

The Impact of African Caribbean Settlers on the Seventh-day
Adventist Church in Britain 1952 – 2001.

By

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Abstract

The purpose of this research is to examine the impact, which African Caribbean Settlers had on the British Seventh-day Adventist church from 1952 – 2001, and to determine what characterises Adventist mission in Britain and worldwide today. Before the arrival of African Caribbean settlers, the British SDA denomination experienced stagnation in membership. In spite of the efforts of both the church administration and local church pastors in organising evangelistic meetings to counteract such development, the membership was in decline by the early 1950's. It was this condition that African Caribbean immigrants found British Adventism when they arrived in the early 1950s.

The research process incorporated several methods: historical documents, and interviews in the Caribbean, the USA and Britain. A survey administered to eight congregations in Britain was also used to determine the extent to which Adventism and its mission is understood and practiced in both Black and White, or Caribbean and English cultures.

The research findings begin with the affirmation that the Africans forcibly removed from the continent of Africa to the Caribbean Islands in the 17th and 18th centuries had retained elements of their cultural and religious beliefs. They indicate that African elements of oral culture, family and community orientation were also carried over into Adventism in the Caribbean. Adventist teachings, philosophy and life-style were well placed to accommodate these elements. Together with the rapid growth of church membership, the development of educational establishments, health-care facilities and other community training projects contributed to the mission of Adventism in the Caribbean.

This concept of mission was transmitted to Britain with the arrival of African Caribbean immigrants from the 1950's. From their arrival, British Adventism began to experience a steady increase in membership. Furthermore, African Caribbean Adventists Christians continued to employ the philosophy and methods they were accustomed to in the Caribbean to strengthen Adventist mission programmes on these new shores. Similar results to what had been experienced in the Caribbean have been achieved in Britain. For example, the research identifies areas such as the development of new congregations, African styles of worship, the establishment of educational facilities such as nurseries, evening and weekend schools, infant and primary schools, adult training centres and day centres for the elderly and youth, and the overall drive to serve a multicultural community. From here it is evident that Adventism in Britain today is concerned about the needs of individuals as well as different groups in the wider society, and is finding ways of reaching out to them as part of the church's mission.

This reflects the larger picture of a paradigm shift in global mission in the Adventist church internationally as well as in worldwide Christianity, especially of the Two-Thirds world. This paradigm shift in global mission is reflected in the type of projects local churches are actively engaged in, both in the Caribbean and Africa, as they are compelled to respond to the social, educational and economical needs of the community.

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Abbreviations

ADRA	Adventist Development and Relief Agency
ATR	African Traditional Religion
BUC	British Union Conference of Seventh-day Adventist
CJC	Central Jamaica Conference of Seventh-day Adventist
GC	General Conference of Seventh-day Adventist
IAD	Inter American Division of Seventh-day Adventist
IM	Irish Mission of Seventh-day Adventist
ITS	International Tract Society
LLF	London Laymen's Forum
NEC	North England Conference of Seventh-day Adventist
NCP	New Commonwealth Countries and Pakistan
NEWAD	Northern Europe and West African Division of Seventh-day Adventist
NIV	New International Version – Holy Bible
SCC	South Caribbean Conference of Seventh-day Adventist
SEC	South England Conference of Seventh-day Adventist
SDA	Seventh-day Adventist
SEN	State Enrolled Nurse
SM	Scottish Mission of Seventh-day Adventist
SRN	State Registered Nurse
SS	Sabbath School
TED	Trans European Division of Seventh-day Adventist
WM	Welsh Mission of Seventh-day Adventist
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association

Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to examine the impact African Caribbean settlers had on the Seventh-day Adventist (SDA) Church in Britain from 1952 to 2001. It will focus on their understanding and development of mission shaped out of their African cultural background, their experience in slavery, and their acceptance and understanding of Adventist teachings. As an African Caribbean SDA myself who has been an active member in Britain since 1967, I am familiar with the aspirations of this cultural group and of their experience within the British SDA church.

A) Organization of the SDA Church World Wide

Organised in 1860, the SDA Church is today recognised worldwide as an international organisation and through its humanitarian programme executed under the Adventist Development and Relief Agency (ADRA), a recognised charity. Adventists also operate a network of educational establishments ranging from nursery schools through to university level. Health care is also part of their programme with Adventist health institutions found in nearly every country of the world. With a membership of over 12 million and an operational budget of over £5m per an annum, Adventists are one of the contributors to the propagation of the Christian Gospel. Theologically, they are evangelical in their beliefs. The SDA church worldwide has always benefited from the resources of its membership made up of people from different nationalities, cultures and languages. Such diversity has been a problem at times to hold together, but, by and large, coheres through the church's philosophy and doctrines, and is in agreement with the writings of Ellen G. White co-founder of the SDA church. The SDA church has not suffered any denominational fragmentation.

The SDA church has five administrative layers extending from the world body to the local congregation. First of all, there is the world church organisation called the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists (GC). This body oversees the global mission of the church and is administered by a chief executive, called the President, and associate staff; all currently based in Maryland, USA. At the next level are the Divisions. Currently there are thirteen divisions for administrative purposes that supervise the work of the church in their territories, such as the North American Division, supervise the churches' mission in North America and Canada; the Inter-

American Division, sees to the churches' mission in South America and the Caribbean. The Trans European Division (TED), with its headquarters at St Albans, England, oversees the work in thirteen countries and areas including Britain. The British Adventist church is administrated from Garston, Watford. It is known as the British Union Conference (BUC) and is responsible for the work in the entire British Isles. Again its leading executive is a President. The BUC is divided into two Conferences and three Missions, to which local congregations belong. This structure was already in place before the arrival of African Caribbean Settlers to Britain.

B) Previous Studies on British SDA

Research on Black religiosity in Britain has focused mainly on Pentecostalism and neglects the contributions of Blacks fellowshipping in other denominations, writes Robin Theobald, in the British Journal of Sociology in 1981.² Pentecostalism was seen as the most visible form of Black religion in Britain, as such nearly every Black person that attended church worship was assumed by the general public to belong to a Pentecostal church. This is to be expected since outside of Adventist circles no academic studies had been undertaken on the denomination up to the late seventies and early nineties. Robin Theobald in his thesis (1981) examined British Adventism from a socio-political point of view, assessing the impact of a large influx of African Caribbean migrants into what was essentially an 'Anglo-Saxon' movement. He focused his study on the tension that developed between Black SDA leaders in London and the White administrators in the BUC. He discussed the situation against a broader socio-economic context and examined the cumulative impact of changes from that context. He concluded that the difficulties within British Adventism are not peculiar to it but are confronted by any religious movement striving to maintain the commitment of existing members as well as attract new ones within the context of an advanced capitalist society.³

Roswith Gerloff in her study A Plea for British Black Theologies (1992) included British Adventism as part of the Black church movement and Black religiosity in Britain. Writing on Adventism, she focused on its development in North America, Jamaica and Britain. She acknowledged the role of lay-members in the Caribbean in the development of the movement. She also focused on the tension that developed between the White administrators and Black members in the context of race relations

and mission, and discussed in detail the issues of Black consciousness, the institutional conflict between the Black lay-men and the BUC, and the “Advent Hope of the church”. Her study identifies areas of membership growth and large financial contributions to the SDA church by the West Indian Adventist immigrants. Examining the motive for the tension within the church she concluded that:

Racism as a historical and collective phenomenon, and Institutional racism as the structural aspect of this collective phenomenon, in Western societies penetrates all patterns of life.....and all ways of thinking including the methods of doing theology, so that it is simply an illusion to assume that single-handed actions can quell unrest of this kind. Unless the organization in question is prepared to introduce some process of re-defining itself as a whole and re-interpreting itself in the light of 'present truth' ...the protest inevitably continues.⁴

Her study on British Adventism and the internal racial and cultural issues only reaches to 1977 and therefore does not cover the periods of the ‘Pierson Package’ and beyond.

C) **Why this study?**

It is the intention of this thesis to examine further the impact African Caribbean Adventists have made on British Adventism. This will be undertaken through the context of their African heritage. For it is the author’s firm belief that one cannot have a full picture of an individual, group or community of people without first having an understanding of their background: where they came from and what has been their experience in life; how their historical background and experience has shaped their identity; what are the underlying reasons for their outlook and actions. All this is important for any study investigating the African Caribbean community. Not only will the socio-economic and socio-political be examined, but also their religious background. Certain elements inherited from African Traditional Religion together with Adventist teachings produced a distinctive type of Adventism in the Caribbean, which also shaped their perception of mission. These are important elements that are lacking in previous studies on African Caribbean Adventists and their affect on British Adventism. Information not previously brought out in other studies includes the influence of Black Adventists leaders in North America in the formulation of the Pierson package, an interpretation of British Union Conference minutes and, of

course, an update on the impact Black Adventists are continuing to have on the SDA church in Britain.

Why ask about the impact of African Caribbean Settlers on the SDA church in Britain 1952 – 2001? African Caribbean Adventists on their migration to Britain from 1952 brought their suitcases together with a strong desire to succeed in a new country. From the very offset they demonstrated a strong faith in God and confidence in the SDA teachings and practices. Their resilience and those of subsequent migrants from the Caribbean who have joined the SDA church or have continued to attend it have resulted in the rapid progress and development of the denomination in Britain. What is the evidence that Black migrants have retained their styles of worship, preaching, music, witnessing and other aspects of mission on their arrival in Britain, and how these factors have had an impact on British Adventism?

Changes can be observed in the ethnic make-up of the membership of British Adventism over the past forty-nine years. Also, but less obvious to some members of the public, is the increase in the number of SDA congregations and the different types of buildings that are used today for worship. The way in which congregations identify themselves within British Adventism has also changed within the last three decades. In the past SDA congregations were named after the town in which they were situated, for example, Bath SDA church or Colchester SDA church. Today SDA congregations are not only named after the streets or roads on which they are located, but other forms of identifications are used to reflect ethnic makeup or spiritual aspirations. These changes are examined in the phenomenology of change in the next section.

D) Phenomenology of Change

It may not be obvious to non- members of the SDA church in Britain, but for nearly fifty years (1952 – 2001) the British SDA church has witnessed the greatest period of change since its inception in 1874. For this thesis, it is important to establish why such radical and far reaching changes have been concentrated into such a comparatively short period of time. The thesis tries to identify the processes at work within the SDA church that promote change, and endeavours to trace the source of the forces that underlie these processes. Understanding the changes that have taken

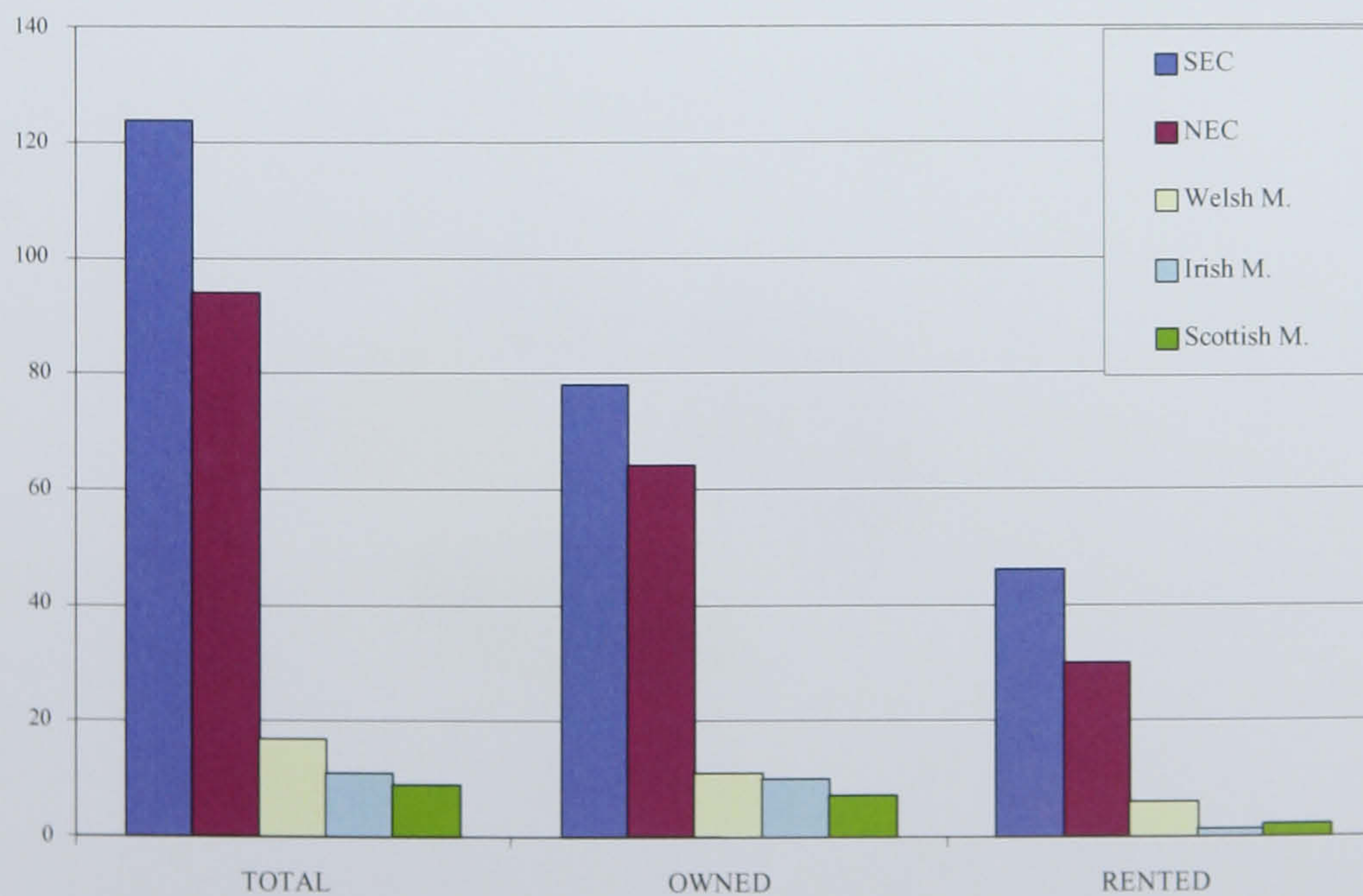
place within British Adventism under the impact of African Caribbean settlers can be examined in two ways, by looking at 1) Place of Worship and 2) Congregational Identification. These will be looked at in turn.

1) Place of worship

The number of places of worship has increased rapidly over the years. There are now a total of two hundred and fifty-five SDA congregations in Britain, one hundred and seventy-one or 67% own their own building (Chart 1). The SEC is the largest of the two conferences within the British Union Conference (BUC) of SDA, with 64% of its congregations worshipping in their own building; this is 3% below that of the overall percentage for the BUC. Of the one-third of congregations that worship in rented buildings, their accommodation ranges from school-halls and community-centres to hotels, civic buildings and the buildings of other denominations (Chart 2). The congregations examined in the survey (chapter 7) own their own buildings; they belong to the 67% of the congregations in possession of their own church building.

While a breakdown of the total number of congregations is given for the two Conferences and three Missions within the BUC, in chart 1 we also analysed the total number of buildings that are owned or rented in the respective Conferences and Missions.

Chart 1: Buildings Owned or Rented.

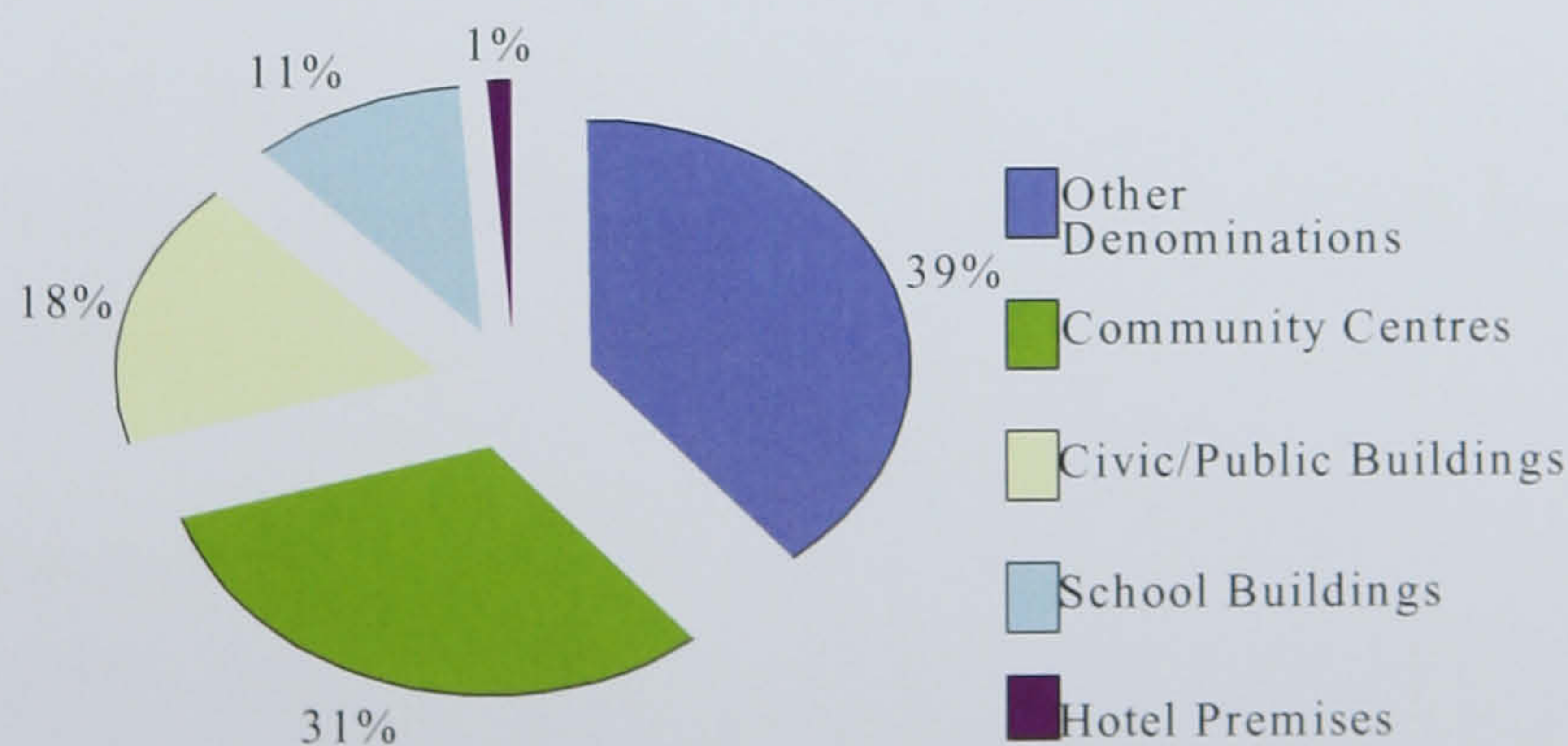


The use of denominational buildings is preferred over other types of rented accommodation. Community centres are also favoured; some are attached to a church but on the whole are run by local community groups. There are exceptions to the use of premises particularly in Ireland due to the political and religious situation. Ten from the eleven congregations in Ireland worship in their own church-property, as shown in chart 1. At the same time, the Irish mission is the only territory in which one congregation worships in a hotel (Chart 2).

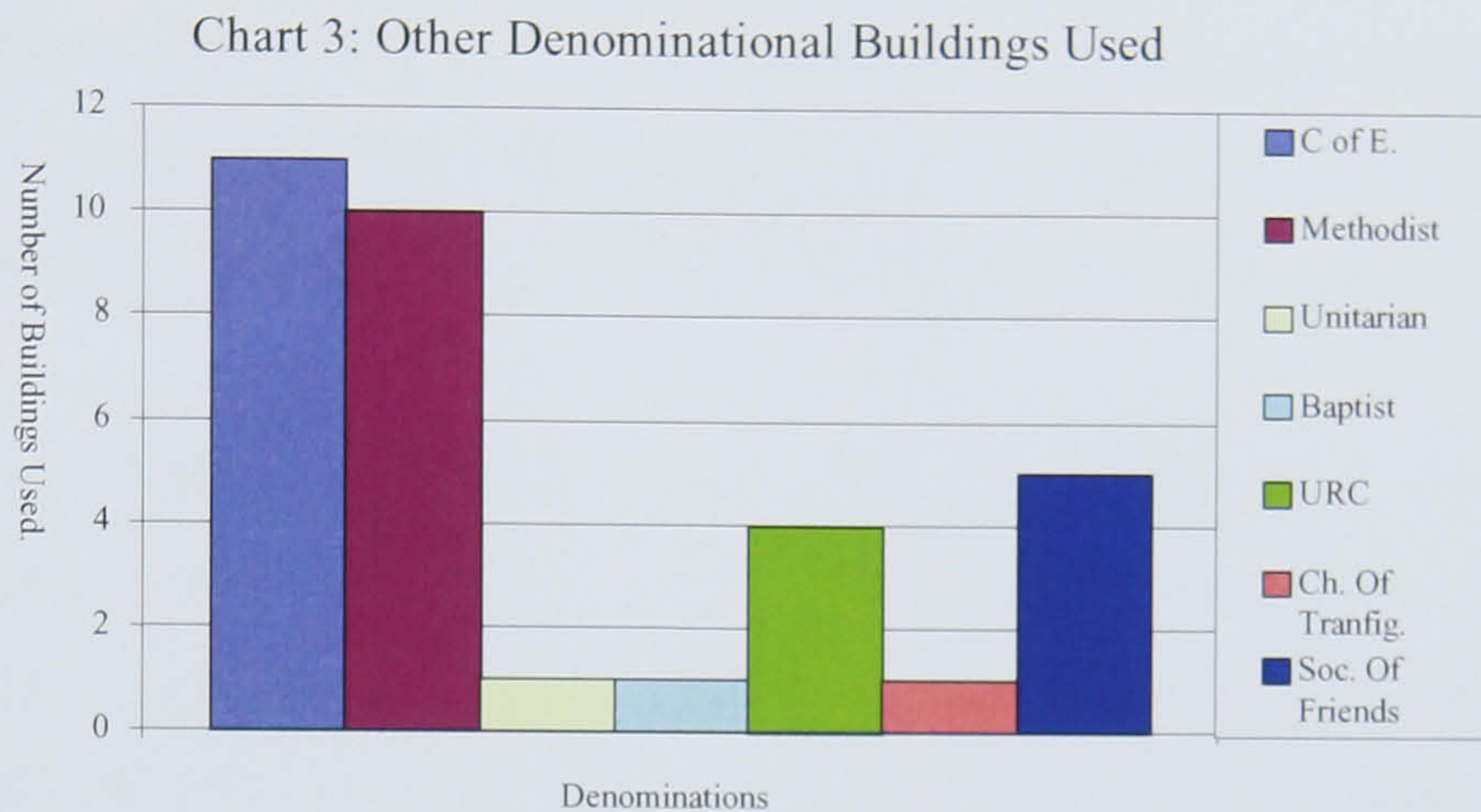
In total there are more congregations within each of the two Conferences, North England Conference (NEC) and South England Conference (SEC), than there are in the Scottish Mission, Welsh Mission and Irish Mission. However, these missions have a higher percentage (76%) of congregations owning their own building than congregations in each of the two Conferences.

Congregations in the SEC own 64 % of the one hundred and twenty four buildings used each week for worship. This is below both the BUC percentage of 67% and the NEC 68%. From the 33% of congregations worshipping in rented buildings in the BUC, 39% of their services are held in other denominational buildings as observed in Chart 2. This gives an indication of the relationship that exists between SDAs and other Christian denominations, underlined by the Observer-Status of the SDA church in Churches Together in Britain and Ireland.

Chart 2: Types of Rented Buildings Used for Worship.



Church of England and Methodist church buildings are widely used by Adventists within the BUC (Chart 3). There is a strong link between Black Adventists in the Caribbean with Anglicans and Methodists. Also, many former members of these denominations are now members of the SDA church in Britain.



2) Congregational Identification

Due to the increase in the number of congregations caused by African Caribbean immigrants establishing new SDA places of worship, the custom within the BUC of naming a congregation after the town in which it is found becomes inadequate. Before the rapid increase, congregations were easily identified through the area in which they were located. From the 1970's SDA congregations no longer followed this pattern, but instead began to adopt an identity that reflected more clearly their exact location, their ethnic identity or their spiritual experiences. These different types of identifications, although new to British Adventism, were standard practice in North America and the Caribbean.

* Location Identity Congregations

This is an identifiable feature of the SDA church not only in Britain but also in other parts of the world. This means was used as an aid for easy reference and location of congregations. The area in which the SDA church is located is pre fixed to the name Seventh-day Adventist; therefore the SDA church in Grantham is known as

'Grantham SDA church'. Location identity has served its function in that it established which town or city had an SDA congregation therefore defining its geographical location. This model of identification was sufficient while there was one congregation located in the town or area, but later become inadequate when more than one congregation began to be established in the same town or city. A new way of identifying the different congregations became necessary. When more than one SDA congregation was located in the same area, the name of the Street or Road was often used to differentiate each one from the other; for example, in Wolverhampton we find, Oxford Street and Great Brick-Kiln Street; or Windsor Street, Birmingham; and, in Tottenham, the West Green Road and Holcombe Road congregations.

Cultural or ethnic composition was disregarded in this process of locality identification. For example some SDA congregations are situated in predominately White areas. Visitors attending worship for the first time might expect the membership to be mainly White. This was my expectation when I visited Grays SDA church in Essex, yet I saw that its membership was 100% Black with no White members present.

* Ethnic and Cultural Identity Congregations

The majority of cities and large towns in Britain are multi-cultural and multi-ethnic in the composition of their population. The most diverse city is London with over a million Londoners belonging to an ethnic minority group. The effect and extent of diversity is felt in inner London schools, with over 150 different languages spoken by children. The largest ethnic groups originate from South Asia (comprised of Indians, Bangladeshis and Pakistanis), the continent of Africa and the Caribbean. There are also other cultural groups to be seen in the capital. The Jews with their synagogues and schools were well established before the arrival of any of the groups mentioned above. Other cultural groups are also visible, the Cypriot, Chinese and South European communities.

Cultural identity is also evident, with the need for it becoming a means of solidarity within ethnic communities. Each cultural group, with its distinctive religious practices is evident in its determination to retain a religious identity. Both of these identities are now becoming apparent within the SDA church in Britain. The SDA

church in Britain is composed of members from various cultural backgrounds, with the African Caribbean the largest cultural group. In the nineteen sixties it was estimated that British SDA church membership was 75 – 90 per cent Black and today, twenty years on, the percentage of Black members is estimated to be approximately 90 per cent.

The second type of congregation I refer to as ethnic identity congregations, because they are named after their main user group. In recent years there has been a distinct shift towards identifying ethnicity in the naming of congregations, particularly in the metropolitan city of London. This shift appeals to the user group and is acceptable to both the leadership and membership in general within the BUC. Language barriers are a problem to many ethnic groups in inner city areas, especially those in the older age group who can speak and understand little or no English at all; worshipping in a congregation where English is the main language only serves to isolate them from the rest of the worshipping community and prevents them from making contributions to the mission of the church. There are several congregations situated in London that are known for their ethnic composition: the Filipinos, Hispanic, Nigerian, Portuguese, Russian and London Ghanaian congregations. There are, however, some within these cultural backgrounds whose membership lies with Black or White congregations within the Adventist church.

To give one specific example, the Ghanaian congregation in London is the largest amongst the ethnic group congregations that hold weekly meetings. Their worship is conducted in 'Ashanti', their mother tongue, with interpreters provided for visitors. Their music, singing and dancing are distinctively African-orientated. Their style of worship is patterned after the way it is done in Ghana. Such groups are able to maintain their ethnic identity and the particular style of worship they are used to. They are able to attract those from their own ethnic background who are not proficient in English, therefore catering for spiritual needs that would not be possible with another congregation. Attending worship that is particularly geared toward their own cultural group is one means by which they are able to construct their own history. In the Ghanaian congregation there is a distinctive effort to retain their cultural background. This is evident each week as both men and women wear their national dress to worship. Beneath the surface are the expectations of parents for their

children to learn and retain both the language and custom. In doing so they are ensuring the maintenance of their customs, and are instilling and sustaining an identity in their children. In this way each person is nurtured through the behaviour and activities of the group, therefore establishing also a corporate identity. It could be argued that such groups foster a dual identity, their cultural and religious identities.

* Spiritual Experience Congregations

This final shift is towards what I refer to as the spiritual experience identity. In tune with the modern Pentecostal/ Charismatic movement new congregations are now adopting names that define their spiritual experience rather than using the traditional naming processes mentioned above. It might be that the traditional names represent to them a worship style that does not correlate with their spiritual experience. There are three congregations that have taken this new route, New Life, Stanford Hill North London; Breath of Life, Smethwick; and Maranatha, Hayes, Middlesex. With regard to the New Life congregation, for example, its style of worship offers more of a contemporary style than the conservativeness that is found in the majority of Adventist congregations. Young people are more attracted to this style of worship than to the traditional style, as it allows them to be more expressive in worship. Both the ethnic and spiritual experience groups have emerged within the past ten years. It is likely that more congregations in the future will adopt similar ways of defining and identifying their congregation.

The SDA church in Britain is now a multi- ethnic, multi- cultural and multi- linguistic denomination; its membership is drawn from various cultures and ethnic backgrounds with those from the Black community forming the largest representation.

E) Methodology

In order to examine the Impact of African Caribbean settlers on the British SDA organization I have used a number of research techniques. These include fieldwork undertaken in the UK, and visits to the Caribbean and North America. Data has been collected as follows:

1) Libraries consulted in Britain

Different libraries were used by the researcher they included those of the University of Leeds, the British Library in London, local libraries such as Newham and Redbridge and Newbold College Library, the Seventh-day Adventist educational institution in Bracknell.

2) Survey and Interviews conducted

The interviews and survey were conducted between 1996-2001. Interviews were conducted with African Caribbean settlers who came to Britain from 1952 to the 1960s. Adventist pastors representing both the Black and White sections of the church were also interviewed. The survey identified four congregational categories as outlined in chapter 7 in order to obtain a comprehensive overview of British Adventism.

3) Visits to SDA Church Worship Service

Visits were made to congregations in London as well as further a field as Scotland. Between 1998 and 2000 I visited the following congregations. In London I visited Balham, Croydon, Leytonstone, London Ghana, New Life and Plaistow. Congregations out of London were Basingstoke, Bristol central, Gloucester, Grays, Guildford, Hemel Hempstead, Isle of White, Portsmouth, Southend, and Great Birck-Klin Street–Wolverhampton. Glasgow in Scotland and Cardiff in Wales were also visited.

4) SDA Administrative Offices

I visited the British Union Conference and the South England Conference offices in Watford, and the North England Conference in Nottingham in 1998 and 2001. I conducted interviews and looked at archives.

5) Overseas Visits

In 1998, from the 13 August – 30 September I visited Jamaica, Trinidad and Barbados with financial support from the University of Leeds, the SDA London Lay Advisory, Chingford SDA Church, and my family. In Jamaica I attended the four day West Jamaica Conference of SDA Ninth Triennial Session held in Montego Bay. I also went to Ochio Rios, Spanish Town, West Indies College and the West Indies

Union Office in Mandeville, the Central Jamaica Conference Session held in St Catherine and the SDA Andrews Memorial Hospital in Kingston. In addition to visits made to the above mentioned headquarters, institutions and convocations, visitations were made to several evangelistic meetings in Jamaica and Barbados. In all three countries interviews were conducted with employees, members and administrators from the various conferences. The purpose of the Caribbean visit was to examine and understand Caribbean Adventism in its original form within its own environment, with particular attention given to the training and role of lay members, to establish the extent to which they fulfil the mission of the church in the region.

A North American visit was made to Andrews University Berrien Springs, Michigan, a Seventh-day Adventist educational institution. The visit from 10 – 20 November 2002 was made possible as a result of financial support from my family and the generosity of the theological department at Andrews University. The purpose of the visit to Andrews was to examine minutes and reports of the GC of Seventh-day Adventists that are held in the University Library. Talks were also held between the researcher and Dr. Walther Douglas regarding his and other Black Adventist leaders' roles in the USA in facilitating a peaceful and reasonable solution to the racial tension which existed within British Adventism during the 1970's and early 1980's. These Black leaders, cooperating with Robert Pierson, the General Conference president, presented an acceptable proposal in 1978 to British Adventist known as the 'Pierson Package'. This will be discussed in chapter six.

6) Methods of Data Collection

A combination of several methods was used for data collection in this thesis. This was done in order to understand the reasons for the impact of African Caribbean settlers on the Adventist church in Britain. It was also done so that it would be easy to locate the areas where impact had taken place. The primary purpose in selecting a method or research technique is to gather data that will help to provide answers to the evaluation questions.⁵ Silverman argued the case for a multiple methods,

By having a cumulative view of data drawn from different contexts, we may, as in trigonometry, be able to triangulate the true state of affairs.⁶

It is rare to find an evaluative study based on only one method of data collection. A range of techniques forms the core of an overall research strategy. In order to show a clear analysis of the impact of African Caribbean settlers on the British SDA church, the following methods of data collection were used: documentary sources, interviews, questionnaire and participation observation.

* Documentary sources - Under this category, Clarke makes distinctions between primary and secondary sources, and public and private documents.⁷ He explains that 'primary sources are documents compiled by individuals who have firsthand experience of the events described'.⁸ BUC and GC minutes mentioned in this thesis come under primary sources, as they are an account of actions taken in executive meetings. Only minutes pertaining to the issue of African Caribbeans have been used in this thesis. It must be noted that there are limitations to the amount of information available from minutes, as they sometimes give only the decision of the committee and not the reasoning on how they reached the decision. Secondary sources were also used. They include published and unpublished materials. Sources under this category are books, session reports – from both Britain and the Caribbean - and church publications, which include the British SDA church journal Messenger.

* Interviews and Questionnaires – In addition to documentary sources, interviews and questionnaires were also used. The interviews were both structured and unstructured. For the Black Adventist members who were interviewed, the unstructured interview method was used; this method allowed the interviewee a greater opportunity to relate to their experiences. I also had some control in determining the order of asking the questions, in this way such interviews are best described as a 'conversation with a purpose' or 'a guided conversation' that captures the complexities of individual perceptions and experiences.⁹ The purpose of this method was to obtain data that provide an insight into how the interviewee defined and accounted for particular situations and circumstances. In a structured interview questions are asked in a systematic and consistent order. The rationale behind this approach is that, by enforcing a uniform structure on the interview, each respondent is effectively exposed to the same stimulus. This ensures the 'responses are comparable'.¹⁰ This method was used for interviewing the Black and White pastors. Pastors that were interviewed

were restricted to those working within the South England Conference, the region with a majority of Black members.

The questionnaire that was conducted extended beyond the South England Conference and included the North England Conference. In total eight congregations were chosen, four from each conference that represented a different congregation category. The congregation categories chosen were White congregations, African Caribbean congregations, Mixed Black/White congregations and Mixed Black congregations. Each participating congregation was given six questionnaires for six of their members to fill in. (Due to the fact that the local SDA church leader is more familiar with the membership of their respected congregation, the distribution of the questionnaire was their responsibility.) An accompanying letter was sent with each set of questionnaires to the local church leader (see appendix 'D') explaining what they should do, and the different criteria for those that would be asked to participate. A letter was also attached to each questionnaire explaining my identity to the participant and the reasons why I needed their cooperation. A stamped addressed envelope was included with each questionnaire for respondents to post back their answers (see appendix 'E').

* Participant observation – This research method was very useful as it allowed me to experience and identify with those in worship. In this way I entered into the religious environment of those engaged in worship. As a member of the SDA church and of African Caribbean origin, participating in worship in the different congregations did not cause me any uneasiness. I was easily recognised as an insider from the moment I entered the group that I wished to observe, because I had my own bible, hymnbook and Sabbath school study book with me. This approach is known as that of 'complete participant'.¹¹ Informing the congregation of my reasons for worshipping with them was not necessary. Such information would not have altered or affected the worship service itself. In small congregations both the morning services would last a total of two hours. For larger congregations the total morning service might be expected to last for over three hours. The observation of different congregational groups exposed me to a deeper understanding of styles of worship within the SDA church.

F) Being An Insider versus Detachment as an Outsider

The advantage of being an insider was that I am familiar with the organization and knew many of the people in it. Trust had developed over many years, which was a good foundation when I interviewed some participants. It was conversations with some whom I interviewed about the past that helped me to understand the tension that had developed in the 1970's between Black members of the London Laymen's Forum and the BUC's White administrators. It was through such informal conversations that the idea of investigating the impact of African Caribbean settlers on the SDA church in Britain was conceived. I did not experience any problems in arranging dates and times with interviewees.

I became aware during my studies that being an insider can be counter-productive causing appropriate information to be overlooked, or to interpret findings from an insider's point of view only. Some form of detachment from one's subject is important. Being conscious of this, I had to learn to step outside the realms of my own tradition and try to evaluate and analyse my findings from different perspectives. I viewed and linked my research to the developments in international Adventism as well as to the shifts in Christian mission generally. This was to reduce any bias in order to give the thesis the credibility it deserved.

* Problems Accessing BUC Minutes

Accessing documentation such as session reports from the church headquarters in Britain and the Caribbean was without problems. Difficulties developed, however, when I wanted to examine British Union Conference (BUC) minutes from the 1950's to the 1980's that were held at Newbold College library. Having negotiated access to these materials prior to going to Newbold with both the BUC executive secretary and Newbold library, on arrival I expected to be allowed to view the minutes. This was not the case. Instead, I was told that, even though they knew before of my visit, I still needed a letter from the BUC granting me permission to view the documents. Having travelled for over an hour from London on a Sunday to get to the College to be told I could not have access was very disappointing. I contacted the BUC and I received a letter permitting me to examine the minutes. After some weeks I returned to Newbold with the letter of authorization from the BUC with the expectation there would be no more problems. But I was told I would have to wait for a member of staff to

accompany me to the room where the minutes were held, and for that person to be present for the duration of time while I examined the documents. To this request I took offence and strongly protested against it. Eventually, I was allowed to view the documents alone and as often as I wished. This was in sharp contrast to my visit in the Caribbean to the Church's head office requesting to examine minutes and other reports, and at Andrews University library to examine General Conference minutes. I did not need to produce a letter granting me permission to view any of the documents I wished to see, nor was I told a member of staff would need to accompany me.

Writing on this issue of negotiating access and the problems of 'inside research' Judith Bell acknowledges that permission to carry out an investigation in an institution or organization is needed.¹² Even though I am a member of the SDA church, the institution often treated me as an 'outsider'. This might be, because I am not part of the ministerial work force, it is felt that I should not have access to certain information.

G) **Structure of thesis.**

This thesis will be presented in two parts. The first section consists of chapters one to four. Chapter one will focus mainly on the historical aspect of the development of the SDA church in North America and the formation of its mission and its subsequent spread to Britain. Chapter two will centre on the African population in the Caribbean since they will be the focal point of this thesis. How did they reach the Caribbean in the first place? What was their cultural and religious background? These are some of the questions that will be investigated in this chapter. Chapter three will examine the arrival of Adventism to the Caribbean. One of several questions that will be of importance is how did the Black community respond to the teachings and practices of a White American denomination. What elements of African Traditional religion (ATR) helped many in the population to accept Adventism? How did their concept of mission affect the growth of Adventism in the region?

Chapter four, the final chapter in this historical section, will discuss the appeal of Adventism to the Black emancipated population in the Caribbean. Given their experiences of suffering and inhumane treatment at the hand of White slave masters, why did these ex-slaves respond to and accept Adventist teachings? In this chapter it

will be argued that Adventist teachings and practices were suited to meet the needs of the emancipated slave community.

The second section will include chapters 5 – 8, and beginning with chapter five, will discuss the arrival of African Caribbeans to Britain with particular reference to those belonging to the SDA denomination. Their concept of mission will be brought out in order to understand the differences between African Caribbean Adventists and British Adventism, and the problems that led to tensions during the 1970's and early 1980's. This chapter will also explore the various means applied to resolving the tension. Chapter six will focus on the 'Pierson Package' and will discuss its contents, implementation and aftermath. Importantly, the role of Black Adventist leaders in North America together with the financial commitment of the GC to enabling the implementation of the package will also be discussed in this chapter. Chapter seven will offer a presentation of the findings of a survey conducted to establish the differences and similarities between African Caribbean Adventists and British White Adventists, and to find out to what extent both cultures understand and carry out the mission of the SDA church today. Chapter eight will be an analysis of the survey findings in chapter seven. In this chapter I will draw together what has been according to this study the impact of African Caribbean settlers on the SDA church in Britain. Chapter nine will be the concluding chapter, in which trends in mission will be discussed. This chapter will examine Adventist global mission programmes and establish the challenges that Adventists face worldwide. This chapter will also examine Black Adventists in Britain and their response to church mission programmes. Their methods of reaching out to the wider community include educational projects for children and young people, and day and training centres for adults. Young people are also actively engaged in reaching out to the wider society through worship and music. For example, this can be observed with Adventist singing groups such as the London Adventist Chorale, winners of the Sainsbury's Choir of the Year; The Croydon SDA Gospel Choir and more recently 'Blessed Voices' year 2002 Channel 4 Gospel Singers of the Year. Together these groups along with many Adventist groups and soloists in Britain are making an impact in society today.¹³ Overall, I shall show that British Adventism has benefited greatly from the presence of African Caribbean migrants.

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- ¹ The countries and areas that comprise the TED are: Baltic, Britain, Denmark, Finland, Hungary, the Middle East, Netherlands, Norway, Pakistan, Poland, South-East European, Sweden and Attached Fields.
- ² Robin Theobald, "The politicisation of a Religious Movement: British Adventism under the Impact of West Indian Immigration", British Journal of sociology vol. 32 No.2, June 1981, p.201.
- ³ Ibid, p.220.
- ⁴ Gerloff, Roswith.I.H., A Plea for British Black Theologies : The Black Church Movement in Britain in its Transatlantic Cultural and Theological Interaction (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1992), p. 315.
- ⁵ Clarke, Alan, Evaluation Research: An Introduction to Principles, Methods and Practice (London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2000), p. 67.
- ⁶ Silverman, David, Doing Qualitative Research (London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2000), p. 98.
- ⁷ Clarke, Ibid, p. 83.
- ⁸ Ibid.
- ⁹ Ibid, pp. 72 -73.
- ¹⁰ Ibid.
- ¹¹ May, Tim, Social Research: Issues, Methods and Process (Buckingham: Open University Press, 2001), p.155.
- ¹² Bell, Judith, Doing Your Research Project (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1992), p. 42.
- ¹³ Johnson, T, Choir of the Year, Messenger, vol.100 No 5. 3 March 1995. p.1; also Tompkins, Paul, SDA Choir Sing for Peace, Messenger, vol. 100 No12. 9 June 1995, p. 1; Burton, Ken, Croydon SDA Gospel Choir US Tour, Messenger, vol. 102 No 24. 21 November 1997, p.1. Chorale at the Palace, and Gospel Singers of the Year Award, Messenger, vol.107 No 13 28 June 2002, pp.1-2.

CHAPTER ONE

A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST CHURCH IN BRITAIN 1874--1952, WITH REFERENCE TO THE MILLERITES' MOVEMENT IN NORTH AMERICA AND ITS SPREAD TO BRITAIN.

1.0. Introduction

In order to understand the development of Seventh-day Adventism and its worldwide mission, an overview of the historical background will be presented in this chapter. The Seventh-day Adventist denomination as it is known today, grew out of a movement that emerged in the 1830's in North America that was known as the 'Millerites'. It is appropriate that this chapter first examines the theological development of this movement with particular attention given to the factors that shaped its theology. The involvement of Black people in the movement will be discussed; also the change from Millerism to Sabbatarian Adventism will be looked at. Other areas that will be examined will include the role of Ellen White, Adventist mission to Britain and its subsequent development and progress before the initial influx of African Caribbeans in 1952.

1.1. Background to the Millerites Movement and their Belief

The Seventh-day Adventist (SDA) Church originated in North America during the 1840's. This period is referred to as the Great Advent Awakening.¹ It was a time when the 'Advent message' was widely proclaimed by William Miller. Born in 1772, Miller was raised in the Baptist Church. He experienced conversion in 1816, which led him to study the scriptures. The significant fact is that Miller concentrated his studies on the book of Daniel in the Old Testament and Revelation in the New Testament and became particularly attracted to end-time prophecies. After reading in the books of Daniel, 'Unto two thousand and three hundred days; then shall the sanctuary be cleansed' (Daniel 8:14), interpreted from the commonly accepted understanding of Numbers 14: 34 and Ezekiel 4: 5, 6 that a day in prophecy equals a year, Miller concluded that Jesus would return within the next quarter of a century in 1844. Apart from the prophecies, there were other factors that influenced Miller such as: a) the teaching of Jesus; b) the teachings of the Early Church; and c) the Reformation Church and Hymn writers. These will be examined in turn below.

a) The teachings of Jesus

Miller's teaching regarding the 'Second Advent' was not a new and original message, it was a continuation and development of the idea that Jesus and his disciples in the New Testament, especially in the synoptic, taught the 'Parousia' or Second Coming. Before his arrest, trial, death and resurrection, Jesus promised his disciples that when he goes to heaven he would 'return' again (John 14:3). Two Angels also reiterated this promise at Jesus' ascension as they assured and comforted the disciples that Jesus would 'return' (Acts 1:11). Using the metaphorical imagery of 'lightning', which they were all familiar with, Jesus speaking with his disciples illustrated that his Second Advent would be visible, one that everyone would see as they do with lightning. 'For as the lightning comes from the east and flashes to the west, so will be the coming of the Son of Man' (Matt 24: 27 NIV).

Other scriptural references referring to Jesus' imminent return convinced Miller and his followers (later to be known as Millerites) that this event would take place in their lifetime. For example the following scriptures: 'Jesus will be seen coming', for 'every eye will see him' (Matt 24:30, Revelation 1:7). 'Many will mourn as a result of his coming' (Matt 24:30). He will be coming to reward individuals (Matt 16:27, Revelation 22:12). All these played their part in shaping Miller's concept of the Second Advent.

b) Teachings of the early Church

The early Christian church also taught the Parousia as reflected in the Apostles' letters in which they were certain the return of Christ would happen in their generation. This is clearly observed in many of Paul's letters. In his writings to the Thessalonians, especially in the first epistle of the same name, the doctrine of the Second Advent is prominent. Each of the five chapters ends on the topic of the Lord's return (1:10; 2:19; 3:13; 4:16-17; 5:23). In his letter to Titus at Crete, Titus was encouraged to wait for the 'blessed hope the glorious appearing of...Jesus Christ' (Titus 2:13). Believers again were assured that Jesus would 'appear a second time' (Hebrews 9:28). James also encourages the believers to 'be patient and stand firm, because the Lord's coming is near' (James 5:8). This eschatological

message or revelation of the Lord's second coming has been of special interest and inspiration to the church down through the centuries.

c) The Reformation Church and the Hymn Writers

The Puritans in England during the seventeenth century advocated the 'eschatological character of Scripture'.² Puritan theologians published books extensively on the subject. Bryan Ball, referring to Christopher Love, argued that

*the certainty of Christ's coming rested on a three-fold biblical foundation - 'the immutability of God's decree...the infallibility of Christ's promise...the impartiality of his justice'. It was a promise made by Christ Himself, and hence the great pillar of our hopes.*³

Christ's promises of his imminent return sparkled hope and assurance in the mind of many, such promise being a certainty that would one day be a reality for the whole earth. Christians in every generation and from every cultural background cherished the eschatological hope that they may witness Christ's return in their lifetime. Puritan Christians accepted that Christ's coming would be 'literal' and not a 'spiritual' coming through the Gospel.⁴ Concerning Puritan theologians and their attempts to explain the manner in which they believe Christ would come, Ball states that they,

*often compare His second coming at the end of time with His first coming at the incarnation. 'When our Saviour Jesus Christ lived on earth, He came in misery, very base and lowly but now, He shall come as a king full of majesty and glory.'*⁵

The Puritan Christian accepted and expected Christ's second coming to be a physical and visual one. Christ's visual appearance (Revelation 1:7) captured the imagination of songwriters, for example Isaac Watts's "Lo, What a Glorious Sight Appears",⁶ written in 1707. This hymn is based on Revelation 21:1-4, the fourth stanza however is an allusion to Revelation 6:10. The words of the refrain describes the fullness of joy to be experienced when death shall be no longer, and finally the partings caused by death will be eradicated. John Leland's hymn "O, When Shall I See Jesus,"⁷ written in 1833 two years after Miller began preaching on the Parousia echoes the deepest desire of the Millerite. It captures the feeling of those anxiously waiting the day when Jesus would return, and blends that future event with present reality. It tells of the unity, trust and acceptance that will exist amongst

the believers – “faith, hope and love”; when these are practiced all believers will hear the trumpet when Jesus comes. These hymns inspired and instilled courage in the Millerite believers, helping them to soar above the reality of their situation and gave them a vision of hope.

Another favorite hymn of the Millerites was “Don’t you see my Jesus coming”⁸ published about 1800.

*Don't you see my Jesus coming, See Him come in yonder cloud?
With ten thousand angels round Him, How they do my Jesus crowd!*

*Don't you see the saints ascending, Hear them shouting thro' the air.
Jesus smiling, trumpets sounding, Now His glory they shall share.*

Refrain;

*I am bound for the kingdom; will you go to glory with me?
Hallelujah! O praise ye the Lord!*

Originally a dialogue hymn with men or women singing the stanza-question and the other giving the refrain-answer, this may be classified as a revival spiritual song. With no author assigned to it, it can be assumed that this song originated among the African slaves in North America as members of the evangelical churches. Since there is no evidence to support such an assumption, one must bear in mind that spiritual were also composed by white Christians; the ‘complete Africanism of the spirituals was never tenable’.⁹

Singing the above song assured Christian of the certainty of Jesus returning again, granting them the spiritual ability to transcend to future times when Jesus would actually arrive and they would see him. The effect of maintaining such hope was one of expectation, by which they were able to anticipate the future and realize their dream in the present. A song has power to ‘motivate’ people, because it calls for and creates an ‘emotional response in humans’.¹⁰ When men and women sing such songs, they are identifying or expressing their viewpoints and loyalties. The above song helps people to express their theological position and in so doing to confirm that they are loyal citizens of Christ’s kingdom. This song expresses the deep desire of Christian believers during the nineteenth century to see Jesus coming in the clouds to create a new earth. Miller and his followers not only preached

about the Advent, but they sang about it. Songs were also a means of 'talking back' to the wider community and affirming their theological belief. The belief in the Second Advent has been part of the Christian heritage of faith inspiring songwriters to articulate the hope and desires of Christians in North America and England from the Reformation period to early nineteenth century particularly articulated by the Millerites. More will be said regarding the influence of songs on the Black community in the Caribbean in chapter four.

1.2. The Influence of other Denominations in shaping Miller's Theology

Miller's theology was shaped not only by the factors mentioned above, but also by teachings of other denominations. In August 1831 Miller began to preach on the Second Coming of Christ in the local Baptist church at Dresden, New York,¹¹ followed by invitations from ministers of other denominations (Congregationalists, Methodists and Presbyterians) to preach in their congregations:¹²

Almost everywhere Miller preached, people were converted to his message of the imminent return of Christ. Often there were revivals; sometimes, whole towns were transformed.¹³

Religious ministers of these denominations joined the movement, Joshua V. Himes, Josiah Litch (Methodist), Charles Fitch (Congregationalist), James White, and Joseph Bates.¹⁴ Miller's preaching was having an impact on his listeners because he emphasized that Jesus would return within their generation. This differed from the seventeenth century Puritan theologians and preachers who only confirmed that 'Christ would return'.¹⁵ The beliefs in the 'imminent return of Jesus' influenced the Millerites to actively participate in social reform. Changes taking place within an individual would be reflected through their activities in the community. Millerite leaders became committed to several reform projects, according to Bennett,

*Millerite editors at times helped to produce the abolitionist journals *The Liberator* and *The Emancipator*. Himes was interested in all kinds of reform: the immediate emancipation of blacks, women's rights, temperance...and interdenominational cooperation..¹⁶*

Bennett concludes that

some believe Miller's movement may have turned into one of the many utopian reform movements of the time. What prevented this from taking place,....was only the fact that the movement's

leaders considered their second advent preaching to be of unparalleled importance.¹⁷

It can be observed that the prospect of Jesus' Advent triggered off the formation of mission projects, which meant informing the wider community of the soon return of Jesus. At the same time, it motivated the action for social reform in the Millerite movement. However, they did not get involved in formal organization and establishing institutions.

1.3. Involvement of Blacks in the Millerites movement

Many emancipated slaves became involved in the development and growth of the Millerite movement. They were attracted to Miller's message concerning Christ's imminent return. This obviously was an important event for the Black population just out of slavery. Miller's message was 'good news' for Black believers, because it meant an end to all injustices and inequalities, a time when they anticipated to be free, liberated from the experiences of oppression, racial prejudice, social deprivation and social exclusion in work, education and housing. It further meant gaining a voice in society, where they would share one common identity with other ethnic groups. Miller's message projected the Black community into the time when they will be delivered from their present circumstances, one that offers something better - freedom. While Miller's message was propagating Christ's imminent return and the practice of unity and racial togetherness, mainstream churches were practising segregation between White and Black; imitating conditions in society. The practice of segregation would have been a direct contradiction to Millerite teachings.

At least three Millerite preachers were of African decent; Charles Bowles, John W. Lewis and William E. Foy.¹⁸ With the exception of William E. Foy, not much has been written regarding their actual role. Charles Bowles and John W. Lewis were active Millerite preachers.¹⁹ Foy lived in New England and was a member of the Freewill Baptist Church. As he was preparing himself to take up Holy Orders as an Episcopal minister when in 1842 he had two visions of Christ. These visions not only disturbed him, but also dwarfed all his worldly ambitions. Prior to these visions, Foy admitted he had been opposed to the 'doctrine of Jesus' near approach'. But after the visions he joined the Millerites in proclaiming the message of Christ imminent return to this earth.

Foy received his first vision on January 18th 1842, and according to one eyewitness he was 'in vision' for two and a half hours. The medical doctor who examined Foy confirmed that he could not find any life in him "except around the heart".²⁰ Foy summed up his experience while in vision as follows:

*I was immediately seized as in the agonies of death,
and my breath left me.*²¹

His spiritual experience together with the account of the revelation given him was later published as a pamphlet in 1845 in Portland, Maine, entitled 'The Plain of Paradise'.²²

Two factors prevented Foy from revealing to others what he had seen and heard. Firstly, he knew there were critical voices of Millerite members who feared publicity concerning those in their midst who claimed to have divine revelations. Secondly, Foy stated he was aware of 'the prejudice among the people against those of my color.'²³ It is understandable therefore that he was reluctant to share his visions with others, as he once remarked, 'Why should these things be given to me, to bear to the world?'²⁴ The opportunity to speak came to Foy on February 6, 1842 when the pastor of the Bloomfield Street church asked him to describe the visions to his congregation. Still reluctant to do so at first, he was surprised by the large crowd that turned out to hear him. As he began to relate his experience, fear and apprehension left him and he related with freedom the things he had seen and heard in vision. He traveled widely, presenting his message to crowded churches of different denominations.²⁵

1.4. Britain's Millerites

Periodicals played a vital role in the advancement of the movement. Joshua V. Himes made his greatest contribution to the Millerite movement through publications. In 1840 he edited the first Millerite periodical, Signs of the Times. He also initiated journals in other cities and encouraged people who were able to do so to publish papers of their own. Therefore, within four years the Millerite message had spread to different cities through a variety of journals such as the Midnight Cry, the Advent Chronicle, the Glad Tidings, the Jubilee Trumpet, and several others.

These journals were not only distributed in and around North America, but also reached Britain. English men and women who had joined the movement in North America were instrumental in establishing the Millerite movement in Britain. For example, Robert Winter, an Englishman converted in North America, set up a press in London in 1843 and reprinted 15,000 copies of the Millerite Journals. William Barker, another convert in North America, returned to England and lectured in the streets and commons in most of the large towns of the South, Norfolk, Suffolk and the Isle of Wight. In the North of England, Charles Dealtry in 1843 preached Millerite theology in Nottingham, and founded a chapel at New Radford. Within four years, from 1842 to 1846, the Millerite movement in Britain grew at a rapid speed. When Joshua V. Himes visited Britain in 1846, he found a number of organized Millerite congregations in Truro, Plymouth, Exeter, Uckfield (Sussex), Liverpool, London (two groups), Derby, Bristol and Lincoln. There were smaller groups in places such as Birmingham, Sheffield, Leeds, and Tiverton.²⁶

In the 1850's, however, the movement began to decline rapidly. Various factors contributed to this. Robert Hutchinson returned to Canada;²⁷ Millerites were persecuted; and were constantly accused of being "Latter-day Saints". Many, therefore, reconverted to other denominations.²⁸

1.5. From Millerism to Sabbatarian Adventism

Millerite believers in North America were more organised than their counterparts in Britain. In Boston in October 1840, they held their first 'General Conference of Christians Expecting the Advent'.²⁹ It attracted two hundred clergy and laymen representing a wide variety of churches.³⁰ It was one of sixteen conferences, which continued to the spring of 1843.³¹ They also held camp meetings, from 1842. These meetings aroused interest, as well as increasing hostility from cartoonists, journalists, and from the general public.

A group of Millerite Adventists first became aware of the Sabbath observance in 1843, when Rachel Oakes a Seventh-day Baptist visited the Christian Connection Church in Washington, New Hampshire. She advised the minister, Frederick Wheeler, that he was not

keeping all of the Ten Commandments. Convinced that he should become a Sabbatarian, Wheeler, together with members of his congregation, became the first North American to join together the beliefs of Millerite Adventism and Sabbatarianism.³² Thomas M. Preble, a member of the Seventh-day Sabbath Keepers group, wrote an article for the Millerite paper, The Hope of Israel, in February 1845. This paper influenced Joseph Bates, a Baptist, to worship on the Seventh-day.³³

In 1846, James and Ellen White, who were both Methodist, joined Joseph Bates³⁴ in propagating the Second Coming and the Seventh-day Sabbath. A number of conferences were held from 1848, which put together the various doctrinal strands that had developed since 1844.³⁵ At these conferences it was voted to publish a magazine, called The Present Truth. It would be used to proclaim the distinctive message of Adventist Sabbatarianism to the world. James White (husband of Ellen White) became the first editor. After several earlier changes to its name, in 1851, it became The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald.³⁶ These publications played a part in communicating the doctrines of Seventh-day Adventism to a wide audience, as part of their development in mission.

James White, who strongly advocated the New Testament models of Church Government, suggested to the group in 1851 that they should organize themselves. Many former Millerite members resisted White's proposal, on the grounds that the large number of Christian sects already in existence were evidence of 'Babylonian confusion'. However, with the rapid increase in the number of adherents in the 1850s, several problems arose that brought into sharp focus the need for the movement to have a name and a corporate existence. There was no agreement on the ownership of church buildings and institutions, nor on the ordination of regular ministry. Most of the early leaders in the movement were already ordained ministers, from their previous denominations. The largest single problem related to the ownership of the publishing house, which in 1855 had moved to Battle Creek, Michigan.³⁷ The publishing business was legally the property of James White, but he wanted the newly formed Adventist church organization to control and own it. Eventually, it was incorporated under the law of the State of Michigan, in May 1861.³⁸

The name Seventh-day Adventist was adopted at a General Conference held at Battle Creek on 1st October 1860. Referring to the name, Ellen White remarked:

*No name, which we can take, will be appropriate but that which accords with our profession and expresses our faith and marks us a peculiar people. The name Seventh-day Adventist is a standing rebuke to the Protestant world.*³⁹

The conference drew up a legal constitution for the ownership of the publishing house and the church buildings. Despite opposition, the Seventh-day Adventist denomination was formally organised in 1863, it had a membership of 3,500 in 125 churches with 22 ordained ministers.⁴⁰

1.6. Blacks Associated with the Mission Development of the Early SDA Church

Despite the fact that Seventh-day Adventists mission developed very slowly amongst the freed African slaves in North America, there were Blacks who were associated with the denomination from its inception. Sojourner Truth and Charles Kinney were known to be associated with the SDA church. I will now turn to these individuals.

Sojourner Truth was born a slave in 1797 as Isabella Van Wagener. Owned by a Dutch family called Dumount, she was the second youngest of twelve children.⁴¹ State law emancipated her in 1827. It was not long after her emancipation that she experienced a 'dramatic conversion'⁴² as a result of which she visited several churches, including the Methodist Church and the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church.⁴³ She was influenced in 1843 by William Miller. Having heard him preached and,

*Believing herself to be part of what she called a great drama of robbery and wrong. she felt that she must make a definitive break with her old way of life.*⁴⁴

This decision resulted with her changing her name on June 1st 1843, from Isabella Van Wagner to Sojourner Truth, meaning 'itinerant preacher'.⁴⁵ In that same year she traveled to New England to preach and became a prominent New England abolitionist leader. In 1856, she moved to Harmon, Michigan to settle; later she moved to Battle Creek, where

she became acquainted with Seventh-day Adventism. She spoke at the Battle Creek Sanitarium and several other church gatherings. She was buried in the Oak Hill Cemetery in Battle Creek in 1883.⁴⁶

Charles Kinney was born a slave originally in Richmond, Virginia, in 1855, but when he was about 10 or 11 years he moved to the West. At that time the Civil War had ended, and many former slaves traveled in groups, seeking a better future for themselves. Therefore, while in Reno, Nevada, in 1878, Kinney attended tent meetings held by John N. Loughborough. Kinney believed and accepted the message Loughborough preached. Duly baptised, his name appears as one of the seven charter members of the Reno church.⁴⁷

After some time, the Reno church members sensed his earnestness and elected him as church clerk. Eventually, news of Kinney's outstanding ability reached the Leaders at the conference office. They offered him the position of secretary to the Nevada Tract and Missionary Society. His duties included preparation of quarterly reports for the Review and Herald, and to formulate a progress summary for the Nevada Tract and Missionary Society.⁴⁸ Reynolds states, 'Kinney was a person who loves books'. During his time with the Tract Society he arranged for a complete collection of Adventist books and periodicals to be placed in the public library of Reno Temperance Reform Club. Additionally, Kinney placed the names of friends he knew in Richmond on the mailing list to receive copies of Signs of the Times magazine and other literature.⁴⁹

Kinney received sponsorship from both the Reno church members and the Adventist California Conference to study at Healdsburg College in 1883,⁵⁰ where he stayed for two years. On successful completion of his studies, he was sent to Topeka, Kansas, by the Conference to commence work among the growing Black population in the city.⁵¹ In 1889, he became the first Black person to be ordained as a Seventh-day Adventist minister.⁵²

The question arises, to what extent Seventh-day Adventism appealed to the Black community as a whole? This will be discussed fully in chapter four. But now we will turn

our attention to the large population of Blacks living in the South of North America. What were the attitudes of White Adventist leaders in preaching Adventist mission in that region? What was the role of Ellen White?

1.7. The Role of Ellen White and Adventist Mission to the South

Prior to the early eighties, Adventists confined their efforts primarily to the northern part of the USA. When they began to consider a broader perspective for mission, their attention was turned to Europe. In 1895, Ellen White highlighted such inconsistency in regard to the church's mission why she counseled the church leaders:

We should take into consideration the fact that efforts are being made at great expense to send the gospel to the darkened regions of the world.....to bring instruction to the ignorant and idolatrous; yet here in the very midst of us are millions of people..... who have souls to save or to lose, and yet they are set aside and passed by...⁵³

Adventists were under obligation to share the gospel with any and every person she wrote. It was their responsibility to do so (Revelation 14: 6).

From there Ellen White repeatedly informed the church leaders they were not fulfilling their mission, if they did not direct their efforts to the South. The needs of Blacks just out of slavery made the responsibility of sharing the gospel very urgent. Baker argues that

in light of cultural selfishness and residual prejudices natural to human heart, Adventists were challenged to see if the power of the gospel was able to stir up a love that would actively assist the oppressed and unfortunate.⁵⁴

According to Ellen White, the neglect of support for the Black community was not just the failure of the Northerner but of the whole population of America, including the government and the Christian churches. She wrote

Much might have been accomplished by the people of America if adequate efforts in behalf of the freedmen had been put forth by the Government and by the Christian churches immediately after the emancipation

*of the slaves.*⁵⁵

Ellen White felt that much more practical help could have been given to enable the Black community to develop their own potential whereby they would eventually be in the position to help themselves:

*Money should have been used freely to care for and educate them at the time they were so greatly in need of help. But the Government, after a little effort, left the Negro to struggle, unaided, with his burden of difficulties.*⁵⁶

The situation here was clearly one of joint responsibility, between the Government the Christian churches and the community to undo some if not all of the damages affecting the Black community. According to Ellen White, Adventism rightly understood could have moved away from the established norms, however, SDA followers did not want to be labelled as 'different' or not conforming to 'doing as we do'. North American racial stereotype and prejudice were too strong.

While not enough efforts were made by the SDA leaders to assist the freed slaves, there were some, members of the church who realized and recognized the needs of the Black community and endeavoured to improve their situation. They did not receive the support needed from the wider church organization. Ellen White commented on such lack of Christian charity as she summed up the situation as follows:

*Noble efforts have been put forth by some Seventh-day Adventists to do the work that needed to be done for the colored people. Had those who were engaged in this work received the co-operation of all their ministering brethren, the result of their work would now be altogether different from what it is. But the great majority of our ministers did not co-operate, as they should have done, with the few who were struggling to carry forward a much needed work in a difficult field.*⁵⁷

It is evident that Ellen White was displeased and frustrated with the attitude of the White leadership and their complacency towards helping the Black community to develop their potential and enable them to provide for themselves. Not only would the SDA church have been in a position to help Black people, but also, as Rock states, 'SDA teachings were

uniquely suited to address their needs',⁵⁸ and Adventist beliefs were appealing to the Blacks just out of slavery. From this understanding Ellen White wrote in 1895 that the 'SDA church has failed to act its part'⁵⁹ in supporting the Black community.

The attitude of the leadership in the church did not change. In 1900, she confronted them and the church membership by stating; 'The Lord is grieved at the indifference manifested by His professed followers towards the....oppressed colored people'.⁶⁰ The SDA church leaders valued the counsel of Ellen White with regard to the mission of the church, yet in the area of race relations they failed to accept her advice and act upon it. Why were they reluctant to develop the Black population of America?

1.8. Ellen White and Race Relations

The existence of racial prejudice within the SDA church amongst the leaders and members was evident; even whilst they were preaching the imminent return of Jesus. This should have placed them in a position that enabled them to rise above social, cultural and racial attitudes toward the Black community. During the formative and developing stages of the Millerite movement, as pointed out earlier, many Blacks were active participants in the propagation of the message of the imminent return of Jesus. The urgency and certainty of this event might have caused whatever feelings of superiority or inferiority on either side to be suppressed, ignored or eliminated, in so doing enabling both White and Black to work toward one common goal in mission.⁶¹ However, as the period set for Jesus' return expired, so their sense of equality and justice for all men and women vanished. Many settled back into their former ways. Similar to the early Christians, when the enthusiasm and motivation derived from their eschatological hope had faded; a vacuum was left to be filled with attitudes and opinions in conformity with society at large. Ellen White denounced this attitude and addressed the issue time and again. Her writings, particularly those within the nine volumes of the Testimonies, were written for the sole purpose of giving counsel to SDA church members and leaders. She recognized that there was a need to set out the improved principles which the SDA church had to follow.

Before the SDA church was organized in 1863,⁶² its leaders were committed to the abolition of slavery. Roy Graham in his book Ellen G. White: Co-Founder of the Seventh-day Adventist Church argues that the early leaders of the SDA church were 'undoubtedly abolitionists'.⁶³ According to Graham, they did view slavery as sin,⁶⁴ and in 1859 clarified their position with regard to the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act, which required American citizens to return runaway slaves to their masters. Uriah Smith, editor for the church paper, summed up the SDA Church position in one of his editorials as follows:

....We do not tell the slave that he can afford to be content in slavery, nor that he should not escape from it whenever he can, nor that all good men should not aid him to the extent of their power, nor that this great evil should not be resisted by any and all means which afford any hope of success. All this should be done. And we rejoice when we hear of one of that suffering race escaping beyond the jurisdiction of this dragon-hearted power.⁶⁵

Clearly the emphasis here rested on the slave community themselves to do something themselves about their predicament. Smith's statement inferred, in other words, that if the slaves are not contented with the circumstances they are in, they should find ways of escaping. Help would be available to them, because those in a position to help would take on the responsibility to do so. It is also interesting that Smith should resort to the use of apocalyptic terms in referring to the system of slavery. The 'dragon hearted power' here refer to Revelation 12 and 13. The dragon here represents a power, authority and ideology that destroys human rights and exercises a system of injustice that demeans society. The system of slavery, and the various concepts that protect and safeguard its continuation, fall under this category, as does the institution of greed which secures financial stability to those directly involved, allows a sense of superiority to some within society, and renders others to a perpetual state of inferiority, poverty and dehumanization.

