and later construct a new small Sanatorium to be operated in connection with the new college at a site to be secured. Before the end of the division council meetings, Bramson informed the delegates that the Sanatorium was sold and would be handed over to the new owner in September 1925 (Pantalone 1996:140).

4.12.5 Southern Publishing Association

Literature has played an important role in the establishment of the Adventist work in South Africa. Ellen White (1953:6) states that canvassing

> is missionary work of the highest order, and it is as good and successful a method as can be employed for placing before the people the important truths for this time.

William Hunt, an American miner who was an Adventist, shared both the SDA faith that he had acquired in America and his SDA literature with the local people in Kimberley (Schwartz 1979:224; Swanepoel 1972:2). At a later stage, the first SDA missionaries brought a generous supply of denominational literature with them when they arrived in South Africa in 1887. They soon realised that it would be expedient for the mission to have their own printing press to print announcements, sermons, and evangelistic appeals (Pantalone 1996:56).

Upon arriving in South Africa, Pr. Robinson requested that a printing press be sent. In 1890, a small hand-printing press arrived and was placed in the basement of Roeland Street SDA Church, before it was moved to Claremont Union College in 1896. Initially, the press printed only announcements, sermons, and a monthly

publication, *The South African Sentinel and Gospel Echo*, along with its Dutch counterpart, *De Wachter*. This monthly publication included theological discourses, articles on healthly living, Christian education, religious freedom, and a children's column. Books were still being imported. Literature to be used in mission was also translated into South Africa's native languages. The first African translations of some of Ellen White's writings, including the well-known *Steps to Christ*, first appeared in isiXhosa, Sesotho, and isiZulu. The year 1895 was also monumental for the South African Publishing Company when the first literature tracts were available in the Xhosa language (Van Zyl 1990:113).

When the printing work became too much for the press in 1916, a separate publishing department was organised, and became known as the Sentinel Publishing Company. The publishing house continued in Rosemead Avenue for the greater part of the twentieth century. In 1964, its name was changed to Sentinel Publishing Association (SPA). SPA published and printed the books for colporteurs, Bible study guides, the Sabbath School mission quarterlies, a magazine called *Signs of the Times*, the *South African Union Lantern*, and whatever mass printing needs the church had. Toward its final years, the SPA started commercial printing for the public (Newman 2020).

Its name, however, became problematic. The Jehovah's Witnesses had a trademark magazine known as *The Sentinel*. The Sentinel Publishing Association of the SDA Church in South Africa linked with the Jehovah's Witnesses. They thus found it necessary to change the name. In 1983, they decided to keep its initials as SPA and changed the name to Southern Publishing Association (Newman 2020).

Financial challenges led them to sell their properties along Rosemead Avenue in 1991 and relocate to a smaller facility in Ottery, Cape Town. It was hoped that the profits made from the sale of the property along Rosemead Avenue would compensate for the financial difficulties experienced at the time. Unfortunately, the new facility was smaller than the one along Rosemead Avenue, and it became necessary to downgrade from four-colour printing machines to two-colour printing machines that would fit into the new buildings. This resulted in a decline in business, which resulted in the final closure of the printing press and relocation to Bloemfontein in 2001. In Bloemfontein, it no longer operated as a publishing company, but rather as a distribution centre (Odendaal 2020). In 2010, the Southern Publishing

Association closed, but the distribution centre continued to operate under the name Home Health Educational Services (HHES) for literature evangelists.

4.12.6 Voice of Prophecy Bible Correspondence School

The Voice of Prophecy Bible Correspondence School is an idea that started in the United States of America. In 1926, H.M.S. Richards, an evangelist from California, USA, had the idea to broadcast his lectures over the radio. As Pr. Richards had a particular interest in Biblical prophecies, he called his radio broadcast “The Voice of Prophecy”. People were so interested that they wrote in by the thousands to ask for copies of his lectures. He then wrote them into a series of lessons using the Bible as a textbook and added quiz sheets for the “students” to fill in. His first office, where he was assisted by a part-time secretary, was a hen coop in the backyard of a house which later became the radio station that broadcasted his Voice of Prophecy Bible Lesson. “Students” received a certificate upon completion of the course. Soon the Voice of Prophecy became a strong evangelistic organisation.

The idea of the Voice of Prophecy Bible Correspondence School was established in South Africa. In 1943, E.L. Cardey, at that time a pastor-evangelist in Cape Town, inspired by Richard’s success, began a similar venture in the “mother-city”. Because the radio was not available to him, Pr. Cardey placed advertisements in the newspaper offering a series of 24 lessons to any who applied for them. To his surprise, he received 30,000 applications in the first year! Currently, over 60 years later, hundreds of students are actively involved in these lessons that are available in different languages. The students wrote letters to The Voice of Prophecy, stating how much the lessons have meant to them, and they received many prayer requests daily. A Voice of Prophecy Radio Station was opened in 2019, with Bulumko Papu as the Radio Manager.

The work of the The Voice of Prophecy has contributed immensely to the conversion of many people to the Advent message. Most of the campaigns are run together with the issuing of The Voice of Prophecy lessons. This has guaranteed a deeper understanding of the Advent message and encouraged many to dedicate their lives to spreading the gospel message to others (South African Union Conference 2022).

4.13 Adventist work in the Eastern Cape

4.13.1 Mission work among Whites

D.F. Tarr started the mission work in the Eastern Cape. In 1889, the third SDA Church in South Africa was established in Rokeby Park in the Eastern Cape, as a result of the work of Tarr. As in the Northern Cape and the Western Cape, the SDA work in the Eastern Cape was started among White people. The Boers, who were acquainted with the English language, accepted the new teaching even sooner than the British. Hence, the first SDA converts in South Africa were Whites.

Under the leadership of Tarr, institutions were developed and SDA work was spread among non-Whites. Bethel Training College started to train Africans for mission work. Tarr has been credited for his part in the development of the SDA mission among the Xhosa people. He was instrumental in starting the Bethel mission in Butterworth and the Cancele Mission, near Mount Frere (Sokupa 2015:9).

4.13.2 Mission work among Blacks

The SDA work was not only furthered by the Whites; people of colour were also pioneers. It is important to note that it is on record that, on 12 August 1871, Tiyo Soga was the first Black South African to be ordained by the Presbyterian Church. For the Adventists, in 1893, Richard Moko was introduced to the SDA Church. In 1915, he was ordained as the first Black SDA pastor in South Africa. “For several years, he supported himself by selling books and pamphlets in the African townships around the principal cities in the Cape province. While so engaged, he was offered the pastorate of one of the largest and most influential non-SDA Churches in Port Elizabeth, at a good salary. He declined the offer. Moko had his fair share of the persecutions that accompany every missionary of the gospel; he was once detained for inciting people to boycott and leave their churches to worship on a Saturday. In spite of all these troubles, Moko was instrumental in starting SDA Churches in the Eastern Cape (Swanepoel 1972:170).

4.14 Missional strategies in the Eastern Cape

4.14.1 Gospel wagon

Richard Moko, a Xhosa man from the Eastern Cape, was seeking a better business opportunity outside of South Africa (SDA Encyclopaedia 2020). He ended up in

Kimberley, where his life was prepared by God for something better than business opportunities. A series of meetings were held in Kimberley where he embraced the Adventist message and was subsequently baptised in 1895. Eager to share his newly found faith among his own people, Moko translated the first isiXhosa tract and became a colporteur (Mafani 2011:25; Sokupa 2015:170). Moko was not merely any ordinary Christian who was satisfied with accepting Christ and keeping his religion to himself; he wanted to share his newfound faith with others. As a former businessman who once owned a store in Port Elizabeth (SDA Encyclopaedia 2020), he now wanted to use that sales skill to preach the Word of God.

In 1897, the church recognised his missionary spirit and granted him a licence to preach. The Cape Conference, at that time a racially mixed conference, received Moko as one of its workers. Various authors portrayed the then racial situation differently. Crocombe (2007:1) asserts that "the Seventh-Day Adventist Church was structurally divided along racial lines well before the formal introduction of Apartheid in 1948", while Robinson (1943:90) notes that the school (a Kimberley SDA School in 1893) was opened not only to Seventh-day Adventist students, but also to children of all races and religious backgrounds. Mafani (2011:83) mentions how the SDA work started in Kimberly and concludes that

> Africans could not worship on their own without supervision until the church was sure they had fully grasped the Adventist doctrine … all those (black people) who got converted worshipped in the fellow white Adventist churches.

One can deduce that the reason why Moko was included in the Cape Conference pastors was that the White brethren had Moko in the conference because they could monitor his every move. Mafani (2011:81) calls them "his mentors". This assertion will find its fulfilment in the continuation of this "Gospel Wagon" strategy. Moko first began working around Kimberley, and, in 1898, he returned to his place of origin with George W. Shone to start the work in the eastern part of the Cape Colony (present-day Eastern Cape province of South Africa). The relationship between Shone and Moko started when Moko first met Shone in Cape Town in 1895. Later, they both moved to Kimberley. Mafani (2011:24) adds that "Moko moved up to Kimberley with his mentors". According to Mafani (2011:24), "Shone was a close associate of Richard Moko". As stated earlier, Shone mentored Moko in his work. They first settled in King William's Town and strategically continued to work throughout the

eastern territory of the Cape Colony. When they arrived in King William's Town, Moko moved, and his family moved in with George W. Shone's family. Describing the living situation, Mafani (2011:28) argues that

> [e]ach family occupied two bedrooms and shared a kitchen and a dining-room. During those days it was still allowed for blacks and whites to stay and worship under one roof. Moko and Shone worshipped in the King William's Town church under Pastor Hurlow.

Mafani (2011:26) comments on the status of King William's Town at that time:

> King William's town at that time was the hub of business activity as there were a lot of economic activities happening and therefore the influx of people into this capital town of the Colony of British Kaffraria. Already by 1875 King William's Town was rated as the fourth largest town in the colony and the focus of peasant trade. Later it became the supply centre for the diamond diggings in Kimberley and a source of the labour force in the development of the South African mining industry.

Mafani (2011:26) comments on Moko's arrival in King William's Town and on the economic situation of the African people who were to receive the Advent message from Moko:

> When Moko arrived in King William's Town, the city was offering a variety of employment to Africans from the areas around the town and beyond the Kei and Keiskamma rivers. Africans were the force to be reckoned with as they played an important role in the vibrant economy of the town. Large white businesses had emerged using black rural traders around the town as intermediaries.

Reflecting on King William's Town and its African people, Mafani (2011:26) concludes that

> Kings William's Town was a strategic town for the spreading of Adventism as it received attention from black and white and different people were trading, shopping and moving in and out of the town.

Indeed, this was an ideal place for Moko's Advent message.

The South African Conference requested funds from the General Conference Foreign Mission Board to establish mission work among the Xhosa people. Adventist work in South Africa started with people of European descent (Spalding 1962:9) and, since Moko was with them, he had to be put in front in the mission of his own people. The request for funds for this venture was not granted, but at the South African Union Conference in 1902, he was granted £100 to purchase a "gospel wagon" to be used by Moko and Shone as they travel throughout the Eastern Cape. Upon arriving

in King William's Town, Moko stayed with Shone. They continued to travel together and to establish churches (Nhlapho 2012). In 1908, they sought a mission site in the Eastern Cape. They were travelling on a wagon called the "Gospel Wagon". Charles Sparrow heard of their search and offered 520 acres of his farmland for what would later be called Maranatha Mission (Sokupa 2015:174).

Mafani (2011:28) vividly describes the conditions that faced Moko and Shone as they travelled with the "Gospel Wagon" to spread the Advent message:

> The donkey cart will be packed with all the essentials, including food, clothes, blankets and reading material. Some of their donkeys and mules died while they were en route from one place to another. At times rain would pour while they were still travelling. But God was with them and used the local people as His instruments to protect His servants. The spirit of ubuntu still reigned supreme amongst African people. They were always ready to help and give shelter during the times of storm even for overnight accommodation.

On viewing the mission work by African people, Spalding (1949:376) comments:

> While the work among the white inhabitants grew slowly but solidly, the message, after getting a foothold among the native peoples, marched forward with rapid strides. Not easily did it progress, but with toil, sacrifice, illness, often privation, sometimes death, yet with a vigour and enthusiasm that carried it resistlessly.

In naming the African people who did their best in spreading the gospel, Spalding (1949:379) specifically mentions Moko's name as the one who was involved in teaching and evangelising.

> Native men who grew into leadership in various parts of the division, in teaching and evangelizing, include the following: David Kalaka, **Richard Moko**, James Malinki, Isaac Xiba, James Moyo, John Ncube. There are hundreds of others, who took the gospel into new areas. Filled with the spirit of the message, burning with zeal to bring the blessings of the gospel into the lives of their people, and working with but a fraction of the financial support required by Europeans, they form the great body of the Christian army of workers in Africa (my emphasis).

The SDA Church uses teaching and evangelising to convert people. This section showed how Moko and Stone used these methods as they travelled in the gospel wagon from town to town in the Eastern Cape.

4.15 Preaching

Moko was not always received in a friendly manner, especially since his preaching stressed that Saturday was blessed and hallowed as God's Sabbath day. Despite the opposition he faced in many ways, Moko faithfully laboured on. After establishing a church group in East London, he moved to Peddie, in 1904, and continued, on a donkey cart, to hold meetings in the nearby villages, and "many villagers became Adventists" (Hyatt 1910:3).

