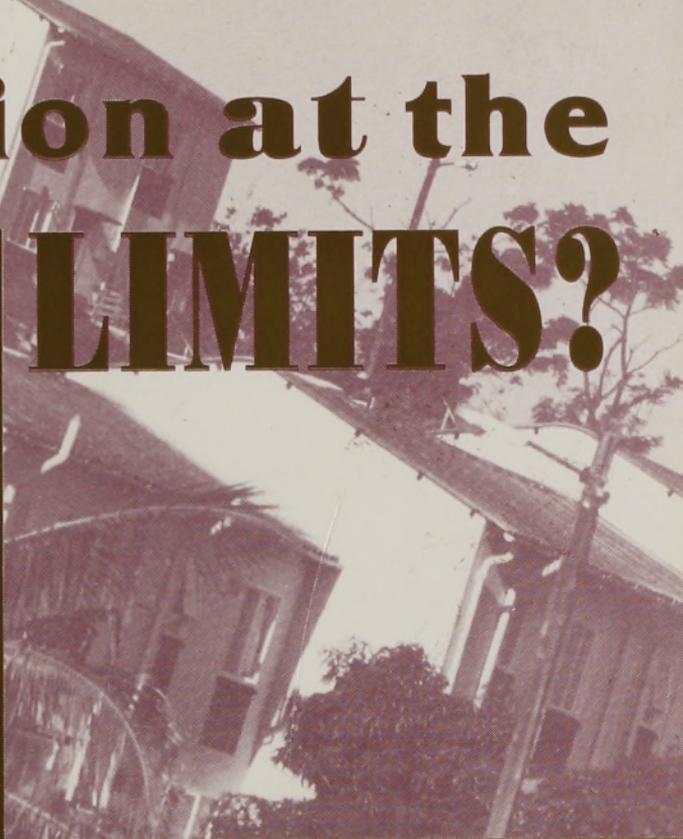


Religion at the LIMITS?



Pentecostalism among Indian South Africans



Gerald J Pillay

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Indian South Africans

Gerald J. Pilloy

A project of the
Institute for Theological Research

University of South Africa
Pretoria

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Preface

In this book, Gerald Pillay has presented us with a thought-provoking interpretation of the development of the Pentecostal Movement within the Indian community of South Africa. The Apostolic Faith Mission, the Full Gospel Church in South Africa, the Assemblies of God churches and numerous other independent churches are studied. The focus is on the largest Indian church, the Bethesda Temple, which is affiliated to the Full Gospel Church in South Africa.

Original material which may have otherwise been lost has been gathered by the author. Personal interviews and discussions with early leaders and members of this movement were made. Observations of worship services and the features of testimonies, sermons, popular songs and choruses were also studied.

But much more than historical data is given. The author helps the reader to interpret his findings by discussing and criticising different theories on religion. By doing this in the introductory section the reader is able to gain fresh insight into the lives of many of the leaders of the movement and their churches. The data is also further discussed and interpreted when he deals with the processes of institutionalisation and changing religious contexts. He also presents us with interesting paragraphs on Hindu reaction to Pentecostalism, the influence of Pentecostalism on Hinduism and the present changing religious attitudes of Hindus. In the last chapter the Pentecostal experience is discussed in an original way. Not only is Hinduism compared to Indian Pentecostalism on the basis of different practices and views on theological themes, but various doctrinal differences within different groups in the Pentecostal movement are also explored. In the closing sections he touches on issues which are relevant to and important for any in-depth theological discussion of Pentecostal issues. He makes a fresh contribution to the understanding of Pentecostals and offers some helpful solutions for Pentecostals in interpreting and communicating their faith. The book ends with an assessment of some of the main contributions of Pentecostalism to Christianity today.

This is indeed a presentation of 'religion at the limits' - giving us 'eyes to see' and 'ears to hear' and helping us to discover a world many of us wouldn't have dreamed of entering. Professor Gerald Pillay is well qualified to write this book, having studied the community for many years and having written a doctoral thesis on the topic. He is currently a lecturer in the Department of Church History at the University of South Africa and has both a fine historical perspective and a multi-disciplinary approach.

This book is one in a series published by the Pentecostalism and Charismatic Renewal Research Project, registered with the Institute for Theological Research at the University of South Africa. Studies of South African Pentecostalism and African Pentecostalism are now supplemented with a study of Indian Pentecostalism.

We hope that this original contribution will be read by all religious communities.

We would like to pay tribute to the late Professor Willem Vorster, for his particular interest in and active support of this project. This publication flows from discussions with him and he was the driving force behind this undertaking. A word of thanks is also due to the staff of the Institute for Theological Research, Mesdames J Kilian, I Victor and E Benadie, who in many ways were involved in this publication. In particular to Mrs Nonnie Fouché a special word of thanks for typing the manuscript and preparing it for printing.

Professor J P J Theron
Reverend David Olivier

Project leaders
Pentecostalism and Charismatic Renewal Research Project
University of South Africa

Introduction

WHO ARE THE PENTECOSTALS?

North American roots

The Pentecostal movement was a direct offshoot of the holiness movement which in turn had grown out of Methodism in North America. 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. Wesley referred to this doctrine of 'entire sanctification' as 'the ground depositum of Methodism'.¹ Conversion was the occasion of the justification of the believer whereby 'actual sins' were forgiven; perfection, on the other hand, was the elimination of 'inbred sin', the 'residue of sin within' resulting from the Fall.²

The pioneering Methodist ministers in North America, such as Thomas Webb, Francis Asbury and D Jarrett, strongly emphasised 'perfectionism'.³ Furthermore, in the early years of its rapid growth, North American Methodism witnessed revivalistic outbreaks and ecstatic worship not unlike those found in the later Pentecostal Movement. For example, at the Cane Ridge camp meeting in Logan County, Kentucky, in 1800, and the Bourbon County meeting a year later, ecstatic worship, fainting, trances, jerking and dancing were not

1 *Works of John Wesley* Vol IX, 366-488; Wesley, John *A plain account of Christian perfection*, 483-531.

2 Wesley, J *Letters of John Wesley* Vol V, 88; Lindstrom, H *Wesley and sanctification*, 121-124; Flew, N *The idea of perfectionism in Christian theology*; Bucke, E S *et al History of American Methodism* Vol III, 608-609; Peters, J L *Christian perfectionism and American Methodism*.

3 Hurst, J F *The history of Methodism* Vol III, 1252.

uncommon.⁴ There was evidence of glossolalia as well but at this stage it appears as merely *one* among the other gifts of the Spirit.

By the mid-1850s the revival had lost its vigour but, after the civil war, there were renewed revivals in the south where, because of its social struggles, the holiness movement had little impact prior to the war.⁵ The call by many Southern Baptists and Methodists for the camp-meeting-style religion to counter the spiritual ebb of the time led to the founding of 'The National Camp Meeting Association for the Promotion of Christian Holiness' on 13 June 1867.

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'.⁶

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.'⁷

Many more holiness associations sprang up in Georgia, New England, Iowa 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'.⁸

During the 1880s the presence of these strong holiness groups within the Methodist church in the USA created much tension. They established themselves as

4 Gewehr, W M *The great awakening in Virginia*, 153-155; Sweet, W W *The story of religion in America*, 228-229; Synan, V *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement*, 22-25; Robertson, A *That old time religion*, 56-57.