There were definite signs of frustration and antagonism between Ellen White, the SDA leaders, and some of the members, as can be viewed from her writings. She was absolutely clear in the position the church should take regarding the enslaved Africans. She described her perception of the institution of slavery as an 'enormous and grievous sin'⁶⁶ against the Black community, for which 'God's wrath burns against America'.⁶⁷ Pointing specifically

to professed Christians who not only had sanctioned the institution of slavery but also had participated in it she stated quite emphatically that they have made a 'solemn mockery' of Christianity and Jesus Christ.⁶⁸ She also wrote against Adventists who retained their 'old political prejudices'⁶⁹ and sympathized with the slaveholder. She confuted their arguments such as that the slave is 'the property of the master, and should not be taken from him'⁷⁰ or those who 'categorised slaves as cattle, saying it is wronging the owner just as much to deprive him of his slaves as to take away his cattle'⁷¹. She contended that *God has given man no title to human souls.*⁷² Therefore, no human has a right to hold slaves as his property.⁷³

She developed her argument further by establishing the character of the human family, which includes both White and Black, by which people have exclusive rights and freedom to make choices:

*Christ died for the whole human family, whether white or black. God has made man a free moral agent, whether white or black. The institution of slavery does away with this and permits man to exercise over his fellow man a power which God has never granted him, and which belongs alone to God. The slave master has dared assume the responsibility of God over his slave, He will be called to an account for the power which he exercises over the slave.*⁷⁴

She concludes by strongly emphasizing the following fact that the

*Colored race are God's property. Their Maker alone is their master, and those who have dared chain down the body and the soul of the slave, to keep him in degradation like the brutes, will have their retribution.*⁷⁵

Ellen White therefore recommended that SDA members who advocated pro-slavery views be dis-fellowshipped, and their names removed from church membership, in order to safeguard the Church's reputation in the wider society. Her reasons for this were that;

*We must let it be known that we have no such ones in our fellowship, that we will not walk with them in church capacity.*⁷⁶

Ellen White recognized that the SDA church had been losing out on the opportunity to assist the emancipated African. Therefore, the church should make a real effort to establish a mission amongst them. For many years after emancipation, Blacks were still deprived of their rights, values and integrity as a community. Basic human rights were withheld from them; they were prevented from functioning and developing as a community. Africans, though on one hand they were free, were still in bondage because they were denied access to jobs, education, housing and the choice of where to live and shop. Ellen White believed, however, that, in spite of the unreasonable and unbearable behaviour of Whites towards the emancipated Black community, there was a period of opportunity in which the SDA church could have helped them to develop and care for themselves.

When freedom was proclaimed to the captives, a favorable time was given in which to establish Schools and teach the people to take care of themselves. Much of this kind of work was done by various denominations, and God honored their work.⁷⁷

Some other denominations took the opportunity to help the Black community to develop but in White's opinion the SDA Church 'failed to act its part'.⁷⁸

The reasons for the failure and lack of co-operation that existed amongst the SDA ministers she analysed as follows:

It is the prejudice of the White against the Black race that makes this field hard, very hard.⁷⁹

Pointing to the deep-seated racism, she stated:

It is more difficult to labor for the people in the South than it is to labor for the heathen in a foreign land, because of the prejudice existing against the colored people.⁸⁰

She related this problem to the Lordship of Christ:

The Lord is grieved at the indifference manifested by His professed followers toward the ignorant and oppressed colored people.⁸¹

Workers went to the South, and slowly the work among Blacks began to pick up momentum. Records indicate that in 1890, there were only 50 Black Adventists in North America; however, twenty years later, in 1910, there were more than 3500 Black Adventist members. Similar increases could also be seen in tithing, mission schools, workers and churches.⁸²

Ellen White evidently wanted the church to be viewed by both the Black and White communities as one that accepts people from all racial and cultural backgrounds. At the same time she was aware that the relationship with the White community had to be maintained, as re-distribution of wealth had to come from that side.

Adventist eschatological hope and its teaching that everyone is equal in the sight of God makes it mandatory to include 'every nation, kindred, tongue and people'. Truly, Adventists have the least excuse to practice exclusionary racism; Adventist Christians should not entertain such evil, because theirs is a message of hope and restoration to those who are in despair and suffering in society.

1.9. Mission to Britain

In spite of Ellen White numerous appeal to the church administration to officially begin missionary work amongst the Black population in the South, the leaders choose instead to extend the church's mission to Europe.

John N. Andrews left America for Switzerland in 1874, the first Seventh-day Adventist missionary to travel outside of North America. He stopped off in England for two weeks. Arriving at Liverpool dock on 24 September 1874, he traveled to London where he met William M. Jones, the pastor of the London Seventh-day Baptist congregation. During his stay, Andrews visited a number of Seventh-day Baptist congregations in London, Tewkesbury in Gloucestershire and Glasgow. Andrews considered all Sabbath-keepers as brothers and sisters; therefore, he accepted an invitation to speak at the Seventh-day Baptist conference held on 8 October 1874 in Scotland. Andrews addressed the meeting on 'What

we hope to be able to do in Great Britain', to which six persons from Scotland and Ireland responded, with regular Sabbath meetings been held under the care of the Seventh-day Baptists.⁸³ From the beginning Andrews observed, that 'the Sabbath cause is very low in Great Britain', and estimated that there were only about thirty Seventh-day Baptists within the whole of Britain in 1874. Writing for the Review and Herald, he encouraged Seventh-day Adventists to 'meet the Seventh-day Baptists in such a manner that we shall be helpers to them and they to us'.⁸⁴ Andrews in this article expressed a strong belief that an effort should be made by the SDA Church in North America to reach the British population:

*I believe that the time has come when a special effort should be made for this country and when the state of things is propitious for such an effort. I have been sensible of the presence of God every day since we left Boston, and especially since we came to England.*⁸⁵

The North American leaders did not respond to Andrews appeal. James Scott, an Adventist living in Scotland, wrote to them in 1878 and express why in his view a missionary from America should be sent to establish a mission in Britain:

I wanted meetings in the open air, and offered to lead off, but this plan was not adopted; hence there has been no progress. Still, seeds have been sown, and it is my opinion that if there was a suitable missionary here, one who would preach Christ's gospel and teaching, and of course the Sabbath Keeping, in the corners and the public places in Summer, and indoors in Winter, progress would be made.....

*Let a missionary be engaged for two years, who will be subject to a director or directors in America or Scotland, or in both Countries combined Let him preach to all,..... let there be free communion, lets make it imperative to preach salvation to all.....*⁸⁶

He did not consider finance to be a problem and estimated that

It would cost very little; about £200 might nearly cover the entire expense for one year.... Suppose two hundred persons, as an experiment would subscribe £2 each, to be paid in quarterly,

*as needed, it would be no mighty matter as to the money whether it would succeed or not.*⁸⁷

Scott was correct in his observation. Even after 1875, following Andrews' initial visit to Britain, the General Conference (GC) in America made no efforts to develop a mission in Britain. Scott challenged the leadership in the conclusion of his letter,

*I hope that the subject will be considered, and that some, which have faith in God, as the husbandman has, will cast the seed on the earth, that it may appear afterward.*⁸⁸

In 1877 the GC had to address the embarrassing situation. The committee on Resolutions resolved:

*That we express our sympathy for the friends of the Sabbath reform, in those portions of Europe where the English language is spoken, and we hope to be able ere long to establish a mission in that field.*⁸⁹

Due to lack of funding, it took another year before money was available to send a missionary to work in England. Funding for the British mission was raised through members' pledges.⁹⁰ While the GC was trying to raise funds to dispatch a missionary to Britain, William Ings on 23rd May 1878 visited England from Switzerland. During his stay he went from house to house and aboard ships, distributing tracts and selling magazines.⁹¹ Ings wrote enthusiastically to friends and SDA believers in North America informing them of the openings for the message and solicited their support. He observed the people's willingness to learn about the Bible and he wrote:

*I was astonished to find the people so eager to read.....As I talked on some of the prophecies, my heart was made glad to see how eagerly they drank down the truth. So far I have had no opposition and the people receive our reading matter gladly....*⁹²

After four months, he was able to report ten persons keeping the Sabbath.⁹³ Ings needed help with the work, and requested the GC to send their best ministers to England.⁹⁴ James White agreed and presented a recommendation to the readers of the Review and Herald deploring the fact that,

while the denomination had been sending missionaries to Switzerland, Germany, France, Italy, Denmark and Egypt,.....so little work had been accomplished in England.

He was convinced that

we are making a mistake in neglecting Great Britain and these countries where the people speak our language .⁹⁵

He explained that

as there is a general expectation in England and Scotland that we sent help very soon, the present autumn is evidently the time to strike.⁹⁶

He recommended J. N. Loughborough to take charge of the work in Britain.⁹⁷ He also recommended that John Smith, an Englishman who was trained at the denominational school at Battle Creek, be made available to accompany Loughborough.⁹⁸ Loughborough arrived at Southampton on 30 December 1878.⁹⁹ He began working in the area immediately. The first evangelistic meeting started on 18 May 1879, with an audience of six hundred people. Meetings were held daily until 17 August 1879.

At the end of his first year Loughborough reported that a great `numbers were taking their stand`; however, despite possible frustration concerning this slowness of progress, he wrote:-

We have seen that the influence of our work is spreading, and that many, on sea and land, are determined to learn the truth.¹⁰⁰

Adventist Missions were also inaugurated in other parts of England. According to Loughborough's reports,

his team were making efforts by the distribution of reading matter and by correspondence.¹⁰¹

He added that

the work in England demands great courage.

*energy, wisdom and prudence,a
good degree of success will result from
the effort made in England.¹⁰²*

On 3 January 1880, Loughborough submitted his official end of year (1879) report to the leaders in America :

The annual report of T. and M. work at Southampton, for the year ending Jan. 1, 1880, is as follows:-

No. reporting,	4
“ of families visited,	4353
“ “ letters written,	967
“ “ “ received,	250
“ “ subscribers obtained,	101
“ “ periodicals mailed,	5678
“ “ “ distributed otherwise	5227
Pages of tracts given away,	105,683
“ “ “ and pamphlets loaned,	62,780
Amount of tracts sales,	\$49.78
No. of ships visited,	264

Concerning the above reading matter, that was placed on ships 1,719 periodicals and 17,730 pages of pamphlets and tracts.¹⁰³

Loughborough believed that “the people in America, who were supporting the English Mission, may be interested to learn its financial standing.” He willingly shared this information in the Review and Herald.

So it will be seen that, although, with the exception of some few donations of provision, nothing has been done here toward supporting the missionaries, yet some proof has been given of the sincerity of the faith of those who have espoused the cause. We hope for still more in the future, as the influence of the truth extends.¹⁰⁴

Loughborough speaking both for himself and his colleagues summed up their first year experience:-

We know that to introduce the truth into this Kingdom will require a steady, earnest, and persevering effort; but in the name of the Lord that effort must be made. In his

*name we scatter the seeds of truth. If the Lord water the seeds sown, fruit will someday appear.As we enter upon the new year, - the second of our mission here, we seek Divine guidance, that this year may tell more for the advancement of truth than has the one already past.*¹⁰⁵

Loughborough baptized six persons on 8 February 1880. This was significant for it was the first success in baptism, and a confirmation that work could be done in Britain. The work in Ireland and Wales began in 1885, in Scotland in 1886.¹⁰⁶ Under various leaders the work in the United Kingdom continued to make progress that resulted in the establishing of the British Union Conference.

1.10. The Development and Progress of the British SDA Church from 1902 – 1952

From 1902-1952 the mission of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Britain began to take shape, despite insufficient financial backing from the GC. In North America both the Battle Creek Sanitarium and the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association (which is now known as 'The Review and Herald') had been destroyed by fire in February and December 1902.¹⁰⁷ Against this background the British Union was organized during the general meeting held in Leeds in 1902. Arthur G. Daniells, the president of the GC, proposed

*that Scotland, Ireland and Wales should be separated from England, and organized as mission fields,the division of the populous district of England into two two conferences, with seventeen counties in the North and twenty-two in the South; about fifteen millions in each conference; about three hundred Sabbath keepers in the North and something over five hundred in the South.*¹⁰⁸

Daniells further argued that reorganization, 'means making available more workers in the British Union from the Scottish and Irish missions.'¹⁰⁹

At the same meeting the printing press, the health food factory, and the Adventist college became departments and were placed under the general management of the Union. At the first annual session held at Southsea, Portsmouth, in June 1903, a constitution for the British Union was approved, with the executive committee consisting of:

*The president and vice-president of the Union Conference, the president of each local Conference, and the director of each Mission Field, and of one representative of each of the Union Conference Institutions, viz.: the publishing, educational and medical departments.*¹¹⁰

This reorganization meant more money and workers were made available by GC administrators. As a result, three years later membership and workers had almost doubled and over twenty more churches were established.

Over the next 25 years the British Union went through a series of internal reorganizations. There were numerous geographical rearrangements, and the present system of two conferences and three missions was not finally re-established until 1928. Not only did the missions become conferences and then reverted to being missions again, but new conferences sprang up and disappeared. For example, in 1912 a Union District was formed, which incorporated London, Hertfordshire, Middlesex and Essex. The East Central Conference, was formed in 1916, comprising Norfolk, Suffolk, Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire. Similar restructuring took place within the North England Conference and the Welsh Mission. The Midland regions and the Welsh Mission amalgamated to form what was known as the Welsh-Midland Conference in 1919. At least six regional conferences were formed over a period of 22 years.¹¹¹ Having so many regional conferences induced comments from some of the leaders, such as W.H. Meredith, who wrote;

*All these changes may not have been best for the field, but as the steps taken seemed at the time to be the best we must trust God who overrules all to work out His own good will for us.*¹¹²

M.N. Campbell¹¹³ also noted the changes:

*It is unfortunate that the British field has been broken up into so many small conferences. This has been a serious handicap to large undertakings. ...It has consumed much money in administrative work which might have been used to far greater advantage in soul winning.....*¹¹⁴

A.S. Maxwell added to the debate when he concluded,

*Searching for the best organization for the field, our policies have chopped and changed, slowing up the wheels of progress.*¹¹⁵

Maxwell felt that due to the constitutional changes that had taken place within the British Union, little progress had been achieved.

The GC leaders in North America were displeased with the changes taking place in the British Union, and therefore, put an end to what they saw as experimentation. In 1924 J.E. Jayne, the British Union Conference president, returned from the GC session, and called a Union session. The delegates voted that, as of October 1, the same year, the North England Conference and Scotland should become the North British Conference, and the South England Conference, Wales and Ireland should form the South British Conference. This arrangement however, lasted only four years before reverted back to two conferences and three missions in 1928.¹¹⁶

1.11. Black Membership in the British SDA Church Before 1952

There are no records of Black involvement in the British Seventh-day Adventist Church when it was organised in 1902; even though Black people had been living in Britain since 1504.¹¹⁷ It was estimated that there were around 10,000 Black slaves in Britain during the eighteenth century.¹¹⁸ Some of the slave owners allowed their slaves to be baptized.¹¹⁹ By the end of the eighteenth century all major towns in the British Isles had sizeable Black population the majority of whom were men.

In the nineteen twenties, there were some Black members in the Battersea Seventh-day Adventist Church in South London.¹²⁰ The significant point about this group was that, in August 1922, they criticized the BUC leadership for not 'employing Black preachers'.¹²¹

In response to this M.N.Campbell, the BUC President pointed out

that during the past five years only three black men had asked for ministerial credentials. One had no qualifications whatsoever, another had been dismissed from the ministry in America....and the third a lawyer from the West Indies was rejected because it was felt

*that he would be more effective in his own country.*¹²²

In general Campbell claimed:

*Except in extremely rare instances no denomination has made a practice of employing colored preachers in this field. This is not because of any special prejudice against the colored race, but it is felt that their labours are not likely to be sufficiently effective to justify the plan. There is a real need for talented colored men to labour for their own race in countries where they are numerous especially in the Southern States of America and in the West Indies.*¹²³

The request for employing Black preachers in the British Union was not unreasonable, and, as we will see in chapter five, such requests were to be repeated as a result of immigration. It raises the question whether the leadership at that time was insensitive to the needs of Black members or were they showing racial prejudice?

1.12. **Development of SDA Institutions in Britain**

Development and changes not only affected the constitutional boundaries in the new British Union, but also led to the establishment of institutions. These included the training college, printing press, food factory, and sanitariums. The food factory was based in Birmingham, the sanitariums in Belfast and Leicester; the BUC office based in North London housed the other two institutions.

1.12.1 **Educational Programme**

According to R.H. Surridge,¹²⁴ Stephen N. Haskell established the first college for the SDA church in Britain. The 'training mission', as it was called, opened in October 1887, it was located at 'The Chaloners', Anson Road, Tufnell Park, North London. Haskell's reason for establishing the training college was that 'individuals of the better class.... may be educated in the work'.¹²⁵ Evening classes were held there three nights a week, where Biblical subjects were taught. One of the many instructors to this training mission was W.W. Prescott, who became president of the British Mission from 1897–1900.¹²⁶ It was Prescott's intention to see the evening school develop into a permanent training college.

Therefore during his presidency, plans were presented to the British Union Committee for endorsement. Action was taken by the British Mission committee on September 18th 1900:

*That this conference take steps for the starting as soon as possible, a training school where consecrated young persons may obtain the instruction necessary to fit them for efficient service, both in this country and in foreign fields.*¹²⁷

Even though it was agreed in principle that the training school should be established, it was another two years before the final decision to open the college was taken at the annual BUC session held in Wanstead, East London, in August 1901.¹²⁸ As a result of this the official church training college was opened on January 6th 1902.¹²⁹

The tuition fee for each student was £4. 10s per year.¹³⁰ Classes were held only in the morning, allowing students in the afternoon to sell Adventist literature on the streets of North London. A portion of the money from the sales of the literature went to the students to help with the cost of their tuition fees and living expenses. Students enrolled from Britain and from North America. At the beginning of 1904, they had seventeen American students, from a total of seventy-two enrolments.¹³¹ Students were given employment by the church administration when it was felt they were ready.¹³² From the first group of students to leave the training school in 1903, eight went abroad to work as missionaries (four went to Africa, three to Spain, and one to India); six entered the ministry or Bible work in Britain. A further five were accepted as nurses at the denomination's new Sanitarium at Caterham; others entered the colporteur ministry.¹³³

The church administrators felt the institutions should be centralized instead of each being in a different location. So they bought the "Cottrell Estate" at Stanborough Park in Watford, about 15 miles northwest of London. This property included fifty-five acres of land and a manor house with stables surrounded by trees.

The church bought the estate for £8,368 in 1906. It is not clear if the BUC received any financial assistance from the GC, but they started immediately to build factories for the

printing press and food company. The college moved immediately from Manor Gardens in North London to the Park for the 1907/8 academic year.

The numbers of students continued to grow, bringing with them the need to provide jobs. Therefore in 1919, the James estate called Kingswood, adjoining to Stanborough Park became available as a farm with 163 acres.¹³⁴ The church bought the entire estate for a sum of £16,200.¹³⁵ When the BUC took on an extensive building project to facilitate the development of the Church's various institutions, they were not able to adequately finance these projects, even though the GC gave a loan of \$100,000. The development accumulated debt and the estate was sold in 1930.¹³⁶

Without the farm and the extra buildings Stanborough Park became inadequate for the training school. This led the BUC to search for a new location for the training school and a new property was purchased in Binfield in 1945, and was given the name Newbold College.¹³⁷ In addition to the college, several schools were established and between 1918 and 1952 Adventist schools rose in Watford, Plymouth, Walthamstow and Binfield.

1.12.2 Other Adventist Institutions

J. Hyde at Salford Mill, Horley, first established a food factory in 1899. After it was destroyed by fire it was again re-established in 1900, at 70 Legge Street, Birmingham.¹³⁸ It continued at Birmingham until its reallocation to Stanborough Park in 1907 as part of the centralization program of the BUC.

Whilst at Stanborough Park, the food company became known, as 'Granose'. The company took on the phrase "Life and Health", which appeared on their food cartons as part of their 'trade mark'.¹³⁹ Osborne, the manager, explained why they used the phrase Life and Health;

*They are words of import, but we can truly and rightly use them, for a large numbers of people have testified to the great benefits derived from the use of our health food.*¹⁴⁰

Adventist has always felt that part of the church's mission was to promote healthful living, not only within the SDA church community, but it was to be made available to the wider society. For these reasons that we find Dr A.B. Olsen opened the first SDA sanitarium in Caterham (Surrey) on May 30th, 1903, supported by the BUC. After a successful start Olsen returned to North America in 1919. Under pressure to centralize the institutions, the health work was also moved to Stanborough Park in Watford.¹⁴¹ The sanitarium, which could accommodate fifty-five patients, was an instant success with the public. Its facilities included: radiography, hydrotherapy, physiotherapy and a small operating theatre. It also incorporated a maternity section. However problems developed with the rise of the national health service in 1948, statutory restrictions prevented the running of nurses' training programme, and with free health care many former patients opted for the National Health Service. Without sufficient finance the sanitarium was closed.

The printing press was another institution established by British Adventists. Registered as a limited company under the name of the "International Tract Society" when it was established in 1894, at 451 Holloway Road, North London.¹⁴² It was reallocated to Stanborough Park along with the other institutions in 1907.¹⁴³ Examining the role of the Press in the development of Adventism in England, Marshall states that

*the publishing work from its inception was a powerful means of spreading a knowledge of the message in England.*¹⁴⁴

The weekly magazine, Present Truth, printed and published by the press, was said to have

*come in time to have a goodly number of permanent subscribers who had the paper delivered to them weekly by regularly appointed agents.*¹⁴⁵

1.13. Membership Growth and Evangelism

The growth of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Britain during the first fifty years was due mainly to the circulation of magazines and books.¹⁴⁶ Referring to the membership growth Dunton gave the following account:

*Membership grew 379 per cent between 1902 and 1918, from 858 to 3, 253.*¹⁴⁷

Apart from the sales of the publications that undoubtedly attracted people to the Seventh-day Adventist Church, public evangelism also played its part in nearly every town and city.

During the period between 1918 – 1927 evangelistic efforts were concentrated mainly in London, in both the North and South regions. They took place at Lindrick House, Seven Sisters Road, Finsbury Park, and at the Presbyterian Church in Lambeth, South London.¹⁴⁸ Meetings were also conducted in West London, Chiswick and Wimbledon; as well as in Manchester. These meetings were held in large buildings with a maximum capacity of more than a thousand people. In addition, many local congregations held Sunday night revival meetings.¹⁴⁹ Through these efforts, and those of the Voice of Prophecy Radio broadcast and Bible correspondent school,¹⁵⁰ evangelism was conducted.

The growth of membership during the 1920's and 30's was the best the BUC had experienced. Between 1924 and 1927 there was an increase of 492, and between 1931 and 1936 an increase of 782. These periods of success were soon to be reversed as membership growth began to decline. Between 1943 and 1952 membership increased by 752, which worked out to be an average of 75 members per year over a ten-year period. Summing up the situation on the stagnation of membership, M.L. Anthony wrote:

An examination of the decades shows a 9.8% increase from 1940 – 1950, the increase being largely achieved in the first half of the decade.¹⁵¹

The Seventh-day Adventist church was by no means the only denomination that was experiencing difficulties in attracting adherents. The level of church attendance is often considered to be a key issue affecting churches. It is the means by which the religiosity of a nation and the popularity of a church can be assessed. The Church of England had a 'stable' membership between 1945 and 1960.¹⁵² The Roman Catholic church on the other hand was still growing, because of the 'proportion of younger adults attending their churches'.¹⁵³ These two denominations were the religious giants in Britain, but all began to be experiencing difficulties in keeping their members.

Of the period 1830 and 1914, Hempton made the following observation:

*Victorian Britain was...at the same time remarkably religious and disturbingly irreligious.*¹⁵⁴

Religious organizations were busy working among the fast increasing populations in Britain;¹⁵⁵ their activities were designed to 'convert the heathen at home'.¹⁵⁶ The religious bodies worked extensively in the towns. Two reasons for urban concentration:

- Many young people had moved away from the rural areas to live in the urban areas.
- Church attendance was at its lowest in town areas, with London having the lowest attendance.¹⁵⁷

Missionaries distributed 'over thirty million pieces of religious literature' in this period.¹⁵⁸ Yet within British Adventism there was stagnation in membership growth, and the leadership was struggling to prevent it from falling still further.

Not all cultures and societies were this way inclined. For example, the slave population in the Caribbean, due to a holistic African worldview different from secularized Europe, held on to many aspects of their African Traditional Religion, through rituals and ceremonies. These activities were more than just daily or weekly performances; they were part of their identity as individuals and as a community. It is to the religious experience of slaves to the Caribbean that we will turn our attention in the next chapter. We will also observe their attitude and reaction to Adventism on its arrival in the Caribbean in chapter three.

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- ¹ The Great Advent Awakening started with William Miller having studied the prophecies in the books of Daniel in the Old Testament and Revelation in the New Testament. The studying of these two books led him to conclude that Jesus' second advent was imminent, as a result of which he began to preach on the second advent of Jesus. Ellen G. White, Early Writings (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1945), p. viii - ix.
- ² Ball, Bryan W. The English Connection, (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co, 1981), p.178.
- ³ Ibid., p.179.
- ⁴ Ibid., pp.179-180.
- ⁵ Ibid., p.180.
- ⁶ The Seventh-day Adventist Hymnal (Washington, DC: Review and Herald,1986), Hymn 446.
- ⁷ Ibid., Hymn 448.
- ⁸ Ibid., Hymn 454.
- ⁹ Cone, James H. The Spiritual and the Blues (New York: The Seabury Press, 1972), p.11.
- ¹⁰ Corbitt, J. Nathan The Sound of the Harvest (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1998), p.118.
- ¹¹ Schwarz, R.W., Light Bearers to the Remnant : Denominational History Textbook for SDA College Class (Mountain View, Cal: Pacific Press, 1979) p.33.
- ¹² William Miller, although convinced of "the duty of presenting the evidence of the nearness of the advent to others", tried to excuse himself on the ground that he was not a public speaker.....He could not free his mind from that impelling sense of duty. Finally, on the 31st August 1831, he promised God if he should get an invitation to speak publicly anywhere he would go. Miller was unaware that while he was making that promise to God, a young man was on his way to see him with an invitation for him to preach in Dresden the next day. See Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia, 2nd Revised Edition (Hagerstown ,Review and Herald Publishing Association,1996), pp.73-74.
- ¹³ Maxwell, C. Mervyn Tell It To The World , The Story of Seventh-day Adventists (Mountain View: Pacific Press,1977) p. 16.
- ¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 18-19.
- ¹⁵ Ball, p. 181.
- ¹⁶ Bennett, H.R Hiram Walters: Adventist Champion (Mandeville, Jamaica: Eureka Press Ltd, 1997) p.12.
- ¹⁷ Ibid.
- ¹⁸ Reynolds, Louis B We Have Tomorrow The Story of American Seventh-day Adventists with an African Heritage (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1984) pp. 18-19.
- ¹⁹ Ibid. See also Delbert W. Baker , Telling the Story: An Anthology on the Development of the Black SDA Work (Loma Linda, California: Loma Linda University Printing Services, 1996) p13.
- ²⁰ Ibid., p.20.
- ²¹ Foy, William E The Plain of Paradise. (Portland, Main, 1845) The vision was first communicated to the Advent believers in 1842. see Reynolds, We Have Tomorrow pp. 358-362.
- ²² Ibid.
- ²³ SDA Encyclopedia (Washington, D. C.: Review and Herald Pub. Assn., 1976) pp. 474, 475.
- ²⁴ Ibid.
- ²⁵ Reynolds, p.21.

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- ²⁶ Porter, Dennis A Century of Adventism In The British Isles: A Brief History of the British Union Conference of Seventh-day Adventists (Grantham, Lincs: The Stanborough Press Ltd. 1974) p.4.
- ²⁷ It is not quite clear why the departure of Hutchinson should have affected the breakup of the movement; the only possible explanation by the author is that he may have been one of the group leaders in Britain.
- ²⁸ Ibid., p. 4.
- ²⁹ SDA Encyclopedia (1996), p.76.
- ³⁰ Schwarz, Richard W. Light Bearers to the Remnant: Denominational History Textbook for SDA College Class (Mountain View, Cal: Pacific Press, 1979), p.39.
- ³¹ Froom, L.E, Prophetic Faith of our Fathers vol. 4 (Washington DC:Review and Herald, 1946-1954), pp.582-620.
- ³² White, Ellen G. Early Writings (Washington DC: Review and Herald 1945), p. XX.
- ³³ Ibid., pp. XX-XX1.
- ³⁴ Ellen G. White was one of the founder members and became the prophetess of the Seventh-day Adventist Church.
- ³⁵ Ibid., p. XX11.
- ³⁶ Froom, p.1025.
- ³⁷ See SDA Encyclopedia (1976), pp.1042-1054.
- ³⁸ Ibid., p.1045.
- ³⁹ White, Ellen G. Testimonies for the Church vol. 1 (Mountain View, Cal: Pacific Press Publishing Assoc 1947), p. 223.
- ⁴⁰ SDA Encyclopedia (1976), p.1048.
- ⁴¹ Hine, D.C, (ed) Black Women in America (Brooklyn, NY : Carlson Publishing Inc 1993), p. 1173.
- ⁴² Ibid.
- ⁴³ Ibid.
- ⁴⁴ Ibid., p.1175.
- ⁴⁵ Ibid.
- ⁴⁶ SDA Encyclopedia (1976), pp.1503-1504.
- ⁴⁷ Reynolds, pp.173-174.
- ⁴⁸ Ibid., p.175.
- ⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 174-175.
- ⁵⁰ This Adventist College opened in 1882.
- ⁵¹ SDA Encyclopedia (1976), p.741.
- ⁵² Baker, p.20.
- ⁵³ White, Ellen G, The Southern Work (Washington, D.C :Review and Herald), p.20.
- ⁵⁴ Baker, p.14.
- ⁵⁵ White, Testimonies for the Church vol. 9 (1947), p. 205.
- ⁵⁶ Ibid.

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- ⁵⁷ Ibid.
- ⁵⁸ Rock, C.B. ed., Perspectives-Black Seventh-day Adventists Face the Twenty – first Century (Hagerstown: Review and Herald Publishing Assoc, 1996), p.24.
- ⁵⁹ White, p.205.
- ⁶⁰ Graybill, R.D. E.G. White and Church Race Relations (Washington, DC: Review and Herald 1970), p.21.
- ⁶¹ The Millerites anticipated that Jesus would return on October 22, 1844. In expectation many followers of the movement gave up their jobs, farmers abandoned their harvest, those with their own shops closed them up. Since Jesus would be coming soon they would not have any need for earthly things. See Maxwell, C. Mervyn, Tell It To The World (California: Pacific Press Publishing Assoc., 1977), pp.32-33.
- ⁶² Schwarz, Light Bearers to the Remnant p.151.
- ⁶³ Graham, Roy E, Ellen G. White: Co –Founder of the Seventh-day Adventist Church (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1985), p. 225.
- ⁶⁴ Ibid., p.226.
- ⁶⁵ Ibid.
- ⁶⁶ White, Early Writings p. 275.
- ⁶⁷ Ibid.
- ⁶⁸ Ibid.
- ⁶⁹ White, Testimonies for the Church vol. 1, p.358.
- ⁷⁰ Ibid.
- ⁷¹ Ibid.
- ⁷² Ibid.
- ⁷³ Ibid.
- ⁷⁴ Ibid.
- ⁷⁵ Ibid.
- ⁷⁶ Ibid., p.360.
- ⁷⁷ Graybill, p.20.
- ⁷⁸ White, Testimonies for the Church vol. 9, p.205.
- ⁷⁹ Graybill, p.59.
- ⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 41.
- ⁸¹ Ibid., p.21.
- ⁸² SDA Encyclopedia (1976), p.1195.
- ⁸³ Riches, Rex. The Establishing of the British Mission of the Seventh-day Adventist Church 1863 – 1877, with specific reference to the writings of Ellen G. White. Unpublished Ph. D Dissertation (North Carolina :Fairfax University, October 1995), p.104.
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- ⁸⁹ White, James. General Conference Third Session Papers, Review and Herald, 4 October 1877, p.105.
- ⁹⁰ White, James. 'Our European Missionaries', Review and Herald, 21 March 1878, p.96.
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- ⁹³ Porter, p.5.
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- ¹⁰⁰ Loughborough, J.N. Southampton England, Review and Herald , 22 January 1880, p.60.
- ¹⁰¹ Loughborough, J.N Review and Herald, 1879, p.3.
- ¹⁰² Andrews, J.N. Letter, Review and Herald, 1879, p.28.
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- ¹⁰⁶ Porter, pp..8-9
- ¹⁰⁷ Dunton, H.I. 'Wars and Crises', The Story of Seventh-day Adventists in the British Isles 1902-1992 (Grantham, Lincs: The Stanborough Press Ltd. 1992), p. 8.
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- ¹¹³ M.N. Campbell was President of the BUC from 1917 – 1922. see Porter, p. 2.
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- ¹³⁰ Surridge, p.13.
- ¹³¹ Ibid.
- ¹³² Ibid.
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- ¹³⁵ Porter, 'The Church in the Age of the Dictators', The Story of Seventh-day Adventists in the British Isles, 1902-1992, p.15.
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- ¹⁴⁷ Dunton, p.9.
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- ¹⁴⁹ Missionary Worker, Directory of Churches in the BUC 6 April 1928, p. 7.
- ¹⁵⁰ The Voice of Prophecy was started by H.M.S.Richards, a minister of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, in North America in 1927. This venture was later adopted by the BUC, and in 1944 application forms for Bible lessons were placed inside books and magazines that were sold by colporteurs.

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- ¹⁵³ Ibid. p. 137. See also B.S. Rowntree and G. R. Lavers, English Life and Leisure a Social Study. (London, 1951), p. 345.
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CHAPTER TWO

The Impact of African Religion on the Slaves in the Caribbean.

2.0 Introduction

In the previous chapter we have observed the development of Adventism as it emerged through the Millerite movement in North America to its spread to Britain. Adventist mission also spread to the African population in the Caribbean. It is the intention of this chapter to give an historical overview of the African slaves found in the Caribbean at the time of the arrival of SDA mission. Firstly, specific attention will be given to the cultural and religious systems of belief from within their community from which they were taken. This is to establish that the African slaves, taken mainly from West Africa, had knowledge of God before their arrival and those of the Christian missionaries in the Caribbean. The last section of the chapter will focus on the attempt of these missionaries to convert the African slaves to Christianity, and the resilience of the slaves to retain many aspects of their cultural and religious practises.

The Caribbean Islands to which millions of Africans were forcibly transported as slaves during the Middle Passage as early as the 16th century have become one of the regions where hundreds of thousands have embraced Christianity in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The effect of this embracement is seen as a strong component of Christianity in Britain today. The following factors explain why such development is evident.

2.1 African Traditional Religion

Unlike other migrants who voluntarily moved from one country to another as their chosen destination, or refugees who fled their own country for political reasons, through starvation or persecution, slaves did not have a choice as to where they went or the power to decide when they wanted to go. They were deprived of those basic human rights. Not being able to take any personal belongings, apart from their religion, their captors referred to them as 'primitive' people. Those outside African cultures did not recognise or even imagine that Africa was invested with its own religion that was 'historically older than both Christianity

and Islam'.¹ Evolutionary theories affected their concept of other cultures and their religions.

Some scholars have described African religion as 'ancestor veneration' or 'magic'.² Such terms show a lack of understanding for other cultures and their religions. African traditional religion (ATR) has been misunderstood in such a way that two different descriptions have been used to categorise it. Those who are hostile toward it call it 'primitive'; whilst those who are favourable call it 'primal'.³ Critics of ATR have concluded that its collective character has constituted a tyranny over individuals, and that its conservative character served to prevent the development of progress. Its admirers have commended it for its contribution to solidarity, stability and community. Furthermore, nineteenth-century Western Protestant missionaries did not recognise ATR as a religion, and if at all, it was considered a very 'primitive and immature one'.⁴

*These missionaries ran together every sort of African belief and practice, confusing religion and witchcraft belief under the general heading of superstition, and describing every African ritual practitioner as a witch-doctor.*⁵

Ranger analysis raises two important points. Firstly, it suggests the missionaries' lack of understanding of other culture's religion. Secondly, leaders of ATR were not recognised by the missionaries as authentic clergy or priests, but as negative role models in the community.

These missionaries, in order to justify their assumptions about ATR, developed a 'defence mechanism' that enabled them to reject the fundamental beliefs and practices in ATR as heathenism. They could not recognise ATR as a genuine faith, because, in doing so, they would have accepted that ATR embodied important religious beliefs and practices within the African community. This being the case, they would have to learn something from Africans, therefore, admitting that neither African people nor their culture or religion was 'primitive'.

The missionaries' concept of ATR derived from the views of evolutionary anthropologists who

*often sought to discredit all religion by revealing its irrational beginnings. Such anthropologists used data on African religion as evidence for the beliefs of the earliest human societies,...*⁶

Only from the nineteen sixties, do we find a shift from such evolutionary understanding. Theologians who were before bound to such theories began to evaluate ATR from a different perspective, as Parrinder explains:

*Some writers have attempted to apply evolutionary concepts to African society and religion. But, however suitable these may be in biology, it does not follow that they can be applied strictly in the very different sphere of religion. In fact, modern theologians, after a period of deference to the evolutionists, are now beginning to stand on their own feet again and question the validity of importing evolutionary concepts into religion at all.*⁷

Religion for the people of Africa is a 'living religion'.⁸ It is practised everywhere and it is part of their daily routine. Religion infiltrates every aspect of life in traditional African societies and its history is inseparable from that of their social and political institutions. To those from other cultural backgrounds, Africans and their religious worship patterns may seem strange, but this can also be said in reverse.

Referring to ATR, and its contributions to other religions, Harold Turner concludes that,

*...these religious systems are in fact the most basic or fundamental religious forms in the overall religious history of mankind and that they have preceded and contributed to the other great religious systems. In other words, there are important senses in which they are both primary and prior; they represent a common religious heritage of humanity.*⁹

In the light of this, ATR is a dynamic force within human cultures. Other cultures demonstrate similarities or are influenced by the African worldview in their concept of God.

2.2 Theological Debate

Western theologians who saw themselves as the 'guardians and interpreters of the Christian tradition' have historically excluded ATR from participating in interreligious dialogue between Christianity and other religions; Judaism, Islam, Buddhism, Hinduism and Confucianism. They argued that ATR was not a 'serious religion,' therefore, its beliefs

and rituals were not much spiritual value for the world as a whole.¹⁰ In other words, nothing in it was of benefit to other religions or cultures. Furthermore, with regard to its content it was said to lack a developed theology and philosophy comparable to that found in Christianity, Islam or Buddhism.¹¹ Those who saw African religions as powerless and highly vulnerable when confronted with allegedly more sophisticated belief systems point to evidence of rapid growth of Islam and Christianity in sub-Saharan Africa. Clarke argues that such an attitude ignores the continuing vitality of African religions in Africa itself.¹² It also overlooks the fact that African Christianity in its modern form integrates the African worldview into the Christian faith.

Whenever dialogue began to take place, it happened on the basis of supplementing church history from a western perspective. Hood comments on this state,

*African Christianity.... has been seldom engaged for its intellectual and theological thought; rather, more usually it has been engaged as an appendage of nineteenth century European and American missionary church history.*¹³

However, through increased writings in social anthropology, history of religion, and also in mission reports, theologians have begun to be better informed about the nature and beliefs of traditional religion in Africa., However, at the same time they have not developed much interest in exploring the theological nature of African traditional thought.¹⁴

2.3 African Concepts of God

How does one come to know God? Is it being taught by an authoritative person or by reading one of the 'holy books'? Can a person get to know God without having made contact with a spiritual leader or with a holy book? With these questions in mind, I will now examine the African conception of God.

Both Mbiti and Parrinder have argued that African people had a concept of God long before the first missionary arrived on the continent. This is summed up in the proverb of the Ashanti, '*Obi nkyere akwada Nyame*' (No one shows a child the Supreme Being). This means that everybody knows of God's existence almost by instinct, and even a child can know Him.¹⁵ This knowledge of God is thought to have derived from nature, therefore,

belief in God in Africa, so far from originating in ancestor-worship, was a reflection of the worship of nature..... 'The mind of man refuses to acquiesce in the phenomena of sense', and hence man seeks for something more abiding than the sensible world and conceives the idea of spiritual beings.¹⁶

For Western missionaries to accept such theory was inconceivable. They therefore resorted to the idea that Africans must have been in contact with other religions centuries before the first missionary arrived. To deny the possibility that African people themselves had knowledge of God before the missionaries arrived, was to assume that God communicates only with those who know him already, and to know God is only by reading or instruction. To evaluate God in such fashion is to deny his ability and power to choose any nation or person to communicate with him directly. Regarding the argument about whether or not ATR was founded as a result of contact been made with another religion, Mbiti has written,

There are cardinal teachings, doctrines and beliefs of Christianity, Judaism and Islam, which cannot be traced in traditional religions. These major religious traditions, therefore, cannot have been responsible for disseminating those concepts of God in traditional religions which resemble some biblical and semitic ideas about God....¹⁷

To really drive this point across, he further states:

I maintain that African soil is rich enough to have germinated its own original religious perception.¹⁸

He explains how this religious perception germinated:

Many factors must have played a part in its development. These include the geographical environment, mountains, rivers, deserts and forests; the change of the seasons, the powers of nature (such as earthquakes, thunderstorms and volcanoes), calamities, epidemics, diseases, birth and death, and major historical events like wars, locust invasions, famines, migrations.....To these must be added man's reflection on the universe, the questions about its origin, the earth and the sky, the problem of evil and suffering, the phenomena of nature....Religious ideas and practices arose and took shape in the process of man's search for answers to these questions.....¹⁹

Obviously, the absence of written records within a society explaining how life began leads humans inevitably to investigate their origins for themselves. Research done by R.S. Rattray, the British anthropologist, regarding the Ashanti of Ghana, affirmed that the Ashanti conception of God was not influenced by Christian missionaries or any other

religion, but from its own imaginary perceptions, or through the influence of the Holy Spirit. He informed us that;

The conception in the Ashanti mind, of a Supreme Being has nothing whatever to do with missionary influence, nor is it to be ascribed to contact with Christians or even with Moslems.²⁰

Like Parrinder and Mbiti, Rattray arrived at the conclusion, that no other religion or culture did influence the African conception of God. An examination of the Ashanti religious belief will be considered further in this study.

Bradford's²¹ recent study adds to the argument that God has revealed Himself through nature. Psalm 19 expresses the following,

The heavens declare the glory of God; the skies proclaim the work of his hands. Day after day they pour forth speech; night after night they display knowledge. There is no speech or language where their voice is not heard.²²

Psalm 19 argued that nature speaks a universal language, one that is not tied down to any cultural or local dialect. It is multilinguistic.

African knowledge of God is not to be credited to outside influences, but as Bradford asserted such "knowledge of Yahweh is from Creation itself".²³ He therefore concludes that

Yahweh has not ceased to visit the African people in ways that we cannot anticipate or journalize. Nor should we be surprised to discover wherever we go that He has already been there: 'In the past God spoke to our forefathers through the prophets at many times and in various ways. Hebrew. 1:1, NIV.²⁴

Because there were no founders in ATR it cannot be called by a specific name. There has been no preachers or missionaries to change it or improve it. This means it is a 'lifestyle religion'.

ATR practice eradicates the theory of evolution in the history of religion. Without the influence of Scriptural authorities, African people using their natural instinct were able to recognize that there was a 'Supreme Being'- God. This God, whom they referred to by various names, was ultimate. Their acknowledgement of God was rooted in their rituals

and ceremonial practices, which those outside the African community were not able to comprehend. They could not associate African knowledge of God as a distinctive leading of the Holy Spirit. This of course is in accordance with the promise Jesus made while he was on earth, “When ...the spirit of truth is come he will guide you (men women) into all truth”.²⁵

In ATR worship, people express themselves in different ways than people in other cultures; but they are equally aware of the ultimate source of life that manifests himself to them in their particular situations. Idowu, having studied the structure of African theology, stated that the term “diffused monotheism”²⁶ could be used as an alternative to describe the religion of the people. Mbiti also stated that ‘African concepts of God are strongly coloured and influenced by the historical, geographical, social and cultural background or environment of each people.’²⁷ People’s various experiences in life lead to the formation of their religious concepts of God, and over a period of time, these concepts became established.

2.4 Sacred Writing and Stories.

World religions such as Islam, Judaism, Sikhism and Christianity have ‘holy books’ or ‘sacred writings’. In this way their beliefs are preserved and passed on from generation to generation with little or no alteration made. Each generation has had access to the original information but also interprets it in a new way. This ensures that different generations can monitor any changes in practice and beliefs that have taken place. Those belonging to these different religious communities are able to read and refresh their minds and go back to the original instruction when problems or questions arise.

There are no ‘sacred writings’ or ‘holy books’ in ATR. This does not mean that believers in these communities are without guidance. Those outside of African tradition are therefore less likely to perceive what is required of them. With these points in mind, the most obvious question is how ATR has been preserved from one generation to the next.

In spite of the fact that there are no 'holy books' or 'sacred writings', at least not within the recognisable form of Western cultures, there are records. These records are evident as story telling in the life experiences of the people. 'Wherever the African is, there is his religion'.²⁸

Mbiti, explains,

*because African traditional religion permeates all the departments of life, there is no formal distinction between the sacred and the secular, between the religious and non religious, between the spiritual and the material areas of life.*²⁹

He concludes,

*Africans are notoriously religious, and each people has its own religious system with a set of beliefs and practices. Religion permeates into all the departments of life so fully that it is not easy or possible always to isolate it. A study of these religious systems is, therefore, ultimately a study of the peoples themselves in all the complexities of both traditional and modern life.*³⁰

African religion is integrated in every day activities. Unlike Western cultures, which do distinguish between religious and secular activities, ATR is able to combine the two parts to establish the whole. It is therefore difficult for Africans, including those of the past, the present or those of the future to easily relinquish their African traditional pattern of worship totally. It is not possible for them to do so; it is an integral part of their culture. It is part of their heritage that they pass on from one generation to the next. This transferral process can still be seen clearly in the style of worship within the Black churches in Britain today. In whatever type of religion or denomination people of African descendant is found, their particular and distinctive style of worship is easily recognisable in comparison with those of other cultures. This distinctiveness is observed in chapters seven and eight.

2.5 Rituals

There are different kinds of rituals. Some are concerned with the life of the individual before birth and extend to after death. Through these rituals everyone is bound up with others through his or her own experience. For example Mbiti explains,

Rituals generate a sense of certainty and familiarity. They provide

continuity and unity among those who perform or attend them. In turn people find a degree of identity through this common observance and experience. For example, the young people who go through the same rite of circumcision are bound together into a unity, and each finds his own identity within the unity of the group.³¹

Each person supports the other because of the bonding that exists in his or her community or group. In this situation it is difficult for individual group members to stray from the norms. At the same time for those within the group who want to reject such support for whatever reason, the experience of peer pressure can become counter-productive.

Individuals are part of the community including the religious dimension and are therefore accustomed to the various rituals and ceremonies common in their society. The various methods used include symbols and colours, incantations and prayer. Through these methods each person contributes to the group and shares in participation. Evidently ATR sees the individual as part of a larger community.³²

Rituals - 'rites of passage' - accompany the life of each individual. Personal rituals are performed, for example during pregnancy, naming, teething, marriage and at death. Personal rituals therefore draw attention to the uniqueness of the individual, both as a person and as part of the community. Every person matters and the time of transition from one status to the next is celebrated.

The initiation rites terminate a person's status as a child, and confer on him the status of adulthood. They separate him from one phase but link him up to another...psychologically the ritual concerned gives the individual confidence in himself, and stimulates him to conduct himself with courage in his new status.³³

Rituals are also performed for the purpose of blessing and the protection of the mother and the unborn child and for recognition when the child is born. In these rituals, the individual is inactive; other members of the family perform the rituals on their behalf.

There are other rituals that affect both the individual and the community: Rituals to cover means of livelihood; rituals concerning the earth, soil, crops and seasons. The most common and significant is the rain-making ritual, as a religious act of renewing life,

sanctifying life, reviving life, of both human beings and other creatures.³⁴ This ritual is symbolic, as no one is able to perform an act that will cause rain to fall. Yet, it is at the centre of people's welfare, for much of the life in Africa depends on rain.

Rituals empower people; they enable cohesion in the family and the community. They enable individuals to have one common objective whenever the need arises. They assure individuals that they are not alone, their family or community is also involved. Another aspect according to Mbiti is that individuals are able to demonstrate their control over the invisible world.

*Through the ritual action and word, people feel able to exercise a certain amount of control over the invisible world and the forces of nature. In this way man feels himself to be not just a passive creature in the universe, but a creative agent. For the purposes of ritual he uses almost everything at his disposal, including symbols and colours, incantations, oral formulas....and the help of mystical powers if necessary.*³⁵

Monica Wilson³⁶, in her study on social change in Africa, categorises rituals and symbolism under five headings: transition, dependency, reconciliation, sympathy and comfort, and rights and obligations. Here is a summary of these categories.

- a) Transition: For the individual is signified as an acknowledgement of a change in status. The new born baby is acknowledged as a member of a family and lineage; the mother of a first child, or of twins, as a person of a different category from a childless woman, or one who has never born twins. Rituals celebrated by the community also mark change in the seasons, and transition from hunger to plenty, peace to war, from one reign to another.
- b) Dependency: In African societies there is a dependency on kinsperson, both living and dead, and on the chief and his ancestors. Kinspersons are members of the same community, and what affects one may affect all. Senior kinsmen and chiefs are priests who control health, fertility, and rain. Co-operation in practical affairs and in religion happens between kinsmen, fellow villagers, members of an age group, and members of a chiefdom.

- c) Reconciliation: –This happens between fellow citizens of various categories: between rulers; between chief and people; and between kinspeople. The rituals may be ineffective if there is anger present in their hearts. So repeatedly there is confession of anger, of quarrels, and a rejection of anger symbolised by the blowing out of water. While admitting their anger, the people desiring reconciliation eat and drink together.
- d) Sympathy and Comfort: The basic insecurity of human being derives not from poverty, but by the feeling that no one cares about them. Rituals express mutual sympathy and comfort in extremity. Kinspeople and neighbours must mourn and rejoice with one another.
- e) Rights and Obligations: Rituals reflect a social order with a hierarchy of rights and obligations. They also reflect rights of precedence in the family and chiefdom, and respect for seniors. Rituals symbolically reject the selfish overstepping or over reaching of others.

Rituals therefore enhance relationships not only between family members but also with everyone in the community. They enable the family or community to express solidarity with an individual, family or group. Rituals are therefore used as acts of expression in certain situations, comparable to Western societies with their rituals for funerals, baptisms or communion services. For example the latter, particularly within SDA and Black churches where the act of washing each other's feet is part of their communion service signify a good relationship existing between members.

2.6 Divinities and Ancestor Veneration

In the past, some anthropologists used the words, “god” and “divinities” interchangeably to designate several forms of spiritual reality. It became obvious that the term “god” was used by some anthropologists as a derogatory term for the religions of African people. Parrinder noted that early European writers failed to treat African religious beliefs seriously, and that they used vague and misleading terminology in the past. He argued,

One thing that clearly emerges is the necessity of using more precise terms than in the past, and of abandoning some of the old words as absolutely devoid of any consistent meaning....The word fetishism (as well as others like juju, animism, pantheism, etc.) has long been used as a rough description of the religions of much of Africa

.....fetishism is a thoroughly unsatisfactory word, and it gives a distorted and unfair picture of the religion of the African peoples.³⁷

African indigenous writers such as E.B. Idowu have reacted to the various errors of terminology or misconceptions by non-African investigators. He states that,

The western scholar created an "inferior" god or "inferior" gods for the inferior races of the world. It became complicated when he created not just two gods – one for his own race, and one for the collective batch of the "primitives"- he retained his own one god and gave his imagination rein to overrun the world of "the primitives" with high gods" of all descriptions.³⁸

Mbiti, writing on the divinities in Africa, notes,

I am using the word 'divinity' to cover personifications of God's activities and manifestations, of natural phenomena and objects, the so-called 'nature spirits,' deified heroes and mythological figures.³⁹

Awolalu and Dopamu took the same position. In their view, especially in African context, 'divinities are gods with the small letter 'g.'⁴⁰ Most ancient centres of civilisation, according to Bouquet, with reference to Egypt, emerged with the pluralistic notion of divinities. He explained that the presence of a variety of deities represented in animal, bird or reptile forms, suggests the incorporation of totem animals among the objects of worship.⁴¹ Among the Egyptians, the divinities were conceived in anthropomorphic terms. On this point, Wiedemann stated,

The gods, while they might assume the external form of men, animals, plants or even the products of human art, were always represented as having the feeling and needs of men. They required sustenance, food and drink were accordingly offered to them in sacrifice.⁴²

There are different opinions on the position of God and the authority of the divinities in African religions. Idowu has argued for a monotheistic interpretation of Yoruba religion. Among the Yoruba, he argues, is the concept of the Supreme Deity. He emphasises that one essential factor by which the life and belief of the Yoruba have sustenance is the belief in God, since God is real. In his view, the divinities which form the bulk of Yoruba religion should be regarded as attributes and functionaries of the Supreme God, therefore making Yoruba religion a kind of 'diffused monotheism'.⁴³

Commenting on this aspect, Mbiti presented a generalisation of African divinities in several societies. He argued,

*Divinities are on the whole are thought to have been created by God, in the ontological category of the spirits. They are associated with Him, and often stand for His activities or manifestations either as personifications or as the spiritual beings in charge of these major objects or phenomenon of nature.*⁴⁴

The Yoruba, Mbiti notes, have one thousand and seven hundred divinities collectively called 'orisa'. Awolalu and Dopamu divide divinities into three categories: First, there are primordial divinities. These are believed to be the divinities of heaven since they have been with the Supreme Being from the creation of the universe and they participated in the creative work. In the second category are divinities that are referred to as deified ancestors. These were human beings that had lived extraordinary and mysterious lives on earth; after their death, they were 'canonised' or deified as gods. The third categories are personification of natural forces and phenomena. Under this group are myriad spirits which populate the world of the West African peoples; 'such spirits are associated with hills, mountains, rivers, rocks, caves, trees, brooks, lakes or thick forests'.⁴⁵

Mbiti further states the extent to which these divinities are organised and function. They are structured similar to the Yoruba social-political system of hierarchy. Divinities can be found on four different levels. 1) Orisa-nla is the supreme divinity in a country; he acts as God's earthly deputy in creative and executive functions. 2) Orunmila is reputed to be an omnilinguist divinity who understands every language spoken on earth, and who represents God's omniscience and knowledge. 3) Ogum is the owner of all iron and steel, being originally a hunter who paved the way for other divinities to come to earth, for which reason they crowned him as 'Chief among the divinities'. 4) Sango represents the manifestation of God's wrath; he is the divinity of thunder and lightning.⁴⁶

Parrinder enumerates the various divinities and their functions. According to him, the Ga of Accra has a very important thunder divinity called Gua. He is the god of blacksmiths and closely linked with agriculture and manufacture of iron tools. The Ewe calls it 'So' or 'Hevioso' while the Yoruba and Igbo call it 'Songo' and 'Amadioha' respectively. Among these peoples, the thunder divinity is believed to strike down the impious and destroy the

trees, which witches use for their meetings in the night. Those struck by lightning are not allowed normal burials, as it is believed that the divinity has taken them. Apart from celestial divinities, there are terrestrial divinities. Among the Igbo, earth is the great mother goddess. She is called Ala. As the spirit of the earth and also the queen of the underworld, she rules the ancestors who are buried in it. She is also the giver and administrator of moral laws. Among the Ashanti, Parrinder notes that the earth divinity is called Asasa Yaa or Aberewa (old mother).⁴⁷

The Nigerian Urhobo people's concept of divinity is different in some respects, as pointed out by Eriwo,

The cult of ancestors is particularly potent among the Urhobo; perhaps it is here more pronounced than it is among the Yoruba where greater emphasis appears to be placed on divinities than on ancestors..... Ancestors (among the Urhobo) are worshipped. Like the divinities, they are believed to be serving as ministers of Deity, and are approached for various blessings: blessing of wealth, health, children and fertility of the land as well as blessing longevity.⁴⁸

According to Eriwo, in Urhobo traditional religion, the divinities or nature gods perform an important, but difficult role. They are called 'edjo', and are basically of two types: 'edjorame'- water spirits and 'edjoraghwa' – bush or forest spirits. Such differentiation was the starting point for the departure from the typology and classification of Awolalu and Dopamu. They assert that,

Although the cult of the ancestors forms a part of the (religious) structure, 'divinised ancestor' is not acceptable. First, not all ancestors are deified if that can be taken to mean 'divinised.' Secondly, once an ancestor is deified, he ceases to be an ancestor. He is now a divinity, although he may become so by absorbing the attributes of an early divinity...⁴⁹

Awolalu and Dopamu proposed a fivefold classification; God, divinities, spirits, ancestors, magic and medicine. This is radically different from the Urhobo conception of divinity. Among the Urhobo, one becomes an ancestor as soon as the necessary funeral rights are completed. Ancestors are neither deified nor assumed to have acquired the attributes of an earlier divinity.

In most African religions ancestors are recognised as mediators. Aylward Shorter explained they are plenipotentiaries of the Supreme Being, their role is mediating his providence and receiving worship in his name.⁵⁰ They are seen as mankind's companions in their approach to the Supreme Being. While protecting the living, they ensure that customs are maintained.⁵¹ Generally speaking ancestors are seen as elders.⁵² The people approach them in much the same way as the most senior of living elders. Hastings, distinguished between those belonging to a God-conscious societies, when 'ancestors may be approached simply as intermediaries to God' and 'ritual, petition and sacrifice' regularly directed to ancestral spirits with little or no reference to God, which seems 'linguistically perverse to deny that this is worship'.⁵³ He argued that there is clear verbal distinction among some people between reverencing ancestors and worshipping God. The Gikuyu for example use the word *gothaitaya* (worship) with reference to God, but not in relation to ancestors. The Zulu also use the word *ukukhonza* for worshipping God, and *ukuthetha*, (literally 'speaking with') when referring to ancestors' veneration.⁵⁴ This distinction is important as it seeks to ratify the position of ancestors in the lives of African people, and presents a clearer understanding for those outside of the African community. The concept of ATR in relationship to ancestral veneration is similar to the concept of Luke or James or other apostles regarded as Saints because of the sacred works of their life. Not every Christian church has a Saint; similarly in ATR, only those ancestors whose pattern of life upheld a genuine lifestyle are given such honour.

2.7 God's Name

In Africa there are different names by which God is known and referred to among people. God is known through different attributes. The Mende people of Sierra Leone believed in a creator God that they called Nbewo. He existed from the beginning and was the author of all life, from the visible world and human to the invisible spirits. In Central and South Africa the name Nzambi or Nyamba was used. The Ga of Southern Ghana used Nyonmo. This was essentially a god of rain; this name translated means Nature. In Nigeria the Yoruba called God Olorun owner of the sky, and creator of all things. The Ngombo in Congo believed in a supreme spirit called Akongo. He is also called Beginner, Unending, Almighty and Inexplicable.⁵⁵

In Ghana the Akan name for God is Onyamee Kwaame – ‘God of Saturday’. Akan religion is monotheistic: they recognize only one Supreme Deity. They also acknowledge this all-powerful being as the same as the Yahwe of the ancient people of Israel, as well as the great Allah of Muslims. As the most significant being, God is accorded a special role and accepted as the undisputed master of the whole universe. The Akan people regard God with fear, awe and respect. The reason for this is found in the appellation given to God, ‘Onyamee’ meaning, ‘*you are greater than I*’.⁵⁶

Dayname is another aspect of tradition that can be found in the Akan society. Traditionally dayname is given to everyone born in Akanland. Each person is given the name of the day on which they are born. This dayname tradition is automatic; a child is given his or her dayname from birth before the formal naming ceremony, and thus is the one that remains with them throughout their life, and after death, when reference is made to them.⁵⁷ Dayname is also allocated to the Supreme Being, the Onyankopon or Onyamee of the Akan. In Akan society God is known by the dayname ‘*Kwaame*’ – (Saturday boy) or ‘*Onyamee Kwaame*’.⁵⁸ The Akan call Saturday ‘*Memeneda*’ meaning ‘a day in which you just eat or swallow food and rest.’ Memeneda, is also referred to as ‘*Dapaa*’, - a good day, a real, special or precious day- *Memeneda Dapaa*.⁵⁹ On the Ashanti traditional calendar, every sixth Saturday is called *Memeneda Dapaa* – ‘Saturday, the good day’. This is a special Saturday. This is not to say the other Saturdays are not good and important ones for Onyamee Kwaame, just the sixth one is even more special. It precedes the ‘Great Akwasidae’ or Great Sunday festival. During the festival, homage is given to Ashanti gods, spirits and departed elders. Participants in the Akwasidae such as the Kings, Chiefs and Elders pay special homage to Onyamee Kwaame on Memeneda Dapaa, they petition Him for blessings and a good Akwasidae. There is no doubt in the mind of the Akan that Sunday is not the first day of the week. Mensa points out that in the Fante country traditionally Saturday is regarded as the Seventh day of the week, as well as a rest day for man to honor God the creator.⁶⁰

2.8 Onyamee Kwaame Day (Saturday God)

Saturday is recognized as of special significance, it belongs to God, a fact acknowledged by scholars researching the Akan, their traditions and customs. Rattray also affirmed that the Ashanti referred to God as *Onyamee* or *Onyankopon Kwaame*, whose day of service is Saturday, adding that this Asante God is the same as the Yahwe of the Israelites whom they worship on the Sabbath or Saturday.⁶¹ Danquah stated;

*All men are issue of the first progenitor, the ultimate ancestor and creative Nana whose day is Saturday: Nana Nyankopon Kwaame.....*⁶²

He continued on this point;

*the divinity whom the Akan call Nyankopon Kwaame, the 'Greater' God of Saturday. This God of the Akan is also 'The Supreme Being, the Saturday Sky-God.'*⁶³

He affirmed the sacredness of Saturday to the Akan Supreme God, Onyamee Kwaame:

*The God of religion is therefore called 'He of Saturday,' either because He is supposed to have been born on Saturday or that Saturday is the appropriate day for His Worship. On every fortieth Saturday, called Dapaa or Dapaada, Open or Free Day, special ceremonies are performed in respect of Saturday's God.*⁶⁴

There is no doubt that Saturday for the traditional Akan people was a special day. This day was attributed to God - Onyamee Kwaame. It was a day when worship was rendered to Him. This level of understanding among the Akan people regarding the sacredness of Saturday was sustained even in time of war;

*Akan recognition of the momentous nature and sacredness of God and His Saturday is clearly demonstrated in many traditional practices and customs in Asante. One of these, ..is that in traditional Asante, wars were never declared on Saturdays, nor did the Asante fight any battles on Saturdays in time of war.*⁶⁵

Emergencies and other odd developments could disrupt the norm, otherwise the tradition was firm. Saturday as a 'non-action or non-personal enterprises day' is an Asante tradition

reserved for Onyamee Kwaame's worship going back into deep antiquity, according to Mensa.⁶⁶

Two more Asante traditions connected with the sacredness of Saturday are that of the 'market days' and 'funeral days'. Firstly, regarding market days, traditionally all Asante's towns and villages have a day each within six days of the week to transact their business. In this way traders are able to plan their business, as they travel to and from neighboring towns, villages and hamlets with their merchandise to the market place.⁶⁷ No town or village in traditional Asante had market on Saturday, Onyamee Kwaame's Holy Day.⁶⁸

Secondly, funerals were another event that never took place on Saturday. Given the importance of funerals in Asante, and generally Akan tradition and custom, this fact is extremely significant, argues Mensa: "Nothing was allowed to overshadow the pre-eminence and specialty of Onyamee Kwaame's day in Asante plans and programme, not even the great Asante pastime, funerals".⁶⁹ Sarpong agrees that traditionally the days for funerals are Mondays and Thursdays, because they are 'propitious days.'⁷⁰

With regard to worship, the traditional Akan have several ways of paying homage to Onyamee Kwaame on His special day; the most important of which is the one in the *Nyam Dua* culture. The practice of this rite, according to Mensa, was that on each Saturday or at least every sixth Saturday – the *Memeneda Dapaa* Saturday, the Good or Real Day- the head of a family, household, or a clan 'washed' God's soul for Him. The *Nyam Dua* or God's Tree, which always stood on the compound of the house or palace or in front of it, was used to represent the God Kwaame. A number of rites were performed, all of which were interpreted to mean worship for God, the *Obooade* or Creator. Worshiping God on His holy day, Saturday, Mensa explains, serves as a means to teach the Akan to always remember the God who created them, sustained them, and in whose hands their destiny lies.⁷¹ The migration of the Akan people throughout southern Ghana helped to propagate the concept of Onyamee Kwaame among other societies in that region. This enabled the migrants to retain and practice their belief, 'God holy day was never lost sight of among the descendants of the migrants.'⁷²

It is not clear if the same can be said for the slaves from this region who were taken away from their natural environment and transported to the Caribbean during the slave trades. As will be discussed further in this study, there is evidence that they retained certain elements of their religious practices.

So far this study has attempted to establish an overview of African religious society and customs. For them, one of the most important elements is the concept and belief in God. This Religious belief was an integral part of their life, as it was impossible to separate the sacred from the social. Community was made up of both the living and the dead who still played a role in determining the decisions to be taken in the community. African ways of life and beliefs were substantially different from those of the Europeans who arrived in their countries as missionaries, traders or explorers. The European arrival to these regions, however, had an impact on many lives, both of those who escaped captivity and those captured and transported to America and the Caribbean.

2.9 The Arrival of Slaves in the Caribbean

The sugar planters of Barbados, Jamaica, and the Leeward Islands were the first Englishmen to practise slavery on a large scale. Before the close of the seventeenth century a quarter of a million Negroes were taken from Africa to the Caribbean. Branded as 'perpetual bondsmen',⁷³ they were treated as a piece of 'conveyable property without rights and without redress'.⁷⁴ They were deliberately segregated from other members of their own tribe and were placed on different plantations and islands. The large number of West African languages therefore prevented easy communication among them. Enough English was learnt by the slaves to communicate with the planters, while retaining their tribal dialects.⁷⁵ The slaves had no choice but to compensate for their language difficulties, and in so doing they developed a 'safe' alternative, 'Creole patois', which they used to communicate with each other. This was a compound of English and African elements, which was unintelligible to their masters.⁷⁶

The actual number of slaves transported to the Caribbean during the period of the enslavement is not clear. Estimated figures range from 11 to 20 millions taken from Africa.

from which between 10% to 15% did not survive the voyages.⁷⁷ Not only was Britain engaged in transporting slaves, but countries such as Portugal, Spain, France, Holland and Denmark were also involved.⁷⁸ In Britain the three main ports to trade in slaves were London, Bristol and Liverpool. The latter was by far the most successful of the three, with an estimated net income from the entire African trade between 1783-93 at nearly 12.3 million pounds or about £7 –10s. for each slave.⁷⁹

The way slaves were treated in the Caribbean would be a cause for concern to both political and human right organisations today. They received endless brutalities, whippings and tortures executed as a matter of routine by those who owned them. Moral responsibility was lacking on the plantations in the Caribbean. Contrasting the way slaves were treated in North America and Jamaica, Thomas referred to Dr Harrison, a medical doctor, who visited both the North American and Jamaican colonies in the 1770's. Who stated that 'In South Carolina, the slaves were well fed, well clothed, less worked and never severely whipped; in Jamaica, they were badly fed, indifferently clothed, hard worked, and severely whipped.'⁸⁰ Slaves fortunate enough not to be struck on the head, whipped, or otherwise brutalised were nevertheless denied elementary human dignity. 'Their own African names, filled with meaning, were taken from them'.⁸¹ The planters evidently showed no regard for the slaves, and, lacking in principles, administered inhuman treatment to the slaves. The planters considered themselves to be Christian, but their action denies the central tenet of the Christian teachings. What was the attitude of the Church in the Caribbean during this period and to what extent did the church question the attitude of the slave owners?

2.10 The Church of England in the Caribbean

Whilst the British ruled during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the Caribbean, the Church of England was legally the established religion and was recognised as the 'planter's church'⁸². The slaves under their control were excluded from any religious teachings.⁸³ The Church used biblical authority to depict Africans as bearers of the mark of Cain and children of Ham, cursed by Noah to be the 'servants of servants',⁸⁴ to the effect

that the planters were able to reason amongst themselves that Black people were not human beings but 'animals'⁸⁵: Animals did not have a 'soul' to save.

*What, such as they?What, those black Dogs be made Christians? What, shall they be like us?'*⁸⁶

To baptise Negro slaves was compared by the planters to 'baptising a horse'.⁸⁷ Church leaders in England tried without success to convince the planters that baptising their slaves would not mean setting them free.⁸⁸ Hence many planters refused to comply with the wishes of the church, hereby the church lost its influence in the community. On the other hand the planters had no intention of practising genuine Christianity, and attempts by the church to bring about changes in their attitude failed. The planters saw the church as an institution without authority to govern them, and the Bishop of London was far away.

