

**EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH
IN SOUTHERN AFRICA
(CAPE CHURCH)**

The Centenary of the Synod

1895-1995

by

Reino Ottermann

CAPE TOWN

1995

Reino Ottermann: The Centenary of the Synod 1895-1995
(Cape Town 1995)

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Errata in the printed text:

p 17, line 6: 21 May 1872 (not 1879)

photo before p 33: Bishop Nils Rohwer, Bishop since 1991 (not 1989)

p 69: Mrs R. Pakleppa (not Mr)

p 116, King William's Town 1883: Dr J.M. Zahn (not T.M.)

p 124, Welkom 1958-1959: Pastor U. Duschat (not P. Duschat)

p.127, par. 1: Delete the last part of the second sentence, " ... ~~probably the second, enlarged edition of 1856.~~"

Additions:

pp 30 & 120: Pastor F. Grussendorf

p 92, 1907-1908: Diakon David Behrens

P 109, Rev. Rudolph B. von Hube

Subsequent to the publication of the book in 1995, I finally managed (in May 1999) to find, in the archives of the Berlin Mission in Berlin, important documents pertaining to the events preceding the founding of the Synod in 1895. Apart from a considerable amount of interesting correspondence between pastors in the Border Area, the Berlin Mission and the Church of Hanover, the most important documents are copies of the minutes of the pastors' conferences in East London on 27 February 1883 and 19 May (not 20 May) 1885 to which I refer on pp 17 to 20. My only source of information before publication in 1995 were two articles by Pastor J Spanuth in Südafrikanisches Gemeindeblatt of 28 May and 11 June 1909. Spanuth must have had access to the original minutes which, I assume, were subsequently lost. It was a great relief to me that the copies of the minutes which I found in Berlin in 1999, did not contain any information contradicting what I had gleaned from Spanuth's articles.

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FOREWORD

The aim of this book is to give a brief survey of the history of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa (Cape Church) and its congregations from earliest times until 1995 on the occasion of the centenary of the founding of the Cape Synod in 1895. By and large this publication does not pretend to be profound historiography, but rather to present, for the first time, as many dates and facts as could be found, for future reference. As virtually all information has been gathered in church and congregational archives, it was decided to dispense with cumbersome references or footnotes. A fully documented comprehensive history of the Cape Church and, for that matter, of the Lutheran Church in South Africa in general, has yet to be written.

I would like to thank all those who have assisted me in the compilation of this publication. A special word of thanks goes to Miss Ingeborg Meyer, secretary to the Bishop, for her invaluable assistance, my daughter Birgit for assisting me in the tedious task of proofreading and Mr H.-D. Büttner for his practical assistance in producing this publication.

It is my sincere hope that this little book will convey to the members of the Cape Church congregations something of their past with all its wealth and weakness, of the toil and perseverance of their forefathers, of the hopes and fears, the ideals and miscalculations, the achievements and failures of men and women who had love and loyalty for their Lutheran Church. The Church was for many, especially in times of trials and tribulations, a safe haven which gave them shelter and spiritual guidance through Word and Sacrament.

In their diaspora situation they were able to truly experience what Article VII of the Augsburg Confession of 1530 says about the Church: "... that *one holy Church* is to continue forever. The Church is the congregation of saints, in which the Gospel is rightly taught and the Sacraments are rightly administered. And to the true unity of the Church it is enough to agree concerning the doctrine of the Gospel and the administration of the Sacraments. Nor is it necessary that human traditions, that is, rites or ceremonies, instituted by men, should be everywhere alike."

However, the forefathers also knew the truth of what a saying in Tswana so picturesquely states, namely that an ember in isolation is doomed to extinction. They also knew that, as long we are living in this imperfect world, mundane organisation and order are indispensable for the proper and responsible functioning of the Church "in which the Gospel is rightly taught and the Sacraments are rightly administered". Consequently they strove for the founding of orderly functioning congregations and the establishment of supra-congregational structures which could expediently further and watch over the work in the congregations. Some of the many tasks in this respect

are the proper training, ordination and induction of pastors, as well as vigilance to ensure that "the Gospel is rightly taught and the Sacraments are rightly administered". But they also include the adequate remuneration of those in the service of the Church and the proper provision and maintenance of buildings for the activities of the Church. Linked with this are finances and their professional administration.

In their striving to achieve all this, the forefathers eventually succeeded in creating the structure of a Synod at a meeting in Cape Town on 2 July 1895. This Cape Synod has served the congregations well, as has the Cape Church into which it was transformed in 1961.

Apart from all the continuing involvement and willingness to sacrifice there are, however, also signs of weariness and resignation in the ranks of the congregations and the Church. We are living in troubled times, also as far as the Church is concerned. Is the time of the Lutheran Church with its rich spiritual heritage passing? Must we adapt to all sorts of novelties to please all and sundry? Are we to be suffocated by petrified dogma and structures? These are some of the serious questions facing us. But previous generations have had to face questions of similar gravity and consequence. They have tried, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, to find the answers. May He also give us the wisdom and insight to distinguish between spirits and to remain faithful to the tasks that lie before us, through the grace that has so abundantly been shed upon us during this century we are commemorating and even many years before.

Reino Ottermann
Stellenbosch, February 1995

INTRODUCTION

Two distinct lines of development can be traced in the history of the Lutheran Church in South Africa, namely the immigrant or settler line and the mission line. In many, and sometimes fundamental respects, the two lines show strongly differing characteristic features. But they also have many aspects in common, of which two - both rather negative - are mentioned here. The first one is the fact that a diverse and fragmented Lutheran Church was planted here, with Dutch, Moravian, Hanoverian, (partly) Rhenish, Berlin, Hermannsburg, Norwegian, Swedish, American as well as German Lutheran Free Church elements next to one another, apart from the strongly individual influence sometimes brought to bear on a specific area by a single man or group of men within a greater organisation. This legacy of fragmentation, brought to us from the "old world", is a heavy burden, a problem with which the Lutherans in South Africa are still grappling today.

The second aspect in common to both is the fact that a meaningful measure of independence, self-sufficiency and self-reliance only gradually came about in the second half of the twentieth century. Although the Mission Societies had long since started with the training of indigenous pastors, many missionaries and virtually all pastors of the German congregations still came from overseas. Control over matters spiritual and temporal had overwhelmingly been in the hands of institutions in far away countries. The process of indigenization was, therefore, slow and halting. Things did, of course, differ individually in the case of each Mission Society or group of immigrant congregations. But the basic features were present in all of them.

It is an interesting phenomenon that the only exception, the Strand Street congregation in Cape Town which was founded in Dutch colonial times and soon developed a strong sense of independence, went its own isolated and lonely way for more than a one and a half centuries until it gradually joined in with the movement towards greater Lutheran unity.

The Mission Societies developed some form of local administration (albeit by missionaries) in the different areas of their activities. The missionary (later Dr.) A. Kropf was, for instance, inducted by the director of the Berlin Mission Society, Dr T. Wangemann, as the first Superintendent for the so-called "Kaffir Synod" ("Kaffer-Synode") in Bethel (Stutterheim) in 1867. But the first step towards the establishment of an (at least to some extent) indigenous Lutheran church body with a significant measure of participation by the local laity, was the foundation of the German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of South Africa (*Deutsche Evangelisch-Lutherische Synode Südafrikas*) in 1895 in which independent congregations in the Eastern and Western Cape joined together. Most of these had, until then, been under some form of protection by the Lutheran Church of Hanover. Consequently the Han-

overian Church also accepted custodianship for the newly formed Synod and its congregations. This relationship was continued until 1961 when the Synod became the independent Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa (Cape Church). But also then Hanover entered into a special agreement with this new Church. In doing so the Hanoverian Church continued to honour an obligation for which the roots lie as far back as the year 1800 when the first pastor from Hanover, Christian Heinrich Friedrich Hesse, arrived in Cape Town.

The main aim of this publication is to present a short history of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa (Cape Church) on the occasion of the centenary of the formation of the Synod in 1895. This will be preceded by a brief survey of the early history of the Lutherans in the Western Cape and some notes on the Lutheran Church amongst the first German settlers in the Eastern Cape and about the involvement of the Church of Hanover in the Western Cape since 1800. After this the developments towards the formation of the Synod in 1895 will be related.

The history of the first century of this Synod will then be presented, more in the form of a chronology than as a detailed account, although some aspects will receive more attention than others. This will be followed by a chronology of each congregation, in alphabetical order for the Western and Eastern circuits, which will provide some detailed information about the weal and woe of everyday life in the Church. Finally, a brief survey of the hymnals used in the congregations over the last two centuries is given.

1. THE EARLY YEARS

Lutherans at the Cape before 1780

The early history of the Lutherans at the Cape was thoroughly researched by Dr John Hoge. His publications are still the most comprehensive source. The two most important ones are: *Die Geskiedenis van die Lutherse Kerk aan die Kaap. Argiefjaarboek vir Suid-Afrikaanse Geskiedenis*, Vol. II, Cape Town 1938, and *Die Geschichte der ältesten evangelisch-lutherischen Gemeinde in Kapstadt*, Munich 1939. A condensed survey, compiled by the author of this publication, can be found in the *Afrikanischer Heimatkalender* of 1968. Here follows a brief account of the most important facts.

The European settlers at the Cape since 1652 were mainly of Dutch and German origin. Most of the Germans were Lutherans. But the Cape settlement was a settlement of the Dutch East India Company and the Union of Utrecht of 1579 had stipulated that only the Reformed denomination had the right to hold public worship services in the Netherlands. Furthermore, in the Peace Treaty of Westphalia of 1648 (after the Thirty Years War) it had been agreed that the religion of a country or territory was to be determined by its ruler ("Cujus regio, ejus religio"). Consequently the only recognized denomination at the Cape was the Dutch Reformed Church. However, the existence of the Lutherans could not be ignored. Several church documents refer to the "bretheren of the Augsburg Confession". They were, for instance, explicitly admitted to Holy Communion in 1665 and again in 1719 when nine Lutherans are mentioned by name after the note: "Ex fratribus Augustanae Confessionis ad S. Coenam admissi sunt."

The Lutherans were in an invidious position. Many of them formally joined the Reformed Church, which they had to do if they wanted to be considered for any high public office. Others remained faithful to their denomination and thereby forfeited promotion. This was in the eighteenth century, when there seems to have been a general awakening of confessional consciousness amongst the Lutherans.

Baron G. W. van Imhoff, who was later to become Governor-General of Batavia, in 1741 drew up a memorandum to the "Here XVII" (Council of Seventeen) in Amsterdam, suggesting that the Lutherans in Batavia, as well as in Cape Town, be granted permission to establish their own congregations. The Lutherans in Batavia subsequently succeeded in being granted permission to found a congregation in 1743. The first Lutheran pastor in Batavia, Christoffel Michaels, on his way to Batavia in 1746, held four services in the house of Daniel Pfeil in Cape Town. Johan Christoffel Morhard also preached in Cape Town on his way to Batavia in 1749.

The Lutherans at the Cape were not as successful as the Lutherans in

Batavia. In 1741 the "Politieke Raad" (Political Council) at the Cape was requested by the "Here XVII" to ascertain the number of Lutherans in the settlement. The statistics revealed that there were 509 who confessed the Lutheran faith. From 1742 onwards several requests were forwarded by the Lutherans at the Cape, asking permission to erect their own church and call their own minister. Finally the request of 1779 was conceded to and a pastor was appointed. Andreas Lutgerus Kolver arrived in December 1780 and held his inaugural service on 10 December in the church in Strand Street which had already been built some time before by the prominent Lutheran Martin Melck and given to the Lutherans. (More details can be found in the booklet *The Evangelical Lutheran Church Strand Street Cape Town 1780-1880*, published by the congregation.)

Meanwhile, Lutheran chaplains on mainly Danish and Swedish ships passing through Table Bay had occasionally been allowed to conduct services in Cape Town, where they preached, administered Holy Communion, and baptised and confirmed children. It is interesting to note that, unless these pastors were able to preach in German, they were of no use to the Lutherans ("voor hen van geen nut"). Nevertheless, when regular services by Pastor Kolver started in December 1780 the language of the services was Dutch. Only the hymn singing was in German. Like the Lutheran churches in Holland on whom restrictions had been imposed by the Reformed rulers, the church also had no altar and the order of service differed very little from that in the Reformed Church. Only the preaching was allowed to be based on the Augsburg Confession.

It is interesting to note that the notorious "language issue", which later plagued so many congregations, seems to have been solved amicably at its first occurrence. But it was to become one of the major issues some 80 years later when the congregation split and the German St Martini congregation was founded.

Lutherans in the Border area from 1857

The history of our congregations in the Eastern Cape Border area (for some time also called British Kaffraria) starts with the arrival of the British German Legion in February 1857. This is not the place to relate the fate of these unfortunate people. The greater number of the legionaries were Protestants (presumably Lutherans), namely 1250 out of a total of 2063. They were stationed at places to which they gave German names like Berlin, Potsdam, Hanover, Marienthal, Frankfurt, Wiesbaden and others. Only two Lutheran chaplains accompanied them, namely Pastor J. Oppermann from Bavaria and Pastor O. Wilmans from Hanover. (No provision at all was made for the spiritual needs of the 805 Roman Catholics and eight Jews amongst them!) Oppermann and Wilmans were appointed as chaplains for

two of the regiments and the Berlin missionary Albert Kropf for the third regiment. This latter appointment was the beginning of the unselfish service to these people and the later German settlers of 1858 and 1859 by missionaries of the Berlin Mission Society.

The legionaries were never engaged in combat and the Legion was dissolved in 1858. Many of the legionaries voluntarily left to join the fight against the mutiny in India, but many also tried to make a living somewhere in South Africa. The military chaplaincies also ceased to exist. Again it was the Berlin missionaries who took pity on the poor and often destitute people, like Dr Kropf whose mission congregation welcomed 70 of these people on Good Friday and 140 of them on Easter Sunday 1860 at the mission church at Bethel (Stutterheim). The missionaries assisted the remaining legionaries and the German settlers to found congregations.

When Friedrich Clüver arrived from Cape Town as Pastor of the *St Johannis* congregation in King William's Town in April 1864, the involvement of the Church of Hanover in the Border area began. Clüver had been ordained on 3 April 1864 in St Martini in Cape Town by Pastor Parisius with the consent of the Lutheran Consistory in Hanover and with two Rhenish missionaries, L.F. Esselen and J. Rath, assisting.

(In the Lutheran tradition a Consistory is a board of clerical officers, appointed by the sovereign in the case of a monarchy, to supervise ecclesiastical affairs. The Consistory of the Lutheran Church in Hanover was called *Königlich Hannoversches Consistorium*, i.e. Royal Hanoverian Consistory, until 1866 when the Hanoverian king was deposed by Prussia. From 1866 it was the *Königlich Preussisches Consistorium* and from 1888 *Königliches Landes-Consistorium*. For convenience sake this church authority will hereafter be referred to simply as the Hanoverian Consistory. When Germany became a republic after World War I the functions of the Consistory, as far as the Cape congregations and Synod were concerned, were taken over by the *Landeskirchenamt*.)

When King William's Town requested Parisius to assist them in finding a pastor, Parisius asked them in a letter of 26 February 1863 whether their services were conducted according to Lutheran orders and whether there was an altar in their church. He also sent them a copy of the (Bavarian) Cape Town hymnal and expressed the wish that they should adopt the order of service used in St Martini.

The Consistory in Hanover specifically agreed to accept responsibility for care and supervision ("Sorge und Aufsicht") for the King William's Town congregation in 1865 and for the *St Andreas* congregation in East London in 1898.

Some Hermannsburg missionaries also came from Natal to serve congregations in the Border area (C. Böhmke, H. Müller and H. Baumgarten).

For many years to come these pastors from different backgrounds (Berlin, Hanover and Hermannsburg) served the German congregations in the Eastern Cape alongside one another. The co-operation seems to have been

good as is illustrated by the fact that, for example, Clüver was inducted in King William's Town by two Berlin missionaries, A. Kropf and L. Liefeldt, who had also dedicated the first *St Johannis* church in 1864. Other examples are the induction of Baumgarten (Hermannsburg missionary) by C. Nauhaus (Berlin missionary) in East London in 1879, the induction of Böhme (Hermannsburg missionary) by Clüver and Kropf in Frankfurt in 1879, the induction of H. Anders (Berlin missionary) by Kropf, Clüver and Böhme in Braunschweig in 1880 and the induction of E. Königk (Berlin missionary) by Müller (Hermannsburg missionary) in the *Christusgemeinde* in King William's Town in 1886. The good co-operation was also expressed in the dedication of churches, e.g. in 1872 by Clüver in Bodiam where Nauhaus was the Pastor in charge, and in 1884 by Kropf in Potsdam where Baumgarten was the pastor in charge. Kropf and Clüver, in collaboration with pastor Parisius of Cape Town, also jointly drafted a church order for the congregation in Stutterheim, which was founded in 1864.

There were, of course, also exceptions, like Baumgarten who was inducted in East London in 1879 by Nauhaus, because he had refused to be inducted by Clüver. (Clüver had been appointed in 1872 by the Consistory in Hanover as Ephorus, or Superintendent, for the congregations in the Border area under their care, and Baumgarten did not want to recognize him in this position.) Although tensions (especially, later, between Hanoverian pastors and Berlin missionaries) could not always be avoided, the congregations owe Hanover *and* Berlin an enormous debt of gratitude for spiritual care over a period of more than a century.

The Western Cape after 1780

In the Western Cape the Hanoverian influence was dominant from as early as 1800. Pastor Kolver retired in December 1796 and died on 29 April 1797. The congregation tried in vain to call a new pastor from Holland, partly because of internal problems within the Dutch Lutheran church and, possibly, also because the Cape was now under British occupation (since 1795). In 1797 the church council heard that the chaplain of the Württemberg Regiment, Johannes Haas, was on his way back to Europe from Batavia and was interrupting his voyage on Mauritius for health reasons. (The regiment had been at the Cape from 1788 to 1791 when it was transferred to Batavia.) The church council approached Haas by letter in January 1798 and asked him to serve the congregation until a pastor had come from Europe. Haas arrived in Cape Town in January 1799 and, after permission from the British authorities had been obtained, served the congregation until September 1800. As he did not know enough Dutch, he preached in German. Haas remained at the Cape until his health had been restored to such an extent that he was able to return to Europe in 1802.

Meanwhile further attempts to find a pastor in Holland had failed. Finally, the Governor, Sir George Younge, assisted the congregation by requesting the ambassador of Hanover in London, Baron von Lenthe, to approach the Consistory in Hanover with the request to send a pastor to the Cape. Hanover presented Christian Heinrich Friedrich Hesse who subsequently arrived in Cape Town on 7 September 1800. Hesse first preached in German but soon learned enough Dutch to continue his services in Dutch. He was a versatile and learned man who was soon well loved in the congregation. He also served for some years as secretary of the Cape School Commission, the Bible Society and a society for the promotion of youth education. He also became a well known researcher in the field of the Cape fauna and flora. Hesse was granted furlough in Germany in 1817. He left on 5 June 1817 but did not return to the Cape. He later became superintendent in Hoya, where he died in 1832.

Meanwhile, Hanover had appointed Friedrich Just Rudolph Kaufmann as second pastor in Cape Town. He arrived in February 1817 and held his inaugural service on 8 June 1817. As Hesse did not return, Kaufmann became the only pastor until 1827 when he returned to Hanover. His successor was a Dutch pastor, Johan Melchior Kloek van Staveren, whom he inducted on 6 May 1827 before leaving for Europe.

In 1836 a second pastor was appointed in the person of Georg Wilhelm Stegmann who had been born at the Cape and had studied in Aberdeen and Holland. Kloek van Staveren and Stegmann did not get along very well with one another, also in theological matters, for example the order according to which Holy Baptism was administered. Finally the congregation split and Stegmann and a considerable number of members left the congregation to found a new congregation on 7 December 1847. In 1853 their new church, called the St Martin Church, was dedicated at the top of Long Street. Stegmann served this congregation until 1858, after which it was dissolved.

In July 1851 a new pastor from Hanover, Johann Ludolph Parisius, arrived at the Cape as second pastor of the congregation. He learned Dutch very quickly and delivered his first Dutch sermon after four weeks. Meanwhile a considerable number of German immigrants had arrived at the Cape, many of whom joined the Lutheran Church in Strand Street. Their request for, among other things, services in German and for a liturgy more in line with the German Lutheran tradition soon caused problems. When Parisius intimated that he wanted to return to Germany at the end of 1860, many of the German Lutherans asked him to stay and establish a new German Lutheran congregation with them. He conceded and the first service of the new St Martini congregation was held in the church in Long Street on 7 April 1861. The congregation was founded on the next day.

The Hanoverian influence in St Martini and in the other congregations founded in the Western Cape after St Martini, remained prominent and

close links with Hanover were maintained. As in the case of some Eastern Cape congregations, Hanover accepted responsibility for Western Cape congregations, e.g. St Martini in 1862 and Worcester in 1884.

The congregation in Strand Street became more and more isolated from the other Lutheran congregations. This isolation was gradually overcome after more than a hundred years when Strand Street joined the newly founded United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa in 1965 and the first General Synod of this Church was held in the Strand Street church in March of that year.

Further details about the history of Strand Street and St Martini can be found in the chronologies. The history of the founding of other congregations in the Eastern and Western Cape, in Kimberley, Welkom and Bloemfontein will also not be dealt with here as the chronologies provide a survey of the main dates and facts. Moreover, quite a number of congregations have produced historical publications on the occasion of a centenary or other celebrations.

2. A LUTHERAN SYNOD, 1895-1913

The idea of a Synod

It is difficult, most probably impossible, to ascertain when the idea of binding together the congregations in a Synod was first raised. Clüver's appointment by the Consistory in Hanover as Ephorus or Superintendent for the Border area in 1872 seems to have been a first step in that direction. The *Instruction für den Pastor Clüver in King Williams Town als Ephorus des dortigen Aufsichtskreises* of 21 May 1872 (in the church archives in King William's Town) covers a wide range of responsibilities and confers a considerable degree of authority.

As practically all documents in the church archives in Hanover pertaining to the Cape congregations were destroyed during the Second World War, nothing could be found in Hanover. Clüver seems to have mentioned the possibility of forming a Synod in a report to Hanover in 1878, because in a letter to him from Hanover of 21 January 1879 (in the church archives in King William's Town) the Consistory replies that it cannot comment on such an idea before having been furnished with more details.

On 27 February 1883 a number of pastors met in East London for a fraternal discussion about the question if and how a Synod of the Lutheran congregations in South Africa could be established. Unfortunately no papers about this meeting could be found in King William's Town or in Cape Town. If they were deposited in the archives of St Andrew's in East London, which seems most likely, they must be considered lost, as all documents of the St Andrew's congregation before 1939 were disposed of after having been irreparably damaged by water and dampness.

Pastor J. Spanuth briefly refers to the 1883 meeting in an article about the history of the Cape Synod in the *Südafrikanisches Gemeindeblatt* of 28 May and 11 June 1909. Present at the meeting were the pastors Clüver, Beste, Anders, Böhmke, Baumgarten and Hahn Jnr, with Superintendent Kropf in the chair. According to Spanuth (who must have had access to documents in East London, since destroyed) a wide variety of matters was discussed, going much further than a constitution for a Synod. Aspects of church and congregational order, church life and the ministry also seem to have been included. According to a letter to Pastor König of 14 January 1885 (in the church archives in Cape Town) a constitution ("Statuten") was indeed drafted. But in the end nothing came of whatever plans they had.

However, it seems possible that the plans were, at first, seriously pursued. In a letter to Pastor Clüver of 24 May 1891 the Consistory in Hanover refers to a letter from Pastor Wagener of Cape Town in which he had informed the Consistory that a number of congregations in South Africa had, in fact, joined together in a Synod. Wagener had also informed the Consistory that

Clüver had not joined this Synod. The Consistory expresses its disappointment with his decision and requests him to submit his reasons. Attached to this letter, in the same handwriting, is a copy of the constitution of the Synod which was allegedly founded. No further documents or even reference in this connection could be found.

However, in the pastors' conference in King William's Town in January 1895 where the constitution was drafted for the Synod which finally became a reality in July 1895, it was suggested that the points already decided on in 1883 should be taken as a basis. The constitution sent to Clüver by the Consistory in 1891 indeed shows great similarity, even in its wording, to the draft of 1895. Therefore, it can be assumed that this constitution was, in fact, the one drafted in East London in 1883 when Clüver was present, and that he had in the meantime changed his mind about it. (The constitution sent to Clüver by the Consistory could not have resulted from the 1885 meeting with Wangemann, which is discussed below because (as will be shown) the Consistory was not in favour of whatever came out of that meeting.)

The next attempt was made in 1885 during the visit of the Director of the Berlin Mission Society, Dr Theodor Wangemann, to the Eastern Cape. Wangemann visited South Africa twice and some interesting information about the German settlements and congregations can be found in the extensive published reports on his inspection journeys in South Africa in 1866 to 1867 and 1884 to 1885.

Wangemann's comments on the state of affairs in the German Lutheran congregations in the Eastern Cape in 1885 makes interesting reading. He describes the unselfish way in which Kropf had served the members of the British German Legion and how he and other Berlin missionaries had taken pity on the remaining legionaries and the German settlers, serving them as well as they could, over and above their mission work. He expresses the opinion that the German Lutheran congregations they had helped to establish, could have become a basis for the work of the Berlin Mission amongst the indigenous people of the area. Forged together in a Synod, they could have been the core of a future German Lutheran Church in South Africa. He blames the fact that this had not already happened on quarrels between disparate elements in the ranks of the pastors, apparently also amongst Berlin missionaries serving the German congregations.

He specifically deplores the appointment of Clüver in King William's Town and the fact that the Hanoverian Church had, through Clüver, become an additional role-player in the area. He refers to the Lutheran Consistory in Hanover as a church authority which had an unfriendly, possibly even oppositional, attitude towards the Church in Prussia ("eine der preussischen Landeskirche nicht freundlich, ja vielleicht oppositionell gegenüberstehende Kirchenbehörde"). He concedes that Kropf had had the best of intentions when he advised the congregation in King William's Town to call Clüver from Cape Town, apparently against the advice of other Berlin mis-

sionaries (Wangemann specifically mentions Liefeldt). But he also takes a grim view of the fact that, at Clüver's instigation, a Hermannsburg missionary (H. Müller) had been called to serve in East London. In his view these developments had thwarted the idea of a German Lutheran Synod in close cooperation with the Berlin Mission. Wangemann specifically blames personal ambitions of individuals and what he calls "neo-Lutheran fanaticism" ("neulutherische Schwärmerei") for this state of affairs.

With the latter nomenclature he seems to be referring to the representatives of confessionally conscious Lutheranism which had experienced a revival in Hanover and also in Prussia. It appears that especially three of the pastors fell into this category, namely Clüver, whose wife was a niece of the founder of the Hermannsburg Mission (Wangemann specifically points out this fact), Böhmke and Kropf himself. (It can be added that Böhmke's wife, Sophie, was the daughter of Friedrich Enckhausen, who played an important role in the shaping of church music and liturgy in the Hermannsburg Mission.)

On the other hand Wangemann is pleasantly surprised by the warm welcome accorded to him by Müller, a Hermannsburg missionary, in East London and by Baumgarten, who also had a Hermannsburg background and had served in a congregation of the independent Breslau Lutherans in Prussia.

In this connection it is interesting to note that the Director of the Hermannsburg Mission, Pastor Georg Haccius, in the published report on his general visitation in South Africa in 1887 points out that the Berlin Mission had a distinct Lutheran character on the South African mission field, in spite of the fact that its leadership in Germany was situated in a united church ("unierte Kirche"), the Prussian Church in which the Lutheran majority and a Reformed (Calvinist) minority had been organisationally united.

Wangemann himself was an ardent Lutheran who had been editor of the *Monatsschrift für die evangelisch-lutherische Kirche in Preussen* from 1858 to 1865 when he was called to be Director of the Berlin Mission Society.

It appears from his report that several attempts had already been made towards the formation of a German Lutheran Synod in British Kaffraria, the last one, in 1883, also having been unsuccessful. Now Müller and Baumgarten had requested Wangemann to call a meeting in Panmure (East London) as a preparatory step towards the formation of a Synod. This meeting, under the chairmanship of Wangemann, took place on 20 May 1885. Those present were: Müller, Baumgarten, Rein, Beste, Johl, Anders, Königk, Fuchs, Zahn and Kropf. Clüver and Böhmke had declined the invitation and Kropf took a reserved stand. Wangemann presented the situation and possible action to be taken in 16 points. (This document could, unfortunately, not be found.) It was decided to entrust Beste with further initiatives in this matter. The minutes ("Protokoll") were signed by all present except Kropf who, although he agreed with the subject matter, preferred

not to sign. No more information about the 1885 meeting could be found.

The reaction from Hanover was not favourable. Clüver had apparently reported on the meeting in East London in his annual report to the Consistory. The Consistory subsequently, on 1 February 1887, wrote a letter to Dr Wangemann in which they object to his interference in the matters of the congregations which have historical links with Hanover. They point out that, as a result of historical circumstances, the following congregations in the Cape Colony stood under their supervision: King William's Town with its daughter congregations ("Filiale") Queenstown and Cambridge (East London), Frankfurt, Braunschweig, St Martini in Cape Town with its daughter congregation Wynberg, as well as Paarl and Worcester, with their pastors Clüver, Böhmke, Wagener and C.H. Hahn Jnr. They point out that meddling with these circumstances could only harm the congregations. (A copy of this letter, which was sent to Clüver, is in the church archives in King William's Town. The copy of Wangemann's reply, which was also sent to Clüver, could not be traced in the archives.)

In a letter to Clüver of 21 July 1887 (also in the King William's Town archives) the Consistory concedes that Wangemann may have had the best of intentions but that he had acted on one-sided information. However, they suspect endeavours towards the Prussian church union between Lutheran and Reformed Protestants ("Unionsbestrebungen") in Wangemann's initiatives. They expressed satisfaction with the fact that nothing further seems to have transpired in this matter and would, for the time being, not enter into any further correspondence with Wangemann. Basically they seem to have been against a synod initiative under Berlin leadership or protection. In any case, it seems as if nothing further materialised within the next couple of years.

The long and strenuous journey through South Africa had a devastating effect on Wangemann's health. After his return to Germany he continued to serve as Director of the Berlin Mission under difficult circumstances. He died in Berlin in 1894, a year before the Synod in South Africa finally came into being.

One wonders whether some of the existing animosity could not also be ascribed to the fact that the kingdom of Hanover had been annexed by Prussia in the German war of 1866 and had become a province of Prussia. The Lutheran church of Hanover had, however, been left intact and had not been incorporated into the Prussian "church union".

It can be noted, in passing, that in this whole matter of planning the formation of a Synod - as also in other instances in the further history of the Lutheran Church in South Africa - church and political quarrels, ideas and ideologies in Germany were brought to bear in the totally different situation of the congregations in South Africa, sometimes to the detriment of these congregations.

However, it seems fortunate that, in this case, the drawn-out process finally led to the formation of a clearly and unequivocally Lutheran Synod

in 1895. In a country in which Calvinism in its different Dutch/Afrikaans and Scottish/English forms is as dominant as in South Africa, the Prussian model of church union was no real option for a small group of German Lutherans. A clearly defined Lutheran confessional basis was the only practicable alternative. (It seems relevant to note here that the work of the Berlin Mission itself later resulted in the founding of unambiguously Lutheran churches in its former mission fields in South Africa. Furthermore, the work of the Rhenish Mission, which accommodated both the Lutheran and the Reformed traditions in its home base in Germany, resulted in their predominantly Reformed congregations in the Cape being handed over to the Dutch Reformed Mission and their congregations in South West Africa where the Baltic Lutheran Carl Hugo Hahn had had such a decisive influence, being bound together in a Lutheran Church.)

The idea of the formation of a German Lutheran Synod in South Africa appears also to have been nurtured in the Western Cape. Especially Pastor G.W. Wagener of St Martini in Cape Town was an ardent champion of the idea (cf. his letter to the Consistory, mentioned above, about Clüver's attitude). However, the next initiative seems to have come from Hanover, as in a church committee meeting of St Martini, Cape Town, of 11 February 1890, Pastor Wagener reports about a letter from Hanover regarding the formation of a German South African Lutheran Synod. It was decided to discuss the matter at an informal meeting, but no further reference was found in the minutes about the matter. However, the idea must have received a positive reaction, considering Wagener's letter to Hanover about Clüver. Also, when St Martini adopted the new Hanoverian hymn book of 1883 in 1890, they had a special title page printed which read: *Gesangbuch und Agende für die deutsche evangelisch-lutherische Kirche Süd-Afrikas* (Hymn Book and Agenda for the German Evangelical Lutheran Church of South Africa), five years before the Synod was actually constituted! The Agenda was also published in a separate booklet in Hanover in 1880, bearing the title: *Agende für die deutsche evangelisch-lutherische Kirche am Kap der guten Hoffnung*.

The final steps towards a Synod

On 10 and 11 January 1895 a conference of pastors was held in King William's Town with the aim of finally getting the idea of a Synod off the ground. The meeting was attended by pastors from the following congregations: King William's Town (Clüver and Möller), Stutterheim (Kropf and Beste), Braunschweig (Anders), Frankfurt (Böhmke), Berlin and Potsdam (Baumgarten), East London (Schneider), Cape Town (Wagener), Paarl (Hahn Jnr) and Wynberg (Bracklo). Pastor Schneider was in the chair and Pastor Möller was the minuting secretary. The minutes of the meeting are in the Cape Town church archives.

The deliberations at East London, 1883, were taken as the basis for the discussions. Right at the beginning Clüver pleaded that "the old" (i.e. what had gone before) should be forgotten and something new created. Kropf wanted the confessional basis to be fixed first and foremost. The attitude of these two gentlemen can be understood as the (assumed) draft of 1883 did, in fact, refer to the confessional basis in rather vague terms: "All congregations who have as their basis the Apostolic Creed and the special confessions of the Lutheran Church, can join the synodal association." ("Alle Gemeinden, die auf dem Grunde des apostolischen Symbolums und der besonderen Bekenntnisse der ev. luth. Kirche stehen, können sich dem Synodalverbande anschliessen.")

The outcome of the discussions of January 1895 was a draft constitution ("Synodal-Ordnung") for a German Lutheran Synod in the Cape Colony (*Entwurf einer Synodal-Ordnung der Deutschen ev. luth. [sic] Gemeinden der Kap-Kolonie*). A handwritten copy of this draft and the somewhat amended printed submission to the constituting synod meeting are kept in the Cape Town church archives. It was suggested that the Consistory in Hanover be asked to receive the Synod into the fold of the Hanoverian Church and to accept responsibility for the Synod as its uppermost authority ("Oberbehörde"). Copies of the draft constitution were to be sent to Hanover with the request to comment on it before 1 July. (Wagener's letter of 19 February 1895 to Hanover is in the church archives in Cape Town.) At the end of the meeting the two ageing pioneers, the Superintendents Clüver and Kropf, were specially thanked for their attendance and participation.

