

THE BERLIN MISSION CHURCH
IN CAPE TOWN 1899 - 1923

by

THOMAS KARZEK

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Supervisor: Professor W A Saayman
Joint Supervisor: Mrs J Millard

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SUMMARY

The study describes the formation and the establishment of the first urban congregation of the Berlin Mission in the Cape at the turn of the century. The establishment of the Cape Town Congregation was not a result of urban mission work but rather a result of the townward movement of rural coloured people who already belonged to the Berlin Mission Church. At first the mission headquarters in Berlin resisted an involvement in Cape Town, but the members there and the missionaries of the Cape Synod urged the Berlin Mission to accept the responsibility. Following the advice of the Moravian Mission the Berliners finally sent a missionary, and declared the congregation as a proper mission station on May 7, 1907. The study closes with the consecration of the church building in Searle Street in 1923 as a visible sign for the establishment of the Berlin Mission Church in Cape Town.

Title of thesis:

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Cape Town, Berlin Mission, Urbanisation, Missionary methods, Mission schools, Restrictions on German Missions during World War I

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Chapter I:

INTRODUCTION

1.1 If one enters the library and archives-floor of the old Berlin Mission headquarters in Berlin's Georgenkirchstrasse one can find behind a pile of boxes a board which gives an overview of the history of the Berlin Mission up to 1960. For the year 1907 the board correctly reflects the founding date of the Cape Town Mission Station as May 7, followed by the remark "100 years too late". The unknown compiler of the exhibit thus seems to share a sentiment already expressed by Gründler in 1923: "*The demand for a mission station in Cape Town was answered by the Berlin Mission rather late, almost too late*" (Gründler 1923: 67 my translation). It is, in fact, striking, that it took a Mission Society, whose South African missionaries all landed in Cape Town starting in 1834, 73 years to recognize the importance of mission work in the main urban settlement of the Cape Colony.

The founding dates of the first stations in South Africa show that the orientation was at first towards the rural areas of the country and its inhabitants: Bethanien in today's Orange Free State 1834, Pniel at the Vaal River 1845 or Bethel/Eastern Cape 1837. The orientation of the mission work is also reflected in the original title that the mission society gave itself in 1824: "Society for the advancement of evangelical missions among the heathen".

The work in the urban areas was not a priority, especially not in Cape Town with its European, civilized character which already could look back on more than a 180 year long history when the first missionaries arrived. It was only when members from the rural mission stations moved to the City in search of work that Cape Town became important as a field for missionary activity.

But even that kind of work still met resistance and was not considered proper mission work until the first decade of this century when a shift in the perception of what mission actually is, took place in Berlin. The continuous plea for the erection of a mission station in Cape Town by local missionaries and members of the Berlin Mission Church was

finally answered by the "honorable committee" in 1907. Only one year later the "Society for the advancement of evangelical missions among the heathen" also changed its name to the "Berlin Mission Society" acknowledging a broader concept of mission on the eve of the first International Mission Conference in Edinburgh in 1910.

1.2 The neglect of urban mission work by the Berlin Mission had far reaching consequences that can still be noticed today in the Evangelical Lutheran Church, which emerged as an independent church from the Berlin Mission's work in 1975.

The most obvious consequence is the slow growth of the church compared to other denominations. Statistics published for the 1992 Synod of the Cape Orange Diocese reflect a membership of 2956 adult members in the greater Cape Town area over against 7064 (Kerkalmanak 1993) members of the Moravian Church which took its work in Cape Town more seriously as later references in this study will show.

If one takes this modest number of members into account it becomes quite clear why the whole Diocese, which actually should draw its funding from the economically strong urban centers, finds itself in a continuous financial crisis.

The weak financial basis also explains why the Lutheran Church did not get visibly involved in diaconical work like the erection of or participation in hospitals, institutions for the homeless, for alcohol and drug addicts, street children and other areas of need dictated by the urban context.

The lack of financial resources but also the lack of an urban vision results in a poor representation of the Lutheran Church in Cape Town's ever growing residential areas. Where e. g. the Anglican Church has just consecrated its fifth church building in Mitchell's Plain, the Lutheran Church is still struggling with the erection of their first, relying strongly on overseas support.

This lack of an urban vision can be traced back to the beginning of the Berlin Mission's work in the Cape, as this study will try to show. The emphasis on rural congregations and the reluctance to get involved in Cape Town contributed to the difficulties which the Lutheran Church has to face

today, where the majority of the South African population already lives in urban areas. The way in which the church as a whole answers to the challenges of urban problems like ethnic diversity, migration, unemployment, housing, squatting, youth delinquency, drug addiction and the like will determine its relevance for this world and its people which God wants to save.

1.3 The sources used for this study have been found predominantly in the archives and in the library of the Berlin Mission Society in Berlin, Germany.

In printed form there were the annual "Jahresberichte" as well as the monthly publication "Missionsberichte", which are all kept in the library.

The handwritten documents and, as from 1920 also some typed documents, can be found in the archives. Four different ranges of files were used: a) the files of the mission station Cape Town, b) the personnel files of the respective missionaries working in Cape Town during the period of concern, c) the files of the Cape Synod of the Berlin Mission, under which Cape Town fell and d) files concerning mission-support groups who gave spiritual and material support to the headquarters in Berlin and its work overseas.

Other documents concerning the Berlin Mission schools, which were under the authority of the Cape Education Department, are kept in the State Archives in Cape Town. A selection of publications of the Berlin Mission in a collection donated to the State Archives by the "Bund der Nachkommen der Berliner Mission" can also be found there.

The most comprehensive history of the Berlin Mission for the period concerned is Richter's "Geschichte der Berliner Missionsgesellschaft 1824 - 1924" (History of the Berlin Mission Society) published in 1924 as well as the more concise book of Gründler "Hundert Jahre Berliner Mission" (Hundred years of the Berlin Mission), published in 1923. A thorough history of the Berlin Mission from after World War I until about 1980 was written by Helmut Lehmann in a three-part book with the title "Zur Zeit und Zur Unzeit", which was published in 1989. All sources written in German appear as my own translation into English in this study.

1.4 After giving an overview of the beginning of the Berlin Mission's work in the Cape the study will cover the developments and circumstances that led the Mission Society to consider a commitment in Cape Town itself. The ensuing chapters will cover the periods of work of the three missionaries Gernecke, Mueller and Manzke who were responsible for the establishment and growth of the congregation in Cape Town between 1899 and 1923. The study will close with the year 1923 as the year in which the first church building of the Berlin Mission Church was consecrated in Searle Street, a visible sign that the Berlin Mission Church has been established in Cape Town.

1.5 This study has been compiled in English, although almost all sources are written in German. This has been done with the intention of making this study available for historical and missiological research in South Africa and to enable Lutherans in the Cape to discover the roots of their beloved church building in Searle Street in District Six which was broken down by the bulldozers of Apartheid.

Chapter II:

THE EARLY YEARS

2.1 Origins of the Berlin Mission in the Cape

The landing of the first five missionaries from Berlin in Cape Town on April 17, 1834 coincided with the abolition of slavery by the British Parliament. This legislative act followed the "Native ordinance of 1828" which had already brought freedom to the so-called "Oorlams", those people of colour that were born on the farms of the boers. This resulted in the sudden freedom of about 100.000 people of colour which again led to two social developments:

Richter (1924: 100, in my translation) describes the first development as follows:

The same unfortunate effects that appeared in the United States of North America as well as in other countries that abolished slavery now also occurred in South Africa. Not being forced to slave labor any more, the colored people withdrew themselves from any form of organized labour. They preferably settled as far as possible away from any villages or farms of the boers in remote and lonely mountain areas or they strolled as vagabonds through the country. Their tribal ties broke, their fatherly possessions, their cattle, their language, their tribal traditions, habits and religion - all was lost. They became a race impoverished in body and soul, above that unstable, idle and unreliable. But they were to a large extent open for religious influences. Where they could find a missionary who followed them in constant faithfulness, there they gathered like bees around honey.

The second development was observed by Mac Millan and Marais:

One effect of ordinance 50 of 1828 (which abolished laws that tied 'free persons of colour' to the land) was to accelerate the movement of coloured people to the towns and villages. A further townward migration resulted from the emancipation of slaves that had been completed

in 1838. Gradual urbanization continued throughout the nineteenth century and proceeded rapidly as agriculture sank into the crisis of the twentieth century (Mac Millan and Marais quoted by Wilson & Thompson 1971: 179).

Both developments constituted a challenge for the mission of the church; the Berlin Mission concentrated on the rural settlements of the coloured people. This was not so much an intentional and planned decision, since it is widely agreed that the Society started its work in South Africa without a properly laid out concept or strategy: "*Hierdie sendinggeselskap het egter nie 'n definitiewe opdrag ontvang waarheen hulle moes gaan nie...*" (Steenkamp 1978: 4). The first five missionaries only arrived with the vague order to go north to Bechuanaland, which they did not reach due to reports about tribal unrest in the area (Richter 1924: 92). Reaction to calls and invitations of other missionaries or societies already active in the Cape led the Berliners to settle in certain areas or to erect mission stations at specific localities.

The same applied to the establishment of the first mission station in the Cape. About 66 miles east of Cape Town there was a settlement of coloured people on the farm Doornkraal. Among the inhabitants a spiritual awakening occurred, which led the South African Missionary Society (SAMS) to erect a mission station there which they named Zoar. Unfortunately this society was not sufficiently equipped with personnel so that they entered into a five-year contract with the Berlin Mission in 1837. This contract laid down that the Berlin Mission would provide one missionary and his salary in order to serve the station and that the SAMS was responsible for the upkeep of the buildings as well as for the overall running costs. Gregorowsky, one of the original five arrivals, was entrusted with this task (Richter 1924: 102).

The work there flourished and the Berlin Mission managed to acquire the adjacent farm Elandsfontein with a donation from a German supporter of the Mission, Mrs. Amalie von Stein, in 1846. To remember her contribution the extension of the work in Zoar was named Amalienstein. Missionary Prietsch managed to erect a church building there, which still exists today (Steenkamp 1978: 7), in 1852.

Two years later a discord arose between the South African and the Berlin Mission societies. Reformed and Lutheran traditions of decorating the interior of church buildings clashed, which led the SAMS to cancel the contract with the Berliners in 1854. Half of the Zoar congregants followed the Lutheran tradition and moved across to Amalienstein, which then became the first and only mission station of the Berliners in the Cape at that time (Richter 1924: 103/104).

The mission did not only attend to the spiritual care of the people. From the beginning great emphasis was laid on schools and on education in the field of agriculture and handcrafts:

"Ook op ekonomiese gebied is steeds getrag om die Kleurlinge op te hef. 'n Taamlike besproeiingsdam is aangelê, die inwoners is geleer om die grond te bewerk en tuine aan te lê. Die Berlynse Sendinggenootskap het grond bygekoop totdat Amalienstein amper 11.000 morges beslaan het. Elke inwoner wat 'n stewige woonhuis gebou het, het 'n erf van 60 x 70 voet, asook 'n besproeibare tuin van 40 x 50 vt. ontvang. Daarbenewens was daar volop weiding vir vee. Dit was die gedagte en die bedoeling van die sendinggenootskap dat die sendingstasie selfversorgend moes wees. 'n Plaasbestuurder, Br. N. Leyer, is in 1858 aangestel, om die boerdery bedrywigheide op Amalienstein te behartig. Hy het die landbouopleiding in sy hande gehad" (Steenkamp 1978: 8/9).

This description of the work shows how the Berlin Mission got involved in the rural setting in the Cape.

The work extended from Amalienstein eastwards to other rural settings. In 1856 Prietsch, who already held church services every other week in Ladysmith, established a mission station there for the workers of the local farmers. A church was built in the same year and a small school was also established which was served by a catechist (Richter 1924: 104).

After having returned to Germany for a year from 1858 to 1859 Prietsch returned to the Cape with the instruction to erect a new station at the coast in the Mossel Bay/George or Knysna area. This, however, was not successful, but Prietsch was able to buy a piece of land at Haarlem with funds given

to the Berlin Mission by a clothier from Saxony's Anhalt district by the name of Schmidt in 1860. This new station with the name "Anhalt-Schmidt" was equipped with a watermill and a cash store but still could not become self-supporting since the congregation consisted predominantly of servants working for the white farmers in the village of Haarlem (Richter 1924: 164).

The work of the Berlin Mission in the Cape started to grow under the Directorate of Wangemann who led the society from 1865 until 1894 and who visited South Africa twice, in 1867 and 1884. Four new mission stations were established in the Cape during this period. Wangemann also introduced a new guideline for the missionary work in the whole of South Africa. Different mission synods were formed in order to regionalize the administration of the fast growing enterprise. The synodical constitution was introduced in the Cape in 1878 (Richter 1924: 291).

The fourth station of the Berlin Mission in the Cape was Riversdale, established in 1868. It was to become the mother station of a number of other establishments and a centre for Cape Lutherans, even though the circumstances of its foundation were quite incidental. When Daniel Heese, who was in charge of the school in Amalienstein, returned from a conference of German missionaries at Genadendal in 1867 he had to make a detour through the village of Riversdale due to high water in several rivers which made them impassable. There he was asked by the local preacher whether he would take over the pastoral care of coloured people living at Riversdale. Some of the people were already baptized but the congregation had been handed over to the London Mission Society without their knowledge when the missionary left for Europe. Heese moved from Amalienstein to Riversdale and built up a fruitful work until his death in 1905 (Richter 1924: 288/289).

The work in Riversdale generated a number of outstations on the surrounding farms as well as in the country towards the east. Already in 1872 Heese had bought land in Herbertsdale where again a church and a school were erected. A local parish worker was entrusted with the work among the 300 baptized members (Richter 1924: 290).

In 1880 a mission station was established in Mossel Bay and the school was an important feature of the work there.

Students also attended the school from other denominational backgrounds and applications soon became so many, that prospective students had to be turned away (Richter 1924: 291).

In 1883, Missionary work of a special kind was begun in Buffelsrivier, which was later named Laingsburg. This station in the Karoo, soon equipped with a church, a school and a parsonage, was to become the centre for the mission to the railway workers on the line from Cape Town to Johannesburg. Gottschling (from 1884), and Goeldner (from 1894), travelled the line on a free ticket from the Hex River Valley up to De Aar, ministering to the employees of the railway along the route (Richter 1924: 288).

Thus, in 1892 the Berlin Mission had seven mission stations in the Cape Colony with a membership of 4.833 baptized members out of which 2.134 members were admitted to receive Holy Communion. Riversdale alone had almost a quarter of the members and is described as the liveliest and largest station (Richter 1924: 291).

The mission work had some common characteristics:

- It was a work among Coloured people who worked predominantly as farm laborers or servants of white farmers.
- The Berlin Mission did not work in ecclesiastical isolation but rather in touch with the white Reformed church, the Anglican and Methodist churches, as well as their missionary organizations, sometimes even in competition.
- Schooling was a prominent mission tool and the Lutheran schools soon gained recognition for their high standard.
- Congregational life was organized in leagues (German: Vereine) in which the women, the youth and the men were gathered. In special groups called "Maessigkeits- und Enthalttsamkeitsvereine", moderation and abstinence were taught in order to counter moral misbehaviour and alcoholism.
- The leadership on the different mission stations was firmly in the hands of white missionaries trained at the mission seminary in Berlin. There was no ordained local clergy. The Cape Synod of The Berlin Mission, constituted

in 1878, consisted only of the missionaries working on the seven mission stations.

2.2 The work in Cape Town

Surprisingly, there was a very early beginning of missionary activity among the Berliners in Cape Town. Franz Heinrich Pehmoeller, who was sent out from Berlin in 1837 as superintendent, settled in Cape Town the same year and built up an agency to coordinate the activities of the mission in the whole of South Africa. At the same time he gathered a small congregation of local people, opened a well attended school for Coloured children, and had himself elected as the minister of the small congregation of German colonists (Richter 1924: 101). He seems to have been the right man in the right place. According to Zoellner/Heese (1984: 330) he was born in the German city of Hamburg, which made him well acquainted with urban life in a harbour town. Unfortunately he fell severely ill in 1841 which forced him to cease his work and ultimately to return to Germany. He died aboard a homeward bound ship in 1844. The work which he had begun in Cape Town was not continued.

During the following years, Cape Town was mentioned continuously as the port of arrival for a number of missionaries who used the town as a gateway for their assignments on the mission field in the vast hinterland. It was only when the first members of the Berlin Mission Church followed the stream of urbanization towards Cape Town that the city received attention from the mission again.

According to Wilson and Thompson (1971:160-179) the urbanization of rural Coloured people dates from the early nineteenth century. A number of legal and economic factors contributed to this:

- The Ordinance 50 of 1828 abolished laws that tied "free persons of colour" to the land,
- the emancipation of slaves which was completed in 1838,
- a crisis in agriculture resulting from the drop in world wool prices after the end of the American civil war in 1865 and a severe drought affecting the greater part of South Africa,

- and low cash wages for farm workers (14 Shillings, 2 pence per month) which led people to look for higher earnings in the towns.

Cape Town did not share directly the economic boom of Kimberley and the Witwatersrand after the discovery of gold and diamonds, but participated in the upswing because of the erection of railway links between South Africa's largest harbour and the mining fields in the 1870s. Also the opening of the Suez Canal in 1870 contributed to an increase in business. Between this year and 1875 the inward shipping at Cape ports alone almost quadrupled from about 320.000 tons to 1.200.000 tons (Wilson & Thompson 1971: 10).

These developments that spread over the entire nineteenth century did not leave the Lutheran Christians on the rural stations of the Berlin Mission unaffected. Towards the end of the century members from all seven mission stations in the Cape Synod moved to Cape Town. Gernicke (1900a: 4, my translation) specifies the beginning of the migration towards 1890 in a report for the synod:

"The first members moved here ten years ago. The migration continues until the present time. A number of them have also come from Johannesburg. They will return there when the war has ended. As in Germany there is also here a movement of the poorer population from the countryside to smaller, then to larger towns".

The majority of Lutheran migrants originated from Riversdale. The spiritual care of these Lutherans was of great concern to the missionary there, Daniel F. S. Heese, although he was not pleased with the development: *"Although I tried to work against it, even from off the pulpit, I could not prevent a continuous movement of our people towards Cape Town"* (Heese 1899: 1, my translation). The monthly publication of the Berlin Mission, "Missionsberichte", gives account of the townward movement from Riversdale in 1898:

"The migration towards the city is still noticeable. The high wages in Cape Town have again led some families to move there...the concern for those who have moved away has not been taken from brother Heese's soul even if the missionary of the Moravian Church has taken care of

them now" (Missionsberichte 3/1889: 132, my translation).

The townward migration was very disruptive for the work on the mission stations, even for those outside the limits of the Cape Synod. Missionary Hoppe of Wartburg in the "British-Kafferland" complained: "Four young people, whom I hoped to baptize on Easter, suddenly went to Cape Town in order to work there without even saying good-bye" (Missionsberichte 8/1903: 46B, my translation).

Another missionary with great concern for the Lutherans in Cape Town was Goeldner of Laingsburg. Due to the railway link with Cape Town he had no difficulties in taking turns with Heese to visit the members there. Goeldner located the people in different suburbs of the Cape Colonial capital and arranged services in their houses:

"The people live hidden and very far afield. Furthermore they continuously change their abode. In Wynberg I found a man willing to accompany me. We took the train to Woodstock, from there we walked to Cape Town. From there we went back to Bombay (sic), Rosebank, Rondebosch, Clairmont and Wynberg, everywhere we found some of our people. We arranged a service on Sunday in Riemoetown (sic; this should probably read Nieuwetown), a suburb of Wynberg, where also some of our people stay. In a neat, large house, the people gathered in such a number that the house became too small. I held a second service in Rondebosch that also was well attended. This journey showed to me how necessary it would be to have a missionary in Cape Town who could serve the people regularly. For most of the people there are without spiritual care" (Missionsberichte 1899: 71, my translation).

The first formal application for the establishment of a mission station in Cape Town was made by the Cape Synod at its meeting in Riversdale in January 1886. The meeting referred to an earlier, unsuccessful, application of Rev. Faber for the establishment of a mission towards the Muslims and discusses the matter again, by taking the growing number of Lutherans in Cape Town into account:

"Howe...expresses his opinion that it might be good to do this. At the same time our people and those of other

congregations could be served and the threat of the establishment of yet another mission society could be prevented. The superintendent replies that the Rhenish mission also has several members there. Br. Heese remarks that our members who are in Cape Town and others that might join them could form the basis for a congregation there. The missionary could on this basis engage in mission work among the Muhammedans without being hindered in his activity, since the proclamation of the Gospel in this country is free and the Muhammedans of Cape Town all understand and use the Dutch or the English language"(Kapsynode 1896, my translation).

A commission led by Heese was formed and the synod concluded after hearing the commission's report on January 27, 1986: "The synod accepts the comprehensive report and supports the application for the employment of their own missionary for Cape Town unanimously..."(Kapsynode 1896, my translation). This application, which was turned down by the mission board in Berlin, started a long line of other applications and petitions made by the synod, individual missionaries and congregation members. The reasons for the negative responses from Berlin range from mere financial to ecclesiastical to missiological considerations.

The next attempt dates from 1898. In this year the Cape Synod met in Herbertsdale from October 1 through 7 where it was minuted:

"Referring to a paragraph in Br. Goeldner's report about the work in Cape Town, the synod deems it necessary to establish a station there and asks for permission to commence with enquiries concerning a suitable property there. The synod therefore commissions Br. Goeldner to approach owners of such a property in order to finalize an acquisition in the vicinity of Cape Town, pending the honourable committee's approval"(Kapsynode 1898, my translation).

This approval was denied. Mission Director Gensichen replied to the synod on Dec. 6:

"We could not envisage the establishment of a station in Cape Town. We hope that our scattered members may be moved by our dear Superintendent Schmidt, whom we asked

to visit Cape Town monthly, to affiliate with the Church of the Brethren. We herewith give the order that Br. Goeldner of Laingsburg shall assist the superintendent with this work or stand in for him if necessary" (Gensichen 1898a, my translation).

Gensichen also wrote a second, more comprehensive, letter to Superintendent Schmidt, whose office was in Worcester, two days later:

"We had to reject the application concerning the search for suitable premises in Cape Town for the proposed mission station. I am convinced of the necessity of a mission station even if it carries high financial burdens (Mossel Bay) or apparently has little success in order to save our baptized members from suffering harm in their souls (through slanderers and reformed people). But I could however not with a safe conscience support the idea of the establishment of a mission station in Cape Town, where the affiliation with the Church of the Brethren, which is near to us in faith and confession, has been initiated. I beseech you to visit monthly -if possible and necessary- those of our members who are scattered in Cape Town and to urge them with the authority vested in you to lead them to the mission of the Congregation of the Brethren and towards their spiritual care" (Gensichen 1898b, my translation).

The idea that the Cape Town Lutherans should join the Moravian Church (the Church of the Brethren) was the official policy of the committee in Berlin until 1906. This was probably based on the following grounds:

- The Moravian Church was a church which has grown out of the mission work towards the Cape Coloureds similar to the approach of the Berliners.
- There is a theological proximity between the Lutheran and the Moravian Church which goes back to Nikolaus Ludwig Count of Zinzendorf (1700-1760) of Herrnhut in Germany. Heussi (1981: 400, my translation) states in this regard: "The basics of Zinzendorf's theology are Lutheran".
- There was already a Moravian Mission station in Cape Town known as Moravianhill, consisting of a church, a parsonage and a school in Distrikt Six's Ashley Street.