4.15.1 Maranatha mission

As Moko and Shone travelled throughout the Eastern Cape, they were also seeking suitable land on which to establish a mission station for the Xhosa people. According to Mafani (2011:45), the establishment of a mission station was the first thing that missionaries did when they arrive at a new place. In 1908, when Charles Sparrow heard that they were seeking land, he offered 520 acres of land for the purpose of setting up a mission station (Tarr 1913:2). Together, Moko and Shone worked as a double-edged sword. When they wanted money from the Conference of Division, Shone was the one who stepped forward, as the Africans were not trusted yet with responsibility until they proved themselves otherwise. But when they had to work among the Xhosa people, Moko stepped forward as he was also a Xhosa person. When Sparrow, a White person, saw Shone in the request, he offered them a portion of his farm for establishing the mission station. The farm was located approximately 40 kilometres from Grahamstown. The mission station was called Maranatha Mission. Maranatha Mission School opened in 1909 and enrolled 60 learners. Pr. W.S. Hyatt became its first director. The fact of "Africans not trusted with leadership positions, even in their own mission station, reared its head in this instance again. Miss A.V. Sutherland was sent from Cape Town to head the school, and she was assisted by African teachers whose names are still unknown (Tarr 1913:2). By 1911, the Maranatha Mission had baptised 27 members and organised the first congregation named Maranatha Church at the mission station (Robinson 1943:131). In 1917, the Maranatha Mission was relocated to Butterworth and renamed Bethel Mission.

Soon after the Maranatha Mission was established, Adventist Church members began spreading their message in Grahamstown. The African people were now

active in spreading the Advent message. One strategy used by the earliest workers was to hang picture rolls on street corners that would attract crowds to their meetings. A certain Mr A.T. Magalela was converted to the Adventist message while interpreting for Pastors Pachered and Sparrow, who also held meetings in the Peddie area. When Magelela moved to Queenstown, his most effective tool for drawing crowds was to display a prophetic chart illustrating the history of the world and its end (Mafani 2011:73). What made Adventism appealing was its resources which comprised charts and sometimes projectors and its message that was quite different from the message presented by other Protestant Churches at that time. The Adventists, being an eschatological movement, focussed on the end times. Magalela requested to hang the chart outside the wall of a certain Mr Madikane's house. As Magalela preached and taught the Word, his wife, Legina, and other converts pretended to be passers-by who were listening to the messages being preached on the other side of the wall. This would attract crowds of interested listeners with many questions. The first church in this area was organised not far from there. The success of this work was due to the active involvement of the local people in preaching the message they heard to other African people.

Converts from nearby towns such as Peddie began the work in Port Elizabeth (now Gqeberha), where they had come to reside for employment purposes. When converts, who knew each other from the same home area, met each other in Gqeberha, they decided to gather together for Sabbath worship. The first Black SDA Church in the Gqeberha metropolitan started in Korsten, along 31 Elkana Street, at the residence of the Mdlulwa family (Mafani 2011:1-2). This church later moved into a public building in an area known as Kwa-Baker and later settled in New Brighten when the South African apartheid government led by the National Party (NP) declared Korsten a "Whites only" area. It is interesting to note that the introduction of apartheid did not dampen the missionary spirit of African people. They were moved from one area to another and, in the process, they preached to other people in the new area.

The Adventist message reached the Black people of the Western Cape through the faithful works of Pr. Richard Moko. When Moko was in Port Elizabeth, he "met a Wesleyan evangelist by the name of William W. Olifan with whom he shared the Sabbath truth" (White 1915:1). Olifan studied the Bible with special reference to the

Sabbath and continued to interact with SDA believers. He eventually left the Methodist Church and became a SDB preacher. When he was assigned to George, he was convinced of the Sabbath truth and started preaching the three angels' messages. He gained a small company of believers. When he was dismissed from his service in the SDB Church, he moved to Cape Town, where he met Pr. Moko again, and they both became instrumental in planting churches in both Cape Town and George. Their combined efforts saw a church being formed in Ndabeni, formerly a township for Black people in Cape Town. When Blacks were later evicted from Ndabeni, and the area was declared a "Whites only" area, they were forced to settle in Langa. "Langa Church became the mother of all African churches in the Cape Peninsula and its surroundings" (Sutherland 1917:12).

Sabbath-keeping among Black South Africans in George died shortly after Olifan's departure and was revived only years later when the Tshafu family settled in Marais Park (White 1914:1). Their strategy was to invite the neighbourhood children and to teach them Bible verses and songs. Later, a colporteur came to stay with the Tshafu family, and he began selling his books in the neighbourhood. Catherine Xipu, who also bought a book from him, became the first Adventist convert in George (White 1914:1). This small group of believers in George continued with door-to-door distribution of literature and held campaigns, where the singing and music attracted crowds of interested listeners.

The work of Moko in using the strategy of preaching with the establishment of the Maranatha Mission bore much fruit. Although he faced a great deal of opposition, he was never discouraged from spreading the Adventist message. Because of his preaching and influence, as he was moving with Shone, many churches were established in the Eastern Cape. His success was not only in the Eastern Cape, but also in the Western Cape. He showed through his untiring work that he was truly a missionary and wanted so much that his people should accept the Adventist message.

4.15.2 Bethel college

In 1904, Moko and Shone established the Maranatha Mission (Spalding 1962:22). The Maranatha Mission served as the mission station and training school for Black students. In 1908, Sparrow offered a portion of his large farm, nearly 50 kilometres

from Grahamstown, for the purpose of establishing the Maranatha Mission Station. The new mission opened here in 1909, and 60 students enrolled.

By 1916, it was evident that it would be in the best interest of the African people if the Maranatha Mission relocated. The African population around the Maranatha Mission declined. A plot near Butterworth seemed satisfactory and was purchased in 1917. The Maranatha Mission moved there and was renamed Bethel.

Conditions at this location were, once again, as at the beginning of the Coloured school, very primitive. The first buildings consisted simply of small, mud-walled structures with thatched roofs (SDA Encyclopaedia 1976:151). Under these very primitive conditions, student enrolment during this time at Bethel understandably remained small, the school never having more than 75 students in attendance (Thompson 1977:148).

When the White school moved from Spion Kop to Bakker's Kloof in Somerset West, church leaders opined that Spion Kop was suited for the Black school. In 1928, the Bethel School relocated to Spion Kop, and its name was changed to South African Training College, only to return to Butterworth in 1937.

> 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 (African Division Outlook 1926:2).

Considering, however, the numerous difficulties experienced by the European training school at Spion Kop and its move to Somerset West, because it had not proved viable to remain there, it is very difficult to comprehend the Division President's optimistic description of Spion Kop's location and the decision to move Bethel to this location.

In 1937, yet another school moved. 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 previously and renamed it Bethel Training College (SDA Encyclopaedia 1976:152).

At this time, the African Division considered it expedient 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 1982:5).

Bethel Training College continued its activities in Butterworth until it was closed shortly after the Southern and South African Union Conferences formed the Southern Africa Union Conference in 1991. The closing of Bethel Training College was mainly due to the financial strain placed upon the reorganised Southern Africa Union Conference, which then had to maintain two colleges.

In its final years, Bethel Training College offered three diplomas registered with the state, namely accounting, business management, and education. The diplomas in accounting and business management were not popular and did not attract many students. Most of the students were drawn to the diploma in education for the teaching profession. Historically, Coloured and Black people in South Africa were restricted to teaching, nursing, and policing as professional careers. There were many training colleges for training persons of colour as teachers. When the South African government restructured the education system shortly after the end of apartheid, most of the training colleges were absorbed by institutions of higher learning, although the government could not absorb them all. The only colleges of education that were allowed to continue were those that were transformed to train students in scarce skills such as accounting, science, and mathematics. As a result, Bethel Training College, along with many other educational institutions, closed.

Apart from the three diploma courses registered with the state, Bethel Training College offered a programme in theology that prepared Black pastors for the ministry. A plan to affiliate the theology programme offered at Bethel Training College with Oakwood College in Huntsville, Alabama, never materialised. While negotiations were underway, Oakwood was due for reaccreditation, and the theology programme offered at Bethel Training College was discontinued. When Bethel Training College closed in 1991, students studying theology were transferred to

Helderberg College to complete their studies (Letseli 2020). The primary and secondary schools were retained and continue until this day.

4.16 Critique of the missionaries in Africa and the mission work done by the SDA Church in South Africa

The missionaries in Africa were all distinguished according to their activities, as outlined in Chapter 2 of this research. The researcher wants to address the question as to whether the SDA missionaries followed the same pattern or whether their operations in South Africa were different from the other missionaries in Africa.

While living with local culture, the Adventist Church in southern Africa was influenced by the Adventist Church in Europe and America, due to the fact that the historical process of the formation of Adventism in Africa was basically the result of the action of European and American missionaries in this territory since 1887 (Spalding 1962:9). This American culture permeates all those who join the Adventist Church. The cultures of people become dominated by this American culture.

In short, Liberation Theology is a contextual approach to theology that situates theological reflection in the standpoint of those engaging in such reflection. When theology is not situated, it becomes preoccupied with abstraction, and becomes irrelevant to the world. In Seventh-day Adventist circles, this abstract form of theological reflection is often critically identified as being “heavenly minded but earthly useless” (Singata 2018:24).

The Seventh-day Adventist Church in South Africa was one of these communities that, broadly speaking, participated wholeheartedly in the South African government’s policy of apartheid. Such participation and support came easily, as the Seventh-day Adventist Church already had a great deal of racial separation and discrimination (Crocombe 2007:1).

On 27 June 1985, the General Conference released a statement on racism and apartheid, in particular:

> The Seventh-day Adventist church deplores all forms of racism, including the political policy of apartheid with its forced segregation and legalized discrimination.

This was followed by an article on racism published in the *Adventist Review* on 14 November 1985. Unfortunately, neither of these seems to have made any

impression on the White members and administrators of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in South Africa.

This is also true in the organisational make-up of the South African denomination where it is evident that, for many years, the presidents of the local conferences, unions conference and even of the African Division were not local South Africans or even Africans (Pantalone 1996:156).

For example, in 1920, according to church policy, ordained Black ministers could baptise – but only with the approval of the Mission Field executive committee. They could also administer communion – however, they were in no case to take precedence over a White church elder – even if he was not ordained to the ministry (Thompson 1977:31-32).

> In our Bantu missions, control of the movement of Africans into and out of the urban areas has become so rigid that it has become virtually impossible to transfer workers from place to place in our missions (Stevenson 1959:34).

In fact, this issue seemed to provide the sole motivation for the development of Black leadership within the South African Union.

> Developments on the political and national fronts underline the necessity of an accelerated programme of training our African ministers to assume the leadership of the church as quickly as possible (Stevenson 1959:34).

To date, the Seventh-day Adventist Church in South Africa has yet to undertake appropriate initiatives in healing and reconciliation (Crocombe 2007:3). The Seventh-day Adventist Church has a global identity based on its fundamental beliefs, its organisational and administrative system, as well as its missionary vision. At the same time, Adventists seek to contextualise the Adventist message, in order to make it understandable and relevant to the local context (Dybdahl 1999:34).

It is important to note that

> The work in South Africa naturally divided itself into two concerns: first, with the white people – and that in two languages, English and Afrikaans; the second, with the native people who had yet to be Christianized (Spalding 1961:4, 9).

The process of having Adventist literature in local languages has started, but it is not enough. Many of the Adventist books are only available in English.

The Adventist missionaries operated in the same way as did the missionaries of other churches. They had racism and discrimination, did not appreciate the African people to be leaders of the church, and did not contextualise their message to fit the times. According to Crocombe (2007:3), it would take some time for the church to have total healing from the injustices of the past. But, at least, some positive initiatives have started in an attempt to understand and articulate Christianity from the African context.

4.17 Conclusion

This chapter addressed the SDA missionaries' strategies, which, as the researcher realised, had an impact on the SDA work in South Africa. Some of the strategies had a good impact and some had a negative one. The SDA missionaries did not check the context of the people in South Africa. This chapter served as the background for a deeper analysis of the players in the SDA mission work. The next chapter focuses on the missionaries' background and the people they came to convert to the gospel.

CHAPTER 5: SDA – A CONTEXTUALISED MISSIONAL APPROACH

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, the researcher discussed the findings of the research that was done at three mission stations of the SDA Church in South Africa. It was found that the SDAs used different conversion strategies in their task for mission. In this chapter, the researcher assesses the conversion strategies in more detail and critically discusses the strategies, using the praxis cycle as an instrument to ask how the strategies used by the SDA missionaries worked in transforming the communities in which they were involved. The researcher first critically discusses the agency of both the missionaries and the people they evangelised. Secondly, the researcher asks how, if at all, the contextual aspects (political, economic, social, etc.) influenced the methods of evangelism and conversion within the SDA. Thirdly, the researcher discusses the theology of the SDA and the strategies they used to convert people to the SDA Church, and whether the previous dimensions influenced their strategies or not. Finally, The researcher assesses the spirituality that was functional during the missionary work of the SDA in South Africa, in particular at the three mission stations. This is discussed along with the broader discussion of Paul Hiebert, David Bosch, Andrew Walls, and other missiologists who have been influential in their discourses on contextualised mission. The chapter concludes with some final conclusions and recommendations as to future missionary work within the SDA, based on the assessment.

5.2 The roles of SDA missionaries and their Black missionary recipients

The historical process of the formation of Adventism in Africa is basically the result of the action of European and American missionaries in this field since 1887 (Spalding 1962:9). The Europeans arrived in South Africa in 1887, with a group of people who were to assist them in proclaiming the gospel message (Pantalone 1996:49). The Dutch people in South Africa requested them to come and had contact with them (Schwarz 1979:224). Both the English and the Dutch were White people and there

were no major disagreements between them. The Dutch had only one issue against the General Conference of the SDA, namely the fact that they did not send them a Dutch minister as they requested (Swanepoel 1972:33). The request of the Dutch for a Dutch minister was logical, as they did not understand English that well. Ponelis (1993:69) attributes this to their “typically low schooling”.