Consequently, the Church of England in the Caribbean lost sight of its mission, not only to the planters, but also to the slaves. It failed to take the opportunity to demonstrate the teachings of Christ to the mixed population of the Caribbean. Without influence it became part and parcel of the planters' property, and was unable to offer much resistance to the demands of the planters. The Church's support for slavery went unchallenged until the 1730's, when Evangelicals in Britain and America launched a new biblical critique of slavery.⁸⁹ During this period both John Wesley and Whitefield condemned slaveholding as a 'grave sin' inconsistent with a theology of 'spiritual conversion and evangelism'. They argued; 'Truly born again Christians will know through the Spirit to free their slaves and evangelise them'.⁹⁰ From this period the Church of England church came under immense pressure to execute its mission of extending the teachings of Christianity not only to the planters, but also to the slaves. To assert the Church authority in the West Indies, the Bishop of London, claiming ecclesiastical jurisdiction, allocated 106 clergymen to the region.⁹¹ Twenty-nine were assigned to Jamaica, the greater proportion (thirty-five) was sent to Barbados, Antigua, St. Kitts, Dominica, Grenada, Monserrat, Nevis and Tobago, and St. Vincent was also allocated clergymen.⁹² White planters and officials regarded the Church of England as.... 'a respectable and ornamental adjunct of the State, the survival of a harmless home institution ...'.⁹³ Therefore, the arrival of other denominations such as the Quakers to the Caribbean presented a challenge to the Church of England officials and planters.

2.11. The Quakers in the Caribbean

The arrival of the Quakers or Society of Friends in the Caribbean from the 1650's somehow slowly began to break the grip the planters had on Christianity. Quaker activities reaffirmed that the Gospel was not to be given exclusively to any one race or class of people, it was available to everyone. The Quakers extended their activities to the various islands in the Caribbean, but it was in Barbados where they had the most impact. The population of slave owners and officials on the island were more interested in financial gain than in their own spirituality. Governor Dutton during the 1680's expressed his surprise at the lack of church attendance by slave owners and officials when he noted that "God's house and worship ...was...neglected".⁹⁴ In Barbados the Quakers were the only religious activists. They were successful in recruiting many of the colonists to their fellowship.⁹⁵ In 1671, George Fox, founder of the Society of Friends, visited Barbados, and held meetings with both slaves and slave owners. The slaves he assured that 'Christ had died for them too'. However, he used even stronger language to the Quaker slave owners;

Do not slight them to wit, the Ethiopians,neither any Man or Woman upon the face of the Earth, in that Christ died for all.....he died for....the blacks, as well as for you that are called whitesYou should preach Christ to your Ethiopians that are in your families.... and be tender of and to them.⁹⁶

The Quaker community grew larger and more active in Barbados than in other sugar colonies. Quakers were noted to have addressed a crowd of three thousand at a plantation in 1675.⁹⁷ This angered the Anglican clergy to the extent that they asked the Barbados government to act against the Quakers whom they referred to as "base sort of fanatic people".⁹⁸ In 1680, fifty-eight Quakers in Barbados were themselves planters.⁹⁹ The Quakers spread Christianity not only to the planters but they also worked extensively with many of the slaves. This brought them in direct conflict with both the civil authority and the Anglican clergy, who made them suffer financially. Dunn states that the Quakers

in their quest .. could work with the blacks without worrying about book learning and catechizing... The Quakers tried to convert their slaves to Christianity,this activity...upset the colony leaders in Barbados, who fined the Quakers thousands of pounds for bringing their Negroes to meetings.¹⁰⁰

In total two hundred and thirty-seven Quakers were fined or punished in Barbados between 1658 and 1695.¹⁰¹ The Governor was determined 'to stop the Quakers from converting Negroes to Christianity'.¹⁰² The Quakers on the other hand, continued to 'take their slaves to meetings'.¹⁰³ Governor Dutton described the Barbadian Quakers as 'very numerous, insolent and rich'.¹⁰⁴ Slaves were taught by the Quakers to 'fear God, and love their masters...(their) masters would love them'.¹⁰⁵ They were also taught not to 'rebel against their masters'.¹⁰⁶

The Church of England joined forces with the civil authority to oppose the Quakers. The Quakers on the other hand saw the urgency for the gospel to reach both the planters and slaves. Their teachings did not encourage slavery, but they taught the slaves that subordination was the norm. The Quakers wanted to minister to the slaves, while at the same time pointing out to the planters and the Church of England clergy that they also recognised the slaves to be inferior. However, the expectation that teaching the 'slaves not to rebel' could bring about solidarity between the Quakers and the Church of England clergy did not work, and the two factions continued in opposition each other.

Other denominations realising the importance of incorporating African into their ministry also sent missionaries to minister to the slaves in the Caribbean. We find that from 1754,

*the Moravian Church had started a mission in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica;.. other churches followed. The Wesleyan missionary landed in 1789, the Baptists in 1814 and the Presbyterians in 1819.*¹⁰⁷

Before 1815, however, European missionary activities in the Caribbean were done on a small scale only. The Church of England teachings had had little impact on the Caribbean except in Barbados.¹⁰⁸ Missionaries opposed to slavery began to teach Christianity to the slaves. Many planters objected, and a large number of missionaries were imprisoned.¹⁰⁹ Converted slaves were flogged unmercifully and chapels were closed.¹¹⁰

Inevitably the planters reacted to the effort of the missionaries working amongst the slaves. The Church of England from the beginning gave the impression to the planters that excluding slaves from religious education and baptism was acceptable; but the arrival and

activities of the Quakers demonstrated to the Church of England clergy and to the planters that their attitude toward the slaves was unacceptable.

2.12. The Practice of African Traditional Religion Among the Slaves

As pointed out, Africans already had a concept of God, together with their own particular styles of worship unfamiliar to Europeans. In spite of the fact that they were forcibly transported thousands of miles away from their homes and families, and the attempt was made by missionaries to convert them to Christianity, they still retained and practised their own religion. They utilised the only means at their disposal, their oral traditions and symbolism. These were handed down to them in stories, poems, songs, proverbs, riddles and art. Their religion was danced and sung, beaten out in the rhythm of drums, in the swaying of bodies and the stamping of feet, and painted or carved in wood and stone. These methods of preserving their religion also preserved their culture and sense of identity, which influenced their behaviour. The main tenet of this religion was based on relationships.

African religious ideas were very much ideas about relationships, whether with other living people, or with the spirits of the dead, or with animals, or with cleared land, or with the bush.¹¹¹

In this way, they maintained their link with the spirit world and with each other, which enabled them to survive. What they had been taught and practised in Africa they continued to practise in the Caribbean. This also became evident when later generations migrated from the Caribbean to Britain.¹¹²

Such retention of culture and worship style were possible because the slaves believed in one 'Supreme God', and worship was the focal point in their relationship with him. It was not possible to prevent them from worshipping God. McVeigh, arguing this point, stated that,

The African lives in a spiritual world...and is deeply religious, his religious sentiments express themselves in worship.¹¹³

The slaves could not observe their rituals openly during the daytime, so the night period was the most convenient time for them to practise. They would search for a sacred place in

the rocks, caves, hills, mountains or under certain trees, where they could worship and hold ceremonies without been disturbed. Therefore, they

.....would steal away into the woods at night and hold services. They would form a circle on their knees around the speaker who would also be on his knees. He would bend forward and speak into or over a vessel of water to drown the sound. If anyone became animated and cried out, the others would quickly stop the noise by placing their hands over the offender's mouth.¹¹⁴

Through these means, the slaves were able to continue with and at the same time preserve their tradition of worship. Their beliefs could not be eradicated

For underlying the life of the ..Negro is a deep religious bent that...everywhere in Negro societies, makes the supernatural a major focus of interest.¹¹⁵

Herskovits in his study explained the relationship between the Negro slaves and their religion:

Religion is vital and ..meaningful to the Negroes ...because, as in the West Indies and West Africa, it is not removed from life, but has been deeply integrated into the daily round. It is because of this, indeed, that everywhere compensation in terms of the supernatural is so immediately acceptable tothem, in contrast to other.. groups elsewhere in the world, to turn to religion rather than to political action or other outlets for their frustration.¹¹⁶

The beating of drums was used for both their religious and recreational activities at nights or during the weekends for singing and dancing. The planters', in their fear that the slaves would use the drums to signal island-wide revolts, eventually took their drums away from them.¹¹⁷ The slaves however, replaced them with the clapping of hands and the stamping of their feet.

In resistance to both the planters' and the Church's attitudes, the slaves retained their religious beliefs. They were able to do so because the primal religious beliefs transmitted from Africa into the diaspora included a powerful sense of the importance of community in

establishing and maintaining both individuality, and an experiential relationship with the spirit world of ancestors and divinities as pointed out earlier.

These beliefs were not totally eradicated by the enslavement in the Caribbean. As Dunn pointed out, slaves in the Caribbean were free to retain as much of their West African cultural heritage as they wished, unlike the slaves in North America, e.g. Virginia or New England, who were not only 'uprooted from their familiar tropical environment but thrown into close association with white people and their European ways'.¹¹⁸ Hence slaves in the Caribbean were able to preserve more of their native culture than Blacks in North America. They transmitted their heritage from generation to generation by oral traditions and symbolism. This was done through narratives – myths, legends and folk tales, songs, parables, drama, dance and the rhythms and tones of talking drums. Raboteau described the process in the following way,

Shaped and modified by a new environment, elements of African folklore, music, language and religion were transplanted to the New World by the African diaspora ...One of the most durable and adaptable constituents of the slave's culture, linking Africa's past with American present, was his religion. It is important to realise, however, that in the Americas the religions of Africa have not been merely preserved as static "Africanisms" or as archaic retentions....African styles of worship, forms of ritual, systems of beliefs, and fundamental perspectives have remained vital on this side of the Atlantic, not because they were preserved in a pure Orthodoxy, but because they were transformed.¹¹⁹

It was the adaptability and flexibility of their religion, together with respect for the spiritual, which enabled such syncretism of primal religion with Western Christianity. Raboteau affirms this,

Adaptability, based upon respect for spiritual power wherever it originated, accounted for the openness of African religions to syncretism with other religious traditions and for the continuity of a distinctively African religious consciousness.¹²⁰

In this process of adaptation and assimilation new patterns were created, according to Herskovits:

The most striking and recognisable survivals of African religion are in those behavioristic aspects that, given overt expression, are susceptible of reinterpretation in terms of a new theology while retaining their older established forms.¹²¹

Therefore, in spite of the fact that many African slaves accepted Christianity, this did not mean they had abandoned their African traditionalist views. Hood explains that even though:

African have become Christians, either in the missionary or the indigenous churches, their culture and tradition remain with them....¹²²

Understandably, Revivalism of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in America and in the Caribbean attracted Black people, for it expressed an experiential conversion of the heart rather than intellectual religion. The Evangelical missionaries to the Caribbean were in a difficult position. The plantocracy accused them of spreading 'sedition' among the slaves.¹²³ They were restricted in reaching the slaves for the following reasons: a) New laws were passed by the colonial assemblies requiring missionaries to have a licence. b) They were forbidden to preach to the slaves during the period when the slaves were available. c) Language barriers existed between them and the slaves. d) Extensive travelling was necessary to make contact with slaves.¹²⁴ However, apart from the Baptists, Methodists and Moravians, other denominations also opened up missions in the Caribbean such as the Seventh-day Adventists to cater for the African population.

The Seventh-day Adventist denomination was successful in attracting many from the emancipated slave community to their religious beliefs and practices. In the next chapter I shall discuss the arrival of Adventism to the Caribbean and the role played by the Black community in its development.

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- ⁵ Ibid.
- ⁶ Ibid., p.107.
- ⁷ Parrinder, E.G, African Traditional Religion (London: S.P.C.K, 1962), p.18.
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- ²⁵ Holy Bible (KJV), John 16: 13.
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- ²⁷ Mbiti, pp. 29-30.
- ²⁸ Mbiti, p.2.
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- ³⁰ Ibid., p.1.
- ³¹ Ibid.
- ³² Ibid.
- ³³ Ibid., p. 132.
- ³⁴ Ibid., p. 135.
- ³⁵ Ibid., pp. 131-132.
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- ⁵² Ibid.
- ⁵³ Ibid.
- ⁵⁴ Ibid.
- ⁵⁵ A more comprehensive list of the names for God can be found in E.G. Parrinder, African Traditional Religion, pp. 33-37, also John S. Mbiti, African Religion and Philosophy, pp.29-38.
- ⁵⁶ Ibid., p.10.
- ⁵⁷ Each day has a name and it is from these names that individuals are allocated their dayname. For example, a person born on Sunday, in Akan: 'Kwasiada', if that person is a boy he would be known 'Kwasi' and a girl would be 'Akosua'. The same principles applied if they were born on Saturday, in Akan: 'Memeneda', a boy would be called 'Kwaame', a girl would be 'Ama'. See Mensa, Saturday God and Adventism in Ghana, for a complete list of names, p.11.
- ⁵⁸ Ibid., pp.11-12.
- ⁵⁹ Ibid., p.36.
- ⁶⁰ Ibid., p.37.
- ⁶¹ Rattray, pp.141, 144.
- ⁶² Danquah, pp. XXIX – XXX.
- ⁶³ Ibid., p.7.
- ⁶⁴ Ibid., p.43.
- ⁶⁵ Mensa, p.41.
- ⁶⁶ Ibid.
- ⁶⁷ Specific examples of market days are these: Mamponden –Sunday; Adwira –Monday; Agona- Tuesday; Mampon – Wednesday; Ntonso – Thursday; Asaaman- Friday. See Mensa, p. 42.
- ⁶⁸ Ibid.
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- ⁷¹ Mensa, p.52.
- ⁷² Ibid., p.40.
- ⁷³ Dunn, Richard, Sugar and Slaves (London: Jonathan Cape Ltd, 1973), p.224.
- ⁷⁴ Ibid.
- ⁷⁵ Ibid., p.250.
- ⁷⁶ Ibid.
- ⁷⁷ Watson, Jack, The West Indian Heritage, p.74; Thomas, Hugh, The Slave Trade: The

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- ⁷⁹ Fryer, Peter, Staying Power, p. 37.
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- ⁸¹ Fryer, p.24.
- ⁸² Newman, A.J., The Times Geography and History of Jamaica (Kingston: The Jamaica Times Ltd, 1935), p.97. See also Simpson, G.E., Black Religion in the New World (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), p.21.
- ⁸³ Simpson, Ibid.
- ⁸⁴ Holy Bible (NKJV). Gen. 4. 10-15 and Gen. 9: 25, respectively. See also Marini, Stephen. A., "Slavery and the Bible", in Metzger, B.M. and Coogan, M.D., The Oxford Companion to the Bible (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p.701.
- ⁸⁵ Fryer, p.146.
- ⁸⁶ Ibid.
- ⁸⁷ Ibid.
- ⁸⁸ Ibid.
- ⁸⁹ Marini, p.701.
- ⁹⁰ Ibid.
- ⁹¹ Simpson, pp.26-27.
- ⁹² Ibid., p.27.
- ⁹³ Ibid.
- ⁹⁴ Dunn, p.103.
- ⁹⁵ Ibid.
- ⁹⁶ Fryer,p.147.
- ⁹⁷ Dunn, p.103.
- ⁹⁸ Ibid.
- ⁹⁹ Ibid., p.105. Dunn pointed out there were at least 9 big planters, 7 middling planters, 17 small planters, 8 merchants or shopkeepers, 3 physicians and 3 craftsmen.
- ¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p.249.
- ¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 104.
- ¹⁰² Ibid., p.104. The high point of persecution came under Governors Atkins and Dutton, these two governors levied about £7000 in fines on Quakers during one decade only.
- ¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 105.
- ¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p.104.
- ¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 105.
- ¹⁰⁶ Ibid.
- ¹⁰⁷ Newman, p. 97. Black Baptists under George Lisle from Virginia were operating in Jamaica from 1784.
- ¹⁰⁸ Watson, The West Indian Heritage, p.106.
- ¹⁰⁹ Newman, p.97.
- ¹¹⁰ Ibid.
- ¹¹¹ Ranger, p.109.
- ¹¹² The distinctive style of worship noticeable in Black Pentecostalism and within British Adventism will be observed in chapters 7 and 8.
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- ¹¹⁴ Herskovits, Melville, The Myth of the Negro Past (Beacon Press, 1958),p.210.
- ¹¹⁵ Ibid., p. 207.
- ¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Dunn, p.250.

¹¹⁹ Raboteau, A., Slave Religion (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), pp.4-5.

¹²⁰ Ibid., p.5.

¹²¹ Herskovits, p.214.

¹²² Hood, p.124.

¹²³ Watson, p.106.

¹²⁴ Ibid., p.107

CHAPTER THREE

The Development of Seventh-day Adventism in the Caribbean

3.0 Introduction

In chapter 2 it was argued that the slaves that were taken away from their African environment and kin had a sophisticated and complex religious system deeply imbedded in their social activities, which in return influenced the quality of their relationship with family members, friends and neighbours. This religious practice provided no barriers or demarcation between biological and non-biological members of the community. As pointed out some of their rituals and ceremonies involved everyone in the community. In this chapter I shall show the role of the emancipated slaves in the development of Adventism in the Caribbean. Furthermore, I shall examine to what extent their African traditional religious practice shaped their concepts and influenced their understanding of Adventism.

3.1 The Initial Arrival of Adventism in the Caribbean

The arrival of Adventist literature in the Caribbean turned the Black population from the position of bystander and observer into one of involvement and partnership. From the beginning, they participated fully in the development and shaping of Adventist missionary activities in the region. They established schools for their children, and health care facilities, as well as caring for the needs of people. As direct descendants from Africa, they used effectively one of their inherent skills, that of oral communication, that had remained intact. It became one of the essential factors to contribute to the development of Adventism in the Caribbean. Not only did their methods of communication have a far-reaching effect on the development of the SDA church in the Caribbean, but it also affected Adventism in Britain through their migration in the 1950's. This empowerment of a community brought restoration and identity to a people that were designated to the position of underclass in the Caribbean society.

In some Christian denominations during the post-emancipation period in the Caribbean, the African population did not have sufficient say in the governing of the church of their choice; nor were their voices audible in the socio-political scene. They were at the bottom of the social scale with no rights or privileges, or recognition, which others enjoyed. They

were treated as outcasts in society with no immediate solution that could resolve their situation and restore hope and confidence. The arrival of Adventism to that region had a profound influence on the lives of many, changing their outlook on the future from one of deprivation and hopelessness to one of accomplishment and hope. Elements of certainty, order, and structure were provided through the restoration of the whole person that derived from Adventist teachings; first evident in their literature, and secondly through the practice of an Adventist lifestyle.

3.1.1. An Independent Movement in the Caribbean

From its inception, Adventism began in the Caribbean as an independent movement, with no mass defections as a result of any interdenominational conflict. One of the most effective methods early Adventists utilised was to share their beliefs through the use of literature. At a time when SDA church leaders were expanding the church's mission programme to regions outside North America, their first 'official missionary' John Nevins Andrews was sent in 1874 to pioneer the work in Europe. Four years later, in 1878, James R. Braithwaite, a Caribbean, made contact with Adventists. Braithwaite, visiting America, attended a series of Adventist evangelistic meetings in Ohio, which led him to accept Adventism.¹ After his baptism in the 1880s, he returned to Guyana where he began missionary work, using tracts and books. This resulted in several people accepting Adventist teachings.² While Braithwaite concentrated his missionary work in Guyana, Adventist publications were entering other Caribbean Islands making the spiritual basis of Adventism simple, plain and clear to people.³

Adventists have always held the view that literature breaks down religious barriers in people. It speaks to individuals with conviction and assurance in ways that humans are at times not able to do due to hostility or an attitude of indifference shown by people. Ellen White, commenting on the influence and positive effect Adventist literature would have, describes it as 'streams of light' travelling around the world.⁴ To what extent has Adventist literature played a prominent role in the spreading of Adventist beliefs in North America, Europe, Africa and the Caribbeans? What, in particular, was the effect of such literature on the population in the Caribbean? To what extent has SDA literature influenced the mission

of the SDA church in that region? A realistic answer to these questions can be arrived at through examining the effect of Adventism on the population of Barbados, Trinidad and Tobago, and Jamaica, the three islands from which the largest proportion of African Caribbeans migrated to Britain from the early nineteenth century, now found within British SDA congregations. Before these countries are examined a brief overview of early SDA leaders' understanding of mission will be given and its impact on Caribbean Adventism.

3.1.2. SDA Leaders' Understanding of Mission

From the beginning the leaders of the SDA church had a strong motivation for mission as pointed out above. The lack of finance, which prevented them from sending missionaries to various areas of the world, did not affect their enthusiasm to present the gospel to different nations and communities. One motivating factor which influenced Adventist leaders was the direct command of Jesus as recorded in the New Testament, 'Go and make disciples of all nations', (Mathew 28: 19-20 NIV). Revelation 14: 6 talks of the 'eternal gospel to proclaim to those who live on the earth, to every nation, tribe, language and people'. The mission of the church is to address the needs of people regardless of their financial position in society, rich or poor, healthy or in poor health. Whatever condition they are living in, or whichever continents they reside in, they need to be reached by the gospel. SDA administrators in North America recognised that Jesus had entrusted his church with this mission of reaching out to people from various nations and cultures. The climax would be the consummation of activities on earth, for the 'gospel' should be preached as a 'testimony to all nations', as a result of which 'the end will come' (Mathew 24: 14 NIV).

They believed that every individual, regardless of cultural and ethnic background, status in society, and irrespective of whether educated or illiterate, according to scriptures should have the opportunity to hear and accept the gospel of Jesus Christ, and should not be deprived of such rights and privileges. The methods employed in mission were not limited only to the verbal preaching of the gospel, but also to developing communities that were lacking in basic amenities such as schools and health care facilities. The SDA church leaders, recognising that the eschatological mission of the church was global as well as local. As they were slow to respond to the needs of the Black population in the South of the

United States, they initiated the extension of the church missionary effort outside North America. This extension did not only stretch to Europe but also to Africa and the Caribbean, an indication that they now intended to reach other cultures and ethnic groups, thereby developing a global mission. They anticipate that the message of Jesus would be accessible to everyone, and would bring closer the reality of their eschatological hope. In regard to the Caribbean, their initial contact was through the means of literature sent to Georgetown, Barbados in 1884.

3.2. The Development of SDA in Barbados

Barbados is situated in the most easterly part of the Caribbean. The vast majority of its population were brought to the island as slaves from Africa. This island was similar to other islands in the Caribbean not only in climate, people and culture, but also in their experience and familiarity with western Christianity. Anglicanism was the established religion on the island and was part of the system of colonialism, which also for a long time served to retain the African population in the background of society without a voice or recognition. In 1884, SDA literature arrived on the island, sent by William J. Boynton, an employee of the International Tract Society (ITS) in New York, and was left at the wharf in Georgetown. This generated much interest from the population that resulted in contact been made with the ITS for more literature to be sent. The tracts were read by laity and clergy of the established religion on the island; they sent letters of appreciation and requested more reading materials from the ITS. From the White section of the community, the secretary of Barbados Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) wrote,

we shall be very pleased indeed to receive further supplies for our reading room.⁵

In another letter from a clergyman, we read,

I embrace this hurried opportunity of thanking you ...for the very interesting literature sent to me.....I must acknowledge that not only myself but others have benefited by it. ...I shall continue to hand it over to others. It continues to bring out to us those things which seemed hid to our spiritual vision.⁶

A member of the Episcopal Church wrote,

As a member of the Episcopal Church I yet derive much benefit and assistance from your papers....the literature which comes from you to my address is read and is very profitable.⁷

The Black population also benefited from the arrival of the literature. It was read and the content shared by word of mouth with others in the community, which resulted in many observing the Sabbath.⁸

Financial constraints meant that for several years literature would remain the only means of communication between the SDA leaders in North America with the people of Barbados. It was not until November 1890 that the first SDA missionary was sent to the island, Dexter A. Ball, to establish the mission. Immediately, he made contact with those on his address list, which meant that he concentrated his effort amongst the White community on the island. After two months he reported his progress to the Adventist leaders at Battle Creek, Michigan.

I have now held fifty-one meetings,.....sold \$85 worth of books. Twelve keeping the Sabbath, seven more are planning....to begin soon.....we expected to organise a church as soon as consistent. This field is fully ripe for the harvest.⁹

The vast majority of the population in the Caribbean were Africans and were financially unable to support building projects. Ball, restricted his visits only to the Whites who attended his meetings and whom he thought would soon make the decision to become Seventh-day Adventists. They would be in a better position financially to support building projects on the Island. He reported to the leaders in Battle Creek;

There were three teachers, four preachers, one doctor, one tailor and several merchants.¹⁰

A business man who attended most of Ball's evangelistic meetings wrote to the headquarters:

Mr. Ball has truly laboured unceasingly and although he has apparently done little, judging by the (number of) converts, he truly can be said to have sown seeds which

will presently bring forth fruit....as people have been sent home to read anew the best of books.¹¹

The writer concluded his letter by saying,

Most certainly I am with you....as to the (Sabbath) day and that it should be kept....I have tried to close my business on that day, but it seems I cannot manage that so suddenly. I pray God to point out to me the exact road I should walk in.¹²

The influential Whites, however, that Ball was trying to attract to Adventism were not ready to make a commitment. Ball pointed out in one of his letters (January 1891) to colleagues in America that,

.....a tailor, who employs ten to seventeen hands, has closed his shop on the Sabbath for several weeks; also acabinet maker....has done likewise.¹³

These were short lived, they soon returned to their normal routine and abandoned the idea of keeping the Sabbath. Ball's expectations were unrealistic and premature when those who first indicated their willingness to be baptised failed to do so. There are three possible reasons for this failure:

- 1) Many of those who expressed initial willingness to join the Adventist church were wealthy White Barbadians, and members of the country's business community. Saturday was the busiest day of the week; many found it difficult to close down on that day.
- 2) Many came under pressure from their ministers, family members and friends.
- 3) Some may not have been ready to part with their former denomination.

Why was it that SDA missionaries first targeted the affluent classes in Barbados? There are three reasons for targeting this class.

Firstly, influential people were those able to support the SDA church financially. Finance was needed to establish the SDA mission in Barbados, without reliance on the leaders at Battle Creek. The headquarters were not in a position to support adequately the demands for financial assistance from the missions. Therefore, the missions were expected to be able

to sustain themselves, attracting, if possible, members who were capable of supporting the establishment of churches and related institutions, schools, hospitals, etc.

Secondly, the educated social class types were seen as best able to grasp and articulate more easily Adventist beliefs and be equipped to teach them. They could defend their beliefs, as was the case when Ball left Barbados to visit other neighbouring islands. Many denominational leaders spoke out against the public meetings that he had conducted. One article accused him of 'using underhanded means to propagate his views'.¹⁴ The editor of the 'Wesleyan Watchman' allowed E.N. Rogers, a supporter of Adventism, to present a counter-argument showing that Ball did not seek to deceive his listeners. Rogers called attention to 'the outstanding manner in which Ball conducted himself during the public debate and reasoned for religious tolerance.'¹⁵ The personal attack on Ball and what he represented merely made more Barbadians aware and sympathetic to Adventism. On his return to Barbados, Ball baptised seventeen believers at Bridgetown and organised the first Seventh-day Adventist church in Barbados.¹⁶

Thirdly, they were also more able to take responsibility and lead the church in the absence of a minister. It was not, and still is not, unusual to find within the SDA church 'lay leaders' who are responsible for leading local congregations. Those with leadership qualities were placed in position of responsibility within their local congregation. In the early days, especially when there was a shortage of Adventist ministers, lay leaders or elders, as they are referred to, managed the operation of local congregations for long periods without the presence of an SDA minister. For example, E.N. Rogers in the absence of Ball, led the Bridgetown congregation for sometime until the arrival of Elam Van Duesen, in 1896.¹⁷

3.2.1. Establishing the Medical Work in Barbados

Van Duesen did much to develop the work and to increase membership on the island. Joined by Andrew P. Palmquist in 1898¹⁸, a medical worker, he opened a 'treatment clinic' at Bank Hall Road in St. Michael. At the end of his first five weeks, he reported that he had given medical treatment to:

seventeen persons, made forty house calls, introduced the subject of Gospel health and religion to about two hundred persons, visited seven ships at dock in the Bridgetown harbour, and introduced his work to sailors.¹⁹

Palmquist travelled extensively in Barbados promoting Adventist health reform. On one of his visits he mentioned;

I met a physician.....a native of Barbados but educated in England.....He has practised in a health institution in France and is in harmony with us in diet and in the treatment of disease.This doctor is anxious to have a sanitarium in Barbados.²⁰

Adventist teaching on health was an attraction to medical personnel outside of Adventism who wanted to promote healthier lifestyles within the community.

3.3. The Development of the Work in Trinidad

Six years after the arrival of Adventist literature in Barbados, Adventism reached Trinidad and Tobago, and Jamaica. In 1890, William Arnold²¹ arrived in Port of Spain, Trinidad with its mixed population.²² Six Christian denominations were already established on the island,²³ in addition to 'Shango',²⁴ the religion of the ex- slaves. Roman Catholics were by far the largest denomination with a membership of 43, 605 followed by the Church of England, with 16,246.²⁵

The social isolation of the Black communities on the island made contact difficult.²⁶ Arnold was confronted with illiteracy within the Black population. Established educational institutions in the Caribbean during that period provided education for children of European descent only; these schools were provided with the resources needed to equip the students with a high standard of education. On the other hand, the education for slaves provided by some missionaries was very poor and inadequate; these schools lacked the resources to provide the quality of education needed by the slaves to improve and develop their potential; in any case there were not enough schools ²⁷available for the majority of Black children. This situation presented challenges to Arnold and his work in Trinidad. After spending fifteen months in Trinidad, a progress report of his work published in the SDA church paper stated; 'he is now delivering large numbers of Great Controversy.'²⁸

Interest was developing as people read the publications or had them read to them: a two-way communication began between these people and the International Tract Society.²⁹ Arnold's perseverance led to four persons on the island in 1893 'observing the Sabbath'.³⁰ This was a sharp contrast to Ball's approach in Barbados. Unlike Ball, Arnold did not restrict himself to working with only the White community, but showed interest in the Black population and worked with them. He stayed for a short time and left in 1894 with the arrival of A. E. Flowers to take charge of the mission.

The new converts experienced difficulties from other denominations and members of their own families in finding suitable places for worship, and paying the rent required by these denominations. The situation is described as follows;

*These precious souls took up their crosses amidst fiery persecution.*³¹

Without possession of property they had to deal with a period of unsettledness, dependency and frustration. Added to this was the lack of finance.

*We held meetings in Brother Jeffer's house. Although there was hardly room, we squeezed ourselves together, feeling happy....but we were soon turned out by Brother Jeffer's mother-in-lawsorrowfully we left not knowing where to go, for we were hardly able to pay the small rent.*³²

Another difficulty the early White converts had was how to pray without prayer books.

*We held prayer meetings,....It took us some time before we could learn to pray without our prayer books.*³³

Africans Adventist did not practise the use of praying from prayer books. Theirs is spontaneous prayer. They naturally preferred this method of praying due to their African oral culture. This was still reflected on the arrival of African Caribbean Adventists and their prayer meeting in Britain in contrast to White British Adventist. Early White SDA leaders in North America also prayed spontaneous, because of their Methodist or Baptist background.

3.3.1. First SDA Church Organisation in Trinidad

On 22 November 1895, the first SDA church was organised at Couva with twenty-three converts.³⁴ St Clair Phipps was elected as local church leader, and James Pierce as church clerk.³⁵ People attracted to SDA were drawn from both White and Black communities. Whites were able to give financial support to the building programme of the Church. Having obtained one's own building was a means of establishing church identity in the community. It was also a means of attracting others to become a part of it. Three months later, in February 1896, a second baptism took place; the writer commented on the attitude of those who attended the service.

February 15th ten were baptized and added to the church.....The baptismal scene was a solemn one, and made a deep impression on the minds of the large congregation which had gathered to witness it, and the people listened attentively to us as we spoke on this solemn rite for about twenty minutes.³⁶

Contrasting the behaviour and attitude of the villagers at the first baptism with their behaviour and attitude at the second indicates the changes that had taken place within a short period of time.

This was at the same place where the first baptism was held, and to reach it we had to walk a mile through the main thoroughfare of the village. The street was lined with scoffing, hooting, yelling mockers the whole distance as we went to the first baptism. What a change this time!³⁷

Such changes of attitude came about because the members obviously were able to demonstrate their Christian belief in their every day living. It was evident in their dealings with others in the community, in their family values, healthy lifestyles, and the level of commitment to Christ and the Church. These factors, together with the influence of the Holy Spirit and their personal sincerity in witnessing to the community, initiated the change in attitude evident in the people.

The high cost of operating the Trinidad Mission was a cause for concern. Comparing the operational costs with that of the United States and other Caribbean islands, the mission leader stated in his letter to the Review and Herald in 1896 that,

to those who may wish to know something about the expenses of the Trinidad Mission, I would say that the expense of living is higher than in the States.....it costs from one fourth to one third more to run the Mission than it would to carry on a similar one in almost any one of the other West Indian islands or in America.³⁸

George F. Enoch, a missionary from North America, described the need for a building in the capital city Port of Spain and his difficulties in the Review and Herald.

I would that I had the power to place before our people the need of a church building in Port of Spain. This beautiful city.....with its mixed population, affords an opportunity for extensive missionary operations, and should appeal to us. Yet we are struggling on in miserable quarters, far from representing this great message in its true light.....The Government requires a fireproof building, and the price of land is very high.³⁹

However a newly erected church building at Couva was dedicated on January 15, 1897, and work had begun on the Tunapuna Church. In 1900, five years after the first congregation began at Couva, the membership in Trinidad had risen to one hundred and fifty-one, with seven organised churches. With this progress it was felt that the Trinidad mission should be self-governed and organised into a Conference. On 7 March 1903, at the 35th Session of the GC of SDA held in Oakland, California, the East Caribbean Conference was established and received into the world body,⁴⁰ with the head- quarters in Port of Spain, Trinidad. A.J. Haysmer was elected president. Yet the East Caribbean Conference was still dependent on the GC for finance and supply of workers.

3.3.2. Evangelism and Membership Growth in Trinidad

The growth rate of Adventism in Trinidad was relatively slower than the growth rate in Jamaica, even though it had progressed much better than it did in Barbados. The emancipated slaves and indentured workers that had replaced them could still feel the effect of colonialism. They were still under bondage and not able to exercise their human rights. Also, those who were attending the established denominations, although drawn toward Adventist teachings, kept away because they were cautioned not to associate with Adventists.

Consequently, the public evangelism conducted did not contribute significantly to the growth of the church during this early period. Literature and missionary work by individuals on the other hand were much more effective in reaching the people. At the end of a six-week evangelistic campaign held at 'La Brea' no one was baptised, and the Adventist Gleaner assured its readers that,

*the interest has not abated in the least, and although the religious leaders of the other Churches have been threatening and warning their members against us..... no man can do anything against the truth, but for the truth.*⁴¹

By 1914, the membership stood at six hundred and thirty two.⁴² This only began to change from the nineteen thirties. During one evangelistic campaign in Arima in 1932, the hall was packed each night with mixed attendance. This became a cause of concern to other denominations. A notice appeared on the front page of the Trinidad Guardian with the following caption: 'New Creed for Arima?' - 'Seventh day Adventist Campaign' - 'Bible Lectures'. It went on to say,

*Activities of the Seventh-day Adventists in Arima are causing much stir among other religious bodies..... The sermons and new explanations of the Bible appear to convince many people and before the end of the six months` campaign many converts are expected..... Followers of the Roman Catholic Church are particularly warned not to attend these meetings.the penalty for attendance is excommunication.*⁴³

Despite the strong warning, forty-six persons were baptised as a result of the campaign.⁴⁴ This was the first of a succession of baptisms. Both leaders and laity were encouraged by the results, and were not intimidated by threats from other denominations. With this new impetus in evangelism during the nineteen thirties, twelve church buildings were erected and dedicated.

One of the mission's strengths was the laypeople's contribution to the evangelism programme.⁴⁵ The most prominent layman of the thirties was Claudius Payison who was of African descent.⁴⁶ Within five years from 1930–1935, he held evangelistic meetings resulting in thirty-eight persons being baptised.⁴⁷ By 1963, the membership of the church had increased to over ten thousand. The most significant development in terms of

evangelism, however, took place in Trinidad in 1966, when Edward Earl Cleveland, an African-American evangelist, arrived to conduct a school of evangelism. Forty-six SDA ministers from Trinidad and other Caribbean islands came together to learn new evangelistic methods and techniques. The eleven-week crusade and training school was a great success. Despite bad weather on some of the nights, more than two thousand people attended the crusade each night. Those familiar with organising or participating in evangelistic crusades knew that there are normally more people in attendance at the beginning than there are in the last week or night of the crusade. This was not the case according to the Gleanings,

The last night of the crusade resembled the opening night, but with two differences – everything was bigger and better. The crowd of over seven thousand persons was almost twice as that of the opening night. The preaching was more penetrative and dynamic, the Singing lustier.....⁴⁸

The crusade ended on November 26 with 824 persons baptised.⁴⁹ At the time, it was the largest number of accessions from a crusade in the SDA denomination.

The success of Cleveland's crusade was caused by a combination of several factors. His experience, his understanding of the needs of Black people, the topics presented, and visitation in the homes of attendees, all contributed greatly to the large increase in membership. Cleveland at the time of his crusade in Trinidad was employed at the church's headquarters in Washington DC, as GC Associate Ministerial Secretary, a position with worldwide evangelistic responsibilities.⁵⁰ As an experienced evangelist, Cleveland used a variety of methods and presentational techniques appropriate to gain the attention of his audience. Role-play and visual aids (slides) would be used to enhance the audience's understanding of the topics, backed up by clear sermon presentation. Effective planning together with the corporation of the ministers and the Conferences, supported by the necessary budget also contributed to the record increase in membership growth.

3.3.3. Health Institutions in Trinidad

In spite of the high cost of land to the Trinidad Mission and the low income of the church members, the SDA endeavoured to establish medical mission work in Trinidad. Their first attempt to establish a medical centre on the island began when Stella Colvin, a trained nurse from America, arrived at Couva in 1896. She spent several years in nursing the sick until her death in 1905. Effectively the medical work remained underdeveloped for nearly forty years as no attention was given to it. It was not until the mid-nineteen forties when W.E. Read, president of the Caribbean Union Mission, highlighted the need to renew the medical work on the island. Two years later, the Caribbean Union Mission Committee under S.T. Borg approved plans for the official opening of the medical mission in Port of Spain and the training of three nurses at the Andrews Memorial Hospital in Jamaica.⁵¹

Robert F. Dunlop, a SDA medical doctor from Scotland, arrived in Trinidad in January 1948. He worked as a volunteer for three months at the Port of Spain Colonial Hospital before opening an outpatient clinic in a rented building at the corner of Charlotte Street and New Street, Port of Spain. The medical work developed and, on 19 April 1953, the SDA Medical Unit was established at 7 Queen's Park West, Port of Spain. This fourteen-bed hospital, equipped with a nursery for newborn babies, treatment rooms and an air-conditioned operating room became from the start a success. Dunlop explains;

From the day that our nursing home was opened we have had patients regularly. We have never been empty, and on more than one occasion we have had to turn patients away for lack of room. Surgical, medical and obstetrical patients are admitted, and we have extended our services to other physicians and surgeons in the island.⁵²

He also gave details of the number of patients treated at the clinic.

During the year 29,122 persons had received treatments at the clinic, while 273 patients including 183 surgical cases had been admitted to the nursing home in less than nine months.⁵³

This report made SDA leaders aware of the need for an even more comprehensive medical service in Trinidad. It inspired them to draw up both financial and architectural plans to build a hospital. The Government gave a site at Cocorite on a ninety-nine year lease.

We read in the Trinidad Sunday Guardian,

This hospital would crown about ten years of medico-missionary work in Trinidad, carried out with zeal and 20th century business methods.....A great deal of the common effort comes from local members of the faith. Already they operate two clinics in Port of Spain..... They are always crowded with patients of varying class and even religious background.⁵⁴

At the opening of the hospital, the Government Minister of Health and Housing, Donald C. Granado, referred to the hospital as a,

Tribute to the Seventh-day Adventists and to the public spiritedness of the local community.⁵⁵

He further commended the church for taking 'a great strain off the Port of Spain and San Fernando General hospitals by supplementing the Government medical services.'⁵⁶ Four years later the national newspaper was still referring to the work of the hospital, as outlined in its editorial,

The Community Hospital is doing sterling service today. It was launched at a time when state hospital services were most deficient and immediately made its mark...⁵⁷

3.3.4. Education in Trinidad

In 1900, the first attempt to establish a SDA school for African children was undertaken by Miss Rachael Peters,⁵⁸ living in Couva. Some of the first pupils of this school later went on to help develop the Adventist church both in the West Indies and America.⁵⁹ It was not until 1909 when delegates came together for the Conference session held in Port of Spain and again discussed resolutions to establish and finance church schools. The resolutions called for all SDA churches to 'follow the Lord's instruction in setting up a church school wherever there were enough children to attend'.⁶⁰ The church members financed this project, but it was to take four years before the next school was opened on September 29, 1913, with an enrolment of twelve pupils. Not much progress was made in the church school programme, and it was placed again on the agenda of the next Conference session held in June 1917. The following resolutions were presented to the delegates, which read:

Whereas, lack of funds has proved a hampering factor

to the successful operation of our church schools, we therefore recommend :- a) That our churches and companies, in a general way, do all in their power to increase their offerings to the Educational fund on the first Sabbath in every month, and a portion of which can be devoted to local school work by arrangements with the Conference Committee. b) That all church members whether parents or not be encouraged to cheerfully and liberally share in contributing to this fund. c) That any church having a sufficient number of children to warrant the establishment of a church school, after having secured funds enough to pay the expenses of the school for some months, be encouraged to establish one, in counsel with the Conference Committee, after having laid definite plans for the further maintenance of the school.⁶¹

It took another ten years for this resolution to be effective. The church wanted to establish an educational centre in Trinidad, not only to serve the youth in Trinidad, but also to cater for them on other Caribbean islands. As the congregations in Trinidad were not able to finance the project, help was requested from the Inter-American Divisions:

In as much as there has been an ever increasingly urgent call for more than twenty years for a training school in the territory now known as the East Caribbean Union of the Inter-American Division, where more than seven hundred and fifty young people of this territory may have the privileges of a Christian education,.....since hitherto we have been unable to respond to these urgent pleas, and since the people of this field have repeatedly been disappointed in their expectations; we, therefore,.....earnestly place our appeal to this body for an appropriation of \$20,000, the same to be made available in one sum, if at all possible.⁶²

The Inter-American Division response was immediate and favourable, and the church leaders began to consider several suitable estates as a possible site for the proposed training school. Their activity evoked a number of comments from newspapers. The Port of Spain Gazette in its editorial referred to what it calls a 'persistent rumour', that an attempt was being made by the SDA Church to establish a training college in Trinidad. The paper pointed out that it was not suggesting any 'interference with the freedom of private

individuals to dispose of their property as they thought fit'.⁶³ The editorial called on the Government to disapprove the carrying on of the work of Seventh-day Adventists in Trinidad.

*What we wish to urge today is the duty of the Government, as trustees and guardians of the interests of the community as a whole, to do nothing which can serve as the means of encouraging more numerous and deeper seated divisions and discord and upheaval, than already unhappily distract the religious and educational peace of this island.*⁶⁴

Unknown to the Gazette, the SDA church was already established in Trinidad. Within four months of the Gazette's editorial, the 'La Realista Estate' in Maracas Valley was purchased.⁶⁵ Eighteen days after the purchase, the East Caribbean Training School began its existence, when C.J.Boyd took over as the school first principal.⁶⁶

The Training College opened with one student, but within nine months there were sixty students on the school register and on campus.⁶⁷ Students at the Training College were not only from Trinidad and Tobago, but from Antigua, Barbados, British Guiana, Grenada, St Lucia and St Vincent.⁶⁸ The Training College at first lacked basic amenities such as dormitory buildings, running water and electricity. Both the teachers and students worked together to erect a temporary kitchen, the installation of a water system and the building of the girls' dormitory.⁶⁹ Today the College has all the amenities that can be found on an established university campus. The college enrolment is in excess of eight hundred students from over thirty-six countries.⁷⁰

In 1953 there were fourteen primary schools in operation by the SDA church. The operational cost of running these schools was more than the churches could manage. The South Caribbean Conference (SCC) was subsidising the operational expenses by over fifty per cent. This was far above the denominational policy provision of twenty-five per cent subsidy. The conference could not afford to continue subsidising the schools with such high percentages, due to the lack of funds, therefore, the conference was faced with the

decision either to reduce the number of schools they operated or to seek funding from the Government of Trinidad and Tobago.

3.3.5. Government Funding in Trinidad

It was widely known at the time that the government had made funds available for the operation of denominational schools. Church members welcomed the initiative from the government as a means of alleviating financial pressure while ensuring SDA education for their children. This initiative also secured the survival of future growth of the SDA school system on the island. However, the conference leaders were reluctant to subscribe to the idea, citing the GC church policy on accepting Government aid for education as follows:

- a) These government funds, received through the taxing power of the state, would be used to teach religious doctrines in which many of the taxpayers do not believe.*
- b) Control usually follows subsidy. If the church school accepted state money it would sooner or later have to accept an unwarranted degree of governmental control.*
- c) When a religious organisation tries to dip into the public treasury to support its church school systemit invites the State to trespass in an area that belongs to God and not to Caesar. Parents who refuse the education public schools offer their children and patronize a religious school..... should assume the responsibility of financing that religious- oriented education.⁷¹*

Yet, in spite of the fact that the SDA church for ethical reasons has always maintained a distinct separation between itself and the state, the GC in this particular case granted permission for application to be made to the government for funding. While reaffirming that the fundamental principle of the separation of the church and state should be world-wide in application, the GC Executive Committee also recognised,

that the applying of certain details of the principle may be different in different parts of the world, due to varied forms of government.⁷²

The situation in Trinidad and Tobago was different. 'Over eighty per cent of all primary and intermediate school places were provided by religious denominations in Trinidad and Tobago',⁷³ whereas in the United States in 1950 over 'eighty-seven per cent of the primary school children in the United States were attending public schools'.⁷⁴

On August 10th 1952, the SCC Executive Committee learnt that the Trinidad and Tobago Government had given approval for the Cumana, Sangre Grande, and San Juan SDA schools to receive state aid.⁷⁵ Acceptance of government funding did not cause any noticeable change in the religious character of these schools. In addition to the primary schools operated by the church, by 1955 three secondary schools had also been established.⁷⁶

That SDA church leaders found themselves having to decide on whether or not to accept state funding for SDA schools clearly reflected their dilemma. This was not just the issue of sustaining church policy or listening to the needs of members, but one of safeguarding the distinctiveness of Adventism. To what extent should governments be involved or even have control or a voice in any of the church's projects? Adventists had always emphasised stewardship, an integral part of the development of church programmes and projects. Church members were therefore expected to contribute to the various programmes of the church including educational projects, through systematic giving and tithing, with the assurance that God would bless them. Examples of such contributions are taken from the children of Israel in response to the building of both the tabernacle and temple (Ex. 35: 20-29; 36: 3. 1Chr. 29: 6-8).

In the New Testament Christ laid down the principles of true stewardship, that our gifts to God should be in proportion to the blessings and privileges that we enjoyed (Luke 12:48) God acknowledges everyone's faithfulness and promises to bless them (Mal. 3:10).

Adventists in Trinidad and the Caribbean followed these rules and in general did not limit the directions or the sources drawn from God's blessings. They provide the care and

education that Black children and youths need therefore recognised God's blessing also in the policy of the Trinidad and Tobago government to fund non-government schools.

3.3.6. Church Paper Established in Trinidad

In order to aid the propagation of the Adventist message, the conference leaders in Trinidad in 1903 drew up plans to launch the church paper Caribbean Watchman. This was to be a monthly journal to be ready for June of that year, with George F. Enoch as first editor. The demand for the first issues of the journal was greater than what the Trinidadian leaders had expected. Three thousand copies printed were not sufficient. In order to meet the demand and to provide the operating expenses, the management of the journal reserved four of the paper's sixteen pages for advertisements. There was no financial backing from the GC: furthermore, an outside printer, David Adamson, did the printing. Six years later, in 1909, the Caribbean Watchman was moved to Cristobal, Panama.

Another paper the East Caribbean Gleaner was launched in 1905, two years after the Caribbean Watchman. This paper, under S.A. Wellman as editor, provided instructions and weekly programme outlines for Sabbath Schools and Youth departments. The East Caribbean Gleaner served as the 'organ of the West Indian Union Conference' while the Caribbean Watchman continued to play its role as an evangelistic paper.⁷⁷ The former has now become the Caribbean Union Gleanings, serving five Conferences and one Mission.

3.4. The Development of the Work in Jamaica

Adventism arrived in Jamaica by the same means by which it did in Barbados and Trinidad - literature. In 1890 William Arnold, a colporteur, travelled to Antigua from America. He sold a book to a man named Palmer, who sent it to his son James Palmer in Kingston, Jamaica. Convinced after reading the book that the Seventh day was the Sabbath of the Lord, he wrote to the ITS for further information. In response a supply of literature was sent which he distributed in the city. Many people became interested, including Margaret Harrison, an English lady who at the time was a social worker. Harrison and Palmer started to work with several families. Mrs Harrison visited the Adventist headquarters in America

in 1892; as a result A. J. Haysmer and his wife arrived on the island in 1893 as the first Adventist missionaries. The following year the first Adventist church was organised in Kingston with thirty-seven members. From the start, the work in Jamaica seemed destined to be successful, not because of any favour granted by the GC, but because of the interest of those who accepted the doctrines of Adventism. Members of the church together with non-members shared what they had learnt from the literature. Mitchell refers to one of the participants,

*We could not keep such a good thing to ourselves. We rode ...
on donkeys to take the message to St. Thomas.⁷⁸*

They proclaimed the Adventist message from one district to the next. Adventism progressed faster in Jamaica than it did on the other islands. Those who listened were empowered to share them with others with whom they came in to contact. By 1895, when F.I Richardson arrived on the island to join Haysmer, there was a membership of seventy-four, to be increased further. Within three months the membership had grown to one hundred and two. Mitchell, accounting for the rapid progress of Adventism in Jamaica, acknowledged the effort and determination of the lay members as follows:

These believers were very active in the distribution of SDA publications in the towns and villages of the island. Large numbers of the 'Signs of the Time', tracts and pamphlets were given away. Young men and young women who joined the church were trained as colporteurs and soon books were to be found in every parish.⁷⁹

As a result of this aggressive promotion of SDA teachings the membership increased to three hundred in 1896. Among the converts were ministers of other denominations who in many instances led some of their congregations with them. These ministers in turn helped to spread SDA beliefs, and attracted others who later became prominent workers in the church.⁸⁰

3.4.1. Membership Growth in Jamaica

Adventism spread more rapidly in Jamaica than in other parts of the Caribbean. Factors contributing to this will be discussed later, however, a look at the figures will inform us of the growth rate.

Table 1. Growth of membership in Jamaica 1903-1995 ⁸¹

<u>Year</u>	<u>Membership</u>
1903	1,200
1943	9,009
1950	15,771
1955	23,185
1960	41,590
1965	40,843
1970	55,618
1975	77,848
1980	105,288
1985	113,638
1990	141,993
1995	172,006

Source: Gerloff, *A Plea for British Black Theologies*, p.289. and GC Annual Statistical Reports No's 95-126, 1957-1995.

With a membership of over nine thousand, the Jamaica Conference was organised into the British West Indies Union Mission in 1944. In 1962, when the country was preparing for and adapting to its new status from a dependent to an independent nation, the SDA church on the island was reorganised into the current three conferences: Central, East and West Jamaica Conferences with a membership of 29, 171. Membership continued to increase at an alarming rate; it had more than Caribbean Union Conference.

3.4.2. The Establishment of Medical Work in Jamaica.

The medical work in Jamaica took some time to establish, due to financial constraints. In 1913, attempts were made when D.E. Wellman opened a clinic in Kingston. Demand for treatment by the Africans necessitated the employment of four nurses to assist with the work. By 1918, the health institution closed, because of World War 1 when workers were needed to serve in the medical corps.⁸² From that period until 1944, nurses training programmes were offered in health care at the West Indies College in Mandeville. In this way they still contributed to health reform and health awareness on the island.

The church, however, found itself in a dilemma regarding financing the re-establishment of the medical work, as fundraising for the project took much longer than expected. In 1943,

the GC and the Inter American Division (IAD) leaders came together to decide whether to re-establish the medical mission on the island. Dr. Clifford R. Anderson was invited to take charge of developing the project. In 1944, a suitable property was purchased in Kingston, and the Andrews Memorial Hospital was opened later that year in honour of John N. Andrews, the first SDA missionary.⁸³ Within a short time the building was inadequate to accommodate the amount of people needing treatment. To cater for their needs, in 1947, a new building programme was implemented, to build a bigger and better equipped hospital. Again lack of funds prevented the medical work from enlarging. The Jamaican Government was aware of the shortage of medical care on the island and the need for more medical facilities, therefore contributed £6500 toward the completion. Funds were also received from sponsors in the United States.⁸⁴ Meanwhile, in Jamaica the demand for hospital-beds had grown due to the rapid increase in the population, as the following figures illustrate:⁸⁵

Table 11. Number of Beds Occupied and Patients Admitted

	<u>1939</u>	<u>1947</u>
<i>Daily average beds occupied</i>	1,768	2,549
<i>No of patients admitted</i>	22,801	47,348

Source: Mitchell, Thy Light is Come, p.36.

Within eight years there was an increase of 49% in the number of beds, and an increase of over 107% in the number of admissions.

3.5. Factors Contributing to the Rapid Development of Adventism in Jamaica and the Caribbean.

The distribution of SDA literature heralded the arrival of Adventism in the Caribbean. This initial contact developed from people's lack of interest to one of involvement. In this section I will examine several factors that contributed to the rapid development of the SDA church in the Caribbean.

The Seventh-day Adventist church from its early days employed the use of literature in its missionary endeavours. Such affirmation is found within the philosophy of Mission

outlined in the writings of Ellen White. The truth, she wrote, 'should be introduced into many homes'.⁸⁶ This would 'influence the mind of the public as no other means can', as it would, she continued, 'break down the walls of prejudice and superstition'.⁸⁷ Literature, she advised, should not be written in a complicated style, but instead:

*articles should be written in simple form to make the subjects brought before them (the public) distinctly stated.*⁸⁸

Short and interesting articles should be encouraged, the content of which should include:

*The Sabbath..., Health subjects in clear, forcible, spirited articles, health and temperance principles, and experiences of faith and hope – all should be presented to the world.*⁸⁹

Having given ideas of the style and content of the tracts, a warning was given not to hide what needed to be said from science.

*There is danger of burying the truth so deep in science that the common minds for whom we labour and who will compose the members of our churches will fail to see it and appreciate it. We want the truth as it is in Jesus. We want to meet the needs of our people.*⁹⁰

Ellen White and the early SDA church leaders envisioned that the breaking down of misconception could be achieved through the distribution and reading of SDA literature. For that reason tracts and books were used first to prepare the minds of people.

The uncomplicatedness and clearness of SDA literature served its purpose in the Caribbean communities, particularly with those relying on oral tradition to disseminate information. With a large proportion of illiteracy within the African community of the Caribbean in the 1880's, Ellen White's advice was well suited. The SDA message was easy to absorb and understand by the Black community who had a strong tradition of oral culture. Such means were suited to their methods of disseminating information in the community. In addition to the role of literature, I identify four other contributing factors.

3.5.1. Adventist Ministers and Evangelistic Methods Used in the Caribbean

An Adventist minister's duty is to preach the 'Word of God', and not the opinions and traditions of humans. They are not to exalt themselves, but must speak with sincerity and earnestness. Their primary duty is to present to people in the community the things that concern their present and eternal life. On arrival in the Caribbean, Adventist ministers first visited people that had written to the ITS in North America. They also endeavoured to carry out their responsibilities regardless of the circumstances they found themselves in, as many were unprepared for the situation they encountered. Others were not able to return to their native country.⁹¹

Adding to this, opposition from other ministers of the established churches was frequently experienced. They 'threatened and warned' their members not to attend Adventist meetings.⁹² At times Adventist ministers were accused, as one Methodist clergy claimed, of using 'underhanded means'.⁹³

3.5.2. Church Development and Lay Members Involvement in the Caribbean

Initially the SDA church developed and spread in the Caribbean as a result of a three-way partnership between colporteurs, lay members and pastors. Adventist beliefs were presented to the population, through literature distribution, evangelistic meetings and the witnessing skills of lay-members. The activities of lay-members took place within the various communities of the Caribbean. They were aware of the needs and the problems that existed in each of their respective communities, and they initiated projects to help resolve these problems. In Jamaica, church members assisted in rebuilding or repairing houses for those that were victims of fire. They distributed food and clothing, and helped with medical bills. The church also constructed new houses for the homeless.⁹⁴

Historically and culturally, Africans in the Caribbean, as pointed out in the previous chapter, were family and community oriented. The tradition of assisting family members and others in society had never left them. This context of community-involvement during the post slavery periods existed within churches such as the SDA and the Pentecostal movements. They referred to one another as brother and sister. The acknowledgement of

each other as part of a wider family fosters a spirit of cooperation amongst the membership, and between members and church leaders or pastors working together to fulfil the mission of the church in their region.

The involvement of the laity in propagating Adventist teachings by evangelism and lifestyle accounts significantly for the rapid development and growth of the movement in the Caribbean more than in western societies. Blacks in the Caribbean were willing and able to interact and share their beliefs with others as part of their oral tradition.

3.5.3. The Lay Involvement in Community Development Projects and its Implications for the Wider Community in the Caribbean.

Through mission offerings collected from Adventists at home and abroad, educational, health and community service development projects were initiated from which the wider community could benefit. Today, some of the projects in which the SDA is involved include schools, clinics, hospitals, homes for the homeless, and the provision of technical skills to communities affected by floods and roadblocks.⁹⁵ Through daily engagement with the community, lay-members are now able to offer understanding, support and development opportunities to individuals and their families. This approach has enabled the majority of members to participate fully in church development programmes. Not only do they contribute financially to such development, they also give their time to care for the social and spiritual needs of those around them. Lay-members in the Adventist church in Jamaica have for decades been mobilised to execute the mission of the church. This practice is the same for Adventists in other parts of the world, where members have an understanding of the mission of the church and are properly trained to propagate Adventist teachings. They go from parish to parish, town-to-town, district-to-district, village-to-village, house-to-house, and door-to-door to bring the message to the people.⁹⁶

The enthusiasm of members toward Adventists lifestyle and principles empowered others in the Caribbean to realise their potential and to become members as well. This was the case in Trinidad, Barbados and in other Caribbean islands, particularly Jamaica, which

became the 'flagship' of Adventism. Gerloff referred to Jamaica as the 'bright Jewel in Adventism Crown'.⁹⁷ From those early days, individuals were not intimidated in expressing an interest in the new religion, despite efforts made by some denominations to prevent members from associating with Adventists. Many chose to associate with this faith because of the testimonies of family members or friends and the missionary activities of the lay-members. Doctrinally, it also appealed to laypeople affiliated with other churches.⁹⁸

In particular, the doctrine regarding the Sabbath would have reminded many former slaves that Onyamee Kwaame or Saturday God, had a special day – Saturday, as already mentioned in chapter two, according to the phraseology in the Akan society: *Wo were fi na wosan kofa a, yenkyi (It is no taboo to return to the proper order, even though you might have forgotten or neglected it in the past.)*⁹⁹ The Adventist arrival in Jamaica and in the Caribbean reminded them of an older tradition relating to the God of their ancestors.

3.5.4. Motivation, Training and Involvement of the Laity especially Women in Evangelism in the Caribbean

Motivation of members is vital for the continuing existence of the church irrespective of whether the members in the congregation are professionals or non-professionals, employees, employers, or unemployed, skilled or unskilled: all need to be motivated. Motivation becomes effective when people receive proper training in evangelism. In Jamaica and the Caribbean lay-members have been trained in a variety of areas, for example, in preparing and giving Bible studies, teaching techniques, visitation techniques, how to reach decisions, sermon preparation, sermon delivery, church and field preparation for evangelistic outreach and crusade sequencing.¹⁰⁰

Both men and women have been trained together and treated equally. Women continue to make up a large proportion of the membership in the SDA churches in the Caribbean, and have equal opportunity to men to conduct evangelistic crusades.¹⁰¹ Many lay-preachers, local leaders and associate pastors are now women.¹⁰² They have provided an 'invaluable service'¹⁰³ in the ministry of the SDA church. In the Central Jamaica Conference (CJC) at

least nine of the lay-preachers who conducted evangelistic crusades in 1995 were women, from a total of seventy-five.¹⁰⁴

3.5.5. Present Situation of Central Jamaica Conference

The CJC is the latest of the three conferences in Jamaica; it was organised in 1962. The population in its territory in 1995 was 1,087,715. The church membership at the end of 1995 stood at 65,385, with 228 churches. Comparing CJC with the Welsh Mission, the smallest territory in the BUC with a population of 3,798,960, and total church membership of 443 in twelve churches,¹⁰⁵ demonstrates the difference in scale.

The reason for the CJC being successful in a steady increase in membership can be attributed to the role of the laity, as shown in tables 111 and 1V. Table 111 gives the number of new lay Bible-instructors and lay-evangelists who received training in four consecutive years, 1992-1995. Such training programmes are also implemented in other conferences in Jamaica and the Caribbean, and are not exclusive to CJC. In the Caribbean, lay-members properly trained in missionary ventures provide the human resources needed to adequately fulfil the mission of the church in the region.

Table 111. Lay Members Training Programmes within CJC 1992-1995¹⁰⁶

	<u>Accumulated Total</u>
<i>New Lay Bible Instructors</i>	4394
<i>New Lay Evangelists</i>	1543

Source: CJC 9th Triennial Session Departmental Report 1998.

Table 1V shows the level of involvement and commitment of the laity in the CJC 1992-1995. An accumulated total of 184,942 laypeople participated in missionary activities, with a total of 550,109 hours between them. They were involved in conducting 714 seminars and crusades, 1,148,554 Bible studies, and distributing over 1.3 million pieces of literature.

Table 1V. Lay Members Involvement in the CJC 1992-1995.¹⁰⁷

	<u>Accumulated Total</u>
<i>Literature Distributed</i>	1,344,523
<i>Lay Bible Studies</i>	1,148,554
<i>Persons Involved in Missionary Activities</i>	184,942
<i>Hours of Christian Service</i>	550,109

Source: CJC 9th Triennial Session Departmental Report 1998.

The amount of people baptised is proportional to the amount of training and level of involvement of the lay-members. For example in 1994 compared with other years we observe a significantly higher level of lay-involvement in training (Table 111) resulting in a greater level of participation of the laity (Table 1V). Baptisms in 1994, as noted in Table V, was higher therefore than in the two previous years and 1995. There is evidence from Tables 1V and V that the greater the level that receive training, the greater their involvement, which in turn accounts for the increase in the numbers of people baptised.

Table V Amount of persons Baptised in CJC 1992-1995¹⁰⁸

	<u>1992</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
<i>Total baptised</i>	3033	3105	3472	3043	12,653

Source: CJC 9th Triennial Session Departmental Report 1998.

Lay involvement in the missionary activities of the church is vital for progress to be achieved in introducing Christ and his teachings to the wider community. For mission to be successful there needs to be a high proportion of membership participation with each doing what they can do best.

The type of training that has been given to the laity in the Caribbean has equipped them for leadership responsibility in the church. It must be understood that Adventist pastors there have responsibilities for between twelve to fifteen congregations, many with a substantial membership. It has not been possible for full-time pastors to be involved in the day-to-day operations in each of their congregations; therefore their role has been varied and has

included supervising, organising workshops and training the laity, i.e. functioning as facilitator. Lay-leaders or Elders, as they are called, have carried the responsibilities for the ministration of their congregation. They have carried out their duties as lay pastors, using their knowledge and experience with regard to church leadership and the mission of the church.¹⁰⁹

3.5.6 The Church and its Medical work in the Community

In the Bible the close connection between word and deeds is clearly seen in the relationship between gospel proclamation and physical healing. Jesus' healing ministry, which accompanied his proclamation of the gospel, is well known and significant. Therefore, it is not strange that the Adventist medical service has been an important part of the church's mission. Seventh-day Adventists very early became involved in medical missions. This concern did not only derive from their desire to help their fellow human being. They also had a concept of health that included the conviction that an individual could render the most effective service to God when his or her body is in good health. This concern did not have a legalistic or ceremonial significance even though they believed health to be related to one's relationship with God. The overriding conviction was that having good health helps us to understand and act on God's will. The Adventist medical service did not only aim at caring for the sick and relieving suffering, but also, at promoting health education, i.e. desirable habits and practices of attaining and maintaining good health. In so doing diseases were lessened or prevented, and the body preserved in good shape.

This philosophy on health has given the SDA medical missions a unique thrust and has placed their medical institutions in a class by themselves. A range of area have been identified for development

- * Education of health professionals
- * Preventive medicine and health education
- * Clinical medicine and dentistry
- * Health evangelism
- * Health care institutions and other facilities.

The health work was from the start to be part of Adventist evangelistic work, as Ellen White wrote,

The breadth of gospel medical missionary work is not understood. The medical missionary work now called for is that outlined in the commission which Christ gave to His disciples just before His ascension.....(Matthew 28: 18-20, is quoted): These words point out our field and our work.¹¹⁰

Again in Ministry of Healing she stated:

...It is the divine plan that we shall work as the disciples worked. Physical healing is bound up with the gospel commission. In the work of the gospel, teaching and healing are never to be separated.¹¹¹

White explained in the book Desire of Ages the intimate linkage between the gospel commission and healing. It included healing the sick by the help of the Holy Spirit, as Christ healed diseases in his time: 'The gospel still possesses the same power, and why should we not today witness the same results?'¹¹² It also included 'the use of simple and natural remedies', similarly to Christ healing the blind man with clay, and then asking him to go and wash himself in the pool of Siloam (John 9:7).¹¹³ Health education was also an important part of the gospel commission. 'Christ had been the guide and teacher of ancient Israel, and He taught them that health is the reward of obedience to the laws of God'. Quoting Exodus 15:26, she stated that Christ gave definite instructions to Israel concerning their health habits. In this way, according to Mrs. White's counsel, medical missionary work had three dimensions, namely, the miraculous divine power in healing, the use of medicine as a curative means to obtain health, and preventive health education. All three are part of the gospel commission and should, therefore, develop alongside the church in her foreign mission venture.¹¹⁴

In Testimonies for the Church Vol. 6, she wrote

The union that should exist between the medical missionary work and the ministry is clearly set forth in the fifty-eighth chapter of Isaiah.....In His word God has united these two lines of work, and no man should divorce them.¹¹⁵

As pointed out, there should be a balance between these two aspects of the special SDA message. If the two are separated, the health appeal could easily overshadow the gospel message. Together they produce the unique SDA missionary approach to holistic ministry. The church's mission is therefore placed in the same category as that of Christ when He was on earth.

Our mission is the same as that of our Master, of whom it is written that He went about doing good and healing all who were oppressed by Satan.¹¹⁶

Many have no faith in God and have lost confidence in man. But they appreciate acts of sympathy and helpfulness. As they see one with no inducement of earthly praise or compensation come into their homes, ministering to the sick, feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, comforting the sad, and tenderly pointing all to Him of whose love and pity the human worker is but the messenger ---as they see this, their hearts are touched. Gratitude springs up. Faith is kindled. They see that God cares for them, and they are prepared to listen as His word is opened.¹¹⁷

This association of gospel worker and medical missionary can serve as an opening wedge and heighten the receptivity of people to the message of God's love. On the other hand, while people may resist unpopular religious reform messages or only consider them reluctantly, expressions of interest in people's physical welfare can often turn the tide and generate an openness to divine truth. Therefore, health institutions have been established for the following reasons:

to relieve the afflicted, to disseminate light, to awaken the spirit of inquiry, and to advance reform.¹¹⁸

3.5.7. The Educational Programme of the Church

A society's understanding of the nature of humanity will form the basis for the kind of system it will set up for the education of its children. In order to develop a system of education that will adequately meet the needs of students and enable them to achieve the purpose for which they were destined, Christians must have a biblical understanding of what people are by nature, as well as what they are by grace, and what they may become by the will and purpose of God. The basis of the Seventh day Adventist philosophy of education springs from its theology. Ellen White, wrote, 'The true object of education is to

restore the image of God in the soul'.¹¹⁹ Again she explained the meaning of true education:

.....True education means more than the pursuit of a certain course of study. It means more than a preparation for the life that now is. It has to do with the whole being, and with the whole period of existence possible to man. It is the harmonious development of the physical, mental, and the spiritual powers. It prepares the student for the joy of service in this world, and for the higher joy of wider service in the world to come.¹²⁰

Concerning education and redemption she counsels:

in the highest sense, the work of education and the work of redemption are one.¹²¹

Developing the thought further, she wrote:

To restore in man the image of his Maker, to bring him back to the perfection in which he was created, to promote the development of body, mind, and soul, that the divine purpose in his creation might be realised—this was to be the work of redemption. This is the object of education, the great object of life.¹²²

Translating this theological orientation into a school's philosophy and programme, she explains:

The true teacher is not satisfied with second-rate work. He is not satisfied with directing his students to a standard lower than the highest which it is possible for them to attain. He cannot be content with only imparting to them technical knowledge, with making them merely clever accountants, skilful artisans, successful tradesmen. It is his ambition to inspire them with principles of truth, obedience, honour, integrity, and purity—principles that will make them a positive force for the stability and uplifting of society.¹²³

With such an educational philosophy, the SDAs, as early as 1872, began to develop a distinctive school system in the USA. As soon as the church had established overseas missions, educational institutions followed. Before 1900, schools had been established not only in the USA but also in Canada, England, Africa, Barbados, Trinidad and Jamaica. In

Table VI below we observe the provision of educational and health care facilities provided by the SDA church in the Caribbean.