- The Moravian Mission also originated from Germany and the missionaries of Berlin and Herrnhut kept contact with one another and also met officially for common deliberations.

It was apparently felt that a station of the Berliners would mean an unnecessary duplication of work and would also constitute unwanted competition.

The constant attempts of the Berlin missionaries in the Cape Synod to get such a station approved shows, however, that the pure logic-based arguments of the committee in Berlin did not take local needs into consideration. Even though the Moravian theology is Lutheran, their form and outward appearance is not. Members of the Berlin Mission Church have become accustomed to a certain liturgy, interior decoration of churches, clerical gowns and the like which was and is absent from or underemphasized in the Moravian tradition. It was and is unlikely that Lutherans from the Berlin Mission Church would feel attracted by the almost reformed style of Moravian church service. The insignificant response to Berlin's attempts for the Cape Town Lutherans to join the Church of the Brethren proves this point.

But the Berlin Mission tried to enforce their policy and when Director Gensichen arrived for a lengthy visitation of the South African mission field in Cape Town on Oct 10, 1899, negotiations with the Moravian mission were on his agenda. He also conducted talks with the reformed congregation in Wynberg, to which a number of members of the Berlin Mission Church that had moved to the peninsula now belonged. The purpose of the talks was to make the Lutheran members join both the Moravian and Reformed missions and to ensure the care of both missions for the "Berliners". In a report to the committee in Berlin Gensichen wrote about his visitation : *"The most important thing was ... to urge our Christians that are scattered in Cape Town to affiliate with the Congregation of the Brethren as well as with the reformed mission in Wynberg..."* (Gensichen 1899a, my translation).

This internal report - which was not intended for publication - differed from what was printed in the "Missionsberichte", which did not mention the intention to make the Lutherans join the other two missions. It seemed as if both missions were asked to help the Berlin Mission to

gather the Lutheran Christians and to assist in forming a separate congregation:

"The most important thing was to ensure spiritual care to our members, a task, in which Superintendent Schmidt, Missionary Heese and Missionary Goeldner already have invested a lot of love and attention...It was now our task to ask Br. Wolter to execute the following proposals that may, the Lord permitting, serve as a blessing for our baptized members..."(Missionsberichte 10/1899: 743, my translation).

The proposals which Gensichen suggested to Wolter in Moravianhill and Joubert of the reformed mission in Wynberg comprised of five points:

- "1. Both brothers may - according to my urgent request - form a council of elders or a group of deacons from among our Christians and may with their assistance compile a list of names and addresses of our Christians.*
- 2. These deacons shall then be urged by the brothers Wolter and Joubert to visit the scattered Brothers and Sisters and to gather them for worship.*
- 3. Approximately every other month the brothers W & J shall convene a meeting of the deacons in order to hear a report about their work and to give them further advice.*
- 4. Br. Schmidt shall within three to four weeks from now assure himself of the success of these procedures, shall preach in Cape Town and Wynberg and shall also read out a letter of the director.*
- 5. Br. Wolter is particularly asked to report to the director ... about the work in written form"(Gensichen 1899a, my translation).*

This procedure was not particularly new but it seems, as if Wolter's predecessor, who was approached by Schmidt before, had not played the game:

"These proposals, made in accordance with and with the help of Superintendent Schmidt, were just a continuation of

what the latter has already negotiated with Wolter's predecessors. The last one, however, did, in the name of his denomination, precisely the opposite of what our brothers in Laingsburg and Johannesburg are doing to the scattered members of the congregation of the Brethren there. Nevertheless, Br. Wolter's cooperation was deserving. He promised with earnest consideration to do everything that I asked him" (Missionsberichte 10/1899: 744, my translation).

While Gensichen was still in South Africa on his visitation tour, the Synod of the Cape Colony met in Haarlem from Nov. 26 until Dec. 3, 1899. It was again Daniel Heese who was behind a motion that went further than Gensichen and Schmidt had negotiated in Cape Town. Heese tabled a detailed report about the history of the Berlin Mission in Cape Town, the movement of members of the mission church towards the city and the prospects of establishing a mission station there. To all the well-known arguments he added another one:

"Should our missionaries upon their entry into South Africa continue to worship and pray for what bothers their hearts in St. Martin's Church, which will always remain alien to us, or will they even have to rush through the whole Cape Colony to Laingsburg to do so? How different would it be when they, upon their arrival, were welcomed by coloured members of their own mission and were taken to their own house of worship where they would see the wishes of their hearts fulfilled. Do not consider this as trivial. I myself experienced that deficit with great sadness 40 years ago on my own arrival as a man dedicated with all his heart to the mission" (Heese 1899, my translation).

Heese's referral to St. Martin's church, the place of worship for the German-speaking Lutherans, again points to the problem of tradition and culture embodied in the Lutheran Church. How could the newly baptized Coloured Christians from the South Eastern Cape possibly assimilate with other traditions if even learned, studied theologians from the tradition of a united church (Berlin) felt uncomfortable in a church of the Lutheran tradition (Church of Hannover) even though they spoke the same language? The development of different Lutheran churches in South Africa has to be seen against that background, where the word is

central and thus language and form become the determining factors in worship. This, indeed, was and is problematic in a multicultural society such as that in South Africa.

Heese's report to the synod contained a detailed financial plan for the establishment of a mission station in Cape Town and he emphasized that such a station must be self-supportive. The synod, after hearing Heese's report, passed the following resolution:

"The synod resolves to ask the honorable committee to send a white missionary to Cape Town and to establish a station of our society there.

Reasons: a) The attempts to lead our about 300 members towards the Reformed congregation in Wynberg or the Church of the Brethren in Cape Town as guests of these churches have not been totally in vain. The efforts of the brethren Goeldner and Heese as well as Superintendent Schmidt and the Director to that effect have shown a certain amount of success. But the synod sees very clearly that lasting success can only be brought about by placing a missionary and establishing a station there.

b) It must further be noted that the growing number of Lutherans should not be led unconditionally to the Reformed communion table" (Kapsynode 1899, my translation).

A building site of the size of 5/6 German Morgen for 8.000,- German Mark was envisaged in Wynberg. A building for church and school was estimated to cost 10.000,-- and a house for the missionary 15.000,-- Mark. The annual salary for a missionary including children's allowance was figured at 3.400,-- Mark.

But the synod went even further with their proposal. The missionary Carl Gustav Gernecke, who had served the Berlin Mission in South Africa since 1883, had spent the time from July 1898 until September 1899 in Germany for medical treatment for his son. He had just come back to South Africa in order to return to his position at Georgenholtz/Venda only to find that due to the Anglo-Boer war, which had erupted in the country he could not travel north. So he stayed at Heese's house in Riversdale. Heese happened to be Gernecke's father-in-law. Heese took advantage of the opportunity and decided to place his son-in-law in Cape Town

and to have him take care of the members there until the situation in the country improved.

The synod followed Heese's argument and decided unanimously:

"Since Br. Gernecke is presently unable to travel to Georgenholtz due to the war and also due to the fact that he cannot move there in the fever season he shall, commissioned by the Director and with the approval of both the Synod and the Superintendent, without considerable costs, move to Cape Town for a couple of months. He shall give spiritual care to our members there and investigate more thoroughly the possibility for the establishment of a station" (Kapsynode 1899, my translation).

This provisional solution, born out of a number of coincidences, marked the beginning of a permanent involvement of the Berlin Mission in Cape Town.

Chapter III:

THE TEMPORARY WORK OF GERNECKE

1899 - 1902

Carl Gustav Gottlieb Gernecke was no newcomer to South Africa. He was born on June 4, 1856 in Schwarzholtz in Prussia's Altmark province and joined the missionary training in Berlin in 1878. He was sent out to South Africa in 1883 and worked under Daniel Heese's supervision first in Amalienstein and Zoar (personnel file: Gernecke). The first mission station where he worked on his own was Mossel Bay from 1885 until 1894. During this period he married one of Daniel Heese's daughters, Pauline Bertha, on October 1, 1886. Their marriage was blessed with 13 children.

Although his work in Mossel Bay is described as very successful, Gernecke had a desire to work among black people. He was transferred to Georgenholtz, the northernmost station of the Berlin Mission where he and his family spent four years among the Bavenda people from 1894 until 1898 (Zoellner/Heese 1984: 90). The sickness of his oldest son Carl forced him to leave for Germany for a year in order to obtain medical treatment there. After the successful completion of that treatment Gernecke and his son returned to South Africa in October 1899 with the strong hope of returning to the Georgenholtz Station. This was not fulfilled due to the political developments which had taken place in the meantime.

Political differences between the British Government and the Boer government of the South African Republic centering around voting rights of British subjects (uitlanders) in the Transvaal, led the British Government to bring troops into the boer republics starting the South African War in 1899 (Grolier 1971 Vol 17: 162). *"Thus Britain went to war to establish British supremacy throughout South Africa"* (Wilson & Thompson 1971: 324). The war considerably disrupted life and all forms of communication in South Africa. Railway lines were closed for civilians in order to enable troop movements, at the same time the main line from the Cape to Rhodesia was attacked by Republican troops in order to

interrupt British communications (Wilson & Thompson 1971: 327).

These developments also had a devastating effect on the work of the Berlin Mission in the country:

"The past year has been a year of severe affliction and misery for our mission such as we have never experienced before. The terrible war between the English and the Boers, has brought so much misery and distress over both the land and our mission... The links with Transvaal, our primary mission area with 27 main stations, have almost completely collapsed" (Jahresberichte 1900: 10, my translation).

Many of the missionaries had to become personally involved, and several mission stations were severely affected by the war:

"...today one mission station was under English occupation, only days later the Boer forces moved in. Both of the parties demanded help and loyalty which were impossible to deny. Cattle was confiscated. Some of the sons of the missionaries were drafted into the English, others into the Boer army. The situation for the black and coloured Christians, who were used for transport and other services, was not much different. For them it was impossible to understand that white people, calling themselves Christians, could fight one another until their death. Mission stations stayed vacant for longer periods, because the missionaries had been detained or could not return to their stations after a holiday"(Lehmann 1974: 103, my translation).

The only mission stations that were relatively unaffected by the war, were those in the Cape Synod:

"Only a dozen stations, partly situated in the South of the Cape Colony, partly in British-Kaffraria, were spared from the direct damages of war"(Richter 1924: 365, my translation).

Gernecke returned to South Africa in the midst of these developments and was, contrary to his own expectations, sent to Cape Town, where he arrived on Dec. 15, 1899. The work, that he was supposed to begin, was in all aspects temporary

and provisional. The Berlin Mission had no intention of erecting a mission station in Cape Town or placing a missionary there permanently. The Cape Synod was interested in such an establishment, but Gernecke was only under their jurisdiction as long as the war continued. Gernecke himself made no secret of his desire to go back to Georgenholtz as soon as possible. He continuously tried to obtain permission to travel there and kept on practicing the Venda language. In 1901 he wrote to the Mission Director in Berlin:

"I have tried everything to obtain permission to travel to Georgenholtz, but up to now without success. I will surely have to wait another half year. I sent my last application through the German Consul which was almost successful. ...So I had to stay but I could not sit still and continued to work and the Lord blessed it. In the meantime I practiced my Tsivenda and translated the Gospel of Mark which had been requested by my brothers in Venda that time" (Gernecke 1901a, my translation).

But although his work was only temporary, it laid the foundations for the permanent establishment of the Berlin Mission Church in Cape Town.

Gernecke began his work by looking for members and trying to organise worship services in their houses. Under Saturday, December 16, 1899 he noted in his diary:

"I found Rachel Pretorius of Mossel Bay, she was full of joy to see us again. She is still very much attached to us and has already sent us letters from Cape Town to Georgenholtz. I found the Wakefield - family from Riversdale. They are loyal members of Br. Heese's congregation. They were also very happy to see us and to hear that there may be a chance to have their own church in Cape Town. Later I found Sarah Merkuur and Gert Kana, members of the congregation in Mossel Bay" (Gernecke 1899, my translation).

On the following Sunday Gernecke held his first church service in Cape Town. Ten adults were present. In the late afternoon he went to Wynberg, where already Goeldner and Heese had found a number of Lutherans. His first visit there was, however, not successful:

"...I wanted to hold a worship service in the house of Edward Raubenheimer. I had announced my coming and had also visited him on Friday evening. He had promised to make the necessary preparations for a service. When I came tonight I found one family. He and his sister had gone to the Reformed Church and nothing in their house was prepared..."(Gernecke 1899, my translation).

Apart from this negative experience, Gernecke felt that the members of the Berlin Mission Church had a genuine desire to worship in their own tradition and he also discovered that Director Gensichen's plan, to make the members join the Moravian Church, had disregarded that desire. He found out about this at a visit to Pastor Walter, the Missionary of the Moravian Church at Moravianhill:

"He was pleased to hear about the intentions of our society and told me, that our members did not feel at home in the Church of the Brethren. They rather attended the Wesleyan or the Reformed Churches"(Gernecke 1899, my translation).

Gernecke's next step was to find a suitable locality where his congregation could meet. Pastor Walter directed him to a Mr. Ashley who owned a small school which was available on Sunday evenings. Another venue for Christmas could be obtained from a Mr. Williams (Gernecke 1899).

On December 21, 1899 Gernecke once more visited the members in Wynberg and, other than in Cape Town, he found that many of them felt quite comfortable in the Reformed Church there:

"...After the service I explained to them the purpose of my mission. One, Nicolaas Yek, said that they would not leave the Reformed Church since they 1) have been transferred to them, 2) they felt at home there, 3) it would be impossible for our society to erect a parsonage, church and school there due to the small number of members and 4) the members stayed too far apart from one another which makes it impossible for one pastor to serve them. Therefore they must join churches close to their homes. I was told the same by Mr. Joubert, the Reformed Missionary, when I visited him in the afternoon. I replied: 1) They have been transferred as guests 2) they were our children"(Gernecke 1899, my translation).

Christmas Eve 1899 fell on a Sunday and Gernecke held the morning service in the house of Cornelius Fortuin, where 25 people, including children, were present. The evening service in the Ashley - Hall was attended by 15 members. On Christmas Day the hall of Mr. Williams was used and a collection of 7 Mark and 50 Pfennig was gathered. Cornelius Fortuin, however:

"..walked past the hall to the Wesleyan Church. He feels at home there and is even a deacon in that church. He is not very eager to come to us and attended church only once, when Br. Heese was here"(Gernecke 1899, my translation).

Other members were more loyal to the Lutheran Church. Jesaias Pieterzon and Johannes Vollenhoven visited members together with Gernecke in Salt River, Observatory and Mowbray; another 20 were found.

After staying in a warehouse during the first weeks of his stay in Cape Town Gernecke moved into a rented house at 18 Lytton St, Observatory, on January 6, 1900. He also managed to find a venue for the Sunday morning services, a hall for which he had to pay 7 Mark and 50 Pfennig rent from 10.30 until 12 am.

On the evening of January 7, the first service with Holy Communion was celebrated in Cape Town:

"Many members celebrated their first Holy Communion again for years according to the Lutheran tradition. It was for them so moving, that they could not hold back their tears" (Gernecke 1900a, my translation).

Since the congregation now had two fixed meeting venues, the hall for Sunday mornings rented from a Mr. Janson as well as the Ashley - hall for Sunday evenings, Gernecke had some cards with addresses and worship times printed for distribution. The first baptism was held on January 21, 1900, when a child of Johannes Vollenhoven was baptised.

In February, Gernecke began to hold singing lessons at his house on Wednesday afternoons using a harmonium sponsored by a minister from East Prussia. He was also on the lookout for possible building sites but found them generally too

expensive. Gernecke also rented a hall in Wynberg for services, where on February 11, 1900 25 people congregated. In Cape Town he started a confirmation class with six candidates, who met twice a week. His singing classes were also held twice a week, services were kept three times per week (Gernecke 1900b).

In the meantime, the committee in Berlin responded to the application of the Synod in Haarlem concerning the erection of a mission station in Cape Town:

"The decision about the allocation of funds for the erection of a station in Cape Town has been postponed until a report of Missionary Gernecke has been received in which he will state if the good prospects for the establishment of a congregation there can materialise" (Komitee 1900a).

The committee in Berlin also wanted to hear again the Director's opinion on the whole matter. He was still in South Africa. The Mission Board in Berlin especially wanted to know if the Director had changed his mind concerning the house's policy:

"We are in receipt of the Cape Synod's application of November 2 concerning the establishment of an own station in Cape Town. This decision has been taken in your presence or at least without your opposition against it. We can, however, not come to a final decision in this doubt-raising matter without having heard your views again. You may remember, that a similar application was received from the Synod in 1896. We rejected that application since the Lord's commission: Go Ye therefore, and teach all nations... binds us to concentrate all our forces on that very task. We rather favoured the idea that our members should join the Church of the Brethren.....In 1898 the synod renewed their request with no regard to this and you yourself replied that for reasons of your own conscience you could not support such an application. You moreover encouraged Superintendent Schmidt to visit Cape Town more often in order to lead our members there to the Church of the Brethren.all others, who live in the suburbs, shall be referred to the Reformed missionary in Wynberg. This regulation, initiated

by yourself and Superintendent Schmidt, is the most recent one" (Komitee 1900b, my translation).

It appears, as if Director Gensichen, under the impression of his own visit, had in fact reviewed his stance on the Mission's policy. The presence of a missionary, even if it was only meant to be temporary, may have contributed to this shift of perception. This missionary was closer to the needs and feelings of the members than any other missionary before, let aside the committee in Berlin.

Gernecke expressed his observations and findings in a very thorough, 14 pages long, report after only two months of work in Cape Town. As he had already mentioned in his diary, he felt that the Mission's policy, which was to refer the Lutheran Christians to either the Moravian or the Reformed Church, did not work in either case. The Moravian Church in Cape Town did not seem to appeal to them, whereas the Reformed Church in Wynberg integrated the Lutherans to such an extent, that they did not want to leave this church any more:

"Most of the members joined the Reformed Church, after having looked in vain for a Lutheran Church or waited for one to come. They cannot become friendly with the Church of the Brethren" (Gernecke 1900a: 5, my translation).

The situation in Wynberg was even reflected in the above letter of the committee in Berlin:

"The Reformed preacher is of the understanding that the people had been transferred to him permanently and regards them as his 'wettigen leden'" (Komitee 1900b, my translation).

Gernecke finds further:

"If we want to keep our members in Wynberg, then we will have to erect an outstation there also, otherwise the Wynbergers will prefer to remain in the Reformed Church" (Gernecke 1900a: 8, my translation).

But apart from this observation, Gernecke's report does not contain a strong vote for or against the establishment of a station in Cape Town. He rather describes the city and its

population, draws a little map, describes his work and the venues used and gives statistical details of the Lutherans which he had already traced:

<u>Place</u>	<u>Adults</u>	<u>Children</u>
Cape Town	100	45
Woodstock	5	1
Salt River	2	2
Observatory	16	4
Wynberg	14	8
Diep Rivier	18	4
Other places	5	3
<hr/>		
Total	160	67

(Gernecke 1900a: 4)

Gernecke then draws up a cost estimate providing for the building and suitable sites for a church and a school as well as for a parsonage in Cape Town and for the erection of a small chapel in Wynberg. The estimate amounts to 2,550 - 3,000 Pounds. The prospects for raising the needed amount from the members in Cape Town were not very good:

"The Christians are not prepared to give guarantees for large extra expenses towards the establishment of a station"(Gernecke 1900a: 11, my translation).

The congregation was also not very likely to be self-supportive for at least the next five years. The salary for the missionary could only be raised locally in ten years which meant that the Mission Society would have to carry a substantial financial burden for at least that period. Gernecke does not close his report with a conclusion but closes with the words:

"After having expressed my view on the work here and the establishment of a station, I put everything in the Lord's hands" (Gernecke 1900a: 14, my translation).

Gernecke's report was thoroughly studied in Berlin and on June 21, 1900 the Committee responded to the application of the Cape Synod as follows:

"After having received relevant material for the assessment of the situation, we discussed the matter again in length, but a decision had to be taken to the effect that we will have to abstain from erecting a station in Cape Town" (Komitee 1900c, my translation).

The committee gave as reasons the costs which the Society at that stage was not able to carry. The income from farming and other sources in South Africa decreased from 200.000 to 174.000 Mark and the effects of the war would be felt for some time to come, so that the former income would not be achieved in the near future.

The refusal of the application was thus based on economic rather than on theological reasons. The Anglo-Boer war had in fact hampered the activities of the Berlin Mission in South Africa considerably, because most of the expenditures on the mission field there were covered by income gathered on the different mission stations. According to Richter (1923: 385) 28 out of the 56 stations of the Berlin Mission contributed to its budget considerably by means of rents and leases, returns from shops and mills, levies on prospecting and proceeds from the occasional sale of land. The war had disrupted these economic operations to a large extent as well as the farming activities. The mission farm at Bethanien, for example, was repeatedly ransacked by passing troops and 15.000 sheep were taken (Richter 1923: 366). Several other mission stations across the country were looted, cattle were taken and plantations destroyed. The mission only recovered from the financial loss in 1907 when the income for the first time rose over the level of 1898 with 208.000.-- Mark (Richter 1923: 386). The loss of income meant that only the existing activities of the mission could be maintained, and that no additional commitments could be accepted.

Large contributions from the headquarters in Berlin were also not likely, since the mission had to face another crisis on another important mission field, China. The month of June saw the beginning of the Boxer-uprising which was directed against all foreigners including the missions. The German ambassador in Peking was assassinated and the results of the hostilities could not be determined at that stage (Lehmann, 1974: 104). Due to the situation in China and the unpredictable developments in South Africa the mission board

had to be careful with its financial allocations, to the disadvantage of the hopeful Lutherans in Cape Town.

The committee's decision was received with great disappointment by the congregation. Gernecke wrote in his diary:

"I announced the decision of the honourable committee to our Christians this morning. We had cherished the certain hope, that the answer would be one of approval, although I had tried to confront the members with the realities of the matter. But when I made the announcement after the service there were many tears in many eyes and I could not stop myself from having pity on them" (Gernecke 1900c: 6, my translation).

If this was not already enough for the congregation, Gernecke also told them that he, after finishing his assignment in Cape Town, was to go back to Georgenholz:

"They felt most sorry about the fact that I should go to the Kaffirs (also the Basotho and Bavenda are Kaffirs in their eyes) and they deemed me to be too good for this. They consider the Kaffirs as creatures much lower than themselves and it is for them incomprehensible that somebody might leave them in order to preach to the Kaffirs" (Gernecke 1900c: 6, my translation).

But Gernecke's plans to move on to the North, did not materialise. The war continued and made it impossible to reach Transvaal. Director Gensichen experienced the same; although he spent 1 1/2 years in South Africa from October 1899 until February 1901, he never succeeded in seeing the stations in the Transvaal, Berlin's most important mission field in South Africa (Richter 1923: 381). The committee in Berlin decided to leave Gernecke in Cape Town for the time being, where he continued his temporary work.

On Sunday, June 24, 1900 the first confirmation in the Cape Town congregation took place. In the presence of 70 members, the following candidates received the confirmation of their baptism:

Cornelius Kana of Mossel Bay, 51 years old,
 Hendrik Mc Krey of Cape Town, 25 years of age,
 Daniel Yek of Riversdal, 26,
 Abraham Davids of Amalienstein, 20,
 Hendrik Vallentein of Riversdale, 25,
 Sarah Mozes of Mossel Bay, 17,
 Liza Mozes of Mossel Bay, 16 and
 Isaac Louw of Kimberley, 19 years old.