5 Sweet, W W *The story of religion in America*, 331-333.

6 Rose, D R *A theology of Christian experience*, 52.

7 Rose, D R *ibid*, 52-53; Synan, V *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement*, 37.

8 Sweet, W W *Methodism in American history*, 322-339.

a kind of *ecclesiolae in ecclesia* through their self-determined procedures, their own independently financed assets and their publishing houses.⁹ Serious administrative problems resulted. In 1894 at the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, the matter came to a head and the independent tendencies of these holiness groups were condemned.

The attitude of the General Conference generated hereafter numerous schisms. Never before in North American church history were 'so many churches founded in so short a time'¹⁰ as holiness leaders were pressed into deciding whether or not to remain in the Methodist Church.

Within the Iowa Holiness Association, a Methodist minister, Benjamin Hardin Irwin, entered into controversy with the Association over the nature of this 'second blessing'. 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'.¹¹ Not only was this view a departure 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 recognise this 'third experience' of Irwin.¹²

In 1895 Irwin left the Iowa Association to found the 'Fire Baptised Holiness Church' which incorporated glossolalia into its more emotional form of worship services.¹³ Irwin insisted that the baptism of the Holy Spirit followed and was distinguishable from sanctification. His views went a long way towards creating the doctrinal context that was to produce the Pentecostal movement.¹⁴ 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.¹⁵ Irwin taught that being holy (attaining perfection) was a distinguishable experience from that of the Baptism of the Spirit. Thus, whether sanctification was perceived as an instantaneous work (the Methodist holiness

⁹ Peters, J L *Christian perfectionism and American Methodism*, 138-139.

¹⁰ Synan, V *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement*, 53.

¹¹ *Ibid*, 61; Campbell, J E *The Pentecostal Holiness Church*, 192-195.

¹² *Ibid*, 194-195.

¹³ King, J H *History of the fire-baptised Holiness Church*. This work covers B H Irwin's involvement in this church.

¹⁴ Synan, V *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement*, 65.

¹⁵ Nichols, John *Pentecostalism*, 104; Campbell, J E *The Pentecostal Holiness Church*, 208-209.

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 Fletcher, 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 common usage among Pentecostals.

Glossolalia had featured strongly in the meetings of Edward Irving (1831) and D L Moody (1875), during the Welsh Revival (1904), as well as in holiness meetings. But it was largely through the teaching of Charles Parham, a Methodist minister who left that church in 1895, that glossolalia became a distinguishing feature of Pentecostal belief and experience.¹⁶ However, because he was later discredited, some have, without warrant, denigrated his role in the establishment of what came to be the Pentecostal movement.¹⁷

In October 1900, Parham instituted the 'Bethel Bible School' near Topeka which ran for one year. At the watchnight service on 31 December of that year, a student named Agnes N Ozman is reported to have spoken in fluent Chinese after Parham 'laid hands on her' and prayed. This event is regarded by some as the beginning of the Pentecostal movement.¹⁸

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. He taught also that 'tongue-speaking' should be a part of 'normal worship rather than a curious by-product of religious enthusiasm'.¹⁹

In 1905 Parham moved his Bible School to Houston, Texas, where the black preacher W J Seymour, who was to lead the Azusa Street Revival, became a student of Parham. On his return to Los Angeles, Seymour, influenced by Parham's teaching on Spirit Baptism, ran into trouble with the Church of the

16 Parham, Sarah E *The life of Charles F Parham, founder of the Apostolic Faith Mission*, 6-24.

17 Brumback, C *Suddenly from Heaven*, 48-63.

18 Parham, S E *The life of Charles F Parham*, 39-50; Synan, V *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement*, 101-102.

19 *Ibid*, 99.

Nazarene. When he claimed that glossolalia was the initial evidence of Spirit Baptism, he was promptly turned out. An abandoned building at 312 Azusa Street in Los Angeles now became the home of the congregation that had gathered around Seymour.²⁰

The revival that broke out in this congregation attracted the interest of a large section of the North American public. 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'.

At one stage of this revival, Seymour consulted Parham, whom he considered his 'Father in the Gospel of the Kingdom', on how to handle emotional excesses. Seymour even attempted, though unsuccessfully, to play down glossolalia in the services. Eventually Parham himself visited Azusa Street but the church rejected his preaching against fanaticism and he was asked to leave. 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.²¹

Nevertheless, the Azusa Street revival influenced many other revivals throughout the USA. As Synan states, 'in later 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 honour roll of early Pentecostal leadership.'²²

Pentecostalism in South Africa

In South Africa as well, the holiness church acted as a forerunner of Pentecostalism. Key figures in this holiness church were Petrus le Roux, Johannes Böhler and Daniel Bryant.

²⁰ Harper, Michael *The twentieth Pentecostal revival*, 28; Ewart, Frank *The phenomenon of Pentecost, a history of the Latter Rain*, 36-37; 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; Bartleman, V *How Pentecost came to Los Angeles*, 58f.

²¹ Synan, V *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement*, 107-111; Parham, S E *The life of Charles F Parham*, 160f.

²² Synan, V *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement*, 113.

Petrus L le Roux was a student of Andrew Murray (jnr) at the Dutch Reformed Church missions college at Wellington.²³ Murray, who introduced a distinct form of pietist theology into the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa, had encouraged Le Roux to be a missionary among Zulus and had taken part in his ordination in 1893 as 'Eerwaarde'²⁴ at Wakkerstroom (Eastern Transvaal). He remained his confidant and adviser during the controversies which eventually led to his leaving the Dutch Reformed Church.

At his 'Zion's Kerk' in Wakkerstroom, Le Roux's preoccupation with divine healing was deepened through his friendship with a Pietist Swiss immigrant, Johannes Büchler. Büchler, a self-appointed preacher, had founded a church in Johannesburg in 1895. He emphasised faith healing in his preaching and services.²⁵

Le Roux and his wife, after contact with Büchler, decided not to use medicines again. This prompted the local Dutch Reformed Church missions committee, comprising mainly Boer farmers, to object to the dissemination of these ideas on divine healing among the African adherents of the mission.

Le Roux sought Murray's advice who 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.'²⁶

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

²³ Sundkler, *B Zulu Zion*, 16f.

²⁴ 'Eerwaarde' was the title of a missionary while the minister was called 'dominee': the latter was considered to be of higher status.

²⁵ Sundkler, *B Zulu Zion*, 18. The chapel was named after *Zion's Liedere*, the Dutch hymnal used by Le Roux's congregation. Sundkler gleaned proof of this visit by Büchler to Wakkerstroom from a letter of the local missions committee of the Dutch Reformed Church to J N Martin dated 1 November 1901.

²⁶ Letter by Andrew Murray to Le Roux (November 1898) (in Sundkler, *B Zulu Zion*, 20).