At the time when the SDA undertook evangelism for the first time, the Dutch were involved in skirmishes with the British of South Africa over the annexation of territory in South Africa. These disagreements led to the Anglo-Boer War from 1899 to 1903 (Schwartz 1979:225), with casualties on both sides. Boyd, one of the missionaries from America, wanted to preach the Adventist message to the African people, but he was called back before he could start (Schwartz 1979:224). The English did not antagonise the African people, according to Boyd. They were trying to take the gospel to them. The Dutch people did not tolerate African people. In fact, they hated the English in South Africa for their connection to African people (Crocombe 2007:1). Pieter Wessels indicated that “he does not want his children to associate with the lower classes of Coloured people” (Wessels 1893). Furthermore, he did not want his children to mingle with the Coloured children, and he argued that “that was detrimental to their natural welfare” (Wessels 1893). The Dutch did not want to identify with African people. They came to power in South Africa and became primarily responsible for proclaiming the Adventist message in South Africa, even to Black people. It was ironic that Pieter Wessels, who did not want to identify with the Coloured people, spent his money on spreading the message among the African people (Schwarz 1979:32). The first SDA Church was organised in 1890 and a church structure was erected in 1897 (Pantalone 1999:57).

A Black man came to one of the evangelism meetings and later embraced the Adventist message. After his baptism, he and his wife were soon accepted into the fellowship of the Beaconsfield SDA Church (Mafani 2011:24). At a later stage Olsen and Moko had an institute where they evangelised Black people; four African men were converted. The number of African people was growing, but they were still worshipping in Beaconsfield. The Beaconsfield members were given the opportunity to organise Black people as a church, but that did not happen. Mafani (2011:83) even comments that “Africans could not worship on their own without supervision until the church was sure that they fully grasped the Adventist doctrine”. White

Adventists did not view this as wisdom to integrate Africans into their churches or to make them part of their missionary work as fellow evangelists in South Africa at the time.

The Xhosa people were only visitors among the Dutch people. They could not be themselves, as they had to worship in the Dutch language and culture. Hiebert (1982:35-47) contends that one of the reasons why Christian missions failed or were not very effective among folk religionists is the early Western Christian missionaries' ignorance of the African Traditional Religion's world view. The Dutch were ignorant of the African world view. According to Hiebert (1985:19), Christian theology is a theology that has "one foot in biblical revelation and the other in the historical and cultural context of the people hearing the message". It is clear that the carriers of the message did not consider the cultural background of the people who were not only hearing their message, but also embraced it. This means that the missionaries were only concerned with the message and not with the people. This was contrary to the words of Hiebert (1999:29, 389), who regarded "[t]he gospel as truth for people living in specific places and times and caught in their own dilemmas".

A spirit of antagonism seemed to associate the Black person with a kind of evil. The Dutch often failed to notice their love for them. Speaking about this division between the Dutch and the African, Nico Smith, an Afrikaner, avers that "[t]he Dutch Reformed Church was the initiator of the concept of segregation of Whites and Blacks in South Africa" (Transformation 1990:28). These Dutch people in the Seventh-day Adventist Church oversaw the spreading of the gospel among other people. The question would then be: How does you present Christ to people you do not love or you regard as inferior to you? Smith narrates how the Dutch did it at the Dutch Reformed Church:

> In 1857, the synod of that church decided that Whites and Black[s] would be separated in the church. It was done for purely pragmatic reasons. But from [the] 1950s they started to say that it had a biblical justification. God created different people differently, they have different traditions and cultures which have got to be respected, to maintain the variety in God's creation, people should be kept separate (Transformation 1990:28).

The above statement clearly shows that racial discrimination in the Dutch Reformed Church was active long before apartheid was formally introduced in South Africa.

The following statement also shows that this was a similar situation to that in the SDA Church in the 1800s:

> It is important to remind ourselves, however, that the SDA Church was structurally divided along racial lines well before the formal introduction of Apartheid in 1948 (Crocombe 2007:2).

As noted earlier, the synod opined that Whites and Blacks should separate in church, and that "these differences were to be respected". To illustrate the connection between the Dutch Reformed Church and the SDA Church at that time, the researcher observed Pieter Wessels' statement:

> I do not want my children to associate with the lower classes of Coloured people. I will labour for them and teach my children to do so. But I do not want my children to mix with them for such is detrimental to their moral welfare. Nor do I want my children to think there is no difference in society that they should finally associate and marry into Coloured blood (Crocombe 2007:1).

The Dutch and the SDA Church spoke of the cultural differences and of how God created everyone differently and that "these differences should be respected". This statement shows his view of the African people. Yet, in spite of the attitude, he still maintains that he will "labour for them and teach his children to do so". The African people were to be converted for their salvation, but not to be loved. This kind of situation prevailed in the Adventist Church at that time.

Bosch (1991:155) warns of believers' attitude and conduct toward "outsiders". It is clear that, for the Dutch, the Africans were outsiders. Bosch (1991:153) adds that the church should "take a closer look at the life of Paul for his understanding of the church in the context of his theology of mission". Bosch (1991:155) then mentions Paul's understanding of mission:

> Christ's work of reconciliation does not just bring two parties into the same room that they may settle their differences; it leads to a new kind of body in which human relations are being transformed.

For him and other missiologists, "Paul's understanding is saying to people from all backgrounds, 'Welcome to the new community, in which all are members of one family and bound together by love'" (cf. Beker 1980:319; Hultgren 1985:141; Kirk 1986:252). This was not the love observed between the Dutch and the African people.

Hiebert, a missiologist, mentions the critical contextualisation of the gospel (Hiebert *et al.* 1999:21-29). For him, the gospel was to be made available and culturally palatable to people of every culture. For Hiebert, preaching the gospel goes hand in hand with the love for the people. Unlike the Dutch, Hiebert loved the people to whom he preached the message. In his doctoral thesis, Bade (2022:41) mentions the students' experiences with Hiebert. They attested to the fact that Hiebert "treated people from different racial background[s] with dignity". The first Indian student, now a professor at an institution in India,

> recalls the last day he spent with Hiebert in these terms: "He took me out for lunch, and he ordered one soft drink. He asked me to drink first and then he drank from the same bottle in the sense of the Lord's Supper. He removed the feeling of white missionary and Indian Christian Dalit" (Yoder 2007:16).

With this, Hiebert excellently indicates the gospel made people of different races one. Another student stated that Hiebert invited him and other students to accompany him on a three-day trip to some village, including the place where he did his PhD research during his mission in India in the 1960s. Talking about his experience during those days spent with Hiebert, Duerksen writes: "He took an interest in us, and helped introduce us to the place. He was sharp missiologically, but also loved people." (Yoder 2007:19). The last student recalled that Hiebert let him use his office; this impacted on him greatly:

> When other missiologists from around the world came to visit him, he did not ask me to leave during their discussions. At times I was embarrassed but I later came to realize that he wanted to expose me to world leaders in mission (Yoder 2007:21).

These exemplify that Hiebert as a missionary had a burden not only to preach the gospel to the people, but also to love them.

The people who were in contact with the Dutch had different experiences to those who related to Hiebert, as in the above paragraph. There were instances when Africans would visit a White SDA Church in South Africa and be told, immediately upon their arrival, that there is a Black church in the Black township and they would even offer them a lift to take them to the entrance to the Black township. This was the situation that the SDA Church found itself in. The apartheid laws exacerbated a situation that was already volatile. These laws separated the different races. In the students' statements about the life of Hiebert, it was interesting for him to drink from

the same bottle with a person of a different race. It showed that he was “one in spirit with that person”. In South Africa, during apartheid, the Black mothers working as domestic servants used their cracked mug and dish, because they were not allowed to use the ones belonging to their masters.

In dealing with the people of other cultures, as per the contextualisation of the gospel, the church was meant to show the world, by example, the love of God. Unfortunately, this was not the case.

5.3 An assessment of the SDA’s approach to the context

The goal of presenting the gospel message was to reach every culture. One of the definitions of contextualisation

> is to present the message in such a way that it makes sense to people within their local cultural context, and to penetrate their worldviews and give them the opportunity to follow Christ while still remaining within their own cultures.

To be able to penetrate a culture and influence its people with the gospel message of salvation, one must first understand that culture (cf. Hiebert). African missiologists lament that the missionaries did not take the time to study and understand the cultures, in order to find points of entry to proclaim the gospel message. For the missionaries, “[u]nless African pagans adopted much of Western culture and civilization, it was difficult to measure the success of the missionary work” (Bediako 1999:227); they only wanted to implement what they thought would help Africans.

Context is very important in mission. The situation of the people being evangelised must be considered, the “historical, social, economic, cultural, political, and religious settings in which people live” (Singh 2006:77). Bevans, Schroeder and Schroeder (2006:1) define contextual theology as follows:

> A way of doing theology in which one takes into account the spirit and message of the gospel; the tradition of the church; the culture in which one is theologizing; and social change within that culture; the grass-roots struggle for equality, justice and liberation.

Apartheid greatly disadvantaged the African people in South Africa, but the church did not consider the sufferings of the people with whom they wished to share the gospel. Wessels supported the system of discrimination against Africans, and only focussed on his mission of financially assisting them to receive the gospel. On issuing an assessment of the situation, Sokupa (2015:141) avers that,

> [i]n general, the SDA church has always taken an apolitical stance, due to a strong belief in the separation of religious affairs from the state, and this has led to the church having virtually no influence in the politics of some countries such as South Africa.

The church did not want to interfere with politics and decided to simply keep quiet and preach. In fact, the apolitical stance of the church was questionable, especially in the case of a Black student who wanted to enrol in Helderberg, a college for White students only at the time. They opposed this when they asked the South African Government "to rule on the acceptance of a foreign non-white at an all-white South African educational institution" (Du Preez & Du Pre 1994:109-113). The government's answer exposed the SDA Church's racial policy. The government replied that, "it was not, and never has been, government policy to interfere in the training of ministers [of] any denomination" (Du Preez & Du Pre 1994:109-113). The SDA was exposed because the government's reply indicated that the racial policies of the college did not come from the government, but rather from the SDA Church.

It is possible that the SDA was, in a way, following the instructions of Ellen White (1859:10) "who commended the Sabbath-keeping Adventists for avoiding politics and not voting". But that is also unlikely, because White was speaking on a specific issue and not in general. The following statement proves that White (1899:201) was against racism and injustice:

> God calls upon Christians, high or low, to represent Christ in their treatment of the Coloured people. God calls for His workers to consecrate themselves to the cause of justice and reform … The age in which we live calls for decided reformatory action; but wisdom must be exercised in dealing with the race that has so long been degraded and abused. That which is now undertaken cannot be carried forward as it might have been had the white churches at the time of the abolition of slavery acted as Christ would have done in their place.

The Adventists in South Africa only focussed on preaching the gospel to the people, without considering their social discomforts. In the hands of the Dutch people, the Adventist Church benefited at the time of apartheid. The church never spoke on matters of race and discrimination and, in fact, the government was the policeman who persecuted those bold enough to speak about racial discrimination that was prevalent then to make sure that no one speaks about race, discrimination, and racism. The system raised them above all other races in South Africa and gave them

benefits that were not enjoyed by other races in the country. At the time of apartheid, the SDA Church was meant to show, by example, how

God's people are supposed to be in the world. On this particular point, Bonhoeffer (1937:21) writes:

> The church of Christ witnesses to the end of all things. It lives form the end, it thinks from the end, it proclaims its message from the end. "Do not remember the former things or consider the things of old. I am about to do a new thing" (Isa. 43:18-19). The new is the real end of the old; the new, however, is Christ. Christ is the end of the old. Not the continuation, not the goal, the completion in line with the old, but the end and therefore the new. The church speaks within the old world about the new world. And because it is surer of the new world than anything else, it sees the old world only in the light of the new world.

To demonstrate what Bonhoeffer points out, one could look at the SDA Church during apartheid. The world in which the SDA Church found itself in South Africa was filled with racial discrimination and segregation. The church was meant to have been living from the end of that world. The church should have lived according to the life of the new world. The world of apartheid should have seen its end in the church. Any and every oppressive system that is a hallmark of this present world should see its end in the life of the church. The church's life should be judgement on the people of this world. The church lives in accordance with the resurrection of Christ. By virtue of the fact that the resurrection is God's negation of the world, the life that the church lives in the resurrection should negate the world. This is the only way to affirm the world (Singata 2018:10).

Singata (2018:10) critically describes what the church was meant to do: "the church was supposed to have been living from the end of the world. It should have lived according to the life of the new world." For him, it was not right for the church to repeat the example of apartheid that was started by the government. In speaking about apartheid, Singata (2018:10) argues that

> the world of Apartheid should have seen its end in the church … Any and every oppressive system which is a hallmark of this present world should see its end in the life of the church.

If this was the situation with the Adventist Church in South Africa, the church could have served as the true example to the world. In his final point, Singata (2018:10) mentions that "the church['s] life should be judgement on the people of the world".

5.4 Theological

SDAs accept the Bible as their only creed and hold certain fundamental beliefs to be the teaching of the Holy Scripture (SAU Ministerial Association 2012). The Adventists went through a time of doctrinal developments when they were critically analysing the doctrines that would serve as the Adventist doctrine. The mission statement of the Adventist Church points to some of the tenets that serve as the pillars of the church.

The name “Seventh-day Adventist” includes vital beliefs for the church. “Adventist” refers to the passionate conviction in the nearness of the imminent return (“advent”) of Jesus. “Seventh day” refers to the Biblical Sabbath which, from the time of Creation, has always been the seventh day of the week, or Saturday (Adventist Organisation 2012).

The mission of the SDA Church is to proclaim the gospel of the entire Bible to the ends of the earth (Matthew 28:19, 20), and to carry the message of the three angels (Revelation 14:6-12) to all peoples, leading them to accept Jesus as their personal Saviour and unite with His church, nurturing them in preparation for His imminent return.