Table VI *SDA Education and Health care facilities in the Caribbean (1992)*¹²⁴

	<u>Caribbean Union Conference</u>	<u>West Indies Union</u>	<u>Total</u>
<i>Education - Primary Schools</i>	38	67	105
<i>- Secondary “</i>	17	8	25
<i>- Colleges</i>	1	1	2
<i>Health - Hospitals</i>	3	1	4

Source: SDA Year Book 1992, Archives and Statistics Reports, General Conference of SDA.

The role and influence of Ellen G. White in the establishment of the SDA world-wide educational system is evidenced by the fact that from her writings three compilations have been made on education and related subjects, namely, Education (1903), Counsels to Parents and Teachers (1913), and Fundamentals of Christian Education (1923).¹²⁵ In her extensive counsel on education she referred to establishing schools in the mission fields, how they should operate, and how schools should train missionaries to serve in all branches of church work. In an appeal for mission offering in 1909, she voiced her concern:

*The magnitude of our work calls for willing liberality on the part of the people of God. In Africa, China and India, there are thousands, yes, millions, who have not heard the message of the truth for this time. They must be warned. The islands of the sea are waiting for a knowledge of God. In these islands schools are to be established to prepare students to go to higher schools within reach, there to be educated and trained.....*¹²⁶

Schools were to be soul-winning agencies in two ways, namely, by witnessing in the region in which they were situated, and by training workers for both home and foreign missions. Leaders were encouraged to establish schools, but these schools would not necessarily be patterned after those established in America.

*No exact pattern can be given for the establishment of schools in new fields. The climate, surroundings, condition of the country, and the means at hand with which to work must all bear a part in shaping the work.*¹²⁷

The curriculum to be taught in the schools was drawn from a wide range of subjects. In addition to a strong emphasis on Bible and theology, it also included accounting,

agriculture, cookery, biology, business knowledge, composition, dressmaking, history, language studies, geography, diet reform, physiology and hygiene, mathematics, sciences, speech, spelling, typewriting, shoemaking and writing.

Adventist schools were not established to cater for church members' children only, but also to cater for children within the wider community. This ensured that both children and young people had equal opportunities to learn and to become useful within their environment. While the church was implementing its policy of equal opportunity in education to the children and young people, the state educational structure in the Caribbean was such that it excluded the children of former slaves from acquiring a proper education. The purpose of the secondary education in the colonial Caribbean was either to prepare the student to enter the Civil Service or to equip him or her to enter a university in England. The few students who won scholarships to the secondary schools found employment in the Civil Service. The majority of the population depended on the colonial system that was structured on an economy of rice, sugar and other agricultural products, which demanded a great deal of manual labour but paid low wages. It was an economy that prospered because of slavery and indentured labour. It was not surprising therefore that education in the Caribbean became the only means to social mobility for the sons and daughters of many former slaves, and that manual labour in almost any form was looked upon as degrading.

With regard to manual labour, the Caribbean colonial system looked upon it negatively. For those working with their hands, it reminded them too vividly of the injustice done to their forefathers during slavery. It tended to make them feel too much like slaves, because manual work was all that slaves had been expected to do. For this reason, parents wanted their children to escape the soil and the memory of slavery; consequently, from a very early age parents encouraged their children to become teachers, lawyers and doctors. Yet Adventist educational philosophy took on board and incorporated the teaching not only of academic but also of practical subjects. In this way young people were trained and equipped to relate to the needs in their community and to the wider society and prevented them from looking down on manual labour.

Adventist educational philosophy affirmed that practical skills should not only be for those in manual work, but should be extended to those entering a professional career. In other words everyone regardless of his or her colour or social background should be given the chance to have a balanced education.

The benefit of manual training is needed also by professional men. A man may have a brilliant mind; he may be quick to catch ideas; his knowledge and skill may secure for him admission to his chosen calling; yet he may still be far from possessing a fitness for his duties. An education derived chiefly from books leads to superficial thinking. Practical work encourages close observation and independent thought. Rightly performed, it tends to develop that practical wisdom which we call common sense. It develops ability to plan and execute, strengthens courage and perseverance, and calls for the exercise of tact and skill.¹²⁸

The benefit of having practical skills is seen here to enhance common sense that would enable logical thinking.

As understood and presented by the Adventist world body, the mission of the local church is the effective accomplishment of the task of spreading the gospel message and invitation by Jesus Christ. This should be understood as referring to both 'quantitative and qualitative growth'.¹²⁹ Quantitative growth describes an individual's conversion to the faith or body of beliefs, while qualitative growth refers to the members' nurture, conservation and growth in spirituality. The church school system is seen as a vital part in furthering both objectives, particularly as they relate to the children of church members.

In the Handbook for SDA School Administrators, Brown points out that

through its schools, the Church seeks to provide a God-centred liberal, professional and vocational education with a commitment to academic excellence, physical well-being, moral rectitude, and spiritual growth.¹³⁰

Given this strong emphasis on Christian education within the SDA church, it is not surprising that the large number of members and supporters within the wider community in the Caribbean support the establishment of such a school-system. It is such a school-system the African Caribbean Adventist settlers found lacking on their arrival to Britain in the late

fifties and early sixties. How they were able to address this situation will be discussed later in this study.

3.5.8. Adventist Theological Understanding

Seventh day Adventists have always accepted the Bible as the Word of God. There has never been any doubt regarding the authority of the scriptures. This confidence has helped Seventh day Adventists to remain as one body.

Ecclesiologically, the SDA church has considered itself to be the 'remnant or last day church', i.e. linked to eschatology. This is significant as they try to reflect such an understanding in their everyday activities. There are two aspects. The first, viewed from an every-day standpoint demonstrating this concept of the 'remnant', means to an Adventist Christian being a law-abiding citizen, one who is willing to help meet the needs of others in their community, one who is honest at all times, i.e. a person that can be trusted. It also entails being able to care for the family and to demonstrate the Christian faith in the wider community. If or when a member is not living up to these expectations he or she is prayed for; counselling sessions and practical help follow; if no changes are evident in their lives they are then disciplined by the church.

The second application is demonstrated in the understanding of faith. As the 'remnant' they are part of Abraham's seed, and are to exercise faith in God as Abraham did. As Pearson argued, Adventists 'view themselves as God's remnant Church, a minority which in the end-time will remain faithful when all other Christians accommodate to the secular world'.¹³¹ This will only become apparent when faith in God is paramount. Such faith goes against human reasoning and logic. Adventists often resort to the faith Abraham demonstrated in Genesis chapter 12, where God instructed Abraham to leave his country for another to which God would direct him. Abraham is also cited in the book of Hebrews (11:8) amongst the dignitaries of faith that carries God's people through to the end-time. However, each culture interprets the scriptures and views God differently.

As this chapter has demonstrated, the growth and development of Adventism in the Caribbean has been to a great extent due to the involvement of the laity. Motivation has played an important role towards their engagement and, together with training, has accounted for the rapid development of the SDA church in the Caribbean. In the next chapter I shall establish the elements of Adventism that appeal to the Caribbean population.

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- ¹ Phillips, Glenn, Over a Century of Adventism 1884 – 1991 (Barbados: East Caribbean Conference of SDA, 1991), p.6.
- ² Ibid.
- ³ White, Ellen G, Colporteur Ministry (California: Pacific Press Publishing Assoc., 1953), p.1.
- ⁴ White, Ellen G, The Publishing Ministry (Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Assoc., 1983),p.16.
- ⁵ Ibid.
- ⁶ Ibid.
- ⁷ Ibid., p.9.
- ⁸ Phillips, p.7. Anna Alleyne of St. Phillip, Barbados, was sent a copy of the Signs of the Times magazine by her sister. After reading the magazine she accepted the Sabbath and shared it with her neighbours in Barbados. She became one of the charter members of the King Street SDA church, the first SDA church organized in Barbados, in 1891.
- ⁹ Ibid., p.10.
- ¹⁰ Ibid., p.12.
- ¹¹ Ibid., p.13.
- ¹² Ibid.
- ¹³ Ibid., p.12.
- ¹⁴ Ibid., p.13.
- ¹⁵ Ibid.
- ¹⁶ Ibid., p.15. The first SDA church was organized in Barbados on September 21, 1891. See also SDA Encyclopedia vol 10 (1996), pp.166-167.
- ¹⁷ Elam Van Duesen arrived in Barbados on January 25th 1896. He was originally from Canada, but had been an SDA pastor in Michigan. Van Duesen remained in Barbados for five years. See Phillips, Glenn. p.16.
- ¹⁸ Palmquist studied preventive medicine at the Adventist Battle Creek Sanitarium, prior to going to Barbados in 1898. Ibid., p.17.
- ¹⁹ Ibid.
- ²⁰ Ibid., pp.17-18.
- ²¹ William Arnold, a pioneer colporteur, was born in New York State. In 1882 he decided to make colportering work his career. As a self-supporting worker he went with the first group of SDA Missionaries to Australia in 1885. After spending three years he was invited to London to sell books in 1888. From London, Arnold visited the Caribbean selling his books. Mitchell, Linette. Thy Light is Come, A Short History of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Jamaica (Mandeville, Jamaica: West Indies College Press. 1990), p.18.
- ²² In 1851, Trinidads population was over 69, 609; including people born in Africa, India, other foreign colonies and England. See Williams, Eric, History of the People of Trinidad and Tobago (London: Andre Deutsch Ltd, 1963), p.199.
- ²³ Collens, James Henry, The Trinidad Official and Commercial Register and Almanack (1892), pp.60-62. The six denominations were Church of England, Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, Wesleyan, Baptist Missionary Society, and Moravian Mission.
- ²⁴ Simpson, p. 53.
- ²⁵ Williams, p.199.
- ²⁶ Simpson, p. 55. In 1870, the Rada, Yoruba, Ibo, Congo, and Mandingo peoples, in Port of Spain, lived in separate communities.
- ²⁷ Williams, p. 198. In Trinidad there were forty religious schools in operation, with an attendance of 1000 children.

- ²⁸ Review and Herald, June 21, 1892. The Great Controversy was written by Ellen G. White in 1888.
- ²⁹ Ibid.
- ³⁰ Murray, E.J, A History of the SDA church in Trinidad and Tobago 1891-1981 (1982), p.19. The four persons were St Clair M. Phipps, Louis J. Briggs, George Maitland and James Braser.
- ³¹ Pierce, James, Rise and Progress of the SDA work in Trinidad. See Murray, E.J., p.20
- ³² Ibid.
- ³³ Ibid., p. 21.
- ³⁴ The twenty-three persons baptised included eleven members of one family F. Atherly, M. Carnavan, S. George, St Clair Phipps, J. A. Pierce, C. Pierce, L.J. Briggs, P.N. Cox, B. McNeal, M. Qualice, T. Khadoo, A. Khadoo, B.M.Thorne, L.N. Thorne, J.H.Thorne, P.T.Thorne, S.A.Thorne, W.A Thorne, C. M. Thorne, J. Thorne P. M. Thorne, S.H. Thorne, and T.T. Thorne. J. Atherly was accepted into the church on profession of faith and former baptism. Ibid, p.23.
- ³⁵ Ibid.
- ³⁶ Review and Herald, 24 March 1896.
- ³⁷ Ibid.
- ³⁸ Ibid., 27 October 1896.
- ³⁹ Ibid., 11 February 1902.
- ⁴⁰ General Conference Bulletin, 30 March 1903.
- ⁴¹ Gleaner, December 1912.
- ⁴² Ibid., February 1914.
- ⁴³ Trinidad Guardian, February 9, 1932. p.1.
- ⁴⁴ Field Gleanings, July 1932.
- ⁴⁵ Black laymen, such as Elias Auguste, held successful meetings at Carenage, Diego Martin and Teteron Bay; Aubrey D. Narcis' meetings were held at Sangre Grande and La Romain. In Tobago Frederick Lewis, Cyril Mills and Irenius George were among those who conducted Bible studies with individuals and families successfully. See Murray, pp. 70-71.
- ⁴⁶ Payison was of African decent. He accepted Adventism at the age of twenty. Ibid., p. 71.
- ⁴⁷ Ibid., p.72.
- ⁴⁸ Field Gleanings, November – December 1966, p.6.
- ⁴⁹ SDA Encyclopedia vol. 10 (1996) p.794.
- ⁵⁰ Rock, C.B. Institutional Loyalty Versus Racial Freedom: The Dilemma of Black Seventh –day Adventist Leadership (PhD dissertation, May 1984), pp.110-111.
- ⁵¹ Caribbean Union Mission Minutes, 11 September 1946, p.2. The three individuals selected for training were: Evelyn Dummett, Agnes Harris, and Olive Hunte.
- ⁵² Field Gleanings, February 1954, p.7.
- ⁵³ Ibid.
- ⁵⁴ Sunday Guardian, 20 October 1957, p.3.
- ⁵⁵ Trinidad Guardian, 3 December 1962, pp.1-2.
- ⁵⁶ Ibid.
- ⁵⁷ Trinidad Guardian, 3 September 1966, p.6.
- ⁵⁸ Born of African parents.
- ⁵⁹ Henry Wiseman, the nephew of Charlotte Pierce, one of the first six converts of A.E. Flowers, entered denominational service in 1919 as a colporteur and was invited to do ministerial work in 1921. He pastored churches successively in Trinidad, St Vincent and Tobago until he died on March 1, 1940. Nathaniel Gooding, served the SDA church for twenty-six years, first as conference departmental secretary and as a pastor. G.E. Peters worked in North America and served the church at its highest level. In 1941 he joined the General Conference staff as secretary of the Negro department. See Murray, pp.27, 29.
- ⁶⁰ Gleanings, May 1909.

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- ⁶¹ South Caribbean Conference Resolutions, 11th Session, 1917.
- ⁶² Inter-American Division Minutes, 1926, p.146.
- ⁶³ Port of Spain Gazette, 26 April 1927, p.11.
- ⁶⁴ Ibid.
- ⁶⁵ East Caribbean Union Conference Committee Minutes No.113. 9 August 1927.
- ⁶⁶ Gleanings, September 1937.
- ⁶⁷ Ibid., May 1928.
- ⁶⁸ Murray, p.57.
- ⁶⁹ Ibid., p.61.
- ⁷⁰ Gleanings, Third Quarter 1997, p.7.
- ⁷¹ From 'Church and State', SDA Encyclopedia, pp. 257-258.
- ⁷² General Conference Committee Minutes 1948, p.14.
- ⁷³ Government of Trinidad and Tobago, Central Statistical Office, Annual Statistical Digest, No.8, 1958, p.97.
- ⁷⁴ U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1978, p.135.
- ⁷⁵ South Caribbean Conference Committee Minutes, August 10, 1952, p. 249.
- ⁷⁶ SDA Encyclopedia vol 10. (1996) p.794 (the schools were Bates Memorial High School, Harmon High School and Southern Academy).
- ⁷⁷ Murray, p.38.
- ⁷⁸ Mitchell, p. 20.
- ⁷⁹ Ibid., p.21.
- ⁸⁰ SDA Encyclopedia, p.818.
- ⁸¹ See Gerloff, Roswith, A Plea for British Black Theologies (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1992), p.289. Also Annual Statistical Reports No's 95- 126 , compiled by the Office of Archives and Statistics, GC of SDA, Takoma Park, Washington DC, 1957 – 1995.
- ⁸² Porter, p.16. SDA served in the non-combatant corps. Also Fryer, Staying Power, gives account of the British West Indians Regiment in active combat in the First World War. pp.294-297.
- ⁸³ Mitchell, Thy Light is Come, p. 33.
- ⁸⁴ Ibid., p.34.
- ⁸⁵ Ibid., p.36.
- ⁸⁶ White, E.G., Colporteur Ministry, p.140.
- ⁸⁷ Ibid., p.149.
- ⁸⁸ White, E.G., The Publishing Ministry, p.347.
- ⁸⁹ Ibid., p.227.
- ⁹⁰ Ibid.
- ⁹¹ A.E Flowers, L.M. Crowther and E.W. Webster's wife and daughter died of yellow fever in Trinidad. See Murray, pp. 20-24.
- ⁹² Ibid., p.42.
- ⁹³ Phillips, p.13. A member of the clergy belonging to the Methodist church attacked Ball, the Adventist preacher, on the teaching and methods used, charging him with using 'underhanded means' to propagate his views. This was published in the Wesleyan Watchman, 17 June 1891.
- ⁹⁴ West Jamaica Conference 9th Triennial Session Report, 19-22 August 1998. p.17.
- ⁹⁵ The Advent Impact, West Indies Union Conference of SDA, Mandeville, Jamaica, 1998.
- ⁹⁶ Central Jamaica Conference 9th Triennial Session Report, August 26-29, 1998. pp.10-11.
- ⁹⁷ Gerloff, p.290.
- ⁹⁸ Mitchell, pp. 21-22.
- ⁹⁹ Mensa, p.3.
- ¹⁰⁰ David Beckles, Evangelist at East Caribbean Conference, interviewed 15 Sept.1998.
- ¹⁰¹ Debbie Spooner, lay preacher in Barbados, interviewed 15 Sept. 1998.

- ¹⁰² David Beckles,
- ¹⁰³ B.A. Reid, President of West Jamaica Conference, interviewed 30 Sept. 1998.
- ¹⁰⁴ Central Jamaica Conference 9th Triennial Session Report, 26-29 August 1998. pp. 14-16.
It is the author's opinion that the amount of women lay-preachers in this conference is very much higher than quoted, but it is difficult to distinguish their names, as the list uses initials.
- ¹⁰⁵ SDA Yearbook 2000 Archives and Statistics Reports, GC of SDA.
- ¹⁰⁶ Source from Central Jamaica Conference of Seventh Day Adventist, 9th Triennial Session Departmental Report, pp.18-19.
- ¹⁰⁷ Ibid.
- ¹⁰⁸ Source from Central Jamaica Conference of Seventh Day Adventist, 9th Triennial President's Report, p.10.
- ¹⁰⁹ Thomas, L.C., West Jamaica Conference, interviewed 30th Sept. 1998.
- ¹¹⁰ White, E.G., Testimonies for the Church vol.8 (California: Pacific Press Publishing Assoc., 1948), p.204.
- ¹¹¹ White, Ministry of Healing, p.141.
- ¹¹² White, E.G., Desire of Ages (California: Pacific Press Publishing Assoc., 1940), p. 823.
- ¹¹³ Ibid., p.824.
- ¹¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 824-825.
- ¹¹⁵ White, Testimonies for the Church vol. 6, pp.289-290.
- ¹¹⁶ Ibid., p.225.
- ¹¹⁷ White, Ministry of Healing, p.145.
- ¹¹⁸ White, Testimonies for the Church vol.3, p.165.
- ¹¹⁹ White, Testimonies for the Church vol.5, p.322.
- ¹²⁰ White, E.G. Education (California: Pacific Press Publishing Assoc., 1952), p.13.
- ¹²¹ Ibid., p.30.
- ¹²² Ibid., pp.15-16.
- ¹²³ Ibid., pp. 29-30.
- ¹²⁴ Source: SDA Year Book 1992, Archives and Statistics Reports, GC of SDA. The figures represent the educational and health care facilities provided by Adventists in Barbados, Trinidad and Jamaica.
- ¹²⁵ A more comprehensive list of the subjects can be found in these books, Education, Counsels to Parents and Teachers and Fundamentals of Christian Education.
- ¹²⁶ White, E.G Testimonies for the Church vol. 9 (California: Pacific Press Publishing Assoc., 1948), p.51.
- ¹²⁷ White, Counsels to Parents and Teachers p. 531.
- ¹²⁸ White, Education, p.220.
- ¹²⁹ Tippet, A.R. Church Growth and the Word of God (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1970), p.29.
- ¹³⁰ Brown, W. J. A., Handbook for Seventh-day Adventist School Administrators, (Washington, D.C.: General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, Department of Education, 1980), p.14.
- ¹³¹ Pearson, Michael. Millennial Dreams and Moral Dilemmas: Seventh – day Adventism and Contemporary Ethics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,1990). p.23.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Appeal of Seventh-day Adventism to Black People.

4.0 Introduction

In chapter three it was shown how the Black population in the Caribbean accepted the teachings and principles of Adventism. Having received training, they then became peripatetic missionaries within their own country; and, as will be shown in chapter 5, many were to migrate to Britain where they continued to fulfil their responsibility as missionaries. The question can be asked, 'Why did they accept Adventist teachings?' What were the factors that attracted them to this relatively new denomination in the Caribbean?

Understanding the appeal of Adventism to Black people, particularly to those who were born into and whose parents and grandparents were part of the slave community during the nineteenth century, is important because the SDA church originally is of a western conservative American Protestant background. This could have disqualified SDA values from being accepted by the Black population. However, the SDA church has generally not experienced any adverse reaction by the Black community towards its teachings. Instead, many have taken up fellowship and have become major contributors and participators to the propagation and development of the SDA church worldwide.

Some appealing elements of Adventism, such as their educational and health care institutions, as discussed in chapter three, have helped the Black community in the Caribbean to develop. These in turn helped to improve the social status and economic condition of members. This chapter will explore some of the other elements that drew them to Adventism. It will be in two parts. The first will deal with the social development of the Black population and the role Adventism played in improving its lifestyle and conditions. The second section will focus on the meaning of salvation, with particular reference to Daniel 7, for the emancipated Black community.

4.1 Social Conditions

We turn first to the social conditions of the African population in the Caribbean. After the emancipation of slaves from 1834, slave owners were compensated from a twenty million pound fund set aside by the British government for the loss of service of their slaves.¹ The emancipated slaves on the other hand were required to remain apprenticed to their former owners for six years, so as to learn to work as free people. The ex-slaves, including children aged six and over, were required to work four and a half days each week, therefore, as Newman stated:

*The Negroes were still compelled to work 45 hours a week without pay, and could still be seized if they attempted to run away. They suffered all the old punishments of prison, the lash, and to these was added the treadmill.*²

The remaining two and a half days they worked to support themselves and their families.³ The conditions of the emancipated slaves showed no sign of improving.⁴ Conditions under which they had to contend resulted in a considerable high rate of loss of life. It was not that the Negroes were more susceptible to the fevers and other illnesses common in those days that were fatal to the Whites. The reason for their death was due to the conditions in which they lived, together with the harshness with which they were treated. In 1823 the British Parliament instructed the colonial governors to put pressure on their Assemblies to improve the condition of the slaves, but this only caused further tension between slaves owners and the officials in London. For example, the Jamaican assembly affirmed that the slave population was as happy as the labouring class in any part of the world.⁵

Africans in the Caribbean during the nineteenth century were at the bottom of the social scale. In Jamaica, the lower classes accounted for four-fifths of the population. Unskilled and semi-skilled workers in agriculture, domestic service, small factories etc, were included in this section of the population.⁶ In Trinidad the lower class was predominantly Black.⁷ The same could be said of Grenada's population, with 77 percent of the population Black.⁸ Voting rights were withheld from the lower classes in the Caribbean:⁹ they were without a voice for the improvement of their condition. For the majority of Blacks conditions were not much better than when they were in slavery.

4.1.1 Community Involvement and Re-establishing the Family

Adventism in the Caribbean has also been concerned with restoring the family, lifestyle and health. In African traditions, when a couple married, more than just two people were united; two families were joined, with a community of extended kin who exerted great influence upon the new family. In describing pregnancy ceremonies, Van Gennep stated that the purpose of the ceremonies was not only to facilitate delivery and to protect mother and child, but also to 'protect the father, close relatives, the whole family or entire clan against evil forces'.¹⁰ When considering the fact that 'marriage incorporated a stranger into the group,'¹¹ it is clear the extended family had a responsibility to develop the well being of the new family. The traditional African family was nurtured and supported within their community, and did not assume independent status like families today in western societies. Parents, grandparents and leaders in the community had an active role to play. Such strong bonding helped the Black family to survive the trauma of slavery, as family members were separated from one another and placed on different islands and plantations. Slavery damaged and fragmented the African family's lifestyle and values. But after slavery they began to rebuild the family within the community. The support and security formally available no longer existed; they began at first to depend on the examples of the host country and environment.

However, even though the western example of the nuclear family was taking shape in the Caribbean, nevertheless, the involvement and support received from within the community became vital. Elderly people served as advisors, particularly older women acted as midwives. The development of Black churches in general and Adventist congregations in particular also helped to foster even further a community-orientated attitude. In the Caribbean they began to refer to each other as brothers and sisters - meaning they are 'one family'. Marriages therefore were often between people belonging to the same religious community and it was not uncommon that members were also interrelated. Members of the local congregation lived in the same locality, and were well known to each other. Freedom of expression was encouraged within these churches, but most importantly, support was available to everyone. Members of the church family

helped each other function as part of the church and wider community. It was through the Black churches that the African family was able to develop.

In Adventism, there is a strong emphasis on family values, stating that marriage is one of God's original 'gifts to the human family'.¹² Clearly, Adventists fostered the concept that the family is composed of males and females. They argued:

*Just as the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are God, male and female together are to make up man. And like the Godhead, though they are to be one, they are not the same in function. They are equal in being, in worth, but not identical in person. Their physiques are complementary, their functions cooperative.*¹³

Part of the primary duty of the family was to reflect God, and the unity that exists between Father, Son and Holy Spirit. The family was seen as more than just two persons; it included the relatives of both partners, referred to as the 'extended family'.

The unity that should exist in the family should also be present in the church. The very core of Adventist eschatological hope is founded on the following principle:

*Marriage was divinely established in Eden and affirmed by Jesus to be a lifelong union between a man and a woman in loving companionship. For the Christian, a marriage commitment is to God as well as to the spouse.....Mutual love, honor, respect, and responsibility are the fabric of this relationship, which is to reflect the love, sanctity, closeness, and permanence of the relationship between Christ and His church.....Increasing family closeness is one of the earmarks of the final gospel message.*¹⁴

The closeness that existed between Christ and the church should function as an example within the human family. Lenore Brantley's study in North America of Black Seventh-day Adventist and the Family referred to Black Adventism as 'a stabilising force'.¹⁵ She indicated five strengths of the family: strong kinship bonds, strong work orientation, adaptability of family roles, strong achievement orientation, and strong religious

commitment.¹⁶ She stressed that this was not to suggest that all was well with SDA Black families. Yet it showed the support available within the SDA community.

Adventists have the mechanisms to strengthen the family through family life counselling service within the church. Another means to strengthen the family unit and to prepare members spiritually is through the daily Bible-study plan. This method encourages members to study a given topic from the Bible, and at the end of the week to discuss with other members what has been gained from the study. The daily study periods are aimed at helping individuals and families to maintain their relationship with God. Adventism provides the necessary resources to enable Adventist Black families to unite, solidify and restore family values on which to establish themselves on a biblical foundation.

Adventism, with its liberating message, offered stability, security and direction to the dispossessed and dehumanised Black population in the Caribbean at that time. This can be examined further in their teachings on Salvation and the Sabbath. Adventist beliefs as an end time message gave assurance of deliverance and promise of a better future to a people who had suffered inhumane treatment in society. In this way, Adventism made use of the apocalyptic vision in an eschatological way, which can be observed in the type of songs used in worship. These will be examined below.

4.2 Spiritual Attractions

In common with other Evangelical denominations in the Caribbean during the nineteenth-century, such as the Moravians, Baptists and Methodists, the SDA church from its inception in the region began to attract large numbers of adherents from the emancipated slave community. Why was Adventism so positively accepted when there were other denominations already present in the region? Or, to put it another way, what was Adventism offering the Black community who had been oppressed and dehumanised by White slave owners? Answers can be found in Adventist teachings and principles. Adventism was a 'holistic religion': it nurtured the spiritual, physical and mental needs of its members. Adventists believed that when humanity sinned, the contact with God became dim and fragmented which caused a separation between the two, but through the

cross of Jesus humanity could be restored when humans put their faith in Him. Thus, the process for restoration to take place in everyone's life was available. This process of restoration began when individuals realised their needs and accepted Jesus Christ as their personal saviour. This is held in common with other Evangelicals. The individual is held to enter into a covenant relationship with Christ, therefore, meeting with Christ daily through prayer, and being filled with the Holy Spirit through Bible study. The eventual outcome is being empowered by the Holy Spirit to 'lean completely on God'.¹⁷ Instrumental in this process were Adventist teachings on eschatology and their concept of the Sabbath.

4.2.1 Salvation

Salvation is a term meaning 'safety' or 'deliverance'. The Greek word '*diasozo*' gives the meaning 'to bring safely through danger'. *Soteria* is also used; this word denotes 'deliverance'.¹⁸ Salvation properly refers to a state wherein a person is removed from peril or threat to a place of safety. In these terms it means 'deliverance, rescue from unfortunate circumstances, alienation, sin and evil'.¹⁹ For the slave community in the nineteenth century, an example of salvation would be a complete eradication of the system of slavery, an opportunity to return back to Africa, and the restoration and recognition of their human dignity and independence.²⁰ Salvation in the Bible has to be understood in the context of,

- 1) deliverance that has taken place,
- 2) deliverance that is about to happen, (as illustrated in Daniel 7), and
- 3) as service rendered, meaning pastoral care to endangered, oppressed or deprived people in past, future and present.

These will be examined in turn with reference to the experience of the African Caribbean population.

1) Deliverance that has already taken place

Events of deliverance are recorded in Scripture under this category. These events serve as a constant reminder to successive generations that God is interested in the well being of whole communities and individuals alike. He is able to deliver anyone and everyone

regardless of their situation. Deliverance is possible. We mention some examples in the Hebrew Bible: Noah and his family were delivered from the flood (Genesis 7, 8 and 9). The Israelites were emancipated from slavery in Egypt (Exodus 13, 14 and 15). Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego survived the danger of the fiery furnace (Daniel 3: 16-27). There are also situations in the New Testament where healing and restoration takes place: healing of two blind men (Matthew 9: 27-31), the deaf and dumb man healed (Mark 7: 31-37), the raising from death of the widow's son (Luke 7: 11-17), and many more.

According to the interpretation of the Black community, what God has done as recorded in the Scriptures is a confirmation that God is also able to liberate people today from whatever position or situation they are in. One of the advantages of such an African hermeneutic is that they believe when in the past God helped them to cope with the dehumanisation and cruelty of slavery, here in the present he helps them to cope with joblessness, poor housings, poverty and discrimination whereby their despair is transformed into hope. This is very practical and relates to everyday experiences. The Black community is interested in what God has done in the past, as recorded in Scriptures, as well as in the testimonies of those who encounter him in the present. All these effectively reassure them of what God can do, or how he can still help them with their particular concerns and problems.

By relating to and identifying with the above mentioned biblical stories, African Caribbean Christians recognise the similarity of their experience with those of the biblical narratives. Their encounters with injustice and inhumane treatment during the enslavement and post-slavery periods enable them now to contextualise their theology within the present situation from which emerges a new community with a new voice. Previously unable to be assertive, the Gospel helps them increasingly to articulate their experience clearly and confidently. Such liberation ensures stability and continuity within the Black community.

2) Deliverance that is About to Happen (Daniel 7)

What God is going to do for his people, is recorded in eschatological and apocalyptic terms in Daniel 7, in which the perpetrator, the victims and the deliverer are mentioned. The perpetrators are presented through the imagery of beasts that represent various animals: Lion, Bear and Leopard (7: 4-6). A fourth beast, both unrecognisable and indescribable Daniel describes as 'terrifying, frightening and very powerful', 'crushing and devouring its victims', has the ability to develop 'ten horns' from which also emerge a 'little horn' (7: 7-8). The victims are referred to as the 'Saints' or 'Saints of the Most High' (7: 21-22, 25). The deliverer is the 'Ancient of Days/ Son of Man' (7: 9, 13-14, 22).

Daniel 7 describes the struggles between the forces of good and evil, and the attempts of the beasts to destroy God's people completely. The beast's power and the little horn exercise authority and power over the people of God. In the period when the beasts and the little horn set up their governments, the children of God will not be tolerated and attempts will be made by these powers to eliminate them. Against these powers the children of God are defenceless.

The similarity with the Black history of oppression is revealing. No human rights or religious liberty organizations defended the slaves or organised protest marches on their behalf. They were left feeling rejected and isolated in society, positioned at the bottom. Therefore, the institution of slavery can be viewed in the context of a beast that hunted, trapped, separated, displaced and dehumanised its victims in order to satisfy its own demand and interest. It had no regard, nor did it take into consideration the safety, feeling or interest of its victims. There is evidence, that some terrible atrocities took place during slavery, and that they went unnoticed especially by those who could have been in positions of influence to help the slave community. Denied of basic human rights. African were overworked and ill-treated,²¹ a two shift-work system was implemented and operational on some plantations whereby slaves worked day and night without having adequate time for themselves. This work system prevented the slaves community from keeping a day of rest, the Sabbath.

To justify their actions some planters argued that;

*it was more profitable to work Africans fiercely, even to death, and then to buy new slaves, than to impose a lighter load and spend more on food and decent living conditions so that slaves would live longer.*²²

Inevitably, high death rates amongst the slaves in the Caribbean were evident. It has been calculated that the African population of Barbados in 1764 on the basis of subsequent importations to the island should have numbered over 112,000 in 1783 instead it had only 62,000.²³ Barbados was not unique. Atrocities against the African population also took place on other Caribbean plantations. The African labour force had nothing to look forward to other than to a life of toil. Maintaining a constant link with their religion was a mechanism that safeguarded their inner peace and developed their trust in God. This was one of the means that accounted for their survival during the enslavement and also post-slavery periods. It later became a driving force that enabled the Black community to cope with life and to develop resilience against racism, prejudice and discriminatory practices, on migration to England.

Emancipation did not automatically render the slaves citizens when freedom was granted. No major changes were evident in their situation. The major imbalances remained, such as ownership and possession of land, and inequality in wealth distribution.²⁴ They found themselves surrounded by the conditions of powerlessness created by the institution of slavery. There was no prospect for them in the job market; they were at the mercy of the White ruling class. The meaning of freedom for the emancipated slaves meant the struggle to gain control over their own labour power while at the same time searching for ways to take control of their own lives.

As George Cumper states,

*The legal change did not destroy the whole social nexus of slavery
....the social subordination established under slavery cannot
be said to be extinct.*²⁵

On the one hand, emancipation gave many slaves mobility of movement. Freedom of movement had symbolic value; it enabled many to be reunited with family members and friends from whom they had been forcibly separated, and to create communities in which

they could freely participate and conduct religious services. This is said against the background of deprivation and alienation on the plantation, which had given power to the slave-owners over human lives. The mobility of movement after emancipation to some degree offered the Africans greater control of their lives. Many had the opportunity to find better employment whereby their living standards and conditions improved for themselves and their family. Migration to other places has to be seen in this light. In later years in an effort to be free from the situation of powerlessness, many African Caribbeans migrated to North America and England.

On the other hand, to a lesser degree, there is still evidence of tension in Caribbean societies today among the oppressed people. The burdens of history are still felt by the Caribbean population, as the 'social and cultural legacies of colonialism and slavery continue to shape their societies.'²⁶ Cumper stated that:

*Their struggle for democracy and independence in the mid-twentieth century has been part of a longer and continuing struggle for freedom and justice. The people are still influenced by the past and are still active in shaping their history in the twentieth century as in the nineteenth.*²⁷

Moving now to the issue of worship, slaves to the Caribbean were restrictive in their worship. On this point of worship, Daniel 7 attests that there will be a period when people will be prevented from worshipping God, a period when religious liberty laws will have no effect. Blacks are also able to identify with suffering from such restrictions. Both historically and experientially, they can relate to what the 'Saints' experienced in Daniel 7:7, when they are 'crushed and devoured' and 'trampled on' by those in authority. In a less drastic way, but nevertheless enduring similar restrictive or destructive rules, African slaves to America and the Caribbean were not permitted by plantation owners to practise their rituals, which were part of their religious heritage. However, the efforts of the Moravian and other evangelical missionaries to convert the slaves to Christianity by relinquishing their African beliefs did not meet these missionaries' expectations.²⁸ Their efforts at conversion only appear to have served to strengthen the slaves' determination to practise privately at night to retain their own religion in its original form without been discovered. This can also be said of almost all Christian denominations including

Adventists in their missionary efforts. They questioned and undermined the African pattern of worship, the use of various musical instruments, styles of singing, 'call and response' in preaching, and the ability to offer spontaneous prayers. These were skills they developed in their African religion that they attempted to carry over into Christianity. This was in contrast to the White community in the Caribbean who, as we saw, were unable to pray without the used of a prayer book, on acceptance of Adventism.

For Black Christians, the deliverance of the saints is inevitable. In desperation, when there seems to be no way out of a particular situation, when there appears to be no hope of deliverance, the question is asked: Where is God? Why does He not help us? Many who found themselves in desperate situations echoed those words. From a human perspective they seem powerless to secure safety or freedom. Yet the children of Israel were delivered out of Egyptian slavery after four hundred years in bondage. The African diaspora in the Caribbean and America was emancipated after three hundred years in slavery.

In the apocalypse, deliverance can come at a time when it is least anticipated. According to Daniel 7, the deliverance of God's people occurred at a time when the rulers expected to remain in power. There are parallels in human history. Authority and power of the rulers, particularly those of the beasts, will be taken away at the height of their reign just when they feel they are in full control of the situation. Judgement will be found against these rulers as their power and right to rule will be taken away. Daniel 7: 26 states that:

the court will sit, and their power will be taken away and completely destroyed for ever. Daniel 7: 26.

People will no longer be fearful of events repeating themselves, neither in their generation nor in any subsequent generations. Also, it will not be an election process alone that will put an end to such barbaric government, but it will include the direct intervention and judgement of God. People's power will unite with the power of God.

For example, the Civil Rights and Black Power Movement that began to emerge in the United States of America in the nineteen thirties did not come to prominence until the

nineteen sixties. In an era of struggle and demonstrations, the Black population confronted and protested against widespread racial oppression. It began when Rosa Parks, a Black woman was arrested for refusing to give up her seat in the front of a city bus to a White man. The apocalyptic writing of Daniel 7 is specific in its narrative concerning the breaking up of human kingdoms. God will initiate the removal but it will also involve people's power. These kingdoms will be given to the people who were once subjected to oppression. They will be invested with power, sovereignty and greatness, which the former rulers had at their disposal. Their kingdom, in which God unites with people, will last forever in contrast to the former ruler's temporal kingdom.

For Black people past and present, Daniel 7 emphasises freedom from oppression and deprivation; it guarantees the complete restoration of their human rights and human dignity. It identifies a community that was treated as outcasts in society, but will finally be accepted as equal in society and given a positive identity. God is able to deliver the human family and provide a future of freedom and justice for all. Therefore the Black community has been able to realise its dreams. The appeal of Seventh-day Adventism to Black people has been rooted within this context. In both past and present the SDA church has provided the means whereby this process of restoration is achieved and recognised in the African Caribbean community and in other parts of the world.

The opportunity for restoration is evident in the provision by Adventists of education and health care institutions. For example in chapter three, we noticed in Table VI the extent of education and health care facilities that were provided by the SDA church in two of their Union territories in the Caribbean. A total of 130 secondary and primary schools were provided, complemented by two colleges. These provisions became the lifelines for a community that had been deprived for three hundred years. Having these facilities, they were able to rebuild their lives both as individuals and as a community in order to make valuable contributions to society as a whole.

3) Service Rendered: the activity of grace in delivering humankind

From here Salvation can be interpreted as service rendered in relation to a God who cares. Salvation describes the nature of God when dealing with human affairs. Through God's providence, humankind is able to survive. The realisation of his protection, guidance, care and love can lead individuals, groups or whole communities to recognise that there is a God who is interested in his people. In the Hebrew Bible, there is evidence of God's intervention in human affairs: 'God is the one who goes with you to fight for you.... to give you victory' (Deut. 20: 4); 'The Lord ...saves those who are crushed' (Psalm 34: 18); 'Wait for the Lord...he will deliver you' (Proverbs 20: 22); 'Your God will come...to save you' (Isaiah 35: 4). In the New Testament, there is the assurance that 'Jesus will save his people from their sins' (Matthew 1: 21); 'Everyone who calls on the name of the Lord will be saved' (Romans 10: 13); 'He his able to save completely' (Hebrews 7: 25); 'He saved us...because of his mercy' (Titus 3: 5).

Hence the Bible reveals to humankind that God is offering his free gift of grace to everyone irrespective of his or her ethnic background, status in society or spiritual condition. It focuses on what God wants to achieve in human lives. God's ambition is to restore humanity to the position where they will be free from the influence of sin and evil. The service rendered therefore is the activity of grace in liberating humankind from its position of hopelessness to one of enrichment, security and freedom. Adventism in the Caribbean offered the Black community the opportunity to develop and also to improve themselves.

4.2.2 The Role of Jesus

Black people see in the process of salvation a God who not only loves them but who understands their needs, and knows their pain, sorrows and sufferings when no one else understands them. They recognise salvation as the means through which God designs that everyone can be a part of his kingdom. For this reason they identify Jesus as God's son who came to earth and lived with the oppressed. They experience in Jesus somebody who knows what it is like to suffer, to be marginalized, rejected and the object of injustice. They regard him as one who identifies with those whose experience in society has been

of misfortune, segregation, displacement and rejection. Therefore, when Black people read about the suffering of Jesus, they are able to understand and identify with most of his experience. From here we understand why many Blacks have affiliated to Christianity, because they identify with the events and incidents in the life of Jesus as recorded in scriptures. They also accept that deliverance from oppression of sin was made possible through his death on the cross. They acknowledge him as the great deliverer of humanity, the one who has the power to rescue people. His power is not limited to any one generation or to any specific period of time; individuals of any generation have access to him. Therefore, theologically, there is no liberation for humanity outside of Jesus Christ, because he is the liberator.

Salvation therefore to the Black community does not only mean deliverance from sin, but also represents the means by which they are delivered from the daily routine of poverty, displacement and a dispossessed status in society. Salvation to them means a better expectation in life generally. This new beginning implies that followers are respected as a people, have equal opportunity and access to education, employment, and can be accepted in society with full rights and privileges as members of the wider community. In Jamaican history, it was this understanding that caused Sam Sharp in 1831 to lead the Montego Bay rebellion, Paul Bogle in 1865 to demonstrate in Morant Bay, and Marcus Garvey in 1914 to set up the Universal Negro Improvement Association, which led to the birth of Rastafarianism in Jamaica.²⁹ Salvation to Sharp, Bogle and Garvey clearly meant liberating slaves and the oppressed community in the Caribbean, not only in the spiritual sense, but also from the social and economic struggles that were part of their daily experience.³⁰

Salvation needs the evidence of changes taking place not only inwardly in heart, but displayed in their involvement and interaction with others in the community. Jesus demonstrated this interaction with the community through his work of healing the sick and of providing food to the hungry. He was clearly concerned about the improvement of the people's social conditions as well as their spirituality. This concept is brought out in 3 John: 2 (NIV): ' Beloved, I wish above all things that thou may prosper and be in good

health'. Black Christian concludes from this that the effect of salvation is to be felt in the here and now and not only with the imminent return of Jesus Christ. This is illustrated in Adventist beliefs as described in chapter two. The SDA church arrival in the Caribbean introduced two development projects that were vitally important to the community, health and education. These projects ensured that individuals gained access to clinics and schools irrespective of social and financial status, or ethnic background. Furthermore, today, these projects continue to have an impact on the overall development of the health and educational programmes in the region.

The effect of salvation on a person in this life is clearly defined by Adventists. In experiencing the grace of God, a person will respond favourably, the evidence of which is reflected in the individual lifestyle. A noticeable change is then apparent in the direction they take toward life and aspiration, and in the mutual respect shown to others in the community. Noticeable is a determination to ascertain and develop skills to enable people to serve God and help the community by involvement in church activities.

4.2.3 SDA Theology as a Theology of Acceptance and Change

God still loves the human race. This is a belief which Adventists share with other Christian religions. Such concepts are clearly stated in Scripture; 'God is love' (1 John 4:8), again we read 'For God so loved the world' (John 3:16): God accepts the condition humans are in. His acceptance of the human condition highlights his unconditional love towards the human race. According to the Bible, he executed his plan for the restoration of the human race through Jesus his son. Jesus Christ was given the authority to restore humanity to the position where both God and humans could have a meaningful relationship for 'God was in Christ reconciling the world to Himself', (2 Corinthians 5:19). In the New Testament, men and women do not have the propensity to accept the relationship God offers; this is possible only through the influence of the Holy Spirit on the individual. "No one is able to acknowledge Jesus Christ except by the Holy Spirit" (1 Corinthians 12: 3). When a person accepts Christ as Saviour and Lord, the love of God is "shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Spirit" (Romans 5: 5). The Holy Spirit's presence in our hearts is in the presence of both the Father and the Son (John 14: 18, 23).

The world is given the assurance that through the Holy Spirit, Christ, 'the true Light,' illuminates "everyone who comes into the world" (John 1: 9). The Holy Spirit's mission is to "convict the world of sin...righteousness, and...Judgement" (John 16: 8). This process of conviction is illustrated in SDA beliefs in the following way:

*First, the Holy Spirit brings to us a deep conviction of sin, especially the sin of not accepting Christ (John 16: 9). Second, the Spirit urges all to accept the righteousness of Christ. Third, the Spirit warns of judgement....*³¹

A change becomes evident in an individual who has been convicted by the Holy Spirit. His or her attitude in relationship to God and others will reflect a new meaning in life. Paul explains it the following way; "when an individual accepts Christ, he or she becomes a new creation; the old has gone, the new has come" (2 Corinthians 5:17). A radical change in lifestyle, behaviour or thinking is the aim. However, this does not always become evident immediately in all individuals; some will require more time and patience than others in order to assimilate the changes taking place in their lives.

Adherents to Adventism endeavour to practise these standards prescribed in the scriptures. However, inevitable there is not always cohesion or discerning right from wrong. Perceptions and viewpoints are shaped according to culture, socio-political events, and experience in life. We pointed to the differences and controversies for priorities in Adventist missions between Ellen White and other leaders of the SDA church in North America in chapter one. These SDA leaders chose to follow the popular views of American protestant and in so doing ignored the opportunity to work with and develop the Black community.

4.2.4 Adventism: A Liberating Message

Adventist beliefs are not only end-time apocalyptic; they are about justice and judgement today. They liberate people for the here and now. This has a powerful effect. Adventism, from its beginning, 'had a vision of the future that empowered the present and gave hope to the believer, and the eschatology that informed them was often apocalyptic'.³² Bradford supports the use of apocalyptic images by stating,

.....Adventism, from the beginning, used the symbolism and language of the great apocalyptic prophets, especially Daniel and John the revelator. ...and Jesus' great end-time prophecies are given in apocalyptic terms, sun blackened, moon bloody, stars falling, powers of heaven shaken, the Son of man coming in power and glory!³³

Apocalyptic concepts appeal to people who are kept down by overwhelming forces of oppression and injustice. In such cases they have 'adopted and adapted the sacred texts of their diaspora host's culture'.³⁴ The stories recorded in the Bible empowered them to deal with their own situation and to be positive about themselves. They assumed their identity as sons and daughters of God. In doing so they developed a 'coping mechanism' that allowed them to transcend to the time when Christ will return and compensate them for the hardship and suffering experienced in their present existence.

Adventism presents a God to people who are interested in the improvement of their community. From this context, Black people identify themselves with God's people as explained in the apocalyptic imagery. Out side of apocalyptic events there are other means given by God to humankind such as the Sabbath rest.

4.2.5 **The Sabbath**

The influence of the Sabbath on the Black Caribbean population was a significant reminder to them that, long before the colonizing Arabs spread their influence in Ghana and Nigeria, their foreparents were worshipping *Chi-Neke*, the Ibo appellation for the 'God of creation'; or *Onyame Kwame*, the Akan designation for the 'God whose day is Saturday'. By hearing the teaching about the Sabbath they were given the means by which they could transcend the shores of the Caribbean to the motherland, Africa, and access information stored in their memory bank. The information they would process, according to Burton, includes the fact that;

for over two millennia, African people were not attending mosques on Fridays or cathedrals on Sundays. But on every Saturday (Sabbath) communities around the African continent assembled to worship the Almighty God – the Lemba and Vamwenyi of South Africa; the Meru, Kalinjeni, and Luo of East Africa; the Akan and Lbo of West Africa.³⁵

Worshipping on the Sabbath for the Black race in the Caribbean further meant the reaffirming of their identity as a people who had not forgotten their creator God. In slavery they were denied the opportunity to conduct their own worship services irrespective of whether it was their own traditional religions or that of the missionaries. Religious freedom, and rights to worship were not recognised nor granted to them. The younger generation born in slavery would not have had the opportunity of worshipping on Saturday. For Black people in the Caribbean the rigorous requirements of slavery made Sabbath observance very difficult and in some ways obsolete. When God freed the Jews from slavery, he re-established his laws to remind them that he was their creator and they were his people. They were also reminded which day they should observe as the day of rest, because in the past God set the example for them to follow: “for in six days the Lord made the heavens and the earth, the sea...but he rested on the seventh day, he blessed the Sabbath day and made it holy,” (Exodus 20: 8-11 NIV).

The Black community in the Caribbean may have seen the arrival of SDAs as a reminder for them to keep the Sabbath that their ancestors kept in Africa for centuries. It also served as the beginning of their severance from the effect of the bondage of slavery, having a specific day set aside weekly for the purpose of resting from work, a privilege they never experienced under the old system of slavery as it was not uncommon for a slave to work over eighty hours per week. The keeping of the Sabbath therefore confirmed their humanity, protected their dignity and rights, and began a process of restoration.

The experience of slavery had a profound effect on the health of Blacks in the Caribbean. On the plantation they were forced into negative lifestyle habits, including inadequate meals, stressful situations, long working hours and insufficient time for proper sleep or rest to enable the restoration of their bodies. These conditions, repeated on a daily basis, broke down the body's immune system, resulting in its inability to resist disease.

Having plenty of rest was important. Sabbath rest was therapeutic in that their minds were directed away from the stress and problems of the week and focused on God in worship. In this way they were refreshed as energy and strength revitalised their body and brought about restoration. The emancipated slaves kept the Sabbath from sunset Friday through to sunset Saturday during which they were able to shut down mentally and physically from their routine of daily work and meditate on God.

The restoration process is activated at the beginning of the Sabbath period when the individual no longer dwells on what is required of them nor what they should be doing the next day. Instead their mind is in a condition of peacefulness and calm and thankfulness to God, for they are at the end of another working week. Helping in this process of restoration would be the use of songs. Songs as an expression of hope.

4.2.6 Songs- An Expression of Future Hope

A substantial number of the songs in the SDA hymnal (Church Hymnal) used in the Caribbean are of a redemptive and eschatological nature that reinforces the church's biblical beliefs. The lyrical expression of these songs stresses the belief in the deliverance and rapture of God's people. An example of this is in a favourite hymn found in the Church Hymnal, entitled 'He's Coming Once Again':

*He's coming once again, To set His people free;
That where He is, in glory bright, His saints may also be?
Then lift the drooping head, Look up, rejoice and sing;
He comes, in majesty sublime, Salvation's glorious King!*

*The earth shall quake with fear, The heavens shall flee away;
And where shall guilty man appear In that tremendous day?
No refuge then is nigh, No shelter from the blast;
The nigh of vengeance veils the sky, When mercy's day is past.*

*His eyes of living flame, The wicked shall devour;
No tongue will lightly speak the name Of Jesus in that hour.
No scorn, no words of hate, For His meek followers then;
But prayers and tears that come too late, Will mark earth's mighty men.*

By singing songs like this people are able to rise spiritually above the painful effects of the sufferings and miseries on earth and focus upon heavenly places, and on the day when

they would be liberated. They sang the songs with conviction and aspiration of an eschatological hope. This hymn, using apocalyptic concepts, reiterates the biblical narratives of liberation, hope, assurance, security, reward, encouragement and happiness. For those outside of God's purpose, it tells of their sorrows and fear, without protection or rescuer; they will be brought to justice and retributed for acting against God's people.

These lyrics and many others like them are a source of strength to Black Adventists. Such songs represent jubilation and triumph, vindication and justice, recognition and redemption. It is also reflective of their protest, resistance and rejection of an earthly system that was not able to cater for their needs. They were denied equal and fair treatment compared with others in society. Songs like this reassured them of a better day ahead when they would be respected, holding their heads high, freed from any fear. When God's people are finally liberated, others around them will be feeling vulnerable and helpless. Those who put their confidence in the continuation of this earth, and lived a life of supposed security, would then come to realise that they are confronted with a radical choice. This song stresses the idea that the safety of a human being only rests in knowing and accepting Jesus Christ. This is well acknowledged by Black Adventists and many others in the Black community. The song reminds them of who they are and how valuable they are in the sight of God.

Similar songs to be found in the SDA Church Hymnal, such as 'Ye Who Rose to Meet the Lord' (181); 'Tis Almost Time for the Lord to Come' (182); 'O Brother be Faithful soon Jesus will come' (173); and 'Lo He Comes' (176) are a source of strength to Black Adventists. They call upon them to be faithful. They give assurance, and promise freedom from oppression, deprivation, discrimination, despair and displacement in society. They have a pivotal role in their daily lives. In the Caribbean, when African Adventists were faced with poverty and were unable to provide the basis to care for their families, or did not have proper housing because of the dilapidated condition in which they lived, when they had to work long hours away from home and were only able to see their family at weekend, singing these songs created hope for the here and now. They

were able to rise above their sorrows and despairs as these songs were used as a cushion to soften the effect of depression, injustice and social isolation felt in society.

Another example is a favourite amongst black Adventists; it expresses their desires for better conditions in life.

*On Jordan's stormy banks I stand, And cast a wishful eye
To Canaan's fair and happy land, Where my possessions lie.*

*O'er all those wide-extended plains Shines one eternal day;
There Christ, the Sun, forever reigns, And scatters night away.*

*When shall I reach that happy place, And be forever blest?
When shall I see my Father's face, And in His kingdom rest?*

*Filled with delight, my raptured soul would here no longer stay;
Though Jordan's waves around me roll, Fearless I'd launch away.*

The biblical imagery used in this song reflects the experience of a people that were deprived in society. Such communities were found in the Caribbean. The emancipated slaves suffered from high unemployment and low social status. They had a desire for relocation. Jordan represents this earth, but also the oppressive conditions in which the slave community found itself. They were well acquainted with the 'Jordan's stormy banks' situation. The African diaspora found itself in a disadvantaged position, at the mercy of the White community. So they dreamt that one day they would find 'Canaan', a land of hope and glory that offered a better opportunity. The song tells the story of a community of people who have been marginalized, dispossessed, and dis-empowered and are craving for an alternative way of life. When the opportunity arose for them to move from one location to another, such an option was often accepted. The Empire Windrush in 1948, for example, offered a fresh start to 430 Jamaicans as they docked at Tilbury.³⁶ In part, England represented their 'Canaan'; it was a land of opportunity, one in which economic prosperity could be achieved to make a fortune within five years before returning to their homeland. Such an expectation led later to several thousands travelling from the Caribbean to England in successive years. Ultimately, 'Canaan' represented 'heaven' or a better country; a place where everyone would be better off and no one in a disadvantaged position. Equal opportunity and equality would be standard practice in 'Canaan'. It would be a joyous place.

For many, expectations and aspirations were destroyed. Many did not fulfil their dreams. They were still held back due to deprivation in education, economic, social, and political knowledge and understanding. However, the song evokes the concept of ownership - 'where my possessions lie'. It relates to the basic human need to have personal possessions in whatever forms such acquirement may present itself. It could be property, education, financial stability, having a voice in the democratic processes in the community or organisation, or securing one's own identity. This meant retaining human rights in both secular and religious environments. The Black community is aware that their possession of dreams or aspirations cannot be obtained whilst in Jordan; they need to enter Canaan.

In spite of the fact that authors outside the Black community wrote these songs, nevertheless they were re-interpreted by Blacks. The words have penetrated Black consciousness and reflect the Black community's experiences and desires. Singing songs like these helps them to 'intuitively recognise that they were more than what had been defined for them in White society.'³⁷ They saw themselves as children of God. This identity gave them the strength and courage to recognise their personhood, and value in the sight of God. Thus these songs had a therapeutic effect on people. Peace and tranquillity was experienced.

The overall appeal of Adventism to the Black community was one of assurance and liberation, which enabled them to develop as individuals and as a unified community. Adventism restored their personhood and enabled them to survive in this world with aspirations for the next. Many began to migrate to Britain from the early 1950's with the intention of securing a better future for themselves and their families. To what extent were they able to retain their commitment as SDA Christians? If there is evidence that many remained Seventh-day Adventists in Britain, the question can be asked, what impact, if any, did their presence have on the Adventist church in Britain? Their arrival and settlement in Britain will be discussed in chapter five.

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- ¹ Newman, A.J. The Times Geography and History of Jamaica (Kingston: The Jamaica Times Ltd, 1943), p.101.
- ² Ibid.
- ³ Ibid.
- ⁴ Ibid., p. 99.
- ⁵ Ibid., p.100.
- ⁶ Simpson, G. E. Black Religions in the New World (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), p.96.
- ⁷ Ibid., p.72.
- ⁸ Ibid., p.80.
- ⁹ Ibid., p.81.
- ¹⁰ Van Gennep, Arnold The Rites of Passage (London: Routledge and Paul, 1977), p.41.
- ¹¹ Ibid., p.141.
- ¹² Seventh-day Adventists Believe p. 295.
- ¹³ Ibid., p.296.
- ¹⁴ Ibid., p.294.
- ¹⁵ Brantley, Lenore, 'Black Seventh-day Adventists and the Family' in: Rock Perspectives, p.150.
- ¹⁶ Ibid.
- ¹⁷ Getting Ready to Meet Jesus (Hagerstown: Review and Herald, 1998), p. 9.
- ¹⁸ Vine, W.E, Vine's Concise Dictionary of Bible Words (Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1999), pp. 324- 325.
- ¹⁹ Hinnells, John R, The Penguin Dictionary of Religions (London: Penguin Books Ltd, 1997), p. 443.
- ²⁰ In our society today examples of salvation might be seen in the liberation of individuals from oppression, danger or abuse such as battered wives, children at risk, or a community in flooded locations to safety.
- ²¹ Watson, J, The West Indian Heritage- A History of the West Indies, p.77.
- ²² Ibid., p. 76.
- ²³ Ibid., p. 77.
- ²⁴ Bolland, O. Nigel, The Politics of Labour in the British Caribbean (Oxford: James Currey Ltd, 2001), p. 25.
- ²⁵ Cumper, George, as quoted in Bolland p.25.
- ²⁶ Ibid.,p. 1.
- ²⁷ Ibid.
- ²⁸ Lamur, H.E. Slave Religion on the Vossenburg Plantation (Suriname) and Missionaries' Reaction. In Verene A. Shephard and Hilary McD. Beckles (eds), Caribbean Slavery in the Atlantic World (Oxford: James Currey Publishers, 2000), pp. 714-721.
- ²⁹ Watson, Ibid., pp. 153, 160. See also Hinnells, John R, Who's Who of World Religions (London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1992), pp.126-127.
- ³⁰ Similarly, today many Christian churches and para- church agencies are working towards the betterment of their communities, the consequences of the liberating effect when individuals have been granted freedom through God's act of love in Jesus Christ. This sets off a chain reaction, where those who have been liberated will do what is within their power to liberate others in the community from situations that are detrimental to their social and spiritual well being. The SDA church is part of a group that are involved in the development of whole communities through their educational, health, and community service projects as shown in chapter three. This especially shows in Black Adventist congregations in Britain, as will be observed in chapters 7 and 8.
- ³¹ Seventh-day Adventists Believe – A Biblical Exposition of 27 Fundamental

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- Doctrines (Washington DC: General Conference of SDA, 1988). p.63.
- ³² Russell, K.A, In Search of the Church (Bethesda, MD: Alban Institute, 1994). p.5.
- ³³ Bradford, C.F. “Black Seventh – day Adventists and Church Loyalty” in: Rock, Perspectives, p.12.
- ³⁴ Dupre, Louis. (ed), Christian Spirituality (New York: Crossroads Pub. Co, 1991, vol. 3), p.404.
- ³⁵ Burton, Keith A, We’ve Come This Far by Faith (Huntsville: A Voice in the Wilderness Publications, 1996), p. 24.
- ³⁶ Phillips, Mike and Trevor, Windrush, pp. 1,10.
- ³⁷ Cone, James H, God of the Oppressed (New York: Harper San Francisco, 1975). p.12.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Arrival and Settlement Of African Caribbean Adventists in Britain 1952-1980.

5.0 Introduction

We saw in chapter three that many of the emancipated Blacks in the Caribbean accepted the teachings and practices of Seventh-day Adventists. Moreover, chapter four outlined the factors within Adventism, which appealed to them. The values of Adventism were similar in some respects to those of ATR, as Adventism was also a 'lifestyle' religion that catered for the spiritual, educational, physical and social needs of the individual as well as the whole community. This led to many developing a new identity, having the confidence, abilities and aspirations equal to others outside their own community and cultural group. Unlike their forebears, who were taken forcibly against their will to the Caribbean as slaves, their descendants had the freedom to choose where they wished to live. Many migrated to England, the so-called 'mother country'. It is their arrival and settlement that we will now discuss in this chapter.

5.1 The Black Population in Britain before 1952

The period after the Second World War is often cited as the time when race relations and immigration played a significant role in British politics. However immigration of Black people was not a new phenomenon to Britain in the 1950s. Fryer,¹ notes that, as early as the sixteenth century, British society had encountered the presence of African people, working mainly as domestics or entertainers in the royal households. Due to England's involvement in the slave trade thousands of Black people found themselves living in English towns and cities. They became targets as a result of the economic crisis and food shortage that developed, since no group was so visible as the Blacks. Queen Elizabeth at the time wrote to the Lord Mayors of the country's major cities expressing her concern about their presence:

Her Majesty understands that several blackamoors have lately been brought into this realm, of which kind of people there are already too many here.²

She instructed that they should be expelled from England. The Royal proclamation was repeated in January 1601, for them to be arrested and transported back to their own

country, because they were perceived to be 'fostered and fed', in effect depriving her own people of food.³ However, in spite of the many efforts to deport African people back to their countries and colonies there remained a Black presence in Britain.

5.2 The Arrival of Black Immigrants After 1952

Economic factors were the main reasons for the migration of African Caribbeans to Britain in the 1950s.⁴ Their decision to turn to Britain was due to the passing of the McCarran-Walter Act by the United States Congress in 1952. This act reduced drastically the quota under which British West Indians could enter the USA.⁵ So they turned to their 'mother country'. African Caribbean migrants to Britain in the 1950s were British citizens. The 1948 Nationality Act had granted United Kingdom citizenship to the citizens of British colonies. Their British passports gave them the right and privilege to settle in Britain for the rest of their lives. There were strong incentives in their own countries for them to take advantage of such a right to settle in Britain.

The idea of 'push' and 'pull' factors have been used to explain why African Caribbeans left their islands and settled in Britain. The 'push' factors derived from the fact that the Caribbean Islands with a growing population, a decreasing economy, and falling industries could not adequately provide jobs to meet the needs of the population. The 'pull' factors, on the other hand, were that Britain had surplus jobs available and began to advertise for workers from the Caribbean. These opportunities offered a better standard of living and a securer future than they would have had in their own country.

Britain after the Second World War 'suffered from a severe labour shortage'⁶ especially in unskilled jobs and in service industries such as transport. There were two aspects to this shortage. Firstly, the need to engage in post-war reconstruction: cities suffered war damage, many industries were run down as a result of the war, and this necessitated a need to redirect production to civilian output and to rebuild and refurbish worn-out plants. Secondly, the British economy was experiencing long-term changes in the nature and organisation of industrial capitalism. Industries such as the motor-trade developed into increasingly large-scale and capital-intensive ventures, creating a demand for skilled

workers. New employment opportunities were opening up in the rapidly growing service industries and in the public sector. British workers had access to upward mobility that was before unprecedented. This resulted in a movement into new occupations, leaving a residue of unskilled and semi-skilled jobs at the lower levels of the labour market.⁷ It was in these often dirty, poorly paid jobs as well as working unsociable hours like night shifts that the vast majority of immigrants found employment. With labour shortages, vacancies could only be filled by substantial immigration. In 1956, London Transport entered into an agreement with the Immigrant Liaison Service in Barbados to recruit workers; and similar agreements were made with the Trinidadian and Jamaican governments in the 1960's.⁸ Recruiting agreements were also reached for workers to fill vacancies in the National Health Service and other industries. According to Fryer, the great majority of African Caribbean immigrants were in their twenties, and they had plenty to offer Britain.⁹ The majority of the British population believed that the bulk of Blacks were unskilled manual workers, but that was not the case. 'Of the men who came here, a mere 13 per cent had no skills; of the women, only 5 per cent. Again, one in four of the men, and half of the women were non-manual workers. Almost half of the men (46 per cent) and over a quarter of the women (27 per cent) were skilled manual workers'.¹⁰

5.3 Statistics

The new arrivals from the Caribbean in the early years did not meet any restrictions on entry; the 1948 British Nationality Act promised an open door policy towards them and their families.¹¹ Many who were able to afford the fare took the opportunity opened to them. Yet in 1962, the first Commonwealth Immigrants Act introduced an employment voucher system, restricting entry to skilled and professional people.¹² From 1952 to the passing of the 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act, it is estimated that between 250,000 and 300,000 people from the Caribbean settled in Britain.¹³ Whatever the reasons that caused African Caribbeans to migrate to Britain, be it economic necessity, joining relatives, a spirit of adventure, academic or professional ambition, most of them intended to stay for five years; after they had earned and saved sufficient money and or acquired skills to ensure a better future they would return to their home countries. In short, these immigrants came to Britain because they wanted to improve their standard of living for themselves and

their families, an improvement their own countries were unable to provide because of the lack of economic and industrial resources.

In 1985, the Commission for Racial Equality provided data from the 1981 population census. It gave a breakdown of the different ethnic groups in Britain. The data indicates that Britain was host to significant numbers of ethnic minorities. Further indications were that 1.41 million heads of households were born in the New Commonwealth countries and Pakistan (NCP) including, Eastern, Southern, and Western Africa, South and South East Asia, Mediterranean and the Caribbean.¹⁴ For the purpose of this study, only the figures pertaining to migrants from the Caribbean will be examined. The 1981 census informs us that at that time 272,186 household heads were immigrants from the Caribbean, with a further 273,558 that were born in Britain, an overall figure of more than half a million.¹⁵ These figures give us an accurate overview of African Caribbean migration, which will be significant when we later examine the membership growth in the British SDA church.

5.3.1 Demographic Location of the Immigrants

The way in which these significant numbers of immigrants distributed themselves across Britain is of interest, as it signifies an important factor in the overall impact of their presence on society, and on the SDA church in particular. Where African Caribbean immigrants are present in small numbers in any location, their impact seems to be minimal and of no serious concern to the local SDA church. On the other hand, where their presence is in relatively large numbers, it will have considerable impact on the local SDA church.

According to Mason, demographically, African Caribbean immigrants are found mainly in the larger cities particularly in London, Manchester and Birmingham,¹⁶ partly because of job availability, but most important, they followed to where family, friends or acquaintances were already located. Living in these areas ensured the support of others in the Black community especially when seeking accommodation and employment, but also to combat isolation and loneliness. The 1981 census report supports the argument of Mason and confirms that in fact African Caribbeans were to be found mainly in the above-mentioned areas, see Table V11.

Table V11. Main demographic locations of African Caribbean Settlers by the 1980s.¹⁷

<i>West Yorkshire</i>	<i>18, 720</i>
<i>The Midlands</i>	<i>113, 288</i>
<i>Manchester</i>	<i>20, 288</i>
<i>Greater London</i>	<i>306, 792</i>

Source: Ethnic Minorities in Britain.

As will be shown later in this study, these areas, which accommodated large quantities of African Caribbean settlers, have become fertile grounds for the growth of Adventism.

5.4 Encounter with Racism in Society.

5.4.1 Housing

African Caribbeans' first experience of racism was encountered when they were seeking accommodation. This was partly due to the low housing stock, especially in London, as many houses were bombed or damaged during the two world wars. Britain never attempted to coordinate a housing policy that would assist 'non-White immigrants', particularly those from the Caribbean. The Caribbean migrants could not qualify for council housing; most boroughs required a minimum period of residence in the area of two years or more.¹⁸ Their problems were exacerbated by the general unwillingness among White landlords and landladies to accept Black tenants due to the high level of racial prejudice. However, staying near to each other provided a communicating network that enabled the immigrants to share and to recommend new arrivals to private landlords or landladies who were in favour of accepting Black tenants. Finding accommodation for many was their first experience of outright racism.