John Alexander Dowie (1847-1907), of Scottish and Australian descent, had settled in the USA and founded 'the Christian Catholic Apostolic Church' in 1896 at Zion City, near Chicago.²⁷ He was in the mainstream of the holiness movement of the time. His healing campaigns attracted much attention.²⁸ Together with divine healing, he emphasised threefold immersion during baptism and the doctrine of the 'imminent return of Christ'.²⁹ Dowie also influenced Charles Parham, probably among the first to isolate glossolalia as the initial evidence of Spirit-baptism.³⁰ Before opening his Bible School at Topeka, Parham had travelled to Chicago to hear Dowie.³¹

In 1898 Büchler began to correspond with Dowie and started to hold divine-healing services in white homes in Jeppestown, Johannesburg. At the invitation of Dowie, he visited Zion City, Chicago, only to be 'repelled ... [and] sickened by the sycophantic cult encouraged by Dowie'.³² 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 City'; 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 and he resigned. In spite of open ostracism from local Boers, the Le Rouxs continued in Wakkerstroom for the next five years as missionaries of Zion. During this time Le Roux continued his correspondence with Dowie from whom he also received some financial help.³³

On 22 April 1903, Daniel Bryant, sent by Dowie, arrived to be superintendent of Zion's activities in South Africa. During Zion's first baptismal service, which

27 Lindsey, R G E *The life of John Alexander Dowie* (a bibliography).

28 Synan, V *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement*, 91-96. Reports of Dowie's meetings appeared daily in the *Los Angeles Times* in April and June 1906.

29 Hollenweger, W *The Pentecostals*, 120-212.

30 Synan, V *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement*, 100.

31 Parham, S E *The life of Charles F Parham, founder of the Apostolic Faith Mission*, 48.

32 Sundkler, B *Zulu Zion*, 30.

33 J A Dowie in a letter to Daniel Bryant (5 November 1903) mentions a gift of money to Le Roux whom he refers to as 'a very able consecrated man' (in Sundkler, B *Zulu Zion*, 22 footnote 15(a)).

took place in the Snake River at Wakkerstroom, he baptised Le Roux and his wife by three-fold immersion. Le Roux was appointed an 'elder' in the Zion Church under Bryant but still functioned from Wakkerstroom, which he left only 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.³⁴

In the meantime Dowie's church in Chicago was undergoing much upheaval. W G Voliva, who subsequently succeeded Dowie, was among those within the church who opposed him. Dowie appears to have had 'delusions of grandeur'.³⁵ He now claimed to be Elijah the Restorer.³⁶ 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 mentally unstable.

Thereafter, Zion City split into six independent churches. In South Africa Bryant also broke away to form his own 'Grace Missionary Church'. Le Roux remained in the Zion Church.

'Zion' gets its 'Pentecost'

The arrival of four missionaries in South Africa on 15 May 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. Lehman had been to South Africa before and could speak Zulu.³⁷

At one time Lake had been an elder in Dowie's church in Chicago where he became deeply convinced about divine healing claiming that his wife also had been miraculously healed. Nevertheless, he had become disenchanted with Dowie and separated from him.³⁸ It was probably towards the end of 1906 that he received his 'Pentecostal experience'³⁹ for soon afterwards, in April 1907, he

34 Bryant, D 'Instructions to my successor, Elder P L le Roux', 14 February 1906 (in *Zulu Zion* op cit, 62).

35 Hollenweger, W *The Pentecostals*, 119.

36 Dowie, J A *Leaves of Healing*, 23 August 1902, 591.

37 Lindsey, G *Life and times of J G Lake*, 31.

38 Nichol, J T *Pentecostalism* 50, 55; Sundkler, B *Zulu Zion*, 51.

39 His own statement from his short autobiography (Lindsey, G *Life and times of J G Lake*, 16).

sold his insurance business and together with Hezmelhalch, who sold his farm, came to Africa as a missionary.

Lake's party began its work among Africans in Doornfontein in Johannesburg. Whites attended their meetings out of curiosity and many joined this new congregation. Healings seem to have been the singular attraction and reports of these meetings refer to instances of miraculous happenings, healings and glossolalia.⁴⁰

Having grown in size, this congregation took over the Zion Tabernacle in Bree Street, Johannesburg, which belonged to the South African branch of Dowie's church, the Apostolic Faith Church in Zion.⁴¹ Several healings and conversions of hooligans and drunkards are reported to have taken place at the Tabernacle. In this way ex-Dowie followers started a revival in a 'Dowieite congregation'.⁴² Zion's deficiency, they judged, was that it did not preach 'Pentecost'.

Büchler stood aloof from this Pentecostal group, but Le Roux was won over soon after Lake's arrival, in July 1908.⁴³ Le Roux claimed to have received a divine message which influenced his acceptance of Pentecost. He left Zion and joined Lake's church which was to be the nucleus of what came to be called the Apostolic Faith Mission (AFM).⁴⁴ Many African Zionists continued their membership in the Pentecostal church and became the 'Zionist branch' of the Apostolic Faith Mission. Le Roux was left in charge of the 'Zion mission' in the Transvaal.

⁴⁰ Lindsey, G *ibid*, 32ff.

⁴¹ *The Comforter*, October 1913; Lindsey, G *Life and times of J G Lake*, 35; Hollenweger, W *The Pentecostals*, 120.

⁴² Atter, G *Third Force*, op cit 54; also Schuurmann, J A C 'Pentecost in South Africa' in Full Gospel Church Archive, Irene.

⁴³ *Trooster-Comforter*, May 1948, 7.

⁴⁴ 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 Hollenweger affirms, *The Pentecostals*, 120; also unpublished doctoral dissertations by I G L du Plessis, University of South Africa 1988, I Burger, University of Pretoria 1990, C de Wet, University of Cape Town 1990 and A Anderson, University of South Africa 1991.

At first racially integrated, white Pentecostals very quickly separated themselves from their black co-religionists in spite of the latter being more numerous and deeply committed to the Pentecostal message and its expansion from the beginning. This racial conservatism remained in the white sections of the mainline Pentecostal churches for the next 80 years. Besides the obvious negative effects this attitude had on the social witness of these churches, it also had the effect of trivialising the contribution of the black pioneers to Pentecostal history in South Africa. Much has now been written on African Pentecostals but this falls outside the scope of this book.

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 worked mainly among the white members of the Apostolic Faith Mission.⁴⁵ While he maintained some supervision of the African Mission at Wakkerstroom, this mission was left largely to itself. Some of his best Zulu co-workers 'left him or felt he had left them'.⁴⁶ Daniel Nkoyane, Elija Mahlangu and others left to found their own churches. Sundkler's research into Zionist independent churches traces many of these churches to the secessions from the Wakkerstroom mission that occurred during this time.⁴⁷ These developments have been given careful attention in the work of G C Oosthuizen, M L Daneel and, more recently, A Anderson.

Other Pentecostal congregations were emerging in South Africa concurrently with the founding of the AFM. What was to become the Full Gospel Church in Southern Africa revolved in the initial years largely around the work of two Pentecostal preachers, A H Cooper and George Bowie.

A H Cooper, as a sailor, visited Cape Town in 1901. He joined the South African constabulary and a year later fought in the Anglo-Boer War.⁴⁸ He was

45 Information supplied to Sundkler by Le Roux in 1940, *Bantu Prophets*, 48.

46 Sundkler, B *Zulu Zion*, op cit, 55; *The Comforter* February 1911 refers to Le Roux's link with the African work. There were at the time 350 African and 150 white preachers in the AFM in South Africa.

47 In this regard the appearance of the words 'Zion', 'Pentecost' or 'Apostolic' in the titles of many of the almost 3 000 African independent churches in South Africa offers a general guide in tracing the link with Wakkerstroom (*Zulu Zion*, 56; Oosthuizen, G C *The birth of Christian Zionism in South Africa*).

