

**The Life and Work of Architect Wynand H Louw
(1883-1967) with a Focus on the Design of
Ecclesiastical Buildings**

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For submission in accordance with the requirements of the degree:
Master of Architecture (Research)

Department of Architecture
Faculty of Natural and Agricultural Sciences
University of the Free State
Bloemfontein

Supervisor: Mr. JL du Preez

UNIVERSITY OF THE
FREE STATE
UNIVERSITEIT VAN DIE
VRYSTAAT
YUNIVESITHI YA
FREISTATA



UFS·UV
NATURAL AND
AGRICULTURAL SCIENCES
NATUUR- EN
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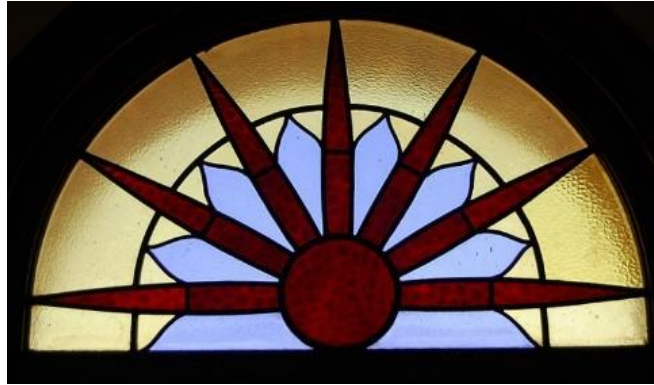


Figure i: *Fanlight of the demolished RCSA church, Bloemfontein (Gustav Opperman, 2008)*

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Declaration

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements in respect of the degree Master of Architecture (Research) in the Department of Architecture in the Faculty of Natural and Agricultural Sciences at the University of the Free State, Bloemfontein.

Unless otherwise stated this dissertation is my own work.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Albert Barend Geldenhuys'.

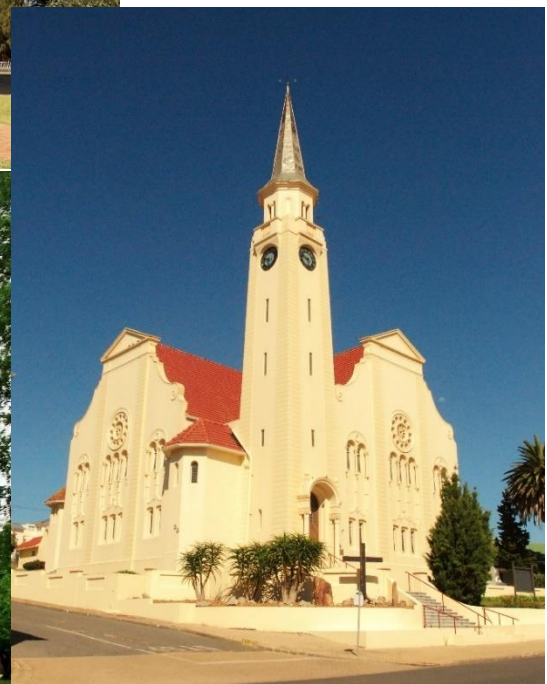
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28 July 2023

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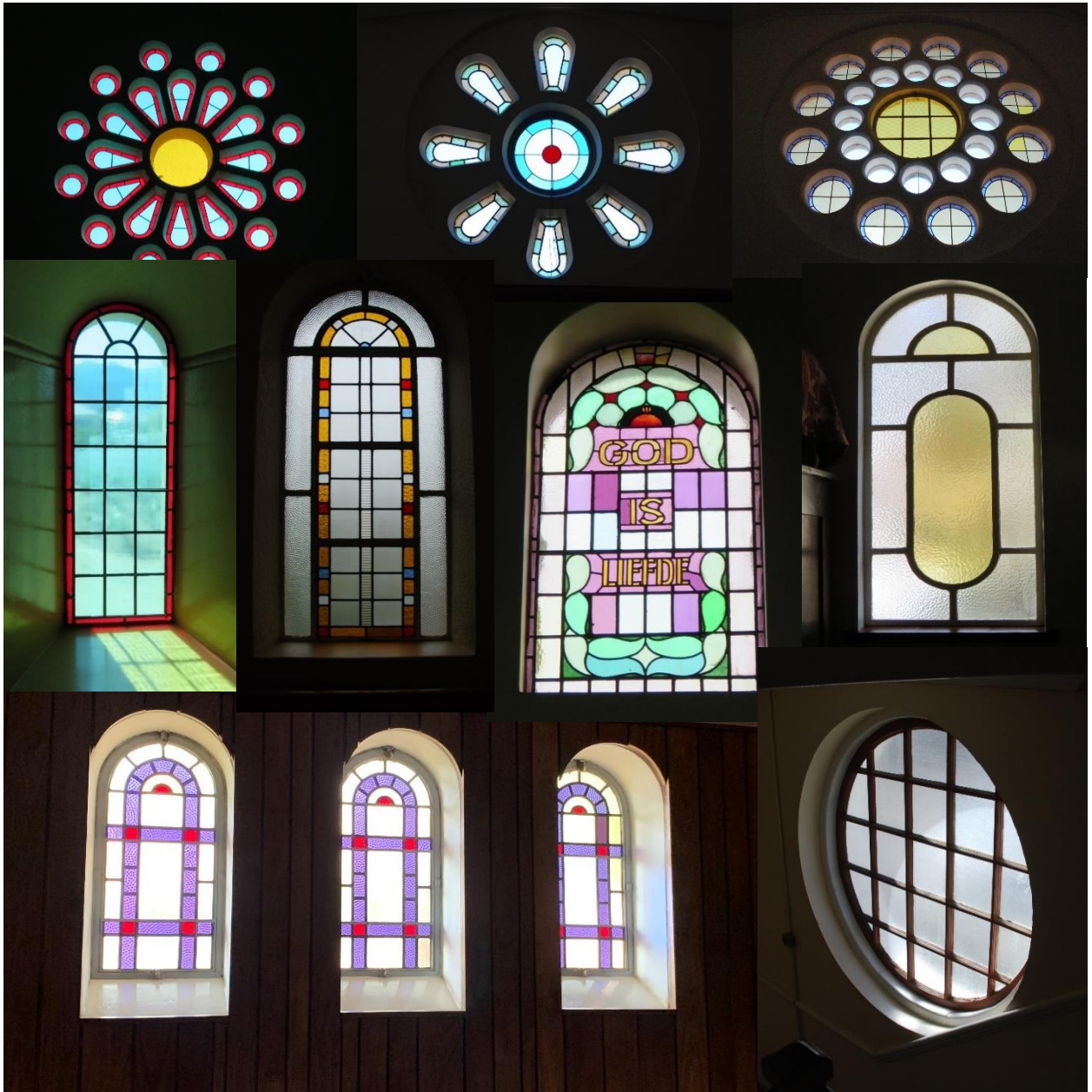


Figure ii: Collage of leaded glass windows designed by Wynand H Louw (2021)

***“Is het echt wel mogelijk dat U op aarde zou willen wonen?
Zelfs de hoogste hemelen kunnen U niet bevatten, laat staan
deze tempel die ik heb gebouwd.”***

Salomo, Het Boek, 1 Koningen 8:2

Dedication, acknowledgement, and thanks

I dedicate this dissertation to:

My parents: J Norval Geldenhuys, whose legacy inspired me throughout my life, also to my mother Alida Geldenhuys who showed me the value of contentment and of respect for my heritage, and to my grandfather Wynand H Louw who was the first inspiration behind my professional career in civil engineering.

Prof Frances Petersen, who introduced me to Jan Ras and the staff of the University of the Free State Department of Architecture.

Kobus du Preez, my study leader at UFS.

The library staff at UFS, UCT, and US for their dedicated service to all researchers.

The Louw family, particularly J Wynand Louw of Die Hoogte (grandson of Wynand H Louw and son of Norval), Wynand Louw Jr (son of Tobie, oldest son of Wynand H Louw), Dr Henti Louw (youngest son of Henri Louw), Louis Louw (present owner of Picardie), Hendrik Louw (who maintains the Louw Register, President of the Genealogical Society of South Africa), and Hendrik J Louw (grandson of Henri Louw) – all of whom assisted me enthusiastically with my research on the Louw Family.

Herman Binge, my friend and partner at Marche Media, whose enthusiasm and encouragement set me off on the journey. How I wish you were still here to make our dream about a TV series on South African churches come true.

Prof Mabel Erasmus (née Geldenhuys), whose deep insights assisted me to improve the logic and answer the unanswered.

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Dr Andries Cilliers, of DRC Drieankerbaai, who always had another book on church architecture and related theology to recommend, loan or give.

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The many church officials and *dominees* who welcomed us into their church buildings and archives during our visits to document Wynand H Louw projects.

The many *kerkrade* of congregations and their staff who maintain their buildings and gardens with such loving care despite many challenges.

Willie Nel of Elsonia, Vrede who alerted me to the fact that Wynand Louw designed more than just a few churches such as DRC Napier and gave me an initial list of churches.

My travel partner – through life and in search of Wynand H Louw projects – Maretha Geldenhuys (née Lazarus) without whose support, encouragement, intimate knowledge of cultural history, and patience this research project would not have been possible.

ABSTRACT

Wynand H Louw (1883-1967) is acclaimed to be the first Afrikaans-speaking South African to be formally trained as an architect. After his training at the Architectural Association in London Louw returned to South Africa in the post-South African War and pre-Unification era. Architectural work was scarce, but he received his first commission late in 1907. Early in 1909 the DRC Port Elizabeth gave him his first commission for a new church building. More ecclesiastical projects would soon follow, launching him in his career as architect.

Louw grew up as a member of the Dutch Reformed Church *Strooidakkerk*, Paarl. It had a typical early 19th-century Greek cross plan and Cape Dutch design. He realised that the Latin (and even Greek) cross was not ideal as a layout for reformed churches which focused on the sermon, requiring a focus on the pulpit in the centre of the liturgical space. A new approach to reformed church design was required. As a member of a Reformed church, and a well-trained architect, Louw was in an ideal position to start experimenting.

Based on the author's research a total of approximately 160 ecclesiastical building projects can be ascribed to Louw and his architectural practices Louw & Moerdyk and Louw & Louw. Over a period of fifty years, they designed at least 110 churches, many church halls, and did a number of church renovations. These projects gave Louw ample opportunity to experiment with new ideas and to develop and hone his skills as a church architect.

This dissertation aims to document Louw's complete oeuvre of ecclesiastical projects. With reference to the broad global, as well as the South African context of church architecture's evolution over the ages, it strives to indicate if, why, how and to what extent Wynand H Louw's design ideas for reformed church buildings were the beginning of a new era for church architecture in southern Africa.

Keywords

Wynand H Louw; Church architecture; Architectural Association; Johan CE Seeliger; KWV Head Office Building; Louw & Louw; Louw & Moerdyk; Mutual Heights; Napier DRC Church; Reitz DRC Church; RIBA in South Africa; *Die Strand* DRC Church; Waalburg Building

SAMEVATTING

Wynand H Louw (1883-1967) word beskou as die eerste Afrikaans-sprekende argitek wat formeel opgelei is. Na sy opleiding by die Architectural Association in Londen keer hy terug na Suid-Afrika, enkele jare na die Suid-Afrikaanse Oorlog en met die opbou na Uniewording. Ten spyte van min werkseleenthede, kry hy sy eerste argiteksopdrag laat in 1907. Die Nederduitse Gereformeerde Gemeente Port Elizabeth gee hom vroeg in 1909 'n aanstelling vir sy eerste kerkgebou. Vele kerkbouprojekte het daarop gevolg en sy loopbaan as argitek 'n hupstoot gegee.

Louw het grootgeword as lidmaat van die Strooidakkerk in die Paarl: 'n tipiese 19de eeuse kerk in Kaaps-Hollandese styl met 'n Griekse kruisplan. Hy het vroeg reeds besef dat Latynse (en selfs Griekse) kruisplanne nie geskik is vir Gereformeerde kerke met hul fokus op die prediking en dus op 'n kansel in die middel van die liturgiese ruimte nie. 'n Nuwe benadering was nodig. As goed-opgeleide argitek, wat self ook lidmaat van 'n Gereformeerde kerk was, was Louw in 'n ideale posisie om te begin eksperimenteer.

Die skrywer se navorsing dui op bykans 160 kerkbouprojekte wat aan Louw en sy praktyke Louw & Moerdyk en Louw & Louw toegeskryf kan word. Oor 'n tydperk van 'n halfeeue het hulle minstens 110 kerkgeboue, asook vele kerksale en kerkverbouings ontwerp - projekte wat Louw voldoende geleentheid gebied het om nuwe idees te ontwikkel en om sy vaardighede as argitek te verfyn.

Hierdie verhandeling poog om Louw se oeuvre van kerkbouprojekte volledig te dokumenteer. Teen die agtergrond van die wêreldwye, sowel as die Suid-Afrikaanse, konteks van die ontwikkeling van kerkargitektuur oor die eeue, word gestreef om antwoorde te vind: hoekom, hoe en tot watter mate het Wynand H Louw se ontwerpidees 'n nuwe era ingelui vir Gereformeerde kerkargitektuur in suidelike Afrika?

Sleutelwoorde

Wynand H Louw; Kerkargitektuur; Architectural Association; Johan CE Seeliger; KVV Hoofkantoorgebou; Louw & Louw; Louw & Moerdyk; Mutual Heights; Napier NG kerk; Reitz NG kerk; RIBA in Suid-Afrika; *Die Strand* NG kerk; Waalburg Gebou

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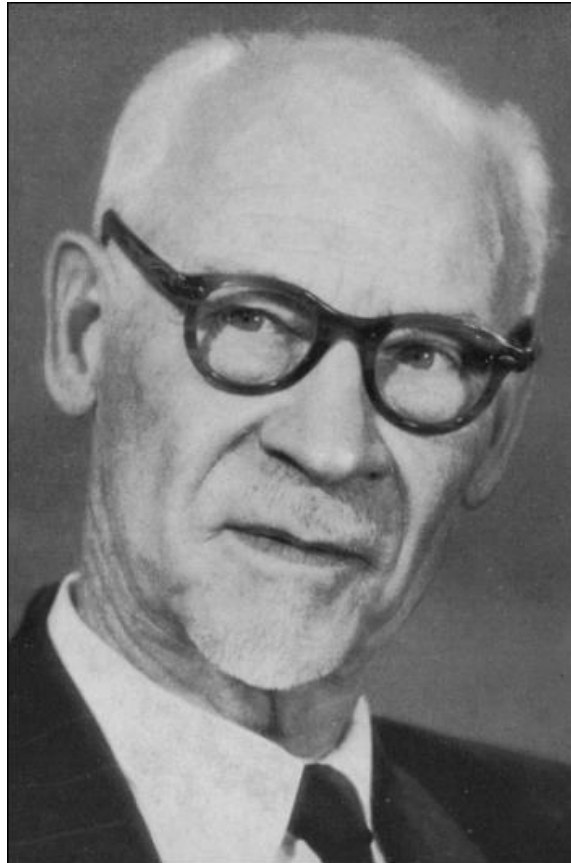


Figure iii: Wynand Hendrik Louw c1965 (Louw [B], no date)

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GLOSSARY

- Afrikanerbond:** Anti-imperialist political party founded in the Cape Colony in 1880. Not to be confused with later organisations with a similar name
- Akademie:** Afrikaans for Academy
- ambulatory:** Aisle extended around the altar end of a church
- anticolonialism:** The struggle against imperial rule in colonised countries during the first half of the 20th century
- apse:** Semi-circular or polygonal recess in a church wall, often on the Eastern side
- armblanke:** Afrikaans for poor white people
- basilica:** Large oblong building used as justice and public meeting place in Ancient Rome
- Baugewerkschule:** German for a school of construction
- bimah:** Raised platform in Jewish synagogue from which the Torah is read
- bittereinders:** Boers who fought to the very end of the South African War
- boer:** A farmer in Southern Africa. Often considered to be conservative
- boerekerke:** Afrikaans for farmer's churches
- boukommissie:** Afrikaans for the building commission of a *kerkraad* (church council)
- burghers:** Farmers, Boers, *Afrikaners*
- bywoners:** Afrikaans for labourer or farmer working another person's land
- Cape:** Cape of Good Hope, Cape Colony, Cape of Good Hope Province, Cape Province, the area comprising the combination of the present Northern Cape, Western Cape, and Eastern Cape Provinces of South Africa
- Centraalbouw:** Dutch for centrally focused church layouts (*plattegrond*), mostly symmetrical, including square, circular, octagonal, and Greek cross layouts
- clerestory** (also clearstory): Windows in the upper story of basilicas, etc.
- clericus:** Latin for clergy
- chevette:** Radiating chapels
- Church:** An institution of organised Christian worship
- church:** A building for Christian worship
- congregation:** A group of people assembled/organised for religious worship
- crossing:** Part of a church building where the nave (main axis) and transept (secondary axis at 90 degrees) overlap
- crux immissa:** Latin for a cross with the top upright shaft extending above the transverse beam
- De Burger:** Die Burger, Cape Town based Afrikaans newspaper established in 1915 (Booyens & Schoeman, 2017: 1-265)
- De Nationale Pers:** Presently the company Naspers, established in 1915
- Departement Publieke Werken** (DPW): Public Works Department of the ZAR
- Die Afrikaanse Patriot:** First Afrikaans language newspaper established in 1876
- Die Hoogte:** Louw's home in Main Street, Paarl
- dominees:** Afrikaans for pastors
- domus dei:** Latin for the house of God
- domus ecclesiae:** Latin for a meeting place
- Dutch Reformed Church** (DRC): *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* (NGK)
- ecclesia:** Latin for a congregation
- ecclesiastical buildings:** churches and church halls
- ekklesia:** Greek for a congregation
- Free State:** Term used for the *Republiek van Oranje Vrijstaat* (1854-1902), the Province of the Orange Free State of the Union on South Africa (1910-1961), the Province of the Orange Free State of the Republic of South Africa (from 1961) or the Free State Province (1994 – date)

Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners: Society of True Afrikaners, founded in Paarl in 1875 (Du Toit, 1880: 50-63)

Gereformeerde: Afrikaans for Reformed

Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid Afrika (GKSA): Reformed Church in South Africa (RCSA)

governess: A teacher and child caretaker

Great Trek: Northern emigration of disgruntled people from the Cape Colony from 1835-1845

Hallenkirche: German for hall church with the roof of the nave and aisles more or less at the same level

Helpmekeer Vereniging: A fund created in 1914 to assist those who faced bankruptcy after the 1914 Rebellion, now a study fund providing study loans and bursaries called *Helpmekeer Studiefonds*

Hervormde: Afrikaans for Reformed

Hervormde Kerk or **Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk:** Dutch Reformed Church, the Netherlands - established in 1571. Not to be confused with NRCA

Het Volk Party: Transvaal-based political party established in 1904 under the leadership of Louis Botha and Jan Smuts

hieros topos: Greek for sacred place/height

joiners: Boers/*burghers* who joined the British during the South African War

kappiekerk: Afrikaans for tent-shaped or A-framed church building

kerk: Afrikaans for a church

kerkdorp: A town which developed around a church, sometimes even as the property of the congregation

Kerkgeboue van Suider-Afrika: Facebook group focused on church buildings of South Africa (<https://m.facebook.com/groups/559317180826401/?ref=share&mibextid=S66gvF>)

Kerkgeboue van Wynand H Louw: Facebook group focused on church buildings designed by WH Louw (<https://m.facebook.com/groups/461643864215652/?ref=share&mibextid=S66gvF>)

kerkhuis: Afrikaans for a house used as a church

kerkraad: Afrikaans for church council.

Kindergarten: Alfred Milner's group of Britons who served in the South African Civil Service from 1902-1910 (Steyn, 2022: 142, 161-163, 242-253)

kirk: Scottish for a church

konsistorie: A space directly accessible externally for the meeting of the *kerkraad* (council), which also assembles here before a service to ceremonially enter what is referred to as the liturgical space. Often translated as vestry, but in other Christian churches, the vestry would contain vestments and need only be small, or a sacristy, used for the clergy in preparation of the service, but could also contain vestments and other articles for worship. It is not the consistory.

kuriakon: Greek for a church

laicus: Latin for laity

livskunst: Norwegian for Art of Living

liturgical space: Sanctuary, space for the performance of liturgical rituals such as Holy Communion, baptism and preaching. It varies according to denomination.

Mynwerkersunie: Afrikaans for Mineworkers Union

Nasionale Pers: Previously *De Nasionale Pers*, now Naspers

narthex: Antechamber or large porch of a church

nave: Central part of a church (often an oblong form) for the congregation

Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK): Dutch Reformed Church (DRC)

Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk van Afrika (NHKA): Netherdutch Reformed Church of Africa (NRCA)

Normaalkollege: Teacher's training college

Orange River Colony: The *Vrystaat* between its annexation by Britain during the South African War and 1910 when it became a province of the Union of South Africa

Orangia Unie: Political party established in 1907 in the Orange River Colony under leadership of A Fischer, MT Steyn and JBM Hertzog

Oranjevrijstaat: *Republiek van die Oranje Vrijstaat*, Republic of Orange Free State, 1854 - 1902

Oude Pastorie: Dutch for Old Parsonage

plattegrond: Dutch for a layout plan

preekkerk: Dutch for a church building focused on the preaching/sermon

Protestant: Christian Church member that separated from the Roman Catholic Church after the Reformation of 1517

Public Works Department (PWD): Public Works Department of South Africa after 1902

Republic of South Africa: The Union of South Africa became the Republic of South Africa in 1961 after the Union left the British Commonwealth

Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns: Originally *De Zuid-Afrikaanse Akademie voor Taal, Letteren en Kunst*

saakgelastigde: Afrikaans for a church official

sieckentroosters: Dutch for lay preachers and carers of the ill

sola scriptura: Latin for 'scripture alone', the focus of Reformed Protestant churches.

South Africa: Refers to the area which is presently the geographic area of the Republic of South Africa, but in all its previous configurations since 1652

stedskunst: Norwegian for Art of Place

Strooidakkerk: Afrikaans for Thatch Roof Church, DRC Paarl

Tanakh: Tanach, Hebrew Bible including the Torah

Torah: First five books (ascribed to Moses) of the Hebrew Bible

transept: The two parts forming the arms of the cross shape of a church at 90 degrees to the nave

nave: The secondary axis of a cross-shaped church

transom window: Window above a door. A fanlight is a type of transom window, mostly semi-circular or semi-elliptical in form, with radiating glazing bars. (Oxford, 2006)

Transvaal: Term used for the ZAR (1852 - 1902), Colony of Transvaal (1902-1910), Province of Transvaal of the Union of South Africa (1910-1961), Province of Transvaal of the Republic of South Africa (1961-1994)

Tweede Vryheidsoorlog: South African War, 1899-1902

Union of South Africa: Formed in 1910 through the unification of the British colonies of the Cape, Natal, Orange River and Transvaal

uitlander: A British immigrant living in Transvaal who was denied citizenship. Afrikaans for foreigner

Verenigende Gereformeerde Kerk in Suider-Afrika (VGKSA): Uniting Reformed Church in Southern Africa (URCSA)

volkseie: Afrikaans for 'a nation's own' culture/character/architecture. Anything associated with Afrikaners in particular.

volkskerk: Afrikaans for People's Church

Voortrekkers: Mostly Dutch-speaking people who migrated north by oxwagon from the Cape Colony from 1835 onwards.

Voortrekkerkerk: Church of the *Voortrekkers* that broke away from the Cape Church

vryburgers: Afrikaans for Free Burghers: former Dutch East India Company employees at the Cape who were released from their company duties and allowed to farm. Dutch: *vryburgers*

Vrystaat: Free State, *Oranjevrijstaat*, Orange River Colony (1902 – 1910), Province of Orange Free State of the Union of South Africa (1910 – 1961), Province of Orange Free State of the Republic of South Africa (1961-1994), Free State Province (1994 – date)

Zentralbau: German for centrally focused church layout, mostly symmetrical. Refer to *Centraalbouw* (Dutch)

Zionskirche: Zion's Church

Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek: ZAR, South African Republic, Transvaal, 1852 – 1902

ACRONYMS

AA: Architectural Association

AAD: Association of Architectural Draughtsmen

AD: *Anno Domini*. A Latin phrase which translates to 'in the year of our Lord'. A religious neutral alternative is CE which means Common Era.

ACVV: *Afrikaanse Christelike Vrouevereniging* or Afrikaner Christian Women's Movement

ARIBA: Associate of the Royal Institute of British Architects

BC: before Christ. A religious neutral alternative is BCE which means Before the Common Era.

B&W: Black and white (photographs)

DPW: *Departement Publieke Werken* or Public Works Department of the ZAR

DRC: Dutch Reformed Church or NGK in Afrikaans

FRIBA: Fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects

GKSA: *Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid Afrika* or Reformed Church in South Africa (RCSA)

ISAA: Institute of South African Architects established in 1927. Replaced by SAIA in 1996

KWV: *Koöperatiewe Wijnbouwers Vereniging van Suid-Afrika* is the Dutch for Co-operative Winemakers Union' of South Africa

LRIBA: Licentiate member of the Royal Institute of British Architects – registered based on competence without examinations.

MIT: Massachusetts Institute of Technology

NGK: *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* or DRC

NHKA: *Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk van Afrika* (NHKA) or Netherdutch Reformed Church of Africa (NRCA)

NIV: New International Version translation of the Bible

NRCA: Netherdutch Reformed Church of Africa or NHKA in Afrikaans

PWD: Public Works Department of South Africa

RCSA: Reformed Church in South Africa or *Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid Afrika* (GKSA)

RIBA: Royal Institute of British Architects

SAIA: South African Institute of Architects

URCSA: Uniting Reformed Church in Southern Africa or *Verenigende Gereformeerde Kerk in Suider-Afrika* (VGKSA) in Afrikaans

VOC: Dutch East India Company established in 1602, *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie*

VGKSA: *Verenigende Gereformeerde Kerk in Suider-Afrika* or URCSA

WWI: First World War

WWII: Second World War

ZAR: Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek or South African Republic, Transvaal

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND AND RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

In 1940 *De Zuid-Afrikaanse Akademie voor Taal, Letteren en Kunst*¹ awarded Wynand H Louw a medal for his contribution to architecture.²

Since 1909 the Academy was and continues to be a multidisciplinary organisation dedicated to the promotion of excellence in science, technology, Afrikaans literature, and the arts. An award by the Academy is still regarded as a prestigious national award that an author, architect, poet, or exponent of other disciplines could receive for a lifelong contribution to their discipline. Louw was only the second individual to receive a medal for architecture.³

Wynand H Louw (1883-1967) is acclaimed to be the first Afrikaans-speaking South African person to be formally trained as an architect. He was born in Paarl, South Africa⁴, in the late 19th century and grew up within an established Dutch/Afrikaans community with a culture steeped in the Calvinist spiritual tradition and as a member of the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC).⁵



Figures 1.1 and 1.2: Front and back of 1940 Medal (Louw [B], no date)

¹ *De Zuid-Afrikaanse Akademie voor Taal, Letteren en Kunst*, changed its name to *Die Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns* in 1942. For more information refer to www.akademie.co.za

² In the same year the *Akademie* awarded the Hertzog Prize for literature to NP van Wyk Louw.

³ Information obtained from Dr L Brink of the *Akademie* via emails of 7 and 20 December 2022 included a complete list of awards made for architecture between 1936 and 2018. Refer to Appendix A.

⁴ South Africa: This term is generally used for the area which at present is the Republic of South Africa, while realising that at the end of the 19th century it was four separate states: the Cape Colony, the Natal Colony, the *Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek* (ZAR) and the *Republiek van die Oranje Vrijstaat* (OVS) that became four colonies after the South African War. These colonies were unified in 1910 as the Union of South Africa and then became four provinces of South Africa.

⁵ For more information about the DRC refer to www.ngkerk.org.za

In the years immediately following the South African War (1899-1902)⁶ Louw studied at the Architectural Association (AA) in London in 1905 and 1906 after which he returned to his native Paarl. He started practising as an architect during a time of great turmoil, hardship and anticolonial sentiments in the years leading up to the unification of South Africa.

He received his first commission as an architect in August 1907. It entailed emergency repairs to the gable wall of a CO Hager-designed DRC church in Heidelberg, Cape (Van Zyl, 2005: 44). Soon thereafter in December 1907, he was appointed to design a new church hall for the DRC *Strooidakkerk* in Paarl. His last career project was the reconstruction of the old parsonage of the DRC *Strooidakkerk* from 1961 to 1966 (less than a hundred metres from the church hall) signifying the completion of a circle after a full life and career.

Based on the author's research over the last seven years, a total of approximately 160 ecclesiastical building projects (churches and church halls, including renovations but excluding parsonages) can be ascribed to Wynand H Louw and his architectural practices in South Africa. Over a period of 50 years, Louw and his practices designed approximately 110 new church buildings for Reformed Church denominations, primarily the DRC. It is believed to be the highest number of church building design projects ascribed to a single architect (and his practices) in South Africa. These projects allowed Louw ample opportunity to experiment with new ideas and to develop and hone his skills as a church architect.

Unlike the case with many of his predecessors and contemporaries⁷, Louw's work or impact has, with the exception of an article by Schalk W le Roux (2008: 22-25, 28-33, 43-44), not been extensively researched or documented to date.⁸

⁶ South African War: From 1899 to 1902. Also called the Anglo-Boer War or *Die Tweede Vryheidsoorlog*.

⁷ The aftermath of the South African War during the first decade of the 20th century leading up to the formation of the Union of South Africa was also the dawn of a new era for southern African reformed church architecture. Among the architects of this era were Francois Hesse, Walter Donaldson, John Gaisford, Hermann Kallenbach, Henry Davidge Pitts, JR Burg, and William Henry Ford. Also refer to the table in Figure 5.39 in Chapter 5.1.7 and Appendix I for more information about them, their contemporaries, and the churches they designed.

⁸ An article by Le Roux titled *Die soeke van drie argitekte na 'n planvorm vir Afrikaanse Gereformeerde kerkbou* discussed the searches by three architects (Wynand Louw, J. Anthonie Smith and Johan de Ridder) for appropriate plan forms and exterior design for reformed churches in the early part of the 20th century. At the time there were no clear guidelines available for the design of South African reformed churches - either from the church or from the architectural fraternity. This led to a variety of interpretations. While recognising his substantial contribution to architecture in general, Le Roux described Louw primarily as a church architect, often also referred to as the first Afrikaans architect. Le Roux is one of the few who recognised Louw's contribution to a new approach to church design well before the arrival of Gerard Moerdyk on the architectural horizon. (Le Roux, 2008, 23-34) In the popular press Menache & David dedicated a chapter of their book *Church Tourism In South Africa* to Wynand Louw (Menache & David, 2015: 138-153) and Paul Duncan dedicated five chapters of his book *Inside Paarl* to projects by Wynand Louw. (Duncan, 2021: 87-96, 109-122, 139-154, 201-230)

The author intends to further a better and more detailed understanding of Wynand H Louw's important contribution to especially South African reformed ecclesiastical architecture.

1.2 POSITION OF THE AUTHOR

The author, Albert Barend Geldenhuys, is registered professional engineer, and a Fellow of the South African Institution of Civil Engineers. He delivered the Institution's 2012 Snape Memorial Lecture and served on the board of Consulting Engineers South Africa for almost seven years.

After retirement Geldenhuys co-founded Marche Media, a film and media company that produced many television series and acclaimed feature films such as *Kanarie*, *Johnny is nie dood nie*, and many more. He was a co-Executive Producer of the feature film *Poppie Nongena* and still hopes to produce a television series on South African church architecture.

Cycling, photography and olive farming are extramural interests. He is an amateur photographer focusing on church photography with a view to promote church tourism in order to help preserve South Africa's church architectural heritage. As a Google guide his contributions, which mainly focus on churches, have more than 25 million views.

The author's interest in the oeuvre of his step-grandfather Wynand H Louw was activated shortly after his retirement, when a family friend alerted him to the fact that the church in Bethlehem that he recently photographed was one of his grandfather's early projects. This led to a journey in search of his grandfather's oeuvre of ecclesiastical buildings that included a series of study tours which covered at least 40 000 kilometres of travel by motor vehicle. The journey developed into this discussion. As a Louw family member, Geldenhuys has access to the private family collections of the descendants of Wynand, his brother Henri, and his architect son Tobie. After his death Wynand Louw's house *Die Hoogte* has continuously been inhabited by a descendant until mid-2023. His study room remained almost intact and contained most of his diaries as well as original plans of his first church project. The house has now been sold.

1.3 AIM OF THE STUDY

The dissertation endeavours to broaden the knowledge about and appreciation for the contribution of Wynand H Louw to South African ecclesiastical architecture:

- It investigates if, why, how, and to what extent Wynand H Louw's design ideas for reformed church buildings were the beginning of a new era for church architecture in southern Africa and how this evolved. It tries to uncover possible origins for his inspiration to change the status quo.
- It considers the influence and possible impact that Louw, as an architect, had on the design and construction of reformed ecclesiastical buildings in southern Africa in the first half of the 20th century. It investigates to what extent Louw's new ideas for church designs satisfied the needs of the early to middle 20th century Reformed congregations of southern Africa.

1.4 RESEARCH PROCEDURE AND QUESTIONS EXAMINED

The research needed to pursue certain crucial questions to create a context, from the broadest macro scale of church history and the development of temple and church architecture over millennia to the micro-scale of the conditions and places where Louw had to design and build his ecclesiastical projects.

The questions to be researched were formulated to illustrate which aspects influenced Louw's approach to reformed church architecture. The questions are the following:

1.4.1 What is church architecture?

To consider the influence that an architect had on church architecture it is necessary to understand what the term implies. What does the design of a church entail?

1.4.2 Where did church architecture originate and how did it evolve?

At face value, church architecture is architecture for Christian gatherings, and therefore only exists since the death of Christ, which denotes the beginning of the Christian religion. Is this assumption correct? How did church architecture evolve over the millennia?

1.4.3 How did church design evolve in the Cape and South Africa?

Buildings for church meetings were required soon after the arrival of the first permanent Christian inhabitants at the Cape in 1652. What were the influences on church architecture at the time and how did it evolve over the years until Wynand Louw started to practice as an architect in 1907.

1.4.4 What influences shaped Wynand Louw's approach to church architecture?

According to Fletcher, one of Louw's lecturers at the AA, church architecture is influenced by geographical, geological, climatic, religious, social, historical, and political circumstances. How did these and other factors such as predecessors and contemporary architects influence Louw? (Fletcher, 1961: 253-257).

1.4.5 How many ecclesiastical buildings did Louw and his architectural practices design between 1907 and his semi-retirement in 1957?

The aim is to produce a complete and detailed list of all ecclesiastical buildings designed by Louw and his practices.

1.4.6 Did Wynand Louw introduce a new approach to the design of reformed church architecture in South Africa?

Is there any proof that Louw introduced a new era? Were there other architects who took the lead, or did they follow his lead?

1.4.7 Was the new approach of Louw and his contemporaries successful?

What was the impact of this new approach to church design?

1.5 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This dissertation follows a case study approach. A selection of fifteen church buildings designed by Louw will be analysed to understand Louw's design approach to reformed church architecture and to ascertain if and how it evolved over fifty years from 1907 to 1957. The enquiry is divided into three parts.

1.5.1 Background studies

The aim is to provide context to the life and work of Wynand Louw. The background includes a concise overview of the evolution of church architecture over more than two millennia, an examination of the evolution of South African church architecture from 1652

up to 1900, a scrutiny of South African church architects of the latter part of the 19th century, and Louw's 20th-century contemporaries. It is followed by a review of the socio-economic and political environment of the post-South African War era as well as an outline of Louw's life story and his professional career.

1.5.2 The compilation of a complete list of southern African ecclesiastical buildings ascribed to Wynand H Louw and his practices Louw & Moerdyk and Louw & Louw

The various methods used to compile the list will be described, including extensive study tours, the use of Louw's diaries, the use of social media platforms, and the extensive use of books written about South African churches and congregations. The list will document all available information on Louw's ecclesiastical projects.

1.5.3 Case studies

Fifteen churches designed by Louw and his architectural practices were selected from a potential 110 to demonstrate the evolution of the design approach and principles over 50 years, but also to indicate some deviations from the norms and trends, and to consider the reasons for this.

1.6 LITERATURE REVIEW

1.6.1 Introduction and initial broad overview

The primary focus of the dissertation is on the life and work of Wynand H Louw as a church architect. Therefore, initial research entailed a broad overview of information readily available on the internet to ascertain which and how many ecclesiastical buildings he designed. This was followed by interviewing some of his family members, and perusing books they authored. The book *So het ons hom geken*, written by his widow Mabel A Louw⁹ (1889-1977) soon after his death, gave insight into his life and impact on society. The book includes various tributes by a number of well-known contemporaries as well as by his colleagues and family members. The book *Pêrel van die Paarl*, by Henri Louw (1892-1988), his brother and partner of Louw & Louw, as well as an unpublished document called *Lewensskets*, written by Henri shortly before his death in 1988 and compiled by his eldest son Wynand Louw, gave further insight into Louw's life, but more specifically the work of Wynand and Henri as architects. This, together with lists of

⁹ MA Louw (Geldenhuis, née Norval) is the author's late grandmother. As such, the author has access to Louw family information that might not be readily available to all.

churches designed by Louw and his practices obtained from family members and internet sources such as the websites artefacts.co.za, Wikipedia.com, and gemeentegesiedenis.co.za (of the DRC Archives in Stellenbosch), assisted the author in compiling a preliminary list of about 90 ecclesiastical buildings designed by Louw and his practices. Whilst sometimes conflicting or incorrect, the initial research and resultant list launched the author on a journey of researching and exploring the impact that Wynand H Louw made on South African reformed church architecture (Louw, 1975; Louw, 1968; Louw, 1987).

1.6.2 Preliminary literature overview

The preliminary literature review was focused on compiling as complete a list as possible of all ecclesiastical buildings designed by Louw and his practices. Extensive use was made of books written about the history of the Cape Reformed Church and its congregations.¹⁰ While most of the books focused on church history, culture, and the lives and contributions of *dominees* (pastors), with very limited (if any) reference to church architecture or architects and builders, some information could be gleaned from it, mainly as pointers to further research. The books by Philippe Menache, Jan Hoevers, and Henk Oosthuysen provide more information on the topics, but are not considered to be based on extensive scientific research.

As will be shown in Chapter 3 substantial further research was required, making use of a variety of methods to compile a complete list of buildings.

1.6.3 Further literature review

To better understand the context of Louw's work, it was necessary to embark on a more detailed review of the literature with the emphasis on academic books, dissertations, and articles about and from the period before 1910, some of which might have been accessible to Louw during the early formative years of his career as an architect.¹¹

¹⁰ These include *Ons Kerkalbum van Hollandsche Kerken en Leeraren*, *Ons Gemeentelike Feesalbum*, *NG Kerk 350*, *Die Moeder van ons Almal*, *Van Kerke en Dorpe*, *101 Kerke*, *101 Country Churches*, *A Platteland Pilgrimage*, *Church Tourism in South Africa* (which has a section focused on Wynand Louw), *Die NG Kerk – ons erfenis* (which includes some information on some of the more important church architects) and many *Feesalbums* of the various DRC congregations written to commemorate centennials and semicentennials. (Maeder and Zinn, 1917; Olivier and Geldenhuys, 1952; Hopkins HC, 1965; Oosthuizen, 2000; Hofmeyr, 2002; Hoevers, 2010; Menache and David, 2010, 2012, 2015; Menache and Wolff, 2021)

¹¹ The researched sources included the following:

- a. Books and academic dissertations on architecture and church architecture in general.
- b. Academic dissertations and articles about the history of church architecture.
- c. Books, academic dissertations and articles on South African church architecture and architects.
- d. Books about the history of the DRC and its congregations.
- e. Photographical books about South African churches.
- f. Books about South African history with a focus on the period 1890-1940.
- g. Books about the Louw family.
- h. Wynand Louw's cryptic diaries from 1906 to 1965.

1.7 STRUCTURE OF AND LAYOUT OF DISSERTATION

Chapter 1 offers a broad overview as an introduction to the dissertation.

Chapter 2 introduces the reader to Wynand H Louw. It covers the Louw family history and sketches the story of the family farm Labori et Picardi. Thereafter follow brief details on his early and later family, cultural and social life. It elaborates on his life as a student and trainee architect, discusses possible influences during this time and ends with a graphic overview of his professional career.

Chapter 3 takes the reader on a journey of literature reviews, physical study tours of some 40 000 km across South Africa, and finally some internet searching, making use of specific platforms. The goal of this journey was to compile a chronological list of all ecclesiastical buildings designed by Wynand H Louw and his architectural practices. This is presented in Appendices E to H as a visual record of his more than 160 ecclesiastical projects. A summary of the list of ecclesiastical projects gives more detail, data, and references on the projects in chronological order.

Chapter 4 strives to provide context. It first grapples with the question of what church architecture is, or could be, or should be. Next follows a broad overview of the evolution of church architecture over three millennia up to the early 17th century. This is followed by an overview of the church architecture of the Western world after the 16th century Reformation and the following Counter-Reformation.

Chapter 5 is an overview of Cape and South African church architecture from 1652 until the late 19th century. A list of the most prominent 19th-century-born reformed church architects of South Africa is presented in Appendix I. The Socioeconomic, political, and administrative environment of the post-South African War era is discussed followed by an overview of the most prominent South African-based reformed church architects of the early 20th century – Louw's contemporaries.

Chapter 6 discusses the intent and rationale of 15 case studies. The case studies discuss the history, architectural style, internal layout, and some later additions to buildings of the selected ecclesiastical projects, each ending with a discussion of where the building fits into the evolution of Louw's design ideas.

Chapter 7 discusses the evolution of Louw's approach to church design over 50 years. It attempts to answer the why: why did Louw feel the need to move away from the

prevailing eclectic neo-Gothic church design approach? And then the where: where did his inspiration come from? It considers the relevance of Louw's approach to church architecture and concludes with the reason why *De Zuid-Afrikaanse Akademie voor Taal, Letteren en Kunst* was correct in 1940 when it honoured him with a medal for his contribution to architecture and lauded him to be the first Afrikaans-speaking architect who brought about a radical change in the field of reformed church architecture.

Chapter 8 constitutes a conclusion.

2. AN INTRODUCTION TO WYNAND HENDRIK LOUW (1883-1967)

2.1 THE LOUW FAMILY HISTORY

Wynand Hendrik Louw¹² was a member of the 8th generation of Louws in South Africa. The South African founding father, Jan Pietersz(oon), was born in *Caspel ter Mare* which is assumed to be close to the present Bovenkarspel in Northern Holland. His birthdate was probably 1 March 1628. His parents were Pieter Janszoon and Anna. Their surnames are unknown.

Jan Pietersz married Hubbeke Reijniers in the Netherlands (date unknown) but arrived alone in the Cape on board the *Gecroondes Leeuw* on 16 December 1659 as a craftsman. A year later 50% of a 40-morgen farm called Louwsvliet in the Groenevelt area close to *Rondebosje* (present Rondebosch) on the banks of the Liesbeeck River (*vliet* in Dutch) was transferred to him. The word *louw* is believed to be derived from the Dutch term *luwte van de berg*, or the lee of the mountain. Rondebosch is relatively wind free. Jan signed the deed of the farm with an X. Five days later, on 20 January 1660, he became a *Vryburger* (Free Burgher). On 23 August 1661 Jan (also called Broertje) married Beatrix Weijman of Utrecht only eight days after her arrival at the Cape on board of *De Jonge Prins van Hoorn* on 15 August. They had five children. The first time the surname Louw appeared on the official Cape records was in 1689. That was 30 years after Jan’s arrival at the Cape. It is assumed that he was called Jan or Broertje of Louwsvliet, and eventually became known as Jan Louw (Louw and Malan, 1984: 1-35).

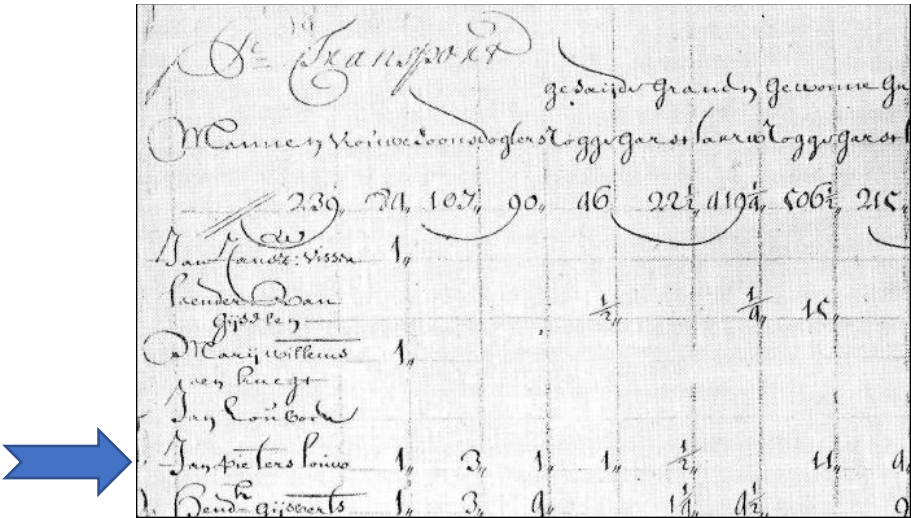


Figure 2.1: Louw surname in the VOC 1689 Muster roll (Louw and Malan, 1984: 39)

¹² Wynand Louw's genealogy = ab5c1d6e6f2g9h7. Refer to Appendix B

The Louw family farmed as *vryburgers* for almost seven decades – the longest of any *vryburgers* in the area. During that time there were five Commanders, seven Governors and five acting officials in control of the Cape for the VOC. The family survived drought, storms, wars against the first nations, stock theft, rinderpest, grasshopper plagues, two earthquakes, the smallpox epidemic, and the constant mismanagement and trade restrictions of the VOC (Louw and Malan, 1984: 36-61).

Adriaan Jacobus Louw¹³ bought the farm Labori et Picardi in Paarl in 1842. His 9th child, Tobias Johannes¹⁴, continued farming on Labori et Picardi. Wynand Hendrik Louw, his 7th child of a total of 16, was born on Labori et Picardi on 17 February 1883.

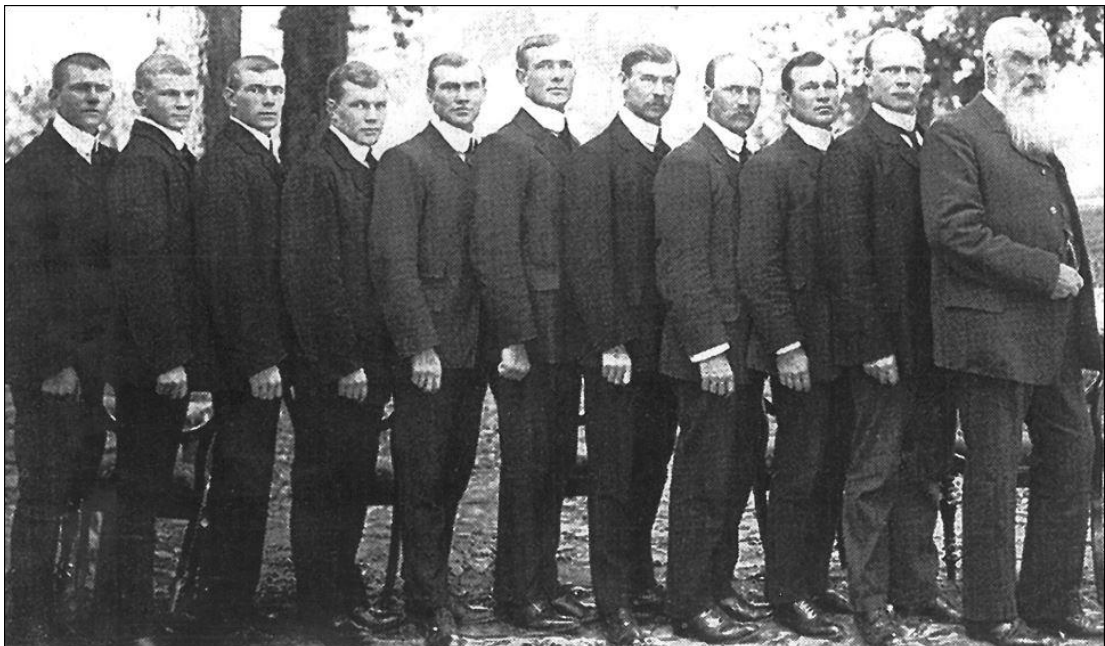


Figure 2.2: The ten brothers Louw: Eben, Henri, Frank, George, Tobie, Louis, Wynand, Charles, John, Attie and Tobie Sr (Louw [C], no date)

2.2 A SHORT HISTORY OF THE FARM LABORI ET PICARDI

Wynand Louw's house of birth was the stately Cape Dutch homestead Labori¹⁵, built in the late 18th century and probably designed by Louis Michel Thibault, who is hailed as the first formally educated and trained architect who took up residence in the Cape.¹⁶

¹³ Adriaan Jacobus Louw genealogy = ab5c1d6e6f2. Refer to Appendix B

¹⁴ Tobias Johannes Louw genealogy = ab5c1d6e6f2g9. Refer to Appendix B

¹⁵ The original name of Labori was La Brie. Presently the farm is called Laborie.

¹⁶ Thibault was born in Picardy, France in 1750 and studied at the Royal Academy of Architecture in Paris. After also studying Military Engineering Lieutenant Thibault arrived in Cape Town in 1783. In 1786 he was appointed as Company Building Inspector by the VOC. He soon started to design public buildings and private residences. He was assisted by sculptor and artist Anton Anreith who was born in Freiburg, Germany and arrived in the Cape as a soldier in the service of the VOC in 1777. In 1789 a young architect and builder, Hermann Schutte, born in Bremen, Germany also arrived at the Cape. At this time the VOC was almost bankrupt and all work on public buildings were halted. Commissions for the construction of private projects however continued unabated. Schutte was released from the services of the VOC in 1792,

In 1691 the farm Labori was transferred to the 15-year-old French Huguenot Jean Taillefert. His father Isaac became the owner of the adjacent farm Picardi at the same time. Both farms comprised 60 morgens and were previously a wilderness against the slopes of the Paarl Mountains. Isaac was a wine farmer by trade and arrived at the Cape on board the Oosterland in 1688. The father and son soon produced some of the best wines in the Cape, that was comparable to the lesser wines of Champagne according to the French travel writer Legaut.



Figure 2.3: Laborie Manor House (2022)

The farms remained in the Taillefert bloodline for 151 years, albeit via sons-in-law, etc., until Jacob de Villiers, who had no descendants, sold it in 1842 to Adriaan Jacobus Louw, Wynand's grandfather. Labori was sold to the KWV in 1972 and is now called Laborie. Labori remained in the Louw family for 130 years, while a part of Picardi still remains in the Louw family 180 years later.¹⁷ Laborie still produces quality wines (De Villiers, 1960; Albertyn, 2002: 5-10; Fransen, 2004: 300-301).

but Thibault continued to serve the succession of rulers of the Cape, finally as the Government Surveyor from 1811 until his death in 1815. Through an informal association, the three worked together on various building projects. Anreith's student, a certain Andreas Georg Hendrik Teubes, whom he supposedly trained at the Military School, is said to be the first architect to be born and trained in the Cape, but no record of his works yet have been identified (Pearse, 1933: 29-36).

¹⁷ Refer to Appendix C for a flow diagram of the ownership of Labori et Picardi over the years.

2.3 THE WYNAND LOUW LIFE STORY

2.3.1 Early life

Wynand grew up on the farm *Labori et Picardi* as one of ten brothers and two sisters. Two siblings died very young, and his half-brother and half-sister were born long after he started practising as an architect. Wynand was baptised and grew up as a member of the Calvinist DRC *Strooidakkerk* (thatch roof church) congregation in Paarl. The church with its typical Greek cross-shaped Cape Dutch styled *preekkerk* is the oldest surviving church building still in use for its original purpose (refer to paragraph 5.1.3.2 or more information).

The 12 Louw siblings were schooled on the farm by governesses: the elder five by Miss Van Eeden and the younger ones by Miss Kirsten. From an early age, Wynand showed an interest in sketching and painting the buildings on the farm and the surrounding mountains. He was encouraged by Professor Hofmeyr of the Theological Seminary who was a regular visitor to the farm and gifted him his precious first set of watercolour paints. Another future professor of the same institution *dominee* Moorrees also observed his practical talent in design and gave him an authoritative book on woodwork (Louw, 1975: 18, 24, 40-42).

Wynand went to Paarl Boys' High School where he matriculated in 1898. He then attended the *Normaalkollege* (Normaal School) in Roeland Street, Cape Town. There he lived with his aunt, who was married to *dominee* CFJ Muller who was the pastor of the DRC Tamboerskloof. When Muller was appointed as a professor at the DRC Theological Seminary in Stellenbosch in 1900, Wynand followed the family and continued his studies at Victoria College (which would later become the University of Stellenbosch (Louw, 1975: 24).

Wynand showed talent and an interest in art, woodwork and building sciences from an early age. He was encouraged by professors, pastors and artists visiting the family farm. After completing his studies at Victoria College, he spent time on the family farm concentrating on woodwork, but then joined the architectural practice of the Paarl-born Johan CE Seeliger (1863-1938) in Cape Town in 1901 as an apprenticed draughtsman. They became life-long friends. Seeliger, born in 1863 in Paarl to German parents, trained as an architect at the *Baugewerkschule* in Berlin from 1887 to 1889. According to Elzet Albertyn (1962-2020) (1992: 82), he was the first formally trained South African-born architect. Seeliger opened his practice in Cape Town in 1890 and designed the

Goedverwacht Mission Church in 1896 and the *Zionskirche* in Cape Town in 1897. Amongst other projects, Louw gained experience in the design of a building for 30 Keerom Street, which would in 1915 become the well-known address of *De Burger* and *De Nationale Pers* (presently Naspers) (Louw, 1968: 52-53; Booyens and Schoeman, 2017: 5, 8-9).

Wynand's father was a successful grape farmer and businessman in Paarl, which was one of the epicentres of the birth of the Afrikaans language. The pro-Afrikaans sentiment was partly the result of many attempts at the anglicisation of the Dutch inhabitants of the Cape and beyond, first by Lord Charles Somerset from 1822 and again by Alfred Milner from 1901 in the concentration camp schools in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State during the South African War.

The *Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners* was established on a farm in Paarl late in 1875. The *Genootskap* published the first edition of the Afrikaans-language newspaper *Die Afrikaanse Patriot* on 15 January 1876 in Paarl. During a visit to the Imperial rulers in the Cape in 1883 Paul Kruger, President of the ZAR, visited the Louw family on their farm. In 1900 the *Afrikaanse Christelike Vrouevereniging* (ACVV) held a conference supported by the DRC, which was attended by 1 300 women on the Labori farm, where they protested the scorched-earth policy of Kitchener in the South African War (Louw, 1975: 15, 47; Ross, 2004: 55-60).

Richard Steyn writes in his book *Milner: Last of the Empire-builders* that in early 1903, Colonial Secretary Joseph Chamberlain and his entourage were well received in the Cape Colony by most, including *Afrikaner Bond* party members, "though not at Paarl, where the couple's reception was noticeably less welcoming than elsewhere" (Steyn, 2022: 198). In 1904 Louw attended Paul Kruger's funeral in Pretoria (Louw, 1968: 7). It should be clear that the Louws of Labori et Picardi were no supporters of the 'Empire Builders' of the Cape.

Louw was influenced by the well-known artist Hugo Naudé (1869- 1941) who regularly visited the family farm to paint. Naudé instilled a love for South African and Cape Dutch architecture in the young Louw. This love was probably one of the reasons why Louw decided to formally study architecture. His talent and initial training, combined with the financial means of his family despite the devastating impact of phylloxera on the vineyards of the Cape, enabled him to enrol at the AA in London shortly after it started offering full-time training in architecture. The AA as institution challenged the status quo

in architectural training and focused on the social and cultural impact of the profession (Louw, 1975: 24-28, 46, 48, 66-67). This was only three years after the Treaty of Vereeniging had brought the South African War to an end.

2.3.2 Study years in London

Louw enrolled at the Architectural Association (AA) in London in 1905. He utilised his student recess periods to tour England, Scotland, France, and Norway, to broaden his exposure to European architecture. Late in 1906 he fell ill with a lung ailment and was advised by his doctor to go to Hastings for six weeks to recuperate. He managed to complete the RIBA¹⁸ Intermediary exams before he had to return to South Africa in December of the same year due to health challenges.¹⁹ Unlike the norm at the time, he could therefore not take up employment in Europe to enable him to write the final exams of the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) to join their membership. Poor health remained a challenge for Louw for the rest of his life.

These were the early influences on Louw's development and some of his first challenges.

2.3.3 Architectural career in brief

An economy still recovering from a post-war recession and discrimination by the authorities against Afrikaans and Dutch professionals impacted Louw after his return to South Africa as an aspiring young architect. He was unable to obtain any architectural commissions from the Cape Government.

After a brief holiday with his family to recuperate from his illness, Louw settled in Paarl and received his first commission as an architect in August 1907. It entailed emergency repairs to the gable wall of a Carl Otto Hager-designed DRC church in Heidelberg, Cape (Van Zyl, 2005: 44). Soon thereafter, in December 1907, he was appointed to design a new church hall for the DRC *Strooidakkerk* in Paarl.

¹⁸ For more information about RIBA refer to www.architecture.com

¹⁹ According to a letter dated 14 December 1906 from Gordon Leith to Wynand Louw the latter scored well in the top half while the former was 20th from the bottom. Leith also mentions the fact that Louw will not be able to write his final RIBA exam due to his illness. The letter forms part of the Louw Family Collection held at *Die Hoogte*. Louw's 1906 diary stated that the testimonials required for this exam had to be submitted by 6 October. It also listed medicine for his lung ailment. Refer to Appendix G. (Louw [B], no date)

Because of a lack of further architectural design work in his hometown Paarl, and despite a commission to design a new church building for DRC Port Elizabeth, Louw accepted a position as junior architect at the Transvaal Public Works Department (PWD) in Pretoria in 1909 where, during and after the rule of the Milner regime, all architectural designs were based on the imperial guidelines of that era. As a proponent of anticolonialism, he must have found it contrary to his convictions.