The meeting decided to send letters and copies of the draft to those pastors who had not attended. They and their congregations were also invited to join the Synod. Some of the replies from the pastors are kept in the archives in Cape Town. Pastor C. Meyer of Kimberley, for instance, wrote that he and some other Berlin missionaries serving German congregations had some years before, on the initiative of Pastor Grosskopf in Bloemfontein, decided not to join any church body without consulting one another. He would consult his bretheren, as well as with immediate superior, Superintendent Grütznert, and the Berlin Mission authorities in Germany. Others, like Pastor E. Sprengel in Worcester, who had sent a telegram to the pastors' conference in East London, met with all sorts of reservations in their congregations.

At a smaller committee meeting (Möller, Hahn, Wagener, Schneider) on 11 January 1895 it was decided to convene the constituting synod meeting for 1 July 1895. The synod meeting finally took place in Cape Town from 30 June to 2 July 1895.

With a few exceptions all the minutes of the synodal meetings until 1936 (and even parts of the 1963 minutes!) are written in old German script. Moreover, they often are rather cryptic in the sense that they refer to items on the agenda without stating the subject matter again. And the older agen-

das are not available any more. In any case, it is not the intention here to give a full account of everything that transpired at the synod meetings. For the sake of consistency and, maybe, personal interest of readers, the names of pastors and congregational delegates at each meeting will be given in full, with or without initials, as they appear in the minutes. The name of the pastor serving a parish is given with the congregation in which he resided.

As far as the further contents of the minutes are concerned, a selection had to be made from the more important matters that were discussed. As it is, quite a lot of what was recorded seems, after a passage of time, to be of merely peripheral interest. Read in conjunction with the history of the individual congregations and, as far as available, the documents of the executive, the minutes are, nevertheless, an invaluable source of information about the weal and woe of the Synod and its congregations.

The constituting synod meeting of 1895

The constituting synod meeting in Cape Town was opened with an evening service in St Martini on 30 June. The meeting itself, on 1 and 2 July, also took place in the church. (All documents referred to hereafter are in the church archives in Cape Town, unless stated otherwise.) The congregations represented were: St Martini, Cape Town (Pastor G.W. Wagener and Messrs T. Behn and E. Mälzer), Wynberg (Pastor H. Bracklo and Messrs T. Vollmer and F. Hörstmann), Paarl (Pastor C.H. Hahn Jnr and Mr C. Starck), East London (Pastor R. Schneider and Pastor H. Müller, the latter as lay delegate as he was at that time occupied as a teacher), Berlin-Potsdam-Kwelegha (Pastor H. Baumgarten and Mr D. Petersen) and King William's Town (Pastor C. Möller and Mr C. Friedrichs). Also present, as guests, were the Pastors E. Sprengel (Worcester), C. Böhmke (Frankfurt) and H. Anders (Braunschweig). Pastor Wagener was elected chairman and Mr Mälzer and Pastor Möller minuting secretaries.

The only point on the agenda was the adoption of a constitution ("Synodal-Ordnung") and the formal founding of a Synod. The draft of the King William's Town pastors' conference was tabled as well as an amended draft ("Veränderter Entwurf") of Pastor Hahn of Paarl. It was decided to deal with the original draft and to keep the amended draft at hand.

Apart from the adoption of the constitution as such, the two main basic resolutions of the synod meeting were the following:

1. The Name of the Synod was resolved to be "Deutsche evangelisch-lutherische Synod Süd-Afrikas", although some speakers pleaded for the "Cape Colony" as in the draft.
2. The way in which the confessional basis of the Synod was to be formulated was discussed at length. The Old and New Testament and the three general (ecumenical) creeds (the Apostolic, Nicene and Athanasian, al-

thought not mentioned by name) created no problem. But the question whether the special confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church (including the Formula of Concord) should be enumerated, was debated. Finally, it was decided to stick to the formulation of the draft which only referred to "the specific confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church" ("die besonderen Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche").

Furthermore, provision was made for pastors who did not have an independent congregation, as well as pastors whose congregations had not yet joined the Synod, to be accepted into association with the Synod as members with right of voice only.

A remarkable aspect of the constitution was the provision that up to *three* members of the executive of five could be laymen.

It is also interesting to note that in an amendment to the provisions for the election of an executive, proposed by Pastor Hahn, the designation "Präses" was used for the chairman of the executive. This amendment was, however, not carried.

The constitution was finally adopted on 2 July 1895 and a deed of constitution was signed by the pastors and delegates of the congregations represented at the meeting. Pastor Sprengel of Worcester said that he was joining the Synod and expressed the hope that his congregation would also join. Similar sentiments were expressed by Pastors Böhmke from Frankfurt and Anders from Braunschweig.

The following persons were elected members of the executive: Pastors Wagener (chairman), Baumgarten and Müller and Mr Vollmer and Pastor Möller, the latter presumably in his capacity as a lay delegate from East London.

Finally, greetings and good wishes were conveyed on behalf of the Superintendents Kropf and Clüver.

After a paper by Pastor Sprengel on civil marriage and marriage in church ("Eheschliessung und Trauung") the meeting was closed with prayer.

Further developments

Now that the ideal of a Synod had finally been realized, albeit with only some of the congregations joining, the executive had to start working towards consolidation and further extension of the synodal association ("Synodal-Verband"). The Synod and its constitution only gradually influenced the day-to-day realities in the congregations. Annual reports and collections for the Synod were, for instance, not sent in promptly.

The minutes of the executive ("Synodal-Ausschuss") meetings were not kept in one minute book. A set of 16 small loose sheets was found in the church archives in Cape Town, containing the minutes of meetings of 3 July 1893, 20 October 1897, 1 October 1900, 3 October 1900, 1 October 1903,

9 January 1907, as well 24, 25 and 28 September 1909. A few other minutes of the early years were found on loose sheets.

The first meeting of the executive was held on 3 July 1895 in Cape Town. At this meeting a letter to the Consistory in Hanover was drafted in which the Consistory was notified about the formation of the Synod. Copies of the constitution and the deed of constitution were to be attached to the letter and the Consistory requested to ratify them. This letter was finally sent to Hanover on 31 August 1895 by the chairman of the executive ("Vorsitzender des Synodal-Ausschusses"). On 4 October the Consistory replied that it was prepared to accept the responsibilities accorded to it in Paragraph IX of the constitution (i.e. supervision over the Synod and the final decision in cases of appeal).

It is interesting to note that, according to the minutes, the Consistories of the Lutheran Churches in Saxony (Dresden) and Württemberg were also notified about the formation of the Synod.

At the first meeting of the executive, standing orders were also drawn up and minuted and the different offices were assigned. The standing orders were sent out to the congregations by way of notification. In the same notice the congregations were also notified that Pastor Baumgarten had been elected vice-chairman, Pastor Möller secretary and Mr Vollmer treasurer. (An extremely faint copy of this notification, bearing the date 27 July 1895, apparently added later in darker ink, was found in the church archives in Cape Town.)

The next meeting appears to have been held in King William's Town, as reference to such a meeting is made in the minutes of the (third?) meeting in Cape Town on 6 May 1896. According to Spanuth the King William's Town meeting initiated the formation of "circuit synods" in the Eastern and Western Cape, which were to meet between the triennial meetings of the Synod ("Landessynode"). It further considered the publication of a newsletter or magazine ("Synodal-Gemeindeblatt"), an idea which came to fruition only in 1899. A major problem to be solved was the existence of two rival congregations in King William's Town (*St Johannis*, which was a member of the Synod, and the *Christusgemeinde*, which was not).

The third (?) meeting of the executive took place in Cape Town on 6 May 1896. This meeting was attended by three members only, namely the Pastors Wager and Baumgarten, and Mr E. Mälzer, synodal delegate from Cape Town, who is listed as treasurer. He must have been co-opted in the meantime in the place of Mr Vollmer.

At this meeting the possibility of the pastors of the Synod joining the fund for widows and orphans ("Witwen- und Waisenkasse") of the Hanoverian Church was discussed. (The whole matter of pension funds for pastors and their dependants will not be dealt with in this publication. The pastors from Germany were later members of the pension fund of the Church or Mission Society which had seconded them. A local pension fund for indigenous pas-

tors, the Evangelical Lutheran Church Pension Fund, was later established by the United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa in 1975.)

Other items on the agenda were included the King William's Town problem, problems on the Wynberg Flats and reports on Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth.

In the first annual report on the congregations for 1895/96 (to the Consistory in Hanover?), Worcester is listed as a member congregation. A circuit synod is reported to have been held in the Eastern Cape on 29 September 1895. A similar meeting in the Western Cape (in Paarl) did, in the end, not take place because more delegates from Cape Town turned up than had been agreed on at a pastors' conference in Worcester! The problems on the Wynberg Flats were solved by joining the congregation "Wynberg Flats" (later called Philippi) to Cape Town as a "Filiale", with all parties concerned having agreed to this ruling by the executive. The total membership of the congregations stood at 3258 communicants.

The second synod meeting, Cape Town 1897

In 1897 the Consistory in Hanover sent Superintendent Dr E. Petri of Zellerfeld to South Africa to conduct a general visitation in the congregations that stood under its protection and care. All relevant documents in Hanover were destroyed during World War II. But Petri's great-grandson, *Oberkirchenrat* Walter Meyer-Roscher of Hanover, kindly sent me a transcription of the relevant part of Petri's personal memoirs which are in the possession of the family. These memoirs give a fairly detailed account of Petri's strenuous journey and of his observations in the Synod and the congregations, and make exceptionally interesting reading. It would, however, go far beyond the scope of this publication to refer to them in any detail.

Petri quite clearly identifies a major shortcoming in the Synod and its constitution, namely that the fact that not all congregations within its geographical ambit had previously been, or were even then, linked with Hanover. Some were linked to the Berlin Mission and others had connections with the Hermannsburg Mission. Furthermore, the constitution did not really make provision for the proper functioning of a local church authority ("örtliche Kirchenbehörde"). In general, he deplors the fact that there was much quarrelling and dispute ("viel Hader und Streit") in the South African Church. He ascribes this fact to the total absence of effective leadership for many years and to the fact that the constitution of 1895 had, until then, been fairly ineffective.

In a letter to the executive, dated Cape Town, 1 July 1897, Petri requested the executive to convene a meeting of the Synod in Cape Town on 12 October with the purpose of reorganizing and improving the synodal association ("Synodal-Verband"). For this purpose he had drafted a compre-

hensive constitution ("Synodal-Ordnung") as well as provisional standing orders ("Geschäfts-Ordnung") for the executive and requested these to be sent out to the pastors and delegates. As there were no funds available for the printing of these drafts, they were copied by hand and distributed. (No copy of either draft could be found in the archives.)

The synod meeting eventually took place in Cape Town on 18 and 19 October 1897. Worcester, Braunschweig and Keiskammahoek had meanwhile joined the Synod so that, all in all, 10 pastors and 13 delegates were present, namely: Cape Town (Pastors G.W. Wagener and H. Baumgarten and Messrs von Schuckmann, E. Mälzer and W. Maasch), Wynberg (Pastor H. Bracklo and Messrs E. Zweig and P. von Holdt), Paarl (Pastor C. Hugo Hahn and Mr J.A. Lotze), East London (Pastor R. Schneider and Messrs C. Gerke and A. Goldschmidt), Berlin-Potsdam-Kwelegha (Pastor F. Fuchs and Mr W. Sergel), King William's Town (Pastor C. Möller and Messrs C. Friedrichs and H. Schäfer), Worcester (Pastor E. Sprengel and Messrs C. Kirschbaum and A. Grassmann), Braunschweig (Pastor H. Anders), Keiskammahoek-Emnqesha (Pastor E. König). The Cape Town delegate Mr von Schuckmann, German Consul General in Cape Town, was elected chairman.

The new constitution ("Synodal-Ordnung") was adopted and took effect as from 19 October 1897. It was ratified by the Consistory in Hanover on 3 February 1899. It cannot be the task of this publication to go into a detailed comparison of the 1895 and 1897 constitutions. Suffice it to state that the 1897 version was, indeed, a major improvement. Some of the important points are: the name of the Synod and the paragraph about its confessional basis were not changed. The circuit synods were now called circuit conferences in order to clarify that they were to have a more consultative character and that the power of decision-making lay with the synod meeting itself. The executive now consisted of seven members, of whom at least three were pastors and three delegates, and also at least three were to be residents of the Eastern and Western Cape.

The standing orders for the executive were also adopted. The following persons were elected members of the executive: The Pastors Wagener (Chairman), Schneider (Vice-Chairman), Fuchs, and Sprengel and the delegates Mälzer, Von Schuckmann and Friedrichs. After Mr von Schuckmann's departure from Cape Town he was replaced in August 1898 by Mr A. Grassmann from Worcester, a substitute elected by the Synod.

The new executive held its first meeting in Cape Town on 20 October 1897. Pastors Sprengel and Fuchs were appointed as first and second secretary respectively. Two important points in the minutes are a request to Hanover to accept the pastors of the Synod into its pension fund and the publication of a newsletter or magazine ("Gemeindeblatt"). (The pastors were eventually admitted to the pension fund with effect from 1 October 1900.) Acting on a suggestion by Dr Petri, the executive also decided to ask

the Consistory's permission for Mr Gottfried Wagener, a brother of Pastor Georg Wilhelm Wagener, who was studying theology in Germany, to be examined in South Africa. He would then be ordained by Pastor Wagener. Pastors Schneider and Möller were appointed as examiners. (He was eventually ordained in Cape Town in 1899.)

Südafrikanisches Gemeindeblatt

The ideal of a newsletter/magazine became a reality when the first number of the *Südafrikanisches Gemeindeblatt* was published in Cape Town on 6 January 1899. The editor of this fortnightly newsletter was Pastor G.W. Wagener, on behalf of the executive of the Synod. In January 1911 the title was changed to *Deutscher Evangel. Volksbote für Südafrika*. Pastor Wagener edited the newsletter until December 1907. From January 1908 Pastor H. Ludewig of Wynberg took over. From October 1909 until January 1914 Wagener and Ludewig were joint editors and Wagener then continued until the demise of the newsletter in the early days of the World War I. The last known number is No. 378 of 22 September 1914. Pastor Wagener, its editor, was interned in September 1914

The newsletter is an invaluable source of information about the activities of the Synod executive, the synod meetings, the circuit conferences, the congregations and people connected with the Church. There are also interesting articles concerning the German schools of the congregations, an aspect not dealt with in this publication. Historical articles about the Germans in the Western Cape and, especially, in British Kaffraria, are particularly valuable. Finally, there are news items and articles of general interest from South Africa and Germany, e.g. concerning the Anglo-Boer War and the burial of President Paul Kruger in 1904.

The third synod meeting, East London 1900

A concise report of the activities within the Synod and its congregations was published in the *Gemeindeblatt* of 26 October 1900. A noteworthy item is the fact that the Consistory in Hanover had decided to provide the necessary funds for the appointment of an itinerant pastor ("Reiseprediger") for the work in the diaspora, as well as funds for different other aspects of the work in the congregations, e.g. subsidies for certain salaries, building costs, the *Gemeindeblatt* and schools.

The Consistory during this period also agreed to accept responsibility for the congregations in Braunschweig, Keiskammahoek-Emnqesha, Port Elizabeth and East London.

When the Synod met in East London from 30 September to 3 October 1900, the following congregations were represented: Cape Town (Pastors

G.W. Wagener and H. Baumgarten, Messrs W. Kühn, W. Maasch and E. Mälzer), Wynberg (Pastor H. Siebe, Messrs A. Wegner and R. Bombal), Paarl (Pastor H. Hahn and Mr A. Voigt), Worcester (Pastor E. Sprengel, Messrs A. Grassmann and A. Hamann), King William's Town (Pastor G. Wagener, Messrs C. Friedrichs and F. Bock), East London (Pastor R. Schneider, Messrs H. Koch and A. Schultz), Berlin (Pastor F. Fuchs and Mr I.W. Weiss), Braunschweig (Pastor H. Anders and Mr C. Becker) and Keiskammahoek (Pastor E. König and Mr J. Schröder). Pastor Böhmke of Frankfurt attended in his personal capacity as his congregation did not belong to the association. Pastor Wagener was elected chairman.

According to the constitution, synod meetings were convened under the chairmanship of the chairman of the executive. The meeting then elected a chairman for the duration of the meeting. At the end of opening devotions the members took the vow of office ("Gelöbnis ablegen") before the chairman of the executive. The chairman took his vow before the oldest pastor in the Synod.

Standing orders for the synod meetings were adopted on 1 October. They were ratified by the Consistory in Hanover on 9 November 1900 and printed in Hanover (copies in the church archives in Cape Town). A draft order for visitations was tabled but not accepted. (It was referred to the circuit conferences in 1903 but eventually scrapped from the agenda of the synod meeting in 1907. The whole question of visitations seems to have been a thorny one as it was feared that it could infringe on the autonomy of the congregations and their schools. From the distance of almost a century later it looks as if many problems in congregations, and also between congregations, could have been solved much more effectively, had there been a practicable order for visitations.)

An order for the circuit conferences, adopted by the circuit conference of the Western Cape on 10 January 1900 and ratified by the executive of the Synod on 9 August 1900, was tabled and recommended to the circuit conference of the Eastern Cape for adoption. (This happened on 26 February 1901.)

Further points on the agenda were the report of the executive, the financial report and a report on mission to seamen in Cape Town. (The mission for seamen had been taken care of since 1886 by Mr P.A. Friederichs.)

A very important point was a paper by Pastor Fuchs of the Berlin congregation on German schools (unfortunately not found in the archives). It appears that their schools were a very important aspect of the life in the congregations. First of all they addressed a dire need that existed everywhere on the platteland. But secondly they also provided for education in German and, of course, in religion according to the Lutheran understanding. A number of schools became government schools with additional tuition in German and religion. Without going into this matter any further, it may be noted that it seems a great pity that these congregational schools have all

since disappeared or have been transformed into secular schools, like in Cape Town. It seems that in times of animosity against the Germans, especially during the two World Wars, the perception of these schools as first and foremost German (a perception not only held by their enemies, but also by many people within the Church), made it impossible to salvage at least some of the schools for their religious task.

Pastor H. Siebe read a paper on the service of the pastor at funerals.

The new executive consisted of the Pastors G.W. Wagener, E. Sprengel and F. Fuchs, and Messrs E. Mälzer, C. Friedrichs, H. Koch and A. Grassmann. Pastor Wagener was elected chairman and Pastor Fuchs vice-chairman.

The executive briefly met on 3 October 1900 in order to decide on the sequence in which communications between members would be sent on from one to the next. This seems to have subsequently become the rule after each synod meeting.

The fourth synod meeting, Cape Town 1903

The fourth synod meeting took place from 27 to 30 September 1903 in Cape Town. Before the meeting Wynberg Vlakte (= Philippi) and Port Elizabeth had joined the Synod. Also present was the itinerant pastor for the diaspora, A. Brünjes. The meeting now counted 12 pastors and 17 delegates. The congregations represented were: Cape Town (Pastors G.W. Wagener and Fuchs, Messrs Mälzer for Cape Town, Passarge for Durban Road, Runge for Eerste River), Wynberg (Pastor H. Siebe, Messrs Clausen for Wynberg, Harnack for Neu-Eisleben), Wynberg Vlakte (Pastor H. Baumgarten, Messrs Beckmann and Kohrs), Paarl (Pastor H. Hahn and Mr Bohlmann), Worcester (Pastor Sprengel, Messrs Elske and Grassmann), East London (Pastor Schneider, Messrs Goldschmidt and Koch), King William's Town (Pastor G. Wagener, Messrs Friedrichs and Holzhausen), Berlin (Pastor Spanuth and Mr Gierke), Keiskammahoek (Mr Haselau), Braunschweig (Pastor Anders) and Port Elizabeth (Pastor F. Grussendorf and Mr Ebel). The Diaspora Pastor, A. Brünjes, was also present. From Queenstown there was Mr Paetzold, as a guest. Pastor G.W. Wagener again chaired the meeting.

Apart from the regular items on the agenda, a lot of time was spent on the discussion of the remuneration of the pastors which was, in some cases, rather inadequate. The congregations were responsible for their subsistence, in cash and in kind. It appears to have taken some time until all congregations met the requirements of the Hanoverian pension fund.

The synod meeting of 1895 had been combined with a mission festival ("Missionsfest"). A proposal that this should become a regular feature of synod meetings was rejected and it was decided that mission festivals should be organised by the circuit conferences.

There was also a proposal that the Synod should be divided into two separate synods. This proposal was not carried but the circuits were encouraged to make use of their rights and the possibilities of fostering a stronger feeling of coherence. This would, it was felt, also benefit the Synod as a whole. (The matter of the position of the circuits in relation to the central Synod later surfaced again. Even the constitution of the Cape Church of 1961 still included the term circuit synods ("Bezirkssynoden") in brackets after circuit conferences ("Bezirkskonferenzen").

The following executive was elected: Pastors G.W. Wagener (Chairman), Spanuth (Vice-Chairman), Schneider and Siebe, and Messrs Mälzer, Friedrichs and Ebel.

The fifth synod meeting, East London 1907

The fifth meeting of the synod was took place from 6 to 9 January 1907 in East London. The congregations represented were Cape Town (Pastor Wagener, Messrs E. Mälzer, W. Freimund and G.W. Kühn), East London (Pastor Grevemeyer, Messrs H. Jungheinrich and Hasenjäger), Berlin (Pastor Spanuth and Mr J. Schultz), Potsdam (Mr W. Weger), Macleantown (Mr C. Bürger), Keiskammahoek (Pastor König and Mr A. Frauenstein), Emnqesha (Mr C. Haselau), Paarl (Pastor Hahn and Mr A. Bohlmann), Kwelegha (Pastor Brünjes and Mr A. Schultz), Bell and Bodiam (Mr W. Bürger), Wynberg-Vlakte (Pastor Baumgarten, Messrs E.F. Grote and C. Beckmann), Worcester (Pastor Sprengel, Messrs Elske and Behm), Port Elizabeth (Pastor H. Müller), Braunschweig (Pastor Anders and Mr C. Becker), Wynberg (Pastor Ludewig, Messrs F. Clausen and J. Bockelmann), King William's Town (Messrs W. Pohlmann and C. Werner) and Queenstown (Mr C. Sonnemann). Pastor Spanuth was elected chairman.

A major issue on the agenda was the standing orders for the executive which had been passed in 1897. It appears that these orders had made provision for two modes of decision-making: either at the (normally) annual meeting, or by circular letter. A two-thirds majority was necessary to carry a decision. The 1900 synod meeting had changed this to an absolute majority and stipulated that the executive should only meet in person if necessary. A two-thirds majority was now needed if a previous decision was to be rescinded. The 1907 synod meeting added that in local matters the members of the executive residing in that particular circuit could take a decision. The amended standing orders were adopted on 8 January 1907 and subsequently printed in Hanover (copy in the church archives in Cape Town).

The new executive consisted of the following members: The Pastors Spanuth (chairman), Sprengel, Müller and Wagener, and Messrs Jungheinrich, Schultz and Mälzer.

The sixth synod meeting, Port Elizabeth 1909

The synod meeting of 1909 took place from 24 to 28 September in Port Elizabeth. Before this meeting Bloemfontein and Stutterheim had joined. Otherwise the same congregations as in 1907 were represented, except Bell and Bodiam. Present were: Cape Town (Pastors Wagener and Wieneke, Messrs Fehrs, Schäffer and Baethcke), Wynberg (Pastor Ludewig, Messrs Clausen and Rix), Wynberg Vlakte (Pastor Baumgarten, Messrs Schultz and Bokelmann), Paarl (Pastor Hahn and Mr Lamprecht), Worcester (Pastor Sprengel, Messrs Behm and Elske), Bloemfontein (Pastor Schneider and Dr Kellner), East London (Pastor Hafermann, Messrs Kurtz and Vesper), Kwelegha (Mr A. Schultz), King William's Town (Messrs Friedrichs and Schäfer), Queenstown (Mr Pohlmann), Berlin (Pastor Spanuth and Mr Kokot), Potsdam (Mr Johl), Macleantown (Mr Sprenger), Braunschweig (Mr Albrecht), Stutterheim (Pastor Fehsenfeld and Mr Gudmanz), Keiskammahoek (Pastor König and Mr Frauenstein), Emnqesha (Mr Haselau) and Port Elizabeth (Pastor Müller and Mr Mangold). Pastor Spanuth was elected chairman.

An important point on the agenda was the adoption of a uniform church and congregational order ("Kirchen- und Gemeindeordnung") for the whole synodal association. (A church order deals with matters like the confessional basis and orders of divine service and occasional services. A congregational order regulates the functions of the ministry, the church committee, annual general meetings and membership.)

Until 1909 each congregation had had its own order. A few examples: Cape Town (St Martini) had an order based on the church order of Calenberg. This order had also been taken to King William's Town by Clüver. For Stutterheim Kropf and Clüver had formulated a church order in collaboration with Parisius, based on the the order of Lüneburg=Öls. Other congregations had similar or more or less diverging orders. This situation of all congregations not having the same order was now to be rectified.

The proposal was drafted mainly by combining an order worked out by the pastors' conference in the Eastern Cape with a draft from St Martini, Cape Town. The draft from the pastors' conference was then deliberated by the circuit conferences. A late draft from King William's Town then also came in. A draft comparing the different proposals was finally published in the *Südafrikanisches Gemeindeblatt* of 28 May 1909. Two manuscript copies of the draft of the Eastern Cape pastors' conference East are amongst the papers in the church archives in King William's Town. From them it appears that the pastors had made extensive use of the church order of East London, published in 1896 as an appendix in the hymnal of St Andrews (the Bavarian hymnal with a special title page: *Gesangbuch der deutschen evangel.-lutherischen St Andreaskirche zu East London und Umgegend*).

The orders were finally printed in Hanover in 1910 with the following

title: *Ordnungen der deutschen evangelisch-lutherischen Gemeinden in Südafrika*. This booklet contained the church and congregational order (*Kirchen- und Gemeindeordnung*), the synodal order or constitution (*Synodal-Ordnung*) and the order for circuit conferences (*Ordnung für die Bezirkskonferenzen*).

Efforts towards the introduction of the same hymnal in all congregations moved a step forward by the adoption of a proposal from the Eastern Cape circuit conference that every congregation that introduced a new hymn book should introduce the Hanoverian hymn book.

A proposal by Pastor Sprengel that the Synod should move towards introducing an order for visitations was referred to the circuit conferences.

The new executive was: Pastors G.W. Wagener (chairman), Sprengel, and König and Messrs A. Schultz, Clausen, Mangold and Fehrs.

A proposal that representatives of the Berlin, Rhenish and Hermannsburg Missions be invited to synod meetings was also carried.

Agreement with the Berlin Mission Society

At the 1909 synod meeting interest was expressed in the idea of incorporating (German) Lutheran congregations in other parts of South Africa in the Synod. Pastor Schneider delivered a report on the state of affairs in the Lutheran Church in the Orange Free State. There were also proposals regarding closer co-operation with the congregations in Natal, an idea which had, apparently, been raised before. Furthermore, the Consistory in Hanover was to be requested to approach the mission authorities in Berlin in connection with possible membership of the Synod by the congregations in Transvaal that were served by Berlin missionaries.

These suggestions contradicted the gist of important correspondence which had started on 6 January 1909 and was still going on between the executive of the Synod and the Consistory in Hanover and the Berlin Mission Society. According to a copy of Berlin's letter of 25 November 1909 to Hanover (in the church archives in Cape Town) the Consistory had, in a letter dated 17 July 1909, requested an agreement about the "spheres of interest" of the Consistory and the Cape Synod on the one hand, and mission societies on the other hand. The Berlin Mission Society welcomed the executive's suggestion that the Synod would limit its activities to the German settlements in and around Cape Town, in the old Kaffraria, as well as in and around Port Elizabeth and in Bloemfontein. It also welcomed the fact that the executive had accepted the statement that congregations in other parts of South Africa could be linked with the Berlin Mission Society. The fact that Berlin had specifically mentioned New Germany, Emmaus, Kimberley and Beaconsfield in an earlier letter is explained by referring to the fact that Bloemfontein, which had been served by the Berlin Mission Superintendent Grosskopf, had now joined the Synod.

Finally Berlin, in the letter, agreed to the following ruling:

1. That Berlin missionaries who took charge of a congregation within the Synod should sever their association with Berlin and join the Synod.

2. That missionaries who were considering accepting a pastoral post within the Synod would be instructed to do this in accordance with the church and congregational order of the Synod.

The Mission Society would be free to serve people outside the precincts of the Synod and the best solution for congregations resulting from this ministry would be to enter into an association with Berlin.

The degree of involvement of the Synod executive in these negotiations is not clear. However, one cannot but gain the impression that, in essence, two church authorities in Germany agreed on a ruling for a situation in South Africa. It may also be noted that the fact that this agreement was later not always adhered to was to cause tension and the breaking away of congregations from the Synod.

The seventh synod meeting, Cape Town 1913

The next meeting of the synod took place in Cape Town from 5 to 8 January 1913. Meanwhile the congregations in Durban, Neu-Eisleben and Bellville had joined the Synod. The following congregations were represented: King William's Town (Pastor G. Wagener, Messrs K. Werner and K. Durow), Paarl (Pastor Hahn and Mr H. Lotze), Bloemfontein (Pastor Schneider and Dr Kellner), Durban (Pastor Schüler and Mr von Puttkammer), Stutterheim (Pastor Fehsenfeld and Mr Kaschuba), Frankfurt (Pastor Hövermann and Mr W. Grunwaldt), Braunschweig (Pastor Wieneke and Mr Carshagen), Emnqesha (Pastor J. Tongers and Mr A. Wrede), Keiskammahoek (Mr C. Kitzmann), Macleantown (Pastor Böker and Mr Sprenger), Potsdam (Mr Kink), Berlin (Pastor Böker and Mr M. Kokott), Kwelegha (Pastor Peters and Mr A.F.W. Schultz), East London (Pastor Hafermann, Messrs A. Kurtz and G. Grätz), Port Elizabeth (Pastor Riechers and Mr Kniep), Worcester (Pastor Sprengel and Mr T. Stoltz), Wynberg Vlakte (Pastor Baumgarten, Messrs E. Grothe and W. Rabe), Wynberg (Pastor Ludewig, Messrs F.R. Rix and F.R. Clausen), Neu-Eisleben (Pastor Ludewig and Mr A. Gläufke), Cape Town (Pastors G.W. Wagener and Fricke, Messrs H. Fehrs, C. Schmidt and Schäffer), Bellville (Mr F. Hencke) and Pastor E. Königk as member of the executive. - Bell and Bodiam and Queenstown were absent. Pastor G.W. Wagener was elected chairman.

Amongst the points on the agenda were the following: a discussion about the possible introduction of a common order of divine service; matters pertaining to schools; and the question of safeguarding the property of German congregations. Of these only the first one will be dealt with here.

The deliberations on a uniform order of divine service were preceded by an introductory paper by Pastor Hahn. He had earlier prepared a paper for

the Western Cape circuit conference in Wynberg on 3 January 1912. This paper, containing a detailed comparison between the orders used in the two circuits, had been published in the Synod's newsletter, now called *Deutscher Evangel. Volksbote für Südafrika*, of 7 May 1912. The Eastern Cape circuit conference meeting in East London on 24 and 25 June 1912 had also had this topic on its agenda. (Apart from the orders of divine service published by St Martini, Cape Town, in 1880 also other congregations had had their orders of divine service published, like for instance Stutterheim which published its *Liturgische Andachten der lutherischen St Pauls-Gemeinde zu Stutterheim* in 1897. Pastor W. Beste was the editor and the orders were printed in Berlin.)

From Pastor Hahn's comparison it appears that the orders in use in the two circuits in fact showed a high degree of similarity. In the end it was decided that the circuits should acknowledge one another's version. Furthermore a unification should be reached by correspondence between the circuits. The executive was empowered to adopt such an order and to have it printed. (The order was eventually printed in Hanover in 1922, after World War I, in a booklet titled: *Ordnung der Gottesdienste und heiligen Handlungen für die Deutsche evangelisch-lutherische Kirche in Südafrika*, also containing orders for baptism, confirmation, confession, marriage and funeral services.)

During the discussion of the minutes of the previous synod meeting the question was raised when Johannesburg and Pretoria could be expected to join. Pastor Wagener said this was, for the time being, most unlikely. He advised that the matter should be dealt with cautiously as the fact that Durban had associated itself with Hanover and joined the Synod had not been received favourably in Berlin. However, the Director of the Hermannsburg Mission in Natal and chairman of the Synod of German Lutheran congregations there (founded in 1911), Pastor Egmont Harms, was favourably disposed towards a unification of the two Synods.

In order to promote peaceful understanding ("friedliche Verständigung") between the Eastern and Western circuits of the Synod it was decided that in future at least three members of the executive should be residents of the Eastern circuit in a more narrow sense (the Border area or old Kaffraria, here referred to as "Kafferland").

The question of visitations was again raised and deferred. It was, however, decided that the pastors would discuss the matter on their conferences and possibly introduce a visitation of pastors only, for which the pastors would bear the costs.

The members of the executive were elected according to new guidelines: three from the Border area (Pastor Fehsenfeld and Messrs Kurtz and Schultz), three from the Western circuit (Pastors Wagener and Sprengel and Mr Fehrs) and one from the "middle group" ("Mittelgruppe"), namely Dr

Kellner from Bloemfontein. Pastor G.W. Wagener was again elected chairman.

A detailed report on the synod meeting was published in the *Deutscher Evangel. Volksbote für Südafrika* of 6 and 20 February 1913.

The German orphanage in Cape Town

An important development just before World War I was the opening of a German orphanage in Cape Town by Pastor Wagener and his wife Elisabeth. They were concerned about the German orphans who had to be referred to English orphanages. In order to keep these children within the sphere of influence of the German Lutheran Church, they started the "Elisabeth Wagener Heim" in Hatfield Street, Cape Town. Because the congregation did not have the funds to run such an institution, the Wagners used private funds inherited from their parents for this purpose. In 1913 a total of 15 children were taken into the care of the home, which was run by a Mr and Mrs Reinbach. In time to come many Lutheran congregations in the whole of South Africa eventually supported this home. In 1922, for example, the Cape Synod and the Hermannsburg Synod came to an agreement that the Hermannsburg congregations would hold collections for the orphanage and the Cape congregations for the Hermannsburg Mission.

In 1923 the home was amalgamated with an envisaged similar home, to be called "Schweizer Institut", and provided for in the will of Mr Friedrich Schweizer, who had died in 1922. The newly established board of trustees, in which the Synod was also represented, moved the home to the Cape Flats, near the school and church of Philippi. In 1929 the name was changed to "Schweizer Institut - Deutsches Waisenheim". In 1965 the home moved to a new building in Kenilworth and in 1971 the name was changed to "Friedrich Schweizer Kinderheim". It is still considered an important diaconic task of the present Cape Church and is continuing to work in the spirit of the founders in alleviating the plight of at least a number of unfortunate children, almost exclusively non-German nowadays.