48 Du Plessis, I G L *Pinkster panorama*, op cit, 26.

converted during Gipsy Smith's evangelistic meetings in the Market Square in Cape Town and, for a short while, attended the Presbyterian Church in Johannesburg.⁴⁹ In 1907 he claimed to have had a miraculous experience which awakened him to the Pentecostal message. He had been receiving the *Apostolic Papers*, a newspaper from Azusa Street, and was therefore already acquainted with the Pentecostal movement in the USA before Lake arrived in this country. Soon after Lake's arrival Cooper sought him out.⁵⁰

He joined Lake and the Apostolic Faith Mission in 1908 where he worked with Le Roux for about a year. From the start he took a leading role in this new church and served on its first council in 1908.⁵¹

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 Middelburg district. 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.⁵²

George Bowie, who had experienced his 'Pentecost' in J H Boddy's church in Homestead in the USA, joined an independent Pentecostal group, the 'Bethel Pentecostal Mission'. At the end of 1909 he undertook his mission to South Africa and founded the 'Pentecostal Mission' in April 1910.⁵³ He invited Eleazer Jenkins, another Pentecostal immigrant missionary, to join him.

Eleazer Jenkins had been influenced by the Welsh Revival in 1904 which, like the Azusa Street revival, had led to the emergence of several independent churches. Jenkins was a member of one of these churches. His alienation from

49 *The Standard Bearer* 22(1), Jan-March 1960, 7; Du Plessis, I *Pinkster panorama*.

50 Item in Full Gospel Archives, Irene 'How Bro A H Cooper of Durban was converted'.

51 Minutes of the first council meeting of the Apostolic Faith Mission dated 17 September 1908 (in Du Plessis, I *Pinkster panorama*, 33).

52 Mullan, W F Article on early history of the Assemblies of God, *Fellowship*, No 3, 1976, Part two.

53 Du Plessis, I *Pinkster panorama*, 14-15; this church had been influenced by Pentecostal people from the Azusa Street Revival; also *Full Gospel Missionary Herald* 6(1), January 1922, 8; and April 1921, 3.

the orthodox Welsh church became even greater when, on a trip to Cardiff, he received his 'Pentecostal experience'. 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 20 July 1905 and joined Bowie's church.⁵⁴

In 1910 Bowie and Jenkins invited Cooper to be part of the 'Pentecostal Mission' thus uniting the two missions to form the Full Gospel Church.⁵⁵

The Assemblies of God in South Africa came into existence when various individual Pentecostal congregations and missions amalgamated. The earliest of these congregations had been founded by Charles William Chawner, a Canadian,⁵⁶ who arrived in South Africa in March 1907 (a year before Lake and his party) to 'preach the Pentecostal message'.⁵⁷ His early missionary itinerary included De Aar, Ladysmith, Weenen, and Zululand; he spent two years in Vryheid, had a fruitful stay at Morgenzon in the southeastern Transvaal and spent brief periods in Pretoria and Johannesburg.⁵⁸

In 1908 R M Turney and his wife arrived as Pentecostal missionaries to South Africa. Turney had been a Baptist minister in the USA but joined the Pentecostal movement in 1906. They set up a mission station in the Middelburg district and was assisted there by another Pentecostal missionary, Hannah A James, who began a mission among the Pedi people.

When the Assemblies of God was formed in the USA in 1914, the Turneys applied to that church for credentials and were received as ministers.⁵⁹ Soon

⁵⁴ Matthews, *D I saw the Welsh Revival*, 18ff. The Welsh Revival not only appears to have influenced the Los Angeles Revival of 1906 (Ferrie-ries, 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, became involved in evangelism and read their Bibles with greater interest. Furthermore, both reached people in 'the street'.

⁵⁵ *South and Central African Pentecostal Herald* January 1913, 32.

⁵⁶ Chawner, C W *In journeys' often*, in *Fellowship* No 5, 1978, 10.

⁵⁷ Interview with early Assemblies of God pioneer, W F Mullan; also his article in *Fellowship* No 5, 1978, 10.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, 10.

⁵⁹ Hollenweger, W *The Pentecostals*, 122.

afterwards, they registered their mission 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.⁶⁰ Their work at this stage was almost entirely among black South Africans.

Whilst from 1914 this church was affiliated to the Assemblies of God in the USA, it became an independent district in 1925 and in 1932, it separated from the North American organisation altogether.⁶¹ Soon afterwards, other white independent Pentecostal bodies joined it to form the 'Assemblies of God in South Africa'.

Religion at the limits?

The Apostolic Faith Mission, the Full Gospel Church in South Africa and the Assemblies of God are the three earliest South African Pentecostal churches and were also the first to establish congregations among Indian South Africans. The largest Indian church is Bethesda Temple which affiliated to the Full Gospel Church in South Africa. In this study the focus will be on these Indian Pentecostal churches *and* numerous other independent Pentecostal churches that have emerged in this immigrant community. But why this title?

Some years ago Walter Kaufman produced a pictorial commentary on life among the poor in India - that class living at the *limits* of society, outside the mainstream, and often forming the 'underside' of all that is considered normal and even acceptable. It was called *Life at the limits*. What he intended was to show how narrow the perspective on that class is. Anyone 'having eyes that see', or 'ears that hear' who enters that world discovers that within it is a vibrancy and vitality unthinkable from the vantage point of middle-class analysis. Families are born, survive against odds, cultural traditions cohere, and life goes on, often in a remarkably less stressful and anxiety-ridden way than among their observers. There is a sense of constancy, even joy, difficult to imagine.

Within the spectrum of the churches, Pentecostals were also perceived as existing outside the mainstream and where Pentecostalism spread, especially in the

⁶⁰ *Fellowship* No 5, 1978, 11.

⁶¹ Hollenweger, W *The Pentecostals*, 122.

Third World, these new churches were perceived as existing among those 'at the social limits' of their society. Accordingly one or other sociological explanation was needed to understand them and studies of these churches proceeded in a way quite different from studies of mainline churches.

These studies on Pentecostalism have concentrated almost exclusively on the sociological dimension and many have even concluded that Pentecostalism is the spontaneous result of psycho-social, 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 society, cannot be adequately explained by any of the prevailing 'functional-type' theories. *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.*

However, it is necessary to examine critically 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 and methodology adopted in this study would be clarified.

The functional theory of religion, which makes any religious phenomenon a response to certain social, cultural, economic or psychological stimuli, received its early formulation in the writings of scholars such as 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.⁶² 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, result in what Durkheim termed 'anomie', a state of 'normlessness'.⁶³ It follows that religion for Durk-

62 This is a general presupposition in Durkheim's thought (e.g. Durkheim, E *The elementary forms of the religious life*; Haralambos, M *Sociology themes and perspectives*, 456).

63 Durkheim, E *Suicide*. This idea is expressed in his other writings as well.

heim was assessed mainly in terms of its usefulness in stabilising the relationship between an individual and society.