The Adventist Church in South Africa preached the Sabbath and the Second Coming of Christ. These doctrines were preached most of the time, although Adventists have 28 biblical beliefs. When apartheid was reigning in South Africa, there was no known time when Adventists would be talking about race or racism. Apartheid made certain that no such discussions were taking place from a church’s point of view. These were only entered into by bold Adventists who did not fear the government of the day or the church. Some of these Adventists were handed over to the government for inciting violence to other people. It was even rare, in Black SDA Churches, to talk about such issues, although many people, including those inside the church, were suffering from the negative impacts of apartheid.

It was great to speak about these doctrines, but theology also included talking to the “context” of the people. These topics were common topics in “Black theology” during the time of apartheid, or “prophetic theology” (Kairos document). It was all right for the Adventists to talk on the theologies of Sabbath and on eschatology and not discard them, but they were also meant to speak about the context. According to

Hiebert (1985:45), “the context should inform the theology”. A Christian theology is a theology that has “one foot in biblical revelation and the other in the historical and cultural context of the people hearing the message” (Hiebert 1985:19). Contextualisation may be defined as the process whereby the gospel takes root in a specific sociocultural context. Whiteman (1997:2) provides a fuller definition:

> Contextualization attempts to communicate the Gospel in word and deed to establish the church in ways that make sense to people within their local cultural context, presenting Christianity in such a way that it meets people’s deepest needs and penetrates their worldview, thus allowing them to follow Christ and remain within their culture.

Adventists believe that salvation is a personal choice that individuals make with the Saviour (White 1892:57, 58). To them, no occasion is the community responsibility. The preacher always appeals to the individual to repent.

The kind of spirituality that the SDA praxis does not necessarily respond to is Karecki’s (2022:3) discussion on how spirituality should be. For instance, Pieter Wessels’ work in Beaconsfield tells the story of “personal growth” and not necessarily “communal growth”. Wessels was only concerned about saving the soul of the African and not about their cultural context.

White (1942:143) explains Christ’s method of conversion that would guarantee success. Christ mingles with the people, he shows sympathy, ministers to their needs, and wins the people’s confidence. Then he bids them to follow Him.

Hiebert was honoured for his “contextually appropriate” theology (Ott & Netland 2006:11). Because he wanted to make sure that the gospel he preached to the people was a contextual message, Hiebert (1982:40, 46) spotted “that the Western two-tiered view of the universe typically left out an entire dimension”. He was quick to see a blind spot in the Western view, of which he also was one. He was not blinded by the fact of him being Western, to not see the flaw in their ontological view of other people. The Western two-tiered view missed the local gods and goddesses, dead saints and ghosts, ancestors, spirits and evil spirits, demons, angels, and different powers “seen quite readily by people of non-Western cultures” (Anane-Asane *et al.* 2009:191; Hiebert 1982:40, 46; Moreau 2000:363).

The missionaries had neither the time nor the interest to learn about the cultural practices of the people. They simply viewed them as being superstitious and having

many taboos. Hiebert (1985:19) refers to this as the two-tier blind spot of the Western people. They did not want to recognise demigods, ancestors, living-death, and witchdoctors on the Africans' ontological list.

5.5 SDA's conversion strategies and contextualised mission

The strategies used by the missionaries to convert the people should also be analysed. These strategies were not prophetic to the context and kind of theology that was needed to assist the people whose life was wretched by the injustices of apartheid.

The strategies could have been linked to where the people found themselves at, at that time. They were also meant to be linked with the fact that clearly demonstrates people who truly care for the people whom they want to convert and who identify with them and understand their cultural backgrounds, as well as the context that explains more of the cultural background of the people to whom they preach. This step would be possible when the carriers of the gospel show a genuine love for the people and want to identify with them, and with the theology tailormade to fit the people in their specific situation. Mission is about immersing first into the cultures of the people and then organising the right strategies that would be relevant for the people. The strategies they used came from America. The culture and situation of South Africa had not been considered.

5.6 Spirituality not exercised by SDA missionaries

Spirituality plays an important role in mission. Mission will never reach its goal without spirituality. Karecki (2012:23) emphasises this point on spirituality:

> today the context of mission has changed and is changing, and this reality call upon us to make new and creative responses to the ever-present invitation to participate in God's mission in the world.

Bosch (1991:11) also argues that "spirituality or devotional life seems to mean withdrawal from the world, charging my battery, and then going out into the world". This means that the people who repent from the world should return to the world with the message of salvation. When those who intend to be part of the mission of God reach this spirituality, this

> spirituality develops the interior life and taps the deepest sources of desire, revealing that person's mystical longing for unity with Christ and all of his creation (Col. 1:15; Eph. 1:10) (Karecki 2012:24).

These are the requirements of the conversion and spirituality of the one who wants to engage in the mission of God.

When the first part of spirituality has been completed, the person now needs to look at the way in which s/he will engage in mission. Karecki (2012:25) explains mission:

> Spirituality is a significant component of mission praxis, and it could enrich missiology by infusing depth and meaning into various approaches to mission in diverse contexts and cultures. Missiology could enhance spirituality by emphasizing lived experience in a variety of cultures and contexts. Further, spirituality could increase our understanding of the workings of the grace with us that lead us to conversion and open us to intimacy with God.

According to Karecki (2012:29), "[c]ulture is indeed a missiological locus where spirituality is nourished, and conversion can take place". This means that the missionary must not remove the converts from their culture. He must allow them to experience Christ and conversion within their culture. The SDA missionaries made a mistake when they removed the African people to the mission station in order to facilitate their conversion.

> spirituality is always meant to be lived – cannot remain theoretical … When it is expressed in life it becomes a witness to that unique aspect of the mystery which it represents and enriches the community's appreciation of the mystery (Walker 2000:138).

This means that the missionary must allow the outworking of this practical item of mission to happen in the context of the people's cultures.

The Argentinean theologian, J.M. Bonino (1974:41), argues compellingly:

> There is a tendency to think that evangelism can remain unaffected, can carry on business as usual, forgetting social action, but without being fundamentally changed. This it seems to me to be a deadly misunderstanding. The real problem is the alliance of missions and Western capitalistic expansion has distorted the Gospel beyond recognition and that evangelism, prayer, worship, and personal devotions have been held captive to an individualistic, other-worldly, success-crazy, legalistic destruction of the Gospel.

The Nigerian ecclesiologist and liturgist, E. Uzukwu (1996:42, 43), calls for a re-appropriation of these cultural values as basic to the development of African persons in contrast to Western individualism:

> While the African social definition of person displays the human person as subsistent relationship-in other words, the person as fundamentally "being-with," "living-with," "belonging-to"-Western philosophy lays emphasis on the absolute originality and concreteness of the human person, a "being-for-itself". In Western systems relationship is not constitutive of the being of humans despite the fact that it is fundamental to human existence.
>
> Mission is not limited to a program or project, but it is sharing the experience of the event of the encounter with Christ, witnessing to it and announcing it from person to person, from community to community, and from the Church to the ends of the earth (Episcopal Conference of Bishops 2008:par. 145).

The SDA missionaries did not have this kind of spirituality. They had only a pietist spirituality to save the people's soul and not care for their cultural background. The people they wanted to convert to the gospel were aloof. That was the very reason why there were many problems with their missionary activities in South Africa.

5.7 Contextualisation and recommendations

5.7.1 Contextualisation and transformation

According to Stabel (2005:165), the goal of contextualisation is to communicate in word and deed; to establish the church in ways that would make sense to the people in their cultural context, and to present Christianity in such a way that it meets people's deepest needs and penetrates their world views, thus allowing them to follow Christ and remain with their own culture.

In their strategies in South Africa, the SDA missionaries failed to apply the principle of contextualisation because they did not take the time to investigate and accept the people's culture; they missed out on an opportunity to mingle and to understand the African people and their cultures. The missionaries simply wanted to save the people's souls and cared less about their cultural lives. The agents did not want to mingle with the people, and this created a barrier between the missionaries and their converts. They looked down on the Africans' communal world view. Although they were not willing to discard their cultural activities, the African people still wanted to remain Christians. It must also be understood that to be a Christian was like a badge of honour for the people at the time. The missionaries also took it upon themselves not only to condemn the African Traditional Religion, but also to punish those people who were involved in these practices when found. The people consulted their

inyangas (traditional healer or diviner, especially one specialising in herbalism) at night, in order to conceal the fact that they are still involved in their cultural activities. Mbiti (1969:33) calls the hesitation between Christianity and traditional activities "concubinage". SDA African people would go and consult the *sangoma* (traditional healer or diviner). At some time, they consulted the *sangoma* to secure positions in the church.

The lack of contextualisation was the cause for the SDA Church to be racially divided. The agents viewed themselves as superior to the people to whom they preached; the people felt uneasy with a church that practises discrimination according to race. This divided the different races of the same church. It was embarrassing for the South African church to have to admit that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, headed by Bishop Tutu, never did anything to help the people during the time of apartheid, up to the point of saying that they practised discrimination in all their church institutions.

The absence of contextualisation also created another challenge: a generation where people do not know who they are. It must be understood that, when they were recruited as Christians, many people had to leave their families to join the missionaries at the mission stations. They forgot their cultural practices and would even assist Whites in church to still continue with the Eurocentric way of worship.

5.7.2 Recommendations

1. That this research be repeated by another researcher who will also interview the Adventist people, in order to better understand the effects of the SDA missionaries' strategies on the SDA people.
2. That the African people should be proud of who they are, and know that God has called them in their same cultural background.
3. The African SDA should worship God according to their own cultural dictates and not take on the worshipping styles and music from other cultures.
4. The leaders should ensure that, when they embark on a programme of conversion, the strategies must be those that can be understood by the people and also to understand the cultures of the people that they want to evangelise.

5. Heritage Day must be practised in church, when members should wear their traditional wear or cook their traditional food.
6. Strategies, in an effort to convert people, must be those that can be accommodated in people's cultures.

5.7.3 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the role of SDA missionaries and their Black missionary recipients. It assessed the approach to context that highlighted the way in which they treated the cultures around them. Theology was also dealt with, communicating the messages preached by the church to the prospective converts. The chapter also addressed the spirituality part of mission, as the centre of mission, and discussed the contextualisation and transformation topics. The chapter ended with the recommendations that need to be done by other SDA missionaries who intend to engage in missions.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adams, C. 1993. *For good and evil: The impact of taxes on the course of civilization*. Rowman & Littlefield.

ADRA Organisation 2022, Adventist Disaster and Relief Association, adra-sa.org.za, Accessed on the 21 April 2023

Adu-Gyamfi, S. & Ampadu, B. 2000. Christian missionary activities in West Africa – History textbook. NUUT Co. Ltd., Kumasi, Ghana.

Adventist Organisation 2012, Review and Herald Publishing Association, USA

Adventist Organisation 2022, Review and Herald Publishing Association, USA

Adventist Statements Book, 2012. SAU Ministerial Edition, Published by Advent Labil, Bloemfontein

Adventist Organisation Statement, Racism - Adventist.org Accessed on 01 May 2023

Adventist World 1848, Review and Herald Publishing Association, USA

Adventist Youth Ministries 2023, Review and Herald Publishing Association, USA

African Division Outlook 1926, Trans-Africa Division Outlook, http://adventistdigitallibrary.org, Accessed on the 21 April 2023

Agbeti, K.J. 1986. *West African church history*. E.J. Brill, Leiden.

Ages, A. 1965. *The technique of biblical criticism: An inquiry into Voltaire's satirical approach in La Bible enfin Expliquée.* Symposium: A Quarterly Journal in Modern Literatures, 19:1:67-79. DOI: 10.1080/00397709.1965.10732846

Agu, D.C.C. 1987. *Indigenous choral music in African Christian worship*: *An analytical study of the youth songs in the Niger Diocese of Nigeria.* WorldCat member library.

Aguwa, J.C. 2007. *Mission, colonialism, and the supplanting of African religions and medical practices*. New York: Routledge.

Ahlstrom, S.E. 1972. *A religious history of the American people*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Alexander, P. 2008. *Alter call evangelism*. Washington: Wayback Machine.

Anane-Asane, A., Eckert, T.l., Tan, J.R. & Priest, R.J. 2009. *Paul G. Hiebert's The flaw of the excluded middle.* Trinity Journal, 30(2):189-197.

Andrews Organisation 2010, USA: Review and Herald Publishing Association

Anthony, R.S. 1899. Letter from R.S. Anthony, *Claremont Medical and Surgical Sanitarium*. Ellen G. White Research Centre archives, Helderberg College, DF 3000-C.

Appiah-Kubi, K. 1996. *African theology en route: Papers from the Pan-African Conference of Third World Theologians*, *17-23 December 1977*, Accra, Ghana. New York: Orbis Books.

Armstrong David. 1991. *The Great American Medioine Show An Illustrated History of Hucksters, Healers, Heal th Evangeli'sts and Heroes from Plymouth Rock to the Present*. New York: Simon & Schuster, Inc.

Arthur, D. 1961. *Joshua, V. Himes and the cause of Adventism*. 1839-1845. MA thesis, University of Chicago.

Ayandele, E.A. 1966. *The missionary impact on modem Nigeria, 1842-1914: A political and social analysis.* London: Longman.

Bade, M.B. 2022. *The contribution of Paul Hiebert to folk religion: A missiological study among the Dendis of North-East Benin*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of the Free State.

Bardill, J. 2012. *Constantine, divine emperor of the Christian golden age. Cambridge*: Cambridge University Press.

Barker, C. 2002. *Making sense of cultural studies: Central problems and critical debates*. New York: Sage Publications.

Barna, G. 1998. *Baptist standard*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan.