3. THE FIRST WORLD WAR AND ITS AFTERMATH

The time of the First World War

During the First World War (as also later during the Second World War) no synod meetings were held. The war had a devastating effect on the congregations. Hostile attacks on German institutions and businesses intimidated the German communities to such an extent that even regular divine services were affected. Most of the pastors were detained in internment camps and schools had to battle for survival. Some schools did not survive the First World War. The *Volksbote* appeared for the last time on 22 September 1914. But also within the congregations animosity was sometimes rife between people of different political persuasions. The consequences of all this were detrimental to the Synod and its congregations.

A condensed report, based on the congregational reports on the years 1913 to 1919, edited by Pastor G. Böker of the Berlin congregation, sheds some light on the difficult circumstances under which the congregations had to function. The manuscript copy in the church archives in Cape Town contains some passages not included in the published version, *Berichte der Deutschen evang. luther. Synode Süd-Afrikas*. The following brief survey is based on the manuscript and the published report.

The detained pastors were: Schneider, Bloemfontein (40 months), Fricke, East London (6 months), Fehsenfeld, Stutterheim (more than 2 years), Baumgarten, Wynberg Vlake (9 months), Sprengel, Worcester (more than 4 years) and G. Wagener, Wynberg (5 years, first in a camp and later banned from Wynberg). Pastors G.W. Wagener and Lienhop (Cape Town) and Riechers (Port Elizabeth) were first detained and later repatriated to Germany. Pastor Ludwig (Wynberg) returned to Germany in 1914 and was at sea when the war broke out. Pastors Schüler (Durban) and Hövermann (Port Elizabeth) were repatriated after the war. Pastor Tongers (Keiskammahoek) was in Germany when the war broke out and did not return. Pastors Peters (Kwelegga), Fricke (East London), Fehsenfeld (Stutterheim), Böker (Berlin), Hövermann (Port Elizabeth) and Schreiber (Braunschweig) were not allowed to leave their districts and even house visiting was sometimes made difficult for them.

The work in the congregations was continued as effectively as possible by the remaining pastors and, especially, by missionaries in their area. In Cape Town Pastor emeritus Dr J.M. Zahn and Pastor G. Wagener (Wynberg, until 1914 King William's Town) deputised, in Durban Pastor Eichbauer (Berlin Mission, Christianenburg), in Keiskammahoek Pastors Markötter (Berlin

Mission, Stutterheim) and Fehsenfeld (Stutterheim), in Frankfurt and Emnqesha Pastor Schreiber (Braunschweig), in Bloemfontein Pastor Arndt (Berlin Mission) and in Worcester Pastors Eich and Hartwig (Rhenish Mission).

But it was the detained pastors' wives who had to bear the brunt, in more than one sense of the expression. Apart from the fact that this time was extremely taxing on them, emotionally speaking, they were often financially in dire straits. But they were marvellously assisted by congregants. In their turn the pastors' wives held Sunday school and confirmation classes, attended to diaconic tasks and took the lead in the "Frauneverein" (women's auxiliary), gave religious and German instruction and were, in some cases, also the moral pillar of strength in their intimidated and frightened congregations. Congregations that did not survive the turbulent times of the war were Durban, Port Elizabeth, Bell and Bodiam, and Butterworth.

Of the schools Cape Town, Wynberg Vlakte (= Philippi), Paarl and Bloemfontein survived the war. King William's Town and Worcester had to be given up after tenacious efforts to save them. On the platteland Frankfurt, Braunschweig, Emnqesha, and Potsdam managed to retain additional instruction in German in the public schools.

Another consequence of the war was the fact that the congregations lost many members. Some moved away and others were detained and repatriated. In the trying atmosphere of intimidation many members of the younger generation, especially in the towns, found it difficult to remain faithful to the German language and culture. It seems a pity, although understandable in the light of the experiences of wartime, that the church did not try to minister to these people (even only partly) in English or Afrikaans after the war. Consequently many of them were eventually lost to the Lutheran Church. (In all fairness it must be said that there was an awareness of this problem, as indicated by a resolution of the 1922 synod meeting.)

An aspect not included in the published report is the fact that quite a number of young people actually joined the armed forces against Germany, some voluntarily and some under coercion. Others resisted coercion under difficult circumstances. In one congregation the war situation also resulted in estrangement between pastor and congregation. These occurrences are indicative of the fact that not all members of the congregations (some of whom were third generation South Africans) held the same view about the political and war situation. Again, it seems a pity that some of these people had to be lost by the Lutheran Church as a result of its virtually exclusively German image and practice.

The years after the First World War

The years after the war were a difficult time of new beginning and of consolidation. The minutes of the synod meetings of 1922 (East London), 1926

(Cape Town), 1929 (King William's Town), 1933 (Cape Town) and 1936 (East London) reflect consolidation and steady growth, both spiritually and institutionally, but also dissent and separation. And again, in the thirties, political developments in Germany and in South Africa cast their shadows over the Synod and its congregations. This is neither the time nor the place to investigate the complicated web of ideas and ideologies that was brought to bear on the congregations. Finally, the outbreak of the Second World War struck the congregations with an impact that was, in some respects, even more severe than that of the First World War.

4. THE SYNOD BETWEEN THE WARS, 1922-1936

The eighth synod meeting, East London 1922

The first synod meeting after the war took place from 25 to 28 June 1922 in East London. Meanwhile a small congregation in Greenlands (later Groenvlei) in the Orange Free State had joined the Synod. The congregations represented at the meeting were: Cape Town (Pastor von Probst, Messrs G.H. Schäffer and M. Baethke), Wynberg (Pastor G. Wagener, Messrs E. Klein and F. Clausen), Neu-Eisleben (Mr W. Meier), Wynberg-Vlakte (Pastor H. Mahnke, Messrs W. Buhr and A. Meldau), Paarl (Pastor F. Lührs and A. Bohlmann), Worcester (Pastor E. Sprengel and Mr A. Behm), King William's Town (Pastor A. Hoppe, Messrs H. Tessedorf and F. Schönknecht), Braunschweig (Pastor F. Schreiber and Mr I.W. Höft), Berlin (Pastor G. Böker and Mr C. Kietzmann), Macleantown (Mr E. Sprenger), Potsdam (Mr W. Hein), Keiskammahoeck (Pastor F. Bölsing and Mr A. Köpke), Emnqesha (Mr W. Haselau), Frankfurt (Mr J. Schulz), Stutterheim (Pastor J. Fehsenfeld and Mr A. Paetzold), Bloemfontein (Pastor F. Tielking), Greenlands (Mr W. Piater), East London (Pastor E. Fricke, Messrs G. Grätz and M. Koch) and Kwelegha (Pastor O. Peters and Mr W. Schultz). Guests present were Pastor J. von Zwiétring (Kroondal) of the Hermannsburg Synod, German Consul General Haug (Pretoria) and Pastor Nauhaus of the Berlin Mission, Bethel (Stutterheim). Also present were Messrs A. Kurtz and A. Schultz, members of the executive who were not delegates at the same time. Pastor Fehsenfeld was elected chairman.

The situation of the German schools was a major topic and the deliberations on this subject went on for three sessions (evening, morning and afternoon).

A noteworthy point is that a list of monthly collections was to be asked from the congregations, of which seven were earmarked for purposes in Europe, namely: The "Stephanstift" in Hanover, Germans in Poland, famine-stricken people in Germany, the "Kalandshof" (a charitable institution near Rotenburg), the Bethel institutions near Bielefeld, the "Pfeifersche Krüppelanstalten" (homes for the crippled), the Volga Germans, the Consistory in Hanover and the "evangelische Anstalten" in Wittenberg. (The other three collections were intended for the mission to seamen, the orphanage in Cape Town and the treasury of the Synod.) It seems doubtful whether all the congregations were able to hold all these collections. But the resolution is an indication of eagerness to send help to post-war Germans in Europe. There was, in fact, a lot of activity in the congregations for relief work

in Germany. A similar list of collections was passed at the next synod meeting in 1926.

The legal status of the Synod was addressed and the executive was instructed to take the necessary steps for the Synod to become a body corporate.

As a result of the inflation in Germany the retired pastors and widows who received pensions from Germany were particularly badly off. The meeting instructed the executive to investigate a possible pension fund or life insurance policies for pastors and widows.

Three issues come up in the minutes that were to occupy future synod meetings again and again, namely the question of greater unity between Lutheran Churches in South Africa, the "language issue" and the recruiting of indigenous pastors from the ranks of the congregations.

In his word of greetings to the meeting the Berlin missionary Carl Nauhaus from Bethel (Stutterheim) alluded to the unity between black and white Lutherans. He can only have meant unity in the spiritual sense and in the sense that in many instances the binding factor had been and still was the missionary and the Mission Society. Institutionalized unity between the Lutherans of the two lines of development referred to in the introduction (i.e. the mission line and the immigrant line) did, of course, not exist. As was stated in the introduction, this problem (a legacy virtually thrust upon the South African Lutherans from outside) still awaits a satisfactory solution.

The representative of the German Lutheran Hermannsburg Synod, Pastor von Zwierring, expressed his views about possible fields of co-operation between his Synod and the Cape Synod. The questions of intercommunion and possible unification between the two Synods, he explained, were at the moment not easily answered as his Synod and the Free Lutheran Synod were engaged in negotiations on unification.

The following two significant resolutions with regard to the ministry were passed: 1. The Consistory in Hanover should be asked to see to it that pastors sent to South Africa, learn English and Afrikaans. 2. Young men should be recruited in the congregations for theological studies in Germany. The Consistory should be requested to support such students in every possible way.

These two resolutions indicate that the meeting was aware of the need for the use of English and Afrikaans in the ministry, as well as the need for recruiting pastors from their own ranks. However, it seems that little came of these resolutions over the next two to three decades. But the problems addressed were to recur constantly at future synod meetings.

The plight of post-war Germany also appears in the minutes with reference to the occupied territories Alsace and Lorraine. A definite racist undercurrent was the reason for this. An exchange of telegrams with the Prime Minister (General J.C. Smuts) seems to have preceded this. Now it was decided to send a telegram to the Prime Minister about the "shame along the Rhine" ("die Schmach am Rhein"). In this telegram, the text of which is

given in the minutes in full, the meeting "emphatically protest[s] against the occupation of German territory by coloured and black troops and their well-proved horrible crimes against white women". The Prime Minister is earnestly asked to kindly continue to use his best endeavours for the withdrawal of these troops from occupied territory in Germany.

The following executive was elected: Pastors Sprengel, von Probst, Lührs and Böker and Messrs Kurtz, Koch and Kietzmann. The election of a chairman of the executive was not minuted. (Pastor Sprengel was, in fact elected.)

The ninth synod meeting, Cape Town 1926

The synod meeting of 1926 took place in Cape Town on 6 to 10 January 1926. Apart from a small congregation in Reitz in the Orange Free State which appears for the first time, the same congregations as in 1922 are listed in the minutes.

It should be noted here that it is not clear whether all "congregations" ("Gemeinden") mentioned were in fact constituted congregations in a legal sense, e.g. Reitz in 1926. In later years, especially in the Cape Church from 1961 onwards, there is no doubt about this. (From a theological point of view they all were, of course, congregations.)

The following persons were present at the 1926 synod meeting: Cape Town (Pastor F. von Probst, Messrs M. Kumleben and W. Dreyer), Bellville (Mr H. Schäffer), Wynberg (Pastor G. Wagener, Messrs F. Clausen and R. Bombal), Stutterheim (Pastor Schrader, Messrs F. Brandt and F. Müller), Neu-Eisleben (Mr W. Meyer), Wynberg Vlakte (Pastor H. Mahnke, Messrs W. Schultz and W. Rabe), Paarl (Pastor F. Lührs and Mr A. Bohlmann), Worcester (Pastor E. Sprengel and Mr A. Behm), East London (Pastor L. Janssen, Messrs H. Bode and R. Ross), Kwelegha (Pastor D. Juhle and Mr W. Schultz), King William's Town (Pastor A. Hoppe, Messrs A. Wrede and A. Egelhof), Braunschweig (Mr F. Tessendorf), Berlin (Pastor O. von Lintig and Mr O. Karshagen), Potsdam (Mr A. Kretzmann), Macleantown (Mr C. Bürger), Frankfurt (Mr E. Bahlmann), Keiskammahoek (Pastor F. Bölsing and Mr A. Köpke), Emnqesha (Mr O. Haselau), Bloemfontein (Pastor F. Tielking and Mr C. Schmidt), Groenvlei (Mr W. Krause) and Reitz (Mr A. Carshagen). Pastor E. Sprengel was elected chairman of the meeting. Also present, as members of the executive, were Messrs A. Kietzmann, M. Koch and A. Kurtz.

The guests were: The German Consul General A. Haug, Pastors J. Kistner (Hermannsburg), J. Herrmann (Johannesburg), W. Ebers (Windhoek) and A. Hochstrate (Lüderitzbucht), as well as the Berlin Mission Superintendents E. Schweltnus (Pretoria) and G. Pakendorf (Pietermaritzburg).

The rather long agenda was printed on the printing press of Pastor

Sprenkel in Worcester, as many other documents of synod meetings and the executive were for quite some time. Pastor Sprenkel seems to have enjoyed this hobby of his. He even printed a booklet of 94 pages for the questioning of confirmands (*Konfirmanden-Prüfung. Ein Hilfsbüchlein...*) in 1923.

Apart from the usual reports, two papers were read, the one by Pastor von Probst on the situation of the Church in Germany, and the other by Pastor Lührs on the joining together ("Zusammenschluss") of the German Lutheran Synods in South Africa. Following on his paper he proposed that the Synod join a "German Federation of Churches in South and South West Africa" ("Deutscher Kirchenbund Süd- und Südwestafrika" [sic]). A constitution for this proposed federation had been drafted in consultation between interested parties and had been finalized the previous day. The proposal was unanimously adopted.

Eventually the Synods of Transvaal and South West Africa also joined. The date usually given as the founding date of the "Kirchenbund" is 8 January 1926, the day on which the Cape Synod adopted the constitution and decided to join. The other two member Synods were the German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Transvaal (founded on 18 March 1926) and the German Evangelical Synod of South West Africa (founded on 1 October 1926).

In its constitution the federation, among other things, set itself the task of strengthening the bond between German church bodies in Southern Africa. One of the first tangible results was the monthly church magazine *Heimat*, which first appeared in Windhoek in January 1927. The annual publication *Afrikanischer Heimatkalender* was also published in Windhoek under the auspices of the "Kirchenbund" from 1930.

The constitution further recognizes the full independence of the member Synods with regard to confessional basis, constitution and administration. This confessional indifference was the main reason why the Hermannsburg Synod and the Free Evangelical Lutheran Synod did not join. The constitution was later amended in some respects, but the confessional basis remained vague. The emphasis quite clearly lay on the German element, obviously on a general Protestant ("evangelisch") basis.

The "Kirchenbund" was eventually rendered redundant by the United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa, founded in 1964. However, it continued to exist, among other things, as the publisher of the monthly church magazine *Heimat* and the yearbook *Afrikanischer Heimatkalender*, until it was finally dissolved in 1980. It should be borne in mind, and appreciated, that this first attempt towards greater church unity amongst the Lutheran Churches of German origin in Southern Africa was a useful exercise and brought people from the different regions together. This acquaintance was strengthened in the internment camps during the Second World War and was, finally, a strong contributing factor to the eventual formation of the United Church in 1964.

The situation of the Lutheran Church in Hanover had changed dramatically as a result of the consequences of the war. As the (Prussian) king had abdicated, there could be no Royal Consistory any more. The "episcopal" (church authority) functions of the king had to be taken over by someone else. Eventually the office of bishop ("Landesbischof") was created and the Consistory was turned into a regional church authority ("Landeskirchenamt"). The synod meeting sent its greetings to this new authority and expressed the wish that the relationship with the former Consistory should be continued in the same way with the "Landeskirchenamt". The constitution and other documents would be amended accordingly.

In a proposal from Cape Town it was suggested that the chairman of the executive should be given the title of "Superintendent" in order to strengthen him in his office. During the discussion the title of "Senior" was also mentioned, but the proposal was eventually withdrawn.

The constitution was amended to the effect that the Synod could now become a body corporate. In another resolution the number of the members of the executive was increased from seven to nine, with the proviso that at least four should be pastors and at least four laymen. The question of visitations was again discussed and the executive was instructed to present a draft order for visitations to the next synod meeting.

The meeting decided to accept responsibility for pension insurance for the aged and for widows ("Alters- und Witwenversicherung") and elected a committee for this purpose.

The new executive consisted of the Pastors Hoppe (Chairman), Sprengel, Lührs, Schrader and Bölsing and Messrs Dreyer, Baumgarten, Kurtz and Kietzmann. (Mr Baumgarten was not a member of the synod, but the constitution provided for a member of a congregation, although not being a member of synod, to be elected a member of the executive.)

The tenth synod meeting, King William's Town 1929

The synod meeting of 1929 took place from 30 June to 4 July in King William's Town. The roll call list reads as follows: Cape Town (Pastor Hoberg, Messrs G.A. Schäffer and C. Schmidt), Bellville (Mr Mälzer), Brakfontein-Kwelegha (Pastor Juhle and Mr F. Horrmann), Berlin (Pastor von Lintig and Mr F. Grätz), Macleantown (Mr R. Hill), Potsdam (Mr T. Johl), Wynberg (Messrs R. Bombal and F. Setzkorn), Wynberg-Vlakte (Pastor Mahnke, Messrs C. Höne and Rabe), Bloemfontein (Pastor Moritz), Groenvlei (Mr H. Brüssow), King William's Town (Pastor Rannenber, Messrs C.W. Sonemann and W. Kobbe), Keikammahoek (Pastor Schanz and Mr A. Köpke), Emnqesha (Mr W. Völker), Worcester (Pastor Sprengel and Mr A. Behm), Stutterheim (Pastor Schrader, Messrs B. Rau and W. Schlotter), Frankfurt (Pastor Schwär and Mr H. Rudolph), Braunschweig

(Mr F. Becker), East London (Messrs H. Bode, G. Grätz and R. Ross), Neu-Eisleben (Mr F. Görgens) and Paarl (Mr A. Bohlmann). Pastor Sprengel was elected chairman.

The question of visitations, a matter not solved yet, came up again at this meeting through a paper by Pastor Rannenberg on proposals for an order for visitations. As an interim measure it was eventually decided that the chairmen of the two circuits should visit each congregation in their respective circuit once during the next three years. However, the necessary guidelines for a visitation did not yet exist. Consequently the executive was instructed to draft such guidelines in consultation with Pastor Rannenberg. (From the 1936 minutes it appears that the executive had, in fact, drafted an order for visitations in 1930. This draft was tabled at the 1933 synod meeting but it was, by mistake, not put to the vote. No copy of the draft could be traced. See also the 1936 minutes.)

The discussion of the question whether women should be given the vote in congregations and whether they should be eligible for election into an office was introduced by Pastor Sprengel who pointed out that, according to paragraph 4,1 of the congregational order ("Gemeindeordnung") it was, in principle, possible to grant women this right. But then the question came up whether they should be counted as members when fixing the number of delegates of the congregation to synod. The minutes are very interesting to read! Eventually, a solution was found and the resolution adopted, with one dissenting vote and one abstention, that the relevant paragraph of the congregational order be augmented in such a way as to provide for the respective rights to women. Some congregations, like Cape Town, had already done so in practice. It seems that the decision was to be left to the individual congregation. However, a proposal to amend the constitution in such a way as to provide for the number of delegates to be based on the number of "souls" instead of voting members of a congregation was to be tabled at the next synod meeting. (It could be mentioned, in passing, that in the political field white women in South Africa were given the vote in 1930).

The language issue was discussed at length. One delegate who pleaded for the introduction of English as second language in the Church, said the Lutheran Church was being depopulated ("entvölkert") by the German language. On the other hand many speakers pleaded for a concerted effort to preserve and maintain the German language by supporting the German schools. Praeses Bodenstern of the Hermannsburg Synod said that the situation in Natal was also serious. But, he added, if the national character was lost then the character of the Church would also be lost ("fällt der Volkscharakter, so fällt auch der Kirchencharakter").

It is remarkable how clearly the essence of the whole issue is reflected in this discussion. The problem was caused by the fact that many second and third generation South Africans did not find it necessary, or were perhaps unable, to maintain the German language and culture. Moreover, it

should be borne in mind that many Lutherans in the Eastern and Western Cape had, in fact, Low German ("Plattdeutsch") as their mother tongue. In the Eastern Cape some people who had come from parts of Eastern Germany even spoke Sorbian (or "Wendisch") at home. To all these people High German was the language of the church and the school (if they had attended a school where German was taught). English, Xhosa and Afrikaans were the languages of their everyday life. In the final analysis the question was whether the Lutheran Church could only survive by clinging to and nurturing German language and culture or, as the delegate put it, whether the Lutheran church was, in fact, being depopulated by the German language.

The different orders of the Synod and its constitution had, since 1910, been amended several times. The meeting now decided that an updated version was to be printed. This happened in 1930 when the revised orders were printed in Hanover with the title *Revidierte Ordnungen der deutschen evangelisch-lutherischen Gemeinden in Südafrika*. As the title of the 1910 edition, this title also refers to congregations and not to the Synod. This indicates the overriding perception that the congregations fell within the wider ambit of the Lutheran Church of Hanover and were, for practical purposes, bound together in the Synod.

The following executive was elected in 1929: the Pastors Sprengel, Mahnke, Schrader, Juhle and von Lintig, and Messrs A. Bohlmann, J. Baumgarten, H. Bode and A. Wrede. Pastor Schrader was elected chairman of the executive.

The eleventh meeting of the synod, Cape Town 1933

The eleventh synod meeting was held from 2 to 6 January 1933 in Cape Town. The following congregations were represented, again in the order of the minutes: Stutterheim (Pastor Schrader, Messrs A. Klokow and A. Tessendorf), Keiskammahoek (Pastor Schanz and Mr A. Köpke), Emnqesha (Mr L. Peter), King William's Town (Pastor Cyrus, Messrs C.W. Sonemann and A. Egelhof), Braunschweig (Mr F. Tessendorf), Frankfurt (Pastor Schwär and Mr F. Schultz), Berlin (Pastor Dellmann and Mr F. Grätz), Potsdam (Mr J. Tessendorf), Macleantown (Mr A. Becker), East London (Pastor Bölsing, Messrs R. Ross, G. Grätz and H. Bode), Kwelegha (Pastor Kelber and Mr F. Grieb), Port Elizabeth (Mr F. Schlinkmann), Paarl (Pastor Johl and Mr C. Bohlmann), Worcester (Pastor Sprengel and Mr E. Gorr), Cape Town (Pastor Hoberg, Messrs Kalb, Schmidt and Vöge), Bellville (Mr Mälzer), Wynberg (Pastor Fitschen, Messrs E.A. Klein and J. Ellmann), Vlakte (Pastor Mahnke, Messrs W. Rabe and E. Bode), Bloemfontein (Pastor Moritz and Mr W. Westphal), Groenvlei (Mr Piater) and Neu-Eisleben (Mr W. Ellmann). Also present were two members of the executive who were not, at the same time,

delegates, namely Messrs Baumgarten (Cape Town) and Wrede (King William's Town), as well as the congregational helper ("Gemeindehelfer") Hopstock from Cape Town who was granted the right to vote. There were also a number of guests. Pastor Schrader was elected chairman.

The language issue again features in the minutes. In a reference to the relationship of the Synod with other churches Pastor Schrader mentioned correspondence with the president of the Lutheran Church in Australia, but added that the fostering of such a relationship did not really make sense as that Church was totally anglicised ("gänzlich verengländert"). A guest at the synod meeting, a Mr Schroeder, teacher in Philippi (Vlakte), read a paper on youth work. In the ensuing discussion the importance of German schools was stressed, with the remark that the German language could be brought back into the families by the schools through the children.

Praeses Bodenstern of the Hermannsburg Synod made the significant observation that the youth in the congregations in South Africa ("die afrikanische Jugend") was, apart from its admiration for everything that came from Germany, also characterized by a silent and unexpressed distrust. Many ideas were voiced with regard to the possible furtherance of German youth work. The "Singbewegung" (a movement which promoted singing) in Germany also featured. It was reported that "singing weeks" ("Singwochen") held by a Mr Stache, who had visited many congregations in South Africa and South West Africa, had been a great success.

A very illuminating discussion ensued from a proposal by the Eastern Cape circuit conference, demanding an examination of children's command of the German language before their admission to confirmation instruction. One tends to have sympathy with the real predicament in which pastors found themselves when they had to teach children who didn't understand, or only partially understood (or even misunderstood) what they were saying. Pastor Fitschen, for example, was very much against such a ruling as children would then be punished for the neglect ("Versäumnis") of their parents. He felt that the matter should be left in the hands of the local pastors. Pastor Dellmann, who was strongly in favour of such an examination, said it would be a strong incentive for the parents at last ("endlich einmal") to make use of all the possibilities not yet tried to retain the German identity of their children ("ihre Kinder beim Deutschtum zu erhalten"). The minuting secretary, Pastor Cyrus, later added "Deutsches Luthertum" (German Lutheranism) in the margin, yet another indication of the tormenting conflict in which the people found themselves. What was to happen with children who did not pass such a proposed examination was not mentioned.

The matter was tabled again the next day when a long and heated debate was held in which, for the first time, speakers were limited to three minutes. A proposal that everything should be left as it was, was finally carried by 25 against 10 votes with one abstention. The voting was done by roll-call and the names minuted!

A proposal from the Circuit Conference East that the designation "Praeses" be introduced for the chairman of the executive sparked off another long and heated debate. Suffice it to say that, in the end, a very much watered-down amendment was carried which only said that the establishment of the office of a "Praeses" seemed necessary for the further development of the Synod.

For the first time reports on visitations held were tabled by Pastors Schrader and Sprengel. The order for visitations drafted by the executive in 1930 was a point on the agenda. It was discussed at length but, after having been deferred, voting on it was eventually forgotten.

The new executive consisted of the Pastors Schanz (Chairman), Sprengel, Fitschen, Dellmann and Moritz, as well as Messrs Schmidt, Bode, Baumgarten and Wrede.

The twelfth meeting of the synod, East London 1936

The twelfth meeting of the synod, the last one before World War II, took place in East London from 24 to 29 June 1936. The following pastors attended: Bölsing, Cyrus, Fitschen, Hoberg, Kelber, Lückhoff, Mahnke, Schanz, Schwär, Sprengel and von Delft. The delegates from the congregations were, as minuted: Bellville (G. Köhler), Berlin (W. Reese), Bloemfontein (H. Kuschke), Braunschweig (W. Tessendorf), East London (H. Bode, E. Feit, F. Kretschmer), Emnqesha (L. Peter), Frankfurt (K. Karshagen), Groenvlei (K. Schultz), Cape Town (M. Henke, G.H. Schäffer), Keiskammahoek (A. Köpke), King William's Town (W. Grütter, C.W. Sonemann), Kwelegha (H. Schwarz), Macleantown (J. Burmeister), Neu-Eisleben (F. Görgens), Paarl (G. Voigt), Port Elizabeth (H. Wintermeyer), Stutterheim (M. Johl, C. Kietzmann), Vlakte (L. Schultz, M. Heins), Worcester (E. Gorr) and Wynberg (F. Wagner, T. Johl). Pastor Schanz was elected chairman.

Following on the report of the chairman of the executive a commission was appointed to investigate the documents relating to the withdrawal of the Potsdam congregation and parts of the Macleantown and Berlin congregations from the association. The commission later reported that it had not had enough time to hear all witnesses. It appears that after Pastor Dellmann's departure from Berlin to Port Elizabeth in 1934 (he had served the parish Berlin-Potsdam-Macleantown) the Potsdam congregation and members of Berlin and Macleantown had left the Cape Synod and were now being served by the Berlin missionary F. Nickschtat from Bethel (Stutterheim). (From 1937 onwards they were served by another Berlin missionary, Pastor F. Serapins. In 1939 they formally constituted a "Congregational Union" ["Gemeindeverband"] and placed themselves under the control and direction of the Berlin Mission Society. They later

rejoined the Synod with Pastor Serapins who subsequently served as a member of the Church Council of the Cape Church for many years.)

The "Landeskirchenamt" in Hanover had protested in Berlin against this interference. Whether this whole unpleasant affair had political undercurrents, or whether it was the old Hanover-Berlin problem that was surfacing again (in spite of the agreement of 1909), or whether even notions within the congregations that they could be served more cheaply by a missionary played a role, is difficult to say. Probably all three of them had an influence. (More information about further developments can be found in the chronologies of the congregations.)

After the report on visitations held by the chairman of the executive (Pastor Schanz), amendments to the order for visitations which appeared on the agenda were tabled. It then became apparent that the order had, in fact, not been adopted in 1930. A proposal was then made that the order, including amendments made in 1933, be adopted. This proposal was not carried, as it did not get a two-thirds majority. (It seems odd that the two-thirds majority clause in the constitution was applied as it only refers to amendments of the constitution.) The use of the provisional order was, therefore, to be continued. (This appears to be the order for visitations of July 1937 which Pastor E. Sprengel printed on his printing press in 1937, and a copy of which is in the church archives in Cape Town. This order was used until 1964 when the Church Council of the Cape Church amended it to suit the new situation. It was then referred to the constitutional committee for further attention. A new order for visitations was ultimately adopted by the 1967 synod meeting which left the final editing to the Church Council.)

Interestingly enough, the proposed amendments to the order were subsequently dealt with. Innocent as they may have looked on paper, they sparked off a heated debate. The orders of the synodal association did not contain a commitment by a pastor, before joining the Synod, that he would abide by the confessions, or symbols ("Bekennnisschriften"), of the Lutheran church. After a long discussion an amendment by Pastor Cyrus was carried which is virtually identical with Article 12.2 of the present constitution of the Cape Church. After Holy Scripture all the symbols of the Lutheran church were named: The Apostolic, the Nicene and the Athanasian Creeds, the Unaltered Augsburg Confession and its Apology, the two Catechisms of Dr Martin Luther, the Smalcald Articles and the Formula of Concord.

In the discussion of the further wording of the commitment the passage "and that I shall abstain from all political activities" ("und mich jeder politischen Betätigung enthalten werde"), widely diverging opinions were voiced. With regard to the question whether a pastor could belong to a political party the opinion was expressed that a pastor could well be a member of a political party without being politically active. At this point the National Socialist German Labour Party ("National-Sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei", the "NSDAP") was mentioned for the first time when a distinguished guest

maintained that the NSDAP was not a political party because it embraced the whole (German) nation.

The whole debate with its dramatic moments cannot be related here. Finally, the adopted passage about political activities read: "... and that I shall abstain from all party political activities" ("... und mich jeder parteipolitischen Betätigung enthalten will"). It seems that the fact that a pastor cannot be expected to be an apolitical entity, was duly acknowledged. Only party political activities were barred. However, sentiments among pastors agreeing with the remark of the guest at the synod meeting that the NSDAP was not a political party, were to result in bitter quarrels and dispute in some congregations in the years to come. This whole matter will, however, not be dealt with here.

In the debate some reference was also made to the Lutheran Church of Hanover and possible implications for this Church and, consequently, the Cape Synod, of political developments in Germany. For the purposes of this publication it is enough to say that the Hanoverian Church and its Bishop A. Marahrens did not succumb to being swallowed by the "Imperial Church" ("Reichskirche") of the so-called "German Christians" ("Deutsche Christen") and remained "intact". Also, according to Praeses von Delft in his *book Kirchbau am Kap*, no pastor of the Cape Synod joined the "Deutsche Christen". Nevertheless, it seems sad (if not improper) that, through the circumstances, so many of the church and political problems in Germany were brought to bear on congregations whose ancestors had left Germany almost 80 years before.

The newly elected executive consisted of the Pastors Schwär, Sprengel, Lückhoff, Mahnke and Fitschen and Messrs H. Kuschke, T. Johl, G.H.Schäffer and A Köpke. Pastor Fitschen was elected chairman.

The time of the Second World War

No further synod meeting was held before the Second World War or during the war, although a synod meeting had been scheduled for January 1940 in Cape Town. The next meeting only took place in 1947. As already stated, World War II struck the congregations with an impact that was, in some respects, even more severe than that of the First World War, especially in the Eastern Cape. The political frontiers, also in the congregations, were much more pronounced and much harder. But the dark clouds were already noticeable before the war.

On the one hand, with more or less direct influence from Germany, the German language and traditions were cultivated on a large scale with an enthusiasm that can only be admired. On the other hand, the language issue, although it had practically not featured at the synod meeting in 1936 (apart from calls to treasure and preserve the German heritage), was a thorny issue in most con-

gregations. A great number of members had practically lost their command of the German language. But were they to leave the Lutheran church for that reason? The pastors dealt with the problem, each in his own way and according to his convictions. From a distance of more than fifty years later it seems that far too little was done in this respect. It must, however, also be said that it was quite often the resistance of people in the congregations (who sometimes could not speak proper German themselves any more) and not the particular pastor's sentiments that set the tune.

Pastor Schanz of Keiskammahoek returned to Germany in 1938. In 1939 the congregation left the Synod and was served by a Berlin missionary, Pastor G.A. Pakendorf of Bethel (Stutterheim). (The congregation eventually returned to the Synod in 1948.) In Stutterheim the situation led to a particularly bad clash when the greater part of the congregation left the Synod in 1940 and were also served by Pastor Pakendorf.

Bloemfontein and Pastor Lückhoff severed their links with one another in 1940 and Bloemfontein was well served by Berlin missionaries until 1946. Pastor Lückhoff continued serving the small congregation of Groenvlei until after the war when Groenvlei again was served from Bloemfontein.

Again, as during World War I, some pastors were removed from their congregations and detained in internment camps. The Eastern Cape was particularly badly hit. The following pastors were detained for a longer or shorter period: Plüddemann (East London), Schwär (Frankfurt), von Delft (Stutterheim), Hoberg (Cape Town, until March 1940) and Kelber (Kwelegha). The latter was repatriated in 1944. Pastor Serapins of the break-away parish of Berlin-Potsdam-Macleantown was also detained. Members of congregations, amongst them church committee members, were also detained. The wives of Pastors von Delft, Kelber and Schwär and, except in the latter case, all their children were in Germany when the war broke out.

The congregations were served, sometimes in an admirable but make-shift way, by the few pastors left in the circuits, and by lay readers. As during the First World War, the pastors' wives played an invaluable role in keeping the congregations afloat. In the Eastern Cape Pastor Plüddemann of East London was, for some time, the only pastor of the Synod left, until he was also detained in 1940. The South African born Pastor E. Fitschen of Wynberg and chairman of the executive travelled thousands of miles by train to baptize, hold Communion services and, if possible, occasional services, to attend to congregational matters and to support and strengthen the orphaned congregations. He visited the Eastern Cape every three months. Looking at the enormous task he set himself, it seems almost incredible that one man could have had the tenacity to do what he did.

When the war was over and the congregations and pastors began to repair the damage done by those dark years, the work of the Synod also had to be taken up again. The remaining members of the executive did what they could to build up the communication within the Synod and the first synod meeting after the war was convened in Cape Town in 1947.

The thirteenth meeting of the synod, Cape Town 1947

The first meeting of the synod after the Second World War took place in Cape Town from 5 to 8 January 1947, ten and a half years after the previous meeting.