5.4.2 Employment

An even more critical area of discrimination for Blacks was that of employment. As mentioned above the principal motivation for African Caribbean migrating to Britain was the availability of jobs, reinforced in some cases by direct recruitment. Many, including Adventists, were recruited directly from their country to work in Britain, but found they had to struggle to be accepted in their jobs. Some Adventists recruited to work on London Transport found their managers unwilling to arrange for them not to work on Saturday, in

which case they were forced to find alternative employment. Even though jobs were plentiful at the time, in many industries White trade unionists resisted the employment of Black workers. Some insisted on a 'quota' system limiting the employment of Black workers to about 5 per cent of the workforce.¹⁹ As in housing, personal contacts were crucial in securing jobs and were used extensively for this purpose; 80 per cent found employment through friends.²⁰ Very few found clerical jobs and work as shop assistants. Employers felt that the public might be repelled. For example, the National Health Service prevented Black nurses from being placed on the same level as White nurses. African Caribbean women when seeking training as nurses were often discouraged from taking the State Registered Nurse (SRN) examination, which allowed them opportunity for promotion. Instead, the State Enrolled Nursing (SEN) qualification was offered to them, a shorter course with a lower status than the SRN.

5.4.3 Education

The early African Caribbean settlers were mainly single men, but the proportions of women increased gradually as a result of family reunification.²¹ The arrival of family members was to add to many of these families the experience of racism in school. Their children were categorised as 'underachievers'. The educational system discouraged the dreams of parents and broke the aspirations they had for their children. Teachers' expectations of Black children ensured that many Black children remained disadvantaged in British society. Education was seen as a means of social mobility by their parents, so attaining high levels of achievement at school of their children was very important, adding to the main reasons why they came to Britain. Many became dissatisfied with the educational system and with the label given to their children.

From the 1960s to the 1990s a number of studies examined the educational attainment of African Caribbean children. These generally concluded that Black children were not performing as well as White children.²² Writers such as Coard (1971) argued that Black children in the British school system were faced with three crucial handicaps:

- a) low self-expectation and self esteem;
- b) low motivation to succeed academically;

c) low teacher expectations.²³

The Rampton Report (1981) 'West Indians in our Schools'²⁴ also found underachievement of West Indian children.

Concerns about educational achievement were also voiced by parents belonging to the SDA church. They called for Adventist church schools to be established, and began to petition the British SDA leaders to provide schools in order to ensure that their children could receive a balanced physical, mental, moral, social and vocational education in harmony with church standards and ideals. These parents saw equality and fairness in the Adventist educational system, qualities that were absent from the state school system.

5.5 The British Churches' Reaction to African Caribbean Immigrants

Although Paul taught that in Christ 'there is neither Jew nor Greek' (Gal.3:28), the church does not always practise what it preaches, and has therefore become a reflection of society rather than an agent for change. This is brought out clearly in the way the British churches reacted to the Christian immigrants from the Caribbean, when many attended their church for fellowship. The congregations were ignorant that they had dispatched missionaries to the Caribbean and established churches for the people. When their descendants arrived in England, the 'mother country', they came with expectations that the church would nurture them and care for their spiritual and social needs. This was not the case.

When African Caribbeans were confronted with racism, they sought comfort in their religious experience. Unfortunately Britain was not the home of Christianity. However, racism, which produces rejection and dehumanising attitudes, was not confined to non-religious communities and institutions, but was also found within the established churches. The reaction of the British churches to the arrival of African Caribbean immigrants can be seen from two perspectives, those who attended the established denominations, and those who attended Adventist congregations. Most African Caribbeans that came to Britain attended church in the Caribbean, it was therefore natural that they would continue to do so on their arrival in Britain. As is well documented by various writers, many were confronted with indifference towards them, and in some cases open rejection was evident. The

treatment of the Christian churches toward them mirrored the attitude and spirit of the wider community. MacRobert summed up Black experiences in the churches as follows:

*Christian migrants were ...confronted with the same prejudice and discrimination inside the churches as they were outside.*²⁵

While MacRobert acknowledged that racism and prejudice were the major reasons for the failure of the white congregations to welcome Black people, he highlighted other factors, such as the generation gap, the dullness of English church services, and the lack of commitment of the members. For example,

*migrants were young, while white congregations were often elderly. Most white congregations lacked characteristics which black Christians considered concomitants of authentic faith and spirituality: demonstrable love, life and spiritual power; a high degree of visible Christian commitment; a strong sense of community and full opportunity to participate at every level.*²⁶

Greg Smith, writing on the age structure of inner city congregations, observed that the over sixties accounted for at least a third of the membership of a large number of churches; there were even some with no one below pension age.²⁷ Therefore, it is not difficult to understand the reason for the lack of membership growth in these congregations. There can be no progress or growth if children and youth are not present. Under these circumstances one might have expected that African Caribbeans would have been welcomed by these denominations, since they would have filled the vacuum with a ready supply of youth and children.

The majority of African Caribbean Christians slowly realised it was not possible to have fellowship and worship within the mainstream denominations. As a result some found that their faith began to dwindle causing them to leave the church altogether. Others became founding members of the Black Pentecostal movement. Io Smith in her book An Ebony Cross writes of her experience when she came to England and attended church to worship;

The first place I visited was a church, but nobody said, 'Welcome'. Everybody stared at me as if I was some strange person from Mars or something. When the service was finished I didn't get a handshake. Nobody came out to me and said, 'Come again'. A Black person could go up to the door and stand there waiting to shake

the minister's hand and the minister would hold on to the hand he already held for ages. ...we felt a sense of rejection...fellowship in the mainline churches was not possible.What I found in the British churches was rejection and unfriendliness. That's what made me change from being a Baptist to a Pentecostal.²⁸

The practice of racism prevented the spiritual development of many Black Christians in the church of their choice.

One reason why African Caribbeans felt uncomfortable in English churches was the difference in approach to worship. The cultural difference in worship was and is still evident between White and Black congregations today, including the SDA congregations. Wilkinson writing from an Anglican prospective acknowledged the differences in three distinct areas, namely; prayer, singing style, warmth and openness.

...we experienced the power and articulateness of the Black tradition of free prayer, especially at prayer meetings,...and in times of open intercession and thanksgiving at the daily Morning Prayer. We heard the Black style of singing...and were embraced by their warmth and openness....at family celebrations and observances such as Baptisms, birthdays, times of sickness or death.²⁹

These Christian churches failed to realise the opportunity that was at their disposal to influence and direct the wider community on how to treat strangers. From this aspect Davie stated,

The Christian churches were offered an unexpected opportunity for growth, as Black...Christians arrived in the major cities. That they failed to take this opportunity is one of the saddest indictments of mainline Christianity in this period.³⁰

The failure to grasp the opportunity has, in fact, led to the rapid growth of Black Pentecostalism in Britain. However, many African Caribbeans who came to Britain were not members of the mainstream denominations, neither were they Pentecostal they were Seventh-day Adventist. The rest of this study will focus on the role of Seventh-day Adventism for Black religiosity in Britain.

5.6. British Adventists Meet African Caribbean Adventists

Until the arrival of African Caribbean migrants, the SDA church in Britain had a 'static membership',³¹ which became a cause of major concern for the White church leadership. The British public of that time had little interest in religion or attending worship. It was a period of national affluence. With full employment, the population's 'spiritual need was not readily discerned'.³² The desire for economic advancement outweighed the need to be in harmony with God. African Caribbeans on the other hand not only fulfilled their obligation in helping to keep British industries and economic balance at the appropriate level to meet market demand, but, moreover, kept religious activities alive through their regular meetings and attendance, thus indicating their loyalty to God in the independent, Pentecostal and Oneness churches. Can the same be said about African Caribbean Adventists in their relationship to the SDA church in Britain?

Before the arrival of African Caribbean Adventists in the 1950's there were small numbers of Black people to be found in many of the SDA congregations in London.³³ Their presence in the church did not give rise for concern amongst the indigenous members; nor did Caribbean Adventists arriving on the Empire Windrush in 1948. Those arriving in the early 1950's stated that they did not 'experience any rejections' from White church members in the local congregations at first.³⁴ The relationship between Black and White members was balanced in many congregations, while the Black presence did not exceed two or three in number.

5.6.1 The New Gallery Issue

This situation changed from the late 1950's, when the Black Adventist presence continued to grow. The White leaders' fear and reaction to the steady growth of Black members within the BUC first came to light in November 1959, in a letter of the SEC Committee addressed to the members in the London Region. Black members were openly 'discriminated' against and barred from attending meetings held at the 'New Gallery' on Sundays. This became known as the 'New Gallery' issue.

The New Gallery building was a former Crown property at Regent Street in the West End of London. The property was acquired in 1953 with funds from the GC, to establish it as a permanent evangelistic centre. Besides the main auditorium, it had other facilities such as a reading room, a bookshop, offices and several other rooms.³⁵ It was also the home of the Central London church. In 1959 George E. Vandeman, a White American Adventist minister, was sponsored by the GC to conduct a series of evangelistic meetings. Vandeman, already familiar to many Black Adventists from the Caribbean, naturally attracted them to the meetings. These meetings also gave an opportunity for Black migrants to attend religious gatherings on Sunday afternoon. This was what they were accustomed to in the Caribbean. It was also very likely that Black immigrants who were made to feel unwelcome in the mainstream denominations also attended the New Gallery. The White BUC leaders objected to the Black presence, and in their letter they attempted to justify their decision of barring them through putting the blame on the Black members. We quote:

Certain pre-campaign announcements were made involving our West Indian brethren, which appear to have been misunderstood. In his effort to be helpful, the Central London Church pastor gathered about him a small group of responsible West Indian brethren from the Central Church, to explain the position under question. Later, a further and larger informal meeting was held, including West Indian representatives from several London churches, and at which members of the Gallery House Committee and the Conference president were present. It was left to the various representatives to pass on the suggestions discussed at the meeting. Very unfortunately the earnest requests made have been misconstrued.....Under the circumstances we consider the issue of a positive statement desirable.³⁶

It is obvious that several attempts were made by White leaders to prevent Black migrants from attending the New Gallery. The 'pre-campaign announcements' referred to in the letter, were instructions for Blacks to stay away from the meetings. This is also illustrated in the various tactics employed by the BUC leadership in a deliberate attempt to get their intention across to the Black members attending the London churches. The Black members' disregard for the White leaders' request to keep away from the meetings, in effect, forced the White leaders to declare more plainly their motives for not wanting Blacks at the meetings. In so doing, their racist attitudes became evident to the Black

members. Further examples from the letter to the Black membership in London can be quoted,

*Many of our members are unaware of the fact that the Centre was established at tremendous cost for the evangelising of London's white millions, and particularly the upper social classes.*³⁷

The letter made plain that it was with the White populace of London that prejudice against Blacks could be found, while at the same time, denial of its existence within the SDA church.

*While there is no colour discrimination in our Adventist communities, we simply cannot avoid observing the existence of a colour prejudice among "London's White millions." Here you will agree, is our problem. How can we possibly hope to attract London's non-Christian colour prejudiced people into the Gallery, when a large proportion of persons they see there are coloured? Brethren, white and coloured, please try to appreciate this problem along with us, by regarding it from the standpoint of the man on the street. What has Londoner actually seen as he walks along Regent Street on a Sunday evening outside the New Gallery? Groups of West Indians, happy people, engaged in animated conversation. What impression has this scene unconsciously made upon his or her mind? He or she would conclude that the New Gallery must be, either an Evangelistic centre mainly for coloured people, or, that it is a West Indian club. ... Accordingly, we have appealed to the enthusiastic missionary spirit of our West Indian brethren to help us, ... and refrain from visiting the Gallery on Sundays.*³⁸

Black members never forgot the content of the letter. They had become aware of the racial prejudice within the British SDA church. They realised that this mentality of racial prejudice had made White leaders regarding Black presence as a hindrance to attracting White people to Adventism. White Adventists' attitude was no different to the one displayed toward Blacks Christians by White Christians in other denominations. The attitudes of White Adventist leaders, as we will observe further in this chapter, affected their ability to listen and care effectively and impartially to the needs and concerns of the Black members.

Up to the time of the arrival of Black migrants, British SDA congregations were largely 'homogeneous' and to some degree could be viewed as a 'family affair'.³⁹ We can view them as clubs for members only, where membership growth was 'provided by the children of existing members'.⁴⁰ Strangers were not welcomed, and certainly not, if and when the 'hosts' were to find themselves outnumbered by the 'guests'. Hence the British White Adventist community was faced with choices that were painful and difficult for some of them to come to terms with and accept. Equally, Black Adventists were shocked on discovering the small membership of the church in Britain. Many came from communities in the Caribbean where Adventists were numerous and well known and respected. Adventist churches in the towns have large memberships, with more than one congregation to be found in the areas. As already mentioned in chapter three, Adventism in the Caribbean was a vibrant community of believers active in transmitting Adventist beliefs to others in the wider community.

5.6.2 Cultural and Religious Shock

For many of the new arrivals, Adventism was different in Britain compared with their Caribbean background. They experienced a cultural shock especially in terms of their religious experience. They were accustomed to Adventism of a quite different character, Adventism being aggressively evangelical, and the church seem as a large extended family that performs and meets not only religious but also social and psychological needs of its members. Moreover, they expected the White Adventists to be more outgoing and lively in their interpersonal relationships with one another. What they found was, that the indigenous members were reserved and private; that the church seemed to play a minor role in the area of social care; and that there was a lack of witnessing opportunities; all these African Caribbeans had to adjust to and overcome. Coming from a background where witnessing is the hallmark of Adventism, the core of the work of the church, and where sharing one's faith is the primary goal and objective of the church, they felt that the true spirit of Adventism as they had known it at home, had gone missing. From an African Caribbean Adventist perspective, they felt British Adventists did not know fully what Adventism was all about.⁴¹ To African Caribbeans, the focus and mission of the church was witness. They did not see members prepared in large numbers to give Bible studies,

nor groups holding and conducting evangelistic services, or going door-to-door witnessing. Black Adventists believe these are some of the means whereby a person becomes aware of the presence of Adventists in their locality. In those early days not many of the British public knew where to find an Adventist church. The interviews conducted by the author (all interviewees already SDAs in the Caribbean before migrating to Britain). Showed the following: On locating an SDA church in Britain, 80% of them made contact with the church through another Black Adventist living at the same address as themselves, 10% were given the address in the Caribbean before arrival and another 10% found the church after they were contacted by other Black Adventists knocking at their doors.

In the early period of African Caribbean immigration the experience of cultural and religious shock caused many to grow cold in their faith. For example, adjustments to the time fluctuations at sunset for the start of the Sabbath would be a problem for some. A significant number did not know the time changes irregularity until they had arrived. The majority who came did not experience any difficulties in leaving work early in the winter periods, but for others it was not easy to find an appropriate job that would be flexible enough to give time off for Sabbath, especially during the winter months. This was a crisis of faith for some, especially for men, who had arrived ahead of the rest of their families; survival was the priority for them.

Many men felt that they had an obligation to ensure that the families left behind should not be left destitute; it would be a disgrace if wives, children and relatives had to borrow when husbands, fathers or sons were in England, a land believed to be paved with gold. Many had travel fares to repay, and again, it would be a scandal at home, if it became known that a man had neglected his financial responsibilities. Such were the pressures on these men, who at that time had little support and guidance at their disposal to draw on in this crisis of faith. Many who then left the church, but have now returned, did so because they did not want to appear to be hypocritical. They were uncomfortable in living a life of double standards, and obviously painful and traumatic experience. It explains, too, why many failed to formalise their membership in the early years. They could not bring themselves to take up membership and not to be fully committed to their faith.

This could be another reason for the early detached posture that some of the African Caribbean Adventists took up initially. Being accustomed to a socially warm church environment, they felt rejected as a result of the cold reception received, after being taught to believe that Adventists everywhere belonged to one large happy family.

5.6.3 Members of the Church Family

As pointed out earlier, African traditional models of the family and the community in which one lived were interdependent; support was available from both individual families and from others in the community if and when the need arose. In this sense, everyone in the community was accepted and treated as a family member even though not biologically related. In their Adventists teaching the body of believers is referred to as a 'family', thus the titles 'brother and sister' are used when addressing each other. This is not unique to Adventism, but is the case in Black Pentecostal movement, where e.g. the application of 'mother' is also used when addressing elderly women in the congregation. The metaphor of family reveals in theory and practice a caring church where people are loved, respected, and recognised as 'somebody'; a place where people acknowledge that they need each other and are able to form and give appropriate support if and when needed. Members of a family have a strong sense of bonding and know they belong to that particular group and not to another, because they are accepted and the relationships between members are sound. In the church family, members are able to grow and their talents develop to strengthen and support others both in the congregation, as well as within the wider community. It means there is love toward each other that engenders a deep loyalty, which in return undergirds, encourages, stabilises and reinforces the relationship. The African Caribbean Adventists environment exhibited these characteristics of the family. Whereby people learn to live in unity while not losing their individuality. Adventists portrayed this belief in the following way in their 'Fundamental Beliefs' under the heading 'Unity in the Body of Christ':-

The church is one body with many members, called from every nation, kindred, tongue, and people. In Christ we are a new creation; distinctions of race, culture, learning, and nationality, and differences between high and low, rich and poor, male and female, must not be divisive among us. We are all equal in Christ, who by one Spirit has bonded us into one fellowship with him and

with one another; we are to serve and be served without partiality or reservation. Through the revelation of Jesus Christ in the scriptures we share the same faith and hope, and reach out in one witness to all. This unity has its source in the oneness of the triune God, who has adopted us as His children.⁴²

This model of church is accepted and is adhered to by members within the same cultural group without much difficulty. It is implied also through the contribution of mission offerings, which mean responding to the needs of others outside of their locality. Maybe it was easier for immigrants to understand the SDA model of the 'church family' as also transcending cultural and racial barriers, extending and including people from various communities, countries, races and nationalities. From here they were able to welcome unreservedly other SDAs in both their own country and those abroad as members of the same church family. Moreover, it was not difficult for them to do so due to their African heritage. African Caribbean Adventists generally do not distinguish between cultural groups or different nationalities within the church, all are one, belonging to one body, known and referred to by one name 'Seventh-day Adventist'.

From this context Barry Andrews, an African Caribbean Adventist remarked: 'I'm a Seventh-day Adventist. An Adventist can go to another Adventist, Black or White, for help and get it.'⁴³ Andrews at the time was speaking from the perception and experience of how Black Adventists relate to each other in the Caribbean. For many African Caribbean Adventists their experiences have proven otherwise.

In summary, African Caribbean Adventists arrived in Britain expecting that members of the Adventist church adhered to the same concept with regard to a 'world wide brotherhood'.⁴⁴ However, attending British Adventist churches, some Black Adventists quickly realised the differences. Outsiders were not accepted as part of the church family, with equal rights and opportunities to have a voice and work side by side with the indigenous counterparts.

5.7. Membership Growth

In Martin Anthony's report to the BUC Executive Committee in June 1980, he outlined the progress of membership growth in Britain. Membership grew at a steady rate between 1940 and 1950 at 9.8%, from 5,915 to 6,666. The next decade showed a dramatic increase of over 37% from 1951 to 1960. This increase was mostly felt in Southern England particularly in London, with static membership in Scotland and Wales and a 15% loss in Ireland.⁴⁵ With 9,277 in 1960 the growth continued to be noticeable for the next two decades: 12,101 in 1970 and 14,569 in 1980. In 1984 the British membership stood at 15,338, the largest union in the Northern European Division.⁴⁶ In analysing the rate of growth for the SDA church in Britain, Gerloff concluded,

From 1902 until 1925, the church in Britain grew by more than 300%. This figure drastically dropped to only 57% from 1925 to 1950, in spite of massive evangelistic campaigns in the twenties and thirties which attracted an attendance of thousands but did not fill the local churches, and despite the fact that the war could have aroused possible interest in apocalyptic questions. In fact, after 1945, there was even a small decline. This was unexpectedly reversed by immigration: from 1950 to 1975 the membership rose by 92.5% in twenty-five years! From 1953 the year when West Indians first came in greater numbers to 1964, just after the first Immigration Act, the organization grew by more than 42%. From 1964 to 1971, the year of the second Immigration Act, there was another rise by 19%. The years 1971, when the new Government bill had almost stopped immigration, to 1975 saw a slight growth of 3.3%, a good percentage in comparison with other British churches.⁴⁷

As previously shown, Greater London attracted a substantial amount of African Caribbean immigrants. How did their presence affect the growth of the SDA church in the South England Conference (SEC)? We answer this question by examining the membership growth for the thirty years from 1950 to 1980.

In 1950 the SEC had a membership of 3,663, and was made up exclusively of Whites. By 1980 the membership stood at 8,299 and were largely Black. The implication of such development will be discussed later in this chapter; the important point is the rate of growth experienced in the SEC. The age group of African Caribbean Adventists was much

younger than that of the host community. This inevitably led to a large number of children from the African Caribbean section of the church.

Table V111. *Membership growth for the South England Conference 1950 to 1980.*

<u>Years</u>	<u>Membership</u>	<u>Years</u>	<u>Membership</u>
1950	3663	1970	6947
1955	4130	1975	7363
1960	5080	1980	8299
1965	5869		

Source: From BUC Statistics.

5.8 The Settlement of African Caribbean Adventists

Initially, as pointed out previously, African Caribbeans came to Britain with the expectation of returning to their country within five years. During those interim years, many adopted an 'observing posture' in the congregations they attended. This was their way of adjusting to, and coming to terms, with the new culture and with the differences in British Adventism. It was not long before these settlers began to realize that their plan to stay for five years had to be discarded as many were setting up families, participating in further education and establishing careers. As a consequence, the transfer of membership to local churches was accelerated, setting in motion a doubling of church membership as seen above between 1950 and 1970, in both the BUC and SEC. A study made in 1965 in the SEC of baptisms taking place in the years 1963 and 1964 reveals that, of the 446 people baptised, 202 (45.5%) were African Caribbean immigrants, of which 53 were children of Adventist parents. Important and relevant also is that 90% of those baptised came from the London churches.⁴⁸ Understandably, by 1979 the accession of Black members through baptism was 82% in the BUC.⁴⁹ The formal transfer of membership from the Caribbean to the BUC signalled the end of uncertainty and adjustment, and ushered in a period of settlement. While many were transferring their membership from the Caribbean to Britain, there were also those who actually returned 'home' in the 1970s either on retirement, or migrated to Canada or the United States of America.⁵⁰ Their departure did not affect the growth of the church significantly; new members immediately took their place.

The effect of great numbers of Black Adventists becoming members of the British SDA church caused feelings of fear and threat among the White membership. Some of them found the 'uninhibited style of their fellow African Caribbean believers disconcerting and uncomfortable'.⁵¹ Others felt themselves to be in a 'state of siege'.⁵² Many retreated from the city churches to provincial ones in order not to be identified with the Black membership of the church. This action led to the SDA church in Britain later to be perceived as being exclusively Black in its composition.

5.9 The Establishment of New Congregations.

The emergence of Black SDA congregations was not deliberately designed by African Caribbean members, but became necessary because of the situation in which they found themselves. As more African Caribbeans joined family or friends in Britain, their presence also increased within the SDA church. This caused concern to White members in these congregations. As the composition of congregations began to change from a White to a Black majority image, certain discriminating attitudes towards the Black presence also began to surface. This did not happen in overt ways as in some denominations, it manifested itself subtly under the disguise and aspirations of establishing a new branch Sabbath school.

Until the arrival of African Caribbean Adventists, British congregations on the whole were mainly small. There were exceptions. For example Stanborough Park in Watford, Holloway in North London, and Newbold College churches had a larger membership due to circumstances. Stanborough Park, situated on the site of the church headquarters was home to the staff that worked at both the schools and at the BUC. The church in Holloway at one point was the 'mother' church for North London and therefore known by most people. Newbold College church understandably would have drawn its members from both the staff and student body.

White congregations, particularly those in the metropolitan areas often suggested to Black members to establish their own congregation elsewhere. Alternatively, the White members occasionally would move voluntarily to the provinces and establish all-White

congregations. Through this process the SDA church in Britain became segregated, but most congregations in London came into existence due to one of the processes mentioned. For example, between 1961 and 1965, eighteen new churches and companies were organised, all of which were African Caribbean. Stoke Newington in North London was the first all-Black church to be organised.⁵³ Continuing to practise their religion in morning and evening devotions the Black presence grew and became more involved in the mission of the Church. It became inevitable that conflicts arose which would give Blacks a fuller representation at all levels of the decision making process of the organization.

5.10 The Needs of Black members

According to the book of Acts the early church was made up of various nationalities cultures, languages and classes of people. Despite existing barriers, all were in harmony with one another. Any problems arising were quickly sorted out, in order not to become a hindrance to the spreading of the gospel. In Acts (6: 1-7) reference is made to complaints of inequality, injustice and to some extent rejection shown toward certain groups within the Christian community, as a result of which decisive action was taken at the time by church leaders to rectify the situation.

This is an example from which Christian churches and leaders are able to develop strategies in dealing with conflicts and issues arising from time to time involving differing cultural groups. This was not the case with the White administration at the time. What caused the leadership to be so slow in responding to African Caribbean needs? Could it be that the BUC leaders felt that the Adventist message was sufficient? Perhaps they felt the African Caribbean members were becoming too demanding or unreasonable. What were these members' needs, and were their requirements unreasonable? Their needs were certainly not instantaneous, but occurred at different periods and fall broadly under the following categories:

a) Pastoral Care

From the early 1960's, Black Adventists were dissatisfied with the way the SDA organization was operating in Britain. It was running in a way that was not 'beneficial to

the Black section of the church.⁵⁴ They were neglected in many ways by the leadership of the organization. Accounting for over sixty per cent of the membership in the church, they noticed their presence was conspicuously absent among the pastors, leaders and other church workers. Woolford stated that from 1952 to 1980 only a few Black British youth were admitted to Newbold College for ministerial training, with subsequent employment in the British Union.⁵⁵ Summing up the situation the SDA church found itself in, Gerloff stated:

While being the Christian body with the highest active West Indian membership, it had proved incapable of giving way to fair representation.⁵⁶

An analysis of the composition of ministers was given as followed;

Of 132 ministers in 1975 only five were Black, three in London and two in Birmingham; in 1976 there were six, three in the South and three in the North... Although Newbold College had taken in young Blacks ever since the sixties, in 1975 alone five graduated.⁵⁷

Considering that the composition of the membership was mainly African Caribbean, it necessitated a pastoral care team that understood the experiences of the members. At the same time, relating their experience to the biblical narratives in order to stimulate imagination and transform lives, it needed the establishment of a mechanism whereby spiritual, psychological and social needs were met. Such pastoral care would address their needs appropriately. Many conflicts derived from the fact that political, religious and community leaders failed to listen to those that were most vulnerable and marginalized. Unless a structure was found to enable individuals, communities, different nationalities, cultures or races to have a voice and their own identity, the original problems would recur until something was done to rectify their situation or condition. The absence of this mechanism brought about long-term frustrations and tensions.

b) Christian Education

From the late 1960's when African Caribbean parents began to bring their children to Britain and others already born in Britain began to attend English schools, the provision for the Church to establish more schools to provide Christian education was foremost amongst the needs of Black parents and church members. As mentioned earlier, the British

education system was failing to provide Black children with an education whereby they could compete equally with their White counterparts in and out of the classroom. As their children were not achieving as expected within the state school system these parents concluded that more Adventist schools were needed. They had confidence that Adventist education would help their children to achieve academically. These parents were committed to the principles and philosophy of Adventist education; they were schooled in Adventist institutions in the Caribbean. Christian education for them was an important part of the Adventist tradition and life style. Apart from their own experience of Adventist education, they were unhappy with both the lack of religious and moral emphasis given in the state-school system, and with poor academic standards and performance amongst Black children. In their opinion, the provision of SDA schools was a way of ensuring that their youth received an equal opportunity to learn and achieve high academic standards that would enable them later to have a profession. They recognised it also as a means of maintaining Adventist values and ensuring the continuous supply of leaders in the church. Furthermore, they understood it also to be a form of witnessing to the wider community, in that children of non-Adventist backgrounds could also attend the school. From their experience in the Caribbean, they were aware of the benefits that could be derived from establishing SDA schools in various towns and cities.

c) Public Evangelism

In spite of the fact that Black members were the main participators and contributors to the evangelistic programme of the church, they were not wanted by the church administrators to organise more public evangelism in the cities.⁵⁸ As mentioned in chapter three, Black Adventist members from the Caribbean were effective workers who were proficient lay leaders and well trained evangelists. Many would have been active members in the Caribbean. They would have been involved in the administration of their local congregations, or have been members of their Conferences or Union executive committees, or would have sat on one of the various committees of the Conferences or Union before migrating to Britain. With their expertise and experience in church management and evangelism it would have been only natural for them to want to be involved more actively in evangelism. They had a lot to offer the church at the time, but the leadership overlooked

their suggestions. On this point Porter seems to support the attitude and inaction of the leadership when he stated;

The White laity has never been allowed to play any really significant part in the government of the church, and as almost all the Blacks in that period were lay people, they had no more influence upon administration than the White laity had.⁵⁹

Porter may have been correct in his assertion regarding White management styles, but this did not apply to Adventist leaders in the Caribbean. In contrast to the attitude of British Adventist leaders, the task of church leaders in the Caribbean was to enable the church members to participate fully; creating an environment that encouraged the members to pursue goals that met both their personal needs and those of the church. Consultation with lay leaders was an ongoing process that served to unify and develop the church in the region. Taking into consideration the humiliation, displacement, rejection and racial discrimination that African Caribbean Adventists experienced in the SDA church, Porter, recognising and acknowledging their loyalty concludes, 'It is remarkable that Adventist immigrants remained faithful to their church in such large numbers.'⁶⁰

5.11 The London Laymen's Forum

The White administrators at all levels of the church organization, together with many local church pastors, did not understand the needs of the Black members. Tension and conflicts quickly developed and, in some cases, each side referred to the others as 'them and us'. A significant number of the Black church community, particularly within the Greater London area, felt increasingly the need for a clergy that included persons of similar background and experience as theirs. Out of this situation emerged the lay organization called the 'London Laymen's Forum' (LLF) consisting of lay-members from the London churches; they led the struggle within the organization to deal with perceived prejudice in its practice. Founded on 23 November 1973, the purpose of the LLF was also to give leadership to the Black section of the church,⁶¹ which had no representation in the administrative structure. It was also 'to encourage the progress of the church in Great Britain.'⁶² At the time church members in SDA congregations both in London, the Midlands and Manchester were advised by some pastors not to support the LLF, as it was seen as subversive and political

in nature. Consequently, not all Black members supported the LLF at first. This situation was rectified when members of the LLF began to visit various congregations in London and other cities such as Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds etc, and to explain to members why the LLF was formed and what it hoped to achieve for the progress of the church. In 1976 the Greater Birmingham Laymen's association joined in the protest.⁶³ Such joining together and giving oneself a name was unheard of in Adventism in the Caribbean and in Britain.

Before and after the formation of the LLF, Black Christians including those from Adventist tradition, were known to resort to what Beckford has called 'political quietism'.⁶⁴ He identifies two types: spiritualisation and pacification. By 'Spiritualisation', he referred to the way in which the actual real-life concerns of the Black community, and indirectly of the Black Church, were interpreted as cosmic concerns only to be changed by consulting God through prayer. Consequently, when people experienced difficulties or problems at work, or in the church, their most effective response was prayer. They believed that God would work things out, and after long, sincere family or church prayer-sessions, they not only felt better but believed that God had heard and was dealing with their interests. On this point Beckford concludes;

*Despite the psycho-social satisfaction we experienced from prayer, this spiritualisation of reality promoted socio-political passivity: there was no external protest or challenge to the White supremacist powers within our town.*⁶⁵

Pacification refers to the commitment to a particular domesticated, neo-colonial social mentality whereby Blacks respond to oppression with dignity, pride and self-respect. African Caribbean Christians were able to control and conceal their anger verbally. In this way, they would be seen to be representing Christ in their behaviour and attitude, and not to respond in the same way as those who were not Christians. This was their strength, and the evidence that they had gained victory over sin. This type of passive socio-political response to existential concerns was related to their faith in a God of Order who governs ones behaviour. Beckford is correct when he states that they 'did not engage in social analysis, and they certainly did not think about political action'.⁶⁶ The praxis of the LLF, occurring within the SDA church in the 1970s and early 1980s, reveals what Beckford calls

a 'dialectical tension'.⁶⁷ Black consciousness opposed the political quietism of older generations of Black Adventists, and those of Adventist tradition. Black resistance, another form of Black empowerment, enabled the Black community in and out of the church to take a stand, as for Blacks in the church this empowerment was to secure justice not only for Blacks, but also for everyone. This concept is brought out in Viewpoint, the paper of the Greater Birmingham Laymen's Association; it stressed the fact that 'it is Christian to seek justice and consideration for all men'.⁶⁸ Black empowerment also had the potential to enable those who were marginalized, disposed, and disempowered to imagine alternative ways of living. The individual was transformed and developed new ways of thinking, as Benjamin argues;

*It produces a spiral movement in one's experience, which allows one to grow and become more self-determined and liberated. It gives one the space to re-examine one's traditional beliefs based on new revelations and understandings.*⁶⁹

Black empowerment affirmed the Black members in the view that they were equal in Christ with other Adventists, and that appropriate mechanism and privileges should be there too.

The LLF formulated a four-point campaign in which they urged the church leaders:

- 1) to organise more public evangelism, especially in the cities;
- 2) to set up Church Schools and provide a Youth Centre for London;
- 3) to provide more Black pastors for inner city churches; and,
- 4) to racially integrate the Church at all levels of its administrative structure.

The four points mentioned above summarised and represented the ideology of the Black Adventist community in both the Northern and Southern Conferences, even though there was in general a better relationship in the Northern conference between Black and White members and pastors than in the London churches. Nevertheless, drawing from their experience as Adventists in the Caribbean and the role they may have played in church development, there was a consensus that the four points presented by the LLF would further develop Adventism in Britain.

5.12 Which Way Forward?

The BUC administration was obviously taken off guard by the Black membership's articulation of its concerns and, more explicitly, its determination to be involved in the development of the church. What, however, was the attitude of the BUC administrators in meeting and providing the level of care, nurture, involvement and educational provision that African Caribbean Adventists needed? Is it possible that they expected African Caribbean Adventists to return to the Caribbean after five years as they had expressed on their arrival? This would be an excuse not to see the necessity for Black involvement in the management of the church at any level. To involve them could have been interpreted also as an invitation for them to stay longer. Whatever their thoughts, it is evident that the administrators were not sufficiently equipped to understand cultures other than their own. However, it can be said that some gestures were made in that direction, as can be seen in the following examples.

a) K.A. Elias' Visit to Jamaica

With growing dissatisfaction amongst African Caribbean members, report of their situation obviously reached Adventist leaders in the Caribbean. An invitation was sent for a representative from the BUC to visit the West Indian Union. K.A. Elias, president of the NEC, in 1967, responded to the invitation. The purpose of his visit as stated in the minutes was in the 'interests of furthering good relations between the ethnic groups in Britain'.⁷⁰

b) Formation of Ethnic Group Committee

The formation of an Ethnic Group Committee within the BUC in 1972 could be taken as an indication of the desire for greater understanding. The committee proposed the following recommendations in two areas, pastoral care and evangelism. In relation to pastoral care, it was stated,

- 1) *That beginning in 1973 a Sabbath be set aside as Human Relation Day and that an article be prepared to be presented in each church on that day.*
- 2) *That a Standing Committee on Race Relations be maintained to consider specific situations involving race relations.*
- 3) *That in churches whose membership is made up of various ethnic parts provision*

be made for discussion and explanation of differing cultural backgrounds.

- 4) *That youth departments in conferences and churches endeavour to arrange positive youth activities to meet the needs of different races represented in our membership.⁷¹*

With regard to evangelism, it was suggested,

- 1) *That where evangelistic campaigns are planned for the purpose of reaching the indigenous population of Britain, members of immigrant churches who may be located nearby might help by attending the campaign in smaller groups. This might avoid the possible impression that the church is an immigrant organization.*
- 2) *That evangelistic presentations should include the moral obligation of all Christians to believe in the dignity of man and brotherhood of mankind in Christ.⁷²*

c) E.H. Foster's Visit to Washington

By 1974, conditions obviously had not improved for the relationship between the LLF and the White administration. A peaceful solution could not be found in dialogue between the two parties to resolve the tension and distrust that existed. With a memorandum from the BUC Executive Committee, E.H. Foster, the BUC president, in May 1974 visited the Church Headquarters in Washington where he met with officers and presented the request from the BUC Executive. Clearly indicated in the memorandum was what the BUC administration saw as the prevailing problem affecting the British Adventist church. The root of this was the lack of 'evangelistic outreach and White indigenous development', which resulted from the 'influx of immigrants over the past twenty years from the West Indies'.⁷³ To substantiate his claim extracts were quoted from two non-Adventist sources, after which he added:

The SDA church in Britain is a small minority religious group with an increasingly large proportion of Black members. These are important factors that impede the evangelisation of the 55 million inhabitants of the British Isles. And without this specific evangelistic impetus not only do we fail to fulfil our God-given responsibilities but we heighten the probability of a completely Black church in this Union. There is no colour bar in the SDA churches in Britain.⁷⁴

He stated further the factors that constituted the focal point of the memorandum:

- 1) The overcrowded churches in London and Birmingham, constituted mainly of Black members, inhibit the attendance of White people.
- 2) The minority of White children and youth, including the families of White ministers, lacked essential fellowship in this situation.
- 3) The worker force was not sufficient to provide pastoral care and evangelistic outreach.

In view of the circumstances that the White indigenous Adventists felt themselves to be in, the memorandum asked that a 'massive pioneering evangelistic programme' be carried out, that would require substantial GC aid in providing finance and personnel to reach the fifty million people in the indigenous population of Britain.⁷⁵ This programme they envisaged would take 5-6 years, from 1975 – 1980, with the objective of virtually re-establishing the White work in Britain.⁷⁶ Of the twenty personnel required, twelve were to be White evangelists for the White indigenous population, with eight White pastors to work in London and Birmingham thereby allowing British workers to work amongst the Whites.⁷⁷

The GC for reasons of its own did not respond to the BUC memorandum. As Porter explained afterwards, the GC, with 'a fine sense of impartiality, turned a deaf ear to the BUC pleas.'⁷⁸

d) The Regional Conference Debate⁷⁹

The setting up of a Regional Conference, which had facilitated all-Black Conferences in the USA of the past, was one of the options considered by the BUC executives. Creating such a conference would give greater involvement to Black members in the governing of the British SDA church. It is not clear how the idea for a regional conference emerged, because the LLF was at the same time negotiating with the administrators for full integration of Black pastors working with their White counterparts. The SEC plans-committee set up at the SEC session the previous year (1975) also brought out the idea for a Regional Conference to be established according to Foster. It reads,

Whereas we recognize that there is a need to promote closer relationship between all members in order to fulfil the Gospel commission, Recommended: that the South England Conference

Committee give study to the preparing and submitting to the British Union Conference a recommendation on a race relations policy that would allow a fuller Black representation at ministerial, departmental and administrative level, and that Black ministers be trained here or recruited from overseas to care for churches of predominantly Black membership.⁸⁰

The plans-committee's recommendation in effect was asking for full integration of both Black and White pastors working together at all levels of church administration.

What happened next is important to understand how the idea for a Regional Conference developed. Foster's documentation to the BUC membership informs us that a subcommittee was formed of members of the SEC Executive committee, to whom this plans-committee resolution had been referred. Gerloff stated that the subcommittee comprised:

Three West Indians (one pastor and two laymen) and four British including the SEC president, plus, by invitation, the Union president and the Stewardship and Lay Activities department director.⁸¹

After studying the plans-committee recommendation, the SEC Executive subcommittee suggested instead another option where the two sides would work separately.

That the only possible way to obtain the increased representation for Black members, which this resolution envisages, necessitated a separate administrative organization. Thus the Union was asked to undertake this feasibility study.⁸²

The idea for a separate administrative body to oversee the development of the Black work in Britain came from the SEC Executive subcommittee. Theobald also concludes that the idea for a regional conference did not originate from the Black members.⁸³ But when the I.L.F. became aware of the subcommittee recommendation to the BUC Executive committee for the consideration of a regional conference, they supported the idea. The reason as Gerloff points out was that,

The SEC had become much too large to be an efficient single unit: It had 86 churches. The average number per conference in the Northern Europe-West Africa Division is 22, in Europe 17. London alone had 27.⁸⁴

e) Referendum

A Referendum was taken among the BUC membership and the result was printed in the 10 December issue of the Messenger. Just over 40 per cent of the membership voted. About 800 voted for the establishment of a regional conference, with the rest of the membership, over 4000, voting against the idea.⁸⁵ As far as the BUC administration was concerned the matter had been sorted out, and the membership had decided. However, the bitterness and distrust between members of the LLF and the White administrators remained. Maybe this was coincidental, but three days (13 Dec 1976) after the result of the Referendum on the Regional Conference was published in the Messenger, the BUC Executive committee met and voted to set up a Race Relations Standing committee.⁸⁶ The function of the Standing Committee was outlined in the minutes of the March 16, 1977 Executive committee meeting. The minute states that it was voted to accept the following as the terms of reference of the Race Relations Standing Committee;

*To give consideration as requested by the referring union, conference or mission Executive Committee, to matters that pertain to the well-being of all members irrespective of country of origin.*⁸⁷

The purpose of the standing committee as set out in the minutes was for

- a) *The development of a harmonious corporate entity.*
- b) *The outreach to all sections of the community.*
- c) *The presentation of a good and accurate understanding of the church to the general public.*⁸⁸

The setting up of this Standing Committee was intended to present a united front to the membership and the general public. In this way the LLF would be viewed as fighting a personal battle against the church administrators. Maybe the BUC strategy would have worked, if it had not been that the SEC Executive committee approached the BUC Executive committee again requesting a meeting to discuss the issue of establishing a London Regional Conference. The BUC minutes read as follow, it was voted to,

- 1) *Approve the SEC request that a consultative council be arranged with local conference, union, division, and GC representation, meeting with representatives from the churches in London which have requested, and those that are interested in, establishing a London Regional Conference.*
- 2) *If the findings of this council require it, to request the NEWAD to appoint a commission to investigate all aspects of the establishing of a*

*London Regional Conference.*⁸⁹

A subcommittee was to be appointed consisting of Foster the president, as chairperson, Low, Hinks, Gammon, Leigh, Elias and Logan:

*To provide information on the basic factors such as territory, financial involvement, pastoral staff, church properties, and rights of individual members, that would be relevant to the discussion envisaged on the consultative council.*⁹⁰

From a meeting held three month later in March 1978, a package for integration was formulated. The Pierson package as it is known will be discussed in the next chapter.

5.13 Did the Black Presence in the SDA Church Impede White Attendance?

As I shall show, it was common knowledge within the Black Adventist community during this period that the White leaders were using Blacks as a 'scapegoat' for the reasons why White members did not attend church. As already shown in chapter one, the British SDA church was having difficulties retaining its White members before the arrival of African Caribbean Adventists. Porter gave us an insight into the difficulties which the church faced at the time in attracting White indigenous people to Adventism, when he stated;

*Herculean efforts might be put forth to win new converts, but the Staple of the church's growth was provided by the children of existing members.*⁹¹

A completely White church was not able to attract their own people. What was the reason for this? One explanation is the complacency and disloyalty on the part of some of the ministers to fulfil their role in the mission of the church. This caused the BUC Executive committee in 1962 to reaffirm the resolution of the 1960 Winter Council of the Northern Europe and West African Division (NEWAD). It stressed the importance of pastors being personally involved in evangelism:

*That stronger emphasis be laid upon the minister's responsibility to conduct strong evangelistic campaigns and undertake systematic house to house work and dynamic regular baptismal classes in the church.*⁹²

Pastors were to get back to the basis of their work in ministry to evangelise and increase the number of White members in the church. A goal of 250 baptisms was to be reached by

December of that year.⁹³ It was divided amongst the two Conferences and three Missions as follows:

<i>South England Conference</i>	<i>125</i>
<i>North England Conference</i>	<i>95</i>
<i>Welsh Mission</i>	<i>15</i>
<i>Scottish Mission</i>	<i>10</i>
<i>Irish Mission</i>	<i>5</i>

It could be argued, that the main reason for setting goals and ensuring they were reached was to enable the pastors to regain a sense of mission. Some had become indifferent to their work as pastors and were preoccupied with work outside the ministry. As mentioned in the same minutes of 1962, under the heading 'Sidelines', the BUC committee voted to bring to the attention of their workers once again the long-standing policy of the denomination that reads as follows:

Our conference and institutional workers shall refrain from all side Lines of business and give themselves wholly to denominational work and the ministry of the gospel, and that our administrators be urged to call to the attention of their working forces frequently in workers' meetings and similar gatherings the stand of the denomination on this subject.⁹⁴

The leaflet 'This One Thing I Do', which deals with employment 'on the side', was to be distributed to all the workers.⁹⁵ There were always suspicions and questions among Black Adventists that they did not know or could not see what work the White ministers were doing in the church. They saw them only on Sabbath mornings if and when they were leading the service. So they contrasted the role of the British pastors with the one of pastors in the Caribbean.

Of significant importance to this debate was Martin Anthony's analysis of the fall in White membership in 1980; he did not believe that the immigration of Blacks was the cause for Whites ceasing to attend church:

The writer suspects that the influence of immigration on White attendance has been exaggerated, and that a considerable proportion of those who lapsed in church fellowship would have done so anyway, and used immigration as an excuse for their lapsation.⁹⁶

Referring to the membership in London for December 1952, of only 1059, he wrote:

Many who joined the church in....London were never too solidly rooted in their new church affiliation, and their subsequent lapsation was to a degree predictable. The fact that so few original members remained from the pre-1950 period in our city churches is nearly as equally true of churches where very little immigration has taken place.⁹⁷

Writing in the early eighties and a member of the BUC Executive committee, he was fully aware of the way his colleagues were thinking. He pointed out :

One thing must be clearly stated here, immigration must not be used as a scapegoat for the decline of the White church in the larger cities.⁹⁸

Anthony's statement not only rejected the attitudes and claims of his colleagues in ministry, but also exposed their racist attitudes towards the Black membership in the church. However, in March 1978, two years before Anthony's report to the BUC Executive committee was completed, Robert Pierson, the GC president, visited Britain together with three senior GC officers to unveil peace proposals to end the conflict and tension in the British SDA church. The proposal has become known in Britain as the 'Pierson Package'. The purpose of the 'Pierson package' was to ensure greater racial integration in the British SDA church. A more detailed examination of the proposal will form the basis of the next chapter.

This chapter has attempted to provide a broad overview of the arrival and settlement of African Caribbeans in Britain. Concentrating principally upon those belonging to the Adventist faith, an attempt has been made to highlight the initial impact their arrival and settlement had on the SDA denomination in Britain. However, African Caribbean settlers in Britain in other denominations and organizations have a similar history, culture and experience, both before and since migration. Recognising the significance of these similarities, as well as the common experiences of discrimination, exclusion and neglect felt particularly in church, is an important precondition for understanding their desire for racial integration within the SDA church. It is the task of the next chapter to explore the process of racial integration as set out in the Pierson package.

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- ¹⁰ Ibid.
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- ³⁴ In interviews conducted by the author, forty-four percent of the interviewees

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- confirmed that they did not notice any racism toward them in the SDA church in the 1950's.
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- ³⁶ Gerloff, p. 759. For a full transcript of the letter, see volume 2, pp. 759-761.
- ³⁷ Ibid., pp. 759-760.
- ³⁸ Ibid.
- ³⁹ Porter, p. 40.
- ⁴⁰ Ibid.
- ⁴¹ Thirty per cent of those interviewed by the author felt there was a lack of understanding by British Adventists regarding what Adventism was about.
- ⁴² Seventh-day Adventist Church Manuel (The General Conference of SDA, 1986), p.27.
- ⁴³ Gerloff, p. 278.
- ⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 277.
- ⁴⁵ Anthony, p.15.
- ⁴⁶ Leenhouders, John, Statistics of Seventh –day Adventist World Membership (Bracknell: Newbold College, 1984), p.4.
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- ⁴⁸ Anthony, p.17.
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- ⁵⁰ Ibid.
- ⁵¹ Davidson, Keith, “The Black Experience in Britain: Windrush 2000” In Marshall, D.N., (Ed) A Century of Adventism in the British Isles (Watford: British Union Conference of SDAs, 2000), p.23.
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- ⁵⁵ Woolford, O., “The 70's Struggle: A Black Perspective”, In Marshall, D.N., (Ed.) p. 34.
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- ⁵⁹ Porter, D., Crisis in the British Union, p.7.
- ⁶⁰ Ibid., p.4.
- ⁶¹ Davidson, p.23.
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- ⁶⁶ Ibid.
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- ⁶⁹ Benjamin, F., “The Politics of Preaching to Exiles”, In Gerloff, R.H., (ed.), Open Space: The African Christian Diaspora in Europe and the Quest for Human Community. International Review of Mission, vol. LXXXIX, No. 354, July 2000 (Geneva : World Council of Churches), p.356.
- ⁷⁰ See BUC Minutes item 171, 31 August 1967, p.109.
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- ⁷² Ibid., p.93.
- ⁷³ Foster, E.H., Memorandum To The General Conference Officers Through The NFWAD Executive Committee From The BUC Executive Committee, May 1974, p.1.
- ⁷⁴ Ibid., p.2.
- ⁷⁵ Ibid., p.3.
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- ⁷⁷ Ibid.
- ⁷⁸ Porter, Crisis in the British Union, p.8.
- ⁷⁹ For a detail account and analysis of the Regional Conference debate see Gerloff, "A Plea for British Black Theologies", pp. 304-318. and Theobald, Robin, "The Politicization of a Religious Movement: British Adventism under the Impact of West Indian Immigration". British Journal of Sociology, vol. 32 No.2 June 1981, pp. 208-213.
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- ⁸¹ Gerloff, p.305.
- ⁸² Foster, p.2.
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- ⁸⁶ See BUC Minutes 13 Dec 1976, p.148.
- ⁸⁷ See BUC Minutes 16 March 1977, p. 30.
- ⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 31.
- ⁸⁹ See BUC Minutes 6 Dec 1977, p.87.
- ⁹⁰ Ibid.
- ⁹¹ Porter, A Century of Adventism in the British Isles p. 40.
- ⁹² See BUC Minutes 1962, p.13.
- ⁹³ Ibid., p.14.
- ⁹⁴ Ibid.
- ⁹⁵ Ibid.
- ⁹⁶ Anthony, p.31.
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CHAPTER SIX

The Pierson Package and its Aftermath

6.0 Introduction

Chapter five sketched the arrival and settlement of African Caribbean migrants to Britain and the initial impact this has had on the British SDA denomination. We saw the failure of the White leaders to recognise and accept African Caribbean members' needs and to allow them greater involvement in the management of the church; this inevitably led to frustration, disappointment and the breakdown of human relationships between the Black members, mainly in the London churches, and the leadership of the BUC.

There were a number of factors, as pointed out in the last chapter, that led to the emergence of the LLF in the 1970s. Underrepresented Black Adventists in Britain recognised that the church's White administrators had repeatedly overlooked their needs as members in good standing. To rectify this situation, representation was made to the GC by both the White British administration and the LLF who kept the GC informed about the situation in Britain.

Black Adventist leaders¹ in the US were also aware of the situation of the Black members in Britain, and were concerned that a workable solution should be reached, and that all necessary steps should be taken by the GC to avoid British Adventism dividing on racial issues. In addition to these Black leaders, Neil Wilson, who at the time was assistant to the GC president Robert H. Pierson, also supported the Black cause in Britain. This is significant, because Wilson later succeeded Pierson as president of the GC. These leaders advised Pierson on the best possible option. What was uttermost in their minds was that the British SDA church should remain as one worshipping community, and not be divided into 'Regional Conferences', as had been the case in the US in the past. This issue had already confronted the SDA church both in North America, with its segregational system and Regional Conferences for Black members, and in South Africa under Apartheid where Black and White worshipped separately. The North American and South African situation was the product of racist ideologies by White, which Blacks were

subjected to unjust and discriminatory practices in all areas of daily life. The Adventist church then had argued that allowing separate conferences to operate in these countries was the best that could be done under the prevailing circumstances. The social and political systems could be held accountable, even though such a system was wrong and inexcusable. But allowing the same practice to operate within British Adventism, what justifiable reasons could there be?

The GC in the seventies was faced with either allowing the request for a Regional Conference to be established or to opt instead for full integration of African Caribbean Adventists into British Adventism, with both cultures working together. The latter was considered to be the more favourable option by the GC administration. As a result, the president Robert H. Pierson along with other officers of the GC visited Britain in 1978, and held meetings with the BUC officers and with the LLF who represented the Black SDA community. Arising from these meetings, which have been call by the GC, a proposal that was tabled by the GC to be accepted by all parties concerned; this proposal is referred to as the 'Pierson Package'. In this chapter I shall endeavour to explore the process of racial integration as expressed in the Pierson package and to discuss its impact.

6.1 The Development of the Pierson Package

As a result of the tension and distrust that inevitably developed between the White leaders and Black members, a meeting was held on the 8 March 1978 at the New Gallery, Regent Street, London. At the meeting the problems were identified: the need for Black ministers, Black workers and representatives at Conference and Union levels, more schools in the inner city areas and the establishment of youth centres. Consequently, a racially integrated policy to be operational within the BUC by 1981 was established. This policy recognised and acknowledged the needs and rights of Black Adventists, thus preparing Adventism in Britain for the further impact of African Caribbean religiosity. The meeting was convened under the chairmanship of W.R.L. Scragg, president of the Northern Europe West Africa Division (NEWAD). Officers of the BUC and presidents of the two conferences and of the Welsh Mission were also invited. Robert H. Pierson along with other GC officers were in attendance. Although ministers and members from the

London churches were invited, Black members at first were restricted and were not given the opportunity to express their particular concerns. But their opportunity came later that day when they met with the GC delegations and expressed their viewpoints. From that meeting emerged the proposals for greater racial integration of the church in Britain. It directed the church to adopt integrated leadership at both union and conference levels, and to place calls for experienced 'top drawer' Black pastors who had leadership potential.

The preamble to the 'Pierson package' states in part:

We have reached the consensus that organising a regional conference is not the road we should follow here in Britain. We have arrived at this conclusion for theoretical, practical, and spiritual reasons. We believe that the highway the Lord wishes us to use in our spiritual pilgrimage is full fellowship and intelligible integration. We are convinced God wishes His people to strive very earnestly for unity, to pray for it and sincerely work for it.²

There were acknowledgements that the situation in the British Adventist church since the arrival and settlement of African Caribbean Adventists migrants had not been what it should have been. We read:

We are aware that human relations among Seventh-day Adventists in Britain have been far from perfect. There have been some tensions, evidences of suspicion, distrust, misunderstandings and even strife at times.³

The preamble also included elements of regret and apology for the wrongs which African Caribbean members had experienced. While recognizing and accepting that there were differences between the two cultures, these differences should not be used as reasons for the two cultures to stay divided in the church. Instead, a learning environment should be created, where each culture had the opportunity to learn from each other.

Where we, leaders and members of the consultation, have failed and had a share of the guilt, we ask God and our brethren to forgive us. We fully realize that no person, race or nation is perfect. This is the reason why it is God's plan for different nationalities and cultures to learn from each other by mingling together. Thus, they will exemplify the union that there is in Christ and demonstrate to the world that men of every nationality are one in Christ Jesus.⁴

The proposal further showed some recognition of the needs of Black members:

While there has been a gratifying measure of fellowship and integration on the local congregational level, there is room and need for additional progress on the conference and union administrative levels. There is a necessity for more blacks in pastoral and other leadership roles.⁵

In order for both Black and White to work harmoniously together, they needed to have love towards each other. This would ensure that exact and impartial justice operated in the church. It would also help to promote evangelism among the British population. The employment of more Black pastors in the BUC would also entail that they would be exposed to the general public, either through evangelism or on special occasions, for example the dedication of babies, baptisms and visiting the sick in hospital.

6.2 Introduction, Content and Implementation of the Pierson Package

Introducing the Pierson Package to the British SDA church community, the then BUC president E.H. Foster had to acknowledge without doubt that:

There have been frustrations and disappointments and the .. proposals will not of themselves provide the complete answer to the varied facets of human relationships. Basically, the unity and progress of the Church is far less dependent on structures of representation than on personal, constant commitment to the guidance of the Holy Spirit. Nevertheless, there are structural factors that contribute towards the attainment of the highest ideals and for that reason we commend the implementation of these proposals.⁶

He also expressed that it was his belief that

the Church leadership within the British Union, in harmony it is believed with the viewpoint of the majority of the membership, has been committed to the principle of racial unity and equality.⁷

The GC saw the Pierson Package as a major solution that could resolve the problems facing the British SDA church, and therefore, steps should be taken by the BUC executive committee for its implementation before the next BUC session planned for 1981.

These steps suggested by the proposal included:

- 1) *Conference and union staffing: employment of Black office secretaries, one Black officer and one Black departmental director for the British Union Conference, and calls to Inter-American division for 'top-drawer Black pastors with leadership potential.'*
- 2) *Committee and board membership: appointment of approximately six Blacks to each conference committee and of Black lay members to institutional boards.*
- 3) *Structures and committees: constitutional revision and committees to deal with cultural and human relations.*
- 4) *Church human relations: human relations workshops, improving communications.*
- 5) *Institutions: opening and operating new church schools, especially in the metropolitan areas.⁸*

Due to the time limit set by the GC these proposals were voted on and implemented at both the SEC and NEC sessions in 1978 and at the BUC session in 1981. The GC understood the nature of the problems facing the British SDA church as outlined in the proposal, and that time was essential for its implementation. Under these conditions the GC even undertook the responsibility for the finances to be raised in the employment of Black ministers from the Caribbean and the US.

Accordingly, the BUC executive committee voted to process the following calls for Black workers on a regular basis with the understanding that all finances involved would be provided by the GC. The BUC minutes read as follows:

For SEC, two senior workers. One with secretary potential, and one with departmental potential; to be available as soon as possible. Three field pastors, to be available as from 1st January 1979.⁹

For the NEC two experienced pastors, one of whom has youth leadership ability. These to be available as soon as possible.¹⁰

Such financial arrangements clearly show the level of commitment by the GC administration for a speedy implementation of the proposals. It also brings out clearly the

unwillingness of the BUC administration to accept and implement the proposals. The BUC administrators accepted the implementation of the proposal on the basis of the GC undertaking the financial responsibility. We find recorded in the GC minutes for direct disbursements and appropriations overseas, that the BUC received the following in 1980:

<i>London New Gallery</i>	<i>\$25,000</i>
<i>British Union – Budgets</i>	<i>\$68,000</i>
<i>British Union - Evangelism</i>	<i>\$50,000</i> ¹¹

Apart from monies given specifically for the New Gallery and for evangelism within the BUC, \$68,000 was also given. This amount went towards reimbursing the BUC for employing Black ministers from the Caribbean and North America. This financial arrangement was an unusual one; the usual practice within Adventist structure was that the host or receiving country undertakes the financial responsibilities for incoming workers.

Black Adventist leaders in North America who were kept informed of the development in Britain were well aware of the sensitivity of the situation. They were therefore able to recommend to the GC Black pastors who they considered well qualified to work and deal amiably with the situation and condition in Britain.¹² The first of these experienced Black pastors arrived in Britain in October 1978 to work in the NEC as field pastors in Birmingham.¹³ The three field pastors to be employed in the SEC and also those taking up responsibilities as departmental leaders by the SEC and NEC arrived in Britain between January and April of the following year.¹⁴ In introducing these new workers to Britain, the editor of the British SDA church paper, *Messenger*, acknowledged the potential of these new pastors to enhance and develop further the work in Britain, when he stated:

*Britain is proud to have these men,and Messenger is proud to welcome them. Their enthusiasm, ability and drive are, we are sure, the vital ingredients necessary to help invigorate the cause in Britain.*¹⁵

Black leaders working side by side with their White colleagues in equal positions in both the SEC and NEC, however, created a certain amount of strain on their relationship. There was still a certain air of superiority and resentment on the part of some White

ministers towards the Black pastors. Not all White pastors and White lay members were in agreement with the Pierson package. In order to guarantee stability within the work and help the two cultures to come together, both the officers of the GC and the European Division of SDA knew they needed someone 'at the helm' of the work in Britain who could be trusted to work impartially with both cultural groups. The Black church membership had after all been too frustrated, and to some extent disillusioned with the White administrators in the British SDA church. Someone was needed who would be capable of restoring confidence and trust, and openness and humility, to the whole membership. Anthony, in his 1980 report to the British Union Executive committee, cited the concerns of both Black and White members and their impression of, and dissatisfaction with, the White administrators as follows:

The survey has unearthed a strong impression of dissatisfaction, not so much with administration but with administrators. While members recognise the imperfections of the total church, including its leaders, it finds it hard to reconcile the attitudes sometimes displayed by administrators with the ideals of leadership exemplified by our Lord. Lest this should be thought too incisive a comment, it should be noted that words and phrases such as "dictatorial", "imperiousness", "monolithic", "self-interest", "isolation from the field", occurred far too frequently in survey responses to be totally discounted.¹⁶

This was particularly evident in a number of comments by White pastors who had more contact with the BUC leadership. They pointed out that the function of leadership was in essence to serve, not to 'rule in an autocratic or overbearing manner.' Therefore they concluded 'if attitudes cannot be changed, then leaders must step aside or be replaced.'¹⁷ It was therefore, not coincidental that the then BUC president E.H. Foster took his retirement just thirteen months after Anthony's report was made available to the BUC executive committee, and whilst the implementation process of the Pierson package was taking place. This was a clear indication that E.H. Foster felt unable to oversee the necessary changes that were needed for integration fully to take place within the BUC. It further shows the extent of his disapproval of the Pierson package and the need to incorporate Blacks into the church administrative body. Foster's retirement prepared the way for the implementation of the Pierson package. Several foreign missionaries were to be brought into SDA work in Britain under the Pierson package agreement.

With the Pierson package agreement in mind the nominating committee at the BUC session in July 1981 turned its attention to the United States when choosing their next BUC president. Harold Calkins, a White American, was nominated and voted in as the new BUC president.¹⁸ The significant point about this election was that also a vice-president was chosen.¹⁹ The election of an American as BUC president generated speculation amongst Black SDA members, as many concluded Calkins was invited for two reasons, for the proper implementation of the Pierson package, and to act as 'trouble shooter'. Neal C. Wilson, president of the G.C. at the time, emphasized the wide experience and efficient management style of Calkins in recommending him to the conference delegates at Harrogate. He explained that Calkins

*has had a wide experience, having pastored both small and large churches...most of his experience has been in the large cities. He is at present president of the Southern California Conference, a cosmopolitan conference of some 36,000 members. He has had varied departmental experience. He believes in delegated responsibility and authority. He has a relaxed method of decision-making. He is an uncomplicated man; what he is is on top of the table. He is open to new ideas.*²⁰

Obviously, the incoming BUC president was a person who was approachable and possessed the ability to listen to the membership whether Black or White, who had the guile to find solutions to problems, and to enable reconciliation to take place between the two main cultures in the church. It was also evident from Wilson's statement that Calkins attitude and leadership style were different to those of his predecessors. In Calkins the GC had someone 'at the helm' in whom they had confidence, who would bring about a good working relationship with all parties concerned, and an integrated SDA church in the British Isles.

6.3 The Acceptance of the Pierson Package

In general it can be said that the Black membership accepted the proposals outlined in the Pierson package. They saw within it the mechanism that could dissolve White leaders' domination in the management of the church. The Pierson package properly implemented would ensure not only racial equality and fairness in the representation and participation in the management of the Adventist church work in Britain, but also a

British Adventist church that would be exposed to a variety of talented personnel from overseas. It meant that a new identity was developing in the church, one to which Adventists and their children could relate.

The significance of the Pierson package for the purpose of this study is that it rejected the widely held racist belief of White superiority and Black inferiority. It placed in the hands of Black members the opportunity to be in a position of effective leadership. Most importantly, it recognised the equality of members regardless of their cultural background or ethnic origin. All were responsible under the guidance of God's holy spirit to carry out the mission of the church together. Ellen White stressed one of the main principles that leaders and members of the SDA church should always bear in mind when she stated:

Christ laid the foundation for a religion by which Jew and Gentile, Black and White...are linked together in one common brotherhood, recognized as equal in the sight of God. The Saviour has a boundless love for every human being. In each one He sees capacity for improvement.²¹

6.4 Opposition to the Pierson Package

The majority of White members in the BUC also accepted the Pierson package proposals. However, there were some lay-members in the SEC who opposed it. Their objections centred on two points.

*The election to union and conference offices of men with no experience of work in Britain.

*The increased representation of Blacks on conference committees.²²

Their objections raised fundamental questions about their understanding both of God and of the inter-racial character of the SDA church. People commissioned by God in both the past and the present have not been limited to any one cultural group. What is important to God is the person's dedication and willingness to do his work wherever they are, either at home or abroad.

The SDA church and other Christian denominations have generally accepted this reality and despatched missionaries to work in different parts of the world, the majority of whom would have had no previous working experience in that particular country. In objecting to the Pierson Package requirements, these individuals failed to acknowledge that workers from Britain have in the past headed the work in the Caribbean. The same could be said of the leadership in Africa. Many such leaders were from Britain, Europe and North America. Since this trend had been accepted in other countries and was the norm, why then should Black SDA pastors to Britain have been selected on a different basis to what had been done before? The point is that Black ministers could pastor effectively the Black Adventist population.

Could it be that those who objected to the Pierson package were showing their feelings of White superiority? If it were the case, such feelings were slow to be eradicated from the minds of some White Adventists. Five years after the implementation of the Pierson Package tension still existed within the church. This caused Calkins to address the situation. Writing in the Messenger, June 1986, under the topic 'Dealing with Differences', he tactfully dealt with how members should treat other members, quoting various examples from Ellen White's writings. He placed 'love' at the centre of dealing with differences. 'Unconditional love is different', he stated, from 'conditional love' it reached out to others. He continued:

It is unconditional love - the kind that Christ shows towards us which is necessary if my church and your church is to represent the Lord and to attract visitors. Selfless love towards those outside my church and age group, towards the youth, the discouraged, the indifferent or disenchanted, is vital if our church is to grow.²³

He further challenged the membership when he pointed out that;

It is not essential to be an elder or teacher or lay preacher to be a loving and lovable Christian or to be an officer to make our Church what Luther called a glowing furnace of love. The stranger will sense the warmth..... The acid test of our love for God is our unconditional love for one another. Not if they love us but as Christ loved us.²⁴

To make certain there were no misunderstanding about what he was referring to, he ended with a quotation from Ellen White's writings, as follows:

*The Spirit of God will not abide where there is disunion and contention among believers....Even if these feelings are unexpressed, they take possession of the heart, and drive out the peace and love that should characterize the Christian church.*²⁵

6.5 Black Pastors: Employment and Training.

The implementation of the Pierson package also resulted in a change in the ethnic composition of the church work force. There had been an increase from three non-white ordained ministers in 1979 to seventy-six in 2000, (50% of the 152 pastors in the BUC). The greater number of Black pastors was focused within the London area, as shown in the table below. Others working within the SEC were found outside of London in places such as Bristol, Gloucester and Oxford. It is only a matter of time before Black pastors will be found pastoring in areas such as Norwich, Ipswich, and Portsmouth where the Black membership is on the increase, but also due to the retirement of White pastors.

Table 1X. *Ministerial Workforce within the BUC in 2000.*²⁶

	<i>SEC</i>		<i>NEC</i>	<i>Missions*</i>	<i>Ministers in Administration.</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>
	<i>London / Provinces</i>					
<i>Black</i>	37	9	18	1	11	76
<i>White</i>	3	19	21	18	15	76

*The areas referred to as Missions are Ireland, Scotland and Wales.

Since the 1980s a significant number of young Black men and women have been attending Newbold college, the SDA theological training college in Britain, as well as colleges in North America and the Caribbean. The Pierson package did not only open the door for Black pastors who were trained in North America or the Caribbean to continue their ministry in Britain, but it also gave young British Black Adventists access to training and work opportunities in the British SDA church, which previously they were denied the opportunity to engage in. This situation is significant because it also contribute to the tension still existing within certain sections of the ministerial work force. Calkins attempt in 1986 to deal with such tension only subdued the situation for the time but did not eradicate it, but remained dormant until it presented itself again.