(Gernecke 1900c)

Gernecke's work also occasionally started to attract members of other race groups. On Tuesday, November 20, 1900 he writes in his diary:

"This evening I held a bible study in the Ashley-Hall. There were also Kaffirs belonging to the Wesleyan Church who had classes on other evenings in the same hall. One feels refreshed and exalted when going to the throne of grace together with like-minded people" (Gernecke 1900c, my translation).

Having spent one year in town, Gernecke wrote an annual report of his work there, covering the period from December 15, 1899 until October 1, 1900. Over against his first report, the number of members had increased to 274; Gernecke grouped them in two Parishes: Cape Town with the suburbs Woodstock, Salt River, Observatory, Mowbray, Rosebank, Rondebosch, Newlands, Yserplaats (sic), Maitland and Wijnberg with the suburbs Claremont, Newtown (today's Plumstead), Kenilworth and Diep Rivier:

Parish	Adults	Children
Wijnberg	49	21
Cape Town	148	56
Total	197	77

(Gernecke 1900d: 2)

Gernecke describes the social conditions of his congregants as difficult:

"The social conditions are not as good as one is tempted to assume them to be. The earnings of a casual worker run up to 5 Mark per day, that of a craftsman 7,60 Mark. Flats are very expensive... Maids earn between 20 and 50 Mark per month. The flats leave much to be desired. In a house containing three rooms and a kitchen you will find three families. Three to four families will rent one house with one room per family. Often one will find two families sharing one room" (Gernecke 1900d: 3, my translation).

Gernecke felt his task was not to found a new congregation, but rather to 1) find the members, 2) inquire about building prices and prices for plots and 3) to hold worship services for the members. The statistics reflect 186 participants at Holy Communion on five occasions, 8 confirmations, 16 baptisms, while four of the baptised children died. The congregation showed an income of 946,-- Mark over against expenditures of 708,-- Mark leaving an income over expenditure of 238,-- Mark. Gernecke notes that the hope towards the establishment of an own congregation resulted in an increase in church attendance. The negative response from Berlin and the prospects of Gernecke returning to Georgenholtz, however, resulted in a decrease in attendance again (Gernecke 1900d: 5).

Although Gernecke did not consider it his task to found a congregation, he nevertheless succeeded in doing so, since, according to Lutheran doctrine, the Church is there, where *"The Gospel is preached in its purity and the Holy Sacraments are administered according to the Gospel"* (*Confessio Augustana, Art. VII in Leith 1982: 70*). With Baptism and Holy Communion, the two Lutheran Sacraments, being celebrated and regular worship services being held, the Berlin Mission Church was rightfully established in Cape Town.

Gernecke's transfer to Georgenholtz in Vanda was again postponed, since the war had not come to an end yet. Two further applications in the year 1901 as well as a petition to the General Consul in Pretoria were unsuccessful. Gernecke continued his work, albeit with little optimism:

"...one should not expect a large numerical success from this temporary work. Even if I continued for another

five years, the growth would only be minimal. Because, if I tell the congregation: 'a mission station will not be established and, if I leave, no other missionary will replace me, then nobody is likely to join us' (Gernecke 1901b, my translation).

The year 1901 saw the first cooperation between the Berlin Mission Church and the German Lutheran Church in Wynberg, which had been established there in 1887. Pastor Siebe gave permission to use the German School for worship services on Sunday afternoons (Gernecke 1901b). The morning and evening services on Sundays in Cape Town continued but the attendance there and at the confirmation had decreased due to the fear of getting infected with the bubonic plague which broke out in Cape Town at the turn of the century. The disease forced the municipality to demolish dwellings of an unhygienic nature, especially of Africans, and to remove them to areas on the city's periphery. The Ndabeni location was established in this process in 1902 (cf Wilson & Thompson 1971: 234). Also one member of the Cape Town congregation, Johannes Arendse, died of this disease in 1901 (Gernecke 1901b).

The census taken at the end of 1901 also reflects the names of the first congregational council consisting of four members:

Christian Delo
Andreas Jefta
Jury Stijn and
Daniel Hendriks

(Census 1901)

The congregations' life received new momentum, when the hope arose renting a real church building and leaving the halls used so far:

"A certain Gentleman has built a church which seats 200 people not far away from our hall. This cost him 1.800 Pounds including the property. The church has approximately the size of the church in Ladismith. The Gentleman wanted to use the church himself for mission work. He is doing things on a private basis. Now he works in the new location under the Kaffirs, therefore

he wanted to rent the church... he demanded 9 Pound monthly"(Gernecke 1901c, my translation).

The prospects of having their own church building, brought some excitement into the congregation and the members expressed their willingness to provide the rent demanded. But over and above this, the members started a remarkable initiative and turned to the committee of the Berlin Mission with a petition signed by 66 people at a congregational meeting held on November 22, 1901. With this petition, written in Dutch, the congregation asked for a successor for Gernecke as well as for a loan towards the erection of their own church:

"We have now heard, that the establishment of this station has been rejected and that no minister will be placed here after Mijnheer Gernecke has left. Since the Lord has made our hearts more willing to work now, we approach you, our dear fathers, respectfully, and ask you: 1) to please send us another minister once Mijnheer Gernecke has left and 2) We do not have our own house, wherein we can have our services. We can not worship in our small, hired hall as we would like to do and as it is appropriate... We desire so much to have our own house, and we therefore ask you to help us and to lend us funds on agreeable terms, which will enable us to build our own church and later also a school. We commit ourselves to use all our strength in order to 1) collect funds for the church- and schoolbuilding -we have already begun- 2) to work for the increase of membership... and 3) to pledge one Shilling monthly per member until our debts have been paid off" (Cape Town Congregation 1901, my own translation from the Dutch language, emphases by the authors).

But this petition was also rejected:

"A request from the congregation from 1901, asking for a loan in order to build a church and a school, which should duly be repaid and to place another missionary in Cape Town after Gernecke has left, had to be turned down. But the continuous service to the congregation with word and sacrament will be on our minds" (Gensichen 1902: 54, my own translation).

The petition is remarkable in so far as for the first time in the history of the congregation, the members declared their willingness to form a congregation themselves and to worship together in their Lutheran tradition. By doing this they moved away from being mere objects of mission and recipients of decisions taken far away in Germany. They expressed their own needs in a courageous and democratic way and have thus proved that they have a high level of maturity at a very early stage in the process of establishment of a permanent congregation.

Gernecke's name did not appear among the signatories. He was bound to the proper communication channels for such applications, through his Superintendent and the Synod of the Cape Colony. Besides this, he had his reservations about the financial potential of the congregants. At this stage, he considered the best way forward was to rent the church under consideration for a limited period, which would not throw the congregation into a financial commitment which they would be unable to carry. So he rented the church in Gray Street from the private missionary, Mr. Ross, from December 1901 for six months and even managed to lower the rent to 8 Pounds (160,-- Mark) per month (Gernecke 1901d). Gernecke had visited the church before with some of his congregants:

"The next day we went from our modest hall into the new church. Everybody said 'Ah'. The people took a seat and sat devoutly on the chairs. We were about 40 people. We sang: A mighty fortress is our God. I said a short prayer and laid the matter in the Lord's hands (Gernecke 1901 c, my translation).

The South African war finally came to an end with the peace of Vereeniging on May 31, 1902 which brought the end to the Orange Free State and the South African Republic as independent states and brought the whole of South Africa under British rule (Wilson & Thompson 1971: 329). Travel restrictions were lifted and this had also an effect on the congregation in Cape Town:

"36 people moved away ... others are making preparations to move to Kimberley, Johannesburg and Riversdale. Cape Town was in the last years a Botsabelo, a refuge ... All sorts of needs brought the people here and once they were here they could not leave again due to lack

of money and the necessary permits" (Gernecke 1902 a: 4, my translation).

Also Gernecke made preparations to leave but, to his great disappointment, the committee in Berlin had changed its mind and did not send him back to Georgenholtz in Venda; he was rather transferred to Ladismith/Cape. It was again for financial reasons, but also the concern for the health of the missionaries that led the committee to this decision. Georgenholtz was situated in a notorious fever area which had already cost the lives of two workers in 1883 (Richter 1924: 277). Plans were worked out to rebuild the station on a higher elevation but funds were not available until the year 1910 when a rich sponsor of the Berlin Mission bequeathed a considerable amount of money to the mission which enabled them to rebuild the station in Venda (Richter 1924: 341). Gernecke expressed his disappointment in his diary on August 14, 1902:

"The latest decree of the honorable committee which forbade me to proceed to Venda brought great disappointment to me, because I have waited for an open door for two and a half years. It does not seem to be very responsible to leave the Christians in Georgenholtz without a shepherd in midst of the heathens" (Gernecke 1902b).

2.2 An Assessment of the Work in Cape Town 1899 - 1902

In order to assess the work in this period one has to identify the different parties involved. Firstly, there is the Committee in Berlin, the highest authority in the Berlin Mission enterprise. Second comes the Synod of the Cape Colony, comprising of the Missionaries working in the area, headed by a Superintendent. Third, there is the local missionary, whose reports, requests, initiatives and intimate knowledge of the conditions of work are important. Last, but not least there are the local Christians themselves.

2.2.1 The committee in Berlin did not consider the work in the urban area as mission work according to Matthew 28:

"We rejected that application since the Lord's commission: Go ye therefore and teach all nations... binds us to concentrate all our forces on that very task" (Komitee 1900b, my translation).

It also does not seem that the Committee felt any need to reconsider its standpoint:

"I doubt that we are under any obligation to review our earlier decision as well as the reasons leading to it" (Komitee 1900b, my translation).

But in order to care for the souls of their members, the Berlin Mission wanted them to join the Moravian Church in Cape Town and the Reformed Mission in Wynberg as guests, but failed to address the future. An involvement in Cape Town did also not gain in importance under the perspective of mission work to Muslims and other non-christians:

"The idea of doing mission work to the heathens and Muhammedans does not add weight (to review the former decision) because already existing institutions are taking care of that" (Komitee 1900b, my translation).

It was quite sufficient for the Committee to run the urban congregation in Cape Town as an outstation of the rural Riversdale:

"...after Br. Gernecke has completed the task of gathering the members, it seems satisfactory to establish another outstation of Riversdale there, from where Holy Communion can be served and other services can be performed" (Komitee 1900b, my translation).

It is astonishing that a mission society which had its seat in the heart of one of the world's largest cities, Berlin, seemed to be so unaware of the different natures of urban and rural mission and so unresponsive to the needs of an urban society.

2.2.2 The Synod of the Cape Colony had continuously supported the idea of a mission station in Cape Town. But, on a closer look, certain shades of enthusiasm became apparent. The chairman of the Synod, Superintendent Schmidt, seemed to be less enthusiastic, as a letter of Gernecke's wife Paula to her parents reveals: *"Carl wrote to Uncle Schmidt that he should help him, but he seems to be against the work in general" (Gernecke P. 1900, my translation).* Schmidt apparently wanted to limit Gernecke's stay in Cape

Town to two months only until a report about the conditions there would be completed. Gernecke's wife commented on this:

"Goeldner also says that this is nonsense and that this (order) derives from his unawareness of the situation here. It would be a waste of money to visit the people here for two months and then to leave again. Carl agreed to this and so he started the work in the right way... It would be simply a sin and a betrayal of the people to give up the work now just like this" (Gernecke P. 1900, my translation).

And, although Schmidt stayed closest to Cape Town with his residence being in Worcester, he preferred Goeldner in Laingsburg and Heese in Riversdale to see to the members in the city. It was in fact the latter, Daniel Heese, who was really concerned about the members in Cape Town. His signature can be found on reports and proposals to the synod and he also engineered the temporary placement of his son-in-law, Gernecke, in Cape Town. Heese was primarily concerned about the members of the Berlin Mission Church who had moved to the city and he was of the opinion that it was the task of the Berlin Mission to look after them:

"They are members of our Lutheran Church and have pledged faithfulness to their Church whereupon we laid our hands on them which commits us also to be faithful to them in return... How shall we face our shepherd when he will confront us with the fact that we threw away 300 adults? Some of our existing congregations do not even have 300 members" (Heese 1899: 1).

But Heese was not only concerned about the members, he saw the task of a mission station in Cape Town in a broader perspective:

"And we should not forget the 14 - 20.000 heathen, Moslems and the unbaptised. The Berlin Mission Society is also called to their salvation" (Heese 1899: 2).

The other members of the Synod seemed to share his sentiments since all applications directed to the committee concerning the establishment of a mission station were passed unanimously. The concern of the missionaries in the Cape Colony for a station in Cape Town can also be seen against the background of a growing movement of rural people

to town, which affected all the stations in the colony. A list attached to Director Gensichen's report about his visitation to the committee in Berlin reveals the following figures:

120	Adults,	52	children	from	Riversdale
31	''	10	''	from	Mosselbay
15	''	4	''	from	Laingsburg
8	''			from	Amalienstein
5	''	4	''	from	Johannesburg
4	''	3	''	from	Ladismith
2	''			from	Haarlem
3	''			from	Herbertsdale
<hr/>					
188	''	73	''	Together:	261 Souls

(Gensichen 1899 a)

And, with most of the new Capetonians originating from Riversdale, Heese's concern is understandable.

2.2.3 Gernecke's position was not a very fortunate one. He was given a specific task which he considered as being completed after half a year, but circumstances forced him to stay for almost two years. The temporary nature of his work, his longing for the station he had left in Georgenholtz as well as the undefined status of his congregation kept him from throwing in his full weight into the development of the Berlin Mission Church in Cape Town. Over and above that, the negative attitude of the committee in Berlin concerning the establishment of a station in Cape Town was not very encouraging.

Nevertheless, Gernecke did his work diligently and he achieved more than it appears he did. He not only gathered the Lutheran Christians, but he in fact established the church of the Berlin Mission tradition in Cape Town according to the characteristics of the Lutheran faith by proclaiming the word of God and by administering the two sacraments, Holy Communion and Holy baptism. He held confirmation classes and confirmation, there were singing lessons, house visitations and everything which constitutes a regular congregational life. He even rented a permanent place of worship as the center of congregational activities.

But Gernecke's perspectives towards an independent mission station were always very cautious. He stressed that financial independence could only be reached over a longer period of time:

"According to my opinion, the missionary could not be in state to support himself after five years, because the congregation will not be big enough... But after ten years the congregation could be big enough that they could support itself and their missionary" (Gernecke 1900a: 12, my translation).

Gernecke saw the growth potential of this urban congregation but stressed that the growth depended on the presence of a minister and on a clear sign from Berlin to establish a permanent mission station :

"There will be more people moving to Cape Town, that will join our congregation. And then there are a number of lost sheep walking around, brown Christians, which never attend church..." (Gernecke 1900a: 7, my translation).

"...if I tell the congregation: 'a mission station will not be established and, if I leave, no other missionary will replace me', then nobody is likely to join us" (Gernecke 1901 b, my translation).

Towards the end of his ministry in Cape Town Gernecke saw the prospects of establishing a mission station there in a more negative light:

"I take the liberty of expressing my opinion concerning the establishment of a station in Cape Town as is fitting for a co - worker of the mission: It would be very good for our Christians if a station was erected here, but nevertheless, I am against such a project. My reasons are, in short, as follows: We come 50 years too late. The erection of a station is very expensive and so is the support of a missionary. Therefore, self-reliance is not very probable and could only be realized in a distant future. There is no lack of churches at all. There is even a Dutch Lutheran Church with 50 brown members. Only a very small number of our Christians really need our help. It seems to me that there is no real need which forces our society to bring such a

sacrifice. Our society has fulfilled its task in the realm of this synod" (Missionsberichte 1902: 324 f, my translation).

After two years of hard work, many frustrations and the disappointment of not being able to return to Venda, Gernecke for the first time expressed his personal opinion about the ongoing question of whether to establish a station, or not. So far, he had maintained a neutral stance, leaving it all in the Lord's hands (cf Gernecke 1900a: 14).

In the missiological assessment of his work Gernecke followed a line of thought that had developed in Germany in the middle of the nineteenth century which was to break up the concept of mission into world mission and "inner" mission. The former concept concentrated on mission work overseas, the latter was concerned with a special service to the urban proletariat:

"The foundations for a large upswing of the Inner Mission were laid in the thirties... Johann Hinrich Wichern(1808 - 1881), a man full of christian sensitivity, was struck by the massive misery in the big cities and founded the "Rauhe Haus" in Horn, a suburb of Hamburg, which was a home for underprivileged children... This kind of work only gained in importance after the revolution in 1848. At the Church rally in Wittenberg in 1848 Wichern succeeded in winning supporters for his idea by means of a passionate address. After the second Church Rally in Wittenberg in 1849 the 'Congress for inner Mission' and the 'Central committee for Inner Mission of the German Evangelical Church' were founded. These two bodies united the efforts in this field which was carried by independent organizations" (Heussi 1981: 470, my translation).

Gernecke had seen the social misery in Cape Town, as quoted above, especially concerning the housing situation. He also had witnessed the outbreak of the plague and was aware of the growing black population ranging at the low end of the social scale , which led him to write:

"The character of this work equals that of the Inner Mission. Now and again there will be some baptisms, but they will be few. 3 - 6.000 Kaffirs are on the location in Maitland. Different organizations are working among

them. In passing I counted five churches that work there as well as native preachers who are in command of the Kaffer language. It would not be right of me to interfere with their work" (Gernecke 1902: 5, my translation).

Gernecke compared his work also to that of the "Berliner Stadtmission" (cf Gernecke 1900 a: 7). This organization was founded in Berlin in 1877 and followed the concept for the first German City Mission in Hamburg which was also initiated by Wichern. The City Mission ranges under the Inner Mission and has as its goal

"...to fight against the religious, ecclesiastical, moral and social problems of the city and aims to continue and supplement the congregational ministry by leading people in the city to Christ" (Keppler 1941: 1036).

Gernecke found himself in a situation where the two missionary traditions which were kept apart in Germany, had to be combined and he had thus discovered a new dimension of missionary work which the Berlin Mission at that stage was not prepared to follow.

2.2.4 The fourth party involved was the congregants themselves. They originated from a rural setting, where the Berlin Mission played a dominant role with their ecclesiastical, their farming and school activities. Coming to town, the members, some of them only second - generation Christians, found a variety of denominations already present there except their own Berlin Mission. Some joined other churches, others just stayed away from any church but the majority had a longing for services in their own tradition. The existence of two other Lutheran traditions did not solve the problem. In one Lutheran church, the German language was the problem; the other Lutheran Church at Strand Street was probably unknown to them (cf Gernecke 1900 d: 2).

In this situation the committee in Berlin tried to solve the question of spiritual care by telling them to join the Moravian or the Reformed Church. Gernecke observed that the Lutherans were not happy with the Moravian Church (cf Gernecke 1900 a: 5), whereas the affiliation in Wynberg with the Reformed Church became so strong, that they did not want to leave any more (cf Gernecke 1899).

The work of Goeldner, Heese and at last that of the first resident minister, Gernecke, raised some hopes for the establishment of a Berlin Mission Church in Cape Town. When these hopes were shattered, the members in Cape Town directed a bold petition to the committee in Berlin, expressing their desire for another minister as well as for their own church building and the later establishment of a mission school as they knew it from their home villages. In the set-up at the turn of the century the members of a mission congregation had no representation on a higher level which led them to direct their petition directly to Berlin. This move shows that they felt unhappy with their situation as objects of mission policy and indicated to the committee in Berlin that there is more to the missionary enterprise than the financial and strategic considerations that seemed to influence the committee's decisions.

Chapter IV
THE INTERIM PERIOD
1902 - 1903

4.1 The period covered in this chapter stretches from the time when Gernecke left Cape Town until a new missionary was assigned to the work there. To call the period between 1902 and 1903 an "interim" period can only be done if one looks back at the history from a later point in time. When Gernecke left Cape Town there was not much hope that the work which he had begun would be continued at a later stage. Already the 1901 official annual report of the Berlin Mission Society reflected little missionary zeal concerning the work in Cape Town:

"The task was not to win new members but rather to retain the old members of our society" (Jahresberichte 1901: 17, my translation).

The only prospect for the Cape Town Lutherans was to be served as an outstation of rural Riversdale, the place where the majority of the people came from. In addition, the members in Cape Town would also be visited from Laingsburg, as the annual report for the year 1902 reflects, which meant that the congregation was almost back to the situation in which it was before 1899. The day - to - day work had to be done by deacons (the church elders were called "Diakone"); there were nine of them for the two preaching places Wynberg and Cape Town:

Andreas Jefta
Jury Steyn
Jesaias Pieterzon
Daniel Hendricks
Edwards Raubenheimer
Jakob Wakefield
Friederike Jefta
Rachel Pretorius and
Lina Lauw.

(Jahresbericht 1902: 164)

Two reasons were given again in the official publication of the society:

"...because of the high costs we cannot consider a permanent placement of a missionary. Even if the members should try their utmost to pay their dues, the station would still not become self-supporting, since growth by means of baptising heathens is not very likely. There is indeed a considerable number of heathen among the coloured people that come to town, but a large number of mission agencies already work among them. In the suburb of Maitland for example, where there are about 5.000 Kaffirs, five churches already exist. It would not be wise to establish there a new, sixth one" (Jahresbericht 1902: 19, my translation).

So, as he had already requested before as a last resort, the care for the Cape Town Lutherans fell back on Daniel Heese, missionary in Riversdale.

4.2 With love and commitment and also equipped with a vision for the future of the urban Congregation, the 69 year-old Heese now tried to direct the congregational life in Cape Town from Riversdale, 350 km east of the harbour town.

The newly established railway line along the south coast made travelling between Riversdale and Cape Town somewhat easier, but still, 21 hours had to be spent on the train, which left at 10 a. m. and arrived at dawn the next morning. Being a missionary, Heese enjoyed a fare reduction of 50% from the railway company on the leg to Worcester (Heese 1903).

Heese went on his first journey in the capacity of the minister of the Cape Town Congregation, in July 1902. He described as his first task the establishment of a new membership register, which had already been begun by Gernecke. Heese amended the register with names of people that had left the congregation but where "hope prevailed that they may return one day" (Heese 1903, my translation), as well as with names of Lutherans paying occasional visits to the congregational activities. Thus he managed to boost the membership figure to 400 adults with the same number of children:

"In this way we surely arrive at a number of 800 Lutheran members, who God has committed to our soul... Those 800 Lutheran Christians who have been won by spending a lot of effort, money and education have been called into this large city with all its temptations and have become a wild bunch of people. But through the grace of God some could be saved..." (Heese 1903, my translation)

The second thing to be organised was to ensure that, in the absence of a permanent missionary, congregational life could go on. For this purpose Heese sought the assistance of a number of helpers. Already on May 25, 1903 the congregation of Riversdale had sent Daniel Abrahams as a helper to the Cape and Heese called a further four deacons in Cape Town and two in Wynberg. The former were

Petrus Salmon
Willem Pick
Maria Pieters and
Th. Hendricks.

(Jahresbericht 1903)

Heese's personal report, but not that officially published in the "Jahresbericht", mentions another three helpers:

"He (Daniel Abrahams) is assisted by a Mr. Isaac Middleton, a postmaster, who has grown up in our church in Riversdale as son of a dear friend of the mission. He holds the morning- as well as the evening - worship-service and teaches also in the Sunday School with the help of some young women of the congregation. A second (helper) is my son Johannes, who, once in six weeks, goes to Cape Town from Paarl to hold services and to see to things there. A third one is Mr. Albertyn from Windsortown near Kimberley" (Heese 1903, my translation).