The following pastors were present: E. Fitschen (Wynberg), H. Hendrich (Worcester), F. Hoberg (Cape Town), H. Johl (Kwelegha), F. Kuhlmann (Paarl), H. Mahnke (Wynberg Vlakte), H. Plüddemann (East London) and H. von Delft (Bloemfontein). The following congregations were represented: Bloemfontein (no name mentioned), East London (G. Grätz and H. Schwartz), Cape Town (P. Andrag, E. Ammermann and E. Austermühle). Bellville (F. Henke), Kwelegha (F.W. Grieb), Paarl (J. Setzkorn), Stutterheim (A.C. Tessendorf), Worcester (G. Beukes), Wynberg (F. Wegner, T. Johl), Neu-Eisleben (F. Görgens) and Wynberg-Vlakte (H. Heins, W. Rabe). Pastor Fitschen was elected chairman and Pastor Plüddemann vice-chairman.

The discussion of the occurrences in Stutterheim in 1940 took one whole afternoon. The synod meeting finally decided to declare illegal the congregational meeting on which the resignation from the Synod was decided. Later it was reported that the congregations King William's Town and Emnqesha which had been served since 1946 by Pastor H. Bahr, a Berlin missionary, had decided to leave the Synod and seek association with the Berlin Mission. The meeting received this news with regret and decided to ask the "Landeskirchenamt" in Hanover to request a clarification from Berlin as to the agreement of 1909 which stated that a missionary who took charge of a congregation within the Synod should sever his association with Berlin and join the Synod. The problems in Groenvlei were also discussed.

A paper by Pastor Plüddemann on "Mixed marriages and the language issue" ("Mischehen und Sprachenfrage") triggered off a long discussion. (The term "mixed marriages" referred to marriages between Germans and non-Germans.) Pastor Plüddemann gave a profound analysis of the situation and its problems. In conclusion he asked which way the Synod should go: should we introduce the official languages in our congregations in order to preserve and build the Lutheran Church, or should we cling to the German language and loose many Lutheran Christians to other churches until this development comes to its end with the end of the Lutheran Church in South Africa? Or is there a third possible road? "I do not know it", he concluded. The minuting secretary noted that after the paper the listeners were greatly shocked ("nicht wenig erschüttert").

In the discussion some speakers mentioned the possibility that immigration from Germany could again augment the numbers in the congregations.

Others said that clinging to the German language alone was not enough to retain the Lutheran denomination. The paper was attached to the minutes.

With regard to the Kwelegha congregation which had introduced services in English, the meeting decided to recognize the difficulties which had led to this development but emphasized the importance of promoting the German language in the congregation. Even this conciliatory resolution was too much for the chairman, who specifically disclaimed all responsibility for the development which had now started.

There was also a report on the activities in the congregations for relief work in post-war Germany. The annual collection still held today in congregations of the Cape Church for relief work of the Hanoverian Church amongst refugees from Eastern Europe is a remnant of the extensive activities of the post-war years. The amount annually sent to Hanover was and is, probably, negligible in view of the immense task. But it is a token of gratitude and of the loyal bond between Hanover and the Cape that goes back to the year 1800.

(It deserves to be mentioned here that since 1886, and for many years to follow, regular collections were held in the congregations of the Hanoverian Church for diaspora work. The Cape congregations have benefited greatly from these collections. But associations in Germany for the support of Lutherans in the diaspora, like the "Gustav Adolf-Verein" and the so-called "Gotteskasten", merged with other institutions in the "Martin-Luther-Bund" since 1932, have also assisted the congregations financially.)

Other points on the agenda of the 1947 synod meeting were the possible appointment of a youth worker and the usual reports.

The members of the new executive were: the Pastors Plüddemann, von Delft, Mahnke and Hendrich, and Messrs G. Grätz, A. Tessedorf, H. Schäffer, T. Johl and P. Andrag. Pastor von Delft was elected chairman.

The fourteenth meeting of the synod, East London 1951

The fourteenth meeting of the synod took place in East London from 14 to 17 January 1951. The following congregations were represented: East London (Pastor Plüddemann, Messrs H.A.W. Schwartz, H. Rehse and G. Grätz), Philippi-Vlakte (Pastor W. Blumer and Mr E. Hörstmann), Wynberg (Pastor E. Fitschen, Messrs T. Johl and R. Bombal), Frankfort (Pastor Dr J.F. Schwär, Messrs C.H. Karshagen and W. Gudmanz), Bloemfontein (Pastor H. von Delft, Messrs H. Penzhorn and Dr Heese), Worcester (Pastor H. Hendrich and Mr G.J. Beukes), Kwelegha (Pastor H. Johl and Mr F.W. Grieb), Keiskammahoeck (Pastor G.A. Böker, Messrs E.F.J. Peter and H.J. Schenk), Cape Town (Pastor F. Hoberg, Messrs C.M. Münz, E. Ammermann and H. Haack), Port Elizabeth (Mr A. Bülbring), Stutterheim (Pastor J. Cyrus and Mr A.C. Tessedorf), Groenvlei (Mr Vollmer), Braunschweig (Mr E.O.L. Braun), Bellville (Mr F. Henke), Paarl (Pastor A. Winkler and Mr

G. Voigt) and Neu-Eisleben (Mr F. Görgens). Pastors Schwär and Fitschen were elected chairman and vice-chairman respectively.

The members of the synod took the vow before the chairman of the executive, Pastor von Delft. No mention is made in the minutes of him taking the vow before the oldest pastor in the Synod, as stipulated in the constitution. This seems to have been the beginning of the peculiar usage during Pastor (later Praeses) von Delft's whole period of office as Praeses that he was never "commissioned" (as the terminology later said) at the beginning of a new synodal period. His successors in office returned to the old usage of being commissioned like all other ordinary members of synod.

Apart from the regular items and reports, the agenda contained a particularly large number of papers and reports pertaining to the situation of the Synod in its South African context and about the church in Germany. Pastor Dr Schwär spoke on "Calvinism and Lutheranism, with special reference to our situation in South Africa" and Pastor E. Fitschen on: "Why still ('noch') German school?". There was a discussion of the language problem, introduced by Pastor A. Winkler, a report on impressions of the Church situation in Germany by Pastor H. Plüddemann, a paper by Pastor G.-A. Böker on new paths in the propagation of the Gospel in Germany and a report by Pastor W. Blumer on youth work in post-war Germany. Pastor von Delft spoke on tasks of youth work in the congregation and Synod, and also read an introductory paper on the relationship between the Synod and mission work.

An interesting item, appearing for the first time in the minutes, is the telegram ("Huldigungstelegramm") sent to the Prime Minister (Dr D.F. Malan) which was adopted unanimously.

The situation in King William's Town, Stutterheim and Berlin-Potsdam-Macleantown was discussed at length. A possible solution of the problems which had been negotiated in a meeting between representatives of the Berlin and Hermannsburg Missions and the Synod was adopted.

With regard to the language problem Pastor Winkler, seconded by Pastor Plüddemann, proposed that congregations be called upon to keep up their German heritage. However, where it was absolutely necessary the congregations should be at liberty to promote the founding of an independent English- or Afrikaans-speaking congregation. This proposal was carried by a clear majority. But there was also vehement protest against this resolution. Pastor Fitschen, for instance, said that this decision was an amendment to the constitution and he considered it to be the funeral of the *German Evangelical Lutheran Synod*.

The Winkler/Plüddemann proposal was an attempt to escape from the dilemma which Pastor Plüddemann had so clearly shown in his paper at the previous synod meeting. On the other hand, the sincerity of the opponents, some of whom had spent a lifetime devoted to the preservation of both the German and the Lutheran heritage as one and the same, can only be

admired. For them the fact that this heritage had, for many people in the congregations, fallen apart into two different components must have been particularly tormenting. At the next session votes of protest and doubt were voiced as to the question whether the resolution was an amendment to the constitution. Eventually the final decision was left to the "Landeskirchenamt" in Hanover.

The following new executive was elected: Pastors von Delft (Chairman), Plüddemann, Schwär, Hoberg and Hendrich and Messrs Ammermann, Johl, Grätz and Penzhorn. Pastor Plüddemann, seconded by Pastor Schwär, proposed that, in view of the exceptional situation of the Synod and in order to strengthen him in his office, the chairman of the executive be inducted in the closing service of the synod meeting. Pastor Blumer's proposal that he be given the official designation of "Praeses" or "Superintendent" was deferred as it was deemed to be an amendment to the constitution.

The extraordinary synod meeting of 1952

In February and March 1952 the Bishop of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Hanover, Dr Hanns Lilje, visited the Cape Synod and its congregations as its official spiritual leader. An extraordinary synod meeting was held in Cape Town on 7 March 1952 to coincide with his visitation. The following congregations were represented: Cape Town (Pastor F. Hoberg, Messrs E. Ammermann, H. Haack and C.M. Münz), Bellville (Mr F. Henke), Neu-Eisleben (Mr F. Görgens), Wynberg (Pastor E. Fitschen, Messrs G. Skakal and R. Bombal), Philippi (Pastor W. Blumer, Messrs E. Hörstmann and R. Schmidt), Paarl (Pastor A. Winkler and Mr G. Voigt), Worcester (Pastor K. Hendrich and Mr G. Beukes), Bloemfontein (Pastor H. von Delft and Mr H. Penzhorn), Groenvlei (Mr F. Vollmer), Braunschweig (Mr E. Braun), Frankfort (Pastor J.F. Schwär, Messrs W. Gudmanz and C.H. Karshagen), Keiskammahoek (Pastor G.A. Böker, Messrs E. Peter and H. Schenk), East London (Pastor H. Plüddemann, Messrs G. Grätz, H. Rehse and H. Schwartz), Kwelegha (Pastor H. Johl and Mr F.W. Grieb), Stutterheim (Pastor J. Cyrus and Mr A. Tessendorf) and Port Elizabeth (Mr A. Bülbring). Mr T. Johl attended as member of the executive. The chairman of the executive, Pastor H. von Delft, was in the chair.

As at the previous synod meeting, it was decided to send a telegram of loyalty ("Ergebenheitstelegramm") to the Prime Minister, this time in German. This telegramme, addressed in later years to the State President in one of the official languages, became a regular item at future synod meetings.

The following points were listed for discussion with the Bishop: the language problem, the ministry and the remuneration of pastors, joining together with other Synods, and work in the Lutheran diaspora.

After a long discussion of the language problem Pastor Blumer summa-

rized the problem in the following question: how far does our duty go with regard to preserving our being German ("unser Deutschtum") and how far does it go with regard to our being Lutherans ("unser Luthertum")? In his extensive answer Bishop Lilje asked why this discussion so often contained an agonizing element? He pointed out that the Church of Jesus Christ was living in every language. But he also unequivocally spoke in favour of preserving the German heritage, although he said that it should not be necessary for someone to learn German in order to be able to be a Lutheran. He encouraged the Synod to deal responsibly with the matter on the highest level and proposed that a commission be elected for this purpose. Furthermore he suggested some questions to be considered by this commission. A commission consisting of Pastors Plüddemann (chairman), Winkler and Johl, Prof. Heydorn and Mr R. Schmidt was finally elected. The chairman, Pastor von Delft, pleaded for active support for the commission, even if one did not always agree with their findings.

With regard to the remuneration of pastors Bishop Lilje proposed that a finance committee be elected to investigate the whole matter. The following committee was elected: Mr Ammermann (chairman), Pastors Blumer and Johl, and Messrs Köpke and Bülbring.

As far as greater Lutheran unity was concerned, the Bishop pointed out three levels on which this could be realized, namely within the synodal association itself, with other German Lutherans and with Lutherans of other languages ("anderer Zunge"). His suggestion that a commission also be appointed for the investigation of this matter was followed up with the election of a commission consisting of Pastors von Delft (chairman), Plüddemann and Schwär and Mr Penzhorn.

Bishop Lilje also suggested that in order to promote a stronger feeling of being a Synod ("ein gutes synodales Empfinden") amongst the congregations, amongst other things the designation "Praeses" for the leader of the Synod was desirable. A proposal to this effect was subsequently adopted unanimously.

In answer to a question by the chairman whether the Lutheran World Federation would consider financial support for diaspora work, Bishop Lilje suggested that requests in this regard should be formulated well in advance. "We must be an outgoing church", he said.

In his closing remarks Bishop Lilje encouraged the congregations to "wake up and strengthen what remains and is about to die".

Apart from the spiritual enrichment which Bishop Lilje's visitation brought, it seems to have provided an incentive for new thinking and a fresh approach to the problems facing the Synod. It also re-affirmed the Church of Hanover's commitment to the Cape Synod and strengthened its historical ties with Hanover. His visit was the first one of this nature more than half a century after the visitation in 1897 by Superintendent E. Petri, who had skilfully helped the young and inexperienced Synod get on its feet.

The fifteenth meeting of the synod, Philippi 1954

The fifteenth ordinary meeting of the synod was held in Philippi from 25 to 29 September 1954. The following congregations were represented: Bloemfontein (Praeses H. von Delft and Mr W. Westphal), Kroonstad (Mr C.F.E. Schultz), Stutterheim (Pastor J. Cyrus and Mr Howe), Keiskammahoek (Pastor G.A. Böker, Messrs V. Köpke and J A Köpke), East London (Pastor H. Plüddemann, Messrs H.A.W. Schwartz and G. Grätz), Kwelegha (Messrs C.L. Eggersglüsz and A.F. Bahlmann), King William's Town (Pastor W. Meyer, Messrs W. Böttcher and B.A. Egelhof), Braunschweig (Mr E. Tessendorf), Frankfort (Pastor J.F. Schwär, Messrs C.H. Karshagen and J.G. Karshagen), Worcester (Pastor T. Schanz and Mr C. Kirschbaum), Neu-Eisleben (Mr W.H.J. Heins), Greenlands/Groenvlei (Mr F.A. Weiss), Wynberg (Pastor E. Fitschen, Messrs R.W.H. Bombal and J.G. Skakal), Philippi (Pastor W. Blumer, Messrs E. Haller, H. Heins and S. Felder), Paarl (Pastor A. Winkler, Messrs R. Behrens and E. Rohwer), Cape Town (Pastors F. Hoberg and C. Brandt, Messrs R.Huyssen, H. Haack and W. Hellberg), Bellville (Mr K. Dippold), Stellenbosch (Prof. A. Heydorn), Port Elizabeth (Mr W.F. Grote), as well as Messrs E. Ammermann, T. Johl and H. Penzhorn from the executive. Pastor Schanz was elected chairman.

Pastor C. Brandt read a paper on the significance of the liturgy in the Evangelical Lutheran divine service. It was decided to recommend to the congregations the introduction of the liturgical orders of the United Evangelical Lutheran Church of Germany. It was also recommended that congregations should introduce the new uniform German hymnal, now being introduced in all Protestant churches in Germany (*Evangelisches Kirchengesangbuch*, first published in 1950) as soon as the old hymnals had to be replaced. Eventually this hymnal, with the Hanoverian appendix, was introduced by all congregations.

As far as a so-called "order for living" ("Lebensordnung") was concerned, the congregations were encouraged to use the order of the United Evangelical Lutheran Church of Germany.

The German schools were also discussed at length. Mr E. Haller read a paper on teaching German in Philippi and the possible methods to be used in similar schools.

The report of the commission on the language problem, elected at the extraordinary meeting in 1952, was tabled and discussed. Widely diverging opinions were expressed and a lengthy resolution passed. In this resolution it was categorically stated that the introduction of a second language in the congregations was out of the question. If Afrikaans- or English-speaking Lutherans were to decide to found a congregation, such a congregation was not to be regarded as a daughter congregation ("Filiale") of the German Lutheran congregation but as an independent entity. Nevertheless, the Synod would regard such congregations as sister congregations and the

executive was instructed to find church bodies which would grant them the same support that the Hanoverian Church was giving the Cape Synod. (No such congregation was ever founded.)

The necessity of holding retreats for church committee members was stressed and it was decided to arrange such meetings.

With regard to the finances of the Synod the important decision was taken to establish a church treasury ("Kirchenkasse") instead of the synodal treasury ("Synodalkasse"). The congregations were to be asked to contribute 5 percent of their annual income to this treasury. Important improvements in the remuneration package of the pastors were also decided, after a discussion in the absence of the pastors.

An important development was the election of a constitutional committee ("Verfassungsausschuss") whose work would eventually lead to a draft constitution for the Cape Church in 1961. The committee consisted of the Pastors von Delft, Meyer and Winkler and Messrs Westphal and Prof. Heydorn. It was also decided to have the amendments to the orders of the Synod that had been passed previously printed as inserts to the booklet with the orders.

A rather quaint item in the minutes concerns the position of women in synod meetings. The Stellenbosch congregation had elected Mrs H. Heydorn as a substitute delegate and she had attended the synod meeting on 27 September. (The constitution required the delegates to be "honourable, God-fearing men" ["ehrbare, gottesfürchtige Männer"]). The fact was established that the meeting had not taken it amiss that a woman attended. However, this was not to be seen as a precedent ("soll kein Präzedenzfall sein")!

The new executive consisted of the following persons: The Pastors von Delft, Plüddemann, Winkler, Schanz and Hoberg, and Messrs Grätz, Penzhorn, Ammermann and Heydorn. Pastor von Delft was elected Praeses.

The sixteenth meeting of the synod, Stutterheim 1958

The sixteenth meeting of the synod took place at Stutterheim from 21 to 24 January 1958. The following congregations were represented: Cape Town (Pastor Dr. K. Naumann, Messrs H. Haack, E. Ammermann and Dr H.A. Nell), Wynberg (Messrs R. Bombal and F. Broecker), Neu-Eisleben (Mr W.J.F. Schultz), Philippi (Pastor W. Blumer, Messrs A. Felder, H. Heins and E. Hörstmann), Stellenbosch (Pastor C. Brandt, Mr H. Meyer and Dr W. Horn), Bellville (Messrs F. Henke and R. Höppner), Paarl (Pastor A. Winkler, Messrs R. Behrens and Prof. E. Rohwer), Worcester (Pastor T. Schanz and Mr W. Oehlers), East London (Pastor H. Plüddemann, Messrs H.A.W. Schwartz, G. Grätz and R. Busse), Kwelegha (Messrs F.W. Grieb and O.W.H. Hill), King William's Town (Pastor W. Meyer, Messrs E.J. Kobus and R.H. Lenz), Frankfort (Pastor Dr J.F.Schwär, Messrs J. Karshagen and

D.H.G. Kläckers), Braunschweig (Mr H. Lenz), Keiskammahoek (Messrs W.F. Kühn and E.C. Kietzmann), Emnqesha (Mr L. Peter), Stutterheim (Pastor F. Sandner, Messrs H.F.P. Ludewig and A.H. Howes), Bloemfontein (Pastor H. von Delft and Dr G. Schmidt) and Groenvlei (Mr H.E. Weiss). Also present was the synodal vicar, Pastor U. Duschat from Welkom. Pastor Schanz was elected chairman.

Apart from the regular reports, elections and a host of other items, the following items seem worth mentioning here: Pastor Dr Naumann read a paper on stewardship which aroused some interest. The discussion of the salaries of pastors again took up a lot of time. Pastor Schanz read a paper on "The Protestant confession" ("Die evangelische Beichte") which also resulted in an interesting discussion. "Commitment to mission today and here" was the title of a paper by Pastor Winkler.

On the level of greater unity between Lutherans the Praeses reported that the "Deutscher Evangelischer Kirchenbund" was asking the synod's permission to change its constitution and name to "Deutscher Evangelisch-Lutherischer Kirchenbund in Süd- und Südwestafrika". The meeting acceded to this request. This solved a problem which had often surfaced in synodal and other discussions and the confessional basis of the federation was now finally clarified as being Lutheran.

The synod also decided to join the newly founded Council of Churches on Lutheran Foundation (CCLF), founded in 1953, in which, for the first time, the Lutherans from the immigrant line and the Lutherans from the mission line joined together in a loosely knit federal structure. (The CCLF was the forerunner of the later Federation of Evangelical Lutheran Churches in Southern Africa, founded in 1966, which ceased to exist in May 1991 when the Lutheran Communion in Southern Africa [LUCSA] was established.) The possible formation of a United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa was also discussed extensively.

The language problem again featured fairly prominently at this meeting. However, as a result of a letter from Bishop Lilje of Hanover and a verbal contribution by Dr C.E. Lund-Quist, the executive secretary of the Lutheran World Federation who attended the meeting as a guest, a far more lenient resolution than that of the previous synod meeting was formulated and carried, opening the possibility of serving non-German-speaking members of congregations within the context of the congregations, without necessarily having to start separate English- or Afrikaans-speaking Lutheran congregations. The aim to form separate congregations was, however, still given priority.

From his long letter to Praeses von Delft, dated Hanover, 6 January 1958, it appears that Bishop Lilje had been approached by various people in the Cape Synod requesting a clarifying and guiding word from him regarding the language issue. He expressed his heartfelt gratitude for the fact that the German language had, through the workings of the Holy Spirit, contributed

so much to the preservation and furtherance of spiritual life in the congregations of the Cape Synod. Therefore, he encouraged the congregations to continue preserving the German language. On the other hand, he pointed out that the young generation was increasingly tending towards the languages of the country ("Landessprachen") and that they should, therefore, be enabled also to confess their Lutheran faith in the language of the country ("... und ihren lutherischen Glauben daher auch in der Landessprache bekennen können muss"). In view of these developments he considered it imperative that God's Word also be proclaimed in the languages of the country. The pastors should have a command of these languages in order to be able to use them in their sermons and pastoral work. And finally, clinging to the German language only would be a hindrance for the formation of one Lutheran Church in South Africa.

At the 1958 synod meeting it was further reported that the constitutional committee elected at the previous meeting had discontinued its activities. As the important task of reworking the existing constitution and orders lay ahead, a new committee was elected, namely: Pastors C. Brandt and W. Meyer and Dr H.A. Nell from the synod, as well as Mr K. Schwietering of the Law Faculty at Stellenbosch University and Mr H. Boehmke, a lawyer from Cape Town. The constitutional committee eventually drafted the constitution of the Cape Church. Through the years the membership of this committee changed. Pastor Bodenstern, for instance, served on it for many years. It rendered the Cape Church invaluable service.

The new executive consisted of the following persons: Pastors von Delft, Plüddemann, Meyer, Naumann and Schanz, and Messrs Penzhorn, Grätz, Ammermann and Rohwer. Pastor von Delft was re-elected as Praeses.

The seventeenth meeting of the synod, Paarl 1961

The seventeenth and last meeting of the Cape Synod, which was also the constituting synod meeting of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa (Cape Church) took place in Paarl from 28 June to 2 July 1961. The following congregations were represented: Cape Town (Pastor Dr K. Naumann, Mr E. Ammermann, Dr A.L. Noack and Dr Köhler), Paarl (Pastor A. Winkler, Prof. Rohwer and Mr G. Winkler), Worcester (Pastor T. Schanz, Messrs H. Rode and C. Kirschbaum), Stellenbosch (Pastor H. von Delft, Prof. A. Heydorn and Mr H. Herre), Bellville (Mr S. Abromeit and Dr T. Schwär), Philippi (Pastor H. Böhmer, Messrs F. Schultz, F. Wittenberg and J. Bundies), Wynberg (Messrs H. Skakal and A. Punt), Neu-Eisleben (Mr H. Engelke), Frankfort (Pastor Dr J.F. Schwär, Messrs F. Spörke and O. Karshagen), Braunschweig (Mr E. Braun), East London (Pastor H. Plüddemann, Messrs R. Busse, S. Schulz and H. Schwartz), Port Elizabeth (Pastor Peschel), Bloemfontein (Pastor L. Bock, Dr Böhmer, Mmes Böhmer and

Helmbold), Kwelegha (Messrs H. Kaschula and M. Lück), Stutterheim (Pastor Sandner, Messrs A. Pagel and E. Vockerodt), King William's Town (Pastor W. Meyer, Messrs R. Lenz and M. Frauenstein), Keiskammahoek (Messrs V. Köpke and A. Köpke), Emnquesha, now spelt Mnxesha, (Mr L. Peter), Potsdam (Messrs C. Brandt and C. Kretzmann) and Macleantown (Messrs I. Korte and D. Richter). From the executive there were (not as congregational delegates): Mr H. Penzhorn, Mr G. Grätz and Mr T. Johl, who had been made an honorary member of the executive in 1954.

A first at this synod meeting was the attendance of two ladies from Bloemfontein, Mmes Böhmer and Helmbold, as delegates. (In 1954 Mrs Heydorn had attended one day as a substitute delegate.)

The main item on the agenda was the adoption of the constitution of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa (Cape Church) and, thereby, the transformation of the old Cape Synod into an independent Church. The constitution was adopted on 1 July 1961. This was a momentous occasion in the life of the Synod with a history going back to the founding of small and sometimes isolated diaspora congregations more than a century before. But the newly established Cape Church was also, quite tangibly, a continuation of the old Cape Synod, as can be observed in many formulations of the new constitution. The workable constitution, which had evolved through a period of 66 years and served the Synod and its congregations well, also proved to be a sound basis for the new constitution. The same can be said about the various orders to be adopted by later synod meetings.

With regard to the language issue the new constitution eventually, but not without profound and heated debate, opened the way to progressive development. Neither in the name of the Church, nor in any of the stipulations about corporate membership, is any reference made to German. The official languages of the synod meetings are German, Afrikaans and English. The chapter about the congregations quite rightly alludes to the historically German identity of the congregations. But it opens the field of responsibility to all Lutherans. It reads: "The congregation recognizes its responsibility for providing church facilities for all Christians of the Evangelical Lutheran faith living within its reach, especially those of German origin." (The original German version seems even clearer: "Die Gemeinde weiss sich verantwortlich für die kirchliche Versorgung aller in ihrem Bereich wohnenden evangelisch-lutherischen Christen, insbesondere deutscher Herkunft.")

The historical bonds with Germany are also duly considered in the Basic Provisions, of which Section 2(3) reads as follows: "The said Church affirms its fellowship with all German-speaking Evangelical Christians and is conscious of its bond with the Evangelical Church in Germany." Section 2(4) continues: "The said Church in particular is anxious to preserve the spiritual-theological bond with the United Evangelical Lutheran Church of Germany."

The meeting empowered the new Church Council to sign an agreement

with the foreign office of the Evangelical Church in Germany (EKD), provided that the confessional basis of the Cape Church was safeguarded. (The Evangelical Church in Germany, a federation of the Protestant churches in Germany, had been founded in 1948. Its foreign office had also taken responsibility for the German Lutherans in countries outside Germany.) In the years to come the EKD substantially supported the Cape Church, inter alia, with subsidies and by being instrumental in the secondment of pastors from Germany to its congregations. From the many EKD people who have through the years most gratifyingly engaged themselves in the interest of the Cape Church, only two names are mentioned here, namely President Dr A. Wischmann and Bishop Dr H.-J. Held.

A vote of thanks to the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Hanover was adopted for everything it had done for the Cape Synod as its uppermost church authority, as well for the fact that Hanover had promised to continue its support to the newly established Cape Church. (The Cape Church and the Church of Hanover later signed a special agreement in 1963 in which the desire was expressed "to reinforce the bonds which have grown between the German Lutherans in South Africa and the Hannoversche Landeskirche". This agreement is still in place.)

Synod also agreed to take part in the constituting synod meeting of the United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa on the grounds of a constitution drafted by the Board of Trustees for Lutheran Extension Work at a meeting on 28 February and 1 March 1961. (The Board of Trustees had been founded in 1958 with the aim of taking care of Lutherans in the diaspora who did not belong to any of the existing Lutheran Synods. The United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa was finally established when the constitution was signed by the leaders of the four churches on 4 November 1964 in Pretoria. The first General Synod took place in Cape Town in March 1965. Its members are the Cape Church, the Transvaal Church [founded as a Synod on 18 March 1926, as an independent church on 8 April 1961], the Hermannsburg Church [founded as a Synod on 31 May 1911, as an independent church on 11 January 1963] and the South West Africa Synod [founded as a Synod on 1 October 1926, as an independent church on 30 May 1960]. The constitution of the United Church also made provision for independent Lutheran congregations to become members. The following congregations joined: Strand Street in Cape Town, the Union Lutheran Church in Durban, the Norwegian congregation in Durban, and the newly established congregation in Eshowe.)

The constituting synod meeting of the Cape Church in 1961 also had to deal with a considerable amount of regular business. An important act was the election of the new executive, the Church Council. It consisted of the following members: Pastor H. von Delft (Praeses), Pastor H. Plüddemann (Vice-Praeses), Pastor T. Schanz (Chairman of Synod), Mr E. Ammermann (Treasurer) and Mr M. Frauenstein.

The new constitution made provision for a synodal period of four years, each with two ordinary synod meetings. The first synodal period was to start with the synod meeting of 1963, which then should have been numbered the first meeting of the first synod of the Cape Church. This new order of counting the synod meetings was, however, only brought into practice, also retrospectively, in 1972. For the sake of consistency the proper order of numbering the synod meetings will be used here as from the 1963 meeting.

6. THE CAPE CHURCH SYNOD

The first meeting of the first synod of the Cape Church, Port Elizabeth 1963

The first meeting of the first synod of the Cape Church took place in Port Elizabeth from 28 September to 2 October 1963. The following congregations were represented: Cape Town (Pastor E. Evers, Messrs Paetzold, Haarstick and Dr Noack), Bellville (Mr W. Stopka), Stellenbosch (Pastor von Delft, Prof. Heydorn and Mr R. Ottermann), Paarl (Pastor Winkler and Mrs Stiller), Worcester (Mr C. Kirschbaum), Philippi (Messrs A. Kohrs, F. Wittenberg and M. Hörstmann), Wynberg (Pastor Leistner, Messrs R. Schmidt and W. Nossek), Bloemfontein (Pastor L. Bock, Dr Oellermann and Mr K. von Delft), Braunschweig (Mr W. Tessendorf), Frankfort (Pastor Dr Schwär, Messrs R. Hempel and I. Buss), King William's Town (Pastor Meyer and Mr H. Karshagen), Mnxesha (Mr E. Köpke), Keiskammahoek (Pastor H. von Falkenhausen and Mrs L. von Falkenhausen), Stutterheim (Messrs A. Pagel and G. Vockerodt), East London (Pastor H. Plüddemann, Messrs R. Busse, K. Hickel and D. Beckmann), Kwelegha (Messrs M. Lück and A. Horrmann), Berlin (Pastor Serapins), Potsdam (Messrs R. Weyer and C. Brandt), Macleantown (Messrs D. Richter and L. Krull) and Port Elizabeth (Pastor Peschel, Messrs P. Held and E. Mittermeier). Also present, as members of Church Council, were Messrs E. Ammermann and M. Frauenstein. In the absence of Pastor Schanz who had returned to Germany, Mr Ammermann acted as chairman.

It should be noted that although, according to the constitution, the pastors are ordinary members of the synod in their own right, they are here listed with the delegates of their congregations. If a pastor serves a parish, his name is mentioned with the delegates of the congregation in which he resides.

The whole question of parish alignment is not dealt with in this publication. Some alignments have a long history, others were short-lived, some have caused problems and others have solved problems. In the old Cape Synod and the years preceding it, smaller congregations were often served as daughter congregations ("Filiale") of bigger congregations with a residing pastor. This was also sometimes the case in the Cape Church since 1961. But formal parish agreements have become the norm, at least with regard to financial matters. Each such mother-daughter relationship had its own individual characteristics, and each parish agreement contained its own particular details, depending on the circumstances.

At the 1963 synod meeting the Berlin congregation was accepted into membership, the last one of the parish Berlin-Potsdam-Macleantown to

join. The Kimberley congregation was also accepted into membership, provided that it was released from the Transvaal Church.

The final draft of the constitution of the United Church was adopted and the Praeses was empowered to sign it on behalf of the Cape Church.

A decision by the Church Council that the Cape Church join the Lutheran World Federation (LWF) was endorsed unanimously. The Cape Church was subsequently admitted into membership at the meeting of the LWF in Helsinki in 1963, which Praeses von Delft attended.

The first of a series of new orders to be drafted during the next couple of years, the order governing congregations ("Gemeindeordnung") was adopted, excepting supplement 3 (standing orders for church committees).

It was decided to establish a new Pension Fund and to dissolve the old "Fund for the aged and widows" ("Alters- und Witwenkasse"). (The final dissolution was resolved in 1969.)

The Church Council was requested to provide translations of the constitution and of all its "normative intimations" to congregations in the three languages of the Church.

A report on the work of the Liturgical Commission was read by Mr Ottermann. A trilingual hymn booklet for funerals compiled by this commission was approved (and published in 1965). (The Cape Church continued to have a liturgical commission for some time, but the work in this field was later left to the commission of the United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa. This Commission which had started its work under the auspices of the Board of Trustees in 1962, would in due time be responsible for preparing orders of divine service and occasional services, forms for application into membership of a congregation, transfer and the like, certificates for baptism, marriages etc., in German, English and Afrikaans. It has contributed substantially to uniform orders of divine service in the United Church, as well as to facilitating the introduction of Afrikaans and English in the congregations.)

Prof. A. Heydorn was elected chairman of the synod and Mr R. Ottermann vice-chairman.

A paper by Pastor E. Evers on "Confession usage in our church" ("Vom Brauch der Beichte in unserer Kirche") was followed by an interesting discussion in which the question of closed Communion, then practised in many congregations (often at the insistence of the pastor) also featured. Widely diverging opinions were expressed. (Since then open Communion has become the practice in all the congregations of the Cape Church.)

The new Church Council consisted of Praeses H. von Delft, Vice-Praeses H. Plüddemann, Prof. A. Heydorn (Chairman of Synod), Mr E. Ammermann (Treasurer) and Pastor F. Serapins.

The further development of the Cape Church will be dealt with as briefly as possible. A lot of detailed information about life in the Church and its congregations, as well as about the ups and downs of the Church's relationship with other Lu-

theran Churches and with the ecumene, can be found in the comprehensive reports that were read by the Praeses at every synod meeting. They will not be dealt with here. The other usual business of a synod meeting will also not be referred to extensively, excepting the election of Church Council.

The second meeting of the first synod of the Cape Church, Stellenbosch 1965

The second meeting of the first synod took place from 3 to 6 October 1965 in Stellenbosch. The following congregations were represented: Cape Town (Pastor C. Osterwald, Messrs Paetzold, Matthäi and Dr Noack), Bellville (Pastor G. Wittenberg, Miss Gerhardt and Mr W. Stopka), Stellenbosch (Pastor H. von Delft, Prof. A. Heydorn and Mr R. Ottermann), Paarl (Mmes von Ulmenstein and von La Chevallerie), Worcester (Pastor H. Kleinhempel and Mr C. Kirschbaum), Philippi (Pastor H. Böhmer, Messrs A. Kohrs, F. Wittenberg and M. Hörstmann), Wynberg (Mr R. Schmidt), Neu-Eisleben (Pastor emeritus E. Leistner and Mr Görgens), Bloemfontein Pastor L. Bock, Mr K. von Delft and Mrs M. Wittmann, Kimberley (Mr Jacobs), Braunschweig (Mr W. Tessendorf), Frankfort (Pastor Dr J.F. Schwär, Messrs R. Flügel, I. Buss), King William's Town (Pastor W. Meyer, Messrs H. Karshagen and F. Köpke), Mnxesha (Mr E. Köpke), Keiskammahoek (Mrs C. von Falkenhausen), Stutterheim (Pastor H. von Falkenhausen, Messrs G. Vockerodt and D. Böttcher), East London (Pastor H. Plüddemann, Messrs R. Busse, K. Hickel and F. Beckmann), Kwelegha (Messrs M. Lück and A. Horrmann), Berlin (Pastor F. Serapins), Potsdam (Messrs R. Weyer and C. Brandt) and Macleantown (Messrs D. Richter and C. Bürger). Mr E. Ammermann attended as member of Church Council. A special guest at the meeting was Dr Schiotz, President of the LWF.