6.6 Tensions and the Continuous Fall in White Membership

The tension came to light nearly fifteen years after some White lay-leaders had shown resistance to changes in the BUC. Some English ministers were now dissatisfied with the structure of the BUC and the growth rate among Whites in the Union. In March 1995, they entered a debate regarding the rationalization or reorganisation of the BUC with an article published in the SEC quarterly news sheet, the Communicator, written by Patrick Boyle, a White minister working in the SEC. The article “Whither the BUC AD 2000?” began by addressing the issue what the mission of the SDA church was, and queried whether or not the BUC had a strategy to finish that mission. In response to this question he gave the following comment;

The SDA church has to ask itself serious questions about the effectiveness of its current strategy and organizational structures in achieving its aims. Those aims are God given and are inviolable. 'Preach the Gospel. Make Disciples'. In other words expand the work and witness of the church. If we are to be true and faithful to our God given commission then we have to evaluate everything we do in the light of our objectives. We must ask ourselves hard questions and with integrity and courage face up to whatever answers emerge.²⁷

Evidently the questions Boyle raised were referring to the fall in White membership. In this regard, the SEC as early as 1987 had established a Church Growth department with special emphasis on 'Indigenous Evangelism'. In recognition of the fact that the White indigenous section of the membership continued to be in serious numerical decline, the SEC decided to devise a series of measures to analyse and stop the decline and to plant the seeds of future growth amongst the majority population. A membership database was set up that enabled the department to have a clear picture of the ethnic diversity in the church. In the 1996 SEC session report, Robert Surridge, the director of Church Growth and Indigenous Evangelism, reckoned the membership in the SEC was composed of the following ethnic groups: The Black community being the largest in the SDA church with over 80% of the membership, the indigenous (English) population 17%, Asian 2%, and others 1%.²⁸ With a SEC membership on 31 December 1995 of over 12,000, Surridge estimated there were approximately 2000 White members, with the remaining majority being Black.²⁹ Revealing further the figures for Whites, he stated that at least 20% of those or 400 were not British but foreign students, concluding the British White

membership stands at 1,600 or 13% within the SEC.³⁰ The percentage is even lower when taking into consideration the Black membership for the whole of the BUC.

In 1995, both Black and White members agreed that the situation was serious and that steps should be taken to reverse the problem of decline. Before any meaningful solution could be found, the root causes must be identified. Keith Davidson, in an editorial in the SEC Communicator addressed this problem:

It is racial prejudice, which we have little control over, that prevents many indigenous Whites from responding to the gospel when it is presented to them by Blacks.³¹

Don McFarlane, president of the SEC, writing in the same Newsletter stressed that

The causes are other than the presence of Blacks. Some of the factors mitigating against growth are secularism, affluence, materialism, etc. In short, this is a complex problem that requires more than scapegoating a section of the membership.³²

6.7 Restructuring or Rationalization

To what extent would restructuring the BUC aid the increase of indigenous White members in the SDA church? Stagnation was already present in the past as we have observed in chapter 1, when there were few Blacks in the SDA church. Those who are advocating a solution by restructuring the BUC, should really be seeking answers as to why restructuring did not produce an increase in indigenous White members in the past.

Boyle argued that the structure and personnel of the British SDA church were a hindrance in attracting indigenous Whites to Adventism. He went on to outline in his article the organizational structures of the two conferences, the SEC and NBC within the BUC. He pointed out that at each level there was a duplication of functions. There were three executive officers at the BUC, a president, secretary and treasurer, there were also several departmental directors and support staff. In parallel, the SEC and NBC had three executive officers each plus departmental directors and support staff.³³ The three missions, Wales, Scotland and Ireland, each had a president but no specific office buildings. The BUC departmental directors and the treasury department carried out the financial and departmental responsibilities for the missions.³⁴ It should be noted how that

the presidents at Union level and at both Conferences were elected from the Black ministerial workforce, while the three Mission presidents come from the White section. Boyle, dissatisfied with this structure, called for a restructuring if the SDA church was to attract indigenous Whites. Giving his opinion he stated:

It is this writer's considered view that the existing structures and their administration are not effective.³⁵

What was Boyle proposing? He gave four options for restructuring.

- 1) *Leave it as it is.*
- 2) *Replace the missions and conferences with a single Union administration.*
- 3) *Remove the Union level of administration. Upgrade the conferences and create two unions with the missions attached to them.*
- 4) *Either attaches(sis) the whole BUC structure, as it exists into the North American Division, or removes the Union structure and attaches the conferences and missions to one of the Unions on the Eastern course of the North American Division.³⁶*

The option most favoured by Boyle was option two; this option suggested the replacements of the administrative function of the two conferences and three missions and their incorporation into a single Union-wide administrative structure.

In the author's opinion the implication of the option that Boyle' proposed would reduce the number of administrative Black leaders within the BUC. But to what extent would such an action reduce the public perception of the SDA Church in Britain as a 'Black church'? Efforts should rather be directed to the deeper and substantial issue of what the mission of the SDA church is all about and not to the ethnic make up of the church. What should be more important to all SDA members in Britain is the profile of the role of the SDA church in today's society. How effective is our mission to bring people to know and accept the gospel? What strategies have to be developed and improved to gain more membership participation to reach a wider range of ethnic groups in the community? The

church mission is to fulfil the requirement of the gospel and not to focus on the ethnic composition of its members.

It was a matter of 'rationalization' rather than 'reorganization' that the BUC administration decided on, as C.R. Perry the president, writing in the BUC church paper Messenger, March 1996, explained.

The question Reorganization or Rationalization? has brought a diverse response from various sectors of the Church community. In the Conferences opinions are divided between those favouring restructuring and those favouring rationalization. After two years of discussions and the collection and analysis of data, the BUC found itself faced with one option, that of rationalization.³⁷

To help the BUC reach its decision, an ad hoc committee of five was formed comprising two lay-persons, one church pastor, a conference official and an officer from the TED who acted as chairperson. Their remit was to,

Use the information available to draft recommendations on what departmental functions should be retained at the Union and those that would be best at Conference level.³⁸

Furthermore, this committee in deciding on the best options was to pay special attention to 'unnecessary overlaps'.³⁹ It was to take into account the effectiveness of the type of ministry provided and to strengthen departmental functions at all levels and involve the minimum personnel to ensure efficiency.

The committee therefore recommended the following rationalisation proposal and referred it to the 1996 BUC session. At the session it was voted to accept the proposed rationalisation. For example, the following departments should exist at;

- a) BUC level= Sabbath School, Education, Communication, Church Growth, Women Ministries, ADRA, Health & Temperance, Public Affairs & Religious Liberty, and the Department of Human Relations.
- b) Conference level = Personal Ministries/Community Services, Stewardship, Trust Services, Family Life, and Ministerial.

c) At both levels = Youth/Chaplaincy and Publishing.⁴⁰

The above departments to some extent have remained at their respective levels since 1996; changes have been made to include Sabbath School (SS) also at local Conference level.⁴¹ The reasons for the change to include SS at conference level again was that having this department at one level had not worked out effectively as the administrators at the Union and conferences were expecting. This was because the position of the SS director was part-time, this being the case meant that the SS department in many congregations were not able to receive training when needed. This caused the two conferences to appoint their own SS directors.⁴²

The main purpose for the BUC adopting rationalisation was to prevent the duplication of function of directors at union and conference levels, whereby reducing the number of administrators and increasing the pastoral work force in local congregations. This strategy has not worked in solving the underlying issues of the church's mission to attract and retain indigenous members.

The Pierson Package as we have observed enabled Black pastors to be employed and for Black members to have equal representation at all levels of the church. While there is still tension within the church, there are concerns by both leaders and lay members on how to stop the fall in the indigenous Whites membership. In the next chapter we shall observe some of the factors, which explain why, the indigenous Whites membership is not increasing, as it should be. For example, the lack of children and young people and the aging White membership are some indications. What are some of the efforts by the Black congregations to reach this group and other ethnic groups in the community? How do they see the mission of the church? These questions will be addressed in the survey in chapter seven.

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- ¹ Interviews conducted with Walter B.T. Douglas, at Andrews University, on the 13th/ 18th November 2002. He stated that prominent Black leaders such as Charles E. Bradford, Earl E. Cleveland, Charles D. Brooks and G. Ralph Thompson were supportive of the cause of the Black members in Britain, and were part of the Civil Right movement in North America.
- ² Consultative Meetings and Racial Integration Proposals, BUC Minutes, 21 March 1978, p.28.
- ³ Ibid., p.29.
- ⁴ Ibid.
- ⁵ Ibid.
- ⁶ Foster, E.H., "Racial Representation in the SDA Church in the British Isles", Messenger vol. 83 No. 8/9 (21 April 1978), p.1.
- ⁷ Ibid.
- ⁸ Consultative Meetings and Racial Integration Proposals, pp.30-32. (See Appendix 'B')
- ⁹ BUC Minutes, item no. 69, 22nd March 1978, p.42.
- ¹⁰ Ibid., p. 43.
- ¹¹ GC Minutes - Direct Disbursements and Appropriations Overseas, Schedule A81, 1980, p.64.
- ¹² See reference 1 above.
- ¹³ Pastors B.E. Flynn and D.W. McFarlane arrived in October 1978. See Messenger vol.84 No. 16/17 (27 July 1979), pp. 4-5.
- ¹⁴ Ibid.
- ¹⁵ Ibid., p.4.
- ¹⁶ Anthony, M.L., A Survey of church growth among SDAs in the United Kingdom and Eire during the period 1940 – 1980 (June 1980), p.102.
- ¹⁷ Ibid.
- ¹⁸ Marshall, D.N. "The Who? Who? President", Messenger vol.86 No. 16 (24 July 1981), pp.8-9. Pastor Harold Calkins before his appointment to Britain was president of the Southern California Conference of SDA.
- ¹⁹ W.J. Arthur, a White British pastor, was elected at the same time as vice- president of the BUC, from 1981-1986. As far as the author is aware this was the first time the office of vice- president had been instigated at the BUC.
- ²⁰ Marshall, p.8.
- ²¹ White, Ellen G., Testimonies for the Church vol 7 (Mountain View, Calif: Pacific Press Publishing Assoc., 1948), p.225.
- ²² Porter, D. "Crisis in the British Union", Spectrum vol.11 No. 4 (June 1981), p.10.
- ²³ Calkins, H.L., "Dealing with Differences", Messenger, vol. 91 No.12/13 (20 June 1986), p.16.
- ²⁴ Ibid.
- ²⁵ Ibid. and White, E.G., Testimonies for the Church vol. 4 (Mountain View, Calif: Pacific Press Publishing Assoc., 1948), p.221.
- ²⁶ Compiled by the author.
- ²⁷ Boyle, P.J., "Whither the BUC AD 2000", SEC Communicator No. 29 (March 1995), p.3.
- ²⁸ SEC Fifty-seventh Triennial Session Report, Bournemouth, 7-10 November 1996, p.46.
- ²⁹ Ibid.
- ³⁰ Ibid.
- ³¹ Davidson, Keith, (ed.) SEC Communicator No. 29 (March 1995), p.1.
- ³² McFarlane, D., "The British Union Conference Debates Changes to its Organization", Ibid., p.2.
- ³³ Boyle, p.3.
- ³⁴ Ibid.
- ³⁵ Ibid.
- ³⁶ Ibid.
- ³⁷ Perry, C.R., "Reorganization and Rationalization", Messenger vol. 101 No.7

(29 March 1996), p. 8.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ BUC Minutes of Quinquennial Session, 24-28 July 1996, as recorded in BUC Session Report 25-29 July 2001, pp. 187-188.

⁴¹ See SEC Communicator, No. 42 Second Quarter 1999, p. 2.

⁴² See BUC Session Report 25-29 July 2001, p. 50.

CHAPTER SEVEN

A Survey of the SDA Church in Britain Today.

7.0 Introduction

As pointed out in previous chapters, before the arrival of African Caribbean Adventists to Britain during the early 1950's Seventh-day Adventists were largely unknown to the majority of the British population. The propagation of their teachings was mainly the responsibility of pastors and Bible workers, the paid employees of the denomination. Members' participation varied from area to area and from congregation to congregation, but in the main, a large proportion did not regularly participate in church missionary activities. This was in contrast to the attitude and active participation of Adventists in the Caribbean, where the ordinary members are the working nucleus in society. Historically, Adventism developed in the Caribbean as a result of the high level of involvement of the lay-members. Their involvement was shaped out of their experience, their understanding, the needs of others, their African heritage, and their perception and ownership of the teachings and practice of Adventism, from which emerged a communal and lifestyle religion, one which many in the wider community could relate to and accept. The arrival and settlement of African Caribbean Adventists in the early 1950's therefore caused a chain reaction amongst the White membership. Some left the church completely, while others remained; many formed separate all-White congregations. Black members were also encouraged by White members within the fellowship to establish their own place of worship in rented accommodation.

Today there are a number of congregations that can be categorised as 'Black' because of the ethnic composition of the worshippers. The same can be said of the definition for 'White' congregations, where the majority in the congregation are of English descent. There are, however, some congregations that are mixed in their ethnic composition, these are found in urban and suburban areas. Congregations in rural areas are generally composed of White worshippers. Demographically, the Black community is found mainly in urban areas due to the availability of employment, housing and racially mixed educational establishments. Socio-cultural factors also play a vital role in determining their

location, eliminating the feelings of isolation and fear, and preserving the cultural heritage and identity. It is within these urban areas where African Caribbeans have settled that large SDA congregations are found.

7.1 What the Survey Hoped to Achieve

The survey aims to establish the differences or similarities between African Caribbean Adventists and British White Adventists. Also to find out the extent to which the mission of the Adventist church is understood and carried out in both cultures.

7.2 Research Methodology

The following survey was conducted within the North and South England conferences of the BUC of SDA in 2001. Eight congregations were selected in total to represent the multi-cultural and multi-ethnic membership within British Adventist congregations. Attention must be given to the limitations of the survey in regards to the selection of congregations: there are other congregations within the BUC that cater for specific ethnic groups (i.e. Asian, Portuguese, Spanish, Philipinos and Ghanaian etc.). Although the latter were not within the range of this survey, however, they will be referred to within the study.

The four congregation categories chosen were: -

- a) White congregations
- b) African Caribbean congregations
- c) Mixed Black/White congregations
- d) Mixed Black congregations (Mixture of African and African Caribbean)

Congregations from North England conference.

- a) Grantham – All White
- b) Oxford Street, Wolverhampton – African Caribbean
- c) Erdington, Birmingham – Mixed Black/White
- d) Camp Hill, Birmingham – Mixed Black

Congregations from South England Conference.

- a) Hemel Hempstead – All White
- b) Leytonstone, Waltham Forest – African Caribbean
- c) Ipswich - Mixed Black/White
- d) Plaistow, Newham – Mixed Black

Six questionnaires were sent to the Head Elder of each congregation respectively with a covering letter (see appendix D). Participants were to be chosen from both men and women including, where possible, current church officers and members not holding an office. Each time a young person and a recently baptised member were to be included, if possible. The expectation of the researcher was that the responses would be gathered from a wide section of the congregation, therefore reflecting a good representation of views within the Adventist church as a whole. A copy of the questionnaire was also sent to the minister of each of the congregations participating in the survey. This was for information purposes only.

7.2.1 Responses from Survey

Of the forty-eight questionnaires sent out to the eight participating congregations, thirty-one were completed and returned. This represented a 65% response rate. It should be noted, however, that the level of response was different in each category, and within the two conferences, as charts 4a and 4b below show. The response from the mixed Black and White congregations within the SEC was 100%. Response from the other congregations in the SEC was, White – 50%, African Caribbean – 67%, and mixed Black 33%. From the NEC response was, White – 83%, African Caribbean – 67%, mixed Black and White – 50%, and mixed Black 67%. Total responses from SEC and NEC represent 48% and 52% respectively.

Chart 4a shows the total level of response from all categories, with an equal response from the African Caribbean congregation in SEC and NEC, each with 67% as shown in chart 4b. The total response from African Caribbean congregations is equal to the White

congregations, but is slightly below the responses of the mixed Black/White congregations. The lowest response was from the mixed Black congregations.

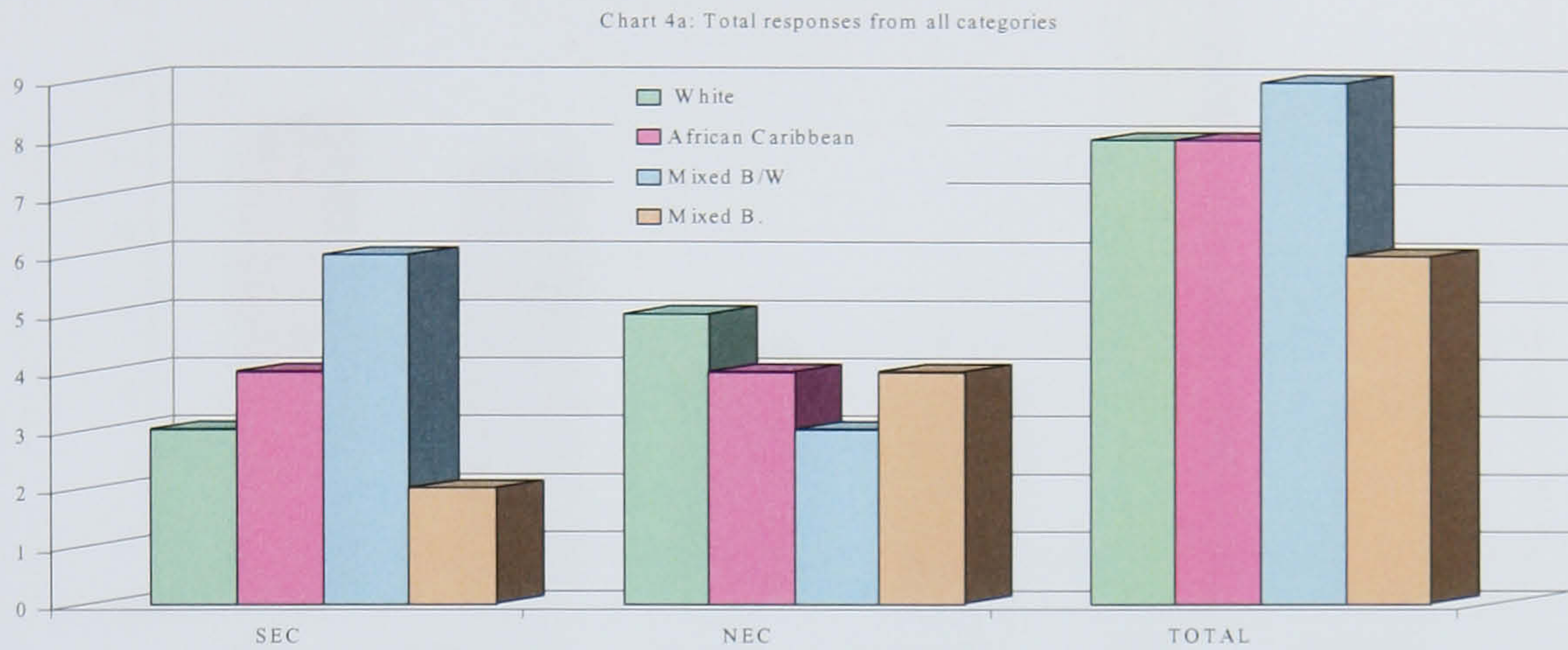
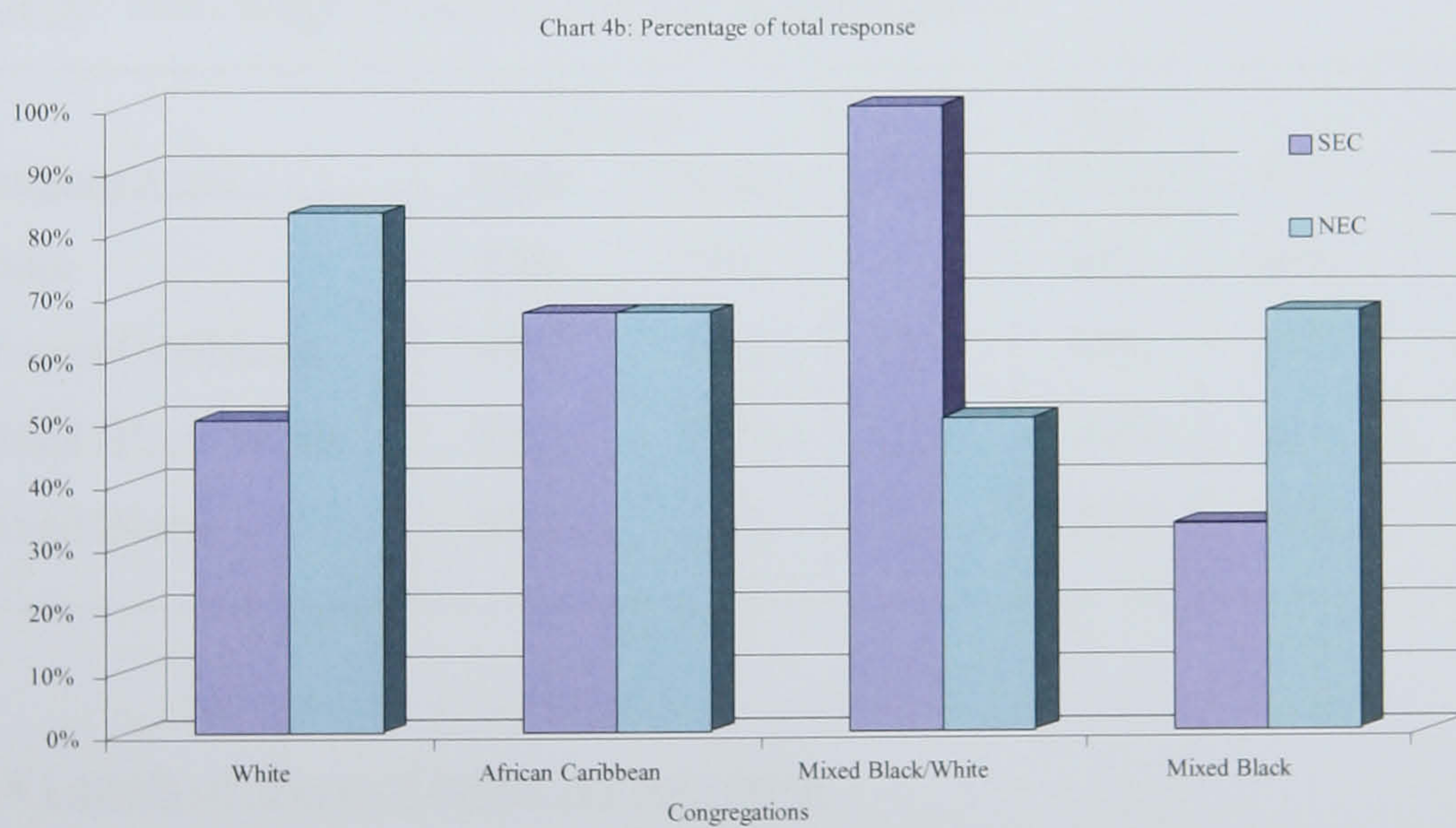


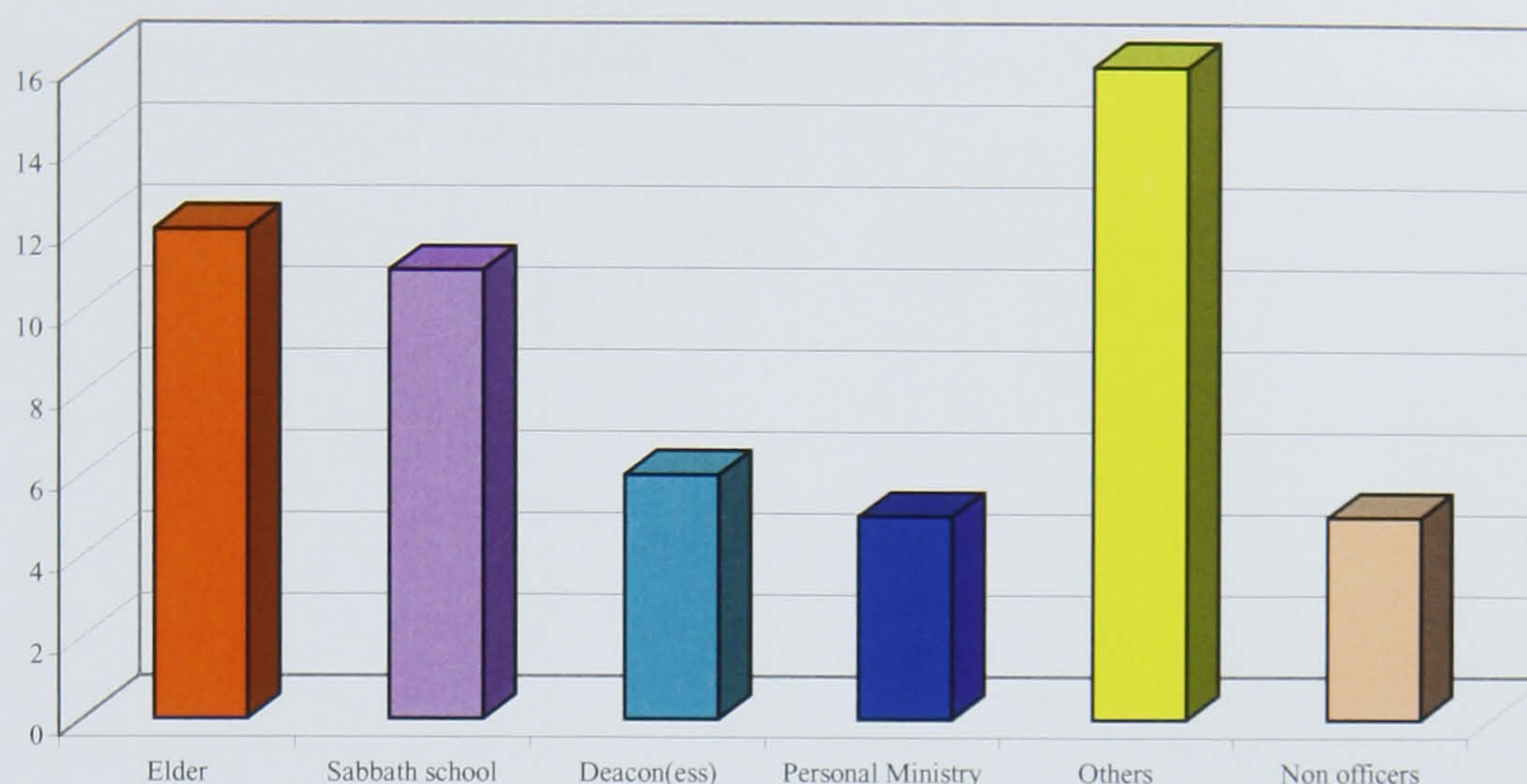
Chart 4b shows the percentage of response from each category within the NEC and SEC. The African Caribbean congregation represents sixty-seven percent response from each conference, therefore the only category with equal response from the two congregations.



7.2.2 Church Officers' Contribution

One important factor to be noted is that more Elders participated in the survey than other department leaders, with the exception of the Sabbath school department. Included under the category of 'others' are the youth and treasury department.

Chart 5: Positions held by respondents



7.2.3 Gender and Age

Table A shows that participants in the survey were mostly men aged between 31 and 60 years. However, more women participated from the mixed Black/White congregations.

Table A: Percentage of gender and age of participants

Congregations	Gender		Age		
	Male	Female	15 -30	31 - 60	60+
White	75%	25%	—	50%	50%
African Caribbean	63%	37%	12%	50%	38%
Mixed Black/White	44%	56%	12%	44%	44%
Mixed Black	67%	33%	—	67%	33%

7.2.4 Length of Time of being An Adventist

In Table B, 62% of participants of African Caribbean origin have been Adventists between 1– 24 years and 38% between 25 – 44 years. This includes a substantial amount of second-generation African Caribbean Adventists. In contrast all White congregation participants have been in the church for over 45 years: together with 44% of mixed Black/White and

17% mixed Black. None of the participants from African Caribbean congregations have been Adventists for over 45 years.

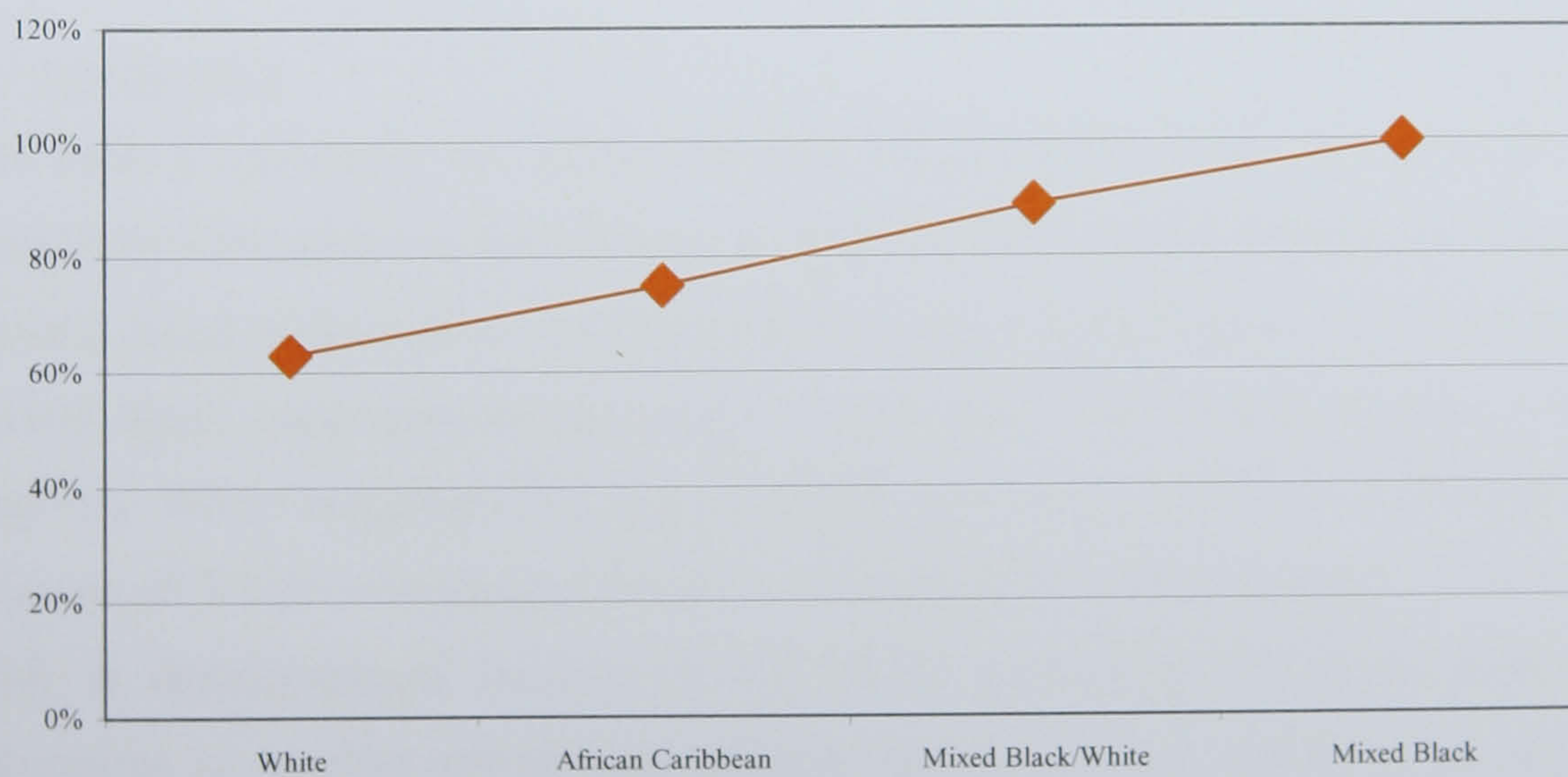
Table B: Length of Time Participants Have Been Adventist

Years	White	African Caribbean	Mixed Black/White	Mixed Black
55+	75%		44%	
45 – 54	25%			17%
35 – 44		13%	44%	17%
25 – 34		25%		17%
15 – 24		25%	12%	25%
9 – 14		12%		17%
1 - 8		25%		

7.2.5 Baptised in Britain

Over seventy-five percent of African Caribbean participants and all participants from the mixed Black category were baptised in Britain. Should this percentage be applicable generally within Black Adventist congregations, it shows, that a substantial amount of second-and third -generation African Caribbean Adventist children remain in the British Adventist church.

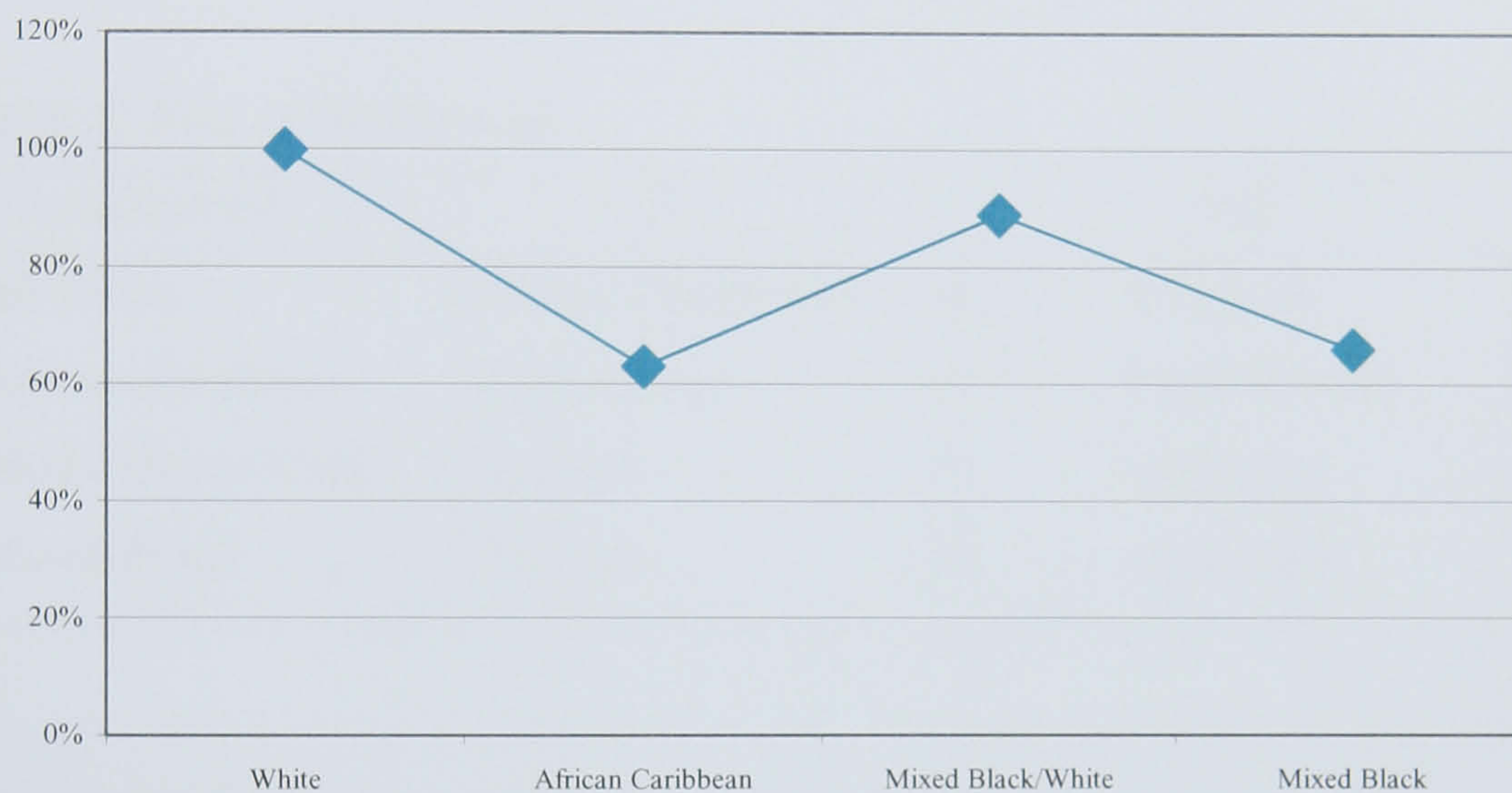
Chart 6: Respondents baptised in Britain



7.2.6 Are Other Family Members Adventists?

The African Caribbean and Mixed Black participants have the lowest percentage of those with other family members who are Adventist. This is an indication that these are new converts to Adventism in Britain, whose family members are not members of the SDA church.

Chart 7: Respondents whose family are also member of the SDA Church



7.3 Membership

As Table C illustrates, the White and mixed Black/White congregations in the survey are smaller in comparison to the African Caribbean and mixed Black congregations. This is the general trend within SDA congregations in Britain today where African Caribbean and mixed Black congregations are usually larger than White congregations. I suspect that majority White congregations have a larger percentage of Black worshippers than the amount of White worshippers found in majority Black congregations. This is due to the shift in demographical location of the Black community in recent years. Many are relocating to smaller towns and suburbs due to several factors such as retirement, employment in the health service or in the service industries, or students attending university.

It is difficult to determine what the percentage of children and young people are (Table D) in relation to membership due to the fact that not all children and young people who attend weekly services are themselves members of the church. Those who are members would be included in the membership figures in Table C. In most SDA congregations, particularly in predominately Black ones, attendance at worship generally exceeds the membership. It is not unusual for church members to take children of family members, neighbours or friends to church worship, particularly members in Black congregations where this practice is the norm in the Caribbean.

Table C: Size of Membership

Congregations	SEC	NEC
All White	Hemel Hempstead 50	Grantham 170
African Caribbean	Leytonstone 45	Oxford Street 250
Mixed Black/White	Ipswich 97	Erdington 43
Mixed Black	Plaistow 140	Camp Hill 560

7.3.1 Children and Young People

As Table D shows, there is a distinct difference in the number of children and young people found in All-White and mixed Black/White congregations, and those in African Caribbean and mixed Black congregations. From the survey more children and young people are found within Black congregations than in White congregations. One reason for the difference in size is related to the size of membership (Table C); another is the age range of the membership particularly within White congregations whose memberships are more likely to be in the middle aged bracket when compared with African Caribbean congregations with a younger age group. Mixed Black/White congregations are generally small. The amount of children and young people found in these congregations are in proportion to the membership.

Table D: Children and young people

Ages	White congregations	African Caribbean congregations	Mixed Black/ White congregations	Mixed Black congregations
0 – 12	25	74	29	140
13 – 15	7	25	3	60
16 – 30	18	100	9	70

7.4 Church Community

A wide variety of sources of satisfaction were revealed, amongst which are friendliness, supportiveness and the spirituality of the congregation (Table E). Friendliness of the congregation is one of the main sources of satisfaction amongst all categories in the survey. There seems to be one only slight difference on the level of satisfaction between the mixed Black/White congregations and the other congregational categories, in that their source of satisfaction mainly derives from the supportiveness of the members. Spirituality of the congregation is also cited as a source of satisfaction, both White and mixed Black congregations are influenced and encouraged through this.

Table E: Source of Satisfaction

Source of satisfaction	Congregations				Total
	White	African Caribbean	Mixed B/W	Mixed Black	
Friendliness of congregation	6	4	5	5	20
Supportiveness of congregation	5	3	6	5	19
Spirituality of congregation	3	2	1	3	9

There are several similarities between the different congregations, which have more bearing on human nature than on culture. Apathy and non-cooperation exists amongst all congregations, which is evident in Table F sources of annoyance. Only in African Caribbean congregations noise and irreverence is mentioned.

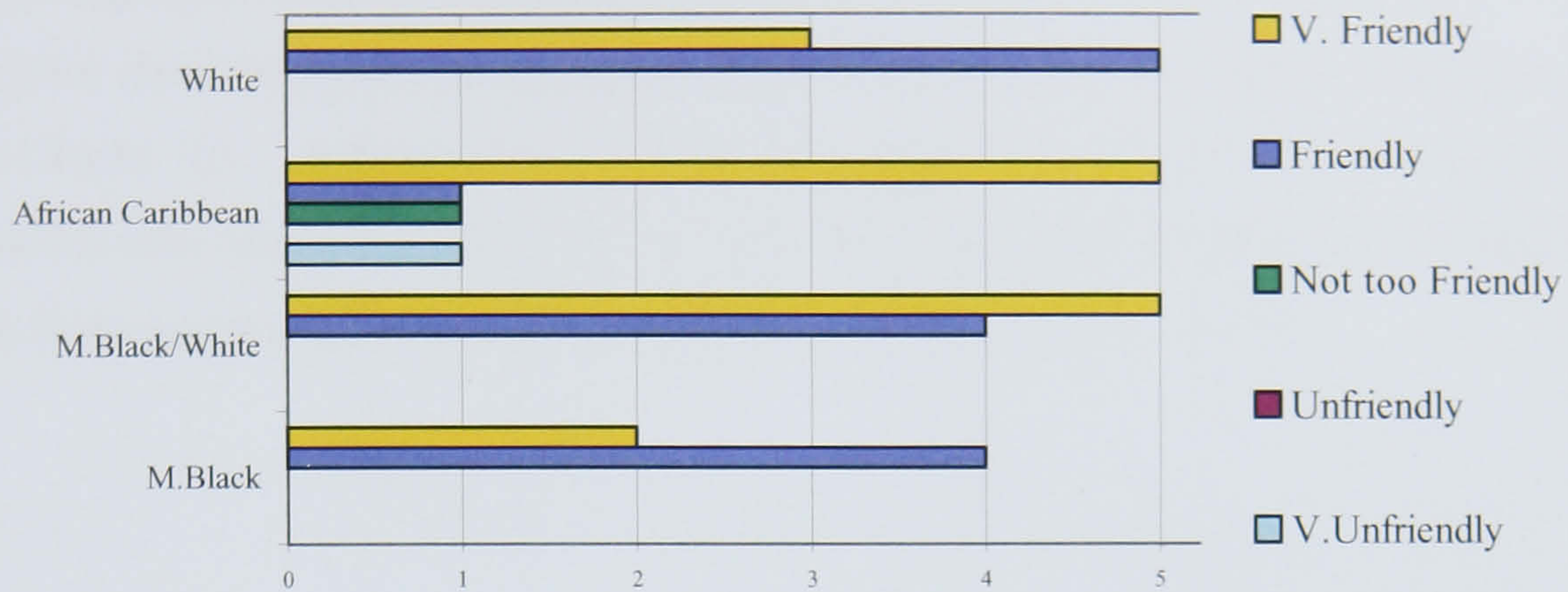
Table F: Sources of Annoyance.

White Congregations	African Caribbean Congregations	Mixed Black/White Congregations	Mixed Black Congregations
*Lack of support for prayer meeting	*Lack of support for prayer meeting	*Members set in their ways	*Members set in their ways
*No cooperation between members	*Older members set in their ways and are cliquish	*Lack motivation.	*Poor relationship between young people and adults
*Do not support youth meetings	*No support for witnessing	*No young people in church	* Not support witnessing program
*Lack of contact with members	*Noise and irreverence		*Feeling of isolation
			*Lack of nurture

7.4.1 Members' Perception of their Congregation

Most congregations are perceived to be very friendly or friendly in spite of existing annoyances. The exceptions are the African Caribbean congregations whose survey participants have mixed feelings about their local congregation; their perception ranges from very friendly to very unfriendly. Is this consistent with members' perception within large congregations? The White, mixed Black/White and mixed Black survey participants describe their congregations as friendly to very friendly as indicated in Chart 8.

Chart 8: How members perceive their congregation



7.5 Welcoming Visitors

The majority of Adventist congregations welcome non-Adventist visitors to their weekly service. An exception to this may be the White congregations as indicated in chart 9. Twenty-five percent do not have non-Adventist visitors on a weekly basic.

Chart 9: Non Adventist Visitors at Weekly Service



7.5.1 Who Welcomes Visitors?

All congregations welcome visitors. It is one of the features in Adventists worship that visitors are welcomed. Both officers and members welcome visitors in their congregation as Charts 10a - d below show. In all congregations the members are friendly towards visitors who attend worship services each week. No great differences are evident between the four congregational categories referred to in Charts 10a – d below.

Chart 10a : Who Welcomes Visitors in White congregations

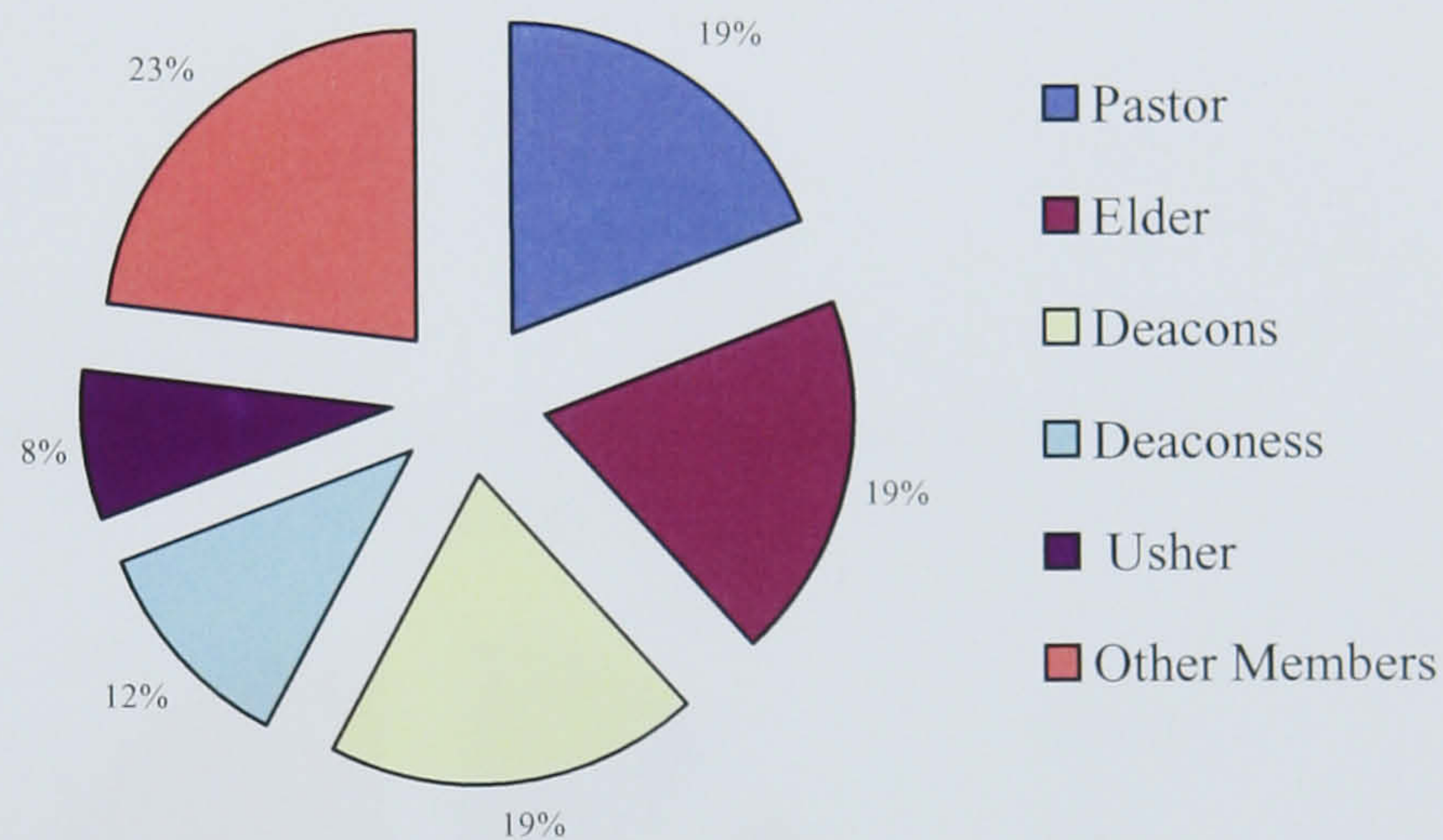


Chart 10b: Who Welcomes Visitors in African Caribbean congregations

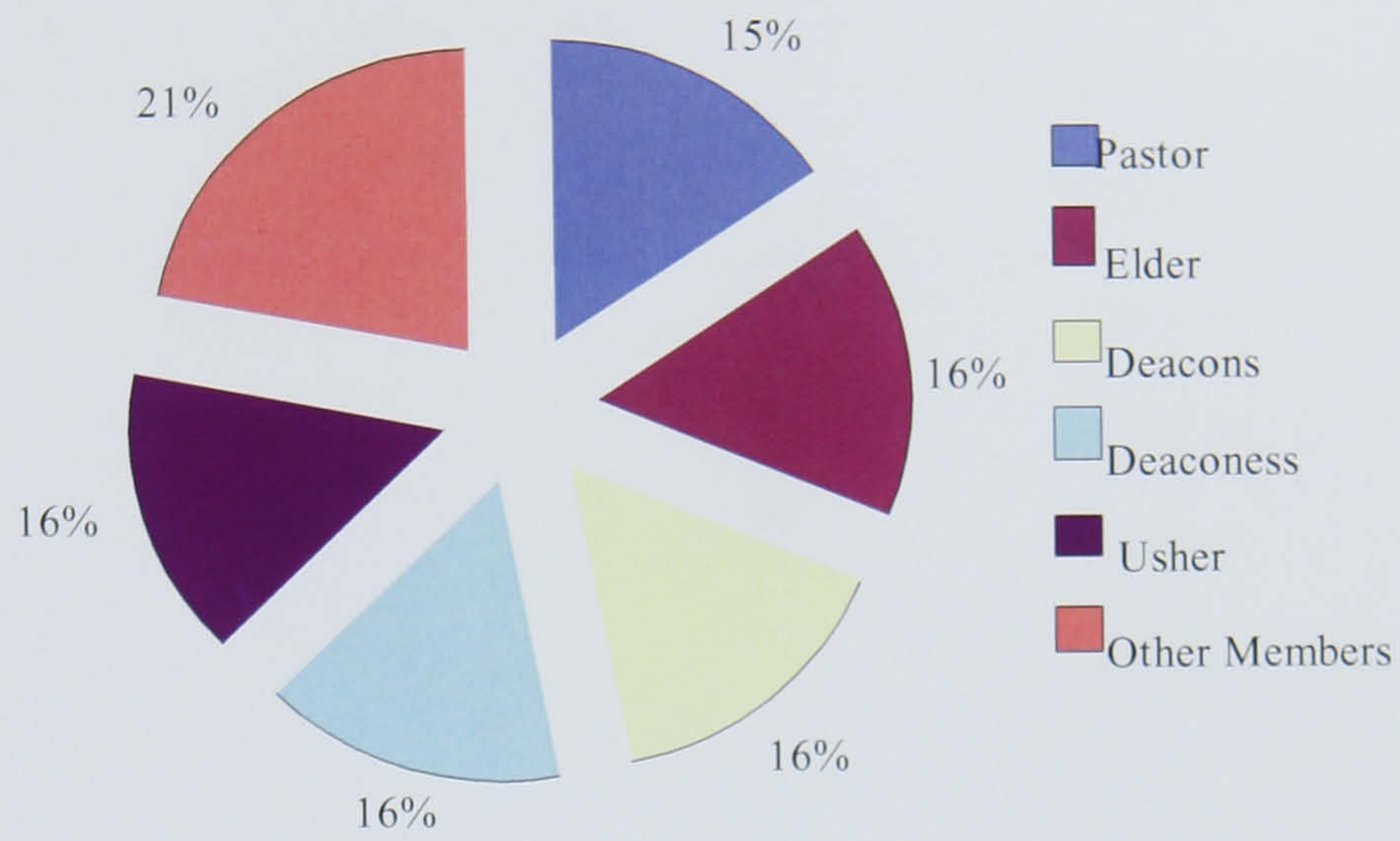


Chart 10c: Who Welcomes Visitors in Mixed Black/White congregations

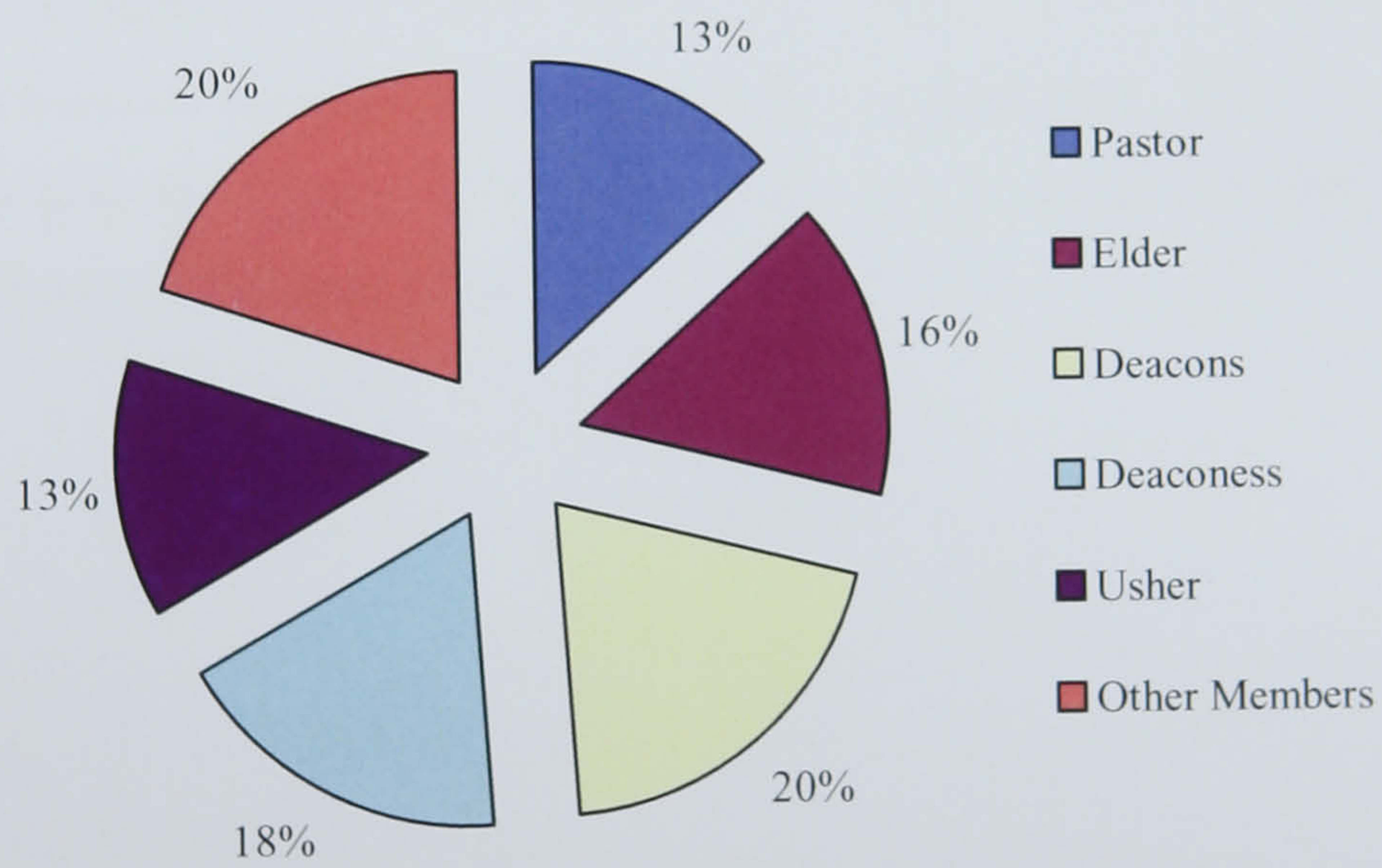
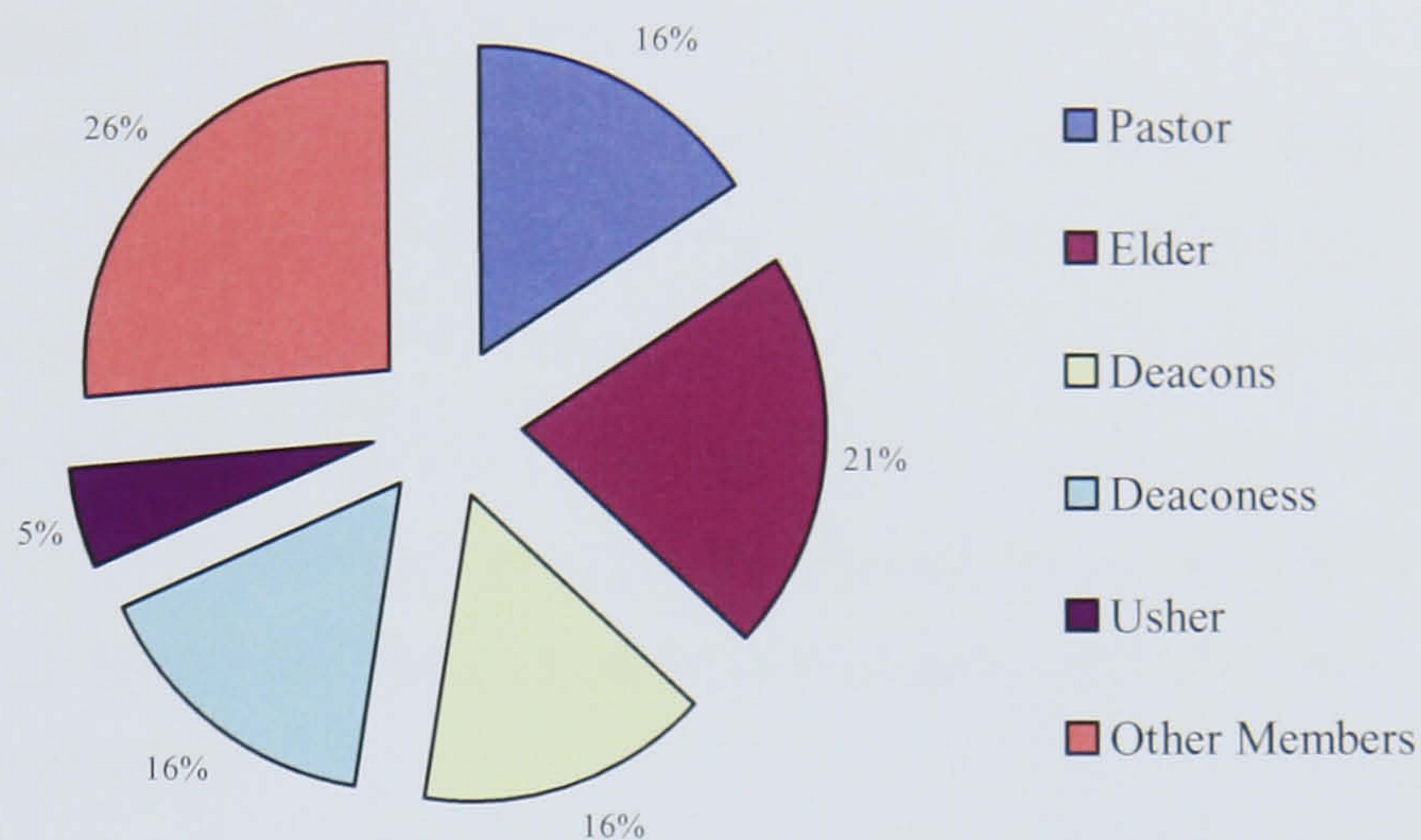


Chart 10d: Who Welcomes Visitors in Mixed Black congregations



7.5.2 Second-Time Visits by Non-Adventists

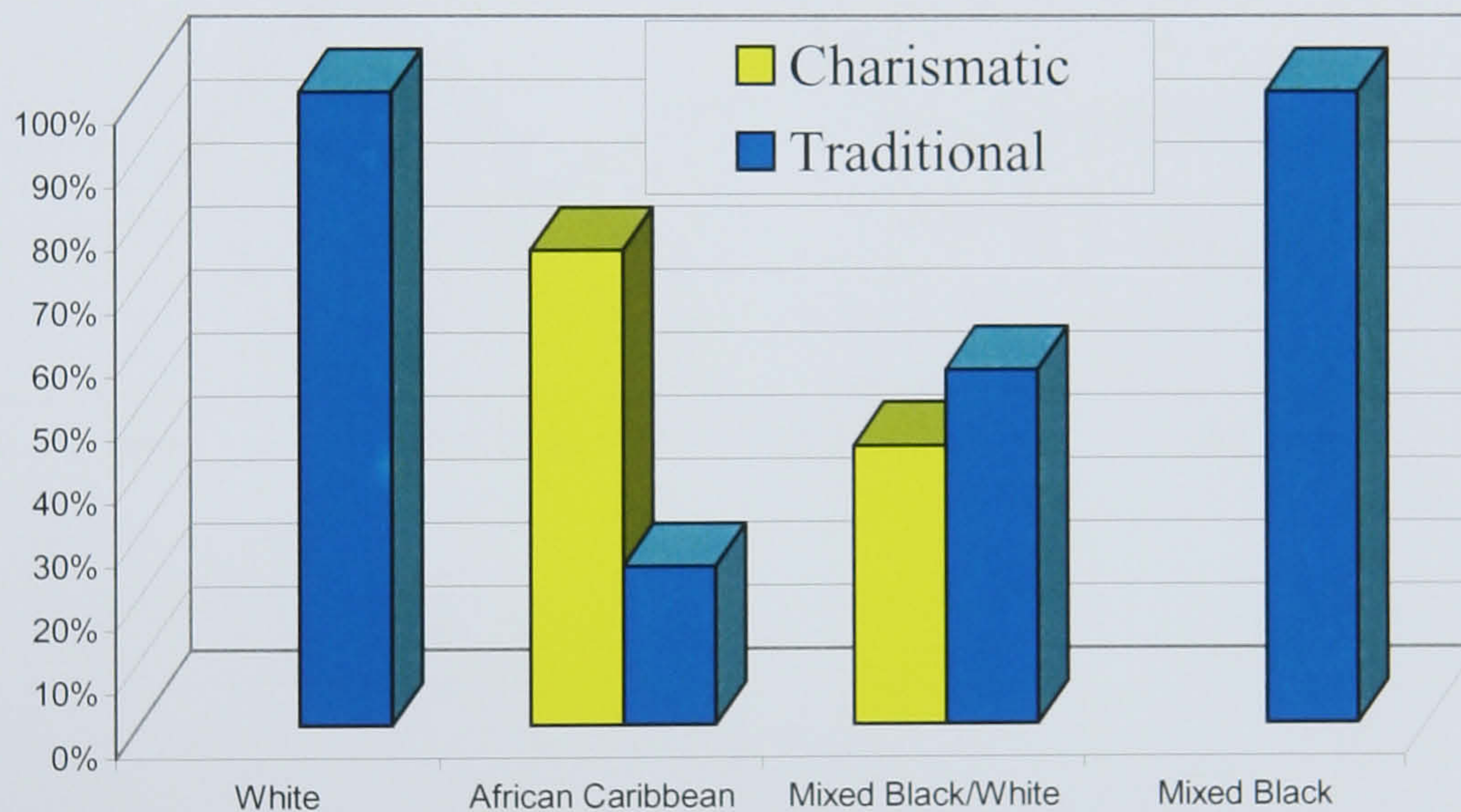
All congregations have non-Adventist visitors who attend service a second time. There is no distinction between the ethnic compositions of a congregation. Also the location does not appear to prevent visitors attending services. All congregations keep a record of visitors, as it is part of the church reporting procedure.

7.6 Church Worship

7.6.0 Style of Worship

Both White and mixed Black congregations describe their style of worship as 'traditional'; African Caribbean congregations describe themselves as charismatic, and mixed Black/White congregations displayed a mixture of both. The style of worship described here refers mainly to the family worship periods and not to the entire day worship services, particularly in African Caribbean and mixed Black congregations where their youth service in the afternoon is generally livelier with more participants, and in which a variety of musical instruments are used.

Chart 11: Description of their Style of Worship



7.6.1 Level of Satisfaction in Worship

Chart 12 show there is a greater level of satisfaction in worship in African Caribbean congregations; they always enjoy the worship in their churches. In White, mixed Black/White and mixed Black congregations, worshippers have a lower level of satisfaction in worship. Mixed Black/White and mixed Black congregations show three different level of satisfaction with the worship in their respective congregations. Only 33%

from mixed Black/White and mixed Black congregations said they always enjoy the weekly worship service, 45% and 50% respectively stated they usually enjoy worship but not on a weekly basis, those that enjoy worship sometimes or less frequently are 22% and 17% respectively. It is more difficult to meet a satisfactory level of worship in mixed cultural congregations than in majority cultural group congregation. All have their preference in styles of worship.



7.6.2 Musical Instruments and Choir Groups

There are a variety of musical instruments used in all congregations. A choir is one of the main features within Black congregational worship (Table G). The various musical instruments as outlined for the White and Mixed Black/White congregations are only used on special occasions. There is a marked difference to the African Caribbean and mixed Black congregations, where various musical instruments such as keyboard, guitars and drums are used weekly to enhance their worship.

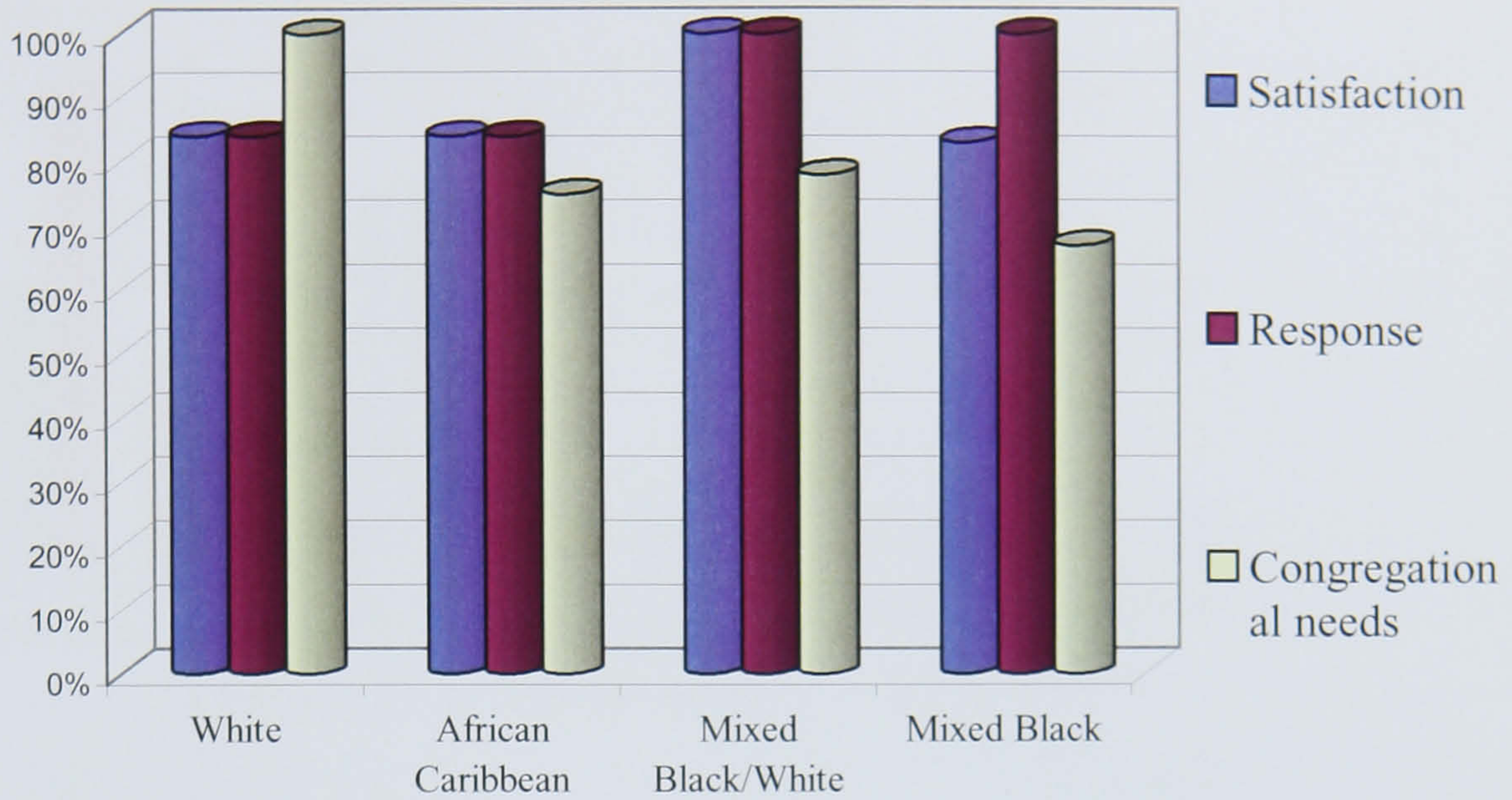
Table G: Musical instruments and choir/group performers used in worship.

Congregations	Musical Instruments	Choir/Group performance
White	Organ, Piano, Flute, Violin, Saxophone, Bass Horn, Oboe, Tuba and Clarinet.	On special occasion only
African Caribbean	Organ, Piano, Keyboard, Guitars and Drums.	Weekly
Mixed Black/White	Organ, Piano, Keyboard, Saxophone, Clarinet, Guitar and Drums.	On special occasion only
Mixed Black	Organ, Piano, Keyboard, Guitar, Violin and Flute.	Weekly

7.6.3 Preaching: Response, Satisfaction and Congregational Needs

The level of satisfaction and response of the congregation to preaching does not necessarily indicate that all the needs of the congregation are met (Chart 13). For example, in the White, African Caribbean and mixed Black/White congregations the level of satisfaction is proportional to the level of response from the congregation. However, the needs of the congregation are more likely to be met in White congregations than in the other congregational categories. White participants say preaching in their congregations is varied, describing it as uplifting, instructive and short. In African Caribbean congregations preaching is said to be dynamic, doctrinally based and long. Preaching in mixed Black/White congregations is said to be uplifting; the mixed Black congregations also used a similar description but they stated that the preaching was lengthy at times. There is a conflict in African Caribbean and mixed Black congregations between preachers and congregations in deciding what is considered to be a reasonable length for the delivery of sermons; in some congregations it is not unusual for preachers to take an hour to deliver their sermons. At the same time it is not unusual for a family with a baby and or young children to leave while the sermon is still in progress, or a nurse who has to go to work to leave before the service finishes.