Heese's report mentions another visit on the 23d of August and, at the conclusion of the year's work, he observes a "healthy growth":

"On October 8, 1899 I had 15 (people) at the Lord's table, in March 1900 there were 44 and now 80. A healthy growth!" (Heese 1903, my translation).

He continues by challenging the committee in Berlin with the following thoughts and by laying out his vision about the further growth of the congregation:

"One has to ask the following question. Can the way of serving this congregation remain like this? The most important thing is that you, honourable gentlemen and fathers, should recognise this congregation as your own... The second thing would be to budget an annual amount of 50 Pounds in order to build up a congregational fund... It is self-evident that our aim must be to obtain a building site and a venue for a school.

Before my inner eye I see the congregation in Cape Town and Wynberg growing to become the largest congregation in our Cape Synod. Every intelligent person that is familiar with the situation in this country will say, that the whole unemployed labour force will not move north but rather westward, to Cape Town... Cape Town will remain the open jaws ready to gobble up our members... I commit this congregation to your fatherly heart..." (Heese 1903, my translation).

4.3 In order to assist the aged Heese with his extensive work in Riversdale he was entitled to an assistant from 1873 (Zoellner/Heese 1984: 147). In 1903, the 31-year-old missionary Carl Mueller was assigned to Heese. Mueller had stayed in Riversdale, after his arrival in the Cape Colony in 1899 until his ordination in 1901. He was then sent to Ladismith until Gernecke replaced him there in 1903 (Personnel file Mueller). During this time of working together Heese identified Mueller, who was born in the German capital Berlin, as suitable to work in an urban set-up and entrusted him with the task of visiting the congregation in Cape Town regularly. During the time of his ministry the congregation in Cape Town grew considerably and finally gained its long sought recognition by the Berlin Mission as an independent mission station.

Chapter V

THE ERA MÜLLER

1903 - 1913

5.1 It was another wise move of Daniel Heese to divide the work in his parish in such a way that his assistant, Carl Mueller, was entrusted with the work in Cape Town, whereas the aged missionary himself remained responsible for the extensive work in and around Riversdale. Through this arrangement Mueller grew more and more into the work and developed his own initiatives while Cape Town still remained an outstation of Riversdale, as required by the committee in Berlin. The committee once again confirmed its attitude in a reply to yet another application for an own missionary in Cape Town made by the Cape Synod, which met in Riversdal from October 22 to November 2, 1904 :

"Unfortunately it is entirely impossible to send a young Brother to the Cape Colony now, since the number of Brothers intending to leave in 1905 is limited and far more urgent needs on other fields emerge now. You will thus have to continue in Cape Town with the present form of ministry and you must also proceed in Riversdale with the presently available manpower"
(Komitee 1905a, my translation).

In his first year on this new assignment, Mueller traveled eight times to his new congregation, where he always remained for about a week. There he soon encountered problems of urban life like housing, alcohol abuse, crime or economic hardship:

"First I lived and slept in the church. But I could not continue to do so, first, because it proved to be unbecoming to my health, second, because I was much too often disturbed at night. Apparently drunk people tried to enter the church at night through the windows and threatened to set the building on fire. ... Now I have asked our Deacon Andreas Jephtha to rent a flat in the vicinity of the church. He had to pay 65 Mark per month for the same. If one wants a dwelling for oneself, it cannot be rented cheaper. Even for one room with a kitchen to be shared with others one has to pay 2

Pounds per month. ... The result of these high rents is that people, even with the good wages earned in town, cannot make a living. At my house visitations I encountered more poverty than for example in Riversdale ... In addition to this, the economic climate is presently very unfavorable. Many workers are being dismissed and wages are being cut" (Mueller 1904, my translation).

The difficult economic and social conditions in the area, which since the division of Cape Town into six districts in 1867 was known as "District Six", were a result of the Anglo-Boer war, as Schoemann (1994: 27) observes:

"After the Anglo-Boer War, a large number of businesses were transferred back to the Rand. The tenements in District Six were vacated (but not transferred out of white hands) as tradesmen, artisans and soldiers moved to the north, and through a filtering-down process, working class families moved in. Middle-income whites headed out, first to Woodstock, then to Observatory, Mowbray and beyond".

As a result of this, more and more coloured people moved in who had to pay high rents due to the geographical situation of the area:

"Though they (the Whites) vacated their properties, many of the original occupants retained their houses and let them out to the steady flow of newcomers and better-class Coloureds who were then moving into District Six. There was a ready demand for living space, and as District Six was situated close to town, rents often were higher than they would be elsewhere" (Venter 1974: 68).

Mueller felt that the living conditions in Cape Town had a negative influence on the moral standard of the people, which required to be addressed by the church, as he noted:

"Unfortunately, due to the influence of the urban life, I have to note contraventions against the sixth commandment which call for punishment. I also had to oppose dancing and drunkenness" (Mueller 1905a:2, my translation).

"The moral state, especially of our young people, is quite lamentable. Many of our girls are never seen in church or at the Holy Communion table. They are those that live from prostitution" (Mueller 1906 b, my translation).

The conditions in Wynberg, which from the beginning was run as a second preaching place to that in Cape Town, were apparently not so harsh as in the urban set-up:

"The outstation Wynberg, which can be reached in an hour by tram or in half an hour by train, carries more the character of a congregation unaffected by urban life and thinking" (Mueller 1904, my translation).

The minister of the German congregation, Siebe, still made the schoolhouse available as a meeting venue for the members of the Berlin Mission Church.

5.2 The beginnings of the school work

An important development in the history of the Cape Town Congregation was the establishment of a Church School which saw its humble beginnings in the last quarter of 1904:

"As the congregation consistently asked to be an independent congregation with its own minister, they likewise expressed their desire to have their own school. I could no longer resist their request and so I established one in the last quarter. This establishment is in my opinion an important moment in the development of the congregation" (Mueller 1904: 8, my translation).

The establishment of schools was an integral part of Berlin Mission policy:

"From its beginning the Berlin Mission had followed a certain, modest school policy: In those places where a congregation with Christian families was established it had to be guaranteed, that the following generation could be educated on an elementary level in a Christian spirit. That meant that (the children) had to be taught to read and write and that they had to become familiar with biblical stories, the catechism and the forms of church life. At first it was the missionaries themselves or their family members who taught at these

schools ... but soon it became necessary to train native helpers, who could also, when necessary, hold classes and worship services on Sundays, teach baptism candidates and keep an eye on the mostly small number of Christians entrusted to them" (Richter 1924: 392, my translation).

When establishing such a school in Cape Town, Mueller stressed the missionary dimension of this approach:

"The church opens itself to new groups through the attendance of non-members. Our teachers, deacons and missionaries now have the right to go to those people. I am probably not wrong in assuming that many people in the vicinity of our church do not belong to any church at all and that they are pagans. The school opens their houses to us. ... The owner of the church, Mr. Ross, gave me the permission to tentatively start with the school. On the first day of school there were 16 children, on the second day 10 more joined, and in the second week we already had 50 pupils" (Mueller 1904: 9, 10, my translation).

The government showed a positive attitude towards the establishment of mission schools since these private initiatives released the state from its obligation to deal with the complex question of native education. In return, the government honored such initiatives with grants which, at a later stage, covered the expenses for the teacher's salaries. On the other hand the state maintained its influence on the content of what was taught with the exception of religious education. This led some missions like that of Hermansburg to do without state grant but to remain independent instead (Richter 1924: 394).

The Berlin Mission school had applied for the state subsidies already in the year 1905, when the number of pupils had jumped to 144:

"They are being taught by three female teachers, one German lady and two coloured girls. The government pays for the teachers' salaries the amount of 75 Pounds for the acquisition of benches and tables the government willingly contributed 300 Mark. The remainder of our costs were covered from the proceeds of a tea-evening" (Mueller 1905a: 2, my translation).

The names of the first three teachers at the Cape Town Lutheran Mission school were Mrs. L. Fysch, examined teacher, and Miss J. Duthie as well as Miss L. Jansen, assistant teachers (Jahresbericht 1906: 26).

5.3 The search for new premises

The progress of the school attracted the attention of Mr. Ross, the owner of the church. On top of the monthly 6 Pounds and 10 Shilling he added another 3 Pounds to the rent which the congregation could not afford any more. They were thus forced to look for a different venue and found the Clifton Hill Presbyterian Church which Mueller hired for only 5 Pounds per month for the period of three months. So the congregation had to move yet again, this time from Gray Street to Clifton Hill. There was, however, a string attached to the rental, which Mueller tried to explain to the committee:

"(The owners) do not want to rent the church, but rather to sell the property. They were, however, prepared to rent the church if we intended to buy at the end" (Mueller 1905b, my translation).

Mueller also proposed a detailed budget for the financing of the project:

"The selling price is 3.000 Pounds. A friend of the mission, who does not want to be named, has offered me a loan of 1.000 Pounds at 3 % for 10 years. Another friend of the mission also offered a loan of a further 1.000 Pounds, again at a low interest rate. This leaves another 1.000 Pounds. Brother Heese finds that this amount could be borrowed from the Riversdale building fund. The repayment of this amount could then begin after four years. Up to that time Riversdale must get along with its old church. ... our congregation will now, knowing that we will get our own church, be even more committed so that the debts soon can be disposed of. My request is now that the honorable Committee may approve to the church's registration in our name and that the purchase price will be raised in the above manner... I do hope that the honorable Committee will approve of this application, since our congregation will be homeless in the case of a refusal" (Mueller 1905b, my translation).

Now Mr. Ross also showed a willingness to sell his property, asking the amount of 3.300 Pounds for the church, 3 houses and stables. Mueller relayed this offer to Director Gensichen in a letter dated just 11 days later than his first application. He, however, expressed his preference:

"We have to think of the future. Cape Town cannot stay without its own missionary. ... it is nevertheless not a good idea to let the missionary stay there. The houses are only furnished for coloured people and the surrounding of the property is rather dubious. It would be thus better to acquire the other property, if it is not too costly, because one can build there to one's liking and one is, so to say, isolated" (Mueller 1905c, my translation).

The further developments were overshadowed by the death of Missionary Daniel Heese in Riversdale, who, on May 10, 1905, died at the age of 71. With him the Berlin Mission lost one of its most dedicated missionaries, who came to South Africa in 1859 as a teacher for the children of the missionaries. After his ordination in 1868 he started his work in Riversdale until his death there. He never forgot his professional origins and also helped to erect a girls' school in Riversdale as well as the mission school in Mossel Bay (Zoellner/Heese 1984: 147). Several outstations, some of which even became independent mission stations like Herbertsdale and Mossel Bay, were established in his time. One, however, still had to gain the Committee's official recognition: That in Cape Town.

After Heese's death, Mueller had to take over the mission station in Riversdale, which added a considerable workload to his duties. But there was not much help in sight. The reply to his application concerning the acquisition of an own church as well as the continuous request for an own missionary was extremely negative. It showed that the urban ministry in Cape Town was not only a lesser priority of the Berlin Mission, it was not even considered to be its missionary task:

"We maintain that we neither consider Cape Town as our missionary duty nor do we intend to make a missionary available, since the pastoral care for Christian congregations is not our task; this rather has to be

left to the white Christians in Cape Town. When we did allow pastoral care for those members originating from our congregations who now stay in Cape Town we only gave in on the urging of the late Brother Heese. This work, however, has only to be considered as temporary and shall be terminated as soon as the work can be handed over to others. Until now we did not enforce this transfer, but our permanent financial crisis forces us to withdraw from any financial commitments concerning Cape Town as soon as possible (Komitee 1905b, my translation).

The committee suggested the formation of an independent society as legal basis for a congregation, provided that the financial potential of the congregation was really as good as assumed. But, at the same time, the missionary was strongly advised not to enter any financial obligations on his own behalf.

If this should not prove to be feasible, and the Presbyterian Church discontinued the rental for 5 Pounds, then the congregation should move back to Mr. Ross' church for the old rental. The additional 3 Pounds were refused as an unjustified increase.

All this helped Mueller very little. He now had to see to the extensive work in Riversdale without prospects of any assistance, and all the plans for Cape Town did not materialise due to the resistance of the committee in Berlin. He wrote:

"Cape Town and Wynberg ... have this year ... been our problem children. It was always difficult to find some time to go there without interrupting the main work here. On top of this comes the concern for the congregations in the times when I can not be there. What a difficult situation I always had to face when I visited them and they asked me: 'What will become of us?' ... I have not even told the congregation of the honorable committee's negative reply to our application yet" (Mueller 1905 a: 1, my translation).

The 1905 meeting of the Cape Synod took place in Mossel Bay from October 4 through 11 under the chairmanship of missionary Goeldner, who served as the acting Superintendent after the death of Schmidt on October 25, 1904. The synod

kept on insisting on an own missionary for Cape Town, adding to the old a new argument:

"The urgency of our application is illustrated by the large number of members which is still on the increase and by the threat of the Ethiopian movement" (Kapsynode 1905, my translation).

5.4 The Ethiopian Movement

The Ethiopian movement originated in the last decade of the 19th century as a religious emancipation movement of black and coloured people which received critical attention of European mission organisations, because:

"In the last decade of the last century the growing awareness of the differences between blacks and whites led to the formation of a religious movement known as Ethiopianism. It was directed against the mission organizations and tried to destroy those enterprises founded by the missions" (Richter 1924: 375, my translation).

"The explicit goal of the Ethiopians is total emancipation from the mission churches of the white people, that means, that only Black people may hold a clerical or teaching office" (Sauberzweig-Schmidt s. a.: 5, my translation).

The movement originated in the North of the country, but found its way also into the Cape Colony in the person of the Rev. James Dwane, a breakaway from the Methodist Church. He came into contact with the black American Methodist Episcopal Church in 1896 and returned later from the United States as general superintendent of the Ethiopian Church, which became known as the African Methodist Episcopal Church. He later broke his ties with America and approached the Archbishop in Cape Town, seeking an affiliation with the Church of England. His application was successful, and Dwane was ordained as "Provincial of the Order of Ethiopia", granting him, his church and her ministers privileges like possession of land, ordination of ministers and acting as marriage officers (Sauberzweig-Schmidt: 10).

The Ethiopian movement broke up into several churches of which the African Methodist Episcopal Church remained the

largest, with Dwane's Order of Ethiopia coming second. The members of the order could mainly be found in the Cape Colony (Sauberzweig-Schmidt: 13).

The Berlin Mission regarded this movement as dangerous, because its missionary activities were not directed towards pagan people, but rather towards members of mission churches:

"... they do not go to the pagans who are difficult to convert to Christianity, they rather approach the already existing Christian congregations, seeking to sow mistrust and to undermine the authority of the white missionaries. They approach the members of the mission churches verbally and in writing and try to make them aware of their subordinate positions in the mission churches, their poor payment and the denial of ordination by the white missionaries, something the Ethiopian Church would grant them. In this way Ethiopianism is like a parasite on the body of Christian Congregations in South Africa..." (Sauberzweig-Schmidt: 26, my translation).

The Berlin Mission also watched the activities of the Ethiopian Movement with suspicion because of an incident in their own mission family:

"... in Sekhukhuneland in the Transvaal ... a white missionary of the Berlin Society called Winter ... led the seceders. He maintained that missionaries treated even educated Africans as inferiors and that it was necessary to create independent churches which could be governed by Africans ... No sooner had the new church been constituted, than it denounced and dismissed its own founder as an intruder" (Hinchliff 1968: 91).

"The Bapedi-Secession was one of the first Ethiopian activities in South Africa under the slogan: Away from the whites, also from the missionaries" (Richter 1924: 267, my translation).

For Mueller in Cape Town the "threat" of the Ethiopian Movement became a reality in 1904 when he noticed that this church operated in the vicinity of the rented church:

"Our Deacons must be alert because right next to us is an establishment of the Ethiopian Church and there were already efforts made to win some of our members. Fortunately, this has not been successful yet" (Mueller 1904: 4, my translation).

"In the last meeting of our congregational council I was told the story of gatherings which were held by the Coloureds. In these gatherings they are called upon not to submit themselves to the white ministers any more. Action followed these words and they elected a laborer as their minister" (Mueller 1905 a: 1, my translation).

What worried Mueller most was that during his absence from Cape Town, the members there were without spiritual care, which might drive them into the hands of the Ethiopian Church:

"Almost all the funerals were conducted without the presence of a minister, which is very bitter. Small children often died without baptism, because ministers of other denominations were not willing to baptise them. One woman, in her need, went to the minister of the Ethiopian Church, who, of course, most willingly, baptised the child" (Mueller 1905 a: 3, my translation).

But even the description of the spiritual need, and the competition by the Ethiopian Movement, left the Committee in Berlin unimpressed. They stuck to their decision not to get engaged in Cape Town themselves, but rather to hand over the work to another organisation.

5.5 The Moravian Advice

On March 19, 1906 Director Gensichen replied in writing to Mueller's plans concerning the acquisition of an own building as well as to the renewed application of the Cape Synod to station a missionary in Cape Town:

"The Committee had to decide that an application has to be directed to the Congregation of the Brethren in Cape Town to that effect, that they may take over the care for our Christians or that our members become affiliated with the Congregation of the Brethren. I

know how your heart may be troubled about this. But, one cannot resist the Lord and his ordinations. The Committee always insisted that Cape Town does not constitute a mission to the pagans. When we consider how our actual work is currently restrained by the immense financial deficit we are not any more in the position to maintain something for which we do not possess enough funds and manpower. You must therefore discontinue your building plans" (Gensichen 1906 a, my translation).

On April 4, 1906 Gensichen wrote to the Director of the Moravian Mission in Herrnhut. He started by outlining the economic dilemma of the Berlin Mission which already had led them to request the Swedish Mission to take over their work in Mashonaland. He continued by describing the history of the Cape Town congregation and referred again to his meeting with the Moravian Missionary Wolter in October 1899, where first ideas about an affiliation with the Moravian Church were exchanged. Until 1905 this plan was not necessary to pursue, since the congregation could be served by Gernecke temporarily and then be visited from Riversdale regularly. The death of Heese, however, brought the Berlin Mission in a predicament in so far as the remaining missionary was now needed there and a second one could not be employed again for financial reasons. After stressing the financial potential of the congregation, which already led them to gather 5.095,-- Mark for their building fund, Gensichen concludes:

"We therefore decided to approach you, dear Brethren, with the inquiry if it was at all possible that you may integrate our Christians into your congregation. ... It remains without doubt that you, my honorable and dear brethren, will take over a wonderful and thankful work which shall not burden you with undue expenses, as far as we can judge" (Komitee 1906 a, my translation).

Mueller was not pleased with the development at all and he tried to stop the committee's initiative by writing to Director Gensichen giving five reasons, why their plan would not work, and by making a counter-proposal:

"1) Experience has shown that our Christians do not join the Church of the Brethren or are unable to do so because of the geographical distance.

- 2) *The Church of the Brethren has a large congregation in Cape Town and it will be difficult if not impossible for them to care for our two congregations and the school.*
- 3) *What shall our Christians say when we give them away after looking after them for so long? ... What kind of impression shall that create?*
- 4) *Cape Town has built up a church fund of about 300 Pounds, composed of voluntary donations from both Cape Town and Riversdale. These congregations will not agree that this fund be taken away from them!*
- 5) *...hope was created that we will hold on to them (our Christians) and we cannot destroy this hope suddenly, especially since they have done everything to support themselves" (Mueller 1906 a, my translation).*

Mueller proposed that a teacher from Riversdale, who at present was working in Laingsburg should be employed as congregational leader. His salary would be paid by the state and the remaining costs by the congregation. Mueller offered to still visit Cape Town four times per year, while the congregations would stand in for the traveling expenses. Mueller offered further that his own traveling subsidy may be cut from 50 to 30 Pounds per annum.

Considerations of that kind needed not to be pursued any further, when the reply of the Moravian Mission to Director Gensichen's application arrived. In their reply, the Moravian Mission Director Hennig regretted that he had to refuse the application, since he regarded the work, which had been begun by the Berliners in Cape Town as already too extensive. The missionary in Moravianhill would be overburdened with this additional work. Furthermore, also the Moravian Mission was facing economic hardships, and for that reason they were unable to employ a second missionary there for that purpose. Hennig closed with a serious advice:

"May we, once again, express our conviction that we regard a ministry to the members of your different mission stations by missionaries of your own society as absolutely necessary, also in regard of the future of your rural congregations. We as Moravians have experienced the blessing of such a ministry already for 20 years" (Bruederunitaet 1906, my translation).

In October 1906 the Moravian Mission organised a mission week at Herrnhut in Germany which was also attended by members of the Berlin Mission Committee. During this week a meeting was arranged between Committee members and the Moravian Mission Director Hennig as well as the Moravian Mission-Superintendent Wolter, where the ministry to the members of the Berlin Mission Church in Cape Town was discussed. The Moravians urged the Berliners in this meeting to recognize their responsibility in Cape Town. The Berliner Mission Inspector Julius Richter participated in this meeting and wrote in a memorandum to the committee:

"The leaders of the Moravian Mission advised us strongly to take the pastoral care for our Christians in the Cape into our own hands. They even made the sufficient spiritual care for them a matter of conscience, i. a. for the following reasons:

- a) The bonds of the Christians that moved to Cape Town and their rural home congregations will remain in so far as they, one day, will return there. If they, during their stay in town, become spiritually and morally corrupted, they will become a curse and a danger for our congregations. If they, however, continued their bonds with us, then they will be a blessing for our rural congregations due to their widened horizons, their life experience and their earnings. This effect which the life in Cape Town has on our rural congregations has moved the Moravian Mission to get involved in the ministry in Cape Town, and they have experienced the blessing of this work not only in Cape Town but also in their rural congregations as well.*
- b) The denominational awareness, in our case the Lutheran, is normally very strong among the Cape Christians. Therefore it is not advisable to hand over a large number of Christians from one denomination to another. ... Either - and this is most likely - they will not get used to the new forms (of worship) and they will remain strangers. Or they will love the new church-form that much ... that it will be difficult for them to re-integrate in their rural congregations. They may also sow there the seed of discord. We tend to underestimate the denominational bondage, but, according to the experience of the Moravian Mission, this is a factor to be recognized.*
- c) For an adequate care for more than 500 members it is insufficient that a missionary from Riversdale visits*

them now and then. There has to be a missionary placed in Cape Town. He would have, next to his pastoral duties, abundant opportunities for mission work, since in and around Cape Town there are still about 15.000 coloured pagans" (Richter 1906, my translation).

The advice of the Moravian Brethren as well as the example of their own work in and around Cape Town finally moved the Committee in Berlin to change its mind and to adopt another policy regarding the work in Cape Town.

5.6 Towards an independent Mission Station

On December 11, 1906, Director Gensichen wrote to Mueller in Riversdale about the decisions that the committee had made. After the death of Superintendent Schmidt in Worcester in October 1904 it became necessary to nominate a successor. At the same time the seat of the Superintendent should be moved to Riversdale, the largest of the mission stations in the Cape Synod. The committee nominated Johann Gottlob Grosskopf, missionary in Bloemfontein, as the new Superintendent. Mueller was instructed as follows:

"As soon as this decision can be executed, you will be transferred to Cape Town in order to continue the collection of and the pastoral care for the Christians there more effectively than it was possible with occasional visits from Riversdale. Furthermore you shall do mission work among the heathens there. ... The Mission Week in Herrnhut gave us the opportunity to listen to the arguments of both Director Hennig and Superintendent Wolter. Both gentlemen confirmed Br. Heese's and your opinion concerning the necessity of care for the Christians in Cape Town by a missionary who has to be stationed there. Above that there is ample opportunity for real mission work towards the 15.000 heathens there" (Gensichen 1906 b, my translation).