The following matters were, among others, dealt with: standing orders for the synod were adopted. A motion for the dissolution of the "Kirchenbund" was carried. The draft constitution of the Federation of Evangelical Lutheran Churches in Southern Africa was referred to a committee which was to report either to Synod or to Church Council. (This federation, or FELCSA, was eventually founded in February 1966 as successor to the Council of Churches on Lutheran Foundation. The Cape Church was a founder member.)

With regard to the language issue the meeting unanimously adopted a motion from the Pastors' Convention that "synod expects every congregation to make provision ('anbieten') for divine services in one of the official languages, in addition to the German services". (The official languages in those days were, of course, only Afrikaans and English!) Another motion from the Convocation that pastors seconded from Germany should spend at least six

weeks in England to learn English prior to coming to South Africa was also unanimously adopted.

A very important decision was taken with regard to theological training in South Africa. Efforts in this regard had already been made by the Board of Trustees for Lutheran Extension Work. The synod now resolved that the United Church be requested to endeavour to establish training facilities for Lutheran pastors in South Africa. (This motion, proposed by Pastor Wittenberg and seconded by Pastor Osterwald, was the actual starting point of the road which finally led to the resolution by the General Synod of the United Church at Kroondal in 1968, acting on a proposal by the Church Council of the Cape Church, to establish a theological training centre. Theological training eventually commenced in Pietermaritzburg in 1973).

The Praeses and Vice-Praeses, Pastors von Delft and Plüddemann, were re-elected. A peculiar, but very expedient, usage was started by this election. The term of office of Church Council members is four years. Pastors von Delft and Plüddemann had been elected by the constituting synod meeting in Paarl in 1961 and had, thus, completed a term of office of four years. This four year rhythm has been continued since. In other words, members of Church Council, excepting Praeses and Vice-Praeses, are elected at the end of the first meeting of a synodal period, i.e. from the ranks of a new synod. Praeses and Vice-Praeses are elected at the end of the second meeting of a synodal period. This overlapping introduced a valuable element of continuity into the work of Church Council. (Mr Ammermann had also been elected in 1961, but had been re-elected in 1963.)

First meeting of the second synod, King William's Town 1967

The first meeting of the second synod took place in King William's Town from 19 to 22 November 1967. The following congregations were represented: Cape Town (Pastors E. Evers and C. Osterwald, Messrs H. Paetzold, G. Matthäi and H.D. Büttner), Bellville (Pastor G. Wittenberg, Dr W.H. Kluge and Mrs T. Ammermann), Stellenbosch (Pastor H. von Delft, Prof. A. Heydorn and Mr R. Ottermann), Paarl (Pastor J. Naudé, Mrs R. Pakleppa and Mr H. Pakleppa), Worcester (Pastor H. Kleinhempel and Mr T. Beukes), Philippi (Pastor emeritus E. Leistner, Mrs M. Punt, Messrs F. Wittenberg and A. Punt), Wynberg (Pastor K.W. Bodenstein, Mrs F. van der Meer and Miss T.M. Will), Neu-Eisleben (Mrs H. Reinke), Bloemfontein (Pastor L. Bock, Prof. Böddinghaus and Mr A. Torlage), Kimberley (Mrs D. Fock), Braunschweig (Mr D.W.F. Tessendorf), Frankfort (Pastor Dr J.F. Schwär, Messrs O.K.F. Karshagen and D.K.G. Kläckers), King William's Town (Pastor W. Meyer, Messrs S. Holdt, F. Köpke and M. Frauenstein), Stutterheim (Pastor H.W. von Falkenhausen, Messrs C. Mai and H. Schulz),

East London (Messrs R. Busse, H. Beckmann and G. Müller), Kwelegha (Messrs M. Lück and E. Bauer), Berlin (Pastor F. Serapins and Mr A. Grätz), Potsdam (Messrs R.F. Weyer and H. Beckmann), Macleantown (Messrs E. Krull and A. Krull) and Port Elizabeth (Pastor Dr W. Plautz, Dr B. Wortmann, Messrs J.G. Schaberg and G.A.H. Dedekind). Mr E. Ammermann attended as member of Church Council.

As can be expected, a lot of time at the synod meetings of the sixties was devoted to matters relating to constitution and orders. In 1967 a very important basic principle was also decided, namely that "in case of doubt the wording shall be authoritative in the language in which a Church Law or Regulation was passed in the first place". Although the minutes had, until then, contained very little else than German, this motion from Church Council indicated the direction in which deliberations and minutes would, of necessity, develop in future.

The following drafts were adopted: draft translation of the constitution in English; provisional translation of the standing orders for synod; draft standing orders for circuit conferences; draft constitution for congregations; supplements 3 and 4 of the order governing congregations; order for visitations and order for furlough. The final editing was left to Church Council.

The St Martini congregation, Cape Town, had proposed that synod include the establishment of a German old age home in greater Cape Town in its agenda. Cape Town was subsequently requested to prepare such a project. (Here the name of Dr Willy Hellberg comes to mind. His indefatigable efforts for this project were eventually rewarded when the St Johannis Heim was founded on 30 November 1977. Building activities in Parow started in July 1980 and the first residents moved in in August 1981. The Heim was officially opened in December 1981.)

The 1967 synod was a watershed meeting with regard to the remuneration of pastors. The treasurer, Mr Ammermann, submitted a comprehensive plan (in English) which had as its basis the payment of all salaries by the Church as from 1 January 1968. His nine point plan, among other things, made provision for the salaries to be fixed by Church Council and for the contributions (levies) from the congregations to be paid monthly. This new ruling was a major step forward as it removed the sensitive issue of remuneration from the relationship between pastor and congregation. And yet, it was not taken to readily by everybody. I remember the old Pastor Schwär speaking with great warmth and affection about the old system which had, in his case, worked so well and which had brought pastor and congregation close to one another, also in matters of the "daily bread".

Two very stimulating papers were read. Prof. O. Raum spoke (in English) on "African religion and Christian faith" and Pastor E. Evers (in German) on the question: "Are there limits to membership in congregations"?

Mr E. Ammermann (Treasurer) and Pastor F. Serapins were re-elected to Church Council. Mr R. Ottermann was elected Chairman of Synod.

Praeses von Delft and Vice-Praeses Plüddemann remained in office for another two years.

The second meeting of the second synod, Cape Town 1969

The second meeting of the second synod took place in Cape Town from 16 to 19 November 1969. The following congregations were represented: Cape Town (Pastors C. Osterwald and G. Drüsedau, Messrs H.D. Büttner, U. Naumann and H. Paetzold), Bellville (Pastor G. Wittenberg, Mmes T. Ammermann and G. Gerhardt), Stellenbosch (Pastor H. von Delft, Messrs W. Heuer and R. Ottermann), Paarl (Pastor J. Naudé, Mrs R. Pakleppa and Mrs R. Kranz), Worcester (Mr T. Beukes), Philippi (Pastor W. Blumer, Mrs F. Schultz, Messrs A.C. Fuchs and H.G. Görgens), Wynberg (Pastor K.W. Bodenstern and Mrs F. van der Meer), Neu-Eisleben (Mrs A. Schultz), Bloemfontein (Pastor L. Bock, Mrs G. Böhmer and Mr R.H.O. Dinkelmann), Kimberley (Pastor O. Kietzig and Mrs D. Fock), Braunschweig (Mr S. Karshagen and Mrs M. Schwär), Frankfort (Pastor Dr J.F. Schwär, Messrs O. Karshagen and R.F. Flügel), King William's Town (Pastor W. Meyer, Messrs M. Frauenstein, F. Köpke and E. Balzer), Keiskammahoek (Mr B. Seeber), Stutterheim (Pastor H.W. von Falkenhausen, Messrs H. Schultz and W. Ludewig), East London (Pastor H. Plüddemann, Messrs H. Beckmann and G. Müller), Kwelegha (Mr M. Lück), Berlin (Pastor F. Serapins and Mr A. Grätz), Potsdam (Messrs H. Beckmann and R. Weyer), Macleantown (Messrs A. Becker and A. Richter), Port Elizabeth (Pastor Dr W. Plautz, Messrs J. Schaberg, H. Schärf and R. Bucher). Mr E. Ammermann attended as a member of Church Council.

Although this was the second meeting of the synod at which, ideally, the same members should have attended as in 1967, this ideal appeared to be impracticable in many cases and quite a number of new members actually attended. This would also prove to be the case in future.

The English translation of a number of orders was referred to a committee for revision. The Church Council was empowered subsequently to adopt these revised translations.

An important innovation at this meeting, initiated by the chairman, was the stricter adherence to the distinction between church laws and ordinary resolutions provided for in the constitution, church laws having to be read twice and on two different days.

The list of reports had grown over the last number of synod meetings and took up a lot of time. This seemed to be a positive development after the synod meetings which had, of necessity, primarily to deal with matters of the constitution and orders. The report on the Christian Academy in Southern Africa by Pastor E. Leister, for instance, reflected the important work done by this institution. Synod expressed the hope that this work would be more

eagerly received in the congregations ("ein grösseres Echo").

For the first time parts of the proceedings of the meeting were minuted in English. It had also become customary to alternate between German, English and Afrikaans for the devotions.

Praeses von Delft and Vice-Praeses Plüddemann were re-elected.

The first meeting of the third synod, Stutterheim 1972

The first meeting of the second synod took place in Stutterheim from 16 to 19 April 1972. This was the first synod meeting for which the proper numbering of synod meetings as provided for in the constitution, was used.

The following congregations were represented: Bellville (Messrs T.G. Schwär and C.A.F. Henke), Cape Town (Pastors C. Osterwald and G. Drüsedau, Dr W. Hellberg, Messrs G. von Dombois and U. Naumann), Paarl (Pastor C. Brandt, Mmes R. Kranz and I. von Ulmenstein), Philippi (Pastor W. Blumer, Messrs A. Punt, A. Kohrs and E. Ruster), Stellenbosch (Pastor H. von Delft, Messrs U. Plüddemann and R. Ottermann), Worcester (Mr T. Beukes), Wynberg (Pastor K.W. Bodenstein, Mmes F. van der Meer and T. Will), King William's Town (Pastor A.A. Brandt and Mr M. Frauenstein), Frankfort (Pastor Dr J.F. Schwär, Messrs H.H. Böttcher and O.K.F. Karshagen), Braunschweig (Mr S.S. Karshagen), East London (Pastor H. Plüddemann, Messrs G. Müller, H. Beckmann and S. Schulz), Kwelegha (Mr A. Horrmann), Berlin (Pastor F. Serapins and Mr A. Grätz), Potsdam (Messrs I.H. Weyer and R.F.M. Weyer), Macleantown (Messrs R. Burger and A.W. Richter), Bloemfontein (Mrs G. Böhmer and Mr R.H.O. Dinkelmann), Stutterheim (Pastor H.W. von Falkenhausen, Messrs C.P. Römer and C.F. Pautz), Keiskammahoek (Mr Fuchs) and Kimberley (Dr G.J. Fock). Mr Ammermann attended as member of Church Council.

Amongst other things a group insurance scheme for the church and its congregations was initiated, the envisaged St Johannis Heim was taken a step further, the order governing the service of pastors was referred to Church Council for adoption and the order governing the election of pastors was approved.

The Church Council was requested to co-opt one member each from the Eastern and Western Circuits in an advisory capacity. The Church Council was further requested to prepare legislation for increasing the number of members to seven, should the addition of two members prove useful for the work of the Church Council. For the Eastern Circuit Dr E. Giesekke was proposed and for the Western Circuit Pastor C. Brandt.

The new wording of the Lord's Prayer in German was adopted.

No liturgical commission was elected for the Cape Church and Pastor Plüddemann and Mr Ottermann were elected members of the commission of the United Church.

Delegates from Cape Town put the cat among the pigeons when they expressed doubt about the fact whether the Cape Church had been legally constituted in 1961. They proposed that a committee be instructed to investigate the matter. Their proposal was, however, defeated.

In the Church Council elections Mr Ottermann (Chairman of Synod), Mr Ammermann (Treasurer) and Pastor Serapins were re-elected.

Second meeting of the third synod, Philippi 1974

The second meeting of the third synod took place in Philippi from 19 to 22 April 1974. The following congregations were represented: Bellville (Pastor J. Peters, Prof. T.G. Schwär and Mr F. Henke), Cape Town (Pastors H. Kraus and G. Drüsedau, Mrs G. von Dombois, Dr W. Hellberg and Mr U. Naumann), Paarl (Pastor C. Brandt, Mmes R. Kranz and I. von Ulmenstein), Philippi (Pastor W. Blumer, Messrs A. Punt, A. Kohrs and E. Ruster), Stellenbosch (Pastor E. Rust, Dr U. Plüddemann and Dr R. Ottermann), Worcester (Mr T. Beukes), Wynberg (Pastor K.W. Bodenstern, Mmes F. van der Meer and T. Will), Neu-Eisleben (Mrs A. Schulz), King William's Town (Pastor A. Brandt, Dr E. Giesekke, Messrs R. Schwarz and M. Frauenstein), Frankfort (Messrs W. Gudmanz and H.H. Böttcher), Braunschweig (Mr S. Karshagen), East London (Pastor H.J. Günther), Kwelegha (Mr. A. Horrmann), Port Elizabeth (Pastor H. Plüddemann and Mrs M. Schwär), Berlin (Pastor F. Serapins), Potsdam (Messrs E. Karshagen and I. Weyer), Macleantown (Messrs E. Schwartz and A. Richter), Bloemfontein (Pastor G. Plüddemann, Mrs G. Böhmer and Prof. K. von Delft), Stutterheim (Pastor H.W. von Falkenhausen, Mrs C. von Falkenhausen and Mr C. Mai) and Kimberley (Mrs U. Sievers). Mr E. Ammermann attended as a member of the Church Council.

This was the first synod meeting for which the agenda was also sent out in English.

In order to lighten the burden of the Praeses the Church Council had, by way of regulation, released him from his pastoral post in Stellenbosch as from 30 June 1972. This regulation was now elevated to the status of church law.

One of the amendments to the constitution carried was the increase of the number of Church Council members from five to seven. The order governing congregations was also amended. Furthermore, the Church Council was instructed to issue an order governing the convention of pastors which the Church Council duly did in October 1974.

A proposal came from Bloemfontein that the Afrikaans hymnal *Cantate* of the Berlin Mission, which was used in the Afrikaans services of the congregations, be revised. (This task later landed in the lap of a commission of the Federation of Evangelical Lutheran Churches in Southern Africa which

eventually compiled the new Afrikaans hymnal *Laudate*. Four editions were published, each with a particular appendix for a specific Church, namely the United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa, the Cape Orange Diocese of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa, the Moravian Church and the Evangelical Lutheran Church in South West Africa [Rhenish Mission Church]. The United Church edition was the first one to appear in 1982. This hymnal was an important practical step forward on the road to greater Lutheran unity in Southern Africa. Here the name of Bishop P.W. Schaberg of the Moravian Church deserves mention for the enormous contribution he made to the compilation of the *Laudate* hymnal.)

As far as the Church Council elections are concerned, Praeses H. von Delft was re-elected and Pastor C. Brandt was elected Vice-Praeses in the place of Pastor H. Plüddemann who was not available for re-election. As a result of the church law which increased the membership of Church Council to seven, Pastor H. Plüddemann and Dr E. Giesecke were elected as additional assessors, in which capacity they served until the next synod meeting in 1975.

The first meeting of the fourth synod, Potsdam/Dawn 1975

The first meeting of the fourth synod took place in the new church centre of the St John's Potsdam congregation in Dawn, East London from 14 to 17 November 1975.

Potsdam had been relocated to Dawn. The congregations of Frankfort, Keiskammahoek, Mnxesha and Braunschweig lost their old church sites as a result of the government's expropriation of land for inclusion in the Ciskei homeland. This expropriation took a heavy toll of many church members in that area. Farms and homesteads that had been in the possession of families for more than a century had to be abandoned and a new livelihood had to be found. Beautiful old churches, cemeteries and parsonages had to be left desolate. The congregations of St John's, Potsdam and St Crucis, Frankfort decided not to disband and to build new church centres, St John's in Dawn and St Crucis in Beacon Bay. Braunschweig followed suit later when the congregation relocated itself as St Peter's church in Komga. Mnxesha was dissolved in 1968 and Keiskammahoek 1984.

The following congregations were represented at the synod meeting in Dawn: Bellville (Pastor J. Peters, Messrs F. Henke and S. Haller), Cape Town (Pastor H. Kraus, Dr W. Hellberg, Messrs U. Naumann and H.D. Büttner), Paarl (Pastor C. Brandt, Mmes R. Kranz and I. von Ulmenstein), Stellenbosch (Pastor E. Rust, Prof. U. Plüddemann and Dr R. Ottermann), Philippi (Pastor W. Blumer, Messrs H. Freiboth, A. Punt and A. Kohrs), Wynberg (Pastor K.W. Bodenstein, Messrs R. Bombal and E. Fitschen), Neu-Eisleben (Mr J. Görgens), Worcester (Mr T. Beukes), Stutterheim

(Pastor H.W. von Falkenhausen, Mrs H. Ludewig and Mr C. Mai), Keiskammahoek (Mrs R. Bentz), Frankfort (Messrs H.H. Böttcher and W. Gudmanz), Kwelegha (Messrs E. Horrmann and C. Bode), East London (Pastor H.J. Günther, Messrs R. Busse, H. Beckmann and V. Brandt), Port Elizabeth (Pastor H. Plüddemann and Mr A. Schmidt), Berlin (Pastor F. Serapins and Mr G.F. Hempel), Potsdam (Messrs I. Weyer and R. Weyer), Macleantown (Messrs E.D. Schwartz and A.W. Richter), Bloemfontein (Pastor G. Plüddemann, Messrs H. Kohlmeyer and M.H. Neitz), King William's Town (Pastor A. Brandt, Messrs M. Frauenstein, E. Balzer and M.H. Weyer), Braunschweig (Mr S. Karshagen) and Kimberley (Mrs U. Sievers). Praeses H. von Delft, Mr E. Ammermann and Dr E. Giesekke attended as members of Church Council. Deacon C. Präckel of the Mission to Seamen in Cape Town attended as member designated by Church Council.

At this meeting a consirable number of amendments to the constitution and to church orders were adopted, in some cases to update them and make them clearer and in other cases to bring them into line with what seemed more practicable.

An important development in the process of establishing a fully-fledged indigenous corps of pastors, had been the regulation from Church Council that the Cape Church join the newly established Evangelical Lutheran Church Pension Fund, founded by the United Church, with effect from 1 March 1975. This regulation was elevated to the status of a church law by synod.

After having formed, in some way or other, part of the deliberations at synod meetings for many years, the question of greater Lutheran unity in Southern Africa was discussed again at length. The Pastors' Conference East had submitted a proposal that Church Council be instructed to negotiate about a merger with other Lutheran Churches in Southern Africa. At the synod meeting Praeses von Delft also read a report on church unity in Southern Africa. Finally, the synod took the following fundamental decision (minuted in German): "Synod establishes the fact that, in principle, it considers one Lutheran Church in Southern Africa as desirable. It instructs Church Council to investigate the concrete implications for our Cape Church of a closer unity with other churches in FELCSA." This fundamental decision has been the basis for the Cape Church's involvement in unity discussions within the family of Lutheran churches in Southern Africa ever since.

It should be mentioned here that representatives of other Lutheran Churches and the Moravian Church in South Africa have always been represented at synod meetings, either as extraordinary members of synod or as guests, as the case may have been according to the constitution. They have, through the years, also made valuable contributions to the proceedings and deliberations of the meetings.

The following Church Council members were elected: Pastors H. Kraus and G. Plüddemann, Dr R. Ottermann (Chairman of Synod) and Messrs E. Ammermann and M. Frauenstein.

The second meeting of the fourth synod, Bellville 1977

The second meeting of the fourth synod took place in Bellville from 15 to 18 April 1977. In this case the membership did not differ very much from that of the first meeting. Therefore only the changes are given here: Bellville (Prof. T. Schwär and Mr F. Henke), Stutterheim (as in 1975, without Pastor von Falkenhausen), Frankfort (Messrs H.H. Böttcher and D. Moldenhauer), East London (Mr E. Lentz instead of Mr V. Brandt), Port Elizabeth (Pastor H.W. von Falkenhausen, Mrs M. Schwär, Mr H. Jüngel), Berlin (Pastor W. Ludewig instead of Pastor F. Serapins), Bloemfontein (Pastor G. Plüddemann, Prof. K. von Delft and Mr H.A. Schulz), King William's Town (Mr R.A.W. Putzier instead of Mr M.H. Weyer). Dr G. Wittenberg attended as an additional member designated by Church Council.

This meeting was of particular importance as far the office of the Praeses was concerned, as Praeses H.von Delft who had been in office since 1947 wished to retire. A few amendments to the constitution were necessary to facilitate the succession in office. Also, a regulation from Church Council that the office of Praeses shall not be held in conjunction with that of pastor of a congregation was, in an amended version, elevated to church law status. Pastor C. Brandt was elected Praeses and Pastor G. Plüddemann Vice-Praeses.

At a special evening function the synod took leave from Praeses H. von Delft, who had spent thirty years in the office of leader of the Cape Synod and Cape Church and had also been one of the architects of the United Evangelical Lutheran Church and the Federation of Evangelical Lutheran Churches in Southern Africa. It seemed almost odd to have to continue the work of the Cape Church without men like him and Pastors H. Plüddemann and Serapins, who had also retired.

Praeses von Delft officially handed over office to Pastor Brandt during a Church Council meeting on 18 July 1977 after Praeses Brandt's induction in St Martini in Cape Town on 17 July 1977.

Two important papers were read at the 1977 synod meeting. The theme of *Oberlandeskirchenrat* J. Hasselhorn from Hanover was the question: "Why are we Lutheran Christians?" and Pastor H.J. Günther's paper (in English) asked: "Why are we still Lutheran Christians?" Both papers addressed the vital issue of existing as Lutheran Christians and as a Lutheran Church in a country which so strongly bears the hallmarks of Calvinism in its different manifestations.

When musing over the history of the Lutheran Church amongst people

of European descent in South Africa (and hindsight is always easy!) it seems that conscious awareness of a *Lutheran* identity has not been strongly enough developed and nurtured amongst the members of the congregations. This also appears to be true in the case of Lutherans of Scandinavian descent. One of the reasons for this state of affairs in the Lutheran congregations of German origin could have been the fact that, for generations, the preservation of Lutheranism was perceived to run virtually along the same lines as the preservation of a German identity. As long as the congregations were almost exclusively German this was unproblematic and understandable, although even at that time the German Lutheran congregations in the Border area lived in close proximity to German Baptists. But both were German. And some German Lutherans did, in fact, try to promote Lutheran confessional awareness over against the Baptists, like Pastor Clüver who severely reprimanded a German Lutheran in the Queenstown area for allowing the Baptists to have services in his spacious dining room.

Now that the German language has virtually disappeared in many of our congregations, it seems imperative that the question: "Why are we Lutheran Christians?" should be addressed again and again with fervour and imagination if the Lutheran Church is to survive and if being a Lutheran is to be a conscious factor in the lives of the members, German-speaking or non-German-speaking. The fathers of the Cape Synod most conscientiously gave it an unambiguously Lutheran basis. But incidents have been related of people virtually being edged out of congregations, or even being discouraged from studying for the ministry, because they were losing, or had already lost, sufficient command of the German language. Is it true that, as a speaker bluntly put it at the 1929 synod meeting, the German language is depopulating the Lutheran Church in South Africa? Or was Pastor J. Spanuth right when he alleged, in an interesting analysis of this problem in his article "Lutherisches Deutschtum in Südafrika" in *Auslandsdeutschtum und evangelische Kirche - Jahrbuch 1932*, that a Lutheran Church in South Africa would only be able to exist if it preserved its German identity? He concluded: "A Lutheran Church of a different language will not come into existence in South Africa." With this statement he echoed the convictions and sentiments of many pastors and members of the German Lutheran congregations.

The German Baptists in the Border area started addressing the language issue much earlier than the Lutherans. In the magazine of the Cape Lutheran Synod, the *Deutscher Evangelischer Volksbote für Südafrika* of 21 July 1914, a short news item rather sneeringly reports that the preacher of the German Baptist congregation in Macleantown had started conducting the Sunday afternoon services in English. Naturally, the report continued, only a few German Baptists of strong character would be absent from these services! The editor commented that this news was saddening. Once on a slope, he concluded, the end would soon be reached.

There were, of course, also Baptists who deplored this development. In his book *Kirchbau am Kap* Praeses H. von Delft quotes Dr Ph. Gutsche, the son of a German Baptist pastor, as having stated that "unless things change radically, the day when 'Finis' will be written on the 'S.A. German Baptist Church' as such seems not very distant". And the "German Baptist" congregations have, in fact, disappeared, but there still are flourishing Baptist congregations in the Border area.

On the one hand the numbers of some of the German Lutheran congregations have constantly been replenished by immigrants from Germany. But at the same time there was a constant membership drain to other, non-German-speaking denominations. It seems that awareness of this predicament of our Church is growing. One can only hope that what appears to have been mistakes of the past in this respect will nowhere be perpetuated.

The first meeting of the fifth synod, East London 1979

The first meeting of the fifth synod took place in East London from 4 to 7 May 1979. The following congregations were represented: Bellville (Pastor G. Plüddemann, Mrs M. Schwär, Messrs E. Ammermann and G.H. Hesse), Cape Town (Pastor H. Kraus, Mrs H. Sachse, Messrs U. Naumann and H.D. Büttner), Paarl (Mrs I. von Ulmenstein and Mr A.U. Petzsch), Stellenbosch (Pastor E. Rust, Mrs G. Jespersen, Prof. U. Plüddemann and Prof. R. Ottermann), Philippi (Messrs A. Punt, H. Freiboth and J. Görgens), Wynberg (Pastor K.W. Bodenstein, Messrs R. Bombal and W. Neuwirth), Worcester (Mr T. Beukes), George (Mr J.P. Richter), Stutterheim (Pastor A. Becker, Mrs H. Ludewig and Mr C. Mai), Frankfort (Messrs I. Buss and W. Gudmanz), Kwelegha (Messrs C.E. Bode and A. Horrmann), Berlin (Mr G.F. Hempel), Potsdam/Dawn (Pastor W. Ludewig, Messrs R. Weyer and E. Karshagen), Macleantown (Messrs E. Schwartz and A. Richter), East London (Pastor H.J. Günther, Messrs E. Lentz, B. Spörke and L. Koch), King William's Town (Pastor A. Brandt, Messrs E. Balzer, T. Balzer and S. Boucher), Braunschweig (Mr S. Karshagen), Port Elizabeth (Pastor H.W. von Falkenhausen and Mr K. Dinkelmann), Bloemfontein (Pastor N. Rohwer, Messrs A. Böhmer and P. Koch) and Kimberley (Mr H. Schöttler). Dr W. Hellberg attended as designated member (St Johannis Heim) and Praeses C. Brandt and Mr M. Frauenstein as members of Church Council.

Although the 1979 meeting had to spend considerable time in dealing with the regular business of each synod meeting, viz. reports, finances, minor amendments to orders, the election of Church Council members, the election of or supplementary election to various committees, delegates to the General Synod of the United Church and to the FELCSA Conference, enough time was left for a thorough discussion of the papers read.

Experience has taught that some synod meetings are predominantly business and orders orientated, whereas others leave more time for matters spiritual and theological. However, as much as synod meetings have sometimes been pressed for time, it can truly be said that delegates have always been edified and enriched by stimulating papers and the ensuing discussions. All synod meetings start with divine service and Holy Communion; each day is framed by morning and evening devotions and the meeting always ends with a closing service.

Prof. Dr H.-R. Müller-Schwefe from Germany read a paper on "Abendmahlsfrömmigkeit" ("Communion piety").

The congregations of George and Welkom were admitted into membership.

A finance committee, as provided for in the constitution, was revived in its intended capacity and has ever since rendered invaluable service to the Church.

The following members were elected, or re-elected, to Church Council: Prof. R. Ottermann (Chairman of Synod), the Pastors H.J. Günther and W. Ludewig and Messrs M. Frauenstein and H. Herrmann. Mr Herrmann was appointed as Treasurer in the place of Mr E. Ammermann who had served in this capacity since 1952. He was subsequently appointed as accountant of the Cape Church.

During his years of service as treasurer Mr Ammermann systematically succeeded in getting the finances of the Cape Church on a sound footing. Apart from being treasurer for 27 years, Mr Ammermann also played an important role in the founding of the ELC Pension Fund of the United Church in 1975 and served as trustee and chairman of the trustees of this fund. His involvement in the affairs of the Friedrich Schweizer Kinderheim (previously known as Deutsches Waisenheim) stretched over a record time of 57 years, since 1937/38, and is still continuing.

In 1980 Pastor Rohwer was co-opted as member of Church Council in the place of Pastor Günther, who had returned to Germany.

The second meeting of the fifth synod, Wynberg 1981

The second meeting of the fifth synod took place in Wynberg from 8 to 11 May 1981. As it was the second meeting of the synod, only the changes in the delegations of the congregations are given here: Cape Town (add Mr E. Mieding), Philippi (add Pastor N. Esterhuysen), Bellville (Mr Hesse not present), Port Elizabeth (Mr Dinkelmann not present; add Mr H. Bräuer and Prof. H. Rohwer), East London (Pastor W. Huppe, Mrs G. Schuch, Messrs E. Lentz and B. Spörke), Dawn (Mr I. Weyer instead of Mr E. Karshagen), Berlin (Mr R. Tessoroff instead of Mr Hempel), Macleantown (Mrs S. Kieck instead of Mr Richter),

Frankfort/Beacon Bay (add Pastor I. Tweet), King William's Town (Pastor A. Brandt not present), Stutterheim (Mrs I. Böttcher instead of Mrs Ludewig), Keiskammahoek (Miss P. Köpke), Bloemfontein (Prof. K. von Delft instead of Mr Koch) and Welkom (Mr A. Bechtold).

The designated members were: Dr G. Wittenberg (theological training), Mr E. Brunke (youth work), Mr U. Sachse (church music), Mr E. Bohrisch (mission to seamen), Dr R. Gernholtz (Friedrich Schweizer Kinderheim), Dr W. Hellberg (St Johannis Heim). Praeses C. Brandt, Mr M. Frauenstein and Mr H.F. Herrmann attended as members of Church Council.

Apart from a few amendments to the constitution and orders of the Cape Church, a number of important orders of the United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa pertaining to the training of pastors were discussed and adopted, namely: order governing the study of theology, order governing the first theological examination, order governing the vicarage (or internship) of candidates for the ministry, order governing the second theological examination and order governing the service conditions of the Pastor Collaborator.

A lot of time was spent on the discussion of finances and the levies payable to the Cape Church by the congregations. The whole system was eventually revised and moulded into a form which seems to have since served the Church and the congregations well. The Church Council was empowered to waive levies if possible and feasible.

Reacting to a growing feeling of irritation amongst delegates about submissions to synod in the German language only (which was still often the case), the chairman ruled that he would henceforth not accept any "items of an official nature" which were in one language only. Many delegates did not understand German and English had increasingly become the language in which most of the deliberations took place, although Afrikaans and German were also used. This ruling by the chairman has proved to be helpful and sensitivities about the language issue have, by and large, completely disappeared from synod meetings. The minutes were finally written completely in English as from the 1987 synod meeting.

Praeses C. Brandt and Vice-Praeses G. Plüddemann were re-elected and in a supplementary election to Church Council, Pastor Nils Rohwer who had been co-opted to Church Council in 1980 in the place of Pastor Günther, was elected as an assessor.

The first meeting of the sixth synod, Port Elizabeth 1983

The first meeting of the sixth synod took place in Port Elizabeth from 22 to 25 April 1983. The following congregations were represented: Cape Town (Pastor P. Köppen, Mrs H. Sachse, Prof. R. Zimmermann and Mr H.D. Büttner), Wynberg (Pastor K.W. Bodenstein, Miss E. Neuwirth

and Mr W. Neuwirth), Philippi (Pastor N. Esterhuysen, Messrs A. Punt, W. Buhr and E. Kohn), Bellville (Pastor G. Plüddemann, Meses E. Schulze and M. Schwär, Dr F. Wittenberg), Stellenbosch (Pastor W. Kronbach, Mr W. Lüdemann, Professors U. Plüddemann and R. Ottermann), Paarl (Meses I. von Ulmenstein and R. Dodds), Worcester (Pastor E. Rust and Mr S. Maul), George (Mr J.P. Richter), Port Elizabeth (Pastor H.W. von Falkenhausen, Messrs U. Johl and D. Hollemann), East London (Pastor W.C. Huppe, Messrs B. Spörke and W. Illgner), Dawn (Pastor W. Ludewig, Messrs R. Weyer and D. Kretzmann), Berlin (Mr R. Tessendorf), Macleantown (Messrs E. Schwartz and D. Korte), Beacon Bay (Pastor I. Tweet, Messrs I. Buss and D. Moldenhauer), Kwelegha (Messrs W.E. Horrmann and K.A. Freitag), King William's Town (Pastor R. Giles, Messrs S. Boucher, T. Balzer and E. Balzer), Braunschweig (Mr D.W.F. Tessendorf), Stutterheim (Pastor A. Becker, Mrs I. Böttcher and Mr C. Mai), Keiskammahoek (Miss P. Köpke), Bloemfontein (Pastor N. Rohwer, Mrs H. Seaman and Mr P.M. Koch), Welkom (Mr A. Bechtold) and Queenstown (Mr L.E. Pohlmann). Praeses C. Brandt and Mr R. Spitzner attended as members of Church Council, the latter having been co-opted to Church Council after the resignation of Mr Herrmann. Also Mr R. Weyer from Dawn had also been co-opted, but he attended as a delegate for Dawn.

Furthermore, there were seven members designated by Church Council as representatives of church institutions and services, namely Mr E. Ammermann (finances), Dr G. Wittenberg (theological training), Mr R. Annas (youth work) and Mr U. Sachse (church music). Mr H. Möhrke (mission to seamen), Mr G. Blaich (St Johannis Heim) and Dr R. Gertholtz (Friedrich Schweizer Kinderheim) were unable to attend.

The newly established Queenstown congregation was accepted into membership. The synod also agreed to the merger of the Philippi and Neu-Eisleben congregations. This merger was yet another result of the government's expropriation of land in terms of the Group Areas Act which hit Neu-Eisleben particularly hard.

