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A HISTORICO-THEOLOGICAL STUDY OF PENTECOSTALISM AS A PHENOMENON
WITHIN A SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNITY

by

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DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN THE DEPARTMENT OF DIVINITY
AT RHODES UNIVERSITY, GRAHAMSTOWN.

DATE SUBMITTED: DECEMBER 1983

In compliance with rule G.33 of the statutes of Rhodes University I declare that this dissertation, its writing and field work, is the result of my own research and that it has not been submitted for a degree in any other University.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'G. J. Pillay', is written above a horizontal line.

G. J. PILLAY

TO J.M. PILLAY AND G. PILLAY, MY PARENTS,
WHOSE LIVES LED ME TO CONSIDER CHRIST.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My saying 'Thank you' must begin with the many Pentecostal leaders and members who freely and frankly spoke to me, and assisted me in my enquiry in many ways. I owe a debt of gratitude to so many that it is impossible for me to single out for special mention even a few without appearing unappreciative of kindness and co-operation of many others.

Among my colleagues, and former teachers, at the University of Durban-Westville I wish to thank especially, Prof. W.A. Krige, dean of the Faculty of Theology, who constantly encouraged me in my labours; Prof. G.C. Oosthuizen, head of the Department of Science of Religion, whose pioneering efforts in this field were of great use to me; and Prof. A.G. Rooks, Professor of Old Testament and Emeritus Professor of Divinity at the University of Natal, who read the drafts of this thesis.

I am especially indebted to Prof. C.W. Cook of Rhodes University under whose inspiring supervision as the thesis may show my researches could proceed freely. I have greatly benefitted from his scholarship and critical insight.

I wish to also thank my respected friend Prof. P.M. Krishna, head of the Department of Oriental Studies and his sister, Miss P. Krishna, for their prayerful support and encouragement. I owe much gratitude to the patient and diligent labours of Miss J. Cecil who typed and prepared the manuscript.

Finally, I wish to acknowledge gratefully the financial help received from the Human Science Research Council and the Anglo-American Scholarship Fund.

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POSITIO QUAESTIONIS

An attempt is made in this thesis to document the history of Pentecostalism among Indians in South Africa and to study and evaluate its religious character and main theological tenets.

Obviously the peculiar socio-political situation of the Indians in South Africa has influenced the character of Indian Pentecostalism, which has in turn been able to address itself to the critical, cultural and religious disjunctions within this community. Hence an investigation of the dynamic tensions that obtain between crises in the Indian community and Pentecostalism will not only clarify the course of its history but will also explain its theological emphases.

However, several studies on Pentecostalism in other communities have concentrated on the sociological dimension almost exclusively and many have even concluded that Pentecostalism is the spontaneous result of psychosocial; economic or cultural upheavals. This kind of reductionism has been largely the result of the uncritical use of 'functional-type' theories postulated by sociologists of religion.

Indian Pentecostalism, while it has to be examined within the complex context of the South African community, cannot as we shall show, be adequately explained by any of the prevailing 'functional-type' theories because these theories reduce religion to a sociological function. Since the functional theory has the effect of limiting the perspective on religion to such an extent that the basis of religion, that is, the relation between the individual and faith, is either belittled or ignored, it has been jettisoned in this thesis for an approach free of any deliberately formulated 'theoretical framework'.

However, it is necessary to critically examine some of the more popular 'functional-type' theories and the way they have been applied to the study of the Pentecostal movement here and elsewhere, so that by exposing the shortcomings of their application and the contradictions inherent in their assumptions, the approach adopted in this thesis could be clarified.

The functional theory

The functional theory which makes any religious phenomenon a response to certain social; cultural; economic or psychological stimuli, received its early formulation in the writings of scholars like Karl Marx; Emile Durkheim; Bronislaw Malinowski and Talcott Parsons.

Durkheim argued that the relation between man and sacred things is the relation between man and society. Hence, the object of religious veneration was society itself.¹ This means that religion served essentially to foster group solidarity. The lack of this feeling of solidarity (which results when individuals feel less secure in old groups) and the lack of consensus about norms and values which provide direction and meaning in life, results in what Durkheim termed anomie, a state of 'normlessness'.²

It follows that religion for Durkheim was assessed purely in terms of its usefulness in stabilizing the relationship between man and society.

Malinowski and Parsons argued from exactly the same standpoint. The former claimed that religion promotes social solidarity by dealing with situations of emotional stress which have the potential to destabilize society.³ The latter argued that religion served as the means to allow intellectual and emotional adjustments and to handle uncertainty. He called religion 'a tonic to self confidence'.⁴

It is clear that for Durkheim, Malinowski and Parsons religion fulfills a strictly sociological function. The Marxists, however, have an economic not a sociological motif. For them religion and morality are viewed as determined solely by the state of the means of production. This is why Friedrich Engels, for example, could view Calvin's doctrine of predestination as a mere bourgeois expression which affirmed 'that in the commercial world of competition, success and failure does not depend upon a man's activity or cleverness, but upon circumstances uncontrolled by him'.⁶

It was to refute this kind of economic determinism which maintained that capitalist ideology or Protestant dogmas originated as a concomitant of the economic structures, that Max Weber wrote his book The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism. He rejected the view that ideas are determined by economic structures and argued for an idealist theory which asserts that economic structures are determined by ideas. However, in order not to make religion the result of economic upheavals or vice-versa Weber added, 'We have no intention whatever of maintaining such a foolish and doctrinaire thesis that the spirit of capitalism could only have arisen as the result of certain effects of the Reformation...'.⁷

Obviously, while Weber assumes there to be very definite links between ideas and economic structures, he himself preferring to accentuate the effect of the former on the latter, he is very careful to qualify his assumptions by pointing out that one cannot assume a direct causal link between the two which makes one the mere effect of the other.

In recent years, however, a more sophisticated sociologically and anthropologically conditioned functional theory has emerged. Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann maintain that religion builds, maintains and legitimates 'universes of meaning' which are social constructions and therefore share the contingency of society and have to be constantly legitimated.⁸ This emphasis on 'religion as meaning' is reiterated by Clifford Geertz who believes that religious activity is one symbolic activity amongst others which acts as strategies for encompassing social situations.⁹ A.F.C. Williams goes a step further when he claims that new religious movements are 'revitalization movements' which result when their predecessors have lost their ability to satisfy the needs of new social groups.¹⁰

It is apparent that religion for several of these scholars is not seen and defined as a phenomenon 'in-itself' which may have purely self-contained importance. Rather, religion is important only in so far as it is a function of sociology; anthropology; culture or economy. The specific definitions of religion adopted by Clifford Geertz and Thomas Luckmann amply illustrate this point. For Geertz, religion is 'a system of symbols which

act to establish powerful ... and long lasting ... motivations in men by formulating conceptions with such an aura of factuality that ... the motivations seem uniquely realistic'.¹¹ For Luckmann religion is 'the capacity of the human organism to transcend its biological nature through the construction of objective, morally binding ... universes of meaning ... consequently religion becomes not only the social phenomenon (as in Durkheim) but indeed the anthropological phenomenon'.¹² It is because this perspective can only admit religion to be the projection of one or other human phenomenon that the definition of religion is impoverished. These views relativise the nature of religion and individual commitment and ignore the mysterium tremendum et fascinans that Rudolf Otto observed existed at the heart of religious commitment.¹³

Furthermore, as Susan Budd rightly points out, religion in complex societies is 'too intertwined with other forces and motives ... for it to be considered as the functional theorists often do, an independent factor there'.¹⁴ Moreover, whatever may be the case in a particular local situation, sociologists attempt to theorize about the causal relations between socio-cultural and economic factors, and religion.

Budd, like Weber, by pointing to the complexity of society implicitly undermines the functional type theory, as theory, by questioning the logic that inheres in the direct causal relation that is assumed to operate between religion and society. It is in fact a completely illegitimate move to theorize about causal links between society and religion in general from specific examinations of local situations.

J. Milton Yinger also criticises the functional theory when he points out that when one considers the effects of other factors which work alongside religion in performing a socially integrating function, religion can also be a 'disturbing and revolutionary element' within society.¹⁵

By pointing to the revolutionary potential of religion, Yinger in fact questioned the a priori of the functional theory that religion helps in one way or the other to integrate, maintain or compensate for social stability.

Despite these shortcomings, however, the 'functional' theory with several modifications has been almost consistently used in studies of Pentecostalism elsewhere, the most popular being

- (1) the social disorganisation theory;
- (2) the deprivation theory;
- (3) the 'deviant' or 'defective' psychological theory.¹⁶

A critical examination of these theories as they have been used to study Pentecostalism will show why these theories do not adequately explain Pentecostalism.

(1) The social disorganisation theory maintains that Pentecostal-type movements arise out of situations of extreme social distress like detribalizations, culture clashes, natural catastrophes and conflicts with oppressive groups.

In 1964 Nils Bloch - Hoell identified Pentecostalism with the process of industrialization and urban migrations.¹⁷ A year later Malcolm Cally in his study of Pentecostal churches among West Indians in England also used the social disorganisation theory to explain conversion to Pentecostalism.¹⁸

In 1966 and 1968 Renato Problete and Thomas F o' Dea, and C.L. d' Epinay applied Durkheim's concept of anomie to explain Pentecostalism among Puerto Rican immigrants in New York and among Chileans. While the former argued that anomie resulted from the disruption of family and village structures¹⁹, d' Epinay maintained that in the face of social anomie in Chile, Pentecostalism offered certainty of salvation and security within the congregation.²⁰ In his study of millenarian movements in the Third World, Peter Worsley asserted that movements such as Pentecostalism were the result of imperfect adjustments to the West.²¹

In 1971 I.M. Lewis in his study of groups in Africa that emphasise spirit possession stated that 'as long as they retain the support of oppressed

sections of the community, ... possessional inspiration is likely to continue with unabated vigour. This is the situation with Pentecostal movements, and in the independent churches in Africa and America'.²²

G.C. Oosthuizen in the only other study on Pentecostalism among Indians in South Africa came to the same conclusions as did Thomas o' Dea and d' Epinay. He argued as Holt had done in the case of certain Holiness and Pentecostal sects in the USA²³, that the emergence of Pentecostal churches was the result of culture conflict and social maladjustments.²⁴ The social-disorganization theory appears also in the more recent studies of Pentecostalism done in 1979 and 1982. R.M. Anderson in his study of north American Pentecostalism explained ecstatic religion and glossolalia as the religion of the dislocated and despised. He points out that 'the more marginal and highly mobile such people are in the social order the more extreme will be their ecstatic response'.²⁵ Steven Tipton in his work on certain Pentecostal sects in the USA, argued that these sects served in satisfying the upheavals of the lower-class.²⁵

The fact that Pentecostalism has spread rapidly among migrants, the dislocated, the displaced and the socially disinherited is irrefutable. However, there appears to be no adequate explanation for the fact that it has also spread rapidly among sections of the community which can in no way be described as socially 'disinherited'. This is another important point against the causal argument since if the theory claims a direct and necessary connection between social disorganisation and Pentecostal-type Christianity, it ought not only to account for those Pentecostals who do not suffer social disorientation but it ought also to explain why only some of the socially disrupted become Pentecostals and not others. This criticism of course would apply to all the functional-type theories.

2. The deprivation theory holds that Pentecostalism serves essentially to compensate for a social or economic need. As early as 1929 R. Niebuhr maintained that socio-economic deprivation gave rise to revivalistic-type religion.²⁷ J.M. Yinger was more specific in his analysis of the role

of revivalistic religion maintaining that ecstatic religious experience was a temporary escape from the hardships and humiliations of life.²⁸ This view found support in the studies of Charles Glock (1964) and Toch (1965) both of whom claimed that Pentecostal-type religion compensates for imperfections in the social matrix.²⁹

In 1965 D. Aberle put forward a relative deprivation theory which defined deprivation as the negative discrepancy between legitimate expectation and actuality where deprivation is relative to expectation.³⁰

Recently, J.F. Wilson argued that Pentecostal groups, like ecstatic or enthusiastic movements, arise in 'constituencies where there is emotional deprivation', which, he adds, is 'most often among the lower and lower-middle classes and often within marginal groups'.³¹ He believes that Pentecostalism offers 'pay-offs' to such groups in the form of an immediate affective experience, in some manner shared with others'.³² Allie Dubb, in his study of Nicholas Bhengu's Pentecostal church among the Xhosa, also spoke of similar 'pay-offs'.³³

The deprivation theory has also been criticised for good reasons. V. Hine points out that these theories are based on the unproven assumption that political, economic and social rewards are more satisfying than religious ones.³⁴ Furthermore, she argues that if participation in the Pentecostal movement is to be explained in terms of relative deprivation then those in the movement who speak in tongues should be experiencing greater deprivation. She claims to have established no such correlation.³⁵

Hine also found some evidence of occupational or status deprivation but she warns that 'it is important to stress the fact that a statistical correlation of the type we have found is in no way an indication of a causal relationship between the two. It may be said that relative deprivation of status or power ... is associated with participation in the Pentecostal movement. It would not be correct to assume that power deprivation is causal'.³⁶

3. The psychological 'deviant' or 'defective' theory

C. Daniel Batson and W.L. Ventis in a recent study criticised the view that maintains that an individual is free to choose only that type of religion that his status in society dictated.³⁷ They added that a more defensible view is that social influence and intra psychic processes such as perception, thought and personal needs interact in shaping an individual's experience'.³⁸

This kind of social psychological functional theory has given rise to several studies which regard Pentecostalism as the result of personality inadequacy or emotional insecurity or at worst deviant psychology. For example J.B. Oman (1963)³⁹ and Wayne E. Oates⁴⁰ (1968) explained glossolalia as a form of regressive speech.

Even more recently E. Mansell Pattison claimed that 'the rituals of glossolalia and faith healing (serve) to reduce both cultural and psychological dissonance. Data from both rituals indicate that for most members (this) religious subculture is able to sustain their dissonant ideologies without ritual reinforcement. For a very few even such ritual reinforcement does not suffice. Rather than relinquish their ideology, it would appear that such members experience emotional disintegration, they cannot maintain cognitive coherence and they manifest overt and disabling psychopathology'.⁴¹

Paul Qualben appears to substantiate the preceding point by asserting that 80% of those he had interviewed had experienced an anxiety crisis prior to such an experience.⁴³ However, Qualben's view is problematic also. His sample of twenty-six glossolalists was far too small to warrant a theory about Pentecostalism in general.⁴⁴

In fact these psychological dissonance theories are fraught with problems, the main one being that several psychological tests for anxiety and neuroticism which have been administered to groups of Pentecostals fail to show that these people are basically anxiety ridden.⁴⁵ L. Gerlach, in his

study of Haitian Pentecostals concluded from their apparent childlike trust in Christ and their love for each other that their attitude was 'a far cry from explanations based on cognitive dissonance theories, in which it is asserted that the primary motive for recruitment to a religious movement is to find comrades to share one's misery and help (one) escape the realization that (one) had made a mistake'.⁴⁶

Rodney Stark has also rightly stated that 'there is no more elusive and value laden concept (to explain religious conversion or experience) than mental illness'.⁴⁷

The main criticisms of the disorganization; deprivation and psychological - dissonance theories re-iterated; and a clarification of the approach adopted in this thesis.

(1) As we have already mentioned, in explaining how one set of circumstances gave rise to Pentecostal movements, these theories fail to explain why many others in those same circumstances do not join the Pentecostal movement, especially since only a minority converted to Pentecostalism in the first place.

Anderson raises this point when he says of Pentecostals in USA that while an understanding of the conditions of the working class as a whole brings us closer to an explanation of the Pentecostal movement, it does not in itself explain it, because only a relatively small proportion of them actually become Pentecostals.⁴⁸

Gerlach also says that in voodoo-riddled Haiti relative deprivation cannot by itself be used to explain growth because many Haitians who are equally 'deprived' do not join Pentecostalism and the relative deprivation theory cannot explain this difference in reaction.⁴⁹

Furthermore, these corollaries of the functional theory cannot account for why people from a wide cross section of society join the same movement.

Recently J.S. Cumpsty put forward the argument that changes in socio-cultural experience effect changes in 'styles' of theology and religious practice.⁵⁰ He goes as far as to place Pentecostal-type religions in what he calls the paradoxical or 'irrational' stage of a society's socio-cultural development. He points out that during this stage religion becomes a 'haven in the midst of chaos', that 'the irrational or paradoxical stage will last only as long as the chaotic or unacceptable quality of the socio-cultural experience remains ... which would not continue for long once the situation had changed save for individuals of a particular psychological type.⁵¹

Like Calley; Tipton; d' Epinay; Anderson and the findings of this thesis, D. Aeschliman in his study of independent movements in the Cape Flats also provides ample examples of Pentecostals being marginal⁵², disinherited or socially disorganised, but none of these findings can be construed as proof of Cumpsty's model. The model fails to account for why the majority of the same society who had had the same socio-cultural woes did not join Pentecostal type movements nor does it explain why a great number who were reasonably satisfied 'until the evangelist came', and why people from the upper social classes also joined.⁵³

(ii) It is difficult to isolate the nature of deprivation or the state of disorganisation, devitalization or anxiety since there are very few communities in the world who do not feel deprived or anxious in one way or another.

Susan Budd correctly points out that 'the theory of relative deprivation resembles the theory of evolution by natural selection in that it is essentially a convincing narrative rather than a testable proposition. Since probably all men feel some sort of deprivation about something, and the theory refers not to their objective situation but to how they feel, it is an ex post explanation. It would be possible to avoid this if we could predict that one type of deprivation would always result in a distinct response, or predict the necessary level of deprivation that would produce a movement'.⁵⁴

Any causal theory means in fact that given the cause, the effect would necessarily follow. This means that whenever there is deprivation or social disorganisation the logical and necessary result will be Pentecostal-type religion. But since this is clearly not the case (for large numbers of deprived people do not join and large numbers who are not deprived join) the very basis of these theories collapses completely. All that can be said is that certain correlations occur which are neither necessary nor sufficient for the formulation of a theory that would adequately explain Pentecostalism.

(iii) The implications of confining a historical study to one or other of these theories is possibly best illustrated in M.W. Harrison's critique of the liberal-radical controversy in South African historiography;⁵⁵ that is the controversy between those who claim that the theme of South African history is the interaction between peoples of diverse origins, languages, technologies, ideologies and social systems⁵⁶; and those who assert that it is rather the exploitative development of South African capitalism and the complementary proletarianization of the African masses.⁵⁷ Against both these themes, Harrison warns that in a complex society which is constantly changing, to adopt one or other central theme or to adopt a theoretical framework of causal relations is to 'force the evidence into the Procrustean bed of their already predetermined conclusions...'. Hence he adds, '... they are bound to write poor history'.⁵⁸

This is exactly our complaint against sociologists who having formulated their theory proceed to select their evidence to prove it. Thus theoretical frameworks when applied to religion or to conversion often beg the question.

In view of these considerations, we cannot view the relation between the socio-cultural upheavals and Pentecostalism within the South African context as a cause-and-effect, linear relation. While the social implications of Pentecostalism may be discussed in detail, they must be viewed as ex post descriptions. Therefore social implications, which can only be dis-

cussed in retrospect, must be distinguished from social causes. We can say, at most, that socio-cultural upheavals may have predisposed a section of the community to Pentecostalism where such upheavals may have acted as a praeparatio evangelica.

It is only because we distinguish between 'cause' and 'implication' that we are indeed free to examine the socio-cultural context of Indians in order to describe the type of Christianity that best coped with these crises and how it must change in order to minister to a community in flux.

This thesis in eight chapters aims to

1. place Indian Pentecostalism in historical perspective;
2. enquire into the Sitz-im-Leben (living situation) of Indian Pentecostalism;
3. study the rise and development of Indian Pentecostal churches during the urbanization of this community in the 20's and 30's;
4. enquire into the social implications of these churches within this community;
5. document the emergence of Pentecostal groups in the 60's and 70's when, under the Group Areas Act, Indians had to evacuate the cities and move into Indian settlements;
6. trace the course of institutionalization and denominationalization of Indian Pentecostal churches;
7. examine Indian Pentecostalism within its changing religious context and
8. study and evaluate the main theological tenets of this movement.

The salient features of each chapter and our conclusions are listed under 'summary and significance' which appears after each of the first seven chapters. Our theological conclusions appear in the body of chapter 8.

1. This is a general presupposition in Durkheim's thought e.g. Durkheim, E., The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life cited in Haralambos, M., Sociology Themes and Perspectives, 456.
2. cf. Durkheim, E. Suicide This idea is expressed by him in several of his writings.
3. cf. Haralambos, M., op. cit., 458 for a discussion of Malinowski's view on religion.
4. *ibid*, 459
5. *ibid*, 462
6. Engels, F., Socialism : Utopian and Scientific, xxi
7. Weber, M., The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, 55.
8. Berger, P.L. and Luckmann, T., 'Sociology of religion and sociology of knowledge', Sociology and Social Research Vol. 47, 1963, 417-427.
9. Williams, A.F.C., Religion : an Anthropological View, his view on revitalization movements occurs in several parts of this work.
10. Geertz, C., The Interpretation of Culture, 127
11. *ibid*, 90
12. Luckmann, T., The Invisible Religion (1967); cited in Berger, P.L., The Social Reality of Religion, 179;
13. Otto, R., The Idea of the Holy; This concept is basic to Otto's view of religion in this work.
14. Budd, S., Sociologists and Religion, 49

15. Yinger, J.M., Religion, Society and the Individual, 66f.
16. This three-fold division was suggested by Virginia H. Hine in her article 'The Deprivation and Disorganization Theories of Social Movements' in Zaretsky, I.I. and Leone, M.P., Religious Movements in Contemporary America, 647-660.
17. Bloch-Hoell, N., The Pentecostal Movement, 10-11
18. Calley, M., God's People, 135
19. Problete, R and o' Dea, T., "'Anomie" and the "Quest for Community"', 25-26.
20. d' Epinay, C.L., Haven of the Masses, 35
21. Hine, V., op. cit., 647.
22. Lewis, I.M., Ecstatic Religion, 132;
G. Schwartz in his Sect Ideologies and Social Status adopts a similar view as I.M. Lewis does.
23. cf. Hine, V., op. cit., 648
24. Oosthuizen, G.C., Pentecostal Penetration, 325 f.
25. Anderson, R.M., Vision of the Disinherited, 231
26. Tipton, S., Getting Saved from the Sixties, 241
27. Niebuhr, H. Richard, The Social Sources of Denominationalism. This point is made in Niebuhr's discussion of religion among the socially disinherited and in his descriptions of frontier sects.
28. Yinger, J.M., op. cit., 187

29. Glock, C., 'The role of deprivation in the origin and evolution of the religious group' in Lee, R. and Marty, M., Religion and Social Conflict, 34; Hine, V., op. cit., 652.
30. David Aberle's article in Reader in comparative religion Lessa, W.A. and Vogt (ed)
31. Wilson, J.F., 'the Historical Study of Marginal American Religious Movements' in Zaretsky and Leone, op. cit., 608.
32. ibid
33. Dubb, A., Community of the Saved, 159
34. Hine, V., op. cit., 652
35. ibid., 657
36. ibid, 660
37. Batson, C.D. and Ventis, W.L., The Religious Experience. A Socio-psychological Perspective, 55
38. ibid.
39. Oman, J.B., 'On "Speaking in Tongues" : A Psychological Analysis' Pastoral Psychology V(14) 1963, 139
40. Oates, W.A., 'A Socio-Psychological Study of Glossolalia' in Stagg, F., et al. Glossolalia (1967)
cf. also Lang, K. and Lang, G.E., 'Decisions for Christ - Billy Graham in New York City' in Stein, M.R. et al, Identity and Anxiety - Survival of the Person in Mass Society.
41. Pattison, E.M., 'Ideological support for the Marginal Middle Class. Faith Healing and Glossolalia, in Zaretsky and Leone, op. cit., 455.

42. in Kildahl, J.P., The Psychology of Speaking in Tongues cited in Anderson, R.M. op. cit., 227.
43. Hine, V., 'Non-pathological Pentecostal Glossolalia. A summary of relevant Psychological Literature'. Journal of the Scientific Study of Religion 8 (1969), 211-226.
44. Anderson, R.M., op. cit., 227.
45. cf. McDonnell, K., Charismatic Renewal and Churches, 145-150; Samarin, W.J., Tongues of Men and Angels, 204f Gerlach, L.P. and Hine, V.H., People, Power, Change: Movements of Social Transformation, 96
46. Gerlach, L.P. 'Pentecostalism : Revolution or Counter Revolution?' in Zaretsky and Leone, op. cit., 670-694.
47. Stark, R., 'Psychopathology and Religious Commitment' in Review of Religious Research 12 (1971), 167
48. Anderson, R.M., op. cit., 225. However, Anderson also could not resist the temptation to generalize for he adds, 'I would hazard the hypothesis that status deprivation and an anti-rationalistic, anti-bureaucratic ... temper has combined to predispose most of the recruits to neo-Pentecostalism'. loc. cit.
49. Gerlach, L.P., 'Pentecostalism:Revolution or Counter-Revolution?...', 689.
50. Cumpsty, J.S., 'A model of religious change in socio-cultural disturbance' Religion in Southern Africa Vol. 1 No. 2 July 1982, 66
51. *ibid* 67;
cf. also J.S. Cumpsty's article, 'A proposed general framework for identifying and locating religious experience' Religion in Southern

- Africa Vol. 4, No. 2 July 1983, 21-37. Cumpsty places Pentecostalism under a category he calls 'Substitute or Reduced Reality Belonging' wherein intensive belonging to a group may provide a compensatory sense of belonging, a view which resembles the deprivation theory. op. cit., 29.
52. D. Aechliman's doctoral thesis on independent religious movements in the case was done under J.S. Cumpsty at the University of Cape Town. We were acquainted with some of the preliminary findings of this study.
53. This thesis will amply substantiate these facts; cf. also Anderson, R.M., op. cit., 228; Gerlach and Hine, op. cit., xxi.
54. Budd, S., op. cit., 66
55. Harrison, M.W., The Burden of the Present ..., 105
56. The Oxford History of South Africa is a good example of a 'liberal' history of South Africa.
57. cf. for example, Arrighi, G., 'Labour Supplies in Historical Perspective: a study of proletarianization of the African peasantry in Rhodesia', Journal of Developmental Studies vi (April 1970), 197-234; Legassick, M., 'South Africa : capital accumulation and violence' Economy and Society III (1974), 253-291
58. Harrison, M.W., op.cit., 83, also 97 and 106

Note on the gathering of oral tradition

Since Indian Pentecostals have generally not, thus far, committed their thoughts to writing, existing written sources were either 'borrowed' from overseas, especially American-Fundamentalist writings, or were those of the white missionaries of some of these movements. The best examples in this connection are the writings and magazines published by the late Pastor J.F. Rowlands of Bethesda.

We have taken very seriously the task of gathering the large body of rich oral tradition that was available. The author collated his materials personally in extensive interviewing and in discussions with the early leaders and foundation members. This work was done timely, as many of these persons are aging and since our interviews with them some have died. Information gathered in this way was checked and re-checked against other oral sources and against those written sources which are available. The latter included letters, old church bulletins, magazines, newsletters, pamphlets, handbills, minute books and newspaper reports. The author made copious notes during more than 500 worship services, cottage meetings, open-air preaching and memorial services which he attended. Over 300 Pentecostal testimonies, some 130 sermons and about 120 of the most popular songs and choruses sung at these services were studied.

Most of the interviews were recorded on tape; the rest were either mimeographed or remain in note form from which representative ideas and typical statements are cited within inverted commas in the text. Certain experiences or incidents which help to illustrate Pentecostal thinking and lifestyle are also given in this way or sometimes placed in footnotes. It was not practicable for reasons of limited space to refer to such details more fully.

Some of the interviewees preferred to remain anonymous; especially those pastors who gave information about problems in their congregations or at their headquarters. In other instances the name of the informant is cited in footnotes and the date of the interview and details about the informant appear in the bibliography under 'oral information'.

Thus we are able to offer here for the first time a documented history of many of these Pentecostal groups, especially of the smaller independent ones. Professor Oosthuizen wrote about 18 groups; our research has uncovered over 50, many of these only emerged after the publication of his book.

CHAPTER 1

AMERICAN AND SOUTH AFRICAN ROOTS

In order to place South African Indian Pentecostalism in historical perspective it will help to preface our study with a very brief survey of the development in thought that occurred, in north America, from Methodism to the 'Holiness Movement' and then to Pentecostalism. Then we shall proceed to make certain observations on the early South African rooting of the movement.

These enquiries into the antecedents of Pentecostalism among the Indians are made on the basis of an important fact: the Indian Pentecostal experience has been markedly influenced, often unconsciously, by Pentecostalism in the USA. Not only are there formal connections with north American Pentecostal Churches, but their doctrinal emphases are those that had been shaped and crystallised in the Pentecostal revivals in the USA at the turn of this century. Moreover, the American Pentecostal movement has influenced happenings on the local scene by its consistent export of literature, guest evangelists and preachers, music and films, hymns and choruses, and evangelistic technique. The last mentioned includes, for example, tent meetings and healing services after the Oral Roberts model, and camp gatherings in the north American 'holiness' and Pentecostal pattern.

1. THE AMERICAN BACKGROUND

1.1 Methodism and the holiness movement: the second experience

The Pentecostal movement was a direct offshoot of the holiness movement which in turn had grown out of Methodism in north America.¹

John Wesley's teaching on 'entire sanctification' laid the basis for the Methodist doctrine of 'perfection' which became the cornerstone of the theology of holiness churches. Sanctification was considered a 'second blessing'

subsequent to regeneration, a 'definite and instantaneous' work of grace.² Wesley referred to this doctrine of 'entire sanctification' as 'the ground depositum of Methodism'.³ Conversion was described as the occasion of the justification of the believer whereby his 'actual sins' were forgiven. Perfection, on the other hand, was the experience of eliminating 'inbred sin', the 'residue of sin within' resulting from the Fall. This 'second blessing' freed the believer of this 'residue'.⁴ He wrote once, 'I am at my wits' end with regard to two things - the church and perfectionism'. He feared that 'the Methodists will drop them both'.⁵ In the last year of his life he wrote, 'If we can prove that any of our local preachers ... speak against it (i.e. perfectionism) let him be a local preacher or leader no longer ... (he) cannot be an honest man'.⁶

The pioneering Methodist ministers in north America were deeply committed to this doctrinal conviction.⁷ Men like Thomas Webb, Francis Asbury and D. Jarrett strongly emphasised perfectionism at the beginning of north American Methodism.⁸ Furthermore, the early years of its rapid growth of north American Methodism witnessed revivalistic outbreaks and ecstatic worship not unlike those found in the later Pentecostal Movement.⁹ For example, the Cane Ridge camp meeting in Logan County, Kentucky in 1800, and the Bourbon County meeting a year later, evidenced extreme enthusiasm, ecstatic worship, falling, trances, jerking and dancing.¹⁰ There were examples of glossolalia as well ¹¹ but at this stage glossolalia appears as merely one among the other gifts of the Spirit.

By the mid-1850's the revival had lost its vigour.¹² Even the efforts of the revivalist, Charles Finney, who had preached from the early 1830's to 1843, had not been able to prevent this religious ebb.¹³

After the civil war, the scene of a fresh outbreak of revival shifted to the south¹⁴ which because of its social struggles had been virtually unaffected by the holiness movement prior to the war.¹⁵ The call by many Southern Baptists and Methodists for the camp-meeting-style religion to counter the 'general inertia of the times'¹⁶ led to the founding of 'The National Camp Meeting Association for the Promotion of Christian

Holiness' on June 13, 1867.¹⁷

This Association's first endeavour was to plan for the following year a camp meeting at Vineland, New Jersey, to which all who were committed to holiness concerns, irrespective of their denominational affiliation, were invited. It was envisaged that those who attended would 'realise together, a Pentecostal baptism of the Holy Ghost',¹⁸ a description which passed into common usage in later Pentecostal circles.

The camp meeting at Vineland, New Jersey, held in July 1867, marked the beginning of the 'modern holiness crusade'. Vinson Synan, in his well documented History of the Holiness-Pentecostal Church in the USA, sums up the influence of this meeting thus: 'Little did these men realise that this meeting would eventually result in the formation of over a hundred denominations around the world and indirectly bring to birth a "Third Force" in Christendom, the Pentecostal Movement'.¹⁹

Many more holiness associations sprang up rapidly in Georgia, New England, Iowa²⁰ and elsewhere. In north Georgia alone two hundred members and 40 ministers of the Methodist Church claimed to have received their sanctification as a 'second blessing'.²¹

During the 1880's the presence of this strong holiness group within the Methodist church in the USA created much tension.²² They established themselves as a kind of ecclesiola in ecclesia through their self-determined procedures, their own independently financed assets and their own publishing houses.²³ Serious administrative problems resulted.²⁴ In 1894 at the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, the matter came to a head.

The following excerpt from the Journal of the Conference puts the case for the Methodist orthodoxy:

... there has sprung up among us a party with holiness as a watchword; they have holiness associations, holiness meetings, holiness preachers, holiness evangelists and holiness property. Religious experience is represented as if it consists of only two steps, the first step out of condemnation into peace and the next step into christian perfectionism. The effect is to disparage the new birth, and all stages of spiritual growth from the blade to the full corn in the ear ... We do not question the sincerity and zeal of these brethren; we desire the church to profit by their earnest preaching and Godly example; but we deplore their teaching and the methods in so far as they claim a monopoly of the experience, practice the advocacy of holiness and separate themselves from the body of ministers and disciples.²⁵

Leonides Rosser, editor of the South Methodist Review, puts the case for the other side:

Let all opposers of these associations ... show their errors, excesses and evils, or withdraw their opposition; for in opposing them they oppose Methodism, ... for Methodism itself a great holiness association, was organised in the Church of England.²⁶

The attitude of the General Conference generated hereafter a spirit of 'come-outishness already prevalent in a latent or subdued form'.²⁷ Never before in American history were 'so many churches founded in so short a time'²⁸ as holiness leaders were pressed into deciding whether or not to remain in the Methodist Church.²⁹

Among the first to leave were Angeles Phinea Bresee and J.P. Widney who in 1895 organised the nucleus of what was to be the largest holiness church in America, the 'Church of the Nazarene'.³⁰ This church did not join the Pentecostal movement but later became one of the 'first bastions' of anti-Pentecostal thought.³¹ It dropped the word 'Pentecostal' from its

original title in order not to be confused with the 'tongues-movement'.³² In South Africa, the Church of the Nazarene has gained a following among all races and has also maintained a distance from the Pentecostal movement.

1.2 The experience of holiness becomes synonymous with the baptism of the Holy Spirit but separate from the work of sanctification

Within the Iowa Holiness Association a Methodist minister, Benjamin Hardin Irwin, entered into controversy with the Association regarding the nature of the 'second blessing'.³³ He had been influenced by John Fletcher who had spoken of a 'baptism of burning love' as an experience following upon sanctification which was synonymous with the 'Baptism in the Holy Ghost and Fire'.³⁴ Not only did this depart from the Wesleyan doctrine of perfection it now postulated a 'third experience'. While the holiness movement generally accepted the 'second blessing' of Wesley to be the 'experience of baptism in the Spirit', it did not recognize this 'third experience' of Irwin.³⁵

In 1895 Irwin left the Iowa Association to found the 'Fire Baptised Holiness Church'³⁶ which represented the more extreme type of holiness expression: emotional worship, trances, jerks and speaking in tongues.³⁷ Irwin insisted that the baptism of the Holy Spirit followed and was distinguishable from sanctification. His view created, says V. Synan, 'the climate of thought and doctrinal interpretation that produced the Pentecostal movement of a few years later'.³⁸ Certainly Charles Parham, the patriarch of the Pentecostal movement, was not only acquainted with Irwin's church but is on record as having been impressed by its teaching.³⁹ Irwin taught that being Holy (attaining Perfection) was a distinguishable experience from that of Baptism of the Spirit. Thus, whether sanctification was perceived as an instantaneous work (the Methodist holiness position) or a continuous work (the Baptist holiness position), Baptism of the Spirit was now taken to be an experience following upon the attainment of holiness.

Furthermore, Irwin, under the influence of the writings of John Fletcher⁴⁰ began the use of nomenclature such as 'baptism with fire', 'full dispensation of the Spirit', 'baptised with the Holy Ghost' and 'Pentecostal glory of the church' that later passed into the common vocabulary of Pentecostals.

1.3 The Pentecostal stance: glossolalia as initial and conclusive evidence of the baptism of the Spirit

Glossolalia featured strongly in the meetings of Edward Irving (1831) and D.L. Moody (1875), and during the Welsh Revival (1904), as well as in holiness meetings.

Largely through the teaching of Charles Parham, a Methodist minister who left that church in 1895, glossolalia became a distinguishing feature of Pentecostal belief and experience⁴¹ but because he was later discredited, some have, without warrant, denigrated his role claiming that Pentecostalism is a 'movement without a man'.⁴²

In October 1900, Parham instituted the 'Bethel Bible School' near Topeka which ran for one year.⁴³ At the watchnight service on December 31 of that year, a student named Agnes N. Ozman is reported to have spoken in fluent Chinese after Parham prayed for her with the laying-on-of-hands⁴⁴. This event is commonly regarded as the beginning of the Pentecostal movement.⁴⁵

Parham held that glossolalia was the initial evidence of what some holiness movements called 'entire sanctification' and others, the 'third experience' that followed regeneration and sanctification.⁴⁶ He taught also that 'tongue-speaking' should be a part of 'normal worship rather than a curious by-product of religious enthusiasm'.⁴⁷

In 1905 Parham moved his Bible School to Houston, Texas, where W.J. Seymour, the leader of the Asuza Street Revival, became a student of Parham.⁴⁸ Parham had to make special arrangements for him to attend

the school outside normal hours since in the south a negro could not be formally admitted to a white institution.⁴⁹

1.4 The Azusa Street Revival: the Popularising of the Pentecostal Stance

On his return to Los Angeles, Seymour, influenced by Parham's teaching on Spirit Baptism, ran into trouble with the Church of the Nazarene: When he claimed that glossolalia was the initial evidence of Spirit Baptism, he was promptly turned out.⁵⁰ An abandoned building at 312 Azusa Street in Los Angeles now became the home of the congregation that had gathered around Seymour.⁵¹

The revival that broke out in this congregation attracted the interest of a large section of the north American public.⁵² Here men and women, black and white, could sing and preach, shout, weep, dance, fall into trances, speak in tongues and interpret them in English, 'as the Spirit moved them'.⁵³

At one stage of this revival, Seymour consulted Parham, whom he considered his 'Father in the Gospel of the Kingdom',⁵⁴ on how to handle emotional excesses.⁵⁵ Seymour even attempted, though unsuccessfully, to play down glossolalia in the services.⁵⁶

Eventually Parham himself visited Azusa Street but the church rejected his preaching against fanaticism and he was asked to leave.⁵⁷ The resulting rift in friendship between Seymour and Parham was never healed and for the rest of his life Parham denounced the Azusa Street meetings.⁵⁸

Nevertheless the Azusa Street revival influenced many other revivals throughout the country. 'In latter years anyone who was an "Azusa recipient" (i.e. of the Spirit) was looked upon in awe and was covered with an aura of respect and "glory" by their co-religionists. The list of "pilgrims" to Los Angeles eventually became a veritable honor roll of early Pentecostal leadership'.⁵⁹ Although glossolalia and other

charismata were known before their appearance in the Azusa congregation, Azusa popularised the notion that these were what set Pentecostalism apart.⁶⁰ Hence, 'directly or indirectly, practically all of the Pentecostal groups in existence can trace their lineage to the Azusa mission'.⁶¹

1.5 North American Pentecostal Churches with work in South Africa: their link with Azusa Street

1.5.1 The Pentecostal Holiness Church

Having been tried and cautioned for preaching the doctrine of entire sanctification, the Rev. A.B. Crumpler left the Methodist Church with a sizeable number of followers⁶² and in 1900 formed the 'Pentecostal Holiness Church' in Fayetteville, North Carolina.⁶³

One of the preachers in this newly formed church, G.B. Cashwell, had visited Azusa Street where, after Seymour prayed for him, he received his 'Pentecost'.⁶⁴ Cashwell then introduced this message to the south by establishing, in an abandoned warehouse at Dunn, North Carolina, what became the south-eastern counter-part of Azusa.⁶⁵

The meetings which began in December 1906 were well attended by ministers from the Fire-Baptised Holiness church; the Pentecostal Holiness Church and the Free-Will Baptist Church. On June 5, 1907 J.H. King, a former Methodist minister,⁶⁶ replaced the discredited Irwin.⁶⁷ At first King was sceptical about Cashwell's doctrine of 'tongues', until in 1907 he himself had such an experience.⁶⁸ Crumpler, on the other hand, opposed this new doctrine which was already influencing his church.⁶⁹

A controversy arose within the Pentecostal holiness Church between Cashwell's 'Pentecostal party' and Crumpler's 'anti-pentecostal' party which was only resolved by Crumpler's resignation.⁷⁰ Three years later the Fire-Baptised Holiness Church and the Pentecostal Holiness Church formally amalgamated under the latter name,⁷¹ and expanded still

further when N.J. Holmes' 'Tabernacle Pentecostal Church' of South Carolina joined it. N.J. Holmes had also received the Pentecostal message from Cashwell.⁷²

1.5.2 The Church of God, Cleveland

While 'Pentecostal' or 'Holiness' featured in many of the names of the Holiness churches, 'Church of God' was the most popular. It featured in about two hundred church names which had sprung up between 1880 and 1923.⁷³ The three largest and most influential of these were 'The Church of God, Mountain Assembly, Kentucky' which was started by five Baptist ministers⁷⁴; the 'church of God in Christ' which became the largest negro Pentecostal church in the world and the second largest Pentecostal church in north America⁷⁵; and the 'Church of God, Cleveland' which is of direct importance for our study.

Three self-proclaimed evangelists who had ties with Methodist and Baptist churches in 1896 reaffirmed the holiness doctrines and started what became known as the 'Shearer Schoolhouse Revival'.⁷⁶ A reactionary Methodist and Baptist clique destroyed their place of worship and the congregation regrouped in the home of W.F. Bryant⁷⁷ who together with R.G. Spurling, a former itinerant Baptist preacher, became the pastors.⁷⁸ The growth of this church received a boost when A.J. Tomlinson, a holiness preacher, joined it in 1903.⁷⁹

At the first General Council meeting of the leaders of this Church, foot-washing was raised to the level of a sacrament and the use of tobacco was condemned.⁸⁰ In 1907, the name of this denomination, 'The Holiness Church at Camp Creek', was changed to the 'Church of God, Cleveland'. Its polity was a compromise between congregational and episcopal models⁸¹ and Tomlinson was appointed general overseer.

Through Cashwell, Azusa Street also had an influence on this church. During 1906-1909 Cashwell undertook mission tours to the South⁸² holding revival campaigns in Memphis and Birmingham. At these meetings

H.G. Rodgers and M.M. Pinson, former Methodist ministers, who later were to found 'The Assemblies of God', spoke in tongues.⁸³ In June 1907 Tomlinson heard M.M. Pinson and others 'speak in tongues' in Birmingham⁸⁴ and he invited Cashwell to Cleveland.⁸⁵ Cashwell preached in his church on Sunday January 12, 1908 on the subject of Pentecost and it is reported that 'in a heap on the rostrum ... at Cashwell's feet ... Tomlinson received his Pentecostal experience'.⁸⁶ In this way the Church of God, Cleveland, entered the Pentecostal movement.

1.5.3 The Assemblies of God

In 1908 two Pentecostal preachers, E.N. Bell and Howard Goss, led a splinter group out of Parham's Apostolic Faith Mission.⁸⁷ This group joined H.G. Rodgers, one of Cashwell's converts, in the 'Church of God in Christ'⁸⁸; a merger which involved 352 white ministers. The amalgamation was finalised in June 1913.⁸⁹

In that same year M.M. Pinson, also Cashwell's convert, together with E.N. Bell, decided to form a separate white denomination on a nation-wide basis.⁹⁰ A General Council was convened in Hot Springs, Arkansas in April 1914 at which M.M. Pinson gave the keynote address.⁹¹ The new denomination was called the 'Assemblies of God' and this council adopted a creed that included an article concerning speaking in tongues as initial evidence of Spirit baptism and an article on entire sanctification as a progressive rather than an instantaneous experience. In this regard the Assemblies of God represented a 'baptist' type of Pentecostalism (i.e. progressive sanctification) while the older Pentecostal churches were of the 'Methodist type' (instantaneous sanctification).⁹² Furthermore, it remained predominantly a white church while the 'Church of God in Christ' became after 1914 increasingly black.⁹³

1.5.4 The Unitarian Movement

At a camp meeting in Los Angeles, an evangelist, R.E. Alister, gave the sermon in which he mentioned in a casual reference that the trinitarian formula 'Father, Son and Holy Spirit' was not used in the early church.⁹⁴ Frank J. Ewart, who by 1913 was one of the leading Pentecostal ministers on the West Coast of the USA, immediately took issue with Alister. This led to a controversy that was to influence greatly a large section of the Pentecostal movement. 'Unknowingly, evangelist Alister had fired a shot that would resound throughout the movement within a year'.⁹⁵ Ewart maintained that there was only one personality in the Godhead - Jesus Christ - the terms 'Father' and 'Holy Spirit' being only 'titles' used to describe Christ's person and that the Council of Nicaea had fostered an error.⁹⁶ Glen A. Cook, an Azusa veteran, agreed with him.⁹⁷ Both Ewart and Cook were then re-baptised in the name of Jesus only.⁹⁸

The Churches of God and the Pentecostal Holiness Churches remained unaffected by this unitarianism⁹⁹ but it seemed at one stage that the Assemblies of God would be over-run by it.¹⁰⁰ In October 1916, the issue came to a head at the 4th General council of the Assemblies of God. Although Bell led the trinitarian side to victory, the Assemblies of God lost 156 of its 585 ministers and over 100 of its congregations.¹⁰¹

The defectors regrouped under the name 'Pentecostal Assemblies of the World' and remained inter-racial until 1924 when the white ministers left to form what later became the 'Pentecostal Church Incorporated' (PCI)¹⁰² maintaining that the 'mixture of races prevented the effective evangelisation of the word'.¹⁰³ The PCI later merged with the 'Pentecostal Assemblies of Jesus Christ' which had formed in 1913. The new body called itself 'The United Pentecostal Church' (UPC) and became the largest unitarian Pentecostal denomination in the United States. By 1936 the UPC had 245 churches.¹⁰⁴ The 'Pentecostal Assemblies of the World' continued as the largest negro unitarian group in the USA.¹⁰⁵

2. THE SOUTH AFRICAN BACKGROUND

2.1 The holiness movement within the Dutch Reformed Church

A holiness revival broke out in a section of the Dutch Reformed Church in the mid-1800's.¹⁰⁶ A conference to discuss 'holiness concerns' was held at Worcester in 1860 and at this conference reference was made to the holiness revivals that were occurring in the USA.¹⁰⁷

At the forefront of these events was Andrew Murray, minister at Worcester at the time and moderator of the Dutch Reformed Church in 1862.¹⁰⁸ He was deeply influenced by the holiness preachers, Moody, Boardman, Smith, Stockmayer and Miss A von Wattenwyl, knew many of them personally and kept himself informed of the developments of the overseas revivals.¹⁰⁹ Murray was also president of the holiness movement in South Africa for twenty years.¹¹⁰

Murray's holiness position is most clearly discerned in his understanding of the 'second experience' and his preoccupation with divine healing. He distinguished between regeneration and the 'indwelling of the Spirit'.¹¹¹ For him the former was that work of the Spirit by which 'He convinces of sin' while the latter 'opens up a wonderful prospect of holiness and blessedness'.¹¹² He maintained that the 'difference between the bare knowledge of His presence and His full revelation of the indwelling Christ in His glory, is due either to ignorance or unfaithfulness'.¹¹³ The work of regeneration is a gift of God but the 'indwelling Spirit' is 'received and possessed only as far as the faith of the believer reaches'.¹¹⁴ He also maintained that the two conditions for the indwelling Spirit were 'absolute surrender' and prayer. He wrote that the 'complete surrender of the whole heart and life' is a prerequisite as much as prayer.¹¹⁵ In prayer one 'yields oneself with the same passionate love, to all his commandments'.¹¹⁶ In his own experience Murray witnesses to having reached a point in his ministry when he had deemed it necessary to strive after this 'something better than even the new nature'.¹¹⁷

Murray's other 'holiness' tendency was his emphasis on divine healing. His writings on the subject are full of examples from overseas of miraculous healings.¹¹⁸ Indeed, Murray testified to having been divinely healed himself.¹¹⁹

This 'holiness' stance of Murray, however, should be distinguished from the later Pentecostal movement in this country which insisted on glossolalia as evidence of Spirit baptism. While Murray held to a 'two experience' belief, he stated in his Spirit of Christ that 'The question will be asked, how these two parts of the Divine promises are fulfilled? Simultaneously or successively? The answer is very simple: From God's side the two-fold is simultaneous. The Spirit is not divided'.¹²⁰

Furthermore, when overt charismatic tendencies like shuddering, fainting,¹²¹ and rowdiness¹²² appeared during his services he tried, though with little success, to steer his members clear of such enthusiasm.¹²³

Murray's preaching on the 'second experience' and healing should not be considered the precursor of South African Pentecostalism as W. Hollenweger intimates.¹²⁴ The Methodist Church, which had already had by the middle of the 19th century a strong presence in South Africa, had held to a theological position that had accepted Wesley's idea of entire sanctification, and was also not unlike the position adopted by Murray. Murray, however, did instil a strong holiness commitment in his pupil P.L. le Roux who later came under the influence of many other persons before he became a 'Pentecostal'.

Petrus L. le Roux was Murray's student¹²⁵ at the Dutch Reformed Church missions college at Wellington.¹²⁶ Murray had encouraged him to do missionary work among Zulus,¹²⁷ had taken part in his ordination in 1893 as Eerwarde¹²⁸ at Wakkerstroom (Eastern Transvaal), and had been his confidant and adviser during the controversies which eventually led to his leaving the Dutch Reformed Church.¹²⁹

At Zion's Kerk in Wakkerstroom,¹³⁰ Le Roux's preoccupation with divine healing was deepened through his friendship with a Pietist Swiss immigrant, Johannes Büchler.¹³¹ Büchler, a self-appointed preacher, had founded a church in Johannesburg in 1895¹³² where he greatly emphasised faith healing in his preaching.

Le Roux and his wife, after contact with Büchler, decided not to use medicines again. This prompted the local missions committee, a committee of mainly Boer farmers, to object to the dissemination of these ideas (i.e. divine-healing) among the African adherents of the Mission.¹³³

In the face of this controversy Andrew Murray did not condemn Le Roux's friendship with Büchler¹³⁴ but suggested to him a different place of service: 'It may be that as we persist to proclaim this truth (i.e. healing) the Lord opens to us the way to another sphere of work. Perhaps to the native compounds with the liberty there to preach what we regard as right. Or elsewhere, in some place which we do not know'.¹³⁵

Büchler and Le Roux had also shared their admiration of the faith healer J.A. Dowie of Chicago,¹³⁶ to whose paper Leaves of Healing, Büchler had introduced Le Roux.¹³⁷

2.2 Zion in South Africa

John Alexander Dowie (1847-1907), of Scottish and Australian descent settled in America and founded 'the Christian Catholic Apostolic Church' in 1896 at Zion's city, near Chicago.¹³⁸ He was in the mainstream of the holiness movement of the time and even later did not go over to the Pentecostal movement. His healing campaigns attracted much attention.¹³⁹ Together with divine healing, the three-fold immersion and the doctrine of the 'imminent return of Christ' were his main theological emphases.¹⁴⁰ For our enquiry, it is interesting to note that Dowie also influenced Charles Parham, the first man to isolate glossolalia as the initial evidence of Spirit-Baptism (cf. 1.3).¹⁴¹ Before opening

his Bible School at Topeka, Parham had travelled to Chicago to hear Dowie.¹⁴²

In 1898 Büchler began to correspond with Dowie and started holding divine-healing services in white homes in Jeppetown, Johannesburg.¹⁴³ At the invitation of Dowie, he visited Zion City, Chicago only to be 'repelled ... (and) sickened by the sycophantic cult encouraged by Dowie'.¹⁴⁴ He openly challenged Dowie and this led to an irreparable rift. On his return to Johannesburg in 1903, Büchler changed the name of his church to 'Apostolic Faith Mission' in order to avoid any confusion with Dowie's 'Zion's City'¹⁴⁵; Büchler's choice of name, as we shall see, proved portentous.

Le Roux on the other hand became more attracted to Dowie's interpretation of holiness with its distinct emphasis on divine healing. His convictions placed him in a dilemma regarding his position in the Dutch Reformed Church. This is most clearly reflected in his scribbled sermon notes (in Afrikaans and Dutch) that he had jotted down on the envelope of a letter from Andrew Murray. These notes clearly indicate some of the theological issues he was concerned with at this stage:

A Testimony of Blessing

1. A Searcher for the Truth
Rev. A.M. Powerless of preaching. Devotion. There is...
2. Baptism-Spurgeon = Ds Retief
True baptism, Immersion of the faithful
3. Divine Healing-medicine. Use of water
Büchler
Thirst after light. Jesus, the Lord of Healing for the sick.
Blessing, purification, health
Full Assurance
4. May I preach this thing? Yes- Full blessedness comprises deliverance of Spirit, soul and body. Christ/Bore sins, sickness also.

5. What Rev. A.M. says in his letter, our church won't take this.
You must resign.
6. Zion of Dr. Dowie founded for this very purpose. Publication Leaves of Healing. I must go there. No other chance for me. Already for (too) long have I beheld this. My sin-I have been obeying men more than God.

Consequences: (a) Deterioration in the congregation
(b) Illness in the home¹⁴⁶

Although his letter of resignation was dated 10 October 1900¹⁴⁷ the local Dutch Reformed Church hoped the matter would rest until after the war.¹⁴⁸ Since, however, Le Roux continued preaching his new message, the local Missions Committee 'tried' him in October 1901 on the four issues taught by Dowie of Chicago namely repudiation of doctors and medicines; meat-eating; tobacco and infant baptism.¹⁴⁹ Le Roux agreed with Dowie on all four doctrines. While in the preceding notes both 'divine healing' and 'baptism by immersion' feature, during the controversy the main issue shifted from 'divine healing' to whether or not Le Roux accepted 'infant baptism'. In deep anguish¹⁵⁰ Le Roux left the Dutch Reformed Church in March 1903.¹⁵¹

In spite of open ostracism from local Boers¹⁵², the Le Rouxs continued in Wakkerstroom for the next five years as missionaries of Zion.¹⁵³ During this time Le Roux continued his correspondence with Dowie from whom he also received some financial help.¹⁵⁴

On April 22, 1903, Dowie sent Daniel Bryant to superintend Zion's activities in South Africa.¹⁵⁵ During Zion's first baptismal service, which took place in the Snake River at Wakkerstroom, he baptised Le Roux and his wife by three-fold immersion.¹⁵⁶ Le Roux was appointed an 'elder' in the Zion church under Bryant but still functioned from Wakkerstroom, which he had only left for a ten month period in 1906 to look after the Zion church's interest in Johannesburg while Bryant was away on a recruiting tour in the USA.¹⁵⁷

In the meantime Dowie's church in Chicago was undergoing upheavals.¹⁵⁸ W.G. Voliva,¹⁵⁹ who subsequently succeeded Dowie, was among those within the church who opposed him.¹⁶⁰ Dowie's 'highly individual personality seems to have taken on delusions of grandeur'.¹⁶¹ He now claimed to be Elijah the Restorer.¹⁶² The Los Angeles Times in April 1906 called him a religious 'fakir' and a 'colossal humbug'. Before his death that same year he had been written off as a lunatic.

Thereafter Zion city split into six independent churches.¹⁶³ In South Africa Bryant had also broken away to form his own 'Grace Missionary Church'.¹⁶⁴ Le Roux remained in the Zion Church.¹⁶⁵

2.3 'Zion' gets its 'Pentecost'

The arrival of 4 missionaries in South Africa on May 15 1908 saw Zion, which until now had been a typical holiness church, receive the Pentecostal message. They were John G. Lake (1870-1935), Thomas Hezmelhalch, Miss Sackett and A. Lehman, who had been to South Africa before and could speak Zulu.¹⁶⁶

At one time Lake had been an elder in Dowie's church in Chicago where he acquired deep convictions regarding divine healing claiming that his wife also had been miraculously healed.¹⁶⁷ Nevertheless, he had become disenchanted with Dowie and had separated from him.¹⁶⁸ It was probably towards the end of 1906 that he received his 'Pentecostal experience'¹⁶⁹ for soon after, in April 1907, he sold his insurance business and together with Hezmelhalch who had sold his farm, prepared to go to Africa as a missionary.¹⁷⁰

Although Lake had known Bryant,¹⁷¹ who had invited him to South Africa,¹⁷² he did not meet him on his arrival in this country. Both had passed each other on the high seas.¹⁷³

Lake's party began its work among Africans in Doornfontein. Whites attended their meetings out of curiosity and many joined this new congregation. In a short while a hall was hired to hold audiences of almost 1000 each night.¹⁷⁴ Healings seem to have been the singular attraction and reports of these meetings contain instances of miraculous happenings, healings and glossolalia.¹⁷⁵

Having grown in size this congregation took over the Zion Tabernacle¹⁷⁶ in Bree Street, Johannesburg¹⁷⁷ which belonged to the South African branch of Dowie's church, the 'Apostolic Faith Church in Zion'.¹⁷⁸ Several healings and conversions of hooligans and drunkards are reported to have taken place at the Tabernacle.¹⁷⁹ In this way ex-Dowie followers started a revival in a 'Dowieite congregation'.¹⁸⁰ Zion's deficiency, they judged, was that it did not preach 'Pentecost'.¹⁸¹

Büchler stood aloof from this Pentecostal group,¹⁸² but Le Roux was won over soon after Lake's arrival, in July 1908.¹⁸³ Le Roux claimed to have had a divine message which influenced his acceptance of Pentecost.¹⁸⁴ He left Zion and joined Lake's church.¹⁸⁵

There was great confusion in the Zion congregation at Wakkerstroom after Le Roux had left it. B. Sundkler points out that much of the crisis experienced by African Zionists was directly or indirectly connected with Le Roux's departure.¹⁸⁶ A number of secessions eventually took place which led to the emergence of several black independent 'Zionist' churches.¹⁸⁷ However, a great number also followed Le Roux into the Pentecostal faith¹⁸⁸ and continued as the Zion branch of the Pentecostal church.¹⁸⁹

2.4 The Apostolic Faith Mission

The South African 'Pentecost' which had begun among blacks now shifted to the whites.¹⁹⁰ At Lake's Pentecostal Church in Bree Street, the blacks were made to sit separately from whites. After a while, A. Lehman, who had come with Lake, held separate services for blacks because of 'a language difference'. Then he opened a separate 'native hall' in Doornfontein, Transvaal.¹⁹¹

This new gospel did not break down the wall of racial separation, nor did it affect the anti-black feeling that was already present. We note the reaction to Letwaba, Lake's black convert and evangelist: he was, according to Lake, the first black to have had the 'Pentecostal experience' in this church.¹⁹² A group of whites in the congregation had bitterly objected to Lake praying for Letwaba.¹⁹³

Lake also appears to have favoured the separation of black and white¹⁹⁴ and in fact he advocated a policy 'in harmony with (the) American policy of segregation of the Indian tribes, having as an example the mistakes of the United States and other nations in regard to their handling of Native nations'.¹⁹⁵ In this way this church conformed to the segregationist mentality that prevailed in the Transvaal at the time. In 1908 it decided that 'the baptism of Natives shall in the future take place after the baptism of White people'.¹⁹⁶ A year later it decided that 'in future, the baptism of Whites, Coloureds and Natives shall be separate'.¹⁹⁷

In 1910 this church was registered with the government as the 'Apostolic Faith Mission of South Africa'¹⁹⁸ but had no formal connection with the north American Apostolic Faith Mission.¹⁹⁹ Thomas Hezmalhalch was its first President.²⁰⁰

A year later Hezmalhalch quarrelled with Lake because of the latter's 'domineering ways'²⁰¹ and left the AFM. Lake also, two years later, left South Africa never to return.²⁰²

Le Roux was elected President of the Apostolic Faith Mission from 1915 till his death in 1943 and from the beginning of his term of office he concentrated on the white section of the Apostolic Faith Mission.²⁰³ While he maintained some supervision of the African Mission at Wakkerstroom,²⁰⁴ this mission was left largely to itself. Some of his best Zulu co-workers 'left him or felt he had left them'.²⁰⁵ Daniel Nkoyane, Elija Mahlangu and others founded their own churches. Sundkler's research into Zionist independent churches traces many of the secessions from the Wakkerstroom mission that occurred during this time.²⁰⁶

We now turn our attention to other Pentecostal denominations that were emerging in South Africa concurrently with the founding of the AFM.

2.5 The Full Gospel Church of God

What was to become the 'Full Gospel Church in Southern Africa' revolved in the initial years largely around the life and work of two Pentecostal preachers, A.H. Cooper and George Bowie.

A.H. Cooper visited Cape Town in 1901 as a sailor. During his stay he went ashore to join the South African constabulary and a year later fought in the Anglo-Boer war.²⁰⁷ He was converted during Gipsy Smith's meetings in the Market Square in Cape Town²⁰⁸ and, for a short while, attended the Presbyterian Church in Johannesburg.²⁰⁹ In 1907 he claimed to have had a miraculous experience which awakened him to the Pentecostal message.²¹⁰ He had been receiving the Apostolic Papers, a newspaper from Azusa Street,²¹¹ and was therefore already acquainted with the Pentecostal movement in the USA before Lake arrived in this country. Hence soon after Lake's arrival Cooper sought him out.²¹²

He joined Lake and the Apostolic Faith Mission in 1908 where he worked with Le Roux for about a year.²¹³ From the start he took a leading role in this new church and served on its first council in 1908.²¹⁴

A year later it became obvious that relations between Cooper and other leaders of the church had become strained. At the Annual General Meeting of the church on 27 May 1909 he was not re-elected to the seven-man executive committee. He left the Apostolic Faith Mission to establish a mission in the Middleburg district.²¹⁵

Here he worked with R.M. Turney, one of the pioneers of the Assemblies of God in South Africa. Turney handed over to Cooper the care of a congregation he had founded in Pretoria.²¹⁶

George Bowie, who had experienced his 'Pentecost' in J.H. Boddy's church in Homestead in the USA,²¹⁷ joined an independent Pentecostal group, the 'Bethel Pentecostal Mission'.²¹⁸ At the end of 1909 he undertook his mission to South Africa²¹⁹ and founded the 'Pentecostal Mission' in April 1910.²²⁰ He invited Eleazer Jenkins, another Pentecostal immigrant missionary, to join him.

Eleazer Jenkins had been influenced by the Welsh Revival in 1904²²¹ which like the Azusa Street revival had led to the emergence of several independent groups. Jenkins was a member of one such group. His alienation from the orthodox Welsh church became even greater when, on a trip to Cardiff, he received his 'Pentecostal experience'.²²² A year later he left on a mission to South Africa, on the strength of a prophecy which his wife claimed to have received. Jenkins and his wife arrived in South Africa on July 20, 1905²²³ and joined Bowie.

Bowie's 'Pentecostal Mission' received financial help and support from the American Bethel Pentecostal Mission²²⁴ and was guided in policy by that Mission's council.²²⁵ However, it kept its autonomy regarding its work in this country.

In 1910, Bowie and Jenkins invited Cooper to join the 'Pentecostal Mission' thus uniting the two missions.²²⁶ Cooper and the Beetge brothers, who were converted under Cooper's ministry in Middleburg,²²⁷ were given charge of the Pentecostal missions activities in Pretoria. In 1916, however, this Pretoria congregation under Cooper

seceded from the Pentecostal Mission and called itself the 'Full Gospel Church'.²²⁸ There were several reasons for the secession: Cooper had objected to the Pentecostal Mission being a registered company; he disagreed with the way accumulated funds were being handled and found certain points of the constitution problematic.²²⁹ Nevertheless in October 1920 both groups were reunited under the name 'Full Gospel Church'.²³⁰

In the 1930's this church experienced unprecedented growth in the Western Cape; Pretoria; Vereeniging; Benoni; Germiston and Florida.²³¹ During the first decade of its life, with overseas missionaries leading it, the church was predominantly English; soon after, the Transvaal branches became increasingly Afrikaans-speaking.²³²

In 1950 under the moderator J.H. Saayman this church formed an alliance with the 'Church of God, Cleveland'.²³³ Formal amalgamation followed in March 1951 and the name of the church was changed from 'Full Gospel Church' to 'Full Gospel Church of God in Southern Africa'.²³⁴ At the time, its mainly white membership totalled almost 30,000.²³⁵

The motive behind the amalgamation, in so far as the 'Church of God, Cleveland' was concerned, was to effect a more viable missionary programme to Africa.²³⁶ On the other hand, the missionary programme of the Full Gospel Church was 'admittedly anaemic' in the period before the merger and the tie with the American Church proved to be 'a most timely blood transfusion'.²³⁷

2.6 The Assemblies of God in South Africa

This body came into existence when various individual congregations and missions amalgamated.

The earliest of these congregations had been founded by Charles William Chawner, a Canadian,²³⁸ who arrived in South Africa in March 1907²³⁹ to 'preach the Pentecostal message'. His early missionary itinerary included De Aar, Ladysmith, Weenen, and Zululand; he spent two years in Vryheid, a fruitful stay at Morgenson in South Eastern Transvaal and brief periods in Pretoria and Johannesburg.²⁴⁰

In 1908, Mr and Mrs R.M. Turney arrived as Pentecostal missionaries to South Africa.²⁴¹ Turney had been a Baptist minister in the USA but had joined the Pentecostal movement in 1906.²⁴² They set up a mission station in the Middelburg district and were joined there by another missionary, Miss Hannah A. James, who began work among the Pedi people.²⁴³

When the Assemblies of God was formed in the USA in 1914 (cf. discussion on p. 14) the Turneys applied to that church for credentials²⁴⁴ and were received as ministers.²⁴⁵ Soon after, they registered their mission with the South African Government under the name 'Assemblies of God'. They were then joined by other missionaries who included J.H. Law, Mrs A. Richards and her son John, who eventually became an Assemblies of God minister, and J.H. Bennet from the Assemblies of God, England.²⁴⁶ Their work throughout this stage was almost entirely among blacks.

Whilst from 1914 this church was affiliated to the Assemblies of God in the USA, it became in 1925 an independent district and in 1932, it separated from the north American organisation altogether.²⁴⁷ Soon after, other white independent Pentecostal bodies joined it to form the 'Assemblies of God in South Africa'. W.F. Mullan's congregation in early 1936 was among the first to join.²⁴⁸ The Emmanuel Mission, which was started by C.A. Chawner, son of C.W. Chawner and H.C. Phillips, joined in 1937.²⁴⁹ This decision brought leaders of the Emmanuel Mission like H.C. Phillips, Nicholas Bhengu and Alfred Gumede, into fellowship with the Pentecostal leaders of the Assemblies of God.²⁵⁰ However, people

like Chawner, Richards and H.C. Phillips only played a minor role in the growth of the church as a whole.²⁵¹ Nicholas Bhengu, a black, pioneered and still leads the largest section of the Assemblies of God in South Africa.²⁵²

Nevertheless, with the increase from 1936 onwards of the number of European congregations, the AOG in S.A. also conformed to a policy of racial separation of congregations.²⁵³ White and African sections still function independently of one another.²⁵⁴

On July 27, 1964, the north American section comprising white missionaries under the Foreign Missions Department (Springfield, Missouri) separated from the South African Assemblies of God and re-formed under the name 'International Assemblies of God'.²⁵⁵ These missionaries left as a result of conflict with N. Bhengu.²⁵⁶ It was the case of who should have greater authority, the missionaries or Bhengu.²⁵⁷ Bhengu rejected white missionary supervision.

'The International Assemblies of God' in spite of its separation from the 'Assemblies of God in South Africa' shares the same doctrinal position.

2.7 The Pentecostal Protestant Church

This Church was the result of a major secession from the Apostolic Faith Mission in South Africa.(AFM)

As we have noted the AFM and other Pentecostal bodies in South Africa accepted the principle of racial separation of their congregations.²⁵⁸ The AFM, moreover, also openly identified with the Nationalist white Government when, in 1956, it allowed its vice-president, G.R. Wessels, to become a member of the South African Senate.²⁵⁹ This state of affairs initiated the discontent that led to the secession.

The dispute began at the AFM Salt River congregation.²⁶⁰ On the appointment of Wessels to the Senate, the council of this congregation sent a letter of protest to the AFM Executive Council in which it stated that,

We as a council are disturbed by the political tendencies which in the last few years, have been in the increase in the mission. This tendency has now come to full expression with the election of our well-loved and respected vice-President to the senate ... as one elected he has to further the interests of the (Nationalist) party... We will not tolerate the Trojan-horse... we would rather have it outside the city walls.²⁶¹

This council also expressed 'shock' that the workers council of the AFM 'placed the seal of approval on such a flagrant transgression (flagrante oortreding)... by a majority vote'.²⁶²

However, at an early stage in the controversy, the issue shifted from political considerations to those of administrative procedure and finance. In 1956 and 1957 moves were afoot by the AFM executive committee to curtail the tendency towards independence of the leaders of the Salt River congregation.²⁶³ For instance this congregation had set up a 'Souls for Christ' campaign with a separate banking account²⁶⁴ The congregation in turn had accused the Apostolic Faith Mission Executive Committee of 'invading' (klopjagoptrede) its privacy to subdue its campaign.²⁶⁵

These problems quickly grew in intensity. In May 1958 the Executive subjected the books of this church to an audit and in July 1958 to an official enquiry by a two-man committee which included G.R. Wessels.²⁶⁶ In August 1958 the Executive decided to disband the council of this church; to place the congregation directly under the Executive; and to 'temporarily freeze' its bank accounts.²⁶⁷ The minister, Pastor A.G. Bester, was to be tried by the Spiritual Council of the Apostolic Faith Mission on three charges:

- (i) That as pastor and chairman of the council he had not adopted constitutional procedure,²⁶⁸
- (ii) That he had set-up funds in a body outside the control of the Apostolic Faith Mission, and
- (iii) That he had refused to assist, and was hostile to, the representatives of the mission.²⁶⁹

The Salt River Church Council refused to be dissolved²⁷⁰ and took the Apostolic Faith Mission to court.²⁷¹ The Supreme Court ruled that the action of the Executive board in dissolving the council and freezing its bank account was ultra vires and that 'none of the applicants had used any funds or property of the mission except for the purpose of the assembly'.²⁷² The Spiritual Council of the AFM found Pastor Bester guilty on all three charges, and excluded him from the ministry for 6 months but in turn suspended this sentence for 12 months.²⁷³

Two protest meetings held on the 21 of August and the 6 of September 1958 passed resolutions denouncing the actions of the Executive and the Spiritual Council, and expressing full confidence in Pastor Bester and his council.²⁷⁴ However, Bester's position in the Apostolic Faith Mission became untenable and on 14 September 1958 he resigned, with almost the whole congregation.

These dissenters became the nucleus of the 'Pentecostal Protestant Church'. The fundamentalist thinking behind the choice of name can be understood from the following excerpt at the end of Die Slag van Salt-Rivier, a memorandum published by the dissenters in 1958: 'Back to a pure Pentecostal church with Heaven as our headquarters, the Bible as our constitution, Love as our banner and a never-exhausting bank of faith'.²⁷⁵

Twelve other Apostolic Faith Mission ministers and several AFM members left to join this new denomination.²⁷⁶ Within two years of its founding in 1958, it began a mission to the Indian community. (cf. Chapter 5)

Summary and Significance

1. The holiness movement in America which separated 'the experience of sanctification' from 'the experience of regeneration' laid the basis for the Pentecostal doctrinal stance on the Baptism of the Spirit as a 'second experience'.
2. All of the Pentecostal churches share in a distinctive teaching regarding Baptism of the Spirit as initially evidenced by 'speaking in tongues'.
3. The Pentecostal movement in South Africa has been deeply influenced by the American Pentecostal and holiness movements. Not only were the vast majority of the early pioneers north Americans but also its official doctrinal positions had been formulated during the north American Pentecostal revivals at the turn of the century.
4. Andrew Murray and the holiness movement in the Dutch Reformed Church can be seen as a forerunner of Pentecostalism, as Hollenweger suggests, only so far as his insistence on healing and holiness prepared a sector of the Dutch Reformed Church for the later Pentecostal message. His influence is most clearly seen in his pupil, P.L. Le Roux, who joined 'Zion', not 'Pentecost' at that stage.
5. Zion under P. le Roux and later under D. Bryant reflected the emergence of a strong holiness movement in South African. Also the role of Alexander Dowie should not be minimised. Notwithstanding the errors of his last years, he contributed much towards the tradition of faith-healing in the USA, and to its establishment in South Africa.

6. While, as B. Sundkler has pointed out there are links between Zion and Pentecost, we should be careful not to give the impression that all of Pentecostalism in South Africa has its roots in Zion. B. Sundkler is correct only to the extent that through Le Roux a large section of the Zion Church accepted J.G. Lake's and T. Hezmahalch's Pentecostal message and joined the Pentecostal movement. However, a large section of early Pentecostal churches, e.g. the Assemblies of God in South Africa, had had no contact with the Zion Church. Others like G. Bowie and E. Jenkins did not even have contact with J.G. Lake's Pentecostal Church.
7. The impression given by W. Hollenweger and B. Sundkler that Lake was chiefly responsible for bringing the Pentecostal message to South Africa is incorrect. Austin Chawner, R.M. Turney and J.G. Lake all arrived in South Africa at about the same time. Further, through A. Dowie's paper, the Pentecostal message had already preceded them. By 1907 for example, A.H. Cooper had developed Pentecostal convictions as a result of reading this paper and soon after Lake's arrival in South Africa, had sought him out.
8. Initially all the Pentecostal churches started their work among blacks. Yet very soon in their history, South African Pentecostal denominations conformed to the pattern of racial segregation prevalent in South African society.
9. From the beginning of the Pentecostal movement in South Africa the separatist tendency, which we observed also in the early days of north American Pentecostalism, emerged; for example in the establishment of the International Assemblies of God and the Pentecostal Protestant Church. The reasons for these divisions centred mainly around administrative and constitutional matters.

1. This is well documented:
e.g. Synan, Vinson, The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement;
Conn, Charles, Like a Mighty Army.
2. Lindstrom, H., 'Wesley and Sanctification', 121-4; Flew, N., The Idea of Perfectionism in Christian Theology, Bucke, E.S., et al. History of American Methodism Vol. 111, 608 - 9.
cf. also Gaddis, M.E., Christian Perfectionism in America;
Smith, T.L., Revivalism and Social Reform;
Peters, J.L., Christian Perfectionism and American Methodism.
3. Works of John Wesley Vol. IX, 366 - 488.
Wesley, John, A Plain Account of Christian Perfection, 483 - 531.
5. Wesley, J.; 'Letters of John Wesley' Vol. V, 88.
6. Ibid., Vol. VIII, 249.
7. cf. e.g. Asbury, Francis; The Journal of the Rev. Francis Asbury Vol. 1, 235 - 9.
8. Hurst, J.F., The History of Methodism Vol. III, 1252.
9. Gewehr, W.M., The Great Awakening in Virginia, 153 - 5.
10. Sweet, W.W., The Story of Religion in America 228-9;
Synan, V., op.cit. 22-5;
Robertson, Archie, That Old Time Religion, 56-57;
Weisberger, Bernard, They Gathered at the River, 20-25
11. Coulter, E.M., College Life in the Old South 194-5, cited in; Synan, V., op. cit. 25
12. Synan, V., op. cit. 26
13. Memoirs of Rev. Charles G. Finney (NY 1876);
Fletcher, Robert S., A History of Oberlin College from its Foundation through the Civil War Oberlin 1943 I, 223-29
14. Bucke, E.S., et al The History of American Methodism;
Sweet, W.W., op. cit. 332-3
15. Alexander, Goss, History of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 94;
Bucke, et al, op. cit. 11, 326
16. Bucke, et al, op. cit. 326
17. Wood, J.A., Autobiography of Rev. J.A. Wood, 73
18. Rose, D.R., A Theology of Christian Experience, 52
19. Rose, D.R., op. cit. 52-3
Synan; V., op. cit. 37

20. Smith, G.G., History of Georgia Methodism, 410
21. Sweet W.W., Methodism in American History, 332-9
King, Joseph, H. and King, Blanche L; Yet Speaketh : Memoirs of the late Bishop J.H., 85, cited in;
Synan, V., op. cit. 39
22. For the acceptance of the holiness movement in large sections of the church cf.
Smith, G.G., History of Georgia Methodism, 401;
Sweet, W.W., Methodism in American History, 332-339.
23. Peters, J.L., op. cit. 138-9
24. Ibid, 140, Sweet, W.W., op.cit. 342;
Gaddis, M.E., Christian Perfectionism in America 436-451.
25. cited from the Journal of the General Conference 25-6 in
Peters, J.L., op. cit. 148;
Sweet, W.W., Methodism in American History, 343;
Synan, V., op. cit. 51.
26. Peters, J.L., op. cit. 138-140;
Sweet, W.W., op. cit. 342;
Gaddis, M.E., op. cit. 436-51;
Synan, V.; op. cit. 44-51.
27. Bucke, et al, op. cit. 11,619;
Smith, T.L., Called Unto Holiness, 28-33.
28. Synan, V., op. cit. 53.
29. Rose, D.R., op. cit. 69-77;
Shaw, S.B., Echoes of General Holiness Assembly, 274-7;
Gaddis, M.E., op. cit. 455-9.
30. Redford, M.E., The Rise of the Church of the Nazarene;
Smith, T.L.; Called Unto Holiness;
Chapman, J.B., A History of the Church of the Nazarene.
31. Synan, V.; op. cit. 145.
32. Redford, M.E., op. cit. 39-42.
33. Synan, V., op. cit. 61;
Rose, D.R., op. cit. 61;
Campbell, J.E., The Pentecostal Holiness Church, 192-5.
34. John Fletcher, The Works of John Fletcher Vol. 11, 632ff; Vol. IV, 230 ff.
35. Campbell, J.E., op. cit. 194-5.
36. King, J.H., History of the Fire-Baptised Holiness Church. This work covers B.H. Irwin's involvement in this church.
37. Synan, V., op. cit. 64f.

38. *ibid.*, 65.
39. The Apostolic Faith (April 25) 1925, 9-14;
Nichols, John, Pentecostalism, 104;
Campbell, J.E., *op. cit.* 208-9.
40. Fletcher, J., *op. cit.*, 230ff.
41. Parham, Sarah E., The Life of Charles F. Parham, Founder of the Apostolic Faith Mission, 6-24.
42. e.g. Brumback, C., Suddenly from Heaven, 48-63;
Bloch-Hoell, Nils, The Pentecostal Movement, 18-21.
43. Parham, S.E., *op. cit.* 39-50.
44. *ibid.*, 131-146.
45. Synan, V., *op. cit.*, 101-2.
46. *ibid.*
47. *ibid.*, 99.
48. *ibid.*, 103
49. *ibid.*,
50. *ibid.*, 37-8, Harper, Michael, The Twentieth Pentecostal Revival, 28;
Ewart, Frank, The Phenomenon of Pentecost, A History of the Latter Rain, 36-7.
51. Fidler, R.L., 'Historical Review of the Pentecostal outpouring in Los Angeles at the Azusa Street Mission in 1906', The International Outlook Jan-March 1963, 3;
Synan, V., *op. cit.* 107;
Bartleman, V., How Pentecost came to Los Angeles, 58.
52. This was primarily achieved by Seymour's paper Apostolic Faith and the Los Angeles Times e.g. the Apostolic Faith Sept. 1906, 1-4, Oct. 1-4, Dec. 1906, 1-4;
Synan, V., *op. cit.* 107;
Frodsham, S.H., With Signs Following, 32.
53. cf. Foster, F., *op. cit.* 33-36;
Brumback, C., Suddenly From Heaven, 36.
54. Synan, V., *op. cit.* 112.
55. Parham, S.E., *op. cit.* 160-3.
56. *ibid.*
57. *ibid.*, 164.

58. Synan, V., op. cit. 111.
59. Brumback, C., op. cit. 64-87;
Bartleman, F., op. cit. 54-60;
Synan, V., op. cit. 113.
60. Bloch-Hoell, Nils, op. cit. 42-3; 145-7.
61. Synan, V.; op. cit. 114.
62. Taylor, G.F., Our Church History, 9;
Campbell, J.F., The Pentecostal Holiness Church, 217-20.
63. Synan, V., op. cit. 72.
64. Cashwell, G.B., 'Came 3000 miles for his Pentecost'; The Apostolic Faith December 1906, 3.
65. Campbell, J.E., op. cit. 240-1.
66. King, J.H., History of the Fire-Baptised Holiness Church, 10.
67. Irwin fell into disrepute when his apostate personal life was exposed in 1899.
68. Synan, V., op. cit. 127;
King, J.H., and King, B.L.; Yet Speaketh, 116-21;
King, J.H., From Passover to Pentecost, 167-82.
69. Synan, V., op. cit. 128.
70. ibid.
71. Foster, F., op. cit. 47.
72. Synan, V., op. cit. 131;
Campbell, J.E., op. cit. 251-5.
73. Mead Frank, S., Handbook of Denomination in the U.S.A., 74;
Clark, E.T., Small Sects in America 102-5;
Synan, V., op. cit. 77.
74. Gibson, Luther, History of the Church of God, Mountain Assembly;
Synan, V.; op. cit. 79.
75. Ashworth, C.A., Yearbook of the Church of God in Christ, 9;
Kendrick, K., The Promise Fulfilled, 197.
76. Conn, Charles, Like a Mighty Army, 16-18;
Howard Jullerat, L., Book of Minutes, General Assemblies Churches of God cited,
Synan, V., op. cit. 81.
77. Synan, V., op. cit. 81.

78. Conn, C., op. cit. 44-5;
also Church of God Evangel, April 7, 1945.
79. Tomlinson, A.J., Answering the Call of God, 1-15;
A Journal of Happenings, 1-10;
Duggar, Lillie, A.J. Tomlinson (a biography).
80. Conn, C., op. cit. 61-9.
81. Synan, V.; op. cit. 88.
82. Lawrence, B.F., The Apostolic Faith Restored, 90-5;
Synan, V., op. cit. 131.
83. Tomlinson, A.J., Journal of Happenings, June 14, 1907;
Church of God Evangel March 8, 1916, 2.
84. Tomlinson, A.J., Answering the Call of God, 9.
85. Tomlinson, A.J., Journal of Happenings, Jan 13, 1908;
Answering the Call of God, 9-10;
Tomlinson, H., Diary of A.J. Tomlinson 1,27-36;
Conn, C.; op. cit. 84-5.
86. Tomlinson, H., Diary of A.J. Tomlinson, Vol. 1, 27 - 9 (for his
conversion story).
87. Synan, V., op. cit. 78.
88. Burnett, O.C., In the Last Days : An Early History of the Assemblies
of God, 7-9;
Brumsback, C., op. cit. 154
Kendrick, K., The Promise Fulfilled, 79-80;
Nichols, J.T., op. cit. 109-110;
Winehouse, Irwin, The Assemblies of God, A Popular Survey, 28-30.
89. Kendrick, K., op. cit. 81-3.
90. M.M. Pinson was editor of Word and Witness and E.N. Bell editor of
Apostolic Faith. The latter was retained as the name of the new
joint-venture and Bell became editor.
91. Pinson, M.M., 'The Finished Work of Calvary' The Pentecostal Evangel
April 5, 1964.
92. Synan, V., op. cit. 153.
93. *ibid.*
94. Foster, Fred J., Think it not Strange, 9.
95. *ibid.*
96. Ewart, F., The Phenomenon of Pentecost, 75-7;
Foster, F., op. cit. 43.

97. Ewart, F., op. cit. 50-5;
Nichols, J.T., op. cit. 90-1;
Atter, F., The Third Force, 91-3.
98. Foster, F., op. cit. 43.
99. J.E. Campbell's history of the 'Pentecostal Holiness Church' and C. Conn's history of the 'Church of God Cleveland' make no reference to this controversy.
100. Foster, F., op. cit. 54-7;
Ewart, F., op. cit. 99-100;
Winehouse, I., op. cit. 43-6;
Brumback, C., op. cit. 191-210;
Synan, V., op. cit. 157.
101. Synan, V., op. cit. 157.
102. Kendrick, K., op. cit. 172-3.
103. Synan, V., op. cit. 158
Gee, D., The Pentecostal Movement, 124-5.
104. Clark, E.T., op. cit. 170;
105. Synan, V., op. cit. 159.
106. Die Kerkbode (the official magazine of the D.R.C. appealed for prayer regarding revival—signed by some of the leaders of the church) in Du Plessis, Lemmer, Pinkster Panorama 'n geskiedenis van Die Volle Evangelie-Kerk van God in Suidelike Afrika, 9.
107. Dr. Adamson had referred to the USA situation, *ibid*, 9.
108. Andrew Murray's life and times has been well documented; du Plessis, J. Het Levin van Andrew Murray;
Stuiki, A., Andrew Murray: Ein Zeage Christ in Südafrika;
Douglas, W.M., Andrew Murray and his message.
109. Stuiki, A., op. cit. 58.
110. Hollenweger, W., op. cit. 113.
111. Murray, Andrew, Spirit of Christ, 17-20.
112. *ibid*.
113. *ibid*, 323, also Full Blessing, 12.
114. *ibid*, 23.
115. Murray Andrew, Back to Pentecost, 39.

116. *ibid*, 40.
117. The phrase is taken from his Spirit of Christ, Footnote 7.
118. All three of the following refer to this crisis point in his ministry.
 Stuiki, A., *op. cit.* 56-8;
 Molenaar, D.G., De doop met die Heilige Geest, 233-5;
 Douglas, W.M., *op. cit.* 166-8;
 For his teaching on healing of his Divine Healing; and Jesus the Physician of the Sick.
 J. du Plessis in his biography of Murray spends an entire chapter on the role of faith healing in Murray's life and thinking; *op. cit.* 330-352.
119. Sundkler, Bengt; Zulu Zion, 17.
120. Murray, A., Spirit of Christ *op. cit.* 17-20.
121. Stuiki, A., *op. cit.* 38.
122. du Plessis, J., *op. cit.* 194f;
 Stuiki, A., *op. cit.* 27f;
 du Plessis, L., Pinskster Panorama, 8 (cf. footnotes 10 and 13).
123. Murray, A., Abide in Christ was written as a guide for those who were converted as a result of the revival cf. also Hollenweger W.; *op. cit.* 113.
124. W. Hollenweger begins his chapter on the early South African Pentecostal churches by a discussion of Andrew Murray *op. cit.* 111-6.
125. du Plessis D.J., Pentecostal Evangel 30 July 1936, 2-4.
126. Sundkler, B., *op. cit.* 16.
127. *ibid*, 17.
128. 'Eerwarde' was the title of a missionary while the minister was called 'dominee' : the latter was considered to be of higher status.
129. Correspondence between A. Murray and Le Roux are housed in the archives of the Dutch Reformed Church and the Apostolic Faith Mission.
 B. Sundkler has made an interesting study of the correspondence which is directly relevant for us in his Zulu Zion, *op. cit.* 16.
130. Sundkler, B.; *ibid*, 18. the chapel was named after Zion's Liedere, the Dutch hymnal used by Le Roux's congregation.
131. *ibid*; B. Sundkler gleans proof of this contact an visit of Büchler to Wakkerstroom from a letter of the local missions committee of the Dutch Reformed Church to J.N. Martin dated 1.11.1901.