Louw's extended family included many relatives as *dominees* (pastors) of the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC). During his time at PWD Louw was approached by his uncle *dominee* AF Louw from DRC Heidelberg, Transvaal, to develop concepts for residences for the new *Normaalskool* that the congregation was establishing. During this time the DRC Heidelberg church tower collapsed, and Louw was asked to design and oversee the reconstruction project. This commission allowed him to leave PWD and relaunch his architectural practice late in 1909. He therefore had more time to dedicate to the construction phase of the Port Elizabeth (now Gqeberha) project.

Louw established himself in Paarl as a leading architect, especially as designer of ecclesiastical buildings. Commissions from Old Mutual, KWV, Sanlam, Santam, Potchefstroom University (now North-West University), and the University of Stellenbosch ensured the continued growth of his practice. Many aspiring young Afrikaans architects started their careers in the Louw practice and moved on to establish their own successful careers in practice and academia.²⁰ Louw was one of the first South African architects to design commercial buildings in the Modernist style, such as the Waalburg, and Mutual Heights buildings in Cape Town (refer to paragraph 2.6 for a chronology of Louw's professional career spanning five decades).

After four distinct periods of architectural practices²¹, Louw retired in 1957 from the Louw & Louw partnership, but he continued with a select few projects until 1967.²² ²³ He became an honorary life member of the Institute of South African Architects (ISAA) in 1964.

²⁰ The architects employed by Louw include AL Meiring, DFH Naudé, and HL Brink.

²¹ The Louw (1907-1921), Louw & Moerdyk (1921-1927), Louw & Louw (1927-1950) and the Louw & Louw (Wollie Bronkhorst) (1951-1957) periods are further discussed in paragraphs 2.6 and 3.8.1 to 3.8.4.

²² Wynand's brother Henri Louw who joined him as a partner in 1928 continued with the Louw & Louw practice after Wynand's retirement. Some of Henri's notable projects include an office building for DRC *Groote Kerk* in Cape Town, residences for High School Jan van Riebeeck, various schools and hospitals, the Head Office for SANLAM in Bellville (with Meiring & Naudé), and industrial buildings for *Nasionale Pers* in Bree Street, Cape Town. Henri retired in 1975 and passed away in 1988. (Louw, 1987, 14-17)

²³ Their brother George (Geo) Louw continued to work for the Louw & Louw Bloemfontein office after Louw & Moerdyk was dissolved. He later became a building contractor. He passed away in Bloemfontein in 1970.

2.3.4 Family life

Wynand married Maria Norval (1885-1949) in May 1912 in Colesberg. She grew up on the farm Gideonskraal near Norvalspont in the Great Karoo and attended Girl's High School in Paarl where Louw first met her. They settled in Paarl in a house designed by Louw, called *Die Hoogte*, next to Main Street on a part of his father's farm that he had bought. His brother George (1887-1970) assisted him with the construction work - the first of many projects on which they joined forces. Wynand and Maria had four children named Hanna, Tobie, Norval and Sophie. Tobie later became an architect. Maria passed away in 1949 after an operation.

In March 1951 Wynand met Maria's cousin Mabel Geldenhuys (née Norval) again after initially meeting her at Gideonskraal in 1904 on his way to Paul Kruger's funeral in Pretoria. He proposed to her soon afterwards and Mabel's son, Norval Geldenhuys (1918-1964), confirmed their marriage in Pretoria in June 1951 (Louw, 1968: 7-10).



Figure 2.4: Maria and Wynand Louw c1910 (Louw [B], no date)

Figure 2.5: Mabel and Wynand Louw on their wedding day in 1951 (Geldenhuys, no date)

Louw passed away on 21 August 1967 at his home *Die Hoogte*, Paarl. Eulogies by Nasionale Pers, prof AL (Attie) Meiring, JDP van der Merwe of ISAA, amongst others, and many articles in *Die Burger*, *Die Kerkbode*, *SA Architectural Record*, etc. attested to his stature as a person. Letters from well-known individuals including CR Swart, Albert and Katie Hertzog, JB Vorster, Recht Malan, Phil Weber, Kosie and Bettie Gericke, Jac Muller, JG Meiring, Kobus Meiring, Piet Meiring, Jan FE Cilliers, etc. addressed to Mabel Louw, confirmed his stature as a gentleman and aristocratic architect (Louw, 1968: 45-56,64-100).



Figure 2.6: Louw family tombstones at DRC *Strooidakkerk*, Paarl (2023)

Mabel Louw returned to Vrede in the Free State where she lived on a farm with her youngest daughter. She completed her memoirs of Wynand Louw in 1968 (Louw, 1968). She passed away in 1977.

2.3.5 Cultural and social life

Wynand was active in church and cultural circles. He was keenly involved in the *Helpmekaar Vereniging*, which was created to assist Afrikaners who were financially impacted by the aftermath of the 1914 Rebellion. Later he became a trustee of the Pieter Neethling Fund that supported Afrikaans Workers' Union movements such as the *Mynwerkersunie* (Mineworkers' Union). He was a director of *Nasionale Pers* from the 1930s until his death. Louw became a member of *Die Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns* in 1941, shortly after the Academy honoured him for his contribution to Architecture.

He was also closely involved with the General Missions Commission of the DRC from 1945 until his death and assisted a number of mission churches financially and with church designs. He financially assisted quite a number of students to study Architecture and Theology. He was famous for handing out baskets of grapes to all and sundry. *Nasionale Pers* staff looked forward to his annual handout at 30 Keerom Street (Louw, 1968: 19-23).



Figure 2.7: Photo by Hertzog of Wynand Louw's last Pieter Neethling Fund meeting on 21 January 1967 at *Die Hoogte* (Louw, 1968, 73)



Figure 2.8: Certificate of membership of *Die Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns*, dated 1959 (Louw [B], no date)

2.4 ARCHITECTURAL TRAINING IN THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY

2.4.1 Background

At the end of the 19th century, the only way to be trained as an architect in South Africa was through an artiled pupillage with an existing architectural practice. This was also the case in the rest of the British Empire. There were tertiary architectural schools in France (École des Beaux-Arts, 1648), Germany (Karlsruhe, 1825), Holland (Polytechnic School, TU Delft, 1864, with Eugen Gugel as first professor), and even the United States (MIT School of Architecture, 1868, with William R Ware as first professor)²⁴, but in Britain, the only way to become an architect was by joining an architectural practice as an artiled pupil. This way of doing was open to exploitation, and pupils were often just cheap or free labour who received little and/or inferior training (Bakker, 2014: 9-14; Chewning, 1986: 9-35).

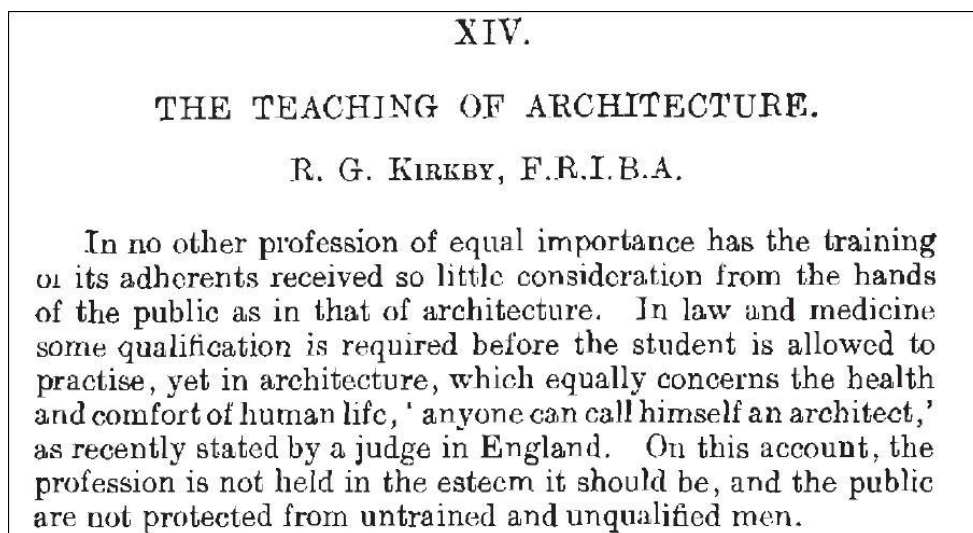


Figure 2.9 Extract from Kirkby, 1905 (Kirkby, 1905: 416)

In 1905 RG Kirkby (1875-1962) delivered an address to the Joint Meeting of the British and South African Associations for the Advancement of Science extolling the virtues of proper theoretical training for architects and pleading for the establishment of formal tertiary training for architects in South Africa. Kirkby (1905: 418) stated:

The Architectural Association's day school in London is chiefly responsible for this welcome change. The school is opened to enable students to study the principles of design and construction, together with the study of the history of architecture and its development in different countries. Two years' attendance at such a school should be given by the student, who will thus equip himself for his more advanced work in the architect's office. The advantage of such

²⁴ For more information refer to www.mit.edu

study is obvious, as the student thereby learns to translate the problems in planning placed before him with an ease which greatly facilitates his progress -in after-life. It is gratifying to see that some of our Universities are giving that place to architecture which it deserves, and are accepting part of the course for the B.A. degree. In this connexion the Board of Architectural Education at the Royal Institute has opened a new era in architectural training.

Kirkby (1905: 422-423) continued:

There are practically no existing facilities in South Africa for architectural students to obtain the necessary training...It is time that properly organised and equipped schools should be started in South Africa in order to give the son of the soil the same privileges as in other countries. There is a crying need for a faculty of architecture to be fully developed in connexion with our university colleges, technical institutes and schools of art. Till additional means are provided to enable the young South African to obtain a proper theoretical training, we can only hope to turn out rule-of-thumb men.

Kirkby raised the hope that the Transvaal Technical Institute would attempt to establish a school of architecture. His appeal for formal training in South Africa however took many years to materialise.

Such was the landscape facing a prospective student of architecture in South Africa under British rule in the years after the South African War.

2.4.2 The first architectural schools in South Africa

The first Professor of Architecture at the Transvaal University College (which would later become the University of the Witwatersrand) was only appointed in 1921. He was Geoffrey Eastcott Pearse (1885-1968), born in Riverton, Natal. Pearse studied part-time at the Transvaal University College for four years while working as an articled pupil at Brown & Cottrill. He left for England in 1907 to attend lectures at the Technical Institute in Regent Street, London, studying under Bannister Fletcher amongst others. He was also assisted by EW Sloper of Tin Temple²⁵, a former partner of Herbert Baker. Sloper later assisted Pearse to find a position with Leonard Stokes the then President of RIBA (Herbert, 1975: 5-11).

The University of Cape Town only appointed Leonard William Thornton-White (1901-1965) in 1936 as its first Professor of Architecture. Thornton-White was born in Uppingham, England and articled as a pupil at the architectural practice of Dr J Bilson in Hull where he stayed until 1927. After postgraduate studies in London and Europe, he lectured at the London Polytechnic School of Architecture. In 1931 he was appointed as

²⁵ Tin Temple: the makeshift corrugated iron Johannesburg municipal offices were later used to house the Wits School of Architecture until 1925.

vice-principal of the Architectural Association but moved to Cape Town in 1937 (Herbert, 1975: 12-19, 176-177).

The University of Pretoria appointed Adriaan (Attie) Louw Meiring (1904-1979) as its first Professor of Architecture in 1943. Meiring who was born in Johannesburg joined the practice of Wynand H Louw in Paarl in 1926 as a junior draughtsman after the completion of his studies in Philosophy and Languages at the University of Cape Town. He was the son of *dominee* PGJ Meiring who was pastor of the DRC *Strooidakkerk* from 1907 until 1921. He was soon transferred to the newly established Louw & Louw practice in Cape Town in 1927. Meiring left in 1929 to study at the University of Liverpool School of Architecture, probably as a bursar of Louw & Louw. His later partner DFH Naudé (1905-1967), also an employee of Louw & Louw, joined him there as a student. After their return to South Africa, both continued to work at Louw & Louw until they formed their own partnership called Meiring & Naudé²⁶ (Louw, 1987: 12; Fisher, 2015: 7-11; Barker, 2019: 6-10).

The University of the Free State established its architectural school in 1955. G Quine Lay, who studied at the University of London before obtaining his PhD at the University of the Witwatersrand, was appointed as the first professor at the School of Architecture (University of the Free State, 2006: 188).

2.4.3 Options for tertiary training in architecture in Europe

In the absence of any formal institutions for tertiary training in architecture in South Africa, Wynand Louw had limited options. These were the Polytechnic School, TU Delft in the Netherlands, or the Architectural Association (AA) in London. Studying in Germany, France or America were not realistic options. Ironically to study in Dutch was probably more intimidating than to do so in English. The Cape had been a British colony since 1806 and the young Louw was probably much more familiar with English than Dutch despite the fact that the latter was still generally being used in the Dutch Reformed Church during Sunday sermons. While there was a strong presence of Dutch architects in the ZAR until 1901 the Cape was dominated by British architects (Walker, 2018: 7-167). The AA in London was therefore probably the obvious choice.

²⁶ More information is available from the website of the university: History of the Department, University of Pretoria Department of Architecture, <https://www.up.ac.za/architecture/article/3086652/departement-overview>, viewed on 2022-09-29. More about Meiring is available on the Artefacts website: www.artefacts.co.za

The Architectural Association (AA) was established by Robert Kerr (1823-1904) and Charles Gray in 1847 after a merger with the existing Association for Architectural Draughtsmen (AAD). They wanted to offer an alternative to the practice of training aspiring architects by articulated pupillage to established architects. They believed the prevailing practice offered no guarantee of quality or professionalism and the system was often abused. The AA initially met at the Lyon's Inn Hall, Strand, London on alternative Friday evenings for 12 years. Most meetings were design classes: a subject was announced and all members who attended brought their own sketches. There were no instructors and members learned from each other via informal discussions. Sometimes papers were read by members themselves. Guest speakers ('visitors') were only invited to the annual *Conversazione*.

In 1859 the AA moved to 9 Conduit Street. The next move was to Great Marlborough Street in 1890. Up to that time, it was a purely voluntary association albeit a highly organised educational institution without any paid officials. The AA School was formally established in 1890 and was the first such institution in the British Empire. Under the presidency of Leonard Stokes (1889-1892), then only 31, it was finally realised that a proper and methodical system of education was required with more formal lectures, paid lecturers, better access to an improved library and a paid assistant secretary. The 'visitor' system was retained for advanced classes and the need for a day school was identified. A four-year course with a formal curriculum equally divided into junior and senior divisions was established. The school was self-funded by members' subscription fees. Eventually, in 1901, the AA decided to establish the envisaged day school. Arthur T Bolton (1864-1945) was appointed as the first Master of the School. About 230 students attended the various night and day classes. More space was required and in 1903 the AA moved to 18 Tufton Street after the Royal Architectural Museum gifted the AA their building and collection. HPG Maule succeeded Bolton (1903 – 1913). He modified the curriculum into six divisions: two day classes, two evening classes and two evening lectures. By then the day school started to assume the primary position (Summerson, 1947: 1-50).



Figure 2.10: 18 Tufton Street (Summerson, 1947: Figure 6)

2.4.4 Louw's tertiary training in London

When Wynand Louw enrolled at the AA in London in 1905 he attended classes and lectures at Tufton Street (Figure 2.10), probably mostly in the evenings as a senior student (Figure 2.12). One of the lecturers of the 1905 – 1906 session was Banister Fletcher (1866-1953) who taught on *Outlines of Mediaeval and Renaissance Architecture in Europe* from 11 January to 29 March 1906 (Figure 2.13). Prof FE Hulme (1841-1909) taught geometrical drawing. Drawing was very close to Louw's heart from an early age, and it was probably one of his favourite subjects. From 1905 to 1907, Gordon E Leith (1886-1965) also studied at the AA²⁷ (Figure 2.11) (The Architectural Association, 1905: 29-31).

4 TH YEAR.		Session 1906-07.	
Kear	Ch.	5. 5. -	5. 5. -
Blackford	Alf	5. 5. -	5. 5. -
Frank	D. F. W.	13. 13. -	P ^d
Hickman	AN	13. 13. -	P ^d
Durston	G. G.	13. 13. -	P ^d
Leith	G. G.	13. 13. -	P ^d
Healey	Alf	5. 5. -	5. 5. -
Leggett	W. C. M.	3. 10. -	5. 5. -

LOUW, W.H.
33 Vincent Square, SW

Proposer: J.T. Squire
Seconder: H.A. Douglass
Nominated: 6 Oct 1905
Elected: 20 Oct 1905
Fee paid: 6 Oct 1905
Session: 1905-1906

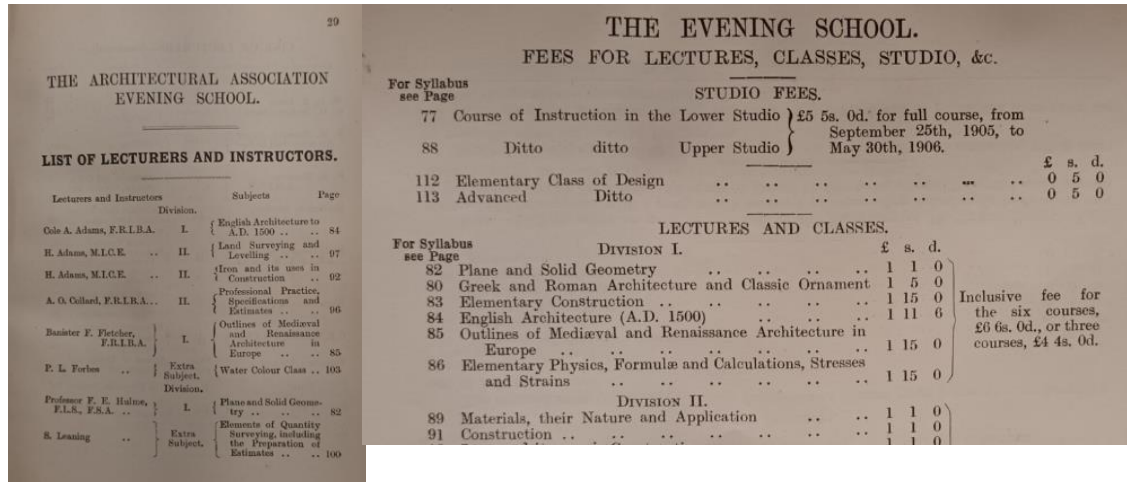
AA Members Roll 1905-1943

Figures 2.11 and 2.12: Architectural Association night class group of 1906-1907 showing Leith and the AA Members Roll showing Louw (AA Archives, no date)

²⁷ Only Edwin Osman Payne (born in Durban in 1877, educated in Durban and Sheffield and articulated in Durban) and his older brother Wilfred Stonehouse Payne (born in 1876 and educated in London) studied at the AA before Louw and Leith (from 1897). They had British parents. Both became Associates of RIBA(ARIBA) in 1902. They established Payne & Payne in Durban in 1903. They are considered to be the first South African-born individuals to be tertiary-trained professionally registered architects.

The AA School (2023: online) states on its website that from its inception:

It aimed to challenge the established ways in which architecture was taught, argued and theorised at the time and urged its members to reconsider the commonplace social and cultural responsibilities of the profession at large – aspirations that remain at the heart of the school today.



Figures 2.13 and 2.14: Extracts from the 1905-1906 Brown Book of the Architectural Association (Architectural Association, 1905: 29, 31)

2.5 A SUMMARY OF POTENTIAL INFLUENCES ON WYNAND LOUW DURING HIS LONDON YEARS

Academic books and articles on architecture which Louw might have been exposed to during this formative time include the following:

Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472). The Italian Renaissance artist, author, architect, cryptographer, poet, priest, and philosopher published *De re aedificatoria* (On the art of building) in 1485 – it was patterned after *De architectura* by Vitruvius written around 46BC.

Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812-1852). The English architect, artist and critic published the book *Contrasts*, in 1836 which he argues for the revival of Gothic architecture. This and many of his other writings are considered to be the origin of neo-Gothic architecture for churches in Britain and beyond. Pugin was a Catholic and held strong anti-Calvinist sentiments.

Eugène Viollet-le-Duc (1814-1879). The French architect, author and restorer published the first volume of *Entretiens sur l'architecture* in 1863. It was translated in 1875 by the American architect Henry van Brunt (1832-1903) as *Discourses on Architecture*.

Viollet-le-Duc believed the design of a building should start from its plan and purpose, and that the decorations and exterior should follow. It was acceptable if this resulted in asymmetry. He dismissed appearances at the expense of practicality. He developed a strong following in the Americas.

John Ruskin (1819-1900). The English writer and art critic's book *The seven Lamps of Architecture* was published in 1849. It was followed by the *Stones of Venice*. Ruskin extolled Italian Gothic architecture and laid down seven moral architectural principles. With Pugin, they were the main proponents of Gothic Revival architecture in Britain. Ruskin took part in a *Conversazione* at the AA in 1857 arguing that there was no need for new architectural styles (Summerson, 1947: 12).

Banister Fletcher (1866-1953). The standard work of this English surveyor, politician and architect, *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method* (1896), was one of very few English handbooks readily available in 1905. The 20th edition was published a century later in 1996 and is very different from the original. Fletcher was a lecturer at the AA during Louw's time there (Architectural Association, 1905: 29).

In his 1896 book Fletcher discussed the following influences on early church architecture:

- a. Geographical (architecture modified by situations of regions).
- b. Geological (sources of materials: quarries, ruins of pagan temples, etc).
- c. Climatic (warmer climates required ventilation and smaller windows, the impact of snow on roofs, etc.).
- d. Religious (the rises and falls of the Roman Catholic Church, Reformation, etc.).
- e. Social (influence of art, political disturbances, nationalism, and new states).
- f. Historical (influence of Emperor Constantine, the coronation of Charlemagne, the incursion of Europe by the Huns, the sacking of Rome by the Goths).

Theo Molkenboer (1871-1920). The Dutch artist and architect (Molkenboer, 1900: 367-376) stated in his article *Volkskerken* in *De Katholiek* of 1900:

- a. All churchgoers should have a clear view of the liturgical centre.
- b. The internal church space should be inclusive (no more partitioning or division between *laicus* and *clericus* or rich and poor).
- c. More light and better lighting: everyone should be able to read and see properly.

- d. Extreme heights are unnecessary and not conducive to good acoustics and proper heating: everyone should hear properly.
- e. Long naves are unacceptable because they do not enable the congregation to be gathered around the liturgical centre.

Reginald Guy Kirkby (1875-1962). This engineer and architect delivered a number of papers on architectural topics during his time in Natal while in the partnership of Stott & Kirkby (from 1902 until 1908). In 1907 he served on the council of the Natal Institute of Architects. His papers and promotion of formal academic study in architecture, especially his address to the *Joint Meeting of British and South African Associations for the advancement of Science* in South Africa in 1905, might have encouraged Louw, Pearse, Leith, and others to enter British institutions to further their studies (Figure 2.15).

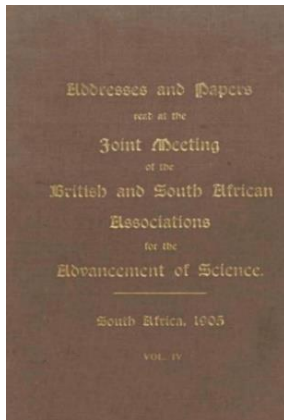


Figure 2.15: Addresses and Papers of the Joint Meeting, 1905 (Kirkby, 1905, cover)

The AA had a substantial library in the early 20th century. Most of the books were gifts from members and RIBA. Louw ([A], no date: 1906 diary) mentioned many books in his 1906 diary, but the following books were probably most relevant to his development as an architect:

- a. *Gothic Architecture in England* by Francis Bond
- b. *The Builder's Journal & Architectural Record December 1905*
- c. *Bell's Handbooks to Continental Churches* – 6 volumes
- d. *Greek Architecture* by T Roger Smith.
- e. *The Cathedrals of England & Wales* by TF Bumps and TW Laurie.
- f. *Modern Buildings, their Planning, Construction & Equipment* - 6 volumes by George Alexander Middleton
- g. *Cape Times May 15, 1905* – an article by Mr Baker on South African architecture

h. The Origin of Species and Descent of Man by Charles Darwin

Louw ([A], no date: 1906 diary) also recorded a long list of the London Gothic churches designed by George Gilbert Scott (1811-1878) that he visited - complete with photographs and notes.²⁸ There is also specific mention of a visit to the Dutch Church Austin Friars, a Gothic church dated c1253. Only the nave was made available to the Dutch Immigrants in London in 1550. Some call it the 'Mother' of all Dutch Reformed churches. It was destroyed in 1940 during WWII.

²⁸ Scott, a prolific Gothic Revival architect of ecclesiastical buildings, was closely involved with the creation of the Royal Architectural Museum at Tufon Street, London, which later amalgamated with the AA when the latter moved to Tufon Street in 1903. He also lectured at the AA in the 1850s.

2.6 WYNAND H LOUW'S PROFESSIONAL CAREER

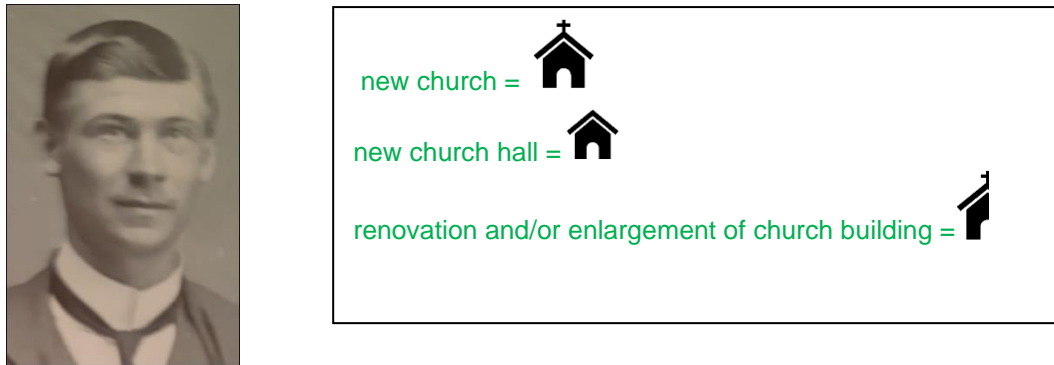


Figure 2.16: WH Louw c1910 (Louw [B], no date)

1883: Wynand H Louw born on *Labori et Picardi*, Paarl

1899-1902: The South African War.

1901: Louw joined Johan E Seeliger's architectural practice in Cape Town as an apprenticed draughtsman. He gained experience on the design of 30 Keerom Street in Cape Town.



Figure 2.17: Sketch of 30 Keerom Street c1905 (Die Burger: online)

1905-1906: Louw studied at the Architectural Association, London. He travelled to England, Scotland (Loch Lomond October 1906), France (Paris April 1906) and Norway, and returned to South Africa after writing the RIBA intermediary exams.

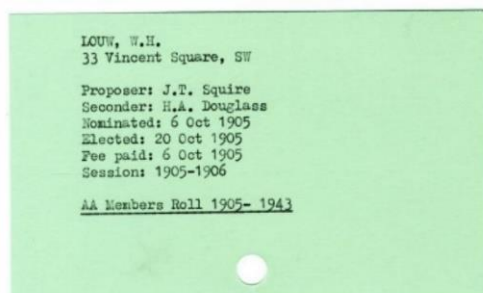


Figure 2.18: The AA Members Roll showing Louw (AA Archives, no date)

1909:  + 

In January Louw received an appointment to design the first new church building for **DRC Port Elizabeth** – a culmination of his 1908 marketing efforts. After providing concepts for new Heidelberg College residences, he received a commission for the repair of the fallen tower of the **DRC Heidelberg** on 25 October.

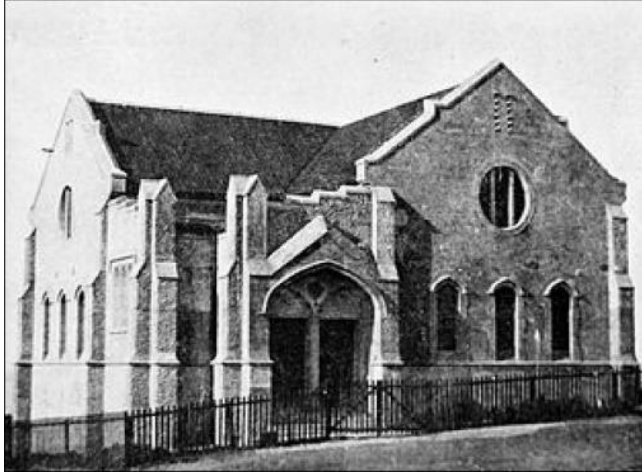


Figure 2.25: DRC Port Elizabeth (Maeder and Zinn, 1917: 47)

1910: Formation of the Union of South Africa.



Figure 2.26: Coat of Arms of the Union of South Africa

1910: Opened his own practice in Paarl. His brother George (Geo) joined him to assist with the construction of projects.

1910:  **DRC Calitzdorp** & 

1911: 0

1912:     including **DRC Ventersdorp** and **DRC Reitz**

1913: Travelled with Maria to America and Canada as part of a delayed honeymoon. Louw visited Boston, Philadelphia and Washington and the sketches he made during this time strongly influenced his future designs of church interiors.

1913: 🏠 🏠 & 🏠 + 🏠

1914: The Maritz Rebellion

1914-1918: The First World War (WWI)

1914: Built *Die Hoogte* in Paarl. It was used as a hospital later during WWI.



Figure 2.27: *Die Hoogte* (2022)

1914: 🏠 🏠 🏠 & 🏠

1915: 0

1916: 🏠 🏠

1917: 🏠 🏠 🏠 including DRC Pietersburg + 🏠 🏠

1918: Spanish influenza epidemic

1918: 🏠 & 🏠 + 🏠

1919: 🏠

1920: Moved practice offices from *Die Hoogte* to Paarl Executors' Chambers. Appointed HL Brink as his first qualified architect colleague. Brink was trained in Holland. Louw designed *Dagbreek* residence for the University of Stellenbosch which is currently still the largest residence on campus.

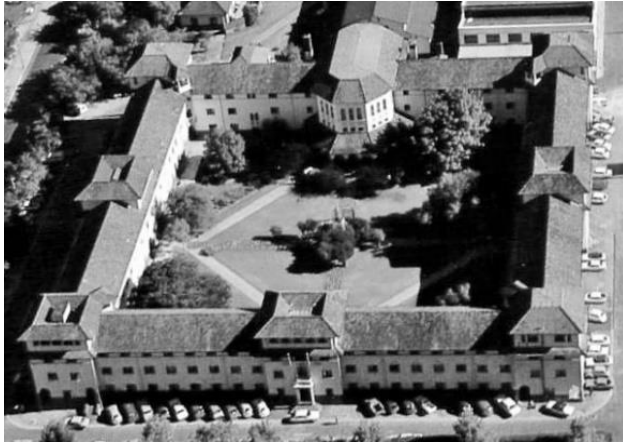


Figure 2.28: *Dagbreek* residence (FJ Naude, 2007)

1920:  including DRC Witbank

1920-1925: Supported his brother and future partner Henri Louw to study architecture at the Architectural Association. Henri was probably his first bursar.



Figure 2.29: Henri Louw (supplied by Henti Louw)

1921: Geoffrey Eastcott Pearse was appointed as the first Professor of Architecture at the Transvaal University College (which would become the University of the Witwatersrand). This was the first tertiary school of architecture that was established in South Africa.

1921: Louw & Moerdyk Partnership established with offices in Paarl and Pretoria. The partnership contract was signed on 22 January 1921 in Bloemfontein.



Figure 2.30: Detail of cornerstone (2020)

1921:  including DRC Amersfoort and DRC Swartruggens

1922: 

1923: Wouter de Wet (Wollie) Bronkhorst joined the practice as an apprentice on 9 September. Louw bought his first motor car – a Hudson.

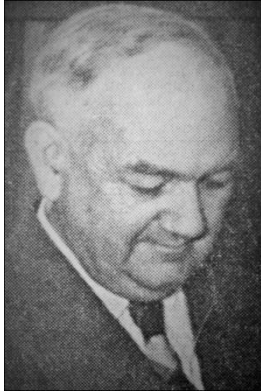


Figure 2.31: Wollie Bronkhorst c1965 (Die Burger, 10.9.1970)

1923: 

1924: On 20 February DFH Naudé (a nephew of the artist Hugo Naudé) joined the partnership after matriculating in Worcester.

1924: 

1925: After working for Sir John Burnett and Partners in London and becoming an Associate of RIBA (ARIBA) Henri Louw joined the practice and opened a Louw & Moerdyk office in Bloemfontein, where Bronkhorst soon joined him. Wynand visited projects and clients in 69 towns and cities during that year.



Figure 2.32: RIBA crest (RIBA: online)

1925:  including Reformed Church Reddersburg

1926: Louw won the competition to design the campus for the University of Stellenbosch, as well as many of its academic buildings, including Administration, Agriculture, Chemistry, the Library, and the swimming pool. Adriaan Louw Meiring joined the practice in Paarl as a junior after the completion of his studies in Philosophy and Languages at the University of Cape Town. He was the son of *dominee* PGJ Meiring who was pastor of the DRC *Strooidakkerk* from 1907 until 1921.

1926/7: Louw and Moerdyk's partnership dissolved: process initiated on 26/3/1926.

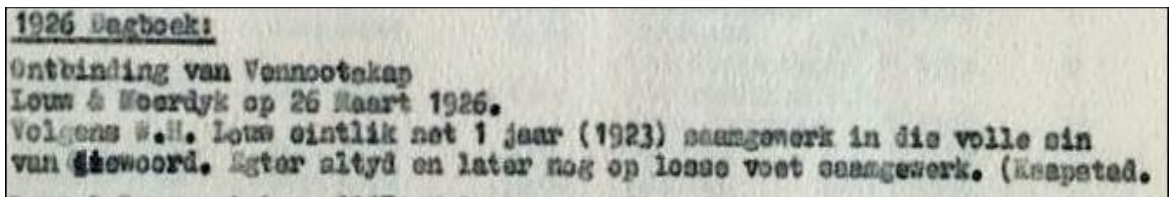


Figure 2.33: Extract by Wynand H Louw Jr of his father Tobie's notes made based on the WH Louw 1926 diary (Louw, WH Jr, 2023)

1926:  including DRC Marquard and DRC Lindley

1927: Establishment of the Institute of South African Architects (ISAA). Wynand, Henri and George Louw joined the Institute as members, despite Wynand's initial opposition to its creation because he was concerned about the lack of facilities for tertiary training in architecture in South Africa at the time.

1927: Louw & Louw Partnership established with Henri as the new partner. Henri, Wollie Bronkhorst and George Louw still operated from the Bloemfontein office. AL Meiring studied at the University of Liverpool School of Architecture, probably as a bursar of Louw & Louw. DFH Naudé joined him there as a student.

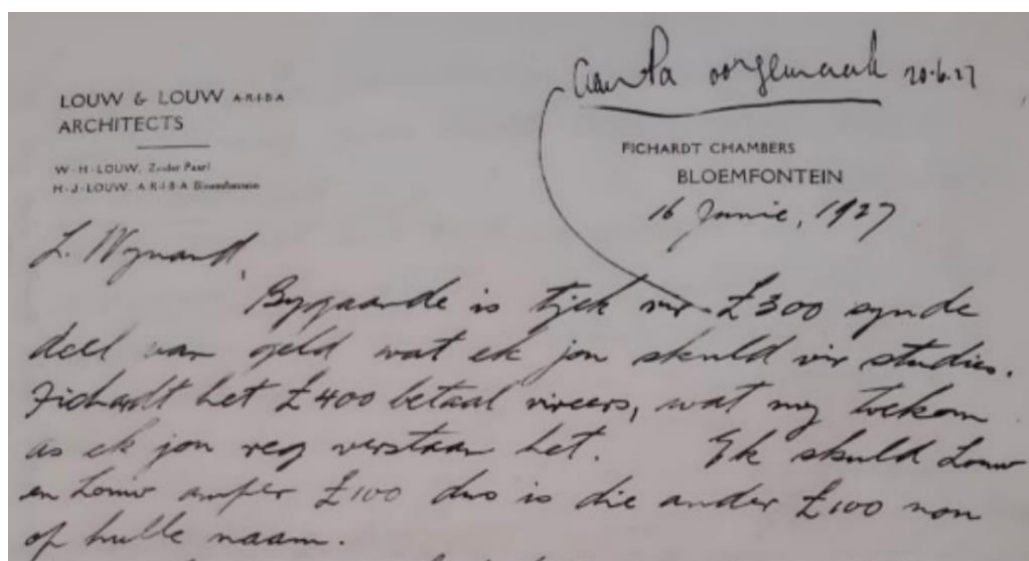


Figure 2.34: Louw & Louw letterhead dated 16 June 1927 (Louw [B], no date)



Figures 2.35 and 2.36: Cornerstones of DRC Hertzogville Church Hall and DRC Parow Vallei (2020)

1927:  incl. DRC Napier &  + 

1928: Designed Paarl Town Hall



Figure 2.37: Paarl Town Hall (2023)

1928:  DRC Greytown &  + 

1929 – 1939: The Great Depression

1929: Henri Louw won the competition for the design of the Main Building for the Potchefstroom University.



Figure 2.38: Potchefstroom University Main Building c1930 (Louw, 1975: 72)

1929:  & 

1930: Louw travelled to Hungary for the International Congress of Architects. He also travelled to the USA. These travels influenced his ideas about the Modernist design approach to high-rise buildings. He also designed the Cathedral Cellar of the KWV.



Figure 2.39: KWV Cathedral Cellar (Louw [B], no date)

1930's: Henri moved to Cape Town to open a Louw & Louw office and to design the new Sanlam building – later called the Waalburg building. AL Meiring returned to Louw & Louw in Cape Town to work on Sanlam's Waalburg project as Chief Assistant Architect in 1934. He established Meiring & Naude with DFH Naudé as a partner in 1938 soon after the latter's return to South Africa. AL Meiring would become the first professor of Architecture at the University of Pretoria in 1943. DFH Naudé's daughter, Prof Adèle Naudé Santos is an internationally acclaimed architect and academic. She obtained her first architectural degree at the AA.



Figure 2.40: Waalburg Building (2023)

1930:   DRC *Die Strand* and DRC Bethlehem West + 

1931:  DRC Elliot

1932: 0

1933: 

1934: Extensive study tour with FM Glennie to New York and other parts of the USA and Europe in preparation of the Old Mutual project in Cape Town.

1934:  

1935:  Reformed Church De Aar &  

1936: Designed the Cape Dutch buildings for the Empire Exhibition.

1936: University of Cape Town School of Architecture was established with Leonard William Thornton-White as first professor.

1936:  DRC Warrenton

1937:  DRC Riviersonderend & 

1938:  DRC Karasburg

1939-1945: The Second World War (WWII)

1939: Travelled to Southern Rhodesia to visit mission churches.

1939:  DRC De Bloem

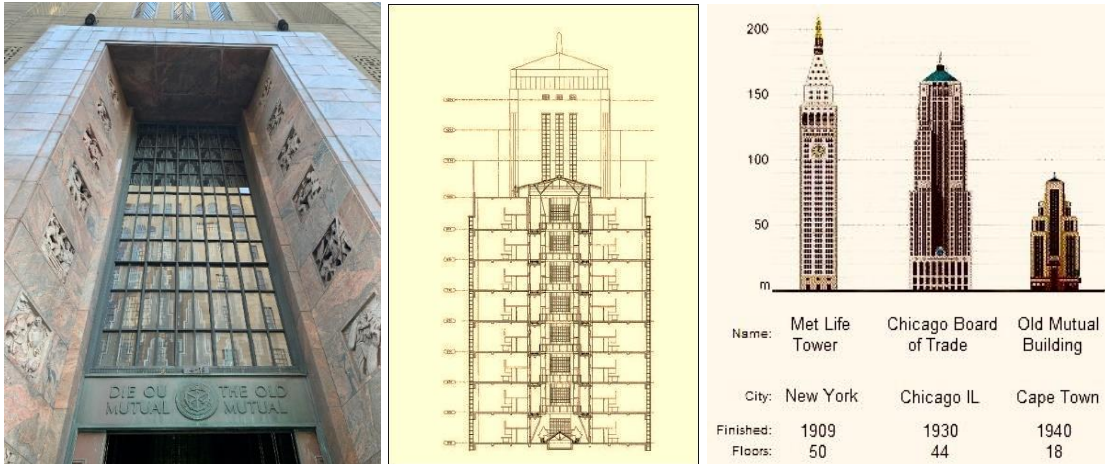
1940: Wynand Louw receives Medal of Honour from *Die Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns* for his contribution to Architecture.



Figure 2.41: *Akademie Medal 1940* (Louw [B], no date)

1940: Louw & Louw, in association with FM Glennie, designed the Old Mutual Building in Darling Street, Cape Town in the Art Deco style. It was then the tallest office building in the Southern Hemisphere at 276ft (84.125m) with the fastest lifts available internationally.

1940: 🏠 🏠 DRC Somerset West and DRC Goodwood & 🏠



Figures 2.42, 2.43 and 2.44: Old Mutual Building (Author, 2023 and skyscrapers.com: online, 27.4.2023)

1941: Louw became a member of *Die Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns*.

1941: 🏠

1942: 🏠 DRC *Die Vlakte* (now a mosque)

1943: Adriaan Louw Meiring appointed as the first professor of Architecture at the University of Pretoria.

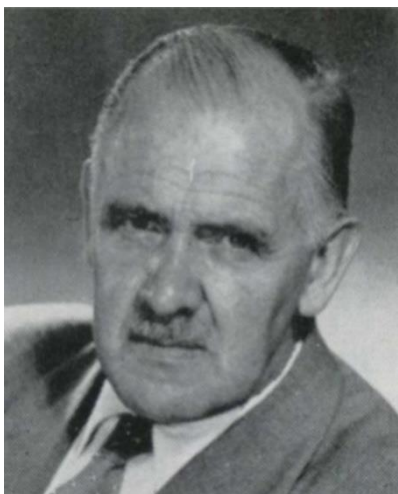


Figure 2.45: AL (Attie) Meiring (Artefacts: online, 25.4.2026)

1943: 0

1944: 0

1945: 0

1946: 

1947:  DRC Elsiesrivier (now Goodwood Vrijzee)

1948: Louw's son Tobie joined the Louw & Louw practice after completing his studies at the University of Cape Town Architectural School.

1948:  

1949:     including DRC Vredendal and DRC Bellville West

1950s: Bronkhorst designed most of the church projects for the practice, in a modern style, but still with the typical WH Louw internal layout.



Figure 2.46: Cornerstone of DRC Lutzville (2022)

1950:    + 

1951: Travelled to mission churches in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), Nyasaland (now Malawi), Kenya, etc.

1951:   + 

1952:   & 

1953:      &  + 

1954: Travelled with Mabel to Göteborg in Sweden, Oslo in Norway, the Netherlands, France, Germany, Switzerland, Denmark, and England. According to the Amsterdam daily newspaper Trouw of 9 June 1954 they tried to assist Louw to find Louw ancestors

in Holland. He told them: “*En ik heb heel wat modern bouwerken kunnen zien*”. He was however unable to find any Louw family members in the Netherlands.

1954: 🏠 🏠 🏠 🏠 & 🏠 🏠 🏠

1955: G Quine Lane was appointed as the first professor at the School of Architecture of the University of the Free State.

1955: 🏠 🏠 🏠 🏠 🏠 🏠 including DRC Lutzville & 🏠 🏠

1956: 🏠 🏠 🏠 🏠 including URC Ceres and DRC Outeniqualand & 🏠

1957: Wynand retired from full-time practice. Wollie Bronkhorst resigned to start his own practice. Henri Louw continued with the practice until his retirement in 1975.

1957: 🏠 & 🏠 + 🏠

1958: The KVV Head Office in Paarl completed.



Figure 2.47: KVV Head Office (2021)

1958: 🏠 🏠 🏠 🏠 🏠

1959: 0

1960: 🏠 & 🏠

1960: Henri Louw formed a new partnership: Louw & Nöthling.

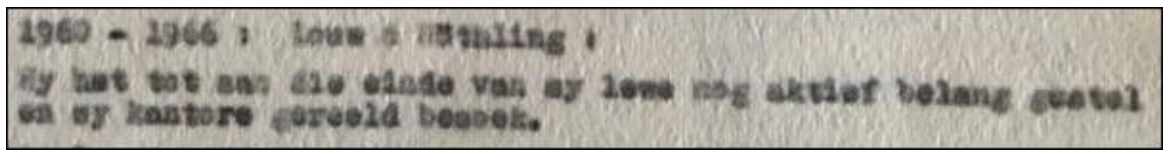


Figure 2.48: Extract from Tobie Louw's summary (Louw, WH Jr, 2023)

1964: Louw became a Life Member of the Institute of South African Architects.

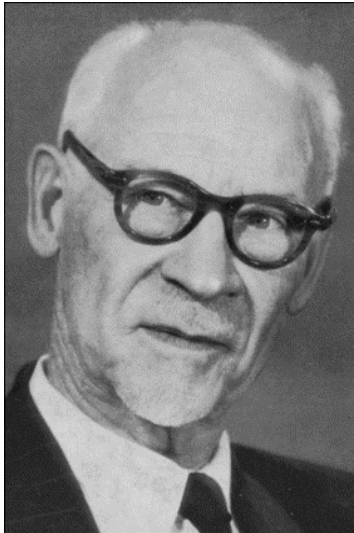


Figure 2.49 and 2.50: WH Louw c1965 and ISAA life membership certificate (Louw [B], no date)

1965: The reconstruction of the parsonage (*pastorie*) of DRC *Strooidakkerk* was Louw's last project.



Figure 2.51: DRC *Strooidakkerk* Parsonage (2021)

1967: Louw passed away on 21 August 1967 at his home *Die Hoogte*.

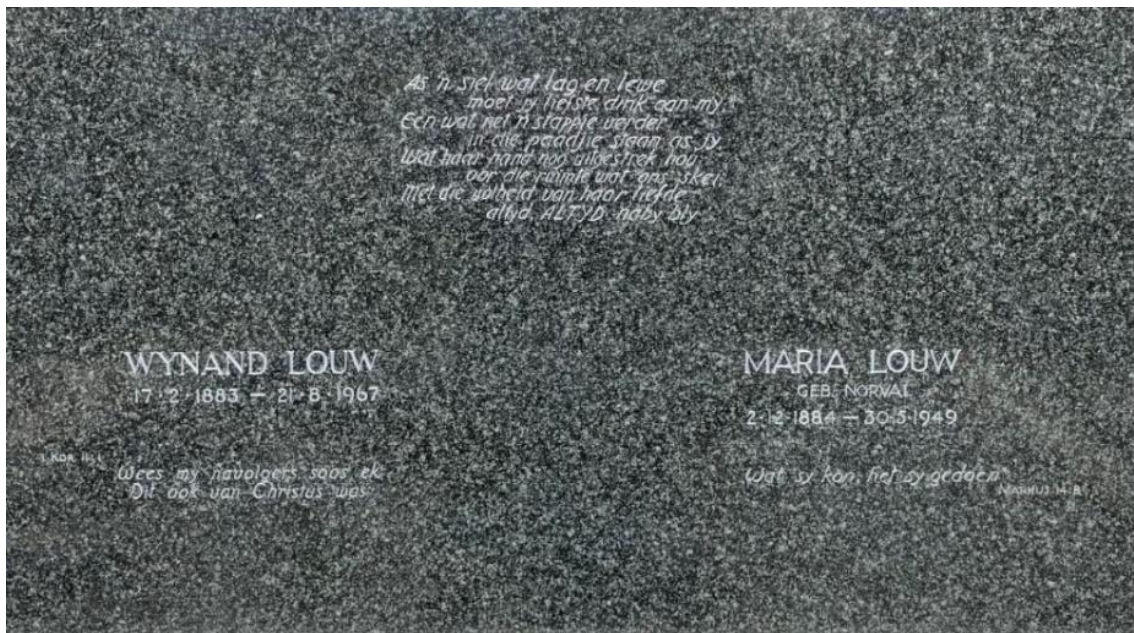


Figure 2.52: Wynand and Maria Louw's tombstone at DRC *Strooidakkerk* Paarl (2023)

The influence and possible legacy of the architect Wynand H Louw on South African architecture are the focus areas of this dissertation with a primary focus on the ecclesiastical buildings he designed.

3. A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF ALL ECCLESIASTICAL BUILDINGS DESIGNED BY WYNAND H LOUW AND HIS ARCHITECTURAL PRACTICES.

3.1 BACKGROUND INFORMATION

A number of methods were used to compile the list of southern African ecclesiastical buildings ascribed to Wynand H Louw and his practices Louw & Moerdyk and Louw & Louw. As a first step, an initial list of about 90 church projects was compiled from information obtained from Louw family members as well as the websites Wikipedia.com and Artefacts.co.za. This list was checked against information obtained from the books written by Maeder, Olivier & Geldenhuys, Menache, Olivier, Hoeyers and Oosthuysen. Due to some conflicting information from these sources, the website Gemeentegesiedenis.co.za was used to cross-check facts where possible and *Google Maps* were used to physically locate churches and to view them virtually where possible. At the start of the process in 2017 the information available on *Google Maps* was still rather limited.

As a second step, the church offices of the relevant congregations were contacted where possible. With some exceptions, their knowledge of the designers and builders of their church buildings was limited. Many *saakgelastigdes* were prepared to consult books published about their congregations and sometimes even to study original minutes of meetings in the years before church construction took place. Some were kind enough to take pictures of cornerstones. Louw's name however almost never appeared on a cornerstone, so this was often of limited use. Sometimes the builder's name appeared but mostly it was only the name of the *dominee* or a politician.

3.2 STUDY TOURS

It was soon clear that to develop a proper understanding of Louw's approach to church architecture it would be necessary to physically visit all the churches on the preliminary list of ecclesiastical buildings ascribed to Louw as primary sources of information and to photographically document them. An initial short tour to the Western part of the Eastern Cape was undertaken as a trial run. The tour proved to be invaluable due to the many lessons learnt.

A further seven study tours were undertaken over a period of four years in order to visit as many churches as possible. A total of almost 40 000km was travelled.

List of tours:

1. Southern Eastern Cape
2. Northern Cape and North West Province
3. Free State
4. West Coast
5. KwaZulu-Natal and Limpopo
6. Overberg and Little Karoo
7. Northern Eastern Cape
8. The long way round – filling in the gaps

There were many dead ends. Some churches turned out not to be Louw- designed churches as indicated on lists available at the time.²⁹ Along the way, more than 20 churches and church halls were discovered by chance.³⁰ More than ten churches were missed because they did not appear on the original lists.³¹ Follow-up visits were often required, including some churches that were inaccessible when initially visited.

²⁹ Churches incorrectly ascribed to Wynand Louw in 2017: DRC Boston, DRC Brandfort East, DRC Clarens, DRC Dutoitspan, DRC Hankey, DRC Heilbron, DRC Kirkwood, DRC Nieuwoudtville, DRC Piet Retief, DRC Theunissen, Reformed (*Gereformeerde*) Church Vryburg (demolished and replaced), DRC Winburg Rietfontein, DRC Winterton (confused with Windsorton), and DRC Zastron.

³⁰ Churches found by chance: DRC Bellville West, URC Ceres, DRC De Bloem, DRC Gansbaai, DRC Graafwater, DRC Grabouw, DRC Greyton (initially confused with Greytown), DRC Herbertsdale, DRC Herold, DRC Louisvale, DRC Parowvalleie, DRC Reddersburg, DRC Tsitsikamma, DRC Vredenburg church and church hall (now a government building), and many church halls including those of DRC Bredasdorp, DRC Burgersdorp, DRC Ceres, DRC Graaff Reinet, DRC Hertzogville, DRC Kakamas, DRC Montagu, and DRC Piketberg.

³¹ Churches missed: Reformed (*Gereformeerde*) Church Bethulie, DRC Caledon, DRC Carnavon, DRC Durban (confused with Durban Belair), DRC Hertzogville, DRC King Williamstown (assumed to be demolished), DRC Potchefstroom Mooirivier (Gaisford assumed to be the architect), DRC Reivilo, DRC Vanrhynsdorp, DRC Vanwyksvlei, DRC Windsorton (initially confused with Winterton), and DRC Umthatha and church halls such as DRC Beaufort West and DRC Britstown. Quite a number of them were visited later.

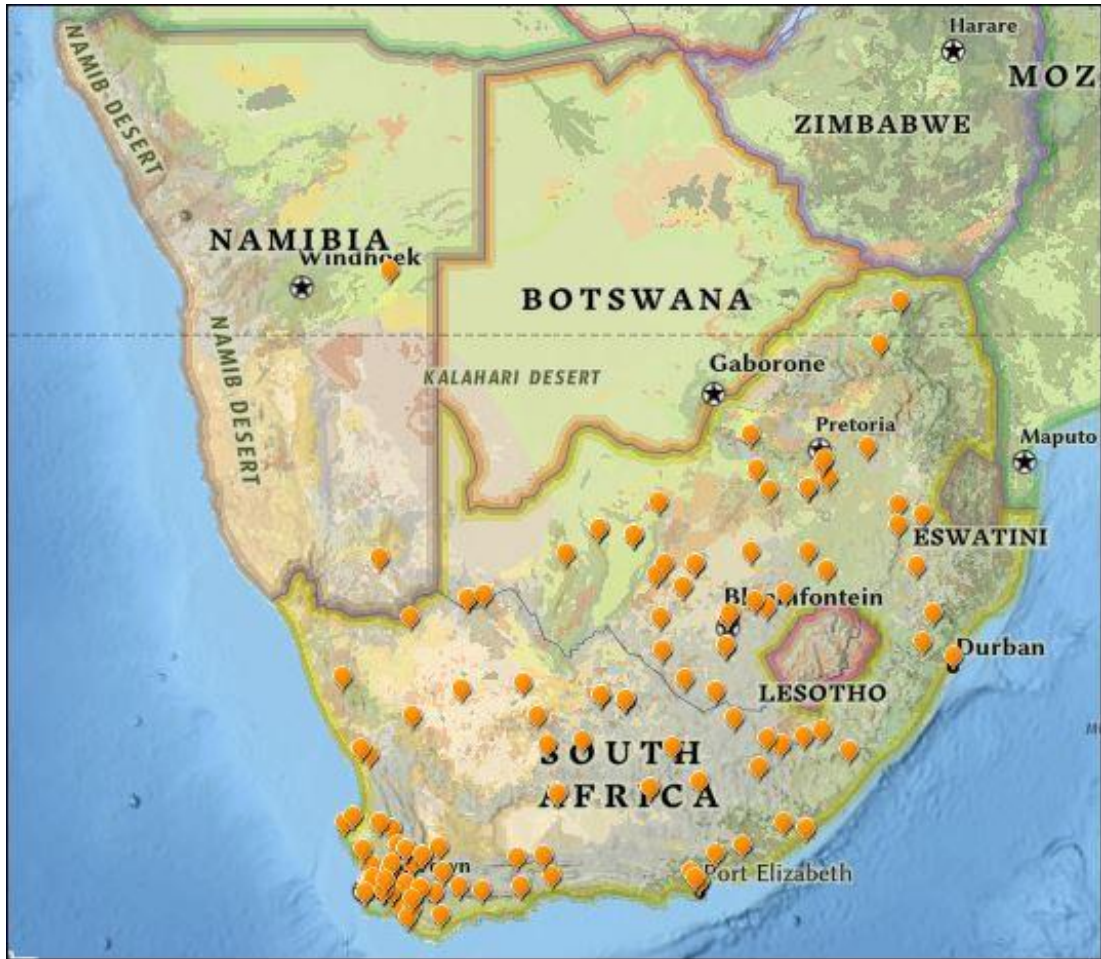


Figure 3.1: The locations of Louw's ecclesiastical projects in southern Africa. (Johnson, 2023)



Figure 3.2: The locations of Louw's ecclesiastical projects in the Western Cape (Johnson, 2023)

3.3 METHODOLOGY OF CHURCH VISITS

Ideally, appointments were made with church officials beforehand. Where appointments could not be made, or in cases where the author arrived early, or noticed an unexpected church possibly designed by Louw, the author would first try to access the church office. This was often not possible due to limited office hours, especially during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Because of the increase in vandalism of church property, the buildings were mostly protected by security fences which prohibit access and the opportunity to take suitable photographs. The author was often fortunate to notice maintenance staff who were, after an introduction, mostly prepared to give him access to the property and allowed the author to take photographs of the exterior and of the cornerstones. If they had keys and were comfortable with the author's *bona fides* he was mostly allowed to also take photographs of the interior of the church. The pride of maintenance staff in the gardens and buildings under their care, as well as their knowledge of the buildings, were often revealing.

Senior staff from the church offices were mostly very helpful and gave the author access to any books or documents they had available. They would often take the author on a guided tour of the buildings switching on lights to enable him to take better photographs. In many instances, they assisted by searching for the minutes of meetings and design drawings (blueprints) of the buildings in storerooms and safes.

Photographs of the exterior and interior of churches were taken including the seating layout, cornerstones and plaques, the organ, and the pulpit. The walls of the *konsistories* often told many stories: photographs of *dominees*, building committees, the church building during construction, the inauguration, etc. Where possible the author also tried to meet the *dominee* of the congregation.

3.4 BOOKS PUBLISHED BY CONGREGATIONS ABOUT THEIR HISTORY

All churches designed by Louw and his practices are already older than 50 years, with some older than a century. Congregations were often established before the construction of their first or second ecclesiastical buildings. Almost all of the congregations where Louw and his partners had been involved therefore have books written to commemorate centennials or other landmarks in their history. In many instances, the author was able to study these books, could purchase them for later reference, or often even received them as gifts from church offices. Dr Gerdrrie van der Merwe, who wrote more than 50

such books for DRC congregations in South Africa, was also most helpful in making books available. Most of these books are available at the DRC Church Archives in Stellenbosch (refer to Chapter 3.9 and Appendix E for more details on these books).