As a result of problems experienced in some congregations, the section of the order governing congregations dealing with the general meeting of the congregation was amended to make provision for the right of vote to be withdrawn from a person who had been rebaptised, unless such rebaptism had been renounced.

The United Church edition of the new Afrikaans hymnal *Laudate*, compiled by a commission of FELCSA, was adopted as the official Afrikaans hymnal of the Cape Church.

In order to attain consistency in the legal status of the constitution, it was decided that all future amendments to the constitution would be passed in English, in order to obviate the necessity of certifying the translation of each new amendment.

A particularly noteworthy item on the agenda was a paper by Prof. J.A.

Heyns of Pretoria on "The role of the Church in the challenge of obedience to the call of Christ in South Africa today." Pastor W. Ludewig spoke on "Baptism and its practical consequences".

The following members of Church Council were elected, or re-elected: Prof R. Ottermann (Chairman of Synod), Pastors W. Ludewig and N. Rohwer, Messrs R. Weyer and R. Spitzner. Mr Spitzner was appointed as Treasurer.

During the apartheid era in South Africa the Cape Church increasingly found itself in the invidious position of being victimized and even ostracised by people, churches and church organizations like, e.g., the Lutheran World Federation (LWF). In 1984, at the assembly of LWF in Budapest, which Praeses Brandt attended, the membership of the Cape Church and the German Evangelical Lutheran Church in South West Africa was suspended. This suspension, on political grounds, with the accompanying politicking, was a sad episode in the history of the LWF. Fortunately the two suspended churches did not succumb to suggestion that they resign from the LWF which would have rid the LWF from the dilemma it had created for itself. On the contrary, Church Council and Synod of the Cape Church reiterated their desire to remain part of the worldwide family of Lutheran Churches. Eventually the suspension was lifted by the Council of the LWF in 1991 and the two Churches were ceremoniously received back into the communion during a council meeting in Madras, India, in September 1992, which Bishop Rohwer attended.

One of the saddening results of the suspension of 1984 was a temporary cooling off of the cordial relations which had been built up between the Cape Church and ELCSA, especially (but not only) in the Western Cape. It seemed as if there was hesitation and uncertainty about the way to deal with what had suddenly become an "outcast". Fortunately brotherliness and common sense soon carried the day and the good relations are gradually being rebuilt.

The second meeting of the sixth synod, Cape Town, 1985

The second meeting of the sixth synod took place in Cape Town from 26 to 29 April 1985. As it was the second meeting of the synod, only the changes in the delegations will be given: Wynberg (Pastor E. Rust instead of Pastor K.W. Bodenstein), Stellenbosch (Mrs G. Jespersen instead of Prof. R. Ottermann), Paarl (Pastor M. Löhde attended for the first time), Worcester (Pastor E. Rust now in Wynberg), Port Elizabeth (Pastor H.J. Schönfeld, Mr R. Pakendorf and Mrs M. Trumpp), East London (Mrs G. Schuch instead of Mr W.H. Illgner), Dawn (Mr W.H. Böttcher instead of Mr R. Weyer), Kwelegha (only Mr W. Horrmann), Welkom (Mrs T. Meets) and Kimberley (Mr E. Scholz). Keiskammahoek was not represented any more. Pastor N. Rohwer,

Prof. R. Ottermann, Mr R. Weyer and Mr Spitzner attended as members of Church Council. All the designated members of synod attended.

The order governing leave of pastors of the United Church was adopted, but the order governing the service conditions of pastors in the United Church and its member churches was referred to the legal committee for clarification. The Church Council was empowered to deal with it by way of regulation.

The meeting reaffirmed the decision of the 1975 synod meeting with regard to greater Lutheran unity in Southern Africa and decided that "basically ONE Lutheran Church in Southern Africa is desirable. It mandates the Church Council to investigate the closer union with other Lutheran Churches".

The election of the Praeses caused a stir when the electoral committee did not nominate the incumbent, Praeses C. Brandt, but Pastor N. Rohwer of Bloemfontein. He was then duly elected and Pastor W. Ludewig was elected Vice-Praeses. Pastor N. Esterhuysen was elected as an assessor in the place of Pastor Rohwer. The previous Vice-Praeses, Pastor G. Plüddemann, continued as an assessor.

Praeses Rohwer was inducted in his new office by his predecessor during the closing service of the synod meeting in St Martini on 29 April 1985. However, as Bloemfontein had to be given proper notice and Praeses Rohwer had to move down to Cape Town, ex-Praeses Brandt was commissioned by the post-synod Church Council meeting with the supervision of the day-to-day running of the church office for 6 months, until 31 October 1985.

From this post-synod Church Council meeting onwards all Church Council minutes were written in English.

The first meeting of the seventh synod, Beacon Bay 1987

The first meeting of the seventh synod took place in the church centre of the St Crucis congregation (formerly at Frankfort) in Beacon Bay from 8 to 11 May 1987. The following congregations were represented: Cape Town (Mrs H. Sachse, Messrs G. Stelzner and G. Matthäi), Wynberg (Pastor E. Rust, Messrs W. Neuwirth and J. Bodenstein), George (Mr J. Scriba), Philippi (Pastor N. Esterhuysen, Messrs A. Punt, W. Schultz and E. Kohn), Bellville (Pastor G. Plüddemann, Mrs V. Prenzlau, Messrs H.J. Gerhardt and M. Kriess), Stellenbosch (Pastor W. Kronbach, Mrs G. Jespersen, Prof. U. Plüddemann and Dr R. Annas), Paarl (Pastor M. Löhde, Mrs R. Dodds and Mr G. von Ulmenstein), Worcester (Mr U. von Wechmar), Port Elizabeth (Pastor H.J. Schönfeld, Messrs H. Schaberg and R. Pakendorf), East London (Pastor W. Huppe, Mrs A. Dörksen, Messrs B. Spörke and E. Grieb), Dawn (Pastor W. Ludewig, Messrs D. Kretzmann and W. Böttcher), Berlin (Mr N. Krause), Macleantown (Mr D. Korte), Beacon Bay (Pastor B.

Sonnenberger, Messrs O. Karshagen and Schrier), Brakfontein, formerly called Kwelegha (Mr A. Heger), King William's Town (Pastor P. Molchin, Messrs E. Balzer, M. Benkenstein and S. Boucher), Braunschweig/Komga (Mr R.C. Tessendorf), Stutterheim (Pastor A. Becker, Messrs C. Mai and H. Päper), Queenstown (Mr L. Pohlmann), Bloemfontein (Mr P.M. Koch and Dr P. Jordaan), Welkom (Mr E. Meets) and Kimberley (Mr E. Scholz).

Praeses N. Rohwer, Prof. R. Ottermann and Messrs R. Weyer and R. Spitzner attended as Church Council members. Members designated by Church Council were Mr E. Ammermann (finances), Pastor H. Kraus (theological training) and Mr U. Sachse (church music).

A number of amendments to the constitution and orders were adopted, including one for the "improvement of communication within the Cape Church".

A new order of pericopes (i.e. Scripture readings in divine service) was adopted. (The General Synod of the United Church had adopted this order, presented by the Lutheran Liturgical Conference in Germany in 1977, at its meeting in July 1986, and the Cape Church was now following suit.)

New liturgical vestments (white coat alb and stole) were adopted as an alternative to the traditional black gown with bands.

At this meeting a process was started which would eventually lead to the introduction of the designation "Bishop" for the leader of the Church. The Pastors' Convocation had asked that a workable English version of the title "Praeses" be found. Church Council then proposed to synod that the title "President" be used in English and Afrikaans. At the synod meeting a proposal was made from the floor that the title be changed to "Bishop". This motion seemed to be favoured by many delegates. However, as the chairman ruled that this would amount to an amendment of the constitution and could, therefore, not be voted on at that meeting, synod deferred the motion to the next meeting. Church Council was requested "to investigate whether the title of the spiritual leader of a Lutheran Church irrespective of its size should not more appropriately be 'Bishop'. In case of a positive finding, Church Council should prepare an appropriate motion".

The following Church Council members were elected or re-elected, as the case may be: Prof. R. Ottermann (Chairman of Synod), the Pastors G. Plüddemann and H.J. Schönfeld, Messrs R. Weyer and R. Spitzner. Mr Spitzner was appointed Treasurer.

The second meeting of the seventh synod, Bellville 1989

The second meeting of the seventh synod took place in Bellville from 14 to 17 April 1989. Only the changes in the membership of the synod are given here: Cape Town (Pastor C. Lehmann, and Mr H.D. Büttner instead of Mr

G. Matthäi), Bellville (Mr E. Brunke instead of Mr M. Kriess), Stellenbosch (Pastor A. Ehmman instead of Pastor W. Kronbach, Mr W. Lüdemann instead of Dr R. Annas), Paarl (Mr J. Dijkman instead of Mrs R. Dodds), Berlin (Mr H. Schröder instead of Mr N. Krause), Macleantown (Mr E. Schwartz instead of Mr D. Korte), Stutterheim (Mr R.E. Tessororf instead of Mr H. Päper), Bloemfontein (add Pastor W. Schwär) and Welkom (Mr A. Bechtold instead of Mr E. Meets). Pastor H.W. Reeh who occupied the post of youth pastor in the Western Circuit also attended. Furthermore, Dr Annas attended as a designated member for the Circuit Conference West.

An important decision taken was the adoption of a revised and updated version of the constitution as prepared by the legal committee. Also, a revised and more streamlined renumbering of the orders in the legal files of the Cape Church was adopted.

An amendment to the constitution, changing the title of the Vice-Praeses to that of Vice-Chairman of Church Council and rewording certain articles to bring them in line accordingly, was carried. However, the proposal from Church Council that the title "Bishop" be introduced did, in a secret ballot, not obtain the two-thirds majority required. Consequently, the meeting repeated its instruction of the previous meeting to Church Council to investigate the matter and prepare a motion in case of a positive finding.

It is interesting to note that the amendment to the constitution, the intention of which had been to avoid the clumsy title of Vice-Bishop, *was* carried. and the previous Vice-Praeses was now called Vice-Chairman of Church Council.

Praeses N. Rohwer and Pastor W. Ludewig were re-elected, the latter now as Vice-Chairman of Church Council.

The first meeting of the eighth synod, Stutterheim 1991

The first meeting of the eighth synod took place in Stutterheim from 19 to 21 April 1991. The following congregations were represented: Cape Town (Pastor C. Lehmann, Mrs H. Sachse, Messrs H.D. Büttner and G. Stelzner), Wynberg (Pastor E. Rust, Mrs E. Krüger-Haye and Mr A. Rix), Philippi (Messrs E. Kohn, A. Punt and W. Schultz), Bellville (Pastor G. Plüddemann, Mrs V. Prenzlów and Dr F. Wittenberg), Stellenbosch (Pastor A. Ehmman, Mrs G. Jespersen, Prof. U. Plüddemann and Dr R. Annas), Paarl (Messrs G. von Ulmenstein and J.H. Dijkman), Worcester (Mr U. von Wechmar), George (Mr J. Scriba), Port Elizabeth (Pastor H.J. Schönfeld, Messrs R. Pakendorf and J. G. Schaberg), East London (Pastor R. Lutz, Messrs E. Grieb and E. Baumann), Dawn (Pastor W. Ludewig, Messrs D. Kretzmann and W. Ristow), Berlin (Mr T.W. Ahlschläger), Macleantown (Mr D. Kieck), Beacon Bay (Pastor B. Sonnenberger, Messrs D. Moldenhauer and L. Pohlmann), Brakfontein (Mr M. Lutge), King William's Town (Pastor P.

Molchin, Messrs E. Balzer and M. Benkenstein), Komga (Mr R. Tessendorf), Stutterheim (Pastor A. Becker, Messrs C. Mai and H. Päper), Queenstown (Mr M. Krause), Bloemfontein (Pastor W. Schwär, Dr P.J. Jordaan and Dr W. Schwindack) and Kimberley (Mrs I. Engelbrecht). Also present were Pastor S. Moolman (diaconic pastorate), Pastor H.W. Reeh (youth pastorate, Western Cape) and Mr U. Sachse designated member of synod for church musci.

Praeses N. Rohwer, Prof. R. Ottermann and Messrs R. Weyer and R. Spitzner attended as members of Church Council.

The constitution, with some minor editorial changes by the Church Council, was once again tabled and adopted unanimously. A revised and amended version of the order governing leave of pastors was also adopted.

The church law regarding the change of the title of the church leader from "Praeses" to "Bishop" was adopted with the required two-thirds majority. It reads as follows: "The title of the spiritual leader of the Church is changed from 'Praeses' to 'Bishop' (German 'Bischof', Afrikaans 'Biskop'). At the same time, the authority and functions of the office remain unchanged." The general feeling was that this change had been overdue. It has since also proved to be helpful in the Bishop's dealings with other Churches, as well as in the family of Lutheran Churches.

The Praeses reported on the unity negotiations between the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa (ELCSA), the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa (Natal-Transvaal) and the Cape Church, and the proposals put forward by a constitutional panel in this regard. Synod then unanimously adopted the following resolution: "Synod requests Church Council to continue unity discussions based on the proposals as put forward by the constitutional panel, accepting the basic idea of forming a united Lutheran Church in Southern Africa, possibly made up of 9 dioceses, where the emphasis is put on the life in the congregation and the diocese. Synod in this regard points to the suggestions as were put forward at synod."

Pastor D. Lilje of the ELCSA (Natal-Transvaal) read a stimulating paper on "The Lutheran input in the 'New South Africa'" which was well received and followed by an interesting discussion.

The following members of Church Council were re-elected: Prof. R. Ottermann (Chairman), Pastors G. Plüddemann and H.-J. Schönfeld, and Messrs R. Weyer and R. Spitzner. Mr Spitzner was appointed as Treasurer.

The second meeting of the eighth synod, Philippi 1993

The second meeting of the eighth synod took place in Philippi from 7 to 10 May 1993. The changes in membership were as follows: Cape Town (Prof. G. Dolezalek instead of Mrs H. Sachse), Philippi (add Pastor F. Meylahn),

Bellville (add Mr H.J. Gerhardt), Paarl (add Pastor P. Molchin), Port Elizabeth (Mrs L. Dinkelmann instead of Mr R. Pakendorf), Dawn (Mr W. Ristow not present), King William's Town (add Pastor I. Cameron), Stutterheim (Mr W. Reynolds instead of Mr H. Päper), and Bloemfontein (Mr P. Koch instead of Dr P.J. Jordaan). A new designated member was Mr W. Andrag (finances).

It was a historic moment for the synod when the application of the Strand Street congregation, Cape Town, into membership of the Cape Church which had already been approved by Church Council, was ratified unanimously. Thereafter the pastor and delegates of the congregation, Pastor C. Huppe, Mrs H. Laubscher, Mr D. Skibbe and Mr C. Tessendorf, were commissioned by the Bishop. The meeting then sang the hymn "Now thank we all our God" in Afrikaans.

The theme of the synod meeting was "The Church acting on God's promises". It was introduced by Dr R. Annas. Pastor Cameron spoke on the reality, need and purpose of the Church. The main speaker was Pastor Horst Müller from the Natal-Transvaal Church who spoke about the "Dynamis project", a mission decade that had been launched in his Church. Group discussions contributed considerably to the involvement of all present. Eventually the preparatory committee was requested to continue functioning as a missionary committee with the aim of initiating a mission project along the lines of what was presented to synod, in liaison with the Natal-Transvaal Church. The work of this committee is now being carried out into the congregations.

Pastor S. Moolman, incumbent of the diaconic pastorate in the Western Cape since 1990, delivered a gripping report on her diaconic work in black townships in the Western Circuit. During the lunch break a number of delegates visited the Neu-Eisleben complex where a centre for Pastor Moolman's work was to be established in and around the church of the old Neu-Eisleben congregation, which had since merged with Philippi.

The budget as presented on behalf of Church Council contained some stringent cuts in order to lighten the levy burden on the congregations. But then the remarkable thing happened that the meeting took the courageous step of adopting a considerably higher levy income than the one proposed by Church Council. However, Church Council has for a number of years already been empowered to waive payment of a portion of the levies if possible.

Bishop N. Rohwer and the Vice-Chairman of Church Council, Pastor W. Ludewig, were re-elected and Pastor I. Cameron who had already been co-opted by Church Council, was elected as an assessor in the place of Pastor J. Schönfeld who went into retirement.

Meanwhile Pastor Cameron has left South Africa and Mr R. Weyer has resigned from Church Council after many years of service. The Church Council has co-opted Pastor A. Becker and Mr C. Green in their place.

CONCLUSION

The first meeting of the ninth synod of the Cape Church is scheduled to take place in King William's Town from 12 to 15 May 1995. The main topic of the synod meeting will be: "The worship service as a primary vehicle of inreach and outreach."

The Cape Church appears gradually to have found its identity as a truly indigenous church. Practically all congregations have introduced English or Afrikaans in their divine services and in congregational work. Members of other population groups than those of European descent have also joined some congregations. German still is the dominant language in some congregations and this may well continue to be the case for a long time. But by and large there seems to be an openness in dealing with the situation pragmatically and practically. The greater number of pastors are indigenous. Seconded pastors from Germany learn to speak the necessary language, be it Afrikaans or English or both, in order to be able to do the work in their congregations.

The quest for greater structural unity amongst the different Lutheran churches in South Africa continues. Experience has taught that this is not a goal that will be easily achieved. The Cape Church has played a leading role in the Lutheran Co-ordinating Committee in the Western Cape. Joint work with brass bands, the annual Advent and Christmas Carol Service in Cape Town since 1972, joint retreats of the pastors, and contacts from congregation to congregation have built many bridges between the Cape Church, ELCSA and the Moravian Church. But historically rooted structures and traditions, and also prejudices and the heritage of long and difficult separate roads, will have to be overcome. Considerable problems of structure and alignment within the predominantly black ELCSA seem also to be occupying the time and energy of the leadership. But there appears to be a growing willingness on all sides to strive for a genuine solution that will be in the interests of the Lutheran Church as a whole and in its task amongst the people of this country.

The theological training programme at the University of Natal in Pietermaritzburg, now a joint venture of the United Evangelical Lutheran Church and ELCSA with SALTTT (the Southern African Lutheran Theological Training Trust) as its governing body, will hopefully be able to continue serving not only the Lutherans in South Africa but also in other countries in Africa. The Lutheran World Federation and the Evangelical Church in Germany have assisted this programme with substantial subsidies and will hopefully continue to do so.

In all this the Cape Church is involved with all the commitment and co-operation with which its small numbers and the available time and energy

of its leadership enable it to be. Work in the congregations is, at the moment, hampered by an unfortunate number of vacancies in the pastoral posts. But there is also true commitment and loyalty, as well as a considerable degree of involvement amongst the members in the local congregations. The road ahead will show whether the Cape Church will be what has been called, with a negative connotation, a "maintenance church", or whether it will remain true to its calling to bring the Gospel of Jesus Christ to the people and, if it be the will of God, grow.

CHAIRMEN OF SYNOD MEETINGS AND THE EXECUTIVE

Until 1961 the chairman of the executive opened and constituted a synod meeting, after which a chairman was elected for that particular meeting. The chairman of the executive was elected at the end of a synod meeting for the period of time until the end of the next meeting.

In 1963 (the first meeting of the first synod of the Cape Church) Mr Ammermann chaired the meeting at the request of the Church Council and was duly elected in this position by the meeting. Since then, according to the constitution of the Cape Church, the chairman is elected for the synodal period of four years at the end of the first meeting of a synodal period. Prof. Heydorn was elected in 1963.

At the 1961 constituting meeting of the Cape Church Praeses von Delft was elected for four years, according to the constitution of the Cape Church. His term of office thus expired in 1965 when the second meeting of the first synod took place.

Since then the election of the Praeses (later Bishop) and the Vice-Praeses (later Vice-Chairman of Church Council) always takes place every four years at the end of the *second* meeting of a synodal period and the election of the Chairman of Synod and of the other Church Council members at the end of the *first* meeting of a synodal period. This overlapping has proved to be very useful as it ensures a measure of continuity.

Synod meeting	Chairman of the synod meeting	Chairman of the executive, elected at end of the synod meeting
1895 Cape Town	Pastor Wagener	Pastor Wagener
1897 Cape Town	Mr von Schuckmann	Pastor Wagener
1900 East London	Pastor Wagener	Pastor Wagener
1903 Cape Town	Pastor Wagener	Pastor Wagener
1907 East London	Pastor Spanuth	Pastor Spanuth
1909 Port Elizabeth	Pastor Spanuth	Pastor Wagener
1913 Cape Town	Pastor Wagener	Pastor Wagener
1922 East London	Pastor Fehsenfeld	Pastor Sprengel
1926 Cape Town	Pastor Sprengel	Pastor Hoppe
1929 King William's Town	Pastor Sprengel	Pastor Schrader

1933 Cape Town	Pastor Schrader	Pastor Schanz
1936 East London	Pastor Schanz	Pastor Fitschen
1947 Cape Town	Pastor Fitschen	Pastor von Delft
1951 East London	Pastor Schwär	Pastor von Delft
1952 Cape Town (Extraordinary meeting)	Pastor von Delft	
1954 Philippi	Pastor Schanz	Praeses von Delft
1958 Stutterheim	Pastor Schanz	Praeses von Delft
1961 Paarl	Pastor Schanz	Praeses von Delft
1963 Port Elizabeth	Mr Ammermann	-
1965 Stellenbosch	Prof. Heydorn (elected 1963)	Praeses von Delft
1967 King William's Town	Prof. Heydorn	-
1969 Cape Town	Mr Ottermann (elected 1967)	Praeses von Delft
1972 Stutterheim	Dr Ottermann	-
1974 Philippi	Dr Ottermann (re-elected 1972)	Praeses von Delft
1975 Dawn	Dr Ottermann	-
1977 Bellville	Dr Ottermann (re-elected 1975)	Praeses Brandt
1979 East London	Prof. Ottermann	-
1981 Wynberg	Prof. Ottermann (re-elected 1979)	Praeses Brandt
1983 Port Elizabeth	Prof. Ottermann	-
1985 Cape Town	Prof. Ottermann (re-elected 1983)	Praeses Rohwer
1987 Beacon Bay	Prof. Ottermann	-
1989 Bellville	Prof. Ottermann (re-elected 1987)	Praeses Rohwer
1991 Stutterheim	Prof. Ottermann	Bishop Rohwer
1993 Philippi	Prof. Ottermann (re-elected 1991)	-

CHRONOLOGIES OF THE CONGREGATIONS

As a supplement to the concise history of the Cape Synod and Cape Church a chronology of each congregation now follows. In these chronologies the life of the Church at grassroots level is reflected. The information they contain serves as an essential complement to the facts about the life and work of the Synod and the Church as a whole.

Considering the lamentable loss of practically all documents pertaining to the Cape Synod in the church archives in Hanover during the Second World War, it must be regarded as most fortunate that Pastor Georg Böker, who was pastor of the Berlin congregation from 1911 to 1924, left behind comprehensive chronologies of all congregations, in some instances up to the late 1950s. He must have done a lot of research in South Africa and, after his return to Germany, also in the archives in Hanover. He visited South Africa again after the war when his son, Georg-Arnold Böker, was pastor of Keiskammahoeck from 1949 to 1955. His last position in Germany was that of Superintendent in Burgdorf in Hanover.

The congregations were requested to edit Pastor Böker's chronologies and bring them up to date. A cordial word of thanks is extended to everyone who had a hand in this task. The chronologies were again edited and, in some instances, augmented by the author. Some chronologies, like Strand Street, Kimberley and George were compiled entirely by the author.

Western Circuit

Bellville, *Kreuzkirche* (Church of the Cross)

1890 The congregation is founded on 31 July as a daughter congregation ("Filiale") of St Martini, Cape Town (Pastors Wagener and Kramer and, later, also the other assistant pastors of St Martini with Pastor Wagener; (see St Martini); first places of worship unknown but the congregation buys a property for 100 pounds; at first it is only used as a cemetery.

1893 First service in the house of a Mr Timme on 2 February.

1896 From now on the services are held in a building belonging to a Mr Ahrens, close to the old railway line.

1898 A chapel on the church property is dedicated by Pastor E. Sprengel of Worcester on 13 January.

1910 The chapel is enlarged for use by the English School Board; a harmonium is bought.

1914-1921 Berlin missionaries and church committee members conduct the services.

1921-1927 Pastor F. von Probst of St Martini.

1927-1955 Pastor F. Hoberg of St Martini; during World War II and for many years afterwards most services are conducted by Messrs Schäffer and Ammermann.

1953 Mrs Marie Louise Hellström elected as first female member of the church committee.

1954 The chapel is in a bad state of repair and members start looking for another plot in Bellville; in November the first independent church bazaar is held.

1955 Vicar C. Brandt, synodal vicar in Cape Town, takes over the responsibility for the congregation; a plot is bought in Middle Street.

1957-1960 Pastor C. Brandt pastor of the parish Bellville-Stellenbosch.

1960 Praeses H. von Delft, formerly of Bloemfontein, is inducted as pastor of the parish on 15 May.

1963 (Pentecost) The new church centre, the *Kreuzkirche* in Middle Street, is dedicated; Paarl donates its old church organ and Wynberg its old bell, which is hung in the bell tower together with two new bells, donated by a friend of Praeses von Delft.

1963 Pastor G. Wittenberg becomes assistant pastor to Praeses von Delft; he resides in Bellville.

1964 The parish agreement with Stellenbosch is dissolved and Pastor Wittenberg becomes the first full-time pastor of Bellville, until 1970; during his ministry Afrikaans services are introduced.

1970 Pastor emeritus E. Leistner serves the congregation.

1970-1976 Pastor J. Peters.

1975 A large hall is added to the building.

1976-1979 Pastor E. Rust acts as locum tenens.

1979-1994 Pastor G. Plüddemann; during his ministry the "language issue" is handled aptly and carefully and is no longer a matter of strife and conflict; German and Afrikaans are the accepted languages of the congregation.

1989 A kindergarten is added to the church center.

1994 Pastor F. Meylahn, previously of Philippi, is inducted as pastor of Bellville on 7 August.

Cape Town, *St Martini*

1861 First German Lutheran service in the *Martinskirche* in Long Street on 7 April; founding of the *Deutsche Evangelisch-Lutherische St Martinigemeinde* by Pastor J.L. Parisius, previously of the Strand Street congregation, and a group of German Lutherans on 8 April; 150 confirmed members.

1861-1872 Pastor J.L. Parisius; services held in German and Dutch according to a fixed roster.

1862 The Consistory in Hanover accepts supervision of the congregation.

1864 After having previously rented the church, the congregation now buys the church for 3400 pounds from the owners, members of the former St Martin's congregation which had been founded in 1847 by Pastor G.W. Stegmann and a group members who had seceded from the Strand Street congregation in 1847; the church had been dedicated in 1853; last service by Stegmann in 1858, after which this congregation dissolved.

1872-1874 Vacant; Pastor J.G. Krönlein, a Rhenish missionary, acts as locum tenens.

1874-1884 Pastor Dr Carl Hugo Hahn, formerly Rhenish missionary in South West Africa, who also serves the congregations in Wynberg and Paarl.

1875-1882 Pastor Hugo Hahn Jnr appointed as assistant pastor; he takes over the responsibility for Wynberg and Paarl.

1877 Dedication of the first organ from Germany.

1879 The manse is built next to the church.

1880 Services in Dutch are discontinued.

1883 Opening of the German St Martini school on 1 October.

1884-1920 Pastor Georg Wilhelm Wagener; the congregation has about 2700 members.

1884 Founding of a "Jünglings- und Männerbund" (League for youths and men).

1887 Dedication of three bells (the largest set of bells in Cape Town).

1890-1895 Pastor F. H. Kramer second pastor, with Pastor Wagener.

1890 Mission to seamen founded.

1895-1897 Pastor A. Reddersen assistant pastor, with Pastor Wagener.

1897-1902 Pastor H. Baumgarten second pastor, with Pastor Wagener.

1898 Dedication of the chapel in Bellville.

1902-1907 Pastor F. Fuchs second pastor, with Pastor Wagener.

1907-1908 *Diakon* David Behrens assists Pastor Wagener.

1908 Pastor Löhr second pastor, with Pastor Wagener.

1909-1911 Pastor Wieneke second pastor, with Pastor Wagener.

1911-1912 Cand. Theol. Walter Troege assistant to Pastor Wagener.

1912-1913 Pastor Ernst Fricke, second pastor, with Pastor Wagener.

1913 Founding of the German Lutheran Orphanage ("Waisenheim"), forerunner of the "Friedrich Schweizer Kinderheim".

1914-1915 Pastor Lienhop, second pastor, with Pastor Wagener; Lienhop is interned and later repatriated.

1914 Pastor Wagener interned, repatriated to Germany in 1916; he returns to Cape Town a few days before his death in 1920; Pastor Dr J.M. Zahn of the Strand Street congregation takes care of the congregation during the war

1921-1927 Pastor Friedrich von Probst.

1921 The congregation has about 600 members who sacrifice a lot for their congregation; the services are not well attended.

1921 Founding of the "Frauenverein" (Ladies Union).

1923 The "Waisenheim" and the "Friedrich Schweizer Stiftung" (foundation) merge to form a "Kinderheim" (childrens' home).

1927-1957 Pastor Friedrich Hoberg, a Rhenish missionary, who had already taken care of the vacant congregation for several months, is inducted on 9 May 1927 as pastor of St Martini.

1927-30 Considerable extension of the St Martini School.

1928 Sunday School transformed into a childrens' service.

1931-1934 Vicar Egon Hopstock, assistant to Pastor Hoberg.

1932 Founding of a youth league ("Jugendbund").

1936 *Kirchenmusikdirektor* Walter König appointed as full-time church musician (until 1948); his predecessors were G.W. Kühn (1878-1924), a Mr Schlüter (1924-1927) and W. Dreyer (1927-1936).

1937 Introduction of an annual "Confession Sunday" ("Bekennntnissonntag") to witness against the political and anti-Christian movements in the German "Reich".

1939 Dedication of the new organ.

1950 Miss Margot Scherz appointed as organist, a post she holds until 1975.

1952 Inauguration of the St Martini School hostel.

1952 The daughter congregations Bellville and Stellenbosch become independent but are, for the time being, served by the pastor of St Martini.

1953 Mission to seamen started again; a pastor of the congregation is responsible for this work.

1953-1957 Pastor Christoph Brandt, second pastor, with Pastor Hoberg; on 3 November he is inducted as pastor of Bellville and Stellenbosch.

1957-1963 Pastor Dr Kurt Naumann.

1959 Introduction of a monthly evening service in English which is, however, soon discontinued because of poor attendance.

1960 The congregation decides to open a kindergarten and to establish a second pastoral post.

1961 The new German School opened and the old St Martini School in Queen Victoria Street closes.

1961 A new manse is bought in Glencoe Road, in order to use the manse next to the church as church centre and kindergarten.

1961 Festival week to celebrate the centenary of St Martini.

1962-1968 Pastor Erhard Evers.
1962 A second manse is bought, in Sidmouth Avenue.
1964-1973 Pastor Carl Osterwald.
1971 A station of the "Deutsche Evangelische Seemannsmission" is established; *Diakon* Christoph Präckel inducted as missionary to seamen.
1968-1974 Pastor Gottfried Drüsedau.
1973-1979 Pastor Herbert Kraus.
1975 Mr Ulrich Sachse appointed as church musician.
1975 The manse in Glencoe Road is sold.
1978-1980 Mr E. Bohrisch missionary to seamen.
1979-1986 Pastor Peter Koeppen.
1979 The manse in Sidmouth Avenue is sold and a new manse is acquired in Hofmeyr Street.
1982 As a result of the decline of the number of German ships in Table Bay harbour the post of a missionary to seamen is abolished; the pastors of St Martini act as pastors to seamen.
1984 Inauguration of the new community center (hall, meeting rooms and nursery school, as well as offices for the Praeses of the Cape Church).
1986-1987 Pastor Christoph Brandt acts as locum tenens during the vacancy.
1987-1994 Pastor Christian Lehmann.
1988 Festival week in October after the renovation of the organ.
1991-1993 Pastor Hans-Walter Reeh serves in half a post in the St Martini congregation; previously he was youth pastor in the Western Circuit of the Cape Church.
Since 1994 Pastor Georg Grobe; the congregation has approximately 760 members.

Cape Town, Strand Street

For a brief survey of the early history of the Lutherans at the Cape see the section "Lutherans at the Cape before 1780". See also the section about hymnals.

1780 Pastor Andreas Lutgerus Kolver conducts his first service in the church in Strand Street on 10 December; the services are conducted in Dutch, but the hymns are sung in German.
1783 The German hymnal of the cathedral ("Dom") in Bremen is accepted as uniform hymnal in the congregation.
1797 Pastor Kolver dies.
1799-1800 Pastor Johannes Haas, formerly chaplain of the Württemberg regiment at the Cape, acts as locum tenens; he preaches in German as he does not know enough Dutch.
1800-1817 Pastor Christian Heinrich Friedrich Hesse from Hanover.

1814 A large new organ is installed; some of the Strand Street organists play a decisive role in the musical life of Cape Town, like C.F. Lemming (1814-1817), Wilhelm Brandt (1820-1838), Frederick Logier (1838-1839) and Ludwig Beil (1839-1847).

1817-1827 Pastor Friedrich Justus Rudolph Kaufmann, also from Hanover.

1818-1820 The steeple is added to the church building and three bells hung.

1827-1864 Pastor Johan Melchior Kloek van Staveren from Holland.

1830 The Dutch Lutheran hymnal is introduced to be used alongside with the German hymnal.

1836-1847 Georg Wilhelm Stegmann, who was born at the Cape, acts as second pastor.

1847 First split in the congregation; Pastor Stegmann and a number of members found the St Martin congregation and build a church in Long Street in 1853; this congregation ceases to exist in 1858; after Stegmann's departure from Strand Street a certain C.A. Bamberger, also born at the Cape, assists Pastor Kloek van Staveren for a short time.

1851-1861 Pastor Johann Ludolph Parisius from Hanover serves as second pastor.

1859-1864 Friedrich Clüver from Hanover serves as organist and teacher.

1861 Second split in the congregation; Pastor Parisius and a number of members found the German Evangelical Lutheran congregation St Martini.

1861-1889 Willem Frederick Gohl from Holland; at first second pastor and then, after Kloek van Staveren's retirement in 1864, first pastor.

1889 English evening services introduced.

1889-1905 Pastor Dr Johannes Michael Zahn, a Rhenish missionary, born in South Africa.

1898-1902 Pastor Carl Krüger from Germany, second pastor.

1902-1905 Pastor Johannes Astrup, son of a Norwegian missionary in South Africa, second pastor.

1905-1958 Pastor François Johannes Retief, formerly minister of the Dutch Reformed Church.

1959 Dutch replaced by Afrikaans.

1960-1973 Pastor Gustav Adolf Pakendorf, a Berlin missionary, born in South Africa; during his ministry the mission church at Vasco is bought and becomes one of the three preaching points of the congregation, next to Strand Street and Wynberg.