Barnes, B.R. 2020. *Critiques of health behaviour change programmes*. South African Journal of Psychology, 45(4):430-438. https://doi.org/10.1177/0081246315603631

Barret, D.B. n.d. *Evangelism*, USA: Overview.

Barrett, D.B. 1968. *Schism and renewal in African, an analysis of six thousand contemporary religions movements*. Nairobi: Oxfort University Press.

Bassey, M.O. 1991. *Missionary Rivalry and Educational Expansion in Southern Nigeria, 1885-1932,* The Journal of Negro Education, 60 (1), pp. 36-46

Baur, J. 1994. *2000 years of Christianity in Africa*. Nairobi: Pauline's Publications.

Beck, A. 2000. *The history of South Africa*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Bediako, M.A. 1999. *Miracle in South Africa*. Adventist Review, 169:12-13.

Beidelman, T.O. 1982. *Colonial evangelism*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Beinert, W. 1983. *Priestly people of God. Irish Theological Quarterly*, 85(1):3-15. https://doi.org/10.1177/0021140019889207

Beker, J.C. 1980. *Paul the Apostle: The Triumph of God in Life and Thought*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.

Belenko, S. 2014. *Drugs, Crime, and Justice*. USA: Sage.

Bellarmine, R. 1593. *On the controversies of the Christian faith*. Germany: University of Magdeburg.

Benin 1993. *The Footprints of God, Divine Accommodation in Jewish and Christian Thoughts,* New York: State University of New York Press.

Benson Commentary, 1977. *The meaning of the word "conversion*".www.biblio.com Accessed on the 23 November 2022

Berman, Edward H. 1974. (ed.) *African reactions to missionary education.* New York and London.

Bevans, S.B., Schroeder, R.P. & Schroeder, R. 2006. *Constants in context: A theology of mission for today* (Vol. 30). New York: Orbis Books.

Beyers, J. & D. Mphahlele, 2009. *Jesus Christ as Ancestor: An African Christian Understanding,* HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies 65 (1), Art. #132, 5 pages. DOI: 10.4102/hts.v65i1.132

Biko, S. 1978. *I write what I like*. London: Heinemann Educational Books. Africa

____ 2004. *Some African cultural concepts. In I write What I Like* (pp.44-53). Johannesburg: Picado Africa

Black SDA history 1960, *Black Seventh-day Adventist History*, https://www.blacksdahistory.org, Accessed on the 21 April 2023

Blomberg, A., Craig, L., Chung, S., & Sung, W. 2009. *A case for historic premillennialism: An alternative to "left behind" eschatology*. Ada, MI: Baker Academic.

Boaheng, A.A. 2018. *Tropics in West Africa history*. London: Longman Group Ltd.

Bonhoeffer, D., 1937. *The Cost of Discipleship*. Macmillan Pub: New York.

Bonino, J.M. 1974. *The present crisis in mission. In: Anderson, G.H. & Stransky T.F*. (eds), Mission trends No. 1: Critical issues in mission today. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, pp. 37-48.

Booi, V. 2008. *African Intellectuals in 19th and early 20th century South Africa*. University of Fort Hare.

Bosch, D. 1991. *Transforming mission: Paradigm shifts in theology of mission* (No. 16). New York: Orbis Books.

Boudillon, M.F.C. 1960. *Religion and authority in the Korekore community*. Grand Rapids: Intervasity Press

_____ 1991. *Religion and society: A text for Africa*. Gweru: Mambo Press.

Boyce AN 1967. *Europe and South Africa-A History for South African Schools*. Cape Town: Rustica Press.

Brabazon, J. 2010. *My friend the Mercenary*. Edinburg: Canongate Books.

Brantlinger, P. 1985. *Victorians and Africans: The genealogy of the myth of the dark continent.* Critical Inquiry12(1):166-203.

Britannica 1768, www.britannica.com topic Kongo / People, Accessed on the 29 February 2023

Brown, W. E. 1952. *The Catholic Church in South Africa: from its origins to the present day*. London: Westminister

Brown, P. 2003. *The rise of Christianity*, 2nd edition. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Brownlee, C.P. 1896. *Reminiscences of Kafir life and history*. London: Lovedale Press.

Budros, A. 2005. *The antislavery movement in early America: Religion, social environment and slave manumissions*. Social Forces, 84(2):20-44

Bujo, B. 1992. *African Theology in its social context*, Orbis Books, Maryknoll, NY

Busia, K.A. 1967. *In Search of Challenge Democracy*, London: Thames and Hudson

Buwa, M. 1985. *The Seventh-Day work in East Griqualand: A brief overview of Cancele Mission – Founding growth, and potential, 1925-1983*. MA Project, Andrews University.

Campbell, J. 1815. *Travels in South Africa*. London: Black and Parry.

Cape of Good Hope 1880a. *Report of the Superintendent-General of Education for the Year Ended 30th June 1879*. Cape Town: Saul Solomon and Co. G 5-80.

Cape Times *"Disastrous Fire*" July 20, 1905.

Casalis, E. 1889. *My life in Basutoland*. London: The Religious Tract Society.

Chachage, C. 2011. *Fanon and 'The Fact of Blackness'* | Pambazuka News, Accessed on the 25 November 2022

Christian Express. May 1910, *Africans and Vocational Work*, p. 809.

Christianity Today. 1960. *Christianity and slavery*, Morris, M. Issue 456, p. 34

Clark, J.L. 1968. 1844: *Social movements*. Volume 2. Southern Pub. Association.

Clinton, M. 2018. *Ten ways missions have influenced Africa* - IMB. Accessed on 15 February 2013.

Conklin, A.L. 1998. *A mission to civilize*: The Republican idea of empire in France and West Africa 1895-1930. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Cooks, J.B. 1961. Richard Moko, *first indigenous minister of our church in South Africa.* South African Union Lantern, 1 October.

Cooper, H.M. 1998. *Synthesizing research: A guide for literature reviews*, Volume 2. USA: Sage Publications.

Crocombe, J. 2007, April. *The Seventh-Day Adventist Church in Southern Africa – Race relations and apartheid*. A paper presented at the Association of Seventh-Day Adventist Historians meetings, Oakwood College, Huntsville, Alabama, by Jeff Crocombe, Senior Lecturer in Theology, Helderberg College, South Africa.

Damsteegt, P.G. 1981. *Foundations of the Seventh-Day Adventist message and mission.* Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.

_____ 1990. *The Vision of Daniel 8: Interpretations From 1700 to 1800* [review]/Samuel Nunez, Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.

Dana, R. 2009. *How Christianity became a world religion*. London: Blackwell Publishing.

Dayton, E.R. & D.A. Fraser. 1980. *Planning Strategies for World Evangelism*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans

Dederen, R. 2000. Handbook of Seventh-Day Adventist theology. Review and Herald Publishing Association, USA.

De Gruchy, J.W., 1979. *The Struggle Church in South Africa*. Cape Town: David Phillip.

De Klerk WA 1975. *The Puritans in Africa--The Story of Afrikanerdom*. Middlesex: Penguin Books.

De Kock, L., 1996, *Civilising barbarians: Missionary narrative and African textual response in nineteenth-century South Africa*, University of the Witwatersrand Press, Johannesburg.

Dennis, J.S. 2007. *Centennial survey of foreign missions*. New York: Revell.

Devlin, T.M. 2018. *How Christian missionaries created the largest language database in the world*. Accessed on 15 February 2023.

De Vos, T. 2008. *"Attitudes and attitude change" Implicit Attitudes 101: Theoretical and Empirical Insights*. New York. Psychology Press.

Diouf, S.A. (ed.) 2003. *Fighting the slave trade: West African strategies*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press.

Donkor, K. 2011. *Curses in African religious thought and contemporary Christian practice: A biblical perspective. Church, culture and spirits: Adventism in Africa*. Hagerstown: Review and Herald Publishing Association.

DRC General Synod. 1857. Minutes of the 9th Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa – General Synod meeting, 13 October 1857, Belhar, South Africa.

Du Bois, W.B. 1935. *Does the Negro need separate schools?* Journal of Negro Education, 57(3):328-335.

Duigman, B. *Age of reason*. German: SAGE Publishers

Du Preez, G. T. 2010. *A History of the Organizational Development of the Seventh-day Adventist Church Amongst the Coloured Community in South Africa 1887-1997*, PhD Thesis, University of the Western Cape

Du Preez, I. & Du Pre, R. 1994. *A century of good hope: A history of the Good Hope Conference, its educational institutions and early workers*, 1893-1993. East London: Western Research Group.

Durand, E.F. 1985. “The story of a Story”. Durand indicates that Ellen White wrote 16 letters to Pieter Wessels.

Dybdahl, J.L. 1999. *Adventist mission in the 21st century*. Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald Publishing Association.

Edson, H. 1844, MS fragment, Andrews University Heritage Room, James White Library.

Edusa-Eyison, J.M.Y. 2006. Kwesi A. Dickson: *The Bible and African life and thought in dialogue.* In: Bujo, B. & Muya, J.I. (eds) African theology in the 21st century: The contribution of the pioneers, Volume 2. (Nairobi: Paulines Publications Africa), pp. 93-123.

Ehret, P. 2002. *The civilizations of Africa: A history to 1800*. Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia.

Elphick, R & Davenport, R, eds. 1997. *Christianity in South Africa*. Cape Town: David Philip.

Elphick Richard & Giliomee Hermann (eds.) 1989. The Shaping of South African Society 1652-1840. Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman.

Encyclopaedia of Seventh-day Adventist 1976, Revised Edition. Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association

Encyclopaedia of Seventh-day Adventist 2011, Revised Edition. Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association

Encyclopaedia of Seventh-day Adventist 2012, Revised Edition. Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association

Encyclopaedia of Seventh-day Adventist 2021, Revised Edition. Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association

Episcopal Conference of Bishops 2008, *The Bishops of the Episcopal Conference of Hungary on their ad Limina visit*, https://www.vatican.va/content/benedict-xvi/en/speeches/2008/may/documents/hf_ben-xvi_spe_20080510_hungarian-bishops.html Accessed on 01 May 2023

Erlank, N. 2003. *The spread of indigenous Christianity in British Kaffraria after 1850*. pdf Accessed on 27 February 2023.

Etherington, N. 1983. *Social theory and the study of Christian missions in Africa: A South African case study*. Africa, 47(1):31-40.

Fanon, F. 1967. *The wretched of the earth*. Transl. by Farrington, C. London: Penguin

_____ 1986. *Black skin, white mask*. London: Pluto Press.

Feichtinger, C. 2016. *Seventh-day Adventists: An apocalyptic Christian movement in search of identity*. Leident: Brill Publishers.

Ferguson, N. 2011. *Civilization: The West and the Rest*. Penguin USA. Copy at http://www.tinyurl.com/y2rcefw3

Fick,M.L. 1939. *The Educability of the South African Native*, South AfrIcan CouncIl for SocIal and Educational Research, Pretoria.

Fisher, R. 1982. *Race*. Johannesburg: Jacana Media.

Flemming, D. 2013. *Recovering the Full Mission of God: A Biblical Perspective on Being, Doing and Telling.* Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic.

Foster, J.H. 1965. *Statutes of the Cape of Good Hope*, 1652-1886. Cape Town: Richards and Sons.

Fotland, R. 2005. *The Christology of Kwane Bediako*. Journal of African Thought, 8(1):36-49.

Frescura, F. 2015. *Visual cognition and the struggle for the soul of architecture*. Unpublished paper, in press. Pietermaritzburg: UKZN Press.

Froom, L.E. 1971. *Movement of destiny*. Washington, DC: Review & Herald Publishing Association.

Frost, Michael & Alan Hirsch. 2013. *The shaping of things to come: Innovation and Mission for the 21st century church*. Hendrickson Publishers and Strand Publishing, Grand Rapids, USA, 2013.

Gale, H.P. 1975. *Uganda and the Mill Hill Fathers*. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

Galgalo, J. 2012. *African Christianity: The stranger within*. Kijabe, Kenya: Kijabe Printing Press.

Ganong, W.F. 2005. *Review of medical physiology*. Twenty-second edition. New York: McGraw-Hill Medical.

Gaventa, B.R. 1986. *From darkness to light: Aspects of conversion in the New Testament*. California: Pacific Press Publishing Company.

Gawronski, B; Payne, B.K. 2010. *Handbook of Implicit Social Cognition: Measurement, Theory and Application*, USA: Eerdmanns, 674

General Conference Youth Department 2005 California: Pacific Press Publishing Company.

General Conference 1956: California: Pacific Press Publishing Company.

Germond, Robert C. 1967. *Chronicles of Basutoland*. Morija: Morija Sesuto Book Depot.

Giliomee, H. 2003. *The Afrikaners*: Biography of a people. Cape Town. Tafelberg.

Goheen, M.W. 2014. *Introducing Christian mission today: Scripture, history and issues.* Wetsmont, ILL: IVP Academic.

Gonzalez, J.L. 1985. *The story of Christianity*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers.

Great Advent Movement 2013, Review and Herald Publishing Association, USA

Greene, S.E. 2015. Minority voices: Abolitionism in West Africa. Slavery & Abolition, 87(4):642-661.

Grendler, P.F. 1988. *Printing and censorship in the Cambridge history of renaissance philosophy.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Greshake, G. 1983. *Gottes Heil – Glück des Menschen*. Freiburg/B: Herder.

Grout, L. 1852. *A rerot of the Umsunduzi Mission Station for the year ending September 1852*. Letters and Papers of the ABCFM.

Gründel, J. 1983*. Sünde als Verneinung des Willens Gottes. Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung von Leid*, übel und Bösem. Rivinius,: 46 (2):105-125.

Guthrie D. 1960. *A History of Medicine*. Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons LTD.