While not many of these books discuss the design of a congregation's church buildings in any detail it was often possible to obtain information about the building commissions and the date of inauguration of the buildings. Generally, enough information could be obtained to point towards relevant dates that could be used to study the minutes of *kerkraad* meetings, etc. for more information about the architect and builder of a specific building. Sometimes they were only referred to as 'the builder' or 'the architect', but the *dominee's* name was almost always recorded.

3.5 THE WYNAND LOUW DIARIES

Most of Louw's diaries (Louw [A], no date) still exist and are in the possession of J Wynand Louw, the grandson of Wynand H Louw, who still lives in *Die Hoogte* (in 2023), the home his grandfather built in 1914. Although these diaries mostly consist of rather cryptic notes about travel arrangements and the cost of travel, etc., a lot of information could be obtained, often by deduction.

J Wynand Louw has been most helpful and assisted with the research of the diaries and even made his own notes on the diaries available to the author. Quite a number of churches which were not on any other lists were identified in this way³².

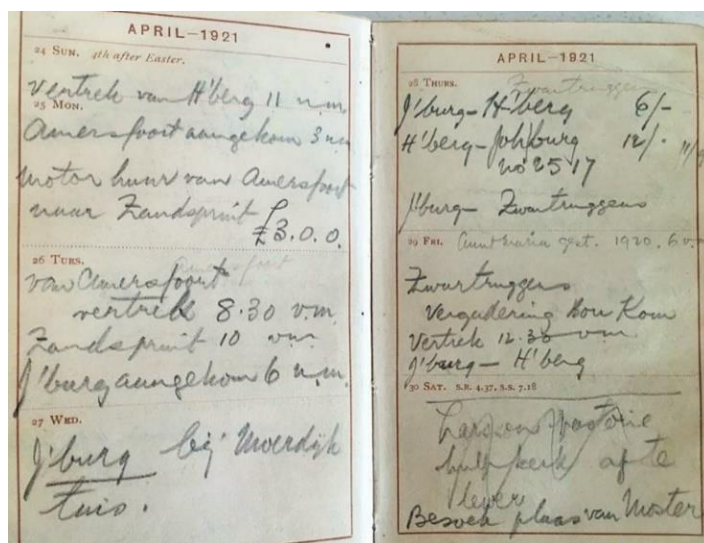


Figure 3.3: Extract from Louw's diary of April 1921 indicating visits to Heidelberg, Amersfoort, Zwarttruggens, and 'Moerdijk' (Louw [A], no date: 1921 diary)

³² Refer to Appendix D for some extracts from Louw's diaries.

3.6 THE USE OF SOCIAL MEDIA TO FILL THE GAPS

The COVID-19 pandemic, and the resulting lockdown and travel restrictions, halted the study tours early in 2020. The lockdown however offered the opportunity to focus on obtaining more information via social media platforms. The author joined the Facebook group *Kerkgeboue van Suider-Afrika* in 2014. This group presently has more than 30 000 members and the author is one of the administrators of the group. Furthermore, the author created a Facebook group *Kerkgeboue van Wynand H Louw* in order to post photographs and share information about all known Louw-designed churches. Both platforms have been used effectively to collect more information about churches that could not be visited physically. Many photographs of the interiors of churches to which access could not be gained were found by searching these platforms. Almost ten previously unknown Louw churches were found via these social media platforms, sometimes by coincidence, or sometimes when group members alerted the author to the fact that there was a Louw church in their hometown. Sometimes confirmation of a lead or suspicion was obtained with the help of the members of these groups.

3.7 FORMAT OF THE LIST AND SUMMARY

The list of ecclesiastical projects of Louw and his practices is in chronological order, grouped in four periods. It documents all available information regarding the date and other information on the cornerstone, the date of inauguration of the building, the architectural practice involved, the project architect (where known), the builder as well as the street addresses. Photographs of the exterior and interior of the buildings are also included. The choice to list the churches in chronological order was based on the need to try and establish if there was a noticeable progression in Louw's approach to the design of churches over time.

The four periods are as follows:

- The Wynand H Louw period from 1907 to 1921. Refer to Appendix E
- The Louw & Moerdyk period from 1921 to 1927. Refer to Appendix F
- The Louw & Louw Period from 1927 to 1951. Refer to Appendix G
- The Louw & Louw (Wollie Bronkhorst) period from 1957 to 1960. Refer to Appendix H

Note: To enhance the reading of this dissertation the List of Ecclesiastical projects was moved to the Appendices. The numbering of the Figures however remains part of Chapter 3.

The summary of the list in tabular format includes the date on the cornerstone, the date of inauguration, the practice and project architect involved, coordinates of buildings, and indicates which buildings have been demolished. It includes a list of references to the Louw-designed ecclesiastical buildings in publications. It also indicates if building plans are available. Where available the original building costs are indicated. A hyperlink to the complete list in spreadsheet format is included below, followed by an abbreviated list in tabular format which only shows detail of the cornerstone, the practice involved, the project architect and the coordinates of the building locations.

SUMMARY OF THE LIST OF ECCLESIASTICAL PROJECTS

Note: A spreadsheet is available separately with more information on project architects, coordinates, construction costs and references.

Refer to:

[3.7 Summary of the LIST rev 13122023](#)

SUMMARY OF LIST OF PROJECTS Cornestone* Ecclesiastical Project		PRACTICE			PROJECT ARCHITECT				COORDINATES of Project
		WHL	L&M	L&L	WHL	GM	HL	WB	
DATE									
8/1907?	DRC Heidelberg, WC, repair Hager Church - demolished	1			1				(-34.0900537, 20.9587155)
16/5/1908	DRC Strooidakkerk Church Hall, Paarl	1			1				(-33,7455421, 18.9614738)
17/4/1909	DRC Port Elizabeth	1			1				(-33.9499200, 25.6042199)
1909 na	DRC Heidelberg, Gauteng, Tower	1			1				(-26.4992691, 28.3561933)
17/12/1910	DRC Calitzdorp	1			1				(-33.5310480, 21.6886633)
1911?	DRC Vereeniging - demolished	1			1				
16/12/1911	DRC Cradock Church Hall	1			1				(-32.1698374, 25.6167200)
27/1/1912	DRC Boksburg	1			1				(-26.2203844, 28.2546141)
5/4/1912	DRC Venterdorp	1			1				(-26.3178658, 26.8231154)
8/6/1912	DRC Van Wyksvlei	1			1				(-30.3517384, 21.8244300)
10/8/1912	DRC Reitz	1			1				(-27.8041882, 28.4300815)
1913?	DRC Carnarvon Church Hall - demolished?	1			1				
1913	DRC Boshof enlargement	1			1				(-28.5393757, 25.2372660)
19/3/1913	DRC Naauwpoort/Noupoort - demolished	1			1				
5/7/1913	DRC Beaufort West Church Hall	1			1				(-32.3501991, 22.5836625)
1913?	DRC Philippolis, internal and roof renovations	1			1				(-30.2618224, 25.2730323)
11/4/1914	DRC Kuruman	1			1				(-27.4643448, 23.4319640)
voor 6/1914	DRC Worcester Church Hall	1			1				(-33.6430827, 19.4423236)
19/9/1914	DRC Olifantshoek - demolished 1961	1			1				(-27.9442602, 22.7385409)
16/12/1914	DRC Umtali (now Mutare, Zimbabwe) - demolished	1			1				
1915?	DRC Strooidakkerk renovations	1			1				(-337459841, 18,96221100)
4/1916?	DRC Paarl Hulpkerk (Paarl Vallei) Alterations	1			1				
1916?	DRC Philadelphia, new Pulpit	1			1				(-33.6667203, 18.5811361)
31/3/1917	DRC Pietersburg, Polokwane	1			1				(-23.9082582, 29.4563664)
27/7/1917	DRC Deben (was Dibéng) - demolished	1			1				
1917?	DRC Marchand - demolished	1			1				
1917?	DRC Ceres roof renovation (Hager church) - demolished	1			1				(-33.3720031, 19.3064111)
1918	DRC Britstown Church Hall	1			1				(-30.5895911, 23.5046734)
1918?	DRC Caledon renovation (Hager church) - demolished	1			1				(-34.2314743, 19.4288760)
6/7/1918	DRC Mooirivier Potchefstroom	1			1				(-26.7186185, 27.0966870)

7/12/1957	DRC Stellenbosch North			1			1	1		(-33.9275214, 18.8585660)
15/2/1958	DRC Darling			1			1			(-33.3774444, 18.3802322)
25/4/1958	DRC Caledon (replace Hager Church)			1			1			(-34.2314738, 18.4288683)
18/10/1958	DRC Upington North			1				1		(-28.4475786, 21.2526970)
3/9/1958	DRC Ugie			1			1	1		(-31.1978847, 28.2325562)
26/10/1958	DRC Mutare (was Umtali) FP van Heerden?									
26/3/1960	DRC Murray De Doorns Church Hall			1			1			(-33.4778620, 19.6651465)
17/9/1960	DRC Oudshoorn North			1			1			(-33.5828135, 22.2091755)
TOTALS		78	17	68	99	7	25	30	2	
Cornerstone	Explanation									
*	No Architect's name on cornerstone									
*	Wynand H Louw's name on cornerstone									
*	Louw & Moerdyk on cornerstone									
*	Louw & Louw on cornerstone									
*	Gerhard Moerdyk's name on cornerstone									
*	Louw & Louw (Architect W Bronkhorst) on cornerstone									
*	W Bronkhorst's name on cornerstone									
*	No cornerstone could be found									
na	Not applicable									
RED	Demolished									
BLUE	Small project									
Unsure	No Confirmation of WH Louw involvement									
* Note 1	Building costs obtained from Olivier and/or Louw Diaries									
REFERENCES	See Appendix J									

4. BROAD GLOBAL CONTEXT

4.1 WHAT IS CHURCH ARCHITECTURE?

A **church building** is a built space where Christian believers gather as a congregation and participate in the liturgy. It is a space for religious practice. The word 'church' in the Bible (NIV) is a translation of the Greek word *ekklesia* which means 'a called-out assembly/congregation' or 'gathering of those summoned'. The English word 'church' however does not come from *ekklesia* but from the Scottish word *kirk*, derived from the Greek word *kuriako*. *Kirk* can be translated as 'belonging to or dedicated to a lord' and was often used to refer to a temple. Herein lies a contradiction.

Architecture is the "art of building" according to Viollet-le-Duc (1863 [1875]: 143, 211). The American architect Van Brunt (1875: xvi-xvii) states in his Introduction to the 1875 English translation of *Entretiens sur l'architecture* that "Civilization has no exponent more sensitive than architecture; for it is an art not only absolutely indispensable, but one which adapts itself practically and aesthetically to the condition of things amongst which it grows". Herbert Lucas (1852-1933) (1909: 1) contends that the art (not the act) of building necessarily implies planning, sketching, designing, drawing, analysing, costing, and ultimately executing and constructing. This includes materials, manual labour, and machinery.

In a poem Christian Norberg-Schulz (1926-2000) (1975: 5, 18, 170) describes architecture as a "concrete phenomenon" and a "living reality", not just fulfilling practical needs, but "concerned with existential meanings". He states that architecture has helped humankind make its "existence meaningful" and "gain a foothold in space and time" and admits that it is difficult to define. He used the term *stedskunst* (art of place) to describe how architecture must uncover and set the potential "meanings of place" into physical works which reveal the "truth of place".

Hendrik Auren (2015: x, 1-17), however, argues that in his quest to interpret the philosophies of Martin Heidegger (1889-1976) and transform his concept of *stedskunst* into *livskunst* (art of the experience of living) Norberg-Schulz neglected the concept of care which was integral to Heidegger's understanding of "concerned being-in-the-world; the art of care." In his book *Being and Time* Heidegger argued "in its being this being is

concerned about its very being”.³³ Auret devoted his 2015 thesis to bridging this gap and finding a better way of understanding architecture as *livskunst* (Auret, 2015).

Is **church architecture** more than mere architecture? Viollet-le-Duc (1863: 24-25) states in his First Discourse:

It is easy for an architect to erect a temple in honor of a mythical divinity, the representative of a passion, a principle, or even of a part of the order of creation; for this myth has a body, a sensible appearance, attributes; such a thing belongs to him, such another is adverse to him. But to build a temple to the Christian God is a more difficult task; for in Him everything is united, He presides over all, He is the beginning and the end, He is space. How can we make a dwelling for Him who is everywhere, how can we express in stone this abstract idea of Divinity, how make it understood that an edifice is the house of God? The mediæval artists undertook this task with some success; and how? They made the Christian church an exponent of creation; as it were, they expressed in it, as in an epic of universal stone, all things in the visible and invisible order of creation.

In *Meaning of Western Architecture* Norberg-Schultz (1975: 426,432) states that: “the purpose of (all) architecture is to make meanings manifest as a concrete system of places, paths and domains.” Norberg-Schultz believed that “a work of architecture is always related to a specific situation, but it also has to transcend this situation and make it appear as part of a more comprehensive, meaningful totality.”

Catholic church architect Stroik (2018: 2) says:

the role of church architecture, like retail, is to draw us inside, but for a different purpose: to bring us in contact with the divine [...] The answer to good cities is not to put retail everywhere to activate the public realm with commerce [...] Adding a church to the mix does help. It helps create and sustain a vital public realm by serving people’s most fundamental needs for forgiveness, hope, and meaning in a way no other civic institution can do. And ironically, perhaps, temples will draw parishioners and tourists alike, resulting in vibrant commerce as well.

Vitruvius (in Koorts, 1974:4 and as quoted by others) argued that architecture stands on the three pillars of utility, stability and beauty (*utilitas, firmitas, venustas*), and originates with a concept based on an understanding of the intended function. Koorts (1974: 5-7) continues that Frank Lloyd Wright (1867-1959) considered architecture as an organic process of growth from within, in the context of terrain, space, and place and that Le Corbusier (1887-1965) (1931 [1986]: 45, 47-64) saw the plan as the generator of mass

³³ Heidegger delivered a lecture *The concept of time* in 1924 but it was not published at the time. This led to the publication of his book *Being and Time* in 1927. He became rector of The University of Freiburg in 1933, and soon thereafter he became a member of the Socialist German Worker’s Party. After pressure to adhere to the Nazi agenda, he resigned from his post in 1934 but remained a party member until the end of WWII. Uncritical discipleship of this philosopher is not recommended.

and surface in an almost mathematical fashion. Add to that Peter Hammond's (1921-1999) (1961: 6-11) belief that a fundamental understanding of practical and liturgical function, need and purpose must be the foundation of church form, and one begins to grasp what church architecture could or should be.

It is therefore no wonder church architecture has kept on evolving over two millennia and continues to do so today. It has borrowed from many, was influenced by other religions, has responded to changing Christian belief systems, has grown along with the development of people and nations and their particular cults and traditions and kept on innovating as the availability and quality of materials changed or improved. So too, the development of technology and the increasing knowledge and improved understanding of structural analysis and design allowed architects, engineers, designers, and builders to dream bigger.

When the result of the art of church building transcends the natural world, the impact of the religious space renders language obsolete. As happened in Acts 2:6 in the Bible, the believer/tourist/visitor understands even though the clergy and choir may speak and sing in a foreign language. The author distinctly remembers the day in 2008 when he visited the Cathedral of St Peter and St Paul in Nantes, France, exactly 64 years after it was bombed in 1944 during the Second World War.³⁴ As he entered the cathedral on a cloudy day the sun suddenly broke through the clouds and shone through a stained-glass window to highlight only a simple crucifix against a column. It was experienced as a mystical and holy moment. A pamphlet about the building, which had to be restored again in 1972 after a fire, states: "a masterpiece of architecture, it has kept its original purpose: to welcome congregations for divine service". The author participated in the mass in French and felt to be wholly part of it, despite the language barrier. That experience defined church architecture for me.

³⁴ The cathedral sustained serious fire damage in 2020 due to arson.

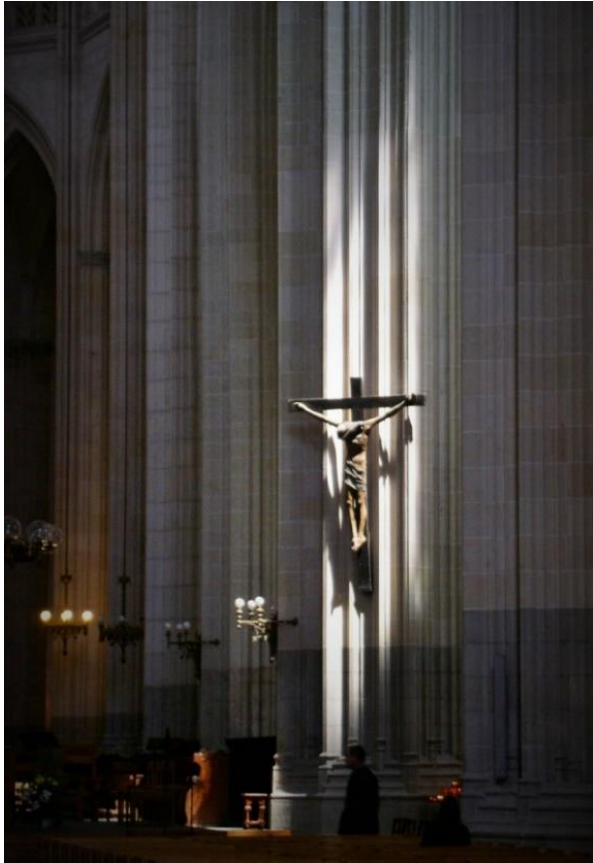


Figure 4.1: Cathedral of St Peter and St Paul in Nantes, France (2008)

The author concurs with Viollet-le-Duc (1863: 10) where he states:

Art is a fountain of instinctive emotion reaching the soul of man by various channels. Thus, the orator, the poet, the musician, the architect, the sculptor or painter, all alike artists, may each in his own language utter the same sentiment, and, to a certain extent, arouse the same emotion in the heart of him who hears or sees. These various forms of art appeal to the senses, and the senses, in the different ways, arouse the same series of ideas.

In *The Geometry of Love: Space, Time, Mystery and Meaning of an Ordinary Church*

Visser dedicates a book of some 270 pages to her experience of the Santa Constanza church in Rome. Visser (2002: 46) writes:

Churches can be confining and deadening - and churches may liberate and enliven. Buildings are unnecessary but needed. Churches remain - but they remain in order to keep alive a message that is all about movement: about hope and change. In short, a Christian church seems to be – and quite consciously is - a contradiction in terms.

4.2 A BROAD OVERVIEW OF THE EVOLUTION OF CHURCH ARCHITECTURE OVER THREE MILLENNIA UP TO THE EARLY 17TH CENTURY WITH THE ADVENT OF THE REFORMATION

4.2.1 Introduction

How did church architecture evolve to the point where it has such an impact on landscapes, streetscapes, culture, religion, and communities? Was it ever meant to have such an impact?

Church architecture has a Christian foundation, but is that really where it started? In AD 33 after the death of Christ?

Foley (2009: 1) said: “Jesus’s message and the Christianity that emerged from those who accepted that message can be understood only in the context of the Jewish culture in which they originated.” He referred to Pope Pius XI who once “commented that every Christian must become a spiritual Semite.”

Delimitation: This overview of the development of Christian church architecture is presented to create a broad contextual background for the discussion in the dissertation.

4.2.2 The first sanctuaries

JHL Truter (2005: 99) argues that one should start with the origins of the Christian faith, namely the Israelite patriarchs of the Biblical Old Testament. Not only did the patriarchs have sanctuaries, but they often seized these from the Canaanites and other nations while travelling around as nomads. However, unlike the Canaanites, who worshipped deities attached to a *hieros topos* (sacred place), there is no evidence that the patriarchs believed that God dwelled in or was bound to a specific sanctuary, or a static *domus dei* (house of God). God was rather seen and worshipped as a travelling God. Along their way, they encountered many sanctuaries. Amongst them were Shechem (Genesis 12:6, 33:18-20), Bethel, which ironically means ‘house of God’ in Hebrew (Genesis 12:8), Beersheba (Genesis 21:31), and Mamre (Genesis 13:18).³⁵

³⁵ All quotes from the Bible are from the New International Version (NIV)

4.2.3 The tabernacle

After the Exodus from Egypt, the Israelites made use of a tabernacle, a collapsible and portable tent sanctuary to engage with God. They used this on the move through the desert. When God met Moses, he showed his presence at the tabernacle in the form of a cloud that came and went and after some time moved on again, signifying a transcendent God. Turner (1979: 92) states:

This particular form of meeting in a cloud theophany declares that the tabernacle is the place of the presence, but in the form of intermittent visiting rather than continuous dwelling. Here there is no emphasis on a god of soil or on fixed holy places where the deity might dwell. Rather is he a 'most high God'.

The tabernacle exemplified what an earthly sanctuary should be. It contrasted God's heavenly permanence (*yashab* – to stay) to the temporary life on earth (*shakan* – to sit/to tent). It focused on the humble nature of God. He, who had no earthly dwelling, would one day be born in a stable, and preferred to be worshipped in a tent (Truter, 2005: 98).

The tabernacle was the first clear manifestation of *domus ecclesiae*³⁶ (where the people gather, albeit outside the tabernacle), and was in line with "The Hebraic theology of presence (which) preserves the freedom of the Deity from human manipulation. Its teleological thrust is without parallel in the ancient world" (Terrien, 1978: 94).

4.2.4 Sanctuaries in Israel

After they arrived in Israel the Israelites had several sanctuaries: Gilgal (Joshua 4:20), Shiloh (Joshua 18:1) where the Ark of the covenant rested for 369 years before it was captured by the Philistines (1 Samuel 4:11), Gibeon (Joshua 9:23), Ophrah (Judges. 6:11-24), Dan (1 Kings 12:31). After the Ark was moved by David, accompanied by 30 000 able young men, from Baalah via the house of Obed-Edom to Jerusalem (2 Samuel 6:1-9), the latter replaced Shiloh as a sanctuary. The ark was housed in a tent at a place which was a threshing floor that King David bought from Araunah to build an altar (2 Samuel 24:18-25 & 2 Samuel 6:17). The tent remained the centre of the Israelite religion until it was replaced by Solomon's temple on the same site. "The Tent remained the centre of Yahwistic worship until the temple was built." (De Vaux and McHugh, 1961: 311).

³⁶ Sessa argues that the term *domus ecclesiae* was first used by Eusebius after AD313 and that he never intended it as a term describing a specific approach to church architecture, but merely used it to refer to a church building. The terms *domus dei* and *domus ecclesiae* are used in this dissertation to refer to two distinct approaches to church architecture as used by Truter, Turner, Sessa, Yang et al. (Turner, 1979; Truter, 2005; Sessa, 2009; Yang, 2014).

4.2.5 The temples

The Israelites often yearned to have a visible God (as seen with the creation of a golden calf at Mount Sinai, as described in Exodus 32:1-35), and therefore strived to have a temple, which would function as a house of God, or *domus dei*. The yearning was most probably because of the influence of the Canaanites and other surrounding nations. It was a move from a transcendent God to an immanent God. Terrien (1978: 187) says:

The elusiveness of presence, which had been until then the cardinal foundation of Hebraic faith, slowly gave way to the myth of Zion. The universal potentiality of a theology that had been unfettered to a sacred place was now going to face the challenge of cultic Zionism.

In essence three temples were built in Jerusalem:

The **first temple** was built by King Solomon circa 950 BC after God would not allow Solomon's father King David to fulfil his dream. It was a rectangular/oblong building with three sections. The Porch on the one short end was open and overlooked the burnt offering altar on the Eastern side, while the other end housed the Holy of Holies, with the Holy Place in the middle, separated by a veil/curtain (2 Chron 3:14 NIV). Significantly the architect/builder was the Phoenician Hiram of Tyre who was not an Israelite, although his mother was a born Israelite (1 Kings 7:13 NIV). Terrien believes that Solomon's appointed craftsman followed the typical patterns of the sacred Syrian and Palestinian architecture of the time (Terrien, 1978: 191-193).

When the temple was completed after seven years of construction the Ark was brought to the temple and placed in the Holy of Holies (or Most Holy Place). After the priests withdrew from the temple the cloud of the Lord finally filled the temple. Then Solomon said, "The Lord has said that he would dwell in a dark cloud; I have indeed built a magnificent temple for you, a place for you to dwell forever." (1 Kings 8:10-13). Terrien postulates that Solomon purposefully said this to complete the conquest of the land (Jerusalem/Zion) by the Judaists (Terrien, 1978: 186-200).

But later Solomon continues:

"But will God really dwell on earth? The heavens, even the highest heaven, cannot contain you. How much less this temple I have built!" (1 Kings 8:27). Deist (1984: 44) suggests that this was a later addition to the text by the Deuteronomists who revised the text between the 8th and 5th century BC and not Solomon's words.

“Theological thought was conscious of the tension between the transcendence of Yahweh, who from the beginning had been recognized as master of the universe, and his historical and human proximity to Israel.” (De Vaux and McHugh, 1961: 326).

The first temple was demolished by the Babylonians in 586/7BC. (2 Kings 25:8-9). The loss of their temple must have been a major theological dilemma and crisis of faith for the Israelites who believed that God chose the temple on Mount Zion as his permanent dwelling (as immanent God) from which nobody would ever oust Him. Turner (1979: 83) states:

This is what tends to happen when the tension between the transcendent and the immanent presence of God is resolved in favour of the latter; only the human source of contingency then remains, only the human initiative matters, and men can proceed to use their temples and their gods like any other deposit of magic power employed entirely for human ends.

Despite the shock to their belief system, the exiles built a relatively modest **second temple** after their return from Babylon. It was completed in 516 BC. In doing so they once again followed the example of the Egyptians, Babylonians, and Canaanites who bound their pagan gods to a sacred mountain, high place, site, or building.

Finally, Herod the Great enlarged and expanded the second temple to effectively create a **third temple** in 20 BC. This version of the temple is often called Herod’s Temple (Turner, 1979: 55).

Truter (2005: 112) makes the following comments about the temples (translated and summarised by the author):

1. It was incorrectly seen as God’s residence based on the idea that His house could be created by man on earth.
2. Far too much faith and false confidence were ascribed to a building. The Israelites believed that the temple gave them indefinite protection.
3. The temple attempted to change a transcendental God into an immanent one.
4. A false belief that God required an earthly house of grandeur and splendour. The Israelites did not understand that God had no need for an earthly home, but that He accepted it with love and compassion.
5. Despite many gifts and offerings, the price paid for the building of the temple was far too high and created division amongst the Israelites. Solomon had to give 20 cities as a gift to King Hiram of Tyre to help pay for its cost (1 Kings 9:10-13).

4.2.6 The synagogues

It is uncertain when synagogues were first established. The Old Testament never refers to a synagogue. The word is derived from the term 'to gather together'. The synagogues were complementary to the temple and served as gathering places for prayer, study, and reading of the *Torah/Tanakh*. It soon became the backbone of the Jewish religion in the outer regions, and later of the Jewish communities in the diaspora.

4.2.7 Jesus and the temple and synagogues

It would be wise to understand Jesus' attitude towards the temple and the synagogues as the founder of the Christian faith. Jesus often visited and taught in synagogues (Mark 1:21-29; Luke 4:16-37).

He was consecrated at the temple when he was 40 days old (Exodus 13:2; Luke 2:22-39). At the age of 12 Jesus stayed behind in the temple after the Festival of the Passover. When his parents found him there three days later sitting amongst and engaging with the teachers of the Law he told them: "Didn't you know I had to be in my Father's house?" (Luke 2:42-50). Jesus went to the temple for religious festivals, to teach (John 7:14; Luke 21:38), to heal the sick (Matt. 21:14), and to cleanse it (John 2:13-16; Matt. 21:12).

Jesus declared: "destroy this temple and I will raise it again in three days" (John 2:19). (He was referring to his own body, but perhaps also pointing towards the destruction of the temple in AD 70. Jesus also said: "The stone the builders rejected has become the cornerstone; the Lord has done this, and it is marvellous in our eyes" (Mark 12:10; Isaiah 28:16-17), clearly referring to the new order of a temple not bound by time and place, nor built by human hands. This indicated a new spiritual gathering of a transcendental and omnipresent God with his people, forming *ecclesia* or a congregation/church.

After Jesus died on the cross the curtain between the Holy Place and the Holy of Holies of the temple tore from top to bottom (Mathew 27:50-51), which was to many a clear indication that the time of the temple was over.

Paul confirms in Ephesians 2:20-22 that God's people have become a holy temple – built together to become a house in which the transcendental God lives in spirit with his people.

4.2.8 The synagogues in the diaspora

After the destruction of the temple, the Jews dispersed throughout the Middle East. Wherever they settled, they built synagogues. There are three Hebrew synonyms for synagogue: *bet ha-tefilla* (house of prayer), *bet ha-kneset* (house of assembly), and *bet ha-midrash* (house of study). The word synagogue is of Greek origin, which means a place of assembly, or to bring together. The three synonyms give a good description of the true functions of a synagogue. The synagogues had a huge influence on development of Judaism.

Typically, the early AD synagogues had a simple rectangular layout with a focus on the *bimah* (reader's platform) on the one short side (sometimes with an apse behind) facing Jerusalem. The *bimah* was also where the ark, containing the scripture rolls (*Torah/Tanakh*), was placed. Externally synagogues were unobtrusive. They were a strong move away from *domus dei* towards *domus ecclesiae* and that was probably the reason why the destruction of Herod's temple did not have the same negative impact on Judaism as the destruction of Solomon's temple (Truter, 200: 127-130).

Toy (1913: 546) points out that synagogues as well as the Jews' "genius for the organization of public religion appears in the fact that the form of communal worship devised by them was adopted by Christianity and Islam, and in its general outlines still exists in the Christian and Moslem world."

4.2.9 The house church

Even before the AD 70 destruction of the Herod temple, the followers of the new Christian faith were persecuted, and they too spread out through the region. They started meeting in the houses of members of congregations. Acts 2:46 states: "Every day they continued to meet together in temple courts, they broke bread in their homes and ate together with glad and sincere hearts." Romans 16:3-5 states: "Greet Priscilla and Aquila [...] Greet also the church that meets at their house".

Many scholars mention that these house churches were called *ecclesia domestica*, and at a later stage, dedicated houses repurposed for religious use were called *domus ecclesiae*. Kristina Sessa (2009: 102-106) however, states that the term was first used by Eusebius post 313 in *Ecclesiastical History* as a general term to refer to a building used by Christians for worship. The Latin word *ecclesiae* originated from the Greek word *ekklesia* – a combination of *ek* (to come from) and *kaleo* (to call). In the New Testament (NIV) *ecclesiae* was translated as 'church'.

The earliest known house church was discovered at Dura-Europos in present-day Syria and is dated at mid-3rd century. The ruins show clear archaeological evidence of a domestic structure converted for Christian religious use. Sessa (2009: 103-108) states that Kirsch postulated in *Die Römische titelkirche im Altertum* that similar structures were found in Rome, but he believes that Kirsch' theory has been dismantled by Charles Pietri et al. Physical evidence of early Christian house churches remains scarce (Koorts, 1974: 18; Truter, 2005: 131-134).

Christians also often met and even preached in synagogues. Paul's visits to synagogues are mentioned in Acts 13:5 & 14 and 14:1, 15:21, and many more elsewhere.

4.2.10 First Christian churches

The simple design of the early synagogues probably had a strong influence on the first Christian church buildings which were built when house churches became too small. The apse became a more regular feature, but the ark was replaced by a table as the place where the sacraments were administered. The typical layouts of early churches were strongly focused on the liturgical requirements, namely preaching of the Gospel and administering the sacraments. They were externally unobtrusive. The congregations were poor, with limited material means, and they certainly did not want to attract attention due to frequent persecution. The early focus of the church was to be *domus ecclesiae* – a place where the people of God are called together and meet to hear the Word, to worship and to share in the sacraments. The church was therefore much more than a mere building or the sum of its parts.

But soon, as with the temple of Solomon which demonstrated a strong move away from the *domus ecclesiae* of the Tabernacle to the *domus dei* of the Temple, the yin and yang of the two fundamental approaches to church design would flare up again.

4.2.11 Constantine the Great and the basilica church

After the conversion to Christianity of Constantine the Great (c272-337) in the 4th century and the Edict of Milan of AD 313, which ensured the religious freedom of Christians, they used their newfound freedom to build bigger and more imposing church buildings. They were surrounded by many spectacular pagan temples and government buildings (basilicas used for public meetings and as courts of law) and were in obvious competition with them to attract attention. To distinguish their churches from pagan buildings there was a movement back towards the idea of the temple and *domus dei*.

Constantine, the first Christian Roman Emperor, born in Naissus in present Serbia, established his base of power in Byzantium as the Nova Roma (later Constantinople and present-day Istanbul). During his reign, the Christian church increasingly became an institution of the state, and its buildings became more imposing following the design styles of government buildings. While the Emperors before him were responsible for the construction of many temples as a testament to their respect for the religious and cultic practices of the day, it was only natural for Constantine to want to construct churches honouring Christianity. He even instructed that church buildings should be higher and larger than the adjacent buildings (Tucă, 2013: 290). The many churches erected during his reign were clearly influenced by the Eastern culture of his youth.

The original Church of Holy or Divine Wisdom (first called Magna Ecclesia or Great Church and later called Saint Sophia/Hagia Sophia) in Constantinople was built from AD 325 on the site of a pagan temple. Externally it was a rectangular building, but on the inside, a cross shape was formed by the rows of columns. It became a model for churches of this period.³⁷

Constantine was also responsible for the construction of the original Basilica of St Peter in Rome as well as the Church of Nativity in Bethlehem, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (*Ecclesia Sancti Sepulchri*) in Jerusalem, and many more in Constantinople (Saint Irene, the Church of the Holy Apostles, and according to Eusebius 12 more), Alexandria and Antioch, often ably assisted by his mother Helen (Tucă, 2013: 292-295).

Constantine and his architects understood that, unlike the pagan temples which housed treasures with the focus mostly on the exterior (with sacrifices made on altars outside the temple, with the temple only as a backdrop), a church required a greater focus on the interior. It needed a larger interior space for the growing congregation, which also marked the separation between the faithful and the others. To demonstrate the new authority of the Church the exterior of church buildings could however not be neglected.

The early 4th century was a defining period for Christian architecture and the Christian basilica was born. Basilicas of the time already had an apse, where the magistrate would sit on a throne. In a church, the apse became the religious focal point where the altar was placed. The buildings were typically oblong, divided into three sections by two rows

³⁷ The Church of Holy or Divine Wisdom (Saint Sophia) was rebuilt after a fire and later enlarged by Emperor Constans I. Eventually, after another fire, it was replaced in 537 during the reign of Emperor Justinian I by the present Hagia Sophia, one of the first churches of which the architects are known (Anthemius of Tralles and Isidorus of Miletus). It remained the largest church building in the world for almost a millennium.

of columns – two aisles with a nave in the middle. Within decades the roofs of naves were raised by building walls on top of the columns. These walls offered the opportunity to allow more natural light into the building through windows called the *clerestory* and focused the attention of the congregation on the heavens above (Koorts, 1974: 19-24; Truter, 2005: 138-140).

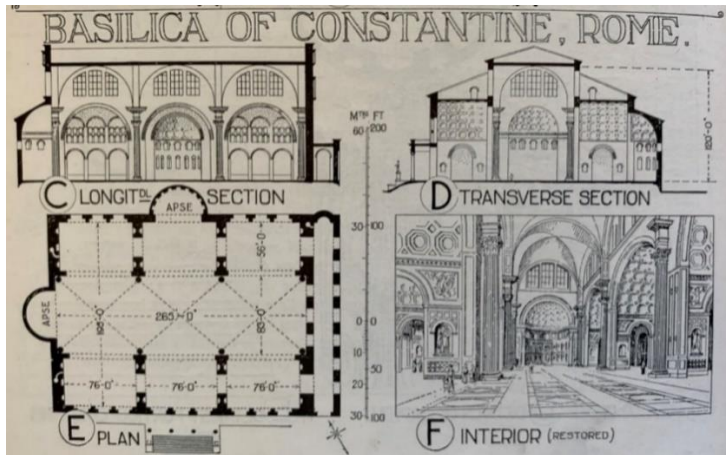


Figure 4.2: Basilica of Constantine, Rome: plan and sections (Fletcher, 1896: 200)

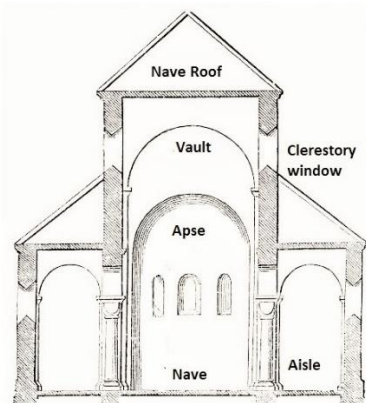


Figure 4.3: Typical basilica cross section (Author, 2023)

In 380 the house church era came to an end with the Edict of Thessalonica of Bishops Theodosius and Gratian, which ordained the Catholicism of the Nicene Christians as the State Church of the Roman Empire (Truter, 2005: 133-134).

4.2.12 The Roman and Romanesque church

Over time the internal cross shape of the early Saint Sophia (see note 37) was reflected externally in the design of new church buildings by adding a transept between the nave and the apse. This was the birth of the Roman or Latin cross. Initially, it formed a T-shape with only the apse protruding, called a *crux immissa*. The cross shape referred to the Christian cross as a reference to the crucifixion of Christ on a wooden cross, which has been the renowned symbol of Christianity over the ages.

A natural progression was to equalise the breadth of the nave and the transept so that the crossing became a perfect square. This afforded many opportunities for design innovation and was structurally sound. According to Lucas (1909: 8) “this was one of the most characteristic innovations or improvements introduced by the Romanesque builders of Northern Europe.”

During the Dark Ages after the fall of Rome in 476, very little development took place in terms of church architecture. Only after Charlemagne (or Karl the Great) (747-814) established the Holy Roman Empire in 800 Europe started awakening again. He began building new churches to consolidate the empire. With many skills lost over centuries, new inspiration was found in the church buildings of the first Christian Roman emperor Constantine. A first example is the 804 Palatine Chapel of Charlemagne in Aachen, now part of Aachen Cathedral (Figure 4.4). It is late Roman/pre-Romanesque/Byzantine in style with some similarities to San Vitale in Ravenna.

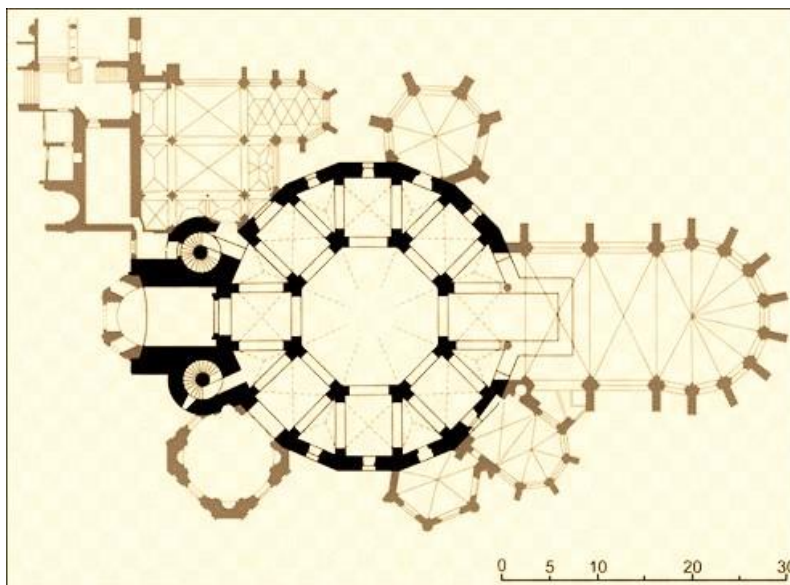


Figure 4.4: Plan of Palatine Chapel in Aachen (Author, 2023)

The Romanesque type of church was a natural progression almost two centuries later. The style focused on symmetry and simplicity. During the Romanesque period the aisles were continued around the apse, also called the ambulatory, often with some radiating chapels added (Figure 4.5).

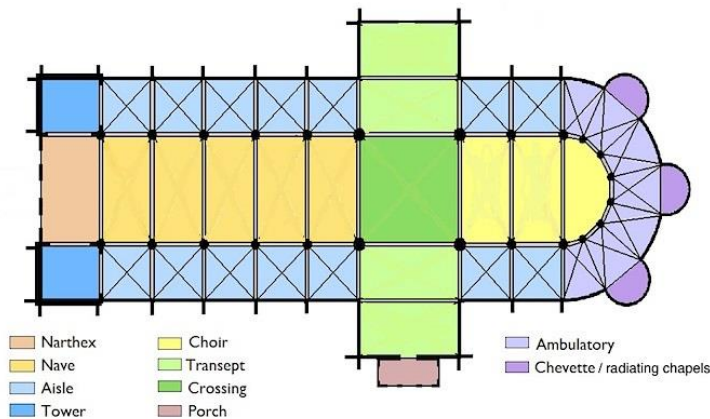


Figure 4.5: Typical Romanesque style church (Author, 2023, after Khan Academy)

Lucas (1909: 10) states:

The history of ecclesiastical architecture in Western Europe during the relatively short period which alone deserves to be regarded as one of more or less continuous and steady advance, and which extends, roughly speaking, from 1000 to 1300, may be described as the history of successive and progressive attempts to solve the problem, how best to cover with stone vaulting a basilican or quasi-basilican church.

Regular fires in churches highlighted the need to find a more fire-proof roofing system. This led to stone vaulting, firstly of the domes of crossings, but later also of the naves and aisles. It seems that the skills of the bygone Byzantine era had been all but lost, and church builders had to develop their own new techniques. Arches were semi-circular. Naves and aisles had barrel-vaulted roofs. The stone vaulting led to the need for structural support to withstand the horizontal forces originating from the roof loads. Due to the lack of building skills and the strong/tenacious mortar of the Romans, medieval builders could not rely on the use of massive stone or concrete masonry to provide stability. The solution of the time was to build solid buttresses which, though effective and sturdy, impacted severely the amount of light entering the building through the windows. At the time it was probably not seen as a serious problem, because laypersons were not expected to be able to read or see much. The new structural design approach allowed for larger windows which let more natural light into buildings, but it still required solid buttresses which were not ideal for its purpose and were often clumsy (Lucas, 1909: 14).

During the Romanesque period the divisions between people started to increase, not only between believers and non-believers (who may not enter) but increasingly between the *clericus* (clergy), who had the preserve of the sanctuary where Mass was celebrated, and the *laicus* (lay people) who were restricted to the nave and aisles with only limited

views of the sanctuary. The sanctuary was later closed off by the *iconostasis* of the East or a wooden partition or *cancellus* of the West. Levels of 'holiness' were established in step with the practices of the Jewish temple (Koorts, 1974: 28-35).

An advancement of the 11th and 12th century was the use of pointed arches, which assisted in lightening roof loads, reducing horizontal thrust forces, and transferring loads to points where they could be more effectively transferred to the foundations. Pointed arches were first used as structural elements in Persian bridges in the 10th century and was soon also used in Islamic architecture. This knowledge was probably brought to the West by returning Crusaders.

4.2.13 The Gothic church

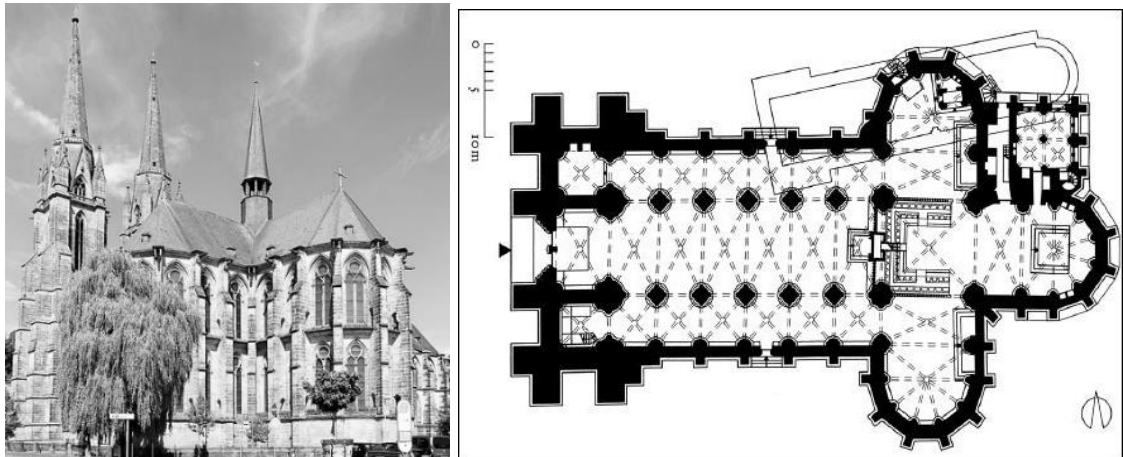
The Gothic designers of 12th century France with their employment of flying buttresses, ribbed vaults and pointed arches provided the ultimate solution for soaring thin walls and slender columns. The ideology was that the more impressive and breath-taking church buildings were, the better they reflected the glory and majesty of God, which was a pure *domus dei* approach. Churches were seen as the gateway to heaven. New skills, clever mathematicians, and innovative engineering allowed the design of complex shapes, huge buildings in width and height, and the addition of large stained-glass windows (Koorts, 1974: 35-42).

The partial rebuilding of the *Basilique royale de Saint-Denis* in 1144 in Paris by Abbot Sugar (1081-1151) to create a new choir is considered to be the first building created in the Gothic style. *Notre Dame de Paris* was the first grand masterpiece of an awakening French nation in *Opus Francigenum* (French work) style. Initiated by Bishop Maurice de Sully (died 1196), the cathedral was built between 1163 and 1250 with more chapels and porches added over the next century. The Italians were so jealous of this new architectural style of the French that they called it 'Gothic' (meaning barbarian), but they soon followed suit and started the building of *Santa Maria del Fiore* in Florence in 1296 in the Gothic style.³⁸

The first Gothic church, a *Hallenkirche* (a hall church with the roof of nave and aisles more or less at the same height, often under a single roof) to be built in (present day) Germany was the *Elisabethkirche* in Marburg. It was constructed between 1235 and 1283. During the 16th century, the knights of the Teutonic Order and clerics converted to

³⁸ The book *De Bouw van Kerken en Kathedralen* authored by Hislop gives an in-depth description of Gothic architecture of Cathedrals and large churches (Hislop, 2020).

Protestantism and the church building was repurposed and purged of its icons and relics by the iconoclasts. For a short while during the 19th century, both the Catholic mass and Protestant communion services were held in the church. Presently it is an Evangelical church, but the tomb of Saint Elisabeth of Hungary is still there. So too are the tombs of German president Hindenburg and his wife.³⁹



Figures 4.6 and 4.7: *Elisabethkirche* in Marburg with its Latin cross plan (Hydro, 2013 and Heidelberg University, online: 24.05.2023)

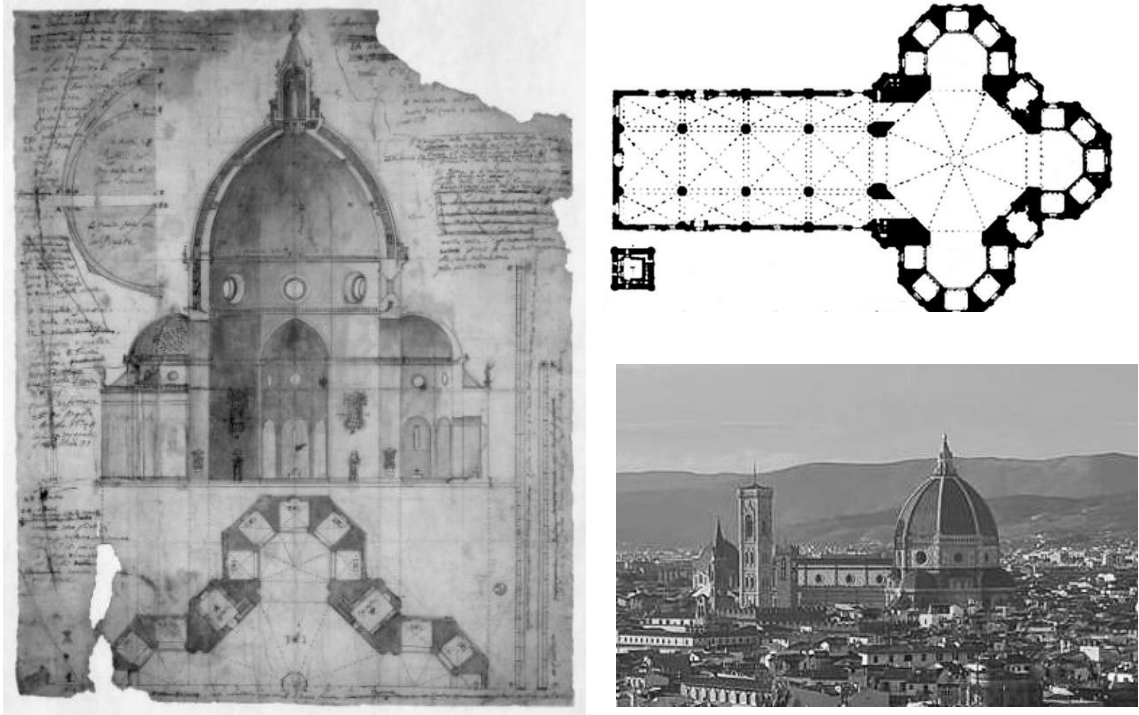
4.2.14 The Renaissance church

With the dawn of the Renaissance (1420 - 1600) a new style of church design follows man's emancipation. While a Gothic church mystifies the soul, a Renaissance church is one of calm and quiet. Architects in this period derived their inspiration from ancient pagan temples. Man is in control. He stands at the centre point surrounded by the universe where God will come to meet him. The circular form returns as a symbol of wholeness. Despite the humanistic focus, the Renaissance style would soon have a significant influence on Protestant church design, because the barriers between the nave and liturgical space have practically been removed. Ironically, and despite (or perhaps because of?) their humanistic approach, Renaissance designers made a tentative move towards *domus ecclesiae* (Koorts, 1974: 42-44).

Kirkby (1905: 420) believed that the success of Renaissance architects was based on their thorough knowledge of classical designs and its reinterpretation in new creative functional designs without trying to be archaeologically correct. An early example of Renaissance thinking about church architecture can be found in Florence. It all began with perspective sketches by Giotto (1276? -1337), the innovations by Da Vinci (1452 -

³⁹ For more information refer to www.elisabethkirche.de

1519), and architectural designs by Michelangelo (1475 – 1564). Rather ironically⁴⁰, the Duomo of *Santa Maria del Fiore* cathedral which was designed by Brunelleschi (1377-1446) in 1418 as part of a design competition showed the first Renaissance influences. While Renaissance thinking enabled the building of the Duomo, it was still enveloped in primarily Gothic architecture.



Figures 4.8 and 4.9: Cigoli's drawing of Filippo Brunelleschi's Duomo and layout plan (Wikimedia online, 18.7.2023 and author, 2023)

Figure 4.10: Aerial view of Santa Maria del Fiore (2015)

Brunelleschi also designed the *Basilica di San Lorenzo* from 1419 (completed 1470), and then, in 1428, designed the *Basilica di Santo Spirito*, which was only consecrated in 1481, long after his death in 1446. Unlike the former, this basilica was mostly built according to Brunelleschi's ideas. He also designed the Rotunda of the *Maria degli Angeli* in 1434 as a pure Renaissance octagonal domed space, but it has not survived in its original form.

⁴⁰ The construction of the cathedral started in 1296 as one of the first Gothic churches in Italy. The cathedral's façade was only completed in 1887. *Santa Maria del Fiore* contains elements of many architectural styles.



Figure 4.11: *Basilica di San Lorenzo*: aerial view (Richard Fabi, 2005)

Chiesa San Pietro in Montorio, consecrated in 1500, with its round *tempietto* in typical centrally focused Renaissance style, was designed by Bramante (refer to paragraph 4.2.17.1 and Figure 4.19 for more information).

4.2.15 The Reformation church

The Reformation of the 16th century was a sharp reaction to the religious icons in churches, and the indulgences and cultic practices of the Catholics. It shifted the focus to the Church as institution and to church design. A period of more than a millennium of *domus dei* came to an end (Turner, 1979: 178-204).

The first new Protestant church to be built is claimed to be the chapel at Neuburg Castle. It was consecrated by Andreas Osiander in 1543. Others, like James Wetzstein (2018: 18) and Harold Turner (1979: 206, 218), claim that this honour actually belongs to the court chapel of Hartenfels Castle in Torgau, Germany. When Luther consecrated the latter in 1544, he said: “The purpose of this new house may be such that nothing else may ever happen in it except that our dear Lord himself may speak to us through his holy word, and we respond to him through prayer and praise.” Wetzstein (2018: 16-17) explains:

What is fundamental for Lutheran architecture is the gathering around the Word of God and the congregation’s collective response. The primacy of Scripture, even in the context of the Sacraments, and the fact that Scripture was shared for the sake of the gathered community, required both the visual and acoustical presence of the speaker and a specific place in the speaker’s presence for the gathered community.



Figure 4.12: Hartenfels Castle chapel, Torgau with its simple altar table in the centre below the organ. Note the pulpit on the right (Wetzstein, 2018: 16)

The Second Helvetic Confession of 1566, originally written by Heinrich Bullinger in Latin between 1562 and 1566, states in Chapter XVII:

WHAT IS THE CHURCH? The Church is an assembly of the faithful called or gathered out of the world; a communion, I say, of all saints, namely, of those who truly know and rightly worship and serve the true God in Christ the Savior, by the Word and holy Spirit, and who by faith are partakers of all benefits which are freely offered through Christ.

Chapter XXII continues:

DECENT MEETING PLACES. Moreover, the places where the faithful meet are to be decent, and in all respects fit for God's Church. Therefore, spacious buildings or temples are to be chosen, but they are to be purged of everything that is not fitting for a church. And everything is to be arranged for decorum, necessity, and godly decency, lest anything be lacking that is required for worship and the necessary works of the Church.

MODESTY AND HUMILITY TO BE OBSERVED IN MEETINGS. And as we believe that God does not dwell in temples made with hands, so we know that on account of God's Word and sacred use places dedicated to God and his worship are not profane, but holy.

John Knox (c1514-1572), the founder of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, had similar views as expressed in the First Book of Discipline (1560). The mass, altar, and sacred spaces were seen as forms of idolatry. There was a renewed focus on *sola scriptura*, a focus on the preaching of the word and the liturgy, and therefore the pulpit. There was also a focus on *domus ecclesiae*, the gathering of all God's people without distinction or restricted areas for the clergy. "Every church must have doors, closed windows of glass, thatch or slate able to withhold rain, a bell to convocate the people together, a pulpit, a

basin for baptism, and tables for the ministration of the Lord's Supper." (Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland, 2023: 38-43).

According to Fransen (1989: 314-315), John Calvin (1509-1564) said: "Je vous admoneste, gardez vous d' Antechrist. Vous vous arretez trop aux murailles, cherchans l'Eglise de Dieu en la beaute des edifices: pensans que l'union des fideles soit la contenue. Doubtons-nous que Antechrist doive la avoir son siege?" (I admonish you, beware of the Antichrist. You pause too often within great walls, looking for the Church of God in the beauty of edifices: thinking that they contain the union of the faithful. Is there any doubt that the Antichrist has his stronghold there?).⁴¹

Yet the Reformists still often referred to church buildings as temples. Only the radical Reformists like the Puritans, Anabaptists, and Quakers had no traditional church buildings and came close to the real intent of *domus ecclesiae*, but their influence was small.

4.2.16 The Counter-Reformation and Baroque churches

The Counter-Reformation of the Catholic Church after the Council of Trent (1545-1563) in response to the Reformation allowed the Jesuits to develop their Gesù mother church in Rome – a building with a broad nave with chapels instead of aisles which enabled a better connection to the sanctuary for the *laicus* during mass. Although the interior was initially sparsely decorated it later on became more lavishly decorated and became the model for many churches of the new period of Baroque architecture. Splendid churches of elaborate and grand design with many decorations were intended to once again show the might of the Roman Catholic Church and to lure the *laicus* back to the Catholic Church. There was a strong emphasis on the dramatic and on inspiring emotional experiences. Interior layouts of the buildings were however adapted to be more in line with the Protestant requirement of participation by all (*laicus* and *clericus*) in the preaching and sacraments, leading to the removal of aisles to form a singular nave. The Baroque design style of the Roman Catholic Church was one of extravagance giving expression to the return of the might of papal supremacy. Church buildings were gilded, but the poor (who unknowingly often funded it) yearned for food (Turner, 1979: 225).

⁴¹ Original quote from: Lefranc, A (red.), 1941, J. Calvin, *Institut de la Religion Chestienne*. Epitre au Roi (Bibliotheque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes, Paris, 1911), p. xxxi. Translated by Jalna Schumann.



Figure 4.13: *Santa Maria della Salute*: Baroque-styled church in Venice (Photo of c1770 Guardi painting, National Gallery, London, Author, 2022)



Figure 4.14: Baroque interior of *Chiesa del Gesù*, Rome (J Kapadia, 2021)

4.2.17 Other influences on church architecture

4.2.17.1 Basic shapes: oblong vs circular churches

The initial focus of this chapter was generally on oblong-shaped basilica churches, which often developed into a Latin cross form, which symbolises the crucifixion of Christ on a wooden cross. Since the 4th century however the circular (or octagonal) shaped chamber emerged as a second dominant shape for churches. The circular form was probably influenced by Roman mausoleums, which were built to house sarcophaguses. Early

churches were either built on pagan ruins, reusing the original stones, or over the burial sites of Christian martyrs.