Malinowski and Parsons argued from a similar standpoint. Malinowski claimed that religion promotes social solidarity by dealing with situations of emotional stress which have the potential to destabilise society. Parsons argued that religion served as the means of allowing intellectual and emotional adjustments and of handling uncertainty. He called religion 'a tonic to self confidence'.⁶⁴

For Durkheim, Malinowski and Parsons, religion fundamentally fulfils a social function. The Marxists, however, have an economic not a sociological motive. 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 do not depend upon a man's activity or cleverness, but upon circumstances uncontrolled by him'.⁶⁵

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 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'⁶⁶

Obviously, while Weber assumes there are 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, a modified functional theory has emerged. Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann hold that religion builds, maintains and legitimates 'uni-

64 Haralambos, M *Sociology themes and perspectives*, 458-462 for a discussion of Malinowski's view on religion.

65 Engels, F *Socialism: utopian and scientific*, xxi.

66 Weber, M *The Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism*, 55.

verses of meaning' which are social constructions and therefore share the contingency of society and have to be constantly legitimated.⁶⁷ 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.⁶⁸ A F C Williams goes a step further when he claims that new religious movements are 'revitalisation movements' which result when their predecessors have lost their ability to satisfy the needs of new social groups.⁶⁹

It is apparent that religion for several of these scholars is not primarily seen and defined as a phenomenon 'in-itself' which may have purely self-contained importance. Rather, religion is important 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'.⁷⁰ 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'.⁷¹ These views relativise religion experience so far as it ignores both individual religiosity and the *mysterium tremendum et fascinans* that Rudolf Otto observed existed at the heart of religious commitment.⁷² Religion derives its meaning only from its integrating and stabilising social effects.

Susan Budd rightly pointed out that 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'.⁷³ Whatever may be the case in

67 Berger, P L & Luckmann, T 'Sociology of religion and sociology of knowledge', *Sociology and social research* 47, 1963, 417-427.

68 Williams, A F C *Religion: an anthropological view*, his view on revitalisation movements is expressed in several parts of this work.

69 Geertz, C *The interpretation of culture*, 127.

70 *Ibid*, 90.

71 Luckmann, T *The invisible religion* (1967); Berger, P L *The social reality of religion*, 179.

72 Otto, R *The idea of the Holy*; this concept is basic to Otto's view of religion in this work.

73 Budd, S *Sociologists and religion*, 49.

a particular local situation, these views assume a causal relation between socio-cultural and economic factors, and religion.

J Milton Yinger also criticised the functional theory when he pointed 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.⁷⁴ 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 consistently used in studies of Pentecostalism. The most popular versions have been the social disorganisation theory; the deprivation theory; and the 'deviant' or 'defective' psychological theory.⁷⁵

The social disorganisation theory maintains that Pentecostal-type movements arise out of situations of extreme social distress such as detribalisations, culture clashes, natural catastrophes and conflicts with oppressive groups.

In 1964 Nils Bloch-Hoell identified Pentecostalism with the process of industrialisation and urban migrations. A year later Malcolm Cally in his study of Pentecostal churches among West Indians in England used the social disorganisation theory to explain conversion to Pentecostalism.⁷⁶

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 Problete and O'Dea argued that anomie resulted from the disruption of family and village structures, d'Epinay maintained that in the face of social anomie in Chile, Pentecostalism offered certainty of salvation and security within the congrega-

⁷⁴ Yinger, J M *Religion, society and the individual*, 66f.

⁷⁵ This threefold division was suggested by Virginia H Hine in her article 'The deprivation and disorganisation theories of social movements' (Zaretsky, I I and Leone, M P *Religious movements in contemporary America*, 647-660).

⁷⁶ Bloch-Hoell, N *The Pentecostal movement*, 10-11; Calley, M *God's people*, 135.

tion.⁷⁷ In his book on the millenarian movements in the Third World, Peter Worsley asserted that movements such as Pentecostalism were the result of imperfect adjustments to the West.⁷⁸ 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.'⁷⁹

G C Oosthuizen in the only other study on Pentecostalism among Indians in South Africa came to the same conclusions as Thomas O'Dea and d'Epinay. He argued as Holt had done in the case of certain holiness and Pentecostal sects in the USA, that the emergence of Pentecostal churches was the result of culture conflict and social maladjustments.⁸⁰ The social disorganisation theory also appears in two recent studies of Pentecostalism carried out 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'.⁸¹ 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.⁸²

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 among sections of a community which can in no way be described as socially 'disinherited'. 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 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.

77 Problete, R & O'Dea, T ' "Anomie" and the "Quest for Community" ', 25-26; d'Epinay, C L *Haven of masses*, 35.

78 Hine, V 'The deprivation of disorganisation theories ...', 647.

79 Lewis, I M *Ecstatic religion*, 132; G Schwartz in his *Sect ideologies and social status* adopts a similar view to I M Lewis.

80 Cf Hine, V 'The deprivation and disorganisation theories ...', 648; Oosthuizen, G C *Pentecostal penetration*, 325f.

81 Anderson, R M *Vision of the disinherited*, 231.

82 Tipton, S *Getting saved from the sixties*, 241.

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.⁸³ 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.⁸⁴ This view found support in the study of Charles Glock (1964) who claimed that Pentecostal-type religion compensates for imperfections in the social matrix.⁸⁵

More 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'. He believes that Pentecostalism offers 'pay-offs' to such groups in the form of an immediate affective experience, in some manner shared with others.⁸⁶ Allie Dubb, in his study of Nicholas Bhengu's Pentecostal church among the Xhosa, also spoke of similar 'pay-offs'.⁸⁷

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.⁸⁸ 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 could establish no such correlation.

83 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.

84 Yinger, J M *Religion, society and the individual*, 187.

85 Glock, C 'The role of deprivation in the origin and evolution of the religious group' in Lee, R and Martyn, M *Religion and social conflict*, 34; Hine, V 'The deprivation and disorganisation theories ...', 652. David Aberle's article in *Reader in comparative religion* (Lessa, W A and Vogt (ed)).

86 Wilson, J F 'The historical study of marginal American religious movements' in Zaretsky and Leone, *Religious movements*, 608.

87 Dubb, A *Community of the saved*, 159.

88 Hine, V 'The deprivation and disorganisation theories ...', 652.

Hine 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.'⁸⁹

The psychological 'deviant' or 'defective' theory

C Daniel Batson and W L Ventis criticised the view that an individual is free to choose only that type of religion that his status in society dictated.⁹⁰ They added that a more defensible view is that 'social influence and intrapsychic processes such as perception, thought and personal needs interact in shaping an individual's experience'.⁹¹

This kind of social psychological functional theory has given rise to the *psychological 'deviant' or 'defective' theory* which regards Pentecostalism as the result of personality inadequacy or emotional insecurity or at worst deviant psychology. For example, J B Oman (1963) and Wayne E Oates (1968) explained glossolalia as a form of regressive speech.⁹² More recently, E Mansell Pattison claimed that 'the rituals of glossolalia and faith healing serve to reduce both "cultural and psychological" dissonance'.⁹³ Paul Qualben appears to substantiate this viewpoint by his assertion that 80 per cent of those he had interviewed had experienced an anxiety crisis prior to such an experience.⁹⁴ However, Qualben's view is also problematic. His sample of twenty-six

89 *Ibid*, 660.

90 Batson, C D & Ventis, W L *The religious experience. A socio-psychological perspective*, 55.

91 *Ibid*.