Hachalinga, P. 2020. ESDA | Wessels, Pieter Johannes Daniel (1856–1933), Accessed on the 20 April 2023

Hacket, D.G. 2003. *The American and American culture*. New York: Routledge.

Hailey, L. 1939. *An African survey*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Haliburton, G. M. 1973. *The Prophet Harris*: a study of an African prophet and his mass movement in the Ivory Coast and the Gold Coast 1913-1915. London,

Hansen, A. 1984. *Landslide hazard analysis*. In: Brunsen, D. & Prior, D.B. (eds), Slope instability. New York: John Wiley and Sons, pp. 523-602.

Hans, H. 1972. *The relevance of Black Theology for independent Africa.* Unpublished paper delivered at Seminar on Christianity in independent Africa, Jos, Nigeria.

Hastings, A. 1969. *Church and mission in modern Africa*. New York: Fordham University Press.

_____ 1994. *The church in Africa*, 1450-1950. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Hawkins, M., 1920. *Social Darwinism and female education, 1870-1920*. Darwinismus, Bildung, Erziehung: historische Perspektiven auf das Verhältnis von Evolution und Pädagogik, 31, p.15.

Healy, J.G. 1981. *A fifth gospel: The experience of Black Christian values*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books.

Heinegg, P. 2005. *Free African Americans of Virginia, North Carolina*, South Carolina, Maryland and Delaware. Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Publishing.

Hempel, C. 2012. *Beyond the Qumran community: The sectarian movement of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Journal of Jewish Studies, 4 (2) 18-34

Henschel, J. 2016. *The first spiritan mission method in Bagamoyo: Liberation of slaves*, https://dsc.duq.edu/spiritan-horizon/vol11/iss11/10 Accessed on the 04 March 2023.

Hermanson, E.A. 1995. *Metaphor in Zulu: Problems in the translation of biblical metaphor in the Book of Amos*. Unpublished D.Litt. thesis. University of Stellenbosch.

Heschel, A. 1962. *The prophet*. New York: Harper & Row.

Hiebert, P.G. 1982. *The flaw of the excluded middle*. Missiology, 10(1):35-47.

____ 1985. *Anthropological insights for missionaries*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic.

____ 1987. *How far can we go*? The Enterprise (Winter 1987/88): 17–19.

____ 1999. *Why must a bill of rights be a contest of political and judicial wills*? The Canadian alternative. Public Law Review, 10(1):22-36.

____ 2008. Transforming worldviews: *An anthropological understanding of how people change.* Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic.

Hill, S. 2007. *From the Sixth Pan-African Congress to the Free South African Movement*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.

Hitchens, C. 2011. *God Is not great*. London: Atlantic Books.

Hoekema, A.A. 1963. *Jehovah's Witnesses*. Grand Rapids, MI: Williams B.

Hoekendijk, J.C. 1967. *The church inside out*. Philadelphia, PA: Westminster Press. (A collection of earlier essays.)

Hofmeyr JW, et al 1994. *History of the Church in South Africa*. Pretoria: Promedia Printers and Publishers.

Holland, J. & Henriot, P.J. 1983. *Social analysis: Linking faith and justice*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books.

Hultgren, A.J., 1985. *Paul's gospel and mission: the outlook from his letter to the Romans.* Canada: Fortress Press.

Hutchison, W.R. 1982. *A moral equivalent for imperialism: Americans and the promotion of "Christian civilization*", 1880-1910. In: Christensen, D.L. & Hutchison, W.R., Americans and the Promotion of "Christian Civilization" Atlanta: John Knox. pp. 167-178.

____ 2000. *Errand to the world: American Protestant missionary thought and foreign missions.* Chicago, ILL: The University of Chicago Press.

Hyatt, S.P., 1910. *The Diary of a Soldier of Fortune*. USA: Laurie.

Ibewuike, V.O. 2006. African women and religious change: A study of the Western Igbo of Nigeria with a special focus on Asaba town. Uppsala: Standford Publishers.

International Bulletin of Missionary Research, 1997. Contextualising in South Africa.pdf, Accessed on the 12 March 2023

Idowu, B. 1968. The predicament of the church in Africa. New York: Routledge.

_____ 1973. *African traditional religion, A Definition*. London: SCM

Jacobs, D. & Maier, R. 1998. *European identity: Construct, fact and fiction*. Wayback Machine, UK: Intercity Publishers

Johnsson, W.G. 2006. *Out of Africa*. Adventist Review (blog), https://www.adventistreview.org-1531-5. Accessed on the 13 February 2023

Jones, A.H.M. 1978. *Constantine and the conversion of Europe*. Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press.

Jordache, C. 2018. *Bride price, divorce, and leadership in African families*. Adventist Review (blog), https://www.adventistreview.org/church-news/story5942-bride-price-divorce-and-leadership-in-african-families. Accessed on the 12 February 2023

Kahl, H.-D. 1978. *Einige Beobachtungen zum Sprachgebrauch von natio im mittelalterlichen Latein mit Ausblicken auf das neuhochdeutsche Fremdworst ldNationrd.* In: Beumann, H. (ed.), Nationes Aspekte der Nationenbildung im Mittelalter, Vol. 1:63-108. Netherlands: M & D Publishers

Kane, J.H. 1978. *The Christian world mission: today and tomorrow*. Baker: Grand Rapids.

____ 1982. *A concise history of the Christian world mission*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic.

Karecki, M.M. 1991. *The Inculturation of the Mass of the Roman Rite in the Catholic Parishes of Soweto*. Pretoria: University of South Africa. Unpublished MTh dissertation.

____ 2005. *Teaching missiology in context: Adaptations of the pastoral circle*. In: Wijsen, F., Henriot, P. & Mejia, R. (eds), The pastoral circle revisited: A critical quest for truth and transformation. New York: Orbis Books, pp. 159-173.

_____ 2012. *Mission spirituality in global perspective*. Missiology, 40(1):23-35. https://doi.org/10.1177/009182961204000104

Karecki, M., 2022. *In Search of Transformative Ways of Being in Mission: Introducing the Mission Spirituality Spiral*. International Bulletin of Mission Research, 47(1), pp.57-68.

Kasinja, M. 2020. *A Former President of France Narrates how Africa's Resources We Rooted Told Lies that Africans are Good for Nothing*, www.faceofMalawi.com Accessed on the 13 February 2023

Keith, A. 1919. *Nationality and race from an anthropologist's point of view*. H. Milford.

Kemp, K. 1956. *When Gospel music sparked a worship war'*. ChristianityToday.com, Accessed on 5 March 2023.

Kidd, T.S. 2007. *The great awakening: The roots of evangelical Christianity in colonial America.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Kirk, A., 1986. *What is Mission? : Theological Explorations*. Fortress Press: Minneapolis.

Kollman, P.V. 2005. *Evangelization of slaves and Catholic origins in Eastern Africa*. New York: Orbis books.

Kostenberger, A.J & O'Brien, P.T. 2001. *Salvation to the end of the earth. A biblical theology of mission*. Canada: InterVarsity Press.

Kraft, C.H. 1996. *Anthropology for Christian witness*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books.

Kritzinger, J.N.J. 1988. *Black theology – Challenge to mission*. PhD thesis, University of South Africa.

Kuhn, T. 1962. *The structure of scientific revolutions*. Chicago, ILL: University of Chicago Press.

Kuster, V. 1999. *The many faces of Jesus Christ*, SCM Press, London.

Land, G.1998. *Adventism in America*. Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press.

Lauwerys, J.A. 1970. *World yearbook of education*. Education in cities. London: Routledge.

Lawson, R. L. 2018. "*Church-Sponsored Injustice: The Seventh-Day Adventist Church and Polygamous Converts*." Ronaldlawson.Net (blog), May 27, 2018. https://ronaldlawson.net/2018/05/27/church-sponsored-injustice-the-seventh-day-adventist-church-and-polygamous-converts/.

Legassick, M. 2010. *The struggle for the Eastern Cape 1800-1854: Subjugation and the roots of South African democracy*. Randburg, South Africs: KMM Review Publishers.

Letseli, T. 2020. Interviewed by Grant Lottering, Helderberg College of Higher Education, Somerset West, South Africa, February 11.

Library of Congress, 1863. *Slavery Practices in Biblical Times*, Accessed on the 22 November 2022

Lloyd, P.C. 1975. *Africa in social change*. Revised edition. New York: McMillan

Locke, T. 2004. *Critical discourse analysis*. London: Cromwell Press.

Loram, C.T. 1917. *The education of the South African native*. California: University of California Press.

Lopez, A.E. & Rugano, P. 2018. *Educational leadership in post-colonial context: What can we learn from three female principals in Kenyan secondary schools.* Education Sciences, 8(3):99 -116

Luke, A. 1999. *Text and discourse in education: An introduction to critical discourse analysis.* Review of Research in Education, 21:3-48.

Luo, A. 2022. *Critical discourse analysis: Definition, guide and examples*. Scribbr. Retrieved 3 December 2022 from https://www.scribbr.com/methodology/discourse-analysis/.

Luther, M. 1523. *Concerning the Ministry. Luther's Works*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.

McCord, J.J. 1952. *South African Struggle*. Pretoria: JH De Busy

Mackenzie, W.D. 1902. *John Mackenzie: South African missionary and statesman*. London: Hedder & Rivington.

MacLaren's Expositions, 1988. *The meaning of the word "conversion*". Accessed on the 23 November 2022

Mafani, H. 2011. *From genesis to germination*. South Africa: Self-published.

Mafico, T.L.J. 2011. *The land and the African context of theology*. Journal of the Interdenominational Theological Center 37(1-2):68-97

Magagula, P.Z. 2019. *Towards the Millennium: A Critical Theological Exploration of the seventh-day Adventist Church's Engagement with the Poor in Soweto*, PhD Thesis, University of South Africa

Magesa, Laurenti. 1985. *African Religion: The Moral Traditions of Abundant Life*. Nairobi: Paulines Publications Africa.

Mahamba, B. 2014. *Views on race and gender in Roman Catholic girls' education: A case study of Embakwe 'Coloured' school experiment, 1922-1965*. University of Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe.

Majeke, N. 1952. *The role of the missionaries in conquest*. Society of Young Africa.

Maloy, D. J. 2006. *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, Washington, DC: United States Conference of Catholic Bishops.

Martin, W. 1960. *The truth about Seventh Day Adventism*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan.

Martin AC 1957. *The Concentration Camps 1900-1902. Facts, Figures, and Fables*. Cape Town: Howard Timmins.

Mathema, Z. 1999. *Traditional African religiosity and Christian discipleship: An educational perspective*. In: Rasi, H.M. (compiler), Christ in the classroom: Adventist approaches to the integration of faith and learning, volume 23. Silver Spring, MD: Institute for Christian Teaching, Education Department, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, pp. 181-200.

Maxwell, C.M. 1977. *Magnificent disappointment: What really happened in 1844 and its meaning for today.* Boise, ID: Pacific Press.

____ 1993. *A brief history of Adventist hermeneutics. Journal of the Adventist Theological Society*, 4(2):11. 210-123 Accessed on the 20 February 2023

Mayer, P. (ed.) 1980. *The origin and decline of two rural resistance ideologies, in Black villagers in an industrial societ*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Mbiti, J.S. 1969. *African religions and philosophy*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.

____ 1990. *African religions and philosophy*. Second edition. London: Heinemann Educational Books.

McCord JJ 1952. *South African Struggle*. Pretoria: JH De Busy

Meals On Wheels Organisation 2022, Meals on Wheels Community Services South Africa, http://mow.org.za, Accessed on the 21 April 2023

Medical Missionary Yearbook. 1896. Seventh-day Adventist Yearbook (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association.

Medina, A. 2017. *When Missionaries Think They Know Everything*, Accessed on the 12 October 2022

Meg, P. 2017. *Health and medicine during colonial period in Kenya*. www.kenyahealth.com Accessed on 6 March 2023.

Meiring, Arno and Piet Meiring, 2015. South Africa, Land of Many Religions, Mega Digital

Meister, C.W. 1983. *Year of the Lord*. USA: McFarland.

Memories Bethel College 1982 - Document File Number 3003-a. Archival Material

Merriam, G, and Charles Merriam. 1831 Merriam-Webster's Online Dictionary. Eleventh edition. Springfield: G & C Merriam Company Publishers

Mills, W. S. 1980. *The Roots of African Nationalism in the Cape Colony: Temperance 1866-98*, International Journal of African Historical Studies, XIII pp. 197-213

Ministry Magazine 1978 Seventh-day Adventist Yearbook (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association.

Mott, J.R. 1955. quoted in World Missionary Conference, vol. 1: *Carrying the Gospel to All the Non-Christian World*, 40.

Moffat, R. 1842. *Missionary labours in Southern Africa*. London: John Shaw.

Mokoka, G.C. 1984. *Black Experience in Black Theology . A study on the Roman Catholic Church missionary endeavour in South Africa and the search for justice.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, submitted to the Catholic University of Nijmegen.

Moreau, S.A. 2012. *Contextualization in world missions: mapping and assessing evangelical models.* Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Publications.

Morgan, A. 1994. *Apostle to Black America*, USA: Baker

Mugambi, J. N. K. 2002. *Christianity and the African Cultural Heritage. In Christianity and African Culture.* Edited by Jesse. N. K. Mugambi. Nairobi: Acton Publications, pp. 516-42.

Mugovera, G., 2016. *Trans-border Ethnic Linkages and Conflict in the Great Lakes Region: A Case of DRC and Rwanda* ,Doctoral dissertation, BUSE.

Muzorewa, G.H. 1985. *The origins and development of African theology*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books.