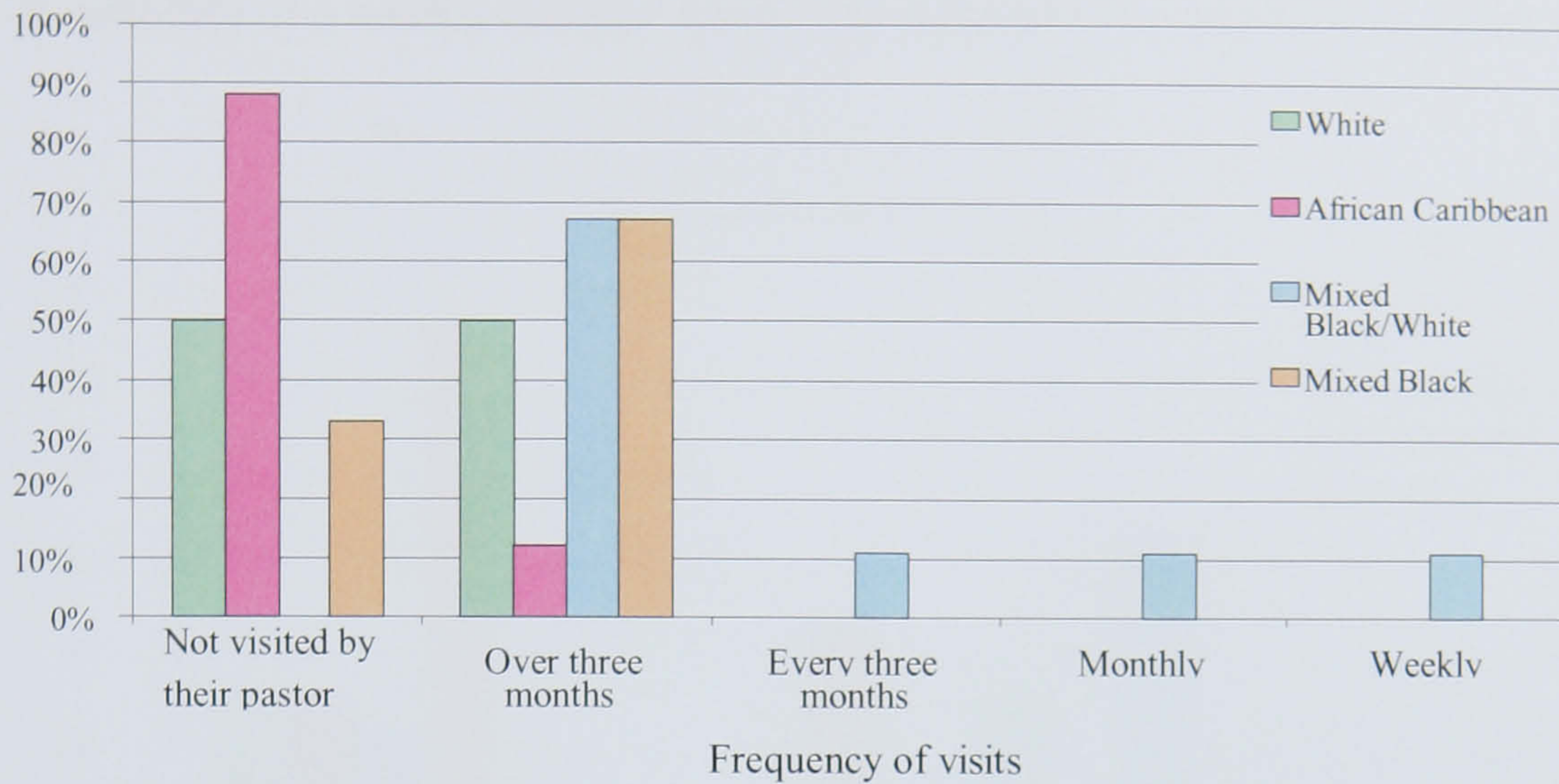
Chart 13: Preaching - Response, Satisfaction and Congregational needs.



7.7.0 Pastoral Care- Pastor's Visit

The majority of members in African Caribbean congregations have not been visited by the pastor. 88% of respondents in this category stated they never had a pastoral visit from their pastors. This, however, does not mean that these pastors are not in contact with their congregation. In large African Caribbean congregations, some pastors operate a weekly surgery at the church where individual members are able to meet with them, if and when the need arises. In contrast to this, the mixed Black/White congregations receive weekly or monthly visits from their pastor is indicated in Chart 14. Members in White congregations do not all receive visits from the pastor either, which is similar to the mixed Black congregations. Fewer members in mixed Black congregations have never had a pastor's visit.

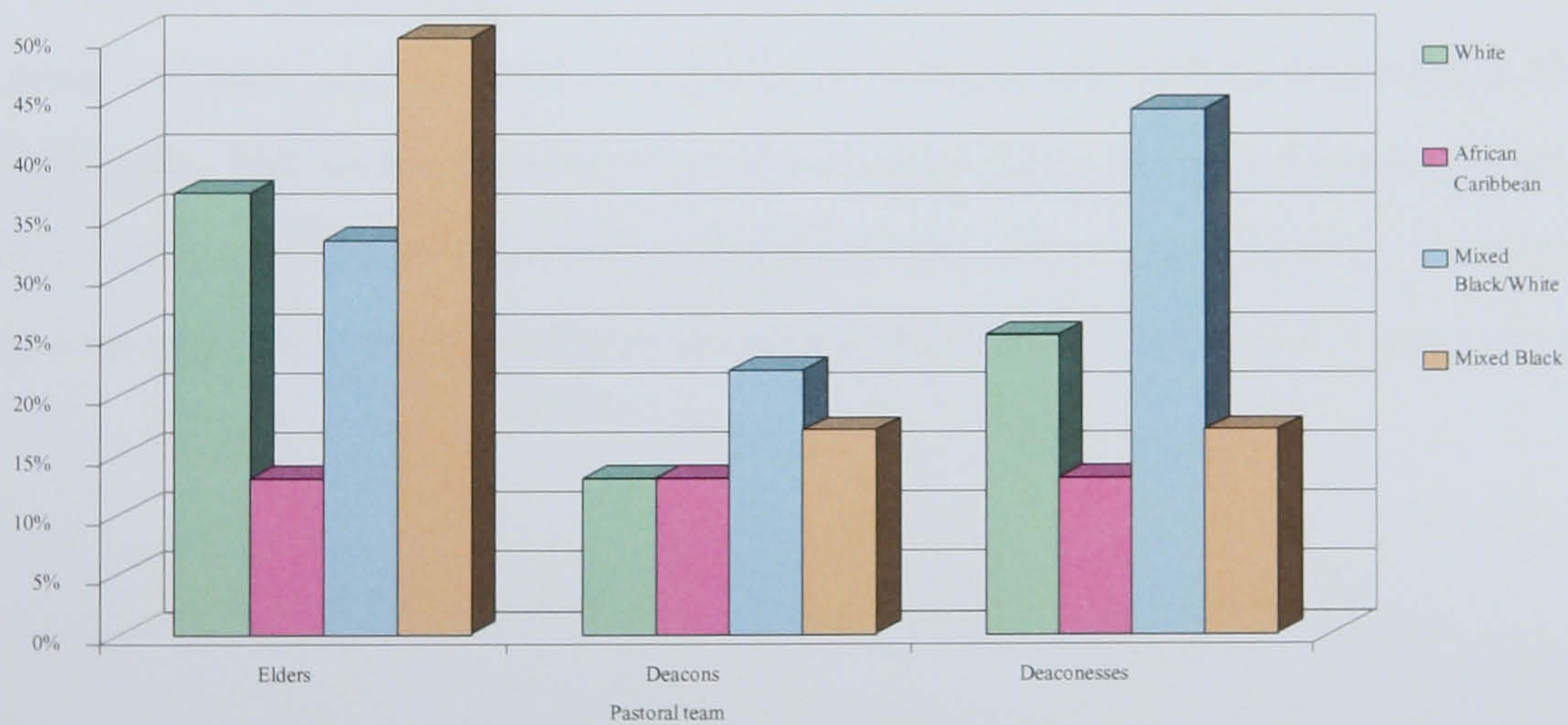
Chart 14: The frequency of the Pastor's visit



7.7.1 Visit from Pastoral Team

With the exception of African Caribbean congregations, members of mixed Black/White, White and mixed Black congregations receive visits from their pastoral team. Elders make the most visits from the pastoral team followed by the deaconesses.

Chart 15: Visits from pastoral team



7.7.2 Frequency of Pastoral Team Visit

Overall the mixed Black/White congregations have had the most visits from members of the pastoral team. African Caribbean congregations have the least amount of visits from

their pastoral team in some congregations; this however, could be as a result of the availability of a weekly pastors' surgery as referred to in comment in Chart 14.

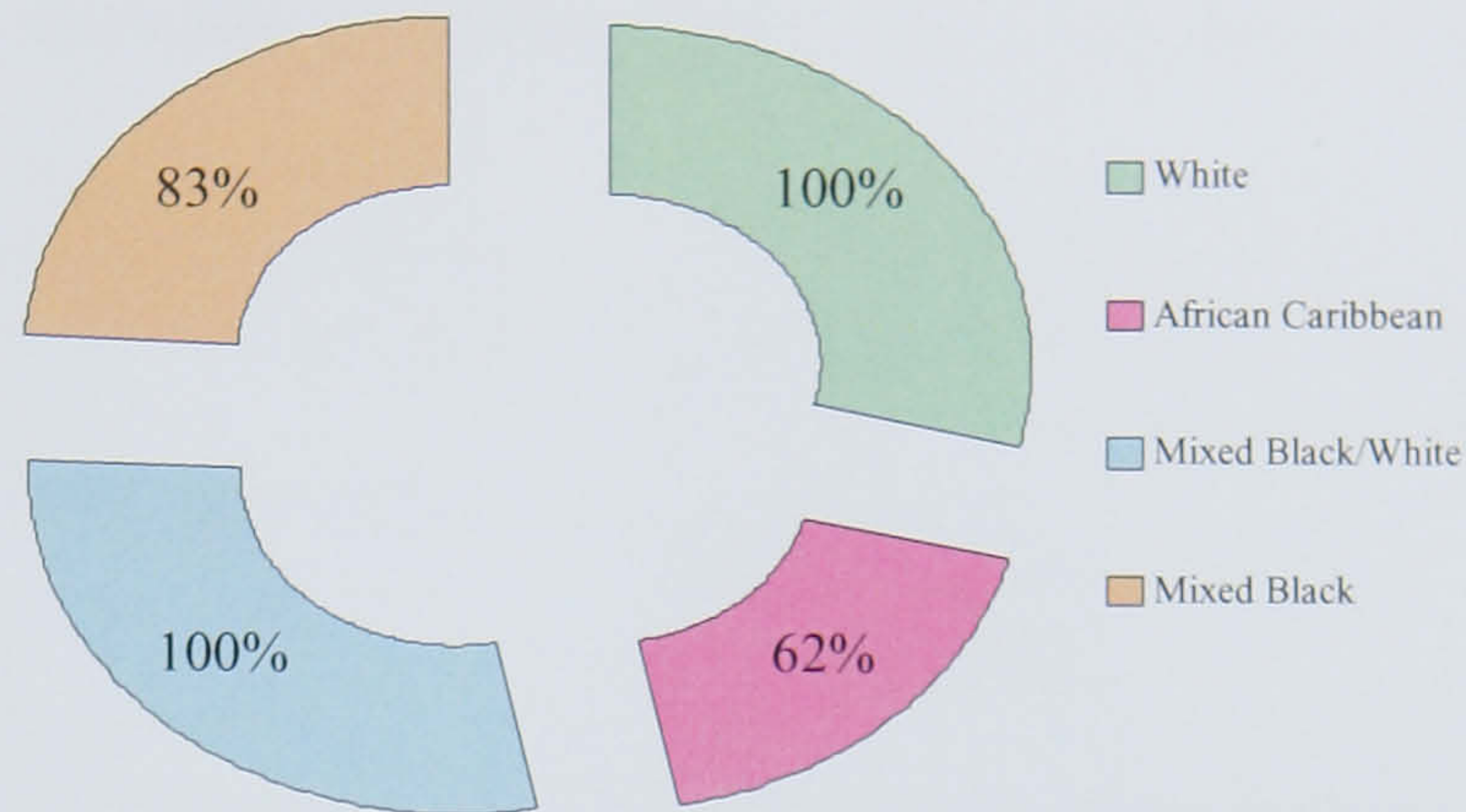
Chart 16: Frequency of visit by pastoral team



7.7.3 Caring and Supporting

The level of care and support is significant within the White and mixed Black/White congregations. But such care and support is largely perceived by members to be lacking in African Caribbean and mixed Black congregations. This is astonishing, but perhaps this is due to a much higher expectations or greater needs (still 83% and 62% respectively).

Chart 17: Percentage of members who say the SDA Church is caring and supportive.



By breaking this down, practical assistance is the main area where congregations lack in care and support for their members (Table H). African Caribbean and mixed Black congregations mention the need for financial help for one-parent families, after-school care for working parents, transport for the elderly on Sabbath, and help with their cooking, gardening etc. White and mixed Black/White congregations refer to praying, keeping in contact with members, and providing clubs for the elderly and youth as essential means of care and support. For them, understanding and accepting people's differences are important.

Table H: Areas Where the Church Gives Care and Support When Needed.

Congregations	Care and support is given	Where care and support is needed
White	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Fellowship lunches. *Help with school fees. *Flowers are sent to the sick. *Members are prayed for. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Pray more for members. *Offer of financial help. *Keep in contact with members. *Understanding & accepting people's differences. * Provide more activities for children.
African Caribbean	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Church supportive in time of sickness, bereavement and financial needs. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Regular visits to members. *Counselling available to members. *Financial help available to the sick, elderly members, and one-parent families. *After-school care for working parents. *To provide transport for the elderly to and from church.
Mixed Black/White	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Members are prayed for. *Practical help is provided (care for the sick, carpentry and gardening). *Listen to each other's problems. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Financial help. *O.A.P club and Youth club. *Taped sermons for house-bound members. *More social events for members.
Mixed Black	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Financial support given *Card and flowers given when needed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Visitation. *Financial support. *Counselling available to members. *Practical help (cooking, shopping, cleaning and gardening).

7. 8.0 Church Involvement in the Local Community and the Type of Education Provided

Each congregational group provides humanitarian services to the community that are similar to the international work of the Adventist Development and Relief Agency (ADRA). There are differences between the congregations, with White congregations working in partnership with local authority agencies; African Caribbean and mixed Black

congregations providing day or drop-in centres; mixed Black White congregations providing craft workshops. All the educational projects with the exception of those offered by White congregations were established within the last six years. These include youth-and adult-training provided by African Caribbean and mixed Black congregations, and supplementary evening/weekend schools provided by mixed Black White and mixed Black congregations. Differences in the number of staff between White established projects and recently developed ones is related to the type of project and its eligibility for funding. The newer projects that provide youth- and adult-training or supplementary evening weekend schools are in areas that attract government regeneration funds.

Table I: Church Involvement in the Community

	Targeting needs in the community.	Educational projects provided	Year estab.	No. Enrolled	No. of Staff
White Congregations	*Provide food for homeless in the Community. *Work with local authority agencies.	a) Nursery school. b) Primary school.	1966 1966	50	7
African Caribbean Congregations	*Homeless feeding program. *Day centre.	Youth- and adult-training centre.	2000	25	5
Mixed Black/white Congregations	*Drop-in centre. *Craft workshops. *Flower arranging classes.	Evening/weekend supplementary school.	1995	10	5
Mixed Black Congregations	*Homeless feeding program. * Drop-in centre.	a) Youth- and adult-training.	2000	20	2
		b) Supplementary evening/weekend school.	1996	30+	8

7.8.1 Other Projects

Projects vary within each congregational group. Both White and mixed Black White congregations use indirect methods such as radio ministry, hospital and prison visitation, and health-awareness. African Caribbean and mixed Black congregations use direct methods such as mothers and babies clubs, nurseries, advice centres and home-care.

Table J: Other Projects

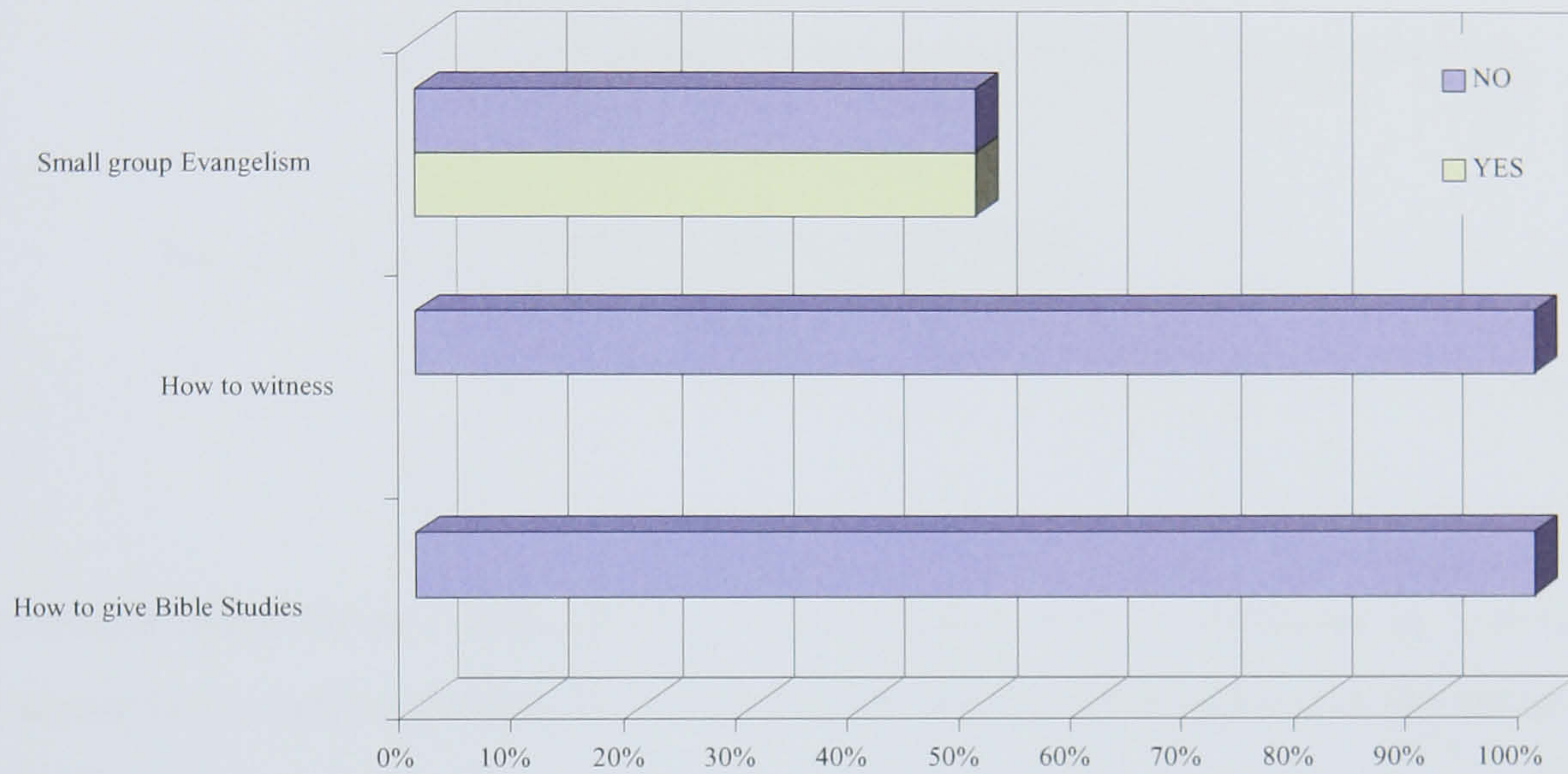
	Other projects the Church is involved in.	Other projects the Church should be involved in.
White congregations	*Children's holiday club. *Fundraising for local charities. *Talking newspaper for the blind.	*Evangelism. *Health awareness i.e. (Drugs, HIV, Aids). *Hospital and prison visitation.
African Caribbean Congregations	None	*Drugs and alcohol programmes. *Mothers and babies club. *Nursery.
Mixed Black/White congregations	*Hospital visitation.	*Radio ministry.
Mixed Black Congregations	None	*Advice centre. *Mothers and Toddlers club. *Home care. *Reading centre.

7.9.0 Evangelism -Workshops

Mainly three types of workshops are provided: Small group evangelism, how to witness, and how to present Bible studies.

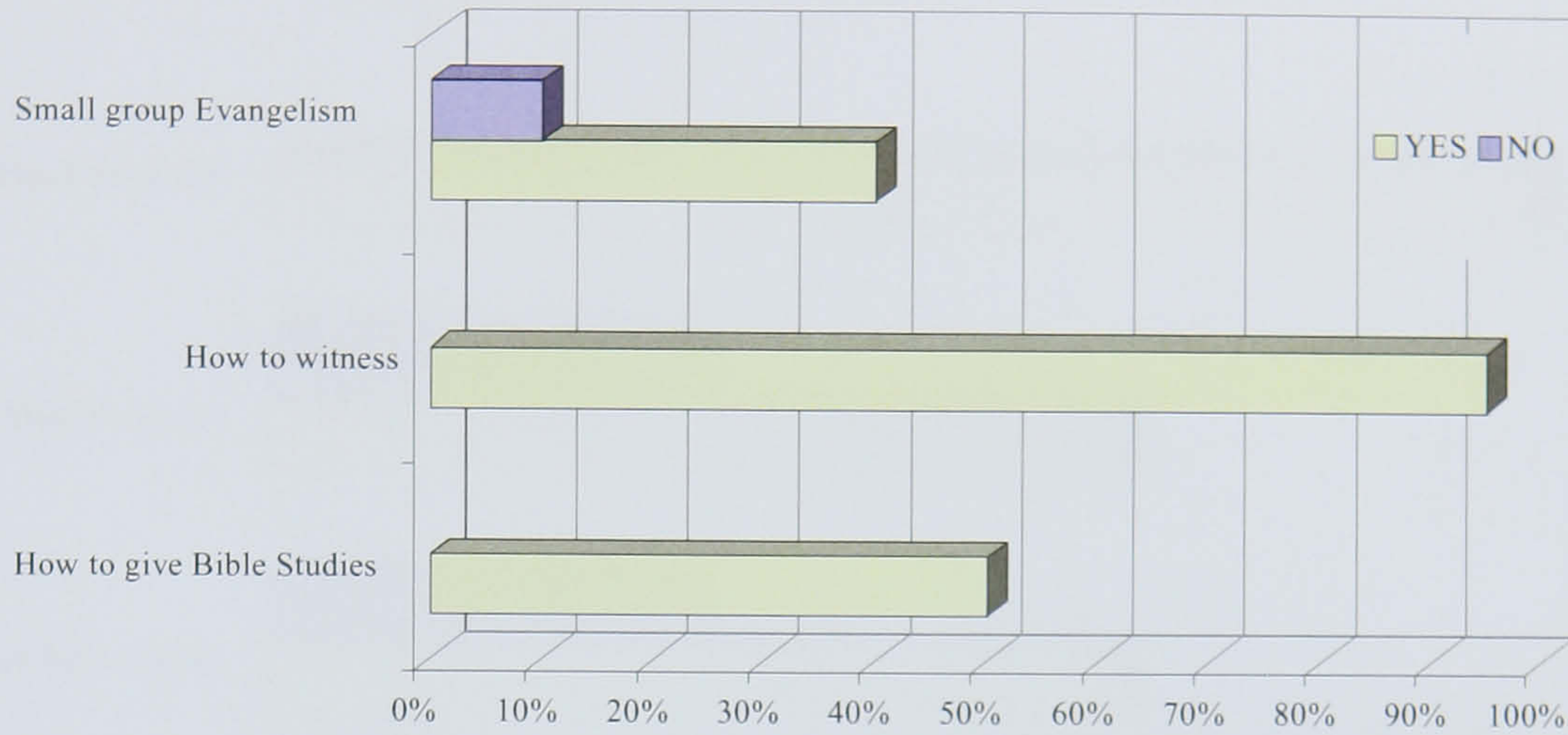
Small group evangelism workshops are promoted in White congregations. The purpose of these workshops is to encourage individual members to foster long-term relationships with various people in their community with the aim of introducing them to Jesus Christ.

Chart 18a: Workshops provided over a twelve month period in White congregations



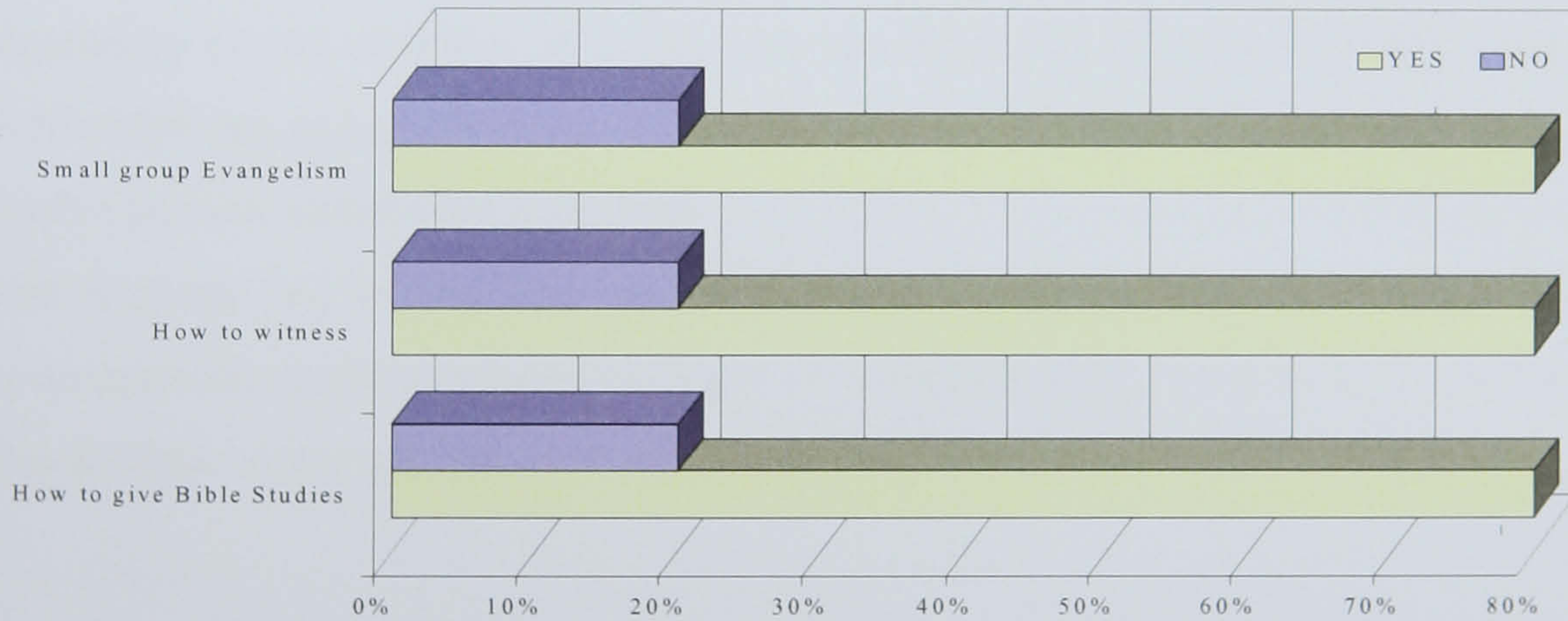
How to witness is one of the major workshops available in African Caribbean congregations over a twelve-month period as indicated in Chart 18b. Other workshops include training for Bible studies and small group evangelism.

Chart 18b: Workshops provided over a twelve-month period in African Caribbean congregations



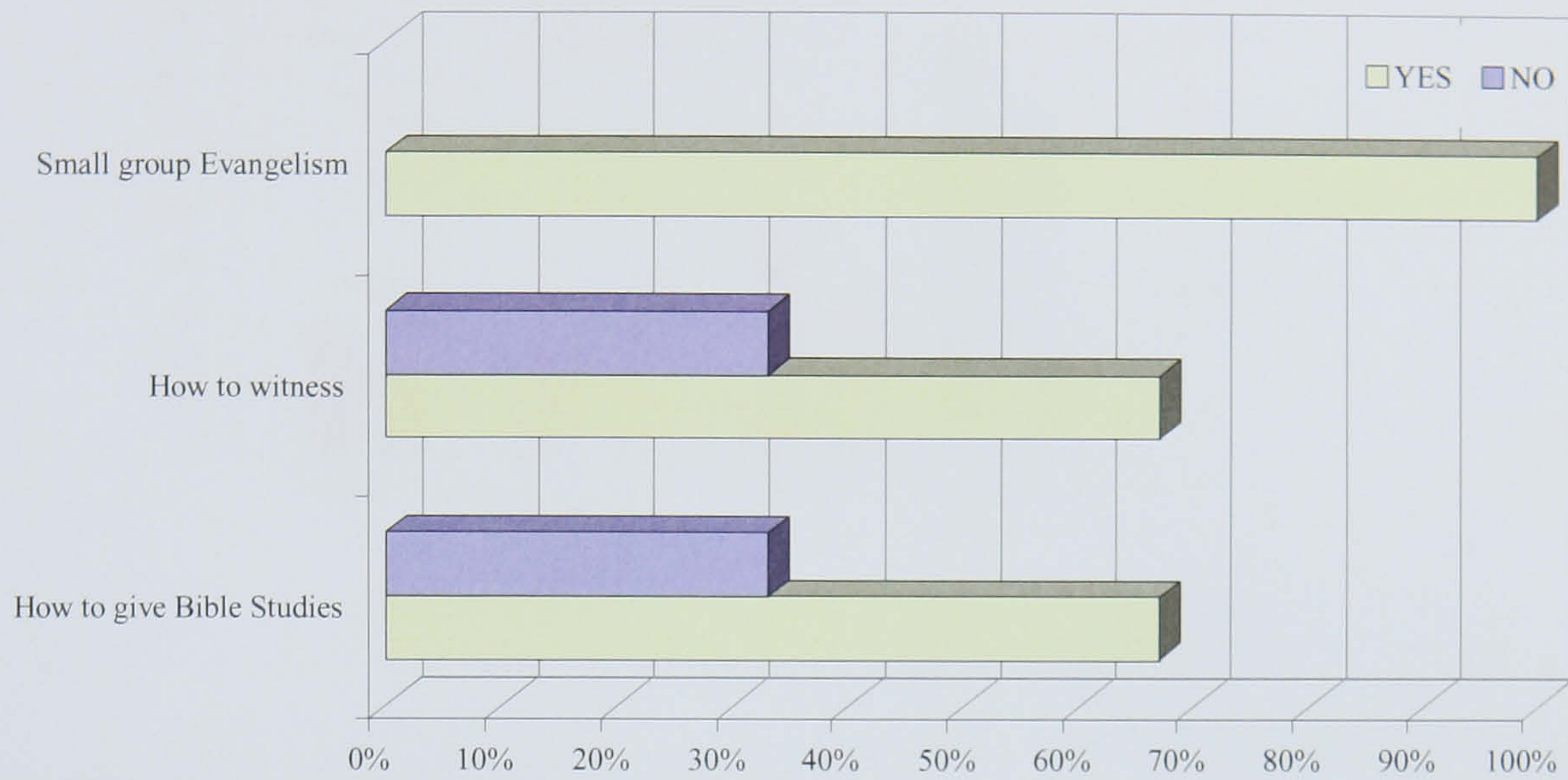
In mixed Black/White congregations, where all three major workshops are conducted, the purpose is to enable members to have a greater level of involvement in the mission of the church.

Chart 18c: Workshops provided over a twelve month period in M. Black/White Congregations.



Again training in Small group evangelism is widely available for members in mixed Black congregations; however, How to witness, and How to present Bible studies workshops have also been provided in two-thirds of their congregations.

Chart 18d: Workshops provided over a twelve month period in M. Black congregations



7.9.1 Frequency of Workshops

The frequency of workshops indicates a constant development of members in the skills needed to witness effectively. This is evident in both African Caribbean and mixed Black congregations where training workshops are conducted weekly and or every three months depending on the situation. In some fifty percent of the African Caribbean congregations workshops are organised only when there is a need (Chart 19). In White congregations twelve percent stated that workshops are conducted only when needed which results in the vast majority not having any training for their members. Similarly, mixed Black/White congregations do not conduct workshops on a regular basic. Seventy eight percent of mixed Black/White congregations do not conduct workshops.

Chart 19: Frequency of Workshops



7.9.2 Participants in Workshops

Regarding the percentage of members participating in workshops, White congregations have the lowest number. African Caribbean, mixed Black/White and mixed Black congregations recruit comparable numbers of participants.

Table K: Percentage of Members Participating in Workshops.

Congregations	%
White	10-20
African Caribbean	10-30
Mixed Black/White	10-30
Mixed Black	10-30

7.9.3 Planned Witnessing Programmes

Mixed Black and White congregations are more active in door-to-door witnessing than the other congregations. Mixed Black congregations are engaged more in hospital/nurses home visitation. White congregations have the lowest amount of planned witnessing programs.

African Caribbean congregations in general are active in a variety of planned witnessing programs.

Table L: Congregations with Planned Witnessing Programs.

Congregations	Type of witnessing program									
	Door/Door		Street witness		Hospitals		Prisons		Others	
	%		%		%		%		%	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
White	12	88	12	88	12	88	-	-	25*	-
African Caribbean	75	25	63	37	75	25	75	25	-	-
Mixed Black/White	100	-	67	33	89	11	67	33	-	-
Mixed Black	67	33	33	67	100	-	17	83	-	-

*Discovery Bible study courses.

7.9.4 Evangelistic Campaigns

African Caribbean and mixed Black congregations, with more than one evangelistic campaign each year, use a great variety of speakers, including the local pastor but also lay preachers and visiting evangelists. There is much more frequency of campaigns in African Caribbean, mixed Black and mixed Black/White congregations than in White congregations. Whereas African Caribbean and mixed Black congregations hold campaigns between two or three times per year, in White and mixed Black/White congregations these are less frequent with one yearly or one every two or three years.

Table M: Evangelistic Campaigns Held

Congregations	Frequency of Campaigns	Dates of last Campaign.	Who conducts it?
White	*50% - over 3 years *25% - over 2 years *25% - yearly	* 1997 – 1999	*Local pastor.
African Caribbean	*74% - 2 or 3 times per year	*year 2000	*Local pastors. *Lay preachers. *Visiting evangelist.
Mixed Black/White	*78% - yearly	* year 2000	*Local pastor.
Mixed Black	*50% - twice yearly *50% - yearly	*year 2000	*Local pastor. *Visiting evangelist.

7.9.5 Baptism

Baptisms in African Caribbean and Mixed Black congregations by far exceed those in White and mixed Black/White congregations. The number of baptisms conducted each year seems parallel to the amount of evangelistic campaigns conducted each year (Tables M and N). It is also proportional to the age range of the congregation. It should be noted that Adventist does not perform infant or young children baptism.

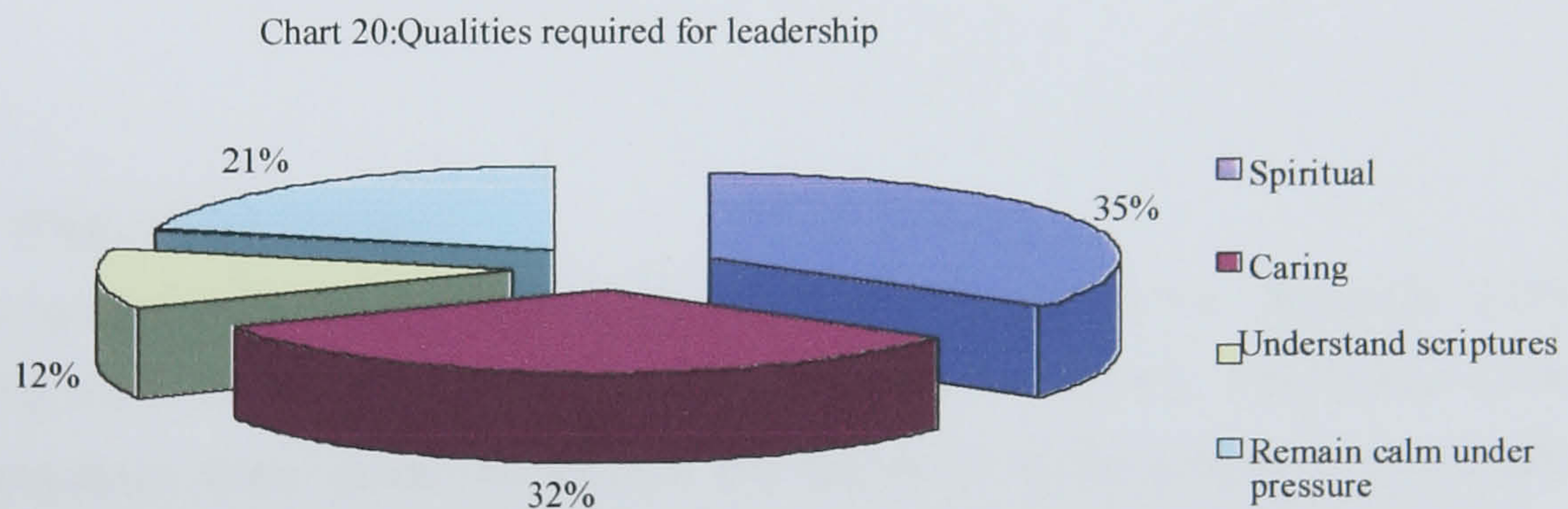
Table N: Baptism

Congregations	Frequency of baptisms	Amount baptised in year 2000
White	1 - 3 years	One
African Caribbean	1 – 3 times per year	Twenty-two
Mixed Black/White	When needed	Two
Mixed Black	1 – 4 times per year	Thirty

7.10 Leadership

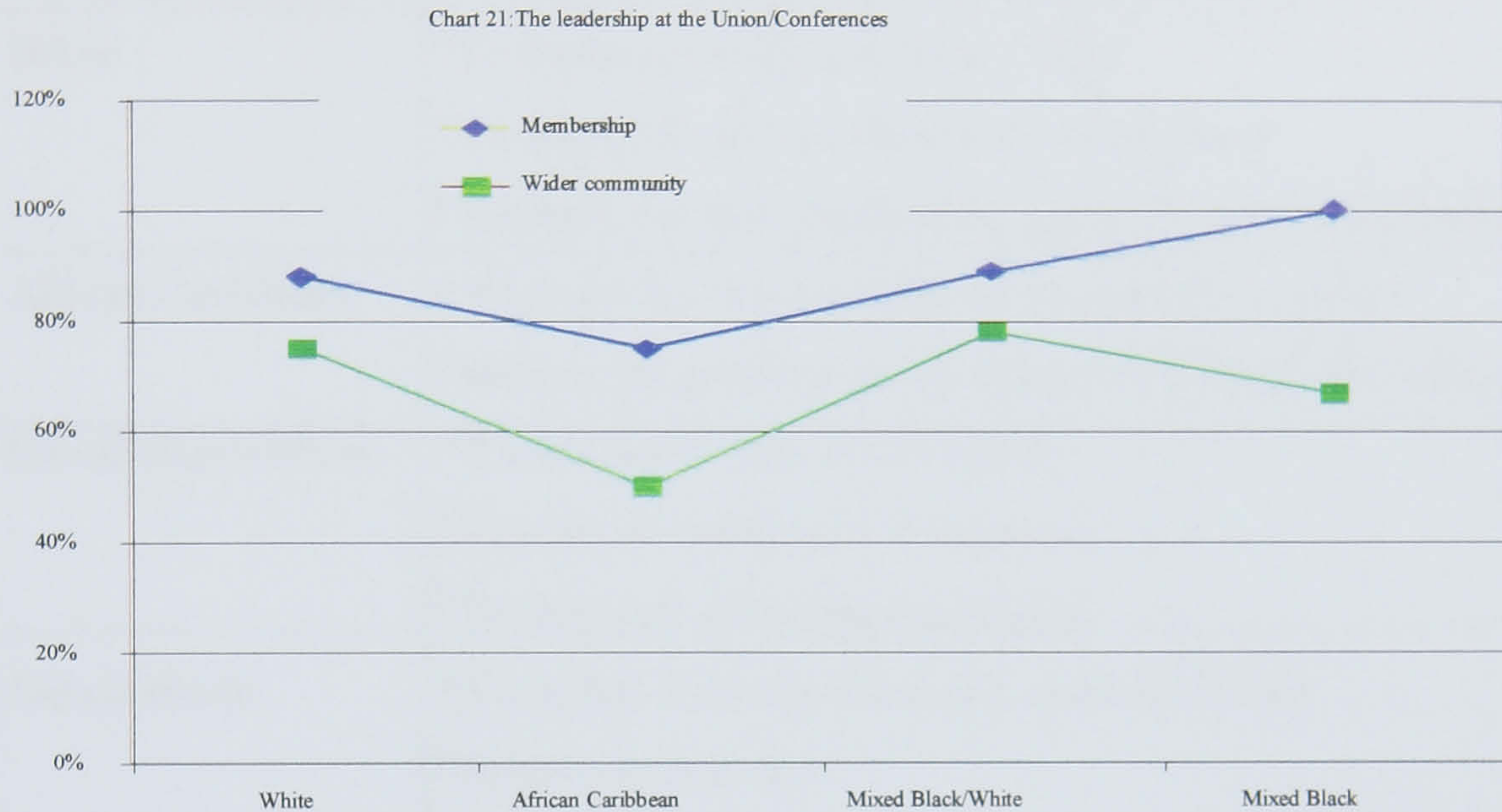
Qualities Required

The quality expressed most by all congregational groups required for leadership is spirituality, someone who loves God, and manifest also in lifestyle. Additionally, other requirements were mentioned by each congregational group. For example, White congregations required a leader with the 'ability to delegate authority'. African Caribbean congregations saw as one of the requirements the 'need for soul winning'. Mixed Black/White congregations pointed out the 'ability of the leader to identify with people of different cultures'. Mixed Black congregations on the other hand focused on the ability of the leaders to have an 'understanding of the different style of worship' that is needed in the church today.



7.10.1 Recruitment of Leadership

All congregational groups agreed that the leadership should reflect the membership of the church instead of the wider community, i.e. recruited from the membership of the church.



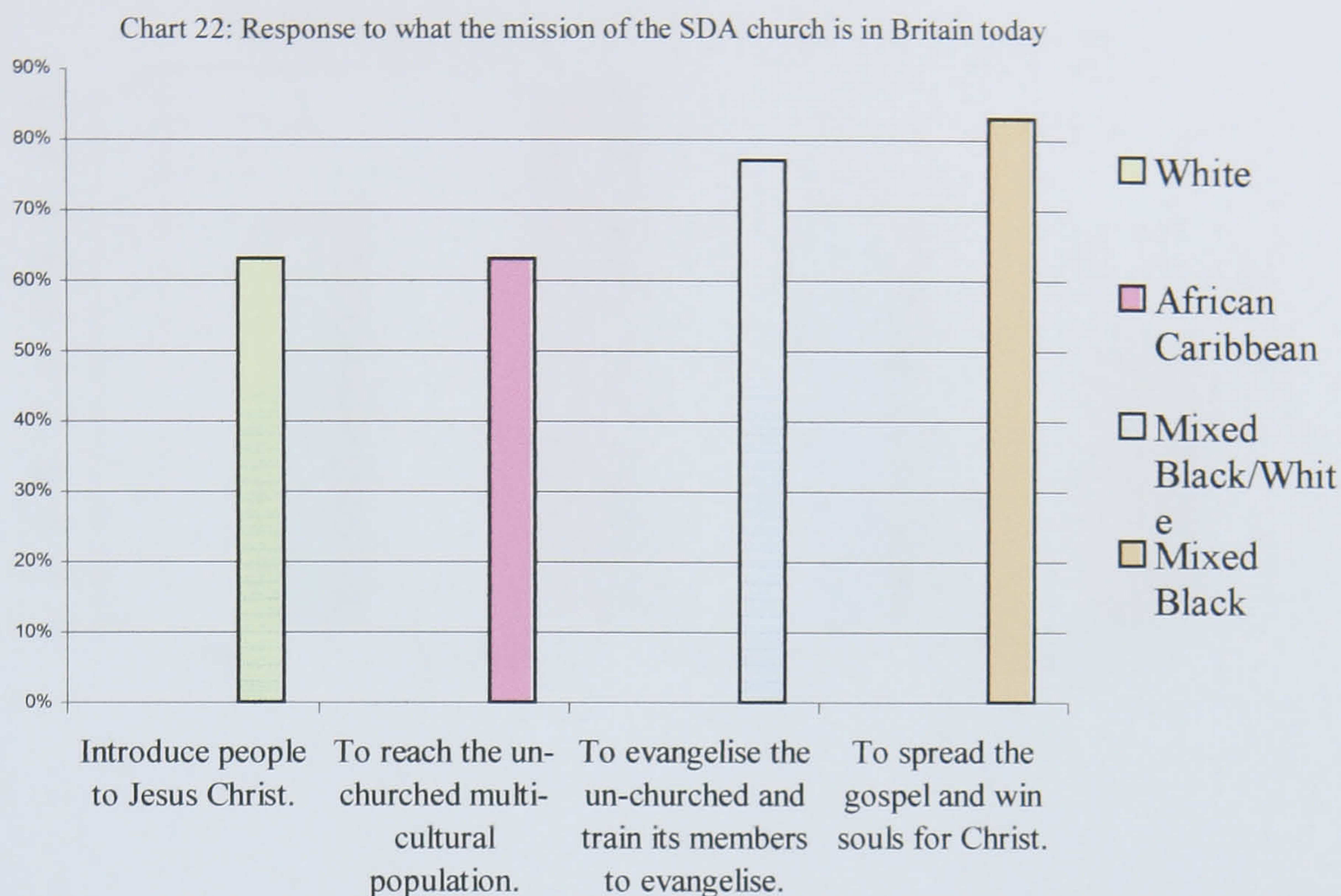
7.11 What is SDA Mission?

All congregations recognise that the mission of the SDA church is to 'win souls'. However, 'winning souls' seems to be interpreted to include mind and body. The African Caribbean congregations stress ethnic issues and the relevance of the gospel in a multi-cultural society. Mixed Black/White congregations stress the fact that it is important to cross denominational lines. All agree that mission means making the gospel a reality to people here and now. Their main areas of focus are illustrated in Chart 23.

Table O: Mission of the SDA church in Britain

Congregations	What is the mission of the SDA Church?
White	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *To introduce people to Jesus Christ *To target the un-churched white population *To reach out and proclaim the gospel in word and action
African Caribbean	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *To reach the un-churched white and ethnic groups *Making the gospel a reality to people through their activities
Mixed Black/White	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *To evangelise the un-churched *To train its members to evangelise *To mix with other denominations
Mixed Black	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *To spread the gospel and win souls for Christ *Nurture its members

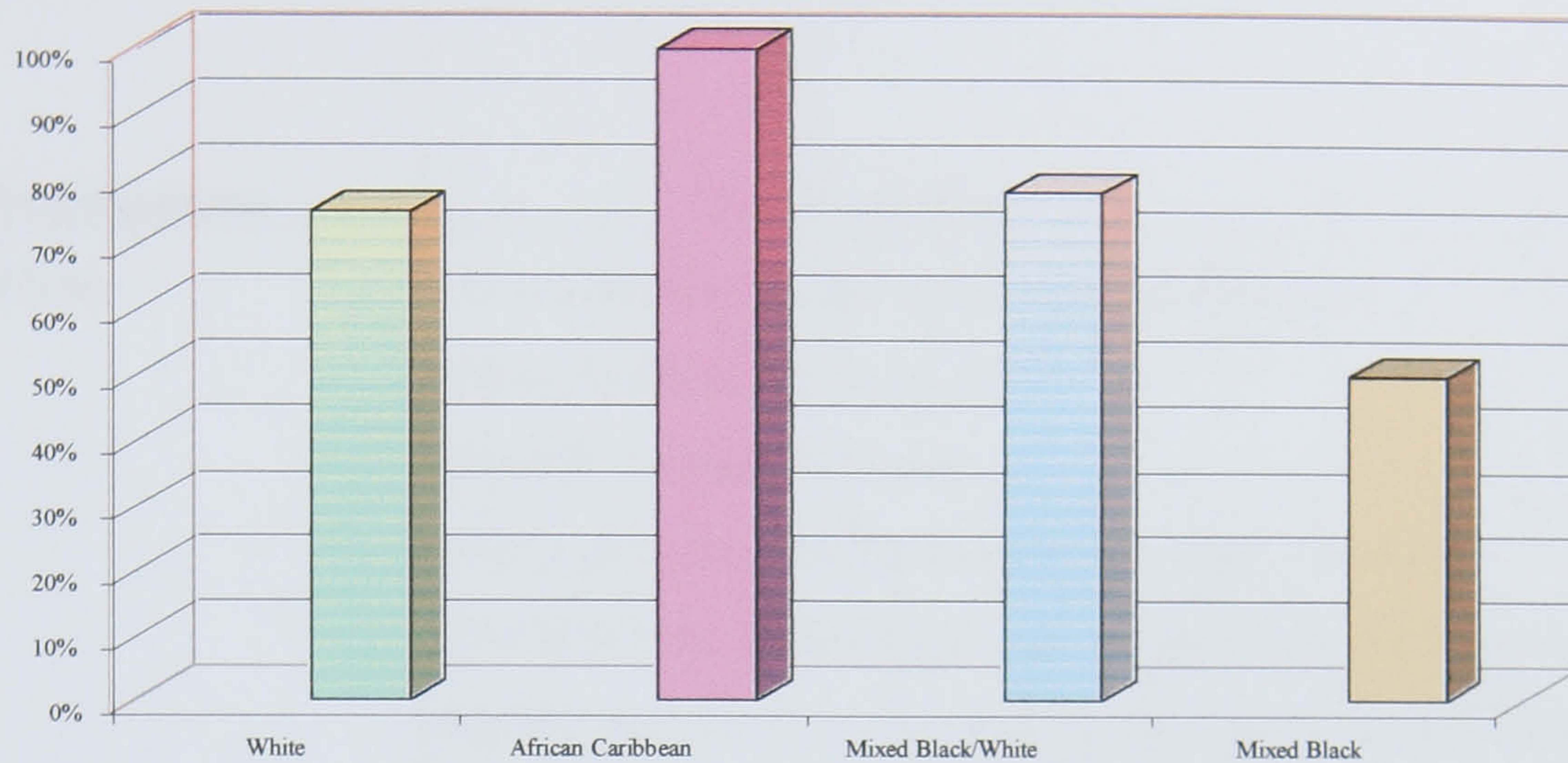
Chart 22 shows the main focus of each congregation on the area in which they think the church should concentrate its mission. The mixed Black/white congregations not only see that the church's mission is to evangelise the un-churched, but also stress as an important aspect the training of the members to evangelise. African Caribbean congregations emphasise the need to reach other ethnic groups.



7.11.1 Is the SDA Church Fulfilling its Mission?

The African Caribbean congregations are the most critical of the church; they do not consider that SDAs are fulfilling their mission in Britain today. Mixed Black/White and White congregations also agree that the SDA church is failing in fulfilling its mission. The mixed Black congregations, however, do not feel as strongly as do the other congregational groups and are therefore divided; only forty-eight percent criticise SDAs for not fulfilling their mission.

Chart 23: The NO response to 'Is the SDA church fulfilling its mission today?'



7.11.2 Reasons Given Why the SDA Church is Not Fulfilling its Mission

The list of reasons offered by each congregation for why the SDA church is not fulfilling its mission differs widely. White congregations' reasons for the church failing in mission are the failure of the church to address the wider population, using outdated techniques, and fear of change. African Caribbean congregations' reasons are that the un-churched are still not been reached (i.e. the Asian and other ethnic groups), also lack of training and decline in members' participation are mentioned. Apathy of the public and the church attracting only former Adventists are reasons given by mixed Black/White congregations. Mixed Black congregations stress that the church has conformed to the secular society and is not known amongst the indigenous population and minority groups.

The list of reasons can be summarised as follows: changes vs. maintenance, Black/White imbalance in the composition of church membership, ethnic issues, the secular society, apathy and lack of use of talent; work vs. local involvement, level of planning done by leaders.

Table P: Reasons for SDA church not fulfilling its mission

Congregations	Reasons given
White	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Is not addressing the needs of the population. -Using outdated techniques. -Church is afraid of change. -Many churches are just maintaining their members. -The Black congregations are growing but the White ones are not. -Apathy on a local level; members are absorbed in the increasing demand of work and society, they no longer have time or energy to commit themselves to church activities. -The secular society is not interested in religion.

Congregations	Reasons given
African Caribbean	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -The un-churched are still untouched; Asian and other ethnic groups are practically non-existent in the SDA church in Britain; White Adventists are dying out and not replaced; Blacks reached are either former SDA or already Christian. -The use of traditional methods does not work in today's society. -Black members are not using their talents for witnessing anymore as they used to in the 60's, 70's and 80's. -Members are not educated and trained for mission as members are in the Caribbean. -Majority of the members do not participate in witnessing.

Mixed Black/White	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Traditional methods of spreading the gospel are not working, new methods need to be developed that will include the involvement of the laity. -Apathy on the part of the public makes winning souls very difficult. -Church is not growing with new members, it is only attracting former Adventists. -Members are no longer actively involved in witnessing.
Mixed Black	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -The church is not known very much to the indigenous population or to minority groups in the wider community. -The church`s mission is carried out through ADRA and church institutions, but not through the laity. -The church has conformed to the world.

7.12 Challenges Facing the SDA Church in Britain Today

White congregations see secularisation, reaching the indigenous population, mobilising the membership, and attracting young people as the main challenges facing the SDA church in Britain. African Caribbean congregations, on the other hand, see issues such as uncommitted pastors and members, racism in the church, and relevance of the gospel to a post-modern generation as the main challenges. Mixed Black/White congregations refer to

breaking down of prejudice within the church and making the gospel real in a multi-cultural society. Reaching the Asian community and for the church to be multi-cultural are challenges which the mixed Black congregations see facing the SDA church in Britain today.

Table Q: Main Challenges Facing the SDA Church in Britain Today

White	African Caribbean	Mixed Black/ White	Mixed Black
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Secularisation *Attracting young people. *Mobilising the entire membership. *Reaching the indigenous population. *For the church to be united in Britain. *How to assure white members who are uncomfortable introducing their friends to a “mostly black church”. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Secularisation *Uncommitted pastors and members *Racism in the Church. * Reaching the indigenous population. *Making the gospel relevant to a post modern generation. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Attracting the white population. *How to appeal to a materialistic generation. *Breaking down prejudice within the church. *Making the gospel real in a multi - cultural society. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Secularisation *Reaching the Asian community. *Reaching the secular society. *To be a multi - cultural church.

7.12.1 Suggested Training for Pastors and Laity

All congregational groups suggested that to meet the challenges facing the SDA church today, counselling and training skills are urgently needed for pastors. In addition, White congregations suggest as an appropriate training the art of visitation, understanding the pastoral leader's role, and how to nurture the members. African Caribbean congregations, on the other hand, recommend how to liaise with other community leaders, how to delegate responsibilities to members, how to communicate with members, and how to prioritise their work as skills and training is needed. Developing the laity, understanding the needs of their local community and having an understanding of social justice are areas of training which mixed Black/White congregations see as necessary. Mixed Black congregations point out that the conduct of worship, understanding the mentality of the postmodern generation, and obtaining knowledge of other cultures are vital skills and training needed by pastors.

Table R: Suggested Training or Skills Needed for Pastors to meet Challenges.

White	African Caribbean	Mixed Black/ White	Mixed Black
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Small group evangelism. *The art of visitation. *Counselling. *Understanding their role as leader in the church. *How to nurture the members. *Training skills - to train members how to witness. *How to present the gospel in a modern setting. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Counselling. *How to liaise with other community leaders. *How to delegate responsibilities to members. *How to communicate with their members. *Training skills. *How to organise and prioritise their work. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Counselling and communicating skills *How to develop the laity. *Understanding the needs of their local community. *Understanding of social justice for all. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *How to conduct worship. *How to conduct Seminars. *Understanding the mentality of post-modern generation. *Knowledge of other cultures. *A good organiser. *To reach the un-churched. *Showing the relevancy of the scriptures for everyone.

7.12.2 Suggested Training for Laity

Table S: The type of workshops needed to train the laity

<p>The most common workshops recommended by all congregations are:</p> <p>a)How to conduct Bible studies</p> <p>b)Counselling</p> <p>c)How to witness</p>

Apart from the three common workshops listed in Table S, for quality training of the laity a variety of other workshops are also suggested in Table T. African Caribbean congregations suggest topics such as how to improve worship services and having knowledge of other religions. Mixed Black/White congregations focus on leadership training and lay-preaching. White congregations see the need for training in small groups and visitation. Mixed Black congregations suggest understanding the unchurched as an area of training.

Table T: Workshops Pertaining to Each Group of Congregation

White	African Caribbean	Mixed Black/White	Mixed Black
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Small groups *Preaching *Visitation *Leading out in worship. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *How to improve worship service. *Knowledge of other religions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Leadership training. * Elders courses *Lay preaching 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Understanding the un-churched

7.13 What the Survey adds to the Study

- 1) Within Adventist Black majority congregations there is a growing proportion of second and third generation Black members who have no previous connection with the SDA church in Britain or the Caribbean.
- 2) From the mid 1990s, there has been a shift in many congregations to provide not only humanitarian support for the community, but also to be involved in a more practical way similar to Adventism in the Caribbean. This can be observed in many

congregations with premises for day centres, youth and adult training centres, or supplementary evening and weekend schools, to combat loneliness, upgrading or providing new skills and educational support for adults and children in the area. A link can also be seen already between existing church projects in the community and others envisaged for the future.

- 3) There is evidence of African retentions in the Caribbean style of worship in Black Adventist congregations.
- 4) White majority congregations are less likely to have regular non-Christian visitors attending their weekly service. This is in contrast to the Black majority congregations with regular non-Christian visitors to their weekly service.
- 5) Training workshops and evangelistic meetings are held more frequently in Black majority congregations than in White majority congregations.
- 6) Black majority congregations are more likely to conduct more than one baptismal service per year than most White majority congregations.
- 7) There is a common consensus between all congregational groups that the leadership of the SDA church in Britain should reflect the membership and not the wider community. There is also now a preferred interest in the quality of a leader. Church members prefer a leader who is spiritual and has a good knowledge of scriptures. Additionally, he or she should also be a good administrator who knows and understands how to manage people irrespective of their cultural background.
- 8) Regarding the decline in White membership, the survey shows that both the lack of children, young people and young adults and the aging White membership, are two important factors leading to the fall in membership.

- 9) The survey reveals the type of projects Black congregations are engaged in to reach various ethnic groups in the local community, to fulfil the mission of the church.
- 10) The majority of members within the BUC no longer participate in the church-witnessing programme. Some congregations do not have planned witnessing programmes for their members, unlike the Adventist churches in the Caribbean with ongoing programmes of that kind.
- 11) The main challenges for the SDA church in Britain today as seen by members of all cultures are, - secularisation of society; and
- how to give relevance to Adventists teachings in society.
- 12) Both pastors and lay members should receive relevant training.

7.14 Conclusion

This chapter revealed many key areas in which African Caribbean Adventists are having an impact on the British Adventist church. Observation of impact is noticeable with the differences in size of membership between White majority congregations and African Caribbean congregations. The difference in the number of children and young people present in each of the two congregational groups is indicative of the impact African Caribbean Adventists will continue to have on the SDA church in Britain in the future. The difference in social class and wealth distribution influences the image and activities of the church.

The style of worship, weekly participation of a choir or musical group and the use of musical instruments are further factors of continuing influence. Impact is also visible in the frequency of evangelistic meetings held in African Caribbean congregations. This is borne out also by the number of baptisms that are performed each year. A full discussion of some of these areas of impact will be embarked on in chapter eight.

CHAPTER EIGHT

The Progress and Development of the British SDA Church Under the Impact of African Caribbean Adventism.

8.0 Introduction

In chapters five and six we saw the initial impact that African Caribbean Adventists had on the British SDA church from 1950 to 1980. In chapter seven, we observed tangible evidence of the progress and development that continued to take place within the BUC. It showed many congregations including Whites, are now actively involved in projects that cater for the needs of the members as well as expanding a wider type of services for the local community. The rise in the number of homeless persons has seen congregations providing food and clothing for them. For the unemployed and elderly, some congregations provide drop-in centres. Since the 1990's there has been a significant number of Black congregations which have established educational and adult training projects. These projects range from evening or weekend supplementary schools to youth and adult training centres. The evangelistic endeavour of the membership is evidently still a priority in many congregations; this is particularly noticeable within African Caribbean and mixed Black congregations.

In this chapter, I shall examine the progress and development of the British SDA church as it continues to experience the impact of African Caribbean Adventists within its midst. Particular attention will be given to the following areas to analyse this impact: membership growth; age structure of the members and numbers of children and young adults; evangelism and the rates of baptism; worship styles; and community projects of the church. Also some of the following questions will be examined: Where is the SDA church increasing in membership? What sections of the community or cultural groups in the regions are most likely to be attracted to the church? What is causing growth in the areas where it is substantial? Why are there differences in style of worship between Black and White Adventists and what are its consequences?

I will be drawing evidence from chapter seven, previous chapters, my own experience as a member and local leader of the church, and, where appropriate, from relevant material from the BUC Quinquennial Session Report and the UK Christian Handbook. I will first examine the impact of the membership growth in the BUC with particular

reference to the SEC, which holds two-thirds of the BUC membership within its geographical territory.

8.1 BUC Membership Growth

The membership of the BUC of Seventh-day Adventists stood at 7,257 at the beginning of 1954. Historically the average annual membership increase from 1889 onwards had been approximately 100 a year after allowing for transfers-out, deaths and 'apostasies'.¹ At the beginning of year 2001 the membership of the BUC stood at 20,637,² an increase from 1954 of almost 13,400, or an average annual growth of 285 after allowing for transfers-out, deaths and 'apostasies'. This is a significant growth when compared with the overall fall in church membership nationally, which has decreased by 21% between 1980 and 2000.³ In spite of the overall fall, it has been noted that churches under the category of 'others', such as the Orthodox, New and Pentecostal churches, have grown in membership.⁴ The SDA church is classified as 'other'.

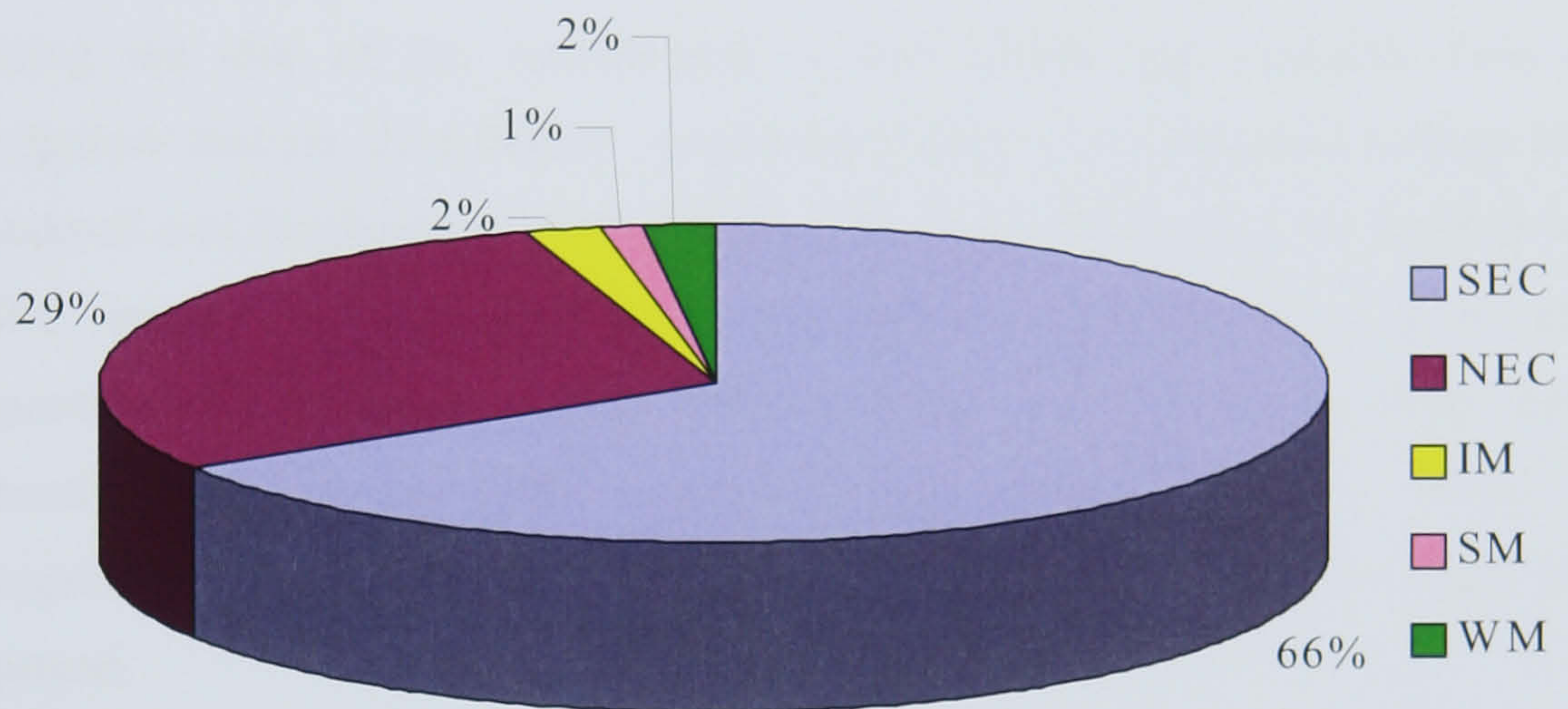
The British SDA church was not adversely affected by the overall fall in church membership, but instead has shown a net growth rate between 1981 and 2000 of over 33%.⁵ Over the past 20 years, it has grown at approximately 1.7% per annum. However, even though altogether the BUC has done very well in comparison with others cumulatively over the two decades, the last decade 1991-2000 has given rise to concern for the administrators. During this 10-year period both the Scottish and Welsh missions experienced an overall decline in their membership, while the Irish mission and the NEC maintained only a 0.2% and 0.4% net annual growth rate respectively. The SEC was the only unit within the BUC to consistently maintain a high growth rate for the last decade with over 2% growth per annum.⁶ The high growth rate by the SEC prevented an overall loss of membership within the BUC; the growth rate per annum was enough to absorb the decline that was felt in other areas of the BUC. It is without doubt that growing Black congregations have had a major impact in preserving overall numbers in the BUC, particularly those that are within the SEC.

8.1.1 Membership Distribution

To understand the membership growth within the BUC we need first to discover the areas where substantial growth is achieved as well as the areas where membership is static or decreasing. In chart 24 below, the membership distribution for the BUC is

illustrated as shared between the two conferences and three missions. The chart shows that nearly two-thirds or 13,620 of the BUC's total membership is concentrated in the SEC. The geographical territories of the SEC include the South, South East, South West and the East Anglia regions of England. The chart also shows the NEC with slightly under a third or 5,985 of the BUC membership in its territory. The NEC territories cover the East and West Midlands, the North West, Yorks/Humberside and the North of England. The three missions Ireland, Scotland and Wales have 413, 206 and 413 members respectively.

Chart 24: Membership Distribution 31 Dec 2000⁷



Examining the SEC membership closely, reveals that 70% or 9,534 of the membership in its territory resides in London, England's largest metropolitan area, with the remaining 30% distributed amongst the rural and urban towns and cities of the South, South East, South West and the East Anglia regions. The figures for London when compared with the BUC's total membership further show that the membership in London represents over 46% of the entire membership in the BUC to date. As pointed out in chapter five, London is host to a substantial number of African Caribbean settlers and their families.

8.1.2 Size of Congregations

For the purpose of this study the membership growth of the SDA church, and the way it is distributed, can best be understood by examining regional variations and the makeup of the population in the region. Relating it to the survey findings as outlined in chapter seven, congregations that are situated in large conurbations with a substantial Black presence such as Birmingham, Wolverhampton and London have also larger congregations with over 100 members. Grantham is one of the exceptional provincial towns with an SDA church membership of 170. One of the reasons for this high number is that the area is also the location of the Adventist printing organization, the Stanborough Press and the Adventist primary school, Dudley House. With these two institutions providing a supply of Adventist workers and their families, it is not surprising the size of the membership is well above one hundred. Two other congregations that are classified as 'institution churches' are Newbold College church in Bracknell and Stanborough Park church in Watford. These are both situated within the SEC, located on the sites of the church education institutions, or at the church headquarters. These congregations, largely White in their composition, have a membership of 324 and 598 respectively. In general, majority White SDA congregations have a small membership of 50 or less, an example being Hemel Hempstead.

In comparison, looking at the membership figures for individual congregations within the SEC, it is noticeable that those congregations predominately African Caribbean or mixed African/Caribbean in their composition are much larger than White congregations. My findings substantiate this. London, the largest conurbation city, is very diverse in its population, with over one million Londoners belonging to one of the ethnic minority groups. Within the SDA churches in London it would not be far from the mark to say that African Caribbeans form the largest single ethnic group in the church.