Santa Constanza is such a circular church in Rome (Figures 4.15 and 4.16). It was initially built as a mausoleum for Constantina, Emperor Constantine's daughter, shortly after his death in 337. The inner circle is surrounded by a double row of twelve columns that support a cylinder featuring clerestory windows and is topped by a hemispherical domed roof. It is encircled by an ambulatory with a barrel-vaulted roof. The double circle represents movement and the circle of life with its beginning and end embracing each other. The light-filled centre reminds one of the transcendental God. Interestingly, four pairs of columns are set slightly further apart forming a subtle unmoving cross which represents direction and solidity (Visser, 2002: 176-196).

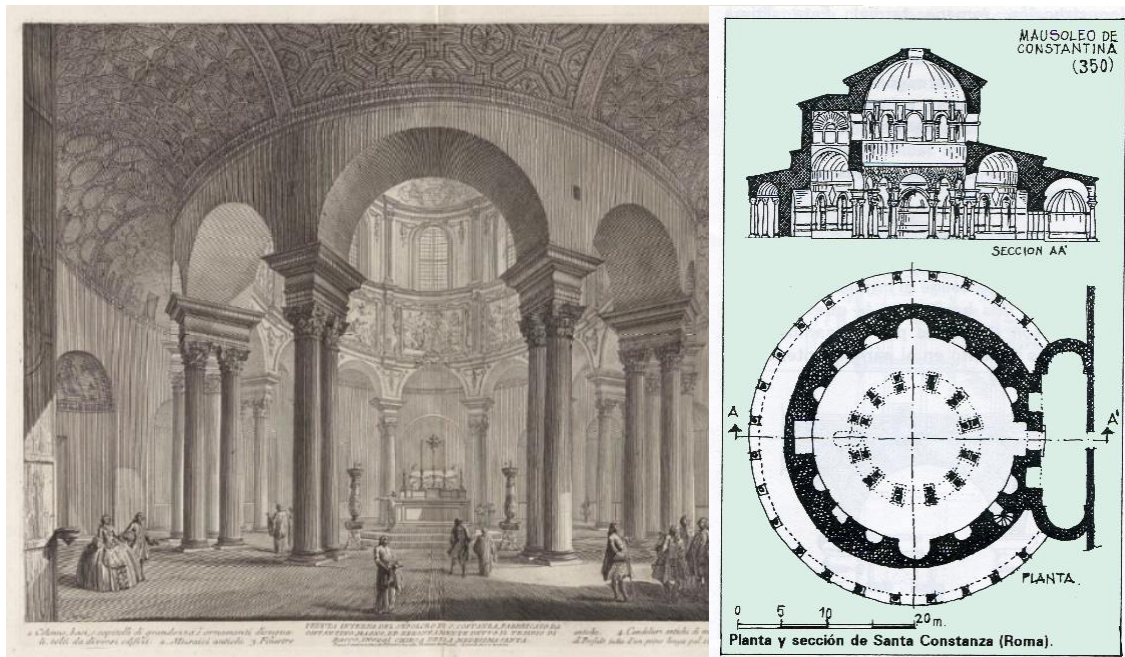
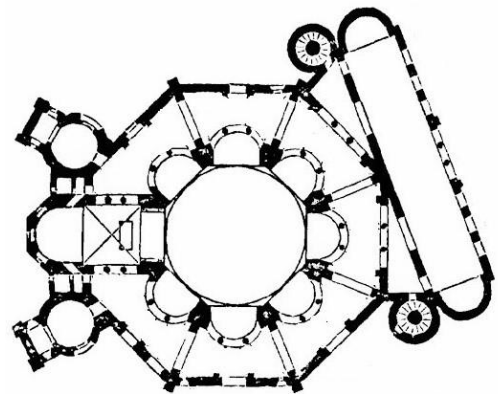


Figure 4.15: *Santa Constanza*, Rome: sketch of interior by Piranesi, 1756 (Yale University Art Gallery)

Figure 4.16: *Santa Constanza*: section and plan (Wordpress, 2023: online)

A circular shape seems rather unsuitable for a Christian church building, and the Pantheon in Rome immediately comes to mind. No preacher can comfortably stand in the middle of a gathering to address his congregation. An obvious solution was to add a projecting sanctuary on one side, a narthex on the other, and radiating chapels on the other two sides. This was the birth of the Greek cross church layout.

This simple evolution from circular or octagonal to cross-shaped domed buildings was later called *Zentralbau* by German authors. Byzantine churches of Constantinople (and later the Eastern Orthodox Church) were mostly based on this basic circular/octagonal form with a dome and a Greek cross plan (Fletcher, 1896: 276). Examples include the Hagia Irene (completed 337 and rebuilt in 548 and 740), the Hagia Sophia (325, but completed 360 - 1453. See Note 37), the Church of the Holy Apostles (550) in Constantinople (Istanbul), St Mark's Basilica Venice (1094) with its five domes, and San Vitale in Ravenna (547) (Figures 4.17 and 4.18).



Figures 4.17 and 4.18: The circular and octagonal *Zentralbau* shape and layout plan of the Church of San Vitale, Ravenna (Ravenna Tourism: online, 26.4.2023 and author, 2023)

During the Renaissance, the Western Roman Church briefly returned to circular forms. Brunelleschi (1377-1446), Alberti (1404-72), and Bramante (1444-1514) established the centrally focused (*Zentralbau*) church layout design as the Renaissance ideal culminating in the round plan for Chiesa di San Pietro in Montorio (1501) and the first designs for Saint Peter's church in Rome (c1506) by Bramante. Sangallo and other followers of Bramante continued with the work on San Pietro after his death in 1514. Only after Sangallo's death in 1546, Michelangelo (1475-1564) was requested to continue the work, which he did until his own death.⁴²

Alberti, a proponent of Vitruvian principles in architecture, promoted a central plan for Christian churches in detail in *De re Aedificatoria* in the 1400s. His ideas were supported by Serlio in 1537. So too Palladio considered the circular form to be perfect for Christian churches in his *The Four books of Architecture* of 1570 (Kesting, 1978: 49-56).

⁴² San Pietro in Rome was redesigned by Michelangelo (1475-1564) after 1546 when he was in his 70s, still as a *Zentralbau* Greek cross shaped church, but simplified and with a raised dome. For more detail about his impact on the project refer to: <https://stpetersbasilica.info/Docs/AOM/ArchitectureofMichelangelo-1.htm>

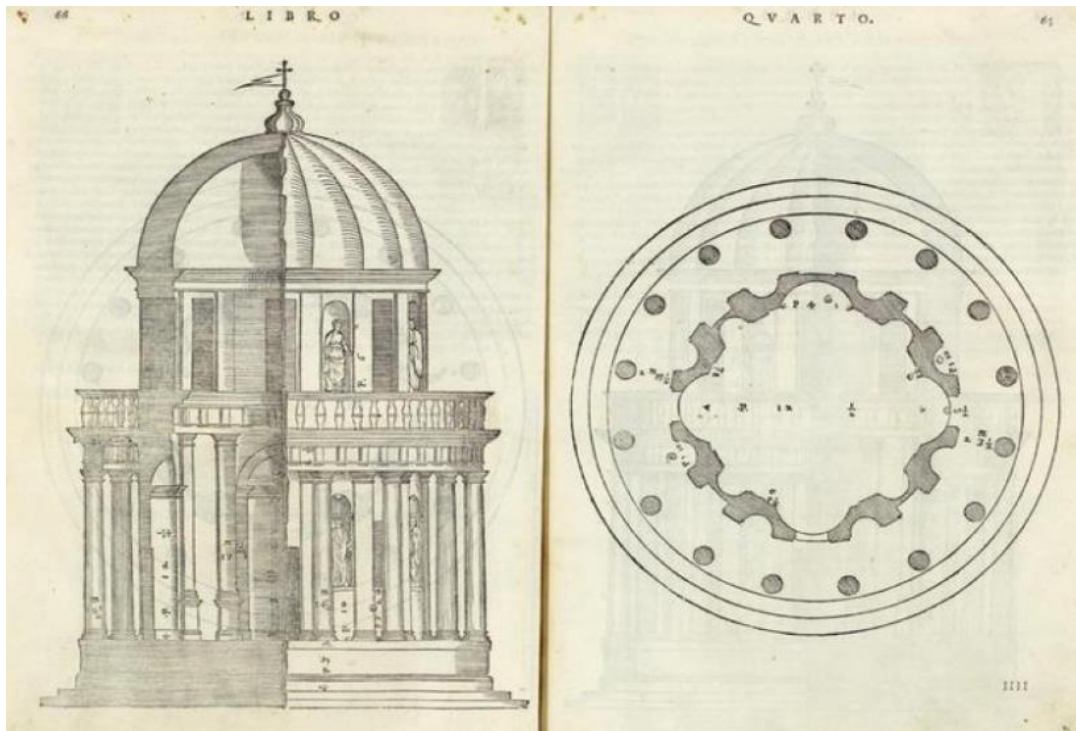


Figure 4.19: Palladio's 1570 woodcut of section, elevation, and plan of the *Tempietto, Chiesa di San Pietro, Montorio* (Libro Quarto)

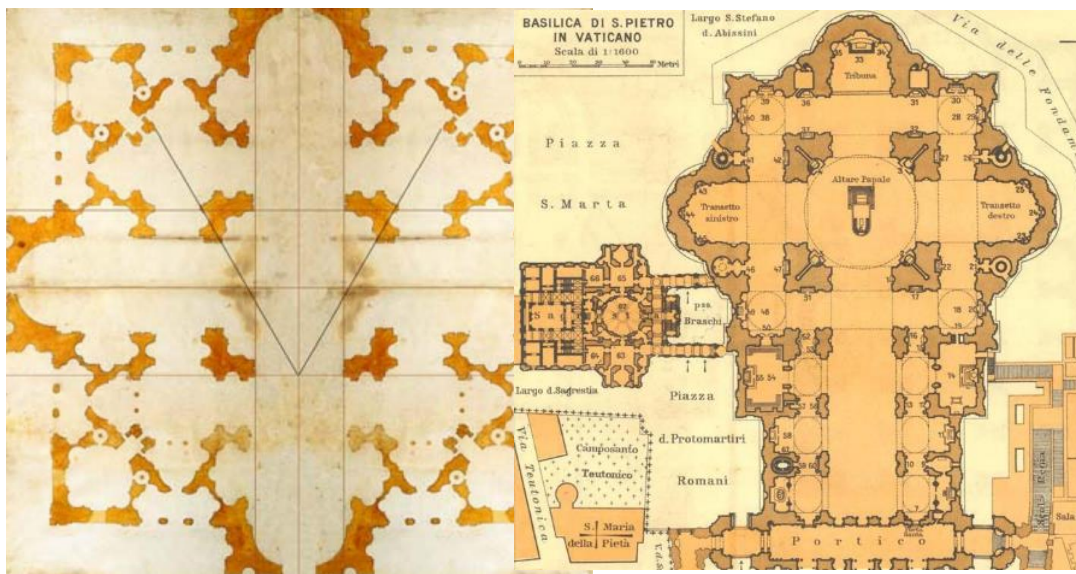


Figure 4.20: Original Bramante design for *San Pietro, Rome* c1506 (adaption of Bramante parchment plan, Uffizi, Firenze)

Figure 4.21: Layout plan of *San Pietro* after the 1546 redesign by Michelangelo and the later addition of a nave and narthex by Maderno in 1607-1612 (cartographer: P Corbellini)

Not surprisingly and despite Calvin's opposition to the use of Roman Catholic church architecture, the first protestant churches were mostly circular, such as in Lyon (1564), Wapper in Antwerp (1566), and Rouen (1601). Most were demolished after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1674 (Kesting, 1978: 52-53).



Figure 4.22: Painting by Perrissin c1565 of the interior of Paradise Temple Lyon, 1564, demolished in 1567 (International Reformation Museum, Geneva)

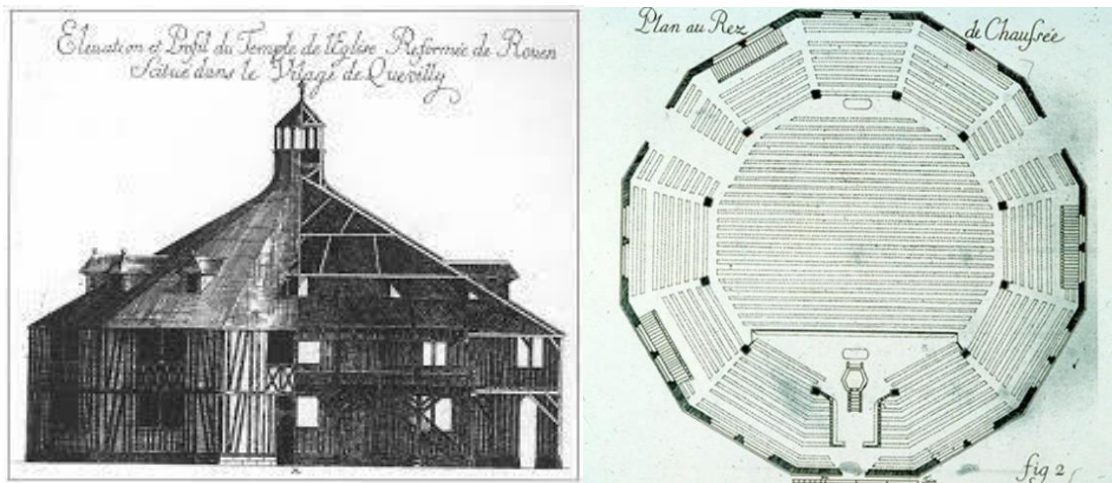


Figure 4.23 and 4.24: Temple Petit-Quevilly in Rouen: section and plan. Demolished in 1685 after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (Musée Protestant)

4.2.17.2 Liturgical needs

As discussed earlier in this chapter, different church denominations had and still have different liturgical requirements. Within denominations, these requirements also change over time often, driven by varying liturgical focus areas, which resulted in swings from *domus dei* to *domus ecclesiae* and back. These swings already started with the Israelites and continues to this day.

In *A Radical Approach to Church Architecture* Peter Hammond (1962: 35) makes a strong argument to connect the liturgy with the church building. He warns against “the

destructive potentialities of an architecture unrelated to theology for the Church's conception of its mission” and continues: “Whenever church architecture is treated as something peripheral to the Church’s mission, whenever it is regarded as the preserve of a handful of specialists and is not related to the work of the theologian, the liturgist and the pastor, then it will almost inevitably become a destructive influence in the life of the Christian community.” He argues that many mediaeval churches with their long, vast, and dim-lit naves were a major factor in the “psychological proletarianism” of the *laicus* through the ages.

4.2.17.3 Regional and local influences on church architecture

From around the 3rd century the Roman Empire began to lose its sense of unity and the Eastern and Western sections started to drift apart, culminating in the Roman Catholic Church’s Great Schism of 1054. Western (Rome-based) basilica-styled churches developed differently but were not unaffected by their Eastern (byzantine) roots.

Various church architectural styles developed in other regions, such as the tent-roofed churches of Russia, Ethiopian churches, the stave churches of northern Europe, mostly Norway, etc. This dissertation will only focus on the regions that ultimately influenced South African church architecture. Fletcher (1961:303-863) discusses regional Romanesque, Gothic, and Renaissance architecture in substantial detail.

Local circumstances such as location, weather, topography, geography, needs of communities, the wealth of leading families, etc. also influenced church designs. The patron saint of a congregation, or famous relics to be housed in a church had an effect on church designs. Churches were often orientated to directly face sunrise on the patron saint’s day.

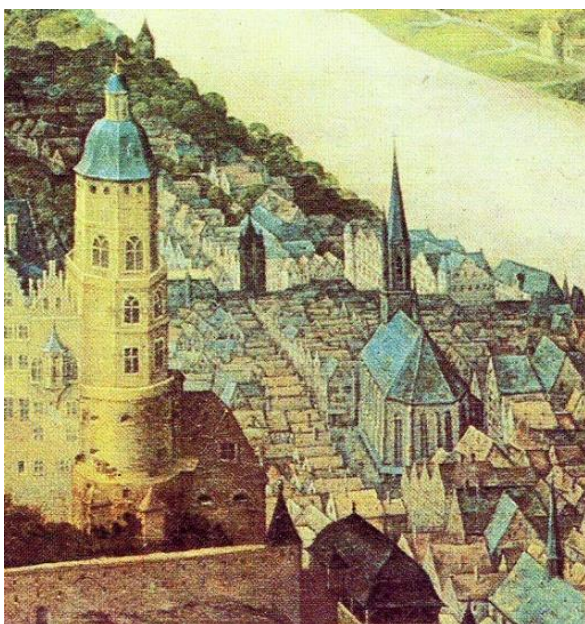
4.2.17.4 The impact of materials, design, and technology on church architecture

A fourth major influence on church design was the availability of materials, the use of new materials, and the development of new design and construction techniques. Some materials and techniques were lost during the Middle Ages and had to be rediscovered, relearnt, or re-interpreted. The introduction of new church design styles was often led by advances in science and technology. The Gothic period is a typical example, as is the Renaissance period.

4.2.17.5 Restoration and repurposing vs repairing or rebuilding of churches

Through the ages, buildings were sometimes repurposed to become Christian churches. The Pantheon, which was built as a Roman temple, was repurposed to become a Roman Catholic church in 609. After the Reformation, many Roman Catholic churches in the Netherlands, Germany, and Switzerland were repurposed to become reformed church buildings. Examples include the *Oude Kerk* and *Nieuwe Kerk* in Amsterdam. The various phases of the Hagia Sophia in Istanbul illustrate the opposite though as a church which was converted to a mosque after Mehmed I conquered Constantinople in 1453. It became a museum in 1935 during the rule of the secular Republic of Turkey of Atatürk, only to become mosque again in 2020.

The *Heiliggeistkirche* of Heidelberg, Germany is an interesting example (Figures 4.25 and 4.26). Built between 1398 and 1544, originally as a Gothic-style Roman Catholic church, it has changed denominations more than 10 times over the centuries: from Catholicism to Lutheranism, Calvinism, Old Catholicism and back. It was severely damaged during the 1693 Palatinate War of Succession and then rebuilt with Baroque features. Thereafter the Catholics and Lutherans could not agree on who should use it. Eventually, in 1706 the church was divided by a brick wall with Catholics using the chancel and choir on the Western side, and the Lutherans occupying the nave on the Eastern side, where they also built an altar. This wall was torn down and rebuilt twice and was only finally removed in 1936. The entire church is now used by the Evangelical Church of Heidelberg.



Figures 4.25 and 4.26: *Heiliggeistkirche*, Heidelberg: Painting by Fouquier, 1618 (Wikipedia: online, 12.4.2023) and photo (Hans Lohninger, 2006)

The restoration of the *Notre Dame de Paris* which started in 2022 after the fire of 2019 offers new insights into the genius of the early Gothic designs as well as a new appreciation for the brilliance of the 1845 restoration work done by the often-vilified Viollet-le-Duc. Prior to the 19th century, only basic repair works were done, or old buildings were just torn down and their material re-used to build new structures. The best tribute to Viollet-le-Duc's work is that the 2022 restoration project of *Notre Dame de Paris* strives to restore his restorations and improvements.

4.3 FURTHER EVOLUTION OF CHURCH ARCHITECTURE IN THE WESTERN WORLD AFTER THE 16TH CENTURY REFORMATION AND COUNTER-REFORMATION

4.3.1 Introduction

In England, Sweden, and Germany of the 17th and 18th centuries, many Protestant churches were still built in the baroque style that originated in Italy, although they were consciously decorated more simply.

Some **Lutheran** churches in Germany and Switzerland however were designed with an authentic new Protestant outlook. There was a new focus on the transept (and a move away from a long nave) with an interior design that aligned the altar for sacraments with the pulpit and organ. The *Ludwigskirche* in Saarbrücken (built between 1762 and 1775) with its Greek cross design is a typical *Zentralbau* example.

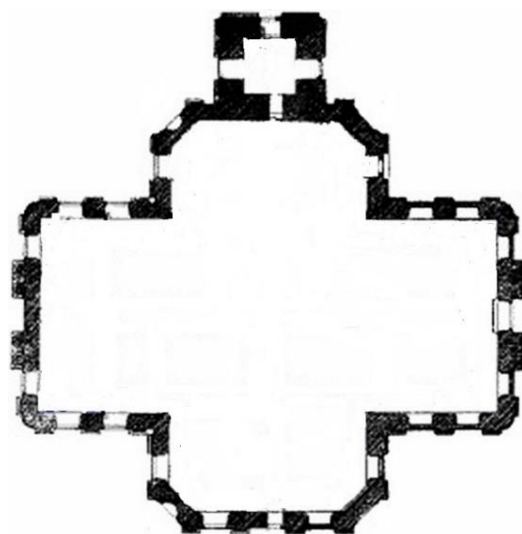


Figure 4.27 and 4.28: Interior of and plan of *Ludwigskirche*, Saarbrücken (Ludwigskirche: online, 10.12.2022 and author, 2023)

Through the Act of Supremacy of 1537, Henry VIII of England, declared himself as the Head of the **Church of England** and initiated the dissolution of Catholic monasteries in England and Wales. Buildings, property, and land of the Catholic Church were confiscated, and, in some instances, the buildings were demolished to reappropriate lead and other building materials. Stones were re-used for new structures.^{43 44}

The first entirely new post-Reformation church in England was completed in 1633. In reaction to the instruction by the 4th Earl of Bedford to design a simple church the architect Inigo Jones based St Paul's Church in Covent Garden, London, on the description of Vitruvius of an oblong Tuscan Roman temple, a rather interesting choice.



Figures 4.29 and 4.30: St Paul's Church Covent Garden: photo (2018), and artwork by Thomas H Shepherd (Shepherd, 1829)

In Scotland, the Reformation also drastically changed church architecture. The papal authority there came to an end via the Papal Jurisdiction Act of 1560. Most abbeys and monasteries were razed to the ground to destroy the earlier might of the Roman Catholic Church by getting rid of their monks.⁴⁵ The first new Presbyterian **Church of Scotland** building was the Old West *Kirk* (1591) (Figures 4.31 and 4.32). The town of Greenock grew around the church and the initial oblong building was later enlarged by adding a transept to form a Latin cross.⁴⁶

⁴³ Such monastic ruins have now become an integral part of the English landscape as tourist attractions.

⁴⁴ The chapel of Kings' College Cambridge is one of the few churches that survived. Henry VI laid the foundation stone in 1446, was taken prisoner in 1461 and killed in 1471. Edward IV and Richard III continued with the construction albeit slowly. It was left to Henry VII and Henry VIII to complete it. The first Head of the Church of England managed to complete a church intended for the Catholic Church a century later, shortly before his death in 1547 and it became one of the finest Anglican chapels in Europe.

⁴⁵ Some remaining Catholic cathedrals were repurposed to become Presbyterian churches. Glasgow Cathedral (1197) and St Magnus Cathedral (1137) in Orkney are two of the few survivors.

⁴⁶ In the 1920s the church was moved about 800 metres and rebuilt to accommodate expanding dockyards. A tower was added in the process. The church was sold to a developer in 2022.



Figures 4.31 and 4.32: Photo and artwork of Old West *Kirk*, Greenock ([OldWestKirk: online](#), 11.4.2023)

St Columba's Church built from 1592-1594 in Burntisland, Scotland, was a square building with a central bell tower supported on four pillars.



Figure 4.33: St Columba's Church Burntisland (E Edwards, 2019)

Figure 4.34: Interior of St Columba ([bruntislandparishchurch: online](#), 7.4.2023)

Some 70 octagonal Protestant churches were built in **Norway**, starting in 1706 with the *Hospitalskirken* in Trondheim. The architect was Johan Hempel, most probably from the Netherlands. Most churches were log buildings with clapboard covers. *Frederiksberg Kirke*, designed and built in 1734 by another Dutchman, Felix Dusart, was the first octagonal church in **Denmark**.

Daniel Kesting (1933-2023) (1978: 9-11) lists various publications focused on church design that probably influenced the designs of the post-Reformation time:

- a. Hospinian, Rudolf: *De Templis*, 1587.
- b. De Bray, Salomon: *Architectura Moderna*, 1631.
- c. Furttenbach den Jungerin, Joseph: *Kirchenbau, In Was, Form und Gestalt*, 1649.
- d. Sturm, Leonhard Christoph: *Architectonisches Bedencken von potestantischen Kleiner Kirchen*, 1712

Most new church buildings of this era were plain and lacked the ornamentation of older churches. Many were centrally planned but some had T-layouts – all with emphasis on the preaching and therefore the pulpit. “(Note) the central-plan buildings that appeared in Scotland by the end of the Reformation century, and the development of common T-plan from the rectangular church arranged transversely.....In Holland and in Scotland it was the preaching that mattered and the arrangement of many churches made this only too plain.” (Turner, 1979: 253).

4.3.2 Gothic Revival or neo-Gothic architecture

A number of opinions exist on the history of neo-Gothic architecture. In his thesis on the colonial manifestation of neo-Gothic church architecture in the Garden Route of South Africa De Swart (2012: 33-37) states that there is consensus that it originated in Britain during the early 19th century. The Industrial Revolution of the time brought about drastic socio-economic change. Buildings, farms, and even towns were demolished to make way for coal mines and railway lines. New social classes of miners and railwaymen appeared, who had little regard for old moral ideals or the church. The church in Britain was in decay. Augustus Pugin (1812-1852), who converted to Roman Catholicism in 1835, helped to lead the way to a strong religious reform and revival in parallel with the 1833 Oxford Movement (also known as the Catholic Revival). They yearned back to the symbolism and mysticism of the Gothic churches of the past. Pugin wrote many books on the subject, such as *The true Principles of Pointed Architecture* and *An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture*. He believed that neo-Gothic was the only honest Christian architecture in Europe and saw it as a way to cure the ills of British society on social, moral, and religious fronts. Ironically, as Leon Litvack (1986: 358-373) points out, because of his strong Catholic views, Pugin was prevented from doing architectural work in Oxford, the stronghold of the Anglican Church.

Art critic John Ruskin (1819-1900) wrote *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* in 1849, and *The Stones of Venice* in 1853, promoting Gothic Revivalism. He was against the mechanisation and standardisation brought about by the Industrial Revolution. Many believe that he was strongly influenced by Pugin, yet Ruskin often criticised him publicly. Interestingly Matthew H Bloxam (1805-1888), influenced by architectural antiquary Thomas Rickman (1776-1841), published his scholarly book *The Principles of Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture* in 1829, well before Pugin and Ruskin.

The Cambridge Camden Society, later known as the Ecclesiological Society, was founded in 1839 to promote the study of Gothic architecture. The pro-Gothic society's publication, *A Few Words to Church-builders* (1841), strongly influenced the architectural design approach of the Anglican Church for many decades to come.

Robert and Sophia Gray (1814-1871) became avid followers of the Oxford Movement and of Pugin and his writings about neo-Gothic architecture as the only acceptable style for church architecture.⁴⁷

Meanwhile, in Europe neo-Lutheranism, with its focus on the visible church and its stronger theological focus on the Lord's Supper than on the sermon and pulpit, also moved back to the Gothic style early in the 19th century. Gothic Revival or neo-Gothic Protestant church architecture was formally adopted at the 1861 Eisenach Conference on Church Architecture (Turner, 1979: 253).

Almost abruptly, in the second half of the 19th century, there was a move towards neo-Gothic Protestant church designs in Europe. *Domus dei* was back in full swing. Under the heading *The return of the domus dei: The Gothic Revival* Turner (1979: 241-245) states his surprise about "the astonishingly sudden and unheralded nature of this movement" and continues to discuss "the explosion that occurred in the eighteen thirties". He continues that "the church building in this view was no longer the house of the people of God for their common worship, but the House of God" and says that "the post-Reformation Anglican view of the building having only a relative and derived holiness was replaced by a revived theory of the church as a holy place, on the specific analogy of the Jerusalem temple."

⁴⁷ More about the Grays in paragraph 5.1.6.

There is some irony in the fact that the swing to neo-Gothic came from the Anglican and Lutheran Churches and was quickly adopted by Reformed Church denominations. Apart from a limited number of Catholic churches designed by Pugin and some of his contemporaries, the Catholic Church did not follow suit. In 1845 the British architect George Gilbert Scott won the competition to design a new Lutheran *St Nikolaikirche* (St Nicholas' Church) in Hamburg (Figure 4.35). Built from 1846 to 1874, it was an impressive neo-Gothic Latin cross church, and was at completion the tallest building in the world (until 1876).⁴⁸ It seems that the Anglican neo-Gothic architects of this period had quite an influence on Lutheran church architecture.



Figure 4.35: Sketch of *St Nikolaikirche*, Hamburg (Historika Photoverlag Hamburg 1995)

Figure 4.36: *Schlosskirche*, Wittenberg, according to a 1509 woodcut by Lukas Cranach (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich Rar 99)

The Wittenberg *Schlosskirche* is an interesting Gothic/neo-Gothic Lutheran example (Figure 4.36). The All Saints' Church was originally built in 1490-1511 in the Gothic style, and was repurposed as a Reformist church in 1525 after the death of Frederick the Wise⁴⁹ (1463-1525), some nine years after Martin Luther (1483-1546) delivered his Ninety-five Theses on 31 October 1517 and allegedly nailed it to the front doors of this church. Both Frederick and Luther were buried in the church. In 1760 the church burnt to the ground during the Seven Year War, but it was rebuilt. After the 400-year

⁴⁸ After St Nicholas' Church was bombed by Allied forces in 1943 during WWII only the tower remained standing. It is now a WWII memorial.

⁴⁹ Frederick the Wise was the first patron of the Protestant Reformation with his support and defence of Luther.

commemoration of Luther's birth in 1883, the church was renovated in an elaborate neo-Gothic style.^{50 51}

4.3.3 A new focus on liturgical needs

By the 1880s however, the liberal Calvinists and Lutherans expressed the need for a fresh Protestant approach to church design, focused on the true liturgical needs. They wanted no separation between classes, and open access to the liturgical space. It was a strong new Reformist focus on *domus ecclesiae*.

Churches were to be seen as meeting houses for the celebrating faithful. The Ringkirche in Wiesbaden was the first church realised according to this ideology in 1892–94. The unity of the parish was expressed by an architecture that united the pulpit and the altar in its circle, following early Calvinist tradition. (Ringkirche, 2023: online).

The *Ringkirche* is a *Zentralbau* church designed by Johannes Otzen (1839-1911) according to the *Wiesbadener Programm* (Figures 4.37 to 4.40). The seating layout is circular, allowing everyone a clear view of the liturgical centre of the altar, pulpit (in an apse), choir and organ areas. The many rose windows ensure ample natural lighting. The church became the reference for many reformed churches designed in the four decades after its completion (Wiesbadener Program, 2023: online).^{52 53}

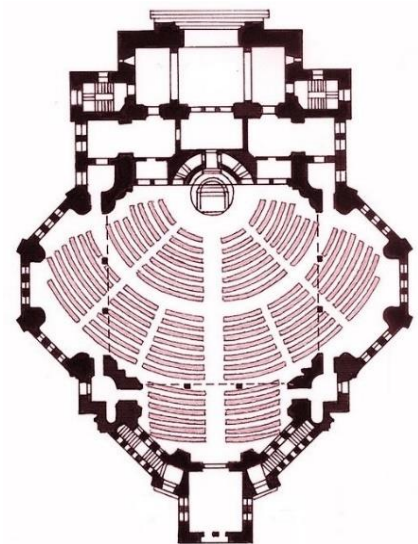


Figure 4.37: *Ringkirche* Wiesbaden interior with its circular seating (S Rasch, 2011)

Figure 4.38: Plan of *Ringkirche* showing seating layout (Author, 2023)

⁵⁰ For more information refer to www.schlosskirche-wittenberg.de

⁵¹ The first Reformed church, the *Stadtkirche* in Wittenberg where Luther preached and was married, was initially built in 1280, rebuilt between 1412 and 1439, repurposed in 1521, and purged of its relics, holy icons, and side altars soon thereafter. The interior was redesigned in 1811 and the building was renovated in 1983. It is a much more sober building than its neo-Gothic cousin. For more information refer to www.stadtkirche-wittenberg.de.

⁵² For more information refer to www.ringkirche.de. (Ringkirche architecture, 2023: online)

⁵³ The church has become a popular and practical concert venue in the 21st century.



Figures 4.39 and 4.40: Exterior and interior of *Ringkirche* Wiesbaden (T Ackermann, 2021 and DXR, 2020)

4.4 SUMMARY

1. Church architecture has its roots in the sanctuaries, the tabernacle, temples, and synagogues of Judaism, which in turn were often influenced by the temples and sanctuaries of neighbouring nations such as the Canaanites.
2. Through the ages the yin and yang of the *domus dei* and *domus ecclesiae* approaches to church life and church design were ever-present, with the former mostly dominant. The liturgical needs of denominations/congregations changed over time which often led to different approaches to church layout designs.
3. The conversion to Christianity of Constantine the Great had a major impact and lasting influence on church design, allowing the Christian basilica to be born.
4. Church architecture in the Western and Eastern parts of the Roman Empire developed differently. Other regions developed distinct church architectural features.
5. Two basic shapes dominated church design: oblong Basilicas later became Latin cross-shaped Roman and Romanesque churches while circular/octagonal Byzantine mausoleums later became Greek cross-shaped *Zentralbau* churches.
6. The Roman Catholic Church had a dominant influence on church architecture for almost 1400 years, almost exclusively with a *domus dei* approach to design.
7. Gothic church architecture was technically probably the greatest and most rapid leap forward, with its much-improved design theory and building practices. It was pure *domus dei* in design.
8. The Renaissance moved from a God-centred to human-centred design focus. Most churches were *Zentralbau* designs, with a tentative leaning towards *domus ecclesiae*. It was also a period of fast technological development.

9. The Reformation had a sobering influence on church design, with some attempts to return to *domus ecclesiae*. It also led to the purging and repurposing of many Roman Catholic churches to be used as reformed churches.
10. Baroque church design was *domus dei* in excess.
11. Church building and design were influenced by local circumstances, the availability and improvement of materials, and by advances in technology and structural design abilities.
12. The relative wealth and the egos of individuals, congregations, communities, Church institutions, and governments often had a defining influence on church architecture.
13. The six main influences on early church architecture are generally accepted to be geographical, geological, climatic, religious, social, and historical (which includes political).
14. After the Reformation church architecture developed differently for the Lutheran Church, the Anglican Church of England, the Presbyterian Church of Scotland and elsewhere in Norway, Denmark, and Holland.
15. Gothic Revivalism originated in England in the 1830s. While the main protagonist, Pugin, converted to Catholicism, neo-Gothic architecture was almost slavishly followed by the Anglicans, the Lutherans and eventually even the South African Calvinists.
16. Only in the 1880s did liberal Lutherans and Calvinists realise that a return to a *sola scriptura* approach to church design was required focusing on reformed liturgical needs.
17. Church architecture has never stopped developing and adapting to new requirements and circumstances.

4.5 EXPLANATORY NOTES REGARDING THE PROTESTANT/REFORMED VIEWPOINT ON *DOMUS DEI* AND *DOMUS ECCLESIA* CHURCH DESIGN

It should be stated that this overview of the development of church architecture over the ages was written from a Calvinist Protestant viewpoint, primarily because the focus of this dissertation is on a Protestant architect of Calvinist/Protestant/Reformed churches. The views of other Christian denominations might be different.

A modern Catholic view on this matter is for instance expressed in an article by Anthony J Oleck (2016: 6/8). He writes: "Sacred space is didactic, to be sure: the inanimate stones of the churches inform us, the living stones of the Church. But sacred space transcends this purely didactic function. The church building obtains a 'thoroughly sacramental

significance' when taken seriously as *domus ecclesiae* and *Domus Dei*" and he argues that the two terms are contained within each other.

Duncan Stroik (2012: 14) states: "I believe that understanding of the concept of church as *domus Dei* is fundamental to a reappropriation of Catholic architecture in the new millennium". S Yang (2014: 1-8), however, argues that the two approaches seem to be incompatible, while Turner (1997: 338-360) proposes a blended form of the two. Lane (2002: 38-61) offers a third dimension to the cultural (*domus ecclesiae*) and ontological (*domus dei*) approach to the design of a place/space of worship, namely the phenomenological. He feels that the space participates in, and impacts on, the physical and spiritual experiences of the believers/congregation, and that it also has an impact on what they are becoming.

Since the Reformation Protestants have leaned towards *domus ecclesiae* as discussed in Chapter 4, often with a *Centraalbouw* layout. In South Africa however, practical matters such as the length of available timber beams often dictated building forms and resulted in T- or cross-shaped layouts, which practically inhibited optimal *domus ecclesiae* layouts with a clear focus on the liturgical centre and pulpit. The misguided and almost obstinate following of neo-Gothic fashion in church design from the 1830s until the early 20th century resulted in building forms that were intended and much better suited for Catholic and Anglican churches with their focus on rituals and processions. This practically, though possibly unintentionally, resulted in *domus dei*-focused reformed churches, despite the soberness of the interiors and the *sola scriptura* theology. Furthermore, *dominees* themselves and even hymns often referred to church buildings as 'holy' and the 'House of God'. As Turner (1979: 241-245) points out *domus dei* was prevalent in every locality to which the British Empire exported their neo-Gothic fashion.

This dissertation refers to the *domus dei* versus the *domus ecclesiae* approach to church design because it is considered to be two clear and often opposing departure points to church layout and design.

5. THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

What were the influences on early Cape church architecture and how did it evolve over 250 years up to the early days of Wynand H Louw as architect?

5.1 AN OVERVIEW OF CAPE AND SOUTH AFRICAN CHURCH ARCHITECTURE FROM 1652 UNTIL THE LATE 19TH CENTURY

5.1.1 The early Cape years: the influence of the Dutch and the VOC

Despite the success of the Counter-Reformation in some countries, the Reformation continued to influence Dutch and German church architecture. Fransen (1989: 323) postulates that the population grew due to the increasing wealth of the Northern Netherlands after their victories during the Eighty Year's War with Spain. This growth necessitated the building of new Protestant churches. He quotes the architectural historian Ozinga, who remarked that the Calvinistic Northern Netherlands was particularly beneficial for the development of a new true Protestant church architectural style, which was a natural development of late-Gothic/Renaissance, pre-Reformation trends. Fransen (1989: 323) states:

There is reason to believe that, prompted by liturgical considerations, the centralized 'pulpit church' owed its almost unchallenged position of dominance at least partly to the lingering Renaissance ideal of a building as an entity to which, in the words of Alberti, nothing could be added and from which nothing could be taken away but to its detriment.

Dutch and German church architecture of the 17th century were still leaning towards *domus ecclesiae*.

At this stage, the Calvinist *Hervormde Kerk* (Reformed Church)⁵⁴ was the state church of the Netherlands. The first Protestant church to be newly built (1597-1607) in the Netherlands was the *Koepelkerk* in Willemstad, North Brabant (Figure 5.1). It had an octagonal floor plan⁵⁵ with a pyramid roof and a turret. Internally, the seating was arranged in a semi-circle. The design of the building is attributed to architect Van Norenburgh but was probably also influenced by the ideas of Simon Stevijn. The building was badly damaged during the Second World War (WWII). It was restored after the war but burnt down just before completion. It was rebuilt and finally restored in 1997. The present internal layout does not have semi-circle seating (Fransen, 1989: 315).

⁵⁴ For more information refer to www.dutch-reformed.fandom.com

⁵⁵ The octagonal shape (which represents rebirth and regeneration) is considered to be both square (which represents the earth/human existence/solidity) and round (representing divinity/eternity/movement).

In Amsterdam, the *Zuiderkerk* (built 1603-1611), *Noorderkerk* (built 1620-23) (Figure 5.2), and *Westerkerk* (built 1620-1631) were designed and built by Hendrick de Keyser and his son Pieter after the Reformation.⁵⁶ The *Noorderkerk* has an octagonal floor plan with an external Greek cross structure. Each corner of the cross is filled in with a triangular annexe. Each arm of the cross ends in a gable with a rose window. It was one of the first typical *preekkerke* (pulpit churches) designed on *Zentralbau* (Dutch = *Centraalbouw*) principles, which became the standard for Protestant church design in the Northern Netherlands in the 17th century. *Domus ecclesiae* prevailed (Fransen, 1989: 317-318).

In 1652 the VOC (the Dutch East India Company), the first company ever to be publicly listed and the largest corporation of its time, decided to establish a refreshment station at the Cape of Good Hope to serve their trade route to Batavia (now Jakarta) in the East. The *Hervormde Kerk*, state Church of the Netherlands, was also the official and only Church of the VOC.



Figure 5.1: Koepelkerk, Wilhelmstad, North Brabant (L Tangels, 1980)

Figure 5.2: Noorderkerk, Amsterdam (B Esterhuyzen, 2022)

⁵⁶ The *Zuiderkerk* was built in a neo-Gothic Basilica style (it is now used as an information centre), while the *Westerkerk* was built in the Renaissance style. It has two equal transepts, forming a double Greek cross. It remains the largest Protestant church in the Netherlands to this day. The *Oude Kerk* (13th century) and *Nieuwe Kerk* (14th century) were built much earlier but were converted into Protestant churches during the Reformation.

5.1.2 The first Cape congregation and its church buildings

Jan van Riebeeck and his VOC compatriots arrived at the Cape of Good Hope on 6 April 1652. The first church service in the Cape of Good Hope was held on 14 April 1652 on board the ship *Drommedaris*. Subsequently services were initially held in a hall of the Fort de Goede Hoop built of clay, shortly after Van Riebeeck's arrival. The Cape Church was an extension of the *Hervormde Kerk* of the Netherlands. The small congregation was initially served by *sieckentroosters* (lay preachers/carers of the ill) and the sacraments were served by pastors from ships that laid anchor at the Cape from time to time (Olivier and Geldenhuys, 1952: 28-29; Hofmeyr, 2002: 26-35).

The appointment of *dominee* Johannes (Joan) van Arckel as the first full-time pastor of the Cape Reformed Church in August 1665 officially established the first Cape congregation. This is also considered to be the official recognition of the Cape as a permanent settlement.

While the new *Kasteel de Goede Hoop* (Castle of the Cape of Good Hope) was under construction, a wooden shed on the site was made available to the small congregation in 1666. In 1677 a space was allocated for a '*nieuwe kerkje*' (a new church) in the building connecting the Castle's bastions *Leerdam* and *Oranje*. From 1695, well after the completion of the Castle of Good Hope in 1679, a hall in *De Nieuwe Kat*, which also housed the Governor's quarters in the central connecting wall of the castle, was used for church services.

Only in 1700 the first bricks of a church building were laid by Governor WA van der Stel. HC Hopkins writes in *Die Moeder van ons Almal* that, unlike the later popular Latin cross churches of the Cape, this thatched roofed building was a Greek cross in the style of the 17th century *preekkerke* (Figure 5.3). The open parts of the arms of the cross were connected with walls at 45 degrees, each with two large windows, which enlarged the interior space. On the Heerengracht and Church Square side the arms ended in large gables, with a smaller one on the mountainside arm, while the seaside arm ended in the tower. The layout plan was very similar to and only slightly smaller than the *plattegrond* of *Noorderkerk* in Amsterdam (Figure 5.4), with the floor plan centrally focused according to the principles of *Centraalbouw* (refer to Figure 5.29). It however did not have all the extra rooms of the *Noorderkerk* added next to the 45-degree connection walls.

While many believe that the church was built with VOC funds, Governor WA van der Stel actually used funds from the congregation's *Armfonds* (pauper's fund) to build the

church, much to the dissatisfaction of the members of the congregation who expected the VOC to fund the building. The church was inaugurated with pomp and ceremony on 6 January 1704. It is uncertain who the designers of the church were, but the names of VOC Head Carpenter Jacobus van der Steen and Carpenter Jan Thriex are mentioned as builders in the minutes of the *kerkraad* (church council). Hopkins (1965: 46-69) believes that the controversial *dominee* Kalden⁵⁷ might have influenced the design of the church (Fransen, 1989: 314-321).

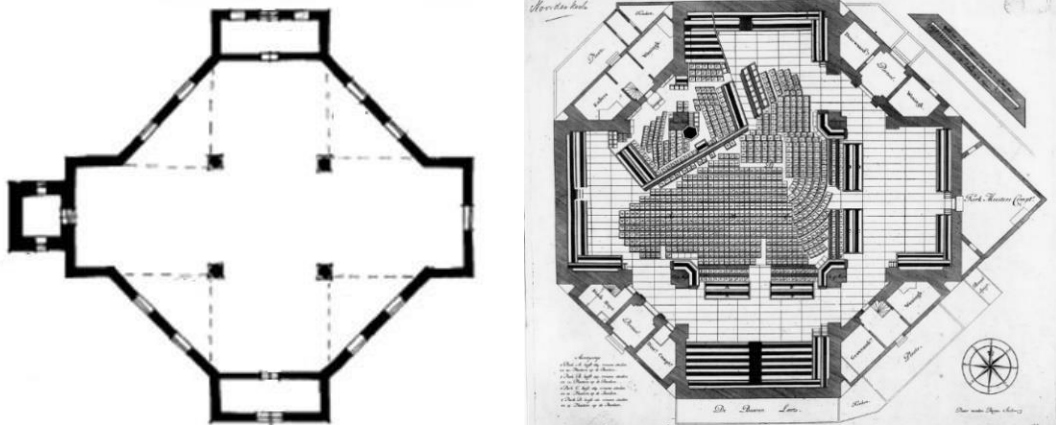


Figure 5.3: The first *Groote Kerk*, Cape with its *Centraalbouw* layout plan (author, 2023 after Fransen)

Figure 5.4: *Noorderkerk*, Amsterdam plattegrond by Pieter van den Berge [1659-1737] ([amsterdamsebinnestadl](#): online, 11.4.2023)

Halfway through the 18th century, the church was already too small for the growing congregation, and galleries were built above the entrance doors to accommodate more churchgoers. The pulpit was also moved backwards to create more space. Essential renovations in 1779 brought the opportunity to build out the four corners to form a square (Figure 5.5). Externally the Greek cross form remained as part of the inclined roof structure. 1779 was also the year when the magnificent Anton Anreith-designed pulpit was installed, which is a marvel to behold to this day. The church remained a *Centraalbouw*-styled *preekkerk*. It seems that the Reformed Church of the Cape still leaned towards *domus ecclesiae* – possibly unintentionally, but certainly following the Dutch trend.

⁵⁷ Kalden was accused by some (including his equally controversial colleague Le Boucq) of being more interested in farming at his farm Zandvliet than in preaching and was recalled to the Netherlands along with WA van der Stel. (Hopkins HC, 1965: 3-41)



Figure 5.5: Painting of the *Groote Kerk* c1730 by Henry Clifford de Meillon (The Brenthurst Library, Johannesburg)

As often happens with flat roofs and extensions, leaks started to develop. On the advice of Lt Col Robert Thompson of the Royal Engineers, it was decided to replace the roof. The pulpit was boxed to protect it. After the roof was removed it was realised that the existing foundations could not carry the load of higher walls. Except for the tower and the *konsistorie*, the entire building was demolished and rebuilt from 1837 to 1841, according to the design of the aged builder Hermann Schutte who died in 1844 at the age of almost 83. The design style has been described as Cape-Gothic, and Classical Greek-Gothic, but fundamentally it has a square *Centraalbouw*-based internal layout (Figure 5.6). The huge clear span of the timber roof structure of 1023 square metres with its impressive (Baroque) stucco ceiling rosettes remains a marvel to this day (Hofmeyr, 2002: 56-57; Hopkins, 1965: 78-86).



Figure 5.6: Painting by Thomas Bowler of Adderley Street and the Schutte-designed *Groote Kerk*, 1854 (supplied by Bonhams Fine Art, sold 2009)

5.1.3 The establishment of more Cape congregations and their churches

To ascertain if there were any clear trends in church design in the 17th and 18th centuries in South Africa it is useful to focus on some of the first 15 congregations of the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) in the Cape, as well as the oldest surviving church buildings.⁵⁸

5.1.3.1 Stellenbosch

The second DRC congregation was established in Stellenbosch in 1686 by Governor Simon van der Stel. The first building was inaugurated in 1687, a modest hall-style church with a tower and thatched roof designed and built by Adriaan van Brakel (Figure 5.7). It was the first dedicated church building in the Cape. The design was similar to many churches in the Netherlands such as the *Hervormde* church in Schoondijke (1656) (Figure 5.9). The Stellenbosch church was destroyed in a 1710 fire when most of the town burnt to the ground. The building was replaced in 1722 by a Greek cross-shaped church, probably designed by Christoffel Meerman (Figure 5.8). It was enlarged many times. In 1814 all four cross arms were lengthened by four metres based on a plan by George Wiehahn, but it retained its regular Greek cross shape. The back wing was used for the *konsistorie* with the pulpit in front of it. It was finally substantially rebuilt in 1865 by James Jardine based on the Cape-Gothic design of CO Hager (a combination of neo-Gothic and Cape Dutch styles). The pulpit was positioned in an apse in front of the *konsistorie*, internally forming a Latin cross (Olivier and Geldenhuys, 1952: 30; Bax, 1972: 6-10; Fransen, 1989: 8; Hofmeyr, 2002: 48-53).

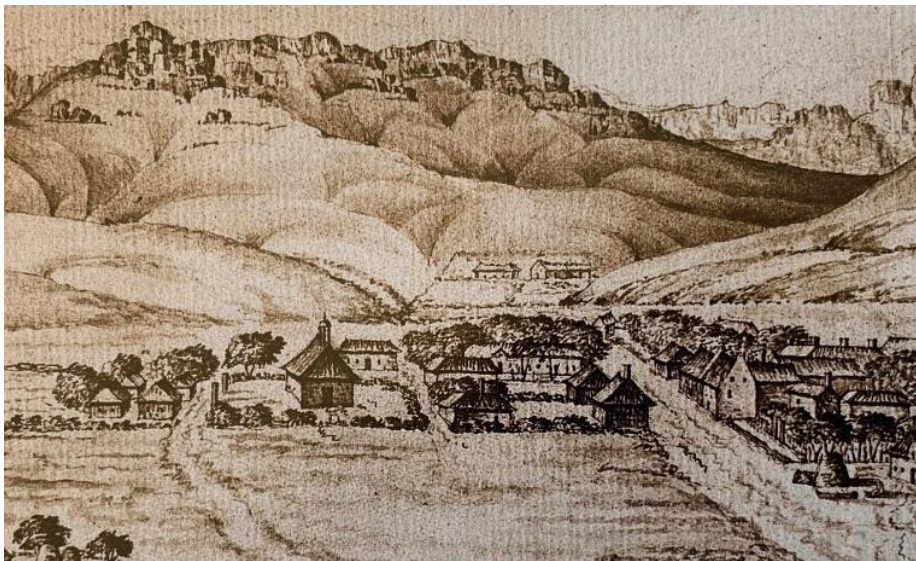


Figure 5.7: Drawing of the first Stellenbosch church by EV van Stade, 1710 (Stellenbosch Museum)

⁵⁸ The church buildings are discussed in the chronological order of the year in which they were built in. Not all early congregations are discussed, partly due to limited information about their early church buildings.

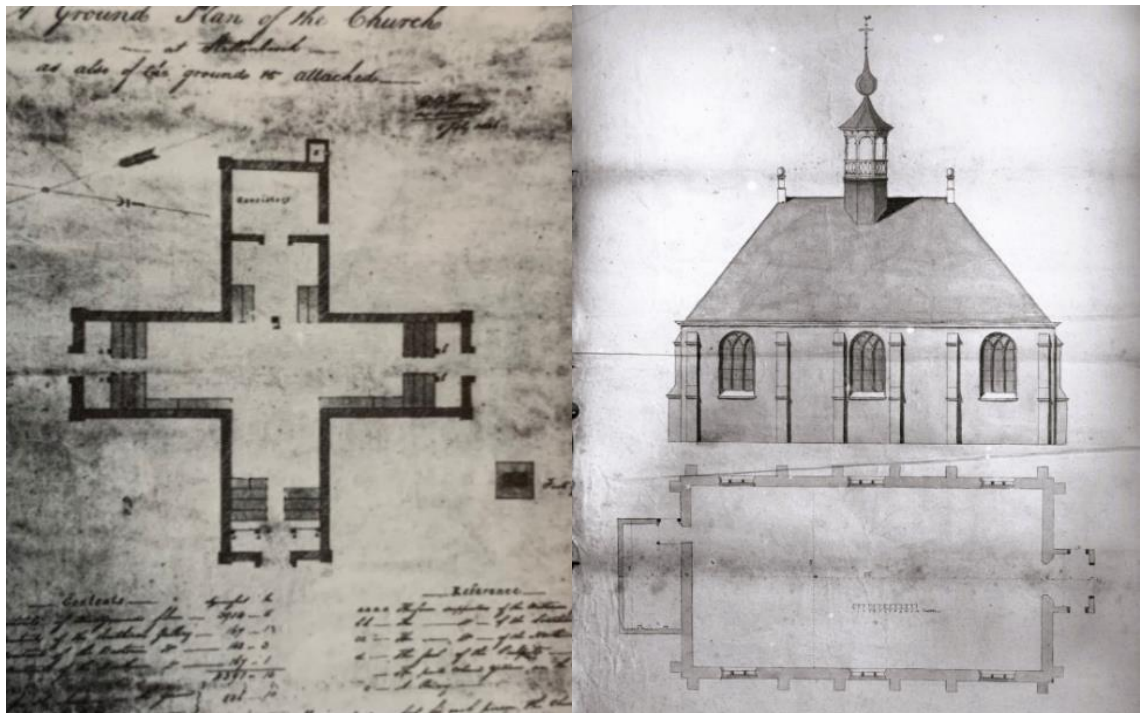
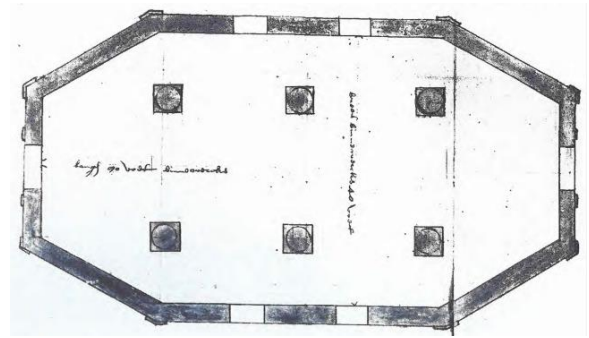
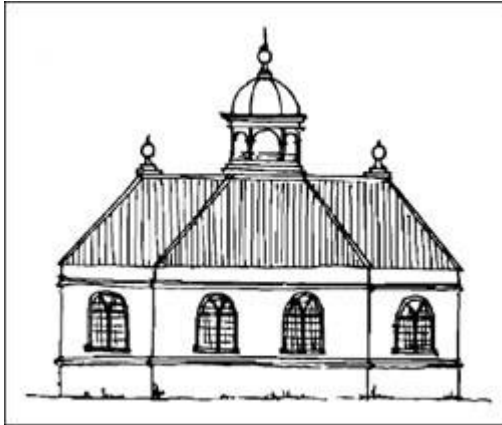


Figure 5.8: Layout plan of the Greek cross design of the second Stellenbosch church, 1826 (Hofmeyr, 2002:52)

Figure 5.9: Drawing and *plattegrond* of Hall church at Schoondijke (Algemeen Rijksarchief, Netherland)

5.1.3.2 Drakenstein/Paarl

The third congregation was established in 1691 in **Drakenstein** (now Paarl *Strooidakkerk*). The first building was a shed constructed of wood and mud in the Simondium area and was referred to as a '*vuile hokje*' (dirty shed) and a '*gevaarte*' (dangerous) by churchgoers. It was replaced in 1717 (inaugurated in 1720) by a building close to the present building in Main Street, Paarl. It was an oblong building with eight sides. Bax (1972: 2-6) found two layout plans, namely a flat cross and a stretched octagon (Figures 5.10 and 5.11). He also found a Meerman sketch of the building, later photographed by Arthur Elliot. There is no conclusive evidence about the final built design of the church. According to Fransen (1989: 320-321), the design drawings were made by VOC Head Carpenter Christoffel Meerman (Olivier and Geldenhuys, 1952: 32; Hofmeyr, 2002: 54-55).



Figures 5.10 and 5.11: Sketch of DRC Paarl, Drakenstein 1717 with its octagonal layout plan (Fransen, 1989: 320; Bax, 1972:11; Cape Archives)

The present Paarl *Strooidakkerk* (Figure 5.12) was designed and built by Maj GC K uchler after the original designs by LM Thibault were not to the satisfaction of the *kerkraad*. It was inaugurated in 1805 and is the oldest DR church building in South Africa still used for its original purpose. It has a Greek cross floor plan and was built in the Cape-Dutch style with gables featuring alternate convex and s-curves at the ends of the cross arms. The church is larger, and the arms are wider than the previous Tulbagh and Stellenbosch churches and the pulpit was placed against a corner of the cross. The *konsistorie* was added externally with a lower roof. It has been reconfigured internally more than once⁵⁹ (Fransen, 1989: 320-321, 2004: 255-258).



Figure 5.12: DRC *Strooidakkerk*, Paarl/Drakenstein (2023)

⁵⁹ Wynand Louw grew up as a member of this congregation and is buried in the *Kerkhof* (graveyard) behind the church.

Interestingly the French Huguenots who arrived at the Cape from 1688 to 1689 and soon settled in the Drakenstein and Franschoek areas did not have much of an influence on church matters (or church designs). This might be because they integrated with the Dutch relatively quickly due to their shared Protestant belief system, the use of Dutch as the only official language, their limited numbers (only 180 arrived in 1688 and 1689), and the scarcity of French women. The Huguenots did, however, have a major influence on culture and viniculture at the Cape.

5.1.3.3 *Roodezand - Tulbagh*

The fourth congregation was the *Roodezandskerk in 't Land van Waveren* – the present-day Tulbagh, which was established in 1743. Construction of the first church building started in the same year utilising bricks imported from Batavia. It was inaugurated in 1748. It had an uneven Greek cross design. It was enlarged in 1793 to the present Latin cross form by lengthening the longer arms each by four metres. A late-Baroque gable was added to the entrance wing. It is the oldest surviving DRC church building in South Africa called the *Oude Kerk* and is presently utilised as a museum⁶⁰ (Olivier and Geldenhuys, 1952: 33; Fransen, 1989: 321).