Mwesa, J.A. 1988. *The choice of African music in Adventist educational institutions*. The Institute for Christian Teaching (blog), http://christintheclassroom.org/vol_23/23cc_239-258.pdf. Accessed on the 04 March 2023

National Institute of Health. 2014. State of the Science Conference document. Bethesda, MD: Maryland

Ncube, C.B. 1980. *Intellectual property policy, law and administration in Africa: Exploring continental and sub-regional co-operation*. London: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315743714

Ndibe, O. 2014. *Foreign Gods*, Inc. New York City

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S.J. 2015. *Decoloniality as the future of Africa*. History Compass, 13(10):485-496.

Ndlovu, S. 2013. *Challenges in the Seventh-Day Adventist Church in Zimbabwe in integrating and evangelising minority groups after independence*. University of South Africa.

Ndlovu, H. 2018. *African Customs and Values that can Enhance Seventh-day Adventists Missions to South Africans with Specific Reference to the Zulu Cultural Heritage*, PhD Thesis, University of Pretoria

Nel, J.A., 2014. *South African psychology can and should provide leadership in advancing understanding of sexual and gender diversity on the African continent.* South African Journal of Psychology, 44(2), pp.145-148.

Neufeld, D.F. 1976. *Seventh-day Adventist encyclopaedia*. Commentary reference series, 10.

Newbigin, L. 1978. *The Open Secret: Sketches for a Missionary Theology*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

____ 1993. *Religious Plularilism*: *A Missiollogical Approach*,: Studia Missionalia 42: 227-244

Newman, G. 2020. Interviewed by the author, July 7, Helderberg High School, Somerset West.

Nhlapo, C. 2012. *Tears of the black pulpit: A celebration of the legacy of Black ministers in the north Bantu mission field from 1925-1965*. Wandsbeck: Reach Publishers.

Nichol, R. 1944. *The New Testament use of the Old Testament*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books.

Niebuhr, H.R. 1959. *The Kingdom of God in America*. New York: Harper & Brothers (first published in 1937).

Njoku, R.C. 2007. Don C. Ohadike: *The man, his intellectual legacy and African historiography.* Dialectical Anthropology, 31:45-64.

Nkomazana, F. & Setume, S.D. 2016. *Missionary colonial mentality and the expansion of Christianity in Bechuanaland Protectorate, 1800 to 1900*. University of Botwana.

Nnamunga, G. 2019. *Spiritan pedagogy of evangelism in Tanzania*, https://dsc.duq.edu/spiritan-horizons/vol14/iss14/16. Accessed on 4 March 2023.

Ntabeni, M. 2014. *Ntsikana, the first Xhosa Christian - The Southern Cross*, Accessed on the 13 November 2022

Nthamburi, Z. 1991. *From mission to church*: *A handbook of Christianity in East Africa*. Nairobi, Kenya: Uzima Press.

Numberger, K. 2007. *The living dead and the living God*, Cluster Publications, Pietermaritzburg.

Numbers R. L. 1974. *Prophetess of Health*: *A Study of Ellen G. White*. 3rd ed. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Nyadzi, E. 2022. *Towards Weather and Climate Services that integrate indigenous and scientific forecasts to improve forecast reliability and acceptability in Ghana,* Journal of Environmental Development, Ghana 3 (2) 10-12

Oberman, H. 1986. *The Dawn of the Reformation: Essays of the late Medieval and Early Reformation Thought*. Eerdmans Publishing Company

Oborji, F.A. 2006. *Concepts of Mission*: The Evolution of Contemporary Missiology. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books.

Odendaal, M. 2020. Interviewed via zoom by Grant Lottering, July 7, Helderberg College of Higher Education.

Oduyoye, M.A. 2009. *Hearing and knowing: Theological reflections on Christianity in Africa.* Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers.

Oladipo, C.O. 2006. *The will to arise: Theological and political themes in African Christianity and the renewal of faith and identity*. New York: P. Lang.

_____ 2010. *African Christiandom in the twenty-first century*. Ogbomoso Journal of Theology, 15(2):33-71.

Olatunde, A. 2016. *Effects of colonialism on mission in Nigeria and its implication for contemporary missionaries. African theology*. Accessed 23 February 2022.

Oldham, J.H. 1925. *Missionary adventures in Africa*. London: Student Christian Movement.

Olsen, O.A. 2008. *Thirteen crisis years 1888-1901*. Washington, DC: Review and Herald.

Olupona, J.K. 2004. *Owner of the day and regulator of the universe: Ifa divination and healing among the Youroba of south-western Nigeria*. In: Winkelman, M. & Peeks, P.M. (eds), Divination and healing: Potent vision. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, pp. 103-117.

Omonzejele, P.F. 2008. *African concept of health, disease, and treatment: An ethical inquiry*. Explore, New York.

Omoyajowo, J.A. 1973-1975. *Gospel and culture from the perspective of African churches founded by foreign missions*. http://www.pctii.org/wcc/akin96.html http://www.pctii.org/wcc/akin96.html. Accessed: 13 February 2021

Onwuegbuchulam, S. P. n.d. *Christianity_and_African_Culture*_a_Quest (1).pdf. Accessed on the 24 January 2023

Onyeoma, R. 2009. *Inculturation: Dancing step of a wounded emperor*. Pallottine, p16ff.

Oosthuizen, G.C. 1970. *Black theology in the history of Africa*. University of Durban-Westville Journal, 2:4.18-32

Osborn, R. E. 2013. *The Theo politics of Adventist Apocalypticism: Progresive of Degenerating Research Program*? Modern Theology, 219-250.

Ott, C. & Netland, H.A. 2006. *Globalizing theology: Belief and practice in an era of world Christianity*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic.

Pantalone, 1996. *An appraisal of the development of Seventh-Day Adventist mission in South Africa*: *A missiological evaluation*. Doctoral dissertation. University of Durban-Westville.

_____.1999. *The Afrikaanse Konferensie (I968 - I974) and its Significance for the Seventh-day Adventist Church in South Africa*, PhD Thesis, University of Durban-Westville

Paré, G. & Kitsiou, S. 2017. *Methods for literature reviews. In: Handbook of eHealth evaluation*: An evidence-based approach [Internet]. University of Victoria.

Paris Evangelical Missionary Society. 1913. Basuto Mission. African Mission, Fields of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society.

Patterson, S. 1957. *The Last Trek--A Study of the Boer People and Afrikaner Nationalism*. London: Routledge and Kegan Publishers Ltd

Pawlikova-Vilhanova, V. 2006. *Asian and African studies*. Slovak Academy of Sciences, Slovakia.

Peel, J.D.Y. 2003. *Relgious encounter and the making of the Yoruba: African systems of thought*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Peterson, R. 2012. *Is nonviolence a distinctive ethical idea*? Radical Philosophy Review, 15(1):7-31.

Pitts, W.L. 2012. *Davidians and Branch Davidians*. Handbook of Texas. Texas State Historical Association.

Ponelis, F. 1993. *The Development of Afrikaans*, P. Lang Publisher, South Africa

Porter, A. 1985. *Commerce and Christianity: The rise and fall of a nineteenth-century missionary slogan.* Historical Journal. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Prill, T. 2020. *When preaching styles meet: What African and Western preachers can learn from each other*. WhenPreachingStylesMeetThorstenPrillSBET14.10.2020.pdf. Accessed on 26 February 2023.

Rae, N. 2018. *The great stain: Witnessing American slavery*. New York: The Overlook Press, Peter Mayer Publishers, Inc.

Ramdhani, A., Ramdhani, M.A. & Amin, A.S. 2014. *Writing a literature review research paper: A step-by-step approach.* International Journal of Basic and Applied Science, 3(1):47-56.

Reid, George W.1999. "*Toward an Adventist Theology of Worship*." Biblical Research Institute (blog), October 10,. https://adventistbiblicalresearch.org/sites/default/files/pdf/advtheoworship.pdf.

Rennstich, K. 1982. *The understanding of mission, civilisation and colonialism in the Basel Mission*. In Christensen, D.L & Hutchison, W.R., A moral equivalent for

imperialism: Americans and the promotion of “Christian civilization”, 1880-1910., pp 94-103.

Review of Medical Physiology 2005, California: Pacific Press Publishing Company, USA

Rivers, I. 1978 *"Strangers and Pilgrims': Sources and Patterns of Methodist Narrative.*" In Augustan Worlds, edited by J. D. Hilson, M. M. B. Jones, and J. R. Watson, 189-203. Leicester.

Robateau, A.J. 2004. *Religious history, and the ambiguities of Blackness. Race: A theological account*. New York: Oxford Academic.

Robbins, D. 2001. *The siege of Kimberley and the battle of Magersfontein*. Cape Town: Ravan Press.

Roberts, B. 1976. *Kimberley: Turbulent City*. Cape Town: D. Phillip, in association with the Historical Society of Kimberley and the Northern Cape.

Roberts, D.L. 2009. *Christian Mission*. Singapore: Blackwell.

Roberts, H.W. 1965. *Education and training in industry in Rhodesia*. Rhodesia: University College of Rhodesia

Robertson, G. 2006. *Crimes against humanity: The struggle for global justice*. UK: Penguin.

Robinson, V. 1943. *Third angel over Africa*. Unpublished manuscript. Takoma Park, MD.

Rodgers, B. 2004. *Developing nursing knowledge*: Philosophical traditions and influences. New York: Lippincott Williams & Wilkins.

Rodney, W. 1972. *How Europe underdeveloped Africa*. Chicago: Howard University Press.

Rodriguez, C. 2018. *African philosophy of religion: Concept of God, ancestors, and the problem of evil.* Philosophy Compass, 17(8):231-266

Rogers, R., Malamcharuvil-Berkes, E., Mosley, M., Hui, D and O’ Garro Joseph, G. 2005. *Critical Discourse Analysis in Education: A Review of the Literature*. Washington: Sage Publications

Roosevelt, F. D. 1941. *Four Freedoms Speech*. Accessed on the 13 April 2023

Rorabaugh, W.J. 1981. *The alcohol republic: An American tradition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ross, A.C. 1998. Moffat, Robert. In: Anderson, G.H. (ed.), *Biographical dictionary of Christian missions.* New York: Macmillan Reference, pp. 28-41

Ross, W. 2007. *Slavery's Long Effects on Africa* | AfricanAmerica.org, Accessed on the 11 April 2023

Rowe, F. 2014. *What literature review is not: Diversity, boundaries and recommendations.* European Journal of Information Systems, 23(3):241-255.

Runciman, S. 1954. *A history of the crusades*. Volume Three: The Kingdom of Acre and later crusades. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Saayman, W. 1991. *Christian mission in South Africa, political and ecumenical*. Pretoria: University of South Africa, xii, 128 pp. 0 86981 697 7.

SAHO. 2012. *The role of missionaries to conquest*. www.sahistory.org.za Accessed on 27 March 2022.

SAHRA 1999, *The Seventh-day Adventist Church Heritage site in Kimberley*, www.sahra.org.za , Accessed on the 16 October 2022

Sanneh, L. 2002. *The Accra Charter of religious freedom and citizenship*. Oxford: OMSC Publications.

Sarbah, C.E. 2014. *The Planting of Christianity in Ghana: A Critical Review of the Approaches,* Trinity Journal of Church and Theology, Vol 18: 7-26

Satlow, M.L. 2014. *How the Bible Became Holy*, London: Yale University Press

Schoepflin, R.B., 1987. *Health and health care*. The World of Ellen G. White. Hagerstown, MD: Review & Herald.

Schwarz, R. 1979. *Light bearers to the remnant*: Denominational history textbook for Seventh-Day Adventist College classes. Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press.

Seventh-Day Adventist Church Manual. 2010. Nampa, ID: Pacific Press Publishing Association.

Sheffield, A. 1973. *The role of missionaries in colonial African education history. Essay*. Custom Writings. Accessed on 15 February 2023

Shorter Aylward 1986. *Toward a Theology of Inculturation*. Great Britain: Geoffrey Chapman

Sibanda. 2019. *African Traditional Medicine: South African Perspective*. Traditional and Complementary Medicine, pp. 1-27

Singata, S. 2018. *Adventism and the world: Towards an Adventist theology of solidarity*. University of South Africa, AdventismandTheWorld-1.pdf ResearchGate, Accessed on the 01 May 2023

Singh, I. 2006. *"Contextual Theologies: Women's Perspective*," Indian Journal of Theology 48/1 &2 :77.

Skan Adventist Friend 1850, Review and Herald Publishing Association, USA

Slabbert, V.Z. & D. Welsh. 1979. *South Africa's Options: Strategies for Sharing Power.* New York: Sr Martin's Press, pp.196

Smith, G. 1895. *Christianity's milestone*. USA: The North American Review.

Smith, K.H. 2007. *To the ends of the earth: The globalization of Christianity*. London: Paternoster.

Snyder, H. 2019. *Literature Review as a Research Methodology: An Overview and Guidelines*. Journal of Business Research, 104, 333-339. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusres.2019.07.039

Sokupa, M.M. 2015. *Documented memories of Richard Moko's life and contribution: A Seventh-Day Adventist heritage reflection*. Stellenbosch: Stellenbosch University Press.

____ 2022. ESDA | Moko, Richard (1850-1932). Accessed on 15 February 2023.

Sookhdeo, P. 1987. *New Frontiers in Mission*. Grand Rapids, MI: The Paternoster Press.

South African Conference Minutes 1901, Southern Africa Union Conference, http://sau.adventist.org, Accessed on the 21 April 2023

South African Division 2020, South African Indian Ocean Division (SID) Conference, www.adventist.org. Accessed on the 21 April 2023

South African Missionary 1905 , Sentinel Publishing Association, South Africa

South African Union Ministerial Association 2012, Produced and Published by Advent Labil, Bloemfontein

South African Union 1997, Sentinel Publishing Association, South Africa

Spalding, A.W. 1868. *Origin and history of Seventh-Day Adventists*. Volume 4. Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald Publising Association.

_____ 1949. *Origin and history of Seventh-Day Adventists*. Volume 12. Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald Publising Association.