The committee granted Mueller an annual salary of 200 Pounds as well as 100 Pounds housing-subsidy. The acquisition of an own church building had, however, to be denied. It was the duty of the congregation to raise the funds for the rental of the church and school-building and to exercise extreme financial restraint.

Mueller finally moved to Cape Town together with his family and arrived there on May 7, 1907, which then was declared as the founding date of the mission station in Cape Town. Mueller rented a house in Woodstock at 41 Walmer Road which was situated close to the church and the congregation.

The congregation arranged a tea-evening to welcome their new minister. A delegation of schoolchildren and the teachers were also present.

At a congregational meeting Mueller introduced a strict system for collecting the church subscriptions. Every Deacon was assigned to a certain ward where he had to collect the fees. On every Pound collected they received 2 Shillings for their expenses. Increased baptism-fees were introduced for members with outstanding fees as well as for children born out of wedlock. At funerals a levy of 5 Shillings was charged for members in arrears. To balance the congregational budget, tea-evenings, concerts and slide-shows were arranged (Mueller 1907).

While Mrs. Mueller took over the Sunday School, Mueller himself arranged evening classes for about 30 participants. The school was visited by 123 children in 1907. The government did not pay any subsidies until October of that year, since no examined teacher was available. The expenses had to be covered by the school fees. Mueller rented a separate building for the school in Queen Street for 2 Pounds and 10 Shillings per month and employed another examined teacher, a Mrs. Isabell Johanna Powell, in October 1907 in order to secure state funding again. The first random inspection by the Departement of Public Education was held on January 21, 1908, where the attendance was found to be somewhat poor:

"The muster is very disappointing. Every effort should be made to get the pupils to return on the opening day of the quarter" (Dept. of Pub. Education 1908 a).

The first inspection report of the department was made in March 1908 and criticised the inadequate equipment of the school:

"This school to which grants were issued from 1/10/07 takes the place of the late Muir Street School which was closed on 31/12/06. Only 10 of the pupils now on the

roll, however, were on the roll of the Muir Street School at its last inspection two years ago ... In the room where the infants are taught the seating is unsuitable, the frames being too high for the smaller children and less than half of the children have plates" (Dept. of Pub. Education 1908 b).

The membership in Wynberg, where Mueller held a service also every Sunday, was on the decrease. It seemed, as if Wynberg Vlakte and Parow could develop as new preaching places (Mueller 1907).

5.7 The struggle for an own building continues

Since the congregation now had to come up with the rent for three buildings, the church, the missionary's house and the school, the expenditures rose considerably. Mueller made no use of the offer to pay the rental for his house from the circuit funds, since he wanted to teach the congregation to come up for their expenses themselves on the way towards full self-support (Mueller 1907). But this idea was hampered by the difficult economic situation of the members, some of whom were facing unemployment. So it became more and more urgent to look for own premises.

Mueller tabled again the proposal to buy the church of Mr. Ross; another option was a piece of ground owned by Mrs. Bam, a widow, who asked 2.500 Pounds for an estate at Searle Street. This property had been envisaged before and had been inspected already in March 1900 by the synodical commission consisting of Heese and Goeldner while the owner, Mr. Bam, was still alive. At that time, Mr. Bam asked 2.650 Pounds as purchase price (Heese & Goeldner 1900).

Grosskopf, the new Superintendent, seemed to be more interested in the work in Cape Town than his late predecessor. He sought to help Mueller and traveled to Cape Town in July 1907. He, however, found both plots too expensive and approached the mayor of Cape Town for the donation of church ground, as he had done this successfully in Bloemfontein before. But the ways in the Cape were different and the mayor had to reject his petition. His advice to approach the Orphan's Chamber also proved unsuccessful (Grosskopf 1907).

In the following year, Mrs. Bam reconsidered her offer, and the price for her plot at Searle Street dropped to 1.800 Pounds. Grosskopf reacted immediately and applied in February 1908 to the Committee in Berlin for permission to buy. When this letter remained unanswered, he reapplied on June 2, 1908:

"On February 4, I wrote concerning the proposed acquisition of ground in Cape Town, and I allow myself to suggest to the honorable committee to buy the estate of Mrs. Bam, since we now are in a position to acquire it for 700 Pounds less than before" (Grosskopf 1908, my translation).

The committee reacted after careful consideration and approved the said purchase by giving quite detailed instructions concerning the arrangement of the proposed buildings:

"On a rectangular building site in town we cannot hold on to the tradition of building the church from east to west... We therefore require that both church and school shall be erected with their gables towards Hyde Street and with their long sides towards Searle Street. As a practical consideration, the church should be positioned at the front of Searle Street, so that the ... school remains unaffected by the daily noise of the street. There will be less noise on Sundays so that the worship will not suffer thereunder. The construction of the church will have to be postponed, since funds are at present not available" (Komitee 1908, my translation).

The contracts were soon signed and building constructions began with the cornerstone - laying on November 28, 1908. Mueller (1909, my translation) reported:

"Soon after the synod meeting we had to think of the construction of the school which had to be finished by the beginning of this year. We began the construction works with the trust in God's help. The laying of the cornerstone as well as the consecration of the building were led by Superintendent Grosskopf. The school consists of three classrooms with large double-doors which can be all opened in order to form one big hall for our worship-services ... Besides our own

congregation a large number of German friends was present at both the cornerstone-laying and the consecration. The German Consul General and ministers of other churches participated in the festivities".

The construction work could be completed in only three months, so that the school could be consecrated on January 24, 1909 (Missionsberichte 1910: 74). The final financial report for the building project closed with income and expenditures of 687 Pounds, 9 Shillings and Six Pence. The builder, Mr. Darry, charged 681 Pounds for his work, 24 chairs were bought for 3 Pounds 9.6 and the charge of the City Council for the supply of electricity was another 3 Pounds. The congregation contributed 344 Pounds 18 Shillings from their building fund, 200 Pounds were lent by Heese, probably a son of the late Daniel Heese, at 4 % interest, and 50 Pounds each were lent by a Mr. Pfuhl at 6 % and from the circuit account. The remaining amount was made up by collections in the Cape Town and Riversdale congregations (Mueller 1909 b).

5.8 The work expands

From its very beginning, the work in the Cape Peninsula was done in two places, in Cape Town and in Wynberg. It soon became necessary to serve also Lutherans who have settled in the South of Parow. Already in 1908 Parow was visited every other Sunday in order to hold worship services there. In the same year the members in both Wynberg and Parow expressed their desire to also establish a school. But although land was available for a good price, funds were not at hand.

Even so, the congregation in Wynberg succeeded to erect a modest church in 1909 which now they could call their own:

"Also the congregation in Wynberg could celebrate the consecration of their church. They have acquired land for 100 Pounds, which was financed by a loan. Thereon they have erected a house of corrugated iron which through the effort of the congregants, especially of the Deacon Adrian Arendse, could be converted into a clean and nice little church. The expenses for the building material were raised in the congregation by means of a concert and a bazaar. The only remaining thing is the purchase of benches. For the time being

they have to use some schoolbenches, which I could lend to them" (Mueller 1909, my translation).

In the following year, the dream of opening more schools could be realised:

"On all outstations schools could be opened. The old saying 'those who have the youth will have the future' which has always been put into practice by the Roman Catholic Church, is also relevant for us. So I proceeded, trusting in God, with the establishment of more schools. The school in Wynberg was opened in January. Also here, as it is the case with other schools, the government pays us two thirds of the teachers' salaries and contributes to furniture and equipment (Müller 1910 my translation).

The first principal employed was Mrs. Annie B. Duttie. She alone had to see to 33 coloured children ranging from the Sub - Standards A until Standard four. This led to problems of discipline, as the visitation report of September 13, 1910 reflects:

"The discipline continues to require care" (Dept. of Public Education 1910 a).

The same report also draws attention to the need of making the roof rain - proof.

Also in Eureka a school could be opened:

"The former preaching place with the promising name Eureka close to Parow has now also become an outstation. We could buy a cheap plot with a small house, which could be used as an abode for the teacher. The school in Eureka was opened in April. 50 children visit the same now. The teacher, Mr. P. Kleinhans, a former teacher from Ladismith, also takes care of the Sunday School. He also takes turns with the deacons in holding morning and evening worship-services. Also there a school-building could be erected now so that enough space is available for the large crowd of children. Especially in Eureka the children showed very good progress. In Eureka the congregational council is responsible for the running of the school,

whereas in Wynberg a school-committee was elected"
(Mueller 1910, my translation).

The school in Eureka started under very poor conditions:

"The school at present occupies a building of makeshift character and the equipment is also unsatisfactory. The principal who has had 8 years experience under the department is prepared to take steps to improve his qualification and to enter for the T.3 examination this year" (Dept. of Public Education 1910 b).

But Mueller's activity did not stop here. In Claremont, halfway between Cape Town and Wynberg, he opened a third outstation at the end of the year 1910 which again was connected with a school.

"This school which has been conducted as a private school by a Miss de la Cruz, formerly an assistant at Heatherdale (Eng. Ch.) Mission School was taken over on her retirement five weeks ago by the Rev. C. Müller" (Dept. of Public Education 1910 c).

Müller hired a hall in Lancaster Road and started with about 100 children, 55 coloured boys and 53 coloured girls ranging from Sub Standard A until Standard II. For this number of pupils the school was understaffed as the school inspector remarked:

"For the existing enrolment of 108 pupils a staff consisting of one adult teacher and a monitor is quite inadequate" (Dept. of Public Education 1910 d).

Also the qualification of the principal, Debra S. Booyesen, and her assistant needed attention:

"It is satisfactory to learn that the principal proposes to enter for the next examination for the T.3 certificate" (Dep. of Public Education 1910 d).

"...the acting assistant, Constance Henry ... informed me that she was 15 years of age and had passed Standard IV two years ago" (Dept. of Public Education 1910 c).

The two female teachers also saw to the Sunday School,

"which is also attended by adults, since I cannot hold a separate service for them. I visit the outstations Eureka and Claremont once a month and that in Wynberg every fortnight" (Mueller 1910, my translation).

The small building of corrugated iron in Wynberg soon became too small and showed signs of dilapidation. Plans to erect a new, firm building for 300 Pounds were made in 1911 and already on February 9, 1913 the new building could be consecrated. Mueller wrote in his diary:

"The congregation has brought considerable sacrifices for the new church- and schoolbuilding. They were busy collecting funds and I helped them with that. Some 20 white friends have donated 600 Mark for this purpose. In this way the efforts of the congregation resulted in an amount of 2.000 Mark. The Mission Society lent 4.000 Mark, another 2.700 Mark were raised through a local loan. I had an architect draw the plans, but oversaw the construction works myself. I also purchased the building material.... The building, which stands with its gable towards the street, is made of three parts. From the street one enters through a small portal into a large, airy hall which is 60 ft. long and 30 ft wide. At the end of the hall is a small platform to which one ascends on some stairs. This upper room has place for a class of 40 pupils. From there I also preach on Sundays..." (Missionsberichte 1913: 277, my translation).

The cornerstone was laid by the mayor of Wynberg. The consecration was handled by Superintendent Grosskopf in the presence of the German Consul, Freiherr von Humboldt, the minister of the German Lutheran congregation, Rev. Ludewig, and members of his congregational council. An address was given by a member of the provincial parliament and friend of the Berlin Mission, Mr. Cartwright. The building could be completed for only 8.600 Mark (Missionsberichte 1913: 107).

In the year 1912, the school in Eureka experienced a further development when it merged with a school given up by the "Geslachtskerk", which was

"...a church of coloureds, which does not want white teachers and preachers" (Missionsberichte 1913: 264, my translation).

"Our school merged with an already existing private school. This school already existed for a couple of years and was run by the so-called Geslachtskerk. They have built a nice, solid church, in which also the school was held. Differences came up in the congregation resulting in the dissolution of the same. This shows how frail these associations are. The school, however, continued in the church building. The school inspector then urged the school-committee to approach us to continue the school..." (Missionsberichte 1913: 276, my translation).

It seemed as if the take-over of the school had also an effect on the children's parents, who then showed an interest in the Lutheran congregation (Missionsberichte 1913; 264).

5.9 Church equipment from Germany

After the completion of the school building, which also served as a church, no money was left for the acquisition of necessary equipment like a baptismal font, altar clothes or even a church bell. The congregants worked hard to pay off the loan for the building which, according to the annual reports, was the main concern of the congregation in the years 1909 - 1912.

Mueller therefore requested that such equipment be donated from mission friends in Germany and his request did not remain unanswered. On June 23, 1908 a mission rally was held in the town of Demmin in the German province of Pommern, north of Berlin. At this rally the congregation Sophienhof donated a baptismal font to the Berlin Mission with the request to forward this font to a Christian congregation on the mission field. If such a congregation had been identified, the Mission was asked to furnish it with a suitable inscription (Sophienhof 1908). It was only a year later, that it was decided to donate the font to the Cape Town congregation. The inscription chosen (in the German language) was from the Gospel of St. John 12: 32 together with the words: To the dear brethren in Cape Town, September 1, 1909 (Axenfeld 1909). Rev. Platzer of the Sophienhof Congregation reimbursed the Berlin Mission for the expenses of the engraving with 2 Mark sent by postal

order (Platzer 1909). The baptismal font traveled to South Africa with the luggage of Missionary Prozesky on September 22, 1909, who returned after a furlough. With the same shipment, altar clothes reached the young congregation in Cape Town made and donated by Mrs. Marie von Quadt from Wernigerode/Harz Mountains in Germany (Axenfeld 1909). The baptismal font is still in use today in the Athlone Congregation of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa.

In the same year a church bell had been received as a donation from Germany. The bell was financed by the sale of needlework made by a mission support group in Berlin with the name "Tabea". The bell was consecrated on September 12 and, due to the lack of a bell tower, the bell was hung up between two trees (Missionsberichte 1910: 74). The bell is today in the possession of the Evangelical Lutheran Congregation Grassy Park.

5.10 Facing urban pluralism

Even though the Berlin Mission had come in touch with other Christian Churches in the rural areas before, it was in many cases a friendly encounter. Ministers and missionaries of other denominations often asked the Berlin Mission to take over certain tasks, as it was in the case of the establishment of the work in Riversdale, and duplication of efforts were sought to be avoided. Furthermore, in rural places like Amalienstein or Ladismith, the position of the Lutheran Berlin Mission Church in the community, together with its school work, was firm and unchallenged.

The situation in the city was quite different. Here the Berlin Mission found itself as only one church on the marketplace of many different denominations, sects, secular and religious movements. Whereas Lutheran doctrine and morals could be taught in the rural mission stations in relative isolation, congregants in town were exposed to a wide variety of moral values and forms.

Mueller became aware of this different urban situation many a time. With a number of Christian denominations he sought the cooperation and thus created the first ecumenical contacts of the Berlin Mission Church in Cape Town:

"Six different churches have for some time now come together for a monthly prayer meeting. The participating churches take turns in housing these meetings in their churches in the evenings; there are the Reformed, the Presbyterian, the Wesleyan, our, the Independent and the English State Church. A remarkable alliance towards a combined work!" (Missionsberichte 1910: 72 f, my translation).

These ecumenical contacts were also sought on a higher level:

"Many good impulses for our congregation came out of the meeting of the fourth general South African Mission Conference, which was held in Cape Town from July 3 to 9, 1912. Our brethren, who came from different provinces, held a number of lectures and worship services which brought the congregation into contact with the life of the other provincial churches" (Missionsberichte 1913: 264, my translation).

Whereas these ecumenical contacts were fruitful and the spirit of mutual acceptance prevailed, the influence of other Christian groups was of a more problematic nature:

"Lately a sect hampers the work of Brother Mueller. This sect does not want to worship in 'temples made of human hands' and does not want preachers that work for a salary. Brother Mueller was forced to dismiss one female teacher who had been caught by these ideas" (Missionsberichte 1913: 264).

Another problem was caused by anabaptists. The case of Johannes Richards in Eureka troubled the missionary:

"Another Deacon fell prey to the sectarians. Even though he has received the adult baptism through me, this did not seem to be sufficient to him. He and his wife had themselves baptised again. But he nevertheless thought that he may remain a member of our congregation as well as being a deacon" (Mueller 1912, my translation).

This case was even discussed at the synod:

"... reported about Joh. Richards, a deacon, who had to resign from his office, since he despised our baptism

and had himself baptised again. The synod asks Brother Mueller that he may instruct the man who went astray concerning the Holy Baptism. Provided he accepts this instruction and he is meek enough to confess his wrong step to the congregation he may be readmitted into the same" (Kapsynode 1912, my translation).

Another Deacon in Eureka, probably under the emancipatory influence of the Ethiopian movement, also appeared in Mueller's report:

"My deacon in Eureka is ridden by the devil of pride. He wants to carry a title. He says that all the power remains in the hands of the whites, who also receive all the honor, whereas everything is denied to him. It is difficult to cope with elements like these" (Mueller 1912, my translation).

The urban pluralism also had an effect on the missionary's position in the congregation and on the exercise of church discipline. Influences of religious, social and political emancipatory movements made people apt to be critical. Alternatives to the existing church membership could easily be found, so that conflicts often led to an escape rather than to a solution:

"Unfortunately, the evil enemy has also looked for prey in our congregational council and has found it there; the Deacon Wilhelm Fortuin did not want to follow my instructions and therefore withdrew from our congregation. His self-opinionated and arrogant behavior brought him to the fall" (Mueller 1912, my translation).

Also upcoming political organizations entered into competition with the Berlin Mission Church and their activities:

"We must suspect that a large Mohammedan (sic) school, founded by Dr. Abdurahman, the leader of the African Political Organization, will attract the Muslim children of our school" (Missionsberichte 1913: 264, my translation).

The strong Muslim community in Cape Town, however, was seen as a missionary challenge.

5.11 Mission to the Muslims

Ever since the first plans were made concerning a mission station in Cape Town, a possible mission to the Muslims was again and again used as an argument for establishing such a station there. A first reference to that end was already made at the meeting of the Cape Synod in Riversdale in 1896 by Howe. According to his idea, the mission to the Muslims should be the main concern of the Berlin Mission in Cape Town; the service to the Lutherans who had moved there from the rural congregations should be only a 'by-product' of that mission (Kapsynode 1896). Mueller got in touch with the Muslims especially through the extensive school work which he had built up. In 1907 30 out of the 120 children at the Cape Town school were Muslim children who "to the great delight of the missionary, participated diligently in the religious instruction classes" (Jahresbericht 1908: 27, my translation). Mueller was, however, doubtful, if the word of God had really reached their hearts:

"I can however not judge if God's word has already reached the children of the Muhammedans (sic). Their parents are very friendly, when I now and then make house-visitations, but they become very reserved when I start to speak about spiritual matters" (Mueller 1909, my translation).

The encounter with adherents of the Muslim faith was discussed when the Cape Synod met in Cape Town in October of 1909 and a need for more information on this subject was identified. Referring to the school in Wynberg, the synod directed the following request to the committee in Berlin:

"Since there are a number of Muhammedans (sic) who live here, the synod asks the honorable committee to supply the brother with suitable literature for his orientation, so that he may extend his activities also towards them" (Kapsynode 1909, my translation).

The committee in Berlin reacted positively on the synod's request but dampened any possible enthusiasm :

"We will probably not have to warn him to spend too much time and effort on the work with Mohammedan (sic)

adults, who soon will cause him immense problems" (Komitee 1909).

But the committee followed up on the Muslim issue and considered to include instruction on Islam in the training of their missionaries:

"Taking up suggestions emerging from the conference on mission to the Muhammedans (sic) which took place in Bielefeld on December 6 and 7, an effective missionary work towards the Muhammedans (sic) on our East- and South African fields as well as a training of our East African missionaries in Islamic studies, should seriously be taken into consideration" (Missionsberichte 1913: 282, my translation).

Carl Mueller, however, could not benefit from these developments although he left with his family for his furlough in Germany in September 1913, because he would not return to Cape Town.

5.12 A dishonorable discharge

The immense workload which rested on Mueller and his wife showed an effect on their state of health. Especially in the years 1911 and 1912 Mueller reported signs of exhaustion and illness. This was also caused by their domestic circumstances. The death of their second eldest son Theodor, who died of Diphtheria in November 1911, was a hard blow for the family and subsequently Mrs. Mueller fell severely ill (Mueller 1912). Also the fact that Mrs. Mueller was almost continuously childbearing, was not very becoming to her health; from 1904 until 1913 five children were born in addition to those that they already brought from Riversdale. Carl Mueller already for a long time suffered from a stomach problem, so that he applied for a furlough in Germany.

It was however not easy for the Berlin Mission to find somebody to substitute for him during his absence, which was planned to last two years. Only in 1913 it could be arranged that August Ferdinand Manzke and his wife Clara, who worked at the Berlin Mission station Petersberg in British-Kaffaria, should stand in for Mueller only for these two years (Missionsberichte 1913; 171).

The developments with Mueller, however, took an unexpected turn. The Muellers left Cape Town on September 9, 1913, arriving in Germany in October. After their arrival, Mueller traveled to Mainz where he committed adultery with the sister in law of a Mr. W. Kraemer from Langsdorf. When this came to Mr. Kraemer's attention, he reported the affair to Mission Director Gensichen in Berlin *"out of concern for the souls entrusted to the care of Rev. Mueller in Cape Town"* (Kraemer 1914, my translation). Gensichen called Mueller back from a conference which he was attending in Halle and confronted him with the issue. This led Mueller to hand in his resignation from the Berlin Mission on February 18, 1914. This resignation had far reaching consequences for him, since he not only lost his employment, but also his pension benefits.

The Berlin Mission accepted his resignation and handled the affair very discreetly. In the official publications and minutes only the following was noted:

"Missionary Mueller, formerly in Cape Town, has left the Berlin Mission. He entered into the service of the London Mission and went to German-Samoa as a teacher" (Missionsberichte 1914: 125, my translation).

Due to the strict rules of the Mission and the church in Germany, a further employment as minister of religion was not possible. In this situation it proved to be of advantage that Mueller had passed the teacher's examination in Cape Town in 1906 (Missionsberichte 1906: 116). This certificate was recognised in London, which opened for him the opportunity to continue his missionary calling, albeit not as a minister. He, however, was evicted with all other Germans in 1920, when, in the aftermath of World War I, all Germans had to leave the former German colony in the South Pacific, which then came under the rule of New Zealand.

He later reapplied for the ministry in Germany, but due to negative testimonials from the Berlin Mission he fell victim to his own moral principles:

"... I have to note contraventions against the sixth commandment, which call for punishment..." (Mueller 1905 a: 2, my translation)

5.13 An assessment of the work in Cape Town 1902 - 1913

The time between 1902 until 1913 was a crucial period in the history of the Berlin Mission and the church in Cape Town. Three events characterise this period:

- The official recognition of Cape Town as a mission station and the placement of a missionary there on May 7, 1907,
- the purchase of ground in Searle Street and the opening of the school- and church building there on January 24, 1909 as well as
- the continuation of the work in Wynberg and the extension to Eureka and Claremont.