92 Oman, J B 'On "Speaking in tongues": A psychological analysis' *Pastoral Psychology* V(14) 1963, 139; Oates, W A 'A socio-psychological study of glossolalia' in Stagg, F *et al* 1967 *Glossolalia*; cf also Lang, K & 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*.

93 Pattison, E M 'Ideological support for the marginal middle class. Faith healing and glossolalia', in Zaretsky & Leone *Religious movements*, 455.

94 Idldahl, J P *The psychology of speaking in tongues* (in Anderson, R M *op cit*, 227); Hine, V 'Non-pathological Pentecostal glossolalia. A summary of relevant psychological literature'. *Journal of the Scientific Study of Reli-*

glossolalists was far too small to warrant a theory about Pentecostalism in general.

In fact, these psychological dissonance theories too 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.⁹⁵ 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 realisation that [one] had made a mistake'.⁹⁶ 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'.⁹⁷

(i) 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.⁹⁸

gion 8 (1969), 211-226.

95 Cf McDonnell, *K Charismatic renewal and churches*, 145-150; Samarin, *W J Tongues of men and angels*, 204f; Gerlach, L P & Hine, V H *People, power, change: Movements of social transformation*, 96.

96 Gerlach, L P 'Pentecostalism: revolution or counter-revolution?' in Zaretsky & Leone, *Religious movements*, 670-694.

97 Stark, R 'Psychopathology and religious commitment' in *Review of religious research* 12 (1971), 167.

98 Anderson, R M *Vision of the disinherited*, 225. However, Anderson also could not resist the temptation to generalise 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.'

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.⁹⁹ Furthermore, these corollaries of the functional theory cannot explain 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.¹⁰⁰ He places 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'.¹⁰¹

(ii) It is difficult to isolate the nature of deprivation or the state of disorganisation, devitalisation 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

⁹⁹ Gerlach, L P 'Pentecostalism: revolution or counter-revolution? ...', 689.

¹⁰⁰ Cumpsty, J S 'A model of religious change in socio-cultural disturbance' *Religion in Southern Africa* 1(2) July 1982, 66.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid* 67; also J S Cumpsty's article, 'A proposed general framework for identifying and locating religious experience' *Religion in Southern Africa* 4(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.

always result in a distinct response, or predict the necessary level of deprivation that would produce a movement.¹⁰²

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:¹⁰³ 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 systems¹⁰⁴ and those who assert that it is rather the exploitative development of South African capitalism and the complementary proletarianisation of the African masses.¹⁰⁵ 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'.¹⁰⁶

This is exactly our complaint against those who, having formulated their theory of Pentecostal churches, proceed to select their evidence to prove it. Theoretical frameworks when applied to religion or to conversion often beg the question.

¹⁰² Budd, S *Sociologists and religion*, 66.

¹⁰³ Harrison, M W *The burden of the present ...*, 105.

¹⁰⁴ *The Oxford history of South Africa* is a good example of a 'liberal' history of South Africa.

¹⁰⁵ For example, Arrighi, G 'Labour supplies in historical perspective; a study of proletarianisation 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.

¹⁰⁶ Harrison, M W *The burden of the present ...* 83, 97 & 106.

In view of these considerations, the relation between the socio-cultural upheavals and Pentecostalism within the South African context should not be seen as a cause-and-effect, linear relation. *While the social implications of Pentecostalism may be discussed in detail, they can be viewed only as ex post descriptions. Social implications, which can be discussed only 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 study attempts to describe the inner world of these Christians, to show that far from being a deviant or peculiar form of religion at the limits of Christendom it is a vital expression of Christianity challenging other more established forms of Christianity by emphasising what in fact has become neglected. In describing the inner life of these churches one wonders whether they are marginal or whether much of what is considered more acceptable is perhaps not becoming marginalised. Hence the question mark after the title.

Note on the gathering of oral tradition

Indian Pentecostals have generally not, thus far, committed their thoughts to writing to any significant extent. Their ideas 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. Much of this material was gathered in person in extensive interviewing and in discussions with the early leaders and foundation members. This work was done timeously, as these persons are ageing and since our interviews with them many 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. Copious notes were made during more than 500 worship services, cottage meetings, open-air preaching and memorial services. Over 300 Pentecostal testimonies, some 130 sermons and about 120 of the most popular songs and

choruses sung at these services were gathered. Representative ideas and typical statements are cited within inverted commas in the text without a footnote. Certain experiences or incidents which help to illustrate Pentecostal thinking and life-style are also given in this way.

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'.

The context and life-situation of Indian Pentecostalism

In 1890, first came to South Africa in 1890. Local black farm labour was not available, and as Leonard Thompson observed 'as far as things can be said to be desirable, the importation of foreign labour to Natal was the inevitable result of the adoption of a dual policy. Since Natal was treated both as a free territory and as a homelands colony, the natives were well-satisfied and the colonies had to look elsewhere for labour'.¹ Colin Bundy in a more recent study confirms that when he writes that this period was 'the time of the black emergency' which made the local people in a large extent a numerically self-sufficient.²

¹ Thompson, L. M. 1911. 'Indian Emigration into Natal' in *Journal of the Natal Society for South African History* (Vol. 2), 6. The need of carrying slaves and Chinese labour was discussed in contemporary Natal *Observer* 2 April 1890, 25 September 1890. A meeting held at Durban on 10 November 1894 is shown the acute labour problem in Natal resulted that the introduction of the colonies would be the salvation of the colony. (Jurgenssen, *ibid.*, 1.4 The early history of Natal at Natal ed. Durban SA Institute of Race Relations, p. 3).

² Bundy, C. 1979. *The rise and fall of the African peasantry*, London: Heinemann. The localisation of the remaining black land resulting from it

CHAPTER 1

The context and life-situation of Indian Pentecostalism

Indians first came to South Africa in 1860. Local black farm labour was not available and as Leonard Thompson observed '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.'¹ Colin Bundy in a more recent study confirms this when he points out that this period saw 'the rise in the black peasantry' which made the local people to a large extent economically self-sufficient.²

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- 1 Thompson, L M 1952 'Indian Immigration into Natal' in *Archives Year Book for South African History* (Vol 2), 8. The use of convict, slave and Chinese labour was deemed inappropriate *Natal Mercury* 5 April 1860, 13 September 1860. A meeting held in Durban on 10 October 1851 to discuss the acute labour problem in Natal resolved that the 'introduction of the coolies would be the salvation of the colony' (Ferguson-Davie, C I *The early history of Indians in Natal* nd. Durban: SA Institute of Race Relations, p 3).
 - 2 Bundy, C 1979. *The rise and fall of the African peasantry*, London: Heineman. The breakdown of the stabilising black land-dwelling class is

The majority of Indians who came to Natal from 1860 onwards came as indentured labourers, most of whom were Tamil, Telugu and Hindi-speaking Hindus. In 1860 five ships brought 1 527 immigrants; in the 51 years from 1860 to 1911, 152 184 came.³

A small group of 'passenger' Indians, who were British subjects and who were mainly either Muslim or Gujarati-speaking Hindus, also came from Mauritius and India. In 1887 the Wragge Commission estimated that there were about 1 000 of them. By 1891 their numbers had grown to 6 000.⁴

The indentured-labourer group, who were from the poorer stratum of society in India, expected to be better off in South Africa. Some among them had been beguiled into coming with false expectations of 'over-night' wealth.⁵

'Passenger Indians' were mainly 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. Their numbers in comparison with the labourer class and the 'free' Indian group remained small.

discussed in inter alia Trollope, *A South Africa II* 1878 London, 108; De Kiewiet, C W *A history of South Africa: social and economic* 1968 London, 83-84; Wilson, M and Thompson, L (eds) *The Oxford history of South Africa II*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 117; Report of the Indian Immigrants Commission (Wragge Commission) (1887), 84-89 also referred to this erosion of traditional black social structure.