Figures 5.13 and 5.14: Photograph of *Oude Kerk*, Tulbagh, c1900 and the 1832 sketch by Charles D'Oyly showing the original gables (Hofmeyr, 2002: 60, 62; Cape Archives)

⁶⁰ A new DRC Tulbagh building, designed by CO Hager and built by his son John, was inaugurated in 1878. It was an oblong church in the neo-Gothic style. It fell into disuse and was later demolished (Krige, 2015: 154).

5.1.3.4 *Lutheran Church Cape Town*

The next congregation to be established was that of the Lutheran Church Cape Town. While the Lutherans were allowed religious freedom in Batavia as early as 1744, Governor Rijk Tulbagh resisted it in the Cape. Martin Melck had a warehouse built and made it available for church purposes in 1774, five years before the Lutherans were allowed to establish their own congregation in 1779. Soon thereafter it was internally reconfigured to accommodate the congregation. During 1791/2 Anton Anreith designed its present façade. It is a hall-type church quite similar to the Lutheran Church in Edam (inaugurated in 1741). It is still used by the congregation today (Fransen, 1989: 321-322; Hofmeyr, 2002: 64-65).



Figures 5.15 and 5.16: Lutheran Church Cape Town: interior and rear façade (2023)

5.1.3.5 *Swellendam*

DRC Swellendam was established in 1798 as the seventh congregation of the Cape Church.⁶¹ The first church was built by Christoffel Koents in 1802 in vernacular Cape Dutch style (Figures 5.17 and 5.18). It is uncertain whether it was a T-shaped or a Greek cross-shaped building. The church was enlarged in 1875 and converted into a neo-Gothic styled building (Figure 5.19). The church was in use until 1910 when it was replaced by the present church building designed by Folkert Hesse (Olivier and Geldenhuys, 1952: 30).

⁶¹ Swartland (1745) was the fifth and Graaff Reinet (1792) the sixth congregation in the Cape Church.



Figures 5.17 and 5.18: Details of a sketch of the Swellendam church by H Battenberg dated 1808 (Drostdy Museum, photos by author, 2023)

Figure 5.19: DRC Swellendam: sketch of 1875 church (DRC Swellendam church office)

5.1.3.6 *Sending Gesticht*

A similar building to the Lutheran church was erected for the *SA Sending Gesticht* in 1804, probably designed by JG Mocke. It is a hall-type church with the illusion of a basilica created by galleries on the two long sides and a flat apse behind the pulpit. It was initially only used for prayer meetings by the enslaved people of the Cape, and not for church services. After it was sold in the 1970s it became a museum, and still functions as such today (Fransen, 1989: 321-322).



Figure 5.20: SA Sending Gesticht (2022)

5.1.3.7 *Caledon*

The eighth Cape congregation was established in Caledon in 1811. The first church services were held in the wine cellar of the farmhouse where ds MC de Vos stayed. A

proper T-shaped church building in the Cape Dutch style was soon erected and inaugurated on New Year's Day 1813⁶² (Olivier and Geldenhuys, 1952: 37; Fransen, 1989: 322).



Figure 5.21: DRC Caledon: photo c1860 (Hofmeyr, 2002: 100; Cape Archives)

5.1.3.8 Somerset West

In 1819, the year a congregation of the Cape Church was established in Somerset West, they built an oblong building of some 24m by 14m. Soon thereafter it was severely damaged by a storm and probably rebuilt in a cross shape. According to Fransen (1989: 322; 2004: 239), a drawing of GF Angas from c1842 already shows a cross shape. The building was upgraded to its present shape in 1860. Today it is used by the New Apostolic Church, but it is still owned and maintained by the DRC (Olivier and Geldenhuys, 1952).



Figure 5.22: Photo of DRC Somerset West c1970 (Fransen, 2004: 239)

Figure 5.23: The present New Apostolic Church in Somerset West (Louis Steyn, 2023)

⁶² The 1813 Caledon church was replaced in 1876 by a church designed and built by CO Hager. It was a very unhappy project for him that almost led to bankruptcy. (Krige, 2015: 144-153)

5.1.3.9 Cradock

The congregation of the Cape Church in Cradock had a church built in 1824. The only record of it is a sketch by Thomas Bain showing it as a thatched-roofed gabled Greek cross design with gothic windows and rather long arms⁶³ (Fransen, 1989: 322, 2004: 574).

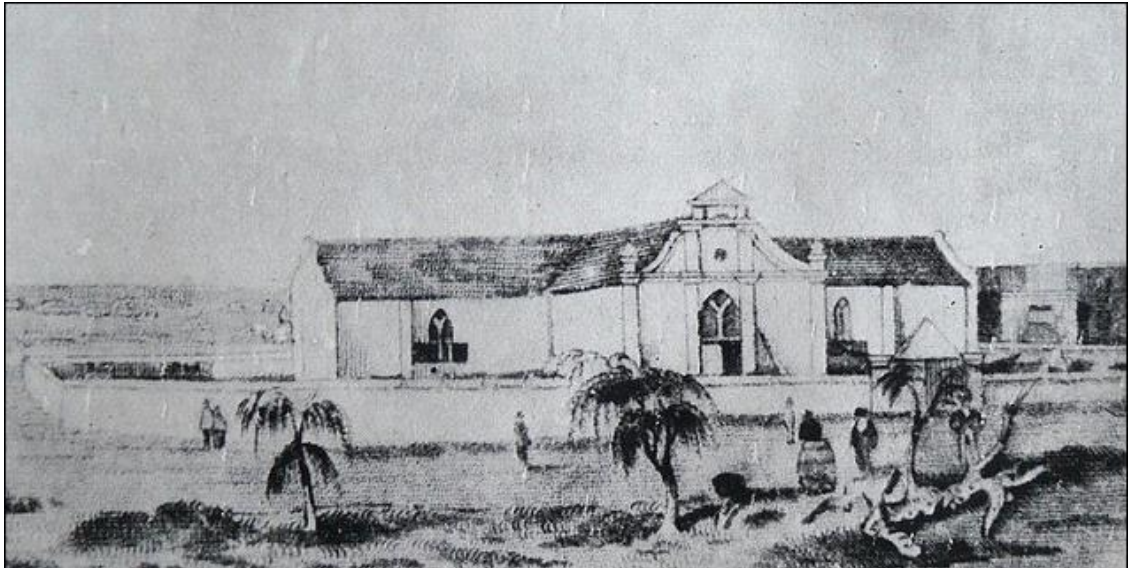
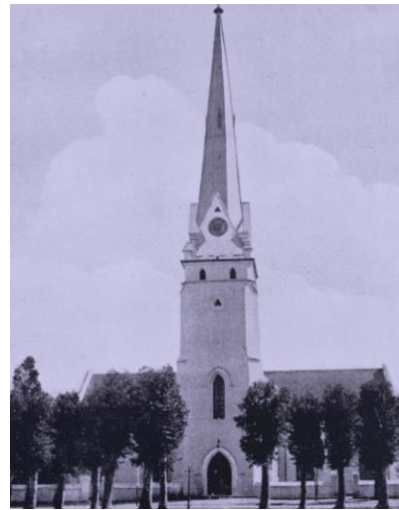


Figure 5.24: Detail of Thomas Bain's 1830 sketch of the Cradock church (Maeder and Zinn, 1917: 48)

5.1.3.10 Worcester

DRC Worcester was founded in 1821. They built a cross-shaped church in 1832 with uneven arms and with a stump tower, probably designed by Charles Trappes. In 1896 Charles Freeman was asked to design a higher tower. In 1905 the tower was blown over by a gale. It was repaired but then torn down to its original form. In 1927 Wynand Louw was asked to redesign the present higher tower after the old one became unstable. Otherwise, the building has remained mostly unaltered (Fransen, 2004: 395) (Figures 5.25 to 5.27).

⁶³ The Cradock church was replaced in 1864-1868 by a replica of St. Martins-in-the-Field in London. The architects were Welchman & Read who envisaged a Gothic design. Legend has it that the Classical Revival (Neoclassical) styled church was built to pacify the wife of the Scottish reverend who longed for her homeland, but it was only built after his death.



Figures 5.25 and 5.26: DRC Worcester: detail of painting by PGJ Meiring of the first tower c1877 (Heese, 1970: 50) and photo of the tower designed by Freeman (Maeder and Zinn, 1917: 52)



Figure 5.27: DRC Worcester with its tower designed by Wynand Louw (2021)

5.1.3.11 Uitenhage

The tenth congregation of the Cape Church, founded in Uitenhage (present-day Kariega) in 1817, soon had a *kerkhuis* (a house serving as a temporary church), and the first church was only built in 1843. It was originally based on plans by surveyor R Swan, dated 1818, for a Latin cross-shaped gabled building for which tenders were received in 1820. Construction was delayed due to legal disputes. The final building does not reflect the original plans. It is an oblong hall-type building with a tower on the long side which acts as the entrance. The architect is unknown. A Scottish reverend, Alexander Smith, served

the congregation from 1823 to 1863. The design of the building probably reflects the Scottish influence on church design, as in the case of the present DRC Cradock⁶⁴ (Olivier and Geldenhuys, 1952:39; Fransen, 2004: 527).



Figure 5.28: Detail of sketch by unknown artist of DRC Uitenhage c1860 (supplied by M van Rooyen)

5.1.3.12 Overview of design trends of early Cape Reformed churches

The examples of early Cape churches clearly show that the Greek cross *Centraalbouw-based preekkerk* of the Netherlands was even more popular and relevant in the Cape. Firstly, the Cape Church was effectively a state Church in line with the accepted principle of the time of *curius regio, eius religio* (whose realm, their religion). This principle contributed to ending the armed conflict between the Lutheran and the Roman Catholic forces in 1555 with the Peace of Augsburg. Church architecture in the Cape therefore followed that of the Dutch state (and the VOC). A second practical reason probably was that it was easier to build cross-shaped than round or multi-sided buildings, especially when using thatched roofs. It was also very similar to the T-, U-, and H-shaped building structures of the Cape Dutch farmsteads. Cape builders were less sophisticated than their European counterparts and access to building materials and especially long timber beams was limited. The *preekkerk* remained the dominant church design style in the Cape for more than a century. Truter (2005: 155) agrees with Fransen (1989: 232-324) that the influence of *Centraalbouw* on the early Cape church designs is clear to see.

⁶⁴ The original DRC Uitenhage building is still in use as a church hall today after a new church, designed by Wynand Louw, was built in 1927. This was probably the largest of his designs.

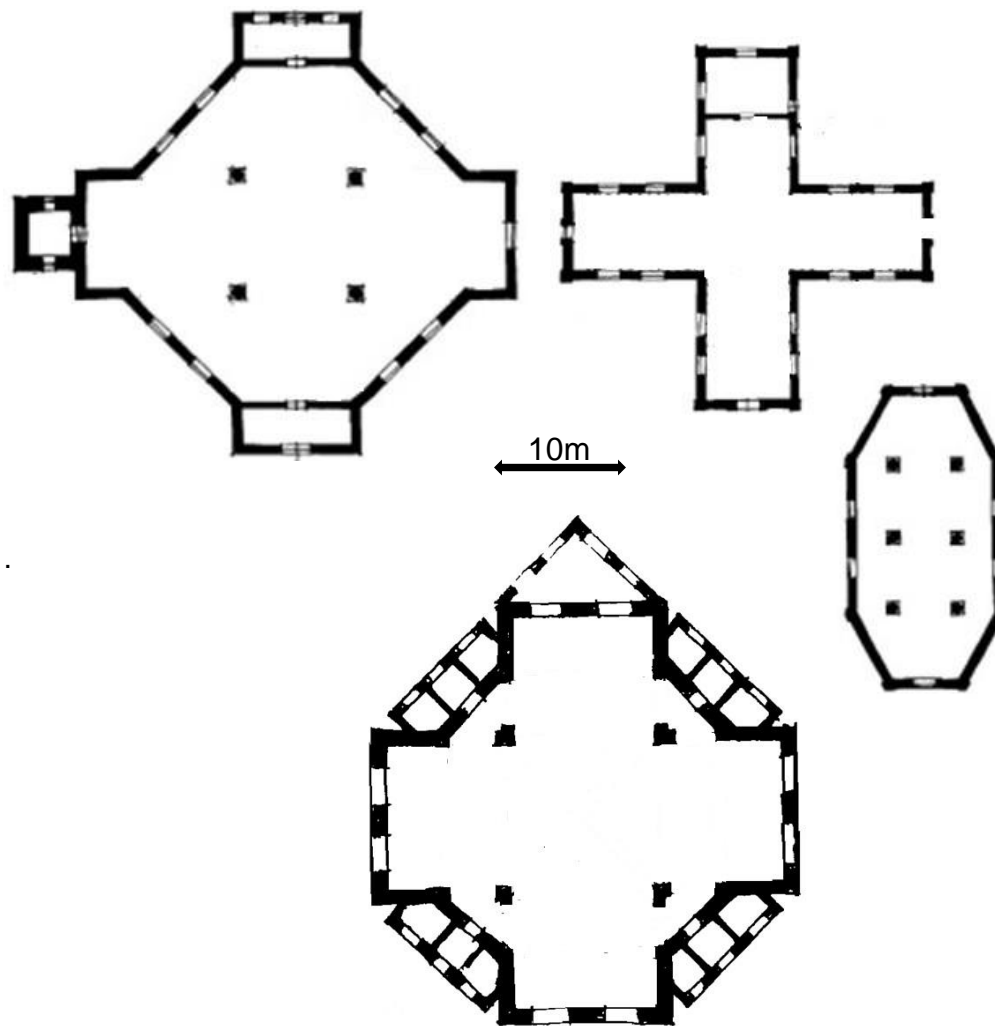


Figure 5.29: Relative sizes of the original *Groote Kerk*, the second Stellenbosch and Drakenstein churches, and the *Noorderkerk* in Amsterdam (bottom) churches (Author, 2023)

In the few cases where church buildings were built in other styles, this was usually due to practical reasons. Examples include where a shed was later converted into a church, or buildings built only for prayer meetings, or churches built in haste for new communities with very limited means. Most of these buildings were soon too small or became unstable and were replaced by proper and better designed and built churches. Some hall-type churches of more enduring quality were later converted into cross-type layouts by the addition of two wings, such as the first DRC churches in Franschoek, Somerset West, Wellington, and Wynberg (Fransen, 1989: 322).

5.1.4 The British occupation of the Cape: a new era

In 1795 the British occupied the Cape and the reign of the VOC ended. Soon afterwards in 1803, the British relinquished the colony to the Dutch only to reannex it in 1806 at the start of the Napoleonic Wars in order to control the Cape sea route. This was a time of

increased religious freedom, and the introduction of new denominations, such as Irish Catholics, English Anglicans, and Scottish Presbyterians. The new denominations required church buildings of their own and their designs were mostly influenced by Scottish, Irish or English priests, pastors, builders, and architects.

Soon after the second British occupation of the Cape in 1806, the new Governor Lord Charles Somerset set about to anglicise the Cape⁶⁵ by *inter alia* importing several Scottish Presbyterian pastors. Most of them however first underwent linguistic training in Dutch before coming to the Cape and many soon found favour amongst the burghers. In 1820 the first large group of British settlers arrived. Within 30 years more than half of the reverends of the Cape Synod were Scottish. They strengthened the Reformist influence on local congregations. One of them, Dr Andrew Murray, had a major influence on the Dutch Reformed Church from 1849 to 1906.

DRC Uitenhage (1843) which is described in paragraph 5.1.3.11 is probably the first church illustrating the Scottish influence on DRC church architecture (Figure 5.28).

The new British rule also started a process of progressive socio-economic reform by eradicating slave labour to promote a free-market economy. Slavery was officially abolished in 1834. In 1828 the Khoisan were granted equality before the law. The Reformed Church of the Cape decided at their 1829 synod that the segregation of races would not be tolerated in the Church. On the eastern border of the Cape Colony, nine frontier wars were fought. The frontier farmers were called up for unpaid military service. They were only provided with food and ammunition, and had to use their own horses, while the British and Khoikhoi soldiers were paid a full military wage. The farmers' families had to stay on the farms without any form of protection. This caused the frontier farmers to feel increasingly alienated in the country of their birth as a consequence of the British occupation. The unifying factors for these farmers who were of Dutch, German, and French origin, were their Calvinist religious outlook, as well as their common language, a localised form of Dutch. The shared frustration of many farmers led to an exodus of major proportion when as many as 12 000 to 15 000 of them left the Cape Colony to move north in pursuit of independence. The Great Trek of the

⁶⁵ In the Cape Colony resistance against anglicisation eventually led to the establishment of the *Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners* in 1875 in Paarl and the First Afrikaans Language Movement. While a form of Afrikaans was already written phonetically in Arabic in 1830, Dutch was the primary language used from DRC pulpits, but the use of English became increasingly fashionable. CP Hoogenhout lamented: '*Engels! Engels! Alles Engels! Engels wat jy sien en hoor; in ons skole, in ons kerke, word ons moedertaal vermoor; ag hoe word on folk verbaster, daartoe werk ons leraars saam*' (translated: English! English! All English! You see and hear English in our schools, our churches, our mother tongue murdered, our nation bastardised, and our pastors assist with this.) Ironically, even though the Cape Church did not support the Great Trek, the threat of anglicisation as well as their joint Calvinist belief system increasingly bonded them with the *Voortrekkers* (Hofmeyr, 2002: 134-135).

Voortrekkers began in late 1835. The *Voortrekkers* were nomads who identified strongly with the Israelites' exodus from Egypt. No reverend of the Cape Church was prepared to serve the *Voortrekker* Church on a permanent basis. Daniel Lindley, an American missionary who worked in Natal (present-day KwaZulu Natal) during this time, felt the calling to serve the group who trekked through the area. Church services were held in the open air alongside the canvas-covered ox wagons of the *Voortrekkers*. Before the Battle of Blood River, Sarel Cilliers vowed to have a church built to commemorate their anticipated victory. Soon there was a need for church buildings beyond the boundaries of the Cape Colony (Hofmeyr, 2002: 134-135; Binckes, 2013: 218-281, 418, 463).

5.1.5 Congregations and churches beyond the Cape

The first congregation to be established outside the Cape Colony was at Pietermaritzburg, in the then Republic of Natalia (which included Natal, Transvaal and Northern Free State) in 1839. The first church building was called a *Rietkerk* – probably made from reeds. The construction of the first proper church building started in 1840. The *Geloftekerk*, a simple oblong building, was inaugurated in 1841. In 1861 a new church was built on an adjacent property and the old building was used as a school. In 1912 the building was restored (new Cape Dutch gables were added) to be used as the *Voortrekker* Museum.

The first congregation in the Northern Free State was established in Winburg in 1841 as part of the first three congregations of the *Voortrekkerkerk*. The first building (date unknown, but probably mid-1840s) was in a Greek cross neo-Gothic style (Figure 5.30). The other early church buildings in the region were in Bloemfontein (Greek cross neo-Gothic 1849 - 1850) (Figure 5.31), Fauresmith (temporary building 1848, hall-type church 1860, tower added 1875) and Smithfield (cornerstone 1848, neo-Gothic church inaugurated in 1862).

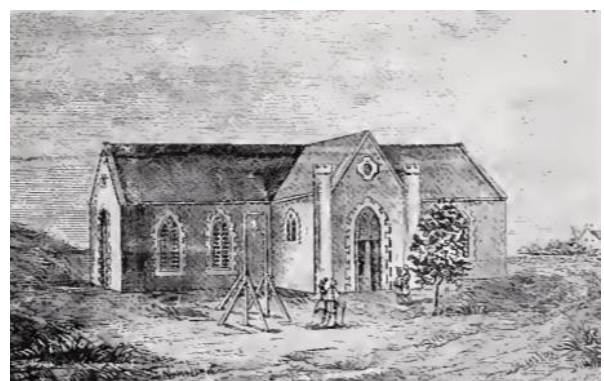


Figure 5.30: Photo of DRC Winburg by McKenzie c1917 (Maeder and Zinn, 1917: 154)

Figure 5.31: Sketch of DRC Bloemfontein (Maeder and Zinn, 1917: 159)

The first congregation in the Transvaal region was established in Potchefstroom in 1842. The first church building in a T-shape was inaugurated in 1851.

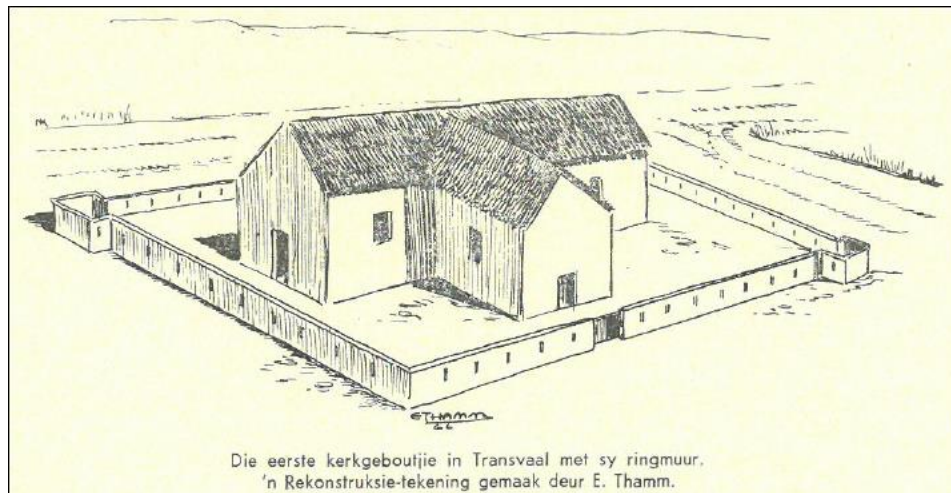


Figure 5.32: Sketch by E Thamm of the first Potchefstroom church (Hervormde Kerkargief, NRCA Church Archive)

In 1853 the new Transvaal Church broke away from the Cape Church to become the *Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk (NRCA)*.⁶⁶ A certain faction of the congregation decided not to break away and remained part of the Cape Church. This was called the *Nederduitsche Gereformeerde Kerk van Zuid-Afrika (DRC)* after the 1842 synod (Pont, 1966: 18-23).

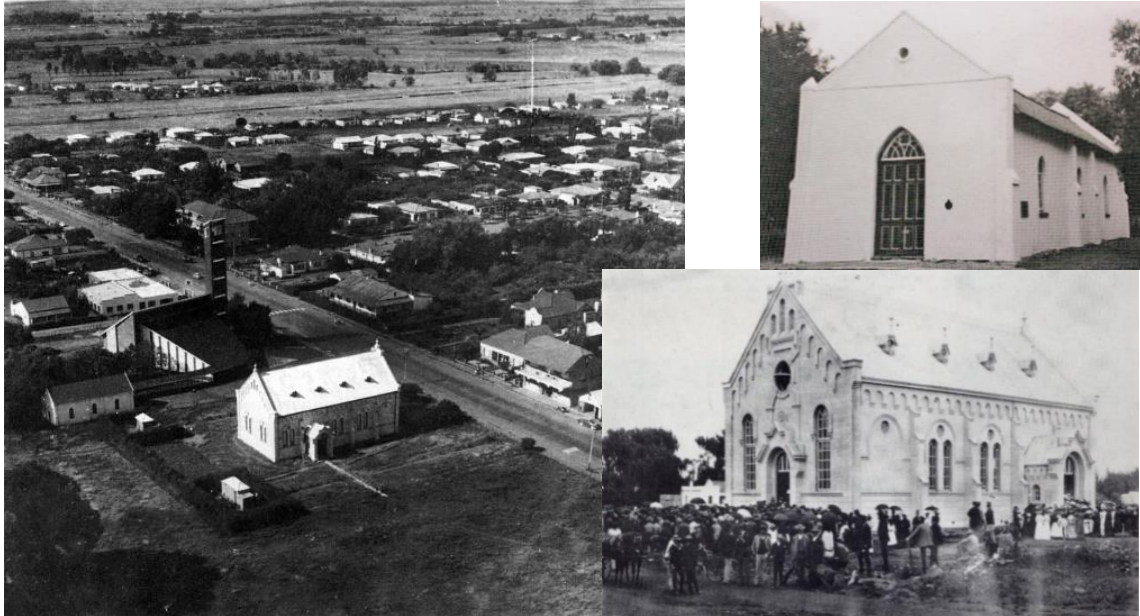
In 1859/1866 the *Hervormde Kerk (NRCA)* built a new Greek Cross church in Potchefstroom. It was rebuilt in 1893. It is the oldest existing church building in the northern part of South Africa (Hofmeyr, 2002: 112-1; Pont, 1966: 22-23).



Figures 5.33 and 5.34: *Hervormde Kerk*, Potchefstroom c1880 and present (Hervormde Kerkargief, NRCA Church Archive & author, 2022)

⁶⁶ For more information refer to www.nhka.org.za

Yet another denomination, the *Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika* (RCSA)⁶⁷, was formed in Rustenburg in 1859. They built a hall-type neo-Gothic church in Potchefstroom soon after their first official meeting in 1863. A second larger hall-type neo-Gothic church was built in 1897 and the present *kappiekerk*-styled church was built in 1959.



Figures 5.35, 5.36 and 5.37: Three *Gereformeerde Kerk* (RCSA) churches, Potchefstroom c1960 (open, supplied by Morné van Rooyen); top: the first church (Hoevers, 2010: 206); bottom right: the second church c1897 (Maeder and Zinn, 1917: 200)

The DRC Potchefstroom built a new church after 1869, of which no description or depiction could be found. The DRC reunited with the *Hervormde Kerk* in 1889 to become the *Nederduitse Hervormde of Gereformeerde Kerk van Suid-Afrika*, only to have another breakaway. Eventually, in 1894, the DRC built the present neo-Gothic style church. A troubled history of church divisions indeed.

Kesting (1978: 45) believes that the 'Afrikaners' (and by implication the *Voortrekkers*) strived to promote their culture primarily through their religion and the establishment of congregations. Church-building was their most visible cultural symbol and anchored their idea of civilisation.

5.1.6 Gothic Revival or neo-Gothic architecture and its impact on South African church architecture

As discussed in 4.3.2 neo-Gothic architecture most probably originated in Britain during the early 18th century. "One could follow the course of the (*neo*-)Gothic church wherever

⁶⁷ For more information refer to www.gksa.org.za

English-speaking denominations were established in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries” (Turner, 1979: 256).

Robert and Sophia Gray, who were avid followers of the Oxford Movement and Pugin and his writings about neo-Gothic architecture, came to South Africa in 1848. Robert was appointed as the first Anglican bishop of South Africa and he and Sophia would become major contributors to the advancement of the Anglican church and the neo-Gothic style of church architecture. The new architectural style of the British Empire was brought to South Africa via the Anglican Church. Miller (1993:9) and Page who wrote about Canadians and the South African War described British Imperialism as “the union of throne and altar, the confusion of Pax Britannica and Pax Christi”. Page (1987: 5) stated that: “imperialism was merely the secular arm of Christian expansionism” (De Swardt, 2013: 39-47).

Over a period of 23 years, the Grays were devoted to the establishment of the Anglican Church in South Africa. Sophia Gray (born 1814 in Yorkshire, England, and died in the Cape in 1871) designed and assisted with the building of as many as 58 parish churches. Some recent sources such as Thackray (2018: 6) mention only 40 churches – almost all in neo-Gothic Early English style. Although not formally trained, she is generally considered to be the first female architect in South Africa. The designs of her churches were often influenced by the availability of materials. To her dismay, the supply of local building stone of appropriate quality was often insufficient. The British government promoted the exportation of British products to the colonies. Local imperial officials were familiar with British building materials and therefore they too encouraged this.

Thackray (2018: 6) sets out to re-assess Sophia Gray’s contribution to the Anglican Church and its architecture in South Africa in an article in the *Sheffield Gender History Journal*: “Sophia Gray, ‘architect to the diocese’, was a competent architect, while also fulfilling several other essential church-building and diocesan roles, including site and project manager, purveyor of quality building materials, illustrator, book-keeper (sic) and administrator”. The article is based on her MA dissertation and shines a new light on a truly remarkable Victorian-era woman who ventured into a male-dominated occupation only a few years after the Royal Institute of British Architects was established in 1834.⁶⁸

While Gray had no direct involvement with the design of reformed churches, the Anglican stone parish churches she designed raised the awareness of the general public about

⁶⁸ Since 1989 the University of the Free State appropriately honours Gray with the annual Sophia Gray Memorial Lecture.

neo-Gothic church architecture. Coupled with the fact that British officials were familiar with the style, the lack of local building materials, and the desire of the British to export their products the scene was set for a new era of architectural styles in the Cape and beyond.

Carl Otto Hager (born 1813 in Dresden, Saxony, just after the Battle of Dresden during the Napoleonic Wars) arrived at the Cape in December 1838 as a young architect. With his student friend and initial partner Carl Sparrman they designed the Catholic St Mary Cathedral in 1840, a typical basilica layout in neo-Gothic style. Because of a lack of architectural work during a period of economic gloom, Hager had to survive by doing portrait paintings. The Stellenbosch Lutheran church of 1854 was a neo-Gothic styled hall church - his first architectural commission in a decade.⁶⁹

In 1863 Hager was appointed to design the enlargement of the DRC Stellenbosch after he also made sketch designs for a new church. He created a Latin cross neo-Gothic style church complete with an apse behind the pulpit. Krige believes that *dominee* JH Neethling of the DRC Stellenbosch congregation (a well-travelled individual) was the driving force behind the move away from the Thibault-inspired Cape Dutch style towards almost slavishly following the new neo-Gothic fashion in Britain and Germany. Hager was a willing instrument. After this followed the DRC Caledon (a low point in Hager's career that almost bankrupted him) (Figure 5.38), DRC Oudtshoorn (a new high in his career), and DRC Calitzdorp, all neo-Gothic-styled Latin cross-shaped churches (Krige, 2015: 98, 112, 118-126).

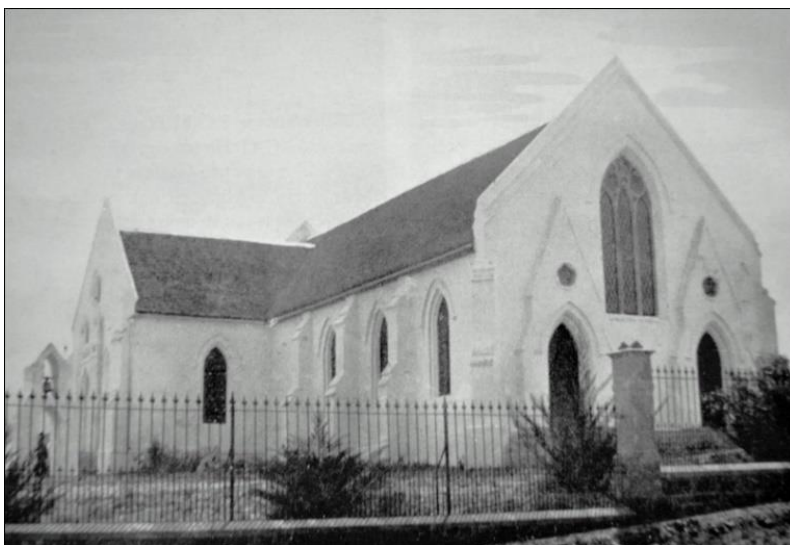


Figure 5.38: Photo of DRC Calitzdorp, 1880 (Stellenbosch Museum)

⁶⁹ The DRC churches in Clanwilliam, Heidelberg Cape, Ladismith, Tulbagh, Kroonstad and Ceres were similar neo-Gothic styled hall church buildings designed/built by CO Hager.

During the second half of the 19th century many new towns were established in the Karoo and beyond to support farming communities. Most of them were *kerkdorpe*, in other words towns which developed around a dominant church building, often with the congregation taking the lead. The story of Warrenton '*n Kerkdorp op 'n Grasbult* as told by Van Wyk (1982) is a typical example. Opportunities for church architects abounded.

Hager was soon joined by many architects/builders/engineers born and trained in Europe, who likewise came to South Africa.

5.1.7 The most prominent 19th century-born reformed church architects of South Africa

Below follows a list of the some of the more prominent 19th century born, South African based, architects who designed Reformed/Calvinist/Lutheran churches (Note: A more comprehensive list of architects with more detail about their place of birth, training, registrations, and the churches they designed are included in Appendix I.)

Architect	Comment
Carl Otto Hager (1813-1898)	Considered to be father of Neo-Gothic architecture in South Africa
Sophia W M Gray (1814 – 1871)	First female architect in South Africa
Richard Carl George Theodor Wocke (1831 – 1890)	Incorrectly considered to be first architect in the Orange Free State
Charles Freeman (1833 – 1911)	DRC Round Church Sea Point
John Todd Welchman, FRIBA 1875 (1833? – 1899)	DRC Colesberg and Cradock
Charles E Read (1833? – 1875?)	DRC Colesberg and Cradock
Sytze Wopkes Wierda (1839 – 1911)	Trained carpenter, first Government Architect and Engineer of ZAR
John Gaisford (1853 – 1928)	Lawyer who built some churches
Gustav Heinrich Christian Rohde (1854 – 1937)	Certified Master Builder. (Fig 5.40)
Antonie Mauritz de Witt (1854 – 1916)	Early Dutch architect in ZAR
Folkert Wilko Hesse (1855 -1923)	Artist
Klaas van Rijse (1860 – 1941)	Pupil of Wierda, but temporarily filled position in ZAR before Wierda arrived
Johannes Egbertus Vixseboxse (1863 – 1943)	Trained carpenter and artist
Herbert Baker FRIBA 1900 (1862 – 1946)	Cape Dutch Revivalism

Johan CE Seeliger ISAA 1927 (1863 – 1938)	First South African architect
Johannes Gijsbertus Kraan (1865 – 1932)	DRC Pretoria <i>Grootkerk</i>
Jan Brink Weyers (partner of Kraan) (1865 -1953)	DRC Pretoria <i>Grootkerk</i>
William Henry Ford LRIBA 1912 (1868 -1921)	Australian, early innovator
Hermann Kallenbach (1871 – 1945)	Prussian Jew, early innovator
Wilfred S Payne ARIBA 1902 ISAA 1927 (1876 – 1958)	Joint first South African ARIBA
Edmund Osman Payne ARIBA 1902 ISAA 1927 (1877 – 1927)	Joint first South African ARIBA

Figure 5.39: Table of South African church architects born in the late 19th century



Figure 5.40: Extract from Rohde family Bible (Rohde Family Collection)

Typically, the reformed churches designed and built by these architects/builders during the middle to late 19th century at the southern tip of Africa were Latin cross-shaped, eclectic, and mostly in the neo-Gothic architectural design style leaning, perhaps unintentionally, towards *domus dei*. Koorts (1974: 54-56) called them *boerekerke* and hailed them as the best-designed South African churches up to the time of the publication of his book in 1974. This opinion is not shared by the author.

Only two church buildings of this predominantly neo-Gothic period were starkly different, namely the DRC Colesberg (1861-1866) and the DRC Cradock (1864-1868). Both were designed by Welchman & Read during their short partnership which lasted from 1861 until 1867. Little is known about Read, except that he received a joint first premium award for the design called 'Gothic' which he submitted in 1860 for the Houses of Parliament in Cape Town (not built according to his design). He apparently returned to England in 1868. Welchman moved to the Eastern Cape and designed Anglican churches for Grahamstown and King William's Town.

DRC Colesberg is an octagonal church of Neoclassical design (Figures 5.41 and 5.42). Internally it is a sober undecorated *Centraalbouw* church with semi-circular seating focused on the pulpit in an apse against one side of the octagon. It is an unexpected pure *domus ecclesiae* from this period.⁷⁰



Figures 5.41 and Figure 5.42: DRC Colesberg: view from Church Street and the interior (2022 and R van Wyk, 2016)

DRC Cradock is a hall-type Neoclassical church based on St Martin-in-the-Fields on Trafalgar Square in London (refer to paragraph 5.1.3.9 and note 63). The front third of the seating is semi-circular, while the rest is in straight rows.

With these conspicuously different designs from the 1860s, Welchman & Read were at least four decades ahead of their Cape contemporaries and were certainly not following the lead of their British counterparts who were still almost slavishly following the preeminent neo-Gothic architectural style of the Western World, even after Pugin's death. Sadly, it went almost unnoticed at the time. Gothic Revivalism only started going out of fashion in the late 1880s.

Büchner (1962: 181-183, 198) considers the period from 1830 – 1900 as an important era, because of the large number of churches built during this time as well as the appearance of church steeples which became such an integral part of the South African rural landscape. She however identifies shortcomings such as the dominance of design style over liturgical requirements, unnecessary ornamentation on the outside (often neo-Gothic), insufficient light without any focus on the liturgical centre, unnecessary galleries with supporting columns which restricted sight lines, and bad acoustics. She however

⁷⁰ Interestingly, the clocktower of DRC Colesberg, was only added in 1926. The adjacent 1959 church hall was designed by Wollie Bronkhorst, Louw's erstwhile pupil and colleague.

commends the use of natural materials such as stone and wood, and the solidity of the monumentalism of the structures which evokes trust and belief. But Büchner (1962: 182) also laments this period of eclecticism during the 19th century in South Africa. Designers randomly used neo-Gothic, neo-Renaissance, neo-Baroque, neo-Romanesque, and Neoclassical styles, often mixing and matching. There was a romantic yearning for the religious mysticism of the Roman and Gothic eras. While the designs of the original eras stood the test of time, the uncreative attempts to recreate some of those designs often produced paltry results. She argues that church architecture of the time reached such lows and that there was such a dearth of creativity that it was probably better to at least try to copy past masterpieces.

5.1.8 A summary of the South African context up to the end of the 19th century

1. The design of the first church buildings in the Cape were strongly influenced by the Dutch/German Protestant post-Reformation *preekkerke* based on *Centraalbouw* principles often featuring a Greek cross external design.
2. From 1652 to 1795, the Cape Church was effectively a state-controlled church with reverends appointed by the VOC. Most of the early church buildings were designed by officials, and were sometimes funded by the VOC.
3. Practical issues such as limited financial resources, a lack of proper building materials, and the level of skill of local builders and carpenters, mainly familiar with building thatched-roofed farmsteads, often dictated designs. So too the urgency to have a facility often led to the building of inferior temporary shed-type structures.
4. Simple oblong hall-type churches were often enlarged, when the need arose to accommodate more churchgoers, and became Greek cross-type layouts.
5. Despite their huge influence on cultural life, the arrival in 1688/9 of the French Huguenots had almost no influence on church architecture.
6. The British occupation of the Cape in 1806 and its subsequent programme of anglicisation lead to the importation of Scottish pastors which strengthened the Protestant/Calvinist character of congregations. John Knox's view on church architecture reinforced the sober approach to church design with almost no decoration.
7. Neo-Gothic architecture originated in Britain, led by the Oxford Movement of 1833 and the Roman Catholic architect Pugin. Sophia Gray (wife of the first Bishop of the Cape Anglican Church) brought neo-Gothic architecture in the Early English style to the Cape in 1848.
8. The decision of the neo-Lutherans to revert to neo-Gothic church design soon influenced South African church architecture as most of the builders/architects were

of European origin, with German architect CO Hager its major proponent. Hager arrived in South Africa in 1838. His successful project in 1863 to enlarge the DRC Stellenbosch to become the first Latin cross neo-Gothic DRC church set the trend for church design for the next almost five decades.

9. The Great Trek of 1837/8 led to the departure of the *Voortrekkers*, who established congregations and built churches during the 1840s along their way north. The main part of the *Voortrekkerkerk* broke away from the Cape Church (that became the DRC) in 1853 and 1859 to form two new and more conservative denominations. While most of the first *boerekerke* were of relatively simple design, they were mostly neo-Gothic hall-type churches. Many were replaced by neo-Gothic Latin cross churches.

5.2 THE SOCIOECONOMIC, POLITICAL, AND ADMINISTRATIVE ENVIRONMENT OF THE POST-SOUTH AFRICAN WAR ERA

5.2.1 Rebuilding of the ZAR

In the aftermath of the South African War the immediate priority of the British colonial regime was to rebuild the country with an obvious focus on the Transvaal Colony with its enormous mineral wealth. Railways had to be restored for civilian and commercial use and a flood of new (and poorly paid) mining labour was required. Pakenham wrote: “Everything depended on the Rand. This was the rock on which Milner would build the new South Africa.” He describes how gold production started to improve after Johannesburg was invaded. Although still only at a third of the pre-war production level, it was already enough to make the new colonies self-sufficient at the end of the war (Pakenham, 1979: 555).

According to Steyn, Alfred Milner also paid special attention to agriculture. He created technical support departments and provided implements, temporary food rations and seeds to the farmers who were willing to modernise. His hope that many British immigrants would flock to the colonies however did not materialise. Education as a vehicle of anglicisation also received attention. Teachers recruited in 1901 for concentration camp schools formed the core of the new education departments of the two Northern colonies. The number of schoolchildren was soon more than double that of the pre-war total⁷¹ (Steyn, 2022: 202-204, 230-232).

⁷¹ According to the Carnegie report titled *Die Armblanke-Vraagstuk in Suid-Afrika* of 1932 in the year 1877 only 8% of children between seven and 14 years of age in the Transvaal and 12% in the Free State attended school versus 49% in the Cape and 60% in Natal. In the Transvaal, the average period of schooling was two years. This improved drastically

5.2.2 Burghers returning to their farms

After the war the defeated burghers returned to farms razed to the ground as part of Kitchener's scorched earth program (30 000 farms were razed). Most burghers lost at least some families members due to the war itself and the miseries of the concentration camps, in which almost 28 000 women and children died. More than 400 000 horses, mules and donkeys, and even more heads of livestock were lost. Most of the black farm labourers, who had wrongfully hoped that the new regime would guarantee their freedom, left the farms, but as many as 20 000 of them died during the war. They were mostly unarmed supporters of both sides. Many died in concentration camps.

After the war competition for labour from the mining companies and infrastructure reconstruction projects made labour unaffordable for the impoverished farmers. The promised £3m compensation for war losses as part of the Peace of Vereeniging was slow in coming to the *bittereinders* and mostly went to the *joiners*, *uitlanders* and loyalists. The post-war economic depression was exacerbated by the worst drought in 40 years, which stretched from 1902 to 1908. This led to an even faster rate of urbanisation that already began in the 1880s due to mining, rapid industrialisation, and the impact of the ZAR's Roman-Dutch inheritance laws. These laws forced farmers to divide their farms between all of their children, which rendered many farms uneconomically small, forcing many farmers to become *bywoners* (Malherbe, 1932: 23; Pakenham, 1979: 572-573; Hart, 2013: 14-15; Schoeman, 2015: 37-51; Steyn, 2017: 226-228; 2022: 43-61).

5.2.3 The role of the Reformed Churches

At this time the three South African Reformed Churches took an active role to not only be a safe haven for the people but also to start rebuilding broken communities.⁷² The Churches earned trust and legitimacy from their concerted effort during the war to plead with the British authorities and other denominations to end the war (unfortunately to no avail). Many *dominees* joined the commandos to serve the burghers, and many of them who had to flee during the war went to serve the 31 000 burghers in prisoner-of-war camps. In the smaller towns of the two Republics, almost all congregational activities came to a standstill.

after the gold mining industry brought economic prosperity to the Witwatersrand but was negatively impacted by the South African War (Malherbe, 1932: 45).

⁷² According to Vosloo this started in the 1880s and in 1893 a DRC church conference in Stellenbosch on *De Arme Blanken* (poor whites) focused on the need for better education and the creation of employment opportunities. (Vosloo, 2011: 71-73)

Dominees like Father JD Kestell⁷³, who was with the commandos during the entire war and active at the Vereeniging peace negotiations, and AF Louw, who returned from St Helena where he served the prisoners-of-war, took the leading role to support communities psychologically and pastorally. Their focus was on alleviating poverty, promoting education⁷⁴, building children's homes for war orphans, and fighting for the survival of the Afrikaans/Dutch language. They also had to rebuild trust between the Boers and the *joiners* who supported the British during the war, a slow process which was complicated by the 1914 Maritz Rebellion. Not only communities had to be rebuilt, but many church buildings were in a bad state. During the war, many church buildings were used by British garrisons for housing or as hospitals and were not treated with respect (Hofmeyr: 2002, 156-161, 164-167).

5.2.4 Anglicisation and Afrikaner Nationalism

The anglicisation and de-nationalisation efforts of the colonial regime ironically led to the birth of Afrikaner Nationalism. The 'Church for the people' soon became the '*volkskerk*' (*people's Church*) with some unfortunate outcomes some decades later, such as the support of the Church for the policies of the later Nationalist Party. The Church as an institution grew strongly and soon many new congregations required new buildings (Hofmeyr, 2002: 156-161; Hart, 2013: 16).

Milner's anglicisation programme was not only about British standards, the English language, and the building of a new unified nation, but it also supported a deliberate programme to find common ground and a new shared South African architectural heritage. Fisher (2015: 8) states:

Cape Dutch Revival became an almost institutional and official style, particularly for public buildings in the Union, and particularly as Geoffrey Eastcott Pearse (1885–1968), first Chair of Architecture of the Wits School, had led a team of students to document the Cape Dutch buildings of the Cape. This in turn formed an almost Beaux Arts understanding of the Cape vernacular traditions, emanating in his classic, signature and seminal publication *Eighteenth Century Architecture in South Africa* (1933).

⁷³ It is said that *dominee* Kestell (born 1854 in Pietermaritzburg and died in 1941) was the designer of DRC Kimberley (1886) and co-designer of DRC Ficksburg (1905 with Donaldson). Later, as the moderator of the DRC of the Orange Free State, he played an active role as advisor in many church-building projects. (Hofmeyr, 2002: 129)

⁷⁴ This process already started after the 1894 DRC synod decided to find ways to bring rural children within reach of public and industrial schools after a motion proposed by *dominee* A Moorrees. (Malherbe, 1932: 53)

5.2.5 Impact of the built environment

In the Transvaal Colony the *Departement Publieke Werken* (DPW) of the ZAR was taken over by British military engineers after Pretoria was invaded in 1901. This brought to an end to the hard work of Wierda and his self-taught team of imported Dutch builders/engineers/architects, such as Van Rijse, Vixseboxse, JCM Hager, Hollenbach, and others who, over the period from 1877 to 1899, strived to create a built environment heritage for the young but ambitious *Zuid-Afrikaanse Republiek*.⁷⁵ The war ended the careers of many of the Dutch architects in the DPW. Some fought with the Boers and were either killed in action, deported, or exiled to prisoner-of-war camps.⁷⁶

Soon after the war the DPW was transformed into the Public Works Department (PWD) and taken over from the military by newly imported British architects. Clarke (2015: 432) states:

A post-War Boer-Brit unification drive exploited built heritage in much the same way as it was later used in post-War Europe: as evidence of a common past on which to base a common future. This use of the built environment was not only defined to the study and conservation of historic structures but also to new construction.

Herbert Baker, as an unofficial member of Milner's *Kindergarten*⁷⁷, was the leading architectural force of the time. Baker's (1944: 60) own explanation that the two wings of the Union Buildings (Figure 5.43) surrounding an open-air theatre were "symbolizing the two races of South Africa"⁷⁸ clearly manifests how architecture had become a servant of the reigning ideology and dogma.^{79 80}

⁷⁵ Bakker, Clarke, and Fisher give a detailed account of this ideological emergence of a Transvaal Republican architectural style in their book *Eclectic ZA Wilhelmiens. A shared Dutch built heritage in South Africa*.

⁷⁶ The few Dutch-born architects who returned after the war (like JR Burg and Wierda) suffered under discrimination against Afrikaners and the Dutch and had no influence in the new PWD. (Bakker, 2014: 197; Minnaar, 2000: 90-95, 100)

⁷⁷ The *Kindergarten* consisted mainly of Oxford graduates who served in South Africa's civil service under High Commissioner Alfred Milner.

⁷⁸ The 'two races' refers to the Afrikaners and the British.

⁷⁹ More about Baker in Chapter 5.4.

⁸⁰ Christenson however postulates that Botha and Smuts used the Union Buildings to garner support for the former's quest to become the first premier of the Union of South Africa (Christenson, 1996).

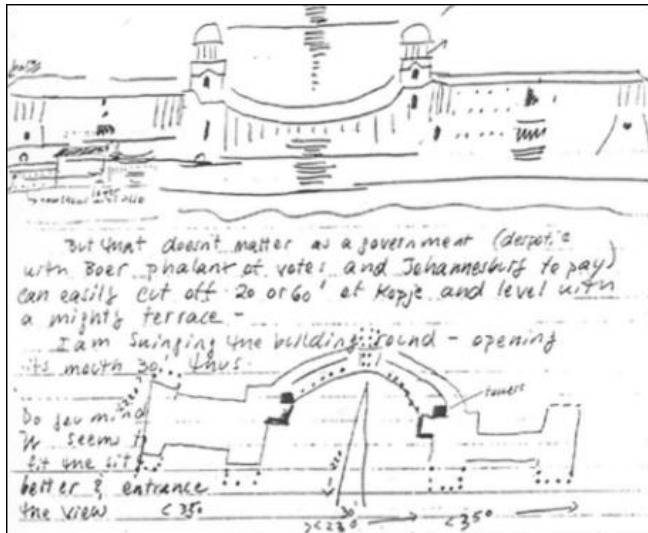


Figure 5.43: Preliminary sketches for the Union Buildings by Herbert Baker, 1909 (RIBA British Architectural Library)

5.2.6 Changing political landscape

Milner left South Africa in 1905 amidst a scandal surrounding the treatment of imported Chinese labour on the Rand gold mines. Some of the *Kindergarten* members however remained behind and still had a large impact. Amongst other things they took the lead in developing concepts for the unionisation of South Africa. In 1906 the Conservative Unionist Government of Balfour lost the British election to the Liberals of Campbell-Bannerman. In 1907 the two Northern colonies were given a form of self-governance. In the Transvaal Colony the *Het Volk Party* of Louis Botha (1862-1919) and Jan Smuts (1870-1950) came to power and in the Orange River Colony the *Orangia Unie* of Abraham Fischer (1850-1913), MT Steyn (1857-1916) and JBM Hertzog (1866-1942) won with a clear majority. In 1910 the Union of South Africa was formed. Political power was back in the hands of South Africans. South Africa started to play a leading role as a dominion of the Empire and later in the British Commonwealth (1919) and took part in both World Wars on the side of Britain, despite the Maritz Rebellion of 1914 (Pakenham, 1979: 574-577; Schoeman, 2015: 159-172; Steyn, 2022: 43-72). This period is aptly described by Schoeman (2015: 1-444) in his book *Imperiale Somer. Suid-Afrika tussen Oorlog en Unie 1902-1910*.

5.3 TIME FOR A NEW APPROACH?

Reformed churches built during the middle to late 19th century were mostly Latin cross-shaped, often eclectic, but mostly neo-Gothic. Although some were Cape Gothic (like DRC Lydenburg, 1890), the vernacular Cape Dutch architecture of Thibault and others was not considered to be fashionable, and buildings were often renovated in Victorian

style. Only in the ZAR, where the design styles were influenced by the many architects (Wierda, Van Rijse, Vixseboxse, Hollenbach, etc.) imported from the Netherlands to work for the DPW, a local and more authentic Transvaal Republican style developed. This style was strongly influenced by Dutch architecture of the time, and was later called Eclectic ZA Wilhelmiens, but it came to an end during the South African War (Bakker, 2014: 66-89).

Many European-born architects (De Witt, Burg, Francois Hesse, Pitt, Sherwood, etc.) who were influenced by the British Imperial and Cape Dutch Revival architecture promoted by Rhodes, Milner, Baker and the new Public Works Department (PWD) of the colonial authorities, continued to design Latin cross-shaped churches well into the 20th century.

In Europe however the Liberal Calvinists and Lutherans started to reverse the neo-trend from 1880 onwards. They refocused on liturgical needs as the primary focus of church layouts, signalling a tentative return to *domus ecclesiae*.

The time was ripe for a new approach to reformed church architecture in South Africa. Kirkby (1905: 424) writes:

We are faced with buildings of incongruous and offensive design whose expression unconsciously jars upon us! This can be avoided in a new country like South Africa, which possesses great opportunities for architecture, whose present buildings are but a drop in a bucket when compared with the possible designs of the future. As the character, social life, wealth and religion of each country are portrayed in her buildings, so the future of South Africa, with its sorrows and mysteries, its conquests and triumphs, should be indelibly written in permanent structures in the best styles, and by the best trained architects.

Büchner (1962: 183-186) writes that there was a strong reaction to the neo-styles of the 19th century by a new breed of 20th century church architects. They strived for originality. Their focus moved away from style to functionality. The new approach was to first determine the purpose, function, and form of a building before appropriate materials were chosen. That was made possible by the rich variety of new materials that previously were not readily available. Architects could start to experiment, express their individuality, and start dreaming, without being bound by prescriptive styles. Ornamentalism was replaced by the simplicity and beauty of construction materials, such as concrete, steel, stone, wood, and glass. Materials were used to create atmosphere and show character. The simplicity of colour and form gave dignity to churches. Purpose and functionality led to multi-purposed buildings catering for various religiously orientated social activities under

one roof. Church design was based on a careful analysis of needs, which was then ‘cast in concrete’. The 19th century fixed styles were replaced by aesthetic rationalism.

Büchner (1962: 83) believed that the Dutch artist and architect (1871-1920) Theo Molkenboer’s (1900: 367-376) article *Volkskerken* (people’s churches) in *De Katholieke Illustratie* (The Catholic Illustration) had a strong influence on the new focus on liturgical functionality. These included good views and access to the liturgical centre with no partitioning, and practicality in terms of lighting, acoustics, heating, and ventilation. The article led to a revival of the *Centraalbouw* style of church design. It was not merely a neo-Byzantine style, but a practical approach to functionality and a move towards *domus ecclesiae*. Form should follow function. Louis Sullivan (1896, 403-109) said: “form ever follows function”. It was later also advocated by Le Corbusier (1931 [1986]: 5, 31, 35, 40-42, 45, 47), by Frank Lloyd Wright who said “Form follows function — that has been misunderstood. Form and function should be one, joined in a spiritual union”, and by Hammond (1962: 7-11).

5.4 AN OVERVIEW OF THE MOST PROMINENT SOUTH AFRICAN-BASED REFORMED CHURCH ARCHITECTS OF THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY

Below follows information on the prominent church architects who were practising during the formative years of Wynand Louw.

5.4.1 Klaas van Rijse, Johannes Kraan and Jan Weyers

Van Rijse is acclaimed for designing the new *Grootkerk* (DRC Pretoria), but construction was delayed by the South African War. He was deported during the war and did not return to South Africa. His earlier colleagues at the DPW of the ZAR, Johannes Kraan and Jan Weyers, guided the construction from 1902 to 1906. Externally it is a Greek cross neo-Dutch Renaissance design, but internally it has a large theatre-like semi-circular seating layout sloping down towards the pulpit. In the chapter *Buildings for communities of faith* of the book *Common Ground* (Clarke, NJ, Fisher, RC and Kuipers, MC, 2021) Clarke (2021: 100) postulates that these architects were following the prescripts of Abraham Kuyper, a well-known Dutch theologian of the time, who used the William Pocock-designed ‘Spurgeon’s Temple’ in London (1861) as his reference. Kuyper is believed to have said: “Our good architects of old...were not mistaken to abandon the Gothic style, and felt drawn to the Renaissance style instead”. Clarke (2021: 100-101) believes the *Grootkerk* to be “the progenitor of the fan-shaped auditorium Protestant church type in South Africa”. He states that Wynand Louw, Leendert Geers,

and Gerard Moerdijk⁸¹ all worked at the PWD around this time and must have been aware of its innovative *Centraalbouw* internal design at a time when neo-Gothic designs were still the dominating norm.

As discussed later in paragraph 7.1.4, the author does not agree with this view and believes that Louw had a different source of inspiration. Clarke (2021:101) states that Louw “adopted the fan-shaped plan for his first church, the Gothic Revival-styled NGK [DRC] at Port Elizabeth (now Gqebera [sic], 1909)”. When one analyses the individual layouts of the two churches there are clear differences. The floor of *Grootkerk* slopes down towards the pulpit. The floor of DRC Port Elizabeth does not slope. *Grootkerk* has a corridor encircling the perimeter of the ‘theatre’. While this is similar to the proposed design Nr 6 in Moerdyk’s 1919 booklet (Moerdijk, 1919:13), which later formed the basis for the Reformed Church in Reddersburg, it is absent in DRC Port Elizabeth. According to Clarke (2021: 100-101), the seats on the galleries of *Grootkerk* are semi-circular, while this is not the case in DRC Port Elizabeth. Externally there are no similarities between the two churches. It should also be noted that the plans for DRC Port Elizabeth were approved on 17 February 1909 which was more than a month before Louw moved to Pretoria (Louw [A], no date: 1909 diary).

5.4.2 William Henry Ford

Ford is considered by many to be part of the group of neo-Gothic architects of the late 19th century, but he however was one of the first of them to have a fresh approach to the interior design of reformed church buildings. He practised in partnership with Edwin Summerhayes in Coolgardie in Western Australia in 1898 before arriving in South Africa early in the 20th century. Anton Roodt (2021: 69-74) believes that Ford had Scottish connections which gave him access to the DRC via Scottish clergymen such as the Murrays. He designed at least 13 Dutch Reformed churches between 1907 and 1914.

Ford designed DRC Vosburg (1909) with a rectangular plan but with a Greek cross roof shape. The internal layout has a semi-circular seating plan with a complementing 3/4 circular gallery above. The organ is in an apse behind a wide pulpit which includes seating for the church elders. Even though this church design still had some external neo-Gothic elements, it was a strong departure from the typical designs of the late 19th century and had a new focus on *Centraalbouw*.

⁸¹ Moerdyk was born as Moerdijk. He wrote *Kerkgeboue vir Sud-Afrika* as Moerdijk, but later used the ‘y’, probably because he strongly identified with the Afrikaners. Most of his family continued with the Dutch ‘ij’. In this dissertation the ‘y’ is used consistently, except for references and quotations.