5.13.1 These developments took place against the background of important missiological developments at the beginning of the twentieth century which were most visibly reflected in the change of the Berlin Mission's official title:

"...the new constitution of the 'Berlin Mission Society' was accepted by the committee on November 5, 1907 and approved by Emperor Wilhem II on January 22, 1908. ... the clumsy old name 'Society for the advancement of Evangelical Mission among the heathen' ... was replaced with the title 'Berlin Mission Society' " (Richter 1924: 334 f, my translation).

Two developments describe the important missiological themes in the first decade of the new century; the development from the 'pioneer-mission' towards more independent church structures on the mission field, and the development of ecumenical thinking which led to the first international mission conference in Edinburgh in 1910.

5.13.2 Like many other missions, the Berlin Mission also faced a changing missionary situation. The days of mission pioneers were coming to an end and the necessity of new structures on the mission field became obvious:

"It has always been the fate of missions that engage in moral and cultural upliftment through school- and educational activities, that the people who benefited from these programs, become tired of being patronised,

resulting in their demand for independence" (Lehmann 1974: 108, my translation).

Mueller was faced with this striving for independence many a time. The religious-political Ethiopian movement has been described above, as well as conflicts with his deacons concerning white supremacy and his religious and disciplinary authority.

A first step into the direction of more adequate structures was the introduction of a new constitution for the church and the congregations on the mission field in 1912. With this new constitution, one elected lay member of each mission-station as well as the ordained local ministers (if there were any) received a seat in the regional synods, which so far were only a representation of the white missionaries. The first coloured member of the Cape Synod from Cape Town was the Deacon D. Abrahams, who attended the meeting of the Cape Synod in Anhalt-Schmidt (Haarlem) in November 1911, already two months before the new constitution was officially implemented.

With the new constitution, also new financial structures were organised with the aim that the five regional synods of the Berlin Mission in South Africa should become self-supportive. The mission remained responsible for the salaries of the white missionaries, the property and the running of the seminaries. The income of the congregations, except for marriage fees and Sunday collections, now went to the treasury of the synod from where the local clergy was paid and subsidies for schools and congregations, where necessary, were granted. Every congregation had to form a finance committee, which had to include two coloured members (Richter 1924: 387 f).

Lehmann (1974: 113, my translation) comments:

"The participation and co-responsibility of the young church started to dawn. But for the time being, it was only realised within a narrow frame. It is distinctive of this new constitution that it was only a product of negotiations between the Committee and the missionaries in South Africa. African Christians did not give their contributions. ... The white missionaries remained in all important matters in control and the highest authority remained with the committee in Berlin. ...

The new constitution did not replace the old patriarchal order, but it was at least a beginning".

5.13.3 The second great event of this decade was the International Missionary Conference in Edinburgh in 1910 which was attended by Director Gensichen, President Berner and the inspectors Axenfeld, Gluer and Wilde:

"... the conference was a first indication that mission in the new century would be done more on an ecumenical than on a national basis. The representatives from Berlin for the first time experienced in an impressive way the worldwide horizon of Christ's Mission. ... The representatives from Berlin returned in a somewhat helpless mood after experiencing all the new things. Would they be able to fit into the new global cooperation which was to start from there?" (Lehmann 1974: 113)

But the new spirit from Edinburgh received little support from within the traditional sponsor-circles of the Berlin Mission:

"Already then it became apparent, that a large section of support groups regarded these foreign ideas with suspicion and often even with disapproval" (Richter 1924: 350, my translation).

5.13.4 But , the discussions in Edinburgh and the new missionary situation challenged the Berlin Mission to review its work and policy so that a shift also as regards to the mission in Cape Town could be noted: Whereas at first the activities in Cape Town were not considered as real mission work, it later was regarded as important to be present in the city:

"Our mission in the Cape, in British-Kaffraria and in Natal, has from 1895 until today (1913) almost remained the same. But in addition to the predominantly rural work then, we now are equipped with important bases in the cities (Cape Town, East London, King William's Town, Pietermaritzburg) which we do not want to miss any more" (Missionsberichte 1913: 206, my translation).

But still, the Berlin Mission struggled with the missiological classification of the work in Cape Town:

"(In the Cape Province) the mission work, with the exception of Laingsburg, has come to an end. What is done now is the pastorisation of coloured congregations. The Coloureds, who live together with the Whites, are acquainted with their culture and have largely accepted this culture as their own. Difficulties are caused by the weak character of the Bastards (sic), which sometimes is accompanied by physical weakness and an inclination to attract all kinds of ailments. Activities of the 'Inner Mission' are numerous, like temperance societies, young men and maiden leagues. Brother Mueller's work in Cape Town is, besides gathering members, work of the 'Inner Mission'. The continuous work of the Cape missionary is to save the lost, to help the weak, to follow those who went astray, to gather children in the schools and to strengthen the weak bonds between the members of the congregation" (Wilde (ed) 1911: 78, my translation).

In this way, the author followed the distinction which was made in German Missiology between the work of the mission to the heathens (World Mission), which went along with cultural upliftment, and the work in the cities of the 'Inner Mission' with its strong social emphasis. The term 'Urban Mission' only started to emerge and it is in this instance interesting to note that the decision for the work in Cape Town did not spring from the discovery of the city as a field for missionary activity. It was more the concern for the moral state of the rural congregations, to which the urbanised Lutherans once may return, that caused the Berlin Mission to get involved in the city. In this way, at a very early stage, the mechanisms of 'urban-rural' mission were discovered.

Chapter VI
THE ERA MANZKE
1913 - 1923

6.1 From Karnkewitz to Cape Town

August Ferdinand Manzke was born on November 13, 1866 in the small Prussian village of Karnkewitz. After attending the Mission Seminary in Berlin he was sent out in September 1895 to the Mission Station Stendal in Natal and was ordained in Emmaus/Natal by Superintendent Glöckner on May 3, 1897. He then married Clara Ottilie Dzelski. They had only one son Gottfried, who was born in 1899 (Personnel file Manzke). The Manzkes worked on different mission stations in the Natal Synod where the climate was detrimental to the health of Mrs. Manzke. They were therefore granted an extended furlough in Germany in 1909 from which they returned in March 1912. The relocation of the family in South Africa was a somewhat difficult task for the Committee in Berlin since further employment in Natal was undesirable due to the delicate health condition of Clara Manzke (Komitee 1911). Manzke then received the order to take over the station Petersberg in the "Kaffernland"-Synod, where Missionary Johann F. Johl was due for retirement (Komitee 1912).

The Committee must have been aware that the work in Petersberg had affected the health of Missionary Johl, as this was even mentioned in the letter of placement to the Manzkes. The decision to place a family with members suffering frail health in this very place soon proved to be disastrous.

The couple's only child Gottfried died of typhoid fever on February 20, 1913 which caused Mrs. Manzke's health to deteriorate even further. She consulted her doctor in King William's Town who wrote out a medical certificate for the attention of the Berlin Mission which suggested an immediate change in climate for the patient:

"A further stay in Petersberg is in my opinion highly harmful to the health of my patient and an immediate and permanent change of her place of residence,

especially after the death of her only son, is absolutely necessary" (Gutsche 1913, my translation).

With Carl Müller leaving for Germany on his well-earned furlough, the opportunity arose to send the Manzke couple to Cape Town to temporarily fill the vacancy and to give Mrs. Manzke a chance to recover from her ill health:

"Carl Müller had to leave for Germany to be treated for a stomach problem, but he had to wait for his departure because no suitable substitute could be found. The committee now sent the Manzke couple, who are both in need of recovery from ill health, to Cape Town so that they may find some rest there and stand in for Müller for a period of two years" (Missionsberichte 7/1913: 171, my translation).

When August Manzke was inducted for his temporary work in the Cape Town congregation on August 24, 1913 he could not know that this arrangement would have to be extended due to circumstances until March 31, 1928 and that he was to play an important part in the history of the congregation.

6.1.1 Manzke, who had worked on rural mission stations before, found that the life and the work in an urban congregation was quite different from what he was used to. He complained especially about the mobility of urbanites as well as the fact that members lived far apart from each other and their place of worship:

"Here it is more difficult to get to know every member of the congregation than on a rural station, where people stay closer together. This situation is worsened by the fact that people move often from one house to another without notifying the minister or the church elder. It seems as if this is done on purpose in order to evade any kind of supervision and to prevent the missionary from knowing about their doings..." (Manzke 1913, my translation).

Other features of the urban situation and the ministry there were also perceived negatively:

"For the youth there are too many opportunities for amusement. Everybody who stays here, must also work every day, sometimes even during the night. The

congregational life suffers under these conditions and the missionary is not in a position to develop group work in leagues and societies on Sundays, because the main- and the outstations keep him too busy.... It is also very sad to see, that the youth shows very little concern for the confirmation and that young people wait too long to be confirmed. The daughter of a church elder in Eureka, who also is not confirmed, has married recently. But the wedding did not take place in our congregation but in another church, since the wedding fees there were lower than in our church"(Manzke 1913, my translation).

6.1.2 Manzke was confronted with the task of continuing the extensive work which Müller had begun in the four preaching places Cape Town, Wynberg, Claremont and Eureka and seeing to the running of the schools that were attached to the congregations. Except for Claremont which was self supportive, all other congregations still had to settle considerable debts for their buildings. Wynberg still had to settle 8,740,-- Mark and Eureka struggled with the repayments of a building loan, Cape Town was in a more fortunate position. The Berlin Mission society waived a loan-repayment of £ 655,-- and gave even another £ 90,-- in order to purchase a plot adjacent to the school ground for the purpose of erecting a church building there (Kapsynode 1913).

6.1.3 Since Manzke's stay in Cape Town was only planned to be of temporary nature, new placements and transfers were intended within the Cape Synod, especially after it was known that Müller had to leave the services of the Berlin Mission:

"New questions arise in connection with the termination of Brother Müller's service. Brother Manzke is in our opinion not able to do the work in Cape Town for a longer period of time, especially as far as the administrative work is concerned..."(Wilde 1914, my translation).

Manzke was supposed to move to Kimberley and Missionary Windisch from Beaconsfield would take over the station. This decision was modified in a letter of the Committee to Superintendent Großkopf of March 17, 1914 where it was laid down that Göldner from Laingsburg was the one who should

follow Manzke in Cape Town. A permanent placement of Manzke in the harbor city was not envisaged (Komitee 1914).

But these plans could not be carried out, because on August 4, 1914 Great Britain joined the first World War by declaring war on Germany. This had far - reaching implications for the Union of South Africa as well as for German nationals and organizations working in the country. At first everything did not look too bad for the Berlin Mission enterprise and Großkopf wrote to the Committee in Berlin on September 9, 1914:

"In this difficult time I would like to send you cordial greetings and to tell you that we are well so far. Our government treats us very well, makes exceptions for the Mission and grants certain privileges for which we are very thankful. ... The envisaged transfers can obviously not be carried out under the prevailing circumstances and we have to wait for better times" (Großkopf 1914, my translation).

In this way historic events once again changed the plans of the Berlin Mission concerning their station in Cape Town and Manzke's placement turned from being a mere temporary solution into a more lasting assignment.

6.2 The time of the First World War

The participation of the South African Union in World War I was the result of a complicated mechanism of defense treaties and pacts between the European world powers and their overseas dependencies:

"The outbreak of war in Europe, July 28, 1914, came about largely as a result of power relationships ... that were manifested formally in the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy, and the Triple Entente of Great Britain, France and Russia. ... The assassination, June 28, 1914, of Archduke Fancis-Ferdinand, heir - apparent to the Austro-Hungarian throne, and his wife, by a Serbian terrorist at Sarajevo, Bosnia, provided Austria with a plausible reason to strike against Serbia and thus protect the empire against Slav nationalism. ... Russia meanwhile had promised military aid to Serbia in the event of an attack ; France had assured Russia of its support. ...

Great Britain requested that Germany respect the neutrality of Belgium, in the event Germany should decide to attack France. These negotiations proved to be futile. Germany declared war on Russia August 1 and on France August 3 - having invaded Belgium, August 2, en route to France. Great Britain had now no choice but to declare war on Germany, and did so on August 4."(Grolier 1971 Vol 19: 378).

As a dominion of the British Empire the South African Union did not possess sovereignty in foreign affairs. Like all other members of the British Empire, the Union of South Africa was also included in the British declaration of war against Germany. Whereas many English-speaking South Africans regarded their country's participation in World War I as a moral duty, adherents of Hertzog's National Party opposed South African participation. Hertzog pleaded for neutrality of the Union unless the country was attacked.

Hertzog, however, could not stop the Government under Prime Minister Louis Botha of the South African Party from joining the war. Part of South Africa's contribution to the allied war effort was to conquer the German colony of South West Africa and to fight with the British forces in German East Africa (Tanganyika) under General Jan Smuts. Later, South African troops even fought in France against Germany, suffering heavy losses. (Grütter/van Zyl 1982: 50, 51).

Through this unexpected direct confrontation between South Africa and Germany difficulties arose for German nationals and organisations working within the borders of the Union. This concerned also the German missionary organizations as well as their missionaries, most of whom had retained their German nationality:

"In Parliament, the member of Parliament General Crewe demanded in a long speech which was presented in a philanthropic (menschenfreundlich) manner, that all German property in the country should be confiscated, referring especially to the Berlin Mission. He blamed the Mission for the unrest in the East-Griqua Region where no missionary from Berlin had ever worked... His proposal ... was finally dismissed and his demand to intern all subjects of enemy countries was not followed up. But this did not ensure the safety of the missionaries or Germans in general. They lived as if on

a volcano. They had to be very careful in order not to endanger themselves or their work. For the most ridiculous reasons Berliners and members of other missions were detained"(Richter 1924: 444, my translation).

6.2.1 Prisoner of war Nr. 4230

Missionary Manzke in Cape Town was one of the victims of the war hysteria:

"The reason for taking missionary Manzke from Cape Town to Natal behind barbed wire was that he, one evening, called his dog into his house by blowing a whistle"(Richter 1924: 444, my translation)

Manzke himself described the consequences of this in his report of 1919:

"On October 2, 1914 I received a summons to appear at the police station in Parliament Street. After stating my age, the time of my stay and my nationality, I was informed that I had to prepare for transfer into a camp for prisoners of war in Pretoria on October 5. On the way to the station I was accompanied by policemen with bayonets on their rifles. During the trip, which lasted three nights and two days, nobody was allowed to leave the train and on the stations, where the train stopped, nobody was allowed to approach our coach. Policemen, who guarded all train exits day and night, even stood in front of the train windows while the train stopped in a station. In Pretoria we were put in a prison, the stone floor was our resting place. In the morning we received a document stating that we had spent one night in prison and stating the cell number. As reason for our detention was given: German subject. From there we were transferred into prison camp No. 2 ... In the month of November we were moved to Maritzburg from where I was released in January 1915" (Manzke 1919: 1, my translation).

His release was the result of an appeal to the government which happened on Mrs. Manzke's behalf:

"While doing decorations for the Christmas festival, his wife had injured her shoulder by falling from a ladder.

It came just at a time when the preparations in the deserted congregation needed all her attention. An English friend, who had heard of her helpless situation, offered to intervene with the government concerning the release of her husband, which proved to be successful. Mrs. Manzke wrote full of joy and thankfully: 'On January 2 my husband arrived home well'" (Missionsberichte 4/1915: 59, my translation).

But this was not the last time that Manzke was detained. When the German warship Wolff destroyed several ships along the South African coast, almost all German missionaries, who stayed within 40 miles of the coast, were detained in order to prevent them from signaling messages to the war-ship (Richter 1924: 444). Manzke from Cape Town and also Superintendent Großkopf from Riversdale, had to leave again for Camp No. 2 in Pietermaritzburg on February 15, 1917.

Manzke went into his second detention with a proud, patriotic spirit:

"I do not deny that I was overcome by a certain pride, a longing to share the fate of my captured fellow-countrymen, when I received the summons for my second internment. I wanted to stay with them until the end, nobody must do anything for my release" (Manzke 1919: 2, my translation).

"From the beginning until the end I could regard myself as a hostage for the Berlin Mission" (Manzke 1919: 1, my translation).

Manzkes's wife Clara, however, did not share his patriotic sentiments and again tried everything in her power to get her husband released, even if it was against his wishes:

"My wife did not adhere to my wishes and after a couple of months she took some initiatives to get me released. She only informed me about it when she received a positive reply. At first I refused (to be released). Some friends, with whom I discussed the matter, convinced me to give in. So, on September 5, 1917, I arrived in Riversdale" (Manzke 1919: 2, my translation).

"...I was not allowed to return to Cape Town, I rather had to stay in Riversdale as a prisoner of war on parole. I

was only allowed to move within the limits of the village"(Manzke 1919: 1, my translation).

Mrs. Manzke only joined her husband there on October 1, 1918 after having seen to the running of the mission station in Cape Town during her husband's absence. This made her exhausted. Going to Riversdale she escaped the outbreak of the Spanish Flu which claimed thousands of lives, also five of the Cape Town congregation (Manzke 1919: 3).

The Manzkes could only return to their congregation on July 15, 1919, where the congregational council had arranged for a warm and friendly welcome and an evening thanksgiving service.

6.2.2 The Cape Town Congregation during World War I

Due to Manzke's detentions there was not much progress in the congregation in terms of growth, building or the like, but, at the same time, there was also not much decay. The day-to-day congregational life went on, contrary to the missionary's expectations:

"When I had to travel into detention for the second time I was aware that I would not return before the end of the war. I doubted that our congregation would keep up her work, because she was exposed to greater afflictions than others..."(Manzke 1919: 2).

During her husband's absence, Clara Manzke took over the supervision on the mission station with the help of the church elders. Looking back on that time she wrote:

"God has kept me in a wonderful way while I was alone in Cape Town. He made me understand that he can even crown the most humble service with his blessings. The love and loyalty of the church elders as well as the affection and discipline of the teachers and the thankfulness of the parishioners has kept the work going"(Manzke C. 1919, my translation).

Clara's commitment was also praised by her husband. He wrote as prisoner Nr. 4230 from Camp II B 2 in Pietermaritzburg:

"Only those who fully know the circumstances can assess the burden which rests on my dear wife. I very often envy

the courage with which my dear wife commits herself to this task, especially knowing the extent to which her nerves have suffered under the situation" (Manzke 1917, my translation).

Only when her strength failed, did Missionary Lemmerz from the Moravian Church take over the control of the schools. By that time, the number of schools under the Cape Town mission station had been reduced to three; during Manzke's first detention the number of pupils in the Claremont school had dropped to such an extent, that the school was financially not longer viable and had to be closed (Jahresbericht 1915: 10). During Manzke's first detention Superintendent Großkopf from Riversdale visited the Cape Town congregation in order to serve Holy communion. When the latter himself was detained together with Manzke, missionary Prozeßky from Riversdale visited the Capetonians.

During the time of the War, British war propaganda did not leave the Cape Town congregation unaffected. Manzke wrote:

"All means had been applied to alienate the hearts (of the parishioners) from us. One of the first things to influence the members in that way was, that they should not pay their church dues any more, since with these funds they would only strengthen the Germans who would use these moneys for war purposes. Some wholeheartedly believed this and those who did, immediately announced that they would discontinue their contributions during the war. Different means were applied to carry hatred into the congregations and to encourage them to ask for English missionaries. It was said that they would lose everything since there was no place for German Missions in this country. The congregation in Cape Town did not listen to that kind of talk, but the two outstations did, especially Eureka. Eureka refused to transfer their income to the main station, the leader of the station was accused of mismanagement of funds and the hand-over of the title-deeds of church property was demanded in order to erase the title "Berlin Mission". Wynberg did not pay in its income either and frequently demanded that the property should be transferred into their name" (Manzke 1919:4, my translation).

The congregational council of Cape Town, however, did not share these sentiments and Manzke reported that they did not

understand why the government sent him into detention again (Manzke 1919: 2).

During the course of the war the government imposed a number of restrictions on German missions and their co-workers. One of the worst measures was that they were cut off from any kind of financial transfers from overseas, so that the whole missionary enterprise had to be carried on by its own initiative. Sometimes the continuation of the work was only possible by taking loans against mission property. Superintendent Schloemann of the Berlin Mission in Pretoria secured this right for the mission in personal negotiations with General Smuts, who was also the minister of finance. However, from 1916 on all financial documents of the German missions had to be handed to the Minister of Finance for approval. Later a "custodian for enemy property" was appointed who had to supervise the financial affairs of the missions in accordance with the "trading with the enemy act" (Jahresbericht 1923: 6).

Dark clouds also hung over the German mission schools. In 1916 the provincial governments of Transvaal and Natal took over the administration of the German mission schools. The missionaries were not even allowed to enter the school buildings any more and they were forced to resign from the local school boards. But since "a warm and understanding friend of the mission" (Richter 1924: 475, my translation) was nominated Grantee of the schools, nothing much changed in practice. Also the inspectors were not too keen to enforce the orders of the higher authority (Richter 1924: 476).

In the Cape Province and in the Free State, however, the schools could continue to operate normally. The government paid the grants without interruption, organised examinations or, as it was the case with Riversdale, even asked the missionaries themselves to oversee the examinations (Richter 1924: 474).

The white population of South Africa was divided in their attitude to the German missions:

"Already before the breakout of the war, the hatred in large British quarters reached a shameful level. Planned agitation, partly stemming from organisations founded for this purpose, tried by all means to carry this

hateful attitude into the population as a whole. They did not shy away from the missions, on the contrary, they even targeted part of their campaigns at them, supported by the lies of the newspapers. The course of the war with the bitter disappointments for the British, aggravated the situation. During all this time, especially in moments when emotions were raging high, a large number of christians within the Dutch-Reformed Church has faithfully executed their brotherly duty to defend the German missionaries against the totally unfounded attacks and to save them from ungrateful acts of force. We will never ever forget this" (Jahresbericht 1919: 7, my translation).

The attacks were felt to be unfounded because the Berlin Mission did not consider its task a political one at all:

"It has always been a hallmark of German Evangelical missions, that her messengers do not engage in politics, but that they proclaimed the apostolic gospel of the redeemer in a plain and pure manner. Even in times of agitation and under adverse governments they have always shown an impeccable attitude and have educated their congregations towards being true subjects of their governments and to fulfill their duties as citizens"(Jahresbericht 1919: 5, my translation).

6.2.3 Between Manzke's two detentions

In the period between his two detentions from 1915 through 1916 Manzke was able to attend to his work on the mission station. Apart from the closure of the Claremont school, the operation of the other three schools continued. The annual report for 1915 reflects the following attendance numbers:

<u>School</u>	<u>Teachers</u>	<u>Children</u>
Cape Town	5	240
Wynberg	3	194
Eureka	2	75

Manzke reports that the applications to the Cape Town school surpassed its capacity and that he had to drop plans for extending the school building due to the high price of timber and other building materials.

Manzke was not happy with the developments in the Wynberg congregation :

"Since I am only working here temporarily I should not say too much about the work in Wynberg. But the current situation urges me to share some thoughts. It is a hurried and daring undertaking to burden a congregation that consists only of eight families of which three do not even have any children, with a building debt of £ 427,-- .From the beginning the Dutch Mission regarded the erection of our school as an interference with its work. There is little hope for an extension of the work, since there are already an abundance of competing missions... Since the income of the small congregation, together with the financial surplus of the school, could not cover the repayments, it was decided from the beginning to rent out the school in the evenings. It can be said that the concerts, etc., have not been very good for the furniture and the building as such. The fact that the building has been erected hastily, with inferior building material and partly without foundation on sandy ground has already generated costs due to necessary repair work.... The treasurer in Wynberg has used one quarter of the income for himself. Before I left the second time, I proved his unfaithfulness although he was constantly looking for excuses. His successor has been infected by the spirit of the time (Zeitgeist) and has fallen into an immoral lifestyle. His brother, who was made the overseer of the evening assemblies, has also been accused of immorality. So the evil enemy has gathered a rich harvest in the meantime" (Manzke 1919: 5, my translation).