³ Choonoo, A G *Indentured Indian immigration into Natal with particular reference to its role in the development of the Natal sugar industry 1860-1911*. MA dissertation (unpublished) 1967 University of Natal, 144-145. Other useful texts dealing with Indian immigration to Natal are Palmer, M *The history of the Indians in Natal* 1957 Cape Town: Natal Regional Survey. *The Indian as a South African* 1956 Johannesburg: SA Institute of Race Relations. Stein, Z A *A history of Indian settlement in Natal*, Pietermaritzburg: Natal University Press.

⁴ *Wragge Commission Report 1887*, 70; 1891 *Colony of Natal Census Report*.

⁵ Tales of the conniving recruiting agents were still told by the elderly. The most ridiculous was the story of one old lady who told me of how her parents were led to believe that gold sovereigns could be found in the veld.

The immigrants provided the anticipated muscle for the local sugar industry.⁶ Sir Liege Hulett speaking in the Natal Parliament on 14 July 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].⁷

In spite of their contribution to the economic prosperity of Natal, the socio-economic deprivation of these immigrants soon became obvious.⁸ 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.

⁶ In 1857 and 1858 the sugar exports had been valued at 2 009 pounds and 3 860 pounds respectively (Ferguson-Davies *The early history of Indians in Natal*, 13). Within three years of their arrival this figure rose to 26 000 pounds and the fourth year saw a phenomenal jump to almost 100 000 pounds (*Natal Mercury* 19 January 1865). A G Choonoo's figures are slightly lower, but the sharp increases are still evident (op cit 51). J R Saunders testified before the Wragge Commission that 'the revenues increased four fold within a few years' and that the 'progress gave encouragement to everyone from the Berg to the sea' (Wragge Commission Report, 99).

⁷ In Ferguson-Davie *Early history of Indians*, 88.

⁸ Brookes, E and Webb, C *A history of Natal* 1965. Durban: University of Natal, 88. Thompson, L 'Indian immigration into Natal', 57-58. The Coolie Commission Report (NGG No 1373 17 September 1872), 49-50.

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.

Emigration was allowed again from 1874 onwards and the next few years proved peaceful for Indians in Natal. But this lull was short. With the resumption of immigration the Indian population in Natal increased sharply: from 5 933 at the end of 1872 to 29 828 by the end of June 1886.⁹

It became clear that the number of Indians and that of whites in Natal were becoming 'dangerously' equal and this fuelled strong anti-Asiatic feeling in the 1880s.¹⁰ Some of these 'free' Indians started small shops; others became ser-

⁹ *Natal Population Totals 1859-1960*

<i>Year</i>	<i>Whites</i>	<i>Indians</i>	<i>Blacks</i>	<i>Total</i>
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	1 391 804	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	2 977 084
1960	337 409	394 807	2 199 578	2 977 084

Note: The coloured population is also included in the total for the years 1904-1960. Table prepared by A J Arkin 1982. *The contribution of the Indians to the South African economy 1860-1970* Durban: University of Durban-Westville.

¹⁰ While in 1886 there were 10 877 'free' and 8 951 indentured Indians, by 1909 these figures had grown to 65 917 and 42 777 respectively (Wragge Commission Report, 69; 1909 Report of the Indian Immigrants Commission (Clayton) 6).

vants in white households, market gardeners, or workers in commerce and industry.

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 per cent of the labour force was still involved in unskilled occupations in 1891 and 89 per cent in 1904.¹¹

By the 1880s there was widespread reaction to the whole Indian community which resulted in calls for the cessation of further Indian immigration and for the repatriation of Indian settlers to India. Their 'imported labour' was compared to the utilitarian worth of oxen from Mauritius or machinery from Glasgow and was considered similarly expendable.¹²

A variant of the Binns-Mason proposal that Indians should be encouraged to return to India motivated the introduction of an annual tax of three pounds levied under the Indian Immigration Law of 1895. 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 petition which was signed by 9 000 Indians the Disenfranchisement 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.

¹¹ Census for Natal 1891 and 1904. The Wragge Commission was appointed to investigate the causes of the widespread antipathy among whites to Indians. In its assessment, which was mainly 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 in both agriculture and commerce' (pp 74f; 169f). The 'sins' of the minority group of Indian traders and commercialists, who formed little more than 10 per cent of the total Indian community, were visited on the whole community. In 1887 only 4 000 of the 32 312 Indians were passenger Indians. By 1893 their number rose to 5 500 when the Indian population was in excess of 45 000 (Brooks and Webb *A history of Natal*, 157f; Palmer *A history of Indians in Natal*, 45-46).

¹² Letters to the *Natal Witness* 8 January 1875; 20 July 1877.

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.¹³ 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.'¹⁴ Any such move would have been inconsistent with the procedure in the other British colonies that had procured Indian indenture labour.

The Pentecostal movement took root mainly among the labouring ex-indentured class (the Indian peasant), not the trading 'free' and 'passenger' classes. The first shipload from Madras that arrived on 16 November 1860 included only 12 per cent Muslims, 1 per cent Rajputs (from the 'fighter' caste), a few traders and under 5 per cent Christians.¹⁵ The second shipload also contained only 5 per cent Brahmins (the 'priestly caste') and 5 per cent Rajputs. This means that the vast majority were Hindus from the lower castes of Indian society.

Furthermore, the first shiploads carried those who, although they had initially worked the sugarcane fields, were not so much field labourers as mechanics, household servants, domestics, gardeners and tradespeople. Among them also were barbers, carpenters, accountants and grooms.¹⁶ 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, factory workers and employees of the Durban Corporation. If they had been allowed to evolve without interference, a self-sufficient class would soon have emerged.¹⁷

That this did not happen was due largely to the resettlement programmes of the Government. During the 1930s and 1940s market gardeners, for instance, were gradually moved out of municipal areas and their holdings were con-

13 *Natal Mercury* 20 June 1855.

14 Ferguson-Davie *Early history of Indians in Natal*, 10

15 *Ibid.*, 11-12; Brain, J B *Christian Indians in Natal 1860-1911*, 193f.