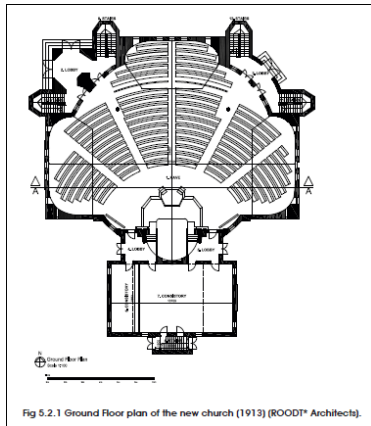


Figure 5.44: Plan of DRC Burgersdorp (Roodt, 2021: 64)

After a fire caused great damage to the DRC church in Burgersdorp (Figures 5.44 to 5.46) in 2020, Roodt (2021: 74, 80) had the following to say about Ford in his *Conservation Report for the Reinstatement of DRC Burgersdorp May 2021*:

These churches followed the same conceptual approach to planning and finishes. The seating layout is ideal. It follows what today is known as auditorium-type seating or that of an amphitheatre. The circular layout allows the largest number of people to be seated closest to the speaker. This was a decided departure from the church designs prior to the war.

Ford avoided the symmetry associated with this type of layout by adding a tower (or in the case of Frankfort, two different towers) and using the staircases on the façades to dramatise the entrances, typically placed diagonally on plan.

He continued about the decorative element in Ford's designs:

Purely from an aesthetic point of view, the decorative element is remarkable and provides a powerful visual focus to an already impressive internal space. It represents a high-point of decorative ambition in the design of Afrikaans churches. Hereafter, under the sobering influence of architects like Gerard Moerdijk, decoration and symbolism would all but disappear from Dutch Reformed church architecture.

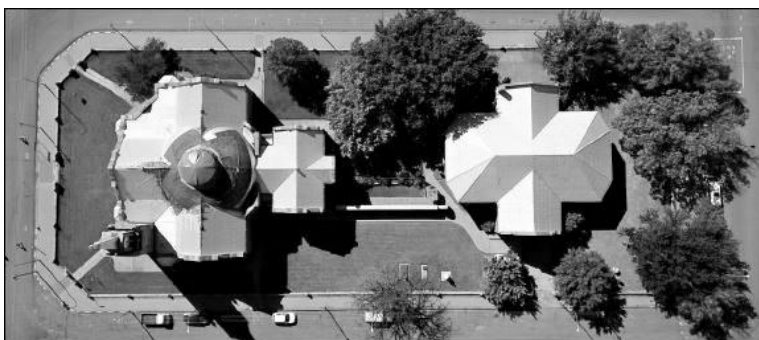


Figure 5.45: DRC Burgerdorp (1913) designed by WH Ford (left) with the Louw & Louw-designed church hall (1946) next to it (Roodt, 2021: 56)

Figure 5.46: The church's lantern caught fire in 2020 (Louis Steyn, 2020)

5.4.3 Hermann Kallenbach

Born as a Jew in East Prussia⁸² and trained as an architect in Stuttgart and Munich, Kallenbach was a close friend and follower of Mahatma Gandhi. They established Tolstoy Farm in Johannesburg in 1910 where they jointly developed the idea of Satyagraha (passive political resistance). Kallenbach surprisingly designed at least four DRC churches between 1904 and 1909. He also seems to have revisited the Centraalbouw concept of design and started to experiment with a semi-circular layout for seating in some of the churches he designed. DRC Jeppestown (1906) as well as DRC Barkly East (1906) are typical examples. Ford assisted Kallenbach with the construction of all but the Jeppestown church and was probably influenced by his design ideas (Sarid & Bartolf, 1997: 10-13).

5.4.4 Others: Hesse, Donaldson, De Witt

The few other attempts at renewal from this group of European-born architects came from Folkert Hesse with DRC Swellendam (1910) in Eclectic Eastern Dutch style with its semi-circular seating layout and gallery, Walter Donaldson with DRC Ficksburg (1905) with its flat semi-circular seating layout and Antonie de Witt with DRC Bredasdorp (1912) with two quarter-octagons added to fill in the corners of a Latin cross to accommodate semi-circular seating in front of a long nave at the back.

5.4.5 Herbert Baker

The architecture of this era cannot be discussed without mentioning Herbert Baker (born 1862 in Kent, England, died 1946). He attended classes at the Architectural Association in London. Baker visited his brother in the Cape in 1892 only to be commissioned to remodel Groote Schuur, the residence of Prime Minister Cecil John Rhodes. Rhodes sponsored Baker's study tour of the Mediterranean region, after which he returned to South Africa. Having the patronage of Alfred Milner, he was offered the opportunity to move to Johannesburg in 1902 and had a major impact on the architecture of the Witwatersrand designing many houses for the mining 'Randlords' of Parktown. He received the commission for the design of the Union Buildings in Pretoria in 1909. He was a follower of Imperial architecture (or the Grand Manner art style), but like Rhodes, he also had a deep respect for the neglected Cape Dutch vernacular architecture. His respect was probably stimulated by his restoration work at Groote Schuur. Rhodes insisted that it should be rebuilt in Cape Dutch style - to the consternation of the Cape

⁸² Some sources say Kallenbach was born in Naumiestis in present-day Lithuania, and others in Neustadt, both in the former East Prussia.

elite of the time. Baker used local stone and wood extensively. He eventually partnered with FL Flemming from 1910 until 1918, but he left South Africa in 1913 (Greig, 1970).

Although Baker designed or influenced the design of a number of Anglican churches in South Africa, he had no real impact on reformed church architecture in South Africa. He did however have a major impact on South African architecture in general during the early years of South Africa as a young country at the start of the 20th century.

Baker promoted a re-appreciation of the Cape Dutch style. Together with the PWD, Rhodes, Alys Trotter and Arthur Elliot, Herbert Baker spearheaded the Cape Dutch Revival style as the official style of government buildings. He encouraged the Trotters to document old farmsteads. The Trotters travelled by bicycle to the farmsteads which Alys Trotter (1863-1961) then sketched. She published a book titled *Old Cape Colony: a chronicle of her men and houses from 1652 to 1806* in 1903 (Trotter, 1903). Arthur Elliot (1870-1938) began to photograph old Cape buildings shortly after his arrival at the Cape. He took more than 10 000 photographs in total and challenged Capetonians to re-appreciate their architectural heritage.⁸³ The pro-Unification monthly *The State: South Africa* (published from 1909 until 1912) also deliberately promoted Cape Dutch architecture to enhance harmony between the two 'white races'. (Christenson, 1996: 5-6).

5.4.6 Wynand Louw's first years as architect

At this time, Wynand Louw was trained and started practising as an architect. He was the first Afrikaans-speaking academically trained South African architect, who grew up in a South African Reformed Church, to start practising as a church architect. This was probably more due to circumstances than design. In the post-war era, work was scarce, the value of architecture as a profession was not yet properly appreciated (as Kirby stated in his 1905 paper), and it was very unlikely that a freshly trained Afrikaans-speaking architect would receive any commissions from the Cape Government under British rule. Fortunately, Louw had many relatives who were either *dominees* of the DRC or were married to one. One of his uncles was *dominee* PGJ Meiring, the pastor of the DRC Paarl *Strooidakkerk*. In December 1907 Louw received a commission from the *kerkraad* to design a church hall for the congregation (Figures 5.47 and 5.48). It was constructed by Mr Boesen at a total cost of £4967. This was the start of Louw's career as one of the most prolific and influential church architects of South Africa. After

⁸³ The Elliot Photographic Collection was bought by the SA Government after his death in 1938 and handed to the Cape Archives to preserve.

completion of the project Louw travelled extensively to seek new commissions. According to his diaries he visited Uitenhage (Kariega), Burgersdorp, and Fauresmith, amongst others. He prepared sketches for alterations to DRC Willowmore and drawings for the new DRC Port Elizabeth, shortly after the latter congregation separated from DRC Uitenhage (Louw [A], no date: 1909; Kirkby, 1905; Louw, 1968: 59).

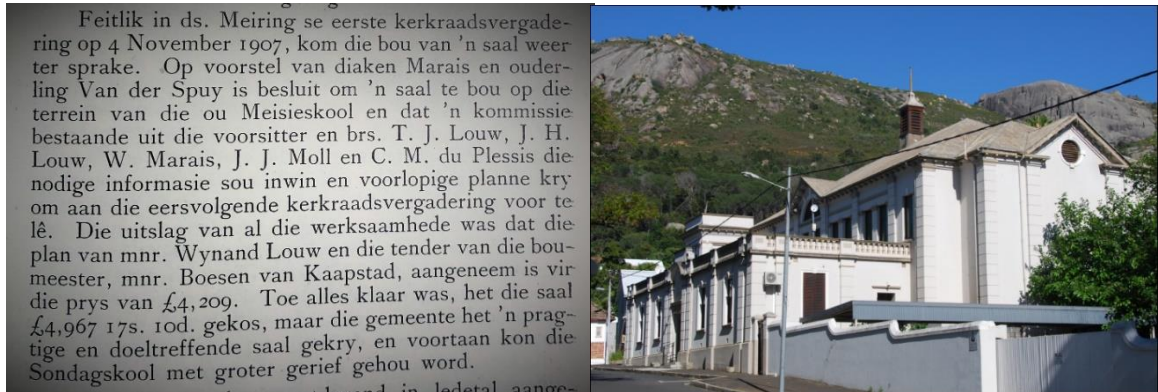


Figure 5.47: Extract from the DRC Paarl Quarter Millennium Memorial Book (DRC Paarl church office)

Figure 5.48: DRC Strooidakkerk Church Hall (2021)

Shortly thereafter on 25 March 1909, Louw had to accept a post at the Transvaal Public Works Department (PWD) in Pretoria, due to a lack of work. According to an article by Dr HDA du Toit (1953: 22-24) in *Die Huisgenoot* of 2 January 1953 the young Afrikaans architect found it suffocating to work in an environment dominated by Imperial officials still influenced by the legacy of Alfred Milner with his focus on the anglicisation of the Transvaal (refer to Appendix K) (Louw, 1968: 57-63).

5.4.7 The Public Works Department

Guided by the Imperial Blue Book and the recommendation by Herbert Baker that RIBA should be involved Milner appointed William Henry Bevan (ARIBA) on 1 December 1902 as Superintending Government Architect (Figure 5.49). He appointed almost only British architects and quantity surveyors.⁸⁴ Thomas Tyrwhitt (ARIBA) replaced Bevan in 1905, but he returned to London in 1907. With Lieutenant Colonel H Fowke as Director, the Department was managed in an almost military fashion and only worked in the British Imperial and late Victorian styles. Most of the projects from 1901 up to 1907 were utility buildings such as schools and government buildings where functionality, standardisation, and cost-efficiency were the norm with little or no room for creativity. The British War Office Pattern Book Nr2 was a typical guideline (Minnaar, 2000: 96-156).

⁸⁴ Artefacts.co.za and Minnaar lists more than 40 architects who worked in the Department between 1902 and 1910. Most of them were of British or European origin. (Minnaar, 2000: 115-128)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Union-Castle Building,
Adderley Street
Cape Town 1st March 1901

To His Excellency,
The High Commissioner.

Your Excellency,

In connection with the appointment of a Government Architect at Pretoria, I have the honour to send the following suggestions.

I assume that in the first instance there will be a distinct Department of Architecture which will plan and superintend the minor alterations, additions and new buildings required by the Government.

Figure 5.49: Extract of Baker's letter of recommendation dated 1901 (Minnaar, 2000; Appendix B)

To the frustration of Bevan and Tyrwhitt, almost all buildings of significance were designed by Massey & Sloper and of course by Herbert Baker, who with his focus on the Grand Manner style, was the leading (and dominant) architect at the time.

In her thesis *Grondleggende argitekte van die Departement Openbare Werke in Transvaal tot 1910, hulle werk en invloed* Minnaar (2000:107-108) describes the history of the Department before, during and after the South African War with a focus on training, available library books, staff careers, and projects. The contrast in the approach of the ZAR architects under Wierda which culminated in the golden era of Transvaal Republican architecture of the 1890s, and the mundane architecture during the post-South African War era, leading up to Unification in 1910, is apparent. This might have influenced Louw to leave the PDW and to seek new opportunities.

5.4.8 Gordon Leith

One of Louw's contemporaries was Gordon Leith (1886-1965) whose time at the Architectural Association overlapped with his. They became close friends. Leith left the PWD during 1908 to join Herbert Baker's practice. He was the first recipient of the Baker Scholarship which was created in 1911 to ensure the continuation of Baker's approach to design. He eventually set up his own practice in Johannesburg in 1921. Leith designed the church of DRC Heilbron (1934) and would co-design the Johannesburg Railway Station with Gerard Moerdyk in 1926-1931.

5.4.9 Wynand H Louw's career starts off in earnest

Early in September 1909 Wynand Louw was approached by his uncle *dominee* AF Louw of DRC Heidelberg to design concepts for new residences for the *Normaal School* (college of education) the congregation was establishing in the aftermath of the South African War, and in opposition to Milner's anglicisation programme (Pretorius, 2007: 241-242, 283-284). Louw left PDW on 25 September after a mere six months (Louw [A], no date: 1909). After a very wet rainy season in 1909, the tower of the DRC Heidelberg, Transvaal (1891, designed by Brislin & Veale, their only church design) started cracking, and collapsed just a few hours after it was inspected by the building committee of the *kerkraad*. Louw was appointed in October 1909 to handle the rebuilding of the tower. Louw could now also spend more time on the DRC Port Elizabeth project which was nearing completion. Commissions to design church buildings for DRC Calitzdorp, Vereeniging (Figure 5.51), Boksburg, Ventersdorp, and Reitz followed soon afterwards. The young architect's career was re-launched on the verge of the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910 (Maeder and Zinn, 1917: 149, 412, 443).

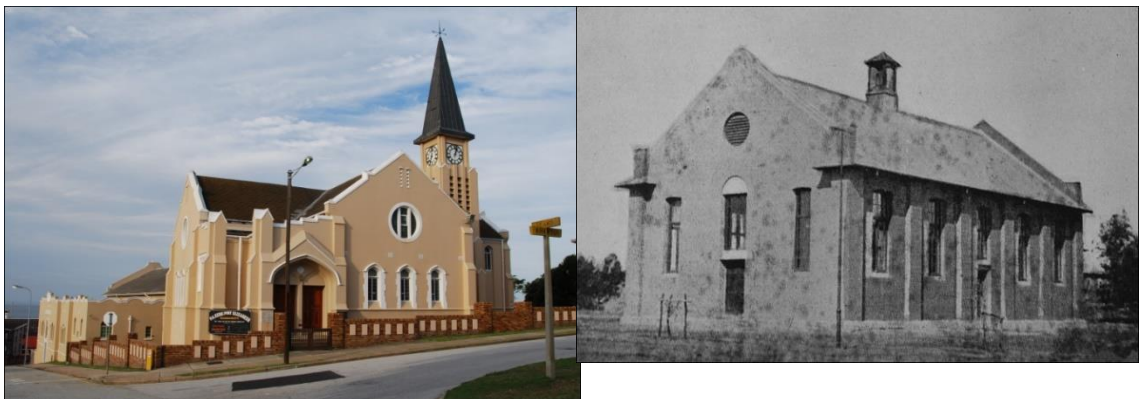


Figure 5.50: DRC Port Elizabeth (2021)

Figure 5.51: DRC Vereeniging c1917 (Maeder and Zinn, 1917: 253)

5.4.10 Gerard Moerdyk

During the next two decades a new group of architects, now mostly South Africans, were trained in London or Europe before they started to practice their profession in their country of birth. Among them was Gerard Moerdyk (1890-1958) who decided to study architecture at the AA in London on the recommendation of his school friend Gordon E Leith while they both worked at the DPW soon after Leith's return from the AA as an ARIBA. After his return to South Africa in 1913 Moerdyk worked for the PWD in Pretoria, but he lost his job in 1914 due to the First World War. While working for the Robinson Deep Gold Mines in Johannesburg Moerdyk produced a booklet *Kerkgeboue vir Suid-Afrika* (Church Buildings for South Africa) which was published privately in 1919

(Moerdijk, 1919). He distributed it widely to congregations of the Afrikaans Reformed Churches, an action he was severely criticised for because it was considered to be inappropriate advertising. It however helped him to eventually secure more than 80 commissions to design Reformed Church buildings. The publication included ten prototypes for churches of various sizes and designs as well as his architectural credo of nine principles – the last one stating that a building should be '*volkseie*' (a nation's own). In the same year, he formed a loose partnership with Leith, and they designed a church for DRC Bothaville (1919), his first major project. It was initially based on Nr 5 of his ten prototypes, but after much discussion with the *kerkraad* it eventually became a Latin cross externally, but still with an internal amphitheatre-type layout (Fisher, 2006: 70-75; Jooste, 2000: 68-72; Vermeulen, 1999: 36-45).

Moerdyk (1919: 1-5) was outspoken about the 'state of chaos' of the church architecture of the time accusing his contemporaries of copying European churches and not building 'honestly' with local materials. He referred positively to a number of pioneer churches, but interestingly preferred to ignore the innovating contributions made by Kallenbach, Louw, Ford, Freeman, Van Rijssen, and even Baker, all of whom he must have been well aware of. Moerdyk was a learner draughtsman at DPW in Pretoria when Louw briefly worked there in 1909 (Vermeulen, 1999: 19).

Jooste (2000: 82-83) states that while Moerdyk did make use of local technology and materials, and designed for local conditions, his:

architectural elements, stylistic inventions and references were borrowed indiscriminately. In his search to create symbols to represent the Afrikaner, Moerdijk garnered a variety of established architectural styles, materials and ideas, which he heterogeneously pasted together [and] unlike many, he did not instinctively know how to transform and interpret the ideas and forms to create '*volkseie argitektuur*' [...] Moerdijk might actually have captured the essence of his society at the time. He certainly did not create a recognisable South African style - his building oeuvre consists of a vast collection of classical, Art Deco and Modernist inspired artefacts.

Vermeulen (1999: 142) writes: "Hierteen maak Rogers Fischer [sic] heftig kapsie" (translated: Fisher objects) and quotes him (no reference given) crediting Moerdyk to be the first to write about architecture in Afrikaans which helped to popularise architecture as a form of social upliftment. He considers Moerdyk to be part of the 'regionalist tradition' making use of local skills, labour, material, and other resources and reminds us that Moerdyk stated in his writings that style was not his primary objective, but that by following his first eight directives an authentic local style would follow automatically.

Van der Bank (2004:154-155) agrees and quotes Vermeulen, Martiens van Bart, Hans Franssen and even Leon Roodt (1924-1995) who gave Moerdyk credit for his contribution

to a new approach to the design of reformed churches, whilst also recognising the indirect criticism that Koorts (1974: 58) directed at the so-called neo-Byzantine churches of his predecessors. Van der Bank (2004: 154-155) further states that Moerdyk and Louw stand out as pioneers of *Centraalbouw* design based on a Greek cross plan.

5.5 CONCLUDING REMARKS

At the start of the 20th century, South Africa was ripe for change. It was a time of turmoil that started with the discovery of diamonds and gold which allowed the industrial revolution to gain a foothold in southern Africa. This led to rapid urbanisation and the influx of *uitlanders* (British immigrants) to the two previously pastoral Boer republics. The accompanying greed and wealth brought huge social, political, economic, and cultural change and ultimately two Anglo-Boer Wars to the area. It accelerated the evolvement of the *armblanke* (poor white) social class and worsened the position of the indigenous inhabitants of the area in the post-war era with its focus on the unification of the 'two races' (refer to note 78), while conveniently postponing any decision about a general franchise. Unification and the accompanying anglicisation programmes driven by Milner and his *Kindergarten* ultimately gave birth to a broad Afrikaner Nationalism. In this time of crisis, the Reformed churches increasingly became a safe haven for the Afrikaans section of the population (*Afrikaners*), and these institutions grew rapidly despite the ravages of a prolonged and serious drought and the post-war economic recession (Hofmeyr, 2002: 152-167; Pretorius, 2007:179-262, 241-242, 283-284).

At this very time, the first South African-born students started to attend European, but mostly British universities, to prepare themselves for professional careers. These included lawyers such as Jan Smuts (Christ's College, Cambridge and Middle Temple, London from 1891-1895) and MT Steyn (Inner Temple, London from 1880-1882) (Steyn, 2017: 13-15). Louw's three older brothers studied at the University of Edinburgh. They were Attie (B.Sc.), John (Dentistry) and Charlie (M.D.) (Louw, 1975: 24-27).

The architects followed them soon after proper tertiary institutions were established in Britain. These included the brothers Payne, Wynand Louw, Leith, Pearse and later Moerdyk, Henri Louw, AL Meiring, Hugo Naudé, and many more. These newly tertiary-trained architects brought home fresh ideas at a time when the world needed to move away from the rather directionless 19th century time of eclecticism and neo-styles with its lack of authenticity. At last, architects who grew up in South African Reformed Churches had the academic training and in-house insight which allowed them to bring a fresh approach to design just when many new church buildings were required.

This period with its new focus on *Centraalbouw*, though successful, lasted only a few decades and started to disappear during the late 1920s. According to Büchner, this transition era brought an end to a lamentable period of eclecticism with its almost rigid and unimaginative neo-styles. *Centraalbouw* brought a new focus on functionality, which would be of great value to the following period of Modernistic design styles which included a reassessment of the basilica style (Büchner, 1962: 184).

Wynand H Louw, the first tertiary-trained Afrikaans-speaking architect, arrived back in an almost new and unified South Africa at a time of terrible turmoil but also one of great opportunity. As the son of an old Paarl family with strong roots in the Reformed Church, and as a member of the third oldest DRC congregation in the country, Louw had the ideal opportunity, in trying times, to make a difference.

6. CASE STUDIES

6.1 INTENT

The intent of the case studies is to analyse Louw's approach to church layout and design, and to determine whether it was innovative for the time. Did it evolve over time and to what extent did it satisfy 20th century requirements in terms of theology, practicality, liturgy, and financial considerations?

6.2 RATIONALE OF SELECTION

To choose only 15 church buildings out of the almost 160 ecclesiastical building projects in the oeuvre of Wynand H Louw was a daunting task. The following approach was therefore taken:

- a. Focus only on designs of new church buildings, narrowing the number down to 110.
- b. Time frame: choose at least one building out of each of the four eras of architectural practices in which he was involved.
- c. Size: ensure that a variety of building sizes are included.
- d. Budget: ensure that a range of budgets is covered.
- e. Style: include as many design styles as possible.
- f. Geographic spread: include at least one example from each of the different regions of southern Africa of the early 20th century.

6.3 THE LIST OF FIFTEEN CASE STUDIES

- DRC Port Elizabeth 1909: the first church Louw designed focusing on how it evolved over time.
- RC Reitz 1912: probably the church that brought Louw early fame and boosted his career.
- DRC Kuruman 1914: a hall church representative of small churches for many small rural congregations.
- DRC Pietersburg 1917: Eclectic ZA Wilhelmiens in style?
- DRC Dundee 1921: the church that probably gave birth to Louw & Moerdyk.
- DRC De Aar 1923: three doors and a rose window?
- DRC Hertzogville 1924: a smaller version of DRC Bloemfontein North, both from the Louw & Moerdyk era.

- DRC Lindley 1926: the last time (out of four) that Louw's name appears on the cornerstone of a church.
- DRC Napier 1927: a Cape Dutch Revival landmark.
- DRC Uitenhage 1927: Louw's largest church.
- DRC *Die Strand* 1930: the culmination of Louw's design involvement.
- DRC Bethlehem West 1930: the first Louw & Louw design?
- DRC Somerset West 1940: a success recipe repeated.
- DRC Vredendal 1949: a Henry Louw design.
- DRC Lutzville 1955: a Wollie Bronkhorst design.

Date	Received	Paid
<u>Nuwe Kerke</u>		
Port Elizabeth		2 500
Caitz Gans		8 500
Bokkings		6 000
Ventersdorp		9 000
Reitz		12 000
Petersburg		9 000
Port Elizabeth		10 000
Heidelberg Trol. town		2 000
Namakwaort		1 500
Verreiging		1 500
Worcester		1 000
Orkney		1 500
Kerk Worselt		1 500
		<hr/> 66 000
Boesmans	3 500	
Rhizophos	1 000	
Paarl	1 000	
" Kulp Kerk	2 000	
		<hr/> 7 500
<u>Kerk Sale</u>		
Cradoch		8 000
Beaufort West		4 000
Currievon		1 500
Worcester		6 500
Port Elizabeth		2 500
		<hr/> 22 500

Figure 6.1: Extract from Louw's 1918 diary showing projects and budgets (Louw [A], no date: 1918)

6.4 CASE STUDY NR 1: DRC PORT ELIZABETH 1909

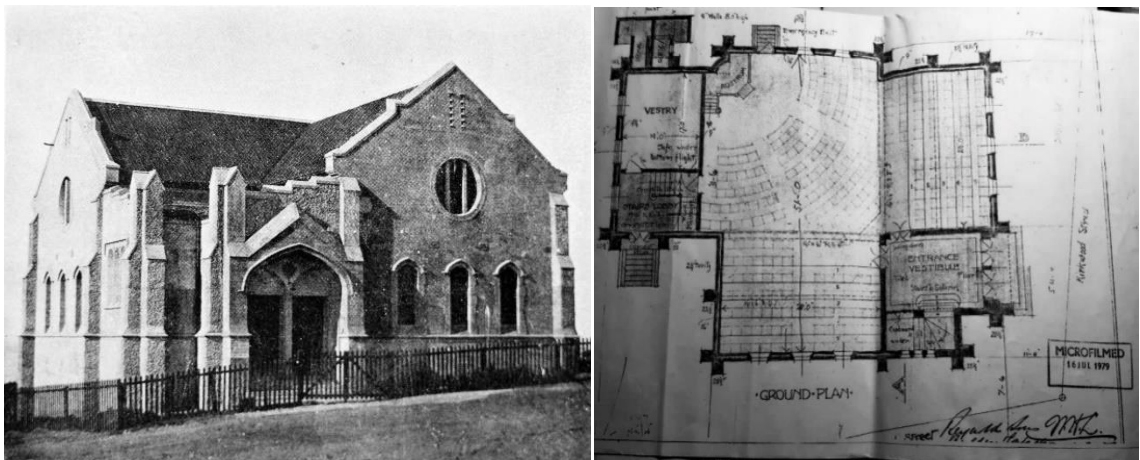
6.4.1 History

The Port Elizabeth DRC congregation seceded from DRC Uitenhage on 17 April 1907 with only 220 members from a rather poor community. Despite that, Wynand Louw was appointed in January 1909 as the architect of their church building. It was his first commission for the design of a new church. The building plans were approved on his

26th birthday (17 February 1909), and the cornerstone was laid on 17 April 1909. The first *dominee* was GWS Hofmeyr (appointed on 7 July 1909), and one of his first tasks was to go on collection tours to secure funding for the construction work. Louw's diary gives a figure of £2500 as the building cost, which is relatively low. The church was inaugurated on 31 December 1909⁸⁵ (Louw [A], no date: 1909; Olivier and Geldenhuys, 1952; 149).

6.4.2 Architectural style

The 1909 church building, situated on a corner erf on a rise above the Indian Ocean, externally created the illusion of a Greek cross, but it was an incomplete cross. The two arms facing the corner of Geard and Kirkwood Streets ended in gables, each with a round window (at gallery level) with a simple leaded glass motif above three flat-pointed Gothic windows. The windows combined with buttresses created a neo-Gothic structured building. The area between the front arms of the cross was filled in and housed the entrance hall with two doors as well as the staircase to the galleries. A third short wing to the left of the pulpit housed the *konsistorie*. The pulpit was positioned on a corner facing the entrance on the opposite corner of the two front arms. There was no church tower.



Figures 6.2 and 6.3: Photo and layout plan of the original 1909 DRC Port Elizabeth (Maeder and Zinn, 1917: 47) and (Louw [B], no date)

6.4.3 Internal layout and design

The seating in the square crossing was arranged in a theatre-styled semi-circle facing the pulpit. In the two front arms, the seating was in straight rows but still faced the pulpit, as did the seating on the galleries. The organ was positioned in the short wing to the left

⁸⁵ The historical information for all the congregations discussed in the case studies was mostly obtained from *Ons Gemeentelike Feesalbum* and cross checked with Wikipedia.com, the online DRC archives at gemeentegeschiedenis.co.za and *Van Kerke en Dorpe* by Hoevers. While the latter offers comprehensive information about congregations, the other two mostly rely on the information in the book of Olivier and Geldenhuys. (Olivier and Geldenhuys, 1952; Hoevers, 2010)

of the pulpit and above the *konsistorie*. The roof trusses were exposed and articulated, and the truss supports were accentuated.



Figures 6.4 and 6.5: Interior of the present DRC Port Elizabeth (2021)

6.4.4 Additions

In 1951 a fourth arm was added to complete the irregular cross. The organ and seating for the choir were accommodated in this arm. A tower with an additional entrance door was added in the gap next to the new fourth arm.



Figure 6.6: DRC Port Elizabeth with its tower (2021)

6.4.5 Discussion

The original design of the church was impacted by the limited funds of a rather poor congregation. Therefore, the fourth arm of the cross and the tower were initially omitted. The plaster-and-paint finish was also the least expensive option available.

The use of semi-circular theatre-styled seating was conspicuous for this era. The layout demonstrated a clear move away from the traditional Latin cross church layouts of the previous century towards a renewed focus on the pulpit and liturgical centre (*sola scriptura*) despite the external design which remained neo-Gothic in its references.

Ironically the later addition of the fourth arm of the Greek cross was a regressive step. The choir's view of the pulpit from the new gallery was rather restricted.

6.5 CASE STUDY NR 2: DRC REITZ 1912

6.5.1 History

The Reitz DRC was formally established in 1891, but already had a church building since 1886. It was enlarged to a Roman cross in 1894. The church was ruined by British forces during the South African War. All woodwork including the pulpit, seating and floors was ripped out and probably used for firewood. It was repaired soon after the war, but eventually demolished in 1918.

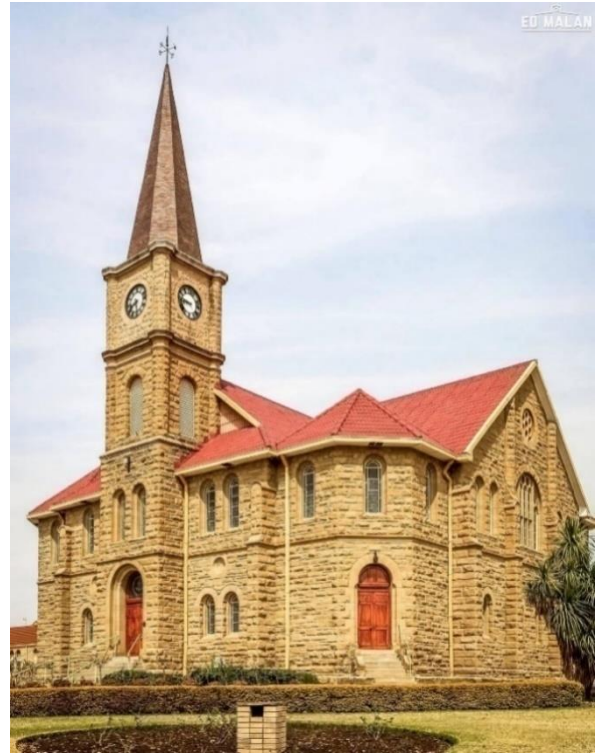
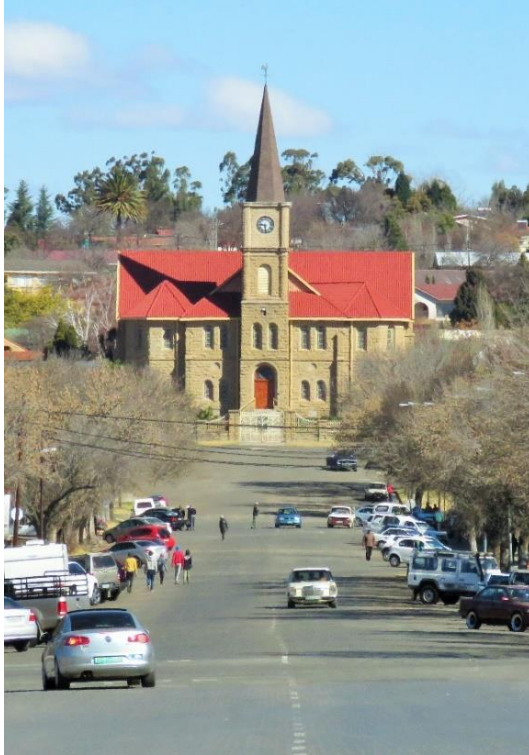
The congregation grew quickly, and on 10 August 1912 the last president of the *Oranjevrijstaat*, MT Steyn, laid the cornerstone for a new church designed by Wynand Louw not long after his marriage with Maria Norval. Being his first sandstone building in the Free State Louw was intimately involved with the supervision of the construction phase. When he and Maria left for a delayed honeymoon and study tour of Europe, his brother George took over that responsibility.⁸⁶ The new building costing £12 000 was inaugurated on 15 May 1914. It was the most expensive Louw design to date (refer to the discussion in paragraph 6.5.5) (Louw, 1968: 81; Olivier and Geldenhuys, 1952: 392).

6.5.2 Architectural style

The imposing Free State yellow sandstone church strategically stands on a slight rise, after a hollow in mid-town, at the end of Church Street with its T-junction with North

⁸⁶ George and Wynand also completed the building of Wynand Louw's Paarl home *Die Hoogte* during this time.

Street. Externally the church is a Greek cross with wide arms forming a large square crossing. All four corners between the arms are almost fully filled in with quarters of an octagon, each with an entrance door and hall which also houses a staircase to the galleries. On the northern arm, facing Church Street, a tall centrally positioned tower also acts as the main entrance.



Figures 6.7 and 6.8: DRC Reitz: view from Church Street (2018) and from the southeast (Ed Malan, 2021)

A large semi-circle arched window, flanked by four smaller ones above the galleries, and four slightly smaller windows below, adorn the two main gable ends on the left and right of the main entrance, and provide ample light. The large arched window is repeated on the fourth (back) gable. All windows have leaded glass patterns.

The roof plan represents a typical *Centraalbouw* design approach.

6.5.3 Internal layout and design

Internally the *Centraalbouw preekkerk* approach is quite clear. Seating is arranged in an almost complete semi-circle also filling the areas below the galleries (Figure 6.9). On the three inclined galleries facing the pulpit, the seats are in straight rows, all with clear views of the pulpit. The fourth arm houses the organ and choir seats behind the pulpit with the *konsistorie* below it. The concept of a Greek cross is thereby maintained internally.

Close attention was given to the detail of transom windows, and door furniture. Natural wood was amply used for the pulpit, seating, galleries, balustrades, and doors. The high ceilings are finished with patterned tiles.



Figure 6.9: Panographic photo of the interior of DRC Reitz (2020)

6.5.4 Additions

From early paintings and photographs, it seems that the tower was later raised slightly to provide more room for the four clock faces. The same tall, tiled spire was reconstructed. An attractive turret for ventilation on the crossing of the roofs has been removed, probably due to waterproofing problems.

6.5.5 Discussion

To give context and to better understand the evolution of Louw's design ideas, it is necessary to compare DRC Reitz with other Louw designs of this period.

With DRC Calitzdorp (1910) Louw had a smaller budget of £8 500. He built a Greek cross-shaped stone church with local stone carted by oxwagon from a nearby farm. It had a dominant tower with a copper cupola, with an almost byzantine feel to it. Internally the pulpit was positioned in front of the fourth arm, with the organ and choir seating behind it and above the *konsistorie* below, which was very similar to DRC Reitz.

With the Greek cross-shaped stone church for DRC Boksburg (1912 with a budget of £6 000), Louw reverted to the pulpit in the corner of two short arms as with DRC Port Elizabeth. The layout of DRC Ventersdorp (also 1912, and with a budget of £9 000) is a Greek cross church and the layout is similar to that of DRC Calitzdorp and DRC Reitz. It was however built in ZAR Republican style (also called Eclectic ZA Wilhelmiens). In all these churches the quality finishes, furnishings, leaded glass windows, and attention to detail are evidence of relatively large budgets.



Figures 6.10 and 6.11: Photo of DRC Reitz c1916 (Maeder and Zinn, 1917: 177) and 2018 with the rebuilt tower (Author, 2018)

While still echoing his attachment to a Greek cross, it is clear that with DRC Reitz Louw was yearning to follow *Centraalbouw* principles in order to create a *preekkerk* suitable for reformed churches in South Africa, in other words a place where people could meet as a congregation, and with the focus would be on the sermon and the liturgy.⁸⁷ Sufficient light, good airflow, and good acoustics were important. While the budget for this church clearly allowed some freedom to focus on detail and the addition of some leaded glass windows, the interior remains simple and sober with few distractions.

It also seems as if Louw found a solution for the leakage issues that are normally associated with roofs over infills. The gutters between the roofs are all at an incline and do not form low points where leaves and dirt can accumulate and block rainwater drains.

Some later critics (such as Koorts) considered the organ and choir seating behind the pulpit a distraction because it was seen as combining the music of the organ and choir with the preaching instead of integrating it with the congregation's reaction to the sermon. (Koorts, 1974: 57-78, 106-107) Others, especially organists, do not agree with this opinion.

Many, including the builder F Ward-Smith, have singled out this imposing church building as an early high point in Louw's career (Louw, 1968: 86). The prominence of the

⁸⁷ The Afrikaans word *preek* is translated as sermon, while *prediking* is translated as preaching.

cornerstone being laid by a previous head of state in the person of MT Steyn also added gravitas, and most probably helped to launch Louw's career at the age of 31.

6.6 CASE STUDY NR 3: DRC KURUMAN 1914

6.6.1 History

The congregation of DRC Deben was established in 1909 and the first *dominee* JN Geldenhuys was welcomed in 1911 in Van Druten's shop near Olifantshoek due to a lack of other facilities. The congregation served three regions: Olifantshoek, Deben and Kuruman. In 1912 it was decided that the *dominee* would live in Kuruman, and to build three identical churches, one in each district. The tender by AM Olivier was accepted. The church in Kuruman would cost £1 275. Kuruman's cornerstone was laid on 11 April 1914, and the church was inaugurated on 25 July of the same year amidst the Maritz Rebellion with General Manie Maritz present. Olifantshoek laid its cornerstone on 19 September 1914, and Deben on 27 July 1917, after it became a separate congregation. The latter two churches were later demolished to make way for larger churches.

In 1953 Louw & Louw was appointed to design a new church on a new site for DRC Kuruman. The project architect was Wollie Bronkhorst. The original church was sold to the *Hervormde* congregation after 41 years of service. They later sold it in 2015 to a local business, and it is still used as a vehicle sales showroom (Figures 6.15 and 6.16) (Van der Merwe, 2016: 30-37, 70-77).

6.6.2 Architectural style

The three churches were almost identical oblong hall-type churches with half-round arched openings which vaguely refers to neo-Romanesque architecture. Only the gables of the three buildings differed somewhat. The windows were simple rectangular with plastered half-circle (not pointed) arches above.

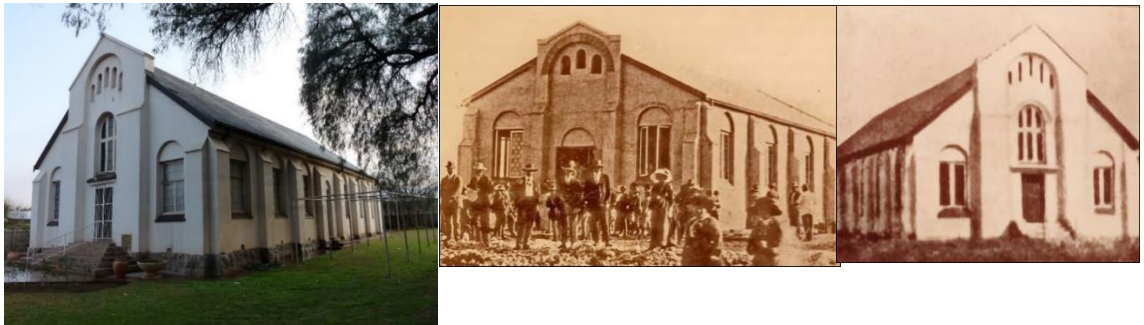


Figure 6.12: DRC Kuruman 2009 (above) (B Schmulling, 2009)

Figures 6.13 and 6.14 DRC Deben (middle) and DRC Olifantsfontein (right) (Van der Merwe, 2016: 34, 35)

6.6.3 Internal layout and design

Seating was in straight rows as appropriate for a hall. No information is available about the pulpits.



Figures 6.15 and 6.16: Interior and exterior of Kuruman Ford, previously DRC Kuruman (Kuruman Ford, 2021)

6.6.4 Additions

None. Unfortunately, the cornerstone disappeared when the *Hervormde* congregation took over the building.

6.6.5 Discussion

These designs clearly indicate that Louw could adapt to the needs, preferences, and budgets of specific congregations. He was probably only paid for one design, which was then used at least four times. The same builder AM Olivier built a dressed stone church with a similar design for the DRC Reivilo congregation in 1923, the *Klipkerk* which is still used despite a new church and hall being built later. The design was an adaption of churches designed by Louw for DRC Vereeniging in 1911 and DRC Vanwyksvlei in 1912. The attractive ventilation turrets were not used again. The Vanwyksvlei church is still in use.



Figures 6.17 and 6.18: DRC Reivilo (DRC Reivilo church office) and DRC Vanwyksvlei (DRC Vanwyksvlei church office)

6.7 CASE STUDY NR 4: DRC PIETERSBURG 1917

6.7.1 History

DRC Pietersburg (formerly Zoutpansberg and now in Polokwane) was established in 1852. The original 1890 church was replaced by the one designed by Louw. Construction was delayed due to WWI, and it was only inaugurated in 1918 costing £9 000 (Olivier and Geldenhuys, 1952: 407).

6.7.2 Architectural style

From the street corner, the church appears to be a Greek cross with a broad tower filling most of the gap between the main arms and serving as an entrance hall. To the back, on the left, however, there is only a very short arm with a flat semi-octagon footprint. The external walls are clad with pointed red masonry with dressed stone details around doors and windows. Ten tall windows in each main gable, five above and five below the gallery, provide ample light.



Figures 6.19 and 6.20: DRC Pietersburg: exterior view and painting by Louw (2020 and WH Louw, c1916)

DRC Pietersburg and DRC Ventersdorp are the only two Louw-designed churches with strong Transvaal republican (or Eclectic ZA Wilhelmiens) influences (refer to paragraph 6.7.5).

6.7.3 Internal layout and design

The internal layout is similar to that of DRC Boksburg, and the enlarged DRC Port Elizabeth, with the organ gallery to the right of the pulpit, which faces the tower entrance. On the left, however, the flat octagonal half-wing accommodates the start of the semi-circular seating facing the pulpit with its four Ionic pillars. The *konsistorie* is below the organ gallery. The galleries in the two arms next to the tower have sloped seating offering good views of the pulpit. They are connected via two arched openings and across the staircase landing above the main tower entrance. All galleries, seating and balustrades are made of wood. The curved ceiling reflects the external Greek cross and is articulated with a dark wood pattern around a central square ventilation panel.



Figure 6.21: Panographic photo of the interior of DRC Pietersburg (2020)

6.7.4 Additions

An adjacent church hall was added much later.

6.7.5 Discussion

This church layout design shows limited progress, and even some regression after DRC Reitz, possibly because it was designed more or less at the same time as DRC Boksburg with a similar layout, albeit with a better connection between the galleries. Louw was still grappling with adaptations to the Greek cross plan which he grew up with. The organ gallery with its limited view remained a problem, but otherwise all seats were focused on the pulpit, and the slender columns supporting the galleries caused only limited visual impact. Externally it is an imposing and well-finished structure.

The only other church Louw designed with references to Transvaal republican architecture is DRC Ventersdorp, while the external brickwork and stone dressing of DRC Swartruggens, which has Cape Dutch Revival gables, also reminds one of this church.

6.8 CASE STUDY NR 5: DRC DUNDEE 1921

6.8.1 History

The congregation was established in 1917 and appointed Louw in 1919 to design their church building. When the tender prices came in much higher than the estimated £9 000, the *kerkraad* approached Gerard Moerdyk for advice. Moerdyk had just published his booklet *Kerkgeboue vir Suid-Afrika* (Moerdijk, 1919), and sent it to a number of congregations, probably also to Dundee. Moerdyk undertook to design a church for 750 people for £10 000. While most consider Moerdyk to be the sole architect of this church, the 1921 cornerstone, which was replaced in 1971, clearly states ‘Louw & Moerdijk’ to be the architects (Figure: 6.22). Louw’s diaries state that he sent drawings for DRC Dundee to Moerdyk on 15 January 1921 and that on 22 January 1921 they signed their partnership agreement. It is probable that this church design project led to the formation of their partnership (Louw [A], no date: 1921 diary; Olivier and Geldenhuys, 1952: 288; Van der Merwe, 2017a: 31-33).



Figure 6.22: Cornerstone of DRC Dundee, replaced in 1971 (2020)

6.8.2 Architectural style

This Greek cross church with its two dominant Cape Dutch gables facing a street corner can be described as Cape Dutch Revival (Figure 6.23). The style was probably influenced by Moerdyk who received a Carnegie bursary in 1920 to study Cape Dutch

architecture.⁸⁸ He yearned to find a *volkeie* architectural style. The rose windows in the two main gables are conspicuous. Some earlier Louw churches, such as DRC Calitzdorp, DRC Boksburg, and DRC Reitz have round air vents which create the impression of rose windows. Moerdyk's only previous church design (DRC Bothaville 1918) does not have a rose window, but some of his sketches of churches in *Kerkgeboue vir Suid-Afrika* have round features which could be air vents or rose windows.



Figures 6.23 and 6.24: DRC Dundee: exterior views (2020)

6.8.3 Internal layout and design

The internal layout does not reflect the external Greek cross. Only the two main arms with the tower filling in the corner between them are part of the church interior, each with a gallery and seating in straight rows. The main entrance is via the tower. On entering the church an aisle in the centre of a quarter circle of seats leads directly to the pulpit against the opposite corner. To the left of the pulpit, the third gabled arm (without a rose window) houses the organ with ancillary rooms below. To the right, a short arm houses the *konsistorie*.

The high gables allow for high vaulted ceilings, while the rose windows combined with one square and four rectangular arched windows per gable provide ample light.

⁸⁸ The drawings Moerdyk made for Carnegie as part of his studies were tragically lost *en route* to London.

6.8.4 Additions

None.



Figure 6.25: Interior of DRC Dundee (2020)

6.8.5 Discussion

All seats have unobstructed views of the pulpit, but the central aisle dividing the circular seating is not ideal. The layout is quite similar to design drawing Nr 7 for DRC Piet Retief in Moerdijk's 1919 booklet, except for the seating and aisle layout (Moerdijk, 1919: 14).

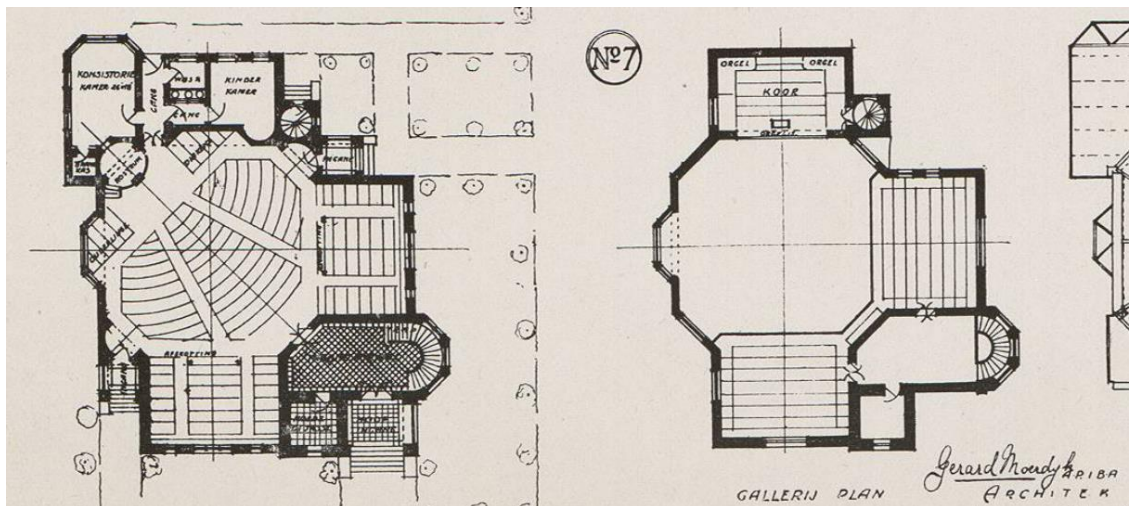


Figure 6.26: Moerdijk's Plan Nr 7 (Moerdijk, 1919: 14)

This is the first Louw & Moerdijk church with a rose window. DRC Burgersdorp (designed by WH Ford in 1912) is one of the few earlier reformed churches with rose windows. It would later become an almost standard feature for many Louw and quite a number of Moerdijk churches.

While it is unsure who designed which parts of this church, it displays elements that would be used by both Moerdyk and Louw in their later designs after this inspired cooperation. The two architects clearly learned from one another.



Figure 6.27: DRC Dundee: Rose Window (2020)

6.9 CASE STUDY NR 6: DRC DE AAR 1923

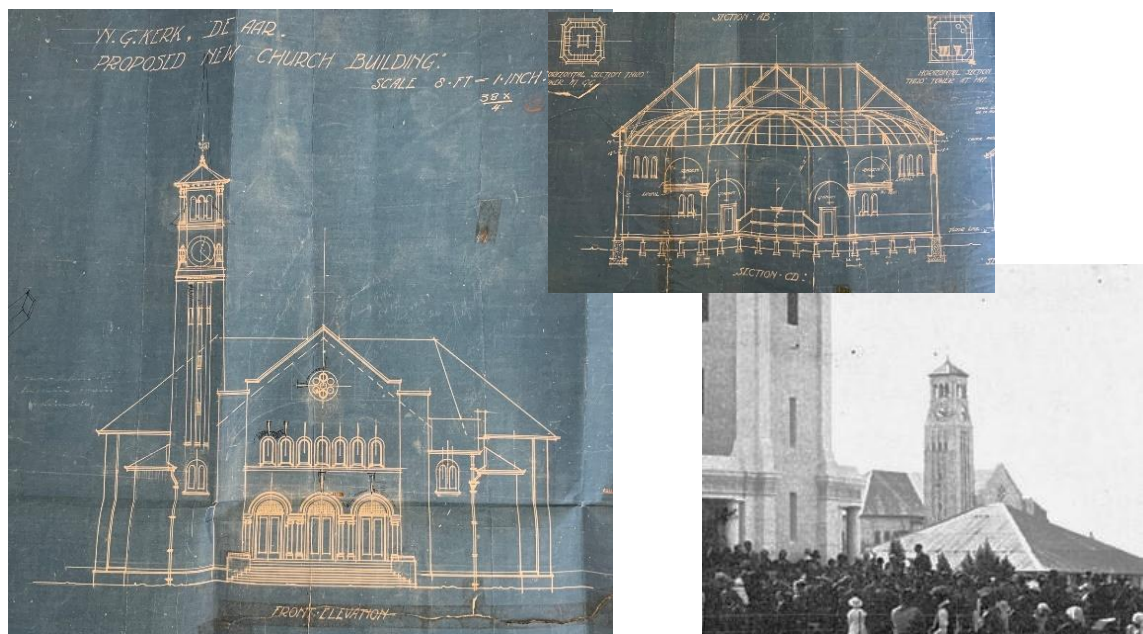
6.9.1 History

Unlike most other Karoo towns, De Aar was not established as a *kerkdorp*, but started to develop after 1884 around a railway junction called Brounger. The railway, sheep farming, and the military base that was established there during the South African War, led to rapid growth and a formal municipality was established in 1904. After forming part of DRC Hanover for many years, De Aar became a separate congregation in 1913. The first church was built in 1906, and the building still serves as a church hall albeit with face brick cladding since 1959. Its tower was removed in 1923 when the present church designed by Louw was built (Olivier and Geldenhuys, 1952: 159; Smit, 1963: 6-14, 40-47, 61, 87-90).

The church was designed during the Louw & Moerdyk period, but Cape projects were most probably excluded from the partnership. In the absence of a copy of the partnership agreement there is no proof of this assumption, but of the 50 ecclesiastical projects in which Louw was involved between 1921 and 1927, only 17 were Louw & Moerdyk projects. Two of which were in Natal, one in the Transvaal and none in the Cape. All the others were in the Free State.

6.9.2 Architectural style

This church was the first of a number of typical Wynand H Louw churches. Externally it was a white-plastered octagonal *Centraalbouw* church with a wide narthex formed by a gable flanked by a tower on the left and a cylindrical staircase on the right. The gable has a round air vent that looks like a rose window above seven arched windows above three arched front doors (Figures 6.28 and 6.30). Louw would often use the symbolic numbers three and seven in later designs.



Figures 6.28, 6.29 and 6.30: Design drawings of DRC De Aar (DRC De Aar church office) and only photo of original church c1935 (Reformed Church De Aar church office)

6.9.3 Internal layout and design

Circular seating, divided into three equal wedges, face the pulpit which was placed against the back of the octagon facing the narthex. Behind it, a short wing was added to house the *konsistorie*. A sloped gallery with an elegantly curved wooden balustrade housed the organ above the main entrance. All seats, including those on the gallery have clear views of the liturgical centre.

Internally the high domed ceilings create the illusion of a Greek cross. An interesting detail is two Corinthian-styled columns to the sides of the pulpit which support the cross-shaped ceiling. The columns were partly clad with wood in 1959. The cross arm behind the pulpit forms an apse.



Figures 6.31 and 6.32: DRC De Aar: interior view towards pulpit (2021) and location plan (DRC De Aar church office)

6.9.4 Additions

In 1956 the *kerkraad* approached Wollie Bronkhorst just before he left Louw & Louw for advice regarding the external walls of the church which required regular maintenance. After years of discussion, the church was eventually externally clad with face brick in 1959 to improve the waterproofing. Ironically, the cladding itself created major waterproofing problems early in the 21st century when parts of it started to separate from the walls behind. The project cost to address this was more than for the original church. Internally wood-panelling was added to the side walls and two columns. At the same time the original church, which was repurposed as a church hall in 1923, was also clad with brick (Smit, 1963: 87-90).



Figures 6.33, 6.34 and 6.35: DRC De Aar with its 1960s face brick cladding and three doors (2021) and design of the original tower (centre) (De Aar church office)

According to the church office, the face brick covering of the church hall was removed in the 1990s to be used for an extension to the *konsistorie* of the 1913 church, in order to ensure that the brickwork to the extension matched the existing bricks of the church.

6.9.5 Discussion

Unfortunately, the only known photo of the original white church is where it appears in the background on the day of the inauguration of the *Gereformeerde* church building in 1935 (which was also designed by Louw). Luckily some of the original blueprints were found in the walk-in vault during the author's visit in 2021.

It is a well-designed reformed church, both internally and externally, despite the negative impact of the later face brick cladding and rebuild of the tower. The internal layout provides good views of the liturgical centre from almost all seats. The high cross-shaped vaulted ceilings ensure good acoustics and a well-ventilated space in the hot Karoo. The gallery with its curved wooden balustrade is elegantly designed. The organ is correctly placed to form a union with the congregation. While the two Corinthian columns possibly obscure the view from a small number of seats they are aesthetically pleasing and add some value (Figure 6.37).

The symbolic three entrance doors, seven rectangular windows and air vent resembling a rose window in the front gable, make a statement which defines the building as a typical Louw reformed church (Figure 6.35). Louw had by now developed a thorough understanding of a modern 20th-century *Centraalbouw* church for a South African Reformed congregation.



Figures 6.36 and 6.37: Interior of DRC De Aar (2021)

6.10 CASE STUDY NR 7: DRC HERTZOGVILLE 1924

6.10.1 History

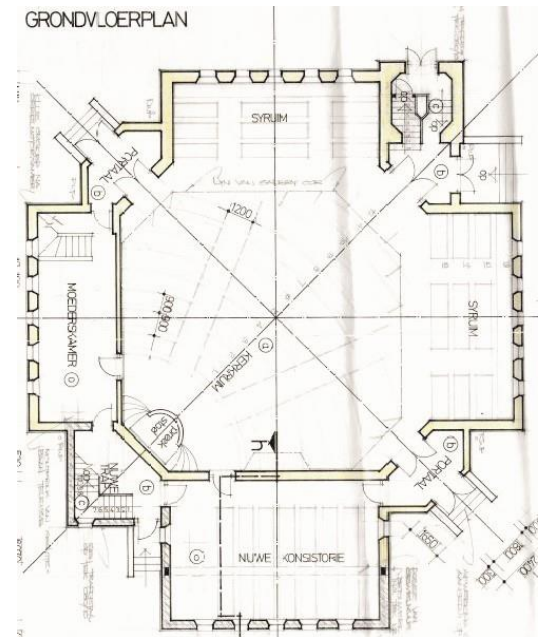
The congregation was established in 1917 shortly after the farm Donkerfontein was proclaimed as a town called Hertzogville. An alternative name, Gladstone, was suggested by some, which perhaps says something about the sentiment of the community during and after the 1914 Rebellion. None other than General JBM Hertzog laid the foundation stone of the new church popularly ascribed to Moerdyk in 1924 (Olivier and Geldenhuys, 1952: 358).



Figure 6.38: Inauguration of DRC Hertzogville (Maree, 1967: 42)

6.10.2 Architectural style

The dressed stone church was built with local dolerite. It has an irregular Greek cross shape. All corners were at least partly filled in. Externally the tower in the corner between the two main gabled arms seems not to be the main entrance. The main gables each have a rose window above five rectangular windows. The main entrance appears to be between the third gabled arm (without a rose window) and a main gabled arm to its left. The fourth shorter arm has a large square screen covering the rose window and a lean-to room which houses the *konsistorie*.