132. *ibid*, 19. Büchler also called his church 'Zion's Church' after the same hymnal.
133. *ibid*.
134. Letter of Andrew Murray (8.12.1897) to P.L. Le Roux; Sundkler, B., *ibid*, 20.
135. Letter of Andrew Murray to Le Roux (Nov 1898); cf. Sundkler, B., *ibid*, 20.
136. Sundkler, B., *op. cit.* 19.
137. *ibid*, 29.
138. Lindsey, R.G.E.; The Life of John Alexander Dowie (a biography)
139. Synan, V., *op. cit.* 91-6;
Reports of Dowie's meetings appeared daily in the Los Angeles Times in April and June 1906.
140. Hollenweger, W., *op. cit.* 120-121.
141. Synan, V., *op. cit.* 100;
142. Parham, S.E., The Life of Charles F. Parham, Founder of the Apostolic Faith Movement, 48.
143. Sundkler, B., *op. cit.* 29.
144. *ibid.*, 30.
145. In a letter of application of Büchler (18.2.1903) to the secretary of the Native Affairs Department for marriage licence he gives his motive for change of name, cited Sundkler, B., *ibid*, 31.
146. cited in Sundkler, B., *op. cit.* 21.
147. *ibid.*, 22.
148. *ibid.*, 23.
149. Apostolic Faith Mission Archive, item on P.L. Le Roux's 'Native Work' (6 pages) cited Sundkler, B., *ibid*.
150. He explains his anguish at leaving his family and friends in the church of his birth in letter to J.N. Martin (4.1.01); extract.
151. *ibid.*, for documentary sources.
152. *ibid.*, 26.
153. *ibid.*, 28.

154. J.A. Dowie in a letter to Daniel Bryant (5.11.1903) mentions gift of money to Le Roux whom he refers to as 'a very able consecrated man' cited Sundkler, B., *ibid*, 22 (footnote 15 (a)).
155. In a letter to Bryant (November 1903) Dowie indicates his wish for Bryant to consolidate Zion's interests in South Africa, cited extensively in Sundkler, B., *op. cit.* 35-6.
156. Murray, A., Leaves of Healing Oct. 8, 1904.
157. Bryant, D., 'Instructions to my successor, Elder P.L. Le Roux' Feb. 14 1906; cited in Zulu Zion *op. cit.* 62.
158. Dowie, J.A., Concerning Conditions in Zion City.
159. Voliva was also 'eccentric' and was given to making eschatological predictions;
Sundkler, B., Bantu Prophets, 48.
160. cf. also Snelling, E.H., Statement by Rev. John Alexander Dowie.
161. Hollenweger, W., *op. cit.* 119.
162. Dowie, J.A., Leaves of Healing 23.8.1902, 591.
163. Sundkler, B., Bantu Prophets, *op. cit.* 341.
164. *ibid.*
165. B. Sundkler's Bantu Prophets is still authoritative; cf. also his Zulu Zion;
Lotze, W., in Kalb, E., Kirchen and Section, 491.
166. Lindsey, G., Life and Times of J.G. Lake, 31.
167. *ibid.*
168. Nichol, J.T., Pentecostalism 50;55
Sundkler, B., Zulu Zion, 51.
169. His own statement from his short autobiography in Lindsey G., *op. cit.* 16.
170. *ibid.*
171. Lindsey, G., *op. cit.* 31.
172. Sundkler, B., *op. cit.* 52.
173. *ibid.*
174. du Plessis, D.J., 'Pentecost in S.A.' Pentecostal Evangel XXVI July 30, 1938, 2-4.
175. Lindsey, G., *op. cit.* 32ff.

176. The Comforter October 1913.
177. Lindsey, G., op. cit. 35.
178. Hollenweger, W., op. cit. 120.
179. Lindsey, G., op. cit. 39ff.
180. Atter, G., Third Force op. cit. 54;
also Shuurmann, J.A.C., 'Pentecost in South Africa' in Full Gospel Church Archive, Irene.
181. Lindsey, G., op. cit. 35.
182. Sundkler, B., Bantu Prophets loc. cit.
183. Trooster-Comforter May 1948, 7.
184. Sundkler, B., Zulu Zion, loc. cit.
185. In view of Le Roux receiving 'his Pentecost' after Lake's arrival in 1908, it is improbable that he could have had such an experience in 1907 as Hollengweger affirms op. cit., 120.
186. Zulu Zion op. cit. 53.
187. *ibid.*
188. Statement of James Brodie (18.3.48) in Apostolic Faith Mission Archives.
189. Sundkler, B., Zulu Zion op. cit. 54 for decision of AFM Exec. Committee 20.8.1910).
190. *ibid.*
191. Lindsey, G., op. cit. 35.
192. *ibid.*, 47.
193. *ibid.*, 45.
194. B. Sundkler concludes that J.G. Lake probably appeared before a Parliamentary committee.
195. Lindsey, G., op. cit. 22
196. Minute book of Apostolic Faith Mission Nov. 6 1908.
197. *ibid.*
198. Hollenweger, W., op. cit. 120.
199. Nichol, J.T., op. cit. 51.

200. F.P. Moller's letter to G.F. Atter, (Third force, op. cit. 201 ff) The impression that Lake creates that he alone founded the church (cf. Lindsey, G., op. cit., 21) and some other details in his biographical sketch, are quite incorrect, e.g. B. Sundkler searched in vain in Hansard to find proof of Lake's claim that he testified before Parliament.
201. Sundkler, B., op. cit. 54 lauding him, calls him a 'rugged individualist'.
Lindsey, G., op. cit. VIII.
202. Sundkler, B., Zulu Zion, op. cit. 55.
203. Information supplied to Sundkler by Le Roux in 1940, Bantu Prophets, op. cit. 48.
204. The Comforter February 1911 which refers to Le Roux's link with the African work. There were at the time, 350 African and 150 white preachers in the AFM, South Africa.
205. Sundkler, B., Zulu Zion, op. cit., 55.
206. *ibid*;
In this regard the appearance of the words 'Zion', 'Pentecost' or 'Apostolic' in the titles of many of the almost 3000 African independent, churches in South Africa alone, offer a general guide in tracing the link with Wakkerstroom. *ibid*, 56.
207. du Plessis, L., Pinkster Panorama, op. cit. 26.
208. The Standard Bearer Vol. 22 No. 1 Jan-March 1960, 7.
209. du Plessis, L., op. cit. 27.
210. *ibid*.
211. Sundkler, B., Zulu Zion op. cit. 52.
212. Item in Full Gospel Archives Irene 'How Bro. A.H. Cooper of Durban was converted'.
213. *ibid*; also Sundkler, B., Zulu Zion, op. cit. 53.
214. Minutes of the first council meeting of the Apostolic Faith Mission dated 17 Sept 1908-cited in du Plessis, L., op. cit. 33.
215. *ibid*, 2.
216. Mullan, W.F., Article on early history of the Assemblies of God, Fellowship, 10.
217. du Plessis, L., 14; This church had been influenced by Pentecostal people from the Azusa Street Revival, *ibid*; also Full Gospel Missionary Herald Vol. 6 No. 1 January 1922, 8.

218. *ibid*, April 1921, 3.
219. du Plessis, L., *op. cit.* 15.
220. This date is arrived at on the basis of the information in the South and Central African Pentecostal Herald Jan 1917, 12; and July 1918: du Plessis, L., op. cit. 15.
221. Matthews, D., I saw the Welsh Revival, 18ff.
The Welsh Revival appears not only to have influenced the Los Angeles Revival of 1906, (Ferrieres, J.C., The 20th Century Pentecostal Revival Movement) but also, its adherents displayed very similar characteristics: people spontaneously became attached to the church, attended services regularly, become involved in evangelism and read their Bibles with greater interest. (du Plessis, L., *op. cit.* 18; also Matthew, D., *op. cit.*) Furthermore both touched the man in the street. Thousands of miners were among the most deeply influenced. (du Plessis, *op. cit.*, 18)
222. *ibid*, 19.
223. *ibid*.
224. *ibid*.
225. South and Central African Pentecostal Herald Jan. 1913, 13.
226. *ibid*, 32.
227. Beetge C.J., 'Autobiographical Notes', 8 (cited in du Plessis, L., *op. cit.* 30).
228. *ibid*, 60-62.
229. *ibid*, 62-67 where the correspondence between both groups is quoted. Cooper and Bowie appear to have been the 'official spokesman' for each side during the controversy.
230. L. du Plessis cites the minutes of the various meetings to mark the course of the reconciliation process which appears to have been a long one, the strong willed personalities of these early Full Gospel Church leaders playing no small part in delaying reconciliation, du Plessis L., *op. cit.* 66-70.
231. Nichol, J.J., *op. cit.* 171.
232. *ibid*.
233. Conn, Charles, Like a Mighty Army, 279.
234. *ibid*, 280.

235. *ibid.*
236. *ibid*: also Church of God Evangel July 21, 1951, 8.
237. Conn, C., cites the First Annual Report of the Full Gospel Church of God Mission Board Dec. 1951, *op. cit.* 2.
238. Chawner, C.W., In Journeys Often, cited in Fellowship No. 5, 1978, 10.
239. Interview with early Assemblies of God pioneer, W.F. Mullan his article in Fellowship No. 5 1978, 10.
240. Fellowship, *ibid*, 10; interview with W.F. Mullan.
241. *ibid.*
242. *ibid.*
243. *ibid.*
244. *ibid*, 11.
245. Hollenweger, W., The Pentecostals *op. cit.* 122.
246. Fellowship *op. cit.* 11.
247. Hollengweger, W., *op. cit.* 122.
248. W.F. Mullen's information.
249. cf. Pamphlet on Emmanuel Press by David Newington, its present director;
W.F. Mullan's information.
250. Fellowship, No. 3 1979 Part two, 12.
251. *ibid*;
J.W. Stegmann's letter to the writer dated 14-4-80; Stegman was General Secretary of the Assemblies of God in 1980.
252. *ibid*; His life and work had been widely researched cf. Schlossler, Katesa, Eingeborenenkirchen in Süd-und Südwestafrika Mayer, Philip, Townsmen or Tribesmen; Dobb, A., Community of the Saved.
253. Hollenweger, W., *op. cit.*, 122 cites an occasion when black ministers were separated in the conference dining rooms and quarters;
Wilson, E.G., Making Many Rich, 21.
254. Pentecost No. 58 Dec 1961, 6;
Nichol, J.T.; *op. cit.* 172.
255. Fellowship No. 3, 1976, Part 2, 7.

256. Hollenweger, W., op. cit. 122.
257. Other white leaders who also exercise autocratic rule called 'Apostolic rule' in these circles are to be found in the AOG in SA.; Interviews with W.F. Mullan and Stephen Govender.
258. W.H. Hollenweger cites the views of M.L. Martin in his assessment here, The Pentecostals, op. cit. 124. He used her view that racial prejudice is the distinguishing feature of apartheid. This policy has since undergone a revision by its apologists and it is now formulated as a policy to keep different races 'separate but equal'.
259. This is widely known; also newspaper cuttings from the Rand Daily Mail (The writer obtained these cuttings from Pastor C.J.J. Snyman, superintendent of the Indian section of the Pentecostal Protestant Church, the dates were omitted.)
W. Hollenweger's date here (1964) is incorrect, op. cit. 121.
260. Die Slag van Soutrivier a document put out in October 1958 by the congregation explains the course of development and the reasons for the schism.
261. Letter to the Apostolic Faith Mission Executive 1.6. 1956.
262. *ibid.*
263. Die slag van Soutrivier, op. cit. 5.
264. *ibid.*
265. *ibid.*
266. *ibid.*
267. Letter to the AFM Executive to Salt River congregation dated 13.8.1958.
268. Statute 22(a) Ordinance L14.
269. Letter of Executive to Pastor A.G. Bester dated 13.8.58.
270. Die slag van Salt-Rivier, op. cit. 9.
271. The judgement delivered on 8 October 1959 in the Supreme Court of South Africa, Cape of Good Hope, Provincial Division where the Board were the applicants and the Apostolic Faith Mission, the Respondent: copy in hand.
272. Copy of Judgement, *ibid*, 10.
273. Letter of General Secretary to Pastor A.G. Bester dated 4 September, 1958.

274. Die slag van Salt-Rivier, op. cit 10-11; also Record of Supreme Court Case: Cape of Good Hope Provincial Division, 3.
275. *ibid*, 11.
276. *ibid*.

CHAPTER 2

THE BACKGROUND AND LIFE-SITUATION OF INDIAN PENTECOSTALISM

We are concerned here with the history of Indians in Natal in order to understand the context in which Pentecostalism took root.

The history of South Africa's immigrant Indians, who were mainly indentured labourers, is a description of an intense socio-economic struggle which was aggravated by a hostile political setting. It is this struggle which explains the breaking up of the cultural and societal homogeneity of the Indian community and the fact that it has remained largely a marginal community, in a state of 'culture-shock'.

These considerations are of particular importance since it was a certain under-privileged sector of the Indians who were attracted to Pentecostal-type Christianity. The socio-cultural upheavals amongst these people created an anxiety¹ to which Pentecostalism addressed itself.

2.1

Indians came to South Africa in 1860 only after protracted wrangling between Natal's colonial government and the Government of India.² The Indian immigrant was a pawn in the game of colonial economics. 'The self interest of the European brought the Indian to South Africa' wrote J.H. Hofmeyr. 'Self interest', he added, 'has sought to get rid of him from the country; self interest, in so far as this cannot be achieved, is determined to keep him in what is regarded his place'.³

Local black labour was not available.⁴ Leonard Thompson observes that '... so far as things can be said to be inevitable, the importation of foreign labour to Natal was the inevitable sequel to the adoption of a dual policy. Since Natal was treated both as a Native State and as a European colony, the natives were self-sufficient and the colonists had to look elsewhere for labour'.⁵ Colin Bundy in a more recent study confirms

this when he⁶ points out that this period saw 'the rise in the black peasantry' which made the 'natives' to a large extent economically self-sufficient.⁷

Furthermore, the use of convict, ex-negro slaves or Chinese⁸ labour was deemed inappropriate.⁹ A meeting held in Durban on October 10, 1851, to discuss the acute labour problem in Natal, resolved that 'the introduction of the coolies would be the salvation of the colony'.¹⁰ This resolution reflects the general attitude of the colonists in Natal at the time.¹¹

The majority of Indians who came to Natal from 1860 onwards came as indentured labourers, most of whom were Tamil, Telegu and Hindi speaking Hindus. In 1860 five ships brought 1 527 immigrants¹²; in the 51 years from 1860 to 1911, 152 184 came.¹³

A small group of 'passenger' Indians who were British subjects and who were either Muslim or Gujerati speaking Hindus also came from Mauritius and India. In 1887 the Wragge Commission estimated their number to be about 1000.¹⁴ By 1891 their numbers had grown to 6 000.¹⁵

The indentured-labourer group who were of the poorest stratum of society in India, expected to be better off in South Africa than the pariah or Sudra of India's caste-ridden society. Some among them had been beguiled into coming with false promises of 'over-night' wealth.¹⁶

The 'passenger-Indian' group consisted of traders who had hoped to benefit from the new trading opportunities afforded by the growing Indian population; and particularly from meeting the demand for eastern foods which no one else could supply.¹⁷

Their numbers in comparison with the labourer-class and the 'free' Indian group remained small. (cf. Table 1).

TABLE 1Natal Indian Population totals : 1866-1911

| YEAR | INDIAN POPULATION TOTAL |
|------|-------------------------|
| 1886 | 5041 |
| 1874 | 6787 |
| 1880 | 1 8877 |
| 1885 | 2 9357 |
| 1891 | 4 1142 |
| 1904 | 10 0918 |
| 1911 | 13 3419 |

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2.2

The immigrants provided the anticipated muscle for the local sugar industry.¹⁹ In 1857 and 1858 sugar exports were valued at £2 009 and £3 860 respectively²⁰ but within three years of their arrival this figure rose to £26 000. The fourth year saw a phenomenal jump to almost £100000.²¹

J.R. Saunders testified before the Wragge Commission that 'the revenue increased four fold within a few years ... (the) progress gave encouragement to everyone from the Berg to the sea'.²²

Sir Liege Hulett speaking in the Natal Parliament on July 14, 1908 put the matter thus,

As you will know, and as few others in this Assembly may know, it was absolutely necessary to save the Colony from ruin - nothing more or less. The industries of this Colony began in a small way, chiefly on the coast, and were fostered and helped by the Native labour of the Country to a certain point. But the productive capacity of the country was such that it soon outstripped the available labour and the industries were on the point of absolute extinction until the voice of the Legislative demanded

that we should do what other colonies similarly had done, apply to India for relief. From that day began the material prosperity of Natal; and if it had not been for that commencement Natal could not be today in the position it holds as the premier producing country in South Africa (i.e. in agricultural matters).²³

2.3

Although the Indians were making their contribution to the economic prosperity of Natal, their socio-economic deprivation soon became obvious.²⁴ The return of the first group of labourers to India on the expiration of their ten year contract exposed the plight of the Indian labourer and the Indian Government immediately stopped any further emigration to Natal.²⁵

The 'Coolie Commission' of 1872, which was appointed to investigate the immigrants' complaints, made a few recommendations to improve the lot of the Indians in Natal. This included the abolition of corporal punishment, provision of schools and grants of land.²⁶ Nearly all these recommendations were passed through the Natal Legislature without 'any recorded division, nor does a study of the newspapers of the time suggest any popular opposition'.²⁷

Emigration was allowed again from 1874 onwards and the next few years proved peaceful for Indians in Natal.

2.4

However, this lull was short-lived. With the resumption of immigration the Indian population in Natal increased sharply (cf. Table 2); from 5 933 at the end of 1872 to 29 828 by the end of June 1886.²⁸ It became clear that the number of Indians to that of Whites in Natal was becoming 'dangerously' equal (cf. Table 2) and this fueled the strong anti-asiatic feeling which emerged in the 1880's.

TABLE 2Natal Population Totals 1859-1960

| YEAR | WHITES | INDIANS | BLACKS | TOTAL |
|------|---------|---------|-----------|-----------|
| 1859 | 11 580 | - | 148 590 | 160 170 |
| 1866 | 16 963 | 5 041 | 170 855 | 192 859 |
| 1874 | 18 646 | 6 787 | 281 797 | 307 230 |
| 1880 | 25 271 | 18 877 | 362 477 | 406 625 |
| 1885 | 36 701 | 29 357 | 377 581 | 443 369 |
| 1891 | 46 788 | 41 142 | 483 690 | 571 620 |
| 1904 | 97 109 | 100 918 | 904 041 | 1 108 754 |
| 1911 | 98 115 | 133 419 | 953 398 | 1 194 043 |
| 1921 | 136 887 | 141 600 | 1 139 804 | 1 429 398 |
| 1936 | 190 549 | 183 661 | 1 553 629 | 1 946 468 |
| 1946 | 236 694 | 232 317 | 1 708 483 | 2 202 392 |
| 1951 | 274 240 | 299 491 | 1 801 102 | 2 415 318 |
| 1960 | 337 409 | 394 807 | 2 199 578 | 2 977 084 |

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Note: The coloured population is also included in the total for the years 1904-1960.³⁰

It was not merely their growing numbers but the allegation that they were adversely affecting white commerce and economics that seemed to constitute the problem. The Wragge Commission reported that there were 1 671 Indians in Pietermaritzburg by 1885. Some owned freehold properties worth £7 000 and 110 had hawkers' licences.³¹ In Durban 3 867 Indians owned freehold property worth £33 000.³²

The greater portion of the Indian population by 1885 were 'free' Indians and this group obviously grew as indentured periods expired. (cf. Table 3)

TABLE 3

The Numbers of Free (including Passenger) and Indentured Indians in Natal, 1981-1909

| YEAR | FREE INDIANS | INDENTURED INDIANS |
|------|--------------|--------------------|
| 1871 | 5 070 | - |
| 1886 | 20 877 | 8 951 |
| 1890 | 23 793 | 9 701 |
| 1893 | 26 312 | 16 655 |
| 1909 | 65 917 | 42 777 |

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Some of these 'free' Indians started small shops; others became household servants, market gardeners, or commercial and industrial labourers. (cf. Table 4)

TABLE 4

Occupation Structure of the Indian population of Natal-1904

| CATEGORY | MALE | FEMALE | TOTAL |
|--------------|--------|--------|---------|
| Professional | 354 | 28 | 382 |
| Domestic | 3 703 | 17 770 | 21 473 |
| Commercial | 4 010 | 147 | 5 058 |
| Agricultural | 26 354 | 6 078 | 32 436 |
| Industrial | 12 277 | 60 | 12 337 |
| Indefinite | 44 | 5 | 49 |
| Dependent | 15 683 | 13 280 | 28 963 |
| Unspecified | 168 | 52 | 220 |
| Total | 63 497 | 37 421 | 100 918 |

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The preceding free-hold property statistics of the Wragge Commission fails to make a clear distinction between 'passenger' and 'free' Indian ownership. The former, a small social elite (misleadingly called 'Arabs') were mainly Muslim and Gujerati-Hindu traders; businessmen who had paid their own way. As free British subjects with international trade connections they had the advantages that the 'free' Indian aspiring to enter commerce lacked.³⁵ The effect of the 'passenger' Indian trader on the commercial ambitions of the rest of the 'free' Indian community was largely negative³⁶ in 1880, 30 of the 37 retail stores were owned by free Indians yet in 1885, 40 of the 66 retail stores were owned by 'passenger' Indians.³⁷

Unfortunately the success of 'passenger' Indians, though a minority, was classed by the colonists under the broad heading of 'Indian progress' thus distorting the picture of the real plight of the majority of the people: 94.4% of the labour force was still involved in unskilled occupations in 1891³⁸ and 89% in 1904.³⁹ A comparison between the numbers involved in agricultural and industrial labour and those in commercial activity confirms this view. (cf. table 6).

Obviously then, it was the minority 'passenger' Indian group that had set itself up as rivals to white business⁴⁰ and had drawn the early anti-Indian reaction.⁴¹

A.J. Arkin makes the point that in the initial years 'the Indian community ... was not regarded as a homogeneous entity'.⁴² He claims that, 'The economic, social and legal positions of indentured, ex-indentured workers and passenger Indians were carefully separated by the authorities of the day',⁴³ but he goes on to point out that as 'these barriers rapidly withered in subsequent years, Indians were treated as a single community'.⁴⁴ In his evaluation Arkin fails to see that in fact the 'barriers' were still there well into the next century. The 'free' Indian population had been moving to tenant plots or to the city. In the face of this movement the authorities could no longer adequately distinguish between the economic, social and legal positions of indentured, ex-indentured workers and passenger Indians.

2.5

By the 1880's there was widespread reaction to the whole Indian community. The Wragge Commission of 1885 was appointed to investigate the causes of this reaction. In its assessment which was in the main favourable to the continued presence of Indians in Natal, it noted that 'the majority of the white colonists were strongly opposed to the Indian as a rival and competitor both in agriculture and in commerce'.⁴⁵

For our purpose, it suffices to stress the fact that the minority group which only formed some ten percent of the total Indian community⁴⁶ had been largely responsible for the antagonism of the majority of the white colonists. Statistical evidence shows that in 1887 only 4 000 of the 32312 Indians were 'passenger-Indians' (i.e. Muslims and 'Bunyas'.) By 1893 this number rose to 5 500 ⁴⁷ when the total Indian population was already in excess of 45 000. ⁴⁸

2.6

The widespread hostility to 'Indians' resulted in calls for the cessation of further Indian immigration and for their repatriation. Their 'imported labour' was compared to the utilitarian worth of oxen from Mauritius or machinery from Glasgow and was considered similarly expendable.⁴⁹

A variant of the Binns-Mason proposal that Indians should be encouraged to return to India motivated the introduction of an annual tax of £3 levied under the Indian Immigration Law of 1895.⁵⁰ Every Indian immigrant who did not renew his indenture or return to India was liable to pay this tax. Furthermore, in spite of Mahatma Gandhi's petition⁵¹ which was signed by 9 000 Indians⁵² the Disfranchisement Law was passed unanimously by both Houses of the Natal Parliament and confirmed by a further disenfranchisement law: Act 8 of 1897 which was passed by the British Government.⁵³

2.7

This new anti-Asiatic mood overlooked the original conditions under which Indians had been invited. The possibility that 'numbers of the coolie families would remain as industrious settlers after their term of service expired' was never questioned initially.⁵⁴ Ferguson-Davie who made a study of the legal basis of the original contracts declared, 'How erroneous is the commonly held idea (which was put forward in the Senate and in the House of Assembly) that the Indians first came to Natal on condition that when their period of indenture was finished they should go back at once to India'.⁵⁵ Any such move would have been inconsistent with the procedure in the other British colonies that had procured Indian indenture labour.⁵⁶

2.8

The Pentecostal movement took root mainly among the labouring ex-indentured class (the Indian peasant), not the trading 'free' and 'passenger' classes who were, as we have already shown, a minority group.⁵⁷ The first shipload from Madras that arrived on November 16, 1860 included only 12% Muslims, 1% Rajputs (from the 'fighter' caste), a few traders⁵⁸ and 5% Christians.⁵⁹ The second shipload also contained only 5% Brahmins (the 'priestly caste') and 5% Rajputs.⁶⁰ This means that the vast majority were Hindus of the 'Sudra' group⁶¹ (i.e. the lower classes of Indian social stratification. Gandhi called these the Harijans - 'children of God' in an attempt to remove the social stigma attached to them.)

Furthermore, the first shiploads carried those who, although they had initially worked the sugar cane fields 'were not so much field labourers as mechanics, household servants, domestics, gardeners and trades people'.⁶² Among them also were barbers, carpenters, accountants and grooms.⁶³ This explains why as soon as their indentured periods were over they branched out into market gardening, became shop assistants, home helpers, handymen, hotel workers,⁶⁴ factory workers and employees of

the Durban Corporation.⁶⁵ (cf. also Table 4). If they had been allowed to evolve without interference, a self-sufficient middle class would have soon emerged.⁶⁶

That this did not happen was due to the resettlement programmes of the Government.⁶⁷ During the 1930's and 1940's market gardeners, for instance, were gradually moved out of municipal areas and their holdings were converted into residential or industrial sites. Some became tenant farmers on white holdings while others turned to the cities for work.⁶⁸ Moreover the process of urbanisation committed the bulk of the Indian population to the life of a landless community.

2.9

There were other implications as a result of the urbanisation process of this community: The original percentage of the Indian indentured workers allocated to sugar plantations had risen from 70 in 1860 ⁶⁹ to 83 in 1875 ⁷⁰ respectively. Yet this percentage had dropped to 27% in 1909.⁷¹ The percentage of economically active Indians in agriculture likewise steadily dropped: from 34,9 in 1921 and 27,2 in 1936 to 17,3 in 1946.⁷²

TABLE 5

The number of Indians and Blacks employed on the sugar estates, 1910-1945

| YEAR | NUMBER OF INDIANS | % | NUMBER OF BLACKS | % |
|------|-------------------|----|------------------|----|
| 1910 | 18 270 | 88 | 2 380 | 12 |
| 1925 | 11 440 | 29 | 27 873 | 71 |
| 1933 | 8 020 | 17 | 40 263 | 83 |
| 1945 | 4 500 | 7 | 55 778 | 93 |

In the period 1910 to 1945 the proportion of Indians (i.e. of the total labour force) on the sugar estates fell from 88% to 7%, almost directly the inverse of the case for Africans. Further, while the number of the Black labourers on Natal farms from 1911 to 1936 rose from 45 499 to 120 198, that of Indians dropped from 26 030 to 16 198.⁷⁴ These figures indicate that in the 1920's when Pentecostalism first entered the Indian community, urbanisation was well advanced.

In 1890 the towns in Natal were predominantly white.⁷⁵ By 1904 Indians made up 23.4% of Durban and 19.68% of Pietermaritzburg.⁷⁶ The 'trek' from the sugar estates had gained momentum by 1904.⁷⁷ In 1911 half of all Indians were living in urban areas⁷⁸ and by 1945 this rose to 75%.⁷⁹ A.J. Arkin points out that by 1946 the Indians had 'lost their position as the main constituent of the agricultural workforce of Natal'.⁸⁰

The unskilled and semi-skilled job opportunities in the cities were proving 'more attractive' by the mid-40' of this century.⁸¹ (cf. Table 6)

TABLE 6

Industry Distribution of the Economically Active Indian Population
of South Africa, 1911-1946

| Industry Division | 1911 | 1921 | 1936 | 1946 |
|---------------------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Agriculture | 36 238 | 19 625 | 18 056 | 13 691 |
| % | 34 | 31,7 | 27,2 | 17,3 |
| Mining | 3 739 | 2 025 | 862 | 602 |
| % | 3,5 | 3,3 | 1,3 | 0,8 |
| Manufacturing | 21 861 | 5 538 | 9 057 | 16 565 |
| % | 20,7 | 8,9 | 13,6 | 20,9 |
| Construction | | | 1 133 | 1 733 |
| % | | | 1,7 | 2,2 |
| Commerce | 10 307 | 13 327 | 17 263 | 19 086 |
| % | 9,8 | 21,5 | 26 | 24,1 |
| Transport and Communications | | 3 513 | 1 617 | 2 178 |
| % | | 5,7 | 2,4 | 2,8 |
| Services | 31 339 | 6 066 | 12 980 | 13 214 |
| % | 29,7 | 9,8 | 19,8 | 16,7 |
| Indefinite and Unspecified | 2 026 | 11 835 | 5 358 | 12 100 |
| % | 1,9 | 19,1 | 8 | 15,2 |

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Moving away from agricultural labour to 'city work' exposed the Indian to all the difficulties and problems which accompany urbanization. Also there was in the case of the Indian the fact that the majority of the new urban dwellers were not likely to become house owners for a long time if at all. This meant, as Brijlal Pachai put it, 'the loss of the Indian's most treasured possession: a piece of land where a sense of possession would provide tremendous advantages for the individual and the nation'.⁸³

Amongst the other immediate results of urbanisation we may list the following,

- (i) Young Indians were now influenced by western, English-language based education which accelerated change in habits and lifestyle.⁸⁴

(ii) The joint-family system (kutum) though still fairly intact by the mid-twenties was 'visibly diminishing'.⁸⁵

(iii) There was a great impact on the life of the Indian community through the unavoidable exposure to western, secular influences.⁸⁶ Acculturation was accelerated. The Indian élite, observed Peter Hey, was now entirely urbanised.⁸⁷

(iv) Among the mass of the population, caste differences were becoming slowly blurred⁸⁸ and well established social customs had either changed or were neglected.⁸⁹

Many lived in the rented small quarters and even single rooms on the outskirts of Durban and Pietermaritzburg; both industrial cities attracted the largest concentration of Indians. The areas outside the Durban city limits which had become densely populated by Indians included Clairwood, Rosburgh, Seaview, Stellawood, Umbilo, Fenniscowles, Cato Manor, Mayville, Overport, Newlands, Avoca, Puntan's Hill and Springfield. It is not surprising then that these areas should have become the homes of the first Indian Pentecostal congregations. (cf. chapter 3)

Indians who worked for the Durban Corporation and the Railways lived in the Barracks provided for them to the north-east of the city centre. Indeed Bethesda's labours were born in these barracks. The AFM and Assemblies of God congregations were also located in this section of the community. (cf. chapter 3) The AFM had worked initially among a similar sector of the community who had settled near smaller towns on the Natal North coast and it worked among the barracks dwellers at mill-settlements.

2.10

This same majority group had also gone uncared for and seemingly unnoticed in all the wranglings between the governments of Natal and Transvaal and the Indian traders.⁹⁰ Excluded from the voters' roll were all persons who, not being of European origin, were natives of countries who had not

hitherto possessed elective representative institutions founded on the parliamentary franchise. Whatever might be said about the unfairness or inconsistency of the status quo, our purpose here is to show that these measures did not really affect the 'silent majority' then. They had never been on the voters roll. The disfranchisement laws meant only that no new names could be added. Thus less than 30 years after this enactment only 11 Indians' names were left on the Durban municipal voters' roll.⁹¹

The various laws enacted in the Transvaal were also chiefly aimed at the 'trading class', but the wording of the law affected the whole Indian community. Such legislation gazetted in quick succession includes, the Law 3 of 1885 which drastically limited the chances of Indians to acquire fixed property;⁹² the proclamation of April 1899 in the name of the State President which announced the separate streets, wards and locations for Asiatic residence and trade (this laid the basis for the later Group Areas Act) and the compromise rulings of the Asiatics (Land and Trading) Amendment Act (Transvaal) 1919 in the form of Act 37 of 1919. This Act permitted those who were legally engaged in trade on proclaimed land on May 1917 to continue to hold the right on the same ground, in the same township and the ownership of fixed property by companies, provided Indians did not have controlling influence. Although technically such legislation was directed against the minority trading class the legislation had been so worded that it could be used carte blanche against other groups of Indians.

Furthermore, mass protests and passive resistance movements, and even the valiant work of the great Mahatma served to draw attention to the Indian businessman particularly.

What we have claimed so far may be further illustrated by the achievements of the South African Indian Conference which had been formed through the initiative of the Cape British Indian Council. Its immediate achievement was Act 37 of 1919 to which we have referred. We point out once more the important fact that the petitions which demanded such restrictions were submitted by a distinct class of whites consisting of traders and merchants who wanted to eliminate the commercial competition of Indian traders.⁹³

With regard to the above, it should be pointed out that existing 'histories' of South Africa as well as those that deal with the Indian community specifically have neglected to take into account the important distinction between the small trading group and the larger labouring group. This is obvious in the attitude of the whites who in practice and legislation insisted on lumping them all together. The 'sins' of the traders were thus 'visited' on the 'Indians' as a whole. Yet it is interesting to note that the Indian traders themselves were not unaware of the importance of making such a distinction: for example, in reaction to a petition against them on May 26, 1884 they replied on August 25 with a counter-petition pointing out among other matters the difference between themselves and the labouring class of Indians and the Chinese.⁹⁴ Such misconceptions fostered antagonism against Indians in general: for example with the legal restrictions on Indian commerce came also the call for repatriation of all Indians. That much of the urgency concerning the demand for Indian repatriation was based on ignorance may be seen from the 'carrot' that accompanied the 'stick'. In 1914 with the passing of the Indian Relief Act 22 repatriation was made more attractive: section 6 offered a free passage to India.⁹⁵ In 1921 a bonus of £5 per head with a maximum of £20 per family was offered.⁹⁶ Three years later this bonus was doubled per head and the maximum per family was raised to £50.⁹⁷ After the 'Round Table Conference' from (17 Dec 1926 to 11 Jan 1927), which had been requested by the Indian Government to discuss, with the South African government the problems of the Indian community, the repatriation programme continued under a new guise, 'assisted emigration'. By mid 1926, 20 384 were repatriated under Act 22 of 1914. One third of these were South African born.⁹⁸

Now Gandhi had been of the opinion that such 'voluntary' repatriation would not attract large numbers.⁹⁹ By 1930 he was proved correct for the scheme had virtually broken down. We note especially the following factors:

(i) By 1921 the majority (63%) of Indians in South Africa were South African born: This figure rose to 82% in 1936.¹⁰⁰

(ii) Others, born in India, would not have been able by the late 20's to re-integrate into the society in India.¹⁰¹

(iii) Where inter-caste marriages had taken place this offered an additional obstacle to re-integration in India.¹⁰²

(iv) Many perceptive Indians rejected the scheme on moral grounds. They felt that they had a right as South Africans to remain in the land of their birth.¹⁰³

2.11

However, the general anti-Asiatic mood in Natal expressed itself not only in schemes of this kind. Concern for a 'White South Africa' went much deeper: for example Act 37 of 1919 which 'neither pleased the Indian nor the white'¹⁰⁴ led to a meeting of the anti-Asiatic League on September 4 and 5 of 1919. Here a certain L.J. Phillips stated that 'the Asiatic menace threatened the Union at its very foundation. Unless the Union realised the danger, South Africa would not remain a country for white men and women'.¹⁰⁵ The poor Indian labourer in the Magazine and Railway Barracks in Durban or in a settlement like Umzinto or Renishaw to the south of Durban,¹⁰⁶ was drawn into a conflict he did not understand and for which he was not responsible.¹⁰⁷ It is quite logical to expect among this group feelings of alarm and great insecurity. Worse was yet to come.

With the restrictive measures introduced in the 1920's to solve the 'poor white' problem, Indians began to feel the effects of this attitude more directly. For example, Indians were replaced in unskilled government services and on the Railways by whites at higher wage levels.¹⁰⁸ In 1920 the Railways employed 3 000 Indians. By 1930 this had been reduced to 500.¹⁰⁹

By the second decade of this century the attitudes of the white colonists had become openly racist.¹¹⁰ Consequently Indian insecurity con-

tinued to increase in the remaining years of the first half of this century, aggravated largely by harsher political impositions on the community as a whole.

The Indian Act XIV of 1910 ended the emigration of indentured labourers to Natal from July 1, 1911.¹¹¹ The Union's Immigration Act of 1913 announced the beginning of permanent and effective restriction on all Indian (including 'free' Indian) immigration.

It is clear then, that the birth of the Union of South Africa in 1910 did nothing to ease the uncertainty of the Indian's position. It merely helped to propagate the myth of the progress of the 'average Indian' more extensively by treating the Indian community as a single homogeneous unit.¹¹²

After the accession of the Hertzog government in 1924 Natal was once again the 'centre of gravity' rather than the Transvaal. The difference between the Smuts and Hertzog governments was one of 'degree rather than principle'.¹¹³ For the Pact government in the 1920's the 'poor White problem' became so crucial that it attempted to solve the problem at the expense of all the other race groups in the city.¹¹⁴ Not only did it introduce a policy of industrial stimulation to provide employment for between 200 000 to 300 000 (about 1/8 of the white population in the 1920's)¹¹⁵ it also passed legislation to protect whites from competition from other races: for example, the Apprenticeship Act (Act 26/1922), the Industrial Conciliation Act (No. 11/1924), the Mines and Works Amendment Act (No. 29/1926) and the Wages Act (No. 27/1926). The negative effect of these laws on the economic and social life of the black and Indian has now become abundantly clear.¹¹⁶

Furthermore, the closing months of the twenties ushered in the Great Depression (1929 - 1932) which further accentuated the plight of the poor in this country. South Africa's economy slumped in the face of a world-wide economic depression. This was worsened by the fact that Britain left the Gold Standard in 1931. It was not until 1933 that production once again reached the 1928 level.¹¹⁷

While the whole country suffered economically, it was the 'non-whites' who had to bear the brunt. The number of workers in industry decreased by 9000, the majority of whom were not white. The position of the white industrial worker actually improved slightly during those years. The 'civilised' labour policy and the 'whites only' Industrial councils of the Department of Labour were primarily responsible for this.¹¹⁸

In 1925, Dr Malan introduced the Area Reservation Bill, the first formal antecedent of the Group Areas Act.¹¹⁹ Between 1930 and 1940 the principles of Malan's Bill were gradually refined and enacted. In May 1930 the Transvaal Land Tenure (Amendment) Bill was introduced, and became Law in 1932.¹²⁰ This anticipated the eventual Transvaal Asiatics' Land and Trading Bill of 1939¹²¹ and the Trading and Occupation Land (Transvaal and Natal) Restriction Act (The Pegging Act) of 1946. The latter made it illegal for the Indian to own land outside the areas fixed by the Feetham Commission of 1935.¹²² While Natal did not legalise separation until 1946 it had the 'necessity clause' whereby careful control of the Indian commercial ambition could be maintained.¹²³

In 1940 Anti-Asiatic agitation increased when Indians purchased properties on the Lower Berea when the whites moved out between 1927 and 1940.¹²⁴

Dr Malan's Government of 1948 was 'more committed to restrictions on Indians than its predecessors'.¹²⁵ The Group Areas Act was passed in 1950¹²⁶ and was the logical outcome of the Asiatic Land Tenure Act of 1946. This Act was an important 'pillar' in Malan's grand design of 'The Separate Development Policy'. What was already a part of the policies of previous governments since the Union¹²⁷ now became entrenched as part of the ideology of apartheid.¹²⁸

This meant that while in 1950, Indians made up 34% of Durban's population¹²⁹ they were now called 'disqualified persons' in terms of the law and were forced to move on official notification. By 1974, 41 782 families were disqualified which added up to 276 000 people, 40% of the Indian population.¹³⁰

2.12

The first 'trek' from the country to the city (urbanisation) was now followed by a second movement, from the city to ethnic locations, the two main ones being Chatsworth and Phoenix.¹³¹ In 1967, 1/3 of the total Indian population in South Africa was housed in Chatsworth, 30 kms. away from the city centre.¹³² In 1972, 27 694 of the disqualified families had been resettled, leaving 10 641 families without accommodation.¹³³ These population shifts not only increased the anxiety¹³⁴ and upset the socio-cultural spheres of the community but also caused the Indian to suffer great financial loss as a result of the expropriation of their properties during the resettlement scheme of the government. They received the 'municipal value' prices of their land rather than the 'market value' which was far more.¹³⁵

The Pentecostal churches followed the same pattern during the resettlement as during urbanisation when they established branches, 'house-churches', and 'cell groups' throughout Chatsworth and Phoenix. However, while the 'established' Pentecostal churches followed their members into the new Indian areas (cf. chapter 3), Pentecostal activity during the second demographical movement gave rise to numerous secessions from the 'established' Pentecostal churches and to several new independent churches as well. (cf. chapter 5).

SUMMARY AND SIGNIFICANCE

1. The history of Indians in South Africa has been bedevilled by socio-cultural insecurity and anxiety which was the result of:

(i) the disillusionment that arose from frustrated hopes in the early years of their stay (2.1) despite the positive effect their coming had on the local economy (2.2);

(ii) the ill-treatment some sections of the community received at the hands of the colonist - farmers in Natal (2.3), hence the Coolie Commission of 1872;

(iii) the ambivalent attitudes towards Indians which ranged from acceptance at times (2.7) to outright rejection at other times (2.6); hence the Wragge Commission of 1885 (2.5);

(iv) the flagrant racism and prejudicial laws (2.11);

(v) the repeated call for repatriation which began in the 1880's in spite of the initial conditions under which the indentured labourers were brought here and which resulted in the Binns - Mason Recommendations of 1890, and the series of laws against Indians.(2.9)

Pentecostalism addressed itself to this anxiety both in its theological emphasis and practice (cf. chapter 3 and 4).

2. The masses who were of the lower 'castes' and economic sectors bore the brunt of the resultant deprivations:

(i) they suffered as a result of the myth of the progress of the 'average Indian' since they were confused with the affluent sections of the community who were always a small minority and who alone could have rivalled white business (2.2, 2.10);

(ii) this confusion led to increased tension in the community (2.7), since the laws passed to curb 'Indian rivalry' affected the whole community not only the minority traders (2.9);

The poorer classes were thus more exposed to the erosion of their traditional life-style and the 'burden' on their traditional religion to offer viability and security increased greatly.

3. The series of laws that deprived Indians of their land and their tenancy on farms (2.8) led to the 'fall of the Indian peasantry' (2.8) and an increase in the 'landless' sections of this community.

The resultant urbanisation which continued throughout the first half of this century also served to erode the traditions of this group but it also questioned the viability of the traditional world view to cope with these new circumstances. (2.9)

Pentecostalism which took root in these urban settlements effectively addressed itself to these new needs which many of its adherents had experienced.

4. The 1920's which saw the introduction of Pentecostalism into the Indian community was especially marked by a number of unsettling events.

(i) The Round-Table Conference of 1928 (2.10);

(ii) The Pact Government's policy to protect the 'poor whites' by law from competition from any other race (2.11);

(iii) The Great Depression (1929 - 1932) that increased the economic stress nationally (2.10);

(iv) Restrictive laws especially the first semblances of the Group Areas Act (2.11).

5. There were two major mass movements of Indians:

(i) During the 1920's when most of the Indians had moved from the sugar estates to the cities in search of jobs ;

(ii) During the 1960's when they moved from the cities to the 'locations' as a result of the Group Areas Act. (10)

Pentecostal churches grew extensively during these two demographic shifts. The established Pentecostal churches took root and developed during the first, while the independent Indian Pentecostal groups flourished during the second.

1. This will become evident in the course of the survey: Only since the sixties has the Nationalist policy adopted a more conciliatory attitude to Indians but insisted nonetheless that they were different and perhaps inferior South African Nationals. Brookes, E. and Webb A History of Natal, 293 Prior to that they were uncertain whether they would be sent back to India or allowed to remain in Natal.
2. This is generally accepted by historians. Thompson, L.M. Indian Immigration into Natal. 1860-1872 Archives Year Book for South African History, Vol. 11; Ferguson-Davie, C.I., The Early History of Indians in Natal; Woods, C.A., The Indian Community of Natal; Stein, Z.A., A History of Indian Settlement in Natal from 1870-1893; Pachai, B., The International Aspects of the South African Indian Question.
3. J.H. Hofmeyr cited in Pachai, B., 'The Emergence of the Question of the South African as an International Issue, 1860-1961, 48.
4. The Natal Mercury, 26 October 1855 (refers to the attempts at inducing Blacks to work on the estates);
The Natal Mercury, 4 February 1858 (refers to a plan to attract Black labour from Zululand and Mozambique);
The Natal Mercury, 18 February 1858 (refers to Shepstone's scrapping of this plan).
5. Thompson, L., op. cit. Chapter VI, 8;
Palmer, M., 'The History of the Indians in Natal'
6. Bundy, C., The Rise and Fall of the South African peasantry. The rise of an economically stable African middle class is one of the theses of the book.
7. The break-down of the stabilising Black land-dwelling class is discussed in:
Trollope, A., South Africa II, 108;
De Kiewiet, C.W., A History of South Africa: Social and Economic 83-84;
Wilson, M. and Thompson, L., (ed.) The Oxford History of South Africa II, 117;
The Wragge Commission Report (1887), 84-9;
8. N.M. 13 September, 1860.
9. The Natal Mercury, 5 April 1860.
10. Resolution cited in Ferguson-Davie, op. cit.3.
11. Walker, E.A., The British Empire, 38;
Anstey, V., The Economic Development of India, 309-10;
Burns, A., History of the British West Indies, 663;
Imperial Blue Book cd. 5192 'Report of the Committee on Emigration from India to the Crown Colonies and Protectorates' 1910 ;
These indicate the excellent results the 'indentured Indian Labour scheme' achieved in British colonies elsewhere, especially in Mauritius and the West Indies sugar industries.

12. Arkin, A.J., The Contribution of the Indians to the South African Economy 1860-1970 35.
13. Choonoo, A.G., 'Indentured Indian Immigration into Natal, with particular reference to its role in the Development of the Natal Sugar Industry 1860-1911, 144-145.
14. Report of the Indian Immigrants Commission (Wragge) 1887, 70.
15. 1891 Colony of Natal Census Report;
Many of the 'free' Indians returned to Natal as 'passenger' Indians;
Report of the Indian Immigration Commission, (Clayton) 1909-6.
16. Tales of the conniving recruiting agents are still remembered by the elderly. The most ridiculous was the story of one old lady who told me of how her parents led her to believe that gold sovereigns could be found in the field.
17. Wragge Commission Report, op. cit. 70.
18. Sources of information: For the years 1859-1891. Statistical Year book for the colony of Natal 1899, A2;
For 1904-1911 South African Statistics;
Choonoo, A.G., op. cit. 154.
19. Palmer, M., op. cit. 21.
20. Ferguson-Davie, op. cit. 13.
21. Natal Mercury January 19, 1865;
A.G. Choonoo's figures are slightly lower but the sharp increases are still evident, cf. A.G. Choonoo op. cit. 51.
22. Wragge Commission Report, 99.
23. Official Report of the Natal Parliament in the Provincial Council Building cited in Ferguson-Davie op. cit. 88.
24. Brookes, E. and Webb, C., A History of Natal, 88.
25. Thompson, L. op. cit. 57-58;
Palmer, M. op. cit. 31-32;
The Coolie Commission Report N.G.G. No. 1373 17 Sept 1872, 49-50.
26. Report of the Coolie Commission 1872.
27. Brookes, E. and Webb, C., op. cit. 90.
28. G.H. Vol. 1589: Indian Government to the Secretary of State for India, 10 May 1872.
29. Wragge Commission Report, 37.

30. Table prepared from Statistical Yearbooks of the Colony of Natal and South Africa 1970 by A.J. Arkin in his doctoral thesis op. cit. 3.
31. Wragge Commission Report, 285.
32. *ibid.*, 145.
33. Sources:
1871 Natal Blue Book 1871;
1886 Wragge Commission Report (1887) 69;
1890 1891 Colony of Natal Census Report;
1893 1904 Colony of Natal Census Report;
1909 Report of the Indian Immigrants Commission (Clayton) 1909, 6;
Arkin, A.J. *op. cit.* 43.
34. Colony of Natal Census, 1904.
35. The Wragge Commission Report, 82, 148-149.
36. Arkin, A.J., *op. cit.* 70;
The Wragge Commission Report, 148.
37. Wragge Commission Report 1887, p. 75.
38. Census for Natal, 1891.
39. Census for Natal, 1904;
Thompson, L., *op. cit.* 53.
40. The Wragge Commission, 74, 75, 169.
41. Report of the selected committee on Asiatic Grievances 16/1908,
72-76.
42. Arkin, A.J., *op. cit.* 8.
43. *ibid.*
44. *ibid.*;
Palmer, M., *op. cit.* 6.
45. Ferguson-Dave *op. cit.* 22;
Palmer, M., *op. cit.* 6.
46. Kuper, Hilda, Indian People in Natal, 3-4;
This is supported by:
Palmer, M., *op. cit.* 45-6;
Pachai, B., *op. cit.* 1920;
Brookes, E., and Webb, C. *op. cit.* and by implication on, 157.
47. Brookes, E., and Webb, C., *op. cit.* 158
48. *cf.* Table 4.

49. cf. letters to The Natal Witness 8 January, 1875; 20 July, 1877.
50. Clause 6 of Act 17/1895;
Report of the Indian Enquiry Commission V.G. 16/1914 (Solomon), 23.
51. Gandhi, M.K., The Indian Franchise (Durban, nd).
52. Palmer, M., op. cit. 53.
53. Eybers, G.W. Select Constitutional Documents Illustrating South African History, 215.
54. Natal Mercury 20 June 1955;
Law 14 of 1859 confirmed in Section 45;
Law 2 of 1870;
Coolie Commission Report, op. cit. 7,81;
Wragge commission Report, op. cit. 81.
55. Ferguson-Davie, op. cit. 10.
56. cf. rules applicable to Saint Lucia, British Guiana and Trinidad all dated 1854 (Natal Archives, PMB).
57. Ferguson-Davie, op. cit. 10-15.
58. Ferguson-Davie, op. cit. 11.
59. *ibid.*
60. *ibid.*, 12.
61. Thompson, L., op. cit. 20-22.
62. *ibid.*
63. *ibid.*
64. Brookes, E. and Webb, C., op. cit. 87
65. Ferguson-Davie op. cit. 14.
66. cf. also Table 6;
For instance, by 1936, 2 979 'free Indians were involved in market gardening or farming. 2 887 were in the Durban Municipal area. (1936 Census Report V.G. 11/1942, XXVII) The Lange Commission of 1921 pointed out that it was a myth that these gardeners would endanger the progress of white farmers;
Halliday, I.G., Indian Market Gardeners of the Peri-Durban Area;
Report of the Asiatic Inquiry Commission V.G. 4/1921 op. cit. 42;
In 1926 Indians owned only 1 out of every 125 acres in Natal i.e. 0.8% of the arable acres in Natal Arkin, A.J. op. cit. 144;
Report of the Indian Penetration Commission, V.G. 39/41 (Broome), 74.

67. Board of Trade and Industries Report No. 285; Analysis of Railway Rating principles and the Effect of Transport cost on Industrial Development of the Union (1946), 56, cited in Arkin, A.J. op. cit. 148.
68. Hellman, E., (ed.) Handbook on Race Relations in South Africa (1949), 218-225.
69. Arkin, A.J., op. cit. 46.
70. Silver, S.W., Handbook of South Africa, 396-7.
71. Report of the Indian Immigration Commission (Clayton), 4.
72. Brand, S.S., The Contribution of Agriculture to the Economic Development of South Africa since 1910, 107-112.
73. Sources; 1910-1933 Report of the Indians Colonisation Committee V.G. 23/1934, 12;
For 1945 Board of Trade and Industries, Report 1945, 11;
Table prepared by Arkin, A.J., op. cit. 143.
74. Arkin. A.J., op. cit. 144.
75. Wragge Commission Report op. cit. 74-5.
76. Natal Census, 1904.
77. Smith, R.H., Labour Resources in Natal, 19.
78. South African Statistics 1970, A14.
79. *ibid.*
80. Arkin, A.J., op. cit. 141.
81. Naidoo, B.A. and Naidoo, J., Economic Opportunities and mode of living of the Indian Community in The Indian as a South African S.A.I.R.R. (Johannesburg, 1956), 35.
82. Arkin, A.J., op. cit. 141.
83. Pachai, B., (ed.) South Africa's Indians: The Evolution of a Minority, XV.
84. Brookes, E. and Webb, C., op. cit. 260.
85. Kuper, H., op. cit. chapter Vi.
86. Oosthuizen, G.C., Pentecostal Penetration, 49-62.
87. Hey, Peter The Rise of the Natal Indian Elite (Pietermaritzbury 1961).

88. *ibid.*
89. Brookes, E. and Webb, C., *op. cit.* 260.
90. This is evident from our discussion of the legal restraints placed on Indians. Directed primarily to curb Indian trading and farming they were applied to the whole community.
91. Huttenback, R., Gandhi in South Africa, 63;
Bird, J. Annals of Natal, 163.
92. Natal Witness 26 November 1896;
Times of Natal 30 March 1898;
Natal Advertiser 13 September 1898;
Gandhi, M.K. Collected works (Delhi, 1958) III, 31-35;
Barker, A. 'Unification, the Asiatic Difficulty', The African Monthly 1968 IV, 209;
For the motivation of the 'necessity clause' in Natal cf. Report of the Asiatic Inquiry Commission (Lange) V.G. 4/1921, 45.
93. Parchai, B., *op. cit.* 13.
94. The Asiatic Inquiry Commission Report of 1921, 4.
95. Act 22 found in the Recised statutes of the Union of South Africa II, 1912-1916.
96. Interim Report of the Asiatic Inquiry Commission V.G. 37/1920, 3.
97. Hansard, January-March 1926, 1354.
98. Hansard *ibid.*, 998.
99. Hellman, E., (ed.) *op. cit.* 221.
100. Arkin, A.J., *op. cit.* 125.
101. Corbett, J.E., A Study of the Cape Town Agreement, 83;
Palmer, M., The History of Indians in Natal, 104.
102. Calpin, G.H., Indians in South Africa, 71-73;
A Report on the Emigrants Repatriated to India under the assisted Emigration scheme from South Africa (Bihar, India) 15 May 1971, 67.
103. Pachai, B., *op. cit.* 83.
104. Pachai, B., *op. cit.* 83.
105. *ibid.*;
Lange Commission (Report of the Asiatic Inquiry Commission U G 4/1921), 12.
106. Several eelderly Indian folk from these area were interviewed.

107. The epic struggle between Gandhi and Smuts was 'fought' in the Transvaal. The majority of the labouring classes were in Natal.
108. Hobart Houghton, D., The South African Economy, 155.
109. Calpin, G.H., op. cit. 73.
110. Huttenback, Robert A. Racism and Empire White settlers and coloured immigrants in the British self-Governing colonies 1830-1910;
 Van Wyk, A.J., 'Roses and Rue' in Pachai, B. (ed.) South Africa's Indians op. cit. 93-94.
111. Brookes, E. and Webb, C., op. cit. 286.
112. Arkin, A.J., op. cit. 8;
 This is illustrated, for example with the passing of the 'Trading and Occupation of the Land (Transvaal and Natal) Restrictive Act of 1943.
113. Brookes, E. and Webb, C., op. cit. 288.
114. The 'poor white problem' was created when unskilled whites moved to the city especially after the Anglo-Boer War (11 October 1899 - 31 May 1902) and World War I. Their survival was threatened by Blacks who were already there and who had in many ways adapted to urban life better than they had. In order to protect the white community the Blacks, coloureds and Indian were disadvantaged by the law.
115. De Kiewiet, C.W. op. cit. 264 ff.
116. Van der Horst, Sheila, 'Labour Policy in South Africa 1948-76' in Public Policy and the South Africa Economy (ed.), 104.
Report of the commission to Enquire into Higher Education for Indians in Natal, V G 27/1942 para 10, 11 cited in Arking, A.J. op. cit. 181;
 Die Kewiet, C.W. op. cit. 272 ff.
 Report of the Industrial Legislation Commissions V G 62/1951 para (iii) also cited in Arkin, A.J. op. cit. 181;
 Wilson, M. and Thompson, L. (eds.) The Oxford History of South Africa (Oxford, 1971) 11, 31.
117. Arkin, A.J. op. cit. 182.
118. cf. Report of the Department of Labour 1935 V G 4/1937, 16 cited in Arkin, A.J. op. cit. 183.
119. Andrews, C.F., The New Asiatic Bill and the alleged Breach of Faith (Cape Town, 1926), 13 which cites speech of D.F. Malan, the minister of Interior;
Natal Mercury February 22, 1927;
 May 28, 1927;
The Star April 12, 1927 which contains a letter of Dr. D.F. Malan;
 Corbett, J.E. A Study of the Cape Town Agreement, 57-69.

120. Act 35 of 1932.
121. Act 28 of 1939.
122. Arkin, A.J., op. cit. 160;
The Feetham Commission was the Transvaal Asiatic Land whose reports were published in 1935;
Tenure Act Commission of 1935.
123. *ibid.*, 165 Arkin infers this from sections of the Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Trade Licensing and Allied Problems R.P. 85/1964 and the Licences Control Ordinance of 1931.
124. Brookes and Webb sum up the situation in this way, '... anti-Asiatic agitation in Natal may perhaps without undue bias be described in the words of Bernard Shaw as the only way to become famous without ability'. Brookes, E. and Webb, C., op. cit. 290.
125. *ibid.*, 292.
126. Act 41 of 1950.
127. Jan Smuts, for instance, adopted it as part of his political rationale.
128. Pachai, B., South Africa's Indians op. cit., XI. 'While the Group Areas Act marked the culmination of such a policy (i.e of separation) the beginnings go back as early as the 19th century and well before the Union in 1910';
Arkin, A.J., op. cit. 231 'The outer walls of the policy of apartheid were inherited from previous administrations. These were firstly the longstanding bulwarks of the traditional colour bar.
129. Woods, C.A., The Indian Community of Natal, Natal Regional Survey IX, 2.;
Pachai, B., The International Aspects of the South African Indian Question 1860-1971 162-3, 185 ff.
130. Schlemmer, L., 'The Resettlement of Indian Communities in Durban and the Economic, Social and Cultural Effects on the Indian Community' in The Indian in South Africa, 15f.
131. Horrell, Muriel Introduction to South Africa-Basic Facts and Figures, 22.
132. Randall, Peter and Desai, Yunus From 'Coolie' Location to Group Area', 12
133. Hansard 21 February 1973, Col. 162.
134. Schlemmer, L., op. cit. 15 f.
135. Natal Mercury 4 June 1975;
Schlemmer, L., op. cit. 19.

CHAPTER 3

INDIAN PENTECOSTAL CHURCHES BEFORE THE 1960's

Here, we consider specifically the rise and development of the Pentecostal demoninations which emerged during the urbanisation of the Indian community : the Bethesda group of churches; the Apostolic Faith Mission and the Assemblies of God.

Bethesda, is discussed at much greater length because it is by far the largest - its present membership is in excess of 35,000 and the AFM, the second largest, has about 2500 members.

3.1 BETHESDA : ITS BEGINNINGS IN PIETERMARITZBURG

'Bethesdaland' as it was later called by its members had its beginnings in Pietermaritzburg in the 1920's. Contrary to the generally held view that J.F. Rowlands, the son of J.A. Rowlands was the sole founder, it has emerged that J.A. Rowlands, a miller from Bristol, and E. Theophilus, a local Indian trader, were jointly responsible for the beginnings of Bethesda.¹

Our investigation goes back to the religious background of John Alexander Rowlands, the father of J.F. Rowlands.

3.1.1

Both J.A. Rowlands and his wife Edith Hartland, the parents of John Francis, were staunch Quakers from Bristol, England. They were both educated in a Quaker school and J.A. Rowlands, a successful businessman,² was also a committed evangelist.³

He strongly emphasised Quaker 'holiness' and laid great stress upon the austerity of the Christian lifestyle, the study of the Scriptures, prayer, evangelism and charity.⁴ He once wrote, 'Practical Christianity is the

keynote ... in God's name, let each strive to purify our Empire, and eventually the whole world'.⁵ There is no record of either J.A. Rowlands or his son having had any formal theological training. Such training in any case would have been incompatible with the Quaker dependence on 'inner illumination'.⁶

J.A. Rowlands' approach to Christian living greatly influenced his son J.F. Rowlands, and Bethesda's spiritual approach for a very long time. In fact Rowlands quite openly acknowledged the influence his father had had on his thinking⁷ to the extent that in the early days of Bethesda's existence he, J.F., was openly suspicious of theological training and discouraged his early Indian workers from entering formal study.⁸

3.1.2

J.A. Rowlands arrived in South Africa in 1922. Although according to J.F. Rowlands and G.C. Oosthuizen he appears to have come to South Africa for health reasons⁹ he also came with financial help for his brother, Thomas Livesley. Livesley had already settled in Natal and was farming at 'Pentire' near Nicholson's Nek.¹⁰

His original intention was to visit, not to settle,¹¹ but when J.A. Rowlands, an astute businessman, saw the economic opportunities the Natal of the 1920's offered an Englishman he decided to stay.¹² His decision was to have far reaching consequences for Christianity among South African Indians.

He established the Natal Trading and Milling Company in Church Street, Pietermaritzburg, opposite the Market Square. He also developed a stud farm at Wiganthorpe on the outskirts of the city where he set up residence.¹³

Before moving to Pietermaritzburg, the family had been the guests of T.L. Rowlands, and Walter and Amy Stead, J.A. Rowland's sister, who owned adjacent farms. Through them their Quakerism took on a Pentecostal

coloring.¹⁴ Indeed the Steads were their first contact with Pentecostalism.¹⁵ The acquaintance with Walter Stead who was the Protector of Indian immigrants at the time,¹⁶ gave J.A. Rowlands first-hand information concerning the Indians in Natal and when they settled in Pietermaritzburg they were able to enter into the lives and struggles of those people themselves.

3.1.3

The other founder, Ebenezer Theophilus, who has been less prominent in the Bethesda tradition although his contribution was as important as J.A. Rowlands', owned a stall in the market opposite Rowlands' Milling Company.¹⁷ A chance meeting, led to a lasting friendship between both the men.

Theophilus, formerly an Anglican, had joined the Methodist Church when he moved from Durban to Pietermaritzburg. He was especially drawn to J.A. Rowlands because of the latter's commitment to 'holiness' and his strong emphasis on abstinence from smoking and drinking.¹⁸

As the Methodist Indian circuit was then without a minister, Theophilus invited J.A. Rowlands to preach. The dynamic Rowlands soon began to play a leading role in that circuit with Theophilus as his confidant and loyal supporter. According to an extract of the December 1924 minutes of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, Pietermaritzburg Indian Circuit, under the superintendency of the Rev. A. Eben Griffen, J.A. Rowlands had held the position of chairman. In the same records Theophilus' name appears in the prayer, visitation and social committees. Mrs Rowlands was one of the two who ran the Women's Works Committee and¹⁹ J. Hensman, who helped pioneer early Bethesda, served on the church management committee.²⁰

The reports that appeared in 1924 in the Natal Witness give a fair idea of the zeal and involvement of J.A. Rowlands, his wife, and Theophilus in the work of the Methodist Indian Mission in Pietermaritzburg.²¹ J.A. Rowlands soon saw the need for a full-time circuit minister and sent a

telegram making a request for such an appointment to the Methodist Church Synod which gathered in Greytown in February 1925. He stated 'that if the Synod was unable to accede to his request then it should close down this church.'²² His request was granted and Rev. A.J. Choonoo was shortly afterwards transferred from the Durban Lorne Street church to this post. However, the clashes between A.J. Choonoo and J.A. Rowlands over the administration of the church, led to the latter's withdrawal from the congregation.²³

In an attempt to effect a reconciliation, Theophilus arranged a meeting at his house in July 1925.²⁴ At the meeting J.A. Rowlands asked A.J. Choonoo whether he had 'received the Holy spirit since he had believed' and this offended Rev. Choonoo who promptly walked out.²⁵

Although this marked the end of J.A. Rowland's active participation in Indian Methodist work, he kept some links with that church until 1928.²⁶

3.1.4

When J.A. Rowlands left the Methodist circuit, a small group of Indian Methodists joined him.²⁷ These included Ebenezer Theophilus and J. Hensman. The two main issues that drew these dissenters together were their commitment to 'holiness' and the evangelisation of Indian people in Pietermaritzburg.

Ebenezer Theophilus offered the group his fruit shop which was attached to the front of his home at 519 Longmarket Square, in which to hold their services.²⁸ He also provided at his own expense the centre's first pieces of furniture.²⁹ The fact that his stall in the market square was now his only means of livelihood, shows the intense level of commitment that existed among these pioneers.

A meeting held on July 17, 1925 at Theophilus' home established 'The United Pentecostal Mission of Natal' (UPM).³⁰ While J.A. Rowlands superintended the new congregation, he also preached sometimes at the

small white congregation of the Apostolic Faith Mission in Pietermaritzburg.³¹

Theophilus shared the pastoral responsibilities of the new UPM with J.A. Rowlands and played a vital role in its consolidation.³² Two other early Indian co-workers deserve special mention in this regard. They were John Rufus³³ and Joseph Hensman³⁴, both school teachers.³⁵ John Rufus, a former Baptist, is reported to have had a 'wonderful ministry with the scholars' at the Railway school where he was employed.³⁶ Many of the mission's early converts were the result of his work.³⁷ John Hensman assisted, amongst other things, with the musical accompaniment during services and with home visitations.³⁸ He also bought the congregation its first organ.³⁹

3.1.5

The years 1925 and 1926 saw further developments in Pietermaritzburg which help us understand the religious inheritance of Bethesda.

In December 1925, A.B. Arnot, a young assistant of A.H. Cooper who headed a thriving Pentecostal congregation in Durban at the time,⁴⁰ undertook a pioneering mission as a Full Gospel Church pastor to the Pietermaritzburg area. A small congregation met in the one-room dwelling of Mrs. Thomas who supported Arnot's work financially.⁴¹ The members of the Assemblies of God who had had no place to worship also attended these meetings.⁴²

In due course the growing congregation moved out of the room into a disused cinema. A series of widely advertised campaigns which the Rowlands and Stead families attended were held in it.⁴³ John A. Rowlands began to take a direct interest in Arnot's work, and thus began his association with the Full Gospel Church.⁴⁴ These campaigns had far reaching consequences for Pentecostalism in South Africa at large: the two sons of J.A. Rowlands, John Francis and Alec, together with John Stead, who was to become a leader in the Pentecostal Holiness Church, made commitments to

Christ at Arnot's meetings.⁴⁵

Arnot baptised J.F. Rowlands,⁴⁶ who later became the leader of Bethesda until his death in November, 1980. At that time attempts were made to form a union between the Apostolic Faith Mission and the Full Gospel Church in South Africa. One of the conditions of union was that the Full Gospel Church would adopt the Apostolic Faith Mission's mode of baptism by immersing three times, so Arnot baptised J.F. Rowlands in this manner. However, plans for that union failed and soon after the Full Gospel Church itself discontinued this practice.⁴⁷ Hence in the thousands of baptisms he performed, J.F. Rowlands himself did not adopt this mode of baptism.⁴⁸

Early in 1926, Pastor Haller, an itinerant evangelist, who baptised the other members of the Rowlands family, strongly criticised Arnot for not being a true Pentecostal. In his view, gifts of the spirit, especially speaking in tongues, were 'not in evidence' in his church.⁴⁹ To meet this 'need' he held separate prayer meetings on the Stead's farm. Here the pursuit of the gifts of prophecy and tongue-speaking received special attention.⁵⁰

Haller's revivalistic group became obsessed also with the doctrine of the 'secret rapture' which claims that the 'true believers' will at any time be suddenly taken away and that those 'unprepared and unholy' Christians who were left behind would undergo with the rest of the world, a period of terrible 'tribulation'. They sent Arnot strict instructions to preach this doctrine, maintaining that his duty as a pastor was to give priority to warning christians about their fate if they were 'found wanting rather than attempting to convert non-Christians'. In their view when the Church 'disappeared', the unconverted would see their mistake and be converted.⁵¹ Their instructions to Arnot came as a result of 'prophecies' received at their prayer meetings. When Arnot refused their demands, the group, including the Rowlands and Stead families, withdrew from fellowship with Arnot's congregation.⁵²

They withdrew not only because Arnot disagreed with their stance but also because they believed that they had been given a prophecy which had named the date of the secret rapture. So while Arnot watched over the white and Indian congregations, the date came and went. Later they realised their mistake and, recalls Arnot, 'were honest enough to come back into the work'.⁵³

As a result of this crisis Arnot left the Full Gospel Church and Pentecostalism at the end of 1926 and joined the Baptist Church. However, despite this shift, eschatology remained for him an important concern largely as a result of this incident.⁵⁴

This event deeply influenced J.F. Rowlands who preferred not to mention this incident⁵⁵ and pleaded consistently for moderation vis-à-vis Pentecostal experience. He denounced 'spiritual cranks'⁵⁶ and gave to Indian Pentecostalism a sense of caution towards the charismata which was not found in many other Pentecostal churches.⁵⁷

J.A. Rowlands, restored to fellowship with the Full Gospel congregation, henceforth concentrated his efforts on the work of the United Pentecostal Mission.

By 1926 not only did eschatology divide the group but inspite of the close fellowship that had existed among people of both race groups in Arnot's initially small congregation and the easy mixing that had occurred between the Indian pioneers and white preachers of the United Pentecostal Mission, the white and Indian congregations had polarised on racial lines. The attitudes of whites at this time, quickly put an end to such 'mixed' brotherliness. A.B. Arnot explains; 'Those were other days, other ways ... when, of course, "apartheid"⁵⁸ was very much the thing ... it was considered to be advisable to start a special Indian work in an Indian area'.⁵⁹ A.H. Cooper in particular, who showed similar tendencies in his approach in Durban,⁶⁰ encouraged separation of the races after seeing Indians attending Arnot's church in a white residential area.⁶¹ Thus while individuals could mix, congregations were encouraged to maintain separate racial identities.⁶²

3.1.6

We now turn our attention to the development of the United Pentecostal Mission.

On Easter Monday, 1926, E. Theophilus arranged a picnic on the banks of the Umsindusi River⁶³ at which the Mission's first baptismal service took place. As J.A. Rowlands had done a short while earlier, Theophilus accepted baptism by total immersion from Arnot.⁶⁴ A year later J.A. Rowlands baptised Mrs Theophilus, her daughter Grace, Gilbert Theophilus, Mrs Mary Emma, P. Moses and J.H. Hensmen.⁶⁵ All who had been former Methodist members and now formed an important part of the new congregation.

In the middle of 1927, Ebenezer Theophilus impressed upon J.A. Rowlands the need for his son John Francis, who was heading the Sunday School at Arnot's church, to join the mission.⁶⁶ So Arnot lost the help of his seventeen year old friend and supporter, for J.F. Rowlands now threw in his lot with the work at 519 Longmarket Street.⁶⁷

This young congregation embarked on an evangelisation campaign so forthright that the more learned of the Hindus protested sharply; for example, at the time of the annual Hindu fire-walking festival, this congregation erected a sign that proclaimed 'Salvation from Eternal Hell fire walking is only found in Jesus Christ'⁶⁸ and, according to J.F. Rowlands, produced a 'great uproar among the Hindus who even threatened to burn the Church'.⁶⁹

'Stones of both kinds were thrown' wrote J.F. Rowlands:⁷⁰ physical threats as well as sharp criticisms, even from some of the pulpits of the 'established' churches.⁷¹ The new congregation was dubbed a 'Mushroom Church' and a 'Jazz Band Church'.⁷² Though the years 1925 to 1931 were 'hard and difficult' the 'faithful few held fast against fierce opposition and persecution'.⁷³

Early in 1928, after finishing his schooling at Hilton College at the age of 18, J.F. Rowlands was given charge of the Mission's Sunday school. John Rufus obtained permission for him to convene a Sunday school at the Railway School where he was teaching.⁷⁴ Later J.F. Rowlands wrote, 'Some of the most faithful members of the church accepted Christ as their personal Saviour when they were pupils at this school'.⁷⁵

The whole congregation took part in tract distributions and open-air services such as the services held every Friday evening at the corner of Church and Retief Streets⁷⁶ to which the Hindus reacted by holding a meeting at exactly the same time on the opposite corner of the street as a protest against Christian 'proselytism'.⁷⁷ Together with Mr. Kothe, a white evangelist, and his wife, open-air services were held also at Pentrich, Plessislaer, Edenvale and the Coronation brickyard.

Although the initial years showed only slow results, the numbers never dropped below twenty, for the Rowlands, Theophilus and Franks families always attended.⁷⁸ This hardly supports J.F. Rowlands' remark to Oosthuizen that 'preaching was performed initially in a hall about full of empty benches'.⁷⁹

In 1928 the Rowlands family suffered a sudden financial crisis. On May 6 their seven story 'Natal Trading Milling Company' was razed by fire and they were reduced to an 'almost penniless position'.⁸⁰ The Natal Witness in bold headlines reported, 'City's biggest grain store gutted'.⁸¹

Rather than rebuild the business J.A. Rowlands now gave himself up almost totally to the work of the mission and formally became its 'pastor'.⁸² J.F. Rowlands frequently recalled how decisive his family's financial loss was for his own ministry. It also greatly influenced his Indian co-workers. One of the first of Bethesda's Indian pastors remarked,

We took him in and learned to love him. If he could make such a sacrifice and take the loss of wealth (the result of the fire) so bravely why could we not sacrifice for God?⁸³

This minister became so convinced about the need to emulate J.F. Rowlands' example that he left his secular work and joined the ministry.⁸⁴

In 1928 Stephen Jeffries started revival campaigns countrywide. His meetings brought new life to many Pentecostal churches especially those under A.H. Cooper's superintendence in Durban and Pietermaritzburg. Since the Rowlands family had direct contact with him in Pietermaritzburg,⁸⁵ J.F. who had had a small press while still in his teens was able to edit and print Stephen Jeffries' Revival News free of charge.⁸⁶ He also founded the Pietermaritzburg Tract Distributing Society which distributed 'millions of tracts'.⁸⁷ Particularly noteworthy was the Revival Hymn Book which appeared in 1929.⁸⁸ The press was later sold 'as no Full Gospel pastor was allowed to have any other business'.⁸⁹ However, the experience he acquired during this time was vital for the later production of Bethesda's monthly bulletin, Moving Waters.⁹⁰

J.F. Rowlands' responsibilities increased from 1928 till 1931. Theophilus never became a pastor but continued his important supportive work as missionary.

3.1.7

Advertisements and articles in the local press provide a fair idea of the indefatigable and innovative work of J.F. Rowlands:

Wednesday: Prayer and Testimony. Everybody welcome. No collection.⁹¹

Evangelistic and Divine Healing services ...
Boys' Bible classes, prayer and praise meetings. All nationalities welcome. No collection.⁹²

There were also reports such as: 'An excellent programme of songs, recitals and instrumental music was given by the Indian children, assisted by their European friends'.⁹³

Another report mentions that on May 1931 J.F. Rowlands preached a sermon in which he urged the church to fast and pray for the 'fire of the Holy Spirit' and complained that 'modern society was rather in the supper room than in the upper room, and generally nowadays there was more fire in the kitchen than in religion'.⁹⁴

In August 1931 a 'breakthrough' was made at last⁹⁵ when a bold 'step of faith' was taken⁹⁶ and the H.Y.M.A. Hall⁹⁷ in the lower Church Street was hired for three weeks. A 'Revival and Healing Campaign' was advertised and every member of the mission was given some responsibility at these meetings.⁹⁸ E. Theophilus, John Rufus, J.H. Hensman and other Indians were responsible to a large extent for the new members who attended. J.A. Rowlands and J.F. Rowlands shared the preaching in this campaign.

In this regard it is important to note that because J.F. Rowlands was a preacher of great ability,⁹⁹ he and not E. Theophilus was the natural successor to J.A. Rowlands!¹⁰⁰ Another factor that possibly influenced his succession was the fact that a white preacher had had the psychological advantage of being considered 'more learned' and superior to an Indian preacher.¹⁰¹

The campaign in the H.Y.M.A. Hall turned out to be 'the greatest 22 days in the history of the work'.¹⁰² J.F. Rowlands was later to recall that this campaign of 1931,

saw the beginning of a revival which has never abated and has now been in progress for 42 years...it was part of the important foundation-laying for the eventual Bethesda Temple.¹⁰³

The local newspaper reported that,

the services have been fraught with much blessing, scores of people of all nationalities, found spiritual help.¹⁰⁴...

A great feature of these gatherings has been the way in which members of all races - Europeans, Indians, Natives and Coloured people - have responded to the appeal'.

These services also proved to be very rousing for throughout the campaign an orchestra was used¹⁰⁶ which was very unusual for Pietermaritzburg church life at that time, and which earned them the label of the 'Jazz-Band Church'.¹⁰⁷ J.F. Rowlands recalled that 'night after night the hall was packed to capacity' and that the singing was so enthusiastic that 'the sound barrier was at last broken'.¹⁰⁸ There were also unforgettable scenes of spiritual awakening'.¹⁰⁹

These services resulted in a large baptismal service in the Umsindusi River at Pentrich where a thousand people turned out¹¹⁰ to witness the baptism of many of the nearly 250 new converts claimed by the campaign. ¹¹¹

The 'fruit-shop' suddenly became too small and had to be extended. Pastor A.H. Cooper officially opened the new extension in December 1932 and the Pentecostal Mission called its renovated building, 'Obededom Temple'.

3.2 BETHESDA IN DURBAN : 1931 AND AFTER

Another result of the 1931 campaign was the unprecedented attention it brought to this church which in turn encouraged its growth.¹¹² J.F. Rowlands claims to have had at the time two visions¹¹³ which prompted him to consider establishing a branch in Durban.¹¹⁴

3.2.1

He arrived in Durban on Friday, October 9, 1931. A local newspaper reported that,

Pastor J.F. Rowlands walked seeking the will of God; he felt the need for guidance, and stepped aside in a certain street to pray behind a little bush that was growing on a piece of vacant land. Two days later, on 17 October 1931,¹¹⁵ the first Gospel meeting was held at the Durban Corporation Barracks, and that was the beginning of Bethesda.¹¹⁶

While this description, which was often repeated in the sermons of Bethesda's pastors and in Moving Waters, was essentially true, it glossed over the roles played by less colourful characters in the early days of this church.¹¹⁷

On this occasion, three young men, D.G. Samuel, D.M. Gabriel and A.J. Williams knew of Rowlands' plan to come to Durban and met him after the incident described above. They introduced him to the Durban Corporation Barracks situated slightly to the north-east of the city centre,¹¹⁸ which housed the Indian workers of the Durban Corporation. It was a settlement of very poor people who were engaged in the menial tasks of road sweeping, refuse removal, gardening, general handy-work and office maintenance. As long as he was in the employ of the Corporation, the worker and his family were given very modest but inexpensive housing. An entire family was often housed in one room.¹¹⁹ A few hundred metres away railway workers were accommodated in similar facilities.¹²⁰

These three young men who helped J.F. Rowlands gain access to various homes at these barracks, joined him in personal evangelisation that afternoon and the following day.¹²¹

3.2.2

However, Rowlands was not the first to evangelise Hindus in these barracks; for example in 1930, James Moonsamy of the Apostolic Faith Mission had conducted Christian services there. However, he lived there only for a short while.¹²² When he returned to his native Stanger, no lasting results had been achieved.¹²³

The Seventh Day Adventists had also had a few adherents: one of these Mrs. John, later joined Bethesda.¹²⁴

However, the group that eventually became the nucleus of Bethesda came from the Baptist Church in Somtseu road. The three men who had met J.F. Rowlands were formerly active workers of that Church.¹²⁵

Samuel Manda, who was also joined Bethesda later, recalls that on Sunday, October 11, he was left alone to mind the Baptist Sunday School because his three friends had gone to meet 'a certain white man who had come to Durban'.¹²⁶ But when the three took it upon themselves to invite J.F. Rowlands to preach in that Baptist Church in the absence of an incumbent minister, the elders of the church objected to a guest being invited without their consent. The small group then seceded and joined J.F. Rowlands' congregation.¹²⁷

3.2.3

'Bethesda Temple' began on the 11th of October 1931. A small group of people who had been contacted through the visits referred to above attended a service held in the barracks. J.F. Rowlands presented a simple sermon entitled 'supposing' based on Luke 2.¹²⁸ J.F. reported that each of the three young men who had met him was 'converted' at that service.¹²⁹ The real position seems to have been that they, who had been members of the Baptist church, now made a commitment to a 'life of holiness'.

Both J.F. Rowlands and his Indian co-workers conducted several home-services in the barracks, and Sunday services were conducted in a wood and iron structure which was called the 'Drama Hall', the small hall in which the barracks dwellers had held their public meetings. J.F. Rowlands himself recalled the following persons among those who were at Bethesda's first meeting: A.J. Williams, Peniel Jacob, George Ramiah, S.A. Israel, Samuel Manda, R. Abel and V.R. Enoch.¹³⁰ All of these in due course became leaders or elders in Bethesda. V.R. Enoch was among the

first Indian pastors of the church and R. Abel was, for a period confidant and valet to the young J.F. Rowlands. The former function he fulfilled until his death in 1972. At the first service of Bethesda he was a mere lad of 14.¹³¹

3.2.4

J.F. Rowlands took charge of the Durban work while J.A. Rowlands led the Pietermaritzburg congregation. In Durban J.F. promoted a policy of expansion where he marshalled his band of young Indian friends into a zealous Christian 'commando' for evangelism. Public worship became the occasion when members were continually inspired with burning religious fervour.¹³²

Progress in Durban was fast: just three weeks after the first meeting a small group of converts travelled to Pietermaritzburg for a baptismal service on the banks of the Umsindusi River.

With rapid growth of the congregation two questions arose: What was J.F. Rowland's ministerial status and what ecclesiastical affiliation should the young congregation have? He had been strongly urged by some to found a new denomination.¹³³ His stand was that his 'idea of Pentecost was not to establish a new church but to join a true Pentecostal denomination already in existence in the country'.¹³⁴

However, the motivation behind the need for affiliation was more complex: unless his congregation belonged to a church registered with the government, it would get no official recognition. Land for building churches, concessions for church activity and marriage officers' licenses depended on such recognition.

J.F. Rowlands had little choice. His strong revivalistic stance made affiliation to any of the 'established' churches difficult, particularly since many Baptists as well as Anglicans and Methodists, joined him for the type of worship they missed in their own churches.¹³⁵ Such losses of members had evoked denunciations of Bethesda from the pulpits of these churches.¹³⁶

Besides the Apostolic Faith Mission, with which he had no contact and which had only a few Indian members in Stanger and the Natal North Coast, the choice even among Pentecostal or Holiness churches was limited. However, since Obededom Temple had already established strong ties with the Full Gospel Church¹³⁷ and Pastor A.H. Cooper had maintained a strong supportive presence both in the development of the Mission in Pietermaritzburg and in Durban, Bethesda sought Full Gospel affiliation. Expediency and a lack of alternatives guided the decision. This point needs to be stressed since it has vital implications for an understanding of the unique character of Bethesda worship and doctrinal emphasis vis-à-vis the rest of the Full Gospel Church. It also helps to clarify the institutionalisation of 'Bethesdaland' (the group of churches of which Obededom Temple and Bethesda are a part) that occurred during the 70's and especially after J.F. Rowland's death in 1980. What was initially an act of expediency has become in recent years more formal as the jurisdiction of the white headquarters is now overtly felt.¹³⁸ (This is treated more fully in Chapter 6)

After formal application for affiliation, J.F. Rowlands was ordained as a minister of the Full Gospel Church at a service at Kroonstad in the Orange Free State on November 13, 1931. He was twenty-two years old at the time.¹³⁹

In Durban the congregation had meanwhile outgrown the wood-and-iron hall in the Magazine Barracks.¹⁴⁰ As an interim measure, Sunday evening services were held in the Royal Picture Palace, the biggest cinema available to Indians in Durban. The response to the first meeting which was scheduled on February 21, 1932, at this cinema was so overwhelming that a similar meeting was planned for the following Sunday. On this second occasion the response was even better,¹⁴¹ and the congregation continued to use this venue for some time.

The first baptismal service in Durban was held on March 20, 1932 on the banks of the Umgeni River; the event culminated with a large service at the cinema at which J.F. Rowlands preached his much loved and often repeated sermon 'the Rose of Sharon'.¹⁴² J.A. Rowlands, who had spent the day with the Durban congregation, shared the platform with his son for the last time.

Shortly afterwards J.A. contracted cerebral malaria and died on April 28, 1932.¹⁴³ His death necessitated a return trip to Bristol for his widow Edith Hartland Rowlands and their two sons. During J.F. Rowland's short absence from Bethesda, a white couple, C.E. Mayoss and his wife, who were new members of Bethesda, took charge.¹⁴⁴

3.2.5

For a number of years after the death of J.A. Rowlands, Obededom followed a separate course from the Durban congregation.

J.A.'s brother, T.L. Rowlands from Ladysmith, was invited to take over the leadership of Obededom Temple.¹⁴⁵ The separate course that the Pietermaritzburg congregation took for the next 24 years was largely due to his policy of 'fellowship with autonomy over own affairs' towards Bethesda.¹⁴⁶ Yet all along close relations were preserved, especially after 1935 when both churches held joint council meetings using both venues alternately.¹⁴⁷

During the next few years strong evangelistic endeavours promoted new congregations at 'mission stations' in other parts of Pietermaritzburg and the surrounding districts. The Mizpah Temple was erected at Plessislaer; the Carmel Temple at Raisethorpe and the Bethany Temple at Pentrich.¹⁴⁸ These were led from the start by laymen since no trained full-time workers were available. But even if such workers had been available the low income of the members of these branches could not have supported them. This indicates that while these endeavours were missions by Indians to Indians¹⁴⁹ everything was still under the jurisdiction of

the white leader which actually served to endorse the enterprise in the minds of the Indians. Hence even after T.L. Rowlands retired, other white ministers were appointed to take his place.¹⁵⁰ The first was O. Berntz Lanz, whose appointment, in spite of the fact that he had only recently become a member,¹⁵¹ was enthusiastically received.¹⁵² Pastor Fourie succeeded him, then Messrs Lundell and Brice, as elders, took charge until 1959 when in April Arthur Naidoo became the elder-in-charge.¹⁵³ By the time Arthur Naidoo had become the first Indian pastor of Obededom, it was already under the leadership of J.F. On 19 April 1955 the Pietermaritzburg churches decided to affiliate to Bethesda which, in view of their history, was the most natural and obvious step.¹⁵⁴

Obededom's separate course was partly due to some financial intrigue.¹⁵⁵ The land at 468 Longmarket Street on which Obededom Temple was erected had been acquired through the efforts of E. Theophilus who had taken it upon himself to approach A.W. Baker of the Baptist Church to assist the Mission financially. Baker paid for the land¹⁵⁶ and was on the Board of Trustees that controlled its ownership and use. The other two members of this Board were T.L. Rowlands and Baker's daughter.¹⁵⁷ The deliberate exclusion of Indians from the board did not go unnoticed - J.H. Hensman, whose pioneering role has already been mentioned, points out that 'Pastor T.L. Rowlands did not want any non-Europeans on the Board, although we had a very capable man in John Rufus'.¹⁵⁸ When A.W. Baker died and the mission lost contact with his daughter, T.L. Rowlands assumed sole control of the property and finance of the church. His hold was like that of J.F. Rowlands over Bethesda Temple in these matters.¹⁵⁹ Unilaterally T.L. Rowlands sold the property for £2000 to an American who had come to South Africa at his invitation, and this gentleman in turn donated it to the Full Gospel Church. Thus the 'central government' of the Full Gospel Church acquired a great measure of direct control over Obededom which created a cautiousness towards amalgamation with the Durban congregation and delayed the union until 1955.