16 Thompson, L *Indian immigration into Natal*, 20-22.

17 Brookes and Webb *A history of Natal*, 87. Ferguson-Davie *Early history of Indians*, 14.

verted into residential or industrial sites. Some became tenant farmers on white holdings while others turned to the cities for work.¹⁸

In the period 1910 to 1945 the proportion of Indians (i.e. of the total labour force) on the sugar estates fell from 88 per cent to 7 per cent, almost directly the inverse of the case for Africans. Further, while the number of black labourers on Natal farms from 1911 to 1936 rose from 45 499 to 120 198, that of Indians dropped from 26 030 to 16 198.¹⁹

Moving away from agricultural labour to 'city work' exposed these people to all the difficulties and problems which accompany urbanisation. Also, 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'.²⁰

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

- * Young Indians were now influenced by Western, English-language-based education which accelerated change in habits and life-style.²¹
- * The joint-family system (*kutum*), though still fairly intact, by the mid-twenties was 'visibly diminishing'.²²
- * There was a great impact on the life of the Indian community through the unavoidable exposure to Western, secular influences. Acculturation was accelerated. The Indian elite, observed Peter Hey, was now entirely urbanised.²³

18 Hellman, E (ed) 1949 *Handbook on Race Relations in South Africa* 1949, Cape Town, 218-225.

19 Arkin *Contributions of Indians to SA economy*, 141-144; Wragge Commission Report, 74-75; Natal Census 1904; South African Statistics 1970, A/4.

20 Pachai, B (ed) 1979 *South Africa's Indians: the evolution of a minority*, University Press of America, XV.

21 Brookes and Webb, *A history of Natal*, 260.

22 Kuper, H *Indian people in Natal*, chapter VI.

23 Hey, P 1961 *The rise of the Natal Indian elite*, Pietermaritzburg. Oosthuizen, G C *Pentecostal penetration into the Indian community in SA*, Durban: Human Sciences Research Council, 49-62.

- * Among the mass of the population, caste differences were becoming slowly blurred and well-established social customs had either changed or were neglected.²⁴

Many lived in 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. These areas became the homes of the first Indian Pentecostal congregations.

Indians who worked for the Durban Corporation and the railways lived in the barracks provided for them to the northeast of the city centre. Indeed Bethesda, which was to become the largest Christian church among Indian South Africans, was born in these barracks. The AFM and Assemblies of God congregations were also located in this section of the community. The AFM worked initially among a similar sector of the community who had settled near smaller towns on the Natal North coast and it served the barracks dwellers at mill-settlements.

In 1914 with the passing of the Indian Relief Act 22 repatriation was made more attractive: section 6 offered a free passage to India. In 1921 a bonus of five pounds per head with a maximum of twenty pounds per family was offered. Three years later this bonus per head was doubled and the maximum per family was raised to fifty pounds. After the 'Round Table Conference' from 17 December 1926 to 11 January 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.²⁵

Now Gandhi had been of the opinion that such 'voluntary' repatriation would not attract large numbers.²⁶ By 1930 he was proved correct for the scheme had virtually broken down. The following were the main contributing factors:

24 *Ibid.* Brookes and Webb *A history of Natal*, 260.

25 *Hansard* January-March 1926, 1354; 998.

26 Hellman, E (ed) 1949 *Handbook on Race Relations*, 221.

- * By 1921 the majority (63 per cent) of Indians in South Africa were South African born. This figure rose to 82 per cent in 1936.²⁷
- * Others, born in India, would not have been able by the late twenties to re-integrate into the society in India.²⁸
- * Where intercaste marriages had taken place this offered an additional obstacle to re-integration in India.²⁹
- * 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.³⁰

In 1925 Dr Malan introduced the Area Reservation Bill, the first formal antecedent of the Group Areas Act. 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. This Law anticipated the eventual Transvaal Asiatics' Land and Trading Bill of 1939 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. While Natal did not legalise separation until 1946 it had the 'necessity clause' whereby careful control of the Indian commercial ambition could be maintained.

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

Dr Malan's National Party Government of 1948 was 'more committed to restrictions on Indians than its predecessors'.³¹ The Group Areas Act was passed in 1950 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 Sepa-

²⁷ Arkin *Contribution of Indians ...*, 125.

²⁸ Corbett, J E 1947 A study of the Cape Town agreement, M dissertation (unpublished), University of Cape Town, 83. Palmer, M *History of Indians in Natal*, 104.

²⁹ Calpin, G H 1949 *Indians in South Africa* Pietermaritzburg, 71-73.

³⁰ Pachai, B *South Africa's Indians*, 83.

³¹ Brookes and Webb *A history of Natal*, 292.

rate Development Policy'. What was already a part of the policies of previous governments since Union in 1910 now became entrenched as part of the ideology of apartheid.³²

This meant that the majority of Indians, who in 1950 made up 34 per cent of Durban's population, were now 'disqualified persons' in terms of the law and were forced to move on official notification. By 1974, 41 782 families (a total of 276 000 individuals) had been disqualified. This amounted to 40 per cent of the Indian population.³³

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 largest settlements were Chatsworth and Phoenix outside Durban. By 1967, one third of the total Indian population in South Africa had been housed in Chatsworth, 30 kilometres away from the city centre. By 1972, 27 694 of the disqualified families had been resettled, leaving 10 641 families still without accommodation.³⁴ These population shifts not only increased the socio-cultural upheaval of the community, but also caused great financial losses as a result of the expropriation of properties. The relocated families received the 'municipal value' prices of their land rather than the 'market value'.³⁵

The Pentecostal churches followed the same pattern during the resettlement as during urbanisation. They established branches, 'house-churches' and 'cell groups' throughout Chatsworth and Phoenix. However, while the 'established'

32 Jan Smuts, for instance, adopted racial separation as one of the principles of his political policy. The principles of apartheid thus preceded the National Party's rise to power in 1948. Pachai states that 'while the Group Areas Act marked the culmination of such a policy [i.e. of racial separation] the beginnings go back as early as the nineteenth century and well before the Union in 1910' (*South Africa's Indians*, XI).

33 Woods, C A *The Indian community of Natal*. Natal Regional Survey IX, 2; Pachai, B 1971 *The international aspects of the South African Indian question 1860-1971*, Cape Town, 162-163; 185f; Schlemmer, L 'The resettlement of Indian communities in Durban and the economic, social and cultural effects on the Indian community' in Palmer, *The Indian as a South African*, 15f.

34 *Hansard* 21 February 1973, col 162.

35 *Natal Mercury* 4 June 1975; Schlemmer 'The resettlement of Indian communities', 15-19.

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 4).

SUMMARY

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

- * the disillusionment that arose from frustrated hopes in the early years of their stay, despite the positive effect their coming had on the local economy;
- * the ill-treatment some sections of the community received at the hands of the colonist-farmers in Natal;
- * the ambivalent attitudes towards Indians which ranged from acceptance at times to outright rejection at other times;
- * the flagrant racism and prejudicial laws;
- * the repeated call for repatriation which began in the 1880s in spite of the initial conditions under which the indentured labourers were brought here.

The masses who were of the lower 'castes' and poor bore the brunt of the resultant deprivations: 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. The laws passed to curb 'Indian rivalry' affected the whole community, not only the traders.

The series of laws that deprived Indians of their land and their tenancy on farms led to the 'fall of the Indian peasantry' and an increase in the 'landless' sections of this community. The poorer classes were thus more exposed to the erosion of their traditional life-styles and the 'burden' on their traditional religious and cultural institutions to offer viability and security increased greatly. The resultant urbanisation which continued throughout the first half of this century also served to erode the traditions of this group, and this in turn questioned the ability of the traditional world view to cope with these new circumstances.

There were two major mass movements of Indians:

- * during the 1920s when most of the Indians had moved from the sugar estates to the cities in search of jobs;
- * during the 1960s when they were moved from the cities to the 'locations' as a result of the Group Areas Act.

Pentecostal churches grew extensive especially 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.