The outstation in Eureka, on the other hand, grew in strength:

"There was an encouraging number of confirmations and adult baptisms; some, who left us due to differences of opinion in the past, have returned. The debts on building and property have been reduced by some repayments. I have to commend the work of the congregational council. They are busy, look after discipline and the expansion of the work. People stay on their own properties. This is very positive for the

building up of the congregation (Jahresbericht 1915: 10, my translation).

6.3 After the war

The first World War ended when revolution broke out in Germany on November 4, 1918, which forced emperor Wilhelm II to abdicate and to flee into exile. Under the thrust of the allied offensives against Germany and the changed political situation inside the country, Germany had to accept the conditions for peace dictated to her by the allies and surrendered on November 11, 1918 (Grolier 1971: 395).

A formal peace treaty was signed at Versailles, France on June 28, 1919 by representatives of the newly formed German Republic and the allied powers headed by France, Great Britain, Italy and the United States (Grolier 1971: 91). The conditions of this treaty were very humiliating for Germany and have never been accepted by the majority of the German people (cf Paschke s. a.: 577). Besides territorial losses to neighboring countries, Germany was also stripped of its colonies overseas. On the African continent Germany lost South West Africa to the Union of South Africa, East Africa (Tanganyka) to Great Britain, Cameroun to France and Britain (Brockhaus Vol III 1974: 66) and Togo to the League of Nations (Brockhaus Vol V 1975: 280).

Inside the country fundamental changes took place. Germany changed from an Empire to a Republic, the nobility lost their influence, the working-class gained new rights under a Social-Democratic Government, changes that most Germans were not prepared for (cf Paschke: 576).

Publications of the Berlin Mission from after the war reflect the public feeling of disappointment, shame and anger:

"For the German people, the Protestant Church and the Berlin Mission, the catastrophic breakdown, the revolution of radical and communist circles and the dictate forced upon us at Versailles created a totally new situation which was extremely difficult and complicated. The foundations on which State and Church, German Culture and the order of society rested, were shaken or shattered. A general chaos was about to happen..." (Richter 1924: 426, my translation).

But even without the expression of hurt patriotic feelings the situation can only be assessed as critical. The seminary of the Berlin Mission was closed, since almost all candidates for missionary service had to join the Army. The majority of the Inspectors in Berlin were called up for chaplaincy service, others were called to vacant parishes. The mission house became a camp for refugees from East Prussia which had been invaded by Russian troops. Communication with the mission fields was interrupted, no new personnel could be sent out, funds could not be transferred and missionaries on furlough could not return to their assignments (Lehmann 1974: 114). According to statistics compiled in autumn 1917 14 co-workers of the Berlin Mission died on the battle-fields, 30 were detained, 4 wounded. Of the 17 academic candidates who were trained for missionary service nobody returned from the war (Richter 1924: 423).

Article 438 of the Versailles treaty stated that Germans were incapable of doing mission work, which enabled the governments of the victorious powers to confiscate German Mission property (Lehmann 1989: 375). German East Africa was especially hard hit by this arrangement. Stations of the Berlin Mission were seized, some converted into military camps, some even ransacked and looted by British troops. All missionaries were detained and deported to prison camps (Richter 1924: 703). Only General Smuts who fought with the troops of the Union of South Africa in the North of the country, who tried to save German Mission Stations in the Kilimandjaro and Usambara Region of Tanganjyka and in the Pare Mountains:

"It seems as if Smuts as a Boer has not denied the honour of the white race over against that of the blacks and that he respected Christian Missions, especially those of the Germans, which he knew from South Africa. The same cannot be said for the Englishman Northen to whom such considerations were foreign" (Richter 1924: 702, my translation).

In order to save their mission stations from the hands of the British, the Berlin Mission contacted the South African Missionary Society, asking them to take over the work in Tanganjyka's Konde and Bena synods. The SAMS replied positively to this request and wrote on September 16, 1920:

"In response to your request my committee has unanimously voted in favor of a temporary administration of your work at the Northern end of the Nyassa.... We hear in your letter God's call to go out and help our brethren in need, even if it should only be for a short while, as we hope, so that the sheep should not remain without a shepherd" (Richter 1924: 711, my translation).

It was however Scottish and English mission societies that took over the work of the Berlin Mission in East Africa. The Scottish State Church maintained that this task had been assigned to them by the new British Government and that it was her "Imperial Duty" to take care of the abandoned mission stations (Richter 1924: 711).

A similar fate was feared for the mission stations in South Africa, but there things developed in a different way.

6.3.1 The work in South Africa continues

"The Boer element in the South African Government as well as in public opinion opposed the attitudes of those with radical hostile feelings against the Germans" (Lehmann 1989: 375, my translation).

General Smuts, in the meantime, had become the Prime Minister of the Union and a member of the Versailles Peace commission. On April 21, 1920 he welcomed a delegation of the Synod and the Committee for mission work of the Dutch Reformed Church. Led by professors Du Plessis and Gerdener, the delegation pleaded for the continuation of German missions in the country and asked for a repeal of the decision to keep German missionaries out of British territories. Furthermore, Germans who had been expelled from South Africa and South West Africa should be able to return. Money collections among Afrikaners loyal to the missionary work were held and the proceeds were handed to German missionaries as a "South Africa Thanksgiving Collection" to be forwarded to Germans in need (Lehmann 1989: 376).

It was an expression of a positive attitude to German missions when on January 14, 1920 the board that had to oversee German church property in South Africa was reorganised. The government only appointed members who were considered friendly to the Germans; even two missionaries of

the Berlin Mission were made members of the committee of six, namely Superintendents Schloemann and Großkopf, who both possessed South African citizenship (Lehmann 1989: 376).

In 1920 the Berlin Mission was allowed to hold its first meetings since 1914 in all five Synods . The provinces of Transvaal and Natal handed the mission schools back and in the Cape teachers' salaries were again paid by the government (Lehmann 1989: 376).

The whole economic situation of the Berlin Mission enterprise remained difficult. Germany faced its highest inflation ever and the financial contributions to the headquarters in Berlin were meager. In December 1923, for example, donations to the amount of 49 Gold Mark only were received by the treasurer (Lehmann 1974: 129). From 1914 the South African mission synods had to support themselves, which could only done by taking loans on church property. At the end of the war about \$ 100.000,-- had been taken as loans, and the interest payments were considerable. The only way out was the sale of property, especially of farmland, which was difficult in two respects. First there was also an economic recession in South Africa which led to a fall in property prices. Secondly, they had to ensure that black communities on the farmlands would not be expelled by new, white owners (Lehmann 1974: 130).

6.3.2 The Cape Town Congregation after World War I

In 1920 Manzke celebrated his 25th anniversary of working with the Berlin Mission for which he received a bonus of £ 6 with the compliments of the committee in Berlin (Komitee 1920). It seems as if he, although his appointment to Cape Town had only been of a temporary nature, had settled in the city in the meantime and that the progress of the congregation, especially the erection of the church, had become a matter of his heart. He refused a request of the director to take over the deserted mission to Kaffaria as "savior and father" (Axenfeld 1920), since he felt that somebody should go there who is "a master of the language" (Manzke 1920).

But Manzke was also a victim of the great disappointment which befell many Germans after World War I. In his annual report for 1922 he dwelled for three pages on the injustice

that befell Germany, its citizens and the German mission, mocking everything that was English at the same time:

"The misery of our people rests heavily on our missionary work, we feel we are being pushed into a situation which does not allow for freedom of movement. And if we try to investigate the driving force behind it then we are considered to be undesirable foreigners by the politicians. They are smooth and courteous before our eyes, but full of intrigues behind our backs. In spite of the great financial restraints the government has found ways and means to support the English and Dutch mission schools and seminaries, but not for the tasks that German missions find important. There they say: 'Maybe later, when we will be facing better times'" (Manzke 1922: 2, my translation).

But a trombone choir of black Lutherans from the Transvaal made his day when they gave a concert at the annual Bazaar by playing two tunes known to every German patriot:

"When we wanted to close, the band leader asked me for the opportunity to play two more items. I thought that now they will play, as usual, the English Anthem. But to my great surprise they played "Ich bete an die Macht der Liebe" and "Deutschland, Deutschland über alles". They considered our beloved Germany in spite of its misery as something great The politics that are practiced in this country right now have not yet converted the natives..." (Manzke 1922: 6, my translation).

Manzke pursued plans for a church building of their own in spite of all economic difficulties . The enthusiasm for this project grew and in 1920 another £ 83.15.4 was gathered for the building fund. For the coloured people it seemed to be inappropriate to hold worship services in a school building. Manzke wrote:

"The brown people have a very fine feeling for the church. They want to have a building which is dedicated just for worship. A church is considered a holy place where there is no room for other activities. Those who come here from other stations are disappointed. Our services in the school-building do not attract people from outside" (Jahresbericht 1920: 10).

Raising funds for the building was, however, very difficult. As mentioned above, funds from Germany could not be expected, and the local collections and proceeds from functions were not sufficient. Again the sale of land was considered. Superintendent Großkopf suggested selling the piece of land which they had bought for £ 90,-- to the Committee in Berlin. The land was next to the school property and was bought for the purpose of erecting a church there, in 1913:

"There will be sufficient space for the church next to the school, only the playground will become a bit smaller. I therefore take the liberty of suggesting to the honorable committee that the sale of the property which we acquired in 1913 and that the proceeds of this transaction be credited to the building fund of the Cape Town Congregation..." (Großkopf 1921 a, my translation).

The committee, however, again had other priorities. They agreed to the sale of the property, but ruled that the proceeds should go into the general budget of the Berlin Mission in South Africa. This generated a lengthy correspondence in which conflicting positions concerning the ownership of land and funds became apparent. Becoming aware of a loan for the building project taken out on mission property, Großkopf was reprimanded by his Inspector in Berlin:

"We were unpleasantly surprised that the prescribed separation between circuit and synodical funds has not yet been implemented in the Cape Synod. This should not have happened to an experienced Superintendent like you. Certain regulations have been completely disregarded. Also the fact that you have taken up a loan on mission property for the church building in Cape Town, which is actually a matter of the congregation or the Synod, does not comply with regulations and my instructions. I was not able to defend you in this regard and you will receive a very serious letter from the committee in due course" (Gründler 1923, my translation).

The controversy shows that already at an early stage of the history of the Lutheran Church in South Africa, structures

were created that put the congregation in an awkward position by having to generate funds and initiative for property which she later did not own. This situation led to frustrations in 1921:

"I do not want to mention the property which was acquired for the construction of a church any more, because more was written about the matter than the whole thing is worth. And in the end it belongs to the Synod anyway..." (Großkopf 1921 b, my translation).

On June 26, 1922 Großkopf filed building plans and a cost estimate for the church in Searle Street with the committee in Berlin. The plan showed a church shaped like a cross with the nave measuring 60 x 20 ft. Seating was planned for 300 people. The building costs were estimated to be £ 1,419.12.11. The money was to be raised through a loan of £ 1.500 to be repaid with 5 % interest and 2 % amortization. The congregation's building fund of £ 500 was to be used for inside decoration and furniture. Großkopf wrote:

"The synod recommends the plan and is of the opinion that the congregation will be able to carry the financial responsibilities arising from the building project" (Großkopf 1922, my translation).

The construction work was finished in record time. On February 12, 1923 members of the congregational council together with other volunteers started to dig the foundations in the evenings (Manzke 1924: 1). The cornerstone was laid on March 5, 1923 on which the biblical words "Immanuel, God with us" and "Okuli, my eyes are always on the Lord" were written. The service was led by Superintendent Großkopf, and the German Consul General Haug from Pretoria was among the guests (Missionsberichte 1924: 115). The consecration of the church could already be celebrated on August 12, 1923. Manzke wrote about this very special day:

"On August 12 the festive consecration of the church took place with numerous participants from our and other congregations. There were also delegates from other missions and churches and the German Consul Dr. Hamann. Our congregation was very happy and in a thankful mood. Once again we gathered for prayer in the school building, where for so long we had come together

around God's word. With the sound of brass band we walked in a long procession over to the new church led by the missionaries in their gowns and the coloured church elders who carried the bible and the holy implements. The harmonium played as we entered the church. After the opening hymn "Gott ist gegenwärtig", Superintendent Großkopf held the consecration address, whereupon the choir answered with the item "Wie heilig ist diese Stätte". Then the missionary of the station and missionary Prozeßky delivered a message based on 1. Peter 2: 5, with more verses of hymns sung in between. The service closed with words of greeting from other missions. The evening service was again packed with people. Missionary Scheffler preached on Genesis 28: 17. For the members who had come from Riversdal and Mossel Bay an evening of fellowship was held in the school. An old member from Riversdal happily remarked: 'There is progress with the Lutheran Church' - and he was right" (Missionsberichte 1924: 116, my translation).

The building itself is described as plain but decent:

"Doors and windows are made of tankwood. It was not necessary to paint them with oil paint. An annual treatment with oil is sufficient to preserve the yellow-red colour which matches the tiled roof so well. The ceiling and the covering of the gallery are made of steel plates that carry impressions matching with the Gothic shape of the windows. The pulpit and the baptismal font are also made of tankwood, the latter being a donation from our brick layer, a member of the congregation. The only splendor is an inscription over the entrance in white marble reading 'Lutheran Mission Church'. But the most beautiful item in the church will always be the devout congregation..." (Missionsberichte 1924: 116).

Manzke observed a continuing urbanisation process drawing more and more people to Cape Town:

"People belong to our congregation from all our four Synods. Those from the Transvaal and the Free State are able to understand Dutch. It is a different story with people from Natal and Kaffraria, who, besides their own language, only understand English. After a year-long

search, a member from Rosenstein (Natal) and a second from Petersberg (Kaffraria) have found their church here. After the sermon in African (sic) I repeat the content in Zulu, as well as I can. The people are very happy about that and want to do all in their power to find other members who are still in hiding so that they may also join our services. The congregational council thanked me for this initiative and said that in this way we could increase our income on Sundays" (Manzke 1924: 3).

After the consecration of the church the attendance at services increased as did the Sunday collections. The number of confirmands doubled and members of other congregations came in growing numbers. The annual census for 1923 reflected the following membership figures:

Cape Town	285 Adults, 302 Children
Wynberg	10 Adults, 18 Children
Eureka	59 Adults, 96 Children.

The school attendance was as follows:

Cape Town	110 Boys, 130 Girls in 6 Standards
Wynberg	100 Boys, 120 Girls in 5 Standards
Eureka	63 Boys, 75 Girls in 4 Standards.

(Census 1923)

Superintendent Großkopf went into retirement in 1923 and missionary Manzke continued to work in Cape Town until March 31, 1928 after completing almost 15 years on an assignment which was only meant to be a temporary one. He was transferred to Anhalt - Schmidt (Haarlem), where he spent his last five years as a missionary of the Berlin Mission. The Manzke couple returned to Germany for their retirement. August Ferdinand Manzke died in Berlin on September 13, 1934 (Zöllner/Heese 1984: 241).

6.4 An assessment of the work in Cape Town 1913 - 1923

6.4.1 From the time that Manzke began his incidental ministry in Cape Town until the year that the church was completed, there was constant progress in the congregation. Whereas the census for 1912 shows a membership figure of 568 adult members and children, the number had grown to 770 in

1923 in Cape Town and its outstations. Also the attendance of the schools showed an upward trend although one - in Claremont - had to be closed: In 1912 469 children attended Berlin Mission schools in the Cape Town area. This grew to 598 in 1923. This is a surprising development because it seems that the war and the economic hardships connected with it did not have any adverse effect on church work. This shows that by this time the congregation had developed a momentum which resulted in growth. This observation is supported by the fact that even in the missionary's absence the work continued and prospered. Maybe it was a blessing for the congregation that Manzke's work was lacking the thrust of a permanent appointment and that he was forced to leave the congregation alone for some time. This apparently helped to make people aware of, to develop and to use their own resources. Also the fact that the church in Searle Street - due to circumstances - was erected without financial help from abroad, gives witness of the potential that has developed in the urban situation.

6.4.2 Another interesting field of study which came up in this period is the relationship of a missionary organisation with its national roots. What values does a missionary communicate? Is it only *"the apostolic gospel of the redeemer proclaimed in a plain and pure manner"* (Jahresbericht 1919: 5, my translation), or is it not true what Manzke observed after the trombone choir had intoned two patriotic tunes:

"One understands more and more why the mission has been and still is treated as a political thing, even if no politics are involved" (Manzke 1922: 6, my translation).

The attempts of the outstations Eureka and Wynberg to get rid of their German name during the war also shows that they related the work of the Berlin Mission to the state where the mission originated. Even if this adverse attitude was a result of ongoing war propaganda it becomes apparent that the "wrapping" in which the Gospel comes is not unimportant, whether it suggests success or a threat to one's own interests.

6.4.3 Another aspect of Manzke's ministry is worth looking at. Whereas all of his predecessors restricted their work to the coloured people in the Cape, following the concept of

"Volksmission", Manzke also tried to accommodate black people. By doing this Manzke began to understand that an urban ministry cannot only follow the patterns used in rural areas where the missionary efforts are directed towards a relatively homogenous group of people. Gernecke, however, still walked past the black location in Maitland, not wanting to interfere with the work there (Gernecke 1902: 5), Manzke welcomed black members into the congregation and even tried to accommodate them by using a language other than Dutch in the worship services (Manzke 1924: 3). It is reported that even at the consecration of the new church on August 12, 1923, the Zulu language was used in the service (Lehmann 1989: 439).

6.4.4 It was also during Manzke's time that the long cherished dream came true of having their own church building in Cape Town. This was realised through the strong support of Superintendent Großkopf who, from the time that he took office in Riversdal, strongly supported the work in the city even to the extent that he was reprimanded by the committee in Berlin for his way of financing the building project.

6.4.5 The Berlin Mission was not able to give much guidance from Berlin between 1913 and 1923 due to the devastating effects of World War I. As described above, operations in the mission house and the seminary almost came to a complete standstill. But still, a shift in the missionary emphasis, probably under the influence of the first World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh in 1910, became apparent. The year 1913 marked a change in the directorship of the Berlin Mission. Director Martin Gensichen, who was called to office on April 1, 1895, went into retirement on October 1, 1913 at the age of 70 (Gründler 1923: 38). The committee elected Rev. D. Axenfeld as his successor. Axenfeld had served the Berlin Mission since 1904, and was previously the inspector for East Africa. Axenfeld was an eminent theologian who had studied under Martin Kähler and Loofs in Halle. He received a lecturing license from the University in Halle in 1905 and after returning from an extensive visitation of the mission fields in 1914, a doctorate in theology (Richter 1924: 326). When he resumed office, he described the changing rôle of the missionary in view of changing socio-political conditions in the world:

"The missionary, who once quietly gathered a small group of christians at some distant place in the world in order to send them as messengers to their own brethren, is now more and more involved with the manifold relations of the modern cultural world with non-christian people. He must take a stand on many issues and his responsibility grows with his assignments. I just mention the challenge to our South African mission arising from the amassment of native workers in the industrial centers and harbor cities or the difficulties arising from the relationship between black and white. There are also new questions concerning the advancement of Islam in East Africa, the reckless competition of the Roman Catholic Church and the relationship between mission and colonial politics (Axenfeld 1913, my translation).

These new insights could, unfortunately, not be translated into new programs and initiatives due to the outbreak of the war and the disastrous economic situation after the war. As in previous years, the rôle of the mission headquarters in Berlin concerning the establishment and growth of the mission station in Cape Town, was more reactive than active.

Chapter 7

CONCLUSION

The establishment of the Berlin Mission Church in Cape Town between 1899 and 1923 falls in a period of change which is marked by historical, socio - economic and missiological developments. The Anglo - Boer War and the subsequent formation of the Union of South Africa as well as the First World War are the determining historical events of that period which rearranged world powers and shed a new light on colonial politics. At the same time, industrialisation and urbanisation changed the face of many urban centers. This also did not leave Cape Town unaffected. Missiology was much influenced by developments surrounding the International Missionary Conference in Edinburgh in 1910, which also marked the end of an old era. Bosch (1980 a: 161) describes the Edinburgh event as

"the culmination of Western -both American and European-messianic consciousness according to which the gospel, in its 'Western Christian' robes, was the solution to the problems of the entire world".

The underlying question of this study is whether the establishment of the Cape Town Congregation has in fact been a response from the Berlin Mission to the above challenges, and whether the standards of urban - industrial mission can be applied here. It must further be asked whether the beginning of an urban involvement in Cape Town was the result of an urban mission policy held by the Berlin Mission or whether if that involvement was more of a reaction to events and facts already established.

7.1 Missiological concepts governing the Berlin Mission

In order to answer the above questions one must look at the missiological lines of thought governing the work of the Berlin Mission at the turn of the century. Of special importance in this context are the missiological convictions of the respective directors, since they had an enormous influence on the decisions of the all - governing Committee as Lehmann (1989: 618, my translation) observes:

"The government of the Mission through its committee was not the same as it was at the time of its foundation 100 years ago. In those times everything was done by volunteers ... Now there were a number of inspectors in charge of different departments led by a director since Wangemann took this office in 1865. From that time on the mission director was the all-moving force, and led the committee".

Dr. Theodor Hermann Wangemann headed the Berlin Mission from 1865 - 1894 and is still important for our period of research since he left a rich legacy for his successors, especially in the field of missionary training. Wangemann was followed by Martin Gensichen in 1895, who personally got involved in the history of the Cape Town Congregation and who held the office of director until 1913. D. Axenfeld took over this office and led the Berlin Mission through the difficult time of World War I until the year 1921, succeeded by Siegfried Knak who would remain until 1949.

7.1.1 Dr. Phil. Theodor Wangemann was the director of a teacher's seminary in Cammin in Pommerania, before he was called to his new office in the Berlin Mission. He was influenced by a pietistic awakening movement in Pommerania which drove him into an involvement with mission work, first of all as the chairman of the mission support group in Cammin (cf. Lehmann 1974: 61). He took the first steps towards the establishment of a "young" church in South Africa and ordained the first local minister during his second journey to the country in 1885 (cf. Neill 1975: 583).

Wangemann's educational qualities led him to concentrate on the missionary seminary in Berlin, for which he wrote a new set of guidelines in 1882. They reflect his conviction that missionaries cannot be taken from out of the ranks of "normal" ministers since they are not adequately trained:

"The missionary, who wants to bring the gospel to sometimes crude and uneducated peoples, does not need the predominantly philological and old-classical education of the high schools and a theological training at our Universities which is dominated by a negative - destructive criticism.... (With this kind of training) a candidate could possibly take over a ministry in the well-structured church in Germany, but he would never

receive the construction tools and the weapons which he needs to penetrate a heathen people on its own. Furthermore, a thirteen or fourteen year long occupation with formal intellectual work would weaken the ability to cope with practical tasks which is the main occupation in the missionary service. Therefore another kind of training is necessary for the newly formed apostolic task to establish new Christian congregations in the heathen world" (Wangemann 1882: 5 f, my translation).

From this passage Wangemann's missiological concept can be deduced: The missionary is a pioneer who approaches non-christian, uncivilised people in order to establish christian congregations there. These aims could only be pursued in the rural areas, as the list of mission stations in the Cape Colony of 1872 shows:

"Amalienstein with Ylandfontein and the outstations Kouefeld, Rietvlei and Kalitzdorp; Zoar; Ladismith with the outstation Buffelsdrift; Riversdale with several small outstations; Anhalt-Schmidt with the outstations Avontuur and Vlucht" (Wangemann 1872: 219).