Figures 6.39 and 6.40: DRC Hertzogville: exterior view and proposed new ground floor layout plan (2020 and Leon Roodt Architects, 6.7.1977)

6.10.3 Internal layout and design

Internally the two main arms house the seating in straight rows with connected galleries above, while the crossing is filled with semi-circular seating divided into three wedges facing the pulpit on the corner of the other two arms. The arm to the right of the pulpit houses the organ and choir gallery above an ancillary room, while the *konsistorie* is to the left. The pulpit faces the tower which, from an internal perspective, seems to house the main entrance (as well as a spiral staircase to the galleries).

The high domed ceilings form a cross with an elegant round candelabra forming a central focal point.

All widows, including transom windows, have patterned leaded glass.



Figures 6.41 and 6.42: DRC Hertzogville: panoramic photo of the interior and photo of windows (2020)

6.10.4 Additions

According to design drawings of Leon Roodt dated 1977 (Figure 6.40), a new choir gallery to the left of the pulpit as well as an enlarged *konsistorie* were proposed but these were not built. It seems that some renovations were done and that a protective screen which protects the one rose window to the left of the pulpit was added.

6.10.5 Discussion

DRC Hertzogville is very similar to DRC Bloemfontein North's *Klipkerk*, which was also built with dolerite a year earlier. The *Klipkerk* is slightly bigger than DRC Hertzogville and has seating below the organ gallery to the right as well as below a gallery to the left of the pulpit. These seats however have restricted views of the pulpit and add little value. The domed ceilings of the two churches are almost identical, while the *Klipkerk*'s windows have mostly clear glass with only a simple red outer lining, as opposed to Hertzogville's colourful leaded glass windows. The gable of Hertzogville's left arm has a third rose window (now covered by a protective screen on the outside).

According to the cornerstones, both churches are Louw & Moerdyk designs, while they are usually ascribed to Moerdyk only. DRC Hertzogville appears on none of the original lists of Louw churches, and the author only became aware of it after seeing a photo of its cornerstone posted on Facebook. Interestingly, Vermeulen does not list Hertzogville as a Moerdyk church. During the author's visit to Hertzogville, he found a 1935 cornerstone for a church hall indicating Louw & Louw as the designers built into an internal wall of the new church hall. A deduction can be made that Louw took the lead on the Hertzogville design which has similarities to the internal seating layout of DRC De

Aar and does not have the problematic seating on the sides of the pulpit as with the *Klipkerk*. Louw's 1923 diary indicates that he visited Hertzogville in May to meet with the building commission of the *kerkraad* before drawing up plans for the partnership. In April 1924 Louw and Moerdyk met General Hertzog in Bloemfontein – possibly to discuss the laying of the cornerstone in October of that year.

The placing of the organ next to the pulpit however still had its inherent problems according to some critics, as discussed before.

6.11 CASE STUDY NR 8: DRC LINDLEY 1926

6.11.1 History

The congregation was established in 1876 as a typical *kerkdorp*. The first church was built with funds obtained from the selling of residential erven by the congregation. The town was named after Daniel Lindley, who was an American missionary and the only person prepared to care for the *Voortrekkers'* spiritual needs. The church was burnt down in February 1902 at the end of the South African War as part of Kitchener's scorched earth policy. A second church was built in 1904 after the war. Louw designed the third church building during the last year of the Louw & Moerdyk partnership. It is the last of only four churches with Louw's name on the cornerstone. (Olivier and Geldenhuys, 1952: 329)

Very little is known about the reasons for the end of the partnership, except for the distance between Pretoria and Paarl. According to Louw's grandson Wynand H Louw his father Tobie told him that the mid-1920s were Louw's unhappiest years as an architect. While the typical lead times of projects are such that the Louw & Moerdyk Partnership must have been involved in the design development of DRC Vereeniging, DRC Kestell, DRC Volksrust and DRC Lindley, and which is confirmed in Henri Louw's unpublished document as well as some diary inscriptions, the cornerstones tell a different story. It is postulated that as part of the termination agreement of the partnership, some semi-completed projects were allocated to the two parties to complete individually (Louw [A], no date; Louw, 1987: 6; Louw Wynand Jr, 2023).

6.11.2 Architectural style

The dressed stone church built with local sandstone has an octagon shape with half an octagon added on one side to house the pulpit with the organ and choir gallery behind it

(as well as the *konsistorie* below). On the opposite side, the narthex has three arched entrance doors with transom windows flanked by Tuscan columns below a rose window in a gable wall next to the tower, which can be considered as typical of Louw (Figure 6.47). The top storey of the church has a number of circular windows, while the ground level has arched windows (Figures 6.43 and 6.44).

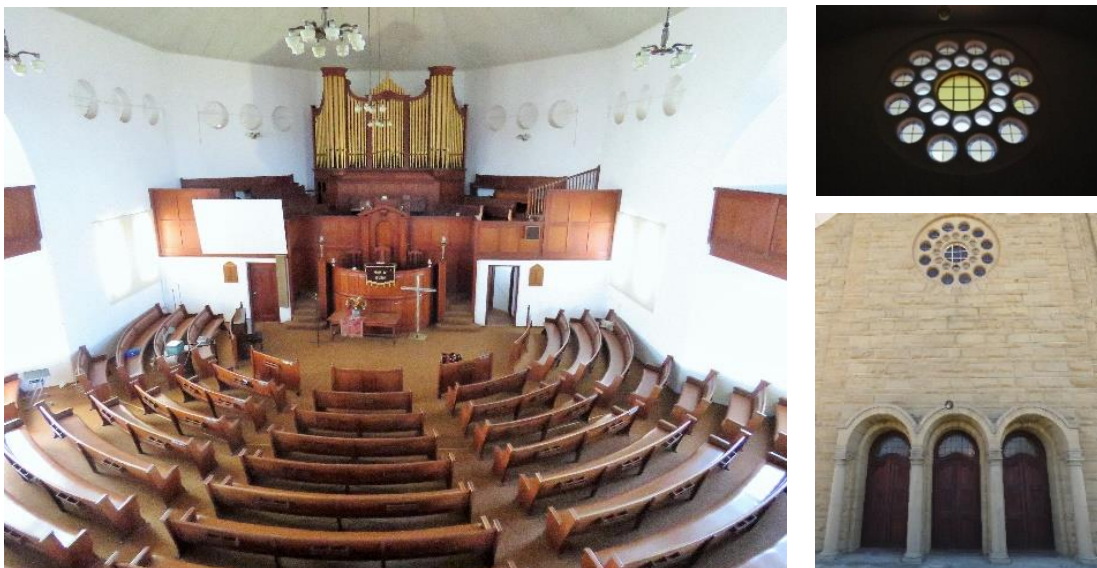


Figures 6.43 and 6.44: DRC Lindley's octagonal shapes (2018)

6.11.3 Internal layout and design

The internal seating layout is circular and fills the full octagon. The sloped seating on the galleries above are connected and fill five sides of the octagon in theatre style, facing the pulpit and mostly offering good views.

The multiple leaded glass windows provide ample light.



Figures 6.45, 6.46 and 6.47: DRC Lindley: interior view towards pulpit, rose window and 3 doors (2018)

6.11.4 Additions

At some stage, a room was built below the gallery on the narthex' side for parents with small children. One-way windows allow such family groups to feel part of the congregation. Above it, large mirrors have been attached to the gallery balustrade which innovatively allows the *dominee* and organist to make eye contact.

6.11.5 Discussion

This is a well-designed *Centraalbouw* church with simple internal finishes. The layouts of both levels are focused on the liturgical centre. The organ is integrated well with an impressive wooden pulpit, but as the mirrors indicate it is not positioned ideally from a liturgical viewpoint.

The design of the church was developed from a regular octagonal central floorplan, but because of the addition of a narthex in front and half an octagon at the back, the roof plan still resembles a cross. This church is similar in layout to DRC Queenstown, the demolished Reformed (*Gereformeerde*) Church Bloemfontein as well as the almost identical DRC De Bloem, also in Bloemfontein.

Externally the dressed sandstone church, positioned on a bit of a rise, makes a dominant impact on the small town.

6.12 CASE STUDY NR 9: DRC NAPIER 1927

6.12.1 History

The congregation was established in 1848 and named after George Thomas Napier, the Governor of the Cape who actively agitated for it.

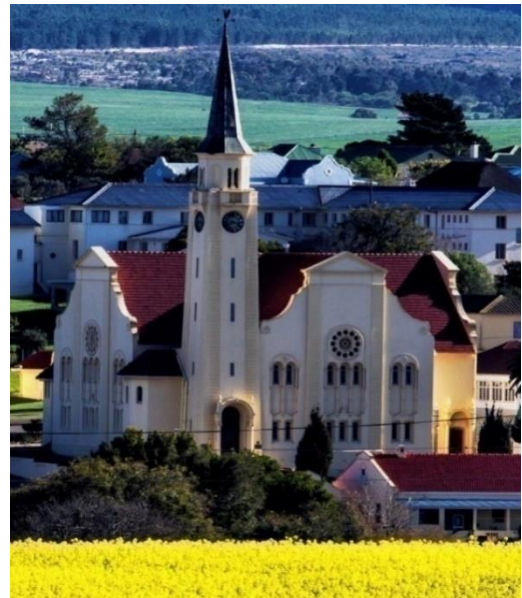
The first church building was a house which was enlarged to a neo-Gothic cross church in 1857. It is still used in a modernised form as a church hall and museum.

The present church designed by Louw was inaugurated in 1928. In *Ons Gemeentelike Feesalbum* it is named as possibly one of the most ornate (*sierlikste*) church buildings in South Africa. It was declared a National Monument in 1978 (Olivier and Geldenhuys, 1952: 60).

6.12.2 Architectural style

The church facades have Cape Dutch Revival elements, and it has a Greek cross-shaped plan. It stands on a rise above the town and dominates the landscape. All four arms have a large Cape Dutch gable with a rose window above two sets of seven arched windows above and below the galleries. The tall tower with its spire acts as the main entrance facing the street corner. The single entrance door is accentuated by an arch supported by Corinthian columns, a feature which is repeated at the other doors and around the top row of arched windows in each gable.

All four corners between the arms are filled in, albeit in varying sizes.



Figures 6.48 and 6.49: DRC Napier: exterior views (2021 and Robert Johnson, 2016)

6.12.3 Internal layout and design

The seating is arranged in a semi-circle facing the pulpit which is positioned on a corner of the cross opposite the tower entrance. The round seating extends naturally into the two arms below the galleries next to the tower (Figure 6.50). A large organ is positioned on the gallery to the left of the pulpit. It was designed to not obscure the large rose window behind it. The wooden balustrades of the galleries, with their steeply sloping seating, are connected to form an almost complete circle around the pulpit, which has a similar columned feature as the entrance doors.

The high domed ceilings subtly repeat the Greek cross theme internally. The curved roof trusses protruding from the ceilings are supported on Corinthian capitals. The patterned leaded glass windows provide ample light.



Figures 6.50, 6.51 and 6.52: DRC Napier interior: panographic photo and details (2018)

6.12.4 Additions

None.

6.12.5 Discussion

After his experiments with the octagonal forms of DRC Lindley, Stanford and Hermanus, Louw, with the Napier church, returns to the Greek cross. While the Lindley church design was quite successful the latter two smaller churches were less so. Their galleries were dominating and created rather sombre interiors. In Hermanus internal columns obscured views. DRC Hermanus has been expanded on more than one occasion.

With DRC Napier a large square crossing was created, which allows for circular seating with unobstructed views of the liturgical centre. It is a true *Centraalbouw preekkerk* which is not dissimilar to Hendrik de Keyser's *Noorderkerk*. Combined with the sparse but elegant internal decorations Louw succeeded to design a *domus ecclesiae* church.

Not only has Louw returned to the beloved Greek cross of his youth, but also to his love for Cape Dutch buildings. This love was instilled by the artist Hugo Naudé and inspired by their farmstead *Labori*.

6.13 CASE STUDY NR 10: DRC UITENHAGE 1927

6.13.1 History

DRC Uitenhage was established in 1817 as the 10th DRC congregation in the Eastern frontier of the Cape Colony. The first hall-type church was only built in 1843, long after the first plans were approved in 1818. It still serves as a church hall⁸⁹ (Olivier and Geldenhuys, 1952: 39).

The commission to design the new building was for the largest church building Louw would ever design, with space for with 1350-1400 seats.

6.13.2 Architectural style

The church has a Greek cross form with four simple and neat gables - each with a rose window above seven arched windows. All four corners between the arms are fully filled in to effectively form an octagonal floor plan. One of the sides acts as an impressive entrance with three doors flanked by six Tuscan columns. The adjacent two sides each have a single door, while the fourth side is behind the pulpit and slightly built out to form a fifth smaller gable end (Figures 6.53 and 6.54).

The church has no tower, but an octagonal ventilation turret is positioned in the centre of a very interesting roof.

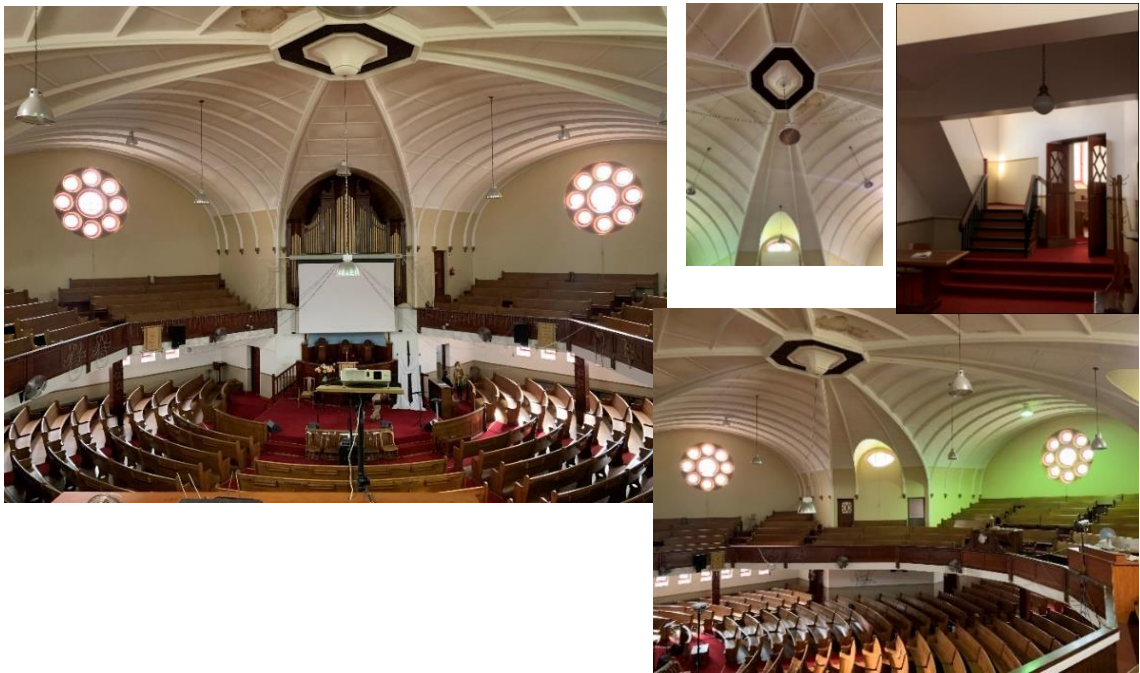


Figures 6.53 and 6.54: DRC Uitenhage: three entrance doors (2021) and an aerial view of the roof (Clive Botha, 2016)

⁸⁹ More information about this church in paragraph 5.1.3.11 and Figure 5.28

6.13.3 Internal layout and design

Internally the octagonal floor shape is not clearly visible because the areas filling in the corners are used as the *konsistorie* behind the pulpit, and for three entrance halls. The large crossing area as well as all four arms are filled with semi-circular seating facing the pulpit, with the organ pipes behind and above it. The organ playing table however is on the gallery on the opposite side.⁹⁰ The galleries in all the arms are connected via cantilevered sections, also allowing seating in front of the external filled-in corners. It creates an almost circular layout consisting of eleven short straight sections of sloped seating.



Figures 6.55, 6.56, 6.57 and 6.58: DRC Uitenhage: interior details (2021)

The eight roof trusses protruding from the ceiling meet at an irregular central octagonal feature below the roof turret. Internal decoration is limited to ribbed ceilings with interesting supports against the walls, simple leaded glass windows and some interesting door designs. The transom windows above the three main entrance doors have intricate leaded glass designs.

6.13.4 Additions

None.

⁹⁰ Some organists have indicated that the time lag due to the speed of sound makes it quite a challenge to play an organ with the playing table situated so far from the organ pipes.

6.13.5 Discussion

This is a large church where Louw managed to combine an external Greek cross roof with an octagonal floor plan. He created an almost ideal *Centraalbouw* church building in a style that over time has become typical of him with its circular seating in a large crossing area and gables with rose windows, symbolic groups of seven arched windows and three entrance doors. The gables of this church have a simple generic design.

The use of cantilevered areas for the galleries allows for the omission of columns that could obstruct views on the lower level, while also allowing for a large circular gallery.

The windows, including the oval-shaped ones in the filled-in corners, provide sufficient light. The intricate octagonal/Greek cross ceiling enhances the acoustics.

Very little has been written about this church despite its size. The building is hidden in a *cul-de-sac* behind the original church. It is almost on an island surrounded by other buildings and all but invisible from any street. It is a large hidden gem and a great tribute to an architect who did not seek fame and attention during his lifetime.

6.14 CASE STUDY NR 11: DRC *DIE STRAND* 1930

6.14.1 History

The DRC *Die Strand* congregation seceded from DRC Somerset West in 1912. Initially, a church hall was used but the new church with 1200 seats, designed by Louw, was inaugurated in 1930 by Prof Moorrees. He was the person who initially encouraged the young Louw's interest in art and architecture by giving him a book on woodwork (Louw, 1968: 52; Olivier and Geldenhuys, 1952: 155).

6.14.2 Architectural style

The DRC *Die Strand's* church is a smaller version of DRC Uitenhage in many respects. It has the same external Greek cross roof shape combined with fully filled-in corners to form an octagonal floor plan. The gables are smaller but more ornate and have plastered features, in a way a simplified version of the present gable of the DRC *Strooidakkerk* parsonage in Paarl (Figures 6.59 and 6.61). Interestingly, the original gable of the parsonage looked different, but it collapsed in 1961 and was reconstructed in the mid-1960s according to Louw's design. The design was probably based on the gable of Reinet House, the DRC Graaff-Reinet parsonage, which is now a museum.



Figures 6.59, 6.60, 6.61 and 6.62: Gable of the DRC *Strooidakkerk* parsonage (bottom left), DRC *Die Strand*: three entrance doors, gable detail and view of the roof (2018, 2017, 2017, P Pienaar, 2021)

The rose windows (Figure 6.65) are more impressive and colourful than those of DRC Uitenhage, and while there are seven spaces for windows below it, the two on the sides are plastered blanks. Unlike the oval windows on the filled-in sides of DRC Uitenhage this church has semi-circle windows which provide more natural light.

The built-out room for the *konsistorie* is more pronounced but unlike DRC Uitenhage it has no gable. The central ventilation turret has become a copper-clad tower with four clock faces.

The three entrance doors are flanked by six Corinthian columns. The transom windows are less intricate.

The gables have eclectic Cape Dutch Revival elements.

6.14.3 Internal layout and design

Internally the semi-circular seating layout is similar to that of DRC Uitenhage extending into all four arms. The domed ceiling is steeper, and the design is more pronounced with ribs and protruding roof trusses ending in a central regular octagon-shaped ventilation screen. A central candelabra adds focus (Figure 6.63).

The galleries do not cantilever out and have a small number of supporting columns. This church is smaller and, therefore, the galleries are also smaller and thus less pronounced, but the balustrade still forms an almost complete circle.

In this church the complete organ is on the entrance side opposite the pulpit (which has a solid wall up to the ceiling behind it).



Figures 6.63, 6.64 and 6.65: DRC *Die Strand*: details of interior and rose window (2017)

Figure 6.66: layout plan (DRC *Die Strand* church office)

6.14.4 Additions

A new organ was installed in 1950, a church office was added in 1961, and the *konsistorie* was enlarged in 1964. Louw & Louw were the architects in all instances.

6.14.5 Discussion

Le Roux considers DRC *Die Strand* and DRC Napier as quite remarkable large churches with impressive internal spaces and with ample natural light reflecting from the high ceilings. He however also mentions some of the criticism levelled by Koorts against the

so-called neo-Byzantine churches and the unacceptable move of the liturgical focus from the 'natural' centre to the side of a *Centraalbouw* church (be it Greek cross, round or octagonal). This criticism has not stood the test of time (Le Roux, 2008: 31-33).

Louw however already achieved a high point with his design of DRC Uitenhage, a larger church with its own inherent challenges. It must be assumed that Le Roux was not aware of the earlier Louw project.

6.15 CASE STUDY NR 12: DRC BETHLEHEM WEST 1930

6.15.1 History

The DRC Bethlehem West congregation seceded from DRC Bethlehem in 1927. Their new church building with 1200 seats was inaugurated in 1931 amid the Great Depression. It took the congregation 18 years to pay off the huge building cost of £24 178 (Olivier and Geldenhuys, 1952: 371).

This church was the first in the Free State to be designed by the Louw & Louw partnership which was formed with Wynand Louw's brother Henri shortly after the Louw & Moerdyk partnership was dissolved. It is the first church with a Louw & Louw cornerstone. It is probable that Henri played a large part in the design and certainly during the construction phase of the church (Louw, 1987: 16).

6.15.2 Architectural style

Externally the design of the church could be called eclectic with a mixture of style references. The tower is in the middle and on top of the round portico with its eight Tuscan columns framing the three-door entrance.⁹¹ The portico is flanked by two domed-roof silos which house spiral staircases. Together it almost creates the impression of a round narthex.

The footprint of the church is in the form of an octagon, but with the end opposite the portico built out by the addition of another $\frac{3}{4}$ octagon which houses the pulpit with the *konsistorie* behind it (Figure 6.68). The red-tiled roof however is in the form of a Latin cross with a copper dome above the square crossing (Figure 6.71).

⁹¹ Claassen incorrectly calls the portico an exedra (Claassen, 1987, 111)



Figures 6.67 and 6.68: DRC Bethlehem West: exterior view (2018) and layout plan (DRC Bethlehem West church office)

The corners of the octagon are quoined with dressed yellow sandstone. The side doors have porticos similar to those of DRC Somerset West which would be completed a decade later in 1940.

On ground level there are arched leaded glass windows all around the octagon with even more, but smaller, clerestory windows just below the ceiling level.



Figures 6.69 and 6.70: DRC Bethlehem West: exterior views (2018)

Figure 6.71: aerial view (Gerrit Erwee, 2019)

6.15.3 Internal layout and design

A semi-circle of seating comfortably fills the full octagon facing the pulpit. The pulpit with the organ and choir gallery behind it is positioned in the added $\frac{3}{4}$ octagon. The seats are arranged in five wedges. The two narrow wedges on the side walls were necessary because of the tall columns required to support the domed roof with its impressive domed ceiling.

Three galleries fill the three sides of the octagon on the side of the entrance. The middle one is deeper because it extends over the portico on both sides of the tower. Seating is sloped.



Figure 6.72: Panoramic photo of the interior of DRC Bethlehem West (2018)

6.15.4 Additions

Rooms for families with small children were later built below the two side galleries. Large one-way windows allow families to participate in the liturgy.

6.15.5 Discussion

This is quite unlike most other Louw church designs. DRC Porterville (1924), however, is similar in many respects. It has the same round portico (although not as wide) with eight columns, the same extended octagon footprint, similar arched clerestory windows, and the same central tower on top of the portico. The roofs, ceilings, and detailing differ, and Porterville has more galleries, with some of them not very useful.

Henri Louw certainly had an influence on the DRC Bethlehem West design not long after his return from the AA in London, and after his first church design for the *Gereformeerde* Church in Bloemfontein in 1927, but it was a progression of the Wynand Louw design ideas for Porterville (Louw, 1987: 6, 16).

It is an impressive church internally and externally, with special features such as the central copper domed roof with a Latin cross shape. The light filtering through the clerestory windows adds a mystical touch despite the sparse internal decorations (Figure: 6.73). The lighted domed ceiling, combined with many arched windows, provide ample light.

During the author's visit, the church staff waxed lyrical about the wonderful acoustics of the building. Combined with seating with good views of the liturgical centre this is a well-designed *Centraalbouw* church. Many detractors over the years have used the neo-Byzantine tag to discredit it as an ancient Eastern Orthodox design which has no place in South African Reformed churches. The Eastern Orthodox neo-Byzantine influence is however limited to only a few elements.

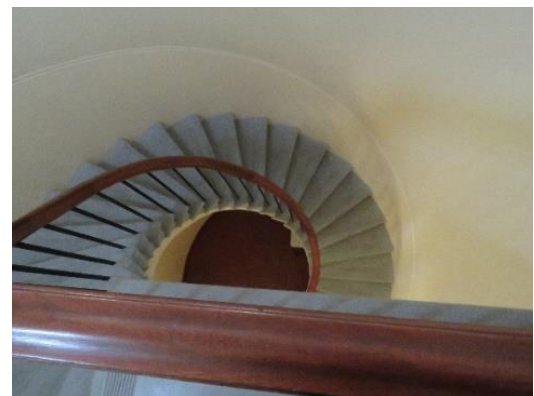


Figure 6.73: Clerestory windows (Gerrit Erwee, 2022) and

Figure 6.74: DRC Bethlehem West: detail of spiral staircase (2018)

6.16 CASE STUDY NR 13: DRC SOMERSET WEST 1940

6.16.1 History

The DRC congregation Hottentots Holland (now Somerset West) seceded from DRC Stellenbosch in 1819. Their first church building was inaugurated in the same year. *Dominee* Spyker was appointed as the first pastor in 1823. The church was repeatedly damaged by floods and storms over many years, but rebuilt, renovated, and improved to

eventually become a neo-Gothic cross church. It was declared a National Monument in 1962. It is still being used as a church.

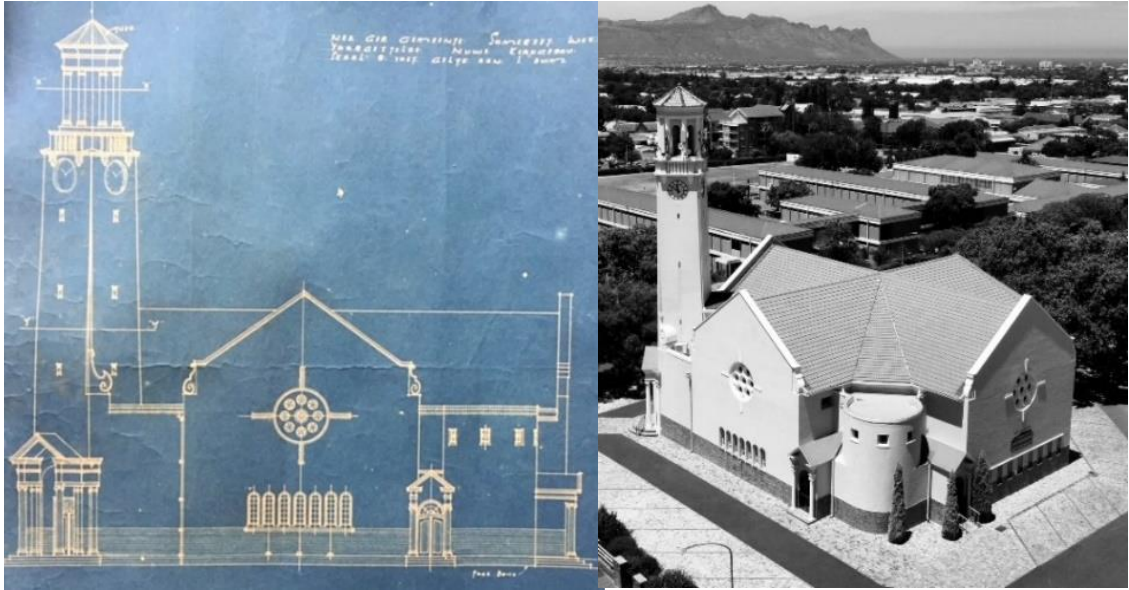
Two congregations seceded from DRC Somerset West: DRC *Die Strand* in 1912 and DRC Grabouw in 1934 (Olivier and Geldenhuys, 1952: 41). Louw designed the church for DRC *Die Strand* in 1930, the second church for DRC Somerset West in 1940, and eventually the DRC Grabouw church in 1953.

6.16.2 Architectural style

Externally the church has a pronounced Greek cross shape. The front corner between the arms facing a street corner is filled in with the tower and single-door main entrance. The door is flanked by two columns with Neoclassical pediments (Figure 6.75). The gables of the arms on either side of the entrance are simple with restrained decoration and both gables have a rose window above seven arched windows. The two adjacent corners of the cross are both filled in with a secondary entrance door and a silo housing a staircase to the galleries (Figures 6.76 and 6.78). The third arm to the right of the pulpit has nine rectangular windows below the rose window, and it houses an ancillary room below the organ. The fourth arm has no gable, but a semi-octagonal built-out room which houses the *konsistorie*.



Figures 6.75 and 6.76: Exterior of DRC Somerset West (2017)

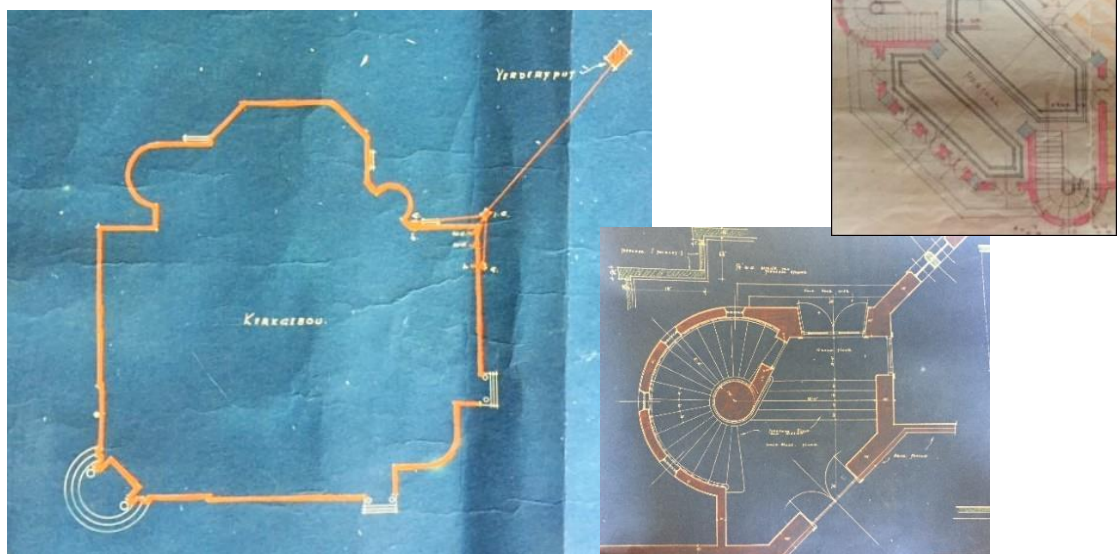


Figures 6.77 and 6.78: DRC Somerset West: elevation drawing and aerial view of the roof (DRC Somerset West church office and Pine Pienaar, 2021)

6.16.3 Internal layout and design

The infills described above create an almost square footprint (Figure: 6.79). This easily accommodates the semi-circular seating divided into three wedges which extends into the two arms adjacent to the tower entrance, but those seats are in straight rows.

The galleries above fill three of the arms, while the fourth one to the right of the pulpit houses the organ and choir. The balustrade forms an almost complete circle. The pulpit is built into a small apse, a feature previously used in DRC Louis Trichardt and DRC Indwe.



Figures 6.79, 6.80 and 6.81: DRC Somerset West: layout plan, details of the original entrance hall (not built) and of the spiral staircase (DRC Somerset West church office)

The ceiling is flat and relatively low compared to DRC *Die Strand*. The central focus is a huge eight-pointed star art deco light feature, a feature first used for DRC Riviersonderend and is also seen in a number of later churches such as DRC Goodwood.



Figure 6.82: Panographic photo of the interior of DRC Somerset West (2017)

6.16.4 Additions

None.

6.16.5 Discussion

The impact of modernism is seen in the lower ceilings and the art deco light feature (Figures: 6.83, 6.84 and 6.85).⁹² The seating layout remains almost the same as the designs from the previous decade, but the organ is moved back to the right of the pulpit. This gallery as well as the one to the left of the pulpit have almost no view of the liturgical centre and they add little value.



Figures 6.83, 6.84 and 6.85: DRC Somerset West: photos and plan of the art deco ceiling light (2017) and plan (DRC Somerset West church office)

Figure 6.86 (bottom right): DRC Riviersonderend: ceiling detail (2023)

⁹² Louw first used an art deco ceiling feature for DRC Riviersonderend in 1937. (Figure 6.86.)

The movement back to a stronger Greek cross roof form is interesting. Le Roux (2008: 32-33) believes that with this design Louw was in full command of his design ideas for a Greek cross *Centraalbouw* church.

The three entrance doors are conspicuous in their absence. Interestingly, one of the early sketches shows three doors and a proper narthex (Figure 6.80). One can only assume that Louw respected the wishes of the *kerkraad* which perhaps had a more limited budget than DRC *Die Strand*.

6.17 CASE STUDY NR 14: DRC VREDENDAL 1949

6.17.1 History

The congregation seceded from DRC Vanrhynsdorp in 1933 as Olifantsrivier. They initially met in a school hall or in the open air. A new church was only built after 14 morgens of land were bought by the congregation to develop a new town. They first built a school hostel, a church hall, and parsonages for the *dominee* and the missionary. The church cost £33 000 which the congregation could pay from their financial reserves (Olivier and Geldenhuys, 1952: 193).

6.17.2 Architectural style

The church is a typical Greek cross with four simple gables – each with a small rose window above seven rectangular windows (Figure 6.88). The entrance is via a round portico with eight plain columns similar to that of DRC Porterville (Figure 6.87). The central tower is on top of the entrance hall. The typical three front doors have Cape Dutch details with large transom windows. The two corners to the sides are filled in with silos which accommodate secondary doors as well as staircases to the galleries. The corner between the back arms of the cross only has a small infill to accommodate the pulpit. Detailing of the church (except for the front doors) are simplified and almost modern.



Figures 6.87 and 6.88: DRC Vredendal exterior (2020)

6.17.3 Internal layout and design

The relatively large crossing is filled with an almost complete semi-circle of seating divided into five wedges, all with good views (Figure 6.92).

The organ is on the gallery to the right of the pulpit with the *konsistorie* on the same side in a slightly lengthened arm. The organ is designed not to obscure the rose window behind it. Internal furnishings are sparse with the dome ceiling light as well as the clear glass rose and transom windows as the only features (Figure 6.91).

The galleries in all four arms are connected via the front three rows of seating with the wooden balustrade (supported by two slender columns) forming an almost complete circle.

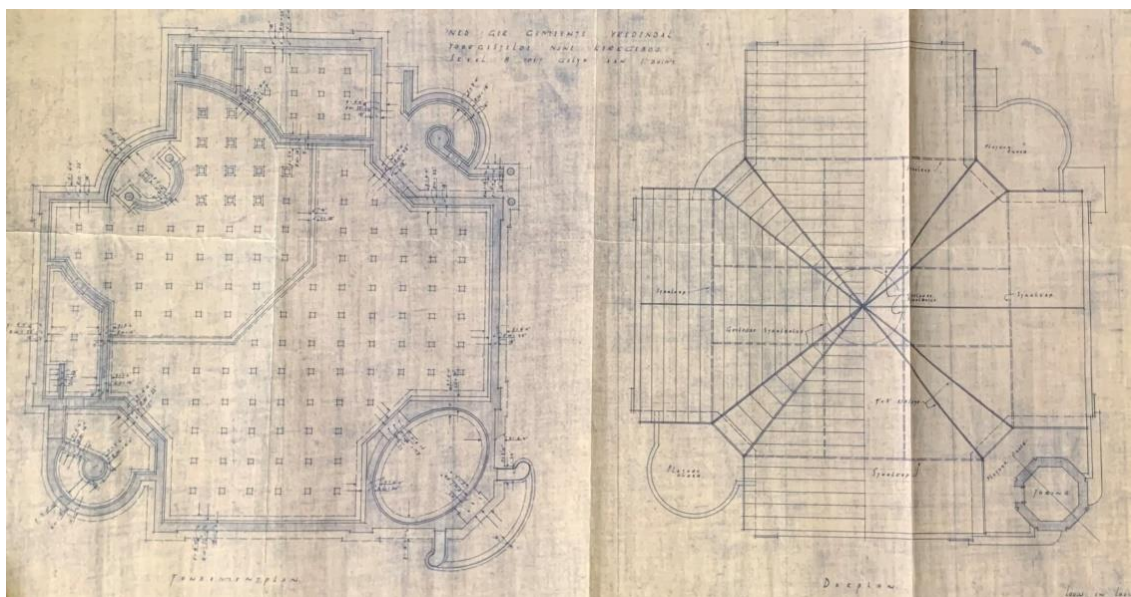
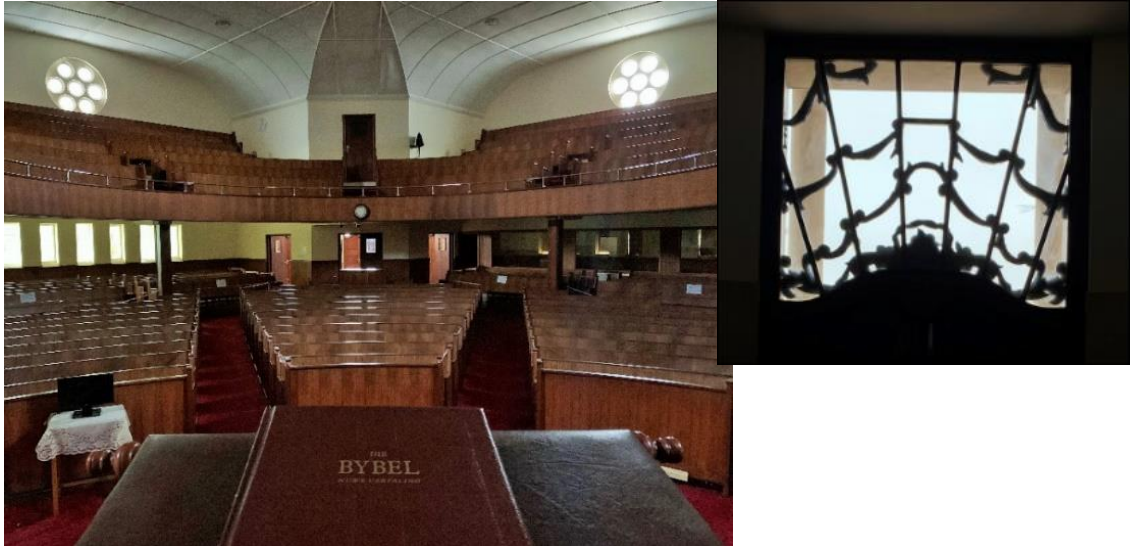


Figure 6.89: Foundation and roof plan of DRC Vredendal (DRC Vredendal church office)



Figures 6.90 and 6.91: DRC Vredendal: interior view from pulpit and detail of transom window (2020)



Figure 6.92: DRC Vredendal: panoramic photo of the interior (2020)

6.17.4 Additions

None.

6.17.5 Discussion

With this design dated 1946, Henri Louw has modernised and further developed the standard Louw & Louw ideas for a smaller *preekkerk*. The gables with rose windows and seven rectangular windows as well as the three front doors are still there. While keeping the external Greek cross roof design, the broad arms allow for an almost square interior floor plan which easily accommodates circular seating on both levels and optimises the available space.

The wide galleries and small rose windows do not allow enough natural light to enter. A large central dome light feature helps to improve the lighting.

This was not Henri Louw's first church design. He had already designed the *Gereformeerde Greykerk* in central Bloemfontein for Louw & Moerdyk in 1927. Thereafter he played a major part in DRC churches for Bethlehem West, Tiervlei, Bellville West, Murray De Doorns, Villiersdorp, etc. With his training at the AA almost two decades after Wynand and the added influences of AL Meiring and Hugo Naudé who returned from London some five years after him, he became a part of a new era of modernist architecture. This was already seen in *Greykerk* and Bethlehem West but would ultimately be demonstrated with DRC Outeniqualand (1956) where he broke away from the standard Louw & Louw approach to church design.

6.18 CASE STUDY NR 15: DRC LUTZVILLE 1955

6.18.1 History

The DRC Lutzville congregation seceded from DRC Olifantsrivier in 1937, shortly before the latter became known as Vredendal. The first plots in the town were only sold nine years later. It took this small community many years to be able to afford a church building in the 1950s (Olivier and Geldenhuys, 1952: 199).

6.18.2 Architectural style

This church, with its clean Modernist details, has a flat octagonal plan. A round portico, with six plain columns and only two front doors, supports the central tower on top. At the back of the octagon, an added rectangular wing with a lower roof accommodates the pulpit as well as the *konsistorie* behind it. Unlike the original design concept (Figure 6.93), there are no stairs to the galleries from the front entrance hall. Rectangular stairwells were added to two sides of the octagon, where the secondary entrances were initially indicated on the plans (Figures 6.94 and 6.95).

The original design concept, dated 1952, was the only drawing of the church available in the church offices. It shows a full width narthex as front entrance with stairwells on both sides, also with only two front doors. One can only assume that the *kerkraad* wanted a similar portico to that of DRC Vredendal, or else the costs might have been prohibitive.

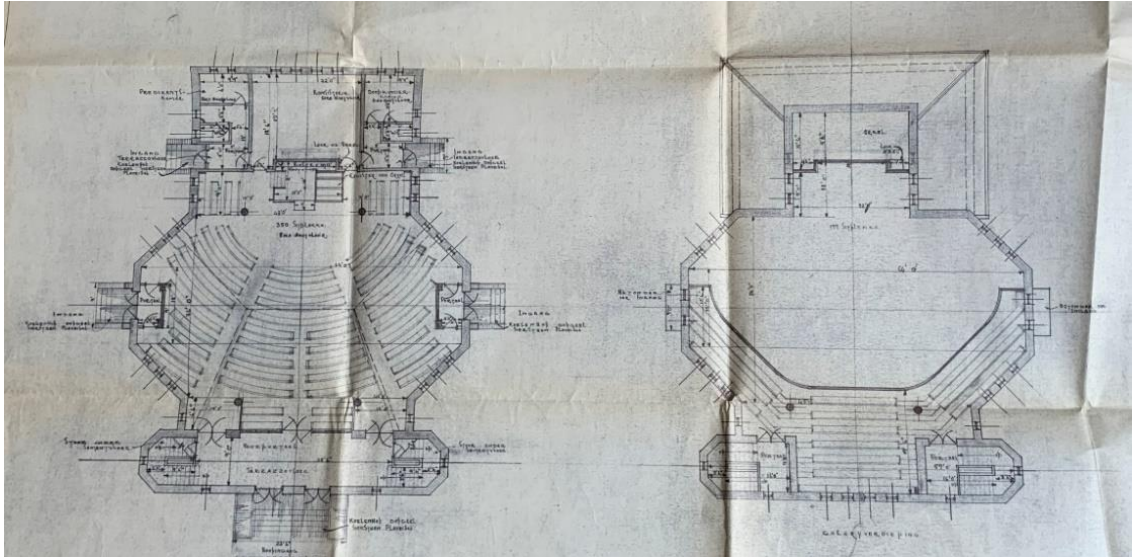


Figure 6.93: DRC Lutzville: early layout plans of the ground floor and galleries still showing a narthex (DRC Lutzville church office)



Figures 6.94 and 6.95: DRC Lutzville: exterior (2020)

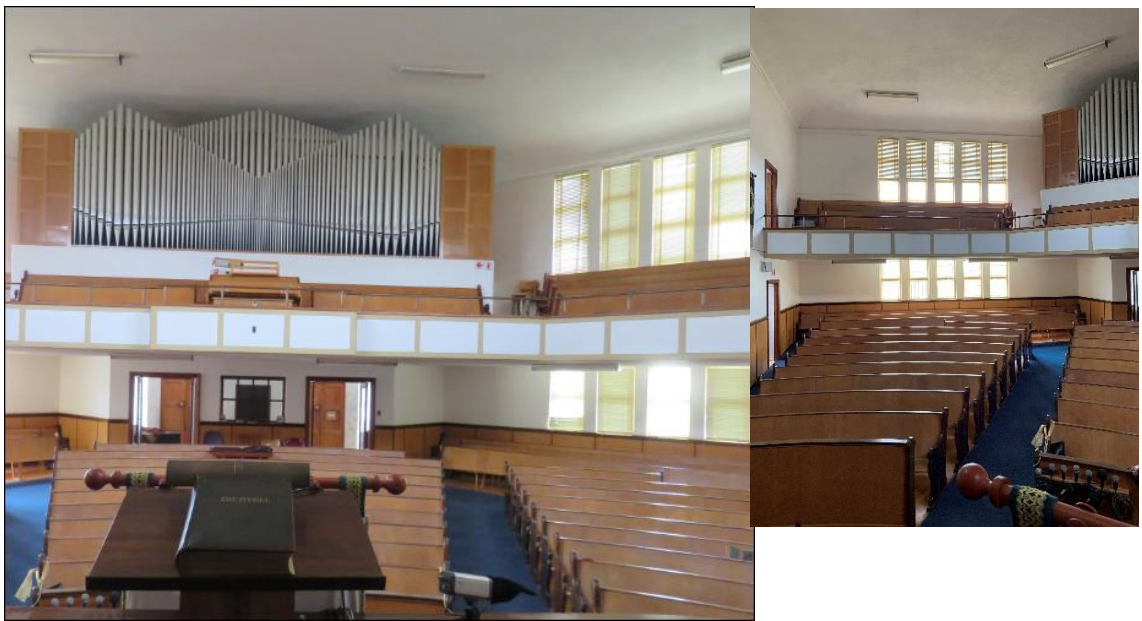
6.18.3 Internal layout and design

The octagon allows for theatre-like circular seating divided into three wedges – all with good views of the liturgical centre (Figure 6.96). Very narrow galleries on three sides of the octagon cantilever out with the assistance of reinforced concrete floor slabs. The organ is positioned on the gallery above the entrance.

Two sets of five long windows with simply patterned leaded glass above and below the galleries provide ample natural light. Generous quantities of natural wood panelling and seating provide a warm atmosphere (Figures 6.97 and 6.98).



Figure 6.96: DRC Lutzville: panoramic photo of the interior (2020)



Figures 6.97 and 6.98: DRC Lutzville: interior (2020)

6.18.4 Additions

None.

6.18.5 Discussion

Wollie Bronkhorst joined Wynand Louw as an apprentice draughtsman in 1923. He soon joined Henri in Bloemfontein in the Louw & Moerdyk office. He followed Henri in the 1930s when they opened the Louw & Louw office in Cape Town to design modernist/art deco buildings for Santam/Sanlam (now the Waalburg Building in Wale Street) and Old Mutual (now Mutual Heights in Darling Street). After many years of church designs in the Louw & Louw tradition Bronkhorst started to act as project architect for churches in the 1950s. His name first appeared in 1952 on the cornerstone of DRC Ceres, which was later substantially renovated after the 1969 earthquake. Thereafter followed some 30

more church projects over the short space of seven years. Some of these were only completed after he left Louw & Louw in 1957, when Wynand Louw retired. Bronkhorst was clearly given artistic freedom with these projects and soon displayed a Modernist influence in his designs⁹³. DRC Gansbaai (1953) is a clear example. While maintaining the typical three front doors, the internal layout of an octagonal church, with a number of lean-to ancillary rooms, is drastically different. Unlike many others of this time, his approach, however, remained *Centraalbouw*, with semi-circular theatre seating focused on the pulpit, fundamentally still a *sola scriptura domus ecclesiae* approach.

⁹³ In his unpublished document *Lewensketes*, Henri Louw states that he was responsible for this project. The cornerstone however clearly states W Bronkhorst (Louw, 1987: 16)

7. THE EVOLUTION OF WYNAND H LOUW'S APPROACH TO CHURCH DESIGN

7.1 RATIONALE

Why did Wynand H Louw feel the need to move away from the prevailing eclectic neo-Gothic church design approach? Where did his inspiration come from?

7.1.1 Understanding the problems of the 1900 status quo

As stated in Chapter 2.3 Louw grew up as a member of the DRC *Strooidakkerk* congregation. The church building of his youth was a typical Greek cross Cape Dutch church which is described in more detail in Chapter 5.1. Seating was in straight rows in three arms of the cross, with the organ in the fourth arm in front of the *konsistorie*. The pulpit was on the corner to the right of the organ, which was more typical of Anglican or Lutheran churches.

As an architect Louw must have been aware of the inherent problems of such a church design. These included problems with the interaction between preacher and congregation due to problematic sight lines to the pulpit, the incorrect focus of the congregation on the central organ behind a divided liturgical space and not on the pulpit, the reality that people sitting at the back of an arm could not see, and consequently not feel part of, the part of congregation sitting in an adjacent arm. The cross-shaped churches often did not have sufficient natural lighting, and generally bad acoustics.

Despite this, Louw had a very special affinity for this church and had a long-lasting relationship with the congregation. The *kerkraad* gave him his first significant commission, which was to design their church hall. After that he assisted the congregation with many projects, including renovations of the thatched roof of the church, electrification, support and reconstruction of the gables, adaptations to the *Hulpkerk* (a church for one of the wards), and finally the careful reconstruction of the old parsonage.

7.1.2 Developing new ideas: external design

As someone who grew up on the Labori farmstead Louw had an inherent affinity for Cape Dutch architecture, a love that was nurtured in him by family friend and artist Hugo Naudé. The DRC *Strooidakkerk*, built in typical vernacular style, thus remained a constant reference point for Louw in his work.

As a relatively well-travelled, recently London-trained architect, a member of the Dutch Reformed Church, but also a proponent of anticolonialism, Louw had to crystallise his design ideas from a multitude of sometimes conflicting influences. As a result, his first projects were externally quite eclectic with a mixture of Neoclassical (DRC *Strooidakkerk* church hall), neo-Byzantine (DRC Calitzdorp), neo-Romanesque (DRC Reitz), neo-Gothic (DRC Heidelberg Tower), Cape Dutch Revival (church halls for DRC Cradock, Beaufort West and Worcester) and Eclectic ZA Wilhelmiens (DRC Ventersdorp and Pietersburg) elements. Most of the churches were externally Greek crosses in form, albeit often with filled-in corners.

7.1.3 Developing new ideas: internal layout

Internally, however, Louw showed his intent to design a *Centraalbouw*-based *preekkerk* right from his very first church design: the DRC Port Elizabeth. From this first church design project, it was quite clear that he understood what the reformist credo *sola scriptura* required from a church designer. Although he never wrote about the theory of his design approach, he clearly understood what a reformed church building should be: a *domus ecclesiae*, a place where the congregation could gather around the Bible as focus, with an internal layout clearly focused on the liturgical centre. While the external appearance should be appealing enough to attract people to the church, the internal furnishing should be sober and the atmosphere sacred. Louw used windows to not only provide sufficient natural light so that the congregation could easily see and read, but also to create a place of sanctity.

7.1.4 The origin of theatre style seating layout

The decision to arrange the seating in a semi-circular layout facing the pulpit in his first and most of his other church designs could have come from many examples discussed in this dissertation, such as the *Koepelkerk* in Wilhemstad, *Noorderkerk* in Amsterdam, *Ringkirche* in Wiesbaden, *Grootkerk* in Pretoria, or even Paradise Temple in Lyon. The only times that Louw deviated from this layout were with small hall-type pioneer churches for young and small congregations, such as DRC Kuruman and DRC Pofadder, and when existing neo-Gothic churches were enlarged, such as DRC Jacobsdal and DRC Boshof.

The answer however was probably much closer to home. Both Louw's first wife Maria and his second wife Mabel were née Norval, and both grew up in the district of Norvalspont close to Colesberg. He had visited the Norval family farm Gideonskraal since his student days. Louw was familiar with DRC Colesberg, an octagonal

Centraalbouw preekkerk designed by Welchman & Read in the Neoclassical style (refer to the discussion in paragraph 5.1.7 and Figures 7.1, 7.2 and 7.3). This 1861 church had a semi-circular seating layout focused on a pulpit in a small wooden apse against one side of the octagon (Figure: 7.2).



Figures 7.1 and 7.2: DRC Colesberg: view of the church from Church Street c1917 (Maeder and Zinn, 1917: 57) and interior today (R van Wyk, 2016)



Figure 7.3: DRC Colesberg: view of the octagonal roof shape (CJ de Bruin, 2020)

This is where Louw married his first bride in 1912. As discussed, it was a church in stark contrast to the many neo-Gothic churches which dominated the Karoo landscape for more than half a century. As an architect in search of innovative and relevant church layout designs, Louw had a reference point. DRC Colesberg did not only stimulate his layout ideas, but the design also showed him a way to combine his preference for an external Greek cross with an internal *Centraalbouw* layout, not unlike the early Groote Kerk in Cape Town.

The only other church designed by Welchman & Read, the Neoclassical DRC Cradock, would soon also influence Louw. He would have had ample opportunity to become familiar with it while he was designing the congregation's new Cape Dutch Revival styled church hall in 1911 and 1912. Louw used the internal layout of this church for his later design of DRC Touwsrivier.

The short-lived 1860s partnership of Welchman & Read most probably had an unforeseen but major impact on the South African church design approach of the first decades of the 20th century. The design of *Grootkerk* in Pretoria by Kraan & Weyers might have reinforced the ideas of Louw and his contemporaries, but by then Louw already had the reference point of an imposing Neoclassical Colesberg church building that stood the test of time against the neo-Gothic wave of the latter half of the 19th century. Louw could proceed on his chosen path with courage and conviction, and he did so with DRC Port Elizabeth some time before his move to Pretoria.

7.1.5 Continued development of design ideas

As seen in the case studies, Louw would continue to grapple with the exterior design of a church. Through some permutations of style, he continued to drift towards his beloved vernacular Cape Dutch as well as to the Greek cross. Cape Dutch became unfashionable during the Victorian era, as evidenced by so many renovations which often ruined the character of old Cape Dutch homes. In the case of churches, *dominee* Neethling of the DRC Stellenbosch, supported by CO Hager, had a major impact. His lack of respect for or appreciation of the Cape vernacular style had an almost devastating impact. One can only be thankful that some of the original Cape Dutch churches survived this onslaught (Hugo & Van der Bijl, 1963: 164-165).

7.1.6 Cape Dutch Revivalism

Cecil John Rhodes and his protégé architect Herbert Baker realised the value of the Cape vernacular style and strongly promoted Cape Dutch Revivalism. The idea also neatly fitted in with the Milner Kindergarten's post-war unification drive. Building a new and unified nation out of the 'two races'⁹⁴ could certainly be enhanced by showing respect and appreciation for the old local architecture. It, fortunately, turned the tide of the previous century and allowed Louw the freedom to start experimenting with Cape Dutch and Neoclassical elements (Baker, 1944: 60; Christenson, 1996: 4).

⁹⁴ The 'two races' refers to the English and Afrikaans speaking nations, ignoring all other races.

Ironically Cape Dutch Revivalism deprived the later Afrikaner Nationalist architect and partner of Louw for some six years Gerard Moerdyk of developing his own *volkseie* architectural style. Despite initial respect for Baker, he eventually became quite critical of him and certainly would not follow his lead. In the process, Moerdyk ended up with a mixture of styles and insisted that external appearances were not really important (Jooste, 2000: 69-71; Vermeulen, 1999: 141-144).



Figure 7.4: Cape Dutch Revival styled church hall of DRC Beaufort West (2021)

Figure 7.5: Detail of Trotter's sketch of DRC Tulbagh (Trotter, 1903)

7.2 FINANCIAL CONSTRAINTS

The case studies show that Louw could adapt to the budgets of the congregations that commissioned him. Where budgets were limited, he omitted towers and even complete wings. In cases where budgets were more generous, it is shown in more elaborate furnishings, leaded glass, rose and transom windows, solid wooden doors or a copper-clad tower or dome. He was happy if a plan was used more than once and often supplied designs for mission churches *pro bono*.

The impact of the *boukommis* (building commission) of a *kerkraad* on the budget and/or the final design of an ecclesiastical project should not be under-estimated.

7.3 MATERIAL CONSTRAINTS

After the Industrial Revolution, building materials became more readily available, and technology developed at an ever-increasing speed. Steel construction made large roof spans possible. The relatively large spans of the 1923 DRC De Aar were however still achieved with the use of timber trusses (Figure 7.6). Detailed plans and sections of the

structural designs of Louw-designed churches were mostly unavailable and time and practical constraints did not allow the author to access roof spaces.

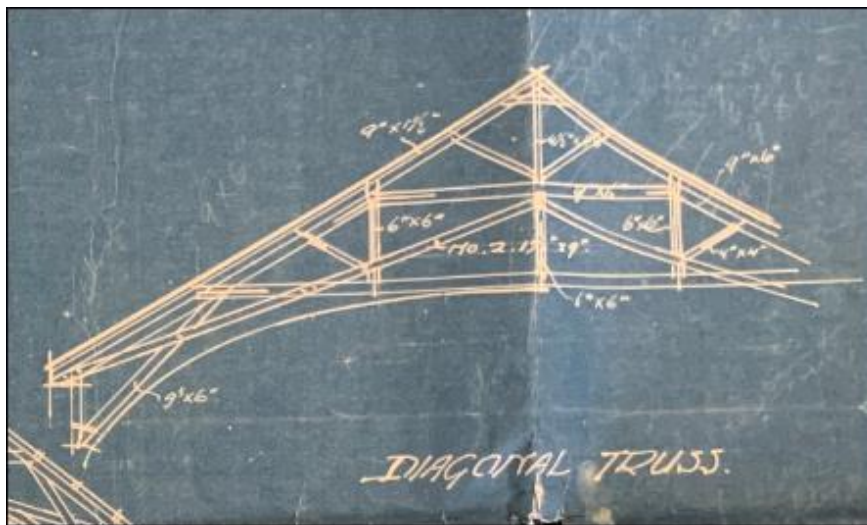


Figure 7.6: De Aar 1923: wooden trusses (2021)

The importation of building materials, including metal-pressed ceilings and cast-iron balustrades, was strongly promoted by the Imperial authorities, and later by the Commonwealth.