Historically, African Caribbean Adventists have been worshipping in Britain much longer than any of the other ethnic groups that are now present. They have built up large congregations in London. This is reflected in congregations such as Holloway, Brixton, Croydon and Chiswick with memberships in the year 2000 of 777, 747, 511 and 418 respectively. In the West Midlands this strength in numbers is seen in Camp

Hill, with a membership of 560, and in Wolverhampton. Oxford Street, with 250 members. The same can be said of congregations in other parts of the Midlands and Yorkshire. Large and medium size congregations are on the whole more likely to be growing, but smaller ones to be declining due to several factors, such as the numbers of children and young people in the congregation, or the age structure of the church.

8.1.3 Age Structure of SDA membership in Britain

What is the age structure of the people who attend the SDA church weekly? Of equal importance, what are the predominant age groups in each congregational category that stay away? These are all important questions that will establish further the impact of African Caribbean Adventists on the SDA church in Britain.

To illustrate the age structure in each congregational category, the figures given in chapter seven for children and young people in Table D were subtracted from the figures given for membership in Table C. The percentage of children and young people to age 30 was worked out against those that are over the age of 31 shown for each congregational category. From this, my survey findings revealed the proportion of members over age 31 as more noticeable in majority White and mixed Black and White congregations with 77% and 71% of their membership respectively. The percentage of members over the age of 31 is slightly lower in mixed Black congregations with 61%. In African Caribbean congregations the proportion of members over age 31 is 33%. This is more than half the amount that is found in all the other congregational categories with the exception of the mixed Black congregation. The difference in age group reveals there are more children and young people to be found in African Caribbean congregations, with 67% under the age of 30, as compared with the other congregational groups. For example, in White congregations only 23% are children and young people, in mixed Black and White congregations 29%, and mixed Black congregations 39%.

On the whole Black congregations attract and retain more young families, young people and children more successfully than do the other congregational groups. It is these congregations that are ensuring a future generation of nurtured SDA members. What can other congregational groups learn from Black congregations? Does this younger age group take on responsibility in the church? Do they prefer charismatic styles of

worship? In what ways do the under 30's and young families view the church differently from the other age groups? What can the church do to be more effective in reaching children and young people from the White community, which after all are also part of the future of the church? What are the methods used by African Caribbean congregations that White congregations could use to attract and retain children and young people?

From the survey we learn that White congregations are successful in retaining older members, but losing their children, young people and young families. These age groups however, are necessary in order to have a balanced and growing church. How do churches care for an increasing ageing congregation? What are the implications for church finance and fellowship if the church fails to attract the next generation?

8.2.0 Evangelism

As discussed earlier, African Caribbean and mixed Black congregations have been successful in attracting and retaining many adults and young people. What has made this success possible in Britain? In chapter 3, we discussed the role of the laity in the development of the SDA church in the Caribbean. We saw that the development there was due to the motivation of people, the systematic training they receive, and the involvement of the members. Members are equal partners working together with the pastors. This training received in the Caribbean became a useful tool on their arrival in Britain in the 1950s and 60s. This resulted, as we have seen in chapter 5, in the rapid growth of the British SDA church.

Evangelism, especially for African Caribbeans does not only include witnessing programmes, and evangelistic campaigns. It includes other elements such as developing community projects, and, establishing educational institutions.

As we turn to the evangelistic activities of the British Adventist church, we need to ask the question, to what extent have successive generations of Black Caribbean Adventists continued to participate in evangelism, both personal and corporate, in Britain's post-modern society? Also, of equal importance, to what extent are the children, or the third or fourth generations of African Caribbean descent participating in evangelism. Why

are some congregations more successful in evangelism than others? What are the types of workshops provided for training in SDA congregations in Britain today?

8.2.1 Training Methods and Types of Workshops Provided

Evangelism is still the life blood of many congregations as we have seen from charts 18 a-d in chapter 7. This is particularly true in non-White congregations, where on-going training of the members is evidence as a prelude for active participation. Workshops are the main method of training used in the SDA church today. Other methods used are seminars, role-plays and group discussions. In the survey results in chapter 7 three types of training workshops were identified:

- a) Small group evangelism
- b) How to witness
- c) How to give Bible studies.

In majority White congregations small group evangelism was the only workshop provided in 50% of this congregational category. How to witness was one of the major workshops available in African Caribbean congregations, with over 90% of congregations providing training in this area. Others were how to give Bible studies, and small group evangelism. In mixed Black/White congregations, all three major workshops were used to train their members; while in mixed Black congregations small group evangelism was widely available for their members, whilst the other two workshops were also provided in two-thirds of their congregations. This means that Black congregations are very well aware of the need for training in evangelism and witnessing and in biblical presentation.

8.2.2 Frequency of Workshops

Even though there are no distinct differences between African Caribbean congregations and other congregational groups with regard to the types of workshops provided, there are differences in their frequency. Frequency is an indication that new as well as long-standing members are able to receive training and update their skills on a regular basis. This is evident in both African Caribbean and mixed Black congregations, where training workshops are conducted weekly and in some cases on a three monthly basis, depending on the needs of the congregation. It should be noted that weekly and quarterly training workshops do not take place in all African Caribbean congregations as pointed out in the survey. Some congregations are flexible and conduct training

when it is needed, in which case it is possible that training workshops are conducted at the beginning of the year by the local pastor. The vast majority of White and mixed Black/White congregations do not have training workshops on a regular basis; 88% and 78% of these congregations respectively do not conduct any training for their members. Maybe this is not suited for a congregation of smaller size and older people.

8.2.3 Members Participation in the Training Workshops

The percentage of the membership that participates in the training workshops would seem significantly small in each congregational category. Considering the age group within White congregations the 10% to 20% of members participating would in some congregations represent one or two of the members who attend. In large White congregations, such as Grantham for example, this represented up to 34 of the members who would participate in the training workshops. In the other congregational groups 10% to 30% are estimated to participate in training workshops. Taking the cumulated figures in the survey for each group we find that African Caribbean congregations with memberships around 300 would have approximately 90 to 100 members attending training provided by the church. In the mixed Black/White congregations about 50, and mixed Black over 200. This is significant because workshops are conducted more frequently in these congregations than they are in the other congregational groups.

Therefore, during any twelve month period it is likely that more members in African Caribbean and mixed Black congregations would have received training than those in the other congregational groups. The implication of this is that Black members are more equipped to witness than are White members in the church. Could this be one of the reasons why not many from the indigenous population are attending the SDA church because of the lack of qualified White members participating in the evangelistic programme of the church? Do White members have a different understanding of evangelism from Black members? Is it possible for the older age group within White congregations to be motivated and used effectively in their own community? Does this mean that White members are not interested in the evangelistic programmes of the church, or is it that a suitable training workshop has not yet been developed that appeals to them? What questions should leaders of the SDA church in Britain be asking when planning the church programmes?

8.2.4 Planned Witnessing Programmes

Having planned witnessing programmes enables the congregation to target particular groups within the local community. This can only be effective when members are trained in their areas of needs and interests. Having the skills needed to meet the challenges that come with meeting people is essential for any active church programme. Is there evidence to show a correlation between the absence of proper training and the number of planned activities carried out by a congregation? From the survey results as shown in chapter seven, Table L, there is a distinctive difference between White congregations and the level of activities they are involved in and the other congregational groups. Due to the age structure to be found in White congregations, it is not surprising that there is a lack of activities. Because of the younger age structure found in African Caribbean and mixed Black congregations, there are understandably more congregations with content of witnessing programmes. Another reason for the strong expectation among African Caribbeans to plan their missionary activities is the historical background, as outlined in chapters three, four and five, which shows the level of their involvement in the church, and the role of faith in daily life not only in the Caribbean but on their arrival to Britain. Planning activities is to solicit members to participate and clarify aims and objectives of the church.

8.2.5 Frequency of Evangelistic Campaigns

The level of membership involvement in personal evangelism may account for the frequency with which evangelistic campaigns are held within the local congregation each year. If the members are inactive and the evangelistic programme remains the sole responsibility of one person such as the pastor, the results of evangelism may be slow and irregular. This is evident in chapter seven, Table M where the frequency of campaigns, dates of last campaign and who conducts it is examined. From this we can observe that White congregations in the survey held campaigns between every 1 and 3 years. Mixed Black/White congregations held campaigns once per year, usually conducted by the local pastor. African Caribbean and mixed Black congregations evangelistic campaigns were not conducted only by the pastors, but by members too. Historically Black Adventists have always held the view that every member has a responsibility to participate fully in the missionary work of the church. Because of the active involvement of Black members, evangelistic campaigns were held two to three times per year. This is still the case in the Caribbean. An important observation

regarding Black Adventist members in Britain today is that, although the majority were born in England, they have retained the cultural traditions of their parents or grandparents who first came to Britain in the 1950's and 1960's. They have also remained motivated and active in the missionary endeavours of the church. One reason for this might be that in Black Adventist congregations the first Saturday in every month is designated for personal ministry, when members are encouraged to be personally involved in some form of witnessing programme outside of the church. The more they are involved the more witnessing becomes part and parcel of their lifestyle. Further opportunities for personal development are found in the weekly services of the church. For example members especially young people, are given the opportunity to preach in the mid-week meetings held on Tuesday or Wednesday nights, during the family service on Saturday mornings and on other occasions such as youth day, children day, teen day and visitors day. These all serve as part of members' training and development and enable them to participate in local church evangelistic campaigns. It is not uncommon in Black Adventist congregations for young people to conduct one or more evangelistic campaigns per year, or for older members to organise their own. On these occasions the pastor acts as advisor or facilitator. The duration of these meetings can last between one to four weeks depending on the experience of the speakers, the amount of budget available, and the target group.

8.2.6 Baptism⁸

The frequency of evangelistic campaigns and the involvement of members offering non-Christians lessons in bible studies will determine how often baptisms take place in the local congregation. These factors will also determine how many get baptised at any given time, as it is a personal choice made by each individual. Black congregations are by far the most productive in terms of baptisms. In year 2000 a total of 52 persons were baptised as shown in chapter seven, Table N, an amount that far exceeds those baptised in White and mixed Black/White congregations. It is accepted within Adventist circles that Black congregations attract a number of non-Christian people to their weekly meetings, as the survey has shown. Having such visitors regularly at meetings often leads to baptism.

8.3.0 SDA Church Involvement in Community Projects

One of the most valuable and important contributions that African Caribbean Adventists have made to the contemporary religious life in Britain is that of making possible the availability of caring endeavours to the wider community. As Black members are nurtured and strengthened in their relationship with God, they are empowered to value others and care for them in and around their locality. Through their acts of caring they demonstrate their belief in God's love. By their action they show to the wider community that God cares for everyone and that no individual, cultural or ethnic group should be ignored, particularly those that are vulnerable or victims of society.

This is at the core of SDA church mission, internationally as well as locally. Adventists devise various activities in Britain to develop projects within their vicinity. This particular understanding of mission as referred to earlier is course for an increase in membership, training of members, and consequently a level of involvement in evangelism combined with social action. But why is there a determinative attitude in many Black Adventists in Britain to share the message of love about Jesus with people outside the SDA church? What are some of the methods employed, different from those already mentioned, to successfully attract people to know and accept Jesus as their friend? The answers to these questions can be found within the historical context of an African worldview, the experience of slavery, and liberation and empowerment derived from accepting Adventist teachings both in the Caribbean and in Britain.

Regarding African tradition, we saw in chapter two that African traditional religion was a 'lifestyle religion', structured around rituals and ceremonies. These rituals and ceremonies were designed to support and educate the individual as well as the whole community. Through these means people were brought together, enabling them to form meaningful relationships that empowered them to function as a community. The legacy of the slavery experience still plays a vital part in their lives. It motivates them to be aware of the needs of others and to be willing to help to find solutions. From here Black Adventists are able to empathise with those who are hurting in society, irrespective of their racial or ethnic background. In chapters three and four we described how through the arrival of Adventism in the Caribbean, many emancipated slaves were empowered to take responsibilities for their personal as well as their community improvement.

They took advantage of the SDA church's philosophy to contribute to the development of the local community. Their engagement with Adventism in the region saw the establishment of schools and health-care facilities, making education and medical care available and accessible to everyone. An interesting observation to bear in mind is that African Caribbean Adventists settlers and second and third generations Black Adventists are still involved in initiating projects and fostering community development across Britain today. How are they targeting the needs in their community?

8.3.1 Targeting the Needs in the Community

In general, each Adventist congregation provides humanitarian services within their immediate local community. The humanitarian activities are organised through the 'community services department' within each local SDA congregation. This department works in partnership with the SDA church international relief charity agency, the Adventist Development and Relief Agency (ADRA). Table I in chapter seven shows a wide overview of the current activities initiated in various congregations across Britain. The main project targeted is the feeding of the homeless. While there are no particular feeding programmes in operation in some White majority congregations they do, however, support their local government social services department. In African Caribbean, mixed African/Caribbean and mixed Black/White congregations it is not unusual to find they operate a 'Day centre' where they cater for the elderly or a Drop-in centre for the unemployed. Here the target groups are easily identified as the elderly, and adults below pension age. These centres are also a means of socialising and forming new relationships. It should be noted, in Table I in chapter seven, that on the whole African Caribbean, mixed Black and mixed Black/White congregations provide programmes to suit the needs of people living in their vicinity. In this way the church is seen as supportive and caring. Another area in which the church interacts with the wider community and provides tangible assistance is in education.

8.3.2 Educational Projects

When Adventism first arrived in the Caribbean many in the Black population took the opportunity to build schools for the education of their and other children within the region. In chapter four we saw that this was one of the appealing elements that drew people to Adventism in the Caribbean.

The necessity to develop an Adventist educational system in Britain became apparent during the 1960s, 70s and 80s when more SDAs from the Caribbean migrated to Britain (see chapter five). Dissatisfaction and concern about the level of attainment achieved by their children at school led many Black SDA members to approach the SDA church leaders in the 1970's to request more church schools to be made available to educate their children, and other children who fails to achieve their academic potential in the state educational system. Their request later led to the establishing of The John Loughborough School in North London.⁹ In some congregations, where there were Black members who were trained as teachers in the Caribbean, private lessons were given to Black children. This is still the case today in some Black congregations. Other congregations have been able to establish evening and weekend supplementary schools, youth and adult training centres. Even in White majority congregations their nursery and primary schools were well established from 1966. As more Black congregations acquired their own church buildings, facilities were made available where supplementary schools could be founded. The survey findings in chapter seven reveal that in mixed Black/White and mixed Black congregations supplementary schools were established in 1995 and 1996 catering for over 40 children each week. It is likely that most, if not all of these projects have been developed as government funding became available during the 1990s.

All around Britain SDA congregations provide educational support to hundreds of children and young people each week. In addition to this support for children, many African Caribbean and mixed Black congregations have established new youth and adult training centres from the year 2000. Hence the church recognises the need for a number of people to be retrained or to acquire new skills, they have extended their church halls to offer training that will assist people back onto the job market. In this way the SDA church in Britain, have become a training provider and an open space, when in the past they had excluded themselves. Why is it that the church is now realising the need to be working for and with the community in which it is situated? Why has it taken the church in Britain such a long time to build up a relationship with local communities?

8.3.3 Other Projects: Indirect and Direct Approaches

We saw in chapter three that, when Adventism arrived in the Caribbean, many in the Black population accepted its teachings and philosophies. Moreover they were directly involved in the development of the mission of the Adventist church in the region. These new members were familiar with the conditions and needs of the population and they were best qualified to decide on the churches' role in the area. Apart from the development of education and health-care facilities, other activities carried out in the community were common tasks, for example, the rebuilding of houses or roads damaged by storm or flood, and the distribution of food and clothing. Practical support to individuals and groups in the Caribbean played a vital part in the development of the church in that region. This Black concept and development of mission now takes shape in Britain. Two types of approaches can be distinguished here; they are indirect and direct methods.

The indirect methods of approach can be observed mainly in the White and mixed Black/White congregations. In these congregations radio ministry, hospital visitation and health awareness are some of the projects suggested. The context, from which these projects arise, must be viewed from the age structure and also the lack of human resources of the congregations concerned. One must bear in mind that a congregation experiencing a decline in membership is less likely to provide both the human and financial resources needed to fund certain projects. In any case indirect methods can serve as a source for making initial contacts leading eventually to direct methods being established.

The direct methods of approach can be observed in the African Caribbean and mixed Black congregations. The establishing of mothers and babies clubs, nursery and home care are practical and direct methods of approaching the target group in the community. Through these methods, long-term relationships are established, also, and very significantly, the church can reach out and support people in practical terms. This is important, especially in large cities such as Birmingham, Wolverhampton, Manchester, Leeds, Bristol and London, where thousands of young people are attracted each year. Many who do not have the support of families and friends; are cared for and supported in order to establish proper and lasting relationships. This is an integral part of mission in the British SDA church today.

Can the secularisation of society alone be blamed for the lack of progress made in some churches or has there been a distortion in the understanding of mission? What lessons can White majority and mixed Black/White SDA congregations learn from the activities of Black SDA congregations? Is there a link between the way one worships and the way one perceives the role of the church and its involvement in the community?

8.4.0 Worship

True worship involves developing and having a relationship with God; therefore it is difficult to worship God without forming such relationship. On the point of worship, everybody can claim to have a worship icon; it could be a pop or football hero, possessions, success, a political cause or oneself. It is in our nature to worship. This is clearly brought out in chapter two when during the enslavement the slave masters prohibited slaves from worshipping and practising their religion and tried to destroy their idealism. In spite of the restriction imposed on them they found time in the night to conduct their services.

What is worship? From a Black perspective Ronald Nathan quoting from the Oxford Dictionary defines worship as 'to honour and revere a supernatural being, to adore with appropriate acts, rites and ceremonies'.¹⁰ Graham Kendrick in his book 'Worship' explains that;

The origin in English of the word 'worship' is 'worth-ship', which expresses the value placed on someone or something. The true quality and depth of our love for God will to a very great degree be evidenced by the quality and depth of our worship.¹¹

Kendrick informed us further that worship is for God.

God is our Creator, and the worship of his creatures is both his right and his pleasure. Worship is first and foremost for his benefit, not ours, though it is marvellous to discover that in giving him pleasure, we ourselves enter into what can become our richest and most wholesome experience in life. It would be quite reasonable of God to demand our worship, as a right and a duty, without any pleasure to ourselves, but it is a glorious truth about him that he wants worship to be a relationship of giving from both directions.¹²

The Bible does not define 'worship' but instead provides a foundation for worship. In Vine's Concise Dictionary of Bible Words¹³ we are informed of the following words that are commonly used to denote worship. In Old Testament times Israel's worship was focused on the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. *Shachah* is used as the common term for Israel coming before God in worship, as in 1 Sam. 15:25 and Jer. 7:2. In the New Testament we find several Greek words that translate as worship; *sebomai*, *sebazomai*, *latrueo*, *eusebeo* and *proskuneo*. The Greek words *Sebomai* and *Sebazomai* stress the underlying attitude of reverence, feelings of awe and devotion to honour religiously, Math. 15: 9; Mark 7: 7; and Rom. 1: 25. *Latrueo* is to serve, and to render religious service or homage, see Phil. 3:3. *Eusebeo* links worship to pious acts as seen in Acts 17:23. *Proskuneo* is used widely in the Gospels, Acts and the book of Revelation. The basic meaning of the latter is 'to come towards to kiss the hand'. Its original meaning comes from two Greek words *pros* 'towards' and *kuneo* 'to kiss'. *Proskuneo* expresses the idea of kissing the hand in homage; to make obeisance or to bow down in surrender, Matt. 4:10; John 4:21-24; Rev. 4:10. This gives us a picture of worship as we approach God; our hearts are full of love and thanks and our wills set firmly to obey him.

This indicates that worshipping God has to do with our attitude, faith and belief. Participants come to worship service with a personal experience in Christ from their own cultural context. The way they express themselves in worship is controlled largely by the cultural background to which they belong. This is significant when examining the style of worship in the congregations surveyed in chapter seven, particularly the differences between African Caribbean and majority White congregations. Why are there differences in their style of worship? What can they learn from each other?

8.4.1 Style of Worship

In the survey, both the majority White and mixed Black congregations described their style of worship as 'traditional', while African Caribbean congregations described theirs as 'charismatic', mixed Black/White congregations expressed a mixture of both. It should be noted that it is not the general trend for SDA congregations to have an agreed form of service. Each cultural group has its own liturgy that is shaped by cultural norms and theological understanding. These two factors play a vital role in

differentiating the liturgy in each congregational group. For example, in majority Black congregations the worshippers are more expressive in their worship than those in non-Black congregations. This is not to say that non-Black congregations cannot be expressive in their worship. For example, the author has observed that White worshippers in Elim Pentecostal congregations are expressive in their own way. But British Adventists have always maintained a formal pattern of worship in their congregations, which Black Adventists found non-interactive and inexpressive on their arrival to Britain.

The typical family worship service in most Black congregations has a similar pattern, as follows: Chorus, prayer, song service, welcome, hymn, chorus, prayer, chorus, scripture reading, tithes and offerings – chorus & prayer, meditational song, sermon, closing hymn, prayer and doxology. At the beginning of the family service, as those leading the service take their positions on the platform, the standing congregation sings a chorus after which the person preaching will say a short prayer. While the congregation remains seated, a period of 10-15 minutes is delegated to the singing of hymns and choruses, led by a song leader. The participation of the congregation sets the mood for the remainder of the service, in that they become enthused and expressive in their singing and movements, conveying that they are spiritually preparing to receive upliftment from the preaching that will follow. The main hymn will be sung after the period of singing, followed by the main prayer, but before and after the prayer a meditation and response-choruses will be sung by the congregation. During the collection of the tithes and offerings the congregation will sing another chorus followed by the prayer blessing over the offering. A meditational song will be given either by a choir, group or an individual. After the sermon there will be a closing hymn, prayer, and doxology. This simple and flexible pattern bears resemblance to Black Pentecostal worship of Caribbean descent.

Although a similar format is followed in White congregations it entails less singing, and less participation of a choir or group. They are also less expressive and are non-responsive in their interaction with the preacher during the delivery of the sermon. This is in contrast to Black congregations where members vivify the worship: their felicity indicates a time of jubilation for what God has done and is continuing to do for them. Central to Black worship is the variety of musical instruments used.

8.4.2 Musical Instruments and Choir/Group used in worship

As shown above songs set the scene for the sermon and as a concluding feature of the service. This together with the used of various musical instruments enhances the quality of Black worship. Having a choir or groups participating in worship is characteristic for Black worship style. This dependency on songs and musical instruments is part of their tradition. In ATR drums and singing were an integral part of their rituals and ceremonies, and remained so during the enslavement in North America and the Caribbean. The tradition of using various musical instruments that create vibrant rhythms has distinguished the Black worship style from other forms of worship associated with other cultural groups.

8.4.3 Level of Satisfaction in Worship

There is a greater level of satisfaction in worship to be found in majority White and African Caribbean congregations than in mixed cultural congregations. As each culture adheres to its preferred style of worship it may be difficult to achieve a satisfactory level to meet the needs of each culture participating in worship see chart 12 in chapter seven, where needs of worshippers are met differently. This could be due to a number of factors such as the occasion, the age group leading the worship and the preaching style of the speaker. But cultural expressions are prominent, also between the younger and older generation. Tensions can develop, as the older members are likely to be dissatisfied with the worship service, as they do not agree with the type of music played and the sort of musical instruments used. In some congregations there are adults who object to the use of drums and electric bass guitars being used in the church, as they are a reminder of the type of music played outside of the church in secular environments. In general such reactions are very few. With all age groups in Black congregations there is a preference for the livelier style of worship.

8.4.4 Preaching: Response, Satisfaction and Congregational Needs

It is through singing and congregational participation that the tempo is set to receive the preaching. If the right atmosphere is not achieved before the preaching, it may take the congregation longer to appropriately respond to the sermon. Depending on the topic of the sermon, the preacher may start with a personal experience or with a biblical narrative to help the congregation to focus. In general, Black members prefer preaching that is biblically based rather than expository. In this way they are able to

identify with what God is saying to them, and the preacher is able to keep their interest. Black congregations are distinct from White congregations by the greater length of the sermon.

There is more interaction between the preachers and worshippers in Black congregations than in other congregational groups. This interaction is observable in the service as the congregation talks back to the preacher and a relationship develops, this takes the form of saying 'Amen', laughing or joining the preacher in finishing off the sentences. When any of these occur, also the preacher is motivated by the congregation's response, and a link is formed that may result in the preacher taking longer in finishing the sermon. Even in congregations where the worshippers are less expressive, the preachers are still able to establish a relationship with their listeners. They recognise this relationship through body movements. Some gestures of the body may be to move forward, to put away what they were reading, or to smile. These movements suggest that the preacher has their attention, and that points are made that they want to listen to. To hear about the love of God and his mercies, to be reminded of what he has done, and be informed about what he will do for his people, in the future to enable them to put their trust in him- these are the functions of preaching. Without such assurances members will not be able to face the problems they may encounter in the days and weeks ahead. Having life-changing sermons each week assures the continual attendance of members and their desire to invite family and friends to the meetings. The effect of appealing sermons also empowers members to share God's love and goodness through various methods with others.

In this chapter we have seen some of the progress and changes taking place as a result of the impact of African Caribbean Adventists on the British SDA church. Some general observations can be made. The most important is that Adventism is growing in Britain; this reflects the extent to which Black SDA church members are sharing their beliefs with families and friends in their community. The second point is that the methods used for sharing their beliefs are not confined to religious activities alone but, as we have observed, many local SDA congregations have now become service-providers in the areas of education and social care for children, young people, the elderly and unemployed. The third point is that, through the worship members receive pastoral care that strengthens them, by which they are able to cope with their daily

problems and relationship. From this context, pastoral care is central in influencing members to have a personal relationship with God as their relationship develops: they are empowered to demonstrate this in their respective communities. The final point is that there are two distinctive types of congregations and worship styles that co-exist in the British SDA church today, the type of services displayed by both Black Adventists and White Adventists. Can these distinctive differences be jointly practiced between cultural groups? What implications does this have for the SDA mission in Britain in the 21st century?

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- ¹ Porter, Dennis. "Crisis in the British Union", Spectrum vol.11. No. 4 (June 1981). p.2.
 'Apostasy' is a term used by SDA when referring to a member that has left the SDA church and become a member of another denomination.
- ² BUC of Seventh-day Adventists Quinquennial Session Report (25-29 July 2001). p.26.
- ³ Wraight, Heather, and Brierley, Peter (eds.), UK Christian Handbook, Millennium Edition 2000/01, p.25.
- ⁴ Ibid. Also 'New' and 'Others' are terms used by MARC/ Evangelical Alliance.
- ⁵ BUC Quinquennial Session Report, p.26.
- ⁶ Ibid.
- ⁷ Ibid., p.27.
- ⁸ Adventists administer baptism by immersion. This is when individuals are immersed completely into the water. They believe that this mode of baptism is biblical (see Matthew 3: 15-16, Mark 1: 9-10). They further believe that this method of baptism symbolises the death, burial and resurrection of Christ; and that the individual experiences a spiritual death to sin and resurrected to a new life through the Holy Spirit, Romans 6:1-4. Infant baptism is not practiced, instead, babies and young children are dedicated /blessed, Matt. 19: 13,15; Mark 10: 13, 16.
- ⁹ The John Loughborough School was formally established on 21 April 1980. It is operating today with a 'Grant Maintained Status' after David Blunkett, the then Secretary of State for Education and Employment gave his decision on the 2 March 1998. See Messenger, vol. 85 No. 24, 5 December 1980 and vol. 85 No. 26, 19 December 1980. Clinton Valley MBA Dissertation Managing Change in the Seventh-day Adventist Church – An Interpretative Study on the establishment of The John Loughborough School, 1995; the SEC Communicator No. 38, June 1998.
- ¹⁰ Nathan, Ronald, 'Biblical Worship' In Joel Edwards, (ed.), Let's Praise Him Again: An African Caribbean perspective on Worship (Eastbourne: Kingsway Publications, 1992), p.36.
- ¹¹ Kendrick, Graham, Worship (Eastbourne: Kingsway Publications, 1988), p. 23.
- ¹² Ibid., p. 22
- ¹³ Vine, W.E., Vine's Concise Dictionary of Bible Words (Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1999), p. 421.

CHAPTER NINE

Trends in Mission and Further Studies.

9.0 Introduction

The migration of African Caribbeans to Britain from the early 1950`s is one of the most significant factors bringing about `religious dissemination`¹ in the United Kingdom. This is certainly borne out within Adventism as we have observed in this thesis the impact of African Caribbean Settlers on the homogeneous British SDA denomination. Adventism is now an active and vibrant force within many communities across Britain. In this concluding chapter attention will be given to `a paradigm shift` in mission, as a means of further analysing the impact of African Caribbean Adventists on the British SDA church.

9.1 Mission Trends in Previous Chapters

The previous chapters have covered a number of areas that are interrelated, with the core theme being mission. In chapter one we saw that during the developing period of the SDA church the primary emphasis on mission focused on informing and educating people through literature with the purpose of sending out missionaries within North America and later to Europe to convert as many people as possible and establish Adventist congregations. The development of SDA church institutions such as schools and health-care facilities emerged in North America during this period. At first little attention was given to the spiritual welfare of African slaves in North America, but many Black slaves who heard William Miller accepted his teachings and later, together with other Black slaves, accepted Adventist teachings. Ellen White shaped the mission of the SDA church, and particularly the mission to the emancipated Black community in the South of the United States. Her guidance largely account for the development of the SDA church among the Black community in North America and in the Two-Thirds-World.

Before the arrival of the Adventist message in the Caribbean the majority population in the region were emancipated slaves, who still practised African traditional religion as pointed out in chapter two. The message and lifestyle practised through Adventist philosophy appealed to many within their community. This resulted in many accepting Adventism as portrayed in the literature. They saw similarities between SDA teachings

and African Religious philosophies, the main tenet of both being based on the relationship with God, as well as with others in the community.

As we saw in chapter three the emancipated slaves who accepted the Adventist message were united in their effort to establish education and healthcare institutions from which the whole community could benefit. They saw this as a sign of empowerment and equality for everyone in their community. Attaining personal growth also helped to further liberate and empower individuals in the region. These developments could be observed from the support systems that were operational in time of disasters. Adventist humanitarian projects initiated by lay-members, together with their evangelistic endeavours, contributed to the growth of the church in the Caribbean. These are important factors not only for Adventists but also for other Christian denominations to bear in mind as they plan for mission.

Chapter four therefore, explored the theological appeal of Adventist teachings to the African in the Caribbean. Through Adventist teachings the former slaves received healing of the mind that enabled them to re-establish their personhood, which had been damaged under the system of slavery and separation from their families and friends back in Africa. From the outset we have observed how African traditional religion had shaped attitudes and behaviour of individuals through rituals and ceremonies. The central theme that runs through the various rituals and ceremonies is one of caring and supporting, which is similar to the Adventist teaching that humankind belongs to one family.

From this context, in chapters five and six, we stated that African Caribbean Adventists on their arrival in Britain continued to reach out to the whole community beyond their own confines through evangelism and community-service endeavours. We observed missionary activities on Saturday afternoons witnessing from door to door. We saw how new arrivals networked with each other helping to find accommodation with landlords or landladies who were willing to house Blacks. Similar help was available in finding employment. Their attitude to and involvement in mission derived from both their understanding of the fundamental mission of Jesus as recorded in the gospel, and from their own life experience. This resulted in the rapid development of the British SDA church as described in chapter five; with a phenomenal growth in membership

and the establishment of new congregations. This increase led to the desire for a leadership that could understand the needs of the Black constituency, and seek ways in which these needs would be met without segregating or fragmenting the church, as chapter six has shown.

Chapters seven and eight outlined the current development in missionary endeavours that impact the British SDA church today. The findings within these chapters indicate that Black SDA congregations consisting of African Caribbean, or mixed African and African Caribbean members, are resourceful, and are able to initiate new developments in mission. The new developments, which will be discussed later in this chapter, are evidence of Two-Thirds World Adventist concepts of mission that seeks the empowerment of individuals as well as to develop the whole community.

9.2 Global Trends in Mission

A shift in the trends in mission has been observed especially since the second half of the twentieth century, globally, locally and denominationally, in a threefold way:

- In the 19th century the Evangelical understanding of mission was 'to save souls for Christ', to convert as many as possible to Christianity understood as salvation for eternity. The task of doing this was by and large delegated to formal mission agencies and not to local congregations or denominations. Different from this, from about 1910 but especially after World War Two, awareness arose that mission could not be separated from the socio-political issues affecting people's lives, and that it really is the responsibility of the whole church.
- Hand in hand with the struggle for liberation and independence of nations (for example in Jamaica the rise of trade unions simultaneously with independent religious movements from the nineteen thirties), mission was discovered not only as a one-way but a two-way traffic. 'Contextual' theologies and movements rose up challenging European cultural and theological hegemony. These new movements laid the responsibility for mission firmly at the doorstep of every Christian and congregation – a major reason for the phenomenal growth in certain regions.

- As the West lost its dominant position, so did an understanding of mission which had turned the 'mission-field' into a battlefield between the denominations. This means mission became more and more regarded as an ecumenical task of the church universal—and in European societies with large 'Third-World-immigration' the responsibility for a joint mission.

Times are changing, September 11th 2001 has brought to our attention the reality in which the Christian church needs to have a new vision in mission, one which addresses the needs and concerns of fragmented societies and of whole nations. The Christian church needs to break down barriers across different cultures, languages and ethnicities in today's post-modern society. Christians also must begin to empathise and understand other cultures' beliefs and practices. This does not mean that the different Christian denominations should disregard their own distinctive beliefs; but it means that a relationship should be formed through dialogue with those of other cultures to promote understanding and tolerance. The Christian denominations have the human resources with which to establish such relationships that can be done through the empowerment of the Holy Spirit.

David Bosch in his book *Transforming Mission – Paradigm shifts in Theology of Mission* depicts the conditions in which the Christian churches conduct their mission in today's society. He argues that the Christian churches are 'confronted with issues that demand responses that are both relevant to the times and in harmony with the essence of the Christian faith'.² Some of the factors that challenge the Christian churches can be summarised as follows:

- 1) The West (the home of Christianity) has lost its dominant position in the world. Peoples in all parts of the world strive for liberation from the stranglehold of the West.
- 2) Dealing with unjust structures of oppression and exploitation, the struggles against racism and sexism are some of the manifestations of the challenges.
- 3) Theologies designed and developed in Europe can claim no superiority over theologies emerging in other parts of the world.³

The point Bosch is making is that the twentieth and twenty-first centuries in which the church now operates are fundamentally different from the nineteenth century. New situations challenge the Christian churches to have an appropriate response. Donal

Dorr, in *Mission in Today's World*, also discusses the challenges that he sees confronting the church today. He writes:

The cultural and religious frontiers of the world are no longer thousands of miles away from us. Practically every country in the world has become far more variegated in recent times, with a great increase of cultural and religious pluralism within it. We have also become aware of the burning issue of injustice and poverty at the global level and of the challenges posed by ecological degradation and by patriarchy in society and the churches. All of these pressing problems call for a 'missionary' response from the church. The increasing secularisation of our world also raises missionary questions, among which is the issue of dialogue with those who, in the midst of this secular world, are engaged in a serious search for spiritual meaning.⁴

Challenging issues confronting the churches in modern society is not something that originates only in other countries or societies, but from within our own. Christ's church, including the SDA church, must be seen to be addressing these issues and not to be avoiding them.

Reaching people where they are is fundamentally important in mission. The idea of reaching out is to get near to a specific situation and to understand individuals or communities in their own context, and then to create opportunities that enable dialogue or the development of relationships. This reaching out is only possible when Christians are able to step out of their safety zone, which could be their own culture, creed, environment or community, the way they perceive other people, and the way they think and do things. Reaching out involves a learning process, one that enables individuals or groups to know themselves and the other situation, individual, group or community better than they did before.

Ellen G White recognised the importance of Christians reaching out to others in and outside of their own communities when she remarked, "We are in this world to help one another".⁵ Comparing and commenting on the way Christ conducted his work on earth, she emphasized that in Christ's work "there were no territorial lines".⁶ This point is significant, especially for SDA Christians in today's society. The implication is that SDA Christians should consider themselves as missionaries and not allow themselves to be limited by language, culture, economic, social or political situations. Wherever they are, they should actively participate in mission. Ellen White stressed that it is not "the purpose of God that his people should colonize or settle in large communities".⁷

instead she suggested that in order to reach more people it would be better for some families in good standing to live in areas where there was little or no SDA presence. Continuing on the subject of reaching out she affirmed; "God calls for Christian families to go into communities...and work wisely and perseveringly." The result of such action would be evident in global missionary work.

*If every church member were a living missionary, the gospel would speedily be proclaimed in all countries, to all peoples, nations, and tongues.*¹⁰

9.3 The SDA Church and Global Mission

In common with other Christian denominations, the SDA church is a mission-conscious denomination. Its missionary endeavours are recognized and accepted worldwide by other denominations and by national governments. Different cultural groups have been reached with the primary purpose of establishing churches in their communities. Adventists are proud of their record of achievement; they have established themselves in more than two hundred countries and areas of the world as recognised by the United Nations.¹¹ They have a strong growth rate of 5 to 6 percent a year, with a membership of over eleven and a half million in July 2000.¹² It is projected that the world membership by year 2005 will be over 15 million. Accessions to the World church membership in 1995 totalled 659,899 and over 1.09 million in 1999. This represents the highest total ever achieved in a single year in the history of the SDA church.¹³ With a continuously high accession, world church membership passed twelve million in 2001, with 55 percent of the total number of church members living in less affluent countries such as Africa, South America and the Caribbean.¹⁴ In 1950 there was one SDA for every 3,300 people in the world. In 1975 the figure was one per 1,480, and in year 2000 it was 1 to every 519.¹⁵ At present Adventists are the largest Protestant group in Belize, Bolivia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, French Guiana, Guam, Haiti, Jamaica, Martinique, Peru, the Philippines, and Venezuela.¹⁶

Reflecting on the growth of Christianity, Russell Staples states;

*So rapid has been the growth of Christianity in the Two- Thirds World that the demographic center of gravity of Christianity has shifted from the Northern to the Southern Hemisphere, from the richer to the developing nations, and from the older to the younger churches.*¹⁷

The Two-Thirds World, now the focus of SDA missionary activity, has become the church's greatest human resource. The church has succeeded in establishing Christian communities, together with various institutions such as educational and healthcare facilities, media centres, publishing houses and food industries creating favourable conditions, which ensure the church's presence and relevance in the community. A shift in the paradigm of mission used by the SDA can be observed in the trends already outlined in the previous chapters.

In 1990 the SDA world church adopted a global mission strategy, which focused mainly on church planting. Global mission was different in two ways from previous strategies, of which John Dybdahl, in *Adventist Mission Today-Taking the Pulse*, explained:

Earlier evangelistic/mission programs emphasized number of baptisms. Different church entities were encouraged to baptise a target number of people....Secondly, the emphasis moved from counting countries, that is, geopolitical entities, to people-unreached people. The churches planted were to be placed where there were none before.¹⁸

Under global mission the world was divided into 5,000 ethno linguistic or demographic segments of one million each in order to focus on people and regions where there was little or no Christian presence. This was a shift of paradigm from proselytising to an intercultural understanding of mission.¹⁹

Other major changes that have taken place in Adventism are 'the tentmaker' or Global Partnerships programme. This concept is taken from Paul's support of himself in his mission work by the practice of his trade of tentmaker. Tentmakers are self-supported, and are not paid worker of the church as missionaries. They are either employed with a company or they become self-employed. Tentmakers are trained in mission and they are able to enter countries or regions within their own country where regular foreign missionaries would not be able to go. For example, there are areas of the world where 60 percent of the world's population are Buddhist, Hindu, and Muslim.²⁰ These areas pose challenges to the SDA church as well as to other Christian denominations.

Turning our attention now to the leadership of the SDA community raises the following question: To what extent does the Adventist leadership agree that the church should be

involved in facing and helping to resolve some of the challenging issues in the wider society? Answers can be found in the address of Jan Paulsen, president of the SDA world church, in October 7, 2002 to Adventist church leaders, at the church headquarters in Silver Springs. The subject of the church addressing socio-political issues was discussed. This signals a new development in the church's attitude to global mission. The SDA church should be active in social justice, he said, and not only in humanitarian aid and in the establishment of new churches.

Paulsen, sensing the needs within the various world communities, and the issues confronting the SDA church and Christianity on a whole, challenged SDA church leaders and members to be more engaged with the everyday concerns of the societies in which they live. The 'broad and comprehensive' nature of the church's mission, which responds to people's 'everyday pain,' was one of the major themes discussed. Referring to the SDA church and its mission, he stated that:

We would fail as a church if we become indifferent to the suffering of this world, or become so wholly 'other-worldly' in our thinking that we are insensitive to the suffering of humanity, and cannot be bothered. For this is the world in which we also live.²¹

It is not that the SDA church has not been active in mission in the past, but it has been particularly selective in its areas of missionary involvement, focusing on humanitarian education and establishing new congregations. In its involvement in these areas, the church has avoided some of the socio-economic challenges in societies that have surfaced in many parts of the world. Addressing this situation Paulsen makes it plain that these areas, as undesirable as they may be, or as unwilling as members may be to get involved, should also be part of the mission of the church. He acknowledges the political or cultural tensions that may exist in some of these areas, but nevertheless the church has a role to play.

In some of these places it is very difficult to do mission for both political and cultural reasons and in those places we move gingerly and cautiously. Also we are aware as anyone of the precipitous situations which prevail in tension spots such as the Middle East and Southern Asia.....as a church we have deliberately avoided being drawn into the political resolution arena, or in offering public opinions on them even when politicians clearly fail to calm our uneasiness. We have held and we hold that our mission agenda has to be accomplished in fragile and risky times as well as in stable situations. That is our role. We cannot step out of it.²²

Further assessing the missionary endeavours of the SDA church, he acknowledges the areas the church has so far been involved in, but also areas that should increasingly be included, such as being a voice for the poor, for refugees and the disenfranchised minorities in our society. Getting involved in these areas will consolidate the church's mission agenda, making it 'broad and comprehensive'. In this comprehensiveness of mission are elements that directly challenge the assumption of those in the past that the success of mission is seen only as that which produces 'converts and builds up the church'.²³ Paulsen approaches the issue as follows:

It is right that as a church we should care about the secular community, care about those with health problems, whether AIDS or other ailments. It is right that we should be a delivery system for an education which is placed in very particular life-style values which are not generally available elsewhere. It is right that when nature bursts out of control and spreads disaster or when people inflict disaster on each other, it is right that we should move quickly to help.... But it is also right that the church whether in Africa, in Asia, or in the islands of the Pacific it is right that as a community of faith we should also be a mouth-piece for the poor whose number is ever increasing, for the refugees who come to us in waves asking for ...one more chance to build a life for their children. It is right that we should be a mouth-piece for other disenfranchised minorities.²⁴

That Paulsen addresses the issue of the SDA church taking a stand within the political arena and as a mouthpiece for 'disenfranchised minorities' is an historical move in itself. There has always been within the Adventist movement a strong 'antipathy to politics'.²⁵ Members in general always felt that this was an area they should avoid. But with the growing number of people suffering in society from hunger, poverty and injustice these also increases the appeal to the Adventist church to get involved. A person that is persistently deprived of basic material needs and political rights, is also a person deprived of much of self- respect, dignity and will. Paulsen realises that it is not possible for Adventists as a denomination to continue to avoid these issues, if the SDA church is to fully participate in mission. In so doing the SDA church must realise that in mission there is no avoiding the 'reaching out' to meet the needs of people wherever they are.

9.4 Black Adventists Mission and the SDA Church in Britain

Before the arrival of African Caribbeans, British Adventists had already established educational, health and publishing institutions. Missionary endeavours focused on

proselytising. But these produced little or no growth for the British SDA church. The White administrators were struggling to keep the BUC membership at least at an appropriate level.

When African Caribbean Adventists arrived in Britain they brought their own understanding and methods of mission with them. They continued to be active in doing door-to-door witnessing, sell SDA magazines and books; talked easily with their work colleagues and neighbours about their beliefs; and also studied the Bible with friends and people they met and who showed an interest in knowing the Bible. They also supported evangelistic meetings hosted by the Adventist church. One can observe that Black Adventists from their arrival in Britain took ownership of the missionary activities in similar ways that they did in the Caribbean. Missionary outreach was no longer the sole responsibility of pastors and the few White members who participated in it from time to time, but it became the responsibility of Black lay-members and the whole church. This was a reversal of roles within the indigenous SDA church organisation and its English members. Before the arrival of Black Adventists, Britain was sending missionaries to the Caribbean and Africa, but now the BUC had become the recipient of Two-Thirds-World missionary activities.

This reflects the larger picture of a paradigm shift in global mission of the church internationally. This shift in global mission, as we have observed earlier in this chapter and which we have also noticed in British Adventism, is an extension of the type of projects churches are actively engaged in, both in the Caribbean or Africa, as they are compelled to respond to the social, educational and economic needs of the community. However, this type of missionary activities clashed with the self-image and concept of White British Adventism. For Black Adventists arriving in Britain during the 1950's and 60's, the mission of the Church was the central point of their being. But what African Caribbeans found in White British Adventism was that mission had become a certain section of the Church's activity, something that was therefore almost peripheral, and something to which a few people had a special calling, but which did not really concern the vast majority of members. This majority saw the fulfilment of the Church's mission as the responsibility of the pastors and other paid employees to 'save souls for Christ'. In contrast, drawing on their Caribbean experience, Black Adventists in their day-to-day participation in the missionary activities of the Church, illustrated that the

Church's mission was every member's responsibility and reached out to the wider community. Ellen White had pointed out:

*All who receive the life of Christ are ordained to work for the salvation of their fellow men. For this work the church was established and all who take upon themselves its sacred vows are thereby pledged to be co-workers with Christ.*²⁶

From the arrival of African Caribbean Adventists in Britain in the early 1950's to well into the 1990's their missionary activities focused mainly on evangelism and building up the membership. This method, used widely in the Caribbean, was also a great success for the British SDA church. By the 1990 however, it became apparent that new concepts and strategies were needed to reach the mass population. Local congregations began to re-evaluate their missionary strategies, and additional methods were initiated.

How do Black members see the task and mission of the church in today's multicultural society? As already mentioned in chapters seven and eight, analysing the trends in mission in today's British SDA church, we note that there has been an increase in the establishment of day schools and nurseries. Additional projects serving the local communities in many parts of Britain including evening/weekend schools, the opening of day centres for the elderly and the unemployed, and feeding projects for homeless persons have been established. These projects (planned weekly) are reaching the practical needs of individuals in the community. Adventist members in Britain see the primary objective of mission for the SDA church is to

- a) reach the un-churched White and ethnic group communities
- b) mix with other denominations
- c) make the gospel real and relevant to people.

These three areas of mission are of particular concern and are completely relevant to the Adventist church in Britain.

Reaching the un-churched White is very important if this section of the Adventist membership is to survive in the twenty-first century. We have observed in chapters seven and eight that the White section of the church is failing to reach young people and young families, and is left with predominately older members.

Reaching other ethnic groups is also of importance, as this will present the SDA church to the general public as representing the multicultural society in which we all live. But most importantly it shows that people belonging to different ethnic groups are part of the one family of God, and that God loves and cares for all. He does not favour one ethnic group over the other; all are equal having the same rights and access to him. Also, Adventists as a denomination have a long history of not mixing with other Christian denominations; rather they have 'observers' status within both the 'World Council of Churches' and 'Churches Together in Britain and Ireland'.

On a local level, many Adventist congregations or their pastors belong to the regional ecumenical council. Lastly, members, discovered the need for the SDA church to make the gospel relevant in the lives of secular-minded people in today's society, now recognise that methods and practices used by the church are not reaching the majority of the populace. Therefore the Adventist church needs to develop new strategies to contact those whom the church is failing to reach at present. How the SDA church deals with these new developments in mission will determine the type of church it will become in the twenty-first century. Will it be one that meets the needs of the whole community? For the SDA church to adequately do this it has to become ecumenical and in some way have to cooperate with other denominations at both local and national levels to devise workable solutions. This would be appropriate, since within the BUC a considerable number of SDA congregations conduct their weekly worship services in other denominations buildings (introduction charts 2&3), the mechanisms for such cooperation is well in place. On the other hand, the SDA church could go it alone, but this would not be in the best interest of the church and its mission development, as it would isolate Adventists from other Christian denominations.

For the SDA church to reach out it requires a strategy that will enable it to understand the issues that are particular to the community it wishes to serve. Without this understanding, interest or concern, those who proclaim the gospel would have 'little interest in the conditions in which people find themselves.'²⁷ It is essential for the SDA church to be aware that the core of Christian mission is to be interested in the conditions that people find themselves in. God demonstrated this by sending his own son to live with humankind. This became the basis on which Jesus, in speaking to his disciples, was able to say in John 20: 21, "As the Father has sent me, I am sending

you". These words of Jesus have motivated Christian groups and organizations in every generation to participate in mission.

9.5 **What is mission?**

What then is mission? In the context of what has been explained so far, 'mission' is not rigid, but a responsibility of the church that is flexible and adaptable to the human situation. It is able to extend itself to meet the needs of individuals as well as whole communities to dialogue with different cultures to define areas of justice or injustice, and to bring about reconciliation where it is needed. It is also about evangelising, in the sense of helping people to know God's love. This broad and flexible understanding of mission enables the SDA church to be involved in a variety of projects that respond to the needs of people. The additional and new developments in mission during the past decades that have occurred in the Adventist church in Britain are an indication that the SDA church is further developing and cannot be characterised as uncaring for those who are hurting in society.

9.6 **Areas for Further Studies**

This study is not conclusive and further studies are needed in some of the areas already mentioned in chapters seven and eight. For example:

a) The decline in White membership in the BUC: In order to really understand why this cultural group is fading from British Adventism, studies need to be undertaken regarding the attitude of the White community to Adventism, and more specifically their knowledge about Adventism. Moreover, the church has to find out how this cultural group as a community regards the role of the Christian church in today's society. This is important because both the Adventist church and the other Christian churches are operating in a pluralistic society along with other non-Christian religious groups. They all speak out and seek new adherents. The implication of this for British Adventism is how to develop a mission programme that will reach the White community to ensure their presence in the SDA church in the twenty-first century, and also to secure an adequate supply of young people and young adult from which prospective ministers can be drawn.

b) A look at the attitude of Black Adventist youths: In what way do they view the SDA church differently from White Adventist young people? Why do many of them remain in the church when compared with their White counterparts? What is the rate of Black young people leaving the SDA church? Demographically, which area that can be identified as losing the most of Black young people? Is the number of them leaving being met by the children in the church? Are there tensions between second or third generation British young Black Adventist and older generations of African Caribbean Adventists?

c) An examination of the financial contribution of African Caribbean Adventist immigrants to British Adventism from the 1950's to the present day.

d) The role of women in the SDA church and their concept of mission for the twenty-first century: This is important because there are more women members within British Adventism than there are men. Furthermore, women, especially within African Caribbean and mixed Black congregations, initiate many of the local church mission projects. A substantial number of Black women are now attending Newbold College, with a preference to be trained for the ministry. With more women in ministry, some believe would be to the advantage of the SDA church in that they would be able to reach and minister to people that would not be reached ordinarily. Therefore there is a challenge to the leadership not just to have women leading at local level, but to encourage more to be present at the Union and Conference levels.

Conclusion

Studies in the above areas would further illustrate the impact of African Caribbean settlers had on the SDA church in Britain and its continuing influence. As pointed out in the introduction to this thesis, there are other cultural groups that are members of the British Adventist church other than those of African descent. These cultural groups with their own congregations include the Portuguese and Russian groups. Many members of these various cultures still gather and worship in mixed congregations of their choice, and are not limited to or expected to worship and fellowship only within their own culture. The present ministerial workforce now also reflects the cultural diversity within the British SDA church. The impact of African Caribbean settlers on

the British SDA church has enabled members belonging to other cultures to contribute to the development of the British SDA church.

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- ¹ Gerloff, Roswith. H. (ed) Africa as the laboratory of the World: The African Christian Diaspora in Europe as Challenge to Mission and Ecumenical Relations. In Mission is Crossing Frontiers, (Pietemaritzburg, South Africa: Cluster Publications,2003), p.1.
- ² Bosch, David J. Transforming Mission Paradigm shifts in Theology of Mission, (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 2001), p. 188.
- ³ Ibid, p. 188-189.
- ⁴ Dorr, Donald. Mission in today's world, (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 2000), p. 12.
- ⁵ White, Ellen G. Testimonies for the Church Vol. 7, (Mountain View: Pacific Press Publishing Assoc., 1948), p.240.
- ⁶ Ibid.,
- ⁷ White, E.G. Testimonies for the church Vol. 8, (Mountain View: Pacific Press Publishing Assoc., 1948), p.244.
- ⁸ Ibid, p. 244-245.
- ⁹ White, E.G. Testimonies for the Church Vol. 9, (Mountain View: Pacific Press Publishing Assoc., 1948), p.33.
- ¹⁰ Ibid, p.32.
- ¹¹ Haloviak, Bert. Archives and Statistics, Adventist Review, (Hagerstown: Review and Herald, July 20-27,2000), p.26.
- ¹² Thompson, G. Ralph. Occupy Till I Come, Adventist Review, (Hagerstown: Review and Herald, July 2, 2000), p. 8.
- ¹³ Ibid.,
- ¹⁴ Adventist News Network Bulletin, October 2, 2001, <http://www.adventist.org/news>.
- ¹⁵ Seventh-day Adventist World Church Interesting Facts and Figures, Prepared by the Office of Archives and Statistics. General Conference of SDAs, September 2001.
- ¹⁶ Dybdahl, John L. (Editor) Adventist Mission in the 21st Century, (Hagerstown: Review and Herald, 1999), p.18.
- ¹⁷ Staples, Russell L. Historical Reflections on Adventist Mission, in Dybdahl, John L. Adventist Mission in the 21st Century, p.26.
- ¹⁸ Dybdahl, John L. Adventist Mission Today – Taking the Pulse, in Dybdahl, John L. Adventist Mission in the 21st Century, p.21-22.
- ¹⁹ Gerloff, Roswith. Adventisten 11: Missionen der Adventisten in: Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart (RGG4), 4. völlig neu bearbeitete Auflage, Band 1: **A-B**, Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, Sept 1998, pp.129-130.
- ²⁰ This area of the earth is called the 10/40 window. The name is taken from the area's northern and southern boundaries- - 40 degrees southern and 10 degrees northern latitude. The region stretches from Africa in the West to Japan in the East. This window touches parts of 82 countries in northern Africa, Asia, Europe, and the Asia-Pacific Rim.
- ²¹ Paulsen, Jan. Paper presented to world church executive committee members, at Silver Spring, Maryland, USA, 7 th October, 2002. p.1.
http://www.adventist.org/news/specials/annual_council_2002/paulsen_opening.html
- ²² Ibid, p.2.
- ²³ Dorr, p. 16.
- ²⁴ Paulsen, p.3.
- ²⁵ Theobald, Robin. The Politicization of a Religious Movement: British Adventism under the Impact of West Indian Immigration, British Journal of Sociology, Vol.32, No.2, June 1981, p.204. Theobald, reasons that Adventists antipathy toward politics derives from the denomination eschatological belief that the politic will play a vital role in the series of events which precede Christ's second coming. Politics signifies for Adventists the world of wrangling politicians, Sabbath legislators,...who will eventually act against Christians including Adventists.
- ²⁶ White, Ellen G. The Desire of Ages, (Mountain View: Pacific Press Publishing Assoc., 1940), p.822.
- ²⁷ Bosch, p. 7.

Appendix `A`

Source: West Ham Parish Registers. Newham Central Library, Stratford London E15.

Baptism of Slaves in West Ham - East London

In the earlier Register, we find several references to slaves in West Ham, brought from abroad by their masters and accepted for what they were without objection, even on the part of the church. Here are some entries:

In 1708, "Sarah a Blackmoor of Mr Curtis"

In 1709, "Charles Pompere a Black of Captain Grouders"

In 1778, "Ino Active a Black", were baptised.

In 1663, "Lawrence Concorde a niger belong to Captain Goslin was baptised 25 October 1663."

Appendix 'B'

Minutes of the BUC Executive Committee

21 March 1978.

Consultative Meetings and Racial Integration Proposals

Considerable and prolonged discussion of the GC proposals for greater racial integration took place, as outlined in the following "Preamble and Proposals":

As representatives of the London area churches, together with leaders of the South England Conference, British Union Conference, Northern Europe-West Africa Division and General conference, we have met to consider organisational arrangements for the church in Britain, in the light of desires expressed by some members and churches for the organisation of a Regional Conference. We have studied the desirability and feasibility of such a Black conference. In doing this, we have kept before us the twin goals of preserving and strengthening the unity of the Church and meeting the daunting evangelistic challenge, represented by the teeming millions of the London megalopolis.

We have reached the consensus that organising a Regional Conference is not the road we should follow here in Britain. We have arrived at this conclusion for theoretical, practical and spiritual reasons. We believe that the highway the Lord wishes us to use in our spiritual pilgrimage is full fellowship and intelligible integration. We are convinced God wishes His people to strive very earnestly for unity, to pray for it and sincerely work for it. In reaching these conclusions we have been guided by the Word of God, the writings of Ellen G White, and past experience.

We prefer the above approach of racial integration to racial segregation through separate conference organisations. Christ Himself recognised no distinction of nationality or race. He came to break down every wall of partition and separation. The divine injunction still is "all ye are brethren" (Matthew 23:8).

We are aware that human relations among Seventh-day Adventists in Britain have been far from perfect. There have been some tensions, evidences of suspicion, distrust, misunderstandings and even strife at times. Where we, leaders and members of the consultation, have failed and had a share of the guilt, we ask God and our brethren to forgive us.

We fully realise that no person, race or nation is perfect. This is the reason why it is God's plan for different nationalities and cultures to learn from each other by mingling together. Thus, they will exemplify the union that there is in Christ (9T 181) and "demonstrate to the world that men of every nationality are one in Christ Jesus" (9T 196).

While there has been a gratifying measure of fellowship and integration on the local congregational level, there is room and need for additional progress on the conference and union administrative levels. There is a necessity for more Blacks in pastoral and other leadership roles.

Because we have not yet achieved the ideal of meaningful integration on all levels, some see this aim as a utopia and have therefore advocated the solution of "separate organizations." Sister White has written that according to light given her by God, such an approach could very well "instead of bringing about unity, ...create discord" (9T 198). This building up of a partition wall in the work of God, the Lord revealed to her as a "fallacy" (9T 198). "On the contrary", she says, "seek to break it down wherever it exists" (9T 198).

A great need of the church in Britain is for a fuller manifestation of God's love in the heart of every member. "Love begets love". Therefore, God desires "all of his children to educate themselves to believe that their brethren love them" (9T 193).

It is in order to work for and ensure exact and impartial justice, both in intra-church relations and in promoting evangelism among the over sixty million inhabitants of the British Isles, that we are recommending the following steps to be taken with all deliberate speed and to be completed not later than the next British Union Conference session planned for 1981.

A Conference and Union Staffing

- 1) The early employment of Black office secretaries in the Union and South England Conference, (SEC) offices, as is already the case in the North British Conference.
- 2) The election at each of the coming South England Conference and North British Conference sessions in May of one Black officer (with departmental responsibilities).
- 3) The election not later than the next British Union Conference (BUC) session of a Black officer and at least one Black departmental director for the BUC.
- 4) The election at each of the coming SEC and NBC sessions of one Black departmental director.
- 5) The early placement with the General Conference and Inter-American Divisions of regular calls for experienced, top-drawer Black pastors with leadership potential.
- 6) The appointment of full-time stewardship directors in each conference. Their salaries would be met from the Seven Year Deed Plan.

B Committee and Board Membership

- 1) The appointment at the next conference sessions of approximately six Blacks to each of the conference committees in order to achieve a more balanced representation.
- 2) The appointment at the earliest opportunity of Black lay members to institutional boards (Stanborough School, Granose, Stanborough Press).

C Structures and Committees

- 1) The immediate setting-up of a constitutional revision study committee to recommend helpful constitutional changes facilitating more Black membership on union and conference committees and institutional boards.
- 2) The early setting-up of a union (and/or conference) cultural committee to deal with cultural and human relations, problems that may arise, thus easing the loads of union and conference administrators.
- 3) The early setting-up of an evangelistic planning committee to come to grips with the evangelistic challenge represented by the children of the church and the unsaved millions of the British Isles.
- 4) To call from time to time area consultative councils to deal with significant intra-church problems and challenges.

D Church Human Relations

- 1) The holding of human relations workshops from time to time throughout the Union, the first to take place in 1979.
- 2) The Union and Conference administrations, in consultation with the Division Communication Department, to give careful study to ways and means of both increasing and improving communication, thus augmenting information and ameliorating confidence.

E Institutions

- 1) The Union Committee, in consultation with the Division Education Department, to structure a 5-10 year plan for the opening and operation of new church schools, especially in the great metropolitan areas, such as London, Birmingham, and Manchester.
- 2) The SEC committee, in close consultation with the union administration, to

Plan for the provision of a social evangelistic educational centre for Black youth in London.

F Financial Arrangements

- 1) The prompt arrangement for measurably increased promotion of the Seven Year Deed of Covenant Plan among all church members, thus tapping substantial available income tax sources.
- 2) To request the General Conference, through the NEWAD, for generous additional financial assistance, in order to make possible the above programme of integrated fellowship and evangelism for the masses of Britain.

Conclusion: The consultation participants believe, with considerable unanimity, that the ready and unhesitating implementation of the steps outlined in this action programme, will ensure fraternal harmony and evangelistic success to the Church of God in the British Isles. Then, the world will “see worked out before it the miracle that binds the hearts of God’s people together in Christian love” (9T 188).

Appendix `C`

Questionnaire

Your place of worship

1) What is the name of your church?

2) Do you own the building?

Yes No

3a) Is it a rented building?

Yes No

b) If yes what type of building is it?

a) Church building belonging to another denomination

b) Community centre

c) Other: (Please give details)

Membership

4) How many members do you have in your church?

5) How would you describe the ethnicity in your church?

a) All Black Caribbean

b) Mixed B

c) All White

d) Mixed: (Please give details)

Young People and Children

- 6) How many young people do you have in your church between 16 –30 years?
- 7) How many between 13-15 years?
- 8) How many children up to age 12?

Your Congregation

- 9) List the things you like about your congregation?

- 10) List the things you dislike about your congregation?

- 11) How would you describe the social environment of your church?
(Please circle one answer)

Very friendly, Friendly, Not too friendly, Unfriendly, Very unfriendly.

Visitors to your Church

- 12) Do non-Adventist visitors attend the weekly services? Yes No

- 13) Are they given a welcome? Yes No

- 14) Who gives the welcome?

a) Pastor b) Elder c) Deacon d) Deaconess e) Usher f) Other members

- 15) Do they usually attend worship a second time? Yes No

16) Does your church keep a record of the names of such visitors? Yes No

Church and Community

17) Does your church provide a program to target the needs of the local community?
Give examples.

18) Which of the following educational projects does your local church provide in the community?

- a) Nursery School
- b) Primary School
- c) Youth and Adult Training
- d) Supplementary evening or weekend (Sunday) School.
- e) Other: (please give details)

19) If your local church is involved in any of the above please answer the following:

- a) Date when it was established?
- b) Total on register?
- c) How many members of staff do they have?

20) Are there other community projects that your church is involved in? Yes No
Give details.

21) Are there any projects you would like to see your local church involved in? Yes No
If yes please give your reasons.

Evangelism, workshops

- 22) Has your local church provided in the last twelve months any of the following workshops for its members: -
- | | |
|--|--------|
| a) How to give bible studies | Yes/No |
| b) How to witness | Yes/No |
| c) How to conduct small group evangelism | Yes/No |
| d) Others (Please state) | |
- 23) How often do they have these workshops?
- Weekly
 - Monthly
 - Once every three months
 - Other (Please state)
- 24) What percentage of the members would you say participate in these workshops?
- 25) Does your local church have a planned witnessing programme, eg.
- | | |
|---|--------|
| a) Door to door | Yes/No |
| b) Street witnessing | Yes/No |
| c) Visitation to Hospitals/ Nursing homes | Yes/No |
| d) Prisons | Yes/No |
| e) Other (Please states) | |
- 26) How often does your local church conduct evangelistic campaigns?
- 27) When was the last time your local church held an evangelistic campaign?

- 28) Who conducted it?
- a) Local pastor
 - b) Local church Elder
 - c) Lay preachers
 - d) Other (Please state)

Baptism

- 29) How often do you have a baptism in your local church?
- a) Once every quarter
 - b) Every Six months
 - c) Once a year
 - d) Other (Please state)

30) On average how many people were baptised last year?

Church Worship

31) How would you describe the worship style at your local church?

- a) Contemporary
- b) Charismatic
- c) Traditional
- d) Other (Please state)

Give examples of your answer:

32) Do you enjoy worship at your local church?

- a) Always
- b) Usually
- c) Sometimes
- d) Hardly ever

Give reasons:

33) What musical instruments are used in your worship?

34) If your church has a choir or group how often do they participate in worship?

35) Do you enjoy the preaching in your local church? Yes No
 a) Describe it.

b) Does the congregation respond to the preaching? Yes No

36) Do you think the preaching meets the needs of the congregation? Yes No
 Please give reasons for your answer.

Pastoral care

37) How frequently does your pastor visit you in your home?
 a) Weekly b) Monthly
 c) Every three months d) More than three month periods?
 e) Not at all

38) Do other members of the pastoral team visit you in your home? Yes No
 a) Elders Yes No
 b) Deacons Yes No
 c) Deaconesses Yes No

39) How often do they visit?
 a) Weekly b) Monthly
 c) Every three months d) More than three month periods?
 e) Not at all

40) Would you say that your local church is caring and supportive toward its members?

Yes/ No In what way?

41) In what other areas do you expect your local church to be caring and supportive toward its members? Please explain.

Challenges in the SDA church in Britain

42) What do you think is the mission of the SDA church in Britain today?

43) Do you think the SDA church is fulfilling its mission in Britain today? Yes No
Give reasons for your answer.

44) What would you say are the main challenges facing the SDA church in Britain today?
Please give examples.

45) What training or skills would you suggest the pastor should have to enable him or her to meet these challenges?

46) What type of workshops should be available to train the laity to meet these challenges? Please list.

Leadership in the SDA church

47) In view of your interpretations of (a) what the mission of the SDA church is, and (b) the challenges that it faces today; list the qualities that you think are required for leadership today?

48) Do you agree that the leadership at the Union and Conferences should reflect:

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------|
| a) The membership within the church? | Yes No |
| b) The wider population? | Yes No |
| (Please explain your answer.) | |

About you

49) a) Female b) Male

50) Please circle the age group you are in:

a) 15 – 30,

b) 30 – 60,

c) 60+

51) How long have you been an Adventist?

52) What is the name of the country where you were baptised?

53) Are other members of your family Adventists?

54) What position do you currently hold in your church?

Appendix "D"

320 Thorold Road
Ilford
ESSEX
IG1 4HD

30th January 2001.

Dear Church Elder,

I am a postgraduate research student at the University of Leeds, and a member of the EastHam SDA church in East London. My research area focuses on the Impact African Caribbeans have on British Adventism. The main purpose for this survey is to determine to what extent, and in which direction the SDA church in Britain is executing its mission in today's society.

Your congregation is one of four congregations selected within the conference to participate in this survey. Each congregation represents the different cultures or cross-cultural makeup of the wider community; the views of each of the six participants within your congregation are vitally important for this research. To ensure a balance and varied views I am requesting that those participating should be chosen as follows from both **men** and **women**;

- 1) **1 Elder or Church leader** (if possible the first Elder)
- 2) **2 department leaders** (e.g. P.M leader, Sabbath School, Deacon, etc.)
- 3) **3 members not holding office.** (Including if possible a young person and a recently baptised member.)

Finally could you please encourage those participating to complete and post the questionnaire in the stamped addressed envelope provided, so that it reaches me by February 14th, 2001.

Thank you for your cooperation and God bless.

Yours faithfully,

Herbert Griffiths.

Appendix "E"

320 Thorold Road
Ilford
Essex IG1 4HD

30th January 2001.

Dear Church member,

I am a part time postgraduate research student at the University of Leeds, and a member of the EastHam SDA church in East London. My research area focuses on the Impact African Caribbeans have on British Adventism. The main purpose for this survey is to determine to what extent, and in which direction the SDA church in Britain is executing its mission in today's society.

Your congregation is one of four congregations selected within the conference to participate in this survey. Each congregation represents the different cultures or cross-cultural makeup of the wider community; your views therefore are vitally important for this research. For this reason I am requesting that you respond to all the questions. If when answering a question you need to extend your answer, please write the question number on the back of the page and continue with the answer to that question. I am grateful for your participation.

I would appreciate it if you could complete the questionnaire and post it back to me in the stamped addressed envelope by 14th February 2001.

Thank you once again for your participation and God bless.

Yours faithfully,

Herbert Griffiths.

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