While Obededom's leadership was in white hands evangelism was in the hands

of the Indian layman. Thus reports of Obededom's Annual general meetings constantly mention such faithful services as those of David and James Frank in the Mooi River and Nottingham Road areas;¹⁶⁰ the systematic and persistent home visitation of Christian and non-Christian homes;¹⁶¹ and the distribution throughout the city of 23,000 evangelistic tracts by the congregation.¹⁶² In 1955 alone 200 new members were added.¹⁶³ Moreover, Indian workers established mission stations in the following towns: Estcourt (Tabour Temple), Mooi River (Galatia Temple), Howick (Elah Temple), 'Municipality Farm' (Gethsamane Temple), Northdale (Ephesus Temple) and Allandale (Colosse Temple).¹⁶⁴

An analysis of the referendum which was held on January 1, 1961 to decide on the appointment of a full-time worker to take charge of Obededom, reveals the following attitudes of the Indian members of Obededom 30 years after the establishment of the church : 1/3 of those who voted recommended Arthur Naidoo, a school teacher; 17 requested the appointment of a white pastor; only two stated specifically that he should be Indian; two that he should have knowledge of Indian languages; two that he should be acceptable to and work in harmony with all races; two that he should be a white man but have an Indian and an Coloured elder and two that he should be white but under the guidance of J.F. Rowlands.¹⁶⁵ While Arthur Naidoo got the job by a small margin of votes, it is obvious that a large group of the Indian congregation preferred a white head. In any case Arthur Naidoo was acceptable because he too would function directly under J.F. Rowlands' jurisdiction.

The Pietermaritzburg congregation grew steadily from 1962 under Arthur Naidoo.¹⁶⁶ The following table shows the growth between 1962 and 1973.

GROWTH OF OBEDEDOM TEMPLE'S MEMBERSHIP

| YEAR | ADULTS |
|------|--------|
| 1962 | 316 |
| 1963 | 388 |
| 1964 | 415 |
| 1965 | 433 |
| 1969 | 594 |
| 1973 | 782 |

167

Note:

This table includes membership at mission stations in Nottingham Road, Mooi River and Howick and from 1964 the mission station in Estcourt. The growth in 1968 continued in spite of set backs due to the movement of people under the Group Areas Act.

In Raisethorpe, evangelist John R. Paul, a pioneer in that area became the local pastor of the Carmel Temple in 1959¹⁶⁸ but in 1960 he resigned from Bethesda to join the Apostolic Faith Mission.¹⁶⁹

GROWTH OF CARMEL TEMPLE BETWEEN 1957-1964

| YEAR | ADULT | CHILDREN | TOTAL | INCOME/R |
|------|-------|----------|-------|----------|
| 1957 | 188 | 195 | 383 | 1264 |
| 1960 | | | 437 | 436 |
| 1963 | 294 | 302 | 596 | |
| 1964 | | | 644 | 1224 |

Note:

The breakdown of the figures for 1960 and 1964 are not available. While there appears to have been steady growth, the rate would have been faster had it not been for John R. Paul's resignation in 1960. The sharp drop in income bears this out. The 1963 and 1964 figures include the membership of mission stations started by Carmel Temple.

The first decade of the life of these congregations featured several reports of healings,¹⁷⁰ and exorcisms.¹⁷¹

The Raisethorpe Assembly also embarked on the familiar pattern of establishing mission out-posts in the homes of members. The few that gathered at these cottage-meetings become the nucleus of the new congregations which moved into garages or backyard structures before actually construc-

ting their own church buildings. In this way the church at Raisethorpe established branches at Dalton; Harden Heights, Angus Farm, Crows Farm and Seven Oaks.¹⁷²

From 1970 onwards, Dennis Charles, the pastor of Ephesus Temple in Northdale, also established similar out-posts. Ephesus Temple acted as 'mother-church' for the congregations in Greytown, Seven Oaks and Dalton. The following table indicates their growth from 1969 to 1972.

MEMBERSHIP OF EPHEBUS TEMPLE FROM 1968 TO 1971

| YEAR | TOTAL | SUNDAY SCHOOL |
|------|-------|---------------|
| 1968 | - | 148 |
| 1969 | 671 | 174 |
| 1970 | 734 | - |
| 1971 | 802 | 200 |

173

(-not available)

By 1972, the work of Ephesus Temple under Dennis Charles had extended to Greytown; Seven Oaks; Holley Bros.; Windy Hill; Albert Falls; Clan Syndicate and McKenzie.¹⁷⁴ Dennis Charles' Pastoral Report of January 21, 1974 reaffirmed the belief of his church in 'the power of prayer in saving; healing and casting out of demons'.¹⁷⁵

3.2.6

In the meantime the Durban congregation had grown even more rapidly than its Pietermaritzburg counter-part. A new phase of its work began in 1933 when J.F. Rowlands who had returned from Bristol to settle permanently in Durban, was later joined by his mother and brother. Both fulfilled important functions in the church's growth. Alex Rowlands, who was later also ordained, acted as personal assistant to his elder brother.¹⁷⁶ Edith Hartland, the mother, was not only the driving force behind her sons, neither of whom married,¹⁷⁷ but she also led the women in the church until her death in 1955.¹⁷⁸

While his brother and mother were still in Bristol, J.F. Rowlands achieved a level of identification with the Indian congregation, unprecedented for a white man in South Africa. For a while he was the guest of an Indian family, the Warners.¹⁷⁹ Then he moved into a small room with his Indian co-worker, F. Victor,¹⁸⁰ where he shared lodging and meals with his Indian helpers. Indian families regularly took him his meals and appear to have derived great pleasure from being able to do something for him.¹⁸¹

In 1932, the previous year, the growing congregation had moved into their own worship hall, also a converted shop, in Grey Street and in 1933 they embarked on the first of many 'campaigns'.¹⁸² These 'campaigns' comprised a series of special consecutive meetings lasting from a few days to several weeks. The preparation and advertisements usually created intense anticipation among the members, all of whom participated fully during the meetings.

There was always enthusiastic congregational singing of contemporary and traditional evangelical hymns and choruses, song items accompanied by an orchestra, and rousing preaching. Sermons were normally simple in structure, with frequent repetition of key words or cliches, and delivered in a colourful and compelling style with a strong ethical emphasis. A 'Bethesda-scope' which comprised slide shows with pictures which were often taken

by J.F. Rowlands himself on his many overseas trips, usually followed. During the slide presentation J.F. Rowlands' narration re-iterated points made in the preceding sermon. Together with other audio-visual aids, the Bethesdascope was a regular and much loved feature of the campaigns.

The first campaign started on October 1, 1933, to celebrate the second year of the founding of the church in Durban. This was also the first of many 'Back-to-the-Bible' campaigns. The theme is significant because it indicates the basic stance of this young congregation vis-à-vis the traditional Christian Churches; a stance which called for a return to 'biblical precepts on holiness'.¹⁸³

J.F. used novel means to attract people; The advertisements for this campaign included a 'float' dubbed 'The Palestine Parade' in which two members dressed as 'Mary' and 'Joseph' led a donkey through the town to announce the meetings.¹⁸⁴

The campaign which was initially scheduled for two weeks, continued for over 100 nights as a result of the overwhelming response it received. The 50th service, which was held in the Durban Town Hall,¹⁸⁵ featured the famed 'Rose of Sharon' sermon on a stage decorated with 2000 red roses.¹⁸⁶ Each night J.F. Rowlands played his ukelele, rendered solos¹⁸⁷ and preached inspiringly.¹⁸⁸

This flair for 'showmanship' had a great impact on the Indian mind.¹⁸⁹ Many of Bethesda's later stalwarts were converted during these services.¹⁹⁰

Bethesda thus moved from obscurity to prominence by 1935. ¹⁹¹ Furthermore, the sensational reporting of the conversion of David Pillay, a Hindu fire-walker, had increased the awareness of Bethesda in the Indian community at large.¹⁹² A local newspaper advertisement invited people to hear D. Pillay's testimony of conversion at the church hall.¹⁹³ Hundreds turned out to witness his baptism on July 15, 1934 and a local morning newspaper carried the story:

Receiving at the age of 16 a serious wound, he went through many ordeals in the hope of relief. On one occasion his flesh was pierced with a thousand poisonous thorns; at another time over three thousand needles were thrust into him. After undergoing the fire-walking ordeal he resolved to fast to death, but was dissuaded by an Indian youth who introduced him to Mr Rowlands ... (he concluded his address by declaring that) the moment he was anointed and prayed for by the Pastor and Pastor Victor, he was healed.¹⁹⁴

Such sensational events created a kind of 'aura' around Bethesda in the minds of many of its members. Another 'aura creating event' was the acquisition of the land on which the first church was erected. The very site on which Rowlands had prayed on his arrival in Durban five years earlier was now offered to him by the Durban Corporation.¹⁹⁵ Also after the church was opened on September 6, 1936 ¹⁹⁶ people realised that the pulpit of the church had been unintentionally placed directly over the spot where he had prayed, so the building seemed to be God's design and the pulpit itself created the feeling that that place was 'holy ground' because J.F. Rowlands had once prayed for guidance there. The history of Bethesda abounds with such reports of incidents involving miracles, healings, dreams, visions and providential happenings which have added to this sense of mystery.¹⁹⁷

3.2.7

A review of the main Bethesda campaigns is necessary to understand how they became annual 'focal points' which attracted members who were scattered throughout the Natal coastal areas, and which infused them with the necessary zeal to continue 'their work for God' in their district churches.¹⁹⁸ These campaigns also served to maintain a sense of unified concern and commitment in the church.

3.2.7.1

The tenth anniversary of the church's founding introduced what J.F. Rowlands called a '365 day Harvesting programme'. This missionary endeavour resulted in over 200 additional members for the church.¹⁹⁹ Again J.F. Rowlands did not shrink from the spectacular. This 'Tenth Anniversary Campaign' was conducted during the time when 'black-out' restrictions were imposed on Durban. On October 12, at the very beginning of the service the air raid siren sounded and every light was extinguished. The service, however, continued in 'pitch darkness'.²⁰⁰

Reporting on this, the evening newspaper stated,

Mr. Rowlands called for every light in the temple to be put out and the congregation continued the service in darkness, which seemed to accentuate the fragrance from 3000 red roses, which bedecked the altar and rostrum... for an hour and a half the crowd listened with rapt attention to what was one of the most memorable sermons ever preached.²⁰¹

This gave Bethesda's members cause to distinguish themselves from other Christians. Their monthly bulletin reported, 'Other churches closed their doors and the congregation struggled home ... but Bethesda carried on'.²⁰² Furthermore, 'a flood of correspondence, special messages, telegrams and phone calls poured in during this campaign telling of unprecedented spiritual experiences, glorious conversions and untold blessings'.²⁰³ Reports of members receiving visions were also recorded. On the closing night, that is, during the 'Black-out' service, some even claimed to have seen 'crosses in the dark and halos encircling the altar'.²⁰⁴ This led J.F. Rowlands to conclude that, 'Truly we are living in the last days of prophetic Pentecostal blessing'.²⁰⁵ He quoted Acts 2:7 in this regard.

Also, an Indian weekly responded with admiration,

The black-out provided a unique climax to Durban's spiritual event of the year. The enthusiasm of the congregation in spirited singing in pitch darkness gave colour to the unforgettable scenes of victory and triumph in the heart of everyone that attended this meeting blacked-out in the material but gloriously ablaze in the spirit...²⁰⁶

It went on to describe every service as having inspired 'both sinner and saint'.²⁰⁷ The services were 'packed-out-to-not-even-standing room' with the minor hall, passages and pavements full.²⁰⁸ Rowland's sermon on the 12th night of this 'Tenth Anniversary Campaign' was entitled 'Plug into Pentecost'²⁰⁹ in which he stated that in Bethesda, which had been

dubbed a 'mushroom church', the revival flame has been constantly fanned by persecution, but there has been no looking back. Well smitten by both fanatics and formalists, Bethesda has had little difficulty in keeping her sane balance. Bethesda's stability and solidarity is known throughout the world.²¹⁰ Bethesda's Pentecost has signs following, gifts following and, praise God, fruit following.²¹¹

These special meetings rallied Bethesda members for spiritual support and encouragement during the crisis-filled war years. In addition short services were held twice daily at 6am and 9pm, and were backed by 'chain-prayers', 'outreach programmes' and increased pastoral visitations to members' homes.²¹²

3.2.7.2

Bethesda's twenty-first anniversary in 1952 was another 'high point' among its members. The Anniversary campaign was preceded by eight days of 'solemn assembly' with three services per day.²¹³ Hundreds gave themselves to 'intercessory prayer and fasting'.²¹⁴ Services were held simultaneously at all the branches which had by 1952 included congregations

at Inanda; Mount Edgecombe; Briardene; Congella; Fenniscowles; Rossburgh and Mayville.²¹⁵ 'Scores and scores' were reported to have received the 'gifts of the Spirit'.²¹⁶ J.F. Rowlands reported that 'there was no fanaticism and no fleshy demonstration... Brave confessions, rarely heard in the twentieth century were heard daily in all the churches and mission halls ... men and women became reconciled to God and their brethren'.²¹⁷ Worship services in Bethesda always ended with a commitment to 'do something for Christ'.²¹⁸ Thus, these campaigns seemed to have roused members to 'active service' which led to the expansion of the church, increased lay-involvement and created a sense of general well being among its members.²¹⁹

The campaign that followed these 'solemn assembly' meetings drew larger crowds than before and also introduced a new sense of revival.²²⁰ During two weeks of special services, the church hall proved to be too small to hold all. The main service, on 12 November was held in the Durban City Hall. A civic orchestra, visitors and ministers from other churches, five hundred written greetings from home and abroad,²²¹ gave to the service the splendour that had come to be expected of these campaigns. J.F. Rowlands stressed in his sermon that 'there must be no compromise with the world in any way ... God put the church into the world and ever since, the devil has never stopped trying to put the world into the church'.²²² The sermon ended with a call for greater involvement by all its members: 'this is not the time to preen our feathers, not a time to relax or feel satisfied ... we must not stop to gaze at what has been accomplished, which is negligible, but to work for Jesus as we have never done before'.²²³ This led a keen observer to conclude in a review of that meeting, that 'Holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord, in Bethesda is no glib phrase, no theological cliché, no easy theme, but a way of life to which everyone accepted in full membership is expected to labour and to conform'.²²⁴

In the 21st year the congregation numbered 7000, 80% of whom were Indians. Four main branch churches and a number of 'preaching stations' had been established under six full-time pastors. The Sunday School which in 1932

numbered twenty now totalled 13,000. In twelve years Moving Waters had gained a circulation of 10,000.²²⁵

3.2.7.3

The next four years included further annual campaigns which fanned the zeal of revivalism, for example, the 'Back-to-the-Bible' campaign of 1953 where over 2000 people attended the final service alone.²²⁶ The aim of this campaign was the reaffirmation of the Pentecostal stance.²²⁷ The campaign ended with many signing a covenant in front of the congregation in which they pledged to 'pray and work for continuous Holy Ghost Revival amongst all nationalities in Natal'.²²⁸

These campaigns were followed a few months later by large baptismal services:

| <u>YEAR</u> | <u>CHURCH</u> | <u>NO. BAPTISED</u> | <u>NO. CONSECRATED</u> ²²⁹ |
|-------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1952 | Sharon | 116 | |
| | Horeb | 117 | 89 |
| | North Coast | 49 | 28 230 |
| 1953 | Joint Bethesda baptismal service | 171 | on Easter Sunday 231 |
| | | 129 | in August 232 |
| | Sharon | 125 | 102 |
| | Horeb | 105 | 108 233 |
| | Elim | 60 | 33 234 |
| | | | |

Horeb Temple declared 1953 to be its best year for growth. Twenty-five complete families had become Christians.²³⁵ These figures do not include those baptised in small groups in the branch churches at other times of the year.

In 1954, new congregations were founded in Wentworth (Lebanon Temple), Felixton (Patmos Temple), Cato Manor (Gethsemane Temple) and Cornubia (Jerusalem Temple).²³⁶ Bethesda also shared a campaign with Nicholas Bhengu of the Assemblies of God where Africans and Indians, estranged in the 1949 riots, worshipped together.²³⁷ During 1954 Bethesda gained 815 new members, until then, the most in a single year.²³⁸

3.2.7.4

The Silver Jubilee celebrations in October 1956 were preceded by three large projects which meant ten months of intense activity.

The first was a 'Bethesdascope' held in the Durban City Hall on 29 January 1955. Dr. Reim, who was assisting in the Presbyterian Indian mission recorded that,

The technique of this prophetic-drama-sermon was interesting in that it followed the way of the Church in the middle ages, in arranging in their churches, statue groups representing Bible stories, so that people could be taught by visual means ... the use of the projector as an auxiliary to preaching, and to the teaching of the Bible, is rightly coming into more general use.²³⁹

An open-air 'Bethesdascope' at the Hoy Park Sports Stadium followed in May that year. Slides were projected on a 20 feet screen; Tamil and Telegu choirs provided song items during the service; and 200 ushers and stewards under A.A. Kenneth²⁴⁰ helped control the crowd of 16,000 that attended,²⁴¹ of which 15,000 were Indians.²⁴² The press carried advertisements and later reported that this was 'one of the greatest evangelistic services ever held in Durban'.²⁴³

A letter to the editor of one of the newspapers described J.F. Rowlands as 'Durban's Billy Graham',²⁴⁴ and a white visiting Full Gospel pastor reported that his visit to Hoy Park was 'one of those rare occasions when he wanted to rejoice and weep at the same time... (He) saw hundreds if not thousands of hands raised in response to the appeal'.²⁴⁵

Thirdly, in that October came the Back-to-the-Bible campaign. A large tent was pitched in a vacant field called 'Cartwright's Flats' to accommodate the huge crowds.²⁴⁶ The 'Canvas Cathedral' caught the eye of the press: The Sunday Tribune, Natal Mercury, The Daily News and The Leader gave 'generous and spontaneous publicity to the meetings'.²⁴⁷ The Natal Mercury pointed out that 'Since 1931 they (the meetings) were held indoors, but the local congregation has become so large that Pastor Rowlands has had to hire a huge tent to hold the revival meetings'.²⁴⁸ Nearly 2000 slides were shown in the illustrated sermons which took the congregation on a journey through India and Ceylon.²⁴⁹ Indian music and songs and an Indian orchestra completed the oriental atmosphere.²⁵⁰ 1955 eclipsed the previous year as Bethesda Temple's 'greatest year' with 1791 new members added to the church.²⁵¹ This figure included the members of the Pietermaritzburg churches who formally joined Bethesda Temple that year.²⁵² In 1955 'The Christian Caterers' Fellowship' for hotel workers was also formed; evangelism was undertaken in Blackburn; Burnside; Pinetown; Zululand; Merebank; Puntan's Hill; Chaka's Kraal and other centres in Natal, and baptismal services took place throughout all the Bethesda Temple outstations.

3.2.7.5

For the next fifteen years tent campaigning was popular at branch churches outside the city, especially since no large buildings were available for meetings of this nature.²⁵³ The campaigns were 'patterned' after the tent meetings which J.F. Rowlands had conducted at Cartwright's flats in the city.

For the 'Silver Jubilee Campaign' a tent described as the 'biggest Gospel tent in Africa' was pitched.²⁵⁴ The congregation donated liberally towards the cost of the venture. However, even this large tent could not accommodate the 55,000 people who attended the 15 nights of meetings.²⁵⁵ This campaign was also accompanied by a non-stop chain prayer in the Prayer Tent, where F. Victor and others continued in prayer while J.F. Rowlands preached, and where people who had responded to the 'altar - call' after the service were prayed for.²⁵⁶ Four thousand copies of John's Gospel in six languages Tamil; Telegu; Gujerati; Zulu; English and Afrikaans were distributed.²⁵⁷

At the baptismal service at the Umbilo river, which took place in December of that year, a further 147 persons were baptised. These were quite rightly recognised as the 'fruits' of the campaign'.²⁵⁸ By the end of 1956 Bethesda Temple had fifty branches throughout Natal and Zululand.²⁵⁹ In 1956 the total increase was represented by 524 adults and 417 children.²⁶⁰

At the Annual General Meeting of 1957 J.F. Rowlands introduced a policy of de-centralization and a three-point plan for the future of the church. Attention was to be given firstly to 'real revival among older Christians'; secondly, to a restoration campaign aimed at 'bringing home those who have wandered away' and thirdly, to the establishment of a Bible college.²⁶¹ That year also saw a boost for Bethesda Temple's membership when C.H. Dwyer, a devoted Christian farmer who had done missionary work in Zululand, Natal,²⁶² affiliated his congregation to Bethesda Temple.²⁶³

A year later, in June 1958, the second of the two founders, Ebenezer Theophilus, died at the age of 73. Although he was acclaimed as Bethesda's 'zealous missionary for the past 33 years', his passing away received only a scant coverage of 16 lines in Moving Waters.²⁶⁴

On December 13 of that same year the new Bethesda church building, appearing very modern for its time,²⁶⁵ was opened by the Mayor of Durban.²⁶⁶ Acclaimed as a 'wonder of faith' the building which had cost the considerable sum of £20,000 had been raised by Bethesda members themselves with only very little help from friends abroad.²⁶⁷

3.2.7.6

The next important campaign which was called 'The Old Fashioned Gospel Campaign' aimed at reaffirming the previous revival zeal. It was held in 1961, and received the expected acclaim by members and the press.²⁶⁸

By the early 60's the pace and direction for the onward march was set. Thus during the following years constant campaigns achieved similar results. In 1964 Bethesda had 65 branches with a membership of 16,512. ²⁶⁹

3.2.7.7

During the 60's several buildings sprang up at Merebank, Asherville and Chatsworth, Unit 2 ²⁷⁰; Kwambonambi²⁷¹; Newholme²⁷²; Inanda²⁷³ and Dalton²⁷⁴

By the late 60's the revival fervour had levelled off. The Easter baptism figures indicate a settled growth rate for while the number of buildings had increased the conversion rate dropped. The process of institutionalisation, which is analysed in Chapter 6 had already begun.

| EASTER SUNDAY BAPTISMS | NUMBER BAPTISED |
|------------------------|-----------------|
| YEAR | |
| 1966 | 278 |
| 1967 | 233 |
| 1968 | 279 |
| 1970 | 256 |
| 1971 | 223 275 |

J F Rowlands had already turned his attention to Bethesda's consolidation. Thus for the first five years of the 70's he was preoccupied with the completion of the Bethesda Bible College campus in Chatsworth, Unit 7. This college was opened on October 11, 1975, the year of Bethesda's Golden Jubilee.²⁷⁶

On June 18 of that year, Alec Rowlands, the quiet, unassuming brother and personal assistant of J.F. Rowlands, suddenly died. He, together with Pastor Frank Victor, had been the stabilizing influence behind the charismatic J.F. Rowlands.²⁷⁷

Just over five years later in November 1980, J.F. Rowlands, the greatly beloved leader of Bethesda, also passed away. In spite of the severe illness which affected the last few years of his life he bravely fulfilled his duties until the very end having witnessed what he considered 'his dream', the graduation of Bethesda College's own ministers.²⁷⁸

The funerals of both the Rowlands brothers were attended by thousands of Indians and well-wishers of other races. The local press reported extensively on both occasions and it is claimed that these were the largest funerals ever held in Durban.²⁷⁹

3.3 THE APOSTOLIC FAITH MISSION (AFM)

The Apostolic Faith Mission ²⁸⁰ is the second largest Pentecostal church among South Africa's Indian community.

In order to understand its spiritual complexion it becomes necessary as in the case of Bethesda, to first inquire into the religious background of the leaders who exerted an influence on the church itself.

3.3.1

C.S. Flewelling spear-headed the pioneering work of the Apostolic Faith Mission among Indians in Natal. His father, an Anglican, joined the Holiness Baptist Church in the USA. At the age of 17, C.S. Flewelling attended a Baptist holiness camp and had been 'perplexed by the rowdiness of the proceedings' there.²⁸¹ Subsequently, he claimed to have had a vision depicting his father 'in the circle of the saved' and himself excluded.²⁸² His perplexity gave way to fear about his own salvation and soon after he joined his father in the Holiness Baptist Church.

The next stage of his 'spiritual pilgrimage' is marked by the coming of a Pentecostal preacher, Pastor Magoon, to Washburn, near his hometown, in the winter of 1910. His mother, Susan Valley Flewelling, whose health had deteriorated after a recent operation, was taken by snow-sled to Magoon's healing services where she was 'miraculously healed'.²⁸³ This incident made such an impact on him that in the future he maintained a strong emphasis on healing in his ministry.²⁸⁴

In 1917 the young Charles Samuel took a further step in his 'spiritual pilgrimage' when the well known Pentecostal woman evangelist, Aimee McPherson, came to Washburn.²⁸⁵ The Flewellings and Moody Wright, who later married Charles Samuel's sister and became his missionary companion to South Africa, were among the 100 Holiness Baptist members which included the Pastor of their Baptist Church to have had their 'Pentecostal experience' at McPherson's meetings. Soon after, while C.S. Flewelling was ploughing a field for buck wheat, the plough handle snapped in his hand. He saw in this simple incident a divine message and a few months later he decided to enter the ministry full-time.²⁸⁶

Accompanied by his uncle Moody Wright, and their former Baptist minister, Edgar Grant, who had been turned out of his church because he had become a Pentecostal, C.S. embarked on a programme of evangelisation between 1917 and 1920. The group used church buildings in winter and tents in summer for their evangelistic meetings.²⁸⁷ The result was the eventual establishment of the Easton Pentecostal Church directly opposite their former Holiness Baptist Church.

3.3.2

Two years later, in 1922, C.S. Flewelling claims to have had a 'message from God' through 'tongues and interpretation', that he would be 'the father of many persons'.²⁸⁸

Moody Wright, in the meantime, had been invited to go to South Africa and left in August 1927.

With a portable tent and few belongings, C.S. Flewelling continued his evangelistic crusading. On September 27, 1923, he married Ida Montieth, a member of the Methodist Church who had 'strong Pentecostal leanings'.²⁸⁹ The couple made journeys covering 2000 miles at a time and wherever they held their crusades, they started little congregations.

In April 1927, at a missionary meeting held in the Bethel Bible School, New Jersey, they were invited to come to South Africa as missionaries. Their decision was influenced by Ida Flewelling's claim that she had had a vision of preaching to Black people. Until then she had assumed that this had meant work among the American blacks; now it pointed to Africa.²⁹⁰

The Flewellings arrived in Cape Town on April 16, 1927, eight months after Moody Wright had joined the Apostolic Faith Mission in South Africa. Because of Wright's involvement with the AFM, under the auspices of the Apostolic Faith Mission they made Durban their 'home base' and lived initially in the homes of two Apostolic Faith Mission families.

Until 1930 Moody Wright had been the AFM's missionary on the Rand but later he became the Apostolic Faith Mission missionary superintendent in Natal. After a short while, when Wright returned to the Transvaal, Flewelling succeeded him as missionary superintendent in Natal.²⁹¹ This allowed greater contact with black communities especially in Zululand. He soon gained the confidence of some of the Zulu chiefs and was able to visit a few Zulu Kraals.²⁹²

3.3.3

It has already been mentioned that when the Pentecostal Evangelist, Stephen Jeffries visited South Africa, he caused a stir among Christians in Durban and Pietermaritzburg.²⁹³ With the assistance of Pastor A.H. Cooper of the Full Gospel Church in Durban, Jeffries conducted evangelistic services in a large tent pitched in Cartwright Flats, which drew crowds from all race groups.²⁹⁴ Some Indians travelled from as far as Stanger to these meetings and they took back with them, 'Pentecostal, revivalistic' Christianity to areas which already had small groups of Baptist and Methodist Indian Christians.

Soon after Jeffries' meetings, Flewelling held similar 'healing services' in the Inanda Hall, in the north of Durban. Mrs. J. Budge from Stanger, who was formerly a Dutch Reformed Church member, attended these services seeking healing. She testifies to having been 'miraculously delivered from her illness' and this convinced her that she should invite Flewelling to conduct similar meetings in Stanger.²⁹⁵ The circumstances which led to the realization of her intention discloses the type of simplicity of belief Pentecostals have; Mrs Budge claimed that she had lost £5, a considerable sum in 1930. After much prayer concerning her loss she promised God that if she found the £5 she would use it to pay for Flewelling's trip to Stanger to 'preach to the Indian people'. She eventually did find the money and thus Flewelling held his first cottage meeting in Stanger, on September 27, 1930.²⁹⁶

An extended series of meetings was then scheduled for the following month. On October 18 the first of these were held behind the Hindu Sabha Hall.²⁹⁷

Flewelling did not, as is sometimes claimed,²⁹⁸ begin the Apostolic Faith Mission among Indians. There was already in Stanger a group of Pentecostal Indians who had had contact with Jeffries' meetings. Flewelling contributed the direction and much needed leadership to this group.²⁹⁹

Many of those who later became pioneers of the Apostolic Faith Mission were either converted or were members of established churches who had had their 'Pentecostal experience' at these meetings: James Moonsamy and his wife, the parents of Henry James for example who later became stalwarts of the mission, were deeply influenced by the healings that reportedly occurred at these services. When Moonsamy himself was 'healed of a chronic ailment' he became a member of Flewelling's church.³⁰⁰ At one of the services a local gangster, Harry Jack, threatened to do the preacher bodily harm and to disrupt the meeting because 'these Christians were stealing Hindus away'.³⁰¹ However, at the service he became deeply convicted and 'ended up by going down the aisle and weeping at the altar'.³⁰² He described his conversion thus:

Actually intending to kill Pastor Flewelling, I was miraculously saved, healed ... and filled with the Holy Ghost, all in one night.³⁰³

Jack eventually became a pastor of the Kearsney congregation of the AFM.

3.3.4

The few months following Flewelling's services saw rapid growth. After one month, that is, on November 16, 1930, twenty one Indians were baptised at the Stanger beach. A further 108 were baptised the following year and on December 20, 1931, Flewelling left Durban to live in Stanger permanently.³⁰⁴ In 1933 the congregation used a small civic hall for worship but two years later it acquired its own building site. The church building, constructed entirely with the assistance of the congregation, was opened on June 20, 1937.³⁰⁵

James Moonsamy together with two others, Moses Samuel and M. John, who had attended the 'Sabha Hall' meetings, prevailed upon Flewelling to hold similar meetings in the Darnall area, where they lived. Thus, on December 31, 1930 the 'Pentecostal message' was also preached there. Again good

initial results were recorded. In 1931, 61 were baptised. When a blind man reportedly received his sight and when in July 1934 a staunch Hindu priest was converted, the church's services received wider attention.³⁰⁶

Small extension congregations were constituted at Darnall under Moses Samuel and at Kearsney under Manikum Chetty. At Kearsney they met in a tent for worship and were given permission by the Hulett's sugar company to evangelise in the mill's barracks.³⁰⁷ In Stanger, the congregation was under Edwin Williams, a former Methodist.

Although in the first few years many Hindus embraced Christianity, the nucleus of the Apostolic Faith Mission congregations were Christians from established churches, especially the Baptist and Methodist Churches. The Apostolic Faith Mission's strict life-style, the services which involved the entire congregation and the emphasis on divine healing were the chief attractions. Like Edwin Williams, a Hindi speaking, Methodist immigrant from Mauritius who had come over to the AFM with his entire family, many had become disillusioned with the staid, detached approach of their own churches and preferred the spiritual approach of the AFM.³⁰⁸ The Langs are another example of an exodus of an entire family (not just parents and children but uncles and aunts and their children also) from Methodism to the Apostolic Faith Mission. The Manikum family in Kearsney also came over from the Baptist Church and their daughter, Mercy, became Flewelling's Telegu interpreter.

The years following 1931 witnessed the establishment of 'outreach centres' at Port Shepstone (March 24, 1933), Doorknop (on July 1, 1933), Harding (June 1934), Seven Oaks (November 27, 1937) and Verulam (July 1, 1938).

The Kearsney congregation held its first baptismal service on December 13, 1931 when twelve converts from Hinduism were baptised. In July 1934 the church had witnessed the conversion of a Hindu priest. The Hindu statues which were removed from his former temple, were 'publicly destroyed'³⁰⁹ and from August 1, 1934 Christian services were held in it.³¹⁰

Throughout the thirties the pastoral work of the congregations was largely in the hands of Indian laymen and evangelists. Unlike Bethesda, no Indian pastors were appointed until after 1940. These laymen, with little or no formal training, continued with 'cottage meetings', 'open - air' services and 'house-to-house' visitations. However, although Flewelling as missionary superintendent of the AFM in Natal still managed the Apostolic Faith Indian Mission it is clear that a great deal of the pioneering of this church was done by the Indian laymen.

3.3.5

In 1940, Flewelling left Natal to supervise the mission work among African people in the Transvaal.³¹¹ Justus du Plessis, the present secretary-general of the Apostolic Faith Mission in South Africa, succeeded him as superintendent of the Indian Mission. He arrived in Stanger on Friday, May 31, 1940. His appointment confirmed the policy of differentiation between Indian and African missions which the AFM had instituted. Du Plessis was responsible for the ordaining of Samuel Manikum, his Telegu interpreter and the first Indian minister of the Apostolic Faith Mission. In 1944, when he moved to Durban he left Pastor Manikum in charge of the Stanger congregation.

The same year, the young Henry James entered the ministry in fulfilment of a vow he made a few years earlier 'on his death bed'.³¹² In 1937, when he was only eleven, he contracted tuberculosis, which carried a strong social stigma because this community associated it with poverty and unhygienic living conditions. After James had taken ill, Flewelling was summoned and before praying for him, he asked him whether he would serve God on a full-time basis if he recovered.³¹³ He did recover and as soon as he turned eighteen entered the full-time ministry of the AFM.³¹⁴

3.3.6

After the unsuccessful evangelistic attempts in Durban of James Moonsamy, Henry James's father, an Afrikaner layman, Nortjie,³¹⁵ undertook an evangelistic 'outreach' to Indians in the Clairwood and Overport districts in the early 40's. He held services in the home of Mrs. Muthusamy whose son later became an active member of the Apostolic Faith Mission. Later on a school in Overport allowed this congregation to hold its services in one of the classrooms.³¹⁶ This church expanded suddenly in 1944 when J. du Plessis, who was still based in Stanger, conducted a tent campaign in Overport and the converts joined this congregation.³¹⁷

After this campaign du Plessis decided to settle in Durban but was recalled from the Indian Mission in 1946 by the white 'Mother Church'. At that time Indians were allowed to serve on civic councils and through du Plessis' help, an Indian, who until then did not know that he was eligible to serve on the council, was elected. Resistance to du Plessis' involvement in the election and to the evidence he gave before the Broome Commission came from certain white quarters of the Apostolic Faith Mission.³¹⁸ J. du Plessis was then recalled on the grounds of having involved himself in politics.³¹⁹

This meant that there was no longer any pastoral supervision and some of the members dispersed. Henry James remarked, 'If Pastor du Plessis was still here, our work would have been on par with Bethesda'.³²⁰ While the view may be exaggerated it underlines the benefits the continuous leadership J.F. Rowlands gave Bethesda and which the AFM lacked.

The Clairwood mission under Nortjie also encountered problems. Nortjie had built a church in Jacobs at his own expense, and subsequently decided to study at a Bible School in Johannesburg. So without consulting anyone else he sold the church to recover his money. Thereupon many of the members either lost interest or joined other denominations.³²¹ Even though Albert Murugan, an Indian layman and a former Methodist, 'held fort' in Nortjie's absence the congregation still remained small.

It was only in 1959 when Henry James' was transferred from the North Coast to Durban in 1959 that the Apostolic Faith Mission work in Durban was revitalised. The Overport assembly which in 1959 had had only 20 members now grew in size and in 1961 it moved into a building of its own at a house in Overport. Thereafter laymen assumed the responsibilities of leadership: S. Muthusamy, Jimmy Murugan, M. Chinnapen and L.G. Willie among others made pastoral visitations, did deputation work, and transported members to the services. Only in 1977 was Pastor Tom Govender appointed minister of this congregation.³²²

The Clairwood congregation shared the building that Flewelling had built for the African members of the Apostolic Faith Mission in Horseshoe Road, Clairwood. When in 1961 Africans were removed from Clairwood to Lamontville in terms of the Group Areas Act, the Indian members were able to purchase the Clairwood building for themselves.³²³

Based in Clairwood, Henry James pioneered work in Merebank and Chatsworth. On March 14, 1965 a church building was officially opened in Merebank for a congregation of 50 members. From this 'base', 'outreach' posts were set up in Malagazi, Isipingo, Reunion, Lotus Park, Gravesend; Umzinto and Umkomaas; and a mission to the Botanical Gardens Barracks began. By 1980 membership of the Merebank church, its mission stations and branches totalled 1500.³²⁴ In 1982, Henry James estimated the membership to be around 2000, half of whom were attached to the Merebank Church alone. The total Apostolic Faith Mission Indian membership now stands at just under 3000.³²⁵

In 1962 the Merebank branch began its mission to Chatsworth. The stages of development of the individual congregations were typical of many of the Pentecostal churches namely evangelistic 'outreach', cottage meetings, temporary 'make shift' housing (either backyard structures or tents), and finally church buildings.

Indian people who were uprooted from other parts of Durban under the group Areas Act or through the expropriation of their land by the Department of Community Development were compelled to move to Chatsworth where the Durban Corporation established 'sub-economic' housing schemes. As a result of this uprooting, a handful of Apostolic Faith Mission members found themselves in Chatsworth. Pastor James organised these members into small communities and the first group met in the home of Mrs. Maistry.³²⁶ Then, as was typical of the Pentecostal 'outreach' programmes a mission to the Hindus of the neighbourhood was undertaken by almost all who had formed the first 'cell group'. Conversions followed, and a backyard structure was built to house the growing congregation. Land for 'religious purposes' was not easily available and the cost of purchasing the little that was available allowed for only cheap makeshift structures.³²⁷

In 1973 the Chatsworth branch of the AFM became autonomous and Vassie Pillay, who had been an active layman in the church, was appointed pastor. The vital atmosphere of this church encouraged lay leaders, many of whom later became pastors, for example Aaron Govender in Darnall; Tom Govender in Overport; Dean C. Reddy in Mount Edgecombe; Elijah Morgan (now in West Germany) and Abel David in Mariannahill.³²⁸ This Chatsworth branch grew in number in 1976, when an independent church the 'Pentecostal Revival Centre' joined it. (The reasons for this merger are given in Chapter 5)

3.3.7

As we have seen in the Kearsney-Stanger area and in the Clairwood-Merebank-Chatsworth areas the Apostolic Faith Mission drew its members almost totally from among the poor - the Mount Edgecombe branch is a further illustration of this. The Apostolic Faith Mission began its work there in 1945 through three of its members who had moved to Mount Edgecombe to work in the sugar mill.³²⁹ Joseph and Daniel Narayansamy came from the Syembezi area near Darnall and settled into Westbrook and the Stable Barracks respectively; S. Gideon Sookraj from Kearsney also moved into the

Stable Barracks. There they were joined by Aaron Lazarus who was also accommodated at the Mills barracks. With very little education and no formal study of the Scriptures they 'barely managed to edify one another through their own unique style of preaching'.³³⁰ They adopted a simple creed that strongly emphasised saving 'through the sacrifice of Christ' and 'being filled with the power of the Holy Spirit' so that one may receive forgiveness, healing and protection from evil from God.³³¹

The format of their services was simple : extempore prayers; singing; Bible reading and preaching. There was also enough scope for the entire assembly to participate in worship so people were allowed to lead the congregation in prayer, to give their 'testimony' or to exhort their fellow worshippers. The services allowed any individual to speak in tongues or interpret, to 'prophesy' or pray for a sick friend or family member. 'Cottage meetings' were held on various nights of the week in the homes of members. They also held all-night prayer meetings (the equivalent to Bethesda's 'tarry meetings') which was often accompanied with fasting.³³²

For almost the first ten years these laymen took charge of the congregation. R.G. Francis, who had himself been an active layman in the church was made pastor only in 1955. Since he could not be financially supported by the congregation, he continued in secular employment.³³³

In 1953, M.S. Morgan, a member of the congregation who was converted when he was healed of tuberculosis, began evangelistic work in the areas surrounding Mount Edgecombe, namely, Canelands Verulam, Inanda, Avoca, Effingham, Hillhead, Flanders, Westbrooke, Cornubia, Sacchrine, Connexion, Mount Moreland, Malacca Road, Ottawa, Waterloo, La Lucia, Blackburn, Phoenix Barracks, Milkwood Kraal, Rydlevale and Duffs road. These were settlements of very poor Indians who had either worked in the nearby mills or had travelled to the neighbouring towns or to Durban. On April 2, 1958, Morgan became the first full-time worker of the church.

The growth of the Mount Edgecombe congregation created the need for a larger venue, so in 1965 a building was erected on the site donated by the sugar company.

After Pastor Morgan left the congregation in October 1966, C.K. Harry, a layman led the congregation from 1966 until 1968. He was succeeded by Pastor C.R. Timothy until June 1971 and Pastor Paul Murugan from 1972 onwards.³³⁴

In 1968 C.K. Harry moved to Buffelsdraai, the Indian location in Tongaat. A small group began to meet and to distribute evangelistic tracts. During the first of these tract distributions on July 8 they met a member of the Apostolic Faith Mission, Mr. Jackson, who offered them the verandah of his home for their services.³³⁵

3.3.8

In Pietermaritzburg the work of the Apostolic Faith Mission among Indians only began in 1964, almost forty years after Bethesda was founded. On June 6, John R. Paul,³³⁶ a former Bethesda pastor, together with Messrs. M.P. Naidoo, D. Moodley, C. Reddy and D. Davar resolved to start a 'Pentecostal congregation'.³³⁷ They renovated a room that had formerly housed poultry and used it for their services. Four years later, after much difficulty, they acquired a building site and erected a tent on it for their worship services.

M.P. Naidoo and J.R. Paul led the congregation and largely through their efforts a building was erected on this site. On December 18, 1970, J.R. Paul died suddenly.³³⁸ He was succeeded by C.R. Timothy of Mount Edgecombe from 1971 to 1975 and then Pastor Paul Saul from 1976. During this time M.P. Naidoo gave the congregation much help and direction even though he himself remained a layman. His death on October 16, 1979 was described as 'a great loss and blow to the work'.³³⁹ According to Pastor Saul, the strength of the work lay in 'fostering a sense of familyhood and love for one another, and in consistent home visitation'.³⁴⁰ The evangelistic outreach of this congregation resulted in an extension congregation at Richmond in Natal.

In 1966, three Apostolic Faith Mission families settled in the Dalton area because they were employed in the Dalton sugar mill. The families met regularly for prayer and fellowship. V. Lazarus and S. Nathaniel took on the leadership responsibilities of this group which soon became the nucleus of a new congregation.³⁴¹

In the sugar estates, the small houses were close to each other and this fostered the traditional communal arrangement which aided the daily fellowship of this group and presented a united witness in the mill's chiefly Hindu community.

Since the area around Dalton was sparsely populated and individual families were isolated from one another, Christians on the mill's estate undertook regular evangelistic missions to these remote sugar and wattle farms. After a short while many of these joined the services of the small group and the original congregation of three families now grew to 25.³⁴²

The local sugar company donated a piece of land to the congregation and a church was erected on December, 1975.

3.4 THE ASSEMBLIES OF GOD

The third of the 'established' Pentecostal churches which began a mission to South African Indians has two separate, autonomous organisations. One under Pastor F. Langeland-Hansen (4.1) and another under Pastor S. Goven-der.(4.2)

3.4.1

Pastor Langeland-Hansen's parents emigrated to South Africa from Norway in 1921 as missionaries of the Salvation army and worked among Zulus in Natal. By the mid-30's they were converted to Pentecostalism. His father joined the Assemblies of God and pastored the 'Little Green Church' in Durban.³⁴³

Soon an opportunity arose to found a separate mission to Indians.³⁴⁴ Six pupils from the Sunday school were missing and an attempt to trace them led him to Clare Estate, an Indian area on the western outskirts of Durban. He found that the parents of these children were far too poor to send them to Sunday School or to attend a church ten kms away from their neighbourhood. Pastor F. Langeland-Hansen and his wife then started a Sunday School in the home of the parents.

As in the case of Bethesda and the Apostolic Faith Mission, attendance at such house-meetings grew rapidly. When the Sunday School grew to over thirty members, an old butcher shop in Sparks Road, Overport, was rented. The Bethshan Gospel Mission was founded on August 10, 1940 in this renovated shop with F.L. Hansen as its pastor. In view of the financial stresses of the war years and the poverty of the small congregation, he was forced to continue working part-time in a chemist's shop.

The initial years of the mission were very trying especially since 'being the first Pentecostal church in the district it was viewed with suspicion'.³⁴⁵ L. Hansen stressed divine healing and claimed to have witnessed instances of healing in his small congregation; he attributed the sudden growth of the church, after the war, to these healings.³⁴⁶

During the 14 years of its stay in the renovated butcher shop, the congregation was joined by Coloureds and Indians.

Pastor Hansen's contact with the Coloured community led him to establish a 'home of safety' for orphaned and destitute Coloured children which he still directs.³⁴⁷ The Bethshan mission is the only mission that can boast of having the only organised social care programme among Indian Pentecostal churches. Pentecostal churches have generally played down their social responsibilities and emphasised the 'salvation of the soul' as the chief aim of mission. While they assist their poor members, such aid is seen as incidental to the main goal, and is generally confined to members.

In 1954 Bethshan Gospel Mission moved to its own church building in Overport. This building and a large youth centre, which was erected later, was paid for by the funds raised entirely by the congregation.³⁴⁸

Bethshan, like Bethesda, was for the greatest part of its existence under the leadership of one person. Only in 1978 was an Indian layman appointed as assistant pastor. In 1973 Pastor Hansen pointed out that 'there are no full-time assistants, as the church is now better organised with regard to visitation'.³⁴⁹ What he meant was that, the care of the congregation was almost entirely in the hands of responsible laymen. Thus, as J.F. Rowlands had done in Bethesda, Hansen supervised and helped only when laymen could not handle a problem.

Bethshan currently organises a monthly men's fellowship, weekly women's meetings, weekly youth meetings, a Sunday school, a number of 'way-side' Sunday schools and 'cottage meetings'.³⁵⁰

When David Nadasen was appointed assistant pastor in 1978 he was given charge of a small extension congregation in Clare Estate. Bethshan also has a small branch in Reservoir Hills, an Indian area to the north-west of Durban, where a small group meets in a private garage. With only two branches, it is clear that Bethshan did not adopt the programme of expansion of Bethesda.

3.4.2

The second church of the Assemblies of God among the Indians began as an independent group led by Stephen Govender, a former Hindu who had been converted in the Bethel International Mission in 1949.³⁵¹ This Pentecostal mission used to meet in the city centre, in the early 50's, gradually lost its members to other Pentecostal churches in Durban.

In 1951 a few began to meet in S. Govender's home. He acted as the congregation's 'pastor' while still maintaining his secular job. A venue for the growing congregation was found in 1953 in Gale Street, Durban. The congregation remained here for almost 14 years and adopted the name 'Peniel International Assembly'. Many who joined other churches or founded independent Pentecostal groups later, worked initially with S. Govender in Gale Street and then in Merebank : Leslie Hammond founded the Calvary Assembly,³⁵² Kay Moodley joined the Reformed church in Africa,³⁵³ Vasie Pillay joined the Apostolic Faith Mission and Bobby Naidoo who left with Hammond joined the 'Apostolic Church of Scandanavia'. (cf. chapter5).

In 1954 Peniel Assembly was formally incorporated into the Assemblies of God largely through the efforts of J.C. Williams a white worker of the Assemblies of God. Since the Assemblies of God polity allows complete autonomy to each congregation within its 'family' Pastor Stephen Govender could remain at the helm of things and still enjoy the benefits that accrue to a church body registered with the South African Government.

By 1960, in spite of 'many set-backs',³⁵⁴ the group numbered 80 adults and 120 children. The most significant 'set-back' was the implementation of the Group Areas Act. During the 1950's Gale Street became a white industrial area, and Indians had to move from the city centre to the outlying areas.³⁵⁵

From 1960 'cottage meetings' were held regularly in the home of one of the families who had moved to Merebank.³⁵⁶ In 1962 the numbers at these meetings increased when the Gale Street group held a tent campaign in Merebank. Those who were converted at the campaign joined the 'cottage-meeting' group and formed the beginnings of the Peniel Assembly at Merebank. The increase was timely, for soon after, the Peniel Assembly in Gale Street had to be closed because all its members had left the city centre and many had joined other Pentecostal churches. This meant that the focal point had shifted from Gale Street to Merebank. S. Govender and his band of helpers, including Leslie Hammond, moved permanently to take charge of the congregation in Merebank.³⁵⁷

When in 1967 the congregation in Merebank acquired a church building, the church had only 55 full members. But in the next few years an intensive program of evangelism was undertaken and six years later the Merebank congregation of the Peniel Assembly numbered 250 adults and 150 children.³⁵⁸

In 1967 this congregation introduced its evangelistic 'outreach' programs to Chatsworth. Members who had moved into Chatsworth formed the small groups which laid the basis for larger congregations later. Two separate congregations were founded in Unit 2 and Unit 5. Within one year the latter congregation acquired its own church building.³⁵⁹

SUMMARY AND SIGNIFICANCE

1. Pentecostal churches first took root among the lower socio-economic classes of Indians. The earliest congregations began in the poor labourer communal-settlements in Durban, Pietermaritzburg and in towns on the Natal coast : for examples Bethesda had its beginnings in the Corporation and Railway barracks in Durban and the AFM congregations began in the sugar-mill barracks at Stanger, Kearsney, Mount Edgecombe and Dalton.

2. The vast majority of early Indian Pentecostals were converts from Hinduism; yet the initial 'nucleus' of many of the early congregations of the 30's were mainly Christians from 'established' denominations, usually Baptist and Methodist, who found the Pentecostal life and worship more fulfilling.

3. The affairs of the Church revolved around strong charismatic leaders like Pastors J.F. Rowlands, F. Langeland-Hansen and S. Govender who ruled almost autocratically over the affairs of their churches. Thus, there has been little or no concern with polity, constitution or any fixed statement of belief.

4. Throughout their history, Bethesda, the AFM 'Indian section' and Bethshan had white heads. There has been no real rejection of white 'missionary leadership' as there has been in other Third World churches. The socio-political struggles of Indians, which is explained in Chapter 2, probably explains the appreciation of and dependence on these white leaders. In contrast to the prevailing antipathy towards Indians, these people had identified with them and cared for them. This contributed greatly to the feeling of acceptance and belonging that converts to Pentecostal churches felt.

Furthermore, the Indian members' 'deep respect' for their white 'gurus' prevented them from disagreeing with or questioning their sometimes paternalistic attitudes. Reaction only occurred in recent years against the successors of the founders who had expected to assume leadership automatically because they were white. (cf chapter 7)

5. Because of the low level of education of the early Indian converts and their ignorance about ecclesiastical matters, the direction of these churches was almost entirely in the hands of the white leaders, missionaries and visiting evangelists. Hence we find that in both the written and oral sources of information available to us, persons such as J.F. Rowlands and F. Langeland-Hansen loom larger than any one else in their church.

6. While the white leader gave direction, actual evangelism and expansion were mainly in the hands of the Indian layman.

7. Although Indians, except in the case of Peniel, have not been at the helm, there has been no crisis concerning the indigenisation of leadership as there has been elsewhere in the Third World. There has been, however, a leadership crisis of another kind which resulted in the proliferation of Indian Pentecostal churches. (cf chapter 5)

8. These churches have had four main emphases : healing, exorcism, evangelism and the pursuit of holiness. These have emerged partly as a result of the influence of missionaries and evangelists such as C.S. Flewelling, J.A. Rowlands, S. Jeffries, A.H. Cooper, F. Langeland-Hansen, J.F. Rowlands and J. du Plessis.

9. All the early Indian Pentecostal churches were affiliated to one or other of the three largest Pentecostal denominations in South Africa namely, The Apostolic Faith Mission in South Africa, The Full Gospel Church of God in Southern Africa (Bethesda) and The Assemblies of God in South Africa (Bethshan and Peniel). Hence none of these early groups took on the totally independent character that later groups did. (cf. chapter 5)

In Bethesda's case, affiliation to the 'white headquarters' was an act of expediency and not the result of total identification with the theology or polity of the Full Gospel Church of God (cf. chapter 8 for an elaboration of 'Bethesda's Approach').

10. Under the innovative leadership of J.F. Rowlands, Bethesda achieved a rate of growth much higher than that of any of the other Indian Pentecostal groups. Since this has been due largely to the methods of J.F. Rowlands, it has received a more detailed examination in the next chapter.

1. G.C. Oosthuizen, who wrote a history of Bethesda based his claim on this widely held but incorrect opinion.
Oosthuizen, G.C., Moving to the Waters (henceforth MWa).
2. Natal Advertiser, May 7 1932.
J.F. Rowlands' (hitherto JFR) information.
3. Western Daily Press, December 5 1939 cited by Oosthuizen op. cit., XII.
4. Information gleaned from J.F. Rowlands' descriptions of his father.
5. The Journal of the Bishop's Knoll Hospital, Bristol, cited in Oosthuizen op. cit.
6. Douglas, J.D., 'George Fox' The International Dictionary of the Christian Church, 383-384;
also Jones, R.M., The Faith and Practice of the Quakers:
Trueblood, D.E., The People called Quakers
7. Moving Waters (henceforth M.W.) Dec. 1943, sermon 'Thanks Dad', 138.
8. Information from Pastors F. Victor and V.R. Enoch.,
The writer once heard J.F. Rowlands remark that 'what the church needs is "knee-ology" not theology' i.e. prayer is more important than study.
9. Oosthuizen, G.C., MWa, XIV.
10. Information from Herbert Theophilus, son of Ebenezer Theophilus, the Indian pioneer of the work. This view is supported by the fact that the family initially did not consider the trip to be any more than a holiday;
J.F. Rowland's information.
11. Oosthuizen, G.C., MWa, 23.
12. cf. our discussion of the white monopoly of economics in Natal at the time in Chapter 2;
also Oosthuizen op. cit., XV.
13. M.W. July 1936, 105.
14. Oosthuizen, G.C. MWA, XV;
The nature of the experience J.F. Rowlands did not disclose. In any case he was barely 13 at the time of their arrival in South Africa.
15. The Stead family were active Pentecostal members and feature in the history of the Assemblies of God and Pentecostal Holiness churches in South Africa.
16. Oosthuizen G.C., MWa, XV.

17. Herbert Theophilus' information (recorded on tape) confirms J.H. Hensman's information (cf. Appendix 3.1).
18. Herbert Theophilus, op. cit.;
E. Theophilus, regarded the Methodists as 'worldly' and in need of the 'holiness' message.
19. A system of committees was introduced by J.A. Rowlands in this church. He was supported by the Boshoff Street European Methodist Church;
J.H. Hensman's information (mimeographed) (cf. Appendix 3.1).
20. Minutes of December 1924 in E. Theophilus' scrapbook.
21. The Natal Witness 8 Dec 1924 (henceforth N.W.).
22. J.H. Hensman, op. cit.
23. *ibid.*
24. *ibid.*
25. *ibid.*
26. N.W. 7 June 1926.
27. H. Theophilus and J. Hensman op. cit.
28. M.W. May 1973, 75.
29. M.W. October 1973, 153.
30. M.W. May 1973, 75;
December 1973
31. Oosthuizen, G.C. op. cit., 15.
32. 'Mr Theophilus was the key figure in starting the work ... Mr J.A. Rowlands gave him financial and moral support'.
J.H. Hensman's letter to A. Thompson, successor of J.F. Rowlands, dated December, 1980.
33. J.H. Hensman op. cit.
34. Hensman's information acts as an important corrective to the bulk of the available information coming from J.F. Rowlands.
35. M.W. April 1942.
36. M.W. September 1973, 138.
37. *ibid.*
38. *ibid.*, 137.

39. *ibid.*
40. A.B. Arnot's information, mimeographed.
41. *ibid.*
42. *ibid.*
43. Campaign meetings and the use of public venues like the cinema feature regularly in Bethesda's approach; Arnot wheeled a bike, carrying a large poster, through the streets adjoining the Palladium Cinema in Pietermaritzburg.
44. Arnot's and J.F. Rowlands' information. Rev. Arnot's interview is recorded on tape.
45. *ibid.*
46. The writer was well known to Pastor J.F. Rowlands and had had the opportunity to speak with him on numerous occasions about the history of Bethesda. Much of what J.F. Rowland's said was checked and rechecked against his earliest writings in Moving Waters and with early Indian pastors, especially Pastor F. Victor, C. Geffrey, P. Simeon, V.R. Enoch, J. Vallen, F. Veerasamy and Messrs. J.H. Hensman and H. Theophilus, three of whom have since died. Pastor J.F. Rowlands died in November 1980.
47. The union of the two churches is still discussed but it far from approaching any finality.
48. For a while after these meetings, Arnot lived with the Rowlands Family. When he embarked on a series of tent meetings he often slept in the tent itself as a security measure and J.F. often joined him there. A strong friendship developed and Rowlands who was then 17, became Arnot's treasurer and the 'live-wire' in his Sunday School. J.A. Rowlands supported Arnot's work and readily provided the much needed finance.
A.B. Arnot and J.H. Hensman *op. cit.*
49. Arnot, A.B., *op. cit.*
50. *ibid.*
51. *ibid.*
52. *ibid.*
53. *ibid.*
54. He has written tracts and booklets on the subject since. He adopts a pre-millennialist position.
55. Not even to G.C. Oosthuizen, whom J.F. Rowlands had claimed the first man who had had 'open and free' access to Bethesda's records during his writing of its history, did he mention this incident.
56. A discussion of J.F. Rowlands' understanding of Pentecost appears in Chapter 8.

57. This will be evident in Chapter 8 also when Bethesda's approach is compared to the other Pentecostal churches.
58. The term 'apartheid' was only to surface later, in 1948, under Dr Malan's Government.
59. This is how Arnot described white attitudes to integration in Natal around 1925: cf. our discussion of this issue in Chapter 2. However in our days, the 'other ways' have been preserved almost intact. cf. discussion on political crises in these churches in Chapter 7.
60. At least three elderly Indians testify to having felt alienated when they attended his church.
61. Arnot, A.B., op cit.
62. This has remained Full Gospel Church Policy cf. Chapter 7.
63. This site, near the 'Drift', was the venue for all the baptismal services of the Pietermaritzburg and Durban congregations until 1931, when Bethesda in Durban started using the Umgeni River.
64. As we saw in the case of the Rowlands family, these ex-Methodist members were also subjected to a re-baptism, this time by total immersion.
65. Hensman, J.H., op cit;
These formed an important part of the new congregation and were always present at the services. Therefore J.F. Rowlands' version that at times he preached to 'almost empty pews' appears to be another example of the 'embroidering' of the early days in retrospect.
66. E. Theophilus' information.
67. This is another example of the role E. Theophilus played which does not come out in J.F. Rowland's account of the church's history.
68. Fire-walking is an annual Hindu event celebrated by a small section of that community. The ability to walk barefeet over burning coals is part of the tantric ritualism that many Hindus in South Africa take seriously.
69. Hensman, J.H., op cit, 3
70. M.W. July 1973, 106
71. This criticism came particularly from certain Indian Methodist, Baptist and Anglican circles.
72. J.F. Rowlands' information

73. M.W. June 1973, 91;
Oosthuizen G.C., op cit;
M.W. Nov. 10, 1931 gives an example of one disconcerted observer who complained that 'Surely it is better to hold revival campaigns than bazaars or jumble sales'; this was obviously directed at the 'established church critics'.
74. Hensman, J.H., op cit.
75. M.W. July 1973, 106
76. Hensman, J.H. op cit.
77. *ibid.*
78. H. Theophilus and J.H. Hensman maintain that J.F. Rowlands had grossly exaggerated the difficulty of the beginnings in order to obtain financial support from well-wishers in Bristol.
79. Oosthuizen, G.C., op cit., 17;
J.H. Hensman objects to the account J.F. Rowlands gave to Oosthuizen on these matters. It appears to us, however, that J.F. was not guilty of any conscious attempts to deceive. Actually it seems that the rapid growth of the church after 1931 served to obscure, in the mind of Rowlands, the slow development of the church between the years 1926 and 1931.
80. J.F. Rowlands' information
81. N.W. May 7, 1928
82. Hensman, J.H., op cit.
83. Joseph Vallen's information (mimeographed)
84. J. Vallen described this decision as 'stepping out in faith', a common cliché in Pentecostal language. J. Vallen was describing here his entering into full-time ministry with no promise of a fixed or adequate stipend.
85. A.B. Arnot had left the church by this time. Stephen Jeffrey's came in 1927.
86. M.W. November 1973, 171
87. *ibid.*
88. *ibid.*
89. *ibid.*
90. The first issue appeared in January 1940 and has been published monthly ever since. This magazine, now in its 43rd volume forms an important part of the primary sources for this section.

91. N.W. February 14, 1931
92. N.W. February 7, 1931
93. ibid.
94. N.W. June 1, 1931
95. M.W. October 1973, 155
96. N.W. August 22, 1931
97. Hindu Young Men's Association
98. N.W. August 22, 1931
99. F. Victor's and J. Vallen's information.
100. M.W. April 1942, 39
101. In interviews with Indian pastors, we observed that this partiality to white pastors appears to have caused discontent only among a few of the Indians. E. Theophilus and J.H. Hensman isolate this as an impediment to their ministry. The majority, however, appeared not to have been bothered about the white domination of church affairs at the time.
102. Oosthuizen, G.C., MWa, 19
103. M.W. July 1973, 105-106;
also from discussion with J.F. Rowlands.
104. N.W. September 7, 1931
105. N.W. September 10, 1931
106. Oosthuizen, G.C., MWa, 19
107. N.W. November 10, 1931
108. M.W. July 1973, 105
109. ibid.
110. Oosthuizen, G.C., MWa, 19
111. N.W. September 10, 1931
112. M.W. October 1973
113. M.W. December, 1973
114. ibid.

115. The date in the newspaper article is incorrect; the meeting took place on the 10th of October.
116. The Graphic October 10, 1952
117. J.F. Rowlands compiled and edited Moving Waters until his death in November 1980. There is a need here to express the dangers of reducing history to a kind of hagiography if one depended only on such writings as Moving Waters. In our study, individuals acted as charismatic leaders around which the whole movement revolved. eg. the figure of J.F. Rowlands tends to loom larger in most of the material at our disposal.
118. These barracks were situated roughly in the proximity of the present Somtseu Road in Durban. They have since been demolished.
119. The poor conditions that existed in these barracks were vividly described to me by Edward Frank who grew up in these barracks. He told of the 'squalid living conditions, lack of ablution and sanitary facilities, small living quarters where sometimes two families had to live', and no recreational facilities. He joined Bethesda in the early 40's. V.R. Enoch, an early Bethesda pastor and the Abel family corroborated this account.
120. The close proximity of the Railway Barracks allowed people interested in J.F. Rowlands services to attend services at the corporation barracks.
121. M.W. December 1973
122. Henry James of the Apostolic Faith Mission provided information concerning his father.
123. *ibid.*
124. Mrs. John, now very old, was interviewed in Chatsworth.
125. Samuel Manda's information. He was a close friend and the co-worker in that Baptist church with these three men. (Recorded on tape)
126. *ibid*; M.W. August 1973, 121
127. Manda, S., *op cit.*
128. M.W. December 1973, 191
129. *ibid.*
130. M.W. March 1974, 39
131. M.W. April 1973
132. Information from V.R. Enoch and J. Vallen

133. J.F. Rowlands' information;
M.W. December 1973, 193
134. *ibid.*
135. Royappen, Theophilus, Lee and Carr are among the family names of those who had joined Bethesda and who were either former Methodists or Anglicans.
136. Oosthuizen, G.C., MWa, 19
137. J.H. Hensman had represented the mission at the Annual Full Gospel Church Conference in 1927.
138. This is explained in Bethesda's understanding of the Pentecostal experience in Chapter 8 and in the issues raised during the 'institutionalisation process' of Bethesda in Chapter 7.
139. M.W. December 1975, 192
140. Also since a large group of Coloured people had shown interest in the meetings of this church, the Indian barracks became impractical.
141. M.W. December 1973, 192
142. This was one of the most famous of his dialogue-dramatic sermons which had great appeal for his audiences.
143. M.W. January 1974, 1
144. Oosthuizen G.C., MWa, 23
Minutes of the Board meeting held on May 13, 1932. This meeting, which was held to organise Bethesda, elected its first working committee. J.F. Rowlands was elected chairman. Other officers included were C.E. Mayoss (Sec/Tre) and Samuel John (dep.sec/tre). Others on the committee, elected by secret ballot were Gabriel Thomas, Joseph, Jacob, Yesudas and Abel Prakasim, Bob (surname omitted) and Mrs. Patrick and Mrs Mayoss (organist).
145. Oosthuizen, G.C., MWa, 22
146. Obededom AGM reports
147. Oosthuizen, G.C., MWa, 140
148. Hensman, J.H., *op cit.*
149. *ibid.*
150. Obededom AGM report, 1955
151. Bethesda Temple Church Council (BTCC) minutes June 1, 1956

152. BTCC, December 3, 1956
153. BTCC, march 7, 1958;
Arthur Naidoo's information
154. M.W. March 1956, 35
155. This may be traced not to Moving Waters or to the information of J.F. Rowland's but to the testimony of two of the Indian pioneers, J.H. Hensman and E. Theophilus themselves.
156. H. Theophilus op cit.;
Obededom is still housed on this site.
157. Hensman, J.H., op cit.
158. *ibid.*
159. cf. our discussion of this issue in chapter 4 under the title 'Bethesda's approach'.
160. Obededom AGM report, 1956
161. Obededom AGM report, 1955
162. On November 1959, Oosthuizen op. cit. 142
163. AGM report 1955
164. *ibid*;
During this time Pastor Manie Naidoo, the brother of Pastor Arthur Naidoo undertook a mission to Ladysmith.
165. Minutes of Obededom meeting held on January 19, 1961
166. AGM reports of Obededom from 1962 onwards
167. *ibid*;
This information gleaned from the figures mentioned in these reports.
168. BTCC minutes May 9, 1959;
BTCC minutes December 29, 1959
169. His son has subsequently led a congregation, which had been organised independently, into Bethesda in 1980.
170. BTCC minutes in December, 1958;
BTCC minutes January 23, 1959
171. *ibid.*, January 19, 1963
172. BTCC minutes January 9, 1965

173. Information gleaned from Ephesus Temple's AGM report of the years listed.
174. Ephesus AGM report January 11, 1973
175. Ephesus AGM report January 21, 1974
176. Alec Rowlands, a quiet, unassuming man, remained throughout his life behind the scenes while J.F. Rowlands led the church and as more overtly seen to be the chief 'guru'. On several occasions J.F. Rowlands was heard by his members to acknowledge his dependence on his brother's help. G.C. Oosthuizen, in conversion with the writer aptly described the relationship thus: 'If J.F. Rowlands was 'Peter' then Alec Rowlands fits the role of the quiet 'Andrew'.
177. Oosthuizen, G.C., MWa, 225
178. cf. discussion of 'Sisters Prayer Band' in chapter 4 under 'Bethesda's Approach'.
179. Vallen, J., op cit. he was among the first Indian pastors of Bethesda cf. chapter 4.
180. ibid;
Victor, F., op cit.
181. Testimony from numerous early Bethesda membes including F. Victor, J. Vallen, R. Abel, J. Prakasim and J.M. Pillay.
182. Oosthuizen, G.C., MWa, 25
This shop was owned by an Hindu, Mr. Narain, who appears to have 'gone out of his way' to assist Pastor Rowlands and his young congregation. It was situated in 270 Grey Street.
183. cf. Bethesda's approach in chapter 4.
184. M.W. January 1976
185. M.W. February 1974, 21
186. J.F. Rowland's information
187. Oosthuizen, G.C., op cit. 24
188. M.W. February 1974, 21
189. cf. chapter 4
190. M.W. February 1974, op. cit.
191. Oosthuizen, G.C., MWa, 25
192. D. Pillay was converted and baptised in July 1934.

193. The Natal Advertiser, July 14, 1934
194. The Natal Mercury, July 18, 1934
195. *ibid.*
196. The Sunday Tribune, August 15, 1936
197. This impression was gained from the way the older members of Bethesda tell the story.
198. A common expression in these circles. cf. chapter 6 for discussion of the significance of 'involvement' and 'doing work for God' in the Pentecostal understanding of 'holiness'.
199. Oosthuizen, G.C., MWa, 29
200. M.W. August 1974, 123
201. The Daily News October 15, 1941
202. M.W. August 1974, *op cit.*
203. M.W. November 1941
204. *ibid.*
205. *ibid.*
206. The Leader October 18, 1941
207. *ibid.*
208. This is how J.F. Rowlands described the large attendances of these campaigns.
209. M.W. November 1941
210. J.F. Rowlands was given to this type of grandiose generalisation. He is referring here to friends of Bethesda in Bristol and the places he visited when he went to India.
211. M.W. November 1941
212. J.F. Rowland's information;
Oosthuizen, G.C., MWa, 32
213. M.W. October 1952, 124
214. *ibid.*
215. These were among the earliest out-stations, which were all on the outskirts of the city centre. They coincide with the earliest areas settled during the urbanisation process of the 20's. cf. chapter 2.

216. M.W. October, 1952
217. ibid.
218. ibid.;
This line was often repeated in Bethesda services. It was the chorus of a song sung solemnly at the end of the service usually accompanying a pledge or a commitment by the congregation.
219. eg. John Prakasim, stood up and dedicated his singing abilities to Christian use only;
M.W. October 1952, 125
220. ibid.
221. ibid., 140-141
222. ibid.
223. ibid.
224. ibid., 142
225. M.W. December 1952, 151-3
226. M.W. August 1952;
M.W. September 1953;
M.W. August 1953;
M.W. October 1953;
M.W. October 1954;
M.W. November 1954
227. M.W. November 1953, 122
228. ibid., 126
229. Pentecostal churches practise adult baptism. Little children are 'consecrated'.
230. M.W. February 1953, 17-18
231. M.W. May 1953, 56
232. M.W. October 1953
233. M.W. February 1954, 17
234. ibid.
235. ibid.
236. Oosthuizen, G.C., M.Wa, 36
237. Nicholas Bhengu (cf. chapter 1, 'S.A. background')

238. M.W. February 1954, 14
239. The Christian Recorder February 11, 1955
240. Kenneth, A.A., was ordained in 1961.
241. M.W. June 1955, 64
242. M.W. November 1955, 128
243. The Leader May 27, 1955;
Golden City Post May 29, 1955;
M.W. June 1955, 64
244. M.W. November 1955, 128
245. Article by Pastor Maldwyn Oliver in Revival News reprinted in M.W. November 1955.
246. M.W. November 1955
247. M.W. November 1955, 123
248. The Natal Mercury October 15, 1955
249. Many of these slides were taken by J.F. Rowlands on his trips to India and Ceylon.
250. M.W. November 1955, 124
251. M.W. March 1956
252. The Pietermaritzburg churches had a total of 936 members (adults and juniors) at the time of the amalgamation.
253. M.W. May 1956, 71;
M.W. April 1956, 54;
M.W. 1956, 2
254. M.W. September 1956
255. M.W. September 1956
256. Victor, F., op cit.;
Vallen, J., op cit.;
257. M.W. November 1956, 172
258. M.W. January 1957
259. BTCC AGM Report 1956;
M.W. February 1957, 19-20
260. ibid., 20

261. *ibid.*
262. C.H. Dwyer's information. He later left Bethesda because he disagreed with J.F. Rowlands over administrative affairs.
263. *ibid*;
Oosthuizen, G.C., MWa, 40
264. M.W. 1958
265. M.W. February 1959;
M.W. 1959
266. A campaign billed the 'Grand Opening Campaign' was held to celebrate the opening of the new building. M.W. December 1958, 158-9.
267. From Joan Goddard's eyewitness account of the opening, M.W. January 1959, 1-2.
268. The Daily News July 17, 1961;
The Natal Mercury July 15, 1961;
Sunday Tribune July 16, 1961
269. Oosthuizen, G.C., MWa, 50
270. M.W. January 1967, 1
271. M.W. September 1970, 86
272. M.W. February 1966, 12
273. M.W. March 1971, 34
274. M.W. August 1976, 91
275. Information from the following issues of M.W.: May 1966, 33; May 1967, 33; May 1968, 3; May 1970, 37; May 1971, 50
276. M.W. October 1975;
M.W. November 1975
277. Oosthuizen, G.C., Pentecostal Penetration (henceforth P.P.), 225
278. From his address at the opening of the college in 1975.
279. The Sunday Tribune (Extra) 22 June 1975. On both occasions sections of the city roads were closed in order to direct the large crowds attending the funerals.
280. For early history of this movement cf. 'American and South African background', Chapter 1.

281. C.S. Flewelling's information. Again in the absence of any written documentation, we have had to rely on oral tradition. Ida Flewelling, C.S. Flewelling's wife, confirmed much of the information, the early Indian workers provided regarding Flewelling.
282. Flewelling, Ida, *ibid*.
283. *ibid*.
284. *ibid*.
285. Aimee McPherson was also evangelist to China.
286. Flewelling, Ida *op cit*;
Such is the nature of Pentecostal perception of the immanence of the divine in their lives. Numerous accounts of this kind have surfaced in our interviews with Pentecostals.
287. *ibid*.
288. Flewelling, Ida, *op cit*.
289. *ibid*.
290. *ibid*.
291. Dean Reddy's information. He is researching the Apostolic Faith Mission work among Indians as part of his M Theology Thesis at the University of Durban-Westville.
292. He claims to have exchanged a baritone horn with the chief at Sangweni in the Umbabo mountain for a place to build a church.
293. Information of J.F. Rowlands, Ida Flewelling and A.B. Arnot.
294. We noted that Bethesda later adopted this method of holding its services also. The influence of A.H. Cooper in this regard is also interesting to note.
295. information concerning her healing from Henry James; Golden Jubilee Brochure (GJB) 6.
296. GJB,6
297. Flewelling, Ida *op cit*.
298. Oosthuizen, G.C., Pentecostal Penetration, 88 - 96
299. Pastor Williams an AFM pastor in the North Coast who was himself converted at Flewelling's services, confirmed this view.
300. Henry James, *op cit*.

301. Mercy Jack's information (mimeographed) confirms G.C. Oosthuizen's account of Harry Jack's conversion (cf. Pentecostal Penetration, 89)
302. *ibid.*
303. *ibid.*
304. GJB, 6
305. *ibid.*, 7
306. Flewelling, Ida *op cit.*;
GJB, *op cit.*, 7
307. *ibid.*
308. This was repeatedly mentioned in interviews with the elderly of this group eg. D.F. Williams, H. James and the Manikam family.
309. This type of reaction of the convert was fairly common. Comments on the significance of this are made later.
310. GJB, *op cit.*, 7
311. *ibid.*, 8;
ibid., 36; J. du Plessis' article 'Memories of our Ministry in Natal'
312. Henry James' information
313. The function of the vow, very common in these circles, is explained in chapter 6 as it gives insight into the Pentecostal world-view.
314. Henry James took charge of the Darnall congregation for 2 years when D.F. Williams assumed leadership of the Overport congregation in 1949. He pastored the Overport congregation from 1952 to 1956 and then after Pastor Manikum had left the AFM he returned to Stanger for 3 years
315. He was called 'Bro. Nortjie' or 'Pastor Nortjie' by the Indians and his initials or first names are not known.
316. GJB, *op cit.* 31
317. Henry James, *op cit.*
318. We mentioned the work of the Broome Commission in chapter 2
319. Henry James, *op cit.*
320. *ibid.*
321. GJB, *op cit.* 17

322. information from M. Chinnapen, *ibid.*, 17
323. *ibid.*, 18
324. Henry James, *op. cit.*
325. *ibid.*
326. GJB, *op. cit.*, 14
327. This is best understood against the life situation of the Indian described in chapter 2.
328. GJB, *op. cit.*, 19
329. Reddy, D.C., Gospel on bicycle wheels (Anniversary booklet on the history of the Mount Edgecombe assembly), 2
330. *ibid.*
331. *ibid.*
332. *ibid.*, 4
333. *ibid.*, 10
334. *ibid.*
335. C.K. Harry's information in GJB, *op. cit.*
336. John R. Paul left Bethesda amidst controversy which arose over a personal matter.
337. GJB, *op. cit.*, 22
338. *ibid.*, 23
339. *ibid.*, 24
340. Pastor Paul Saul's information in GJB, *op. cit.*
341. S. Nathaniel's information in GJB, *op. cit.*
342. *ibid.*
343. Pastor Langeland-Hansen in letter to G.C. Oosthuizen dated 21 May 1973
344. *ibid.*
345. *ibid.*;
Oosthuizen, G.C., P.P., 86
346. *ibid.*

347. Mullan, W.F., 'Early History: Assemblies of God', (part two); Fellowship, op cit., 7
348. Pastor Hansen believed that this proves the point 'that a carefully organized church amongst the Indians can be self-supporting'. Pastor Hansen's information, op. cit.
349. *ibid.*, letter dated 21 May 1973
350. *ibid.*
351. Pastor Stephen Govender's information; also Oosthuizen, op. cit., 86
352. L. Hammond had a personality clash with Pastor Govender.
353. Rev. K. Moodley is minister of the Sydenham branch of the Reformed Church in Africa which was the result of NGK missionary work among Indians.
354. Oosthuizen, G.C., P.P., 87
355. cf. chapter 2 for the background to the Group Areas laws and the movement of people from the city to 'locations'.
356. Oosthuizen, G.C., P.P., 87
357. S. Govender op. cit., also, L. Hammond's information. Both confirm the story of Peniel AOG as we present it here.
358. S. Govender op. cit.
359. Oosthuizen, G.C., P.P., 7

APPENDIX 3.1

EARLY HISTORY OF OBEDEDOM

(This signed statement, submitted to the author by J.H. Hensman, is included without editing. It is important because Hensman is the only surviving eye-witness of Bethesda's beginnings in Pietermaritzburg and was largely responsible for correcting the widely held misconceptions about the founding of Bethesda.)

In 1925 Mr. Theophilus and his family left the Anglican Church and joined the Methodist Indian Mission, corner of Church and Thomas Streets. During the same year he contacted Mr. J.A. Rowlands in the Municipal Market where he had a fruit stall. Mr. Rowlands and his family had come to S.A. for business reasons. He was the Director of the Natal Trading and Milling Co. in Victoria Road. He and his family had belonged to the Quaker Movement in England. They were really devoted to God. As there was no such movement in this country Mr. Theophilus got him to shepherd the Methodist Indian Mission. Mr. Rowlands organised this church assembly into committees as there was no circuit minister. He was backed by the Boshoff Street European Methodist Church. The committee consisted of The Leaders' Committee (Council), Sunday School Committee, Cottage Meeting Committee etc. Mr. Rowlands had two sons viz. J.F. (Jack) and Alec. He and his family lived in Town Hill on the old Howick Road. J.F. was a very good goalkeeper. He represented his school in inter-school matches. During one of these matches J.F. was called to save souls and not goals.

In February 1925 there was a Methodist Church Synod meeting held in Greytown. Mr. Rowlands sent a telegram to the Chairman of the Synod to send an Indian minister to the Methodist Indian Mission in Pietermaritzburg. If the Synod was unable to accede to his request then it should close down this church. His request was granted. Rev. A.J. Choonoo was transferred from the Durban Indian Lorne Street Church. Within a month or so after his arrival Rev. Choonoo disorganised Mr. Rowlands' work. Mr. Rowlands' services were not required. During the month of July, Mr. Theophilus arranged a meeting between Mr. Rowlands and Rev. Choonoo at his home in 519 Longmarket Street, where he also had a fruitshop. This meeting was called to iron out the differences between them. Mr. Rowlands asked Rev. Choonoo if he had received the Holy Ghost since he had believed. Rev. Choonoo took exception to this and walked out. Immediately after that Mr. Rowlands got Mr. Theophilus to convert his fruitshop for church services. The hall was about 25ft by 50ft. (The attendance was never below 20 for the Rowlands', Theophilus' and Franks' families were always present; singing was always bright for the Theophilus' children were good singers.) At first the church was named the United Pentecostal Mission. A few years later the assembly joined the Full Gospel Church of Southern Africa which had started a few years before this church. It was then changed to Obededom. Mr. J.A. Rowlands became the pastor of Obededom and in 1928 J.F. who had just completed his scholastic career in Hilton College was given the charge of the Sunday School. He was then just over 18 years of age. J.F. used a banjo-ukele to provide music in Sunday School. With Mr. John Rufus' influence J.F. held services once a week among the children at the Railway School.

1st Baptism Service

In 1926 a picnic was arranged by Mr. Theophilus on Easter Monday at the Sewerage Farm Drift on the banks of the Umsinduzi River. That very afternoon Pastor Arnot of the Full Gospel Church baptised Mr. Theophilus and Mr. Reuben Davis.

During the same year a branch of the European Church had started at the corner of Bulwer and Henrietta Street in an upper room. Pastor Arnot from the Transvaal accompanied by his sister was in charge of this work which was supported financially by Pastor J.A. Rowlands.

2nd Baptism Service

In 1927 Pastor J.A. Rowlands baptised Mrs. Theophilus, Miss Grace Theophilus, Gilbert Theophilus, Mrs. Mary Emma, Messrs. Putwas Moses and J.H. Hensman. (Mr. John Rufus was baptised by Mr. Griffin, a member of the Baptist Church).

During the same year Mr. Hensman represented the Obededom Church at the Pretoria Convention of the Full Gospel Church during the Easter week. Mr. Theophilus bought an organ to be used in Obededom.

After the mill in Victoria Road was destroyed by fire in 1928 the Rowlands family settled down on the banks of the Dorp Spruit off Orthmann Road. They took up pig farming there. One of their pigs won first prize at the Natal Agricultural Show in Pietermaritzburg.

PASTOR J.F. ROWLANDS TAKES OVER THE WORK IN 1931

As the health of Pastor J.A. Rowlands was failing, he handed the work over to J.F. He held his first campaign service in the H.Y.M.A. Hall at the corner of Church and William Streets. The campaign started during the last week in August and ended in the middle of September. Many souls accepted Christ and some were baptised.

During the same year J.F. held a campaign in the Royal Picture Palace in Victoria Street, Durban. As the response was so great that he hired a small hall in Grey Street, calling it Bethesda. He held regular services there whilst his father assisted in the work in Maritzburg. On Good Friday, on which day the Hindus hold their fire-walking ceremony in the temple yard annually, (probably in 1928) the brethren distributed tracts with pictures of "Hell Fire", and a large banner displayed on the same topic from the veranda of the church. There was a great uproar among the Hindus who even threatened to burn the church. From about 1927 or 1928 open air services were held regularly at the corner of Church and Retief Streets on Friday evenings. Mr. Hensman bought a portable organ. it was used for the open air services It was played by J.F.'s mother. Bros. Theophilus, Hensman, and Rufus visited the mental hospital on Sundays. they also together with Mr. and Mrs. Kothe held open air services in Pentrich, Plessislaer, Edendale, and Coronation Brickyard. The Hindus banded together and also held services at the same time on Fridays on the opposite corner of Retief Street condemning Christianity. The Hindus opposed the work wherever the brethren held open air services.

DEATH OF PASTOR J.A. ROWLANDS, IN 1932

Early in 1932 Pastor J.A. Rowlands died. J.F. invited his uncle, Mr. T.L. Rowlands from Ladysmith to take charge of Obededom as the work in Durban took most of his time. He was farming in Ladysmith. Br. D. Bruce and Sis. Vasia Williams joined the church in 1939. Bro. Cyril Williams came into the church in the early 40's.

In 1939 Brother Theophilus contacted Mr. A.W. Baker of the Baptist Church. Through his influence Mr. Baker bought a piece of ground at 468 Longmarket Street at the beginning of 1959 and built a church and donated it to the Obededom Assembly. When the building was completed, the Obededom Assembly occupied it in December 1940. The church property was controlled by a Board of Trustees. They were Pastor T.L. Rowlands, Mr. A.W. Baker and his daughter. Pastor T.L. Rowlands did not want any non-Europeans on the board, although we had a very capable person in Mr. John Rufus.

Obededom started mission stations in Cedara, Lions River, Balgowan, Nottingham Road, and Wartburg Districts. Two branch churches were built in Pietermaritzburg: Carmel Temple was erected in Raisethorpe in 1948. The land was donated by Mrs. Samson and the church was built on it. Obededom did not appoint any pastor but the services were conducted by Obededom Council. Bro. Hensman who was secretary of Obededom was appointed Elder of Carmel. The work at Carmel began to grow and a full time pastor was badly needed. Bro. Hensman insisted on Pastor J.F. to send one from Durban. In 1956 Brother John R. Paul from Durban was appointed by J.F. as pastor.

Bethany Temple was built in Arthur Road in Pentrich in 1954. Bro. Douglas Raman as an elder was in charge of the work. Brother Hensman made arrangements for the purchase of the land and a church building was constructed by the Obededom Church.

Mr. A.W. Baker died in the late 40's. We did not hear of the other trustee, Mr. Baker's daughter. Apparently Pastor T.L. Rowlands was the only survivor of the three trustees.

In 1955 before he retired sold the church property to an American who had come to South Africa at Pastor T.L. Rowlands' request: the American paid about two thousand pounds for the building and donated it to the Full Gospel Church of Southern Africa.

Pentrich was hard hit when it was declared WHITE by the Group Areas board. Indians had to vacate Pentrich. The church building was sold and the money was utilised in the erection of another Bethany Temple in Newholmes.

P.S.

Brother Hensman bought a Ford panel van in the 40's to transport people to and fro from Pentrich to the Sunday evening services at Obededom. Pastor J.F. named it, 'THE GLORYLAND EXPRESS'.