The city of Cape Town and its people were therefore not considered a missionary task, because of the high standard of "civilisation". Training for urban mission was therefore not on the agenda of missionary education in Wangemann's guidelines, which made provision for training in six areas:

"1) Bible explanation; 2) The other theological disciplines: Dogmatics, Ethics, Liturgics, Homiletics, Catechetics, Church History, History of Dogma, Mission History and for the first year a repetition of the Catechism; 3) Languages: German, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, English, Dutch; 4) General subjects: History and Geography, Maths; 5) Music: Singing, violin, piano, harmonium, trumpete - playing; 6) Practical exercises: Preaching, catechesis and the conducting of mission meditations" (Wangemann 1882: 16, my translation).

But the lack of training for urban ministry in the theological curricula is not only an oversight of the past. The Nairobi Church Survey of 1986 found that only 1 % of the city's clergy had received any training in urban ministry (cf Shorter 1991: 145). In the same manner Gernecke, Müller

and Manzke who attended the seminary formed by Wangemann's mission theology were unprepared for their assignment in Cape Town.

7.1.2 Under director Martin' Gensichen the Berlin Mission expanded its work tremendously. The mission house in Berlin was enlarged, the work in China expanded into the German protectorate Kiautschou and a new mission field was opened in the Usaramo - area of German - East Africa (cf Lehmann 1974: 100). In South Africa, the work expanded in the Orange Free State and in the Transvaal. All of this needed a lot of attention and funding which was not available then for the acquisition of land in Cape Town. The extension of the mission house in Berlin in 1898/1899 put especially great financial strain on the mission. Whereas the year 1897 still reflected a surplus of 3.302,-- German Mark in the Berlin Mission Budget, there was a deficit of 101.673 German Mark in the year 1898 which grew to 661.078 German Mark in 1913 at the end of Gensichen's Directorate (cf. Richter 1924: 338).

Gensichen's missiological concern was church planting rather than national conversion ("Volksbekehrung"). He writes with reference to the Cape Colony:

"How many heathens are there still within reach of our mission stations? The annual report of 1900 says: 3.420. We therefore have not yet come close to the goal of "Volksbekehrung".... But even if this goal should have been reached, it does not quite say what difference this should make. Would it make a difference if one could label it "Lutheran Church in the Cape"? The name does not change the matter.... No, the independence makes the difference. The congregations must first be put on a solid financial basis. Surely, we do aim at self-reliance. But have we been successful? According to the budget of 1901 ... expenditure exceeded the income ... to the amount of 20.000 Mark. Steps have therefore been taken in order to keep the Cape Colony under the financial control of the mission.

But may the church then become independent in terms of self-governing? I do not think that any careful friend of the mission would advise us to quickly ordain ten national helpers or to prepare the ordination of so

many that there will be native preachers in 20 years at the time of financial independence.

In spite of my respect for the able church elders and Deacons I would not be in a position to name even one from the Cape Colony who would be in a position to become an independent, ordained clergyman.

With a certain amount of uneasiness I have regarded the black ministers of the Ethiopians.... For us the following applies: The finances would soon deteriorate if we made quickly ordained locals our station leaders. Therefore our committee in its wisdom concluded that there must be more seminaries.... But - A helper who went through the training in such a seminary should never be ordained as an independent missionary. He must always be seconded to a superior white missionary as "vicar". That's how it should be! ... The missionary congregations are too precious a creation of the Lord, who sits at the right hand of God, that we can allow an experiment to the effect that they should be led by an independent coloured minister... Let us therefore for some time to come remain with the praxis of white missionaries heading our congregations, that the missionaries are led by the superiors in Berlin and the superiors by the eternal king and the Holy Spirit promised by him!" (Gensichen 1902: 55 f, my translation)

It must be noted that generally a negative perception of the coloured people of the Cape prevailed, quite contrary to modern concepts of mission where the creation in the likeness of God is highlighted as for example in the paper on Urban Rural Mission of the Commission on World Mission and Evangelism (CWME) of 1986 (cf. Wietzke 1993: 337). Gensichen shared a feeling of pity and an attitude of condescension towards the coloureds with Gründler (1923: 61, my translation):

"These people did not have a common tribal background. They either came out of their hide-aways for stealing and looting or they worked for the whites. On the other hand, missionary work towards these poor and down-trodden souls was not difficult. With a certain emotional exuberance they open their ears and hearts for the message of the savior who bends down to the

weary and laden. They also easily joined the missionary who encountered them with a friendliness which they did not know from their white employers. On the other hand one must note a lack of steadfastness among these characterless half-breeds. They show astonishingly little willpower, and leading personalities or strong christian characters have not come forth from among them. It is the only synod of the Berlin Mission which has not brought forth a coloured ordained minister".

Gensichen also favored the concept of civilisation in mission. About the relationship of the coloureds to civilisation he wrote:

"Our congregations in the Cape Colony totally consist of people of mixed race who show a certain receptivity for the gospel. This is due to their white blood which draws them naturally close towards civilisation but which causes them also to adopt the sins of the Europeans" (Gensichen 1902: 1, my translation).

The negative perception of the coloureds goes hand in hand with a negative perception of the city to which Gensichen always refers as a place of temptation and vice. This view is continuously reflected in the official publications "Missionsberichte" and "Jahresberichte":

"... the cities in South Africa attract a large number of people and it can therefor be expected that the cities grow fast through this migration. The Christians are more exposed to temptations and dangers to their inner life in the busy city than elsewhere..." (Missionsberichte 1908: 206, my translation).

"The missionary, helpers and the congregants have been busy building up their church and school work. It is not an easy task to work among these bastards (sic) that have come from all around and which are exposed to all kinds of dangers of the big city" (Jahresbericht 1911: 26, my translation).

But Gensichen did not only hold the coloured people in low esteem, he also believed that working in the city is not real mission work and therefor not the task of the Berlin Mission. The committee, chaired by Gensichen wrote in 1905:

"We maintain, that we neither consider Cape Town as our missionary duty nor do we intend to make a missionary available, since the pastoral care for Christian congregations is not our task, this rather has to be left to the white Christians in Cape Town. When we did allow pastoral care for those members originating from our congregations who now stay in Cape Town we only gave in at the urging of the late Brother Heese. This work, however, must only be considered as temporary and shall be terminated as soon as the work can be handed over to others. Until now we did not enforce this transfer, but our permanent financial crisis forces us to withdraw from any financial commitments concerning Cape Town as soon as possible" (Komitee 1905b, my translation).

One argument why the Cape Town work was no real mission work was that it did not constitute a mission to the heathen:

"The Committee always insisted that Cape Town does not constitute a mission to the pagans" (Gensichen 1906 a, my translation).

So, when Müller was finally placed in Cape Town, it was only under the condition that he must do "real" mission work:

"... you will be transferred to Cape Town in order to continue the collection of and the pastoral care for the Christians there more effectively than it was possible with occasional visits from Riversdale. Furthermore you shall do mission work among the heathen there. ... The Mission Week in Herrnhut gave us the opportunity to listen to the arguments of both Director Hennig and Superintendent Wolter. Both Gentlemen confirmed Br. Heese's and your opinion concerning the necessity of a care for the Christians in Cape Town by a missionary who has to be stationed there. Above that there is ample opportunity for real mission work towards the 15.000 heathen there" (Gensichen 1906 b, my translation).

Until Müller was stationed in Cape Town it was considered sufficient that the City was served from the rural Riversdale once in a while. The same policy applied to other urban/industrial areas emerging in South Africa:

"The newly established settlements that were formed through the migration of black laborers were soon served from already existing rural stations: Johannesburg from the Station Heidelberg in the Transvaal, Kimberley from Pniel, Pretoria from Wallmannsthal and Edendale" (Lehmann 1989: 434, my translation).

Gensichen's understanding of mission can therefore be sketched as church planting among, as well as civilisation of, the heathen with the distant goal of leading these churches towards independence for which he did not see any immediate chance in the Cape Colony. For Gensichen, who was born in the village of Dertzow/Neumark and who served as a minister in the rural villages of Cossar, Teschendorf and Belgard, a ministry to the people in the cities constituted no priority at all.

7.1.3 A shift in Berlin's missionary emphasis came about, when the 70 - year old Gensichen handed over the office of director to the 44 - year old Rev. Axenfeld. He had a more cosmopolitan background than the old director, having been born in Smyrna (today's Izmir in Turkey), where his father was in charge of the German congregation. His father later moved to the small town of Bad Godesberg near Bonn where he founded the "Godesberger Institute", a diaconical institution. Axenfeld also developed a much stronger missiological profile than his predecessor, which he owed to his theological training in Halle (cf. Richter 1924: 326). The missiology taught in Halle was determined by the person of Gustav Warneck:

"Since the eighteen-seventies he exercised an enormous influence on the entire continental theology of mission, Protestant as well as Roman Catholic. A quarter of a century after his death, Martin Schlunk in 1934 still claimed that 'everything that happens in Germany in the theory and practice of mission, lives on Warneck's legacy'" (Bosch 1980 a: 137).

Warneck's concept of mission as education (cf Neill 1975: 583) featured prominently on the agenda of the Berlin Mission with its extensive school work, which also in the time of Axenfeld remained a pillar of missionary activity in the Cape as well as in the whole of South Africa.

But Axenfeld was more a scholar of Martin Kähler than of Warneck (cf. Richter 1924: 325).

"Martin Kähler (1835-1912), who taught Systematic Theology for half a century in the University of Halle, was the first really to anchor mission in theology, thereby making it possible for missiology to become a truly theological discipline. Basing mission on the central fact of the atonement, he regarded it as an 'indispensable aspect' of the Christian Church" (Bosch 1980 b: 235).

Being a disciple of Kähler, Axenfeld brought a new line of thinking into the mission policy of the Berlin Mission. Up to now the Berlin Mission worked in a manner which Bosch (1991: 501) characterises as German mission policy at the turn of the century:

"Mission consisted, to a large extent, in the christianizing and civilizing of nations via church planting, to which German Missiology further added that the emerging church had to adapt to a particular people's 'Volkstum'".

Kähler brought a new perspective into that thinking:

"God's saving grace is the ground of mission and the inclusion of all mankind is God's goal. The Christian is inescapably involved in witnessing" (Bosch 1980 a: 138).

This new horizon of mission becomes apparent in Axenfeld's circular which he sent out when he took office in 1913:

"The missionary, who once quietly gathered a small group of christians at some distant place in the world in order to send them as messengers to their own brethren, is now more and more involved with the manifold relations of the modern cultural world with non-christian people. He must take a stand on many issues and his responsibility grows with his assignments. I just mention the challenge to our South African mission arising from the amassment of native workers in the industrial centers and harbor cities or the difficulties arising from the relationship between black and white. There are also new questions

concerning the advancement of Islam in East Africa, the reckless competition of the Roman Catholic Church and the relationship between mission and colonial politics" (Axenfeld 1913, my translation).

An eminent shift in missiological emphasis arises here. Whereas all his predecessors favored some type of pioneer mission, Axenfeld takes cognizance of the changed context which the missionary enterprise faced at the beginning of the twentieth century. He saw that a break with the rural-orientedness of the past was on the cards and that the challenges of the future would have to do with urbanisation, the results of industrialisation, race relations and the like. Important also is his critical approach towards mission and colonialism *before* World War I, which brought this issue forcefully to the fore.

The outbreak of World War I prevented him from applying his fresh thoughts in missionary praxis. It would have been interesting to know how the missionaries on the mission fields, who all went through training coined by Wangemann's principles, reacted to Axenfeld's theology. It would also have been interesting to know how a person like Axenfeld as a person who has received missiological training at a state university with a wider academic horizon than that of the mission seminary would have reformed the training for the missionary candidates. The war, as well as a severe ailment which only gave him eight years in the office as mission director, prevented any answer to these questions. Axenfeld died at the early age of 55 after another three years as 'Generalsuperintendent' in Potsdam (cf. Lehmann 1989: 622).

7.1.4 Although there are only three years of this study that overlap with the era of Knak, the years 1921 to 1923, one cannot bypass this personality. Siegfried Knak was called into the mission house in 1909, where he worked in the 'home'-department, a new branch of the Berlin Mission which had been built up by Axenfeld and which was responsible for coordinating the contacts to the numerous mission-support groups and organisations at home. Like Axenfeld, Knak was also a student of the University of Halle. There he was influenced by Gustav Warneck and followed his concept of mission as an element of people's education (cf. Lehmann 1989: 670). Important to him also was Kähler's distinction between mission and propaganda; the latter would only result in a mere duplication of the

structures maintained by the sending church (cf. Lehmann 1989: 674). Knak developed a missiological concept in which ethnic questions came into the foreground:

"A church ... must not only be self-reliant, self-ruling and self-propagating, she must also be a reflection of the national character of its members" (Lehmann 1989: 674, my translation).

With this concept he came very close to Gutmann and Keyßer:

"Bruno Gutmann exalted ethnicity and the so-called 'urtümliche Bindungen' (primordial ties) of any specific people as inviolable data of creation and declared everything that serves and upholds the people, to be in accordance with God's will" (Bosch 1980 a: 231).

Christian Keyßer, a contemporary of Gutmann, coined the term 'Stammesbekehrung' (conversion of whole tribes), which meant, that the goal of mission work is the conversion of entire groups with a common ethnic identity (cf. Neill 1975: 279).

Knak's doctoral thesis for the University of Halle, which was published under the title "Zwischen Nil und Tafelbai" (1931), applied his concepts to missionary praxis in Africa, touching i. a. topics like congregational councils, baptismal instruction, and preaching in congregations. A whole chapter is dedicated to the "urban native", 2 ± million "half-civilised" Africans (Knak 1931: 294). Knak propagates a different missionary approach to these urban people, in which he includes the Cape Dorlams. People separated from their family and tribal ties, must be approached individually through appropriate sermons, social work in terms of housing, hygiene-education and recreation as well as welfare-work. Knak draws parallels to the German 'Innere Mission':

"If the mission gets involved in welfare-work, this should resemble the activities of the German Evangelical Inner Mission. Their kind of work at Railway Stations, the care for young people coming to town, counseling to the people on the street and to those estranged from the church, house visitations and functions that invite people to church, the care for the sick and the like is

similar to the work in our industrial centers at home. This work of the Inner Mission is not only important for the natives, who otherwise would be ruined in body and soul, but also for the sake of the congregations and tribes, where they come from. These would deteriorate on account of the influence of the migrants" (Knak 1931: 304, my translation).

Knak saw the strong urban-rural ties of the urban Africans and it was only in his time that the urban question received distinct and systematic attention within the Berlin Mission. His study also showed that mission work in urban areas had to differ from rural approaches.

7.2 The Cape Town approach

This different approach, however, has not been applied in the time of Gensichen who showed the least missiological profile of the four directors discussed here. But it was in his time of office that the foundations of the congregation in Cape Town were laid and when the congregation gained official recognition.

7.2.1 The primary motive for working in Cape Town was not compassion for the urban proletariat, but the gathering of the coloured people of the Cape that had migrated to town from the rural Berlin Mission settlements. The type of work was always referred to as "Sammelarbeit" -collecting or gathering members- (cf. Wilde 1911: 78, Gensichen 1902: 54). It was thus an extension of the work already done in the rural areas and not considered a new ministry. It therefore also did not receive distinct treatment in terms of missionary training, special projects or funding. Through this character of extension, the work in Cape Town was also limited to the ethnic group of the Cape Coloureds, as the example on p. 39 of this study shows, where Gernecke passes by the newly erected black township of Ndabeni, where he did not want to interfere. And although individual visiting Africans are mentioned in the reports of Gernecke, Müller and Manzke, they remained the exception in the Cape Town Congregation with its strong emphasis on the Dutch language.

7.2.2 In terms of their missionary method, the Berlin Mission also carried their concept of mission-stations to Cape Town. The establishment there was always referred to as a "mission station" and also the demands of the local

missionaries and the congregants were for such an institution. The lack of their own church building and the distance between parsonage and school-house did not support this concept, but the plans were always towards an isolated compound where the work could be done undisturbed by the influences of the surroundings:

"We have to think of the future. Cape Town cannot stay without its own missionary. ... it is nevertheless not a good idea to let the missionary stay there. The houses are only furnished for coloured people and the surrounding of the property is rather dubious. It would thus be better to acquire the other property, if it is not too costly, because one can build there to one's liking and one is, so to say, isolated" (Mueller 1905c, my translation).

One may gain the impression that the idea was more to build a haven for the rural migrants than to think of structures that could serve the problems and challenges of the city. On the other hand, Mrs. Müller's soup kitchen and Gernecke's evening classes did serve the needs of the community. It also is an honourable missionary motive to provide a place of worship for a homogenous cultural group. But the question must be raised if the latter is an answer to the multi-cultural composition of an urban society. Manzke's attempts to include the Zulu language in worship was a worthwhile experiment. But there is no evidence of success of this inclusive effort. The almost total separation of coloured and black Lutheran worshippers in different congregations under the roof of one church organisation today cannot only be blamed on Apartheid policies of the last five decades. It was only with the ministry of Gustav Adolf Pakendorf after World War II that a special ministry to the black population in Cape Town was begun (cf. Lehmann 1989: 575).

And, although the continuation of the work in Cape Town was considered to be rather a task of the white people in Cape Town than that of the mission -

"We maintain, that we neither consider Cape Town as our missionary duty nor do we intend to make a missionary available, since the pastoral care for Christian congregations is not our task, this rather must be left to the white Christians in Cape Town". (Komitee 1905b, my translation)

- it must be asked why at that stage no attempts were made to cooperate with the already existing Lutheran churches at Strand Street, Long Street or in Wynberg, where the coloured congregation already assembled in the school house at the back of the church. Church unity within the Lutheran church family, which at the time of compiling this study is still being negotiated, could be much closer to realisation if another structural vision for the church in the city had prevailed at the turn of the century. The ethnocentric mission station approach however, has led to a separate development still making its effect felt today.

7.2.3 The sound development of the Cape Town Congregation was always hampered by the kind of treatment by the committee in Berlin, which created the impression that Cape Town was an 'unwanted child' of the Berlin Mission. The work there was "no real mission work"(cf. Gensichen 1906b), not considered the task of the mission (cf. Komitee 1905 b) and to be handed over to somebody else (cf. Gensichen 1906 a) and on the whole, other plans and projects were of greater importance:

"Unfortunately it is entirely impossible to send a young Brother to the Cape Colony now, since the number of Brothers intending to leave in 1905 is limited and far more urgent needs on other fields emerge now. You will thus have to continue in Cape Town with the present form of ministry and you must also proceed in Riversdale with the presently available manpower" (Komitee 1905a, my translation).

In the eyes of the committee in Berlin, the work in Cape Town was absolutely secondary and could be taken care of by somebody who was already assigned to another task.

The requests of the local congregants were turned down or even ignored (cf. Cape Town Congregation 1901), which showed that although the committee in Berlin itself did not take any initiative in that respect, it also did not want somebody else to take initiative. The course of events further shows, that in the whole process the Berlin Mission failed to take the lead but rather reacted to a constant flow of applications, petitions and arguments by the local missionaries, the Cape Synod and finally, the Moravian Mission. This situation derives from a clash of interests

between a mission organisation which operated world-wide and that also had to see to its own institutional requirements (e. g. a new building in Berlin), and an emerging church which developed her own needs and propagation dynamics.

The impression of the Cape Town Congregation as an 'unwanted child' receives further nourishment through the developments after World War I, when the financial crisis of the Berlin Mission forced the organisation to consider some cuts in their spending. Here again, the argument of 'real' mission work comes to the fore:

"In 1925 mission Inspector Schöne assessed the work in the Cape Synod. 'The work in our Bastard-congregations consists mainly of pastoral care, extensive school work and a large amount of social care. There are only 32 adult baptisms over against 279 child baptisms'. A missionary was therefore not necessary in all places, but a local minister could be used. Here the Berlin Mission could have reduced its work easily, because with no great effort another mission organisation with a long record of work in this old colonial territory could have taken over. The possibility of handing over the station in Cape Town was therefore quite often considered in these years" (Lehmann 1989: 387, my translation).

Also the fact that until late rural Riversdale was chosen as the seat of the Superintendent of the Cape Synod and not the city of Cape Town, shows that the city did not play a rôle in the mission concept of the Berlin Mission. It was only in 1928 when Missionary August Schulz became Superintendent of the Cape Synod that this office was moved to Cape Town (cf. Lehmann 1989: 462). But later, in 1951, the office moved back to Riversdale.

7.2.4 References to the work in Cape Town as something similar to the German 'Inner Mission' have been made by Gensichen, Gernecke and Müller. Reports about social problems in town are abundant and have also been published in the official 'Missionsberichte'. The fact that the Berlin Mission only assigned theologically trained missionaries to Cape Town instead of e. g. social workers reflects a kind of mission which is more oriented towards spiritual needs than to physical or social needs. The first unordained church worker sent to Cape Town was Sr. Gerda Hildebrandt in 1950

(cf. Lehmann 1989: 572), who was to care for the women, the youth and the children. But still, one misses initiatives other than conservative church work in order to encounter the social needs of the Capetonians. In this respect the referrals to the "Inner Mission" indicate more what ought to have happened than what really happened.

7.3 In Conclusion

The work that was reluctantly begun in Cape Town at the turn of the century was an absolute necessity for the continuation of the mission work which was begun in the Cape in the nineteenth century. A strong migration pattern developed which brought Lutheran christians from the mission stations of the Berlin Mission to town, a movement which still continues today. The beginning of this migration happened at a time when these mission stations were still in a state of strong dependence on the missionary organisation overseas and where proper church structures had not yet developed. The local christians were therefore not in a position to respond to the migration movement on their own and pleaded continuously for help of the mission which initially found no response.

The missionary aim of the Berlin Mission at that time was pioneer mission through proclamation, civilisation and education. Since the Lutherans in Cape Town had been baptised already, lived in some state of civilisation in the eyes of the mission, and had access to schooling, care for them was not considered the task of a missionary organisation. The Berlin Mission has however failed to create adequate structures for the migrants until it decided to raise the preaching place to the status of a proper mission station.

The fact that Cape Town was only declared a mission station when a German missionary was permanently placed there, shows the strong patriarchal character of the mission structures where initiatives and requests do not come from the grass roots, but where decisions rather come 'from above'.

The reluctance of the mission board in Berlin stands in strong contrast to the commitment, devotion, vision and allegiance with which the members of the congregation, the church elders, the local missionaries and their wives built up their church in Cape Town. One person must especially be

mentioned here; Daniel Heese from Riversdale. He recognised the urbanisation movement at an early stage, developed a vision of an urban congregation and pursued this vision with love, consistence and cleverness against continuous resistance from his superiors.

Another aspect of the establishment of the Cape Town Congregation deserves reflection: Gernecke's ground work in the harbor city was only possible because he was prevented from travelling further north to his actual missionary assignment on account of the Anglo - Boer war. Manzke was only supposed to stand in for about two years, but Müller's discharge and the outbreak of World War I allowed him to stay and work for almost 15 years. One may call this incidental, but for the believer these, like many other similar incidents in mission history, show that not human planning, strategic considerations and funding plans alone drive mission, but God himself,

"who wants all men to be saved and to come to a knowledge of the truth" (1. Timothy 2: 4).

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