1965 The congregation joins the United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa as an independent congregation; the first General Synod of this Church is held in Strand Street.

1969-1974 Pastor Irvin Tweet from America.

1974-1979 Pastor Charles Ellefson from America.

1980-1989 Pastor Albert Alfred Brandt, previously of King William's Town.

1986 A major restoration of the church building is started; it is still in progress.
1990-1993 Pastor C. Huppe, previously of St Andrew's, East London.
1993 The congregation joins the Cape Church; the third split in the congregation occurs when Pastor Huppe and a number of members secede to found a congregation of the Free Lutheran Church; Pastor E. Rust, Wynberg, acts as locum tenens.

George

1978 The congregation is founded by Lutherans who had, since the 1950s, met in private homes and later in the Forestry School Saasveld; Pastor emeritus F. Serapins, now living in Somerset West, serves the congregation.
1982-84 The congregation served by Pastor E. Rust of Worcester.
1984-90 Pastor Rust, now of Wynberg, serves the congregation; parish agreement with Wynberg.
1986 A small former Dutch Reformed church is bought in beautiful surroundings at Rondevleihooft.
1989-1990 Pastor Kathrin Koning.
1990 The congregation is served by Pastor Schönfeld of Port Elizabeth; parish agreement with Port Elizabeth

Neu-Eisleben

1896 Pastor Bracklo of Wynberg conducts the first service in Neu-Eisleben on 22 April; a service is held once a month; a group of settlers on the Wynberg Flats found the Neu-Eisleben congregation and align themselves with Wynberg as a daughter congregation ("Filiale").
1897 A government school opened, with tuition also in German.
1900-1906 Pastor Siebe of Wynberg also serves the congregation.
1906-1914 Pastor Ludewig of Wynberg.
1907 The school is turned into a private German school.
1914-1931 Pastor G. Wagener of Wynberg.
1931-1958 Pastor Fitschen of Wynberg.
1946 Dedication of the *Lutherkirche*.
1958-1960 Pastor Ullrich of Wynberg.
1959 A monthly service in Afrikaans is introduced.
1962-1965 Pastor emeritus E. Leistner serves Wynberg and Neu-Eisleben.
1965-1978 Pastor K.W. Bodenstein of Wynberg.
1978-1979 As a result of the Group Areas Act many members have to move away and the church and cemetery are vacated; the congregation merges with Philippi.

Paarl, *St Petri*

1876 Founding of the congregation on 21 February as a daughter congregation ("Filiale") of St Martini, Cape Town.

1880 Dedication of the *St Petri-Kirche* on 22 September.

1883 The manse is built; a German school started which exists until the outbreak of the Second World War.

1883-1920 Pastor Hugo Hahn Jnr.

1903 Dedication of the steeple on 20 March.

1922-1929 Pastor F. Lührs.

1928 Pastor Lührs tries, in vain, to establish a German high school, "Deutsches Institut Paarl", for which imaginative plans were drafted.

1929-1943 Pastor H. Johl.

1943-1947 Vacant; for some months served by Pastor F. Kuhlmann, Rhenish missionary from South West Africa.

1947-1965 Pastor A. Winkler, a former Leipzig missionary from East Africa.

1967-1971 Pastor J. Naudé.

1968 Renovation of the church.

1971-1977 Pastor C. Brandt; Afrikaans services started.

1975 Comprehensive renovation of the church.

1977-1979 Praeses Brandt acts as locum tenens.

1979 Pastor Rust, Stellenbosch, acts as locum tenens.

1980-1983 Pastor F. Lisse.

1984-1990 Pastor M. Löhde.

1984 Parish agreement with Worcester.

1990 Pastor P. Molchin is inducted in March.

1995 English services introduced, in addition to German and Afrikaans.

Philippi ("Wynberg Vlakte"), *Zionskirche*

The German settlers at Philippi consisted of three distinct groups. The "Godeffroy settlers" of 1858/62, recruited for the Colonial Government by the Hamburg shipping company Godeffroy and Son, settled on the outskirts of the Cape Flats (Wynberg, Diep River) after the expiry of their contracts, because of the fact that there was a Lutheran church at Wynberg. The second group, recruited by the Cape Colonial authorities, arrived in 1877/78 and settled on what was called the Claremont and Wynberg Flats. The third group arrived in 1883 and consisted mainly of "Heidjer", i.e. people from the "Lüneburger Heide" in Northern Germany. They were settled on the Cape Flats.

1884 Part of a barn on the farm of Carl Wesner is set aside for church ser-

vices and school activities (the so-called "Beichtkammer", or confession room); Pastor G.W. Wagener of St Martini in Cape Town takes care of the settlers.

1885 A plot is donated to the settlers for the erection of a school; the settlers attend the services in St Johannis, Wynberg, a daughter congregation ("Filiale") of St Martini; a distinction is made between the "school congregation" on the Flats and the "church congregation" of St Johannis.

1886 Inauguration of the school.

1894 A dispute arises between the "school congregation" and the "church congregation" because St Johannis also intends to start a school, the problem being the demarcation line between the areas from which the children are sent to the respective schools.

1896 The "school congregation" secedes from Wynberg (since 1887 with its own pastor) and joins St Martini as a daughter congregation ("Filiale"); at the same time another congregation in the Far Dunes (Neu-Eisleben) aligns itself with Wynberg.

1897 Dedication of the church on the Wynberg Flats on 14 November; the congregation and school are taken care of by the second pastor of St Martini, Heinrich Baumgarten.

1899 A church choir and a brass band ("Posaunenchor") started.

1901 The congregation becomes the independent *Zionsgemeinde*.

1902 Pastor Baumgarten is called and a manse built.

1904 Dedication of a church bell.

1906 The congregation wins a Supreme Court case according to which they have the right to teach their children in German.

1914 In May the first bazaar is held; after the outbreak of the war Pastor Baumgarten, the teacher Grote as well as twenty men from the congregation are interned.

1919 Pastor Baumgarten retires.

1920 Pastor Heinrich Mahnke (a Hermannsburg missionary) is inducted.

1926 The old harmonium is replaced by a church organ.

1929 Pastor Baumgarten dies and is buried in the Philippi cemetery.

1933 Commemoration of the arrival of the last group of settlers in 1883.

1935 The church hall is built.

1942 The school is named "Lutherische Schule Philippi".

1947 Commemoration of the dedication of the church 50 years before and unveiling of the memorial to the settlers.

1948 Pastor Mahnke retires for health reasons; Pastor Fitschen of Wynberg acts as locum tenens.

1949 Pastor Wilhelm Blumer is called.

1952 The hall is enlarged and a north transept added to the church.

1953 *Kantor* E. Haller from Germany starts his service as organist and school teacher.

1954 A kindergarten, run by *Diakonisse* E. Schulz, is opened; the "language issue" gains momentum; as an experiment some sermons are delivered in Afrikaans.

1958 An Afrikaans Sunday in each month is introduced.

1961 Pastor Blumer returns to Germany; his successor is Pastor H.F. Böhmer; he intensifies efforts to use more Afrikaans in the congregational work and in services.

1966 Pastor Böhmer resigns.

1966-68 Pastor emeritus Erich Leistner acts as locum tenens.

1970 The school has to be closed for financial reasons.

1979 The congregation of Neu-Eisleben merges with Philippi.

1980 Pastor Blumer retires; he is succeeded by Pastor N. Esterhuyse; services are conducted in Afrikaans on three Sundays per month.

1983 Centenary festival; descendants from all over South Africa attend the festivities.

1989 Pastor Esterhuyse retires.

1990 Pastor J. Hillermann acts as locum tenens.

1991 Pastor F. Meylahn takes charge of the congregation.

1994 Pastor Meylahn is called by Bellville and leaves Philippi; Pastor G. Plüddemann acts as locum tenens; activities in the congregation are a ladies' auxiliary, a church choir, Sunday school; an Afrikaans-German service is held on each first Sunday of the month.

Stellenbosch

a) Daughter congregation of Strand Street

1852 Founded as a daughter congregation of the Strand Street congregation in Cape Town; services in Dutch are held every six weeks in the school of the Rhenish Mission (the forerunner of the present Rhenish Girls High School) by the pastors of Strand Street.

1854 Dedication of the church building (designed by Otto Hager) at the corner of Bird and Dorp Streets (now an art gallery of the university).

1859 Arrival of an organ from Germany.

1936 The congregation ceases to exist.

b) German Evangelical Lutheran congregation

1891 German services held at irregular intervals (until about 1898) in the Stellenbosch Lutheran church by Pastor G.W. Wagener of St Martini.

1923-1939 Four to nine services annually held in Denneoord College;

some attendants join the St Martini congregation.

1944-1952 Services held at regular intervals in the hall of the Christian Students' Association by Pastor F. Hoberg of Cape Town.

1952 Founding of the *Deutsche Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchengemeinde* on 7 December.

1954 Pastor Christoph Brandt from Hanover, synodal vicar at St Martini, Cape Town, takes care of the congregation.

1957-1960 Pastor Brandt moves to Stellenbosch and serves the parish Stellenbosch-Bellville.

1960-1972 Praeses H. von Delft pastor of Stellenbosch and Bellville.

1963 Dedication of the new church and church centre in Hofmeyr Street on Ascension Day (23 May).

1963 Dedication of the three bells on 22 December.

1964 Parish agreement with Bellville ends with the induction of Pastor G. Wittenberg in Bellville.

1965 Dedication of the organ on 1 August.

1967 A German kindergarten opened.

1972 Regular additional services in Afrikaans started.

1973-1982 Pastor Erich Rust from Württemberg (born in South West Africa); work in Somerset West and further afield intensified; regular services in Somerset West and, later, Kleinmond started.

1982-1988 Pastor W. Kronbach from Westphalia.

Since 1989 Pastor A. Ehmman from Württemberg.

1991 Additional services in English started.

Worcester, *Dreifaltigkeitskirche* (Holy Trinity)

From 1852 services held at irregular intervals by the pastors of Strand Street, Cape Town, for the Dutch and German Lutherans.

From 1861 Pastor L. Esselen, Rhenish missionary, conducts monthly services for the new immigrants in the Rhenish Mission church.

Since 1877 Regular services by Pastor Esselen and Pastor H. Hahn Jnr of Cape Town.

1882 Building of the church commences.

1883-1891 Pastor H. Hahn Jnr, now in Paarl, takes charge of the congregation.

1883 Founding of the *Deutsche Evangelisch-Lutherische Dreifaltigkeits-gemeinde* on 29 October, followed by the dedication of the *Dreifaltigkeitskirche* (Holy Trinity Church) on 14 November.

1884 The Consistory in Hanover accepts supervision of the congregation.

1889 A German school started.

1891-1893 Pastor C H. Hahn Sen. resides in Worcester and takes care of the congregation.

1893-1943 Pastor E. Sprengel.
1900 First Circuit Conference West meets in Worcester
1903 Dedication of the steeple and bells.
1939 Organ from St Martini, Cape Town, relocated in the Worcester church.
1943-1953 Vacant.
1943-1947 Pastor emeritus K. Hendrich, Rhenish missionary, acts as locum tenens.
1953-1963 Pastor T. Schanz.
1963-1969 Pastor H. Kleinhempel; during his ministry Afrikaans services are introduced.
1969-1975 Pastor emeritus H. Töttemeyer, a former Rhenish missionary from South West Africa.
1977 Pastor emeritus W. Kuhles, formerly of the Rhenish Mission in South West Africa and now living in Somerset West, assists in the work in Worcester.
1978 Pastor K.W. Bodenstein, Wynberg, acts as locum tenens.
1982-1984 Pastor E. Rust, the last resident pastor.
1984 Parish agreement with Paarl.
1984-1990 Pastor M. Löhde, Paarl.
Since 1990 Pastor P. Molchin, Paarl.

Wynberg, *St Johannis* (St John's)

1852 The Wynberg branch of the Strand Street congregation is established on 1 August.
1855 The government donates a piece of land for a church.
1860-1863 The church is built; after the dedication in 1863 the church is used for only about one and a half years before the congregation ceases to exist in 1865.
1861 The first German Lutheran service held in Wynberg in a hall belonging to P.D. Morgenrood; Pastor Parisius of St Martini conducts a service once every three weeks.
1873 The Germans get permission to use the church, unused for several years; first baptism in April 1873.
1874 Pastor Dr Carl Hugo Hahn, formerly Rhenish missionary in Damaraland, is appointed pastor of St Martini; he also takes charge of Wynberg.
1881 The Strand Street congregation lets the church to the German Lutheran congregation for 49 years at a rental of one pound sterling a year.
1883 The congregation is established on 20 December by accepting a consitution.
1884 The plot opposite the church is bought to build a manse; in April the cemetery in Wetton Road is donated to the congregation by the Liesbeek Municipality; Pastor Hahn retires in June.

1884 Pastor Wagener arrives in Cape Town and also takes charge of Wynberg.

1886-1887 The manse is built.

1887 Pastor J.G. Krönlein, previously Superintendent of the Rhenish Mission in Namaland, is inducted as pastor of Wynberg on 1 January.

1892 Pastor Krönlein dies on 27 January.

1893-1899 Pastor H. Bracklo.

1894 The Strand Street congregation donates the land on which the church stands to the Wynberg congregation; the church building is bought in 1896 for £750, payable after 35 years; until then the rental of £1 p.a. applies.

1895 Pastor Bracklo opens the "Lutheran Mission School", the school of the congregation, which served the congregation and the Wynberg community for nearly 80 years until its closure in the 1970s.

1895-1896 The church is enlarged by the addition of an apse and a vestry.

1896 Dedication of the enlarged church on 25 June; Pastor Hahn Jnr of Paarl preaches in the morning service and Pastor Dr Zahn of Strand Street in the afternoon.

1896 The congregation of Neu-Eisleben is founded; a service is held there once a month; the congregation of Wynberg collects money for a horse and cart and donates them to the pastor.

1897 A split within the congregation; members on the Cape Flats establish a new daughter congregation ("Filiale") (Wynberg Vlakte, later called Philippi) of the St Martini congregation .

1899 Pastor Bracklo resigns and leaves for Germany in January 1900; Pastor H. Siebe, Windhoek, is elected as his successor.

1900 Pastor Siebe is inducted on 11 March by Pastor Sprengel of Worcester; Pastor Siebe introduces the annual bazaar and in 1903 the debt on the manse can be settled.

1906 Pastor Siebe takes his leave from the congregation.

1906 Induction of Pastor Hans Ludewig on 12 August.

1911 The congregation celebrates its half-centenary.

1914 Pastor Ludewig takes his leave on 23 February.

1914-1931 Pastor Gottfried Wagener, formerly King William's Town.

1930 Mr Theodor Johl becomes head of the school in Wynberg (until December 1939 and again 1951-52); he plays an active role in the congregation and the Synod.

1931 Pastor Ernst Fitschen, a former Hermannsburg missionary, is inducted in Wynberg on 1 October; during World War II he visits the congregations in the Eastern Cape every three months.

1944 Dedication of the newly erected steeple at the church on 17 December.

1958 Pastor Fitschen retires after nearly 28 years in the congregation; Pastor W. Ullrich, a former Hermannsburg missionary, inducted on 9 November.

1959 Afrikaans is introduced as second language in confirmation classes and Sunday school; in November the congregations of Wynberg and Neu-Eisleben decide to have one service per month in Afrikaans in each congregation for a trial period of three years.

1960 Pastor Ullrich dies at the age of 50 years.

1961 During the vacancy Pastor H. Böhmer (Philippi) lives in the manse in Wynberg for some time and helps out in the congregation; Pastor Fitschen and Pastor Leistner also conduct services in German and Afrikaans respectively.

1962 A new bell, donated by Chancellor K. Adenauer of West Germany, is installed in the steeple to mark the centenary of the congregation; the congregation decides to publish a regular newsletter ("Gemeindebrief"); Pastor E. Leistner, retired Berlin missionary, serves Wynberg and Neu-Eisleben until the end of 1965.

1965 The committee decides to approach the pastor of the Strand Street congregation to have the English services in the church in Wynberg rather than in a hall in Plumstead; in July a meeting of representatives of the two congregations takes place; at an extraordinary meeting of the congregation Pastor Karl Wilhelm Bodenstein, a Hermannsburg missionary, is elected as pastor of the congregation; he starts his service in November and serves until 1984.

1978 Neu-Eisleben merges with the Philippi congregation.

1984-1995 Pastor Erich Rust; he also serves the congregation in George until 1989.

1985 The Annual General Meeting decides that on a fifth Sunday the service of the congregation will be held in English; in 1994 a service roster is introduced providing for two services in each of the three languages every month.

Wynberg Vlake

see **Philippi**

EASTERN CIRCUIT

Beacon Bay

see **Frankfort**

Brakfontein

see **Kwelegha**

Bell and Bodiam

Bell and Bodiam were two particularly beautiful settlements of the British-German Legion, Bell being situated near the mouth of the Keiskamma River and Bodiam North West of Bell.

1857 Pastor J. Oppermann conducts the first Lutheran services at the German Military Settlers Station Bodiam; later a certain Anglican missionary Green conducts English services at Bell and Bodiam; the services are held in private homes, mostly by lay readers; W. Appel serves as teacher and lay reader in Bodiam for 30 years, succeeded by C. Horn whose motto was: "No Sunday without a service."

1868-1882 Pastor C.T. Nauhaus, a Berlin missionary at Etembeni takes care of Bell and Bodiam.

1871 The German Lutheran congregation of Bodiam founded by Pastor F. Clüver of King William's Town ON 12 September.

1872 Dedication of the *St Jacobi-Kirche* in Bodiam by Pastor Clüver on 18 August.

1873 The German Lutheran congregation at Bell joins Bodiam as a daughter congregation ("Filiale").

1879 and 1882 Public schools opened at Bell and Bodiam respectively, with no tuition in German, however.

1882 Induction of Pastor J.E. König, previously Berlin missionary at Etembeni, as pastor of Bell and Bodiam by Pastor Nauhaus.

1886 Pastor König moves to the *Christusgemeinde* in King William's Town; Bell and Bodiam become daughter congregations ("Filiale") of this congregation.

1892 Pastor König moves to Macleantown, but continues taking care of Bell and Bodiam until 1894.

1892 Laying of the foundation stone of the *Friedenskirche* (Church of the Peace) at Bell on 28 June. Their first chapel, built by the Germans and consecrated by the Anglican Bishop, had been taken away from them.

1894-1898 Bell and Bodiam daughter congregations of *St Johannis* in King William's Town (Pastor Möller).

1900 Pastor König, now at Keiskammahoeck, takes care of Bell and Bodiam.

1902-1904 Pastor G. Pakendorf, Berlin missionary at Etembeni, takes care of the congregations.

1904-1908 Pastor A. Brünjes, the "Reiseprediger" (itinerant pastor) of the Synod residing at Kwelegha, serves Bell and Bodiam.

1910-1914 Pastor Wieneke of Braunschweig in charge of Bell and Bodiam, assisted by other pastors; his successor, Pastor Schreiber, also takes care of Bell and Bodiam.

1910 The government starts buying the land at Bell and Bodiam for the settlement of Fingos.

1920 The farmer Wilhelm Bürger of Bell hands over the proceeds of the sale of the church at Bell to the *St Johannis* congregation at King William's Town on 10 June (£145, of which £20 had been given to Braunschweig and £5 subtracted for expenses); the congregations Bell and Bodiam cease to exist.

Berlin, *St Matthäus* (St Matthew's)

1857 The village of Berlin has its origin as the headquarters of the second regiment of the British-German Legion. As such the chaplain of the Legion, Pastor O. Wilmans, resides in Berlin and ministers to the legionaries and their associates. He serves for approximately a year until his release from the Legion. Thereafter Pastor Oppermann serves the legionaries. After that the people are served by various missionaries of the Berlin Mission Society. As yet there is no real constituted congregation.

1864 The congregation is formally constituted on 14 August under the leadership of Pastor F. Clüver of King William's Town; for the next 8 years parish relationship with King William's Town.

1872 Pastor H. Müller of East London and after him Pastor H. Baumgarten take charge of the congregation.

1886 Pastor Baumgarten moves to Berlin; he also serves Potsdam; dedication of the manse.

1897 Pastor F. Fuchs takes charge of the parish Berlin and Potsdam.

1899 Macleantown is included in the parish relationship.

1902 The parish is dissolved.

1903-1910 Pastor Fuchs serves only Berlin.

1911 The parish Berlin-Potsdam-Macleantown is re-established.

1911 Pastor G. Böker inducted as pastor of the parish; he serves until 1924.

1924-1930 Pastor O. von Lintig.

1930-1934 Pastor M. Dellmann.

1933 Macleantown withdraws from the parish.

1934 East London, King William's Town and Brakfontein urge the dissolution of the parish Berlin-Potsdam; the bulk of the members in the congregations oppose this move; during the time of uncertainty Berlin is served by Pastor Cyrus of King William's Town and Potsdam by Pastor Bölsing of East London; finally the congregation splits, with the larger section deciding to join the Berlin Mission Society; as in the case of Potsdam, this section of the congregation is for a while served by Pastor F. Nickschat, Berlin missionary of Bethel (Stutterheim).

1937 Pastor H.F. Serapins of the Berlin Mission Society is inducted as pastor of the congregation and the other two congregations who had joined the Berlin Mission Society, *viz.* Potsdam and Macleantown.

1939 A parsonage built for Pastor Serapins in Berlin by the members of

the break-away parish; with the onset of World War II Pastor Serapins is interned and the congregation is served by Pastor G.A. Pakendorf, Berlin missionary of Bethel (Stutterheim).

1940 Pastor Cyrus resigns as pastor of King William's Town; the members he served in Berlin gradually move away to East London or join the part of the congregation served by Berlin missionaries.

1946 Pastor Serapins returns to Berlin and to the parish.

1948 A service is held once a month.

1961 With the founding of the Cape Church, Pastor Serapins and the other two congregations in the parish become members of the Cape Church; Berlin joins in 1963.

1976 Pastor Serapins goes into retirement and Pastor W. Ludewig is inducted as pastor of the parish on 25 January.

1981 German services discontinued.

Bloemfontein (Orange Free State)

1869 The first German service is held on 12 December by a Berlin missionary, N.J. Meyfarth; until 1907 services held by Berlin missionaries.

1874 Foundation stone of the church in St George's Street laid by President J. Brand of the Orange Free State on 12 February.

1875 Dedication of the church on 10 December; Berlin missionaries also preach in Wepener, Smithfield, Winburg and elsewhere.

1881 A manse is built.

1885 Small German school started by Pastor J.G. Grosskopf, a Berlin missionary.

1907 Bloemfontein joins the Synod; farewell service by Pastor Grosskopf on 2 June.

1907-1920 Pastor R. Schneider, previously in East London; interned during the war; after his return he suffers a stroke in 1919 and returns to Germany in 1920; he died on 20 April 1923 in Bethel, Germany.

1910 Bigger German school erected.

1920 The German school is closed.

1922-1928 Pastor F. Tielking; he also takes charge of Groenvlei and of preaching posts in Kroonstad, Harrismith, Clocolan, Ladybrand, Wepener, Smithfield and Bethulie.

1925 The 50th anniversary of the dedication of the church.

1928-1935 Pastor W. Moritz (later pastor in Walsrode, Germany).

1935-1940 Pastor W. Lückhoff; dismissed by the congregation, an indemnity sum having been paid to him.

1940-1946 Vacancy; Berlin missionaries serve the congregation, as does Pastor E. Fitschen, Wynberg, at regular intervals.

1946-1960 Pastor H. von Delft, from 1947 onwards Praeses of the Synod; farewell service on 1 May 1960.

1960-1972 Pastor L. Bock.

1964 Manse bought in Jan van Riebeeck Street

1965 Church property in St George's Street sold; two plots bought on Emily Hobhouse Square for the erection of a new church.

1968 Dedication of the new *St Paulus-Kirche* on 2 June.

1971 Dedication of the organ.

1972-1978 Pastor G. Plüddemann; during his ministry Afrikaans services are introduced.

1979-1985 Pastor N. Rohwer.

1985-1989 Vacant; served by Praeses Rohwer of Cape Town at regular intervals.

1989 Pastor W. Schwär takes charge of the congregation; diaspora work continues in Bethlehem and Kroonstad.

Braunschweig, *St Petri* (St Peter's, later Komga)

Origin of the congregation: Legionaries of the British-German Legion of 1857 and immigrants of 1858-1859. In the early years services are held at irregular intervals by Berlin missionaries, especially Pastor Liefeldt of Petersberg. A former legionary, Mr Korte, acts as teacher.

1864 Pastor F. Clüver inducted in King William's Town; he also conducts services at Braunschweig which becomes a daughter congregation ("Filiale") of King William's Town.

1865 A church order is adopted for King William's Town and, therefore, also for Braunschweig on 22 January; it is modelled on the church order of Cape Town and presupposes supervision by the Consistory in Hanover.

1866 The foundation of the *St Petri-Kirche* is laid on 1 September.

1867 Dedication of the church on 1 December.

1880 Induction of Pastor H. Anders, previously Berlin missionary at Emdizeni, by Pastors Kropf, Clüver and Böhmke on 13 June; Pastor and Mrs Anders teach in the public school.

1897 Braunschweig joins the Synod at the occasion of the visitation by Superintendent Petri from Hanover.

1904 The foundation stone of the new *St Petri-Kirche* laid on 7 December; the school becomes a public school.

1905 Dedication of the new church on 9 November.

1910 Last service by Pastor Anders on 3 July; he dies on 22 September.

1910 Induction of Pastor Wieneke, previously of Cape Town on 4 September; he returns to Germany in 1914.

1914 Induction of Pastor Schreiber on 19 April.
1919-1924 Frankfort is served from Braunschweig.
1925 Pastor Schreiber returns to Germany; Pastor Hoppe, King William's Town, takes care of the congregation.
1926 Parish agreement between Braunschweig and Frankfort; they call a pastor together.
1927 Pastor J.F. Schwär is inducted on 29 May; he resides at Frankfort.
1940 Pastor Schwär interned, until 1943.
1972 Pastor Schwär goes into retirement.
1973 The congregation is served by the pastor of King William's Town until 1995.
1979 Parish agreement with Frankfort formally dissolved.
1985 The Braunschweig church sold to the government; last service on 8 September 1985; the congregation eventually decides to relocate itself at Komga.
1989 The new St Peter's church in Komga dedicated.
1995 Pastor Lutz of St Andrew's, East London, acts as locum tenens.

Dawn
see **Potsdam**

Durban

From the middle of the 19th century services are held for German immigrants by Berlin missionaries.

1911 The German consul von Hedemann initiates the founding of a German Evangelical Lutheran congregation with a pastor sent by the "Landeskirchenamt" in Hanover.
1912-1917 Pastor Ernst Schüler from Hanover.
1912 The German Lutheran congregation of Cato Ridge aligns itself to the Durban congregation; a monthly service is held in Cato Ridge.
1913 The "Landeskirchenamt" in Hanover accepts supervision of the congregation; the congregation is represented at the meeting of the Cape Synod in Cape Town; a so-called Saturday school is started by Pastor Schüler.
1914-1915 A church is built after services had been held in private homes or, sometimes, in the Norwegian Lutheran church; a church collection in Hanover for the building project yields 13 000 *Reichsmark*.
1915 The interior of the church is looted on Ascension Day by a fanatical mob; the sacred vessels and the Altar Bible (donated by the German Emperor) are saved.
1917 Pastor Schüler leaves Durban, advised to do so by the city authorities; he serves the Keetmanshoop congregation in South West Africa and is

repatriated in 1919; Pastor J.C. Eichbauer, Berlin missionary at Christianenburg, takes care of the congregation as a representative of the Cape Synod; as a result of ill health he hands his responsibilities over to the Hermannsburg Mission in Natal. During the war the Berlin Mission Superintendent, Pastor G. Pakendorf, takes care of Cato Ridge; Cato Ridge eventually seeks association with the Berlin Mission.

1923 Pastor G. Böker of Berlin in the Eastern Cape, the secretary of the executive of the Cape Synod, visits Durban to discuss the secondment of a pastor from Hanover; the government does not give its permission for the entry of a pastor and the congregation finally joins the Hermannsburg Synod.

East London, *St Andreas* (St Andrew's)

The origin of this congregation can be traced back to the landing of the Lutherans of the British-German Legion in 1857 and the arrival of the German Lutheran immigrants in 1858-1859. During the first years various pastors serve the German Lutherans in what was then called Panmure, conducting services in a wooden church and two stone churches successively. Services are held by a Rev. Lange of the Anglican Church (previously Berlin missionary), a Rev. Rudolph B. von Hube who later goes to England, and two teachers, Messrs Broedelett from Rotterdam and Keitz. Confirmations are taken care of by the Anglican Bishop of Grahamstown.

1867 Pastor F. Clüver of King William's Town conducts twelve services a year in the stone church, cnr. Victoria Road and Maclean Street.

1872 The *St Andreaskirche* is constituted on 11 February; Pastor H. Müller (previously of the Hermannsburg Mission) is the first resident minister.

1879-1886 Pastor H. Baumgarten (previously of the Hermannsburg Mission).

1879 The old manse is built; Pastor Müller becomes principal of the German school

1880 Laying of the foundation stone of the *St Andreas-Kirche* on 11 August.

1882 Dedication of the church on 30 November; the congregation has debts amounting to £2200.

1886-1894 Pastor Müller, now a teacher, again serves the congregation, without a salary, in order to assist the congregation in paying off its debts.

1894-1904 Pastor R. Schneider.

1895 The congregation becomes a founder member of the Synod.

Approximately 1896 The congregation introduces the Bavarian hymnal (also used in other congregations), but with its own title page.

1898 The Consistory in Hanover accepts supervision of the congregation.

1900 Opening of the German kindergarten.

1904-1905 Pastor K. Bode.
1906-1909 Pastor W. Grevemeyer.
1909-1913 Pastor S. Hafermann.
1910 Introduction of the Hanoverian hymnal.
1913-1925 Pastor E. Fricke.
1926-1929 Pastor L. Janssen.
1929-1930 The manse is rebuilt.
1930-1936 Pastor F. Bölsing.
1936-1972 Pastor H. Plüddemann; during the Second World War he is interned for some years; the German kindergarten and the German school have to close during the war.
1952 Visitation by Bishop H. Lilje from Hanover; English services held in the Free Lutheran Church in Berea by Pastor H. Johl.
1955 Parish agreement with Brakfontein (Kwelegha); re-opening of the kindergarten and the German school.
1958 Introduction of English services in addition to the German services; the Free Lutheran Church in Berea later joins the congregation.
1973-1980 Pastor J. Günther.
1980 Pastor Ludewig acts as locum tenens.
1981 At the end of the year the German school closes; the kindergarten continues as a private institution at the home of Mrs G. Schuch; the parish agreement with Brakfontein dissolved.
1981-1990 Pastor C. Huppe.
1982 Centenary of the church building.
1990 Pastor R. Lutz inducted; three English services, two German services and one combined service are held every month.

Emnquesha (later Mnxesha)

1883 Late nineteenth century German immigrants settle in the Emnquesha area; Pastor Fuchs of Keiskammahoek takes care of the congregation.
1884 Erection of the first church (*Christus-Kirche*), which is demolished in 1897.
1897 Dedication of the new *Christus-Kirche* on 8 December.
1897-1912 Pastor E. Königk of Keiskammahoek in charge of the congregation.
1898 German school opened.
1912-1938 The congregation served by the pastor of Keiskammahoek.
1938-1951 The congregation served by the pastor of King William's Town.
1946 The congregation leaves the Synod together with King William's Town.
1952 After Pastor Bahr's departure, King William's Town again aligns itself with Keiskammahoek (Pastor G.A. Böker) and rejoins the Synod.

1955 After Pastor Böker's return to Germany, Keiskammahoek and Emnquesha align themselves with King William's Town.

1968 The congregation is dissolved and the church sold to ELCSA.

Frankfort (Frankfurt), *St Crucis* (later Beacon Bay)

Origin of the congregation: Legionaries of the British-German Legion of 1857 and immigrants of 1858-1859. In the early years services were conducted at irregular intervals by the Berlin missionaries Liefeldt of Petersberg and Kropf of Bethel. A Mr Wiegel and a Mr Vogt act as teachers and lay readers.

1864 Pastor F. Clüver is inducted in King William's Town; he also conducts services at Frankfort; Frankfort becomes a daughter congregation ("Filiale") of King William's Town.

1865 A church order for King William's Town, and therefore also for Frankfort, is adopted on 22 January; it is modelled on the church order of Cape Town and presupposes supervision by the Consistory in Hanover.

1866 Dedication of a school built from grass sods, also used as "Bethaus" (praying house), on 25 July.

1870 Foundation stone of the St Crucis church laid on 13 September.

1871 Dedication of the St Crucis church on 17 December.

1879 Induction of Pastor C. Böhmke (a Hermannsburg missionary) by Pastors Clüver and Kropf; Frankfort becomes an independent congregation; Pastor and Mrs Böhmke also teach in the public school.

1880 The manse is built.

1897 Visitation by Superintendent Petri from Hanover on 5 September.

1909 Pastor Böhmke dies on 27 October.

1910 Frankfort joins the Synod.

1910 Induction of Pastor H. Hövermann.

1919 Pastor Hövermann repatriated to Germany.

1919-1924 Pastor Schreiber (Braunschweig) serves the congregation.

1924-1927 Pastor Schrader (Stutterheim) serves the congregation.

1927 Pastor J.F. Schwär inducted in Frankfort on 22 May; he also takes charge of Braunschweig.

1934 German again taught in the school, by Pastor Schwär.

1940 Pastor Schwär interned, until 1943.

1951 A German hostel opened at Frankfort.

1972 Pastor Schwär goes into retirement.

1973 The congregation is served by the pastor of Stutterheim until 1979.

1979 Parish agreement with Braunschweig formally dissolved.

1979 The congregation begins worshipping in the Beacon Bay Library.

1979-1985 Pastor Irvin Tweet from America (formerly pastor of Strand Street, Cape Town, from 1969-1974).

- 1982** New church centre at Beacon Bay dedicated.
1985 Pastor B. Sonnenberger inducted on 1 December.
1991 The 125th anniversary of the congregation is celebrated.

Groenvlei (Orange Free State)

- 1918** Mr Wilhelm Krause of Potsdam in the Eastern Cape buys the farm Groenvlei in the Northern Free State and settles there with his 18 children, his children-in-law and his his parents; his father, Friedrich Krause, conducts regular reading services.
1919 A German school in started.
1920 A church hall is erected which also serves as their school.
1921 The name *Deutsche Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinde Groenvlei* is adopted; alignment with Bloemfontein; a monthly service held by the Bloemfontein pastor.
1930 The school is closed.
1935 Many members leave Groenvlei as a result of the hard times; still served from Bloemfontein (Pastor Lückhoff).
1940 After his dismissal in Bloemfontein Pastor Lückhoff stays on as pastor of Groenvlei; after the war problems also arise here and the congregation again aligns itself with Bloemfontein (Pastor von Delft).
1960 Groenvlei joins the Transvaal Synod.