CHAPTER 4

PHASE ONE CHURCHES - THEIR APPROACH AND CHARACTERISTICS

4.1 Congregational life: general features

Pentecostals make the congregation and its various activities the centre of their entire life. In the early period of Indian Pentecostalism, the members of Bethesda, the Apostolic Faith Mission and the Assemblies of God were fully involved in campaigns, evangelistic outreaches, prayer meetings, thanksgiving and memorial services, mid-week services and home fellowships. No part of the member's life remained untouched by his attachment to his church.¹

All three of these churches had had in this period 'cell groups' especially committed to evangelism. These acted as catalysts in each of the local branches constantly influencing other members of the congregation.²

The entire congregation was encouraged to be involved in these activities. An average member attended church services at least three times a week and twice on Sundays. Sunday afternoons and evenings were spent in evangelistic work. All three churches encouraged their members to engage in 'house-to-house visitation', a programme of personal evangelism, and to distribute Christian tracts. 'Open-air meetings' featured frequently in the outreach programmes. These generally followed the same pattern. There was loud singing in Tamil, Telegu, Hindi or English often to the accompaniment of guitars, tambourines and piano accordions. A few would give biblical addresses. These were often very simple and cliché-ridden exhortations, punctuated by 'testimonies' or songs. 'Testimonies' are accounts of how such persons had become Christians and dealt mainly with the reasons for, and circumstances of, their conversion. The main reasons given for conversion were healing, liberation from some kind of debilitating habits, especially alcoholism, and from 'evil possession'. These testimonies are often very moving accounts expressing the person's personal experience of conversion.³

The following activities received prominence in all three churches:

- (a) All night prayer-meetings: a number of the older members of these churches told of how such meetings were even held on beaches and in deserted places where they claimed that they were alone with God.
- (b) Fasting often accompanied these prayer meetings and was associated especially with overcoming evil. For the working of healings and exorcisms and for effective preaching, it was deemed necessary to fast and pray. In interviews the words of Christ that 'these things come out only through much fasting and prayer' were often quoted.⁴
- (c) Lay-witness in streets, work-places and public assemblies. It was considered a sign of one's spirituality to evangelise.⁵
- (d) Church services were held in homes, back-yard structures, barracks, rented halls or cinemas, and private garages. The preaching was often done by elders or deacons. There were usually seven deacons after the example of the church in Jerusalem but there are instances when twelve were appointed.
- (e) Very significant in the first two decades of Indian Pentecostalism was the formation of zealous 'Youth Clubs'. All had strong contingents of committed young people. It was not uncommon to find the same young person teaching Sunday School, leading the youth meetings, convening home-fellowship meetings and taking part in evangelistic outreach programmes.⁶
- (f) The Sunday School was often the main medium of mission outreach. All the churches mentioned in Chapter Three had examples of what initially were 'way side Sunday Schools' which developed into 'home-fellowships'. These in turn formed the beginnings of a new branch congregation. Many non-Christians have been so influenced by these way side Sunday Schools that they later converted.⁷

(h) After a while, the home fellowships, usually moved into tents, backyard structures or private garages. Many of these, as time went on, erected larger tents; used schools in the vicinity, or rented larger premises. Eventually these branches built their own churches. Many congregations had been meeting for up to 15 years before they acquired a building of their own. Hence, by the 1960's Pentecostal church buildings mushroomed.⁸

Over and above these characteristics which are shared by all three of these churches, Bethesda also developed its own peculiar approach and character which as table 4:1 indicates, was rewarded by remarkable growth in comparison with the Assemblies of God and the Apostolic Faith Mission: thus in 1950 Bethesda's membership was almost 4 times larger than that of the other two churches combined. During the sixties and early seventies it was almost 10 times as large but by 1980 the growth rates of all three churches had stabilized.

TABLE 4:1

| | 1950 | 1960 | 1970 | 1980 |
|----------------------------------|-------|--------|--------|--------|
| Bethesda (Full Gospel Church) | 5 733 | 13 080 | 21 775 | *3 100 |
| Apostolic Faith Mission | 552 | 675 | 1 320 | 2 250 |
| Assemblies of God | - | *550 | 787 | 1 800 |

9

- not available

* approximate figure obtained from church leaders.

4.2 Proclamation - Bethesda style

4.2.1

Dialogical and Illustrated Sermons

Pastor J.F. Rowlands had had a great facility for innovation. He could isolate in everyday events themes and slogans that would catch his congregation's imagination. For example, the titles of his sermons during the war included 'Hitler and the Jews - Gog Agog'¹⁰ 'Twin-engined believers'¹¹, the 'Grand March Past', 'Harbour Lights', 'Sabotage' and 'God's Suspension Bridge'.¹²

He used these themes and slogans in a community-centered, high powered 'salesman-like' way to popularise his preaching in a way that consistently drew huge crowds.

Within the first nine years of Bethesda's existence in Durban he preached almost 3 000 different sermons. These included 'musical sermons' (song items and music interspersed in the sermon)¹³; 'drama sermons' which included sketches and plays during the sermon, and 'illustrated addresses' in which large models, slides and pictures were used.¹⁵

J.F. Rowlands did not refrain from sensational and spectacular presentations provided they held his audience captive. For example, in October 1949, towards the end of an illustrated sermon on future judgement entitled 'Unforgiven Sins', a stern voice was heard calling from a cupboard on the rostrum. When J.F. Rowlands opened it it revealed a skeleton which, by means of an hidden voice, had for six minutes spoken of the 'forgotten and unforgiven sins' not only 'in the cupboard' but in 'the Book of Judgement'.¹⁶ The huge congregation was reported to have been 'awe struck, a pin dropped would have made an audible noise'.¹⁷

In 1957, on the occasion of Bethesda's 26th anniversary, A.H. Cooper, then the oldest surviving pioneer of the Pentecostal movement in South Africa,

described the impact of the Bethesdascope thus, 'when graphic descriptions were given by Pastor J.F. Rowlands as each picture was put on the screen, we seemed to be no longer in Durban, but actually with him on his great trip around the world. The impressions left on my mind are unforgettable'.¹⁸

Dr E.P. Reim, a great admirer of Bethesda, who was pioneering the Presbyterian mission to Indians at the time, was also greatly impressed by the Bethesdascope. In 1956, he declared, 'In the medieval church, visual teaching methods were used ... each depicting some Bible story. So Pastor Rowlands used the projector and colour slides in making the scriptures live in the minds of the congregation'.¹⁹ A year later he wrote, 'Christians of all denominations in our country should enrich their spiritual lives by a pilgrimage to a Bethesda campaign'.²⁰

As we noted in chapter two, during the first few decades of this century most Indians lacked the opportunities for education.²¹ Furthermore, it was mainly the poor, and therefore the less educated, who had joined the Pentecostal churches.²¹ It is, therefore, understandable why this attractive visual approach to teaching had had a special impact on the minds of the majority of Bethesda's members.²³ This appeal was accentuated by sermons whose themes would have had special appeal for the Indian, such as 'Calvary's Indian Eyes', 'New lamps for old' and 'Fire walking with Jesus'.²⁴

In the first twenty one years of Bethesda's existence, Pastor Rowlands conducted over two hundred 'Gospel Campaigns'.²⁵ At the end of every sermon solemn appeals were made for people in the congregation to commit themselves to Christ. At the end of the 'Unforgiven Sins' sermon described above, one hundred made such a commitment.²⁶ At the larger campaign meetings even greater numbers responded.²⁷ Dr E.P. Reim once remarked that 'The high emotional pitch reached in these Gospel campaigns may be intellectually disturbing, but it is often necessary in order to bring a decision'.²⁸

4.2.2

Continuity with India

There is an inherent but not obvious tension in the cultural attitudes of South African Indians.²⁹ South African Indians have a kind of 'love-hate' relationship with their past.³⁰ While they unashamedly discard their traditional habits and customs for a western life-style, reasons for which are given in Chapter 2, they all the same hold India and their cultural past in high esteem. This is true even in cases where there is no real knowledge of this past and where all contact with India has long since disappeared. For many, especially the better educated, this link is merely sentimental as they have little or no knowledge of the Indian languages or of the literature. Yet the affirmation of these 'roots' helps to maintain a sense of general well-being.

Bethesda's strength in comparison with the other Pentecostal churches was its ability, often unconsciously, to articulate in its approach this tension between the old, traditional Indian life and culture which was rapidly passing away, and the new, western, secularised life-style and habits this community now confronted. J.F. Rowlands himself stressed the continuity with India and its culture though he was in every possible respect a typical Englishman. He offered an attractive model of speech, dress and life-style characteristic of a well bred Englishman. In fact many of Bethesda's Indian pastors have borrowed some of his idiosyncrasies.³³

Yet, on the other hand, he always emphasised Indian cultural identity.³² He believed that it was essential for Indians to keep their traditional life-style and lamented that 'some Indian Christians change their mode of dress and adopt a western style'. 'The Indian sarrie', he maintained, 'is the most graceful ... all Indian ladies should retain this most exquisite gem of the Nation's identity.'³³

For this reason he forbade marriages in his churches between Indians and non-Indians. In May 1941 he published this stance as a statement of

'church principle'.³⁴ The country itself legally forbade marriages between black and white only after 1948. In 1941 he pointed out that 'familiarity and intimacy is to be deplored between boys and girls of different nationalities'.³⁵ In one of his early writings he stated that 'perhaps the greatest of all great peaks of National Identity to be jealously guarded is the Purity of the Indian Race. If this is lost all is lost ... an Indian boy must marry an Indian girl. This is the foundation stone of the edifice'.³⁶ Another example of his perception of this cultural tension was the fact that he instilled in his members a love for India, their motherland. By 1930 nearly all of Bethesda's Indian members had been born in South Africa. The majority were already second generation South Africans. Only a very few remembered arriving here as little children in the last few shiploads of immigrants.³⁷

To them, J.F. Rowlands presented the glamorous wonders of their motherland in his sermons and 'Bethesdascope's'. He himself appears to have had a deep love for India³⁸ which he visited a number of times and where he established Bethesda fellowships whenever he could.³⁹ On returning from his third trip in 1951, the 'All-India Campaign' was held which attracted wide interest in the whole Indian community.⁴⁰ Five hundred were added to the church in that year.⁴¹

J.F. Rowland's visits to England, to the Church of God in the U.S.A. and to India brought the isolated Indian community in Bethesda into contact with the world at large. This helped to create a sense of pride in their church especially when Bethesda received complementary reviews in overseas magazines⁴² and when their leader was widely acclaimed for his accomplishments.⁴³ Furthermore, Bethesda members faithfully sent financial aid to workers in India on a monthly basis either through J.F. Rowlands or the 'Bethesda Missionary Endeavour', an organisation of Bethesda's members which was set up especially to raise this aid for India.

Moreover, J.F. Rowlands was concerned about the elderly Indians who still spoke Tamil, Telegu and Hindi as well as about those who were now speaking English in their homes but who nonetheless wished to preserve the Indian

languages. The latter more westernised and better educated group found itself in a dilemma - people no longer required Indian languages for daily discourse especially in Natal which is predominantly English speaking⁴⁴ but they suffered a sense of loss because the Indian languages were now not being spoken by themselves or especially by their children. At all Bethesda services and at least some of the early Apostolic Faith Mission congregations songs, prayers and testimonies were in Tamil, Telegu or Hindi. However, the service as a whole, including the sermon, was conducted in English.

Bethesda always had Indian orchestras who played at services and especially at the campaigns.⁴⁵ Before the 60's vernacular choirs were a great attraction at Bethesda's services. Both Tamil and Telegu choirs performed to packed audiences.⁴⁶ F. Victor and L.R Frank interpreted J.F. Rowlands' sermons at the larger services into Tamil and Telegu respectively.⁴⁷

However, with the gradual loss of the traditional languages, insistence on the use of the vernacular became a mere token demand. J.F Rowlands' attempts to foster the traditional life-style achieved no lasting results. The westernization process, by virtue of the socio-economic and political pressures on the community as a whole, went on largely unchecked. However, Bethesda did help its members who were caught in a cultural cleft-stick, cope with a difficult transition.

4.2.3

J.F. Rowlands, the pastor

Because Bethesda ministered to the needs of its members in a relevant way, they felt 'at home' in their church and they 'owned' their church in a way uncommon in the established churches. They had what may be described as a 'club mentality', proudly wearing Bethesda badges⁴⁸ and binding themselves to their leader in total loyalty. Pastor Rowlands had the autocratic power of the traditional Indian 'guru'; Bethesda churches were his large 'ashram'.⁴⁹ His members unquestioningly supported him.

He in turn entered into the lives of his congregation in an intimate way.⁵⁰ Given to caring and pastoral devotion he identified himself with and was accepted by the Indians as no other white person had been in the history of South Africa. His Pastor's Own meetings, held only for the unmarried young men of the church, his open letter to youths, and his sensitivity to individual needs endeared him to his members.⁵¹

His acceptance was aided by certain spectacular happenings such as his courageous act in risking his life to save one of the members from drowning while on a Pastor's Own camp⁵² and his active concern for people in great difficulties. P.H. Khan, a Muslim awaiting execution, added the following post-script to his final letter to J.F. Rowlands, 'Millions of thanks for your long telegram just to hand. I am dying with a firm faith in the Lord Jesus Christ'. In 1954 two brothers, Sunnilall and Salik Sunker wrote from prison in Pretoria, 'When we arrived here from Pietermaritzburg, we were thinking of our dark fate but Pastor J.F. Rowlands had been writing to us about the Lord Jesus Christ ... Today we are facing the worst punishment in the world, but our hearts are filled with peace and joy. We are happier than millions in the outside world, knowing that we are safely sheltered by the precious Blood of the Lamb of God'.⁵³

Salik's sentence was commuted to one of life imprisonment; Sunnilall penned his last letter to J.F. Rowlands in which he stated, 'The time has come for me to leave you and go to meet God. I have no more time on earth so I am rushing this letter up to you ... I am very thankful to you for leading me to the Light of Salvation ... please extend my greeting to all Bethesdaland'.⁵⁴

These cases received wide publicity in Bethesda's congregations.⁵⁵ The love and respect for him led young men and the Indian pastors throughout his churches to address him as 'Dad'. At almost every important occasion in the church he was garlanded with flowers, an honour Indians reserved only for the most respected.

Thus, in Bethesdaland, a strong sense of familyhood was fostered. Early in 1940, J.F. Rowlands in a letter addressed to 'My dear Bethesda family' defined 'The Spirit of Bethesda' thus,

Bethesda's unity is the revealed secret of her progress. Travellers, missionaries and visitors to the temple from various parts of the world invariably remark upon the warmth of Christian love radiating through the services. It has long been acknowledged that Bethesda is like a large family of which God is the Heavenly Father.⁵⁶

Bethesda's close-community came to the notice of E. Stanley Jones and in a letter to J.F. Rowlands he stated,

I pray that out of the racial differences you may be able to create a new brotherhood and fellowship in Christ. I pray that Bethesda may be used to change individual lives and to change the social order which is producing so much of confusion and wrong attitudes.⁵⁷

Many testimonies of members of Bethesda in this period can be cited which confirm the view that the congregation themselves were deeply aware of this familyhood.⁵⁸ The following is representative:

I came from a strictly orthodox non-Christian family which is antagonistic to the Christian Faith. When I attended Bethesda I was struck and astonished by the great reality people were finding in religion. This was something quite new to me. I continued visiting Bethesda and discovered that there was one preached about, who was so different to the many deities I had hitherto ignorantly worshipped.⁵⁹

These testimonies usually go on to express gratitude to the Bethesda family wherein they had learned about Christ.

J.F. Rowlands exploited every opportunity to promote this sense of familyhood. For example the Bethesda badges, which members in good standing in the church could wear,⁶⁰ not only obligated the wearer to mind the way

he lived and behaved, especially in public,⁶¹ but it also gave him a sense of belonging. Hence in an early edition of the Church's bulletin it was stated that 'Bethesda members go about proudly flashing their Bethesda badges because they are proud of the church'.⁶²

The obverse side of this 'fatherly attitude' of J.F. Rowlands was the paternalism it generated. The policy of the church was totally autocratic. This dependence on J.F. Rowlands extended also to financial matters. From the beginnings of Bethesda, the finances of the church were totally under his control.⁶³ Branch churches were also dependent on him for financial assistance.⁶⁴ Since he was a keen numismatist and had acquired a very valuable collection of coins he became financially independent of the church in his later life.⁶⁵ Yet he reinvested his money in the churches and when he died he willed all he had to Bethesda.⁶⁶ However, because he was financially indispensable, the autocratic system could not be changed in his life-time.

This tight financial control contributed to the fact that the Indian members abrogated their claims to decision-making or leadership to Pastor J.F. Rowlands.⁶⁷ Members even found it difficult to criticise him 'because of all that he was doing for the church'.⁶⁸ It appears that the deep respect for their pastor had gradually come to mean total dependence. Thus, for example, title deeds of church properties were registered for some time in his own name.⁶⁹ Also, nothing of importance could take place, even in a branch church, without Pastor Rowlands' sanction. The appointment of Indians to positions of pastor, evangelist or missionary was his sole prerogative.⁷⁰

4.3 Lay responsibility and group participation

Lay responsibility was one of the chief factors that influenced the growth and development of Pentecostalism. In the period under discussion in the development of Indian Pentecostalism there was a total absence of the clergy-laity distinction which is normally found in the established churches. Further, the selection-process by which full-time workers were

appointed (4.3.1) was a 'selection by participation' and not a matter of being ordained into another 'caste'. A few representative examples of Indian leaders in Bethesda will be briefly examined. This is followed up by 4.3.2 where certain 'auxiliary-ministerial' organisations will be mentioned to show how Pentecostal churches utilized lay-leadership in their programme of growth.

4.3.1 Ministerial 'selection by participation': a few examples

The oldest and longest serving minister in Bethesda at present is Pastor Frank Victor, formerly Govindsamy. He, V.R. Enoch, Paul Lutchmiah Simeon, James Kistnaswami, Cyril R. Geoffrey and Joseph Vallen were among the earliest Indian leaders of this church.

4.3.1.1

F. Victor's conversion was most dramatic. He was a practising Hindu who took umbrage at Hindus converting to Christianity. When he heard that his cousin was to be baptised by J.F. Rowlands on the afternoon of May 12, 1932, he went in the morning to threaten J.F. Rowlands: 'I went to give Pastor Rowlands a black eye ... I was defending my gods who were being insulted by these conversions to Christianity'.⁷¹ After he had hurled abuse at Pastor Rowlands he was invited to pray. First he prayed to his deities and later when Rowlands prayed for him, 'Mr Govindsamy began to weep, at first softly then openly and unashamedly'.⁷² The next few moments saw him 'led to Christ' as Pastor Rowlands spoke to him from Acts 8.37. F. Victor recalls that a sense of conviction of sin came over him and after his confession of error and weeping the prayer offered gave him a sense of renewed hope: 'immediately my spiritual eyes were opened and the glorious light of the Gospel shone into my heart and wonderful peace came into my soul' was how he described the experience of that day.⁷³

He requested baptism that same afternoon and both cousins formally joined the church. He became the first Indian to be ordained to full-time service in a Pentecostal church in South Africa. Because of its melodramatic

effect on the hearer, this event was repeated several times and each time, especially in later years, was embroidered by the powerful story-telling abilities of J.F. Rowlands. The essentials, however, as presented above are confirmed by F. Victor himself.⁷⁴

His parents disowned him and treated him as a pariah after he converted. Victor continued in his old job as a waiter for a further two years and gave himself up zealously to the activities of the church.⁷⁵ Victor maintained that since his conversion in 1932 he had always greatly desired to 'serve God with all (his) strength'.⁷⁶ He began working in a factory so that he could give himself up to the work of the church more readily⁷⁷ - attending evangelistic outreaches, bible studies and prayer meetings. The minutes of the Bethesda Temple Church Council and the pages of Moving Waters have repeatedly commended F. Victor's support and effective pioneering work.⁷⁸ In 1935 he became a full-time worker with the status of 'evangelist' but with no fixed stipend. He also fulfilled the important task of translating J.F. Rowland's sermons into Tamil.

Victor had lived with J.F. Rowlands in a small flat while Rowlands' mother and brother were away in Bristol in 1932.⁷⁹ He had acted as valet to the young J.F. and had led the prayer sessions in the minor hall and in the prayer tent during the campaigns. Given to fasting and long periods of prayer he soon received the title of 'Bethesda's Prayer Warrior'.⁸⁰

Only later did he become pastor and with the establishment of Chatsworth in 1963, he was promoted to pastor Bethesda's branches there. He served Ebenezer Temple in Unit 2 first, and in 1975 he headed Shekinah Temple. This is the largest of Bethesda Temple's churches, the site also of the Bethesda Bible college. On the occasion of the opening of the first church building in Chatsworth, J.F. Rowlands said in recognition of Pastor Victor that 'the calibre of Pastor Victor is not easily found, this man has played a tremendous role in his own quiet but joyful manner in this church. He is a jewel seldom found'.⁸¹

F. Victor influenced many of the projects which were eventually credited to J.F. Rowlands whose gifts as organiser and leader brought them to fruition. He, for example, urged the founding of a Bible College and the strengthening of ties with the churches in India. Victor chose to follow the example of J.F. Rowlands and Alec Rowlands and remained unmarried so that he 'could be given totally to God's work'.⁸²

4.3.1.2

Virasu R. Enoch, a Telegu-speaking man, like F. Victor was from staunch Hindu stock. While he also received very little formal schooling, his father had taught him to read the Hindu Scriptures.⁸³ The family was very poor and had resided at the magazine Barracks. At the age of 18 he 'grudgingly' attended one of J.F. Rowlands' meetings.⁸⁴ Intending to stay only ten minutes he eventually sat through the entire sermon.⁸⁵ He recalls, 'I hated Christianity believing it to be a white man's religion (but) the wonderful singing of our Pastor and the sermon touched me'.⁸⁶ J.F. Rowlands', singing and accompanying himself on the ukelele was something of a novelty and had caused quite a stir.⁸⁷ It drew all kinds of reactions, from the responses of an old woman, holidaying with the Rowlands family, who had fallen to the ground weeping because 'the devil had come into the house',⁸⁸ to that of Enoch's above.

The sermon on that occasion, from Daniel, concerned the refusal of the three Hebrew boys to bow down to the image of Nebuchadnezzar.⁸⁹ In Enoch's mind, his own worship was being called into question and in a statement regarding his conversion he claims to have heard on three occasions a voice saying, 'I am Jesus your Saviour, follow me and you shall have eternal life'.⁹⁰ This type of experience had a profound impact on the Indian mind.⁹¹ In fact one finds many testimonies of conversions occasioned by similar experiences. While it is not within the scope of our enquiry to subject these to psychological scrutiny they do serve to illustrate the intensity of the religious experience involved on the one hand and to identify the tendency among Pentecostals to emphasise this type of supernatural or mystical experience on the other.

What matters here is that such an experience changed the course of the individual's life overtly and markedly. This often occurred at the cost of physical harm and ostracism by his family and community, a high price for the Indian in his close-knit family to pay. V.R. Enoch's experience therefore is typical: 'My father said, "you will disgrace my name, my caste and my relatives. But I could not agree because I knew Christ was real"'.⁹² His conversion on the 12 December, 1931 was kept a secret for the next nine months. Then he endured persecution at the hands of a 'violently tempered' father.⁹³ Yet in keeping with the familiar pattern that one often discovers when talking to early converts to Pentecostalism, the end result was invariably the conversion of the persecutors. Enoch's whole family were eventually converted and he points out, 'My father who smoked cheroots and drank for nearly 50 years gave up all these habits after he was saved'.⁹⁴

Like all Bethesda full-time workers he began as a lay worker and Sunday School teacher, then he became an 'ambassador' (a lay worker with pastoral responsibilities for home visitation and evangelism)⁹⁵, then deacon and church council member, then full-time evangelist (in his case 12 years later) when he was allocated the Overport-Sydenham areas on the outskirts of Durban,⁹⁶ and then Pastor.⁹⁷ He was the pastor of Sharon Temple in Overport until it closed down in 1965 when this area was taken over by the Department of Community Development under the Group Areas Act. He has since been the pastor of the Bethesda congregation in the larger Indian areas of Kharwastan and Shallcross to the south-west of Durban.

4.3.1.3

Cyril Ramasamy Geoffrey was the first missionary to be appointed by Bethesda⁹⁸ and he together with Paul Lutchmiah Simeon⁹⁹ became zealous workers of the church. They travelled by bicycle far up the Natal Coast and to Port Shepstone in the south,¹⁰⁰ visiting Christian homes and evangelising. Both were born of Hindu parents and both had had very little schooling.¹⁰¹

C.R. Geoffrey was converted on December 16, 1936 at the age of 20. His whole family was converted soon after.¹⁰² He recalls that while 'fasting and praying in a bush at Umbogintwini the Lord spoke to me and told me I must carry the Gospel to the unsaved'.¹⁰³ In Bethesda, he too started as a Sunday School teacher then 'Ambassador', deacon, evangelist and in 1943 the church's first itinerant missionary. 'His consistent Christian living since conversion at Bethesda and his flaming zeal for souls has won him this high honour' are the terms in which the church's bulletin described his promotion.¹⁰⁴ He resigned his secular job and 'stepped out in faith', which meant at that time no fixed remuneration, no basic comforts; living in Christian homes along the way and then moving on. A Christian gentleman with whom he had frequently lodged at Park Rynie recalled how the Christians in that area had looked forward to these 'pastoral visits' and he especially mentioned the comfort Geoffrey had brought during the sudden death of his wife. As soon as he had heard of the death, Geoffrey had cycled to Park Rynie to spend a few days with him.¹⁰⁵ In 1949 Geoffrey was made evangelist in the North Coast and then he became pastor at the Galilee Temple in Merebank and at the Horeb Temple in Clairwood. At present he is pastor of the Bethesda congregation in Lenasia, Johannesburg.

Paul L. Simeon came to Bethesda seeking 'healing'. This led to his conversion and baptism on April 12, 1936.¹⁰⁶ He claimed that his healing had given 'inner satisfaction' and 'peace in his troubled home'.¹⁰⁷

Like all these early Indian pioneers he too had had little schooling and no theological training except the Biblical studies J.F. Rowlands, who himself had had no formal theological training, offered. The teaching was simple and sufficient for the provision of guidelines to Christian living. While these studies offered very little doctrinal content they nonetheless emphasised ethics and Christian devotion. Simeon was 'catechised through participation'¹⁰⁸ by first becoming an 'ambassador' in the areas of Clairwood and Seaview, where the poorer Indians had settled. In 1943 he served as a full-time missionary on the Natal coast and made regular trips as far up as Stanger. Later he became pastor in the Verulam-Tonga areas

and helped to establish the following Bethesda branches: Elim Temple (Inanda), Angelus Temple (Mt. Edgecombe), Jerusalem Temple (Cornubia Estate), Lystra Temple (Tongaat), Olivet Temple (Hillhead Estate) and Hermon Temple (Verulam).¹⁰⁹

4.3.1.4

Joseph Vallen and James Kistnaswami were two early evangelists who although they eventually left Bethesda, had been the stalwarts of the early work. The former was converted to Christianity at Bethesda's first Back-to-the-Bible campaign in 1933, and the latter at the Bethesda Temple on March 29, 1936.

Both were from the start actively involved in the activities of the church. They joined the 'Ambassador Movement' (cf. below). J. Vallen was invited to work in Rosburgh and was made pastor of the new Horeb Temple, Bethesda's first branch church, which was opened at the beginning of 1941.¹¹⁰

He gave up his job to enter the ministry, first as an evangelist, and then later as pastor. During this time he earned only a fraction of his previous salary which had to support an ageing mother, brother and sisters. His mother, a staunch Hindu, was bitterly opposed to his entering the ministry. He claims that one night she had a dream in which she was chided by a person she understood to be Christ.¹¹¹ The next day to his total surprise she asked him to go ahead with his plans to join the ministry. They soon experienced financial difficulties and had to sell the only fixed assets they had had.

However, he believed this to be only a small sacrifice for the Gospel's sake. In a discussion with him he repeatedly referred to the example of J.F. Rowlands whose family had lost everything when their mill had burnt. J. Vallen who had also chosen celibacy like J.F. and Alec Rowlands complained that the 'problem with Pentecostal ministers today is that this element of sacrifice is gone'.¹¹²

He pastored the congregation at the Horeb Temple from its inception and pioneered Bethesda's work in Merebank and Rosburgh. He served here until he left this church in unfortunate circumstances, to join the Pentecostal Holiness church.¹¹³

James Kistnaswami became an evangelist on June 27, 1943¹¹⁴ and was assigned the Inanda area where the new Elim Temple had just been completed.¹¹⁵ The report in the church bulletin on his ordination confirms the selection pattern described above: 'He has always taken a very active part in Christian evangelism and has been most successful as Sunday School superintendent at Horeb Temple since its inception. Our brother's musical talents are well known'.¹¹⁶ Kistnaswami led the singing in Telegu during worship services and at the early campaigns and also prepared Telegu choirs for the big services of the church. His successful pastoral work in the Inanda area is amply attested to in Moving Waters. However, he too, left this church and joined the Reformed Church in Africa.

4.3.2 Auxiliary - ministerial movements : a few examples

These churches measured 'revival' by the level of involvement of the congregation in ministerial duties, praying for the sick, house-to-house visitations and personal evangelism.

A keen observer of Bethesda's progress who was a member of one of the established churches but who had also attended many of the campaign meetings made the following significant assessment: 'One Bethesda member, a convert from Hinduism, within a week of his baptism, was in a group visiting homes in his neighbourhood, seeking souls for Christ and praying for the sick. Within a short time he had become an 'ambassador' whose duties are similar to those of a Presbyterian elder, and he had also taken part in organising a wayside Sunday School for Hindu children. His significance is typical of Bethesda, where it has become a tradition for members to be Spirit-filled soul winners, and these Christian laymen are Bethesda's main evangelical ministry'.¹¹⁷

The Pentecostal churches created organisations wherein all members could participate in the life of the church. We briefly mention the main ones that Bethesda created as they are representative of the type found in all these churches.

4.3.2.1

The Ambassadors Movement:

As early as 1940, members of this movement were considered to be the 'key men' of Bethesda's myriad activities.¹¹⁸ To be an active member was regarded as a sign of a man's spirituality. Later each branch of Bethesda prided itself on having its own group of ambassadors who went out visiting Christian homes, and who prayed for the sick on Saturday and Sunday afternoons and on two or three evenings in the week. They were described as 'a cordon of love around their beloved pastor who sought at all times to relieve him of the heavy burdens and responsibilities which rested upon his shoulders by systematic visitations throughout the entire assembly'.¹¹⁹ Careful records were kept of all these visits so that the number of times each home had been visited could be estimated at a glance. Ambassadors were described as 'all-weather Christians who may be seen going about their work in sunshine, wind and rain'.¹²⁰ In each home they would hold a short service that included Bible reading, a short exhortation and prayer. Annual conventions which were attended by all ambassadors from all the branch congregations were held. Here they would reaffirm their commitment to their task.¹²¹

4.3.2.2

The Sisters Movement

'The Sisters Bright Hour' founded by E.H. Rowlands, J.F. Rowland's mother, was the female counterpart of the 'Ambassadors movement'. It adopted a very similar programme and modus operandi except that their work was conducted during the day and solely among women. The organisation also incor-

porated into their duties the task of providing assistance to the poor in the church¹²² and the raising of funds for certain church needs.¹²³

4.3.3.3

Christian Caterers' Fellowship

Since many of the Indians in the early days of Bethesda were waiters and stewards in numerous hotels in Durban, the 'Christian Caterers' Fellowship' was formed to take care of the spiritual needs of these members. Thus those who had to work odd shifts and who could not attend the church services, had their own weekly services. At their inaugural meeting on March 3, 1955 Teddy Gabriel, a chef at one of Durban's premier hotels, was elected leader.¹²⁴ He has maintained this post to the present day. They have also formed amongst themselves an Indian music group which has undertaken evangelistic missions throughout the Indian settlements of Natal.¹²⁵

4.3.3.4

Tract Distribution Societies

Open-air meetings and tract distributions were important features of the Ambassadors; the Christian Caterers; the deacons of each branch church; and the youth clubs of the various areas. Preaching on the street corners and open-air services in the yards of Bethesda members also featured prominently in their outreach programmes to non-Christians.

'The Bethesda Tract Distribution Society' was founded on May 24, 1943 to fulfil what was to remain an important evangelistic function of this church.¹²⁶ On the day of its inauguration 3 400 tracts were distributed in Clairwood. At the July handicap, the annual horse-racing darby, on July 3 a further 3 300 were distributed. As the work expanded the function of this Society was taken over by the other groups mentioned above.¹²⁷

4.3.3.5

Youth Guilds

The Pastor's Own and the Nazareth Guild Organisations were aimed at reaching unmarried men and women. In 1940 the following aims of the Pastor's Own were defined:

The Pastor's Own is a spiritual organisation sponsored by the Government of Bethesda, to assist young unmarried men of all nationalities to live clean, pure and God-fearing lives, exercising self control and total abstinence from sinful sexual indulgences. A deep spirit of concern is fostered for the rescue of fellow young men who may be ensnared by the many temptations of the flesh, and by encouraging a sense of national pride in matrimonial relationships, definite disapproval is shown towards mixed marriages.¹²⁸

While monthly meetings were held regularly, the annual retreat became the highlight of the organisation and these camp weekends generated a sense of Christian holiness in the lives of the church's young men.¹²⁹ The object of the camp was 'to withdraw from the humdrum of everyday life and to enjoy a season of quiet fellowship with God'.¹³⁰

As the name suggests, such meetings were promoted and conducted by J.F. Rowlands. They continued to be a rallying point for young men, well into the 1960's.¹³³ The church bulletin in 1950 reported that, 'Hundreds of young men have been saved from the snares of the devil through its (i.e Pastor's Own) ministry and very many have been refreshed in both body and soul at the ten spiritual camps which have been held throughout the years'.¹³² But by the late 1960's the interest in these outings dwindled and the organisations ceased to function.

The Nazareth Guild attempted to accomplish similar objectives among the young women of the church where 'Each individual was encouraged to live a life of Holiness and Purity'.¹³³ Around the late 60's this Guild suffered a fate similar to the Pastor's Own.

Thus we see that Pentecostalism has been mainly a lay orientated and layled movement. Much of the success of the Pentecostal churches resulted from the opportunities afforded to members to lead or take on leadership responsibilities.

Furthermore, what has been called a 'catechesis by participation' involved all its members in the ministry and so set into motion a selection process that enabled some to become evangelists, missionaries or eventually pastors. This process dealt adequately with the lack of formal education or theological training. The pastor is accepted because his abilities had been proved 'in the field'.

4.4

Some sociological implications of Pentecostalism

It is clear from the foregoing that the Pentecostal experience usually meant group acceptance accompanied by a strong feeling of belonging. Unlike the established churches, within their own churches Pentecostals are not merely 'members'. Each is vitally involved in the life, activities and growth of their group or congregation, often in the absence of a full time pastor.

Within the Pentecostal community members had ample opportunity to develop their leadership potential. In fact lay members were encouraged to lead organisations within the church. This meant that men who had held menial jobs and who had been too 'low' in society to be noticed became in their Pentecostal community leaders, deacons, elders and pastors. When a study was made of all the Indian pastors of Bethesda appointed before 1970, it was found that besides two, all had been converted from Hinduism and were the first Christians in their family. (The other two were from Roman Catholic backgrounds). All were very poor and all, save one, had had very little schooling. The two who had had some ministerial training became pastors only in the 60's. This meant that for the first 35 years of the church's existence all their ministers had been 'catechised by partici-

pation'¹³⁴, the process we described in 4.3.1. All but two of these pastors had had menial jobs before they joined the ministry. These included working in factories, catering and working for the Durban Corporation. Two of the pastors had been alcoholics and had held no steady job. Again the two exceptions, one a teacher, only joined the church in the 60's. The histories of the pastors of the Apostolic Faith Mission and Assemblies of God are very similar.

Thus Pentecostalism ministered effectively to the poorest and to the economically deprived. As William Booth and his fellow-workers 'descended into the morass where alone they could catch the coal-heavers and the navvies',¹³⁵ these Pentecostal pastors sought out those who lived in railway, corporation and mill barracks; tin shanties; temporary housing settlements and in 'sub-economic' housing-schemes. These pastors and evangelists, like the Salvation Army in Britain preached in 'dirty, draughty and comfortless places' where 'decent people' did not go.¹³⁶

In this regard Pentecostalism among South Africa's Indians shares the same characteristics as, for example, Pentecostalism in Britain where, as B. Wilson points out, it 'is predominantly the religion of the working class and poor people ... those termed "disinherited" ... the lower social classes'.¹³⁷ What Wilson found to be true in the Elim Foursquare Gospel Church in Britain is also apparent among Indian Pentecostals; that is, they are prepared, usually, to recognise themselves as the low and the least, to rejoice in the many biblical promises made to this class,¹³⁸ and to become completely involved in church and congregational activities.

This is very similar to what happened when Methodism was introduced in eighteenth century England where congregational allegiance also became a 'total way of life' that was embraced in a new way by the converts. There too the whole life of the members centred around the church and its activities. Also, a member's family very often joined the church.

Furthermore, the convert's life was now transformed by a new austerity which usually accompanied the 'striving after holiness'. The Pentecostal shuns, for instance, tobacco, alcohol, gambling, dancing and other 'worldly amusements'. He is now called to careful living and to circumspection in speech, manners and appearance. This he regards as a sign of his holiness. The socio-economic benefits of this austerity are obvious. For instance, the money which was usually squandered on 'worldly pleasures and amusements' is now utilised in the upliftment of the family. For example the cases of Pastors S.E. and R.C.A:

Pastor S.E. lived in the Corporation barracks; held a menial job and had little or no education. He converted in 1932, became an evangelist soon after, and in 1940 became a pastor. All his children, in spite of their initial poverty, were able to receive a good education. One of the sons is now an assistant planner of education and another a medical doctor.

Pastor R.C.A. was out of a job and quite a prodigal. However, after his conversion he immediately stopped drinking, and his family, hitherto destitute, because of his drinking, managed to regain their social prestige. R.C.A. soon became a preacher and led many of his neighbours to Christianity.

With the benefits of this new lifestyle many Pentecostals themselves became in time part of the economic middle-class. This is evident in Bethesda where it was observed that socio-economic improvement was accompanied by a loss of vital, communal coherence and hence in the 1970's by the institutionalization which is discussed in chapter 6. It was the numerous independent churches of the 60s and the 70s that reaffirmed this solidarity with the 'disinherited' and thus reaffirmed communal homogeneity. (cf. chapter 5)

In the case of Indian Pentecostalism, in contrast to Pentecostalism in Britain, there is another important factor. Indian Pentecostals in the main were converts from Hinduism; the type of Hinduism which was ritualistic and centred chiefly around the temple and its priest and not the

philosophical Hinduism which exalts contemplation. Thus the conversion experience included the rejection of temple religion and its way of life and the introduction into a new religious society whose practice and life was for the convert more meaningful. Hence, as we shall see in chapter 5, healing and exorcism played a very significant role in conversion. Many of the interviewees only began to attend a church or even to listen to the Pentecostal evangelist after they had been healed or had witnessed such healing in their families or had been 'delivered from demon possession'. Many of these converts said that they had previously consulted Hindu priests but had not been healed. Then they enlisted the aid of the Pentecostal pastor and eventually joined his church. Thus in our study those embracing Pentecostalism were not rejecting one type of Christianity for another, but were rather rejecting one type of religion for another type which ministered directly to their existential concerns, chiefly healing and deliverance from evil.¹³⁹

A. Dubb points out that Pentecostalism fulfilled the same role among some of Nicholas Bhengu's Xhosa members who found that within the Pentecostal church they had received prayers for healing and protection and who complained that their former churches 'had neither been concerned about, nor offered, any remedies for their physical, mental and material problems'.¹⁴⁰

Another factor that is evident is that many of those attracted to Pentecostalism had been devoted religious people. We would not go so far as to generalize as R.M. Anderson did in his study of North American Pentecostalism, that 'where cultural tradition defines religion as primarily of the "heart" ecstasy is implicit and struggles to become explicit ... The poorer, more dislocated and despised, the more marginal and highly mobile such people are in the social order, the more extreme will be their ecstatic response,¹⁴¹ or that the 'most important difference between the working poor who became Pentecostals and the much greater number who did not ... (was that) they were believers in the religion ... of "the heart" before they came into contact with Pentecostals'.¹⁴² Michael Harrison also generalizes in this way when he points out that 'Pentecostalism attracts those already drawn to religious devotion and already committed to a church establishment'.¹⁴³

In our case, all that can be said with certainty is that several converts to Pentecostalism had been devoted Hindus and some had even been Hindu priests. To say more is unwarranted because Pentecostalism had also attracted many with little or no religious commitment: gangsters and drunkards on the one hand, and many nominal Hindus on the other.

Moreover, G.C. Oosthuizen has revealed some interesting sociological parallels between traditional Indian society and Indian Pentecostal communities.¹⁴⁴ He sees the Pentecostal society in many cases as continuing the traditional kutum or joint family system that was breaking down. The pastor's role in these churches replaced the role of the father in the kutum. The charismatic leader, for instance, like the father over the family, had authority over the life of the congregation. He points out that 'the pastor remains the sum and substance of his church or congregation and in this full identification he is seen as the model to which the devout at least can attain, but which ideally everyone of his followers ought to reach. The pastor does not assume absolute responsibility because it would affect the esprit de corps which is of vital importance to the church'.¹⁴⁵

Using Oosthuizen's view and D. Aechliman's study of independent movements in the Western Cape, J.S. Cumpsty maintains that the charismatic leader is the 'linchpin' by which individuals relate to 'the ultimately real' thus achieving 'indirect cosmic belonging' by relating to 'that which is already so related'.¹⁴⁶ In the same vein Steven Tipton, in his study of some Pentecostal churches in North America, maintains that the pastor possesses 'divine moral authority' which is validated by Pentecostal doctrine.¹⁴⁷

While there is apparently some evidence for these claims regarding the 'headship' of the pastor, what is equally true is that the 'Pentecostal experience' not only introduces the person to a family, but also emphasises the person's own worth. The 'experience' essentially helps him to come to grips with himself. Thus he is equal to anyone else who has had the same experience. Others, 'no matter how rich or educated they may be'

may 'lack the spirit' which he possesses.¹⁴⁸ Hence he finds support in such texts as 1 Cor. 1:27, 'God chooses the foolish things to confound the wise' or 1 Cor. 3:19, 'The wisdom of this world is foolishness before God'.¹⁴⁹ This experience of the Spirit is the major factor that influences his total involvement in the church. He 'receives the Spirit' thus obtaining 'power' and can therefore achieve what anybody else can. There is here a 'democratisation by the Spirit' which removes the distinction between clergy and laity. Thus in a strange way communal solidarity and group allegiance are stressed, and yet the importance and autonomy of the individual are maintained.

Another reason for not exaggerating the 'headship' of the pastor in a fragmenting joint family system is that the scholars cited above have ignored the fact that very often the people who had converted to Pentecostalism had converted with their joint families quite intact. In fact we have repeatedly observed how entire families have followed their head into a Pentecostal church. While the pastor may have been a 'father figure' to many disinherited Indian Pentecostals, many of them gave to him the respect that they had previously always given to their Hindu priest or guru.

Associated also with Spirit Baptism or glossolalia is the experience of receiving power for service. Samuel Chadwick, in his study of Pentecostal doctrine, points out that 'Pentecost is always associated with power ... The Spirit dwells in men and accomplishes extraordinary things through quite ordinary people'.¹⁵⁰ He adds that 'there is probably no instinct of the heart so strong as the craving for the sovereignty of power'... The gift of the Spirit is a gift of personality. It turns ordinary persons into extraordinary personalities. That is the miracle of Pentecost.¹⁵¹

V. Hine concluded from Hollinshead's study of the role of education and social prestige in Pentecostal commitment that relative deprivation of status or power may be associated with participation in the Pentecostal Movement.¹⁵² While clearly pointing out that this correlation in no way constitutes a causal relation between the two, Hine believes that to

accept that such a correlation exists, is 'consistent with the way in which Pentecostals characteristically describe the benefits of Baptism with tongues: again and again the concept of power is used. Power to witness for the Lord ... and to heal'.¹⁵³

The direct implication of this experience of receiving power is, says W. Stark, a 'supremely activistic, supremely dynamic type of man'.¹⁵⁴ Hence the attitude of the Pentecostal is positive and confident since within the confines of his church he sheds his anxieties and inhibitions. As B. Wilson said of British Pentecostals, 'conversion is not the point of arrival, but a point of departure, and as a rule they have a long way to go'.¹⁵⁵ Hence a strong holiness motif inheres in the Pentecostal position. Pentecostals therefore launch out into a spate of activity, they attend several weekly meetings and cottage services; they evangelise, distribute tracts, hold open-air meetings and other such activities.

Furthermore, Pentecostal churches have not only offered those who were socio-economically depressed an alternative society which accepted them but they also ministered to individuals who suffered from social and cultural isolation, and alienation. Stark warns that the economic aspect must not be undervalued 'but that besides low social status and bad living conditions, the misery and degradation which is the ever active cause of sectarian sentiments ... had become progressively personal and psychological. It is now less the hungry but the lonely who long for the consolations which are offered by the special religiosity of the deprived and the depressed'.¹⁵⁶

As we have seen in chapter two Indians not only suffered socio-economic deprivation but were also becoming alienated from their traditional culture and worldview. This was occasioned both by the break with their motherland and their move to the city during the first few decades of this century. Urbanisation fragmented their family life and social coherence and they had to make the difficult transition to coexistence with whites and blacks. Their traditional languages were being rapidly replaced by English and many adopted the social customs and habits of the whites. To

these people Pentecostal communities offered a 'haven of rest' where, a sense of continuity with their past was kept. As was the case in Britain, by combatting 'loneliness, anxiety and fear the church helped to release tension, offer catharsis ... and persuade the individual to integrate himself in a community'.¹⁵⁷

Summary and Significance

In this summary, some of the social implications of Pentecostalism among Indians will be discussed vis-à-vis several studies of the Pentecostal phenomenon made elsewhere:

1. Pentecostalism fostered group solidarity and consciously accentuated communal belonging. R.M. Anderson¹⁵⁸ and M. Calley¹⁵⁹ provide ample proof that Pentecostal churches fulfilled this function in north America and England as well. As J.S. Cumpsty puts it, for many Pentecostal type religious movements 'group solidarity' is often more important than beliefs'. Hence he points out that the group can easily become the symbol of 'the felt sense of the ultimately real' where the rest of the experience is considered 'evil, transitory or markedly inferior'.¹⁶⁰

We observed how Bethesda, for example, fostered what we called a 'club mentality' which gave its members a sense of 'pride in belonging'. The fact that membership to 'the saved' and the spiritually inclined has provided a sense of communal well-being has been illustrated in W.J. Samarin's study of glossolalia. He found that 'the powerless, voiceless position of the Pentecostals and the anxieties arising from that position provided a social basis for speaking in tongues'. He proceeds to compare the social significance of glossolalia to the significance of Latin for the the Roman Catholic laity. He claims that it is a means for 'communicating attitudes and emotions, but not thought; an expression of communal solidarity'.¹⁶¹

In our study, we see no need to restrict this role of Pentecostalism only to glossolalia. While 'speaking in tongues' was fairly common, J.F. Row-

lands for instance played down its importance. (This receives greater attention in chapter 8). Nevertheless, seeking after holiness and the infilling of the Spirit which manifested itself in religious fervour and commitment to prayer, fasting, worship and evangelism also served as non-verbal communicative action where indeed 'attitudes and emotions, but not thought' were communicated as 'an expression of communal solidarity'.

2. Pentecostal churches also emphasised the need for all their members to participate in their activities and their growth: (cf. 4.3.1; 4.3.2). These churches offered ample latitude for its members to assume leadership roles and their sub-organizations created opportunities for everyone to be actively involved. In activity, members felt that they belonged. In this way each member was made to feel important and needed. L.P. Gerlach in studies of Pentecostalism made the same observation, namely that 'participation in the shaping of the future by involvement in the goals of their church afforded individuals a feeling of personal worth and power and the reshaping of the individual image'.¹⁶²

Pentecostalism has attracted most of its members from the poor classes who, as we observed in chapter two, bore the brunt of the socio-economic and cultural woes inflicted on Indians in South Africa. It is obvious that Pentecostal Christianity which stressed individual worth would have proved attractive. R. Willem also isolates this particular social implication of Pentecostalism in the Pentecostal communities in Brazil and Chile, where 'Pentecostalism helped the believer cope, not only with their low social position, but with personal problems as well. (It gave) a sense of power to the believers in contrast to their low social status'.¹⁶³

3. An important characteristic of the nature of Pentecostal commitment is the dialectic that obtains between communalism and individualism, that is, between group solidarity and individual worth. While the believer is introduced into a caring community whose goals he totally shares, the Pentecostal experience of the Spirit also affirms his own importance. Thus as we pointed out already community solidarity and group allegiance maintains a dynamic tension with individual worth.

Because this tension has not been appreciated, sociologists and anthropologists have often reduced the function of this type of religion to its role only in relation to whole communities, i.e. to show how such religious phenomena fulfil the requirements of sociation. (cf. our critique of this reductionism in the quaestionis positio). Peter Worsley's criticisms of this approach are apt. He argues that in concentrating on tracing the effects of religion on the behaviour of collectivities (and vice versa) and the ways in which religious institutions condition the behaviour of individuals such sociological and anthropological exercises 'not only tend to eschew, notably, the philosophical problem of the meaning of religion to the actor ... in the process, a serious overly sociological distortion emerges ... the group tends to be represented ... as "thinking" "believing" or "feeling"'. He wisely adds 'collectivities do not think, or undergo religious experiences; men do'.¹⁶⁴

Some have attempted to describe this relation between the individual and his community in Jung's psychological terms. They see individuals achieving through their Pentecostal experience, mental and emotional stability by bringing their 'higher centers of consciousness in touch with the collective unconsciousness ... the underground reservoir of common human experience'.¹⁶⁵

In the early days of the development of the churches mentioned in chapters three and four the tension between communalism and individualism appears to have been successfully maintained. This was achieved chiefly through strong charismatic leadership, attractive and fulfilling worship and churchlife, on the one hand and by providing ample opportunity for lay leadership on the other. The latter was facilitated by the absence of formal restraints such as constitutions, creeds, and rigid ecclesiastical structures.

When these churches became institutionalised (cf. chapter 6) this dialectic was less obvious and separatism inevitably followed. (cf. chapter 5). The negative side of the 'democratisation of the Spirit' was indeed extreme individualism, which emerges when communal solidarity is absent.

J.B. Oman in his study of Pentecostals, described this extreme individualism as 'a self aggrandizing, narcissistic component'.¹⁶⁶

4. In the midst of the socio-cultural upheaval which is described in chapter two, Pentecostal congregations became in effect surrogate communities wherein a sense of communal well-being was maintained for many of their Indian members whose traditional culture was experiencing rapid change because of urbanisation and demographic shifts. (cf. chapter 2)

R.M. Anderson found that Pentecostalism fulfilled the same function for many of its members who were migrant workers in north America. The Pentecostal church, he says, was 'a haven ... to which ... to repair from the buffetings of their daily experience'.¹⁶⁷ Malcom Calley found that Pentecostal churches among West Indians in England also, compensated for the instability of social disorganisation which had resulted from poverty, and slavery in the West Indies. Therefore, he adds, that 'being "born again" is more than a meaningless, conventional expression; the saint is born again into a new society with a new set of values (hence) social inadequacy becomes unimportant'.¹⁶⁸ Virginia Hine, while maintaining that social disorganization may be considered a 'facilitating factor' only, and that it 'cannot be viewed as necessary', maintains that 'the intimacy and emotional support provided by the Pentecostal type of group interaction is a highly successful solution for the individual experiencing social dislocation or family disruption'.¹⁶⁹

It was this ability of Pentecostalism to offer surrogate communities that has encouraged scholars to use Durkheim's concept of anomie to explain the emergence of Pentecostalism.¹⁷⁰ However, as we have pointed out earlier, any attempt to see a causal relation between social disorganisation and Pentecostalism is fallacious. It is more correct to conclude that Pentecostalism provided a surrogate society for several of its members wherein they achieved some social stability. To say more is to ignore the fact that the majority of the Indians, who experienced the same social ills, did not become Pentecostals and that many who were not socially disorganised also joined Pentecostal churches of which the Christian Centre among whites which is referred to in Chapter 5 is a good example.

5. The experience of Spirit baptism which is accompanied by the gifts of the Spirit, usually glossolalia, becomes for many of the Pentecostals the token of spirituality and therefore the means whereby the individual is considered to be holy and truly devoted; those who are in close communion with God and are 'full of the Spirit'. Therefore as C. G. Williams correctly maintains, glossolalia should not be treated merely as a 'verbal manifestation' but as a 'total experience within a religious culture'.¹⁷¹ (This also is more fully explained in chapter 8.)

Whatever else glossolalia means, it confirmed for Pentecostals the closeness, indeed the possession, of the divine. This type of commitment proved most fulfilling. This is understandable if Melvil Herskovits is right that 'of all the means, by which the individual achieves oneness with the supernatural, none is more striking, more convincing to those who believe, and apparently more satisfying, than possession'.¹⁷²

6. In these churches, a democratisation of the Spirit occurred: all were one in Spirit. This oneness had tangible social consequences. As F. Bartleman explains, in Pentecostal churches 'all were on one level. We did not honour men for their advantage in means or education, but rather for their God-given gifts'.¹⁷³ J.T. Nichols maintains that this affirmation of spiritual equality led many to 'sever their affiliation with the so-called middle-class denominations like the Methodists and the Baptists and to join Pentecostal churches'.¹⁷⁴

In the same way, Indian Pentecostal churches rejected all reference to caste differences. Hence, at the time of conversion or at baptism, caste names were often changed for a biblical or western one, which removed the social stigma that the traditional lower caste name carried.¹⁷⁵

For this reason the 'democratisation of the Spirit' may have been, within the Indian community, 'an oblique expression of social protest'.¹⁷⁶ E. Willems in his study of south American Pentecostal movements confirms the opinion of Walter Goldschmidt in his study of Californian Pentecostal sects, that 'the social reality is replaced by a putative social order in

which the sect represents an élite called by God and confirmed by the "gifts of the Holy Ghost".¹⁷⁷ Willems concluded that 'the structure and creed of Pentecostal sects may be interpreted as a symbolic inversion of the conventional order'.¹⁷⁸

It is important to note, however, that this social protest has been 'oblique' and 'symbolic' only. Indian Pentecostals have tended to be a-political in spite of their legitimate political grievances. This indifference to political involvement has been characteristic of South African Indians at large. However, the point here is that Pentecostals have confined the freedom of the Spirit and the equality of all Spirit-filled believers to their churches only and they did not perceive its implications for the larger context. Therefore Pentecostals have been in the main political conformists. (cf. chapter six)

7. Pentecostalism has indirectly influenced the socio-economic development of its members. Many Pentecostals who had been very poor improved their positions and increased their finances by maintaining the austerity and carefulness of life-style that Pentecostalism engendered.

This has been a feature of Pentecostalism at large.¹⁷⁹ C.L. d'Epinaï, for example, found that within the Chilean churches Pentecostalism 'canalized the strivings of a large proportion of the working class by proffering the certainty of salvation, security within the congregation, and a certain type of human dignity'.¹⁸⁰ As Gerlach observed in Haitian Pentecostal churches, so did we observe among Indian Pentecostals, that by abstaining from drinking, smoking, gambling, attendance at cinemas and such like, Pentecostals were able to conserve what little income they had.¹⁸¹ Steven Tipton confirms these findings in his study of religious movements among the north American youth of the sixties. He found that among lower-middle-class youths who had rejected conventional work, Pentecostalism was able to 'justify blue-cotton work, motivate ... reliable performances ... justify following orders on the job in order to obey God, regardless of the work's intrinsic meaning or prestige'.¹⁸²

This work ethic obtained the result that John Wesley himself had predicted: 'religion', he stated, 'must necessarily produce industry and frugality, and these cannot but produce riches. We must exhort all Christians to gain what they can and save what they can; that is in effect to grow rich'.¹⁸³

With time many Indian Pentecostals gradually progress up the socio-economic ladder. Many of their churches in keeping with this 'progress' become more institutionalized. (cf. chapter 6) D.L. Edwards in his study of religion and change confirms this. He states that Pentecostal churches which give to believers 'a sense of inner confidence; the Puritan moral progress and the ability to co-operate in a cause - are tending to bring consequences which the early apostles did not expect. The sects' members rise to a superior social class; the sect itself is gradually transferred into a respectable, organised and educated denomination'.¹⁸⁴

8. W.A. McLoughlin in his study of religious awakenings in north America concluded that revivals are 'Critical disjunctions in ... self-understanding ... (which) begin in periods of cultural distortion and grave personal stress, when (we) lose faith in the legitimacy of our norms, the viability of our institutions and the authority of our leaders in church and state'.¹⁸⁵

Pentecostalism addressed itself to Indians who had to make a similar difficult transition from a traditional and sometimes parochial world-view to a contemporary and western one. In this regard C. Geertz makes the following observation: 'Whatever else religion may be, it is in part an attempt (of an implicit and directly felt rather than an explicit and consciously thought-about-sort) to conserve the fund of general meanings in terms of which each individual interprets his experience and organizes his conduct'.¹⁸⁶

Indians who were questioning the viability of their Indian and Hindu social and religious institutions were at the same time far from adapting themselves to the new western alternatives they confronted. Pentecostalism

articulated the tension and provided a 'half-way house' (4.2.1; 4.2.2). Elements from both 'worlds' were incorporated (cf. 'continuity with India').

Thus Pentecostalism provided both continuity and discontinuity.

d'Epina described the Chilean Pentecostal movement as an 'attractive substitute society because it relates back to the known and renews it. (Therefore) it is radically different from Chilean society and also very similar to it'.¹⁸⁷

This antithetical relation with the past also exists in contact with 'the world'. Tipton in his study of north American youth conversion observes that by providing love and acceptance to believers, acceptability of the Christian ethic of work and love for the larger society, Pentecostalism 'facilitated members to "engage" in society more easily as Christians than as hippies while the "sect sustains their alienation from utilitarian culture"'.¹⁸⁸ R.M. Anderson maintained that the 'Pentecostal rejection and condemnation of the world' in rhetoric and symbol, in effect, liberated the Pentecostal to adapt to that world in practice which confirms Marion Dearman's view that Pentecostals essentially accept the dominant social values.¹⁸⁹

In the Indian community, Pentecostalism served a very useful function in helping its members to cope with an alien culture by attempting to preserve at least some of their traditional culture at the same time. Undoubtedly in the face of a dominant, technological culture, in this case the culture of the 'ruler', much of the traditional culture was indiscriminately discarded. Cumpsty is correct in pointing out that such communities may show a predilection 'to embrace the tradition of the culture which is causing the disturbance ...'.¹⁹⁰ Hence after a while within the surrogate communities, mere token gestures were made to preserve Indian traditions. But the attempt at such preservation, especially in the case of Bethesda, slowed down the rate of cultural erosion for a period.

Thus Indian Pentecostal congregations like the West Indian ones in England acted as a 'buffer between the immigrant group and society. They cushioned the impact of new ways of life ... by providing continuity'.¹⁹¹ Like they did in migrant communities in north America, these churches provided 'a buffer against the chaotic impact of the urban-industrial milieu upon migrants'.¹⁹²

In Durkheim's terminology we may say that Pentecostalism was 'a moment of effervescence' within the S.A Indian community which has been for a section of it 'a moment when people were brought into more intimate relations with one another, when meetings and assemblies were now more frequent, relationships more solid and the exchange of ideas more active'.¹⁹³ In this way Pentecostalism contributed to some extent to a changed cultural landscape for its adherents.

1. This is the general impression one gets at interviews; the names of these individuals have been mentioned in the previous chapter.
2. cf. description of these groups in chapter 3; also below examples of these movements in Bethesda eg. Ambassador Movements, Youth clubs.
3. Many of these testimonies were personally recorded at these meetings.
4. Mat. 17.; Mk. 9:29.
5. A common cliché in these circles. The writer also attended such meetings.
6. cf. 4:3 - Pastor's Own, Nazareth Guild.
7. The importance of the the Sunday School in the life of these churches is illustrated by the fact that in Bethesda Pastor Alec Rowlands, the brother of J.F. Rowlands, took it upon himself to manage all the Sunday Schools throughout Bethesda's branches until his death. cf. Table 4:2.
8. cf. chapter 3.
9. Sources: Population Census May 1979; Oosthuizen, G.C. op. cit. 160-162; 164; Leaders of the AFM, AOG and Bethesda provided the 1980 figures.
10. M.W. March 1949, 27.
11. M.W. August 1941.
12. M.W. October 1940.
M.W. March 1942. 'Sabotage'.
13. 'Hymn-formation' and 'Back-to-my-father and home' were popular musical sermons in the late 40's.
14. 'Risen with Christ', M.W. November 1949.
15. Sunday Tribune October 17, 1954.
16. Moving Waters November 1949, 124.
17. ibid.
18. M.W. November 1957.
19. M.W. November 1956, 170.
20. Moving Waters November 1957, 151.

21. Only in 1973 did it become compulsory for Indian children admitted to school to attend until the age of 15.
22. cf. chapter 3.
23. M.W. 1957, 153-4; 158-9;
The Natal Mercury, 7 October 1957.
24. A reference to the practice of some Hindus who walk barefeet on burning coal. This tantric ritualistic Hindu practice is maintained as an annual feature by a small group of South African Indians. In this sermon, J.F. used the story of Shadrack, Meshack and Abednego to point to the Christian alternative.
25. M.W. November 1957, 164.
26. M.W. November 1949, 125.
27. cf. Chapter 3.
28. M.W. November 1956, 170.
29. cf. Chapter 2;
Coopan, S. The Indian Community of South Africa: past, present and future, 9 ff;
Jithoo, S. Structure and Development cycle of the Hindu Joint family in Durban, 105 ff;
Coopan, S. and Naidoo, B.A. 'Indian adjustments to urbanisation' Race Relations Journal 22 (2), 1955;
Pillay, V. A Comparative study of the values, attitudes and folklore across three generations of Hindu-Tamil speaking females in Durban, cf. her 'conclusions';
Woods, C.A. The Indian community of Natal - their economic position, 80;
Oosthuizen, G.C. Pentecostal Penetration, 33 f.
30. A marginal group vis-a-vis a dominant, more technological culture may well display such a reaction. cf. Malinowski, B. 'Culture' Encyclopedia of Social Science Vol. IV, pp. 621 ff;
Malinowski, B. A Scientific Theory of Culture and other Essays, 43;
Luzbetak, L.J. The Church and Cultures, 225 ff.
31. M.W. January 1969, 19;
Bethesda Temple Church Council minutes Jan 9, 1940;
Oosthuizen Moving to the Water (MWa), 215.
32. Oosthuizen, G.C., MWa, 210.
33. M.W. December 1942, 143.
34. M.W. May, 1941.

35. ibid.
36. M.W. December 1942, 143.
37. cf. Chapter Two for dates of these immigrations; the last shipload came in 1911.
38. M.W. January 1952, 3.
39. Pastor Sundrum organises Bethesda fellowships in India. Since 1982 these fellowships have come into closer union with the Church of God (Cleveland).
40. The Leader September 1, 1951.
41. Oosthuizen, G.C., MWa, 34.
42. Bethesda received some coverage in a Bristol Weekly, Western Daily and The Church of God Evangel.
43. J.F. Rowlands was honoured with a number of citations and awards eg. 'The Man of Vision' reward which he received from the Church of God in 1976.
44. In the Transvaal on the other hand, Afrikaans is more widely used. Thus Indians who settled there are Afrikaans-speaking.
45. eg. Kashi, Raagii, Samathanan, Paranjothi orchestras.
46. M.W. March 1942;
M.W. February, 1943, 19;
M.W. June 1955, 63.
47. M.W. March 1943, 34;
M.W. December 1942;
M.W. February 7, 1943.
48. These were owned only by members in good standing. It was prohibited to be worn in any place that was considered 'worldly' eg. bioscopes, theatres, and bars.
49. He spoke of the 'Bethesda family' and addressed his flock as his children.
50. He sent out hundreds of birthday cards and other gifts to members of his congregation faithfully each year.
51. Numerous examples of these acts have been given by the early members of this church eg. a 99 year old man told of how on the birth of his first son, J.F. Rowlands together with his brother and mother arrived at their very poor home with flowers. He said 'if he could take the trouble to visit my poor surely I could attend his church'.

52. M.W. August 8, 1944, 31.
53. M.W. July 1954, 71.
54. M.W. August 1954, 87.
55. Older members often made reference to such incidents during interviews with them.
56. M.W. February 1940.
57. Letter in M.W. October, 1940.
58. M.W. October, 1940.
59. M. Thavarajan's testimony;
ibid.
60. Bethesda Temple Church Council minutes January 27, 1936.
61. Bethesda Temple Church Council minutes January 3, 1939.
62. M.W. October 1940;
M.W. 1955, 42.
63. Bethesda Temple Church Council minutes September 1942.
64. He was President of the Natal Numismatist Society for a number of years;
The Daily News, October 30, 1959;
Cape Argus, November 7, 1958;
The Star, Johannesburg November 3, 1959.
65. Emmaus Temple in Asherville and Ebenezer Temple in Chatsworth, for instance, could only be completed because he provided interest free loans.
66. An example of his financial contribution is found as early as 1932 in an Annual General Meeting Report of the church dated January 5 of that year.
67. Oosthuizen, G.C. MWa, 25.
68. One of the older minister's explained it in this way.
69. eg. Bethesda Temple Church Council minutes February 11, 1936.
70. District committees who made the 'actual decision' were in effect merely rubber-stamping what he had already wished. The negative effect of this autocratic rule is reviewed in chapter 7.

71. F. Victor's information, (recorded on various occasions and checked against Pastor J.F. Rowlands' and J. Vallen's information and against the information in Moving Waters).
72. M.W. January 1975, 10;
M.W. November 1961, 93.
73. F. Victor op. cit.;
Oosthuizen MWa, 120.
74. *ibid*;
M.W. November 1961, 93.
75. *ibid*.
76. M.W. January, 1941.
77. F. Victor op. cit.
78. Bethesda Temple Church minutes August 13, 1940; November 8, 1938; September 10, 1940; January 9, 1943; June 9, 1943; June 1, 1956; January 1 1956;
M.W. June 1956, 92.

Oosthuizen, G.C., MWa, 121.

J.H. Hensman was aware of overseas support. This is the only explanation for J.F. Rowlands personal wealth left at his death. He, however, had bequeathed all of this money to Bethesda.
79. F. Victor op. cit.
80. M.W. November 1949, 128.
81. M.W. July 1967, 51.
82. F. Victor op. cit.
83. V.R. Enoch's information.
84. *ibid*.
85. *ibid*.;
also Oosthuizen op. cit., 125.
86. *ibid*.
87. M.W. September 1973, 137.
88. M.W. September 1973, 138.
89. V.R. Enoch's op. cit.

90. *ibid.*;
Oosthuizen op. cit., 125.
91. cf. our discussion in chapter 6 on this aspect of mysticism and the Pentecostal experience.
92. V.R. Enoch op. cit.
93. *ibid.*
94. *ibid.*
95. cf. 4.3.2.
96. On July 1, 1943.
97. V.R. Enoch op. cit.
98. M.W. August 1943, 87.
99. M.W. November 1943, 129.
100. M.W. August 1943, 87.
101. C.R. Geoffrey's and P.L. Simeon's information (the latter has since died).
102. C.R. Geoffrey op. cit.
103. *ibid.*
104. M.W. August 1943, 87.
105. Andrew Kodi's information. He later became a leader in the South African General Mission.
106. P.L. Simeon's information.
107. *ibid.*
108. Oosthuizen, G.C., MWa, 126.
109. P.L. Simeon op. cit.
110. M.W. January, 1941.
111. Vallen, J., op. cit.
112. *ibid.*
113. A scandalous controversy arose involving J. Vallen, and a small section of the church seceded. cf. Pentecostal Holiness church, Chapter 5.

114. M.W. October 1943, 111.
115. M.W. July 1943, 81.
116. M.W. June 1943, 65.
117. E.P. Reim in an article in The Christian Recorder which was reprinted in Moving Waters November 1956, 169.
118. R. Abel's secretarial report Moving Waters October 1940.
119. ibid.
120. ibid.
121. M.W. June 1962, 44;
M.W. February 1952, 64.
122. M.W. March 1958, 34.
123. M.W. July 1959, 81;
M.W. January 1960, 4.
124. M.W. March 1955, 33.
125. M.W. September 1957, 129.
126. M.W. March 1943, 33.
127. M.W. August 1943, 93.
128. M.W. July 1940.
129. Many of the church's pastors and workers testify to have made their commitment to the church at these camps eg. F. Victor, J. Vallen, V.R. Enoch, J.M. Pillay and T. George.
130. M.W. September 1940.
131. Pastor J.F. Rowlands' information.
132. M.W. July 1950, 767.
133. M.W. October 1940.
134. This phrase was used by G.C. Oosthuizen though in a different context.
135. Sandall, T., The History of the Salvation Army cited in Stark, W., The Sociology of Religion, 170.
136. ibid.

137. Wilson, B., Sects and Society, 42.
138. *ibid.*, 235.
139. This was mentioned frequently by converts to Pentecostalism in interviews.
140. Dubb, A., Community of the Saved, 35-36.
141. Anderson, R.M., Vision of the Disinherited ..., 231.
142. *ibid.*, 228.
143. Harrison, M., 'Sources of Recruitment of Catholic Pentecostalism', 48-64.
144. Oosthuizen, G.C., MWa, 234-240.
145. *ibid.*, 236.
146. Cumpsty, J.S., 'A proposed general framework for identifying and locating religious experience', *op. cit.*, 36.
147. Tipton, S.M., Getting Saved from the Sixties ..., 236.
148. This is how many of the older members explained their calling to active participation in church matters.
149. These stock phrases and certain biblical texts appear frequently in these interviews.
150. Chadwick, S., The Way to Pentecost, 49.
151. *ibid.*, 62.
152. Hine, V.H., 'The Deprivation and Disorganization Theories of Social Movements' in Zaretsky, I. and Leone, M.P. (ed.) Religious Movements in Contemporary America, 660.
153. *ibid.*, 658.
154. Stark, W., *op. cit.*, 170.
155. Wilson, B., *op. cit.*, 344-345.
156. *ibid.*, 28-29.
157. *ibid.*, 347.
158. Anderson, R.M., *op. cit.*, 233.
159. Calley, M., God's People, 134.

160. Cumpsty, J.S., 'A proposed general framework ...', 29.
161. Samarin, W.J., Tongues of men and Angels, 42, 88-98.
162. Gerlach, L.P., 'Pentecostalism: Revolution or Counter-Revolution?' in Zaretsky and Leone, op. cit., 682.
163. Willem, R., 'Religious pluralism and class structure: Brazil and Chile' in International Year Book for the Sociology of Religion
loc. cit.
164. Worsley, P., 'Religion as category' in Robertson, R. (ed.) Sociology of Religion, 232.
165. cited in Lapsley, J.N. and Simpson, J.H., 'Speaking in Tongues', 7.
166. *ibid.*
167. Anderson, R.M., op. cit., 237.
168. Calley, M., op. cit., 135.
169. Hine, V., op. cit., 650.
170. Problete, R. and o' Dea, S.S., 'Anomie and the Quest for Community', 25-26.
171. Williams, C.G., Tongues of the Spirit, 37.
172. cited in Gerlach, L.P. and Hine, V.H., People, Power and Change ..., 204.
173. Bartleman, F., Pentecost, 58.
174. Nichols, J.T., Pentecostalism, 57.
175. This practice was widespread especially in the early days of very rapid conversion to Pentecostal churches.
176. R.M. Anderson uses this expression to describe a similar reaction in North American millenarian movements. op. cit., 230.
177. Walter Goldschmidt is cited by E., Willems in Robertson R., (ed.) The Sociological Interpretation of of Religion, 209-210.
178. *ibid.*
179. cf. Calley, M., op. cit., 134;
Nichols, J.T., op. cit., 237;
Anderson, R.M., op. cit., 231;
Hine, V., op. cit., 655;
Gerlach, L., op. cit., 694.

180. d' Epinay, C.L., Haven of the Masses, 35.
181. Gerlach, L., op. cit., 694.
182. Tipton, S., op. cit., 241.
183. John Wesley is cited in Weber, M., The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, 175.
184. Edwards, D.L., Religion and Change, 367.
185. McLoughlin, W.G., Revivals, Awakening and Reform, 7.
186. Geertz, C., The Interpretation of Culture, 127.
187. d' Epinay, C.L., op. cit., 38.
188. Tipton S., op. cit., 238.
189. Anderson, R.M., op. cit., 237.
190. Cumpsty, J.S., 'A Model of Religious Change ...', 67.
191. Calley, M., op. cit., 145.
192. Anderson, R.M., op. cit., 237.
193. cited in Martin Marty's forward to McLoughlin, W.G., op. cit., 2.

CHAPTER 5THE YOUNGER CHURCHES (PHASE TWO)

This chapter offers a detailed description of the Pentecostal groups that emerged during the second major demographic shift when over a quarter of a million Indian people were 'moved' in terms of the Group Areas Act and the the programme of 'separate development'.

These groups, which we shall call 'Phase two groups', are of two distinct types: those which resulted from the missions of established Pentecostal denominations and those independent groups which emerged under indigenous leadership.

The period we cover in this chapter spans the second major demographic shift from the mid 50's to the present time. (cf. chapter 2)

Since the theological outlook of Phase two groups is not very different from that of Phase one, we shall deal with their thought and beliefs together in chapter 8 when 'the Pentecostal experience' is assessed theologically.

This chapter is concerned mainly with:

- (i) the study of the origins and development of these groups. The history of many of which is documented here for the first time;
- (ii) The reasons for the proliferation of these groups;
- (iii) The clarification of the genealogy of the smaller groups in order to show the developmental trends of the independent Pentecostal groups.

PENTECOSTAL GROUPS THAT HAVE EMERGED AS THE RESULT OF THE MISSIONARY EFFORTS OF ESTABLISHED PENTECOSTAL DENOMINATIONS:

(1) Olivet Assembly of God

In 1935 Ben Royeppen a former lay-preacher in the Methodist church formed the Olivet Assembly of God. Early in the 1930's he made contact with Pentecostals and left the Methodists to become an independent evangelist. He went around the Mayville and Sydenham areas, preaching and praying for the sick. Exorcism was also a prominent feature of this evangelical approach.¹

Royeppen soon became quite well-known among several of the Indian Christian communities in the Durban area.² In 1935 he founded a congregation in Seaview and in 1940 another in Overport. Then he affiliated to the Assemblies of God of South Africa and received his ministerial credentials from them. However, his new status soon created problems: Pastor Hansen, of the Bethshan Assembly of God, had been ministering to a congregation just across the street from Royeppen's own group. Because of Royeppen's newly found denominational affiliation to the Assemblies of God, he had to now abide by a constitution which did not permit the founding of a second congregation within a radius of three miles from the first.³

In view of this, Royeppen's group had to find a new venue. They moved to the Durban City Centre in Ajax Lane. Later both the Ajax Lane and Seaview congregations had to close down because the Group Areas Act forced Indians to move out. Many members of both the congregations joined the mass movement of Indians to Chatsworth where many of Royeppen's members joined other Pentecostal bodies, notably Bethesda and the Apostolic Faith Mission.

The Olivet Assembly is regarded as a Phase two group because no really significant growth occurred before the sixties.⁴

Royeppen's own attitude to the ministry also contributed to this slow growth. He did not seem to be over concerned with the building up of a large congregation or with the expansion of his work; his activities were in the main, pastoral. For example, when anyone was in need of prayer, he ministered irrespective of that person's church or religious affiliation. This meant that he often helped people who were not his own members. This remarkable, selfless activity, nevertheless, bore some fruit. Jimmy Murugan of the Apostolic Faith Mission, Percy Govender of the Assemblies of God, Sam Soodyall of 'Souls Outreach' and J. Peters of Bethesda had been influenced by Royeppen before becoming important in their own individual congregations.

Throughout his ministry, Royeppen earned his living as an insurance salesman, rendering a service to his people without expecting any remuneration. During the 1960's when his congregation moved to various units in Chatsworth, Royeppen began holding a number of 'home-fellowship' meetings there. It is established that the total number of people that attended Royeppens' 'home fellowships' amounted to almost 900. However, as soon as other groups established congregations in Chatsworth, many of his erstwhile charges joined them.⁵

After Royeppen's death in 1972, L. Abraham, one of Royeppen's chief helpers, took over the leadership of the Olivet Assembly. Abraham had been a member of Pastor Hansen's congregation. In 1968 he joined Royeppen when his wife was reportedly healed after Royeppen had prayed for her. He has since concentrated on consolidating the congregation. This body, apparently in keeping with the humble ways of its founder, Royeppen, has had a similar evolutionary history. They were first housed in a garage, then a backyard structure, thereafter they shared a Lutheran church building for a while and then moved into a large tent in Unit 10, Chatsworth. Since 1981 they have worshipped in the basement of a factory in Unit 10 which was made available to them by a Christian businessman.

Some of Olivet's members have recently moved into Phoenix, and have established a branch congregation there. The total number of the Olivet Assembly membership now stands at 400 persons.

This Assembly is currently reassessing its affiliation with the 'Assemblies of God, South Africa'. Although the Assemblies of God allows each congregation to be 'sovereign and autonomous' it nonetheless requires that all the fixed assets and property of the individual congregation be vested in the Assemblies of God. This has led to major secessions of the white congregations from the Assemblies of God. A similar move seems imminent among Indian and Coloured congregations. Abraham pointed out that if this secession is finalised he will opt out with his congregation and become an independent church.⁶

(2) Members in Christ Assemblies in South Africa (MICA)

This group was founded by C.J. Prinsloo, a former member of 'Christian Assemblies', a white Pentecostal church. In 1947 Prinsloo's group was constituted as 'Members in Christ Assemblies in South Africa'. It has expanded amongst the Afrikaans-speaking whites and has its headquarters in Pretoria.⁷

A few Indian Christians who were meeting in homes in Dannhauser, Northern Natal, during the 40's formed the MICA's first Indian congregation.⁸ However, its expansion in this community only took place in Durban during the 60's.

In 1960 a group of Indians of this movement met regularly in a home in Asherville. Later in that year, they invited W. Ferreira, a white member of the MICA, to assist them. Ferreira became their pastor while still keeping his job as a carpenter.⁹

The initial growth of this group was hampered by the lack of a proper venue. In 1961 it moved out of Asherville to Somtseu Road and then later to Clairwood. The early Indian stalwarts who supported the mission of the MICA included Johnny Naidoo, Manogran Chetty, Pastor Israel at Dannhauser and Teddy Moonsamy at Glencoe. The initial mission work of the MICA in Natal was concentrated in their hands.

By the early 70's the number of members of the Clairwood congregation declined sharply when many had to leave Clairwood after it had been declared an industrial area.

After this dispersion the congregation re-formed in smaller groups in Chatsworth and Phoenix. These then grew into the branch congregations of MICA. Johnny Naidoo and Manogran Chetty became pastors of MICA branches in Chatsworth and Govind Peters, a former member of Bethesda, leads a third congregation. Peters left Bethesda because, he claimed, it lacked 'the full manifestation of the spiritual gifts' which he had witnessed in the MICA. He referred to Prinsloo, the founder of the MICA, as a man with astounding spiritual gifts, claiming that Prinsloo could uncover 'the hidden sins of people' and foretell future events.¹⁰

Two congregations have also been founded at Phoenix. Their pastors are R. Shankar and Vasie Pillay. These, and the three in Chatsworth, have about 100 members each and they meet regularly in schools situated in their vicinity. Branch groups have also been recently started in the two Indian settlements in the Transvaal, Lenasia and Laudium. Teddy Moonsamy is MICA's only full-time, salaried Indian pastor. The others are ordained but remain in secular employment.

Pastor Ferreira who assisted the Durban group in its early days left the ministry after he had been disciplined over a 'personal matter'. The present Indian pastor of the Clairwood congregation is also facing disciplinary action and it is probable that this congregation may secede if this occurs.

The MICA represents the more enthusiastic type of Pentecostalism where repentance in sackcloth and ashes, and ritual feet-washing are literally practised. Confession of sins is also done publically. In this organisation it is not uncommon for a 'prophet' to openly expose a person's 'sins' and call that person to public repentance and restitution. While this type of activity sometimes generates fear and awe and does serve to lead its members to self-discipline, it may also cause offence. Many have

left to join other churches but the MICA claims that these defectors did not measure up to its standards of holiness.¹¹

(3) The Pentecostal Holiness Church (PHC)

In 1913 missionaries of the American PHC (cf. Ch. 1) arrived in South Africa and worked almost entirely among Africans in the Transvaal.¹² Only in 1945 did the PHC attempt a mission to the Indians.

Rev. J.W. Brooks began an evangelistic outreach to Indian workers in the Melville Sugar Estate near Stanger and soon gathered a congregation of about 60. Many were converts from Hinduism.¹³

From the outset American PHC missionaries have been the superintendents of the Indian mission. D. Freeman served the longest single term as superintendent; from 1943 to 1967.¹⁴

In spite of its early beginnings on the Natal north coast, this mission has remained small. Little congregations were established in Frasers and Tongaat. In 1950 Dyaranum Papiah, a former Baptist, became its evangelist in Mayville, in Durban. He eventually became the pastor of the congregation he had gathered and he remained so for 19 years until his death in 1970.¹⁵

Under the Group Areas Act, Mayville was taken away from Indians and the congregation consequently dispersed and went to Chatsworth, Merebank and later to Phoenix. Many of these members joined other Pentecostal congregations situated closer to their new homes.

The pioneering work in Merebank and Chatsworth was largely due to the efforts of two Indian pastors, S. Frank and J. Vallen. In 1966 S. Frank, a former Baptist, was assigned the task of 'planting' a church in Chatsworth.

His first meeting was held in a house, and the congregation of six included his wife and three children. In the ensuing months he undertook a programme of home visitations and praying for the sick. Healings reportedly occurred and Frank's services drew larger numbers.¹⁶ Soon the house in Unit 2, Chatsworth became too small, and the familiar pattern which we have already discussed in Phase 1 groups can be observed - they moved to a make-shift backyard structure and then purchased their own building site.

In 1970 Frank sold his watch-repair business and entered the ministry on a full-time basis. This further aided the growth and increased the finances of the group so that by December 1972 its first church-building was completed. By 1981 this congregation had grown to over 250 members.¹⁷

The other Indian pioneer in this church was Pastor J. Vallen who worked in Merebank. He had been one of the stalwarts in Bethesda and one of its first pastors. (cf. Ch. 4) In 1968, due to a personal matter, Vallen left Bethesda amidst a major controversy.¹⁸

He joined the Pentecostal Holiness Church largely through the efforts of Rev. Barnard, A PHC member of a white congregation in Durban. In spite of the problem that alienated Vallen from Bethesda, J.F. Rowlands did not withhold the good conduct clearance which the PHC required.¹⁹

Within a few months Vallen gathered a congregation of almost 50. A large number of these were former Bethesda members who had left with him. By 1982 this congregation had grown to almost 500.²⁰

Today J. Vallen is assisted by Pastor David Isaacs, also a former Bethesda member, and Pastor P. Francis, who is in charge of what this church calls its 'migrant scheme' in the 'mini-town' section of Merebank. This is a squatter settlement where those who have been moved from other residential areas live while awaiting the allocation of a house in the Durban Corporation's sub-economic housing schemes in Phoenix or Newlands. Francis' task is to evangelise these people and to undertake 'follow-up work' when they are re-settled.

In 1982 the total Indian membership of the Pentecostal Holiness Church in South Africa stood at a little over 1 200 with branches in Chatsworth, Melville, Tongaat, Merebank and Phoenix. The Phoenix group which numbers over 200 is led by a layman, Bro. Stanley.²¹

(4) Ebenezer Assembly of God

Two British women missionaries of the Assemblies of God in Great Britain and Ireland started this Assembly in 1951. Their first convert was a 15 year old Indian girl, Esther Lutchman. When Muriel Smith, one of the missionaries, died in 1968 and the other, S.E. Bradshaw, returned to Britain, L.J. Lutchman the brother of Esther continued to lead the group as its elder.²²

Since the group was without a pastor, F.L. Hansen of Bethshan Assemblies of God (cf. chapter 3) performed the group's baptisms. Later Pastor and Mrs. D. Crook, who had been missionaries of the Assemblies of God of Great Britain to India and had later also joined Bethesda, assisted this congregation.²³

Esther Lutchman had also left this church because of disagreement with Muriel Smith.²⁴ In the absence of strong leadership the Ebenezer Assembly of God has remained small with a membership of about 30 adult members.

(5) Asherville Assemblies of God

Early in the 1950's, W. Kraemer, a former member of Bethesda's Obededom Temple in Pietermaritzburg, joined the Assemblies of God and became an itinerant evangelist. He founded two congregations, one in Pietermaritzburg and in 1953, another called 'Bethany Assembly' in Kenville, Durban.²⁵

In 1956 Bethany Assembly, with J.J. Scullard as the elder in charge, moved to Mayville, where another Bethesda member, S.G. Maharaj, joined it.

Maharaj claims that the group offered more scope for his active involvement than did Sharon Temple, the Bethesda branch in the area (cf. chapter 3).²⁶

This congregation had grown to almost 100 persons by the early 60's. Then under the Group Areas Act when Indians had to evacuate Mayville, the congregation dispersed. By 1967 many had already been resettled in Chatsworth and Merebank and these joined other Pentecostal groups. However, about 70 regrouped as 'Bethany Temple' in a backyard structure in Asherville. From this time onward Maharaj took over the leadership of this congregation and Scullard left to join a coloured Assembly of God.²⁷

A feature of this group's early approach was its Thursday evening 'tarry-meetings' which attracted a large number of members from other nominal Pentecostal groups. These meetings aimed at reaffirming the Pentecostal stance on Spirit-Baptism and it offered scope for those who attended 'to seek the infilling of the Spirit'.²⁸

One of the main reasons for the slow growth of the group's membership was the fact that it had no proper venue. From 1973 and 1979 they moved frequently from the original back-yard structure to S. Muthusamy's premises²⁹ and then to a school in Asherville.

In 1977 the Assemblies of God in S.A. conferred full 'pastor' status on Maharaj although he has always remained in secular employment. During this time its name was changed from 'Bethany Assembly' to 'Asherville Assembly of God' and Kraemer remains its overseer. Since 1979 its membership has remained at about 50.³⁰

Its minister in training, the son of S.G. Maharaj, pointed out that the group appears to have undergone a development in its approach. The boisterous 'tarry meetings' of the 60's have been replaced by a more balanced and less emotional service. While glossolalia and faith-healing are still practised, these are no longer emphasised to the same extent.³¹

(6) Bible Deliverance Fellowship (BDF)

Early in the 50's the 'Christian Assemblies' existed as a thriving white Pentecostal organisation in Durban. In the mid 50's L.R. Evans, a preacher in this group, resigned to found his own movement, the 'Bible Deliverance Fellowship' and declared himself to be its 'Apostle'.³²

In the mid 50's A.M. Moses was among the few Indians who joined Evans Fellowship. Formerly a member of the South African General Mission, which has Indian congregations along the Natal coast, Moses became a Pentecostal and was given the responsibility of establishing a Bible Deliverance Fellowship branch among Indians.³³

Moses traces his calling to the ministry to a supernatural experience he claims to have had when a voice instructed him to gather people and to hold services at his home.³⁴

He founded two congregations, one in a home in Chatsworth and another in Sparks Road, Overport. In 1956, under the influence of Moses' preaching, Reggie Kisten was converted. Kisten claims that his wife's 'deliverance from demon possession' proved to him the truth of Moses' preaching.³⁵ Kisten became actively involved in the Chatsworth congregation and in 1963 he was ordained by Evans. He took charge of the Chatsworth congregation while Moses concentrated on the Overport branch.