____ 1961. *Origin and history of Seventh-Day Adventists*. Volume 24 Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association.

_____ 1962. *Origin and history of Seventh-Day Adventists*. Volume 26. Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association.

Spilhaus Whiting M 1966. *South Africa in the Making 1652-1806*. Johannesburg: Juta & Company Ltd.

Spindler, M. 2005. *Meaning and Prospects of Common Witness*, Verbum SVD vol 28, pp 18–28.

Spurgeon, C.H. 1977. *Lectures to my students*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan.

Stabel, D.T. 2005. *Rethinking of contextualization of the gospel in Africa*.pdf Assessed on the 20 April 2023

Stanley, H.M. 1889. *Through the dark continent: or, the sources of the Nile, around the Great Lakes of Equatorial Africa, and down the Livingstone River to the Atlantic Ocean.* Colorado: Abe Books.

Stark, R. 2000. *For the Glory of God: How Monotheism Led to Reformations, Science,* Witch-Hunts, and the End of Slavery, Washington DC.: Macmillan

Statutes of the Union of South Africa. 1953. Act No. 4: pp. 258-276.

Steineker, D.T. 2010. *The greatest commandment: Matthew 22:37*. Bloomington, IN: WestBow Press.

Stendahl, K. 1976. *Paul Among Jews and Gentiles*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.

Stevenson, G. S. 1959 *"South African Union."* Southern African Division Outlook, January-March, 1959, 33-35.

Stevenson, Jr. E.J. 1972. *A history of the Claremont Sanitarium, South Africa (1897-1905)*. A paper presented in partial fulfillment of the SDA History course to the Church and Ministry Department, Andrews University.

Stewart, D. M. 2005. *Three Eyes for the Journey: African Dimensions of the Jamaican Religious Experience,* New York: Oxford Press.

Stinton, D. 2004. *Jesus of Africa: Voices of Contemporary African Christologies*, Pauline Publications Africa, Nairobi.

Sundkler, B. & Steed, C. 2004. *A history of the church in Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sutherland, E. A. in W. C. White, comp.,1933. *Sketches of the United Work of Small Schools and Sanitariums*, p.54.

Swanepoel, L.F. 1972. *The origin and early history of the Seventh-Day Adventist Church in South Africa, 1886-1920*. MA thesis, University of South Africa.

Swanepoel, N. 2022. *The archaeology of missions in Southern Africa*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sweet, J.H. 2003. *Recreating Africa: Culture, kinship, and religion in the African-Portuguese world, 1441-1770*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina.

Sweet, L. 1999. *Soul tsunami: Sink or swim in new millennium culture*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan.

Tarr, A. F. 1913. *"An Extraordinary Priviledge* [sic]." The Southern African Division Outlook, December 15,

Thang, J.N. 2001. *Significant Role of Catechists in a Missionary Country*, Angelicum, Pontificia Studiorum Universitas. Pvol.78.no.3.pp. 507-527.

The American Law Register 1890, *Common law of England*, Accessed on the 23 November 2022

The General Conference 1956: California: Pacific Press Publishing Company.

The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald, 1876. Review and Herald Publishing Association, Takoma Park, Washington, D.C.

The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald, 2010. Review and Herald Publishing Association, Takoma Park, Washington, D.C.

Thompsell, A. 2021. *Why was Africa called the dark continent*? ThoughtCo. https://www.thoughtco.com/why-africa-called-the-dark-continent-43310 [Accessed on 14 February 2023].

Thompson, R.C.L. 1979. *A history of the growth and development of the Seventh-Day Adventist Church in Southern Africa, 1920-1960*. D.Phil. thesis, Rhodes University.

Thorpe, S.A., 1993, *African traditional religions*, University of South Africa, Pretoria.

Tippett, A.R. 1987. *Indigenous principles in mission today*. In: Tippett, A.R., Verdict theology in missionary theory. 2nd edition. Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, pp. 148-163.

Transformation. 1990. *Evangelicals and racism*. www.jstor.org. [Accessed on 24 November 2022].

Triebel, J. 2002. *Living Together with the Ancestors: Ancestor Veneration in Africa as a Challenge for Missiology.* Missiology, 30 (2). 187-197.https://doi.org/10.1177/009182960203000205

Trokan, J. 1997. *Models of Theological Reflection: Theory and Praxis. Journal of Catholic Education*, 1 (2) 20-37

Tyndale-Biscoe, H. 2019. *The missionary and the Maharajas: Cecil Tyndale-Bisco and the making of modern Kashmir*. London: Bloomsbury.

Udall, T. 2019. *Assimilate or go home: Notes from a failed missionary on rediscovering faith*. New York: Crossroads

Uzukwu, E. 1996. *A listening church: Autonomy and communion in African churches*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books.

Van den Berghe P. 1965. *South Africa: A Study in Conflict.* Connecticut: Greenwood Press, Publishers.

Van den Heever CM & De Piena ar P (eds.) 1945. *Kultuurgeskiedenis van die Afrikaner--Die eerste beskrywing van die Boere-volkslewe in al sy vertakkinge*. Deel I. Port Elizabeth: Nasionale Pers, Beperk.

Walt, Van der Walt, A. 1991. *A Christian Worldview and Christian Higher Education*. Potchefstroom: Institute of Reformation Studies.

Vande Vere, E.K. 1986. *The wisdom seekers*. Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press

Van Dijk, T.A. 2006. *Principles of critical discourse analysis*. Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam.

Van Zyl, I.J. 1990. *Lecture notes on Church History*. Part 5. Cape Town: ESDEA Books.

Vicedom, G.F. 1958. *The mission of God: An introduction to the theology of mission*. Saint Louis, MO: Concordia.

Waliggo, J.M. 1978. *The Catholic Church in the Buddu Province of Uganda 1879-1925*. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge.

Walker, D. 2000. *A History of Southern Africa*. London: Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd

Walls, A.F. 2000. *The missionary movement in Christian history*. New York: Orbis Books.

Warneck, G. 1888. *Modern missions and culture*: Their mutual relations. Edinburgh: James Gemmell.

Warren, R.P., 1998. *The legacy of the Civil War*. U of Nebraska Press.

Wessels, P.J.D. 1890. *Early experiences of Mr P.J.D. Wessels*. Document File No. DF 501. Ellen G. White Research Centre Archives, Helderberg College of Higher Education and V. Robinson.

____ 1893. *Early experiences of Mr P.J.D. Wessels*. Document File No. DF 503. Ellen G. White Research Centre Archives, Helderberg College of Higher Education and V. Robinson.

____ 1895. *Early experiences of Mr P.J.D. Wessels*. Document File No. DF 505. Ellen G. White Research Centre Archives, Helderberg College of Higher Education and V. Robinson.

____ 1906. *Early experiences of Mr P.J.D. Wessels*. Document File No. DF 700. Ellen G. White Research Centre Archives, Helderberg College of Higher Education and V. Robinson.

Westerlund, D. 2006. *African indigenous religions and disease causation*. Leiden: Brill.

White, E.G. 1844. *Selected messages*. Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association.

____ 1853. *The signs and times*. Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association.

____ 1858. *Great controversy*. Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association.

____ 1859. *Faith and works*. Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association.

____ 1868. *Letters and manuscripts*. Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association.

____ 1875. *Letters and manuscripts* 2. Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association.

____ 1876. *Review and Herald*. Washington, DC: Pacific Press.

____ 1881. *Testimonies for the church*. Volume 5. Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association.

____ 1882. *Early writings*. Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association.

____ 1890. *Letters and manuscripts*. Volume 6. Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association.

____ 1892. *Steps to Christ*. Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association.

____ 1893. *Review and Herald*. Washington, DC: Pacific Press.

____ 1896. *Letters and manuscripts*. Volume 11. Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association.

____ 1898. *Review and Herald*. Washington, DC: Pacific Press.

____ 1899. *Letters and manuscripts*. Volume 14. Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association.

____ 1900. *Christ object lessons*. Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association.

____ 1901. *Letters and manuscripts*. Volume 16. Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association.

____ 1902. *Testimonies for the church*. Volume 1. Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association.

____ 1904. *Testimonies for the Church* (Vol. 8, No. 36). Pacific Press.

____ 1905. *The Ministry of Healing*. Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association.

____ 1909. *Testimonies for the church*. Volume 9. Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association.

____ 1914. *From here to forever*. Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association.

____ 1915. *Gospel workers*. Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association.

____ 1929. *Letters and manuscripts*. Volume 25. Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association.

____ 1942. *The Ministry ofHealing*. Mountain View, CA: Review and Herald.

____ 1946. *Country living*. Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association.

____ 1949. *Spiritual gifts*. Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association.

_____ 1970. *Evangelism*. Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association.

_____ 1974. *Christian leadership*. Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association.

_____ 1977. *Testimonies to Southern Africa*. Bloemfontein: The South African Union Conference of Seventh-day Adventists.

_____ 1979. *Faith and works*. Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association.

_____ 1980. *The publishing ministry*. Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association.

_____ 1987. *Daughters of God*. Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association.

_____ and Christiansen, L., 1992. *Last day events*. Washington, DC: Pacific Press Publishing Association.

_____ 2008. *Public health*. Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association.

White, P. 2015. *African and disease.pdf,* University of Pretoria, South Africa. Accessed on 6 March 2023.

Whiteman, D.L. 1997. *Contextualization: The theory, the gap, the challenge*. International Bulletin of Missionary Research, 21(1):14.-25

Wilkins Ivor & Strydom Hans 1978. *The Super Afrikaners: Inside the Afrikaner Broederbond.* Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers.

Wilkinson, H. 1898. *From Namaqualand to Pondoland. The Methodist Churchman*, 3(75):357-420.

Williams, D. 1959. *The missionaries on the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony, 1799-1853.* Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of the Witwatersrand.

Williams, D. 1970. *African Nationalism in South Africa: Origins and problems*. Journal of African History 11 :3, 371 - 383.

Williams, S.J. 2015. *Coaching Emmanuel Seventh-day Adventist Church Leaders and Members for Church Planting*, MA Thesis, Adventist University of Africa, Nairobi

Williams, J. 2021. *IPHC World Mission*, https://iphc.org Accessed on the 13 April 2023

Wilson, M. & Perrot, L. 1973. *The Oxford history of South Africa: South Africa to 1870.* London: Oxford University Press.

Witt, T. 2012. *Singing with the earth and the global church*. Liturgy, 27(2):17-30.

W.M.S. 1825-1835. *Missionary notices relating principally to the foreign missions*. London: WMS.

World Medical Association. 2001. *Ethical considerations*. www.wma.net Accessed on 20 April 2022.

Yates, B.A. 1976. *The triumph and failure of mission vocational education in Zaire*. Journal Comparative Education Review 20(June):193-208.

Yoder, J. 2007. *Paul Hiebert's contribution to mission*. MB Herald. https://mbherald.com/paul-hieberts-contrib/ [Accessed on 20 April 2022].

APPENDIX 1 : ETHICAL CLEARANCE LETTER

UNIVERSITY OF THE FREE STATE
UNIVERSITEIT VAN DIE VRYSTAAT
YUNIVESITHI YA FREISTATA
UFS UV

GENERAL/HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (GHREC)

23-Jul-2022

Dear Mr Sicelo Williams

Application Approved

Research Project Title:
A missiological analysis of strategies of the Seventh-day Adventist church missionaries in South Africa

Ethical Clearance number:
UFS-HSD2022/1069/22

We are pleased to inform you that your application for ethical clearance has been approved. Your ethical clearance is valid for twelve (12) months from the date of issue. We request that any changes that may take place during the course of your study/research project be submitted to the ethics office to ensure ethical transparency. furthermore, you are requested to submit the final report of your study/research project to the ethics office. Should you require more time to complete this research, please apply for an extension. Thank you for submitting your proposal for ethical clearance; we wish you the best of luck and success with your research.

Yours sincerely
Dr Adri Du Plessis
Chairperson: General/Human Research Ethics Committee

Dr Adri du Plessis
Digitally signed by Dr Adri du Plessis
Date: 2022.07.25 09:36:53 +02'00'

205 Nelson Mandela Drive
Park West
Bloemfontein 9301
South Africa

P.O. Box 339
Bloemfontein 9300
Tel: +27 (0)51 401 9337
duplessis4@ufs.ac.za
www.ufs.ac.za

APPENDIX 2: PERMISSION LETTER FROM GATEKEEPER

iBandla la
Ma-Sabatha

Seventh-day
Adventist® Church

Sewende-dag
Adventiste® Kerk

CAPE CONFERENCE
SECRETARIAT

Head Office • Port Elizabeth
7 Heugh Road, Walmer, 6070
P O Box 5961, Walmer, 6065
Tel: 087 087 3670
Mobile: 083 375 6443
Email: secretariat@cc.adventist.org
Website: www.cc.adventist.org

3 June 2022
Ref 22-382

FROM: **THE OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY**
TO: **PASTOR JAMES WILLIAMS**
RE: **STUDY RESEARCH**
EMAIL: jameswilliams0706@gmail.com

Dear Pastor Williams,

Christian Greetings to you!

I hereby inform you that the Cape Conference ADCOM in its sitting of 10 May 2022 voted to approve your request to use the conference to conduct your research. This action was on condition that the HR & Legal Subcommittee craft guidelines for all requests of this nature. At the subcommittee meeting of 23 May 2022, it was recommended that all requests for research must be accompanied by an official notification of the institution where you conduct your studies. This notification must clearly articulate your student information, together with the terms of reference, as well as the scope of the research. Furthermore, any accompanying documentation required for this purpose, must be clearly stipulated, and submitted before the research is undertaken.

We therefore look forward to your positive response in this regard.

Kind regards,

PASTOR A. ALEXANDER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

Copies: Pr XK Lefume - President
Br RM Raelly - Chief Financial Officer