Keiskammahoek, *St Petri* (St Peter's)

- 1857 and 1858-1859** Members of the British-German Legion and German immigrants settle at Keiskammahoek; initially the Anglican Church looks after them and the Bishop of Grahamstown even ordains a former sergeant to serve them.
1863 A church is built and dedicated by the Anglican Bishop; the building reverts to the Anglican Church when the alignment with this Church ends.
1872 Keiskammahoek becomes a preaching post of Stutterheim (Pastor W. Beste).
1878 Founding of a congregation on 2 December.
1879 The first *St Petri-Kirche* built.
1881 Dedication of the bell.
1883 A parsonage is built.
1883-1897 Pastor F. Fuchs.
1897 Pastor E. König inducted by Pastor Anders; he serves the congregation until 1912.

1903 New German school erected.
1905 A brass band ("Posaunenchor") started by Pastor Königk.
1912 Pastor Königk moves to Johannesburg.
1912-1914 Pastor J. Tongers; he travels to Germany for his leave and does not return after the war.
1914-1921 Vacancy.
1921 Pastor F. Bölsing inducted; he returns to Germany in 1927.
1927-1938 Pastor T. Schanz.
1939 The congregation leaves the Synod; Pastor G.A. Pakendorf, Berlin missionary at Bethel (Stutterheim), takes care of the congregation on condition that they join the Berlin Mission; he also conducts services in English.
1948 The congregation severs its ties with the Berlin Mission and asks Hanover for the secondment of a pastor; meanwhile served by Pastor F. Serapins, Berlin.
1949-1955 Pastor G.A. Böker, son of Pastor G. Böker.
1952 Visitation by Bishop Dr H. Lilje from Hanover on 26 February.
1952 Parish alignment with Emnquesha.
1955 Pastor G.A. Böker returns to Germany; parish alignment with King William's Town (Pastor W. Meyer); English services again introduced.
1962 Parish alignment with Stutterheim; Pastor von Falkenhausen inducted; he resides at Keiskammahoek.
1965 Pastor von Falkenhausen moves to the manse at Stutterheim.
1974 The future of the congregation uncertain as a result of the area having been declared a "black area" by the government.
1977 Pastor von Falkenhausen moves to Port Elizabeth; Pastor A. Brandt of King William's Town acts as locum tenens; German services discontinued.
1979 Pastor A. Becker takes up duty in the parish of Stutterheim-Keiskammahoek; practically all members have moved away.
1984 Last service in the church on 29 April; the three stained glass windows depicting Christ as the Good Shepherd, and the Apostles Peter and Paul, the pews and the altar crucifix donated to St Paul's in Stutterheim; the harmonium goes to St Matthew's, Berlin and the Communion vessels to Luther Church, Brakfontein; the bell is now at Peace Lutheran Church, Port Elizabeth; services of the congregation continue at St John's, King William's Town.
1984 The congregation dissolves itself at a meeting held after the Pentecost service on 10 June in St John's, King William's Town; the remaining assets accrue to the Cape Church.

Kimberley (Northern Cape), *St Martini*

1874 The first German services are held in a tent by Pastor Carl Meyer, Berlin missionary of Pniel; the German Evangelical Lutheran St Martini

congregation founded; Pastor Meyer serves the German congregation and the mission congregation.

1875 Services held in the Court Room.

1875 The first service in the new St Martini church, built of corrugated iron, is held on Reformation Day.

1879 Pastor Meyer moves from Pniel to Kimberley.

1887-1888 Pastor Meyer in Germany; Pastor G.E. Westphal acts as locum tenens.

1902 Pastor Meyer returns to Germany; he is succeeded by the Berlin missionary Pastor R. Brune; during Brune's many absences as Superintendent of the Berlin Mission other missionaries serve the congregation, i.a. Pastors E. Müller, F. Zoppke and G. Kuhn; Pastor Brune died in 1918.

1918-1927 Pastor E. Müller of the Berlin Mission serves the congregation.

1927-1932 The congregation is served by various Berlin missionaries.

1932-1956 Pastor G. Zittlau, also a Berlin missionary, serves the congregation.

1956-1959 Pastor W. Karallus, a Berlin missionary, serves the congregation.

1962 The congregation joins the Cape Church and is served by Pastor Bock of Bloemfontein.

1963 Induction of Pastor L. Bock who resides in Bloemfontein.

1968 The new St Martini church is dedicated on Reformation Day.

1968 Induction of Pastor O. Kietzig on 1 December; he also takes care of German Lutherans in Upington, Kuruman, Vryburg and De Aar.

1971 Pastor Bock (Bloemfontein) again takes charge of the congregation from December.

1972-1975 Pastor emeritus E. Tappenbeck.

1975 The pastor of Bloemfontein takes over again; Pastor Rust also assists, for some time, in the work in Kimberley and the surrounding diaspora.

Note: There also was, for some time, a German Lutheran congregation in Beaconsfield; their church was called the *Jerusalem-Kirche*. The congregation was served by Berlin missionaries: 1885-1893 Pastor J. Arndt, 1893-1898 Pastor F.W. Ecker, 1900-1924 Pastor G. Windisch.

King William's Town, *St Johannis* (St John's)

1862 The congregation is founded.

1864 Dedication of the first *St Johannis-Kirche* on 15 May by the Berlin missionaries Kropf and Liefeldt.

1864 Pastor F Clüver inducted on 15 May by Pastors Kropf and Liefeldt; Clüver had been sent out in 1859 by the Lutheran Church in Hanover as teacher and organist of the Strand Street congregation in Cape Town; there he joined the St Martini congregation and conducted services from 1861; at the instigation of Dr Kropf he was called as pastor to King

William's Town; Pastor Parisius of St Martini ordained him on 4 April 1864 on the instruction of the Church in Hanover; through Clüver the congregations in Kaffraria came in touch with the Church of Hanover.

1865 Introduction of a church order for King William's Town and the surrounding area, based on the Cape Town order, on 22 January; in this order the link with Hanover is specifically mentioned.

1865 The Lutheran Church of Hanover accepts responsibility for the congregations in and around King William's Town.

1870 Acquisition of a manse.

1872 Beginning of Sunday School.

1872 Pastor Clüver appointed as Superintendent by the Church of Hanover, an office in which he is not generally accepted and which later falls into disuse.

1875 A German Lutheran church school started.

1883 A split in the congregation results in the formation of the *Christusgemeinde*, at first served by the Rhenish missionary Dr Zahn and, from 1886 to 1897, by the Berlin missionary Königk (who later would serve Keiskammahoek).

1893 Pastor Clüver retires; he died on 24 January 1898.

1893-1900 Pastor C. Möller from Germany serves the congregation.

1896 An independent German school started and a school building erected.

1897 Re-unification of the *Christusgemeinde* with St Johns (July).

1899 Foundation stone of new St John's church laid on 11 January; the church is dedicated on 20 August; the congregations Bell and Bodiam, as well as Queenstown, are served from King William's Town.

1900 Pastor G. Wagener inducted; he was ordained in Cape Town on 3 July 1899.

1905 Dedication of the organ on 23 May.

1914 The "Frauenverein" is started with a subscription of twelve shillings per year; Pastor Wagener moves to Wynbrg; induction of Pastor Hoppe, previously Berlin missionary at Wartburg in the Cape, on 1 September.

1917 The German school is closed; the school building is turned into a church hall; Queenstown congregation ceases to exist and gives its harmonium and sacred vessels to King William's Town.

1928 Induction of Pastor Eduard Rannenberg from Germany (July); he drowned near East London in January 1932.

1932 Induction of Pastor Johannes Cyrus (November).

1940 Pastor Cyrus relinquishes his post on 1 June, having held his last sermon in December 1939.

1940-1946 Vacant: congregation served by Pastor Schwär (Frankfort), Pastor Pakendorf (Berlin missionary at Bethel, Stutterheim), Pastor Plüddemann (East London) and again Pastor Pakendorf.

1946-1951 Congregation served by Pastor Herbert Bahr, Berlin missionary. The congregation leaves the Cape Synod in December 1946.

1951 Pastor Dr Schwär takes care of the congregatiuon, which rejoins the Cape Synod.

1953 Pastor W Meyer inducted; from 1955 he also takes care of Keiskammahoek and Emnquesha.

1957 English also used in services.

1961 The congregation agrees that English be preached as well.

1961 Centenary celebrations.

1962 Keiskammahoek enters into a parish agreement with Stutterheim.

1970 Pastor Meyer returns to Germany; Pastor H.W. von Falkenhausen acts as locum tenens.

1971 Pastor A.A. Brandt is ordained and inducted (November).

1972 Afrikaans services introduced.

1973 Parish agreement with Braunschweig.

1975 First broadcast service from St John's on 26 June.

1979 Pastor Brandt leaves for Strand Street, Cape Town after Christmas; Pastor A. Becker acts as locum tenens.

1982 Arrival of Pastor R.D. Giles from America, who serves the congregaion until his return to the United States in 1986.

1986 Ordination and induction of Pastor Peter Molchin on 14 December; Pastor H. Kraus preached the sermon.

1990 Pastor Molchin leaves for Paarl (February) and is succeeded by Pastor Iain Cameron (July).

1995 Pastor Cameron takes his leave (January); Pastor Becker of Stutterheim acts as locum tenens.

King William's Town, *Christus-Kirche* (Christ Church)

1883 Some members separate themselves from St John's and constitute the *Vereinigte Evangelische Gemeinde*, the so-called *Christusgemeinde*, with the Rhenish missionary Dr J M Zahn as their pastor (14 January); first services held in the Court Room and later in an English school; Foundation stone of *Christus-Kirche* is laid (25 August); the Macleantown congregation accepted as daughter congregation ("Filiale").

1884 Dedication of the *Christus-Kirche* on 13 January.

1885 The Augsburg Confession and Luther's Catechism adopted as confessional basis.

1886 Pastor Zahn's farewell sermon (he goes to the Strand Street congregation in Cape Town and Pastor Baumgarten of Berlin takes care of the congregation); Pastor E. König (previously Berlin missionary in Etembeni) inducted by Pastor Müller of East London on 7 August; Pastor König also serves Bell and Bodiam.

1892 Pastor König moves to Macleantown and serves the *Christusgemeinde* from there, also Bell and Bodiam until 1894.

1897 Pastor König moves to Keiskammahoeck; re-unification of the *Christusgemeinde* with St John's.

Komga

see **Braunschweig**

Kwelegha, *Lutherkirche* (Luther Church)

1879 Pastor H. Baumgarten of Panmure (East London) conducts services for German immigrants.

1885 Founding of the Luther congregation by Pastor Baumgarten on 19 April; Kwelegha aligns itself with East London.

1886 Pastor Baumgarten moves to Berlin; Kwelegha aligns itself with Berlin; services are held in Upper Kwelegha, Lower Kwelegha and Brakfontein in private homes, later in the school in Lower Kwelegha.

1897 Pastor Baumgarten moves to Cape Town; Pastor Schneider, East London, conducts his first service in Kwelegha.

1898-1903 Kwelegha aligned with East London.

1902 Foundation stone of the *Luther-Kirche* laid 16 February; dedication of the church on 19 May.

1903-1908 Pastor A. Brünjes.

1905 An independent congregation is constituted as from 1 January 1906, in accordance with a decision of 10 September 1905.

1907 A manse is built.

1908 Pastor S. Hafermann, who soon moves to East London but serves Kwelegha from there.

1909-1912 Pastor J. Tongers.

1912-1925 Pastor O. Peters.

1925-1932 Pastor D. Juhle.

1932-1943 Pastor H. Kelber; he is interned and subsequently repatriated in 1944.

1943-1945 Pastor E. Fitschen, Wynberg, visits the congregation quarterly.

1946-1954 Pastor H. Johl; during his ministry English services are introduced without the consent of the Synod.

1954 Pastor H. Plüddemann, East London, takes care of the congregation.

1955 Parish agreement with East London (Pastor Plüddemann); separate services in German and English continued.

1973-1980 Pastor H.J. Günther, East London.

1978 German services discontinued.

1980-1985 Pastor I. Tweet, Beacon Bay, locum tenens.

1981 Parish agreement with St Crucis, Beacon Bay.

1985 Church completely destroyed by fire on 19 September; the church is

rebuilt on old foundations and rededicated on 23 March 1986.

1986 Pastor coll. B. Sonnenberger, Beacon Bay; after being called by Beacon Bay and Kwelegha, he is inducted in December 1986.

1991 Pipe organ, previously in the Bellville church, installed.

Macleantown, *St Paulus* (St Paul's)

After a gradual move outwards from the original settlements, a new settlement came into existence at Macleantown.

1883 The *St Paulusgemeinde* is founded by Pastor Dr Zahn of the *Christusgemeinde* in King William's Town at the home of the Bahlmann family on 9 September.

1886 Pastor E. König replaces Pastor Zahn as pastor of the *Christusgemeinde*, and so also becomes pastor of Macleantown.

1892 Pastor König takes up residence in Macleantown, but still continues to serve the *Christusgemeinde* in King William's Town.

1897 The two congregations in King William's Town are re-united; Pastor König serves only Macleantown; he moves to Keiskammahoek in October.

1899 Macleantown joins Berlin and Potsdam in a parish relationship and Pastor Fuchs serves also Macleantown.

1902 Macleantown and Potsdam both withdraw from the parish relationship with Berlin.

1902-1910 Macleantown is served by various pastors, notably by Pastor J. Spanuth of Potsdam (1905-1910).

1911 The parish relationship with Berlin and Potsdam is re-established.

1911-1924 Pastor G. Böker, Berlin, serves the congregation.

1924-1930 Pastor von Lintig, Berlin, serves the congregation.

1931-1933 Pastor Dellmann of Berlin serves the congregation.

1933 Macleantown once again withdraws from the parish and is briefly served from Stutterheim and then by Pastor Kelber of Brakfontein.

1935-1937 Macleantown joins Berlin and Potsdam in the move to the Berlin Mission Society; all three congregations served by Pastor F. Nickschtat, Berlin missionary of Bethel (Stutterheim).

1937 Pastor H.F. Serapins of the Berlin Mission Society is inducted as pastor of the congregation and of the parish; with the onset of the Second World War he is interned and the congregation is served by Pastor G.A. Pakendorf, Berlin missionary of Bethel (Stutterheim).

1946 Pastor Serapins returns to Berlin and to the parish.

1961 Pastor and congregation join the newly constituted Cape Church.

1976 Pastor Serapins goes into retirement and Pastor W. Ludewig is inducted as pastor of the parish on 25 January 1976; the service is conducted in

Macleantown in the presence of representatives of the other two congregations being.

1981 German services discontinued.

Mnxesha

see **Emnqesha**

Potsdam, *St Johannis* (St John's, later Dawn)

As Berlin, Potsdam also owed its origin to the second regiment of the British-German Legion. The settlement of Potsdam was also initially served by the military chaplain of the regiment, Pastor O. Wilmans. There are, however, no records relating to the time of Pastor Wilmans and immediately after his departure.

1865 The *St Johanniskirche*, Potsdam, is formally constituted on 5 March under the leadership of Pastor F. Clüver of King William's Town.

1873-1872 Potsdam is served as part of a parish relationship comprising Berlin, Potsdam and King William's Town by Pastor Clüver.

1873-1879 Pastor Müller of East London serves the congregation.

1879 Pastor Baumgarten of East London serves both Potsdam and Berlin.

1886 Pastor Baumgarten takes up residence in Berlin; he also serves Potsdam and Kwelegha.

1893 A school and teacher's house are erected.

1897 Pastor Baumgarten leaves for Cape Town and Pastor Fuchs becomes the pastor of the parish Potsdam-Berlin, residing in Berlin; Macleantown joins the parish in 1899.

1898 Mr Theodor Johl appointed as teacher and organist.

1902 Potsdam and Macleantown withdraw from the parish relationship with Berlin.

1903-1910 Pastor J. Spanuth serves the congregation; he also serves Macleantown from time to time.

1910 Both Potsdam and Macleantown rejoin the parish relationship with Berlin.

1911-1924 Pastor G. Böker, residing in Berlin.

1924-1931 Pastor O. von Lintig, residing in Berlin.

1931-1934 Pastor Dellmann, residing in Berlin.

1934-1935 Pastor Bölsing of East London acts as locum tenens.

1934 East London, King William's Town and Brakfontein urge the dissolution of the parish Berlin-Potsdam-Macleantown with the idea that Berlin align itself with King William's Town, Potsdam with East London and Macleantown with Kwelegha/Brakfontein; the proposal is rejected.

1935 The majority of the Potsdam congregation decides to join a major portion of the Berlin congregation in a move away from the Cape Synod of the Hanoverian Church to the Berlin Mission Society;. the break-away congregation is then served by Pastor F. Nickschat of the Berlin Mission Society, resident in Stutterheim.

1937 Pastor H.F.Serapins of the Berlin Mission Society is inducted as pastor of the congregation and the other two congregations who had joined the Berlin Mission, viz. Berlin and Macleantown; at the onset of the Second World War Pastor Serapins is interned and the congregation is taken care of by Pastor G.A. Pakendorf, Berlin missionary at Stutterheim; during the time of his ministry the use of the English language is introduced into the congregation.

1946 Pastor Serapins returns to Berlin and to the parish.

1961 Both Pastor Serapins and the congregation join the newly constituted Cape Church.

1967 The village of Potsdam is expropriated by the government for incorporation into the Ciskei; the site of the church centre is relocated to Rattray Road, Dawn, East London;. at first the congregation uses the name St John's Potsdam/Dawn; confusion results because the name Potsdam is retained for the original village, now in Ciskei.

1976 Pastor Serapins goes into retirement and Pastor W. Ludewig is inducted as pastor of the parish; he resides in East London; German services discontinued.

1978 The congregation adopts the name St John's, Dawn, East London.

Port Elizabeth, *Friedenskirche* (Church of the Peace)

1899 Pastor Gottfried Wagener (Cape Town) holds two German services for the Lutherans in Port Elizabeth.

1900 The German church group in Port Elizabeth decides to approach the Consistory in Hanover for the secondment of a pastor.

1901 The first service is held by Pastor F. Grussendorf from Germany on 6 January in the "Liedertafel" in Western Road; a congregation is founded at the school building of the St Mary's Church on 16 May.

1902 The congregation joins the Cape Synod and is called the *Deutsche Friedenskirche*.

1904 Pastor H Müller from Germany takes charge of the congregation.

1905 A plot is bought for a church, hall and parsonage to be built at the corner of Rink Street and Park Drive; because of lack of funds only the hall is completed.

1907 A parsonage is bought; (sold again after the First World War).

1907 Dedication of the hall on 15 December.

1909 Pastor Riechers inducted on 5 December.

1915 Pastor Riechers is interned in October and later repatriated; no fur-

ther services held for a number of years; later some services by Pastor Schrader (Stutterheim).

1926-1929 Pastor L. Janssen (East London) acts as locum tenens.

1929 Pastor Schanz (Keiskammahoek) acts as locum tenens.

1934 Pastor Dellmann (formerly of Berlin in the Eastern Cape) moves to Port Elizabeth and takes charge of the congregation.

1936 Pastor Dellmann returns to Germany.

1936-1938 Pastor Schanz (Keiskammahoek) acts as locum tenens.

1938 Pastor Plüddemann (East London) acts as locum tenens; the hall is also used by the Dutch Reformed Church.

From 1941 No regular services held; Pastor Plüddemann is interned; after his release he visits the congregation six times a year for services and confirmation classes.

1955 Pastor Cyrus takes over from Pastor Plüddemann.

1959 Pastor W. Peschel inducted.

1966 Pastor Dr W. Plutz inducted on 27 March.

1967 Services conducted in German and English; Mr A. Bülbring, chairman of the congregation for decades, dies.

1970 Because of the presence of many American Lutherans more services are held in English.

1971 A new church centre is built in Springfield; the "German" is struck from the name of the congregation, leading to much dissension.

1972 Dedication of the new church by Bishop Dr H. Lilje, retired Bishop of Hanover, on 5 March.

1972 Farewell service of Pastor Plutz, who returns to Germany on 12 March.

1972 Pastor Plüddemann from East London inducted on 28 May.

1976 Farewell service of Pastor Plüddemann, who goes into retirement on 26 September; Pastor Brita van Zyl, a Swedish pastor, often assists with the English services.

1977 Pastor H.W. von Falkenhausen from Stutterheim inducted by Praeses von Delft on 24 April.

1983 Pastor von Falkenhausen takes leave of the congregation on 17 April and returns to Germany.

1984 Induction of Pastor H.J. Schönfeld by Praeses Brandt on 22 January.

1988 Dedication of the old bell from St Peter's, Keiskammahoek on 16 October.

1993 Pastor Schönfeld takes leave of the congregation on and goes into retirement.

1993 Pastor K.P. Edinger from Germany inducted and also entrusted with the George congregation; co-operation with all the ELCSA congregations in Port Elizabeth intensified.

1994 The congregations of Port Elizabeth and George pledge closer co-operation at a shared weekend in George in September.

Queenstown

1897-1898 Queenstown is mentioned as a daughter congregation ("Filiale") of King William's Town; 16 services held by Dr A. Kropf of the Berlin Mission in Bethel (Stutterheim).

1899-1900 Eight services held, alternately, by Dr Kropf and the pastor of King William's Town; the German language is neglected by the congregants.

1917 the congregation ceases to exist; the harmonium and the sacred vessels are given to King William's Town.

1970 Pastor H.W. von Falkenhausen starts services in Queenstown, once per month, in the Anglican Church of St Michael and All Angels.

1983 A constitution signed by 17 people is adopted, forming St Peter's Evangelical Lutheran Church, Queenstown; parish agreement with Stutterheim.

1984 Two erven are bought in Laurie Dashwood Park for the purpose of erecting a church building; money for the purchase is received from the Cape Church and the "Landeskirchenamt" in Hanover; membership stands at 36; 22 services are held with an average attendance of 25.

1985 The foundation stone of the church is unveiled on 8 December.

1986 The new church is dedicated by Bishop N. Rohwer on 15 June; the building of the church was mainly financed from the proceeds of the sale of St Peter's Church at Keiskammahoek.

1987 Membership reaches 64; 33 services are held with an average attendance of 34.

1993 Membership drops to 47; members have mostly moved to East London.

Stutterheim, *St Paulus* (St Paul's)

1857 Members of the British-German Legion are served by Pastor A. Kropf, Berlin missionary at Bethel; in opposition to Kropf some legionaries join the Anglican Church; for them English services are held by Rev. Green and German services by Rev. Spring.

1858 German services for all immigrants in the mission church at Bethel by Pastor Kropf and his vicar, W. Beste.

1861-1862 A church is built which later becomes the property of the Anglican Church.

1864 Founding of the *St Paulusgemeinde* on 25 June.

1865 Dedication of the St Paul's mission church at Bethel in which the German services are also held (8 August); Pastor W. Beste takes care of the German Lutherans.

1872 Keiskammahoek aligns itself with Stutterheim and is also served by Pastor Beste.

1883 Pastor Fuchs inducted at Keiskammahoek.

1892 Foundation stone laid of the *St Paulus-Kirche* on 18 May.

1893 Pastor Beste becomes pastor of the congregation but remains a member of the Berlin Mission.

1893 Dedication of the *St Paulus-Kirche* on 11 January.

1894 The manse is completed.

1907 Stutterheim joins the Synod after the death of Pastor Beste.

1908-1922 Pastor J. Fehsenfeld.

1923-1933 Pastor F. Schrader.

1933 Induction of Pastor H.N. von Delft on 22 December; he is interned in 1939; neighbouring pastors and Pastor P.G. Pakendorf, Berlin missionary at Bethel, take care of the congregation

1940 The greater part of the congregation under Pastor Pakendorf severs links with the Synod and joins the Berlin Mission; Pastor Pakendorf also conducts services in English once a month, as decided by the Annual General Meeting.

1948 Pastor J. Cyrus takes charge of the remaining congregation.

1952 Negotiations about the re-unification of the congregation with mediation by the Hermannsburg and Berlin Missions and Bishop Dr H. Lilje of Hanover.

1953 The outcome of the negotiations is an agreement of December 1953 which stipulates that Hanover will second Pastor Sandner, who will also be a full member of the Mission Synod; furthermore Hanover will call away Pastor Cyrus from Stutterheim and the Berlin Mission will transfer Pastor Pakendorf; this agreement is not accepted by the executive of the Cape Synod.

1954 Pastor Pakendorf transferred by the Berlin Mission to Cape Town; Pastor Cyrus remains in Stutterheim; while new negotiations take place.

1954 Superintendent-General Braun of the Berlin Mission negotiates in Stutterheim on behalf of Berlin and Hanover; the result is that Pastor F. Sandner is seconded to Stutterheim as representative of the Hanoverian Church; both groups in the congregation wish to re-unite.

1955 Pastor Cyrus leaves Stutterheim on 1 March; on 23 October Pastor Sandner is inducted as pastor of the re-united congregation; he is instructed by Hanover to conduct an English service every six weeks.

1956 The re-united congregation returns to the Synod; at the same time a radical group of 43 members plans to found a new congregation and become attached to the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod.

1959 Some members of the radical group return to the congregation.

1961 Pastor Sandner's term of office ends in August; he returns to Germany and Pastor Dr Schwär acts as locum tenens.

1962 Parish agreement with Keiskammahoek; services held fortnightly in each congregation; Pastor H.W. von Falkenhausen inducted in December; he resides at Keiskammahoek.

1964 New organ installed; the parsonage in Stutterheim renovated; Pastor von Falkenhausen moves to Stutterheim.

1970 The name of the congregation changed to *Evangelisch-Lutherische St Paulusgemeinde*; a service is held once a month in Queenstown.

1977 Pastor von Falkenhausen moves to Port Elizabeth; Pastor A. Brandt of King William's Town acts as locum tenens.

1979 Pastor A. Becker is placed in the parish as pastor collaborator.

1980 The last service in German held on 9 March; Pastor Becker inducted by Praeses C. Brandt on 15 May.

1982 A new hall is dedicated.

1989 The congregation celebrates its 125th anniversary.

1994 Individual glasses are introduced at the Lord's Supper, the wine being poured from a chalice with a pouring lip into a glass held by the communicant.

Welkom (Orange Free State)

1957 Provisional church committee elected with the request to try to found an independent congregation.

1958-1959 Pastor U. Duschat; the congregation finds association with the Board of Trustees for Lutheran Extension Work who also support the congregation with funds from the Lutheran World Federation (LWF); services held in English.

1962 The LWF encourages Welkom to join the Cape or Transvaal Church, as independent congregations are no longer supported.

1963 Welkom joins the Transvaal Church; German gradually becomes the main language.

1980 Welkom joins the Cape Church; served by Pastor Rohwer of Bloemfontein; Afrikaans services also held.

1983-1989 Pastor J. Fromm serves the Cape Church congregation and the ELCSA congregation.

1989-1994 Pastor K.H. Schwartz serves the Cape Church congregation and the ELCSA congregation.

1990 The church centre is sold to the Church of England.

1994 Pastor Schwär of Bloemfontein takes charge of the congregation.

HYMNALS USED IN THE CONGREGATIONS

Many different hymn books have been in use in the Lutheran Church in South Africa since the establishment of the first Lutheran congregation in Cape Town in 1780. For this there are two main reasons, namely the different languages spoken and the fact that the Lutheran denomination was brought to South Africa by immigrants and missionaries from a variety of countries in Germany, Scandinavia and, later, the United States of America. Each of these countries had its own hymnal tradition and this was, to a greater or lesser extent, transplanted to South Africa as part of a fragmented Lutheranism which has been our burdensome heritage to this very day. The following brief survey deals only with the situation in the congregations of the Cape Church. Apart from the hymnals in the South African Library in Cape Town, copies of all the hymnals mentioned are in the possession of the author.

Most Germans among the seamen of the Dutch East India Company and the first settlers at the Cape were Lutherans. They came from a multitude of bigger and smaller independent duchies, counties, principalities and free cities in the then German empire, as well as from German-speaking territories outside the empire. Many of these had their own hymn books. The Dessinian Collection in the South African Library in Cape Town holds a number of such hymnals brought along to the Cape by Germans, albeit from the eighteenth century only, e.g. Hanover (1712), Hanau (1713), Darmstadt (1718), Kursachsen (Dresden 1720), Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1722), Schleswig (1725), Riga and Leipzig (1726), Greifswald (1727), Rostock (1728), as well as the hymnal compiled by Johann Anastasius Freylinghausen (this copy Halle 1718).

When the chaplains of Danish and Swedish ships visiting Table Bay held services (preferably in German) for the Lutherans, it was customary for the hymns to be sung in German, most probably with some confusion in the announcing of the hymns from the different hymnals.

The variety of hymnals was also identified as a problem when, finally, the first Lutheran Pastor Andreas Lutgerus Kolver held his inaugural service in the church in Strand Street on 10 December 1780. Although the services had to be held in Dutch, the congregation decided to continue singing in German, as had always been the custom. But the many different hymnals posed a problem. In a letter of 1781 to the Consistory in Amsterdam it was stated that "men geen egaale gesangboeken, maar de eene dit en de andere weederom een ander heeft". A uniform hymnal had to be introduced and the Consistory was requested to send 600 copies of the best hymnal in High German recently published. In the ensuing correspondence the well known hymnal of Freylinghausen was mentioned, but the congregation finally

decided in 1783 to order 800 copies of the hymnal of the Lutheran cathedral (*Dom*) in Bremen (*Neues Gesangbuch der evangelischlutherischen [sic] Domgemeinde zu Bremen*). This hymn book was used in the congregation until at least 1908 when German hymns were still sung from this book in the Dutch morning services.

Dutch services with exclusive German hymn singing were continued until 1830, when the new Dutch Lutheran hymnal of 1826 (*Christelijke Gezangen voor de Evang. Luthersche Gemeenten in het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden*) was adopted to be used alongside the German hymn book of Bremen. It was, however, decided not to sing in both languages simultaneously. Hymns were to be sung from either the one or the other, according to a fixed order. The organist was instructed to play strictly according to the corresponding organ book (*Choralbuch*) for the German and Dutch hymns. Soon he complained that the diverging versions of the tunes in the Dutch organ book caused confusion in the congregation - a problem which has later repeated itself in similar situations in many of our congregations to this very day. The church council did not give way! - The Dutch hymnal, with its supplement (*Vervolg*) of 1850 was used in the morning services until 1960.

After the British occupation of 1806 a need for, among other things, English hymn singing was gradually felt by some. Pastor L. Parisius and the organist/teacher F. Clüver in 1860 enlarged Parisius' Dutch school hymnal of 1852 (*Gezangen ten gebruike der Evangelisch Luthersche Kerk-school*), to include some English hymns and songs (*Gezangen en Liederen / [Hymns and Songs.] ten behoeve van scholen*). English (evening) services were, however, only introduced in 1889 and a selection of 220 English hymns was published in 1898 (*Hymns for the use of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, Cape Town*). In 1959 Dutch was replaced by Afrikaans in the morning services and the *Hallelujabundel* of the Dutch Reformed Church was used for a short time until the Afrikaans hymnal of the Berlin Missions Society, *Cantate* (first published in 1934, revised and enlarged edition 1959), was introduced in 1960. In the English services the *Church Praise* of the Presbyterian Church was used for some years until, also in 1960, the *Australian Lutheran Hymn Book* was introduced. It has since been replaced by *Lutheran Worship*, the hymnal of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod. Afrikaans services were discontinued in 1973, re-introduced in 1980, and again discontinued in 1991.

The hymn book situation amongst the members of the British-German Legion and the German settlers in the Border area of the Eastern Cape will have been similar to that of the early Lutherans in the Western Cape, as they also came from many different German territories. Some such hymn books have been kept by their descendants. But also there the need arose for a uniform hymnal. In the congregations served by Berlin missionaries the well known and highly rated Brandenburg hymnal *Geistliche und Liebliche Lieder*, compiled by Johann Porst and published in Berlin, was introduced. The oldest

copy found in the Border area was published in 1841 and the latest in 1905.

When the St Martini congregation was founded in Cape Town in 1861, the Bremen hymnal was used in the German services. As there was a shortage of Dutch Lutheran hymnals, the congregation decided to use the Dutch hymnal of the Berlin Mission Society of 1853 (*Geestelijke Gezangen ten gebuik van Evangelische Gemeentes in Zuid-Africa*). In 1875 the new and enlarged edition of 1874 was adopted. Services in Dutch were discontinued in 1880.

In 1862 the hymnal of the Lutheran Church of Bavaria was adopted for the German services in St Martini, printed with a special title page and containing a supplement with, i.a., the church order of St Martini (*Gesangbuch für die deutsch-lutherische Kirche am Kap der Guten Hoffnung nebst einem Anhang*). The order of divine service was later also published separately in 1880: *Agende für die deutsche evangelisch-lutherische Kirche am Kap der guten Hoffnung*. This hymnal was taken along to King William's Town by Pastor F. Clüver when he became Pastor of St John's congregation in 1864 after having been ordained by Parisius in St Martini. The hymnal was later published with a special church order supplement for King William's Town, while retaining the Cape of Good Hope title page. St Andrew's in East London also adopted this hymnal, but had it published with its own title page (*Gesangbuch der deutschen evangel.-lutherischen St Andreaskirche in East London und Umgegend*). The Bavarian hymnal with the Cape of Good Hope title page was also used in other congregations in the Eastern and Western Cape, as well as in other parts of South Africa.

In 1890 St Martini in Cape Town adopted the new Hanoverian hymnal of 1883 and had it printed with a special title page and supplement: *Gesangbuch und Agende für die deutsche evangelisch-lutherische Kirche Süd-Afrikas*. (This rather courageous title gives an indication of the far-sightedness and determination of Pastor G.W. Wagener of St Martini. The Synod was only founded in 1895 and the United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa in 1964!) This hymnal was gradually adopted by practically all the congregations in the Cape Synod, but the special South African edition was discontinued in the 1920s. Interestingly enough the synod meeting of 1913 decided to change the title to *Gesangbuch für die deutschen evangelisch-lutherischen Gemeinden Südafrikas*, thereby acknowledging the reality that *the envisaged* German Evangelical Lutheran Church of South Africa had, in fact, not come into existence.

In the Eastern Cape all three hymnals (Porst, Bavarian and Hanoverian) were in use. The Circuit Conference of 1909 decided that, should a congregation want to change, it should change to the Hanoverian hymnal in order to achieve uniformity. The Synod in Port Elizabeth in September 1909 adopted a similar resolution. In some congregations in the Eastern Cape the Porst hymnal was used until about 1920.

Eventually all congregations introduced the *Evangelisches Kirchengesangbuch (Ausgabe Niedersachsen/Hannover)* in the 1950s. In 1995 this was followed by the new German hymnal, *Evangelisches Gesangbuch*, as in the previous case the Hanoverian edition.

When English services were started in the Eastern Cape congregations, the *Australian Lutheran Hymn Book* was introduced, while in the Western Cape the Afrikaans hymnal of the Berlin Mission, *Cantate*, was adopted. The former was gradually replaced by the *Lutheran Hymnal* of the Lutheran Church of Australia of 1973 and the latter was replaced in 1982 by the new uniform Afrikaans Lutheran hymnal for South Africa and South West Africa, *Laudate*.