In 1965, however, the number at the Overport congregation began to diminish as many had left the area to live in Chatsworth and it could no longer provide Moses with a viable salary. At the same time, Kisten applied for admission to the ministry on a full-time basis. Evans decided that Moses should be transferred to the pastorship of the Chatsworth group and that Kisten ought to remain a lay-leader. In 1956, discouraged by this decision, Kisten left the Bible Deliverance Fellowship and founded his own group. (Cf. Pentecostal Revival Church)

This secession led to a schism in the Chatsworth congregation of the Bible Deliverance Fellowship: one family joined Kisten's new group while others joined Bethesda and other Pentecostal churches.

However, by 1975 the group under Moses had regained stability and numbered a little over 100.³⁶ Moses, who has had no formal education claims to have been 'instructed by Apostle Evans and the Spirit'. In 1974 Moses also was made an 'Apostle' of the Bible Deliverance Fellowship, a status higher than 'pastor'. By 1982 his congregation had grown to 600 with five pastors.³⁷

In 1981 Ronnie Naidoo and his 'Bible Divine Fellowship' affiliated to the Bible Deliverance Fellowship. He too has been made an 'Apostle' and has three pastors serving under him. This affiliation has increased the Indian membership of the Bible Deliverance Fellowship by almost 500.³⁸

(7) The Pentecostal Protestant Church (PPC)

The Pentecostal Protestant Church, as we have observed in chapter 1, was the result of a major secession from the Apostolic Faith Mission. The secession appears to have also affected some of the Indian congregations of the Apostolic Faith Mission.

In 1959 Aaron Lazarus in Mount Edgecombe and, in 1961 Samuel Manikum in Stanger, active members of the Apostolic Faith Mission churches there, seceded with members of those congregations and joined the Pentecostal Protestant Church. Pastor Treptow who was one of the original groups of white pastors who had left the Apostolic Faith Mission to form the Pentecostal Protestant Church, was in charge of the Indian mission of the Pentecostal Protestant Church's Indian mission. Under his superintendency the affiliation of the two Indian groups to the Pentecostal Protestant Church was finalised.³⁹ Both S. Manikum and A. Lazarus, while continuing in their secular employment, were made 'pastors' of the Pentecostal Protestant Church.

In the early 60's C.J.J. Snyman began to assist A. Lazarus in Mt. Edgecombe. He was an active layman in the white congregation of the Pentecostal Protestant Church in Umbilo, Durban.⁴⁰ From the beginning, Snyman encouraged the healings and exorcisms which featured prominently in its services.⁴¹

In 1966 Snyman took over the superintendency of these Indian congregations from Treptow. He had had by then resigned from his job as supervisor of a block of flats and had terminated his membership in the white Pentecostal Protestant Church. He now became a full-time pastor of the Pentecostal Protestant Church among Indians.⁴²

The largest Pentecostal Protestant Church congregation among Indians established itself in Chatsworth largely through the initial evangelistic efforts of a small group led by R. Ezra.

Ezra had been converted at 13 and had joined the Baptist church. D.L. Moody's book When the Fire Fell and a vision which he claims to have had when he was 16, influenced him to attend a local Pentecostal congregation, the Apostolic Faith Mission branch at Overport. (cf. chapter 3) Here his preoccupation with the doctrine of the baptism in the Spirit was heightened⁴³ and he joined the AFM.

From the start Ezra took an active part in that congregation. He made a major contribution towards the Sunday school's expansion from 15 to almost 200. he then took charge of a branch of this congregation.

In 1958 he was sent as pastor of the Apostolic Faith Mission to the Darnall and Zululand areas where he worked for three and a half years but he had to resign from the ministry because he could not subsist on the low salary these congregations offered. He pointed out that one of the difficulties of being a pastor in a mill community is that the members of the congregation only had enough during the mills' crushing season. At other times of the year many were unemployed and the finances of the group were very reduced.

In 1961, Ezra returned to Durban to his former job as a panelbeater. During this time, he conducted home fellowship meetings with two families in Chatsworth as an ordinary member of the AFM. Within one year the group grew to 30. In order to accommodate themselves, a back-yard structure was erected in Unit 2, Chatsworth and this became a branch of the Apostolic Faith Mission. Henry James the pastor of the Indian work of the Apostolic Faith Mission became its pastor also while Ezra continued with the actual leadership.

In 1964 after a leadership conflict between James and Ezra, Ezra and the majority of the congregation left the Apostolic Faith Mission.⁴⁴ The group of about 75 invited C.J.J. Snyman to assist them and he arranged their affiliation to the Pentecostal Protestant Church.⁴⁵ Ezra was made pastor but at that stage he still continued in secular employment. During this time Ezra founded a new congregation for the Pentecostal Protestant Church in Benoni, Transvaal.⁴⁶

In the meantime, Snyman who had had some experience as a builder procured a site in Chatsworth and by 1974 he organised the completion of the congregation's first church building. Snyman managed the building operations and took charge of the Chatsworth congregation while Ezra led the Transvaal group for 7 years.

On his return to Chatsworth in 1977, Ezra claimed that the number of the congregation had remained at around 200 members. He embarked on a series of special evangelistic efforts which emphasised healing and exorcism. A number of healings that were reported to have taken place attracted many Hindus and nominal members of other Christian churches to Ezra's services. For example, Norman Govender, it is claimed, was possessed by evil. Neither medical doctors nor various sorcerers and witchdoctors brought relief. Govender claimed to have been miraculously healed at one of Ezra's healing-services.⁴⁷ This incident influenced 30 other people to join this congregation. The prayer-meetings which in 1977 were attended by five people were changed into mid-week healing-services that were attended by up to 200 people.

In 1982 the membership of the Chatsworth group stood at about 650 with about 400 attending the Sunday service regularly. Pastor Snyman is still overseer of the Indian congregation. New groups of the Pentecostal Protestant Church have also been started in Marianhill and Shallcross. The former is led by Johnny Naidoo, a former member of Bethesda and the latter by Frank Surian, a former member of Ezra's congregation.

However, Johnny Naidoo quarrelled with Y. Allen, the pastor of Bethesda's branch in Marianhill. While Allen claimed that Naidoo had refused to submit to authority, Naidoo claimed that his potential was being stifled. He left with a small section of the Bethesda congregation and founded his own group which affiliated to the Pentecostal Protestant Church.⁴⁸

Frank Surien who had been converted in Ezra's church left the Pentecostal Protestant Church for a while and joined Faith Centre. (cf. Independent groups). However, he returned to the Pentecostal Protestant Church and established a congregation in Shallcross.⁴⁹

This table below indicates the sizes of the Indian groups of the Pentecostal Protestant Church at the beginning of 1983:

| Congregation | Date Commenced | Pastor | Membership |
|---------------|----------------|---------------------|------------|
| Mt. Edgecombe | 1959 | Aaron Lazarus P/T | 289 |
| Stanger | 1961 | Samuel Manikum P/T | 40 |
| Chatsworth | 1964 | R.Ezra F/T | 950 |
| Benoni | 1966 | Michael Lazarus F/T | 198 |
| Marianhill | 1980 | Johnny Naidoo P/T | 50 |
| Shallcross | 1980 | Frank Surian P/T | 90 |

P/T: Part-time

F/T: Full-time

(8) Assemblies of Christ (AC)

This is a unitarian Pentecostal group with headquarters in Pretoria. The founding of an 'Indian section' of the AC was largely the result of the efforts of an Indian, Sunny Bridgemohan.⁵¹

Bridgemohan had been a member of Bethesda since 1949 but had claimed that it was only in 1959 that he was 'truly saved'. His 'conversion' imbued him with a desire for active involvement in church work. In 1960, when he joined the Assemblies of Christ, the opportunity for such involvement presented itself when he was ordained 'pastor' and was given permission to found a congregation under the Assemblies' auspices.

For the five years between 1960 and 1965 Bridgemohan held a number of open-air and home-fellowship meetings in Chatsworth. In 1965 a small congregation was formally constituted in Unit 1, Chatsworth but only three attended the first meeting. Yet within a year the number had swelled to almost 70 due probably to the many 'contacts' that Bridgemohan had established in the preceding 5 years.⁵²

Home services were also held in Clairwood, Sea Cow Lake, Springfield and Merebank. By 1972 the total Indian membership of the Assemblies of Christ stood at 300 and Sunday Schools boasted 200 pupils. In June 1973 a second branch congregation was founded in Shallcross.

These congregations are totally self-supporting and have only a formal tie with the white headquarters. Their pastors remain in secular employment and receive from their congregations only a travelling allowance. Bridgemohan himself works in the hotel industry.

In 1972 one of its lay-pastors, David Victor, left the Assemblies of Christ to join another unitarian group, the United Pentecostal Church. Later he left that group to join the New Protestant Church, (cf. Temple of God Assembly) before he settled down to found a congregation of his own in 1975.⁵³

(9) United Pentecostal Church (UPC)

The UPC, the most representative of the unitarian Pentecostal groups,⁵⁴ was an off-shoot of the Assemblies of God churches in North America. (cf. chapter 1) Rev. E.L. Freeman began its work in South Africa.⁵⁵

This denomination made contact with the Indian community only in the 60's. Rev. Mack Carpenter, an American United Pentecostal Church missionary who arrived in South Africa in March 1966, was given the task of organising the United Pentecostal Church's mission to Indians, Blacks and Coloureds in Natal and the Eastern Cape.⁵⁶ However, the pioneering work among Indians was done mainly by Harry Ramden Somers.

Somers claimed to have received his 'Pentecostal experience' in 1944 and he joined the Pentecostal Holiness Church a year later. In 1955 he became a member of the Universal International Church of God in Durban.⁵⁷ He apparently wanted to become a full-time worker and embarked on numerous evangelistic missions. During this time he had also begun to question the doctrine of the Trinity which is usually accepted by Pentecostal groups, and found that the unitarian stance of the United Pentecostal Church more acceptable namely, the view that maintains that the God of the Bible is Jesus who reveals Himself as Father, son and Spirit.

In 1961 he joined the United Pentecostal Church where he was ordained as 'pastor' by E.L. Freeman.⁵⁸ In the years during the 60's and early 70's Somers embarked on a series of evangelistic tent-campaigns. He too emphasised divine-healing and exorcism.⁵⁹

At first he started a small congregation in Asherville, a suburb of Durban, and then moved into a garage in Avoca. He was turned out of both places because of his unitarian stance. The former venue was owned by an Apostolic Faith Mission member and the latter by a Bethesda member. This is indicative of the general rejection by Pentecostal groups of the 'Jesus Only' doctrine, as it is commonly referred to. Yet this group also con-

siders the Trinitarian position heretical. The following, written by the present superintendent of the Indian United Pentecostal Church groups, is representative:

All too often we hear or read of every other group or organisation identifying themselves as Pentecostal, ... yet ... they do not really know or have the Pentecostal experience.

Pentecostal Revival began on the Day of Pentecost ... they praised God, glorifying Him in other tongues ... the Power of Pentecost drew 3 000 souls that day and they were baptised in Jesus' Name.⁶⁰

In the face of these reactions to his position, Somers moved his congregation into a wood and iron structure in Redhill and then to Avoca. His healing campaigns gave rise to branches in Chastworth, Springfield, Sea Cow Lake, Newlands, Clare Estate, Verulam, Port Shepstone and Marburg.⁶¹ In 1975 the total membership was almost 600. From his headquarters in Avoca, Somers and A.A. John, who had also become a pastor in this denomination, superintended these branches.

The present superintendent, Dan Rajavaloo, who in 1978 was elected to head the UPC's Indian mission, joined the UPC in 1972. He had formerly been a nominal member of the Anglican Church. He claims that the UPC helped resolve many of his problems.⁶² By 1974 he was teaching at Somers' evening Bible school in Clare Estate.⁶³

Rajavaloo's appointment to the superintendency led to conflict with Somers, who until 1978 had been totally in charge. Within a few months Somers left the UPC to start his own church. (cf. Jesus Name Church [Apostolic]) Amidst this controversy S. Singh left the UPC with almost the whole UPC's Avoca congregation. (cf. Bible Believers' Church [Apostolic])

Under Dan Rajavaloo, the Indian United Pentecostal Church has embarked on a programme of expansion: lay evangelists were sent out on a programme de-

veloped and tested by the UPC Church in America.⁶⁴ As the table below indicates, this programme has greatly increased its numbers. By the end of 1982 there were 17 branches and plans had already been finalised for the first two buildings. George Natsen of Sydenham is still the only full-time pastor and Rajavaloo is contemplating resigning his teaching post to enter the ministry on a full-time basis. The organisation of the movement is largely in the hands of lay pastors who are ordained to take charge of each congregation but who remain in secular employment. It is anticipated that as the finances of each branch becomes more adequate more of these ministers will become full-time workers.

In view of their commitment to unitarianism, the United Pentecostal Church does not only intend to convert non Christians but also to concentrate its energies on Christendom at large. In fact there are many examples of Pentecostals who joined the UPC because they had rejected a Trinitarian position. These are often reflected among the number of 'converts' to the group.

Membership of the Indian United Pentecostal Church as at December 1982:

| Congregation | Adults | Youth | Sunday School |
|---------------|--------|-------|---------------|
| 1. Chatsworth | 398 | 52 | 152 |
| 2. Parlock | 53 | 21 | 49 |
| 3. Sydenham | 109 | 33 | 72 |
| 4. Shallcross | 47 | 16 | 32 |
| 5. Merebank | 49 | 11 | 42 |
| 6. Isipingo | 21 | 9 | 23 |
| 7. Kenville | 19 | 7 | 33 |

| Congregation | Adults | Youth | Sunday School |
|----------------------------------|--------|-------|---------------|
| 8. Avoca | 19 | 9 | 38 |
| 9. Stanger | 11 | 4 | 22 |
| 10. Pietermaritzburg | 16 | 9 | 32 |
| 11. Phoenix: New-Life Tabernacle | 77 | 53 | 69 |
| 12. Kings Highway Tabernacle | 89 | 32 | 75 |
| 13. Shiloh | 63 | 42 | 51 |
| 14. Elim | 33 | 14 | 29 |
| 15. Hope | 27 | 19 | 33 |
| 16. Lenasia (Transvaal) | 19 | 11 | 23 |
| 17. Verulam | 9 | 3 | 0 |

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(10) The Apostolic Church of Great Britain and Denmark (ACBD)

In the late 60's Bobby Naidoo a former member of the 'Assemblies of God' held services at his home in Merebank and by 1970 the group comprised five families.⁶⁶ Naidoo had left the Assemblies of God because there was no possibility of him becoming a pastor or full-time worker there.⁶⁷ He then joined Leslie Hammond's 'Calvary Fellowship' but there too he found that he could not receive ministerial status.

In 1970 he joined the ACBD which had begun its work in South Africa in 1963 with the evangelistic campaigns of W. Cathcart in Durban. It has concentrated its work among Africans in Natal.⁶⁸

Pastor J.G. Brown of this church who had had some contact with Naidoo finalised the affiliation. The Merebank group was inaugurated as the Omega Apostolic Church and Bobby Naidoo was inducted its pastor. The initial

years saw rapid growth. The membership of 60 in 1970 had doubled within the year and by the end of 1973 the group had grown to 180.⁶⁹

The congregation which had first met in Naidoo's home moved for a while into a local school but they have since erected a double garage on Naidoo's property to hold their services.

Branches have now been established in Unit 9 and Unit 3 in Chatsworth, Isipingo and Durban. In September 1982 its numbers increased when Vassie Pillay's independent group joined them.

Pillay had been an elder in Stephen Govender's Peniel Assembly of God and had become the pastor of a branch of this Assembly in Chatsworth. However, in 1972 he resigned because he claimed that Govender and a white woman missionary had continuously interfered. In 1973 he became pastor of the Apostolic Faith Mission branch in Chatsworth, and under him this branch grew from about 40 in 1973 to almost 300 in 1982. However, due to a financial dispute he also left the AFM.

About 45 members of the Apostolic Faith Mission joined and in September 1982 this congregation of almost 70 affiliated to the ACBD.

Pillay pointed out that one of the chief benefits of joining this church was its policy which allowed the 'minister, not the congregation, to have the final say'. Here, for instance, the minister appoints the church council. Thus he claimed that there were none of the usual conflicts between lay leaders and pastors so common in Pentecostal congregations.⁷⁰

(11) International Assemblies of God (IAG)

In chapter 1 it was mentioned that the International Assemblies of God was formed by missionaries of the American Assemblies of God who later withdrew from the Assemblies of God (S.A.) They had also worked chiefly among Africans.⁷¹

In 1968, Gary Munsen, a missionary of the IAG, was sent to Pinetown to establish a training centre for coloureds in Durban.⁷² During his stay in Pinetown, he met Dan Francis, a member of Bethesda who had lived at Motala Farm, an Indian settlement near Pinetown.

Francis had been a staunch Hindu. His father had built a Hindu temple which he had bequeathed to the Hindu community and at which Francis had served as an altar boy.⁷³ A Christian had prayed for his wife whom it is claimed, was possessed of the devil. When she recovered his entire family became Christians and they joined Bethesda.⁷⁴

In June 1971, after meeting Munson, Francis left Bethesda and joined the IAG.⁷⁵ He was made pastor of a congregation which met at Motala Farm and which by 1974 had rapidly grown to almost 500.⁷⁶

In that same year an independent group, Calvary Assembly of God, joined the IAG. This Assembly had seceded from the Assemblies of God (S.A.)

Gary Munson's pioneering efforts for the IAG in Natal prepared the way for D.B. Coleman to begin an IAG Bible School in Durban. Here Francis, his brother Selva Govindsamy, his cousin and Edwin Nair, all pastors of the Indian section of the IAG, received their training.⁷⁷ Edwin Nair is presently the only full-time Indian pastor of this church.⁷⁸ Francis has since resigned to become a minister in the Presbyterian Church.

The policy of the IAG requires its S. African churches to be run by local leaders. Each racial group was separated. When a congregation reaches a stipulated size it may constitute what the IAG called a 'sovereign assembly'⁷⁹, and at this stage its affairs will fall entirely into the hands of its own leader, but because the Indian groups were relatively small and could not support more than one full-time pastor, their congregations could not develop into 'sovereign assemblies' and therefore remained largely in control of the white missionaries. The arrangement led to conflict between D.B. Coleman, the superintendent of the Indian groups, and the Indian pastors, particularly Edwin Nair; Only in the mid 70's was the problem solved.

In 1976, the African congregations of the IAG, that had worked in isolation from the Indian and Coloured groups, invited the Indian and Coloured pastors to their annual conference for the first time. Since in South Africa all these pastors are considered 'non-white',⁸⁰ they felt at the conference that they should no longer be separated.⁸¹ In January 1977 a convention of all IAG pastors decided that they should amalgamate.⁸²

In June 1977 one single non-racial International Assemblies of God emerged. The American missionaries withdrew from all administrative control and assisted only in the manning of the Bible college and the printing press.⁸³

(12) Souls Outreach (affiliated to World Mission Incorporated)

Don Northrup whose evangelistic work influenced sections of the Indian Pentecostal congregations was an itinerant evangelist of the American organisation, 'World Missions'. In the early 70's he left South Africa and his place was taken by an Indian evangelist, Sam Soodyall.

Soodyall had been a member of Bethesda Assembly of God but had began his own evangelistic mission in the late 60's. Soodyall's group, 'Souls Outreach', has affiliated to the 'World Missions'.

For most of the 70's Soodyall confined his work to evangelistic campaigns. However, congregations were soon established when it was discovered that the people who had been converted at these campaigns had joined churches which had made no church contributions to the costs of the campaigns. Now with the establishment of the 'Souls Outreach' congregations, the finances for the campaigns are raised by its own members.⁸⁴

INDEPENDENT PENTECOSTAL CHURCHES

(1) The South African Evangelistic Mission (SAEM)

The founder of this mission, David Haag, is the son of North American Pentecostal missionaries who had come to South Africa under the auspices of the Calvary Temple in Minnesota, USA in the early 50's.⁸⁵

In 1958 the Haags joined the Apostolic Faith Mission but they did not remain there long for in 1959 they joined a group that had left the Apostolic Faith Mission to form the Pentecostal Protestant Church. As missionaries of this Church they worked entirely among Blacks on the lower Natal South Coast. David, their son, undertook a mission to coloured people in the same area.⁸⁶

In 1962, George Sookoo, an Indian in Port Shepstone requested that the Haags help him start a mission among his own people. Moreover he wished to become an evangelist himself. David Haag accepted this new challenge as his father was already fully engaged in the mission to blacks. With Sookoo's assistance, Indian families in and around Port Shepstone were contacted and small congregations were established at Sea Park, Louisiana and Port Shepstone.

By 1964 their work, called the 'South African Evangelistic Mission', extended its efforts to Hibberdene and Oslo Beach. In that same year, a convert from the Louisiana congregation, Harry Rampersadh, moved into Umzinto where he started another SAEM congregation.

In 1965 the group was able to extend its labours to Durban and Pietermaritzburg. In Pietermaritzburg the work was aided by some local ecclesiastical circumstances: a group had seceded from Pastor W. Kraemer's Assembly of God and then affiliated with the SAEM. Its present pastor is Patrick Govender.

Further successes followed when in the mid-sixties a series of evangelistic campaigns were undertaken in the Indian settlements in and around Durban. These campaigns induced two popular evangelists, Derek Fynn and Michael Henry to join the SAEM. Both were talented speakers and singers and helped to extend the SAEM's influence among the Coloured and Indian communities. Unfortunately, Fynn and Henry clashed with Haag over the role and functions of evangelists within the Mission. They believed that the organisational structures of the Mission had curbed their freedom and they resigned to form their own missions. Fynn has since organised Pentecostal groups among Coloured people (cf. Life Ministries) and Henry has founded the 'Miracle Revival Crusade'.

In 1967 Pastor Lockwood from the USA joined the SAEM and in 1968 he took charge of the SAEM in Port Shepstone while Haag moved to Durban to supervise the rapidly expanding mission there. New branches were started in Asherville, Shallcross, Merebank, Chatsworth, Verulam, Tongaat, Stanger, Tugela and Phoenix.⁸⁷ Laymen who had been loyal to the aims of the mission and who had taken an active part in its growth were made 'pastors' and the expansion of these branches has been largely their responsibility.⁸⁸

The SAEM suffered a set-back in 1968 when the Port Shepstone branch under Lockwood seceded, over what appears to have been a conflict over leadership between Lockwood and Haag. Lockwood's congregation became an independent group called 'Life Ministries'. (cf. p. 307) Despite the secession, the mission had 1 325 members and adherents and 21 ministerial workers by 1973. Eight of these were full-time pastors. In 1982 the total membership was almost 2 000.

The SAEM's missionary policy is interesting. Some of the SAEM's successes can be explained by its policy of establishing a congregation in a new area as soon as five members had gathered. At the earliest possible time one member of the group is made either elder or pastor. His wage is subsidised from funds raised in the USA until the congregation is in a position to pay the full salary.

Since 1977 Haag has withdrawn from actual leadership and has established a Bible College in Shallcross. He sees his future role as being supportive, by providing better training for the Indian leaders of the SAEM branches whose responsibility it is to run the church's affairs.

The SAEM appears also to have undergone a slight change in their Pentecostal approach. While it is still committed to the orthodox Pentecostal doctrines, Haag no longer uses the term 'Pentecostal' as a blanket description of the Mission because, in his words, it 'has become too closely aligned with emotional extremism'.⁸⁹

(2) Trulite Fellowship

This group was founded by Leslie Hammond, a former Bethesda member. Around 1956 he came under the influence of the more emotional Pentecostalism of the Assembly of God congregation in Gale Street led by Pastor S. Govender. He soon became preoccupied with glossolalia which he felt was an important Pentecostal feature. His own church, Bethesda, did not consider glossolalia to be crucial in their religious practice. When he attempted to teach this in the Bethesda Youth meetings, Pastor Rowlands censured him and 'ruled that emphasis on glossolalia was satanic'.⁹⁰

He left Bethesda and joined the Assembly of God in Gale Street. He claims that in this congregation the 'full pentecostal message' was not only preached but there was also an Indian Pastor, S. Govender, in charge. In Bethesda, while the Indian pastors were responsible for the pioneering work, they were still under the 'control' of Pastor Rowlands.⁹¹

Hammond became one of Stephen Govender's chief aids. He helped Govender to establish the Assembly of God congregation in Merebank when the Gale Street branch had to close in keeping with the Group Areas Act. A leadership struggle then appears to have developed between the two. In 1964 Hammond left the 'Assemblies of God' with a small group of people to work on his own. He claimed that at the time he had had no intention of starting another independent church, but his members looked to him for leader-

ship and in view of the fact that no other Pentecostal group appeared 'suitable', he held services for them in their homes. In 1971 he negotiated with the Reformed Church in Africa (then the Indian Reformed Church) regarding affiliation. This failed because, claimed Hammond, 'This church gave the impression that their Christianity was superior' to that of his.⁹² Similar negotiations took place with the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa but even that broke down over the issue of the group's autonomy in Merebank where another Presbyterian congregation had already established itself.

Hammond's adherents then decided to constitute themselves as an independent body with the name 'Calvary Fellowship'. At this stage a noteworthy theological development has already taken place. Hammond led his group from its Pentecostal moorings to a more Reformed position which explains why he had negotiated with the Reformed Church in Africa and the Presbyterian Church. He insisted that he was a 'Reformed Pentecostal', who accepted the theology of the Reformed tradition and the Pentecostal emphasis on the presence and baptism of the Spirit but who did not insist on any of the charismata as initial evidence of the Spirit.⁹³

By the end of 1972 Calvary Fellowship had 60 adult members and Hammond, although he was their pastor, continued in secular employment. Later the group changed their name to Trulite Fellowship. A programme of expansion was also carried out and by 1983 congregations were established in Merebank, Umhlatuzana and Pietermaritzburg.

Two houses in Merebank and in Umhlatuzana have been purchased for conversion into centres for worship, while in Pietermaritzburg the small congregation of 25 still meets in homes. In 1982 the total membership of the Trulite Fellowship was just under 300.⁹⁴

This Fellowship has departed from the orthodox Pentecostal stance: it affirms the Nicene creed as its only statement of faith⁹⁵ and rejects glossolalia as 'initial evidence' of a 'second experience'. The only resemblance it shares with its former Pentecostal position is its belief

that the charismata are still necessary for the life of the church. Glossolalia is accepted as only one among these necessary gifts.⁹⁶ Hammond now prefers not to have his denomination grouped among 'Pentecostal' churches.

Despite previous abortive attempts to join with established bodies and despite its insistence on internal leadership, Trulite Fellowship is presently negotiating with the Christian Reformed Church in America regarding affiliation. Should negotiations be successful it will become the South African counterpart of that Church.

(3) Maranatha Assembly

This Assembly has followed an erratic course as a result of the unpredictable personality of its founder, Samuel Muthusamy.

Muthusamy had been a member of the Apostolic Faith Mission for some 30 years. He inherited his father's property in Asherville together with the church that was built on it.⁹⁷ This fact of a religious leader being the sole owner of a church-building, which is not unusual in some of the independent groups, gave Muthusamy a great deal of influence over decisions affecting the Maranatha Assembly.

He had been ordained 'pastor' in the Apostolic Faith Mission but had remained in secular occupation. He also rented out his premises to different groups: from 1958 to 1961 the Apostolic Faith Mission used it to run a Bible school⁹⁸ and the United Pentecostal Church and the Asherville Assembly of God also used it for short periods.

In 1959, the question of the ownership of church property became acute: should ecclesiastical property be held by an individual or by the local congregation or should all the property of a local congregation be vested in the Apostolic Faith Mission of South Africa. By 1966 matters came to a head. Muthusamy refused to give up his personal property, resigned from the Apostolic Faith Mission, and formed Maranatha Assembly. Silas Joseph, a former Methodist, became his assistant.⁹⁹

At the end of the sixties, the Maranatha Assembly had almost 150 members. However, this number decreased as many moved out of Asherville into Chatsworth. There they joined existing denominations such as Bethesda, the Baptist Church, the Apostolic Faith Mission and the Pentecostal Protestant Church.¹⁰⁰ Thus by 1972 its membership had dwindled to only 50.

In 1973 the Maranatha Assembly affiliated to a Baptist congregation in Asherville. This amalgamation resulted in an infiltration of Pentecostal ideas into the Baptist Church.¹⁰¹ The membership is now just under 200.

The union did not last long. The Baptist leaders and Muthusamy were soon in a leadership wrangle and Muthusamy turned them out. Maranatha Assembly reverted to independent status.

Despite these experiences, plans to amalgamate were resumed in the late seventies, this time with the Faith Centre. A working arrangement was established but very little came of it.

In 1982 Muthusamy died and his son who had inherited the premises converted it into a private dwelling. The congregation dispersed and Silas Joseph, who had loyally stood by Muthusamy, joined the South African Evangelistic Mission.¹⁰²

(4) Pentecostal Revival Church

We mentioned in the discussion on the Bible Deliverance Fellowship the reasons for Reggie Kisten's resignation in 1966. The family that had left the Bible Deliverance Fellowship with him set up a meeting place in their home in Unit 2, Chatsworth. Soon a second home fellowship was started in Unit 1 when some Hindus began to take an interest in Kisten's services.¹⁰³

In February 1966 the home fellowships amalgamated to form 'The Bethelhem Assembly'. Reggie Kisten, who till then had been working in the Durban Corporation, was made its full-time pastor.

In 1967 J. Munien, also from the Bible Deliverance Fellowship, joined him. He had been a member of Bethesda once but he left in 1962 because he saw no possibility of his ordination there.¹⁰⁴ In the Bethlehem Assembly he became a full-time evangelist but because he owned a business, he remained self-supporting.

Kisten and Munien helped this Assembly grow in number. A new convert allowed them to build a garage on his property to house the congregation which by 1970 had grown to 70 members.¹⁰⁵ With very little previous education, Kisten took a 3 year course with a Bible School in Durban.

However, in 1971 he and Munien clashed over a financial matter. Munien who served full-time but was self-supporting objected to Kisten receiving a stipend from the poor congregation. He suggested that Kisten revert to being a part-time minister. The congregation split and the secretary of the Bethlehem Assembly, on whose property the services were being held, sided with Kisten. Munien left, taking a section of the congregation with him and formed his own church.

The 70 members that remained with Kisten regrouped under the name 'Pentecostal Revival Church'. Branches were started in other parts of Chatsworth. Each was controlled by a lay pastor. Kisten's two sons-in-law have established a branch of the Pentecostal Revival Church in Phoenix to cater for members who had moved from Chatsworth into Phoenix. Kisten is the superintendent of all the congregations.

Membership of Pentecostal Revival Church groups as at December 1982

| Branches | Date Founded | Number |
|-------------------------|--------------|--------|
| Phoenix | 1970 | 60 |
| <u>Chatsworth</u> | | |
| (i) Crossmore | 1970 | 200 |
| (ii) Sunbeam School | 1980 | 60 |
| (iii) Bayview: Road 202 | 1982 | 60 |
| (iv) Bayvies: Road 238 | 1982 | 25 |
| Umlaas | 1982 | 25 |
| | | 106 |

(5) Calvary Assembly of God

S.D. Nair who had left the Assembly of God (SA) to form the Calvary Assembly of God, was a former active layman in the Methodist Church. In the early 60's, while teaching at a government school in Port Shepstone, he met Walter Hansen, who introduced him to the Assemblies of God (SA).¹⁰⁷

However, Nair appears to have been drawn to the Pentecostal position even before this. Indeed, he claims that his sick son Edwin had been healed during the Durban campaign of the itinerant American evangelist William Branham in 1957.¹⁰⁸ Prior to this he had been very critical of Pentecostals, especially Bethesda.¹⁰⁹

The Assemblies of God offered him a part-time ministerial status. In 1966, on his return to Durban, he joined Stephen Govender's Assemblies of God

congregation in Gale Street. About this time a group which had been started by Benjamin Royeppen, the founder of the Olivet Assembly, moved to Chatsworth. In 1967, Nair, Royeppen's brother-in-law, assisted this group in their new surroundings. He conducted a Bible study group in one of their homes.

Shortly afterwards, members of the Gale Street group, also moved to Chatsworth and Stephen Govender began to hold similar meetings for these people. Thus two groups of the Assemblies of God held their meetings in the same street. On the basis of the AOG's constitution which forbade their churches to be founded within a radius of three miles of each other and also because Nair was still a member of the Gale Street congregation, Govender contended that Nair's group should join his. Nair contended that the clause in the AOG's constitution had been formulated prior to and without Chatsworth in mind where houses and streets were crowded together.

As a result of this conflict S.D. Nair left the Assemblies of God to form the independent 'Calvary Assembly of God'.

When he died in April 1974, his son, Edwin Nair succeeded him. In the early 70's while Edwin Nair had worked in the Transvaal he had made contact with the International Assemblies of God (IAG) and shortly after taking over from his father, he affiliated to the IAG.¹¹⁰

(6) Christian Life Centre Ministries

We noted in our survey of the development of the South African Evangelistic Mission that in 1968 its Port Shepstone branch under Rev. Lockwood seceded.¹¹¹

Lockwood called his new group, 'Christian Life Centre'. Patrick Govender, a foundation member of the centre, also took charge of the centre during Lockwood's long stay in the USA. A branch of the centre has recently also been established in Chatsworth.¹¹²

In 1977 the Bible Church which Gabriel Naidoo had founded in Zululand affiliated to this Centre.¹¹³

In the same year a large coloured body, 'Souls Outreach Centre' which had been started by Derrick Fynn, a former missionary with the South African Evangelistic Mission, also joined them. The effectiveness of this work may be gauged by the fact that in 1982 this body alone, which had started off with only eight members, had 750 members. Fynn has recently been made president of Christian Life Centre Ministries.¹¹⁴

(7) Maranatha Pentecostal Assembly (MPH)

Pastor A. Kuppen, the founder of this Assembly, was once co-worker with Pastor Morgan of the Pentecostal Revival Church. In the 60's both worked in the Umgeni Road area of Durban.¹¹⁵ Unfortunately in the late sixties, in keeping with the Group Areas Act, this congregation was closed down. Its members were moved to Chatsworth, but were scattered throughout its different units. Pastor Morgan began his own congregation in Unit 1 and, in 1968, Kuppen founded his in Unit 5. The Unit 5 group which meets in a school has about 90 members. An extension congregation has since been founded in Phoenix, with about 45 members. Another Maranatha Pentecostal Assembly Indian branch also exists in Lenasia in the Transvaal.

Pastor Kuppen like Pastor Morgan of the Pentecostal Revival Church and Ronnie Naidoo of the Bible Deliverance Fellowship also places great emphasis on faith healing and exorcism. He is in much demand in Chatsworth where both Hindus and other Pentecostals request his prayers. Thus while many of these are not members of his congregation his influence spreads considerably further than his own assembly.¹¹⁶

(8) The Believers' Chapel

In 1969, a group under Bernard Green seceded from F. Hansen's Bethshan Assembly of God (cf. Ch. 3). Green had served in Bethshan as youth leader, pianist, deacon, council member and as assistant to Pastor Hansen.¹¹⁷

When Hansen stopped the use of drums at Bethshan's public worship, Bernard Green left Hansen's church.¹¹⁸ However there appears to have been discontent prior to the disagreement on music: Green had once applied to be a missionary in Bethshan but had been turned down. The council decided that such an office was unnecessary.¹¹⁹ Green then held home-meetings and after a while these began to take on an independent and autonomous character. The council and Hansen attempted to bring these meetings under their direct control and this strained relations between Green's small group and Hansen's. The prohibition of drums merely brought the problems to a head.

Thus in 1969, the group left Bethshan and held their meetings in John Dawson's home. Dawson's family were also members of Bethshan. In 1970 the group moved into a disused shop and called itself 'The Believers' Chapel'. Green was made its pastor although he continued his secular work as a postman.¹²⁰ Dawson was appointed the elder.

By 1972 membership had grown from 12 in 1969 to 67. Two years later the group underwent a serious set back i.e. Green was disciplined on an issue which eventually led to the break-up of his marriage.¹²¹

Dawson continued as leader until Green was re-instated but in 1974 this congregation affiliated to Bronkhorst's Faith Centre.¹²²

(9) Pentecostal Repentant Church (PRC)

Pastor Morgan and A. Kuppen founded a Pentecostal congregation in Umgeni Road in Durban in the early sixties. In the late 60's this congregation had to close down because Indians were moved out of the area to Chatsworth.¹²³ Together with some of these members Morgan founded the 'Pentecostal Church in Unit 1, Chatsworth in 1970.

The PRC grew rapidly. In 1975 it had almost 400 members and by 1982 it had grown to 1 500. A church was built in Umhlatuzana near Chatsworth which had cost R400 000 to accommodate the growing congregation. Furthermore by

1982 it had established two branches in Phoenix which had about 150 members each. At present, seven lay preachers and two part-time pastors assist Pastor Morgan, who is the PRC's moderator.¹²⁴

Morgan is a charismatic figure and the gifts of 'discernment and healing' are attributed to him. It is claimed that he is able to see impending woes, to know of the sins of his members and to discern evil activity. He is widely sought out by people who need healing or aid in overcoming evil. This emphasis appears to be the single most important factor that has led to the rapid growth of the Pentecostal Repentant Church.¹²⁵

(10) Bible Church

Throughout the sixties the Bethesda congregations in Zululand were under Pastor Dwyer, a white farmer. In 1969 Dwyer, left to settle in Port Shepstone, where he also had business interests. He appointed S.R. Paul to take charge of the Zululand members, but a section of the congregation objected to Paul's appointment¹²⁶ and seceded.

Led by Gordon, the elder, the dissenters, who made up almost 75% of the Bethesda congregation, joined the Baptist Church.¹²⁷ Gabriel Naidoo, a member of the Chatsworth branch of Bethesda also joined this church at the same time, but the Baptist church proved to be 'not charismatic enough', so Naidoo with about 40 people, including Gordon, left to found the 'Bible Church'. Naidoo became its pastor and Gordon was ordained as its full-time evangelist.

When Naidoo and Gordon clashed over a matter of finance in 1979, the latter left to form his own church (cf. New Life Evangelical Church).

In 1982 Naidoo left Zululand for a while because of ill-health. Bobby David was then appointed the pastor. The Bible Church with its 75 members is presently an affiliate of New Life Ministries.¹²⁸

(11) The Temple of God Assembly

In 1970 this independent Pentecostal Assembly was formed by Christy Roberts when he seceded together with a section of the Indian congregation of the New Protestant Church, where he had served as 'elder'.¹²⁹

The New Protestant Church which was formerly called 'The Temple of God Assembly' had been founded by Pastor A.N. Naidoo. Naidoo had been influenced by A.J.S. Van Zyl who had been assisting in the Dutch Reformed Church Mission to Indians. Due to a serious dispute with Ds. J. Pretorius, the head of that mission, Van Zyl left and assisted Naidoo's group for a while. Van Zyl's influence made Naidoo's group more Reformed than Pentecostal. When Naidoo died, Rev. A.T. Woest, of Hillary, Durban took over the leadership and changed the name to 'New Protestant Church' (NPC).¹³⁰

Christy Roberts who had been influenced by Pentecostalism had had difficulties with the strong Calvinistic bias of the NPC. He disagreed with the NPC's indifference to the 'gifts of the spirit' and its practice of infant baptism.¹³¹

In 1970 Roberts together with a section of the congregation under his charge constituted an independent congregation and revived the original name of Naidoo's group. 'The Temple of God Assembly'.

Roberts was subsequently influenced for a while by the unitarianism taught by William Branham, an American evangelist and faith healer,¹³² Don Northrup, an itinerant American evangelist, who had held a series of tent-meetings among Indians in Natal, during the 60's and early 70's influenced Roberts to abandon the unitarian position.¹³³

In 1974 the group numbered 120 and began to seek for a denomination which it could amalgamate; since then this congregation has gradually dispersed. Many of its members joined other churches and Roberts has since moved to Phoenix.

(12) Faith Evangelistic Association (Faith Centre)

This Association started in the home of Ronnie Seelan Govender in Unit 9, Chatsworth. Govender was the first convert of T.J. Bronkhorst's independent mission to Chatsworth.¹³⁴

Bronkhorst who had been a minister in the Apostolic Faith Mission, joined the group of white pastors who had left the Apostolic Faith Mission to form the Pentecostal Protestant Church. (cf. Ch. 1) In 1966 he left the Pentecostal Protestant Church also to become an independent missionary, claiming that there was too much 'red tape' in the Pentecostal Protestant Church and he worked on his own in Zambia for five years.¹³⁵

On February 22, 1971 he held his first service which was attended by six people. The initial growth of this group was phenomenal. Within the short time of three and a half years it recruited almost 600 members.¹³⁶ Bronkhorst used high-powered advertising and a highly organised evangelistic approach to attract people to his meetings. In due course Bronkhorst moved his congregation into a large 'tent cathedral' which he called 'Faith Centre'. He provided transport for people who lived a long way off. Bronkhorst also managed to gather around him a team of zealous young men whom he made pastors or elders. These men took charge of the programme and efficiently executed Bronkhorst's plans.¹³⁷

However, by 1978 the group had lost its momentum. It seems that discontent with Bronkhorst's authoritarianism and an unacceptable financial policy forced many of his key helpers away. These were

(i) George Black, a white helper in Faith Centre who had resigned in 1971 because of a personal conflict with Bronkhorst. He formed the independent 'Miracle Mission' but returned in 1978 to the Faith Centre with a section of this mission;

(ii) Bashu Singh an Apostolic Faith Mission member who had joined the Faith Centre but who in 1972 had left after a dispute and had taken with

him a group of about 20 to form first an independent congregation. He later affiliated to the Apostolic Faith Mission;

(iii) Frank Surian left to rejoin his former group, the Pentecostal Protestant Church, and is now pastor of the PPC's branch in Shallcross;

(iv) Siva Kisten, a pastor in Faith Centre, departed in 1980 with a section of the congregation to form the 'Christian Assembly'. He too had clashed with Bronkhorst over finances. It was alleged that Bronkhorst had had too much control over the finances and that the Indian workers had become dissatisfied with the stipend that they were given;

(v) Joey Chetty also resigned over finances and in 1981 formed a small independent group in Chatsworth which has since affiliated with Life Centre Ministries.¹³⁸

At present about 400 attend the Faith Centre's meetings regularly. However, the stress on evangelism to the neglect of careful tuition had kept the congregation in a state of perpetual flux. New members are recruited from the ranks of those who have become dissatisfied with their own church as well as from the larger Hindu body; but at the same time, others are leaving to join other Pentecostal groups.

Yet the mission has continued to maintain a strong presence in Chatsworth with enough members to warrant the building of a permanent centre in Unit 11 Chatsworth.

(13) Miracle Revival Crusade (MRC)

For ten years, 1972 to 1982, the Miracle Revival Crusade has existed largely as a para-ecclesiastical movement. Without affiliating to any Christian body, it has attempted to evangelise and hold campaigns to assist churches in their growth.

Its founder, Michael Henry, was converted in a tent-campaign in 1961. Thereafter he became a member of the South African Evangelistic Mission for five years and served as an itinerant evangelist. He left the South African Evangelistic Mission because he disagreed with its leader, David Haag, on the financing and administration of his campaigns.¹³⁹ Thus from 1966 to 1971, Henry conducted tent campaigns on his own until in 1971, he affiliated for one year to an American body, 'World Missions Incorporated'.¹⁴⁰ In 1972 he left this group also to found the 'Miracle Revival Crusade', an autonomous and indigenous evangelistic movement. To help him he organised a small team of young full-time workers.

The Miracle Revival Crusade worked extensively throughout the Indian settlements. Its campaigns attracted considerable interest among other Pentecostals as well as among Hindus. Healing services in particular, drew large numbers. The converts gained at these services were channelled into the churches that had supported Henry during the campaign. These churches suspended their regular meetings for the duration of his campaign, so that their members could attend and assist at his services.¹⁴¹

During this period, the campaigns were financed by what Henry called 'prayer partners', who enabled him to remain an independent evangelist. By the end of the 70's the income of the MRC declined as the number of 'prayer partners' dwindled.¹⁴² Moreover, a number of his full-time workers left him. To meet his financial needs, he decided to found his own congregation, the Miracle Tabernacle, in Umhlatuzana, an Indian area adjacent to Chatsworth. This way he could ensure that his evangelistic efforts would be supported financially by its own congregation.¹⁴³ His new venture met with sharp criticism by many Indian Pentecostal pastors who saw this as a departure from the original 'para-ecclesiastical' nature of the work.

Very soon afterwards he opened a branch, 'Good News Tabernacle', in Phoenix and appointed Richard Mitchell as its pastor on 5 July 1981. Mitchell had been converted in 1975 and had joined the International

Assemblies of God branch under Edwin Nair. Although he became one of the key workers in that group he left after a disagreement with Nair whom he accused of 'ecclesiastical dictatorship'. Nair maintained that Mitchell had not respected his office. Mitchell joined the Miracle Revival Crusade, but left in February 1983 to join Bethesda because he could not live on the stipend Henry offered.¹⁴⁴

It has recently transpired that Michael Henry has sold his campaigning tent as he appears to want to become a pastor rather than to remain a travelling evangelist.

(14) Miracle Mission

In 1971 George Black left Bronkhorst's Faith Centre and founded his own mission to Chatsworth which he called 'Miracle Mission'. Like Bronkhorst, he too, had been a member of the Apostolic Faith Mission. However, he failed to qualify for ministerial status in AFM, in spite of his having spent six and a half years assisting its Zambian Mission. When he realised that there was little chance of his ever being ordained as an Apostolic Faith Mission pastor, he left to join Faith Centre.¹⁴⁵

After a dispute with Bronkshorst in 1971 he left Faith Centre with a few dissidents,¹⁴⁶ and assisted by two other whites he began to hold tent services in Unit 9, Chatsworth. Although Black claimed in 1974 that his group was growing,¹⁴⁷ financial difficulties forced them to sell their tent to the Bible Deliverance Fellowship. On a diminished scale the Miracle Mission now began to meet in homes.¹⁴⁸ In 1978 Black and a section of the group rejoined Faith Centre while the rest attended other Pentecostal bodies. Black has since left Faith Centre and has returned to the Transvaal where he is in secular employment.¹⁴⁹

(15) New-Life Fellowship

In 1975 Frank Sabbadu and his son, Johnny Frank, seceded from the New Protestant Church to found their own group in Chatsworth.

Both had been members of Bethesda, but when they moved to Chatsworth in 1959 no established Bethesda branch existed there. They attended a Lutheran meeting close to their new home and found that a few Pentecostal traits had become mixed with 'the staid Lutheran approach',¹⁵⁰ for example, baptism by immersion was allowed and the set liturgy was interspersed with spontaneous congregational participation.

They joined the Lutheran Church as full-members and the son, Johnny Frank, took the ministerial course at the Lutheran Mapumulo Seminary in Zululand. After he graduated in 1969, he became disillusioned with certain aspects of this church, particularly a proposal which would have made the Indian congregations part of the black section of the church under a black bishop. Johnny Frank objected to this move. He claims that his request that the white section should also join the blacks resulted in his exclusion from the negotiations. Father and son resigned over this issue in 1970 and became members of the New Protestant Church.¹⁵¹

The New Protestant Church (NPC), as we have already explained, was an independent group which adhered to a reformed theological position. (cf. Temple of God) Both father and son were made pastors and, together with Pastor Stephen Ganasen, formerly of Bethshan Assembly of God, and Pastor Munsamy, they helped the NPC's expansion in Chatsworth.

The Franks rejected what they understood to be overt racial discrimination in the NPC and claimed that its leader, A.J. Woest, discriminated between his Indian fellow pastors and white guests in his home. Frank questioned the fact that the two white women missionaries of the New Protestant Church who worked in Chatsworth should earn twice as much as the Indian pastors. He complained that in the same year that Woest had bought a car and caravan, the Indian pastors were given an annual bonus of R2. Another point of contention was that Woest had appointed a fellow Afrikaner over them. Not only was it alleged that he could barely speak English, but that he acted as their 'second boss' and had insisted on monitoring the finances of the Indian congregation.¹⁵²

The resignation of Frank Sabbadu and Johnny Frank from the New Protestant Church in 1975 greatly affected the stability of the NPC's Indian mission.

After rejecting a Lutheran invitation to rejoin them because he believed that he would once again be controlled by others, Johnny Frank founded the New-Life Fellowship at his home. There, with some financial support from a few Christians in the Transvaal he built a double storey extension to his home to enable him to hold larger services.¹⁵³ In 1982 the New-Life Fellowship had a membership of 150 adults.

Frank claimed that an independent group has the following distinct advantages over a group affiliated to an established organisation:

(i) Since he is not an employee of a white man he is not compelled to accept a salary determined entirely by the employer. He claims that in the New Protestant Church and other established churches and Pentecostal groups headed by white pastors, 'the Indian or Black pastors are reduced to being hewers of wood and drawers of water'. The 'non-white' never achieves full recognition of his ordination because of his colour.¹⁵⁴

(ii) Independence allows the Indian pastor to minister to his own people in a different way from the white man because he understands his peoples' motives.

(iii) He claims he is now earning 'ten times more than an Indian pastor in an established Pentecostal church'.

Yet it should be pointed out that there is a disturbing trend in this and certain other independent groups. The tithes of the congregation, irrespective of the total amount, go directly to the pastor. The cash collections at the services are used to cover the 'running costs' of the services. Furthermore, the building used for these services which is an extension of the pastor's house is usually erected from public funds;¹⁵⁵ a state of affairs very likely to create problems for these congregations in the future.

However, Frank has an interesting perspective on his own position. He claims to be a 'Reformed Pentecostal'.¹⁵⁶ He claims that in spite of his past experiences with the Lutheran Church and the New Protestant Church he has not 'forfeited his Pentecostal birthright'. Yet while he accepts the manifestation of the miraculous charismata of the Spirit and himself claims to be able to exorcise evil,¹⁵⁷ he believes that the Pentecostal theological position is too narrow. Pentecostals have emphasised the 'gifts of the Spirit' at the expense of studying the Scriptures. This neglect, he believes, will lead to a loss of their members to sects in Chatsworth like the Seventh Day Adventists, Jehovah's Witnesses and the 'Jesus Only' groups whose presentation of their beliefs convince those who have no knowledge of sound doctrine.

(16) Wayside Chapel¹⁵⁸

In 1975, Frank Sabbadu, the father of Johnny Frank, who had left the New Protestant Church with him, founded this group in his home in Unit 2, Chatsworth.

In 1952 he had been converted from Hinduism. He even claims to have experienced on this occasion a vision which instructed him to go to Pastor Rowlands of Bethesda. While such an unusual spiritual event seems impressive it did not have a lasting effect because he soon left Bethesda, and as we have noted, joined the Lutheran Church. Nor was this the end of his 'pilgrimage' for he proceeded from Lutheranism to the New Protestant Church.

Like many other Indian independent religious leaders, he found white domination of church affairs unacceptable. He was critical of the veneration with which Pastor Rowlands was held by his flock, and objected to the frequent garlanding of Rowlands.¹⁵⁹

Finally in 1975, he founded the Wayside Chapel with a small group that had accompanied him out of the New Protestant Church. This group still meets in Sabbadu's home in Chatsworth.

Like his son, inspite of his previous non-Pentecostal 'transit stations', he claims that he had always maintained his Pentecostal stance. Yet whilst exorcisms and faith-healing are important aspects of his approach, he does not accept 'tongues' as the initial evidence of the baptism of the Spirit.¹⁶⁰

(17) Pentecostal Revival Centre

In 1972, Bashu Singh left the Faith Centre to found this group in Unit 6, Chatsworth. Seven families, most of whom were former Faith Centre members, made up his original congregation.

The first service was held in September in Singh's home. This venue soon proved to be too small and a tent was pitched in his backyard. After a hailstorm which destroyed his tent, the group decided to construct a sturdier structure, and a garage was erected on Singh's property. The money, the materials and the required labour, coming entirely from the congregation. This arrangement, necessitated by the great scarcity of building sites for religious organizations in Chatsworth, may cause problems in the future when the owner dies.

In the late seventies the centre affiliated to the Apostolic Faith Mission of South Africa.¹⁶¹

This pattern recurs frequently: an emphatic rejection of membership in a larger denomination, a deliberate separation from such organisation in the name of freedom, and then the full circle is completed when membership to a larger body proves attractive again. There were however quite cogent reasons for these shifts: unless they were part of a registered denomination they could not be allocated land nor could their leaders become marriage officers. Another was the discovery that the constitution of the Apostolic Faith Mission assured the autonomy of its affiliated members, so local control of the congregation was not threatened.¹⁶²

Singh had had since moved to the Transvaal to pioneer an Apostolic Faith Mission congregation in Laudium, an Indian settlement on the outskirts of Pretoria. Prem Harry, an active worker in the Chatsworth congregation has become Singh's successor. Moreover, the garage on Singh's property has by now become too small to accommodate a congregation which has increased by 250 people.¹⁶³

(18) Bethlehem Assembly

In 1974 when Reggie Kisten and J.M. Munien disagreed over a financial matter. (cf. Pentecostal Revival Church) J.M. Munien left. Together with a large section of the original group he constituted the Bethlehem Assembly in Unit 5, Chatsworth.¹⁶⁴

In 1976, Munien died and his son Nathaniel, succeeded him. At present the 80 members of the Bethlehem Assembly hold their services at a school in Unit 5.¹⁶⁵

(19) Jerusalem Assembly

At the same time that J.M. Munien founded the Bethlehem Assembly, another of his sons, Alex, also left Kisten and founded the 'Jersualem Assembly' in Silverglen, Chatsworth. His wife Logie Munien, who it is claimed has the 'gift of healing', is consulted regularly for healing and prayer.¹⁶⁶ This Assembly also meets in a garage and has a membership of about 40.

(20) Timothy Paul's Evangelistic Association

Timothy Paul is the son of one of Bethesda's earliest Indian woman leaders. Paul himself had been an active worker in Bethesda from his youth. In the 60's he helped in the leadership of Bethesda's branches in the Asherville-Sydenham areas.¹⁶⁷ Early in 1970 he decided to give up his tailoring business to become a full-time minister. J.F. Rowlands appears to have encouraged this move and to have promised him the pastor-

ship of Galilee Temple, Bethesda's branch in Merebank, but the Galilee Temple committee had already chosen another minister. Paul felt that he had been 'misled' and resigned from Bethesda.

In June 1974 he began his own group at his home in Unit 5, Chatsworth. About 50 people, many of whom were former Bethesda members, formed his first congregation.

Branches have since been started in homes in Malagazi, Merebank, Phoenix, Reservoir Hills and Units 2, 3 and 5 in Chatsworth. Each branch has its own elder but Paul, who heads all these branches, remains the only full-time minister. He claims to have a total membership of about 450.

Paul considers faith-healing and exorcising to be of great importance in his ministry and claims that almost half of his work involves members of other Pentecostal groups who come to him in need of his prayer and that Hindus especially are attracted by the healing in his church.¹⁶⁸

(21) Church of the Eternal Truth

This church was constituted in March 1976 in the home of Andy Harris in Chatsworth. Previously Harris had been a nominal member of the Anglican Church. He claims to have been healed at a tent-campaign in 1971 in Chatsworth by Don Northrup, a visiting American evangelist. (cf. Souls Outreach) This experience changed the whole course of his life.¹⁶⁹

For a while Harris was linked with the Assemblies of God through contacts with Cassey Chetty, a minister of the AOG in Chatsworth. He became aware, he says, of his need for a church that 'cared' for him 'more than the Anglicans ever did'. He also felt a need to become vitally involved in church work.

Leslie Hammond's 'Calvary Fellowship' offered him the opportunity to study the Bible. Deeper acquaintance with scripture led him in 1975 to 'quit' secular employment as a furniture salesman and to 'serve God as a full-time minister', an ambition he could only fulfil by establishing a congregation of his own.

As usual in such cases, he began with a small group in his own house, in Chatsworth. When growth in membership necessitated a new venue, he moved to Merebank, where for a while he shared the Methodists' church building. This proved detrimental to the Methodists who soon realized that Harris was drawing more members than they were and once again he had to move into a private dwelling.

In 1978 the congregation began to meet in a double-garage in Merebank offered to them by a woman who claimed to have been freed, through Harris' prayer, from an evil spirit. The woman's agnostic husband appears to have been so greatly impressed by the healing that he too joined Harris' congregation and both became loyal supporters of his work.

By 1977 membership had grown to over 80. While a few Bethesda and Apostolic Faith Mission families joined Harris, Harris insists that the majority of his flock were former Hindus who were attracted to his congregation through healing and exorcisms. In his approach to evangelisation Harris continued to emphasize these practices.

The double garage used for worship has had to be extended twice already because of the growth in membership between 1978 - 1982. Harris has also established two extension congregations:-

(i) John Appanah started the first branch in 1979 when he moved from Chatsworth to Phoenix. Converted at one of Derrick Fynn's campaigns (cf. SAE, and Life Centre Ministries), he joined the Bethesda branch in Unit 2, but in 1977 he left Bethesda to worship with Harris' flock. He is now pastor in Phoenix with a congregation of 180.

(ii) David Rungan leads the second branch in Unit 11, Chatsworth. In 1977 he was converted at Northrup's tent meeting and became a member of Henry James' Apostolic Faith Mission congregation but left to join Harris. In 1982 he was ordained pastor of the Unit 11 congregation which had a membership of about forty.¹⁷⁰

In 1980 Harris started a branch in Asherville which has had since seceded from his church because Harris tried to discipline its leader E. Reddiar over a personal matter. (cf. Tru-light Fellowship)

(22) Bible Divine Tabernacle

Ronnie Naidoo, the founder of this group, comes from a staunch ritualistically bound Hindu family. In fact two of his sister's used 'to get into trances' and used to dispense cures for various ills. In 1972 he became disillusioned with this practice and joined the Divine-Life Society, a neo-Hindu movement, which regards Christ as one among various avatars (incarnations of God).¹⁷¹

When a Christian prayed for his sister in 1972, Naidoo claims that during the prayer the spirit that had possessed his sister acknowledged that it was evil.¹⁷² He rejected his family's religion and began attending the Maranatha Pentecostal Church in Chatsworth and in 1975 he was baptised.

From the time he started to attend this Pentecostal group he was preoccupied with the question of demon possession and exorcisms. He claims to have spent long periods in solitude; once he even shaved his head to indicate penitence, and he fervently sought the 'gift of deliverance'. He now claims to have this gift which he describes as the ability to 'deliver people from evil and sickness'.

In 1978 when he clashed with Pastor Kuppen of the Maranatha Pentecostal Church he was asked to leave. He then devoted all his time to further the contacts he had made in Phoenix, and gathered a small congregation of 12.

That same year he undertook an evangelistic mission to Blackburn, about ten kilometers from Phoenix, where his exorcisms drew popular attention. A woman is reported to have been 'delivered from a demon' which came out of her in the form of a spider. A local newspaper carried pictures of both the woman and the spider¹⁷³ and covered the story for eight con-

secutive weeks.¹⁷⁴ Pastor Naidoo showed me the spider together with other items preserved in bottles which he claimed had been brought out of people during his exorcisms. While none of these 'proofs' are incontrovertible, his meetings created wide public interest. Large crowds of Indians, many of whom were Hindus, turned out to see these exhibits and 'proofs' of healing, and to request prayers for themselves.¹⁷⁵

As a result of such activity Naidoo's group has grown in the last five years and expanded to eight branches in Phoenix with a total membership of almost 750. A church building is being completed in Unit 2, Phoenix where the branch has a membership of just under 400. The cost of the building which was almost R50,000 has been met entirely by the local congregation.

In 1981 Naidoo and his group affiliated to the Bible Deliverance Fellowship. Naidoo has had no formal education so when he joined the Bible Deliverance Fellowship he was given a basic course in Biblical studies. Prior to his founding of the congregation he had worked for a building cleaning service. Yet because of his 'charismatic gifts' he has been made an 'apostle' in the Bible Deliverance Fellowship and has at present four pastors serving under him.¹⁷⁶

(23) Jesus Name Church (Apostolic)

Harry Somers had been the pioneer of the United Pentecostal Church among Indians in the 60's. In 1978 because of conflict over the administration of UPC, Somers left to found the Jesus Name Church (Apostolic), another unitarian group, for which he received financial support from like-minded people in the USA.

It began with one small fellowship group in Chatsworth and another in Phoenix. A small section of the UPC members left their own church and transferred their loyalties to him.

In 1981 he suddenly took ill and in the following year he died. At present the home-groups are led by elders.¹⁷⁷

(24) Bible Believers Church (Apostolic)

This body is also an off-shoot from the Unitarian United Pentecostal Church. In 1978 during the upheaval in the UPC which forced its pioneer Harry Somers to resign, another major secession took place. The entire Avoca congregation of the United Pentecostal Church under S. Singh, its elder, left the UPC and formed its own body, the Bible Believers' Church (Apostolic).

They have since concentrated their efforts on Phoenix where they maintain four separate home-groups. Two similar groups also exist in Chatsworth, one in Avoca and one in Newlands. In 1982 this body claimed a membership of almost 400 and S. Singh has since become its full-time pastor. The elder of each congregation, while remaining in secular employment, nonetheless performs pastoral duties.¹⁷⁸

(25) Crossmore Fellowship

In 1978 Dennis Chetty launched this Fellowship in Unit 11, Chatsworth. Raised in Pastor S. Govender's Peniel Assembly of God, he entered the ministry of the Assemblies of God and founded a branch in Unit 9 called Peniel Fellowship. However, he resigned from the Assemblies of God in SA in 1978 because he felt that the leader of the denomination restricted him too much in his ministerial work. He founded Crossmore Fellowship, his own church and registered it as an independent group. At present about 25 people attend its meetings which are held in a marquee¹⁷⁹

Unlike most other Pentecostal groups, Chetty strongly emphasises social involvement. He has acquired a property on which he plans to construct a creche. He believes that if children are cared for physically and spiritually the other social maladies in Chatsworth could be solved. He complains the Pentecostals in general emphasise the salvation of the soul at the expense of caring for the poor and the needy.¹⁸⁰ Though the Corporation of Durban has allocated the property for exclusive use as a creche, Chetty hopes to be able to use the creche building for worship services on weekends also.¹⁸¹

(26) New Life Evangelical Church

The founder of this organization in Empangeni, Zululand is Evangelist Gordon, of the 'Bible Church', who had induced a large number of members of the Bethesda congregation in Empangeni to join the Baptist Church. Here again the all familiar pattern of moving from one denomination to the next because of disagreements, began when a member of the Baptist Church, Gabriel Naidoo, decided to secede. Gordon left with him. Again, as it is commonly the case with such leaders, a new 'church' emerged to offer the secessionists the means for continued spiritual self-expression. Thus the Bible Church was born.

Yet typically, in 1979 Gordon and Naidoo clashed over administration and finance. A group of 35 under Gordon left the Bible Church to form The New Evangelical Church. The membership has since grown to 65.182

(27) Christ Revival Centre (CRC)

The Christ Revival Centre was launched in 1979 by Billy Naidoo in a home in Unit 3, Chatsworth with a membership of just 10 people. Naidoo had been a former member of the New Protestant Church. In 1977 he transferred his allegiance to a Baptist splinter group the Vine Assembly in Chatsworth. Although he even became a pastor in that organisation, his denominational pilgrimage had not ended: he left them in 1979 as a result of a conflict with its leader.

Because he did not want to be controlled 'by people from above', he set up the Christ Revival Centre which has 95 members in Chatsworth alone.

The CRC has since founded two branches in Isipingo and Phoenix with memberships of 95 and 50 respectively.

While each congregation has its own leader, Billy Naidoo remains the pastor in charge and is the only full-time minister. Naidoo believes that the

chief reason for the growth of these congregations has been their emphasis upon healing and exorcising.¹⁸³

(28) Christian Assembly

In 1980, 48 people led by Siva Kisten seceded from Bronkhorst's Faith Centre. Kisten had been Bronkhorst's assistant pastor. The secessionists decided to constitute themselves as the independent Christian Assembly congregation. Since February 1980 they have met in a garage in Chatsworth.

Soon other dissatisfied Faith Centre members joined this Assembly and within the first month of its existence the congregation grew to almost 70. The growing numbers necessitated the use of a tent and by the end of 1981 membership increased to 150, the majority of whom had been former Faith centre members.

In February 1982 they moved into the basement of a factory. The premises is owned by a Christian who has offered this venue to three Pentecostal groups to share.

Early in 1983 the Christian Assembly affiliated to an American Pentecostal group called 'Vineyard Christian Fellowship'. The tie, is only formal as the group still maintains its autonomy.¹⁸⁴

(29) Emmanuel Tabernacle

In November 1980 Julius Adinarayana started this body in Unit 2, Chatsworth. He had been converted from Hinduism about ten years earlier and had attended various Pentecostal group-meetings and had enrolled for a guided study course with the Assemblies of God.

During the ten years following his conversion, while he was 'pastor' of this Tabernacle of nearly 100 people who meet in a basement of a home in Unit 2, he especially emphasized evangelism. He claims to have a membership of almost 200. Adinarayana works full-time in a shoe factory and conducts services in the evenings and on week-ends.¹⁸⁵

(30) Tru-Light Fellowship

This small independent group meets in a home in Asherville. Its pastor, E. Reddiar, had once been a member of the Bethshan Assembly of God but had left with a number of people to form the Believers' Chapel.

In the late 70's he began to attend the meetings of Andy Harris' 'Church of the Eternal Truth'. At the end of 1980 a small branch of this Fellowship was established in Asherville. Harris had conducted healing services in Asherville and about 20 people were gathered as a result. Reddiar was made the pastor of this branch.

In 1981 Harris disciplined Reddiar over a personal matter and this led to a secession of this branch under Reddiar. This group calls itself the Tru-Light Fellowship. He is its pastor but remains in secular employment.¹⁸⁶

(31) Chatsworth Christian Centre

The 'Christian Centre' is an independent Pentecostal body in Durban, started in the late 70's by Fred Roberts, a former pastor of the Full Gospel Church of God. The centre's well organised programmes and enthusiastic services created a stir among Pentecostals and other Christians in the city. Large crowds from all races attended its meetings and many of these were Christians who found here the acceptance and scope for the involvement lacking in their own churches. They also found adequate opportunity to exercise their spiritual gifts for such spiritual manifestations are encouraged at the Centre. Here the elation and euphoria of people gripped by 'revival' could be enjoyed to the full.¹⁸⁷

When, towards the end of 1981 a large group of Indians from Chatsworth attended these meetings, it was decided to establish the Chatsworth Christian Centre as a branch of the 'Christian Centre'. Such a move would cater more effectively for the spiritual needs of Indian people in their own area. Steven Govender, a young Indian, who has passed the Centre's training course, was made pastor of this branch.¹⁸⁸

Once again the tendency to fragment can be observed. It was prompted by the suggestion in 1982 to appoint a white pastor. Eventually Govender with some 200 people seceded from the Christian Centre. But within a short while Govender himself experienced further difficulties. He and some of his elders clashed over administrative issues and another split followed. At least one half of Govender's group re-joined the Christian Centre while the rest constituted a new group.

The Christian Centre's work in Chatsworth is presently co-ordinated by an Indian woman pastor, Deo Singh.¹⁸⁹

(32) The House of Prayer Revival Centre

Dennis Michael, who founded this centre, was formerly in charge of Bethesda's branch at Chaka's Kraal on the North Coast. In 1980 his son too became a minister in Bethesda but soon after, the son was disciplined over a personal matter. Michael the father, became embroiled in the controversy and claimed that his son had been unfairly treated.

Michael resigned from Bethesda and in February 1982 he formed his own congregation, which meets in a hall in Umhlali. At the end of 1982 he claimed to have had just under 300 members, many of whom were formerly of the Bethesda organisation in Chaka's kraal.¹⁹⁰

(33) International Christian Chapel (ICC)

The ICC was founded by Abel Govender in May 1982, in Chatsworth. Govender had been a member of Bethesda until 1968. He joined the Baptist church together with a large group of secessionists from Bethesda who had quarrelled with the superintendent, Pastor Dwyer, of Bethesda's Zululand congregation. (cf. Bible Church)

A rather chequered career followed: between 1968 and 1982 Govender entered a Bible school in Johannesburg, then joined a youth mission to Mauritius. After that he worked with Pastor Ezra in the Pentecostal Protestant Church in Benoni and later became a staff member of Scripture Union.

From 1981 he has been holding home-fellowships with five families, four of whom were formerly from the Pentecostal Revival Church of Pastor Morgan. On May 2, 1982 Govender decided to start the 'Christian Chapel'. By the end of 1982 this Chapel had almost 50 members, many of whom were from other Pentecostal groups.

The Christian chapel has since established two branches:

(i) In May 1982 a group of about 50 led by Sydney Reddy seceded from the Bethesda branch in Mount Edgecombe and affiliated to the ICC. Reddy who had been one of the leaders in this Bethesda branch clashed with the elder there over aspects of 'Pentecostal worship'. The elder decided that Reddy's group had behaved too rowdily and too enthusiastically during worship. Reddy, however, claimed in his account of what constitutes proper Pentecostal worship¹⁹¹ that the elder's view indicate that he himself was not being 'led by the Spirit'.

(ii) In February 1983 the Patmos Assembly, a branch of the Bible Deliverance Fellowship, seceded from the Fellowship and affiliated to the ICC. Thus a second congregation of some 80 people was started in Chatsworth. Sydney Appelsamy, the minister of the Patmos Assembly had previously been a member of Bethesda before he joined the Bible Deliverance Fellowship but had disagreed with the leaders of the Fellowship over the ownership of property and fixtures and he left the congregation. After affiliating to the ICC this congregation changed its name to 'Patmos Christian Chapel'.

(34) Tru-Vine Fellowship

This Fellowship which was founded by Dennis Moonsamy in June 1982 has 35 members and meets in a garage in Chatsworth, Unit 2.

Moonsamy, who was converted in 1961, was an active member of Peniel Assembly of God in Merebank. He left the AOG in 1970 because he found the structures 'too inhibiting', and joined L. Hammond's Calvary Fellowship where he served as an elder. After a while he also left Hammond for similar reasons.

Next he worked with his brother-in-law Bobby Naidoo in the Omega Assembly until a conflict with Naidoo led to his resignation from there also. From 1979 to 1981 he was in secular employment in the Transvaal.

In 1982, on his return to Durban, he founded the Tru-Vine Fellowship of which he is the full-time pastor.¹⁹²

(35) Phoenix Revival Centre

Cossie Govender started this independent Centre at his home in Phoenix in July 1982.

Originally Govender was a member of Bethesda and even assisted with the ministerial work of its Pinetown branch. He had at one time undertaken several independent evangelistic journeys at the cost of forsaking his family and neglecting his secular employment. He had had the strong urge to travel around in order to pray for the sick and to distribute evangelistic tracts. He, however, left Bethesda because he felt that they did not support or encourage him in his labours.

For a short while in 1981 Govender joined the Bible Deliverance Fellowship branch of Ronnie Naidoo. In 1982 he decided to become independent of this Fellowship and gathered his own congregation of 50 members. He is now not unwilling to have close ties with Bethesda, but realizes they would not accept him as a minister because he lacks adequate formal education.¹⁹³

(36) The Free Church of Christ

Dean Reddy, the only Indian minister of the Apostolic Faith Mission with a university training, resigned from this denomination and gave up his ministerial appointment in Mt. Edgecombe on September 23, 1982. Reddy criticised the white domination of the Indian branch of the AMF and rejected the way certain senior Indian AFM pastors ran the affairs of the denomination. Obviously the ideas of the young academically trained pastor had

clashed with those of the senior but untrained Indian pastors. They were threatened by the questioning 'upstart' while the former himself became increasingly frustrated by intransigent authoritarianism.¹⁹⁴

Reddy published an 'apologia' for his resignation entitled Resignation from the Apostolic Faith Mission of S.A.: my reasons. In it he speaks of his 'sense of disillusionment' with the denomination and gives his reasons for joining a 'rebel group'.¹⁹⁵ He alleged that there were certain irregularities in the appointment of pastors. He based his information on claims that a senior Indian pastor serving on the Executive Council had favoured his brother for the ministerial vacancy at the Westcliff Assembly of the AFM in Chatsworth.¹⁹⁶ His memorandum also claimed certain irregularities with respect to the stipend offered to the pastor's brother. He claims that it was more than that offered to the candidates for the post.¹⁹⁷ Reddy appears to have also been greatly upset by the Executive Committee's criticism of the pastoral discipline he had meted out to a member for immorality.¹⁹⁸

Reddy was not the only malcontent. A large section of the Westcliff Assembly, mainly young people, had seceded and regrouped calling themselves 'The Soldiers of the Cross'.¹⁹⁹ They numbered almost 150 and met in a school in Unit 3, Chatsworth. When Reddy resigned, this congregation invited him to be their pastor.

Reddy's memorandum had other effects also: The Mount Edgecombe congregation began to question seriously the actions of their officials and administrators seriously. This situation soon became very unpleasant and some 175 members, about 85% of the Mount Edgecombe congregation, resigned from the AFM on 21 November 1982. As a temporary measure, they met at a backyard structure at Phoenix.²⁰⁰

Early in January 1983 the two groups decided to amalgamate in order to form the 'Free Church of Christ'. Reddy is the superintendent of this new body and he has elders in charge of the separate congregations.

(37) Faith Tabernacle²⁰¹

In Pietermaritzburg a section seceded from the Jubilee Temple, a branch of Bethesda, to form a church of their own called 'Faith Tabernacle'. Desmond Williams the founder of this Tabernacle had served the probationary period required of ministers of Bethesda, at Obededom and Jubilee Temples in 1982. At the end of this period, the executive of Bethesda had no vacancy for him in any of their Pietermaritzburg churches, and so appointed him to one of their other branches. Since Williams had set his heart on an appointment to Jubilee Temple in Pietermaritzburg, tension arose between him and the church's officials. Conflict arose within Jubilee Temple between the incumbent pastor and those of this congregation who favoured Williams. At the beginning of 1983 about twenty families left with Williams to form the 'Faith Tabernacle' which was inaugurated on February 1983 with Williams as its pastor.

(38) Rhema Christian Centre (RCC)²⁰²

John Chellan, a former member of Bethesda and Scott Naicker, a convert from Hinduism, founded this Centre. This new congregation first met in Chellan's home and then moved to a civic hall in Chatsworth. Chellan points out that his members requested the formation of this group because they had experienced none of the 'spiritual fulfilment' in Pentecostal churches that they had found at Roberts' Christian Centre. Furthermore the distance from Chatsworth to Roberts' meetings in the city centre made attendance difficult.

RCC presently draws about a hundred people to its normal services, but when overseas evangelists are invited to preach, as many as eight times that number attend.

- 1977 - John Appanah -- Church of the Eternal Truth
- 1980 - D. Crooks -- rejoined AOG of Great Britain
- 1981 - Johnny Naidoo -- Pentecostal Protestant Church
- 1982 - Dennis Michael -- House of Prayer Revival Centre
- 1982 - Sydney Reddy ----- International Christian
- 1983 - Sydney Appelsamy -- B.D.F. ----- Centre
- 1982 - Cossie Govender -- Phoenix Revival Centre
- 1983 - Desmond Williams -- Faith Tabernacle
- 1983 - John Chellan -- Rhema Christian Centre

5(2)

The Apostolic Faith Mission Secessions

- 1959 - T.J. Bronkhorst Bronkhorst -- Faith Centre
 - Bashu Singh - AFM
 - Frank Surian - PPC
 - George Black - Miracle Mission
 - Siva Kisten - Christian Assembly
 - Joey Chetty - Life Centre Ministries

- 1959 - D. Haag ----- Haag - SAEM - Michael Henry - Miracle Revival Crusade
 - D. Fynn - Souls -- Life Centre Outreach
 - Lockwood - Life Ministries

- 1956 - Aaron Lazarus --
- 1957 - Samuel Manikum -- PPC
- 1964 - R. Ezra -----

- 1964 - S. Muthusamy - Maranatha Assembly
 1972 - Vassie Pillay - Omega Apostolic Church
 1977 - David Rungan - Church of the Eternal Truth
 1982 - Dean Reddy - Free Church of Christ

5(3)

Assemblies of God secessions

- F.L. Hansen - Bethshan - 1968 - L. Abrahams - Olivet AOG
AOG 1969 - B. Green - Believers Chapel Faith Centre
 E. Reddiar - Church of the Tru-Light
 Eternal Truth Fellowship
 - 1968 - S. Soodyall - Souls-Outreach - World
 Missions

W. Kraemer (Bethany AOG)

group seceded + 1968 - SAEM

S. Govender (Peniel AOG)

- 1964 Leslie Hammond - Calvary Fellowship - Tru-lite Fellowship
 1968 Bobby Naidoo - Omega Apostolic Church
 1968 S.D. Nair - Calvary AOG - International AOG
 1970 Dennis Moonsamy - Calvary Fellowship -BDF - Tru-Vine Fellowship
 1972 Vassie Pillay - AFM - Omega Apostolic Church
 1978 Dennis Chetty - Peniel Fellowship - Crossmore Fellowship

5(4)

Members from Established Christian denominations who became
 pastors or leaders of Pentecostal groups

- Ben Royeppen - Olivet AOG
 Methodist Church S.D. Nair - Peniel AOG - Calvary AOG
 Silas Joseph - Maranatha Assembly - SAEM

| | |
|------------------|---|
| | D. Papiah - P.H.C. |
| | S. Frank - P.H.C. |
| Baptist Churches | A.M. Moses (SAGM) - B.D.F. |
| | R. Ezra - AFM - PPC |
| | Billy Naidoo (Vine) - Christ Revival Centre |
| Anglican | Andy Harris - AOG - Tru-Lite Church of the Eternal Fellowship Truth |
| | Dan Rajavaloo - United Pentecostal Church |

5(2), 5(3) and 5(4) indicate that almost all the Pentecostal bodies in this community can be traced back via the previous church affiliation of their leader or pastor to one or other of the three largest Phase 1 groups: Bethesda, The Apostolic Faith Mission or the Assemblies of God. 5(4) Lists those individuals, a small group, who were former lay members of established Christian demoninations and who later became Pentecostal pastors.

- 2.1 The emergence of the groups described in this chapter is essentially an urban phenomenon. The majority are located in Chatsworth, Merebank, Phoenix, and Umhlatuzana, that is within a radius of 30 kms from the Durban City centre. These generally are Indian areas by proclamation and were populated from the late 50's onwards.
- 2.2 This period also marks the exodus of Indians out of the cities and their immediate environs especially from the Durban-Pinetown and Pietermaritzburg areas, the two largest industrial points in Natal. The other Phase two groups are located in Indian locations just outside Natal towns and, Johannesburg, Pretoria and Benoni in the Transvaal.
- 2.3 Thus, the migrations occasioned by the Group Areas Act, contributed to the proliferation of the Pentecostal groups which were established during the urbanisation period of the Indians. Now as Phase

1 groups vacated the city areas some regrouped as branches of the former denominations, or joined Pentecostal groups nearer to their new homes, or even formed new groups. However, many of these bodies which were founded prior to their moving to Chatsworth, only consolidated themselves after that move. This can be attributed to the new social arrangement. In these densely populated 'locations' families live in close proximity. This created the context which assisted the growth and development of Pentecostal congregations especially since these congregations emphasise communal involvement.

- 3.1 The emergence of over 50 Phase two groups, some with several branches, affirms our contention that the proliferation of Pentecostal groups corresponds to the community's socio-cultural upheaval. (of Ch. 2) The demographic shift of over a quarter of a million people resulted in the fragmentation of the joint-family structure (kutum) on which the society and culture of the Indian has been traditionally grounded. (cf. chapter 4) The newer and smaller congregations became surrogate families for many of these people, in a way that the older, more institutionalised Pentecostal churches were not able to.
- 3.2 Pentecostal emphasis on healing accompanies the emphasis on group affiliation and community well-being. Socio-cultural disintegration appears to accentuate the awareness of demons; and evil activity, and the search for healing. Pentecostal groups have been able to address those plagued by this existential anxiety. The approach of the established Christian churches in this community largely excludes ministry at this level.
- 4.1 Phase two groups have been greatly influenced by American Pentecostalism:
 - 4.1.1 Bethesda, the largest of the Phase one groups, was led for the first 50 years by an Englishman, and the Bethshan Assembly of God by a Norwegian. Yet the predominant influence

on Indian Pentecostalism has been American. Although the general conservatism of Bethesda's Pentecostalism can be attributed to Pastor Rowlands' English background, American strains are obvious in the revival-type services and worship, healing meetings, extempore preaching, structure of service, vocabulary (and in some cases the pronunciation of terms); tent campaigning and evangelistic technique, choice of hymns and choruses; trends in music, and the names for their groups (eg. Evangelistic Associations, Centres, Fellowships).

- 4.2 Following the trend towards pluralism in American Church history, Indian Pentecostalism has come to accept the idea of denominationalism as a positive feature. The inclination of some of these groups to affiliate to American organizations is significant in this regard (eg. Christian Assembly with Vine Assembly, Tru-Light Fellowship with the Christian Reformed church, Souls Outreach with World Missions).
- 5.1 In none of the cases documented was there any evidence that secessions or resignations took place as a result of a theological issue or doctrinal controversy. On the contrary the theological character of all the Phase one and Phase two groups are so stereotyped that they can be discussed together. (cf. chapter 8)
- 5.2 The only really obvious doctrinal difference among these groups are their respective Trinitarian or Unitarian stances. The former is by far the most popular. Only four were unitarian and these include two secessions from a third one.
- 5.3 All these churches which accept the doctrine of the 'second experience', claim that the manifestations of the 'gifts of the Spirit' are necessary for the vitality of their services for their worship and most importantly for the individual. A large majority accept that glossolalia is the initial evidence of the baptism of the Spirit and for these churches, this represents the 'second experience'.

5.4 However, at least six bodies did not insist that glossolalia was necessarily the sign of Spirit baptism. All six had come into being, or reached this opinion, in the 1970's. While these groups may not be representative of an emerging trend, the following factors contribute to the view that as some Pentecostal groups develop and establish themselves, glossolalia seems to become less and less important;

5.4.1 A number of individuals disagree with the official Pentecostal position on glossolalia, namely, that it is the initial evidence of Spirit baptism;

5.4.2 A number of Pentecostal pastors have joined non-Pentecostal groups (cf. Table 4.5);

5.4.3 A few groups claim to be 'Reformed Pentecostal'. There is a tendency especially for groups whose leaders have been trained at a non-denominational college or whose leaders have studied theology not to emphasise glossolalia. (cf Tru-Life Fellowship and True Light Fellowship of Johnny Frank and Leslie Hammond respectively). The True-life Fellowship has moved out of the Pentecostal orbit altogether. This is particularly ironical and significant because its leader had left Bethesda after he had been censured by Pastor J.F. Rowlands for emphasising this very doctrine to join a more extreme Pentecostal group. Yet within one decade of this extremism Hammond prefers not to be part of the Pentecostal movement at all.

6. There appears to be a direct link between exposure to higher theological training and the development of a neo-Pentecostal stance towards the 'second experience' which accepts as did the holiness movement the manifestation of the charismata but does not insist that glossolalia is the initial evidence of this 'second experience'. It is conceivable therefore that as education opportunities increase and as the whole community becomes better educated the theological character of these groups will change.

- 7.1 Emphasis on divine healing and exorcisms appear to be the features that draw the crowds. Indeed, most of the people in these organisations claimed that these were the two main reasons for their attendance at the services of these churches. Even now a great number within the community appear to be haunted by the presence of demons, and seek relief from sickness often ascribed to demonic activity as fervently as ever. The recent socio-cultural upheavals appear to have increased this preoccupation.
- 7.2 Our contention is substantiated by the fact that groups which make much of faith-healing and exorcism have experienced the most significant growth rates. (eg. Pentecostal Repentent Church, the largest of the Phase two bodies, and the Bible Deliverance Fellowship). Many of these churches display the theological obscurantism that results from a meagre general education. The leaders and pastors, who are in the main either self-appointed or appointed by equally educationally underprivileged bodies, have only been able to cater for their congregations at the level of 'freeing them from demons and ills'. Only a few have attended a denominational Bible School, and a non-accredited one too at that. Only two have obtained a matriculation certificate that would allow them entrance into a tertiary educational institution, and only one has a degree in theology. However, he only became a pastor in the late 70's and joined an established Phase one group. Yet, as we have noted, he seceded to form his own group.
- 7.3 Furthermore, the spiritual life in the more successful bodies seems to revolve around a single charismatic figure who is believed to possess certain miraculous powers. Such 'mahatmas' are actually the binding forces of their congregations. In spite of having very little formal education and no theological training they are frequently consulted for advice and prayers by both Christians and non-Christians.

7.4 Generally speaking, the lower the educational level of the pastor the more he emphasises faith-healing and exorcism. The converse is also true that the few pastors who have had some Bible college training tend to play down these activities.

8.1 Already in our catalogue of denominations of Pentecostal persuasion, the reader will have become aware of what appears to be a pre-occupation with 'ecclesiastical musical chairs': that is, restlessness, quarrels and the resulting proliferation, all of which must be ascribed to non-credal and non-theological factors. The main reasons for Pentecostal members and pastors leaving one group to join another or to form a circle of their own are

8.1.1 The Pentecostal group that the individual first joined created expectations of opportunities for using their gifts that did not always materialize; there was not enough scope for him to become a pastor or a full-time worker;

8.1.2 There were frequent personality clashes where two or three strong personalities clashed over the leadership or control of the group. None of these groups are governed solely by the council or by the congregation itself. While all these churches purport to do this and actually elect committees for this purpose, the pastor's will is normally decisive;

8.1.3 Rigid ecclesiastical centralization, if not bureaucracy, often had negative effects on individual congregations and capable local leaders. This is particularly true of larger denominations (like Bethesda and the Apostolic Faith Mission) or where the men in power were white;

The 'braking' and 'checking' of local leaders and pastors, was sometimes done in a manner that undermined their local authority. For example, if he were pastor he was made answerable to another pastor or superintendent, or if he was seeking appoint-

ment he was usually appointed as 'evangelist' or 'missionary', but not 'pastor'.

8.1.4 When a group or individuals were disciplined there was almost invariably secession.

Spiritually effective disciplinary action in a small independent body or in a body that had itself seceded recently is almost impossible. The person disciplined usually leaves the congregation and is often accompanied by friends, relatives and other dissatisfied persons. They usually have little difficulty in changing their 'club' or in starting another splinter body under a fanciful name.

Most disciplinary actions were concerned with two issues: alleged sexual misconduct (which we have referred to as a 'personal matter') and finance.

8.1.5 In many cases financial problems arise due to the poverty of the local congregation: Very often the minister receives an inadequate stipend. In other cases, inadequate payment is from the jealousy of older fellow-ministers who are in authority or because the head-quarters do not deem it necessary.

Many disgruntled pastors try to remedy this situation by moving to better conditions in other denominations or by starting a church of their own. Thus a few independent Pentecostal pastors earn over R1 600 a month, about four times the stipends of their counterparts in established Pentecostal churches.

It is also customary in some independent groups for the pastors to receive all the tithes, irrespective of their total amount, and only the cash collected during the services is used to pay for the 'running costs' of the church such as electricity,

rates and building maintenance. This situation usually produces financial wrangles especially when congregations begin to raise questions about financial policy, about the pastor's domination of finances and about the absence of audits and budgeting.

9. These financial problems are closely related to the economic factors that accompanied the socio-cultural upheavals of Phase two Pentecostal churches. These have had to develop an approach that would cope with the crises their poor members experienced. This they did in a number of ways:
 - 9.1 Unlike established Christian groups, they developed organically from within their own community. Their pioneers were nearly always Indians from the same socio-economic class as their congregation. This is why we have deliberately mentioned the pastor's previous job (or present job if he is a part-time pastor). These occupations were usually menial.
 - 9.2 The use of homes, garages, backyard structures, tents pitched on private property or other expedients has ensured that the person's religion remained a part and parcel of his ordinary environment, that is, the church was never outside the scope of or removed from the adherents' daily experience.
 - 9.3 While every group aspires to have a proper church building, the members themselves determine the capabilities and purchasing powers of the group. The erection of any structure, no matter how ornate it is, is always within the financial means of the group members. In some other Indian Christian churches, under the control of denominational headquarters, buildings were erected with grants and 'foreign aid' and on a scale the local congregation could not afford. These buildings remain relatively empty. The groups in our study decided upon and paid for the 'church' structure themselves, irrespective of whether this was a garage, a tent, a backyard structure or a permanent building.

- 9.4 The emergence of the 'part-time pastor' or 'lay pastor' is one of the predominant features, which aided the group's economic stability. It was not under pressure to pay the pastor until they could afford it. The pastor remained in secular employment and only performs his pastoral duties in the evenings and on week-ends. However, he often receives a travelling honorarium (a part-time stipend) which supplements his income.
10. Affiliation to other groups has not only been motivated by the stability that results from large numbers but also by the desire to acquire the credibility which such affiliation would bring particularly if the merge is with a group already registered with the South African Government or if it is with an established group overseas, or if its one which has gained a measure of local recognition.
- 10.1 Considerable benefits accrue from affiliation to a registered group such as permits, tax benefits, land allocations, municipal concessions, and the fact that ministers of registered bodies readily receive appointments as marriage officers.
- 10.2 It is therefore likely that many of these independent groups will be forced out of expediency, to consider affiliation with other groups because
- 10.2.1 There are not enough sites available for religious purposes in the Indian settlements. This remains the case even if applicants are otherwise qualified to own such sites. Many Pentecostal bodies within the Indian community have also to compete with the claims of numerous Hindu and Muslim organizations that require land for their temples and mosques;
- 10.2.2 Some of these groups are not large enough, or financially strong enough to build their own churches. Their members, especially the second generation may not wish to continue meet-

ing in homes, garages or tents and may join other established churches;

10.2.3 Their lack of training may make it impossible for pastors to obtain marriage officers' licences, and they may lose prestige.

- 11.1 The groups that have arisen in the last two decades were able to involve their members more actively than Phase one groups were able to do in the late 50's and 60's. Significantly, the emergence of Phase two groups coincided with the shift to the locations which took place when the Phase one groups were about 30 years old, that is, when second and third generation members had appeared and when the group had expanded. This suggests that in the case of these Pentecostal groups the larger the group becomes the less hold it has on its members. The originally 'democratic' character of the group is replaced by an 'oligarchy', a process that encouraged secessions or splits in the congregation.

The independent or newly established group is able to maintain the level of group involvement and solidarity that Phase one groups had had in the first 15 to 20 years of their existence.

- 11.2 'Church' for some of these Pentecostals becomes a means also of achieving a measure of social importance and acceptance: Pastors, elders, deacons, or evangelists are often men of little means, have menial jobs, little or no formal education and no opportunities for leadership in society. Yet, as we have found in chapter 4 Pentecostalism not only caters for communal solidarity but also for individual potential. A relatively unimportant person in the larger community is given leadership opportunities, and is treated with dignity and respect within these organisations. In the evenings and on weekends the humble factory worker or corporation labourer is transformed into elder, deacon or 'ambassador'.

12. In the Phase two groups there are certain new trends hitherto absent in more traditional Pentecostal groups:

12.1 There is a small but growing political awareness, for example, in groups associated with the leaders of New Light and New Life Fellowships. These generally take a stand against all white control and against what they call 'racism in churches';

The majority are generally a-political, believing that 'politics should not be brought into the church'. The general theological fundamentalism of these bodies emphasises more the 'salvation of the soul' and an imminent eschatology that anticipates impending judgement and bliss in heaven.

12.2 There is also a new social awareness in a few Phase two groups: At least two independent churches are making concerted attempts to be involved in the social upliftment of their community at large, even though this is directed to their own members only. Generally, Pentecostal groups maintain that 'preaching salvation comes before social action', yet by calling their members to a life of careful living they invariably encourage the improvement of the economic lot of their members (cf. Chapter 4);

12.3 The three main factors that promise to influence the character and future of these groups and the emergence of new schisms appear to be

12.3.1 The general improvement in the education of the community at large and of its own members in particular;

12.3.2 The corresponding increase in the theological training of its leaders;

12.3.3 The general economic stability of the community at large and the improvement of the financial position of its own members in particular.

13. Independent and small groups remain inherently unstable. Affiliations, reorganisations or regroupings of members and the rise of more independent groups are likely therefore to continue in one of the following modes:

many of these independent groups, or one or more of their branches, may join a Phase one group or an established Pentecostal group overseas;

there is also a possibility that some of the younger members who intend entering the ministry may leave Pentecostalism altogether and join established Christian denominations. (cf. Table 5(5)). Also a section of the second and third generation members who are not attracted by emotionalism or orthodox Pentecostalism may seek affiliation to other established Christian bodies which satisfy their intellectual needs;

many of these groups may amalgamate to form a larger and more viable denomination to facilitate government registration and hence greater recognition and prestige.

TABLE 4.5

Individuals from Phase one groups who have become ministers in non-Pentecostal denominations

| | | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------|--|
| <u>Bethesda:</u> | Dan Francis | - Presbyterian Church |
| | J. Prakasim | - Presbyterian Church |
| | E. Theophilus | - Presbyterian Church |
| | Brian Chetty | - Presbyterian Church |
| | J. Kistnaswami | - Reformed Church in Africa |
| | Paul Charles | - Evangelical Church of S.A. former SAGM |
| | C. Nair | - Reformed Church in Africa |
| | C. Steven | - Lutheran Church |
| | G. Moodley | - Bible Baptist Church |
| | S. Mathew | - Lutheran Church |
| David Naicker | - Lutheran Church | |
| <u>Apostolic Faith Mission:</u> | E. Manikum | - Reformed Church in Africa |
| <u>Assemblies of God:</u> | K. Moodley (Peniel) | - Reformed Church in Africa |
| | S. Ganasen (Bethshan) | - New Protestant Church |

1. L. Abraham's information.
2. His name appeared frequently in discussions and interviews with early Indian Pentecostal groups. Many seemed to have attended one or two of his meetings without changing their group affiliation.
3. This clause in the constitution of the Assemblies of God also led to conflict between Nair's Calvary Assemblies of God and S. Govender's Peniel Assemblies of God.
4. L. Abraham's letter to the Religious Site Committee in Chatsworth dated 9.9.82.
5. L. Abraham's information.
6. *ibid.*
7. Constitution of MICA published by headquarters in Pretoria n.d.
8. Govind Peter's information, General Secretary of this group.
9. W. Ferreira's information to G.C. Oosthuizen.
10. Govind Peters, *op. cit.*
11. *ibid.*
12. Pentecostal Holiness Church South African Conference: 1974 minutes.
13. First quadrennial session of the Indian conference March 1974 minutes 1.
14. G.C. Oosthuizen, Pentecostal Penetration (P.P.), 100.
15. Biennial Conference 1973 minutes.
16. S. Frank's information.
17. J. Vallen's information.
18. This incident created quite a stir in Bethesda. The newspapers covered the uglier parts of the faction fight. It started with an alleged charge of immorality levelled at Pastor Vallen by another group in Galilee Temple.
19. J.F. Rowlands always regretted Vallen's departure. He had been an important aide. Even after the break the two became reconciled.
20. J. Vallen's information
21. These statistics were provided by Pastor J. Vallen.

22. G.C. Oosthuizen P.P., 100.
23. D. Crook's information.
24. G.C Oosthuizen op. cit., 101.
25. Kraemer's information.
26. S.G. Maharaj's information.
27. *ibid.*
28. This is how its purpose was explained by Pastor Maharaj.
29. cf. Maranatha Assembly.
30. Minister-in-training, Pravin Maharaj's information.
31. *ibid.*
32. G.C. Oosthuizen P.P., 121.
33. A.M. Moses' information.
34. *ibid.*
35. R. Kisten's information.
36. A.M. Moses' information.
37. *ibid.*
38. Ronnie Naidoo's information.
39. Pastor Ezra's information.
40. Pastor Snyman's information.
41. Ons Jeug Jaarboek 1969, 25.
42. Pentecostal Protestant December 1960. 14.
43. Pastor Ezra's information.
44. Pastor Ezra's information.
45. Pastor C.J.J. Snyman's information.
46. Pastor Ezra's information.

47. The details of the occurrences that accompanied the exorcism, (bodily contortions, vomiting and such like) were vividly described to the author.
48. Pastor Y. Allen's information.
49. Information supplied by Pastor Vasie Kisten who was at one time with the Faith Centre.
50. Sources:
Pastors Ezra and C.J.J. Snyman.
51. Oosthuizen, G.C., P.P., 122.
52. *ibid.*
53. *ibid.*
54. Hollenweger, W., *op. cit.*, 71.
55. Rev. E.L. Freeman's information: mimeographed.
56. Mack Carpenter also founded the first UPC white congregation in Durban.
57. G.C. Oosthuizen, *op. cit.*, 108.
58. *ibid.*
59. Booklet published by Pastor H. Somers n.d.
60. Underlining is ours: quoted from the editorial in The Pentecostal Trumpet, a publication of the UPC among Indians. Edited by Dan Rajavaloo.
61. G.C. Oosthuizen, P.P., 109.
62. Dan Rajavaloo's information.
63. Information supplied by Pastor Heyns, the minister of the first Coloured UPC congregation in Durban which reached a measure of consolidation in 1956 under Mrs L.L. Eastridge, the mother-in-law of E.L. Freeman. Heyns also taught in Somers' Bible school.
64. The programme was entitled GROW (Go Reach Our World), Rajavaloo introduced the novel idea to the Pentecostal Indian congregation that the lay evangelist's travelling expenses should be paid for by the congregation. Rajavaloo pointed out that 'in order to gain one had to invest'.
65. Superintendent's records: D. Rajavaloo.

66. Bobby Naidoo's information cf. G.C. Oosthuizen, P.P., 103.
67. *ibid.*
68. The Apostolic Church, its beginning and progress - report by John G. Brown 14.8.73.
69. Omega Assembly Newsletter December 1971.
70. Pastor Vassie Pillay's information.
71. cf. Chapter 1.
72. Pastor Edwin Nair's information.
73. Pastor D.B. Coleman's information (mimeographed) 1974.
74. Dan Francis has since left the UPC and is a minister of the Presbyterian Church in Tongaat, Natal.
75. D.B. Coleman op. cit.
- 76.
77. A study of the prospectus of this college indicates that, at best, such a school can only provide very basic training limited to examining the Pentecostal position only.
78. D.B. Coleman op. cit.
79. of. Constitution and Bye-Laws of IAOG (polity).
80. 'Non white' is considered offensive in these circles today because of the racial problems in South Africa. Many Indians and Coloureds prefer to be referred to as 'Blacks' together with Africans. 'Non-white' is considered a negative description vis-à-vis 'White'.
81. Edwin Nair's information.
82. *ibid.*
83. D.B. Coleman's information.
84. Sam Soodyall's information.
85. D. Haag's information.
86. Pentecostal Protestant June 1980, 7.
87. G.C. Oosthuizen op. cit., 126.
88. D. Haag's information.

89. *ibid.*
90. Leslie Hammond's information.
91. *ibid.*
92. Oosthuizen, G.C., P.P., 11.
93. Document History of the Fellowship of autonomous churches.
94. L. Hammond *op. cit.*
95. Constitution of the Trulite Fellowship.
96. History of the Fellowship of Autonomous Churches.
97. S. Muthusamy's information.
98. G.C. Oosthuizen, P.P., 133. Information supplied by J. Prakasim, a former Bethesda member who had lectured at the school run by Pastor C. Nielsen of the Apostolic Faith Mission and had later become the first Indian Presbyterian minister in South Africa.
99. Silas Joseph's information.
100. Oosthuizen, G.C., P.P., 133.
101. *ibid*, 134.
102. Silas Joseph *op. cit.*
103. Reggie Kisten's information.
104. *ibid.*
105. *ibid.*
106. *ibid.*
107. Edwin Nair's information.
108. This American evangelist had quite an impact at the time, winning the support of Bethesda and other established Pentecostal groups who had helped organise his campaigns.
109. E. Nair *op. cit.*
110. *ibid.*
111. This secession was the result of conflict between Lockwood and Haag concerning leadership. D. Haag information.

112. Patrick Govender's information
113. Bobby David's information.
114. Derrick Fynn's information.
115. Govind Peters' information.
116. A Kuppen's information.
117. G.C. Oosthuizen, P.P., 105.
118. Pastor Hansen like Pastor J.F. Rowlands disapproved of rowdiness at services and felt that drums were far too loud and sounded too much like a pop band. Most Indian Pentecostal groups have no such qualms about the use of such instruments in their services.
119. B. Green's information mimeographed.
120. *ibid.*
121. John Dawson's information.
122. G.C. Oosthuizen *op. cit.* 106.
123. of. Maranatha Pentecostal Church.
124. Pastor Bernard's information (PRC's vice-chairman)
125. *ibid.*
126. Information by Abel Govender, a member of the group that joined the Baptists. He too later founded his own body.
127. Full name unknown; he is referred to as 'brother Gordon'.
128. Bobby David's information.
129. Christy Robert's discussion with G.C. Oosthuizen, P.P., 112.
130. *ibid.*
131. *ibid.*
132. William Branham when he undertook healing-campaigns in South Africa in the 50's was not overtly unitarian. Hence a number of the Pentecostal groups especially Bethesda supported his evangelistic outreaches. Towards the end of his life, however, he made grandiose claims to have been a prophet and became quite deluded about his own importance. For instance, he was not buried immediately after his death because his followers believed that he would return from the dead.

133. cf. Soul's Outreach which affiliated to World Missions Inc. which D. Northrup represented in South Africa.
134. T.J. Bronkhorst's information mimeographed; cf. G.C. Oosthuizen, P.P., 199.
135. T.J. Bronkhorst op. cit.
136. *ibid.*
137. Siva Kisten's information; also information from Pastor McNeile, a white assistant to Bronkhorst who had also resigned.
138. *ibid.*
139. David Haag's information.
140. G.C. Oosthuizen, op. cit. 124.
141. Michael Henry's information.
142. Richard Mitchell's information mimeographed.
143. *ibid.*
144. *ibid.*
145. Oosthuizen, G.C., P.P., 121.
146. Siva Kisten's information.
147. Pastor Black's information; cf. G.C. Oosthuizen P.P., 122.
148. Oosthuizen, G.C., P.P., 122.
149. Siva Kisten's information.
150. Johnny Frank's information.
151. *ibid.*
152. *ibid.*; also The Leader May 16, 1980.
153. New-Life Fellowship's newsletters (Chatsglen, Durban)
ED. J. Frank
August 1979
October 1979
December 1980
December 1981.
154. The Leader, May 16 1980.

155. J. Frank's information.
156. Application form for these Bible courses lists 'the statement of faith' as merely 'Reformed Theology'.
157. New-Life Fellowship Newsletter August 1979.
158. Frank Sabbadu's information mimeographed.
159. J. Frank's information.
160. Frank Saddadu op. cit.
161. Golden Jubilee Brochure of the AFM Ed. Dean Reddy, 1981 report by Prem Harry, 20.
162. *ibid.*
163. *ibid.*,
Dean Reddy's information.
164. Reggie Kisten's information.
165. Nathaniel Munien's information.
166. Alex Munien's information.
167. Timothy Paul's information.
168. *ibid.*
169. Andy Harris' information.
170. *ibid.*
171. Ronnie Naidoo's information.
172. *ibid.*
173. The Leader, Jan 20, 1978.
174. The Leader, each weekly edition from January 20 to the middle of March.
175. The Leader, Jan 20, 1978
also Ronnie Naidoo's information.
176. Deliverance, Bulletin of the BDF. Oct/December 1982, cf. under back cover for a list of BDF apostles.
177. Dan Rajavaloo's information.

178. *ibid.*
179. Dennis Chetty's information.
180. Daily News Tuesday Fe. 1983.
181. Dennis Chetty *ibid.*
182. Abel Govender's information
183. Sources: Billy Naidoo's information
Andy Harris' information, Secretary of the Fellowship of
Independent Churches
184. Siva Kisten's information.
185. Julius Adinarayana's information.
186. Andy Harris *op. cit.*
187. Services of this group were attended by the author.
188. J. Chellan's information.
189. Christian Centre information bulletin.
190. Dennis Michael's information.
191. Abel Govender's information.
192. Dennis Moonsamy's information.
193. Cossie Govender's information.
Pastor Y. Allen's information.
194. Dean Reddy's information.
195. Dean Reddy, Resignation from the AFM of SA: my reasons, 1.
196. *ibid.*, 7-8.
197. *ibid.*, 10.
198. *ibid.*, 6.
199. Opening-day bulletin, Introducing the Free Church of Christ
200. Dean Reddy's information
201. Michael Naidoo's information.
Allan Bruce's information.
202. J. Chellan's information.

Chapter 6

THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF THE OLDER PENTECOSTAL CHURCHES

This chapter examines the process of institutionalization that has occurred in Pentecostal churches which have existed for about thirty years and more. This necessitates an examination of

- (i) their changed character (6.1);
- (ii) the changed religious attitudes of their members (6.2);
- (iii) the development of constitution and polity (6.3.1, 6.3.2) and a more complex organization (6.3.3) and
- (iv) certain reactions that have emerged during this period of institutionalization such as leadership and succession struggles (6.4) and the awakening of a socio-political awareness among a small section of Indian Pentecostals.

6.1 A 'COOLING-OFF' PROCESS

The rise of the later Pentecostal groups and especially of the independent ones in Phase Two corresponds with a 'cooling off process' that followed the initial effervescence of Phase One groups.

Leaders of Phase One bodies, especially Pastor J.F. Rowlands, strongly attacked the revivalism of several new Pentecostal congregations which emerged from the 60's onwards.¹ He wrote, 'Look at the pathetic number of small groups of "Independent Pentecostals" ... getting nowhere and with no prospect of ever getting anywhere having mistaken wildfire for Holy Ghost Fire'.² While still affirming the need for 'the Spirit to function in the church' and the need for a 'definite experience',³ he complained that 'the queer have certainly queered the experience'.⁴ He rejected the practice of many Pentecostals who still 'tarry, plead and agonise'⁵ because these groups were 'distorting scriptural teaching', and because one witnessed here only the 'demonstration of flesh'.⁶ In 1975 he wrote: 'It is shameful to see people attending so-called tarry meetings and being filled with the Spirit (?) (sic) and speaking in tongues (?) (sic) by following man's instructions'.⁷

Consequently he denounced the activity of certain American visiting evangelists - 'travelling evangelists'-8, who had encouraged organised shouting and clapping in services,⁹ because he believed this to be part of a satanic plot to bring Pentecostal churches into disrepute. He instructed Bethesda pastors not to cancel their services for the duration 'of other peoples' campaigns¹⁰ and warned his members not to be confused by 'a spurious emotional tingling which many believe to be the Baptism of the Holy Ghost'.¹¹

This reaction is significant because it points to the awareness among the Phase One established churches of the Phase Two groups that were beginning to make their presence known and felt. The fact that a number of the Phase One groups' members were attracted to this new 'enthusiasm' produced warnings and denunciations. J.F. complained that the newer bodies had made efforts 'to draw away disciples after themselves'. Some of Bethesda's members were 'being literally "kidnapped" by other organisations', he wrote. To the question 'why do some people leave Bethesda?' he replied, 'we cannot make all our 9 000 adult members pastors. Position seekers will tramp from church to church until they gratify their lusts ... others fall to flattery and specialised attention'.¹²

This reaction indicates that

(i) these new groups were more 'effervescent' and emotional in their worship and religious practice;

(ii) the 'cooling off process' had already begun in Phase One ranks. Hence interest in 'Revival' and the 'Old Fashioned Gospel' was reawakened. In the mid-70s Rowlands wrote, 'what we need in the church today is another Acts 2:15 experience. We want another genuine Pentecost'.¹³ To achieve this Bethesda arranged a large crusade in the Unit 3 sports-ground in Chatsworth in 1976. The American, Carl Richardson, preached but the rally, significantly advertised as the 'Modern Pentecost Rally', failed to draw the anticipated crowds.¹⁴

This 'cooling off process' was not only accompanied by the proliferation of Pentecostal churches (cf. chapter 5) but also by an evolution in the character, emphases and approaches of established Pentecostalism.

6.2 CHANGE IN APPROACH AND CHARACTER OF ESTABLISHED PENTECOSTALISM

From the mid-60's, the homogeneous character of the older Pentecostal congregations began to change. Whereas at first, the responsibilities for growth and development of the group was shared by the entire congregation, (cf. chapter 4) these responsibilities gradually became the concerns of only a small group within the congregation. This fact is confirmed by the following features:

6.2.1 Small numbers in 'Auxiliary-ministerial groups'

While all these groups still have what we have called auxiliary-ministerial organisations, (4.3.2) these organisations have now only a small percentage of their members left. For example Bethesda's Missionary Endeavour organisation (4.3.3.4) became defunct. Despite constant appeals during sermons for members to join the 'auxiliary ministerial' bodies, little has been achieved. Large mission conferences were held to encourage participation but these received little response.¹⁵ The missionary movement of one of these churches has now only women members. Large crowds attend the movement's Annual Missions Day to listen to speeches explaining the need for helpers in evangelistic work. However, these members are in the main too apathetic to do more than just make a 'lukewarm' financial contribution.

6.2.2 Lack of homogeneity in the congregations

Phase One and the older Pentecostal groups are increasingly resembling traditional Christian churches where the 'ministerial' duties are largely the responsibility of the clergy.¹⁶ Pastors complained that the majority of the congregations were 'not getting involved in the activities of the church'.

In almost all the Phase One churches women were more active than men and also more women than men attended services. Pastors complained that there was a general lack of 'man-power' in these congregations.

To solve this problem, a few churches attempt to hold 'Men's Fellowship' meetings.¹⁷ The two Fellowships that we investigated began well, but the numbers dwindled quickly.

Quite naturally the pastors of these churches were worried about this apathy and their anxiety is clearly reflected in their sermons and in their magazines.¹⁸ 'Backsliding' and apostasy are attacked and active participation in church work and offices are praised as signs of true spirituality.

6.2.3 Alienation of youth

Pastors also complained frequently about the younger church members. One pastor described them as 'merely intellectual and not spiritual'. Only a small fraction of the youth attend the youth meetings and only about 25% of the young attend the other services regularly. An attendance of 35% is exceptional.¹⁹

This new tendency where the youth who no longer feel at home in their own congregations are going their own way, is very different from the earlier years of Pentecostalism when churches had strong and committed bands of young people who gave support to the activities and organisations of the churches. (cf. chapter 4)

Two important youth organisations in Bethesda, the Nazareth Guild and Pastor's Own which flourished in the 40's and 50's ceased altogether in 1969 for lack of attendance.²⁰

6.2.4 Discontinuation of evangelistic campaigns

This distinguishing feature of the older Pentecostal churches has declined in importance. In the last ten years of Rowlands' ministry, campaigns were rarely held. Even the Bethesdascope had ceased because it had lost its attraction and could not compete against other new media.²¹

As late as the 60's and 70's independent Pentecostal bodies like the Miracle Revival Crusade and Souls Outreach still considered tent campaigns highly effective. (cf. chapter 5) Such campaigns have since diminished in number; more and more their protagonists have found it necessary to establish permanent congregations of their own.

The 'cooling off' process not only changed the character of the various bodies and congregations, but it also encouraged greater institutionalization.

6.3 THE PROCESS OF INSTITUTIONALIZATION

Institutionalization meant for Pentecostal churches a transition from freedom and spontaneity to formalised structure, trained ministries, and distinct church discipline and polity. These groups had themselves emphatically criticised the established churches for such institutionalization. They had rejected formality, creeds, liturgy and officialdom. Now they too had to organise themselves, and in so doing created similar institutional forms.

6.3.1 Constitutional Development

Bethesda, the Indian AFM and Assemblies of God churches had prided themselves on their claim that their only constitution was the Bible.²² However, in Phase two new problems forced these churches to reconsider this simplistic stance. Disciplinary, legal and doctrinal questions arose when secessions from their membership occurred; when lay support flagged and nominal membership increased, the rights of the minister needed defi-

nition as did the role and responsibilities of members; doctrinal positions needed affirmation and legal standing was required for title deeds, fixed assets, marriage officer's licenses, government recognition and tax relief. It was becoming increasingly clear within the changing context of the society that Pentecostal congregations could no longer maintain a unilateral declaration of independence. A constitution and formal organisation were now necessary.

Despite his early affiliation to the Full Gospel Church, J.F. Rowlands did not refer to its constitution until 1977.²³ The only serious reference to the polity of the white head-quarters was made in the late 60's when an ecclesiastical court had to be convened to discipline a minister.²⁴ Otherwise Bethesda functioned without a constitution apart from what was called 'Bethesda's Covenant' which J.F. Rowlands himself devised and which was binding only on a pastor or full-time worker. In this short statement promises were made

- (i) to be loyal in all matters concerning the Pastor and the church,
- (ii) to honour 'the prestige and good name of Bethesda and her branches',
- (iii) to 'refrain from disloyalty or insubordination or conflict with fellow workers',
- (iv) to 'strive to the uttermost to spread the Gospel',
- (v) to abstain from discourteous conduct towards the Pastor,
- (vi) to give to, or to receive from the Pastor three months notice in writing of intention to terminate service,
- (vii) to recognise the disciplinary powers of the Pastor,
- (viii) not to say anything detrimental to the work of Bethesda on termination of service.²⁵

The 'Covenant' merely attempted to ensure the authority of the Pastor within the group and to protect the group from vindictive criticism. As its name suggests it was also seen as an individual's covenant with God. Hence the few pastors who have left Bethesda amidst controversy have been cautious in expressing their opinions on Bethesda or its founder or their reasons for leaving Bethesda.

When Alex Thompson entered Bethesda as the principal of its Bible College in 1975, Bethesda was gradually made to abide by the constitution of the Full Gospel Church (FGC). Thompson was vice-moderator of the FGC at the time and he attempted to bring Bethesda more directly within the jurisdiction of the FGC, and devised special by-laws to organise 'the Indian branch'. These dealt with matters of jurisdiction and doctrine in detail. Thus, the creed and the constitution of the Full Gospel Church also came to be fully binding on Bethesda.²⁶

These new arrangements which introduced a decentralised form of government drastically reduced Pastor Rowlands' powers. For the first time Indian pastors became chairmen of the district councils and of the boards of the various affairs of Bethesda like welfare, training, evangelism, missions, Sunday school and Youth. Some said in confidence that the constitution had allowed them for the first time to be leaders. The paradox inherent in the nature of these Pentecostal congregations becomes obvious here: the constitution which had attempted to structure the once 'free character' of the body allowed in effect greater freedom to certain individuals. The earlier arrangement of the congregation under one charismatic leader was arbitrary rather than 'free'.

While the emergence of a written constitution was neither as sudden nor as clearly recognisable as in the other Phase One groups, the situation was very similar. The AFM developed a set of rules for its 'Indian section':²⁷ Bethshan and Peniel Assemblies of God groups, while independent in principle, were becoming increasingly bound by the AOG constitution.²⁸

The process of institutionalization seen in constitutional development is reflected in the nature of the congregation, the most important of which was the emergence of a clear division between clergy and laity.

6.3.2 Clergy and Laity

Constitutional development has separated clearly the pastor from his congregation. His functions and powers are now clearly fixed. In all Phase One and established Pentecostal denominations only pastors are involved in decision making processes; only pastors serve on the various boards of control, and therefore only pastors hold all key posts and all authority.²⁹ Some of the older Phase two groups appear to be moving in the same direction.³⁰

This move indicates an evolution in the nature of established or organised Pentecostalism characterized by the following:-

(a) Lay-leadership which was one of the most significant qualities of the revivalistic beginnings of these groups (4.3) is now a thing of the past.

(b) Whereas the congregation as a whole was once involved in church orientated activities most members are now indifferent to them. Although leaders may put this down to 'apostasy'³¹ and exhort their members to pray for 'revival' so that the whole group would 'work for God like in the good old days',³² governmental-administrative structures which place pastors in all the key posts and which ensures that only pastors make the major decisions does much to stifle lay-leadership.³³

(c) The de facto structure in all these groups is quasi - episcopal. The pastor bears all the authority and responsibilities of the bishop but without the limitations that greater experience has imposed upon the powers of a bishop.

In view of the traditional Pentecostal emphases on lay - involvement and upon the 'freedom of the Spirit' as the heritage of each member which

suggests an evolution towards a democratic and congregationalist polity, how did an autocratic model emerge instead? It seems that one of the reasons for this choice of an 'episcopal' model is that the confession of 'freedom of the Spirit' has itself been radically changed since the initial confession of this freedom during the 'days of revival'. (cf. the Spirit and the Letter 6.6) Another contributing reason is that an episcopal system ensures the authority of the pastor which the congregation used to bestow on him as a matter of course in the 'good old days'. The prognosis made in chapter 5 regarding the influence of education and economic stability upon Phase Two groups appears already to have occurred in Phase One groups. As the congregation became better educated and more self-sufficient, the episcopal model seemed to protect the powers and privileges of the pastor better. This arrangement is bound to raise tensions within these groups, in the future, as long as laymen wish to remain involved in the leadership of these churches and as long as its members share in the functioning and aspirations of the church.

(d) The clergy is rapidly acquiring an air of professionalism.

For instance the practice of 'stepping out in faith' which had no guarantee of a fixed or adequate stipend, (cf. chapter 4) has now almost disappeared. Proper salaries and relevant 'perks' are now not a small part of the concerns of these ministers.³⁴

This is confirmed by the fact that some pastors move to better and more lucrative posts in other congregations or found their own. (cf. chapter 5) In 1982 a Bethesda pastor with 20 years' ministerial experience received R350 a month while the income of an independent pastor in Chatsworth was R1 750.³⁵ In this regard a senior Pentecostal Holiness Church pastor complained that the 'modern pastors' lacked what he called 'a spirit of sacrifice'.³⁶ The following polemical statement by an AFM pastor also illustrates the mood and attitudes prevalent on this issue in these churches:

... we are living in the end times. Inflation is running at an all time high in our country. The recession is being felt even in the churches. 'Mushroom' churches are springing up overnight. The so - called elect are misleading unsuspecting minds. This may I add, is being done for personal gain and for the fancies of a few. Young pastors graduating from Bible College are the biggest culprits as far as this is concerned. They want it ready made with big assemblies, attractive salaries and flashy cars. Where is the calling, may I ask?³⁷

6.3.3 Ministerial Training

The process of institutionalization has been accompanied by an increasing interest in ministerial education and training. Pentecostal groups traditionally rejected training because of their emphasis on 'dependence on the Spirit'. Part of their reaction to established Christianity was centred on their rejection of 'theology' which is vaguely understood to refer to doctrinal, liturgical or confessional issues. 'Theology' has been consistently understood as the antagonist of 'spirituality'. However, this has created a vicious circle where men with little or no experience of education themselves, determined for others the evils of studying.

A few Pentecostal pastors who joined the ministry in the late 60's attended the Durban Bible College. In the mid-70's this was still the only college that catered for ministers in Durban.³⁸ The theological basis of this college is Evangelical and Fundamentalist. The pneumatology of its doctrinal statement offers a good insight into its theological position in relation to Pentecostals: 'We believe the ministry of the Holy Spirit is to glorify the Lord Jesus Christ and to convict men of sin and to regenerate sinners who believe in Christ. At the time of regeneration he baptises a believer into the body of Christ, the Church. The Holy Spirit indwells, guides, instructs, infills and empowers believers for Godly living and service'.³⁹ Nothing is said about the basic Pentecostal belief that the Baptism of the Spirit is an experience subsequent to regeneration and evidenced by glossolalia. Some of its graduates who later became pas-

tors in Pentecostal churches found it difficult to accept the pneumatological position of those churches.⁴⁰ For this reason Pentecostal churches did not give this college the support that G.C. Oosthuizen thinks they did.⁴¹ The Johannesburg Bible Institute, which shares the same theological basis and approach as the Durban Bible College, has also trained a few Indian Pentecostal students.

The Faculty of Theology at the University of Durban-Westville, has also been regarded with similar suspicion.⁴² Pentecostal churches classify it as 'liberal' in spite of its conservative theological standpoint.⁴³ This indiscriminating attitude has persisted until very recently when three Pentecostal students, without the support of their church, attended this university and are now the only theological graduates in their churches. Two of these have since been appointed to the staff at the Bible School of the Church and have helped to remove some of the unfounded suspicion.⁴⁴

Confronted with the need to train ministers, Indian Pentecostal churches decided to establish their own Bible colleges, namely;

(i) The International Bible College

In 1971 D.B. Coleman of the International Assemblies of God founded The International Bible College which caters mainly for the 'coloured' and Indian members of that denomination. It offers a diploma in Biblical Studies and Theology. Its minimum requirements are Standard VI and the candidate has to be at least 17 years of age.⁴⁵ Despite an initial good response the numbers at this school have dwindled in recent years.

(ii) Calvary Bible College

Leslie Hammond of Calvary Fellowship (cf. chapter 5) founded this college in 1973 to equip Pentecostal groups to

- (a) cater for those who subscribe to their Pentecostal teaching and,
- (b) to destroy the ignorance prevailing at present among both Pentecostals and non-Pentecostals on the subject.⁴⁶ Sixteen students from the Assemblies of God, AFM, Bethesda and the then Indian Reformed Church attended. The school is now defunct since its leader has since abandoned the orthodox Pentecostal position. (cf. Tru-Life Fellowship chapter 5)

(iii) Pentecostal Holiness Extension Bible College

On June 21, 1973 Rev. Harold Dalton of the Pentecostal Holiness Church began this programme of 'Education by Extension' in Chatsworth.⁴⁷ There are branches also in Tongaat and Merebank. Its programme is directed chiefly at the laity to provide training that would enable them to make a better contribution to the church in some form of practical Christian service,⁴⁸ and is open to anyone 'irrespective of age or educational background'.⁴⁹ It also offers a more advanced diploma which will allow persons to be ordained as ministers of the Pentecostal Holiness Church.

(iv) The Tru-Life Bible College

Johnny Frank of the Tru-Life Fellowship (cf. chapter 5) who had been trained at the Lutheran Theological College, founded this college to assist pastors of independent groups. It began in 1982 and at present four pastors attend the courses.⁵⁰

(v) The South African Evangelical Mission Bible College

In the early 80's David Haag with the help of certain retired American missionaries began this school in Shallcross, Durban. Haag has had since left the administrative affairs of the SAEM to his Indian pastors (cf. chapter 5) for whom he wishes to provide training through his school.⁵¹

(iv) Christian Centre Bible College

This Centre has started its own training school. (cf. chapter 5) Like all these schools it is strongly Fundamentalist and Dispensationalist. Although it caters mainly for whites living in Durban, from 1980 onwards it has been able to attract a number of Indian Pentecostal members. It provides basic courses on the Bible and the Christian Life. Through their literature, visiting speakers and Bible study courses, American Pentecostal denominations have been able to influence strongly the teaching at this college.⁵²

(vii) The AFM Bible College

In 1953 an AFM Bible School the 'Natal Bible Training Centre' was founded in Asherville for the benefit of Indian students. After a period of five years it closed down. A retired American AFM missionary and a few local pastors have recently restarted the AFM Bible College in Chatsworth. The staff also includes two Indian pastors with diplomas from the Western Cape Bible College. The college commenced its work in 1983 and is still in the process of establishing itself.⁵³ Until now AFM Indian pastors have had no training facilities in Natal; they have had either to attend the Western Cape Bible College or use the AFM correspondence course administered from Lyndhurst in the Transvaal.

(viii) The Western Cape Bible College

In 1966 this school was established at Elsie's River in the Cape. The course is described as 'a very conservative, typical fundamentalist course' in which the doctrine of the Holy Spirit receives special attention.⁵⁴ Its courses cater for a wide range of students. Those who have had very little formal schooling, receive a certificate; those with a better educational background receive a diploma. Those with matriculation receive a higher diploma.

(ix) The Bethesda Bible College

In 1935 this college had a small beginning under J.F. Rowlands who lectured in the evenings to evangelists and pastors. It was not at that stage an organised school with a structured curriculum and the courses offered were very basic.

Only in the 70's did Bethesda consider formal theological training for its ministers. In 1975 with financial help from the Church of God in the USA it completed a small campus in Chatsworth. Pastor Rowlands described this as the 'most extensive venture of Pentecostalism in South Africa in the field of theological training'.⁵⁵ pastor A. Thompson became its first principal. He had been a lecturer at the Berea Bible School, the white counterpart of Bethesda College, which is located at the headquarters of the Full Gospel Church at Irene, Transvaal.

Whilst its ideal has been the enrolment of matriculants for its diploma course, very few with that qualification have shown an interest. In the present socio-economic climate young people seek posts more lucrative than that of a minister. Since a matriculation certificate enables its holder to enter a university or a teachers' training institution, both of which offer better prospects for a higher salary and better status in this community, entry into such institutions is considered more 'effective' use of qualifications. For reasons such as these, the vast majority of Bethesda's students have been non-matriculants and have enrolled for the certificate course only.⁵⁶

Also, some Indian Pentecostal pastors have made use of Correspondence Colleges such as:

(a) The All African School of Theology

This is a college of the AOG which has especially served black pastors with very little schooling.⁵⁷

(b) Bethel Bible College

This college of the Assemblies of Christ is open only to white students. However, it offers 'guided studies programme' to its Indian pastors as the need arises.⁵⁸

(c) United Pentecostal Correspondence Courses

The American UPC sends out these courses to its local UPC branches which are used by its pastors who teach small study groups.⁵⁹ In the early 70's its Indian pioneer, Harry Somers, set up an evening school in Clare Estate, Durban which functioned for a short while but has had since closed down.

(d) The South African Theological College

This is an AOG Correspondence School. In 1951 it was established in Salisbury (Harare today) in the then Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). Subsequently it moved to Nelspruit in the Transvaal.⁶⁰ It attempts to provide basic lectures in Bible Studies and Theology. Its standard of work is higher than other correspondence courses available to these churches.

The interest in theological study in the past decade has been one of the most promising features among these churches. Some pastors have begun to recognise the importance of training for teaching their congregations;⁶¹ others have attempted to procure some kind of certificate to qualify for marriage officer's licence or pastorship. Yet others still choose to validate their ministry solely by their charismatic gifts. However, as the educational level of the congregation rises, we may expect a greater demand for better qualified pastors in these later groups.

Besides the positive aspects of this gradual awakening to the need for study there are some negative features too:

(a) The proliferation of Bible Schools in one small community has given rise to unnecessary duplication of efforts and inefficient use of the very limited resources available. Bethesda Bible College, the only residential Pentecostal Bible College available in Durban is underutilised; its hostel, which can accommodate forty, is occupied by only five.⁶²

(b) These colleges are staffed by men who have only diplomas, or by untutored pastors who teach from their own experience in church matters. Only two of all the lecturers at the Indian Pentecostal Bible Schools in Natal have a primary theological degree.

(c) The quality of the students admitted to these schools is also grounds for further concern. Many lack high school education. Bethesda with the best facilities of all the groups, have enrolled within the first seven years, only three with a matriculation exemption.⁶³

Principals and leaders explain that this state of affairs is inevitable in view of the general lack of opportunities for better education in the past. They claim that many of these candidates, are 'deeply spiritual people' who lack only the adequate educational requisites. They argue that it is better to use these men than turn them away for someone with a better educational background but without the required spiritual commitment.

While such a preference appears to be plausible within the Pentecostal context, there are certain serious implications for adopting a policy of providing only basic pastoral training for men who do not have an adequate education. This is certain to create even greater problems for these groups in the future. While this approach was unavoidable during the first few decades of its growth, its continued implementation disregards the following considerations:

(i) If those who are better educated prefer more lucrative jobs with a higher social status and those who cannot enter institutions of higher learning join the ministry, as the best available alternative, then these

churches will in the future be faced with the situation where the pastor ministers to people who are much better educated than himself. Not only may he feel insecure, but this may also alienate him from sections of his congregations which may lead to the depreciation of the status of 'pastor'.

(ii) Better education and social stability are likely to diminish the community's present anxieties over sickness and evil. Thus a pastor will have to learn to rely less than he had done in the past on healing and exorcisms. Instead he will be called on to guide his congregation through the new challenges presented by increased secularism and socio-cultural evolution where his own members will question faith and the viability of the church.

(d) However, an even more serious problem is that the training presently offered by these colleges is to a large extent system-bound. Doctrinal presuppositions have set rigid parameters for the training and lecturers are required to be orthodox Pentecostals. On more than one occasion it has been observed that their full acceptance by the school has depended on this one issue while their academic qualifications were not seriously examined. Though at least four have theological degrees or honorary doctorates, many of their qualifications are from unaccredited schools of theology in the USA. Furthermore, as stated previously, the curriculum strongly emphasises the Pentecostal position and the text books, almost all from North American Pentecostal churches, affirm only that position; compulsory attendance is required at 'Pentecostal Truth' and 'Dispensational Truth' courses.

While these subjects are stressed, open exegesis, hermeneutics and theological history are not studied seriously. There is little scope for self-criticism and development. Since all its theological studies are coloured by the pneumatological bias of its creed, anything different is considered 'liberal' to be taken in malam partem.

These shortcomings are likely to sooner or later lead to a crisis within the ranks of the church and in its contact with the larger world. The missiological approach to educated Hindus or Muslims for example is uncritical and often naive. Like the fundamentalist American counter-part it pays no heed to the background and beliefs of peoples of other faiths. This approach has had results only among the uneducated and as long as it appeals to the masses of the community, its healing and exorcism will continue to bring converts. However, in a better educated community a crisis of communication and kerygma will emerge.

Furthermore, in its preoccupation with the defence of historical positions and the dissemination of imported American material, Pentecostalism, the largest Christian group by far among Indians, has not allowed itself to develop an indigenous, relevant, contextualised interpretation of the message of Christ.

Moreover, in order to give the training that is offered here credibility, denominational colleges in the USA are approached for accreditation. They allow these colleges a measure of recognition by giving local diplomas credit towards their own degrees. For example, the three year programme of Bethesda Bible College, one of the better of these institutions, is given two years credit at Lee College, The Church of God school in the USA. A few graduates from Bethesda are presently completing the remaining two years with Lee College by correspondence. Thus, students who lacked the necessary qualifications for admission to a local university will gain a bachelor's degree from the USA. There are quite a number of similar cases elsewhere. The ill effects of this approach to theological training have yet to be experienced.

6.4 THE SUCCESSION CONTROVERSY IN BETHESDA

Pastor J.F. Rowlands took full charge of the entire church from its inception till his death. (cf. chapter 3) His strong 'fatherly image' allowed him absolute authority even over branch churches which had had their own pastors.⁶⁴ While these branches had a form of autonomy in

that their committee of deacons under the chairmanship of their local pastor decided the matters concerning church management, Pastor Rowlands was consulted first⁶⁵ on all types of issues ranging from decisions regarding members' personal and domestic problems to the procuring of mortgage bonds and the appointment of ministers.⁶⁶ He chaired all the Annual General Meetings of branch churches and through his monthly publication, Moving Waters, he offered advice to pastors.⁶⁷ Also, as a result of the total allegiance of his assistant pastors and members,⁶⁸ he was able to keep his finger on the pulse 'everywhere' in 'Bethesda-land'.⁶⁹

Questions about the future of the church in the event of Pastor Rowlands' death were raised 'in isolated instances' as early as the 50's. On a few occasions Pastor Rowlands' absolute rule was questioned⁷⁰ but his strong 'Father image' prevented the issue from developing into a serious crisis.⁷¹ While some individuals, discontented with this autocracy, left Bethesda either to join an established church⁷² or to join one of the numerous independent Pentecostal churches,⁷³ the vast majority appear to have been satisfied with Bethesda's polity.

In February, 1980, however, the issue caught the attention of the public. The occasion of the controversy was the appointment of Pastor A. Thompson, principal of the Bethesda Bible College, as second-in-charge of the church. Although Pastor Rowlands' poor health seemed to necessitate such an assistant,⁷⁴ Pastor Alex Thompson's appointment led to a spate of sensational reporting, and numerous letters were sent to the local newspapers which awakened public interest and fueled the controversy.⁷⁵

The appointment of Pastor A. Thompson to the principalship was seen as interference by the 'white headquarters'⁷⁶ but the Full Gospel Church, to which Bethesda was affiliated, was within its rights (in terms of the constitution) when it confirmed the decision of the Education Board of the FGC to appoint Alex Thompson.⁷⁷ Difficulties arose because this was a rare occasion when the authority of the headquarters' was perceived to be blatantly at work.⁷⁸ Until this stage the strong personality of J.F.

Rowlands had managed to exclude the direct jurisdiction of the Full Gospel Church. There seems to have been an unwritten policy of non-interference in Bethesda affairs between Pastor Rowlands and headquarters.

At a church council meeting in February 1980 J.F. Rowlands expressed his wish to have Pastor Thompson officially appointed as assistant superintendent of the church.⁷⁹ A. Thompson had been actively involved in the administration of the church and was gradually gaining the support and confidence of the Indian pastors.⁸⁰ His appointment arose logically from the way Pastor Rowlands had involved him in the leadership of the church and had delegated to him authority to act on his behalf. He had never done this with any of his Indian pastors. With his appointment as assistant superintendent under these circumstances, Pastor Thompson inevitably gained the power to deal with church problems independently.

Moving Waters reported the appointment as an 'unanimous decision' of the church council⁸¹, but negative undercurrents soon began to surface in private discussions.⁸² It was reported that a section of the congregations was dissatisfied⁸³ and the newspaper article that had brought the issue to the attention of the public, quoted Pastor Frank Victor, the most senior Indian pastor, as having said, 'Although there were many of us who were disappointed with the nomination we did not oppose it, because we wanted to avoid any unpleasantness or embarrassment'.⁸⁴

Many regarded the appointment as the 'appointment of a successor'⁸⁵ but Pastor Thompson strongly denied this, claiming that it was only a 'temporary arrangement'.⁸⁶ Some members questioned the method of election⁸⁷ when they alleged that it had not been by secret ballot and that Pastor Rowlands had influenced a council of 'Indians who would not have questioned Pastor Rowlands' suggestion because he was well loved by all'.⁸⁸

Another objection was that Indians who were capable of holding the post had been overlooked.⁸⁹ The majority of those opposing A. Thompson's appointment believed that his election had been racially motivated⁹⁰

and had resulted from the policy of 'the white church' (the headquarters of the Full Gospel Church) which 'is structured along apartheid lines'.⁹¹ They claimed that in keeping with its polity they intended to ensure that a white headed the church. Another view was that Indian pastors and members of Bethesda had acquiesced either because of the pledge they made in the 'Bethesda Covenant'⁹² or because they feared victimisation.⁹³ A former member of Bethesda, now in charge of his own church, said 'they fear victimisation ... which would take the form of severe ostracism, which would finally force those who challenged the church's authority to leave'.⁹⁴ The Indian pastors were accused of 'remaining neutral' in order to win 'favour, and to get better positions in the church'.⁹⁵

Rowlands supported Thompson's appointment stating, 'If there was a good Indian at a loose end, I would certainly have asked that he be made my assistant'.⁹⁶ Critics, however, pointed out that there had been a vacancy for an assistant pastor for five years already⁹⁷ (Cf. chapter 3) and there was no 'emergency situation' as Pastor J.F. Rowlands had claimed.⁹⁸ A letter to the press pointed out that 'It was strange how Dr A. Thompson who holds the offices of Principal of Bethesda Bible College and vice-moderator of the Full Gospel Church could have been conveniently at a 'loose end'.⁹⁹

In spite of the opposition of a section, the vast majority of the church accepted Pastor Thompson's appointment. One letter seems to have succinctly stated the case for this silent majority. 'If you were to ask the 30 000 members to vote for a successor they would vote for a European superintendent who will be of benefit to the work'.¹⁰⁰

At the Covenant Workers' Conference on May 26, 1980, where all full-time workers (ministers, missionaries and evangelists) of Bethesda were present, the decision of the council to appoint Thompson was ratified.¹⁰¹ In an unprecedented move the moderator of the Full Gospel Church chaired this meeting, a privilege that had been granted to Pastor Rowlands only ever since Bethesda's beginning in Durban.¹⁰² Twenty

three of the thirty that were present, including J.F. Rowlands and the moderator, voted for Pastor Thompson.¹⁰³ At this meeting, for the first time, an Indian, Pastor Athur Naidoo, was made deputy assistant superintendent.¹⁰⁴

When Pastor J.F. Rowlands died barely six month's later, Pastor Thompson deputised as general superintendent until the next annual workers' conference. At this meeting the Indian ministers elected Pastor Thompson as successor to Pastor Rowlands.¹⁰⁵

Under Pastor Thompson, who had come from a top administration post at the Full Gospel Church headquarters, a new relationship with headquarters was forged. For the first time, the constitution of the Full Gospel Church was directly applied to Bethesda;¹⁰⁶ the 'Covenant of Bethesda' was scrapped and major administrative changes were effected in an attempt to bring Bethesda into line with the Full Gospel Church model of church government. This included a system of local government for individual churches directly answerable to District Councils which in turn are answerable to the Bethesda Temple Church Council. The workers' conference of all Indian pastors is the highest body in Bethesda and shares the same status as similar conferences which superintend the work of the Full Gospel Church in coloured and black communities. All three are under the workers' conference of the white congregation of the Full Gospel Church whose responsibility it is, as the highest legislative body, to elect the Executive Committee of the Full Gospel Church in S.A. Only the General Superintendents of all three other race groups sit on this committee.¹⁰⁷ These superintendents have so far been white men.

6.5 Socio-Political Awareness

South African Pentecostal churches have tended to be indifferent to socio-political concerns. This has been, in the main, the result of its fundamentalist commitment to the 'salvation of the soul' and the necessity to gain 'eternal life' - an approach essentially other-worldly. Hence, any attempts to raise questions relating to the responsibility of the church in socio-political matters in South Africa have been dismissed as unspiri-

tual. 'Don't bring politics into the church' is a slogan widely adopted by these bodies.¹⁰⁸

Of all the pastors of established Pentecostal churches among Indians, only Pastor J.F. Rowlands appears to have ventured to make statements against the prevailing political ideology. In the late 50's he condemned the Group Areas Act and its effects:¹⁰⁹ 'The Group Areas Act is destined to bring unhappiness to tens of thousands of persons in South Africa. The hardest hit will be the Indians ... unrighteous legislation must be removed from the Statute Book ... The voteless non-Europens in South Africa are at the mercy of the white voter. These voters have a tremendous responsibility to God and their disenfranchised neighbours'.¹¹⁰ Forty three notices appeared in the local press calling for prayer for those affected.¹¹¹ Rowlands also openly rejected the South African policy of racial discrimination. He wrote, 'As a Christian leader, I should be failing in my duty if I hid the Truth ... I have not the slightest hesitation in saying that, whatever happens, debatable and discriminative laws are now only destined for a short life'.¹¹² However, he saw these as quickly passing because 'the coming of the Lord draweth nigh. He is coming for his own'¹¹³ Thus while he rejected apartheid, he saw the solution in an imminent eschatological event. In 1941, Rowlands expressed on behalf of Bethesda,

strong disapproval of the expression 'Europeans Only' which was even recently appended as a footnote in religious services advertised in a local newspaper ... the sooner the church rids herself of this bugbear, the better for the world in general and the 'Church in particular'.¹¹⁴

He pointed out that 'there will be no "Europeans only" sign in the Kingdom of God'.¹¹⁵ Again in 1949, he wrote,

It is our firm conviction that the policy of the present South African Government in trying to introduce 'apartheid' into the country has no sanction whatsoever in the teachings of the New

Testament ... 'we rejoice because our citizenship is in Heaven and there is no 'apartheid' there ... there is also no 'apartheid' at Bethesda where we are all one in Christ ... irrespective of race or colour.¹¹⁶

By 1964 Bethesda had to close down fourteen of its branches as people were moved into Chatsworth and other 'Indian' areas.¹¹⁷ Since then, other congregations have also been affected.¹¹⁸ (cf. chapter 5) Resettlement created great financial stress as new groups and buildings had to be established in the new areas. However, in spite of his lament about the laws of the land, at a farewell service, when the branch at Fenniscowles was formally closed, Rowlands used for his sermons Gen. 12: 1-3 - As Abraham was commanded to go to a land that God would show him where he would be blessed, so believers were to look at the move as being part of a greater purpose. Many took on the challenge of the painful move.¹¹⁹ Inadvertently, Rowlands' optimism about the future modified his 'protest'.

Thus, Pastor Rowlands' attitude to socio-political problems was basically two-fold. He pointed to the eschatological hope of living without these social ills, and he attempted to give his Indian members the 'freedom', they would not know in their society, within Bethesda. He repeatedly pointed out that Bethesda 'proved conclusively how happily all nations can live together'.¹²⁰ He maintained that 'Bethesda must always be a House of Prayer for all Nations'.¹²¹ Thus he created within a stressful situation, a haven for Indian people where, within it at least, they felt accepted and were able to escape from the daily dehumanisation they experienced.

However, the group, 'fed' by the theological rationale described above, could not resolve the pressing issues confronting the church in society. Any activism or serious evaluation of the role of the church in South Africa was therefore rejected. Rowlands himself pointed out that,

Every minister of the Christian Gospel should be far too busy winning souls from eternal damnation to have any time to spare to dabble in politics ... let the Church keep straight on her

course and strive to win men and women from the world to Christ.¹²² (He repeatedly pointed out that) A voteless prayer can do more for South Africa than a prayerless vote.¹²³

It is therefore understandable why members of Bethesda and Pentecostals in general refrained from serious socio-political discussions or from any political action as individual Christians in their role as citizens.

The publicity that was given to the 'succession problem' focused seriously on the racial policy of the Full Gospel Church for the first time. After 14 weeks of consistent reporting the issue in the newspapers shifted from the 'succession problem' to the problem of the 'apartheid' polity of the Full Gospel Church and its acceptance of the State's apartheid ideology.¹²⁴ One of these articles raised the question of whether the racial structure of the church had prohibited it from assisting in the fight for social justice in South Africa.¹²⁵

At the Annual General Meeting of Galilee Temple, the Merebank branch of Bethesda, the question was asked whether Bethesda should not 'break away from the Full Gospel Church' altogether.¹²⁶ At another branch in Imhlatuzana, at the Capernaum Temple, the following resolution was taken: 'noting the fact that we are subject to the constitution of the Full Gospel Church and grieved by prejudices ... we resolve that the said constitution should be amended, eliminating all hints of racial prejudice, in consultation with all affiliated population groups ...'.¹²⁷

There were also reactions from certain sections of Bethesda's congregations. One member in a newspaper article warned that 'If the church does not function as God intended it to, free of the systems and ideologies of man, then we are going to view a society of God-less people who will find comfort in the isms of this world'.¹²⁸ Another lamented that 'for too long we have been victims of a system of divide and rule'.¹²⁹ On April 21, 1980 five laymen were elected by a few pastors and certain members of Bethesda to study the issue of racial preju-

dice in the constitution of the Full Gospel Church.¹³⁰ The committee unearthed various points of racial prejudice in the constitution,¹³¹ such as its acceptance of the policy and laws of the South African Government on the grounds of Romans 13 (which commanded that the powers that rule must be obeyed)¹³² and the fact that the white conference of all white pastors was the highest legislative body of the church.¹³³ The committee called for inter alia the General Council to be composed of all ministers irrespective of race¹³⁴; the removal from the constitution of any mention of different races¹³⁵; and urged that all laws should be applicable to the entire church irrespective of race.¹³⁶

By the beginning of 1983, these proposals had not yet been accepted. Constitutional amendments require the approval of the white conference of the FGC which meets each year at Easter. In August 1982 at a meeting in Durban the moderator of the Full Gospel Church openly rejected apartheid¹³⁷ but at a meeting of the ministers of Bethesda in February, 1983 which he chaired, only a compromise amendment to the constitution was sent to the white conference.¹³⁸ This amendment which proposed a federal system of church government was rejected by the white conference which met in April, 1983.¹³⁹

The Bethesda experience encouraged further scrutiny of the polity of the AFM and AOG. In 1980, a short while after the Bethesda controversy, the 'Indian section' of the AFM rejected its policy of racial separation which was seen in the traditional distinction between 'members' (whites only) and 'adherents' (those of other racial groups).¹⁴⁰

The Indian section questioned the 'unjustifiable division' within the AFM which they considered to be the result of 'schism and aloofness' and which they claimed 'testifies to a sinful state'.¹⁴¹ It rejected the AFM's white dominated church structure which it claimed was 'prone to perpetuate or promote division or separation, a form of entrenched apartheid'.¹⁴²

On June 29, 1982 the Indian and 'coloured' sections of the AFM drew up a declaration of intent to 'work towards full spiritual co-operation and organisational unity of the AFM of S.A'.¹⁴³

In August 1981 at the meeting of the AFM white executive its general secretary, J. du Plessis, pointed out that since 1961 the position had changed and that 'whites, coloureds, Indians and blacks who belong to the AFM are full and equal members of the church as a whole'.¹⁴⁴ The Executive declared, that 'the old dispensation has ended' but pointed out that, '... the possibility does exist that language and cultural differences as well as socio-economic standing may in time disappear and when this does happen then the external structure of the church should also be adapted to this'.¹⁴⁵ However, the various races are still separated.

In 1981 the Bethshan Assembly of God underwent a similar crisis. From its inception, its affairs had been controlled by its founder, F.L. Hansen (cf. Chapter 3). However, a group within Bethshan queried the status of the council and the ownership of its properties, and raised the question of who would succeed Pastor Hansen.¹⁴⁶ This created rancour between the officials of the church and this small group. The council of Bethshan cancelled the membership of the thirteen members who had made up this group, on the grounds that 'they had undermined the Pastor's authority'.¹⁴⁷ This led to much tension in the congregation.¹⁴⁸ At the 1982 AGM when the 13 were asked to leave the meeting there was open conflict between a few supporters of the 'rebel group' and the rest of the congregation.¹⁴⁹ The development of Bethshan from its traditional autocracy to a more congregation-centred polity is still in progress and it has proved a slow process.

Among a small section of independent and other Phase two congregations, this socio-political awareness is also apparent. (Chapter 5) Some of these independent churches banded together into a group called the South African Fellowship of Indian Ministers, (SAFIM). Inaugurated officially in August 1972 it aimed to provide mutual aid to independent pastors and to assist

in the stabilization of their groups. As its name suggests, it desired to assist only 'Indian ministers'.¹⁵⁰ It hoped to be a basis for uniting 'Indian Christian ministers of all denominations for fellowship' and it agreed 'that SAFIM be organised and controlled by Indian Christian ministers and layworkers'.¹⁵¹ However, after a short while the Fellowship became defunct largely due to leadership struggles.

Another Fellowship of mainly independent pastors has recently been formed in Chatsworth and meets regularly every week. This Fellowship like SAFIM rejects white missionary control in any form. It attempts to create a forum where Indian pastors can meet to help one another; where the implications of white control can be analysed and where the Indian pastor may 'come into his own'. So far this body has not called for a 'moratorium' on foreign missionaries, but it is attempting to encourage Indian leadership.

However, these few 'incidents' of such socio-political awareness cannot be taken as an indication that Indian Pentecostals are changing their hitherto apolitical attitude. On the contrary, these Indian Pentecostals, in spite of their socio-political woes have in the main shunned any opportunity to take a stance against apartheid. The most recent example is the lack of support by Pentecostals in June, 1984 for a statement rejecting the apartheid basis of the new constitution of South Africa: 105 Indian Pentecostal pastors were invited to a meeting to discuss the legal and ethical implications of the new constitution - only 8 attended.

6.6 The Spirit and the Letter

During the emergence and early development of Indian Pentecostal bodies strong theological homogeneity prevailed throughout the whole congregation. One finds no examples of doctrinal controversy. On the contrary, besides the general distrust of theological study there was also no attempt to even formulate a creed. Although the headquarters of Phase One and some of the Phase Two groups had their constitutions and 'statements of faith', the Indian congregations were either generally unaware of these or func-

tioned without them.¹⁵² Theirs was a religion of experience with little or no interest in creeds. This attitude had also been that of their white counterparts in their early days.¹⁵³ Moreover, whatever formulations of the 'letter' (fixed creed) might have existed they had been borrowed from Pentecostal churches in America.¹⁵⁴

Teaching, preaching and evangelism were therefore based only on what was understood to be appropriate within the context of the religious practice of the congregation. Here Christ was essentially the 'healer' 'the Saviour of the Soul' and the 'protector from evil'. All members were equally endowed spiritually and hence were equally responsible for furthering the aims and objectives of the group.

As these groups evolved this homogeneity gradually disappeared, accelerated by the emergence of second and later generation members and by the presence of more nominal members who were not as committed as the 'pioneers' of the movement had been.

Two possibilities lay open to these groups:-

(i) A new separation: many separated to join other bodies. Schisms led to the establishment of new groups which fervently reaffirmed the orthodox Pentecostal stance. These newer bodies allowed greater scope for the manifestation of the charismata and for enthusiastic worship. Those who find that their churches do not allow them full involvement in its functions join these new groups, with reasons like, 'My church has lost the Spirit ... here the Spirit moves freely' or, 'There I was under the Law, here we enjoy the freedom of the Spirit'.¹⁵⁵ These responses, in effect, highlight the fact that spontaneity and scope for individual recognition which are no longer attainable in established groups are still possible in newer ones.

However, growth and contact with the wider community appears to lead these groups into a situation similar to that of the older ones. (cf. Sect or denomination below). Hence 15 years after their emergence, the new groups

also often lose their initial Pentecostal fervour; (cf. A.L. Hammond and J. Frank chapter 5). No longer do they insist on the spiritual charismata although they make allowances for it in their services. Some do not insist on glossolalia as the evidence of the Baptism of the Spirit. Others believe that there is no 'second experience'; that the Spirit-Baptism accompanied conversion and that throughout the individual's life he may be continuously 'filled with the Spirit' for certain special tasks or situations.

(ii) The second reaction involves the largest section of these groups. These affirm a creed (the letter) out of necessity, to maintain their distinctive position over and against other Christian groups.

The correspondence between the headquarters of the Full Gospel Church and Dr P.M. Krishna regarding the latter's doctrinal difficulties with the F.G.C. Creed, illustrates the tension between 'the Spirit' and 'the Letter' so well that we shall quote fully from it:

Dr Krishna, a Hindu lawyer and academic, became a Christian in 1970 and in the mid-70's he joined Bethesda. He was given ministerial status and became dean of the Bethesda Bible College in Chatsworth. He was also the first and only individual in the whole F.G.C. among all races to hold a doctor's degree. His academic background and serious commitment to the Christian Gospel led him to question the doctrinal standpoint of this church.

On September 22 1980 he wrote of his dilemma to the principal of Bethesda College,

As I understand it, the Faculty (expects) of the students and the church that a Pentecostal College should at all times, both at Faculty and student levels, manifest a Pentecostal stamp, within the confines of the Full Gospel conception of Pentecostalism.

... while I believe that I am a Pentecostal, my emphasis and my style may differ ...

... the cross (coming from my background) speaks to me of austerity - not any dry asceticism, but a call to a strong measure of exterior and interior discipline ... I urge myself first and then all else to a life of aspiration after a heavenly life (the Kingdom of God vis-à-vis the Kingdom of this world), under the shadow of the Cross, in the Power of the Spirit, according to the capacities given to each of us. I think that this emphasis has led to (the allegation) that my doctrine was different.

... There are some who look upon the dispensation of the Spirit and Grace as setting them above the concerns that I have briefly adumbrated above and as releasing them into a victorious triumphant Christian life ...

He went on,

You did indicate to the Faculty that an identification with the credal statement was necessary. I think the present position has arisen because when I joined the College in 1976, I was not given a statement of Faith so that I had no knowledge whatsoever of its contents.

You know as Principal, the real difficulties I have with two doctrines of the Full Gospel Creed - namely the elevation of the physical act of speaking in tongues as the sign of the Baptism of the Spirit and the eschatological understanding that equates Biblical Israel with the nation state of Israel ... I cannot in experience and in conscience accept them. Therefore it is clear that there is no way out for me but to stand down as lecturer ...

... I left my previous appointment at the University (Durban Westville) out of love for the Lord and loyalty to Pastor Row-

lands. When I came to live on the Campus in 1976, I did not know that Bethesda was part of the Full Gospel Church nor was I acquainted with its creed or its constitution.¹⁵⁶

This confirms our view that in the main no importance was placed by the Indian group on the credal formulations of the white headquarters. Furthermore as late as 1976, the year that Dr Krishan joined Bethesda, the situation regarding doctrinal fixity was still fluid. The issue appears only to have become serious within Bethesda when an individual had raised it as a matter of conscientious objection.

P.M. Krishna was asked to take up the matter with the headquarters.¹⁵⁷ In December 1980 in his letter to the General Secretary of the Full Gospel Church he again affirmed, 'It was only a long time after (joining the College) that I had come across a constitution and became acquainted with the creed'.¹⁵⁸ He again isolated the areas of doctrine that he differed with and pointed out,

For a long time I have tried to believe that these are peripheral issues, but I am coming increasingly to see that they do matter in significant ways and they affect the liturgy, the worship and similar practical applications of faith. For instance there is much insistence in our church that we are free, that in the Spirit we have liberty; this is of course, true, but it is only a half truth. I can never accept that Grace of the Dispensation of the Spirit cancels out Law and Obedience¹⁵⁹

The reply of the Secretary General pointed out that,

... regarding points two and three in your letter (Premillennialism and identification of Biblical Israel with the present nation of Israel) I dare say these are not vital issues in our church and I am of the opinion that you are not the only pastor who holds a different view on these issues.

The first point (glossolaly as initial evidence of the Spirit-Baptism consequent to regeneration) is a different matter altogether and this is one of the fundamental teachings of our church ... Basically the only distinction between the Full Gospel Church of God and churches like the Dutch Reformed Church and the Presbyterian Church is the water baptism of believers and the baptism of the Holy Spirit. If we compromise on these matters we may return to either the Dutch Reformed or the Methodist Churches.¹⁶⁰

What is noteworthy here is that although P.M. Krishna listed three areas of doctrine as problematic, only the issue of Spirit-Baptism was isolated as crucial. On the issue of water baptism the position of the Full Gospel Church did not differ from the Baptists. Furthermore it was considered that on this issue alone there should be no compromise as this was the only distinguishing point of this group vis-à-vis other churches. At this crucial point the 'letter' had to be maintained.

On March 9, 1981 P.M. Krishna met the committee of the moderator of the Full Gospel Church at Irene, Transvaal where the issue of Spirit-Baptism was discussed at length.¹⁶¹ It was suggested that 'Dr Krishna pray over the doctrines he founded himself at variance with', in the hope, they said, that 'the Lord would throw fresh light upon them'.¹⁶² It was decided to review the matter after a while.¹⁶³

On March 30 1981, P.M. Krishna wrote to the Secretary General pointing out,

I now find myself in a position where I consider that the doctrine of the baptism in the Holy Spirit as a separate, necessarily second experience after regeneration, to be evidenced by the physical act of 'speaking in tongues', to be untenable scripturally and therefore doctrinally indefensible.¹⁶⁴

He requested the moderature to 'give a ruling' on his position as 'a worker in the church'.¹⁶⁵

In reply the Secretary General informed P.M. Krishna:

In view of your latest letter in which you made it very clear that you do not find yourself in a position where you can defend the church's doctrine, the Moderature took the following decision. It resolved to inform Dr Krishna that it is not within the power and authority of the Moderature to accommodate a worker who had ceased to believe in any of the doctrines of the church (Article 11.3.1.3, 123). We therefore accept that he will not qualify to continue as a certified worker of the Church. Should he reach a place where he can fully endorse the doctrines of the Church as set out in the constitution, we would be happy to receive him back into our ministry. Further that we have no objection to him continuing as a member of the Full Gospel Church of God should this be his desire.

It is clear that the headquarters preferred to seek a way out rather than enforce discipline on the issue. But while other doctrines could be considered as 'indifferent', Krishna's rejection of glossolalia as initial evidence of Spirit-baptism could not be tolerated because it questioned what was distinctive about the Full Gospel creed. On this issue the constitution had to be applied. Furthermore it is significant that the decision was made binding and applicable to an ordained worker and not an ordinary member of the group, a further indication that during this stage of institutionalization congregations were no longer homogeneous and the clergy was separated from the laity.

Dr Krishna's experience was the first one of its kind among these groups and will obviously remain a test case. It illustrates how such an issue was formally handled by Pentecostals at this stage of their development and how a shift had occurred from the rationale of the early days of the group. Whereas then, the group itself (its members) censured anyone who had different beliefs, now censure came from headquarters. The tension between the 'letter' and the 'spirit' is produced when the revivalistic commitment to the immanence of the Spirit has disappeared and the 'letter' attempts to secure the group's distinguishing traits.

6.7 Sect or Denomination?

So far we have used both terms in a rather loose way to refer to the churches studied. We need to first define both terms briefly:

Peter L. Berger,¹⁶⁶ E.D.C. Brewer¹⁶⁷, Howard Becker¹⁶⁸, Liston Popel¹⁶⁹ and J.M. Yinger¹⁷⁰ generally agree with the following characteristics of sects and denominations put forward by Bryan Wilson:¹⁷¹ A sect is a voluntary association; membership is by proof to sect authorities of a conversion experience ... exclusiveness is emphasized and there is strong censure for defaulters of doctrinal, moral or organisational precepts; it conceives of itself as an elect, gathered remnant, having special enlightenment, personal perfection is emphasised and it maintains the belief in the priesthood of all believers; there is a high level of lay participation and opportunities for members to spontaneously express their commitment; the sect is hostile or indifferent to secular society or to the state.¹⁷²

A 'denomination' is characterised by the following: It is a formally constituted voluntary association, accepts adherents without imposition of traditional prerequisites of entry and employs formalised admission procedures; breadth and tolerance is emphasised; discipline on lay members is not harsh, its self-understanding is unclear and its doctrinal position is not stressed; it is content to be one movement among others all of which are thought to be acceptable in the sight of God; it accepts the standard and values of the prevailing culture and morality; there is a trained professional ministry; lay participation is restricted to particular sections of the laity and to particular areas of activity; services are formalised and spontaneity is absent; education of the younger members is of greater concern than the evangelism of the outsider; additional activities of its members are largely non-religious in character; the denomination accepts the values of the secular society and the state; membership will tend to limit itself to those who are socially compatible.¹⁷³

It is apparent that the groups under discussion cannot be easily fitted into one or the other of these categories. Using the above as working definitions we find that the examples in our study vary between 'sect' and 'denomination'.

All the churches under discussion began as sects that affirmed their exclusive possession of truth, and claimed to have sole monopoly of the 'fullness of the Gospel'. The fact that early Indian congregations functioned under the auspices of the Assemblies of God and the Apostolic Faith Mission or, as in the case of Bethesda, affiliated to the Full Gospel Church, appears not to have affected this exclusiveness as these churches functioned in racial isolation from the white headquarters.

All of these early Indian churches saw themselves as part of the 'faithful remnant' and this is evident in their strong reaction to established Christianity which they considered to be apostate. Their group solidarity and vital communalism in some cases insulated them from the upheavals of the society in which they lived by encouraging what we have described elsewhere as a 'club-mentality'. (cf. chapter 4)

Furthermore their commitment to the Holiness stance, (cf. chapters 1, 3 and 4) was expressed in religious practices that emphasised separation from 'the world'; group affiliation was accompanied by a rejection of 'worldiness' which included prohibition of smoking, drinking, bioscopes, theatres, and Sunday sports. Experience of the Spirit was the raison d'être of the group.

The criterion which determines the movement from sect to denomination is basically accommodation: through contact with society at large there is a gradual move from the first stage of reaction and exclusiveness to an acceptance of the challenges of co-existence with 'the world'.¹⁷⁴ We found that while no group was willing to accept the prevailing morality of its surrounding society, yet among the older groups, and even a few of the more established new one, accommodation to social environment was clearly observed. What we call the process of institutionalization and its cor-

rollaries are in effect this development into 'denomination'. For example we have observed that theological education is now considered to be essential for ministers and a trained and well-paid minister is becoming the accepted type. This new preoccupation with training, especially among the younger pastors, is enhanced by the rapid rise in the education level and the economic improvement of the Indian community at large. The latter factor has obviously influenced the former.

The 'denominationalisation' of these groups in our study had been accompanied by a stabilisation in the rate of conversion: established groups have obviously smaller growth rates than independent groups; a 'cooling off' process occurred, nominal membership grew and lower levels of lay participation were observed. An ecclesiola in ecclesia came into being with discernible boundaries between clergy and laity; the group loses its totalitarian hold on its members. The religious rationale of the group ceases to be the determining factor in the lives of its members.

It is clear then that we cannot speak of 'Indian Pentecostalism' as if Indian Pentecostal churches were a homogeneous group: the initial stages of the group resemble those of a sect fairly closely. However, Indian Pentecostalism finds itself in a dynamic context which has encouraged institutionalism. This in turn had led many of these groups to develop into denominations, a development which for many of these bodies is still going on.

Summary and Significance

1. Indian Pentecostal churches that were established in Phase One became gradually more institutionalised as they underwent a 'cooling off' of the revival fervour.

1.1 Growth and development of the church ceased to be the concern of the entire congregation but of a group within it, an ecclesiola in ecclesia. Membership of lay-led organisation declined, there emerged a lack of homogeneity in the congregation itself and the youth became

increasingly indifferent to church activities.

1.2 Methods of evangelism changed. For example, the erstwhile protagonists of campaigns, tent meetings and evangelistic outreaches have found it necessary to establish more permanent congregations of their own.

2. The 'cooling off' process itself not only changed the character of the various bodies and congregations, but it also forced them towards greater institutionalization: transition from free and spontaneous groups to institutions with a formal structure, a trained ministry, constitution and polity.

2.1 The earlier, charismatic leadership was arbitrary rather than 'free'. Within the new organisational structures there occurred a decentralisation of power and authority. Indian pastors in the older Pentecostal churches which had been founded by whites were now gradually given more leadership opportunities.

2.2 However, a corollary to institutionalization has been a new clericalism. Pastors hold all the key-posts and only they are involved in the decision making processes, a development which stifles lay participation and leadership. A quasi - episcopal system has evolved instead of a congregational polity which corresponds more to the Pentecostal affirmation that all are 'equal in the spirit' and are 'ministers of the Gospel'.

3. This trend towards establishing a professional clergy has been accompanied by an unprecedented interest in biblical training on the part of pastors who hope to gain credibility in the now more education - conscious community, and to gain governmental recognition for their churches, from which would follow land allocations, marriage licences for pastors, tax and other benefits.

3.1 In the present socio-economic climate young people seek jobs with more money and status than that of 'pastor'. Hence the vast majority of students at the Pentecostal Bible Schools have been non-matriculants.

3.2 The present training that the numerous small Bible schools offer is far from adequate and results in unnecessary duplication of efforts and inefficient use of the meagre resources available. Furthermore the quality of teaching and of students admitted leaves much to be desired. To continue the present policy of providing only basic training to men without adequate education will raise serious difficulties for these churches in the future when there will be greater numbers of educated people in their pews.

4. During this period of institutionalization internal crises emerged over the problem of succession, which usually occurs when the rule of a strong charismatic individual ends. In the case of Bethesda, J.F. Rowland's recommendation that 'the reins' be handed over to A. Thompson may well have been the best possible course of action given the unavailability of trained or experienced Indian leaders. But in view of the questionable racial policy of the F.G.C. an administrative move was politicised. The F.G.C. was challenged to remove apartheid principles from its constitution. Thus there emerged for the first time, a clear socio-political awareness among a section of an otherwise a-political congregation bent mainly on only the 'salvation of the soul'.

4.1 In spite of the serious controversy that arose in the FGC, the AFM and the Bethshan AOG concerning their policy of racial separation and white domination, these churches have not yet removed these offensive clauses from their constitutions and their polity has remained largely unchanged.

5. The institutionalization process in older Pentecostal churches has led to a recent insistence on a formal creed and a statement of faith which attempts to maintain the Pentecostal distinguishing features (the

'Spirit') by means of the 'letter'. Their whole theological standpoint has come to focus on what distinguishes them from other churches, namely the speaking in tongues as the initial evidence of Spiritual Baptism, rather than on what they share.

6. Institutionalization has been accompanied by denominationalization of Pentecostal 'sects'. Almost all began as sects which with time came more and more to resemble denominations. The move from sect to denomination has been influenced by the attempts of these churches to accommodate themselves to their changing socio-economic and religious contexts.

There is ample evidence to substantiate Richard Niebuhr's view that 'the fervour and commitment of members cannot be sustained past the founding generation and that the denomination is the sect that has accommodated itself within the mainstream of society and has become "routinized"'.¹⁷⁵ The tension that Peter Berger described which exists between the sect and the larger society gradually disappeared.¹⁷⁶

This 'routinization' of the early groups has also been accompanied by the upward social movement of their members (cf. chapter 4 for a fuller description of this process). Susan Bud describes this process thus: 'as members grew richer, their commitment would become attenuated, they would press for more ritual and a less emotional form of service, and for formal entry qualifications rather than constantly renewed signs of grace such as spirit possession, glossolalia and being saved'.¹⁷⁷

Malcolm Calley¹⁷⁸, J.T. Nichol¹⁷⁹ and D.L. Edwards¹⁸⁰ found evidence of the correlation between the denominationalization process and the upward socio-economic development of the Pentecostal sects' members. This has also been confirmed by J.H. Chamberlayne¹⁸¹, R. Currie¹⁸² and E.D.C. Brewer¹⁸³ in their study of the Methodist sects which had developed into denominations.

7. B. Wilson suggests a sub-division of sects which he believes explains their nature more clearly:

- (i) Conversionist sects whose teaching centres on evangelism, are hostile to clerical learning and modernism, and indifferent to other groups;
- (ii) Adventist sects which are characterised by a pessimistic determinism;
- (iii) Introversionist sects which emphasize higher inner values through their rejection of the "world's" values; and
- (iv) Gnostic sects which have a wishful mysticism, where the "world's" goals are accepted but new and esoteric means are used to achieve these goals.¹⁸⁴

J. Milton Yinger argued for a three-fold classification which does not markedly differ from Wilson's except that he groups adventist and conversionist sects together under what he calls 'progressive sects' because they are 'power orientated'.¹⁸⁵

Wilson places fundamentalist and Pentecostal groups within the category 'conversionist'.¹⁸⁶

However, neither this category nor Yinger's 'progressive' group fully describe the Pentecostal groups of our study, because at least in their incipient stages the churches of both Phase one and two share some of the characteristics of both Wilson's Conversionist and Introversionist sects. Not only are these groups given to evangelism and the rejection of formal training, but they also place great importance on the 'experience of the Spirit' as a talisman of divine approval (chapter 4) and they rely totally on the 'illumination of the Spirit' as the Introversionist group do. Doctrine and creed are not as important as 'the voice of the Spirit'. On the other hand, the other characteristics of the 'Introversionist' category such as neglect of evangelism eschatology and lack of ministers do not apply.

8. We need finally to examine Gerlach and Hine's thesis that Pentecostal movements are movements of social change.¹⁸⁷ They infer from the fact that many people seemed 'changed' and 'transformed' when they became

Pentecostals, that Pentecostalism has the potential to change and sometimes transform society.¹⁸⁸ Gerlach claims that Pentecostalism is 'a movement of transformation and revolutionary change ... a group of people who are organised for and ideologically motivated and committed to the task of generating fundamental change and transforming persons, who are actively recruiting others to this group, and whose influence is growing in opposition to the established order within which it develops'.¹⁸⁹

It seems, however, that Gerlach and Hine have over-estimated the ability of Pentecostalism to transform or change society. It is beyond doubt that conversion to Pentecostalism indeed transformed the lives of many Indians (cf. examples cited in chapters 3;4;5). However, we found no correlation between personal change and social change as Gerlach maintains. In fact he himself admitted that in the North American context 'the main focus of Pentecostals efforts' has been to 'transform persons, not change the social order'. 'But', he adds, 'social changes do follow'¹⁹⁰ - he shows no proof for this claim.

Anderson, holding the opposite view, claims that the Pentecostal movement in the USA 'served', after a while, 'to perpetuate the social order'.¹⁹¹ He adds that 'even the practice of tongues, exorcisms and healings are conservative in effect because they kept the Pentecostals busy in activities which have no impact whatsoever on the political economy or social relations of American society and because they serve to reconcile the Pentecostals to things as they are ... they have been mere rituals of rebellion, cathartic mechanisms which in fact stabilize the order ... The radical social impulse inherent in the vision of the disinherited was transformed into social passivity, ecstatic escape, and finally, a most conservative conformity'.¹⁹²

We must agree with Anderson here for the following reasons:

(i) As we have shown in this chapter the highly motivated, homogenous and lay - led groups was routinized within thirty years as these churches had soon accommodated themselves within the larger society.

(ii) The recruitment process of others by the members themselves is an important factor in Gerlach and Hine's thesis - but the enthusiasm of the first generation did not last. The conversion rate, as we have shown, stabilized and evangelism ceased to be the concern of the whole group.

(iii) Pentecostals not only in the context of our study, but also in South Africa at large are only a minority group. The majority of the Indians are still Hindus.

(iv) As we have observed, the socio-political awareness during the institutionalized stage of these churches only occurred among a few. In the main Indian Pentecostals remained a-political if not thoroughly conformist. This attitude is only too obvious among white Pentecostals also; for example the AFM's link with the Nationalist party which led to the secession of the Pentecostal Protestant Church; and the strongly apartheid church polity of the AFM and the Full Gospel Church in South Africa.

In spite of legitimate grounds for socio-political complaints, Indian Pentecostals do not participate actively in changing or criticizing the prevailing order in South Africa. They claim that 'politics should not be brought into the church', a claim which Fundamentalist and many Evangelicals have often made. Pentecostals and Fundamentalists share an ideology that is essentially otherworldly - for example their imminent eschatology, secret rapture, extreme futuristic pre-millennialism and the emphasis on the 'salvation of the soul'. These aspects of their doctrine militate against Gerlach's claim that their ideology 'provides a vision and master concept of the future'.¹⁹³ We found that Indian Pentecostals were either reconciled to the social position and economic lot because they were primarily concerned with their future bliss in heaven or they worked within the social structures of South Africa to improve their socio-economic status (cf. chapter 4). The latter has accompanied the routinization and institutionalization of these churches.

Examples of studies of Pentecostal movements elsewhere support this view: M. Heralambos claims that in the shanty towns around large Brazilian cit-

ies, where Pentecostalism is growing rapidly, Pentecostal ministers tell their poverty stricken followers that their poverty results from their sins. Some Roman Catholic priests, however, have blamed the social structures rather than the poor themselves - the Brazilian government therefore condones Pentecostalism, but has gaoled some of the more outspoken Catholic priests.¹⁹⁴ C.L. d' Epinay observed that in Chile also 'Pentecostalism teaches its initiates withdrawal and passivity in socio-political matters; (and is) limited only to the commandment to be submissive to authority ... These components make it, in the last analysis, a force for order rather than an element of progress; a defender of the status quo and not a promoter of change.'¹⁹⁵

P. Wagner, however, in his discussion on Pentecostalism in Latin America attacks d' Epinay's views strongly.¹⁹⁶ Using Dean Kelley's argument that conservative churches in the USA are growing because these churches have 'the greatest social strength',¹⁹⁷ Wagner asserts that if the Pentecostals in such countries as Brazil and Chile were to be involved in bringing about social change they would actually lose social strength. Kelley had pointed out that religious groups accumulated social strength by 'believing that they alone are in truth, that others are in error, and that dialogue is a waste of time'. Kelley has even considered the tendency towards conservatism to be a 'healthy and valuable trait' which gave 'coherence and continuity to human society'.¹⁹⁸

Wagner, therefore, concludes that 'when Pentecostal churches blur the clear line of priorities ... (when they do not place) the salvation of the soul first, when they become ashamed of their lower class members and seek more "respectability", when they introduce more "dignity" into their liturgy, and when they decide to upgrade the educational standards of the ministry, trouble may just be down the road. Building more and more social activism into their church programmes becomes another step towards an almost sapping of social strength'.

Wagner's interpretation is problematic for reasons which have to be dealt with briefly:

(i) Wagner shows no serious appreciation of the markedly differing contexts that exist in the USA and in the Third World. He uses Dean Kelley's assessment on conservative churches in the USA to evaluate Pentecostalism in the Third World.

(ii) The dichotomy he makes between the salvation of the soul and social change is unfortunate for reasons that have been abundantly stated by a host of Third World theologians such as G. Gutierrez; O. Costas; M.M. Thomas; T. Balasuriya and M. Buthelezi.¹⁹⁹

(iii) Kelley's lack of appreciation for religious dialogue which meets with Wagner's approval shows a failure to understand the complexities of a religiously plural society like the South African one for instance.

(iv) Wagner's warning that Pentecostal churches should not change their character 'lest trouble may be just down the road' fails to take cognizance of the inexorable institutionalization process which we have attempted to describe in this chapter. As Monica Wilson maintains '... it is false ... to suppose that religious ideas can escape reformulation as societies change'.²⁰⁰ In a society as dynamic as the one Indian Pentecostals find themselves in, it is wrong to suppose also that their church structure would remain the same and escape reformulation.

1. J.F. Rowlands' address at the 'Diamond Jubilee of the Full Gospel Church at Irene, Transvaal entitled 'True Pentecost'.
2. M.W. August 1957.
3. M.W. January 1976.
4. M.W. September 1976, 168.
5. M.W. January 1976, 10.
6. M.W. November 1973 'Unscriptural Behaviour', 176.
7. M.W. January 1975, 8.
8. M.W. January 1975.
9. Bethesda Temple Church Council minutes April 21, 1972;
M.W. March 1969, 19.
10. M.W. August 1973.
11. M.W. August 1967, 160.
12. M.W. March 1964, 19.
13. M.W. September 1976, 171.
14. Carl Richardson who heads the Church of God 'Forward in Faith' T.V. programmes has had this televised in the USA. It was acclaimed as 'the largest Pentecostal gathering ever' in Durban.
15. All these have special meetings, overseas guest speakers, Easter conventions, ministers' refresher courses, retreats etc. all designed to encourage participation in these auxiliary functions.
16. The example referred to is the Missionary Movement at Emmaus Temple, Bethesda's Branch in Asherville.
17. For example a few Bethesda groups and Bethshan Assembly of God.
18. From the study of sermons of Phase One church pastors.
19. Information from interviews and personal observation.
20. J.F. Rowland's information.
21. *ibid.*
22. This is a common cliché among these groups. This naive view was maintained for almost 40 years in some cases.

23. This issue was raised by Pastor Rowlands' critics during the succession problem in the 70's.
24. This became necessary during the controversy involving Pastor J. Vallen and the group who left Bethesda in 1968 to join the Pentecostal Holiness Church.
25. Bethesda's Covenant. Copy obtained from its church offices.
26. Some Indian pastors pointed out to the writer that they did not understand the reasons behind the move; others said that as long as Pastor Rowlands was pleased with the move they had no reason to differ. Still others confessed that they found it difficult to object because of their respect for him.
27. Apostolic Faith Mission of S.A. Indian Church: Church Laws (n.d.) This centralised control led to 80 white congregations seceding from the AOG (S.A.).
28. L. Abraham's information, pastor of Olivet AOG, Chatsworth.
29. Constitution and By-Laws of the Assemblies of God, Part 11 4,6 (a); AFM Indian Church: Church Laws 13. a,b,c,d,e,f,g; Full Gospel Church: Bethesda By-Laws cf. section dealing with composition of Workers' Conference and Bethesda Temple Church Council
30. Pentecostal Repentent Church, and Bible Deliverance Fellowship.
31. This view we get especially from the study of the numerous collected sermons.
32. *ibid.*
33. The constitutions of all Phase One churches were studied: only Pastors serve on the highest boards of these churches or are eligible for election to the offices.
34. The need for better salaries and financial help for pastors have repeatedly appeared in interviews with these pastors. Financial wrangles are not uncommon at their committee meetings. The writer attended a number of such meetings.
35. Figures provided by certain Bethesda pastors and Johnny Frank of the New-Life Fellowship.
36. Interview with Pastor Joseph Vallen.
37. AFM of South Africa- Westcliff Newsletter 1982, editorial.
38. The Durban Bible College was established by the Evangelical Alliance Mission and is non-denominational.

39. Prospectus Durban Bible College, Merebank, Durban n.d.
40. eg. Pastor J. Peters, Peter Gounden, Paul Charles, G. Govindsamy. Charles and Govindsamy left to join Baptist type churches.
41. Oosthuizen, G.C., Pentecostal Penetration, 248.
42. At least 3 pastors made this accusation during discussions with the writer.
43. Document on theological standpoint formulated by the Faculty of Theology, Durban-Westville University and Liason Committee with churches.
44. Bethesda Bible College has recently expressed interest in being accredited as the affiliate of the Faculty at the University of Durban-Westville. It does not, however, meet the academic prerequisites at present but may well do so in the future.
45. Prospectus of the International Bible College 1971-1872; D.B. Coleman's information.
46. Prospectus CBC 1973.
47. Pastor D. Issaac's information.
48. Oosthuizen, G.C., P.P. 257.
49. *ibid.*, D. Issaac *op. cit.*
50. Johnny Frank's information.
51. David Haag's information.
52. Christian Centre information.
53. Dean Reddy's information.
54. Oosthuizen, G.C., P.P., 252.
55. *ibid.*
56. Bethesda Bible College student records.
57. Some of their courses were reviewed.
58. Oosthuizen, G.C. *op. cit.*, 258.
59. Dan Rajavaloo's information.
60. Oosthuizen, G.C. P.P., 258.

61. Some have openly admitted this inability during interviews.
62. Bethesda College records.
63. *ibid.*
64. Many of his members and most of his pastors called him 'Dad'.
65. J.F. Rowlands mentioned this to the writer on many occasions.
66. M.W. October 1982. The view of Pastor Alex Thompson in the article is somewhat exaggerated.
67. M.W. in Bethesda's monthly magazine: it has been regularly published since January 1940.
68. This was true to the extent that the pastors took it upon themselves to inform him of problems and decisions taken at their local committee meetings.
69. Certain individuals left Bethesda after tensions arose when they had raised this issue.
70. The Leader March 28, 1980 refers to 'numerous controversial issues raised in the past'.
71. In the late 60's, at an AGM of Bethesda a member queried the fact that a full financial statement was not submitted. Pastor Rowlands asked the congregation calmly whether after all the years this meant he was not trusted. The congregation censured the young man, who raised the question, for insulting Pastor Rowlands.
72. For example C.M. Steven and D. Naicker who joined the Lutheran Church and J. Prakasim who joined the Presbyterian Church.
73. cf. later Pentecostal groups (D. Isaacs, L. Hammond, J. Munien, F. Sabbadu et al Chapter 5).
74. Pastor Rowlands developed heart disease about the middle of the 70's and was chronically ill from then on.
75. The Sunday Tribune, The Graphic and The leader carried articles, the Tatter took a critical line.
76. Dr D. McLuhan of Mount Paran (Atlanta, Georgia) a large Church of God congregation in north America who was supposed to take up the post was not able to come. Alex Thompson was General Secretary of the Full Gospel Church at the time at which he was appointed. He had been a lecturer at Berea Bible College, the white counterpart of Bethesda Bible College. He received a doctorate honoris causa from Lee College, a Church of God institution in Cleveland, Tennessee.

77. All matters of training and education are the concerns of this Board. It comprises white ministers and is based at the Full Gospel Church headquarters at Irene, Transvaal.
78. cf. for discussion of circumstances and reasons for J.F. Rowlands affiliating to the Full Gospel Church cf. chapter 3.
79. Bethesda Temple Church Council Minutes February 1980.
80. At one stage during 1977-79 Pastor Thompson was doing all the administration of the church but J.F. Rowlands 'hung on to the reins'; he had to still be consulted on all important matters.
81. M.W. March 1980.
82. Sunday Tribune March 30, 1980.
83. The Leader March 28 1980.
84. The Leader March 21 1980.
85. *ibid.*, March 28, 1980.
86. Sunday Tribune March 30 1980.
87. *ibid.*;
The Leader April 4, 1980 cf. letter by R.N. Veeran.
88. The Leader April 4 1980.
89. The Sunday Tribune March 30 1980;
The Leader March 28 1980;
ibid., Letter April 18 1980.
90. Sunday Tribune March 30 1980.
91. The Leader March 28 1980;
ibid., April 18 1980 cf. discussion of apartheid policy in chapter 2.
92. Even the informants to the press, who were Bethesda members, for this reason, refused to be identified.
93. cf. 'Church man gets threats' The Leader June 20 1980;
Sunday Tribune March 28, 1980.
94. L. Hammond and two others who left Bethesda informed the writer of the nature of this victimisation;
also Sunday Tribune March 30, 1980.
95. The Leader May 9, 1980.

96. Sunday Tribune March 30 1980.
97. ibid., April 6 1980.
98. Sunday Tribune March 30 1980;
Pastor Rowlands delayed the appointment of an assistant for a number of reasons: these include the fluctuations in his chronic illness which sometimes permitted him to manage his duties and sometimes created crises; also the style of autocratic rule made it difficult for him to relinquish responsibilities to an assistant.
99. The Leader letter 'Concerned but confused' April 4, 1980.
100. ibid.
101. The Leader May 23, 1980.
102. ibid.
103. ibid., June 6 1980.
104. ibid.
105. Minutes of Workers' Conference 1980.
106. Pastor Alex Thompson had gradually urged its formulation and assisted its development since 1975 when he was appointed Principal. He also prepared the drafts of the constitution.
107. Bye-laws of Bethesda, Indian section of the Full Gospel Church in Southern Africa Durban: 1977.
108. We interviewed individuals and certain youth groups who were censured for raising these issues.
109. M.W. July 1958, 102;
M.W. February 1967, 13-14.
110. M.W. August 1958, 108.
111. M.W. August 1946, 87.
112. M.W. 1964.
113. Oosthuizen G.C., P.P., 92.
114. M.W. July 1958, 102.
115. M.W. August 1946, 87.
116. ibid.

117. M.W. September 1941.
118. M.W. October 1946, 113.
119. M.W. May 1949, 58.
120. Oosthuizen, G.C., P.P., 34.
121. M.W. August 1957, 111.
122. M.W. April 1945, 45;
cf. also AGM Report of Bethesda of 1949, January 8;
also in M.W. February 1949, 15.
123. M.W. May 1953, 55.
124. The Leader April 18, 1980.
125. The Leader April 18 'Disclosures have jolted Bethesdaland'.
126. The Leader May 2, 1980.
127. ibid.
128. The Leader letter 'Bethesdaland Waterloo' May 23, 1980.
129. The Leader May 23, 1980.
130. The Leader May 2, 1980.
131. Memorandum of the Committee of five addressed to Bethesda Temple Church Council (mimeographed)
132. Preamble of Full Gospel Church Constitution, paragraphs 3 and 4.
133. Principles of Operation Bethesda Bye-Laws,
Bye-Laws: Article 7, 60;
Article 8, 74.
134. Memorandum op. cit., 6.
135. From Bye-Laws: Article 7; 7.1.1.4, 7.1.1.5 and 7.1.1.6
Article 8; 8.1.1, 8.1.2.2
136. Examples of unfairness to the Indian group were found in,
Bye-Laws : Article 6.5.1.1
Article 6.5.2
Article 1.3.2
137. The writer attended this meeting.
138. Resolution passed at this meeting.

139. Minutes of the Irene Convention, April 1983.
140. Letter of J. du Plessis, General Secretary of AFM to Secretary of the Indian Section dated 13.8.81
141. Unity in the Church-document put out by pastors of the 'Indian Section', p.4.
142. *ibid.*, 8.
143. Declaration of Intent, 29.6.81 made at Skogheim, Port Shepstone, Natal (mimeographed).
144. Letter of J. du Plessis to 'Indian Section' dated 13.8.1981.
145. *ibid.*, 2.
146. Information from members and pastors of this group;
B. David's letter to Pastor Hansen which states former grievances 10.9.81;
Letter to Pastor C.R. La Foy to whom the group of 13 appealed 31.12.81.
147. B. David's information;
Petition signed by Bethshan members asking B. David to leave 6.10.81;
Letter of excommunication from Bethshan to B. David 29.10.81.
148. Letters (some anonymous) addressed, to Balchand David the 'leader' of this group, in which threats were made.
149. Information from eyewitnesses at this AGM 1982.
150. Resolutions taken at first meeting of SAFIM held on 28.8.72 at the AFM church, in Merebank;
cf. also Oosthuizen, G.C. *op. cit.*, 143.
151. *ibid.*, 5.
152. J.F. Rowlands was even accused of keeping the Indian deliberately uninformed of the constitution. He pointed out that 'a work governed by love did not need laws'.
J.F. Rowlands information.
153. The Full Gospel Church, for instance, only fixed its creed in the 20's; the AOG in the 30's.
154. This occurred, for example, via the AOG link with its American counterpart;
D. Bryant, John G. Lake et al.

155. These were the most representative by far of the responses received from the pastor or members who left established groups to join others.
156. Letter of P.M. Krishna to Alex Thompson dated 22.09.1980.
157. P.M. Krishna's information.
158. Letter of P.M. Krishna to M.L. Badenhorst dated 5.12.1980.
159. *ibid.*
160. Letter of M.L. Badenhorst to P.M. Krishna dated 13.1.1981.
161. Resumé of the proceedings of the special meeting between the Committee of the moderator and Dr P.M. Krishna held on Monday 9.3.81 at Irene (mimeographed).
162. *ibid.*, 2.
163. *ibid.*, 3.
164. Letter of P.M. Krishna to Secretary General 30.3. 81.
165. *ibid.*
166. Peter L. Berger 'The Sociological Study of Sectarianism' Social Research 21 (Winter 1954), 467-485.
167. E.D.C Brewer 'Sect and Church in Methodism' Social Forces 30 (May 1952), 400-408.
168. Howard, Becker Systematic Sociology on the Basis of the Beziehungslehre and Gebildelehre of Leopold van Wiese, N.Y. 1932, cited B. Wilson *op. cit.*
169. Liston Pope Mill Hands and Preachers New Haven Yale UP 1942, 11 8ff.
170. J.M. Yinger Religion in the Struggle for Power Durham: Duke UP 1946.
171. Bryan Wilson 'An analysis of Sect Development', 3.
172. *ibid.*, 4;
cf. also W.G. Mulder From Sect to Church 1945; 350 ff.
173. *ibid.*;
Pope *op. cit.*, 120ff cited in B. Wilson *op. cit.*
174. Wilson, B. *op. cit.*, 6;

cf. also B. Johnson 'A Critical Appraisal of Church-Sect Typology' American Sociological Review XXII (Feb 1957), 88-92.

175. Niebuhr, H. Richard, The Social Sources of Denominationalism, 182; 72f.
176. Berger, P. cited in Heralambos, M., Sociology. Themes and Perspectives, 468.
177. Budd, S., op. cit., 75-76.
178. Calley, M., op. cit., 6.
179. Nichol, J.T., op. cit., 237.
180. Edwards, D.L. Religion and Change, 267.
181. Chamberlayne, J.H. 'From "sect" to "church" in British Methodism', 139-149.
182. Currie, R. Methodism divided : A Study in the Sociology of Ecumenicalism which examines the economic and social factors that led to the schisms and to reconciliation of Methodist groups.
183. Brewer, E.D.C. op. cit. 400-408.
 cf. also the following studies.
 Dynes, R.R. 'Church - Sect Typology and Socio-economic status', 555-560;
 Whitley, O.R., 'The sect-to-denomination process in American Religious Movements: the Disciples of Christ', 275-281.
184. Wilson, B., op. cit., 5.
185. Yinger, J. Milton, The Scientific Study of Religion, 275-278.
186. Wilson, B., op. cit., 6.
187. Gerlach, L.P., 'Pentecostalism: Revolution or Counter-Revolution?' op. cit., 682.
188. Gerlach, L.P. and Hine, V.H., People, Power and Change: Movements of Social Transformation, 99.
189. Gerlach, L.P., op. cit., 683.
190. *ibid.*
191. Anderson, R.M., The Vision of the Disinherited, 8.
192. *ibid.*, 240.

193. Gerlach, L.P., op. cit., 682.
194. Heralambos, M., op. cit., 462.
195. d' Epinay, C.L., op. cit., 145.
196. Wagner, P., Look Out! The Pentecostals are coming, 138.
197. Peter Wagner cites Kelley, D.M., Why Conservative Churches are Growing, 95.
198. cf. Wagner's discussion of Kelley's views op. cit., 141.
199. cf. for example,
 Balasuruya, T., Jesus Christ and Human Liberation, 9 f.
 England, J.C. (ed.) Living Theology in Asia (containing several relevant articles).
 Song, Choan- Sen Third Eye Theology 78-91; 192 f.
Logos March 1981 'Theology in struggle in Asia' by Balasuruya, T., 1-36.
 September 1981 'Theologizing from the other side of the World' a reflection on the ecumenical Dialogue of Third World Theologians, Tanzania, 1976.
Missionalia April 1979, articles by J.H. Roberts 'Some biblical Foundations for a mission of reconciliation', 3-17;
Missionalia, August 1977 for papers by D.J. Bosch, J.J.F. Durand and Desmond Tutu.
 Niles, D.P., 'Christian Mission and the Peoples of Asia' Missiology Vol. X, No. 3 1982, 279 ff.
 Samartha, S.J., 'Indian realities and the Wholeness of Christ', ibid., 301 ff.
 Gutierrez, G. 'The Hope of Liberation' Mission Trends No.3, 64 f.
 Buthelezi, M., 'Daring to Live for Christ' ibid., 176 f.
200. Wilson, M., Religion and Transformation of Society, 5.

Chapter 7

INDIAN PENTECOSTALISM IN A CHANGING RELIGIOUS CONTEXT

Up to now we have seen Indian Pentecostalism in its social context - now we examine its religious context. This chapter deals with three aspects,

- (7.1) the nature of the relation that exists between Pentecostalism and its mainly Hindu context and the attitudes of Hindus to Pentecostalism;
- (7.2) the influence that Pentecostalism has had on Hinduism;
- (7.3) and the change that is occurring within the Hindu community which has direct implications for Pentecostalism within this community.

7.1 Hindu reaction to Pentecostalism

Almost all the conversions to Pentecostalism were from Hinduism; only very few were converted from Islam. Hindu leaders have therefore sometimes criticised Christian churches for proselitization. Bethesda especially, because it has gained the most converts has come under the greatest criticism and Pastor Rowlands also has been attacked.¹

Hindu reaction has taken three forms:

- (i) Converts were ostracised or turned out of their homes by their families, though in this regard, Hindus are far more tolerant than Muslims.
- (ii) Local news-papers have carried letters to the following effect;

The actions of the few whites who feel that they must inculcate godliness into Indians is open to ridicule. Does not there exist the need for that same teaching to the whites of South Africa

rather than the Indians, that there are higher values in life rather than resort to white supremacy in all day to day activities.²

The writer goes on to label all converts as 'pariahs' who 'have discarded everything of their forebears, literature and culture except their black skins'.³

Another example is a letter to the press signed 'Rather Amused':

One religion is just as good as another ... Only those who are ignorant believe in conversion ... 'a rolling stone gathers no moss'.⁴

Sometimes these public criticisms had been provoked by the insensitive behaviour of Pentecostal leaders themselves. For example, Moving Waters published an article comparing Christ with Krishna,⁵ which drew widespread criticisms and Pastor Rowlands was accused of 'defaming Lord Krishna'. In this instance J.F. Rowlands quickly apologised and the matter rested.

On another occasion late in the 70's an Indian woman was interviewed on South African television by Pastor Rowlands and the American evangelist, Carl Richardson. The woman had held her previous 'holy lamp' in her hand and had testified that she had now 'come to the true light' and no longer needed to light the lamp as an aid to devotion. The programme also drew widespread reactions as Hindu leaders interpreted it as flagrant disrespect for the Kamatchee lamp, around which centres the daily prayers of Hindus. The service at which the woman had testified was recorded to be shown in the USA by Carl Richardson: An Indian woman who is converted from Hinduism and who publicly disowns the ritual lamp of her former Hindu devotional life and witnesses to her new faith, would make good propaganda among fundamentalist USA audiences largely ignorant of the nature of Hinduism. Here again Pastor Rowlands was quick to see the implications of this unfortunate incident and apologised.

Except for these two examples, Pastor Rowlands himself cannot be blamed for the provocation of Hindu criticism.⁶ On the contrary, Rowlands was generally cautious in his evangelistic approach and openly expressed deep respect for India and her culture. (cf. chapter 4) In fact on a visit to America in the mid-70's he used the Hindus' devotion as an example of what he believed should shame the widespread lack of piety among Christians.⁷ The following letter to the press from a Hindu expresses the ambiguity of Rowlands' position:

It is a puzzling situation ... we know that Pastor Rowlands' chief work is to convert as many Hindus as he can to Christianity, and while no one can quarrel with that in a free country, what is baffling is that he should give publicity to Hindu achievements ... in recent years Bethesda has been going ahead with its work without directly attacking any other religion. But the latest riddle leaves me scratching my head.⁸

The behaviour of some other Pentecostal leaders, especially those of the independent groups, has been far less tactful.⁹ At their open air and tent meetings several provocative statements concerning Hinduism as idol-worship were heard over loudspeakers. Aggressive tracts as well as door-to-door canvassing have been a source of great irritation to some Hindus.¹⁰

Pentecostal evangelists have often shown little respect for the devotion of Hindus or even knowledge of their religious views and have thus given justifiable grounds for this reaction.

On a few occasions Hindu leaders have openly condemned proselytisation. For example, in May 1936 a visiting guru, Swamiji Adhyanandgi, said at a meeting in the Durban City Hall:

We have enough troubles in the world, in political, economic and social spheres with the materialist philosophy of greed and hatred, and the survival of the fittest ... the votaries of the

different faiths should not add to that trouble by the mad run for proselytising.¹¹

As late as 1960 a Hindu referring to this address complained that

Hinduism has not yet heeded to the problem of proselytisation which is sapping the vitals of the community. The advice that was tended 26 years ago fell on deaf ears it seems.¹²

About the same time another Hindu scholar wrote:

During the earlier periods (our Phase 1) advantage was taken of the ignorance and lack of unity among the Hindus and quite a number were converted into Islam or Christianity. Nowadays proselytisation is not carried out on the same large scale, yet the number of converts is large.¹³

Here Christianity (mainly Pentecostal groups in the Indian context) was blamed for exploiting a situation created by socio-cultural upheaval. Pundit Vedalankar pointed out that 'the economic position of the poorer Hindus is exploited and inducement is offered for conversions'.¹⁴ (We shall return to an evaluation of this point later, our purpose here is to show how Hindus were evaluating Pentecostalism.) Vedalankar added, 'Many young men, especially those educated in English and devoid of vernacular knowledge, have embraced Christianity for the sake of marriage etc. ... Due to ignorance of the true teachings of Hinduism many people went into other faiths'.¹⁵

In 1982 the Hindu Dharma Sabha again focused on the issue of conversion to Christianity. It considered the techniques of Pentecostal evangelists to be manipulative.¹⁶ The same year the Sabha decided to create a million rand fund to stem the tide of proselytisation.¹⁷

(iii) The third reaction has been a serious self-examination by Hindus in the face of this loss of members. In 1960 N.P. Desai lamented that 'although there has now resulted an awareness (of the crisis facing Hinduism) little has been done by Hindus themselves'.

He wrote that,

As is usual with our people, we are content with enumerating the disabilities and emphasising vociferously and frequently from platforms the dangers to which the community (Hindus) was exposed. We considered this the height of our patriotic fervour. No thought was ever given to their solution; no machinery was set into motion to solve even a fraction of the problem. The lack of ability to influence masses resulted in failure to achieve anything of substance.¹⁸

The challenge that proselytisation offered to Hinduism was to force a section of the Hindus to reject the ritualistic aspects of their religion so dear to the majority in the community.

7.2 The influence of Pentecostalism on Hinduism

Stimulated by the challenge of Christianity, Hinduism has produced a renaissance as well as a reformation that has rejected rituals and images.¹⁹ To this Neo-Hindu movement among Indians in South Africa belong the Arya Samaj, the Saivaite Sungum, the Divine Life Society, the Ramakrishna Mission and the Krishna Consciousness Movement. These organizations, which had emerged during the last century in India, reject caste distinctions, and ritualistic practices and all promote a simplified and more philosophically acceptable religion. Their services consist of prayer and worship not unlike the pattern adopted in Christian services. In India also, many of these movements had arisen as part of the renaissance Hindu reaction to Christian missions.²⁰

The Arya Samaj, for instance, insists on imageless worship and it rejects the pujas, rituals and ceremonies of orthodox Hinduism. Its only scriptures are the Vedas; all other sacred books, including the epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata with its Bhagavadgita, are rejected. God is spoken of as 'personal' and the ideal of the religion is 'doing good to all men', a kind of ethical monotheism.²¹

The Ramakrishna Movement has been described by C.P. le Roux, who studied the movement in Natal, as a 'religious action system which has at its highest level of actions, a superordinate meaning system comprising of the verbal symbols of the unity of religions, selfless service, ... and oneness which functions as fides quae creditur and integrates the Movement as a whole, giving meaning and coherence to values, norms, organizational and situational facilities within the Movement'.²²

P.D. Devanandan, the theologian from Bangalore, India, believes that 'the essential quest in Hindu renascence ... is to discover a religious basis for (a) new secularism which could lend support to the ... call for active involvement in purposive plans for the ... re-ordering of time honoured social institutions and for determined efforts to concentrate attention more on the present welfare of all men rather than on the realization of the ultimate destiny of the individual'.²³ Hindu reformers like S. Radhakrishnan had already seen the need for Hinduisim to come to terms with the world and not to recede into an ex opera operato ritualism or into an introverted quest for personal salvation only. Radhakrishnan maintained that it was necessary to recognize 'spiritual realities not by abstention from the world, but in its life, its artha (business) and its kama (pleasure), the controlling power of spiritual faith. Life is one and in it there is no distinction of sacred and secular'.²⁴

Neo-Hinduism has correctly perceived that the great number of educated young South African Indians no longer look to ritualistic Hinduism for spiritual guidance. This type of Hinduism has ceased to be relevant to contemporary issues and problems. It cannot successfully compete with other religions in a country that contains various religions, cultures, nationalities and races.²⁵ Thus in 1960 B.D. Lalla wrote,

The educated young Hindu who in the last decade was abandoned as a force lost to the cause of Hinduism in this country, has reacted psychologically not only to his inferior status as a citizen of this country but also to the frustration of the age. He has realised with painful experience that in spite of his

western education qualifying him to participate in and contribute to the political, social, educational and economic institutions of the country, he is paradoxically ostracised from them and relegated to a position of inferiority.²⁶

In 1983 T. Naidoo a Hindu scholar confirmed this view when he pointed out that it was 'increasingly clear and quite understandably so, that older forms of worship, especially those quite obviously outmoded, should be replaced by new approaches that befit modern thinking'.²⁷

That Neo-Hinduism emerged as an organized force in South Africa partly as a direct result of the emergent activities of Pentecostalism is obvious from the following: the Hindu Maha Sabha was reconstituted in South Africa in 1935, soon after a spate of missionary campaigns which Bethesda had held in Durban. The meeting of the Sabha in 1935 bore striking similarities to Bethesda's larger campaigns; the Durban City Hall was used and the Mayor of Durban was also invited to open the proceedings. The meeting highlighted the conversion issue.

In the mid-70's a back-to-the-Ramayana-campaign (a parallel to the Back-to-the-Bible campaigns) was organised in Pietermaritzburg. The Swami of the Rama Krishna Centre in Durban also delivered illustrated sermons, (a parallel to the 'Bethesdasopes') and the Ramakrishna Centre also established the 'Children's Club' (a parallel to the Sunday Schools).²⁸

Thus without being aware of it, Pentecostal churches had stimulated a spiritual renaissance among members of the Hindu community²⁹ who had already begun to evaluate the viability of Hindusim in the face of economic and educational development and the loss of members to Pentecostal churches. The following view succinctly describes the present re-awakening in Hinduism,

A vast labyrinth of (ritualistic) practices has been built on the core of Hinduism and to the masses it is this that represents the Hinduism to be believed and practised ... Educated

young Hindus in increasing numbers are displaying their disapproval of these overshadowing anachronisms. They view these vestiges as part of man's spiritual struggle in an age that has long since receded into the oblivion of the past.³⁰

C.M. Brand had concluded in his study of the Indian community in the Cape Peninsula,

As soon as incipient assimilated tendencies appear within a solitary group which threaten to change its very nature, certain developments which are aimed at buttressing and maintaining the cultural heritage of the group can be expected.³¹

Neo-Hinduism, in the face of the conversions of Hindus to Christianity, has attempted this kind of 'buttressing'. However, two points emerge in our study,

(i) Neo-Hinduism among South African Indians is still confined to a minority, mostly to the better educated strata of Indian society. (cf. below)

(ii) Conversely, Pentecostalism has been a lively faith mainly among the poorer and less educated majority. (cf. chapters 4.4.4 and 5)

Before looking more closely at the religious development among South African Indians, a further point on the nature of neo-Hindu movements.

Some of these renascent organizations like the Divine Life Society, the Ramakrishna Movement and the Brahma Samaj venerate all religious leaders like the Buddha, Jesus and Mohammed.³³ Their approach is not unlike that which John Hick has more recently proposed, namely, a universalism which sees all religions as partial revealers of God.³⁴ This approach, quite correctly, has elicited the following response from a leading theologian from India, D.P. Niles,

If the intolerance of Christianity, which is the other side of mission, is on placing itself over against other faiths in a position of superiority, the intolerance of Hinduism is (its) neutralizing specificities and historical particularities and at best flattening all differences or at worst reabsorbing other faiths' positions into itself'.³⁴

Hence Pentecostals like all Christians in this community are called to reflect carefully on their claim of Christ's finality and to be able to proclaim Christ's message in the face of a growing universalism.

7.3 Pentecostalism within its present changing religious context

In two surveys made in 1979 and 1981, G.C. Oosthuizen and J. Hofmeyr of the University of Durban-Westville analysed the role of religion in the Indian community.³⁵ Both surveys supply information about religion among the poorer, socially unstable Indians in Chatsworth (Sr.1) and among the more affluent and better educated Indians in Reservoir Hills and its environs. (Sr.2). In the absence of any other study of sub-groups within this community, these surveys enabled us to extract material on Pentecostalism and to evaluate it with reference to our own research.

7.3.1 Conversion Patterns

In Chatsworth the rate of conversion from Hinduism to Christianity, especially to Pentecostalism, was 'phenomenally high' (75% of the Christians surveyed were former Hindus).³⁶ In Reservoir Hills and the surrounding areas the rate of conversion was much lower: only 44% of the Christians surveyed had been converts from Hinduism to Christianity³⁷ and 50% of these were members of Bethesda.³⁸

In Sr.1, 69,9% of the Christians were Pentecostals.³⁹ In Sr.2 33,7% were Pentecostal.⁴⁰ Bethesda in both areas was the largest Pentecostal group though to a smaller extent in Sr. 2 (Sr.1 43,7% Sr.2 28,3%).⁴¹ It is clear that Pentecostalism has been less effective in Reservoir Hills and its environs. Further, the conversion rate in this area was appreciably lower.

Further it appears that conversions have been less frequent in those sections of the Indian community whose traditional life-style has been less preserved.

Table 7:1

| Traditional language | % who retained usage in home | Upper-Income Bracket | Converts to Christianity |
|----------------------|------------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|
| Gujerati | 23.8 | 68.8 | 0 |
| Hindi | 12.8 | 31.2 | 1.6 |
| Tamil | 7.4 | 16.1 | 5.9 |
| Telegu | 6.5 | 0 | 4.2 |

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The table indicates that converts have come mainly from the lower income groups and from those homes whose native linguistic competence (the symbol of traditional cultural allegiance) had been least preserved.

This confirms the view in chapter 4 that Pentecostalism has been able to articulate the life anxieties of the lower echelons of this community and that socio-economic and cultural upheavals were its praeparatio evangelica. The researchers, even in the 80's still find grounds for the following assessment regarding conversions in this group, 'The impact of the conversion process in the Indian community has been mainly prepared by non-religious factors'.⁴³

Oosthuizen and Hofmeyr also point out that the lower income groups most exposed to 'culture shock' are more susceptible to change.⁴⁴ On this basis they conclude that Reservoir Hills and its environs is 'less fertile ground' as 'Pentecostalism does not flourish in the more affluent Indian communities'.⁴⁵

While this is basically true the researchers have overlooked certain contributory and/or supportive factors:

(i) Sr. 2 involved a section of the community that consisted largely of landowners who had built or bought their own homes. In Chatsworth, the sub-economic housing schemes meant that people lived in small, low cost housing which included very closely grouped communal flats. Thus over and above the question of affluence, Chatsworth, unlike Reservoir Hills, preserves the communal consciousness and group mentality of traditional Indian society better. This group solidarity, the basis of the Pentecostal rationale (cf. chapter 4), is lost or least preserved in the area covered by Sr. 2.

(ii) The diminished impact and extent of missionary and evangelistic preaching among the better educated is also due to the fact that Pentecostals themselves who are educationally ill-prepared for such a task (cf. chapters 4 and 5). Not only can they not handle a more educated critic but they are often overawed by the better educated.⁴⁶

(iii) In seeing conversion as the result of socio-cultural upheaval, Oosthuizen and Hofmeyr commit the error that the social disorganization and deprivation theorists have done, (cf. quaestiois positio) of this thesis. Further their generalisation that Pentecostalism does not flourish among the more affluent is called into question by a resurgence in the last decade of the Pentecostal movement among whites in Durban, where the wealthy and well educated have also been attracted to the Pentecostal type Christianity. The emergence of the Christian Centre in Durban (cf. Chapter 5) and the Rhema group in Johannesburg are striking examples⁴⁷ of a 'combination' of relative affluence with Pentecostal-type religion. The emergence of the 'renewal' and charismatic movements in established churches is a further example.

It is not inconceivable therefore that traditional denominations among Indians like the Anglicans, Methodists, and Baptists or even the established institutionalized Pentecostal churches may also experience a similar resurgence. This may be possible even after these Christians have become better educated and economically more stable and have rejected institutionalization as white Christians are doing.⁴⁸ The rapid rise of the home-church movement in Great Britain at present is a significant parallel development.⁴⁹

Institutionalized Indian Pentecostalism is thus challenged to reassess its mission to a new group, particularly to temper and to develop its evangelistic approach, for while in Chatsworth, Pentecostal gains outnumbered those of traditional churches by 3 to 1, in Reservoir Hills and its environs the gains were even.⁵⁰

7.3.2 Reasons for conversion

In the responses obtained in Sr. 2 a very small sample of converts to Christianity emerged and they listed their reasons for converting as follows:

| Reasons for | Conversion | X | Church | X | Grouping |
|---|-------------|---|-------------|---|----------|
| | Traditional | | Pentecostal | | Total |
| Material factor (eg. healing) | 3 | | 7 | | 10 |
| Personal factor (eg. marriage) | 5 | | 2 | | 7 |
| Abstract factors (eg. found the truth) | 1 | | 1 | | 2 |
| | 9 | | 10 | | 19 |
| | | | | | 51 |

Since the sample of converts in Sr. 2 is very small it is statistically insignificant but it does reveal an interesting trend when compared to the much larger sample obtained in Sr. 1 in the Chatsworth survey:

In Chatsworth the most common reason for conversion was 'material' whereas in Sr. 2 the 'personal' factor was almost as common as the 'material'.⁵² Furthermore the table above indicated that the number of conversions to both 'Traditional' Christian beliefs and to Pentecostal ones were almost equal. On these grounds Oosthuizen and Hofmeyr maintained that conversion had resulted from material factors mainly.

We have shown repeatedly that faith-healing and exorcisms have played a significant role in conversions (cf. chapter 5). Yet Bethesda which had made the greatest gains in Phase One did not emphasize faith healing and exorcism, but grew because of its ability to give its people a sense of belonging and of group solidarity. (cf. chapter 4) Therefore when Oosthuizen and Hofmeyr point out that the material factor 'was the most important reason for conversion', their view must be seen to refer to the later Pentecostal groups (our Phase two), not to all of Indian Pentecostalism throughout its history.

Furthermore, the researchers did not clearly define what they meant by 'material', 'personal' or 'abstract' factors. For example healing alone was mentioned as the most important of the material factors. What were the other material factors? They did not say. The researchers then made the unwarranted assumption that 'material factors' meant economic benefits, implying that Pentecostals used finance or material goods as inducements for conversion.⁵³ This is how certain Hindu leaders understood their conclusions.⁵⁴

Also 'marriage' and influence of a 'converted relative' are placed under 'personal factors'. But the latter reason does not preclude 'finding the truth', a reason placed under 'abstract factors'. Conversion, which for the Pentecostals is a total religious experience that may be mystical, enthusiastic or of a deeply fervent kind, may also include an experience

like healing or exorcism which Oosthuizen and Hofmeyr list under 'material factors'. A person who has converted because he believed he was healed would also believe that he has 'found the truth'. To separate or isolate his responses is fallacious. Indeed, Stanley Samartha in his study of conversion patterns of Hindus to Islam and to Christianity in India, pointed out that 'motivation in any conversion is a complex affair'.⁵⁵ Here too, there is no basis to separate motivations for conversions as the surveys have done.

7.3.3 Present changing religious attitudes of Hindus

The second survey showed convincingly that more complex sub-groupings were developing in the Hindu community than in either the Islamic or Christian community.⁵⁶ Hindus claimed group allegiance in the following way;

- (i) 49.8% used home language to distinguish themselves from other groups. The Tamil-speaking group formed the largest section;
- (ii) a very small section used their caste as a distinguishing mark;
- (iii) 30.6% claimed they 'did not know' or they consciously refused to be identified with any particular Hindu group;
- (iv) 6.9% belonged to neo-Hindu groups.⁵⁷

The researchers claim this as 'evidence of a new style of sub-division' among Hindus.⁵⁸ They point out that

- (i) the tendency to identify themselves in terms of 'home-language' is paradoxical since such languages are being rapidly replaced by English.⁵⁹ It is conceivable that many from this group may gradually come to be classified in the 3rd and 4th groups;
- (ii) the large number who have consciously rejected group affiliation indicates a trend towards a unified Hindu stance (homogeneity) in the Hindu community.⁶⁰ Again most of this group were young.⁶¹ This fact further strengthens their view that the tendency towards homogeneity will become even more important in the future. The researchers point out

that, 'It may be that Hindus will become fully secularised, having only a nominal commitment to institutional religion whatever the form'.⁶² In view of the growing concern among Hindu leaders about the increasing lack of interest of the young in their traditional way of life and their parents' religion (cf. Hindu Reaction), this view seems quite probable;

(iii) caste distinctions are very minimal;⁶³

(iv) there is a significant emergence of a sizeable neo-Hindu group;⁶⁴

The surveys also indicate that of all the religious groups, Hinduism of the older type had the smallest attendance record of temple worship.⁶⁵ However, adherents of Neo-Hinduism, attended their places of devotion more frequently.⁶⁶

A comparison of the two surveys reveal some interesting features relevant to our study:

(i) the single most striking phenomenon in Sr. 1 had been the high rate of conversion of Hindus to Christianity especially to Pentecostal groups. In Sr. 2 it was not conversion to Christianity but a 'movement towards homogeneity as traditional intra-group barriers break-down'.⁶⁷

(ii) An increasing secularization appears to operate, particularly in areas covered by the second survey. The researchers ask whether this trend 'is not perhaps the most significant re-orientation of commitment to which Hindus are subjected in South Africa'.⁶⁸

(iii) In respect of neo-Hinduism groups, the Sai Baba movement which emphasises healing, appears prominently in Sr. 1 but not in Sr. 2. In Sr. 2 the Arya Samaj and the other groups feature prominently yet not in Sr. 1. They have rejected tantric Hinduism as superstition.⁶⁹

(iv) According to both surveys, Hindus seem to have little knowledge of the basic tenets of their religion.⁷⁰ The researchers used for their test the fundamental Hindu doctrines of Moksha and Reincarnation.⁷¹

(v) All groups except the Muslims in Chatsworth rated religion more highly than the groups in Reservoir Hills. In Chatsworth 41% of the Hindu sample and 67% of the Christian sample regarded religion the 'most important aspect of life' but in Sr. 2 only 9% of Hindus and 34% of Christians did.⁷³

These observations confirm the view that traditional religion has been eroded throughout the community, accentuated by the average Hindu's lack of understanding of his religion; by his socio-economic improvement and especially by his Western orientated education in the medium of English. The researchers have concluded that Western education appears to have had a 'real and destructive impact on ritual religion orientation' and they think that this tendency will continue because 'Hindus have assigned a very high value to Western education'.⁷⁴

H.J.W. Rocher in his study of Hindu religious practice among Tamil-speakers in Durban found that the decline in traditional Hindu thought and practices had already set in during the mid-60's. He wrote, 'detachment from one traditional aspect causes detachment from other aspects, for example, the lack of interest in the reading of the traditional sacred literature causes a lack of interest and loss of knowledge in the religious duties of the family'.⁷⁵ He found that 'the social influences of western culture, with which the Hindus are in very close contact, appear to be playing an important contributory role in the process of deviation from traditional Hindu thought and practices'.⁷⁶ S. Jithoo in a study of the break-up of the joint-family system among Hindus in Durban arrived at similar conclusions about the acculturation process among Indians.⁷⁷ The role that the use of English has played in this process has been shown in D. Bughwan's study of the use of English by Indian South Africans.⁷⁸

Two clearly defined attitudes towards traditional religion appear to have emerged among the more affluent and better educated. A large group has become a-religious and secularised and the other group has reconstituted the religion of their parents.⁷⁹ While both groups reject temple worship and ritualism the latter joins one or other of the neo-Hindu groups.

'The future success of Hinduism in South Africa', the researches hold, 'would appear then to depend upon the extent to which neo-Hindu movements succeed in eliciting real commitment from Hindus in an environment where most needs are satisfied by Western culture'.⁸⁰

Summary and Significance

This changing religious context has important implications for Indian Pentecostalism:

(i) The crisis among Pentecostal groups has been caused by precisely the same factors as in the Hindu community namely, better education, greater wealth and questioning minds. It is logical that as socio-cultural changes occur religious institutions must also develop. M. Singer in his study of the impact of modernization on society in India confirms this view when he stated that 'if social institutions like Kutum (joint-family) had to be changed then Hinduism which identifies the divine with Kutum ... must itself be modified'.⁸¹

However, Neo-Hinduism's approach to the problem of proselytization by Pentecostalism seems to be in error because it has not perceived clearly enough that much of the Pentecostal success may be accounted for by the appropriateness of its approach and its understanding of the needs of its 'audience'.

Pentecostals, on the other hand need to realize that the ever increasing number of educated Indians are well able to appreciate a quasi-theistic, non-ikonic and non-ritualistic worship and so should not underestimate the influence of neo-Hinduism in the future. Unless Pentecostalism chooses to remain mainly the Church of the undereducated and, as Elena Cassin described it, 'the religion of the proud poor'⁸² only, different and more appropriate approaches will be required.

(ii) In Phase One and in a large part of Phase Two, Pentecostalism addressed itself to a community whose traditional religion was in a state of flux. However, the emergence of neo-Hindu groups now present a new challenge as conversions will become increasingly difficult to effect.

(iii) Pentecostalism with its integrated system of providing for individual worth and group solidarity and with its hold on the whole life of its

members has hitherto succeeded in addressing a section of this community which has traditionally possessed a homogenous world-view. However, with the changes in the world-view of that community, Pentecostalism will have in the future to face the challenge of handling the quest of secularised man, a task which it has so far neglected and which it is still ill-equipped to handle. In this connection we may note that in Sr. 2 the incidence of the reading of religious literature was higher for Christians and Muslims than for Hindus,⁸³ whereas within Hinduism the incidence is greater among neo-Hindus than among other Hindus.⁸⁴ Furthermore, it was found that Christian pamphlets and evangelistic tracts are the most widely read of all forms of religious literature in this community.⁸⁵ Thus the Hindu opinion of Christianity is based largely on Pentecostal evangelistic tracts for Pentecostals have been more involved in tract distribution than any other Christian body in this community. These tracts thus far have been very fundamentalist and have dealt with questions of eternal life, eternal damnation, hell, judgement, worshipping of idols and of Satan,⁸⁶ subjects which have no appeal at all for the educated Hindu.

1. There were incidents of threats to Pastor Rowlands' life and to Bethesda's buildings: J.F. Rowlands' information; Oosthuizen, G.C., Moving to the Waters, 29.
2. The Graphic November 12, 1955.
3. *ibid.*
4. The Leader No. 4, 1955.
The Daily News 16.6.73 'Concern over Conversion of Hindus'.
5. J.F. Rowlands' information.
6. Pastor Rowlands in discussions with me always said that other religions must be respected but he believed that every member should witness to non-Christians;
Pastors V.R. Enoch, F. Victor, C. Geoffrey and J. Vallen all absolve J.F. Rowlands' from any charge of disrespect for Hindus.
7. Tape of service at Mt. Paran, Atlanta, Georgia.
8. The Leader October 21, 1955;
cited in M.W. November 1955, 131.
9. Information obtained during visits to such meetings and from the study of the sermons and statements of Pentecostal pastors.
10. The better educated are especially antagonistic, - interviews with Hindu scholars at the University of Durban-Westville testify to this.
11. cited by N.P. Desai in A History of the South African Hindu Maha Sabha, 92.
12. *ibid.*
13. Pandit Nardev Vedalanka Religious Awakening in S.A. : History of the Arya Samaj Movement in S.A. Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Natal n.d., 48.
14. *ibid.*, 48.
15. *ibid.*
16. Paper read by J.G. Desai, lecturer in Indian Philosophy at the University of Durban-Westville (1982).
17. N.P. Desai *op. cit.*, 94.
18. *ibid.*;
The Leader April 1973, 'Hindus Beware'.
19. Nowbath, R.S. The Hindu Heritage in South Africa, 20;

- Thomas, P., Hindu Religion, Customs and Manners, 51.
20. Stephen Neill Christian Faith and other Faiths London: Oxford University Press 1961, 70-98;
Thomas M.M. The Acknowledged Christ of the Indian Renaissance London: SCM Press Ltd. 1969.
 21. Information from Pundit Nardev Vedalankar (lecturer in Gujerati at Durban-Westville University; leader in the Arya Samaj movement);
Tillayvel Naidoo - researcher in Science of Religion Department, U.D.W. author of The Hindu Way (manuscript loaned to the writer);
Desai, J.G. op. cit.;
also cf. Nowbath, R.S. 'The Hindus in South Africa in The Hindu Heritage in South Africa ed. R.S. Nowbath, S. Chotai and B.D. Lalla. S.A. Hindu Maha Sabha, Durban 1961.
 22. Le Roux, C.P., The Ramakrishna Movement in South Africa, 251.
 23. Devanandan, P.D. 'Contemporary Hindu Secularism', 22.
 24. cited by P.D. Devanandan *ibid.*, 25; 27.
 25. Vedalanker, Nardev op. cit., 45.
 26. Lalla, B.D. 'The Future of Hinduism in S.A.' in The Hindu Heritage op. cit., 79-80.
 27. Naidoo, T. The Hindu Way, 61.
 28. Oosthuizen, G.C. P.P., 38.
 29. The Leader June 8, 1956.
 30. 'The Future of Hinduism' Lalla, B.D., op. cit., 81.
 31. Brand, C.M., Solidarity patterns in minority groups, 188.
 32. Thomas, P., op. cit., 51.
 33. Hick, J., God and the Universe of Faiths, 139 f.
 34. Niles, D. Preman, 'Christian Mission and the People of Asia', Missiology, Vol. X No. 3 July 1982, 288.
 35. Both surveys were entitled Religion in a South African Indian Community Durban: Institute for Social and Economic Research of the University of Durban-Westville 1979 and 1981.
 36. Sr. 1, 44-49.
 37. Sr. 2, 11.
 38. Sr. 2, 4.

39. Sr. 1, 41.
40. Sr. 2, 6.
41. *ibid.*
42. *ibid.*, 9;
cf. also Stander, E. Problems and Progress in Indian Areas of Durban: a Study in Urban Geography, 141 for the various per capital incomes of Hindus, Muslims and the earlier Christian denominations.
43. cf. Sr. 2 IX.
44. *ibid.*
45. Sr. 2, 7.
46. Examples were encountered of educated Hindus who had often drawn these evangelists into debate and had attacked the fundamentalist theological approach. These evangelists left these homes very disillusioned. (Interviews) But they would go on evangelising pointing out that Christ and the early Christians were also ridiculed.
47. Services of the essentially white Christian Centre were attended. Many of its members were formerly from established Christian churches.
48. A Baptist church in Asherville and a Presbyterian church in Chatsworth have changed their style of worship to cater for members who have come under the influence of the Pentecostal type services.
49. Examples of such movements are the Jesus Movement in Birmingham and the Basingstoke Community Church.
50. Sr. 2 p.
51. 236. Sr. 2, 11.
52. Sr. 2, 7.
53. *ibid.*
54. These surveys, for example, laid the basis for J.G. Desai's talk to the Dharma Sabha in 1982.
55. Samartha, S.J., 'Indian Realities and the Wholeness of Christ', Missiology, Vol. X No. 3 July 1982, 309.
56. Sr. 2, 2.
57. Tabulated statistics in Sr. 2 Table 1:1, 10.
58. Sr. 2, 3.

59. Sr. 2;
60. Sr. 2, 3.
61. Sr. 2 11 cf. Table 1:2.
62. Sr. 2, 4.
63. Sr. 2, 3 cf. Table 1:1, 10.
64. Sr. 2, 3.
65. Sr. 2, 29 cf. Table 2:1.
66. Sr. 2, 26.
67. Sr. 2, 7 cf. Table 1:1, 1:5.
68. 254. Sr. 2, 7.
69. 255. Sr. 2, 6.
70. 256. Sr. 2, 63 also, IX.
71. Sr. 2 cf. Table 4:9 and 4:10;
'Moksha' is the Hindu doctrine of salvation or enlightenment; 'Reincarnation' is the teaching that souls may return over and over again until they eventually attain Moksha.
72. Sr. 2, 63-63.
73. Sr. 2, 90.
74. Sr. 2, 64.
75. Rocher, H.J.W., A Study of the theory and practices of the Hindu religious tradition among a selected group of Tamil-speaking Hindus in South Africa: a sociological approach, 116.
76. *ibid.*
77. Jithoo, S., Structure and Development Cycle of the Hindu Joint - family in Durban
78. Bughwan, D., An investigation into the use of English by the Indians in South Africa with special reference to Natal.
79. Sr. 2, 64.
80. Sr. 2, 9.

Dietrich, G., 'Ethos of Development in India and the role of religion'. Dietrich examines the role of religion in modernization, westernization and secularization processes in India; Maasdorp, G.G., A Natal Indian Community, 135. Africa will be more and more economically stronger and better educated. In this study of a Natal Indian community he wrote '... in the future it seems justifiable to say that the community will become increasingly industrialized and urbanised' *ibid.*

81. Singer, M., When a Great Tradition Modernizes, 299 ff. Singer disagrees with Max Weber that classical Hinduism with its joint family system had impeded economic development in India. (Weber, M., The Religion of India, 328). cf. Stackhouse, M.L., 'The Hindu ethic and the ethos of development' for a discussion of this debate.
82. Cassin, E., 'Lat Vita religiosa' in Jean Meyriat (ed.) La Calabria, 325-72, cited in Oosthuizen, G.C., Pentecostal Penetration, 325
83. Sr. 2; 28; 43.
84. *ibid.*
85. Sr. 2 42; 51.
86. Various evangelistic tracts were examined.

CHAPTER 8

SOME THEOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS AND ASSESSMENTS

8.1 Preamble

It will not be necessary to list the loci of Pentecostal theology as this has been adequately done by, amongst others, W.J. Hollenweger in his The Pentecostals, by N. Bloch-Hoell in The Pentecostal Movement and by J.T. Nichol in his study, Pentecostalism.

Instead we concentrate our attention on the following issues:

- (a) the position of Pentecostalism in the tradition of Christian theology (8.2);
- (b) the influence of Hinduism on the theological emphases of Pentecostalism among Indians (8.3);
- (c) the Pentecostal experience of the Spirit (8.4) - a description of the official position on glossolalia in the creeds of the churches we have studied (8.4); Bethesda's Pentecostal position (8.4.2); the Pentecostal doctrine of the baptism in the Spirit as a 'second experience' (8.4.3) and a critique of this doctrine (8.4.4); the doctrine of glossolalia as initial evidence of the baptism in the Spirit (8.4.5) and a critique of this doctrine also. (8.4.6);
- (d) the positive features of Pentecostal-type Christianity (8.5);
- (e) the structure of Pentecostal theology and the role of the experience of the Spirit. This is followed by an examination of two major problems of Pentecostal theology:-
 - (1) its crisis of faith (8.6);
 - (2) the problem of authority and its implications for ecclesiology (8.7).

8.2 The place of Pentecostalism in Christian theological tradition

Pentecostalism must be seen within the Evangelical tradition because the Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee) and the Assemblies of God in the U.S.A. are the largest affiliates of the National Association of Evangelicals (NAE). B. S. Triplett points out that the Church of God was part of the meeting held on 7 April, 1942 where the formation of the NAE was first discussed. He further points out that the statement of faith of the Pentecostal Fellowship of North America and the NAE are strikingly similar with the exception of one Article in the Pentecostal Statement namely, 'we believe that the full gospel includes holiness of heart and life, healing for the body, and baptism of the Holy Spirit with the initial evidence of speaking in other tongues as the Spirit gives utterance'.¹

Within the Evangelical tradition itself, Pentecostalism is part of the Fundamentalist movement which, according to Louis Gaspar, is the movement that attempted to purge north American Protestantism of theological liberalism by affirming 'orthodox' beliefs such as the inerrancy of Scripture, the virgin birth, the atoning sacrifice of Christ's death, literal resurrection, and the second coming of Christ.² While Evangelicals would generally agree with these doctrines also, the fundamentalists adopt an extremely literal interpretation of the Bible. They attempt to restore the New Testament-type Christianity³ and generally insist on the 'dispensationalist' theory of interpreting the Bible.⁴

Pentecostalism which arose in the U.S.A. in conjunction with revivalism and fundamentalism⁵ carried this Biblical literalism, which R.H. Anderson called the 'bedrock of Fundamentalism,'⁶ to its logical conclusion. Hence, for example, while Evangelicals may either adopt an amillennial or premillennial eschatology, Pentecostals generally adopted a premillennial position only and an extremely futuristic one at that.

As we have pointed out in Chapter 1, Pentecostals are influenced either by Baptist or Methodist views of sanctification; as an instantaneous or a continuous work after justification. Its views of the Sacraments are simi-

lar to the Baptists.⁷ However, Pentecostalism differed from the Methodist and Baptist holiness movements and from Christendom at large in its affirmation of the Baptism of the Spirit as a 'second experience' subsequent to conversion and accompanied by glossolalia as initial evidence of that baptism.⁸

At present, terms like 'Pentecostal', 'neo-Pentecostal', and 'Charismatic' have emerged. Pentecostal refers to the classical Pentecostalism which emerged in 1901 in U.S.A., which gave rise to independent churches and whose theology is that which is described above. 'Neo-Pentecostalism' is that movement which emerged during the 60's within the traditional Christian Churches. Its theology is akin to the 'Pentecostals', but while they remain thoroughly fundamentalist they do not always stress glossolalia as initial evidence of Spirit - baptism. Those who are part of the Charismatic movement which also emerged in the 60's interprets spiritual awakening and the Pentecostal emphasis on the charismata within the theological traditions and framework of their own churches.⁹ This movement would include the Anglican Church and the Roman Catholic Church also.

In view of the impact that Pentecostalism has had on the churches at large, its categorization within the spectrum of theological traditions becomes increasingly difficult. While 'Pentecostalism' may be labelled Protestant, Evangelical and Fundamentalist, its emphasis on the charismata and on the immediacy of the Spirit, and its renewed interest in piety and spirituality is still within a long tradition of such emphases in Church History. This point has been made repeatedly especially by Catholic Charismatics such as E.D. O'Connor¹⁰, K.M. McDonnell¹¹, S. Tugwell¹² and K. Ranagan.¹³

8.3 The influence that ritualistic Hinduism had on Indian Pentecostalism

Because of the obvious tension between the traditional religious worldview of Pentecostal converts and that of revivalistic - type Pentecostalism, it becomes necessary to enquire into the self-understanding of

these Pentecostals themselves i.e. how do Indian Pentecostals at the level of religious practice understand their religion.

Hence the gathering of oral tradition through extensive interviewing and attendance at Pentecostal services and cottage meetings were given primary importance. Over 300 personal testimonies were studied and these proved to be a most valuable source of information. Representative words and phrases from these sources appear within inverted commas in the text and no further reference is made in footnotes because such words and phrases were used widely.

The problem of the immanence and transcendence of God

The Pentecostal 'dependence on the Spirit' and the belief in the accessibility of direct divine revelation by all who are 'filled with the Spirit' is fundamental to the Indian Pentecostal theological world-view, and its understanding of God. Not only are the 'personal attributes' of God vividly described in sermons and testimonies but witnesses also speak movingly of the immediacy of God and of His closeness to them. A sense that He is totally involved in every aspect of their day to day existence inheres in all Pentecostalism irrespective of the ethnicity of the congregations.¹⁴

In strong contrast to the traditional Hindu stress upon the transcendence of the Divine,¹⁵ Indian Pentecostals emphasise the closeness of God. When converts from Hinduism were asked why they accepted the Christian God, they often gave the following answers:

Now God is 'real' (the respondents mean 'defined', identifiable within our experience, close to us);

before we only knew about Him but now we know who He is;

before He was in the heavens now He is with us as well.

The classical Hindu view of God is the Impersonal Divine of Upanishadic monism. However, the majority of Hindus in South Africa, and the vast majority of converts, came not from philosophical Hinduism but from ritualistic Hinduism. Even today only a small group of Hindus in South Africa are acquainted with theologico-philosophical Hinduism.¹⁶

G.C. Oosthuizen in an extensive survey of the conversion patterns of South African Hindus shows that 71% of those converts he interviewed claimed to have found no help from the Hindu sacred scriptures such as the Vedic Hymns, Brahmanas, Aranyakas, Upanishads and the Mahabarata of which the better known Bhagavad Gita is a part.¹⁷ Our own investigation found that almost 85% of the converts interviewed had not even read these scriptures. The reason appears to be that these Scriptures, especially the Vedas and Upanishads, are too numerous and inaccessible to the Hindu 'in the street'. Traditionally, in any case, the elitist Brahmin caste had always treated such activity as their sole preserve.

Thus the great majority of the Hindus in South Africa practised their religion in the temple where 'God' was mainly approached with the view to securing some benefit or curing some ill affecting the individual or his family in their daily livelihood. Temple rituals; consulting the astrological almanac; performing certain ceremonies or keeping vows were part of the propitiating process. Unless suitably appeased God might act in vengeance. The wide gap between the perceptions of God of the Hindu 'in the pew' and the informed or philosophical definition of God in Hinduism is a source of constant concern to the small group of Hindu theologians in this country.¹⁸

It is sufficient for our purposes to sketch the traditional understanding of God in the community and to see how this may have affected Pentecostalism and how Pentecostalism affected the traditional view of its converts.

For ritualistic Hindus, God is generally remote but he intervenes directly and can be directly propitiated. The temple and its effigies represent for

the adherent symbols of God, and the cultus and rituals bridge the gap between transcendence and immanence in the mind of the worshipper.

Pentecostalism offered a different alternative to the resolution of this tension. The 'Father' is often defined in terms of transcendence while Christ is often characterised as God who is immanent and immediate to their experience. This understanding of the Father-Son relation would of course be rejected by official Pentecostalism for its formal understanding of the Trinity is the same as that of historic churches.¹⁹ However, here we are investigating the 'average' members's perception of these issues in order to understand how this movement impressed its doctrine on Indians. It should also be mentioned that these views are not peculiar to Indian Pentecostalism only although elsewhere it was influenced by a distinctly different religious background. In this regard references may be made to the African Pentecostal experience where a similar tension is found in relation to the traditional African view of God;²⁰ or to the white Afrikaner Pentecostal experience where a tension exists with the former austere Calvinism.²¹

We observed that 'the Father' is conceived of in the 'tremendum' mould of God in the Old Testament,²² and Christ is mainly the mediator, intercessor and propitiator. The crucifixion or even the purpose for the incarnation are often described as either an emergency redemptive measure whereby God through Christ solved the dilemma of man's sin or as a vicarious offering of redemptive suffering by Christ to God.

The all pervading presence of evil in the world

Parallel to and resulting from this view of the immanence of God is the understanding of the nearness of evil:

In our opinion, popular Pentecostalism's view of the world is essentially dualistic. The world and human history are conceived of as the battleground for the conflict between God and Satan, good and evil.²³ Much of the Old Testament is seen as a record of how through the idolatry and

apostasy of Israel evil overcame good.²⁴ The New Testament is seen as the record of the reversal of that process.²⁵ The atonement is viewed as a mixture of the satisfaction theory²⁶ and the Christus Victor motif.²⁷

Furthermore, the individual's 'heart' and 'soul' are understood to be the seat of that conflict. The devil constantly challenges Christ for sovereignty over the human soul. Who eventually wins depends entirely on the individual's decision.

Thus Satan is believed to be a real and ever present force and the arch enemy of the church. Sickness or misfortunes are readily attributed to demonic agency.

This question of the immanence of evil is probably the clearest link between the ritualistic Hindu world-view and that of popular Indian Pentecostalism.

We should first note that in conversion the new Pentecostalist not only accepted Christ but also totally and openly rejected Hinduism. This break was often overtly violent: temples and former religious paraphernalia were publicly destroyed. The convert now saw these as representations of evil,²⁸ an understanding which does not allow for Hinduism or any other non-Christian philosophy to be a possible praeparatio evangelica.

The reaction of the convert was often so strong that not only was the former religion rejected but also all former culture since there was no discrimination between what was religious and what was cultural. Purely cultural items such as the thali and the bhotu²⁹, symbols of marriage, were rejected as being Hindu. Conversion was a 'clean start', often manifested in a change of name.³⁰ New names were usually Biblical ones or at least western.³¹ Besides the obvious socio-cultural motif behind this name-changing there were other reasons also: sometimes the former surname, especially in the early days of Pentecostalism, carried the stigma of being low caste or of no caste at all. Pentecostalism in this sense

was also conversion into a casteless society.³² At the same time, some of the former Hindu names were names of Hindu deities and therefore had to be changed.

In view of this conscious and violent break with Hinduism, drawing mere parallels between Indian Pentecostalism and Hinduism is futile.³³ It would be more accurate to go beyond phenomenological comparisons and speak of 'the old' providing the mentality that stimulated innovations within Pentecostal thinking. The underlying rationale is the same but new forms were developed often in reaction to the old. To grasp this tension between the old and the new is a vital clue to an understanding of the character of the movement and to an understanding of the reasons why Pentecostalism communicated more successfully with the Indian than 'established' Christianity did.

Although Indian Pentecostalism offered a new religion it maintained a continuity with India: while the services were held in English, songs and prayers were often in Tamil, and Hindi; Pastor J.F. Rowlands the dynamic leader of Bethesda instilled a sense of pride among his members in their Indian history and culture. He, more than any other lauded the Indian family life, social graces and communal solidarity. However, Pentecostalism by its very nature was a westernized religious form heavily influenced by visiting evangelists, preachers and literature from the U.S.A. It paid only token respect for the culture of the Indians who as a marginal community caught in culture shock was to become increasingly westernized.

In the ritualistic-type Hinduism existing among the majority of Hindus in South Africa, the temple rather than scriptures or meditation is central; priests, not teaching gurus, are the chief functionaries of this religion and ritualism replaces other kinds of creeds. The lack of formal doctrinal definition encourages practices that informed Hindus, namely those influenced by Vedic and neo-Hinduism, strongly reject. These rituals have roots in forms of animism that manifest themselves in tantrism or enthusiastic trances, evidence of which may be seen in the Kavadi festival and fire-walking.³⁴ These trances are limited to a few of the devout who are in

actual contact with the deities and who often act as diviners. They have special appeal for people who need healing, or who need to uncover the causes of their 'ill luck'.

It is this awareness of evil that is retained virtually intact even after conversion with but one difference: all the former practices are considered demonic³⁵ and the Christian God is seen as the greatest force able to overcome even the strongest of these 'powers of darkness'. Former diviners or priests told of the hierarchy that they believed existed in the temple structure: a temple is usually dedicated to one deity in particular, for instance, to Mariamma, Soobramanian or Ganesha. When one is overcome by an ill of some kind one seeks the aid of a stronger source to undo the curse of the lesser.³⁶ Now after conversion the Christian God is considered mightier than even the strongest of these forces.

Our point is not that all of Hinduism is tantric, but that this was the type of Hinduism most prevalent among a large section of Hindus in South Africa and therefore among those who had turned to Pentecostalism. 'Superior' forms of Hinduism as 'superior' forms of Christianity did not make an effort or if they did they lacked comparable appeal.

It is significant to note that a man of the calibre of J.F. Rowlands, who managed to instil a sense of austerity in Bethesda's Pentecostal expression, taught that 'evil spirits are as real as the Holy Spirit'. He said: 'There is a baptism of the evil-spirit, an infilling of satanic power that enables the heathen to perform miracles'. He cited examples of such miracles: 'the possessed man can walk barefoot through red hot fires without a blister and he can pierce his body with nails and needles without a drop of blood being shed'.³⁷

In the light of this one can understand why the emphasis on exorcism and healing introduced by the white missionary became so crucial for Indian Pentecostalism. Whatever the reasons that highlighted these aspects in the missionaries' context in America or Britain, their emphases here corres-

ponded with the ritualistic world-view of the majority of the Indians in South Africa where demonic activity plays a major role.³⁸

Indian Pentecostal movements, especially the independent churches, offered a number of examples of persons claiming to have had the ability to 'cast out demons'.

Some ministers even claimed to have had 'the gift of discernment' which enabled them to discern the sources and types of illnesses or problems. In their view such troubles are normally due to sorcery and they were able to unearth the instruments of this sorcery in the gardens or homes of the 'victim'.

A few ministers are known to pray over water and then sprinkle this 'holy water' throughout the homes and over the afflicted person to cleanse them from evil or sickness. Another example of magico-animistic interest is the attitude in some quarters of these churches to the dead. Pastor Rowlands complained that 'far too many pagan customs had been incorporated into Christian funerals'. Like, for example 'turning pictures on the wall back to front, and the habit of men refraining from shaving'. Even after becoming Christians, families are deeply concerned about the assurance of peace for their dead. Hindu families would normally recite certain ceremonial prayers throughout the year to achieve this. Since this concern about the welfare of the departed remained after conversion, Pastor Rowlands' substituted the 'Thanksgiving' services for these memorial ceremonies. The focus was subtly but deliberately shifted from remembering the dead to God's concern for the grieving family; a transfer which seems to have been adopted by many other Pentecostal churches instancing what J. Bavinck, the missiologist, termed an act of 'possession' whereby an old form was filled with a new content.³⁹

However, some of the converted families appear to have given these ceremonies much more value than Pastor Rowlands had originally intended. In their anxiety about the welfare of the departed they insisted upon them,

believing that a departed spirit not at rest could come back to haunt them or to bring misfortune.

Pentecostals justify their preoccupation with the exorcism of omnipresent demons by referring to Christ's and his Apostles' experience with evil spirits. Such parallels are not difficult for Biblical literalists to show.⁴⁰ Furthermore, both Indian and white Pentecostal ministers use these beliefs to distinguish themselves from the 'established' Christian churches that 'believe only half the truth' by ignoring these 'supernatural occurrences'. Pentecostals services are attended not only for worship but are also focal points for obtaining spiritual and emotional help. Very often there are special prayers for sick individuals during the services, and in some congregations members are asked to pray for one another by laying hands on each other. At times the sick or troubled are called to the 'altar' or pulpit and the minister himself prays over them. Numerous instances of exorcisms taking place during the service have been recorded, but exorcisms usually occur in the homes of the persons concerned because exorcist sessions are accompanied by long hours of prayer. In obedience to the scriptural injunction, 'difficult cases' are usually preceded by 'much fasting and prayer'.

At the campaigns of some of the independent churches, modelled on the style of American evangelist like Oral Roberts and A.A. Allen,⁴¹ people queued in order to 'be delivered from evil' or some sickness;⁴² many were Hindus who, disappointed with results in their temples, came 'to try the Christian God'. This explains why many former Hindus give healing as the single most important reason for converting to Christianity.⁴³ With regard to this a minister of the Lutheran Indian congregation commenting on the slow growth of his church compared with Pentecostal churches wrote:

It is very difficult to build up stable congregations,... in the temples people do not find congregational life. They go to the temple when there is need, mainly to change 'bad luck' to 'good luck'. This is mainly a task for women. People can therefore go

to the temple, where they think they can get most help, they do not belong to any particular temple... People 'do' prayers to obtain something. The whole outlook is magical. This is brought into the Christian church. Those groups who appeal to the same sentiments as Hinduism can get many members. Healing, promises of 'good luck', 'Jesus will solve all your problems', 'you will be happy', 'as a Christian you will prosper' etc. these are things people will go for and also for emotionalism (they need to see) that something is happening.⁴⁴

While his generalisations are not entirely correct, he has made an important observation regarding the continuity that persists in the mind-set of many persons even after joining the Pentecostal church. The convert's new community still 'appeals to the same sentiments' of his tantric-Hindu past.

This is further illustrated by the attitude of these Pentecostals to their place of worship. The one hundred and ten branches of Bethesda, for example, are called 'temples'. Pastor Rowlands chose such a term in view of the special significance of the temple in the traditional communities. Now, of course, a Biblical idea of 'temple' has replaced a Hindu one. It is referred to as the 'House of God', or even the 'Holy of Holies'. Members are often cautioned to observe complete reverence when in church so as not to disturb 'the holiness of the place'.⁴⁵ While there is nothing essentially unacceptable about this attitude, there is often an excessive concern with externals. For example, a woman reported to have been miraculously healed in an independent church in Phoenix was said never to have missed a single service at this church since she had been saved. When interviewed, the elderly woman pointed out that she would not miss a single service because by constant attendance she continues to be in favour with God. She gave the impression that she would be ill again if she stopped attending.⁴⁶ Large sections of these churches seem to regard attendance at church services as accomplishing desired ends ex opere operato.

Indian Pentecostalism's conception of God

This awareness of the immanence of evil has had a pronounced influence on Pentecostals' view of God:

All Pentecostals, except the unitarian groups, accept the orthodox Christian doctrine of the Trinity.⁴⁷ However, in practice the Trinity is 'rationalised' in the following way.

The transcendence of God in his absolute holiness and sovereignty is emphasised but these characteristics are generally attributed to the Father. God the Father is totaliter aliter and his main function is to judge. Those parts of the Old Testament that represent God as he who destroys and does not tolerate unbelief or idolatry are therefore especially popular in descriptions of God the Father.⁴⁸

While the 'Father' is God in judgement who punishes sin and before whom Satan is continually accusing Christians, Christ is seen as God who 'cares and forgives'. Christ is close to them, cares for them and 'lives in their hearts'. He manages their affairs and protects them from evil. They have a moving understanding of the reality of Christ in their lives and are not afraid to speak openly of Him as their 'friend and companion'. Their testimonies abound with examples where everything from the procuring of a job or car to the receiving of funds to meet a bill are credited to the direct agency of Christ.

Pentecostals resolve the tension between transcendence and immanence by unconsciously disregarding the old theological maxim 'Opera Trinitatis ad extra indivisa sunt' and give the role of 'God in His Love' almost entirely to Christ. On at least three occasions evangelists in their sermons explained how Christ came to be born. In vivid terms, with great rhetorical effect, they depicted the court of heaven with the angry Father and his attendant angels. Into this scene stepped Christ who offered to go to earth in order to be the 'propitiation' of God's wrath. The physical sufferings of Christ were stressed as being most efficacious. The sermons

often culminated in the question, if he could suffer so much to 'save us' why do we not more willingly suffer tribulation for His sake? Thus Christ acts on man's behalf towards the Father; He is the 'loving friend and brother', who makes each member a 'joint-heir' with Him. Thus the work of Christ as 'mediator' and 'intercessor' is greatly stressed.

In some circles the name 'Jesus' itself was given what we might call 'inherent value'. It was claimed that the name itself had power over evil. Exorcists declared that in their experiences, the mere pronunciation of the name sufficed to check the boisterous behavior of the 'possessed' and 'evil spirits were silenced'.⁴⁹ They claim Peter's experience of healing by command in the name of Jesus (Acts 3:6) as the Biblical warrant for their practice.

It seems, from the manner in which the third person of the Trinity is spoken of in such circles, that the Holy Spirit is a mere force. This, too, is a violation of the orthodox principal of 'Opera Trinitatis ad extra indivisa sunt'. The Holy Spirit is spoken of as 'it', the impersonal third person pronoun.

The impersonal usage is to be found even among some theologically educated Pentecostal pastors, both Indian and white. It is too frequent and too widely spread to represent a mere lapsus linguae.

The Spirit is seen as the source of boldness and courage enabling one to witness Christ; is responsible for the ability to heal or exorcise and bestows the strength necessary to refrain from sinning. The word that occurred most frequently in connection with the Spirit was 'Power'.⁵⁰ Taking their cue from certain Biblical texts most Pentecostals believe that the Spirit empowered a Christian to do miraculous things, and also that people without 'power' were only nominal Christians and even 'apostate'.

The Holy Spirit is often seen as an 'invisible dynamic' that offers protection from evil. This concept must be seen in terms of Pentecostal

'anthropology' which understands evil as an ever-present aggressive force poised at all times to attack all aspects of the life of man. Through his presence the Holy Spirit effectively prevents evil from invading man. We note in this connection that the heart is seen as the centre of conflict between Satan and Christ, where if the Holy Spirit is not present, evil will easily overcome the individual.

Mysticism and spirituality in Pentecostalism

In religious practice Pentecostals have developed a type of mysticism which is inextricably bound up with, and indeed is, the consequence of this understanding of the nature and work of the Holy Spirit. The following are descriptions typical of the experience of 'having the Spirit':

It is the power from heaven that takes control of you and guides your life to the perfection required by God.

One has to be in the perfect will of God, waiting on God and breathing in the breath of God.

One gets immersed in the Spirit.

When the Spirit enters the soul of a person his whole life is filled.

One is imbued with God's Spirit to such an extent that not our will but the will of God motivates our lives.

The language used by the Indian Pentecostal groups to describe the experience of the Spirit is not unlike that used by Pentecostals everywhere.⁵¹ Thus, for example, glossolalia is described as 'a song of the depths of the self, bursting the barrier of the unconscious' or 'the uttering of the unutterable in the power of the Spirit.'⁵² A white pastor of a non-racial independent movement which is markedly influencing Indian Pentecostalism explained glossolalia as 'a direct spiritual com-

munication with God... a private line of communication between the believer and his God'.⁵³

Indeed the Holy Spirit is the ultimate agent of prayer but Pentecostals in the main claim that an 'experience' of the Spirit makes effectual prayer possible. Here this 'experience' sets the basis for the rest of Pentecostal life and worship.

Pentecostalism generally, including its Indian expression, also operates with a tripartite view of man. Such a view is also found in Hinduism itself. The soul is sharply contrasted with the body. The body, the seat of sensuality, is constantly at war with the spiritual inclinations of the soul. The task, then, for the rider (the soul) is to keep his chariot (the body) under subjection for the ascent of the mountain to God-consciousness (moksha).⁵⁴

In Pentecostalism, the soul of the believer is ruled by Christ who is constantly challenged by Satan who uses the body to war against the soul.

This tripartite view and the belief in the immortality of the soul⁵⁵ sets the tenor of the holiness programme and affirms the centrality of the believer within that programme.⁵⁵ The 'sins of the heart' are overcome when Christ rules. Paul's concepts of 'flesh' and 'body' and his call to 'walk in the Spirit not in the flesh' are popular sermon themes in these churches.

So, whatever the reasons for emphasising healing and exorcism in the historical contexts of the white missionaries who brought the Pentecostal message, to Indian South Africans that message had a double anchorage - fundamentalism and ritualistic Hinduism. Now, after fifty years there still exists what may be best described as a dialectical tension between the former ritualistic Hinduism and the new found Pentecostal-type Christianity. On the one hand there is open rejection of anything Hindu; on the other hand the former religious world-view, with its understanding of the immanence of the divine and of evil still remains. In fact, its view of

man standing before the all pervading forces of evil, still influences the Pentecostal view of God, its idea of holiness and its religious practice.

8.4 The Pentecostal experience of the Spirit

It has already been mentioned that in the USA the 'holiness doctrinal position developed to the point where glossolalia came to be considered a sine qua non of Pentecostalism. In this chapter this doctrinal position will be studied and assessed more fully.

8.4.1 The official stance on the baptism in the Spirit and glossolalia

The Apostolic Faith Mission (AFM), the Full Gospel Church of God in South Africa (COG) and the Assemblies of God (AOG) hold identical positions regarding the baptism of the Holy Spirit. The 'baptism of the Spirit' is consequent to regeneration. It is described as 'the enduement of power from on high, promised to all believers who obey Him [Luke 24:49; Acts 1:5-8; 2:38; 5:32]... It is the privilege of every believer, as in the early church, to receive this supernatural experience. [Acts 2:1-4; 8:15-19; 10:44-47; 19:1-7].⁵⁶ It is described as a 'wonderful experience... distinct from, in addition to and subsequent to the experience of the new birth'.⁵⁷ This experience ensures 'divine direction and enduement of spiritual power for service'.⁵⁸

In these churches, 'speaking with other tongues' is considered to be the initial evidence of this experience. All three churches also affirm that 'regeneration and baptism into the body of Christ' is different from the 'indwelling of the Holy Spirit in the believer'.⁵⁹ In the USA, from as early as 1915, the Assemblies of God considered the identification of the two experiences to be 'a false doctrine'.⁶⁰ Furthermore, the 'nine-fold fruit of the Holy Spirit in the life of every believer' is distinguished from the 'nine-fold gifts of the Holy Spirit' following Spirit baptism.⁶¹ Members are urged to 'covet the gifts', since they are given for 'the edification and enlargement of the church'.⁶²

While the book of Acts [2:4; 10:46 and 19:6] is used as the basis for this doctrine of baptism, the belief is also based on the promise made by Christ in Mark 16:17. Furthermore, glossolalia in these cases in Acts is considered to be the same manifestation which is recorded in 1 Cor. 12.63

After many interviews with ministers and members from all three churches and attendance at over 550 of their services, it has become clear that only the Apostolic Faith Mission and Assemblies of God actively propagate this doctrine. Bethesda, the Indian branch of the Full Gospel Church has a different and unique attitude to this issue.

In the AFM and AOG glossolalia is accompanied by long sessions of fervent prayer, fasting, urgent striving after holiness and in many cases emotional excesses in worship and prayer. Numerous examples of public and communal tongue-speaking; 'interpretations' of these tongues and 'prophetic' utterances were recorded. In the services, a time for 'free worship' is allowed during which the whole congregation participates in loud praying; singing; praising God; speaking in tongues and some even weep. Bodily convulsions, uncontrollable jerkings, what appeared to be garbled speech interspersed with repetitive monotonous, and swoonings were also observed. The latter was termed the 'slaying in the Spirit'. (Very similar phenomena were also observed in white Pentecostal congregations.)

Older ministers and members recalled special meetings that were held regularly at which members in the congregation were encouraged to 'strive after the gifts of the Spirit' (a common expression in these circles). A 'dead church' with 'no warm fellowship and no souls saved' is associated with a lack of these gifts.⁶⁴ For this reason the traditional churches are often contemptuously labelled 'dead churches'.

8.4.2 Bethesda's Pentecostal Position

Bethesda, in contrast to the Apostolic Faith Mission, the Assemblies of God and the Full Gospel Church to which it is affiliated, adopted a distinctly different approach. Pastor J.F. Rowlands is said to have spoken in tongues only when he was very young. This was known to only two or three of his closest friends.⁶⁵ Otherwise he did not speak in tongues publicly nor did he expect it of any of his members.⁶⁶ There is no evidence that he ever imposed the creed of the white headquarters on the Indian branches. He also does not appear to have insisted that 'speaking in tongues' was the initial evidence of Spirit-baptism. Nevertheless he always claimed to be a 'thorough going Pentecostal'.⁶⁷ This would indicate that he considered Spirit-baptism to be much more than mere glossolalia or 'charismata'.

Early in Bethesda's history, Pastor Rowlands pointed out that 'There are some folks ... who do not like Bethesda's Pentecost - perhaps there is not enough noise for their liking or perhaps it is because there is a complete absence of fanatical stamping or clapping'.⁶⁸ In 1942 he wrote, 'Let me say emphatically right now that all this fanaticism (i.e. what was prevalent in Pentecostal circles at the time) is not only most irreverent but quite unscriptural. Noise is not always evidence of blessing'.⁶⁹ He believed that the purpose of Spirit-baptism was to 'equip Christian workers with Power for service and not for selfish spiritual pleasure and enjoyment'.⁷⁰ 'The church' he believed, was facing 'the greatest crisis in her history and without Pentecost and the power of the Holy Ghost she will crumble beneath the battering ram of the enemy... Real Pentecost is marked by power, stability and strength'.⁷¹ He pointed out that 'Real Pentecost brings reverence, but sad to say there is deplorable irreverence in many Pentecostal churches today'.⁷² As early as 1936 he regretted that some Bethesda members had been influenced by the 'fanaticism' of other Pentecostal churches. He even reprimanded them for attending 'off-the-track services'.⁷³

For Pastor Rowlands too, Spirit-baptism was, in true holiness fashion, a 'second experience' subsequent to conversion.⁷⁴ However, he made at least three departures from the official Pentecostal position of the Full Gospel Church:

(i) He believed that to highlight the Baptism in the Spirit above other Christian doctrines was to encourage 'an unbalanced emphasis' which invariably led to 'fanaticism and the eventual ridicule of God's work'.⁷⁵

(ii) He affirmed that 'the evidence that a believer has been baptised in the Holy Ghost is a greater evidence than speaking with tongues' much more than mere speaking in tongues was needed as evidence.⁷⁶ While glossolalia may accompany this experience 'it is only one of the gifts apportioned and divided severally as He wills' [Cor 12:11]:⁷⁷ There was no biblical reason for elevating one gift above the others.

(iii) He consistently reminded his congregations that the sign of the Baptism of the Spirit was ultimately not the 'charismatic gifts'. He pointed out that nowhere in the Scriptures is it mentioned that, 'By their gifts ye shall know them' but by their 'fruits ...'.⁷⁸ He frequently quoted Matthew 7:16.

Pastor Rowlands understood Bethesda's position to lie between the extremes of formalism and fanaticism: 'Fanaticism is the result of an unscriptural approach to Pentecost and Formalism in the result of no approach at all'.⁷⁹ He strongly criticised the formal, structured approach to polity and worship in the established churches. He considered many of these churches 'apostate'.⁸⁰ This appears to be a general trait in Pentecostal thinking.⁸¹ We get the clearest insight into Pastor Rowlands attitude to this issue in his response in mid-1959 to a few members leaving Bethesda to join a certain 'established church': 'the four - square peg of Pentecost will never fit into the round hole of formal Christianity'.⁸² He pointed out that 'formalism' was 'throttling' their Christianity because 'they deny the power of the church, the Holy

Spirit'. He compared these members to 'spiritual divorcees' who had 'lost their first love for Jesus and have been remarried to a church'. 'Too many Christians', he lamented, 'are being rounded-off to fit square backslidden situations'.⁸³

He believed that behind both extremes lay a satanic plot designed to corrupt the church. While formalism made Christians merely 'puppets and pew-warmers where their impotence will be a stumbling-block to the spread of the Gospel', the extreme emotional experiences were 'pseudo-Pentecostal experiences designed by the "arch imposter" to deceive true Christians'. He believed that those caught in the latter 'were too busy chasing devils, imaginary or otherwise, to listen to simple reason and plain Scripture'.⁸⁵

From about the late 60's onwards, he found reason to warn more vehemently against emotional excesses among the later independent Pentecostal churches. In contrast Bethesda was described as being 'qualified by the word "sane"⁸⁶, where 'no appeals to natural feelings or emotions are made and where the Holy Ghost appealed directly to the conscience and (therefore) lasting decisions have been made for the Lord'.⁸⁷

Not the 'gifts' but the 'fruit' were the signs of true Pentecost and the baptism of the person. He listed these 'fruits' to be:

- (i) Profound humility
- (ii) Power not noise
- (iii) Love above all other gifts
- (iv) Unity not churchianity or denominationalism
- (v) Spiritual urge to win souls
- (vi) Innate desire to pray
- (vii) Christlike unselfishness
- (viii) Action, movement and progress not stagnation
- (ix) Spirituality, not carnal mindedness
- (x) Stability, dependability and reliability not 'weather-cock Christians'.⁸⁸

These, he maintained, will ensure that the Christian becomes 'supernaturally animated and transformed into Christlikeness'.⁸⁹

It is clear then that while historically, 'tongue-speaking' has become entrenched as a distinguishing feature (Pentecostal churches openly claim this as an important feature in their creeds), it is quite possible for a church to place no emphasis on this at all, and yet claim to be truly Pentecostal. What then is the essential 'Pentecostal experience of the Spirit?.

While the Apostolic Faith Mission and the Assemblies of God have isolated the 'second experience' to be a distinct, dramatic, and often emotional experience which for them should be accompanied by 'tongue-speaking', Bethesda (and we should remember this is by far the largest section of Indian Pentecostalism) insisted that this 'second experience' is characterised by a transformed life-style. Within Bethesda also this 'second experience' was often accompanied by such exercises as weeping at the altar, making a public confession, signing a pledge or making a promise to serve Christ totally. This experience was invariably the 'prerequisite' to admission into the activities of the church. ⁹⁰

Thus this 'Pentecostal experience' was ultimately one that enabled the member to identify totally with his church and be intimately involved in its activities. Having had this experience the person himself felt 'cleansed' and accepted by God and his fellow-members. Hence one finds the pre-occupation with 'guilt', 'sins', 'cleansing' and 'reconciliation' in the sermons, testimonies and songs used by these churches. Of over 150 songs and choruses that are popular at Pentecostal church services at least 120 were associated with one or more of the four ideas above: the clichés 'cleansed by the blood of Christ', 'washed my sins', 'I was lost but Jusus found me', 'saved from darkness and brought into light', 'once I was bound but now 'I am free' and 'I am a child of God', occur frequently.⁹¹ Over 300 testimonies were recorded at the services attended at these churches. The two most frequently occurring reasons given for thanksgiving

were 'reconciliation to God' and 'physical healing'.⁹² Reconciliation is experienced as a real and existential reality. The signs of this reconciliation are understood to be the effectiveness of the person in 'doing something for God'. This common cliché in these circles refers to the active involvement in church services and its activities. These include praying, preaching, evangelism and membership in one or more of the auxiliary ministerial groups. Hence one repeatedly finds in the testimonies something to the following effect: 'I thank my God for using me in this work. I used to be a person of no importance (the person here normally cites examples from his past to illustrate how bad he was) but since I became a child of God my whole life has been changed (here examples of various successes achieved since conversion may be cited)'. After this, as an indication of his having been used by God, reference is usually made to healing, a conversion or some other praiseworthy assistance that some person received through his agency. This pattern is representative of these testimonies which are remarkably stereotyped in form and content.

8.4.3 The doctrine of the 'second experience'

The separation of the baptism of the Spirit from conversion, as we have noticed in chapter 1 is the theological a priori of Pentecostalism based on the experience of the Apostles as recorded in the Acts.

Harold Horton maintains that those who had not had this 'second experience' of baptism 'know nothing of ... supernatural things.'⁹³ The baptism of the Spirit is believed to be a 'definite and distinct experience'⁹⁴, subsequent to regeneration⁹⁵ and to having 'a clean heart'.⁹⁶ Associated with baptism is the reception of 'power' to become true Christians, to evangelise and to live daily above sin and unholiness.⁹⁷ As Derek Prince put it, 'In order to become a true Christian, a person must be born again of the Spirit of God. In order to become an effective witness of Christ, a person must be baptised in the Holy Spirit ... In order to live daily as a Christian, a person must be led by the Spirit'.⁹⁸

8.4.4 A critique of Spirit baptism as a second experience

There are certain theological problems associated with the Pentecostal doctrine of Spirit-baptism as a second experience subsequent to conversion.

1. The centrality of Luke's account of Spirit baptism is both incorrect and uncritical. In this regard it is worthwhile to consider John Stott's advice that it is a 'sounder hermeneutical approach to seek guidance in the Bible's didactic rather than its historical parts'. He wrote, 'We should look for (doctrinal revelation) in the teaching of Jesus, and in the sermons and writings of the apostles, and not in the purely narrative portions of the Act. What is described in Scripture as having happened to others is not necessarily intended for us, whereas what is promised to us we are to appropriate, and what is commanded to us we are to obey'.⁹⁹

James D.G. Dunn explains the danger of relying unduly upon Luke's account. He says that to draw theological conclusions from 'a lop-sided account, is to saddle oneself with a lop-sided theology'.¹⁰⁰ While we cannot adequately evaluate within the scope of this thesis the historical accuracy of Luke's history, it is clear, that the epistles contain an important perspective on this issue of Spirit baptism that Pentecostals have neglected. While Luke emphasizes the direct communication the Apostles had had with the Spirit, the epistles describe the life in the Spirit to be a new relation to God based on 'sonship', 'liberty' and a new degree of love [11 Cor 13:14; Phil 2:1; 11 Cor 3:8; Gal 3:5].¹⁰¹ Paul stressed that the supernatural elements which the Church in Corinth had emphasised was not the essence of the Spirit - filled life.

J.A. Schep agrees that the Biblical historical events cannot be normative but adds that 'we should always be on our guard not to blur out clear guide-lines, for the future, contained in historical records'.¹⁰² However, it is important to note that on a point of contention, as is the case here, it is hermeneutically sounder to give more weight to the portions of Scripture, like the epistles, which aim to clarify Christian doc-

trine, than to give primary importance to the historical sections which did not have a didactic purpose.

2. The separation of the Baptism of the Spirit from the experience of regeneration creates confusion about the role of the Spirit in conversion and gives rise to certain ambiguities about the work of the Spirit in general.

Michael Green in attempting to resolve this problem accuses Dennis Bennett of confounding the issue. Bennett's argument is that, 'The one baptism in Eph. 4:5 divides into three. In 1 Cor 12:13 Paul says, "In one spirit we are all baptised into one body ... and were made to drink of one Spirit". This refers to the Spirit baptism ... which takes place as soon as Jesus is received as Saviour. This was followed by the baptism of the Holy Spirit, in which the now indwelling Holy Spirit is poured forth to manifest Jesus to the world through the life of the believer. Either before or after the baptism with the Holy Spirit there was the outward sign of baptism with water'.¹⁰³

Green correctly observes that Bennett has 'tied himself in knots'¹⁰⁴ because in his attempt to account for the 'second experience' he violates the very teaching of the text he uses (i.e. 1 Cor 12:13), namely, the one baptism of the Spirit.

3. Baptism in the Spirit is a 'once for all' experience.

Regeneration, the essence of the conversion experience is according to the Scriptures totally the work of the Spirit. To describe a subsequent experience as 'the threshold to a life of walking in power' as Kevin and Dorothy Ranaghan do¹⁰⁵, tends to minimize the work of the Spirit in conversion.

This is confirmed by A.A. Hoekema who points out that 'the expression "to be baptized in the Spirit" is used in the Gospels and in Acts 1:5 to designate the once-for-all historical event of the out-pouring of the Holy

Spirit of Pentecost - an event which can never be repeated. In Acts 11:16 the expression describes the reception of the Spirit for salvation by people who were not Christians before. In 1 Cor 12:13 ... for the sovereign act of God whereby all Christians are incorporated into the body of Christ at the time of regeneration. Never in the New Testament is the expression "to be baptised in the Spirit" used to describe a post - conversion reception of the totality or fullness of the Spirit'.¹⁰⁶

Because the decision for Christ was itself the result of the work of the Spirit,¹⁰⁷ to speak of a 'second blessing' is a misnomer.

4. In view of the experience of the Apostles who were on several occasions imbued with courage by the Spirit, the claim by Pentecostals and Charismatics in general to have had subsequent to their conversion a 'new' experience of the Spirit, but especially because of the distinct teaching of the Epistles 'to be filled with Spirit', it would be more theologically tenable to affirm 'one Baptism but many fillings.'¹⁰⁸ An individual, subsequent to conversion will indeed experience over and over again the wonder of the Spirit in greater depth. As L. Suenans stated, 'The Spirit is still on his way, he is already radically present from the beginning of the Christian life, even if awareness of this reality is not present until later ...'¹⁰⁹

Affirming the possibility of 'many fillings' views the Christian life as dynamic and always open to a fresh understanding of God and of His will. To systematise the experience of the Spirit has the effect of focusing on 'the experience' not on the on-going creative work of the Spirit.

5. A corollary to this dynamic view of the Spirit is the doctrine that sanctification is a continuous and progressive work. While one is indeed sanctified in Christ, one is always being sanctified also. Christian discipleship obtains in the tension of 'being' and 'becoming'.

This view calls into question the Pentecostal belief that the baptism of the Spirit occurs when the believer is pure and holy as J.L. Slay does in

stating the view of the church of God. He writes, 'baptism of the Holy Spirit is subsequent to a clean heart'.¹¹⁰ But this view contradicts the view of Pentecostals themselves that the Holy Spirit sanctifies the believer.¹¹¹

8.4.5 Speaking in tongues as initial evidence of Spirit-baptism

As we have repeatedly observed Pentecostalism affirms as its distinguishing belief the doctrine of speaking in tongues as the initial evidence of the baptism of the Spirit.¹¹²

This doctrine is based chiefly on Mk 16:17 and Acts. J. Slay, for instance cites F.F. Bruce, the New Testament scholar, to support the Pentecostal interpretation of Acts 10:44 and 45. He writes, 'The descent of the Spirit on these Gentiles was outwardly manifested in much the same way as it had been when the original disciples received the Spirit at Pentecost: they spoke with tongues and proclaimed the mighty works of God. Apart from such external manifestation, none of the Jewish Christians present, perhaps not even Peter himself would have been so ready to accept the fact that the Spirit had really come upon them'.¹¹³ Slay concludes that 'Bruce is certainly making a strong point in favour of ... tongues being the initial evidence'.¹¹⁴

Some critics of this doctrine of 'initial evidence' have pointed out that glossolalia is not for every Christian but that it had been a sign to unbelievers in the days of the Apostles and served to authenticate the Apostolic message. W. McRae cites Hebrews 2:3-4 to back his claim that 'tongues' confirmed the Apostolic message. He further argues that Paul's use of the middle voice in describing tongues in 1 Cor 13:18-13 suggests that glossolalia was not intended to be a permanent feature.¹¹⁵ René Pache asserts that the present context of the church is different from that of the Apostles, the New Testament and the experience of the Church where the Spirit had been spread abroad in accordance with the promise of Joel 2:28.

No one would, however, claim the sign of a 'mighty wind' and of 'tongues of fire' experience by the 120. (Acts 2:1-4) Similarly this single experience at Pentecost provides no basis to claim for all the gift of tongues. Unlike Cornelius in Acts 10:45, 47 we do not need this external sign to confirm that we of a Gentile race are admitted into the Church or that the Spirit has been granted to us also.¹¹⁶

To counter this line of argument, Pentecostals claim that tongue speaking is both a sign for the unbeliever and at the same time a gift to believers,¹¹⁷ conferring on them boldness and power,¹¹⁸ the ability to pray effectually¹¹⁹ and to express deep feelings and thoughts, in the language that God understands.¹²⁰

However, there appears to be confusion over whether the experience of speaking in tongues is xenoglossia or glossolalia. Both views have wide support. McRae¹²¹, and Horton¹²² argue that real languages are spoken and that 'speaking in tongues' is not, as I. Stevenson had asserted, gibberish or gobbledegook.¹²³ William Samarin, in a sympathetic appraisal of tongue-speaking, claims that glossolalia 'is a meaningless but phonologically structured human utterance believed by the speaker to be a real language but bearing no systematic resemblance to any natural language, living or dead'.¹²⁴ Ira Martin claims that Luke misunderstood glossolalia for xenoglossia because he did not have personal knowledge of the phenomenon.¹²⁵ Cyril Williams at the risk of presumption concludes that the phenomenon at Jerusalem was glossolalia and that 'in spite of the vast separation in time it is in fact basically similar to modern manifestations in Pentecostal or more recently neo-Pentecostal circles ...'.¹²⁶ Citing the view of A. von Harnack's commentary on Acts, Williams concludes that what we have here is a 'miracle of hearing' that is, that glossolalia miraculously manifested itself to the hearers in their own language.¹²⁷

8.4.6 Critique of the doctrine that tongue-speaking is initial evidence of Spirit baptism

1. If, as we think, the baptism of the Spirit as a subsequent experience to conversion is erroneous, then the doctrine of tongue-speaking as initial evidence of this 'second experience' must also be rejected.

Again as on the issue of Spirit baptism, the Acts narrative is the sole scriptural basis for the doctrine of 'initial evidence' since the only other text applicable is MK 16:9-20. The latter is generally considered to be a later edition; F. Stagg, for example, considers these verses a reflection of second century interests in speaking in tongues; handling of serpents; drinking poisons and healing.¹²⁸

In the three accounts in Acts [2:4; 10:46; 19:1-7] where speaking in tongues followed the Baptism of the Spirit it has been adequately shown by D.F. Bruner¹²⁹ and J. Stott¹³⁰ amongst others, that on all three occasions speaking in tongues was not essentially proof that a Christian had received the Spirit but a sign that the Spirit had been granted to the Jews (Acts 2:4) and the Gentiles (10:46). The incident involving John's disciples (Act 19:1-7) does not detract from this opinion since there is no proof that they were Christians¹³¹ or that they had had adequate knowledge of the Christian faith. It is hardly likely that they did.¹³³

The only other reference in the New Testament to the presence of glossolalia is 1 Cor 14 which refers to it as one of nine Spiritual gifts and indicates that Paul had spoken in tongues also. But this chapter should be read with caution since

(i) the aim of 1 Cor 14 is in the first place to discourage glossolalia and to encourage the use of prophecy as a much nobler gift. Hence Michael Green, while allowing a place for tongues, states that 'it should neither be given undue attention nor despised. Since it is the lowest of the charismata it should not be a matter of surprise that it is so common';¹³³

(ii) the church at Corinth should not be too readily used as an example for all time. It was the most carnal of all the churches under Paul's jurisdiction and had indulged in several unChristian practices. In this regard F.D. Bruner's generalisation about the Corinthian mentality being similar to that of present day Pentecostals is rather wild and unfounded.¹³⁴ But it cannot be denied that the Corinthian congregation appears to have favoured ultra supernaturalism;¹³⁵

(iii) it is very probable, as Cyril Williams in his study of tongue-speaking maintained, that 1 Cor 14:10-11 refers to glossolalia¹³⁶ and not xenoglossia¹³⁷, since Paul was at pains to regulate its use. He lists eight rules governing the use of tongues:

- (a) 1 Cor 14:19; five words spoken with understanding is better than 10,000 in tongues;
- (b) 14:27, only two or three should speak in tongues during a service;
- (c) 14:27, only one at a time should speak;
- (d) 14:28, there must be no speaking in tongues without an interpreter;
- (e) 14:32, glossolalia must be subject to control;
- (f) 14:33, glossolalia must not produce confusion;
- (g) 14:34, women must not indulge in it publicly in Church;
- (h) 14:40, glossolalia must be done 'decently and in order';

In view of the above, the Pentecostal elevation of glossolalia as proof of Spirit baptism is very problematic.

(2) There seems to be no good reason why the miraculous gifts of the Spirit in 1 Cor 12:8-10 should be emphasised to the almost total neglect of the other gifts of the Spirit which are qualitatively as important for the edification of the individual, the Christian community and society at large. The lists of gifts we refer to are those in Romans 12:6-8; Eph. 4:11 and 1 Pet 4:11. In the Corinthian description of the gifts also, Paul concludes that neither any of the gifts nor 'the tongues of men or angels', but love only, is the chief indication of spirituality (1 Cor. 13:1);

(3) What then is the significance of glossolalia? This is difficult to ascertain, especially since in our study, the fastest growing Pentecostal church, Bethesda, has played down glossolalia and has still achieved all that Pentecostals usually attribute to glossolalia alone, namely vital commitment; sincerity; love for prayer and such like.

Nonetheless, it appears that glossolalia, or in the case of Bethesda, a crisis spiritual experience, may serve as a catharsis; a fact which Pentecostals admit to. Ray Hughes a leader in the Church of God USA argued that 'to deny that glossolalia provides psychological release would be to admit that one knows little about the nature of man. Tears of repentance, confessions of sin, and other religious exercises provide for a cathartic effect, because the whole man is affected by true religion'.¹³⁹

William Samarin in his study of 'tongue speaking' maintains that glossolalia signals and symbolises transition as evangelical conversion does. It is a 'linguistic symbol of the sacred- a symbolic, pleasurable, expressive and therapeutic experience'.¹⁴⁰ This view runs counter to the older traditional notions that glossolalia indicated psychological pathology; suggestibility; hypnosis or was the result of social disorganization or deprivation.¹⁴¹ These notions we have already rejected (cf. *positio quaestionis*).

However, if we allow that glossolalia may have a therapeutic value for the individual believer then glossolalia is not in itself a religious activity. This view is substantiated by Cyril Williams in Tongues of the Spirit who argues that

(a) glossolalia as vocalisation can be an expression of hope, joy, awe or any of the emotions which dominate the unconscious and which can be aroused in the religious context by the sense of the numinous;

(b) even within the congregation ... the criteria for testing the authenticity of the glossolalia act are exterior to it ... when the believer speaks in tongues and receives the approval of the congregation he knows he is accepted by the group and more important(ly) by God i.e. it may act

as 'a psychological manifestation within the context of divine superintendency';¹⁴²

(c) While other activities may have also achieved similar effects one must allow that beliefs concerning the character of glossolalia will have a decided effect upon the quality of the inner experience of the believer himself.¹⁴³

Because of this function that glossolalia may play in the individual's religious practice, we are not convinced that prayer, worship and devotion cannot achieve the same results. However, while we allow that tongues cannot be rejected outright there are no biblical grounds for making glossolalia the central tenet of any Christian doctrine. Morton Kelsey agrees with this assessment when he writes that '... tongue speaking can become a short cut to religious and psychological growth which stunts it instead of giving it full measure. If the experience is seen as the centre of Christian life, then Christ, in whom no one experience takes precedence, is displaced as the center, and Christian wholeness gets lost. Growth towards Christian maturity means ... patience and suffering ... (or) people get caught in tongue speaking and never go further';

(4) Hence glossolalia is at most a terminus a quo it could never be the goal of Christian spirituality nor 'a sign of deep spirituality'.¹⁴⁴ It is a rite d'entre¹⁴⁵ not an end in itself.¹⁴⁶ It is for this reason, that Bethesda's approach to Pentecost, an approach that emphasized the fruit of the Spirit, is more biblically defensible than other Indian Pentecostal churches or even traditional Pentecostalism which over-emphasized glossolalia.

8.5 Pentecostal-type Christianity : its positive features

It is unfortunate that Pentecostals have emphasized glossolalia to such an extent that their critics are forced to judge them solely on their pneumatology. However, Pentecostalism cannot be so easily dismissed, for the

Pentecostal experience over and above its unwarranted and unnecessary emphasis on 'initial evidence' and on the striving after the 'second experience', has focused attention on several issues that are of fundamental importance to Christian faith and practice; issues that have suffered neglect in traditional Christianity. Some of the more obvious ones are listed below:

1. a renewed interest in the doctrine of the Spirit. Traditional Christianity has tended to append pneumatology to discussions on the Trinity only;¹⁴⁷

The renewed emphasis on the presence and power of the holy Spirit has drawn approval from several theologians and church leaders of traditional churches.¹⁴⁸ For example, L. Newbigin viewed Pentecostalism as an important component in the whole church, its emphasis on the Spirit contributing to balance the emphasis of Protestantism and Roman Catholicism on personal salvation and on membership of the church.¹⁴⁹ H.P. van Dusen referred, in similar vein, to Pentecostalism as the 'Third Force' in Christendom;¹⁵⁰

2. introduction of a sense of vital fellowship and communal solidarity. The church ceases to be a conglomeration of independent monadic personalities;

This quality of Pentecostal churches has been amply illustrated in our study and finds strong scriptural support. A.C. Winn, commenting on the work of the Spirit within the church wrote, 'Though it flies in the face of individualism that so strongly marks ... western culture, I believe that the Spirit's primary work is the bestowal of shared life on the community. I believe this to be the correct understanding of Scripture as a whole';¹⁵¹

3. an alternative to a purely intellectual Christianity which does not address itself to the whole person, his desires, emotional upheavals, joys and frailties;

H. Ervin sees Pentecostalism as the alternative to both the antisupernaturalist approach of liberal theology and to 'the doctrinaire orthodoxy' of conservative theology.¹⁵² While the former sometimes led to scepticism and intellectualism, the latter fostered rigidity of creed and liturgy to the point of preserving moribund ritual. Hence O'Connor believes that a lively faith in the Holy Spirit has been discarded by the sophisticated theology from Enlightenment and by demythologization.¹⁵³

This lively faith has much too often been missing in the life and liturgy of churches in our times. Betty Scharf, the sociologist claims that the vast majority of mankind is not going to find God through such a cerebral religion as the Christianity it has so far encountered.¹⁵⁴ It is not surprising that the sub-unit of the WCC on Renewal and Congregational life which met at Stony Point in 1978 points out that the Charismatic Renewal represented 'the longing for a truly spiritual life, in reaction to an over - cerebral Christianity ... a longing for strength, in reaction to a Christianity which denied or explained away the miracles and mighty works attested to in the New Testament';¹⁵⁵

4. a re-affirmation of spirituality, piety and devotion in an age of much apostasy and nominal church membership.

According to John Lancaster 'the essential Pentecostal view of holiness is more than doctrine, more than membership, more than isolated experiences of spiritual blessing. It is to be filled with the Spirit in such a way that the resurrection life of Christ is continually asserting itself in our experiences, so that the death-shattering, pure, gracious, winsome, uncompromising, holy, effective, transcendent life of God Himself is the mainspring of all we are and think and say and do. This may seem to be pure idealism, but it is the goals to which we must ever strive'.¹⁵⁶

5. a timely reminder to the Church that Christianity is essentially transforming and renewing. Pentecostals in affirming an austere and circumspect life style seek to manifest that transformed existence.

J.V. Taylor confirmed this when he wrote that 'The whole weight of New Testament evidence endorses the central affirmation of the Pentecostals that the gift of the Holy Spirit transforms and intensifies the quality of human life, and that this is a fact of experience in the lives of Christians'.¹⁵⁷ Pentecostal-type Christianity is a religion of great immediacy, a factor which has led researchers especially L. Gerlach and V. Hine to characterise it by its ability to 'transform personalities'.¹⁵⁸

6. a rediscovery of the priesthood of all believers, a cardinal biblical truth.¹⁵⁹ This crucial doctrine of the Reformation, became neglected with the emergence of Orthodoxy in the seventeenth century. This rediscovery has also spread to the Roman Catholic Church as the Lumen gentium document of Vatican II amply illustrates. The church at Vatican II was redefined as the 'people of God' and the 'mystery of God' was not confined to the narrow limits of the hierarchy.

7. new ecumenical possibilities. Hendrikus Berkof believes that Pentecostalism has shown that the Holy Spirit is at work beyond the acknowledged major denominations.¹⁶⁰ He goes on to say that Pentecostalism has also shown that the Spirit is not restricted to only justification but extends to equipping a person to become 'an instrument for the ongoing process of the Spirit in the Church and in the world'.¹⁶¹

It is unfortunate that Pentecostalism at large, and certainly Indian Pentecostalism, has refrained from participating both in ecumenical discussions and dialogue but has as we have shown, unnecessarily separated personal transformation from the renewal of society.

Nevertheless, as Philip Potter had stated at the Bossey Consultation of the WCC in March 1980, great possibilities for ecumenical dialogue have been created by the renewal experienced as the direct result of the emergence of Pentecostalism.¹⁶² In fact, already, in 1952, the World Conference of the International Pentecostal Churches submitted a statement to the Enlarged Committee of the International Missionary Council which met

met at Willigen in 1952, where it claimed that '... After nearly half a century of misunderstanding and ostracism, for which they recognize they have not been entirely without blame on their part, the Pentecostal churches offer their fellowship in Christ to the whole of His Church in this grave hour of her history. They believe they have something to gain by larger fellowship with all who truly belong to Christ'.¹⁶³ This attitude of the World Conference has taken an unduly long time to filter down to the local Pentecostal churches. While, with Evangelicals in general, these churches may accuse the Ecumenical Movement of gross imbalance in favour of social action, it is obvious that they have abrogated their responsibility in redressing that imbalance.

8. Pentecostalism, as we have intimated, has already been the greatest single factor that influenced the emergence of the Charismatic, or as it is sometimes called-the Renewal Movement, throughout the Church. This influence has also been acknowledged by Catholics themselves, like Kilian McDonnell,¹⁶⁴ John Sherill¹⁶⁵, Simon Tugwell¹⁶⁶ and especially Arnold Bettlinger¹⁶⁷ whose list of the salient features of the charismatic renewal strongly resembles those features of Pentecostalism which have been described in this sub-section.

8.6 The antithetical structure of Pentecostal theology and the role of the 'experience' of the Spirit

Germane to Pentecostal theology are certain basic tensions not unlike the 'antithesis' which G. Ebeling describes as 'the play between the harsh opposition of opposing thesis and the spirit of compromise which reconciles both sides of the issue'.¹⁶⁸ In this sub-section four such antitheses are isolated, viz.

1. The problem of authority - Scripture, Revelation and the Pentecostal Hermeneutic.
2. The problem of freedom - The Relationship of 'Works' and 'Grace'.
3. The problem of history - The idea of the Chosen Remnant and the Pentecostal concept of church.
4. The problem of certainty - The crisis of Faith in Pentecostalism.

Scripture, revelation and the Pentecostal hermeneutic : the problem of authority

The Bible is believed to be totally and verbally inspired making the Pentecostal view of Scripture a strictly fundamentalist one. Every text and every word being the result of inspiration is of equal importance. This is most clearly seen in the way scriptural quotations are used to substantiate statements in Pentecostal sermons and testimonies. Proof texts from several parts of the Bible, irrespective of their differing contexts, are grouped together in order to substantiate or justify a particular doctrine or practice.

Behind the insistence on the literal meaning of the text is the issue which James Barr has identified as the insistence upon the inerrancy of the Bible; Fundamentalists insist not that the Bible must be taken literally but that it must be so interpreted as to avoid any admission that it contains any error.¹⁶⁹ As Barr puts it, the fundamentalist 'oscillates between literal and non-literal approaches' for, 'given his principle of inerrancy, fed in as the architectonic control in his approach to the Bible, it is obvious that the meaning he discovers are to him the "plain" meanings. Thus he is not being in anyway insincere'.¹⁷⁰ We may add that this preoccupation with the inerrancy of the Bible is linked with the need for an absolute authority and with a hermeneutic which must necessarily make every part as authoritative as the whole. Hence to quote scriptural verses in the manner cited does not seem to him to be haphazard.

In view of the a priori commitment to the inerrancy of the Bible, the hermeneutical task in theological studies, usually apologetic in nature, is how to harmonise Scripture.¹⁷¹ Any other approach, even if not historico-critical, is rejected as 'liberal' the symptom of which is to admit any error however small because such an admission would for the Pentecostals amount to questioning the inspiration of the entire Scriptures.

To use Scripture in this way does not appear to Pentecostals to be haphazard because every text has binding value. Yet this procedure often reduces the Bible to a compendium of proof texts, 'a holy Book with loaded words'.¹⁷² Hence attempts to distinguish between the circumstances of Acts and those of Corinthians when discussing charismata with Pentecostals is rejected as 'an attempt to let one part of the Bible have more meaning for today than another'.¹⁷³

Given such an approach, it is quite logical for Pentecostals to believe that the 'established' churches fail to obey all parts of Scripture and place 'doctrine over Scripture'. Their call to go 'back to the Bible' expresses their rejection of the agnostic or sceptical attitude of these churches to miracles, the supernatural and the charismata. They insist therefore that Christians must repudiate those churches and their creeds which have 'rejected Scripture in their doctrine and practice', and must instead 'listen to the Bible'.

Yet this emphasis admits an antithesis within Pentecostal thinking. While on the one hand the Bible is given paramount authority as 'the final word' on any matter of faith, ample room is allowed for the Holy Spirit to teach and guide over and above the Scriptures on the other hand. While some will say that this is not possible in view of their belief in the 'closed canon' of Scripture they have also to admit an inconsistency in the de facto acceptance of the Spirit as having 'much greater authority' than the Bible.

In order to account for this tension some leaders of the Pentecostal churches maintain that the Spirit points only to Christ who gives the Bible its authority. Nevertheless congregations generally understand that the Spirit can, and does, communicate the will of God directly and not necessarily in the words of the Scripture. Numerous examples of this openness to the new revelation of the Spirit were found in the congregations; 'tongues' and their interpretation, and 'prophecy' are the chief 'gifts of the Spirit' which are occasions for such revelation.

Interpretations were often accompanied by silence and much solemnity in the congregation as these were considered to be the times during which God was speaking to that particular congregation. Glossolalia and interpretations were strategically located within the framework of the whole service. They often occurred after the sermon or when a rousing or provocative matter of doctrine or ethics was raised, thus confirming or sanctioning the point the preacher was making.

While glossolalia and prophecy purport not to 'add to Scripture', they are also taken as authoritative. Sometimes one or another of these 'charismatic revelations' gave individuals or whole sections of congregations a mandate to leave an existing church and found their own;¹⁷⁴ or they resulted in a person leaving his secular employment and entering the ministry full-time.¹⁷⁵

Such revelations play an important function also at the individual level because the revelation of the Spirit is considered to be the ultimate guide to understanding the Scriptures. This view is widely accepted by pastors and members alike. One minister pointed out that without the 'experience of the Spirit' one could not understand the Scriptures. He quoted Paul for good measure: 'A natural man does not understand the things of the Spirit'.¹⁷⁶ While a case can be made for the view that the insights in Scripture are constantly made accessible by the Spirit who witnesses to Christ,¹⁷⁷ in these circles the identical 'form' of argument means something quite different. Clearly, here a definite pattern of mysticism has emerged: a mystical experience is able to resolve the tension we have indicated between the two 'authorities' of the inspired scriptures and the 'revealed messages'. This phenomenon is explained in greater detail later.

The relationship of 'Works' and 'Grace' : the problem of freedom

This experience of 'being filled with the Spirit' which is central to Pentecostal self-understanding has an obverse side i.e. the role the believer is expected to play continually. The antithetical tension that exists be-

tween 'works' and 'grace' which has always been present in Christian theology emerges in Pentecostalism also but is governed by new sets of circumstances.

Though all Pentecostals affirm that salvation is by grace not works, the actions of the believer are decisive throughout. This stress is especially clear in the general emphasis on 'holiness' and 'having faith' as prerequisites for the 'Pentecostal experience'.

The following quotations are typical statements of their belief of this apparent activitas et opera hominis conditiones gratiae Divinae:

upon request, the moment the believer makes the necessary spiritual and practical preparation, he will be filled.¹⁷⁸

in order to be baptised with the Spirit, let us cleanse and sanctify our lives in as practical a manner as Jesus cleansed the temple.¹⁷⁹

in order to be filled it is for us to sanctify ourselves.¹⁸⁰

The dialectical tension is most evident when one considers why so many do not receive this experience. The most common answers given were that these did not have enough 'faith' or that they had some 'hidden sin' in their lives.

Thus the quest for holiness is both the raison d'être of Pentecostalism and its rationale. The sacraments take on a special significance here. They are seen primarily as a means for cleansing. While water baptism signifies a public confession whereby one is admitted to full membership into the church, it also carries the connotation of being a moment of purification. The following are typical statements gleaned from our interviews:

Baptism shows the world that one has received remission of sins.

After Baptism one feels convicted when one does wrong.

Baptism is a symbol of respect to God and to my fellow man.

When I came out of the water I promised God that I would serve Him in Spirit and truth.

Baptism inspired me to witness to the public.

Being baptised is a prerequisite for participation in the Eucharist, normally called the 'holy communion' in these circles. Such participation is also directly linked to the preoccupation with cleansing for holiness. 1 Cor. 11:23 is almost always read and the verses 28 and 29, 'let a man examine himself ... lest he eat unworthily' are taken as a call for careful introspection and confession before partaking of the communion. 'For this reason many are sick and many sleep' (Vs 30) is stressed to create awareness that to take part in the communion without being 'right with God' is to invite judgement upon oneself.

Thus in the solemn build-up to the Communion a number of people were seen to pray openly for forgiveness and also to weep. In this way the monthly communion is in effect a 'rededication service'.

Fasting and prayer is part of the 'striving after holiness' which enables one to receive the 'power' of the Spirit.¹⁸¹ While Pentecostals strongly affirm salvation by grace through faith alone, there is at work also a kind of synergism. Human effort plays an important part in both conversion, when salvation is only effected when the person believes, and more clearly in the 'baptism of the Spirit' which is only possible after a person has demonstrated seriousness and sincerity.

Pentecostals also reject the doctrine of the 'perseverance of the saints' which they more commonly call the doctrine of 'eternal security'. Whereas this doctrine briefly states that God who has called and saved will give believers grace to persevere victoriously until the end, Pentecostalism generally maintains that a believer may through a lack of 'watchfulness' over 'living a sanctified life' lose his salvation. This process is commonly referred to as 'backsliding'.

Special services are frequently held to restore 'backsliders' and it is widely believed that persistence in unholiness could lead to God relinquishing one 'to a reprobate mind'.

This view of holiness and possession of the Spirit sets up a tension within the church community as well. While all who believe are 'saved', the truly spiritual have in addition the 'power' to live 'overcoming lives' and they possess the 'gifts of the Spirit' by which are chiefly meant the nine miraculous gifts described in 1 Cor. 12.

Thus a 'more spiritual group' within the congregation emerges. While this too will officially be denied, one finds that there does exist a kind of ecclesiola in ecclesia; a form of 'Crypto-Gnosticism' is prevalent which divides the congregation into those who are regarded as spiritual (pneumatikoi) and those who are alleged to be unspiritual (sarkikoi). Those that had had the Pentecostal experience were a 'super-spiritual' group amongst the other 'ordinary' members. They took part in charismatic manifestations during services and were normally the more active members of the congregation. Often when an 'ordinary' member 'spoke in tongues' or 'prophesied' this became proof of his spirituality. That person then had a good chance of being absorbed into active participation in the organisation.

What is remarkable is that Pentecostals despite their 'double experience' do not seem to have eliminated this division of 'spiritual' and 'ordinary' that has plagued every other Christian tradition. Ordinary members are therefore constantly encouraged to 'strive after the baptism of the Holy

Spirit'. A lack of zeal to evangelise or to speak publicly of Christ is in their opinion due to the absence of the 'power of the Spirit'.

The idea of the chosen remnant and the Pentecostal concept of Church:
the problem of history

The church is understood primarily as the communio sanctorum and this is aligned closely with the view that Pentecostalism as compared with other churches is the guardian of the whole truth. The communio sanctorum is thus also the defensor fides. The belief that they are the chosen remnant is evidenced by the following:

1. There is a strong reaction to the 'established' churches which are considered to be 'lacking in the Spirit' because certain charismata are not publicly evident. They are accused of being too steeped in traditional ideas and of emphasizing established doctrine at the expense of present dependence on the Spirit.
2. There is extreme caution over involvement in any ecumenical endeavour and over the formation of alliances with non-Pentecostal churches.
3. Their choice of names make an implicit claim to uniqueness: for example, The Full Gospel Church, the Church of the Eternal Truth, Tru-life Fellowship, New Protestant Church, The Free Church of Christ.
4. Such choices, together with claims to go 'Back to the Bible' or to be 'Bible-believing' or to be 'the church of the Apostles' imply a negative view of the development of the Church; the church accommodated itself to the world and neglected its Biblical mandate. Church history is thus the history of the caricature of the church.

Not only in Southern Africa, but also in America, Pentecostal historians like Charles W. Conn¹⁸² and Carl Brumback¹⁸³ believe that Pentecostalism is essentially a Back-to-the-Bible movement. W.H. Horton in-

sists that the New Testament character of its ministry is the distinguishing factor of the entire movement.¹⁸⁴

The antithesis is evident here: on the one hand it is claimed, as Charles Conn does, that 'there is no evidence during any period of the Pentecostal revival that the people ever considered themselves other than simply, orthodox Christian believers'.¹⁸⁵ On the other hand, Pentecostalism makes a sweeping judgement on almost 2 000 years of church history: credal developments are often ignored; the liturgical history of the Church is often seen as a history of inhibitions on the Spirit, and theological development is generally considered to be flights of intellectual fancies. There is a widespread suspicion of 'theology' - what is important is the simple structures of the church in Acts and the demonstration of the Spirit where all members are equal because each is filled with the Spirit.

The 'remnant' mentality is best illustrated by the way Pentecostal writers generally view Pentecostalism in relation to Church history. The following may serve as illustrative examples:

Horton believes that 'in every age' since the Apostles, 'when ... the church has lost her holiness and spiritual zeal, she has tried to substitute something to replace the Spirit's power ...'.¹⁸⁶ Robert C. Dalton maintains that as early as the Ante-Nicene Fathers, 'it is evident that the miraculous element in early Christianity passed into gradual declension, to continue intermittently in isolated areas through the centuries'.¹⁸⁷ These 'isolated areas' he notes, include the Montanists, the Camisards, the prophets of Cévennes, the Quakers, the Readers, the Methodists and the Irvingites in the 19th century.¹⁸⁸ It is maintained that in AD 313 with 'the favour of the Empire smiling upon her, the church began a long downward journey into ritualism, formality and superstition'.¹⁸⁹

While claiming to be 'spiritual heirs of the reformation'¹⁹⁰ the 'intermittent ... outpourings of the Holy Spirit', are also accepted as 'remnants which preserved the truth' in the following instances:

St. John of the Cross, St. Theresa of Avila, Savonarola, St. Francis of Assisi, John of Parma, St. Francis Xavier, Fenelon, St. Vincent Ferrer, Madame Guyon, the Cathari and the Albigensians who 'attest to the persistence of this spiritual power'.¹⁹¹ It is interesting that the latter two were dualistic manichaeans.

The crisis of Faith in Pentecostalism : the problem of certainty

The antithesis we have discussed thus far have always had the potential to become open contradictions which may have fostered scepticism or occasioned apathy. However, this does not occur in Pentecostalism. We must now consider why?

In the holiness movement, proof of the 'full measure of the Spirit' was the believer's own testimony backed by his pattern of holy living.¹⁹² A.M. Hills, in his study of the holiness position, pointed out that the person in that movement believed that God would sanctify, so that he too could be made perfect, and then he 'simply waited for the feelings of assurance to come'.¹⁹³ All this is very subjective and open self-deception or worse.

It also raises an important theological question: where does authority lie in matters of faith? Pentecostals who claim to be 'Bible believing Christians' answer, 'The Bible is the final authority'. But the problem is much deeper.

To say that the Bible is the final authority is to say very little by way of a precise answer. For instance, in response to Calvin's view of Scripture as extra eam nulla revelatio,¹⁹⁴ a critic pointed out that the Bible is 'nasus cereus' (waxen nose) which one can shape to his own fancy.¹⁹⁵ Calvin appears to have been aware of this, and therefore

added another criterion to the question of Scriptural authority. He said the Word is like an 'instrument by which the Lord dispenses to believers the illumination of His Spirit'.¹⁹⁶ The Westminster Confession put the issue thus: '... our full persuasion and assurance of the infallible truth, the divine authority thereof, is from the inward work of the Holy Spirit bearing by and with the word in our hearts (Testimonium Spiritus Sancti Internum)'.¹⁹⁷ Over and above the many theological justifications that have been produced for this statement of belief, it highlights an element which allows room for the believer's experience to play an important role. Ultimately the acceptance of authority becomes an inward work. Little wonder then that D.F. Strauss considered this issue of the 'inner witness of the Holy Spirit' to be the Achilles' heel of Protestant theology.¹⁹⁸

Hendrikus Berkhof has isolated this ambiguity in the Reformers when he points out that the Lutherans described the Spirit as working per verbum (through the word), that is, where the Word is, the Spirit is. But the Word does not always create faith. Therefore, the later Lutherans ascribed the lack of faith to a certain degree of freedom of the will by which man can resist the Spirit.

The Reformed theologians found this answer unacceptable. They maintained that the Spirit works cum verbo (together with the Word), that is, the Spirit can work outside of the Word and the preached Word can remain without effect. But the dangerous consequence of this position is that the

bearers are inclined to give little heed to the Word and to wait for the inner signs of the opening of the heart. This inclination is illustrated in Reformed Pietism of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries where, as Berkhof puts it, there occurred 'a basic introversion and, accordingly, a lack of certainty of faith'.¹⁹⁹

Berkhof summarizes both problems thus: Lutherans are correct in maintaining that the Spirit is present and active in the Word but are wrong in maintaining a kind of synergism in which the initiative passes from the

Spirit to the hearer. While the Reformed Churches were correct in preventing this synergism, they were wrong in their view that the Word can remain empty i.e. the working of the Spirit is separated from the Word itself.²⁰⁰

The implications of such an ambiguity is clear in Pentecostalism where there is an inherent tension in the understanding of the authority of the Spirit and of the Word.

Theo Preiss confirms our view of an inherent tension within Pentecostalism when in his discussion of the 'inner witness' he pointed out that 'there is an inherent contradiction that literalists or Bible believing people' must invariably feel due to the fact that Scripture itself affirms that revelation can be recognised only by the inner test of the Holy Spirit.²⁰¹

We have noted that for Pentecostal fundamentalists the issue is not primarily literalism but inerrancy. However, the problem Preiss singles out is inevitable: it inheres in a view of the Bible that petrifies the question of authority and of inspiration. Pentecostals expose themselves to becoming bibliolatric: they, too, can 'end in a paper pope, a word of God which man can carry in his pocket'.²⁰²

The question of certainty of salvation also underlies Wesley's preoccupation with the question of perfection. The believer's certitude of his salvation is the witness of the Holy Spirit from above, but the testimony

of his own heart to having the Spirit is supported by the signs of his adoption, such as a broken and contrite heart, humility and love.

V. Synan, the historian of the American holiness movement, concluded that 'the problem (was) proving to oneself and to the world that one has received the experience ... hence it was the logical conclusion to call for holiness',²⁰³ as an outward and visible proof.

It appears that Pentecostals have taken this holiness position one step further. We have noted that in the Wesleyan position the ultimate test was based on the believer's inner feelings of assurance. For Pentecostals the test is more specifically defined and concretised in the experience of glossolalia. The line of reasoning is that one is baptised by the Spirit only if one is holy and the signs of that baptism, hence of holiness, is glossolalia, to which experience the individual and often his community may refer to as 'proof' of spirituality.

A popular Pentecostal minister from Durban put it thus,

Speaking in tongues is the initial outward witness to the reception of the Holy Ghost. By this evidence the believer knows he has received the promised gift of the Father.²⁰⁴

What we have referred to as the 'Pentecostal experience' is thus based on a definite, identifiable moment in the religious experience of the adherent. The following is typical of the import of that moment for the individual:

Tears fell from every eye ... all testified that it was the outstanding spiritual moment of their lives.²⁰⁵

If you have had the experience you can never again be unfaithful to God.

When you have had the experience you will understand your Bible better.

All your doubts and fears are gone when you are baptised by the Spirit.

People argue and debate over doctrine and are doubting because they have never had this personal experience.

When you have had the experience you will know in your heart.

A minister openly claimed that this experience of the Spirit would 'always be a reminder to the individual in times of temptation and doubt'. As baptism was for Luther, this tangible experience of the Spirit, more than an 'reminder', also enables the Pentecostal to cope in times of temptation and doubt.

Thus Pentecostals resolve the tensions in their faith by appealing to this experience. They 'concretise' the evidence and inner witness of the Holy Spirit in the phenomenon of glossolalia rather than only in a life of discernable holiness. In their extreme forms, both are equivocal or can be gainsaid: glossolalia an nonsensical invention, holiness as cranky or fanatical behaviour. Perhaps the most disconcerting aspect of this whole mentality is how the Spirit may cease to be a witness and may become a possession i.e. an experience becomes the corner-stone of faith, a transposition that may give rise to a 'crisis of faith'. Faith may cease to be what Luther meant by 'fides in Spiritu per verbum donata' where faith itself is also the work of the Spirit. Neither is there room for faith as 'unconditional trust and unconditional obedience'.²⁰⁶ Thus it may also cease to be the 'substance of things hoped for'. The fruitio mystica is placed above faith in Christ: instead of the Spirit 'sending the believer back to Christ and to the Scripture', which T. Preiss maintains is the Biblical understanding of 'inner witness',²⁰⁷ 'the experience' becomes an end in itself.

Assurance is thus concretised in an event. The Pentecostal experience of the Spirit, besides providing repeatable, demonstrable 'proof' of salvation, also acts as the 'talisman of divine approval'.²⁰⁸

The possibility of trivializing faith inheres in the way Pentecostals describe their own commitment: for example, George Jeffreys writes' ... Christianity is a religion of signs and wonders from the beginning to end. It is essentially a religion of the supernatural. Signs of regeneration are to be seen in the changed lives of its real converts. If signs are not

seen, the converts are not producing the evidence that they have exercised real faith in Christ. It is the real faith that produces the evidential signs'.²⁰⁹

Wade Horton believes that 'the Pentecostal experience puts one into a new realm of faith, adds new dimensions to one's freedom and gives expansiveness to one's spiritual fullness, freed from terrifying fears and doubt'.²¹⁰ J.E. Stiles in his discussion of Spirit baptism writes, 'The Holy Spirit is received by faith, exactly as salvation is received ... now faith is built up in the candidate by correct instructions which make clear to his mind that the Word of God teaches'²¹¹; then he adds, 'since the receiving of the Holy Spirit is entirely a matter of faith, what can we do to help one receive the Holy Spirit? ... tell the candidate that he is to expect the Spirit to move on his vocal organs ... he is to speak in co-operation with the Spirit ... tell him to throw away all fears tell the candidate to open his mouth wide and breath in as deeply as possible, at the same time telling God in his heart "I am receiving the Spirit right now". ... Absolutely insist that he shall not speak a single word of his natural language. Then, when you see the Spirit moving on his lips and tongue, after he has taken several deep breaths, tell him to just begin recklessly speaking whatever sounds seem easy to speak, utterly indifferent as to what they are. That is faith. If you feel this foolish read Ps 119:131, 81:10 and Job 29:23 ... In recent years we have had hundreds receive the Holy Spirit when we gave them correct instructions and fixed conditions which aided faith'.²¹²

L.Christenson reiterates this view when he declares that 'speaking in tongues is a venture of faith. You lay aside any language which you had ever learned, then lift up your voice and speak out. The "risk" is that you will say nothing more than bla-bla-bla. But when you take this step of simple faith, you discover that God indeed keeps His side of the bargain'.

... Once this initial hurdle is cleared ... you will find your Spirit wonderfully released to worship the Lord as your tongue speaks this new language of worship.

The first test usually comes almost at once: the temptation to think, "I am just making it up". This is a natural thought ... (because) it is hard to draw a clear line between my speaking and His prompting ... One who receives the gift of tongues must from the beginning take this stance. God has given me a gift which I shall use to worship them all the rest of my life'.²¹³

It is obvious how not only a trivialization of faith takes place but also how faith can so easily become an exercise in 'positive thinking'. D.E. Harrell who made a study of popular Pentecostal evangelists in the USA came to a similar conclusion.²¹⁴ This arbitrary ordering and systematizing of the Spirit has no biblical or theological justification whatsoever.

This view of faith results in a kind of synergism, which is also difficult to find any biblical warrant for. This synergism is clear in the statements of Pentecostal leaders themselves:

Derek Prince writes,

Some believers make ... (the) mistake at the time of seeking baptism in the Holy Spirit ... that the Holy Spirit will move them so forcefully that they will be literally compelled to speak with other tongues, without any act of their own will ...²¹⁵

In the same vein W.S. Deal writes,

We must ever be on guard against depending too much upon God and doing too little in cooperation with Him to produce the result of a truly well rounded life ...'.²¹⁶

It appears to us that faith is in danger of ceasing to be gratiae gratis datae and that the 'experience of the Spirit' becomes, as F.D. Bruner put it, ultima fides.²¹⁷ Bruner's rightly expressed concern that the

Pentecostal insistence on evidence of Baptism 'in addition to faith before one could have God in his fulness' bordered on heresy.²¹⁸ He writes, '... the moment any rite, any obedience, any experience, no matter how buttressed with Scripture or with 'angels from heaven' becomes a supplement to faith or a condition for fullness before God, then the anathema must be pronounced and the warning to avoid the false teaching urged with all seriousness'.²¹⁹

The parallel that Bruner sees between the problem with the Pentecostal view of the 'experience' and the Jewish attitude to circumcision which Paul warns about in Gal 5:2-12 is justifiable. Paul was not rejecting circumcision per se as he himself had been circumcised. Paul was, however, rejecting the belief of Christian Jews that circumcision made them complete before God.²²⁰ Hence all of Paul's warnings here are equally applicable to Pentecostals.

8.7 The problem of authority and the question of Pentecostal ecclesiology

The ambiguity that we referred to in the Reformers' view of 'authority' resulted in an extreme individualism which had serious implications for the doctrine of the Church. In their anxiety to affirm that the doctrine of Scripture was not dependent on the authority of the Church, the Reformers opened unwittingly the possibility of the individual being the measure of all things.

Lindsay Dewar confirms this view. He accuses both Luther and Calvin of being 'too individualistically concerned ... (and) not adequately representing the teaching of the New Testament, where the doctrine of objective fellowship or *koinonia*, of the the Spirit is fundamental'.²²¹ He writes, 'Unfortunately the attempt of Luther and Calvin to counter the ultra-authoritarianism of the papacy by subordinating the Church to the Word speaking to the heart of each believer opened the door wide to individualism and sectarianism, as subsequent history as shown'.²²²

Although Dewar has overstated the case here, Wesley's position is a clear indication of where Calvin's doctrine of the inner witness can lead. In his sermon 'The Witness of the Spirit', Wesley held that 'this witness is an inward impression on the soul, whereby the Spirit of God directly witnesses to my spirit, that I am the child of God'.²²³ It is not therefore difficult to see how the 'radicals' of the Reformation like George Fox could affirm 'Inner illumination' as the sole criterion of revelation. Hence Dewar concludes that, 'The paradoxes of ... grace ... have been largely created by our inveterate habit of regarding grace as the result of a solitary encounter between God and the individual; instead of being as it were, triangular, viz. the relations between God, the Christian community, and the individual, in that order. If, as happened too much in Reformation theology, the community is placed third in order of time, as being merely the result of the coming together of converted individuals, the problem becomes a stark antithesis between the grace of God on the one hand and the liberty of the individual on the other - an antithesis which cannot be resolved'.²²⁴

Gregory Dix realised that such an antithesis existed in his study of the liturgy. He wrote, 'The real eucharist is for Calvin individual and internal, not corporate. It is one more example of the intractability of the scriptural sacraments to the protestant theory, and the impossibility of adapting to "a religion of the Spirit" and pure individualism the "religion of incarnation" which presupposes the organic community of the renewed Israel'.²²⁵

The Pentecostals who on the one hand believed that they were the defensor fides, the chosen remnant, believing that the established churches were apostate,²²⁶ shunned ecumenical alliances and claimed to be the true representatives of the New Testament church.²²⁷ They dismiss almost the whole of the history of the church as irrelevant: credal developments are often ignored, liturgical history more often than not is seen as a history of inhibitions on the Spirit and theological developments are generally considered to be flights of intellectual fancies.

On the other hand, we noticed that their group solidarity does not last longer than one generation and that these Pentecostal Churches displayed a tendency to proliferate, usually because of personal, organizational or financial disagreements not theological ones. (cf. chapter 5)

The democratization of the Spirit appears to have fostered individual freedom to the extent that there is no serious appreciation of the notae ecclesiae viz. one ; holy; apostolic; and Catholic. The sense of community appears to last only as long as the revival fervour lasts or as long as the founders are alive (Chapter 6). New churches are formed in an attempt to re-establish a sense of 'liberty'.

Individual liberty becomes all too soon divorced from community only to become institutionalized itself. The tension between community and liberty, Paul Ricoeur understood to be essential for a sound understanding of the nature of the church. He wrote, 'Is it not the most urgent task of those, whoever they may be, who direct the destiny of the Christian community, to maintain the level of this vital conflict and to guarantee for all a flow of life between the institutional and the noninstitutional? For, today, the Church is on both sides. To recognize and to live this fact is a primary duty'.²²⁸

The orthodox theologian, A. Schemann, reiterates this when he points out that, 'When people tire of structures and institutions, they are quick to take refuge in a kind of illusion of freedom, not realizing that in shaking one set of structures they prepare another one. Today's freedom will become tomorrow's institution, and so on ad infinitum'.²²⁹

Inversely, several Catholic theologians have clearly seen how Pentecostalism can contribute positively to their own hitherto hierarchical and institutionalized church polity. The Pentecostal movement has had an ameliorating effect, observes E.D. O'Connor, by highlighting the fact that the Spirit is not the special privilege of 'extraordinary persons or privileged places' but 'ordinary endowments of the (local) community'.²³⁰ The Catholic church has absorbed Pentecostal spirituality and the Pente-

costal emphasis on the charismata into its own historical tradition, thus enriching its own life and thought.²³¹ Thus as R.H. Culpepper points out, 'Catholics have been careful to baptise the charismatic element into the best traditions of their churches. Protestants, on the other hand, have brought much of Pentecostal doctrine and practice undigested into their churches with the result that the charismatic dimension has appeared as a 'foreign body' incompatible with the basic faith and practices of the denominations involved'.²³² Hence it is not surprising that the established churches have also experienced schisms when certain of its congregations become more inclined toward the charismatic movement.

In the absence of a sound doctrine of the Church, the Pentecostal affirmation of the freedom of the individual Spirit easily deteriorates into a sectarian stance. Dewar explains that 'the koinonia provides the only complete satisfactory context for the growth and development of human nature ... where the self-asserting and the self-denying tendencies in men find their harmony in those who by personal devotion to Christ are united to one another, for they live to a centre outside themselves which draws them all together as if by a magnet. Another way of putting this is to say that the Christian community or Church is the gaurdian of freedom; for freedom can be fully experienced only in so far as these two tendencies are balanced'.²³³

The lack of a sound ecclesiology and the over-emphasis on the personal experience of the Spirit only has contributed greatly to the proliferation of churches.

1. Triplett, B.S., A Contemporary Study of the Holy Spirit, 122; Nichol, J.T., Pentecostalism, 237.
2. Gasper, L., The Fundamentalist Movement, referred to at several points of this work.
3. Webster, D., Pentecostalism and Speaking with Tongues, a general idea in this work.
4. Sandeen, E.R., 'Toward a Historical Interpretation of the Origins of Fundamentalism', 66-83; also Sandeen, E.R., The Roots of Fundamentalism. In a recent survey it was found that 68% of north American Protestants are dispensationalists. cf. Radmacher, E.D., Understanding Contemporary Dispensationalists, 2.
5. Taylor, J.V., The Go-Between God, 199.
6. Anderson, R.M., Vision of the Disinherited : The Making of American Pentecostalism, 6.
cf. also Edwards, D.L., Religion and Change, 267.
7. Calley, M., God's People, 60. Calley found the West Indian Pentecostal groups in England closest in their theology to the Baptists.
8. Triplett, B.S., op. cit., 119-120.
9. Bittlinger, A., The Church is Charismatic, 10.
10. O' Connor, E.D., The Pentecostal Movement in the Catholic Church, 183; 208-214.
11. McDonnell, K., Catholic Pentecostalism. Problems in Evaluation, 17.
12. Tugwell, S., Did you receive the Spirit? Tugwell rejects Spirit-baptism as 'second experience' but accepts glossolalia.
13. Ranagan, K and Ranagan, D., Catholic Pentecostals This was one of the first books to bring the charismatic movement to the attention of both Roman Catholics and Protestants; cf. also Jones, J., Filled with New Wine : The Charismatic Renewal of the Church. Jones places Pentecostal spirituality in the context of Anglo-Catholic church history.
14. This 'closeness' and involvement of God in every aspect of their lives was endemic to the religious understanding of the Pentecostal revivals in America, especially in the Azusa Street Revival of 1906 and in the type of Pentecostalism introduced into South Africa by J.G. Lake, R.M. turney, A. Cooper and others. cf. Fidler, R.L., 'Historical Review of the Pentecostal outpouring at the Azusa Street Mission in 1906' The International Outlook Jan-March 1963.
Lindsey, G., The Life and Times of J.G. Lake n.p. 1952;

15. This is true especially of ritualistic Hinduism, the religious background of these converts. The earliest source we could find of the institutionalising of temple-based ritualistic Hinduism was the emergence of the sacrificial religious cult of the Brahmanas (one of the liturgical texts of the Vedas) and its eventual merging with the pooja ceremonies of the (temple based) Dravidian religion. Cultural Heritage of India Vol. 1 Eds S.K. Chatterji, N. Dutt, A.D. Pusalker, N.K. Bose, Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture Calcutta 1970, 82ff.
16. Neo-Hinduism is more philosophical. The higher castes tend to be less ritualistic although even here there are examples of syncretism, where ritualistic ideas appear in their attempt to practise their religion at the level of bhakti.
17. Oosthuizen, G.C., Pentecostal Penetration, 182.
18. Colleagues at the University of Durban-Westville in the departments of Indian Philosophy, Oriental Studies and Science of religion have pointed this out in discussions with the writer; We note here also Lalla, B.D. 'The Future of Hinduism in S.A.' in The Hindu Heritage in South Africa, 78-80.
19. A popular chorus sung in these churches goes, 'God is my father and Jesus is my brother ...' or in testimonies it was often stated 'Jesus lives in my heart', 'I pray to the father in heaven', or 'The Father lives in Heaven but Christ lives within us'.
20. cf. Sundkler, B., Bantu Prophets (2nd Edition), O.V.P. 1976 238, 165f;
Hollenweger, W., The Pentecostals London: S C M 1972 149 ff especially p. 157 where he sees a continuity between the traditional Umoya and the Pentecostal view of Spirit among Zionists.
21. The formal Dutch Reformed services are traditionally very austere where sometimes not even a cross is permitted in the church. In Afrikaans Pentecostal Churches, electric musical instruments, a spontaneous liturgy, popular preaching style and a free approach to worship are found.
22. We use Rudolph Otto's idea of tremendum here. In Pentecostal sermons reference was often made to God the Father as the God of judgement in the Old Testament. The awesome attitude of the Jews to God in the Temple for instance, is often the context for Pentecostal reference to the Father during their worship services.
23. Job is the locus classicus for their thinking : other Biblical records of demonic activity such as in the Temptation of Christ narrative also appear frequently.

24. The dualistic understanding of the Old testament begins with the interpretation of the Eden story. The sign of Israel is a constant reflection of the attitude of Adam to God.
25. Christ overcoming Satan in his Resurrection at the Cross and Resurrection, and eventually, at the end of time as the Apocalypse intimates, is an important theme in sermons.
26. This is the satisfaction theory that emerged in Anselm's Cur Deus home Christian classics series 1, Religious Tract Society London n.d.
27. The Christus Victor theory of Gustaf Aulen SPCK London 1975 143ff sees the Atonement as basically Christ's liberation of man from the stronghold of Satan.
28. cf. G.C. Oosthuizen, Pentecostal Penetration, 189.
29. thali, the necklace used at Indian marriages is the equivalent of the ring; the bhotu, is the red dot placed on a woman's forehead to indicate that she is married.
30. Names were changed either at the time of conversion or more regularly at baptism. This was fairly common throughout these groups but was more frequent in Bethesda.
31. This further disturbing trend confirms that the shift was not only religious but also socio-culturally conditioned. Indian names are considered by the younger generations to be crude within their acquired western society.
32. Certain of the surnames represented traditional family crafts and some of these, for example the cobblers were considered of lower-caste status.
33. G.C. Oosthuizen does so frequently as when he differentiates between Hindu trance and the 'Pentecostal Experience'. Pentecostal Penetration ation, 278.
34. Ibid., 184.
35. Moving Waters (the official monthly magazine of Bethesda) Dec. 1973, 197; Information from various independent Pentecostal pastors; Oosthuizen, G.C., Pentecostal Penetration, 189.
36. Information from former Hindus who became pastors, for example A.H., R.N. and H.S. who minister in Chatsworth and Phoenix.
37. Moving Waters, December 1973, 195 in message to International Evangelism Congress in Mexico city.
38. Ibid.

Pastor F. Victor, the other victim, confirmed that such an incident did occur.

Moving Waters October 1969. 85.

39. J.H. Bavinck An Introduction to the Science of Mission, 178-179.
40. To allow that some of these Biblical references to 'evil possession' may be explained psychologically or that these may be ordinary cases of epilepsy is rejected by Pentecostals as attempts to remove the supernatural and thus to explain away the miracle.
41. These preachers are well known in these circles through their radio broadcasts and more especially through films of their campaigns. Others include T.L. Osborn and Billy Graham.
42. During the 60's 'The Miracle Revival Crusade' of Michael Henry in Durban popularised the evangelistic tent campaign with the emphasis on healing. Pastor Rowlands' earlier tent campaigns were aimed at church growth and instilling a revivalistic-holiness mood in his congregations, although even during this attempt, healing was not excluded but played a smaller role.
43. Testimonies recorded by G.C. Oosthuizen. Pentecostal Penetration op. cit. 182f.
44. The Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa-Indian work: A report mimeographed.
45. J.F. Rowland's information.
46. Interview in the presence of the pastor who prayed for her healing: Pastor Ronnie Naidoo, Phoenix.
47. All the available creeds of these churches were studied.
48. Answers, to the questions 'who is God?' or 'How do you imagine God to be?', were normally coloured by the Old Testament narrative and essentially these had 'the Father' in mind.
49. Ronnie Naidoo, Bible Deliverance Fellowship; Andy Harris, Church of the Eternal Truth; Mrs Rachael Abel and others who practise exorcism, related these details to the writer.
50. 'Power' occurs frequently in the lyrics of choruses and testimonies; cf. J.F. Rowlands on 'Pentecost' Moving Waters March 1942, July 1942, August 1956.
51. Hollenweger, W. The Pentecostals op. cit., 12-12; 177-78; 238-38; 321-347.
Bloch-Hoell, Nils The Pentecostal Movement, 141-147.

52. Lapsley, J.N. and Simpson, J.H. 'Speaking in tongues', The Princeton Seminary Bulletin, 12.
53. Pastor Fred Roberts' taped sermon 'The speaking with other tongues'; The Christian Centre, a thriving movement in Durban, was started in the late 70's by Fred Roberts who left the Full Gospel Church. This highly organised movement has grown so rapidly, that it hires large cinemas to house their congregations. A number of Indians have joined this movement having left their former Pentecostal churches.
54. Katha - Upanishad Chapter 1 section 3, verse 3.
55. Oosthuizen, G.C. Pentecostal Penetration, 280.
Moving Waters, June 1941;
Moving Waters, February 1946;
Moving Waters, March 1969;
Moving Waters, April 1970;
Moving Waters, April 1973.
56. Constitution of the Full Gospel Church, Section 16, 27.
57. *ibid.*, 28.
58. *ibid.*;
Assemblies of God beliefs and practices, 4.
59. *ibid.*;
Apostolic Faith Mission constitution;
Full Gospel Church constitution, Clause 2:5; 2:7.
60. Hollenweger, W., *op. cit.*, 32.
61. Full Gospel Church constitution, 2:18; 2:19, 28.
62. *ibid.*, 19:28.
63. *ibid.*, section 17.
64. This view is based on the interviews and the recorded sermons of these churches.
65. Pastor F. Victor's information.
66. Several early Indian workers in this church agreed with this assesement.
67. M.W. June 1940, sermon entitled 'This isn't That';
M.W. December 1964, 95.
68. M.W. August 1956.
69. M.W. March 1942.

70. M.W. July 1942, 76.
71. Bethesda Temple Church Council minutes July 14, 1935; also Oosthuizen, G.C. MWa, 191.
72. M.W. August 1956. (This is a reprint of an earlier sermon).
73. ibid., in 'A Plea for a Balanced Emphasis in Pentecostal ministry'.
74. M.W. August 1967, 58.
75. ibid.
76. ibid.; This fact was affirmed by many of the older ministers of this church and especially by A.B. Arnot. (cf. Chapter 3 on the early history of Bethesda in Pietermaritzburg)
77. M.W. January, 1976, 11 in 'Yours for the Asking'.
78. M.W. June 1959.
79. This fact was evident in several interviews and articles in these churches' magazines of the period; Revival News (Full Gospel Church); Fellowship (Assemblies of God) and Trooster/Comforter (Apostolic Faith Mission).
80. M.W. June 1959.
81. ibid., 67.
82. ibid., 66-67.
83. M.W. August 1967.
84. M.W. June 1940.
85. M.W. November 1949, 124-125.
86. M.W. August 1967, 58.
87. ibid.
88. The church laws: The A F M of South Africa: Indian Church, 8.
89. The theological emphasis, in the absence of writings by the members themselves, are best gleaned from the songs that are most popularly used, and from the testimonies.
90. Examples of these testimonies mimeographed.
91. The phrase is G.C. Oosthuizen's but he used it in a different context.

92. Sandall, T., The History of the Salvation Army cited in Stark, W., The Sociology of Religion, 170.
93. Horton, H., The Gifts of the Spirit, 137.
94. Chadeick, S., The Way of Pentecost, 36-37.
95. Deal, W.S. Problems of the Spirit-filled life, 33.
96. Slay, This we Believe, 103.
97. This is abundantly stated by Pentecostal writers; for example; Slay op. cit. 75ff.
- Basham, D., A Handbook on tongues, Interpretation and Prophecy, 34f.
- Katter, C.K., Ye shall receive Power, 18f.
- Kisumu, F.H., The Holy Spirit, 20.
- Horton, S.M., What the Bible says about the Holy Spirit, 277f.
- Jeffreys G., Pentecostal Rays, 153f.
- Syman, V., Charismatic Bridges, 14f.
98. Prince, D., Purposes of Pentecost, 39.
99. Stott, J., The Baptism and Fullness of the Holy Spirit, 4.
100. Dunn, J.D.G., Baptism in the Holy Spirit, 191.
cf. also 189-196; and his article in the Scottish Journal of Theology entitled, 'Spirit Baptism and Pentecostalism'.
101. Taylor, J.V., The Go-Between God, 201;
102. Schep, J.A., Baptism in the Spirit according to Scripture, 42.
Agrees that the Biblical narrative cannot be normative.
103. Green M., I Believe in the Holy Spirit, 143.
ibid.
104. ibid.
105. Ramaghan, Kevin, and Dorothy, Catholic Pentecostals, 221.
106. Hoekema, A.A., Holy Spirit Baptism, 25.
107. cf. Tugwell, S. Did you receive the Spirit? Who points out that there can be no 'something extra' beyond the 'basic gift of salvation';
Buttlinger, A., (ed.) The church is charismatic, 47 who cites Martin Luther's state on the Third Article for his claim that the separation between conversion and the Baptism of the Spirit is unbiblical.

108. The Scofield Bible uses this expression; cf. also Graham, B., The Holy Spirit, 92-93.
109. Suenens, L.J. A New Pentecost?, 83.
Green, M., op. cit., 143 points out that 'it is very understandable how an experience of a new gladness, a new power in ministry, in healing, in preaching, a liberty in prayer and worship, a crossing of demonination backgrounds ... to call that experience 'baptism in the Holy Spirit' but all the same it is mistaken...'
110. Slay, J., This We Believe, 85.
111. Stiles, J.E., The Gift of the Holy Spirit, 81-93. Stiles, while affirming the traditional Pentecostal position, is very aware of the problems associated with the teaching that the Holy Spirit is given on the basis of individual holiness and consecration;

Bickersteth, E.H., 'The Holy Spirit His Person and Work, 143;

also Katter, C.K. Ye shall receive Power, 18 Katter maintains that 'being filled with the Spirit of God is an endless and continuous process. We need spiritual food just as we need natural food for our physical bodies, or we could atrophy spiritually as we would atrophy physically'.
- cf. for example,
112. Horton, H., Gifts of the Spirit, 131.
Kisumus, F.H., The Holy Spirit, 20.
Slay, J., op. cit., 88.
Brinback, C., What Meaneth This, 261.
113. Bruce, F.F., New International Commentary : Acts, 10:45-46.
114. Slay, J., op. cit., 95.
115. McRace, W. The Dynamics of Spiritual Gifts, 90-91.
116. Pache, R., The Person and Work of the Holy Spirit, 86;
Dillon, Jo., Speaking in Tongues, 23-25 takes a similar position to Pache.
117. Slay, J., op. cit., 36.
118. Synan, V., op. cit., 34.
Horton, Stanley, M., What the Bible Says about the Holy Spirit, 277.
119. Basham, D. op. cit., 34.
120. Christenson, L., Speaking in Tongues and its 169; also Significance for the Church cited in Quebedaux, R., The New Charismatics, 189.

121. McRace, W., op. cit., 75.
122. Horton, H., op. cit., 277-278.
123. Stevenson, I. in Journal of the American Society for Psychical Research, 60 (1966) 300-303.
124. Samarin, W.J. 'The linguisticity of glossolalia'. 49-75; also his major study, Tongues of man and Angels, Chapter 5.
125. Martin, Iva J. Glossolalia in the Apostolic Church, 61.
126. Williams, C.G., Tongues of the Spirit ...
127. ibid.
128. Stagg, F.; Hinson, G. Oates, W., Glossolalia 23-24.
129. Bruner, D.F., A Theology of the Holy Spirit.
130. Stott, J., loc. cit.
131. Käsemann, E., Essays on New Testament Themes, 141-142. Käsemann thinks they were only disciples of John and were not Christians.
132. Haenchen, E., The Acts of the Apostles, 554f.
133. Green, M., op. cit., 198;
cf. also Hoekema, A.A., Holy Spirit Baptism, 48-49;
Hoekema's earlier work which makes the same point, What about Tongue-Speaking?
134. Bruner, D.F., 319.
135. Knox, R.A., Enthusiasm, 11.
136. Williams, C., Tongues of the Spirit, 42.
137. Gundry, R.H., 'Ecstatic Utterance' in Journal of Theological Studies, 306. Gundry maintains that 1 Cor 14 refers to xenoglossia.
138. Koch, K., Charismatic Gifts, 120.
139. Hughes, R., 'Glossolalia in Contemporary Time' in The Glossolalia Phenomenon (H. Horton; H. Wade ed.), 175.
140. Samarin, W.J., Tongues of Man and Angels: The Religious Language of Pentecostalism, 199.
141. cf., for example, Cutten, G.B., Speaking in Tongues : Historically and Psychologically Considered.

142. Hitt, R., 'The New Pentecostalism - an appraisal' in Eternity, 15 14(7).
143. Williams, C., op. cit., 227-230.
144. Culpepper, R.H., Evaluating the Charismatic Movement : a theological and biblical appraisal, 163.
145. Kelsey, M., op. cit., 231.
146. *ibid.*
- This may be illustrated for instance, in the space given in some prescribed systematic theologies to the doctrine of the Spirit.
147. Berkhof, L., Systematic Theology, 82-99; only 17 pages are allocated in this popular work of some 738 pages to the doctrine of the Spirit.
148. Williams, J.R., 'The Upsurge of Pentecostalism : Presbyterian Reformed Comment', The Reformed World 31 (8) December 1971.
149. Newbigin, L., The Household of God, the whole work carefully analyses how all the three emphases are indispensable to a correct understanding of Christian faith.
150. Van Dusen, H.P., 'The Third Force in Christendom'.
151. Winn, A.C., 'The Holy Spirit and the Christian Life', 50.
cf. also Bennett, D. and R. The Holy Spirit and You, which also repeatedly makes this point;
Culpepper, R.H., op. cit., 159-162.
152. Ervin, H., These are not Drunken, as Ye Suppose, 225-226.
153. O'Connor, E.D., The Pentecostal Movement in the Catholic Church, 263.
154. Scharf, B.R. The Sociological Study of Religion, 221.
155. Bittlinger, A (ed.) The Church is Charismatic. The WCC and the Charismatic Renewal, 9.
156. Lancaster, J., In Spirit and in Truth : Principles of Pentecostal People, 44.
157. Taylor, J.V., The Go-Between God, 199.
158. Gerlach, L.P., 'Pentecostalism : Revolution or Counter-Revolution in Zaretsky and Leone, op. cit., 665; 680; 683;
also Gerlach, L.P. and Hine, V.H. People, Power, Change : Movements of Social Transformation, 99-100.

159. Newbiggin, L., op. cit., 117-118.
160. Berkhof, H., The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit, 87.
161. ibid., 89.
162. cf. Bittlinger, A. (ed.), op. cit. for documents from the Boney Consultation. 50f.
163. For the full statement cf. Goodall, N., (ed.) Missions under the Cross, 249-250.
164. McDonnell, Kilian, Catholic Pentecostalism : Problems of Evaluation, 22.
165. Sherill, J.L., They Speak with other Tongues.
166. Tugwell, S., Did You Receive The Spirit?
167. Bittlinger, A. op. cit., 123-129.
168. Ebeling, G., Luther, 11.
169. Barr, J., Fundamentalism, 40.
170. Ibid., 52.
171. The trend in many writings by Pentecostals is to often substantiate their beliefs vis-à-vis other Christian denominations, not to test them. Dispensationalism is the main means by which to help this process of harmonisation of Scripture.
172. Oosthuizen, G.C., Pentecostal Penetration Durban; H S R C 1975, 270.
173. This was how the head of a large Pentecostal denomination in South Africa responded in discussions with him.
174. Leaders of the independent churches who have led groups out of other Pentecostal churches almost always explain their actions by referring to the 'leading of the Spirit'. Even if this is not openly admitted and the reason for the secession was administrative, the individual accounts for his new status within the independent group in the following way - 'Where the Spirit is, there is liberty' meaning that the Spirit was not in his former group because his liberty was curbed.
175. cf. work referred in footnote 2 for several examples.
176. The text is often quoted to point out what in effect implies that only from the vantage point of affiliation to the group's understanding can one really understand the 'things of the Spirit'.

177. A standpoint widely accepted in conservative theological circles, for example, G.S. Hendry The Holy Spirit in Christian Theology, 72 ff.
178. Moving Waters (the monthly magazine of Bethesda an affiliate of the Full Gospel Church of God in Southern Africa). November 1949, 124-5.
179. Ibid., January 1976, 11.
180. Ibid., September 1976, 171.
181. Oosthuizen, G.C., op. cit., 297.
182. Conn, C.W., Pillars of Pentecost, 22-27.
183. Brumback, Carl What Meaneth This, 98-115.
184. Horton, W.F., The Gift of the Spirit, Foreword.
185. Conn, C.W., op. cit., 23.
186. Horton, W.F., op. cit., 47.
187. Dalton, R.C., 'History of the Theological Discovery' in Paraclete, Vol. 1, No. 1 Springfield, Missouri, 23.
188. Ibid., 24.
189. Pentecostal Holiness Church Manual, 7.
190. Ibid., 11.
191. Foster, F.J., Think it not strange, 22.
192. Lapsley, J.N. & Simpson, J.H. 'speaking in tongues' The Princeton Seminary Bulletin LVII (Feb. 1965), 6.
193. Hills, A.M. Holiness and Power for the church and ministry, Cincinnati cited in Lapsley and Simpson, op. cit., 6.
194. Calvin, J., Institutes of the Christian Religion I, 9.
195. Cited in Preiss, T., 'The Inner Witness of the Holy Spirit'.
196. Ibid.
197. The Westminster Confession chapter 1, Article V Preiss, T., op. cit., 259.
198. Ibid. 261.

199. Berkhof, H., The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit, 38.
200. Ibid.
201. Preiss, T., loc. cit.
202. Ibid.
203. Synam, V., The Holiness-Pentecostal Movements Michigan : Eerdmans & Co., 122cf. footnote 10.
204. Roberts, F., Taped sermon Initial Evidence of the Spirit Durban : Christian Centre.
205. Moving Waters July, 1941.
206. Brunner, E., The Diving-Human Encounter London : S C M 1944, 50.
207. Preiss, T., op. cit., 259.
208. Lapsley and Simpson op. cit. use this idea to speak of the psychological implication of glossolalia.
209. Jeffreys, G., Pentecostal Rays, 153-154. The underlining is ours.
210. Horton, W.H., Pentecost, Yesterday and Today, 92.
211. Stiles, J.E., The Gift of the Holy Spirit, 94.
212. Ibid., 105-106.
213. Christenson, L., Speaking in Tongues and its Significance for the Church, 127-131.
214. Harrell, D.E., All Things are Possible, 238.
215. Prince, D., Purposes of Pentecost, 7.
216. Deal, W.S., Problems of the Spirit-filled Life, 136, Deal points out that to depend too much on our own works is also wrong. However, we cited his view here to illustrate the symergism that is present.
217. Bruner, F.D., A Theology of the Holy Spirit. The Pentecostal Experience and the New Testament Witness, 115.
218. *ibid*, 282.
219. *ibid*.
220. *ibid.*, 283. Bruner here cites the view of Albrecht Oepke to back his interpretation of Gal. 5:2-12.

221. Dewar, L., The Holy Spirit and Modern Thought, 137.
222. *ibid.*, 139.
223. *ibid.*, 212.
224. *ibid.*, 210.
225. Gregory, Dix The Shape of the Liturgy, 633 cited in Dewar, L., *op. cit.*, 141.
226. *cf.* p. 399 f.
227. *ibid.*; this view recurs in Pentecostal sermons.
228. Suenans, L.J., A New Pentecost?, 4.
229. *ibid.*, 19.
230. O'Connor, E.D., The Pentecostal Movement in the Catholic Church, 201.
231. *ibid.*, 189-214.
232. Culpepper, R.H., *op. cit.*, 166.
233. Dewar, L., *op. cit.*, 198.

BIBLIOGRAPHYPrimary sources of information1. Oral information

Only the main sources and those whose names are mentioned in the footnotes are listed. *placed after certain names indicates that information from these persons was gleaned over a period of time. Hence no date of interview is provided.

- | | | |
|------------------|---|---|
| ABEL, R.C. | : | Pastor of Ebenezer Temple, Chatsworth (Unit 2)* |
| ABRAHAMS, L. | : | Pastor of Calvary AOG, Chatsworth (Unit 11); formerly member of Bethshan AOG. 6 April, 1983. |
| ADINAIRAYANA, J. | : | Founder of Emmanuel Tabernacle. 10 April, 1983. |
| ARNOT, A.B. | : | Minister of Baptist Church; formerly pastor of Full Gospel Church in Pietermaritzburg (retired) 12 May, 1982. |
| BADENHORST, M.L. | : | Moderator of F.G. Church of God in S.A.; formerly Secretary General of F.G.C. 16 August, 1981. |
| BERNARD, M. | : | Pastor and vice-chairman of Pentecostal Repentant Church, Umhlatuzana, Durban. 20 May, 1983. |
| BRUCE, A. | : | Member of Obededom Temple, Pietermaritzburg; ministerial student at Bethesda Bible College.* |
| CHARLES, D. | : | Pastor of Ephesus Temple, Pietermaritzburg.* |
| CHARLES, P. | : | Pastor Evangelical Church of South Africa, Tongaat, Natal; formerly pastor of Bethesda's branch.* |
| CHELLAN, J. | : | Founder Chatsworth Christian Centre; formerly member of Bethesda. 2 April, 1983. |
| CHETTY, D. | : | Founder Crossmore Fellowship, Chatsworth (Unit 11); formerly lay-worker in Peniel A.O.G. 20 May, 1983. |

- CLEMENTS, D. : Bethesda's missionary, Umhlali area, Natal.*
- COLEMAN, D.B. : Missionary of International Assemblies of God; Principal of A.O.G. Bible College, Durban. 8 February, 1982.
- CROOKS, D. : Pastor and missionary of Assemblies of God in Great Britain; pastor at Shekinah Temple, Chatsworth, Unit 7.*
- DAVID, B. : Theology lecturer; member of Bethshan Assembly of God. February 1982; 15 May, 1983.
- DESAI, J.G. : Lecturer in Indian Philosophy, University of Durban-Westville.*
- DWYER, G.H. : Formerly Bethesda's pastor in Zululand and later in the Port Shepstone area. 16 June 1981.
- ENOCH, V.R. : Pastor of Sharon Temple, Overport; then one of Bethesda's churches in the Umhlatuzana area, Natal (retired) *
- EZRA, R. : Pastor of Pentecostal Protestant Church, Chatsworth; formerly pastor in AFM. 2 March, 1983.
- FLEWELLING Ida : Widow of C.S. Flewelling, pioneer of the AFM Indian mission (mimeographed) 15 June, 1981.
- FRANK, E. : Member of Bethesda's branch in Chatsworth, Unit 2; early member of Bethesda during its beginnings in Magazine Barracks. 20 May, 1982.
- FRANK, J. : Founder of New-Life Fellowship, Chatsworth; former member of Bethesda; ministerial student in Lutheran Church in S.A.; then pastor in the New Protestant Church, Chatsworth.*
- FYNN, D. : Pastor and President of Christian Life Centre Ministries; formerly evangelist with S.A.E.M.*

- GEOFFREY, C.R. : Pastor, Bethesd's branch in Lenasia, Transvaal; formerly pastor, Galilee Temple, Merebank; early evangelist in Bethesda.*
- GEORGE, T. : Layman since early days of Bethesda in Durban.*
- GOUNDEN, J.P. : Pastor of Emmaus Temple, Asherville, Durban.*
- GOUNDEN, P. : Pastor of Bethesda's branch in Silverglen, Durban.*
- GOVENDER, A. : Pastor and founder of International Christian Chapel Chatsworth, former member of Bethesda. 16 May, 1983.
- GOVENDER, C. : Founder, Phoenix Revival Centre; formerly layworker in Bethesda. 14 May, 1983.
- GOVENDER, S. : Founder and pastor of Peniel Assembly of God, Merebank. 12 February, 1981.
- GREEN, B. : Pastor and founder of Believers' Chapel; formerly worker in Bethshan Assembly of God. 15 June, 1973
- HAAG, D. : Pastor and founder of the South African Evangelistic Mission; principal of SAEM Bible College in Shallcross, Durban. 13 May, 1982.
- HAINES, N. : Pastor of the Coloured branch of United Pentecostal Church, Sparks Estate, Durban. 9 March, 1982.
- HAMMOND, L. : Pastor of Tru-lite Fellowship; formerly member of Bethesda and Penieal AOG. 12 February, 1982; 4 March 1983.
- HARRIS, A. : Founder, Church of the Eternal Truth, Merebank; formerly Anglican and then associated with the Peniel AOG and Tru-lite Fellowship. 21 March, 1983.
- HENRY, M. : Founder of Miracle Revival Crusade; formerly evangelist with SAEM.*

- HENSMAN, J.A. : Elder of Obededom Temple; early pioneer (retired) - mimeographed. 8 August, 1982.
- ISAACS, D. : Pastor, Pentecostal Holiness Church; formerly member of Bethesda. 2 June, 1982.
- IVAN, M.K. : Pastor, Bethesda Temple, Benoni, Transvaal. 3 February, 1982.
- JACK Mercy : Widow of Pastor Harry Jack, early pastor of the AFM in Stanger, Natal. 4 June, 1981.
- JAMES David : Pastor of AFM, Westcliff Assembly, Chatsworth. 5 February, 1982.
- JAMES Henry : Pastor and pioneer of AFM, Merebank, Durban. 9 February, 1983.
- JAMES, L. : Pastor, one of Bethesda's branches Phoenix, Durban. 15 June, 1981.
- JOSEPH, S. : Member of SAEM; formerly assistant pastor of Maranatha Assembly, Asherville, Durban. 8 August, 1980.
- KENNETH, A.A. : Pastor of Bethesda Temple Durban.*
- KISTEN, V. : Founder, Christian Assembly, Chatsworth, formerly with Faith Centre, Chatsworth. 21 May, 1983.
- KISTEN, R. : Pastor and founder of Pentecostal Revival Church; formerly pastor of Bible Deliverance Fellowship and then of Bethlehem Assembly, Chatsworth, (Independent) 12 February, 1983.
- KODI, A. : First Indian President of the South African General Mission now the Evangelical Church in S.A. (retired)*
- KRISHNA, P.M.(Prof.) : Head of Department of Oriental Studies, University of Durban-Westville; formerly pastor of Bethesda and dean of the Bethesda Bible College.*

- LANGELAND-HANSEN, F. : Founder of Bethshan Assembly of God, Overport, Durban. (mimeographed) 4 June, 1973; 9 June, 1980.
- MAHARAJ, S.G. : Pastor, Asherville Assemblies of God; formerly Member of Bethesda. 20 May, 1983.
- MANDA, S. : Early member of Bethesda since its beginnings in Magazine Barracks; 12 June, 1982.
- McNIELE : White assistant at Faith Centre, Chatsworth. 8 March, 1982.
- MICHAEL, D. : Founder, The House of Prayer Centre, Umhlali, Natal; founder and pastor of Bethesda's branch in Chakaskraal, Natal. 20 May, 1983.
- MITCHELL, R. : Minister in training at Bethesda Bible College; formerly worker in International Assemblies of God, then pastor of Good News Tabernacle branch of Miracle Revival Crusade. 31 May, 1983.
- MOODLEY, E.J. : Pastor, Bethsaida Temple, Phoenix, Durban. *
- MOODLEY, G.G. : Minister of Bible Baptist Church; formerly pastor of Bethesda's Cherith Temple, Reservoir Hills, Durban. *
- MOODLEY, K. : Minister of Reformed Church in Africa; formerly member of Peniel Assembly of God. *
- MOODLEY, S. : Pastor, Assemblies of God (Port Shepstone) 14 September, 1981.
- MOONSAMY, D. : Founder, Tru-Vine Fellowship, Chatsworth, Unit 2; formerly lay-worker in Peniel AOG; then the Omega Assembly. 1 May, 1983.
- MOONSAMY, D. : Lay-worker in Bethesda, Sharon Temple and Emmanuel Temple. *
- MOSES, A.M. : Pastor, Bible Deliverance Fellowship, Chatsworth. 8 May, 1983.

- MULLEN, W.F. : Early pioneer of AOG among the English community in Natal. 19 February, 1981.
- MUNIEN, A. : Founder, Jerusalem Assembly, Silverglen, Durban; formerly member in Bethlehem Assembly, Chatsworth. 8 April, 1983.
- MUNIEN, N. : Pastor, Bethlehem Assembly, Chatsworth, Unit 5. 8 April, 1983.
- MUTHUSAMY, S. : Pastor, Maranatha Assembly, Asherville, Durban; formerly member of AFM. 30 August, 1981.
- NADESAN, D. : Assistant pastor, Bethshan Assembly of God. 9 March, 1983.
- NAICKER, D. : Minister of the Lutheran Church in S.A., formerly member of Shekinah Temple, Bethesda's branch in Chatsworth. 14 May, 1983.
- NAIDOO, A. : Assistant Superintendent of Bethesda's churches; lecturer at Bethesda Bible College and formerly pastor of Obedom Temple, Pietermaritzburg. *
- NAIDOO, B. : Founder, Christ Revival Centre; formerly with the New Protestant Church. 12 April, 1983.
- NAIDOO, K. : Pastor, Obedom Temple. 9 August, 1981.
- NAIDOO, M. : Pastor, Jubilee Temple, Pietermaritzburg. 12 July, 1982; 15 May, 1983.
- NAIDOO, R. : Founder of Bible Divine Tabernacle affiliated to Bible Deliverance Fellowship branches in Phoenix; formerly a member in Maranatha Pentecostal Assembly, Chatsworth. 9 January, 1983.
- NAIDOO, T. : Researcher, Department of Science of Religion, University of Durban-Westville. *
- NAIDOO, Y.L. : Pastor, Bethesda's branches in Pine-town area. *

- NAIR, E. : Pastor, Calvary International Assemblies of God. 14 February, 1983.
- OOSTHUIZEN, G.C. : Professor, head of Department of Science of Religion, University of Durban-Westville. Author of Pentecostal Penetration. *
- PAUL, T. : Founder, Timothy Paul's Evangelistic Association; formerly lay-worker in Bethesda. 10 March, 1983; 2 May, 1983.
- PETERS, G. : Pastor, Members in Christ Assemblies, Chatsworth; formerly member of Bethesda. 15 May, 1983.
- PILLAY, J.M. : Old member of Bethesda; formerly of the Methodist Church. *
- PILLAY Vassie : Pastor in Omega Assembly Church of Denmark; formerly pastor in the AOG and AFM. 9 September, 1982.
- PILLAY, V. : Pastor, Bethesda's Berea Temple, Shallcross, Durban. 7 June, 1980.
- du PLESSIS, L. : Pastor, F.G.C. branch in Verwoerdburg, Transvaal; assistant lecturer, Berea Bible College, Irene, Transvaal. 19 August, 1982.
- PRAKASIM, A. : Member of one of the foundation family's in Bethesda in the Magazine Barracks; secretary of Bethesda's Sunday Schools (died 1975). *
- PRAKASIM, B : Early member of Bethesda, lay-worker in Chatsworth, Unit 7, Clairwood. *
- PRAKASIM John : Lay-worker in Bethesda's churches; assistant lecturer at Bethesda Bible College. *
- PRAKASIM Joseph : Minister of Presbyterian Church, Merebank; formerly worker in Bethesda, then of the AFM. (mimeographed). *
- RAJVALOO, D. : Superintendent of the Indian branches of the United Pentecostal Church. 7 March, 1983.

- REDDY, D. : Founder of the Free Church of Christ (independent Pentecostal group) Chatsworth and Phoenix; formerly pastor of AFM. *
- REDDY, P. : Early member in Bethesda, at present he is 100 years old. 2 February, 1982.
- ROOKS, A.G. : Professor, Old Testament, University of Durban-Westville; Presbyterian minister; formerly minister of the Methodist Indian Mission who had close ties with the Rowlands family and with early Bethesda. *
- ROWLANDS, A. : Assistant Superintendent of Bethesda's churches; Superintendent of all Bethesda Sunday Schools. (died 1975). *
- ROWLANDS, J.F. : Leader and pastor of Bethesda's churches. General Superintendent until his death in 1980; editor of Moving Waters. *
- SABBADU, F. : Founder of Wayside Chapel, Chatsworth. Formerly member of Bethesda and then of the Lutheran Church; then became pastor in the New Protestant Church, Chatsworth. (mimeographed) 12 June, 1973.
- SEEKOLA, J. : Pastor, Bethesda. Principal of Bethesda Bible College. *
- SEEKOLA, H. : Pastor of Bethesda's branch, Chatsworth, 7 June, 1981.
- SIMEON, P. : Pastor of Bethesda's branches in the Verulam area, Natal; early evangelist of Bethesda in the Natal coast. *
- SNYMAN, C.J.J. : Superintendent of the Indian section of the Pentecostal Protestant Church. *
- SOODYALL, S. : Evangelist and founder of Soul's Outreach; director of World Missions Inc. in South Africa. 4 April, 1983.

| | | |
|-----------------|---|--|
| SOMERS, H. | : | Pioneer of the United Pentecostal Church among Indians; founder of the Jesus Name Church (Apostolic) * |
| STEPHEN, C. | : | Minister, Lutheran Church in South Africa; formerly lay-worker in Bethesda. * |
| SUBRAMANIAN, T. | : | Bethesda's pastor in Howick and Estcourt. 11 June, 1981. |
| THEOPHILUS, H. | : | Pastor of Bethesda's churches in the Stanger area, Natal. Son of one of the founders of Bethesdaland. * |
| THOMPSON, A. | : | General Superintendent of Bethesda; vice-moderator of the Full Gospel Church in South Africa; former Principal of Bethesda Bible College. * |
| TIMOTHY, R. | : | Evangelist and lay-preacher of Bethesda Temple, Durban. * |
| VALLEN, J. | : | Minister of the Pentecostal Holiness Church, Merebank, Durban; formerly pastor of Bethesda's Horeb Temple, Clairwood and of Galilee Temple, Merebank. 17 June, 1982. |
| VEERASAMY, F. | : | Former pastor of Emmaus Temple, Asherville (deceased). * |
| VICTOR, F. | : | Pastor of Ebenezer Temple, Shekinah Temple, Chatsworth. (retired). |
| WILLIAMS, D. | : | Founder Faith Tabernacle, Pietermaritzburg; formerly ministerial candidate in Bethesda. 2 June, 1981. |
| WILLIAMS, D.F. | : | Pastor of AFM in Stanger, Natal. 12 September, 1982. |

2. Constitutions of Churches and statements of Faith

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Berea Bible College (FGC) Irene, Transvaal

Bethesda Bible College (FGC) Chatsworth, Natal

Calvary Bible College (independent) Merebank, Natal

Durban Bible college (interdenominational) Merebank, Natal

International Bible College (IAOG) Durban, Natal

Johannesburg Bible Institute (interdenominational), Transvaal

Theological College of South Africa, Nelspruit, Transvaal

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