Louw, however, preferred local materials. He used dressed local stone wherever possible despite the limited stone craft skills available and took an active role in all construction phases to ensure quality. He also used indigenous wood. During the author's visits to congregations, many stories were heard of materials donated by local farmers. In one instance, the whole *kerkraad* was called up to cut yellow wood trees on a farm which were then cured and later cut to size by the same team. Louw rarely used imported cast iron products.

Towards the end of his career, Louw also started to use reinforced concrete for galleries. Reinforced concrete was probably first used in South Africa in the first decade of the 20th century, but it took some time before it was generally accepted.⁹⁵ (Rosenthal, 1971: 111-115).

⁹⁵ The first known instructions regarding the use of reinforced concrete in the Union of South Africa was issued by Llewellyn Edwards in 1911. The modern concept of reinforced concrete was propagated by WB Wilkinson of Newcastle, England, in 1854. The first true reinforced concrete building in the USA was built in 1875 by WE Ward. The Romans already used bronze rods to strengthen concrete in 100BC.



Figure 7.7: Advertisement for reinforced concrete, 1911 (Rosenthal, 1971: 112)

Leaded glass rose windows cast in concrete were used from the mid-1920s.



Figure 7.8: Rose windows of DRC *Die Strand*, Warrenton, Hertzogville and Bloemfontein North (2020)

7.4 INTERIOR LAYOUT

As discussed in the case studies Louw focused on *Centraalbouw*-based internal layouts. Louw experimented with various forms, but mostly settled on an octagon or a Greek cross with wide arms which formed a big square crossing. Both forms allowed him to use semi-circular theatre-style seating layouts. Unlike with the *Grootkerk*⁹⁶ the floors were not sloped. (DRC Lutzville is one of the later exceptions.) It is of interest that, unlike the later practice of most reformed church architects, Louw made no specific provision for dedicated seating for the *kerkraad*. He thus remained true to the principles of *Centraalbouw* which made no distinction between *clericus* (read *kerkraad* and *dominee*) and *laicus* (ordinary churchgoers).

Where galleries were required it complicated designs because columns were usually needed, which could obscure views of the pulpit. Towards the end of his career, the use of cantilevered reinforced concrete slabs solved this problem. Most galleries were sloped

⁹⁶ Refer to paragraphs 5.4.1 and 7.1.4 for more detail on the *Grootkerk*.

to improve sight lines to the pulpit. By the late 1920s with the design of DRC Uitenhage, Louw found a layout that answered most of the questions and he then slightly improved this with the design for DRC *Die Strand*.

Along the way, he experimented with various placings of the pulpit (and the liturgical centre) as well as the organ. Some critics (such as Koorts) found it unacceptable to move the liturgical centre from the centre of an octagon or circle as originally used in Byzantine times, to one side, arguing that it creates a conflict (Koorts, 1974: 56-60). This complaint was probably used as an excuse to discredit predecessors, because the critics of the 1970's considered anything square, octagonal, or round as of Catholic, Orthodox, or even pagan origin, and therefore unacceptable to South African Calvinist Protestants. Koorts specifically states that the South African 'neo-Byzantine' churches are all but 'typical South African' or 'typical Protestant' (Koorts, 1974: 58). The critics ignored the fact that *Centraalbouw* was rediscovered during the Renaissance and was also amply used by the earliest Protestants in France, Prussia, and the Netherlands, as discussed in paragraphs 4.2.14, 4.2.15, 4.2.17.1 and 4.3.

The placing of the pulpit in the corner of the cross was not always optimal, but when the corners were filled in to effectively form an uneven or later an even octagon it worked well (as with DRC Uitenhage). The criticism levelled against the galleries next to, and even behind, the pulpit is valid, and those areas often ended up as unused space. This is however equally true for many Latin cross or even Greek cross layouts, as with the DRC *Strooidakkerk*.

As Le Roux (2008: 43-44) points out, Louw did not have the benefit of design handbooks or theological discourses on the placing of the organ. He therefore experimented and perhaps never quite found the optimal answer, as shown by the different positions of the organs in the last two case studies. Consequent reformed theological arguments mostly concurred with the view that the organ and choir must form an integral part of the congregation. The latest movement away from organ music to many forms of 'praise and worship', utilising other musical instruments, has however upended many earlier viewpoints. Some architects consider organ pipes behind a pulpit as an aesthetic point of interest in an otherwise austere interior typical of South African Reformed churches of the early 20th century (Clarke, 2021: 102; Koorts, 1974: 75-78).

7.5 EXTERIOR DESIGN

In his earlier church projects, Louw experimented with a variety of design influences. Most of his earlier churches are therefore a mixture of styles and thus probably eclectic, but many have tried to label the era as neo-Byzantine. Descriptions given for a single Louw-designed church have varied from Transvaal republican (and therefore also Eclectic ZA Wilhelmiens) to neo-Renaissance to semi-Byzantine.

Louw's love for vernacular architecture is clear from his regular experiments with Cape Dutch Revivalism, which later developed into rather clean gables. Some call these gables neo-Renaissance, but they could rather be called simplified Cape Dutch.

The external form drifted from the Greek cross to the octagon and back, often actually a mixture of the two, as with DRC Lindley. The filling in of the corners of the Greek cross often created an almost octagonal roof plan with four slightly built-out gables. Louw's ultimate designs, such as the DRC *Die Strand*, were Greek crosses with filled-in corners, harking back to the original Groote Kerk design.

7.6 THE ULTIMATE LOUW DESIGN

As pointed out in the case studies of DRC Napier, DRC Uitenhage, and DRC *Die Strand* Louw eventually found the answer to his quest for relevant reformed church architecture in South Africa. While the imposing DRC Napier certainly makes a Cape Dutch statement on a prominent hill in a small, picturesque town, I'm of the opinion that DRC Uitenhage (1350 seats) is the best example of Louw's character, preferences, and ability as a church architect. Here he combined his beloved rose widows with the symbolic use of seven rectangular windows in four simple gables and the symbolic three entrance doors.

The external Greek cross shape of DRC Uitenhage seamlessly transforms into an octagonal layout plan through the practical infilling of the corners between the arms. The width of the four arms creates a large crossing area with enough space for an optimal internal layout. The wider arms were made possible by better technology and the availability of more and new building materials. During the 19th century, roof spans were still dictated by the length of wooden beams available locally. In the 20th century, however, steel construction, imported materials, and proper engineering design of roof structures enabled architects like Louw to think bigger and create larger open or crossing areas.

In the cross shaped churches of the 19th century, the seating in galleries were limited to straight rows in narrow arms. The re-introduction of octagonal church layout plans by Louw as well as new technology which enabled longer spans (and fewer columns) combined with cantilevered galleries allowed for a new approach to seating layouts on both levels.

In DRC Uitenhage, the circular seating on both levels combined with efficient lighting creates a place of sanctity and makes for a true *Centraalbouw domus ecclesiae*. The virtually complete circle formed by the galleries symbolically embraces the pulpit and the gathered congregation below. It affirms the primary aim of creating a meeting place for the congregation with a *sola scriptura* focus on the pulpit and liturgical space.



Figure 7.9: Internal layout of DRC Uitenhage (2021)

With this design Louw managed to culminate all the influences from the repurposed Patheon in Rome, many Renaissance and early Reformation churches, *Noorderkerk* in Amsterdam, *Groote Kerk* in Cape Town, *Ringkirche* in Wiesbaden, *Grootkerk* in Pretoria, and ultimately the almost anachronistic DRC Colesberg in a physically large yet intimate and serene *preekkerk*. It set a new standard for South African Reformed churches.

The absence of a tower⁹⁷ underlines the *domus ecclesiae* approach that the external appearance is not so important. Despite the *Centraalbouw* approach to Louw's ultimate octagonally shaped church layouts he never quite moved away from the external Greek cross shape. This was probably because of his continued love and respect for DRC *Strooidakkerk* as well as his focus on Christian symbols: threes, sevens, and the cross. So too, as an advocate of Cape Dutch Revivalism, Louw still respected the vernacular U-, T-, or H- shapes for houses and typical L-, T-, or cross shapes for churches.

With DRC *Die Strand* Louw could further refine the design for a large (1200 seats) church, although somewhat smaller than Uitenhage. A relatively larger budget allowed more attention to detail and a noticeable copper clock tower. Arguably the organ was placed in a theologically better place at the back of the church facing the pulpit.⁹⁸



Figure 7.10: DRC *Die Strand*: aerial view (Pine Pienaar, 2021) and details (2017)

After this, Louw still experimented with other approaches to external design, such as with DRC Bethlehem West, DRC Riviersonderend, DRC De Bloem, DRC Goodwood, and DRC Bellville North, but fundamentally he and his colleague architects would not deviate much from their norm. Externally face brick finishes crept in along with the fashions of the 1940s and 1950s, and rose windows were sometimes replaced by large half-oval sets of windows allowing for even more natural light. Clarke believes that this was influenced by the Dutch architects Geers & Geers, Dykstra, and Woudstra. Internally, however the semi-circular seating in an octagonal floor plan was almost always the norm (Clarke, 2021: 101-105).

⁹⁷ The absence of the tower can further be explained by the existing tower of the old church, which was repurposed as a church hall. Unlike many other cases the congregation did not remove the tower and kept the old church building intact externally. A second tower on the new church would have created a conflict.

⁹⁸ According to Koorts, Kesting, and others the theologically correct place for the organ is at the back of the church. While their argument that the organ must be used in union with the congregation's answer to the preaching of the Word was possibly true at that time, it is now once again being challenged by the plethora of musical instruments being used in churches and the decreasing use of organs (Kesting, 1978: 283; Koorts, 1974: 75-78).

7.7 RELEVANCE OF LOUW'S DESIGN APPROACH

As Le Roux clearly points out, there were many South African-born 20th-century architects who earnestly searched for fresh but relevant reformed church layouts. Louw was the first one of them. He started his career surrounded by many European-born architects still clinging to neo-Gothic and other eclectic 19th-century styles. Fortunately, some of them, such as WH Ford, Kallenbach, Hesse, Weyers, and Kraan, realised that the new century required new answers. Baker, Leith, and many more started to promote Cape Dutch Revivalism. Moerdyk arrived on the scene a decade later promoting his 'original' ideas for *volkseie* church designs via his booklet *Kerkgeboue vir Suid-Afrika*, comfortably ignoring the work already done by Louw, Baker, Kallenbach, Kraan & Weyers, etc since 1904 (Le Roux, 2008: 43).

While still only in his mid-twenties, Louw had the courage of his convictions as an architect and a Calvinist to embark on a journey of exploration to find the elusive ideal reformed church layout and design.

The multitude of commissions that Wynand H Louw received to design churches over half a century is a testament to the fact that Reformed congregations in South Africa embraced his *sola scriptura* focus on church design.

7.7.1 Interiors of other churches

The DRC Drieankerbaai is a neo-Gothic church (1878) with a Latin *crux immissa* shape. The stained glass windows behind the pulpit were added in 1885 in typical Anglican style. The leaded glass windows in the transept gables were only added in 1988. Both nave and transept are quite broad. The pulpit is in the short fourth wing. In a 1954 refurbishment, the seating was re-arranged in flat semi-circular rows fitting comfortably into the three arms and allowing good views of the liturgical space and pulpit (Malan, 1980: 75). It works well as a *domus ecclesiae* despite the slight distraction of the colourful windows. This change in layout is a clear indication that Louw's early 20th century approach to internal church layouts was embraced almost 50 years later and remains relevant to this day, more than a century later.



Figure 7.11: DRC Driankerbaai: interior with circular seating (2023)

Another interesting, if not ironic, example is DRC Boshof, which Louw enlarged in 1913 by adding two wings. Untypically the seating was arranged in straight rows typical of a Latin cross. FP van Heerden renovated the church in 1954 by adding face brick cladding and rebuilding the tower. In 1972 the church seating was redesigned internally and provided with theatre-style seating. In one of the few instances Louw did not follow his own rules this oversight was rectified in 1972.

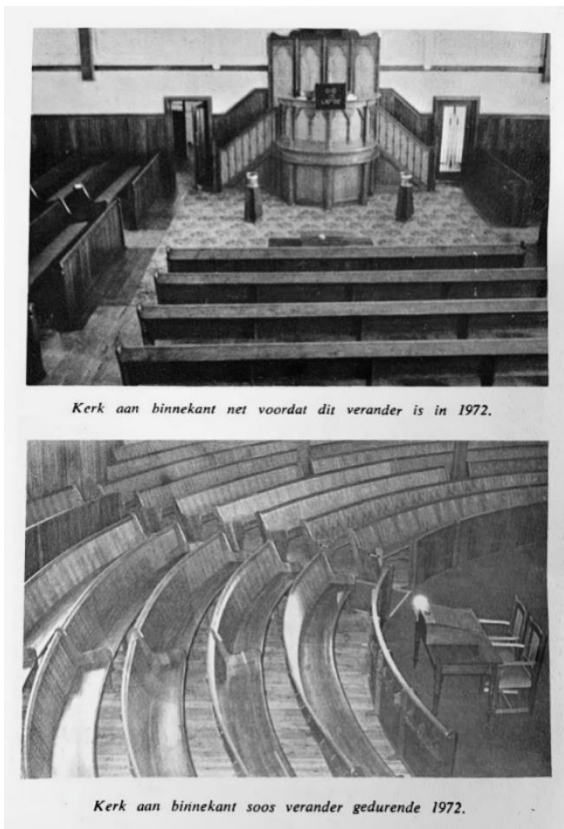


Figure 7.12: DRC Boshof seating arrangements before and after 1972 (Kerkraad NGK Boshof, 1974: 6)

7.7.2 20th century international examples

Internationally, the German architectural theorist Otto Bartning, in 1922, designed a conceptual timber structured Protestant *Sterrenkirche*, based on *Zentralbau* principles, with a central pulpit surrounded by 270 degrees of circular seating. Also, in 1922, Dominikus Böhm, a follower of the Liturgical Movement, which strived to rid/purify liturgy of its formalisms, designed a Christocentric Catholic *Messopferkirche* concept, an elliptical church with theatre style seating focused on the liturgical centre.

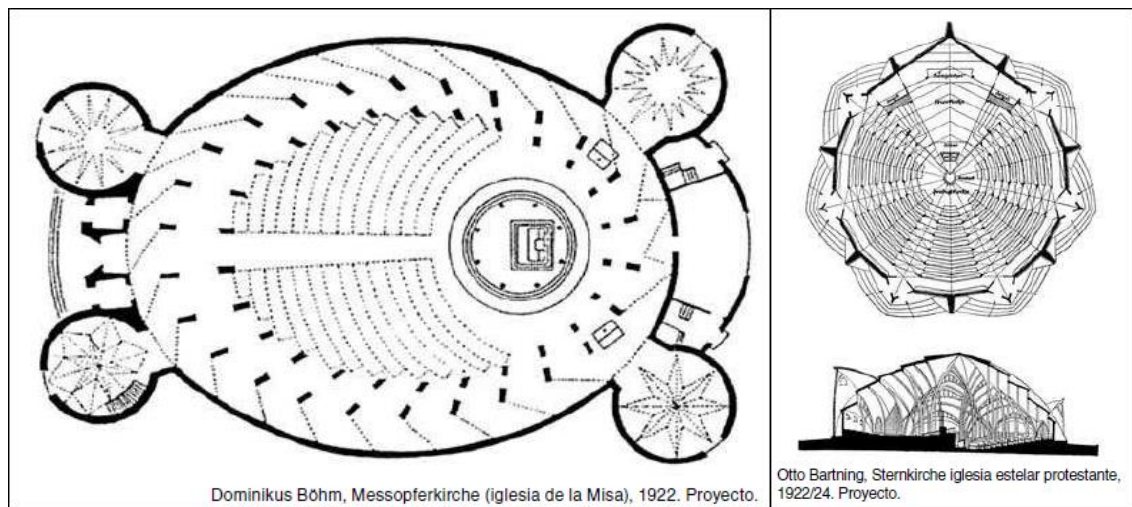


Figure 7.13: Plans for *Messopferkirche* and *Sterrenkirche* (for which a section is also included) (Fernández-Cobián, 2007: 8 and 11)

In his introduction to the 2007 International Conference on Contemporary Religious Architecture, Fernández-Cobian (2007: 9-14) states that the German architect Rudolf Schwarz⁹⁹ considered the modern exterior of churches as of much less importance than having internal spaces focused on the liturgical needs and functions (Figure 7.13).

Whether or not they were fully aware of the international thinking of their time, the new approach to church architecture of Louw and his South African contemporaries was aligned with international Protestant and Catholic church design trends of the early 20th century. This change in church design trend has since been vastly accelerated within the Catholic Church by the Second Vatican Council of 1962 to 1965 (Vatican history, online: accessed 20.07.2023).

⁹⁹ Schwarz (1897-1961) was a leading master of 20th century German church architecture. He was inspired by the Catholic Youth Movement and designed more than 40 ecclesiastical buildings since 1924.

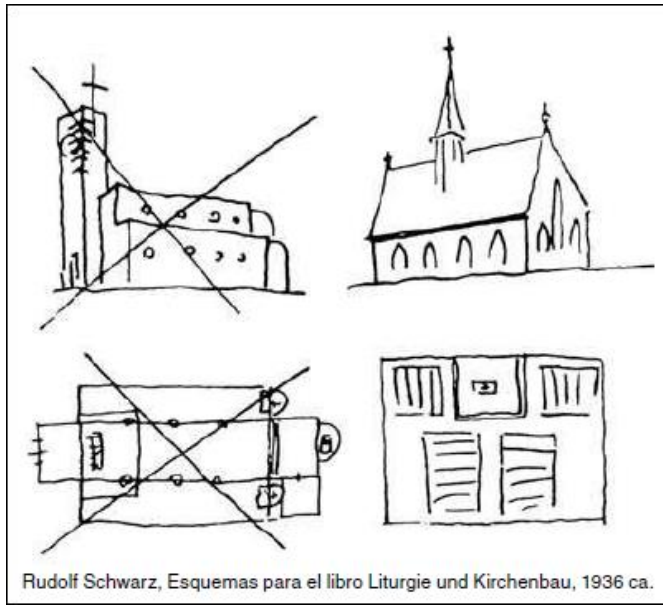


Figure 7.14: Schwarz' ideas illustrated graphically (Fernández-Cobián, 2007: 13)

8. CONCLUSION

Wynand H Louw, and after him, Moerdyk, J Anthonie Smith, and Johan de Ridder, were not the only South African-born architects searching for renewal in reformed church design. They were later joined by Paul le Roux, DP Kesting, Jan van Wijk, and even JMJ Koorts. Some found their answer in oblong layouts, others in a triangular *kappiekerk*. Others yearned back to the so-called *boerekerke* and some just drifted between ideas.

Louw, however, was the first South African-born and DRC-bred architect to earnestly search for authentic and functional South African reformed church layouts. He found his ideal design in an external Greek cross shape combined with a *Centraalbouw*, often octagonal, internal layout. Unlike many of the later architects, he had to develop it without the benefit of architectural or even theological guidelines from the South African Reformed Churches. That would only start to happen in the 1950s shortly before his retirement. Whether or not Louw was familiar with the writings of Theo Molkenboer (1900:1-8), his designs positively answered most of the artist's prescriptions for church architecture – which ironically were even more appropriate for South African Reformed churches than for Molkenboer's native Dutch Catholic Church.

When architect Wynand H Louw received a medal from *De Zuid-Afrikaanse Akademie voor Taal, Letteren en Kunst* in 1940 he was lauded as the first Afrikaans-speaking architect. Amongst his other projects such as the Paarl Town Hall, the many buildings for the University of Stellenbosch, and his designs of Cape Dutch buildings for the 1936 Empire Exhibition in Johannesburg, Louw's contribution to a new approach to church architecture was specifically highlighted. In his address at the occasion, Dr FCL Bosman said:

He is the person who replaced the outdated and unpractical (Latin) cross of the (neo-) Gothic churches with the now familiar style that is much better suited to the nature and sobriety of Protestant Calvinism. He brought about a radical change in the field of church architecture. (Du Toit, 1953: 23; Louw, 1968: 60).

In a lecture as part of the University of Cape Town 1960s Summer School architect Hannes van der Merwe said: "Ecclesiastical Architecture in South Africa deserves praise and admiration for its bold and discriminating championship of contemporary design." He continued to say that early in the 20th century South African architects started to carefully consider liturgy and the sacraments and managed to find the delicate balance between external aesthetical considerations and a theological understanding of South African reformed church buildings (Kannemeyer, 2006: 68).

In a 1967 eulogy for Wynand Louw in his capacity as chair of the Cape Institute of Architects, Van der Merwe said that Louw broke away from the norm of the day, which was the Latin and Greek cross forms of CO Hager et al. He developed an octagonal church shape which suited South African Reformed liturgy. Louw fully understood why basilica churches were inappropriate (Kannemeyer, 2006, 68). This is confirmed by Leon Roodt's (1981: 340-341) description of Louw in *Die Suid-Afrikaanse Biografiese Woordeboek Deel IV* (Beyers, 1981).

With the benefit of hindsight and the many academic writings on the subject of church architecture published over the last almost 70 years since Louw's retirement as architect, I trust that this dissertation goes some way towards uncovering that Wynand H Louw indeed was an innovator who incrementally and positively influenced South African reformed church architecture during the first part of the 20th century. His designs brought a new *sola scriptura* focus on reformed church buildings as *domus ecclesiae* at a time that was ripe for renewal.

EPILOGUE

Over millennia, theologians and church/temple/synagogue designers and builders have grappled with the challenge to create spaces where believers could congregate to experience/meet/interact with their God/god/deity. Some found the answer in a *domus dei* for a primarily immanent God and others in *domus ecclesiae* for a mostly transcendent God. Many drifted somewhere in between. In *The Elusive Presence* Terrien (1978: 476-477) concludes with the following:

Under a radically different world view, the chief problem of contemporary theology remains what it was for the ancient Hebrews and the early Christians. From presence, remembered and anticipated, they received their interpretation of historical existence. From presence, they learned an uneasy equilibrium between their past and their future, and they obtained at once their condemnation and their liberation to live. Presence, as well as its modes, is at the root of the theological problem of revelation.

In biblical faith, human beings discern that presence is a surging which soon vanishes and leaves in its disappearance an absence that has been overcome. It is neither absolute nor eternal but elusive and fragile, even and especially when human beings seek to prolong it in the form of cultus. The collective act of worship seems to be both the indispensable vehicle of presence and its destroyer. Presence dilutes itself into its own illusion whenever it is confused with a spatial or temporal location. When presence is guaranteed to human senses or reason, it is no longer real presence. The proprietary sight of the glory destroys the vision, whether in the temple of Zion or in the eucharistic body.

It is when presence escapes man's grasp that it surges, survives, or returns. It is also when human beings meet in social responsibility that presence, once vanished, is heard.

'The god comes when those in love recognize one another.'

In biblical faith, presence eludes but does not delude. The hearing of the name, which is obedience to the will and the decision to live now for an eternal future, becomes the proleptic vision of the glory.

Presence is articulated in the Word, but the Word is heard only by those who recognize the promise and already live by its fulfillment. In this sense, Torah is Logos made flesh.



Figure 9.1: Photograph (1967) of the author with his first camera – a gift from Wynand H Louw. With him is Wynand and Mabel Louw and the author's brother Arjen (Geldenhuys, no date)

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: List of Architectural Awards made by the *Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns*

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APPENDIX A: LIST OF ARCHITECTURAL AWARDS MADE BY THE SUID-AFRIKAANSE AKADEMIE VIR WETENSKAP EN KUNS

1936: Gerard Moerdyk

1940: Wynand H Louw

1953: DF Hugo Naudé

1956: Prof AL Meiring

1960: Norman Eaton

1963: HAI Watson

1964: Prof GE Pearse

1967: D Bax (cultural historical promotion of architecture)

W Punt (cultural historical promotion of architecture)

1969: Mary Alexander Cook (cultural historical promotion of architecture)

1970: W Gordon McIntosh

1975: Gawie Fagan

1977: Danie Theron

1980: Wilhelm Meyer

1983: Jan van Wijk

1986: Dirk van Velden Visser

1989: JH Meiring

1992: Bannie Britz

Anton Rupert (for active conservation of architecture in South Africa)

1995: Samuel Pauw

1998: Roelof S Uytenbogaardt (posthumously)

2002: Prof SW le Roux

2004: Dr DP Kesting

2014: Prof HW Wegelin

2018: Pieter J Mathews

Source: Dr L. Brink of the *Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns*, email 7.12.2022

APPENDIX B: GENEALOGY OF WYNAND HENDRIK LOUW

a. Jan Pietersz(oon) Louw of Caspel te Mare, North Netherland * 1.3.1628 ~ 29.10.1628

Bovenkarspel; x Netherland Hubbeke Reijnders * c1930; xx Cape 23.8.1661 Beatrix Weijman of Utrecht * c1639, † 7.1722; † 9.5.1691 Louwsvliet (5 children).

b5. Jacobus (Pietersz?) ~ 21.1.1680; x Cape 22.1.1702 Maria van Brakel (xx Jan Valk 21.2.1723) ~ 30.5.1677 Cape, † 1.3.1744 Louwsvliet; † 7.1713 (7 children).

c1. Adriaan ~ 12.11.1702 Cape, Farmer; x Stellenbosch 30.4.1724 Maria Malan, ~ 6.4.1705 Drakenstein † 25.3.1788 25.2.1780 Drakenstein; † 21.7.1772 Cape, Roggeveld (10 children).

d6. Adriaan (Adriaansz) ~ 4.7.1734 Stellenbosch; x Paarl 11.12.1768

Susanna Hillelje Hop(pe) * 16.3.1744 16.8.1744 † 1.2.1807; † 6.4.1807 Malmesbury (6 children).

e6. Johannes Wynand * 21.1.1786 Malmesbury ~ 29.1.1786; x 2.4.1809 Margaretha Johanna Joubert * 22.7.1786, ~6.8.1796, † 15.3.1848 Paarl; xx Cape Town 15.9.1848 Johanna Hendrina Hofmeyr * 2.1.1794 † 27.6.1865; † 28.9.1854 Paarl (10 children).

f2. Adriaan Jacobus * 15.11.1811 ~ Paarl 1.12.1811, Farmer *Laborie et Picardie* x Swartland

9/15.9.1833 Geertruida Anna Smuts ~ 28.11.1813; † 23.5.1837; xx Stellenbosch 23.6.1839

Charlotta Louisa Maria Herold * 17.8.1819 George † 19.11.1902 Labori et Picardi; † Paarl 7.1.1877 Paarl (12 children).

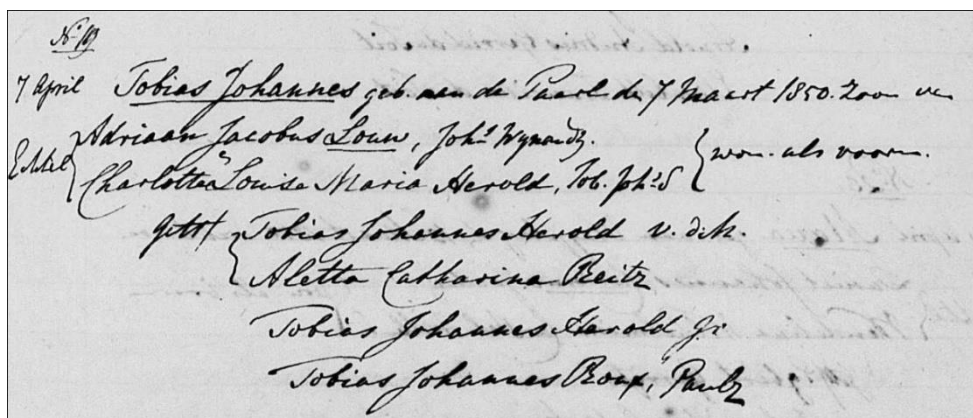


Figure B1: Christening of Tobias Johannes Louw (GENi.com)

g9. Tobias Johannes * 7.3.1850 Paarl, ~ 7.4.1850 Stellenbosch, farmer and owner Labori et Picardi, Paarl x Paarl 17.10.1873 Sophia Margaretha Myburgh Bosman, * 9.4.1854, ~ 30.4.1854 Paarl, † 23.5.1911 Paarl; xx 7.4.1913 Christina Johanna Lategan (née Basson) Paarl, * 11.11.1878 † 9.4.1954; † 25.1.1930 Paarl (16 children).

h1. Adriaan Jacobus * 31.7.1874 † 14.3.1937.

h2. Jan Daniel * 8.7.1876 † 19.9.1957.

h3. Charles Louis * 23.7.1877 † 17.5.1934.

h4. Catharina Sophia * 16.10.1878 † 4.1.1972.

h5. Herold Tobias * 1.2.1880 † 26.9.1882.

h6. Sophia Elisabeth * 24.6.1881 † 19.8.1882.

h7. Wynand Hendrik * 17.2.1883 Labori et Picardi, architect *Die Hoogte* Paarl; x Colesberg 29.5.1912 Maria Aletta Norval, * 2.12.1884 Colesberg, ~ 11.1.1885 Colesberg, † 30.5.1949 Paarl;

xx Pretoria 5.6.1951 Mabel Aletta Geldenhuys (née Norval) Teacher and Author, * 8.9.1989
Colesberg, ~ 3.11.1889 Colesberg, x 26.6.1915 Jurie Johannes Geldenhuys * 7.1.1881, † 9.4.1935
Vrede; † 2.8.1977 Vrede; † 21.8.1967 *Die Hoogte*, Paarl.

i1. Johanna Maria * 27.10.1914 x 21.12.1935 Francois Petrus Greeff * 11.6.1901 † 28.9.1951; †
3.8.1987.

i2. Tobias Johannes Wynand * 24.10.1917 x 15.1.1949 Mavis Powell * 16.11.1925 † 25.3.2010; †
28.2.1996.

i3. Sophia Margaretha * 28.6.1920 x 13.10.1953 Nicolaas Johannes Bodenstein * 5.12.1919 †? ; †
22.7.1956.

i4. Charles Norval * 10.3.1923 x 3.9.1953 Gertruida van der Spuy * 26.3.1930 † c1954 xx 4.1.1956
Margaretha Jacoba Labuschagne * 21.1.1933 † 17.4.2021; † 18.2.2001.

h8. Louis Hofmeyer * 23.6.1884 † 13.9.1968

h9. Tobias Herold * 9.9.1885 † 27.12.1969

h10. George Muller * 9.2.1887 † 25.6.1970

h11. Susanna Wilhelmina * 3.7.1888 † 20.7.1963

h12. Francis William * 1.5.1891 † 20.12.1926

h13. Hendrik Jacobus * 30.9.1892 † 18.8.1988

h14. Ebenezer * 6.3.1895 † 14.1.1931

h15. Jacobus Francois * 22.7.1914 †

h16. Christina Johanna * 8.11.1919 †

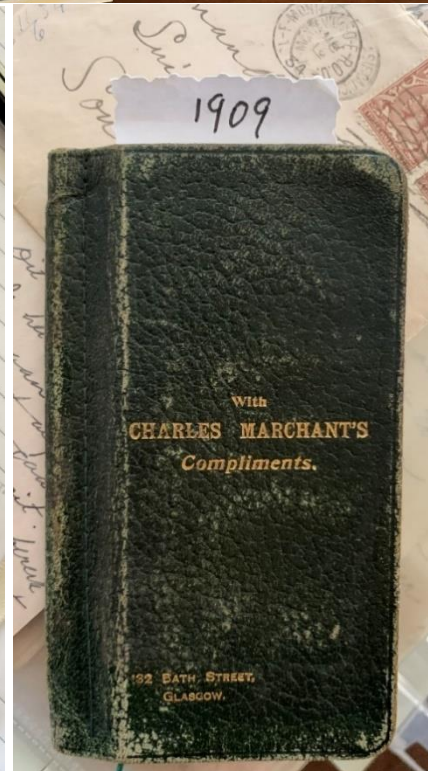
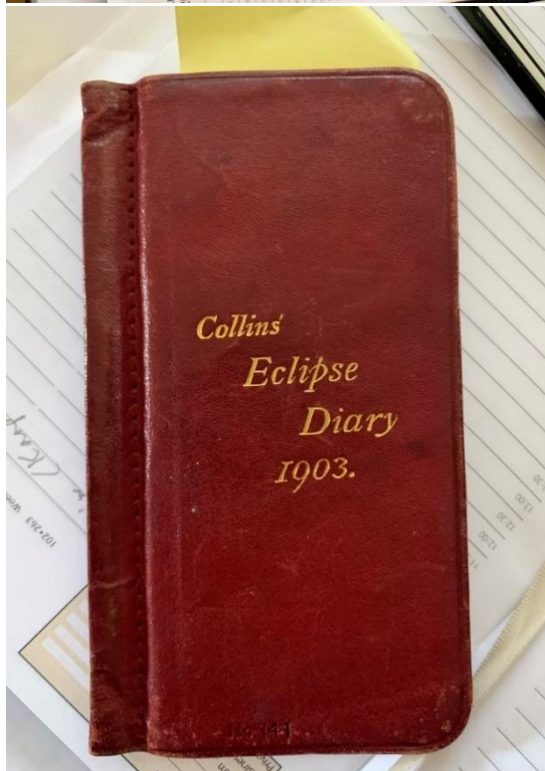
Sources: The Louw Register, SA Genealogy, (Geldenhuys, no date; Louw and Malan, 1984)

APPENDIX C: FLOW DIAGRAM OF OWNERSHIP OF LABORI ET PICARDI

[Appendix C Flow Diagram of Ownership of La Bori et Picardi](#)

[Appendix C Labori et Picardi Ownership](#)

APPENDIX D: WYNAND LOUW'S DIARIES



April, 1909.

(99-268) 9 F
 Good Friday. Bank Holiday.
 Spent day at
 Gen. Smuts.
 Left with him to Zoo.

(100-265) 10 S
 Pd Mrs Keith £5.00 for
 P.W.D. House at E.R. Heidelberg
 A

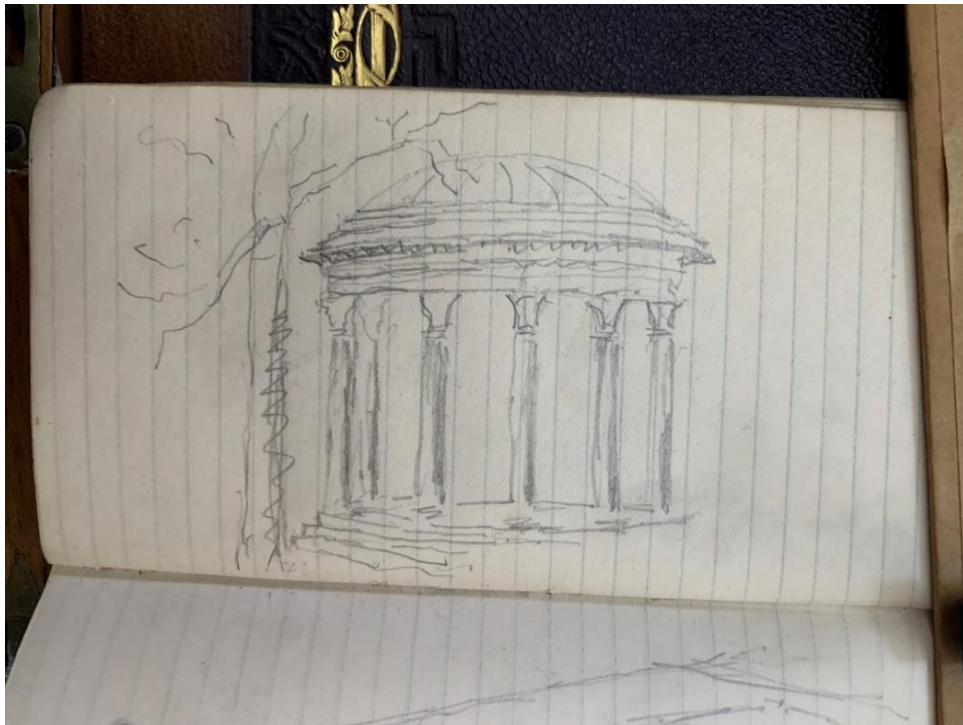
2.30 Went to Heidelberg
 Wandē via Jo'burg.

(101-264) 11 Sun
 at Heidelberg

Memoranda.
The Builders.
 All are architects of fate
 Working in these walls of Time,
 Some with massive deeds great,
 Some with ornaments of rhyme.
 Nothing useless is or low;
 Each thing in its place is best,
 And what seems but idle show
 Strengthens & supports the rest.
 For the structure that we raise,
 Time is with materials filled;
 Our to-days & yesterdays
 Are the blocks with which we
 build.

Truly shape & fashion these;
 Leave no yawning gaps between;
 Think not, because no man sees,
 Such things will remain unseen.
 In the elder days of art
 Builders wrought with greatest care,
 Each minute and unseen part;
 For the gods see everywhere
 Let us do our work as well,
 Both the unseen and the seen;
 Make the house, where gods may dwell,
 Beautiful, entire, and clean.

Notes
 Our lives are
 Standing in these w
 Broken stairways, w
 Stumble as they se
 Build today, then, st
 With a firm & amp
 And ascending an
 Shall tomorrow f
 Thus alone can
 To those turrets, w
 Sees the world as
 And one boundless
 — Lov



APPENDIX E: THE WYNAND H LOUW PERIOD FROM 1907 TO 1921

Figure 3.4: DRC Amersfoort cornerstone (2021)



1907: DRC Heidelberg, Cape: emergency repairs to CO Hager Church

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
17/8/1907?	1908	WH Louw	WH Louw		c/o Van Riebeeck & Fourie Street, Heidelberg, W Cape

Figure 3.5: Photo of DRC Heidelberg, Cape, designed by CO Hager (Maeder & Zinn, 1917: 100)

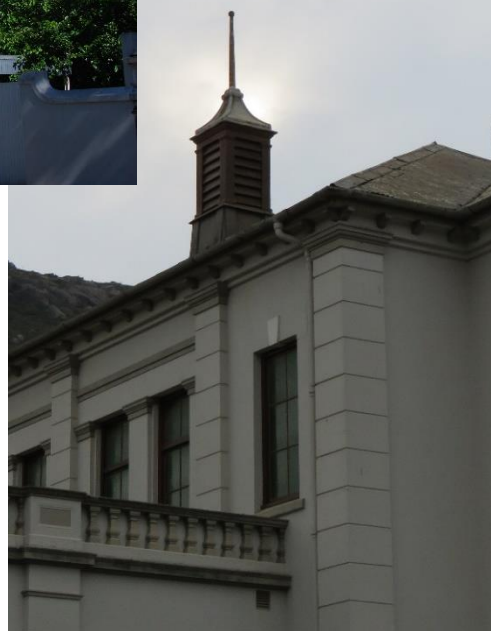


1908: DRC *Strooidakkerk* church hall, Paarl

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
16/5/1908	18/11/1908	WH Louw	WH Louw	Mr F Boesen	Klein Reservoir Street, Paarl

Figure 3.6: Photos of *Strooidakkerk* church hall (2021)

Figure 3.7: B&W photo (DRC *Strooidakkerk* church office)



1909: DRC Port Elizabeth (*Moederkerk*)

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
17/4/1909	13/12/1909	WH Louw	WH Louw		c/o Geard & Kirkwood Street, Gqeberha

Figure 3.8: Photos of DRC Port Elizabeth (2021)

Figure 3.9: B&W photo of original DRC Port Elizabeth 1909: (Maeder & Zinn, 1917: 47)



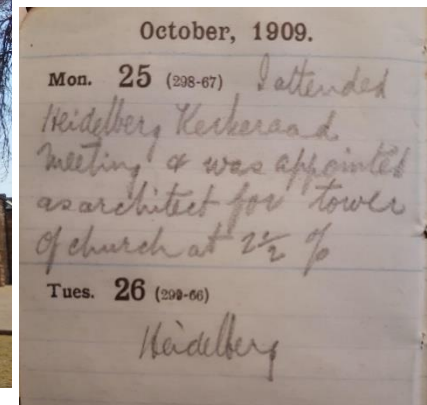
1909 DRC Heidelberg, Transvaal: tower reconstruction

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
1909?	1909	WH Louw	WH Louw		57 HF Verwoerd Street, Heidelberg, Gauteng.

Figure 3.10: B&W 1909 photo of fallen tower of DRC Heidelberg 1909 (*Gemeentegeschiedenis* online: 8.4.2023)

Figure 3.11: Colour photo of rebuilt tower (2021)

Figure 3.12: Extract from 1909 diary: (Louw [A], no date: 1909 diary)



1910: DRC Calitzdorp

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
17/12/1910	26/4/1912	WH Louw	WH Louw	JP Strydom	c/o Pretorius & Lourens Street, Calitzdorp.

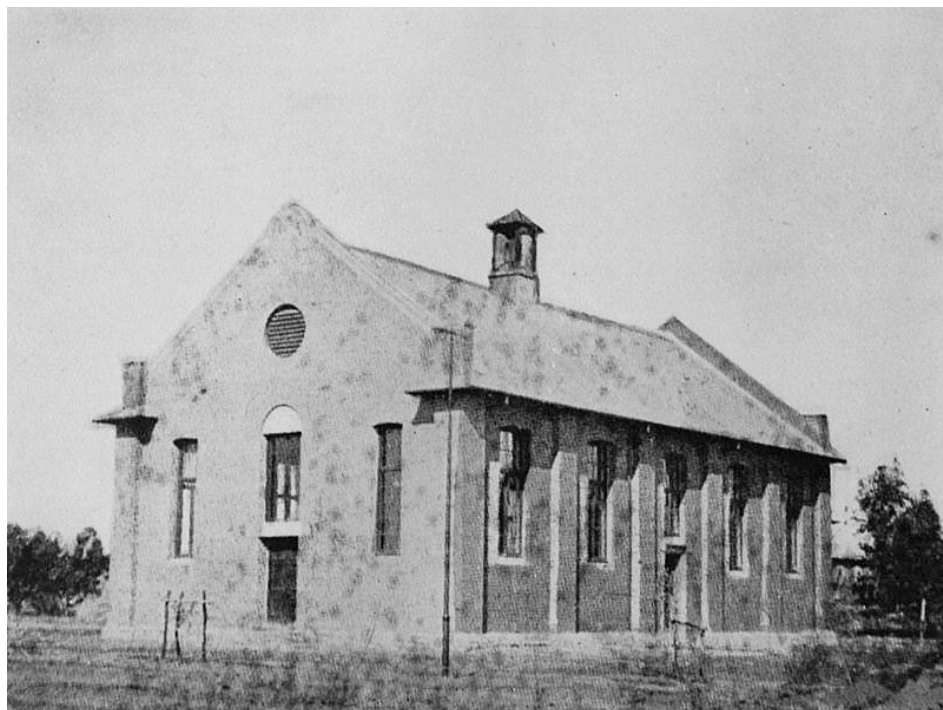
Figure 3.13: Photos of DRC Calitzdorp (2021)



1911: DRC Vereeniging (Demolished)

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
1911?	11/11/1911	WH Louw	WH Louw		Union Street, Vereeniging.

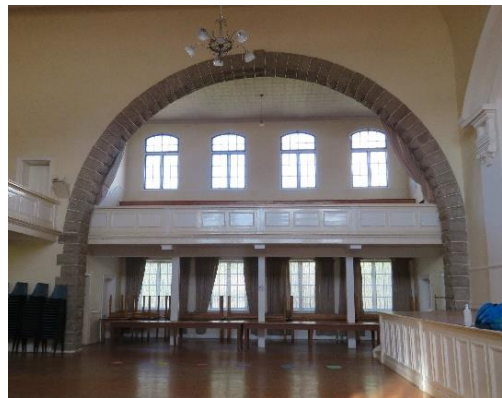
Figure 3.14: Photo of demolished DRC Vereeniging (Maeder & Zinn, 1917: 253)



1911: DRC Cradock church hall

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
16/12/1911	2/8/1912	WH Louw	WH Louw	Mr F Boesen	c/o Church & Beeren Street, Cradock

Figure 3.15: Photos of DRC Cradock church hall (2022)



1912: DRC Boksburg

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
27/1/1912	26/10/1912	WH Louw	WH Louw	Gordon & Kuisman	22 Voortrekker Street, Boksburg

Figure 3.16: Photos of DRC Boksburg (2017)

Figure 3.17: B&W 1912 photo of DRC Boksburg (Maeder & Zinn, 1917: 243)



1912: DRC Ventersdorp

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
5/4/1912	25/10/1912	WH Louw	WH Louw	MJ Adams & Kie	c/o Voortrekker & Van Riebeeck Street, Ventersdorp

Figure 3.18: Photo of DRC Ventersdorp (2021)

Figure 3.19: Photo of tower under repairs (DRC Ventersdorp church office)

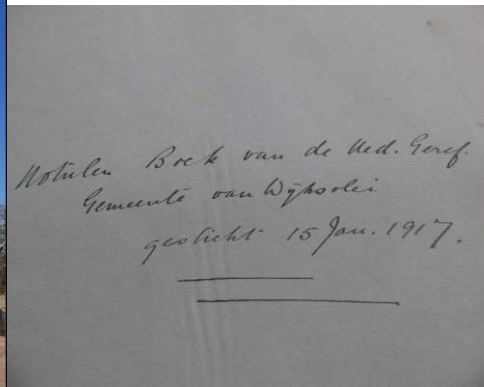


1912: DRC Vanwyksvlei

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
8/6/1912	25/10/1912	WH Louw	WH Louw		c/o Church Street & R61, Vanwyksvlei

Figure 3.20: Photos of DRC Vanwyksvlei (L Smit, 2020)

Figure 3.21: B&W photo of interior of DRC Vanwyksvlei (Van der Spuy Brink. 2022)



1912: DRC Reitz

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
10/8/1912	5/5/1914	WH Louw	WH Louw	Mr F Ward-Smith	c/o Church & North Street, Reitz

Figure 3.22: Photos of DRC Reitz (2021);

Figure 3.23: B & W 1916 photo of DRC Reitz: (Maeder & Zinn, 1917: 177)



1913: DRC Carnarvon Church Hall (demolished?)

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
1913?		WH Louw	WH Louw		Church Street, Carnarvon

Figure 3.24: none

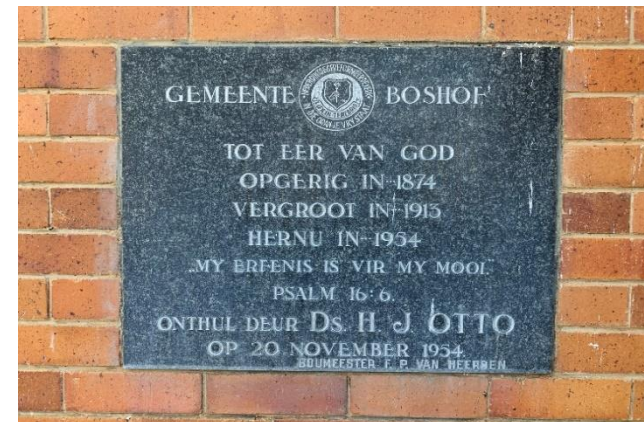
1913: DRC Boshof: Enlargement (rebuilt in face brick by FP van Heerden in 1954 and internally refurbished in 1972)

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
1913	1/2/1913	WH Louw	WH Louw	Boesen	c/o Church & Mark Street, Boshof

Figure 3.25: Photos of DRC Boshof (2020)

Figure 3.26: B&W photo of DRC Boshof c1915: (Maeder & Zinn, 1917:162)

Figure 3.27: Painting by G Boonzaaier



1913: DRC Naauwpoort/Noupoort (demolished)

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
19/3/1913	17/8/1913	WH Louw	WH Louw		?

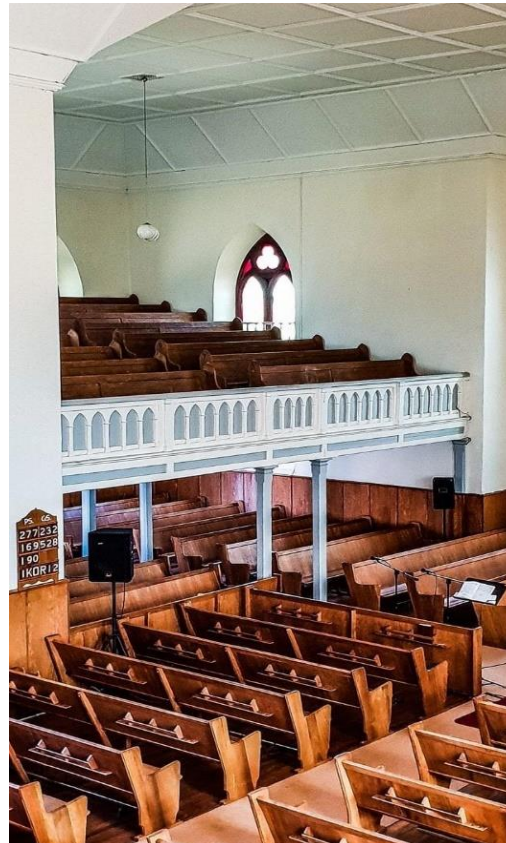
Figure 3.28: Photo of cornerstone of demolished DRC Naauwpoort (Morné van Rooyen, 2013)



1913: DRC Philippolis: internal renovation

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
1913?	1917?	WH Louw	WH Louw	Mr F Boesen	25 Church Street, Philippolis

Figure 3.29: Photos: of DRC Philippolis interior (C van Schalkwyk, 2021)



1913: DRC Beaufort West church hall

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
5/7/1913	12/1913	WH Louw	WH Louw		1 Church Steet, Beaufort West

Figure 3.30: Photos of DRC Beaufort West church hall (2021)



1914: DRC Kuruman (later Reformed Church Kuruman, now a Ford showroom)

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
11/4/1914	25/7/1914	WH Louw	WH Louw	AM Olivier	c/o Church & Main Street, Kuruman

Figure 3.31: Photos of DRC Kuruman - left top and bottom (B Schmulling, 2009)

Figure 3.32: Photos of Kuruman Ford (Kuruman Ford, 2022)



1914: DRC Worcester church hall

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
1914/1916?	11/11/1916	WH Louw	WH Louw	George Townsend	80 Church Street, Worcester

Figure 3.33: Photos of DRC Worcester church hall (2021)



1914: DRC Olifantshoek (demolished 1961)

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
19/9/1914	16/1/1915	WH Louw	WH Louw	AM Olivier	c/o Church & Cox Street, Olifantshoek

Figure 3.34: Photo of demolished DRC Olifantshoek (Van der Merwe, 2016: 34 & 1991: 8)

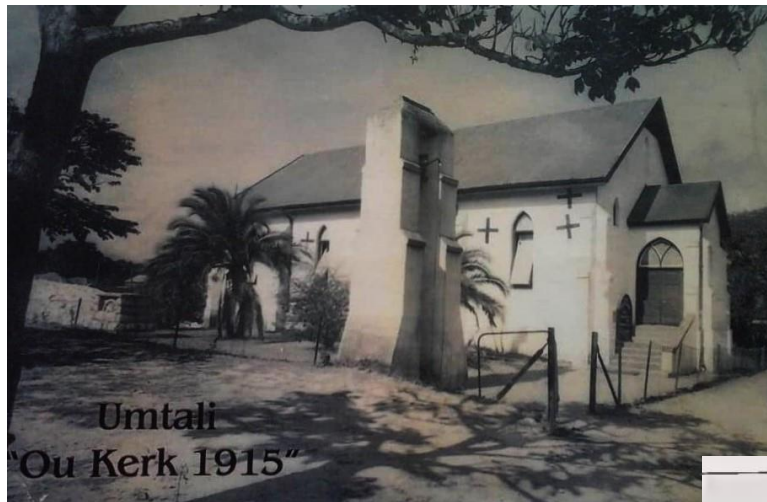


1914: DRC Umtali (now Mutare, demolished?)

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
16/12/1914	1915	WH Louw	WH Louw		Third Street, Mutare, Zmbabwe

Figure 3.35: Photos of DRC Mutare (DRC Mutare church office, 2021)

Figure 3.36: Photo of DRC Umtali c1915 in centre: (Maeder & Zinn, 1917: 215)



1915: DRC *Strooidakkerk*, Paarl: renovations

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
1915?	1916 & 1924	WH Louw	WH Louw	De Villiers	166 Main Street, Paarl

Figure 3.37: Photos of DRC *Strooidakkerk* (2023)



1916: DRC Paarl *Hulpkerk*: enlargement

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
4/1916	1917?	WH Louw	WH Louw	F Boesen	?

Figure 3.38: Photo of DRC Paarl *Hulpkerk* with added transept wings (DRC Paarl Church office, 2022)



1916: DRC Philadelphia: new pulpit

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
1916?	12/8/1916	WH Louw	WH Louw	H Erxleben	c/o Church & Pastorie Street, Philadelphia.

Figure 3.39: Photo of pulpit of DRC Philadelphia (Ed Malan, 2020)



1917: DRC Pietersburg

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
31/3/1917	5/4/1918	WH Louw		Adams & Mason	c/o Grobler & Biccard Steet, Polokwane

Figure 3.40: Photos of DRC Pietersburg (2021)

Figure 3.41: Painting by WH Louw, c1917 (Maeder & Zinn, 1917: 205)



1917: DRC Deben (previously Dibéng) (demolished)

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
27/7/1917	27/10/1917	WH Louw		AM Olivier	?

Figure 3.42: Photo of demolished DRC Deben (Van der Merwe, 2016: 35)



N G Kerkgebou Deben, ingewy op 27 Oktober 1917. Die gemeente is al op 15 Mei 1909 gestig.

1917: DRC Marchand (probably demolished after new church was inaugurated in 1955)

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
1917?	25/8/1917	WH Louw	WH Louw		?

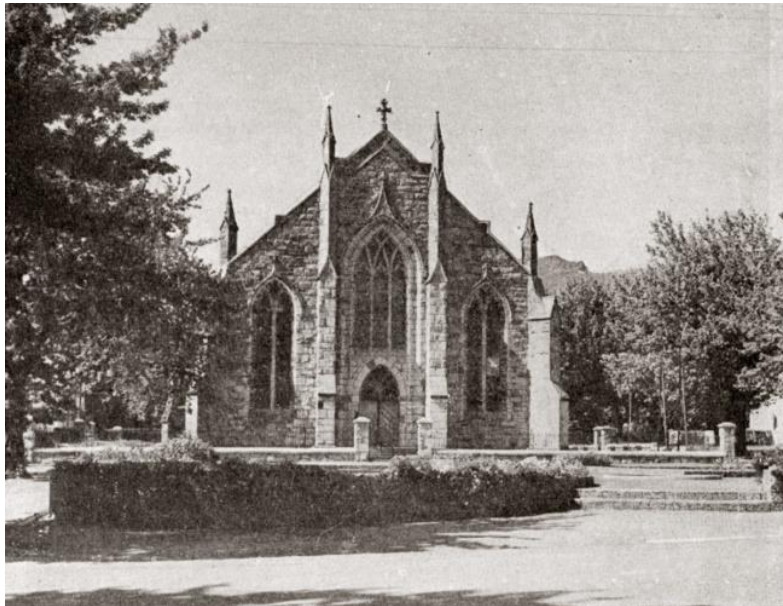
Figure 3.43: none

1917: DRC Ceres: renovation of CO Hager church

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
1917?	1917	WH Louw	WH Louw		?

Figure 3.44: Photo of DRC Ceres c1950 - left (provided by Morné van Rooyen)

Figure 3.45: Photo of DRC Ceres c1915 - right: (Maeder & Zinn, 1917: 97)



1918: DRC Britstown church hall: rebuild of the Van Zijl Building – originally a commercial building

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
1918	25/7/1918	WH Louw	WH Louw	McCready	c/o Church & Bree Street, Britstown

Figure 3.46: Photos of DRC Britstown church hall (2021)



1918: DRC Caledon: renovation of the CO Hager church

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
1918?	1918 & 1924	WH Louw	WH Louw		c/o Prince Alfred & Plein Steet, Caledon

Figure 3.47: Photo dated c1940 of DRC Caledon (Fransen, 2006: 161)



1918: DRC Moirivier, Potchefstroom

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
6/7/1918	18/4/1919	WH Louw	W Donaldson	WA van Jaarsveld	c/o Walter Sisulu (Church) & Ayres Street, Potchefstroom

Figure 3.48: Photos of DRC Moirivier (2021)

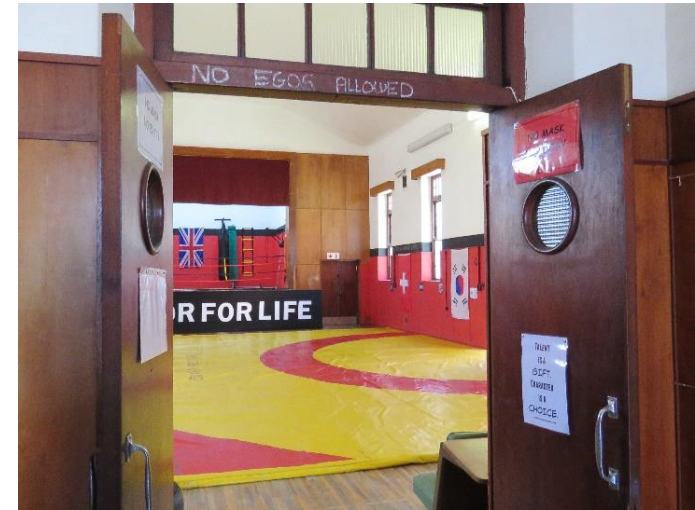
Figure 3.49: Sepia photo of DRC Moirivier 1919 (supplied by M van Rooyen, 2023)



1919: Paarl Hebrew Congregation church hall

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
17/12/1919	1920	WH Louw	WH Louw		19 Sinagoge Street, Paarl

Figure 3.50: Photos of Paarl Hebrew Congregation church hall (2021)

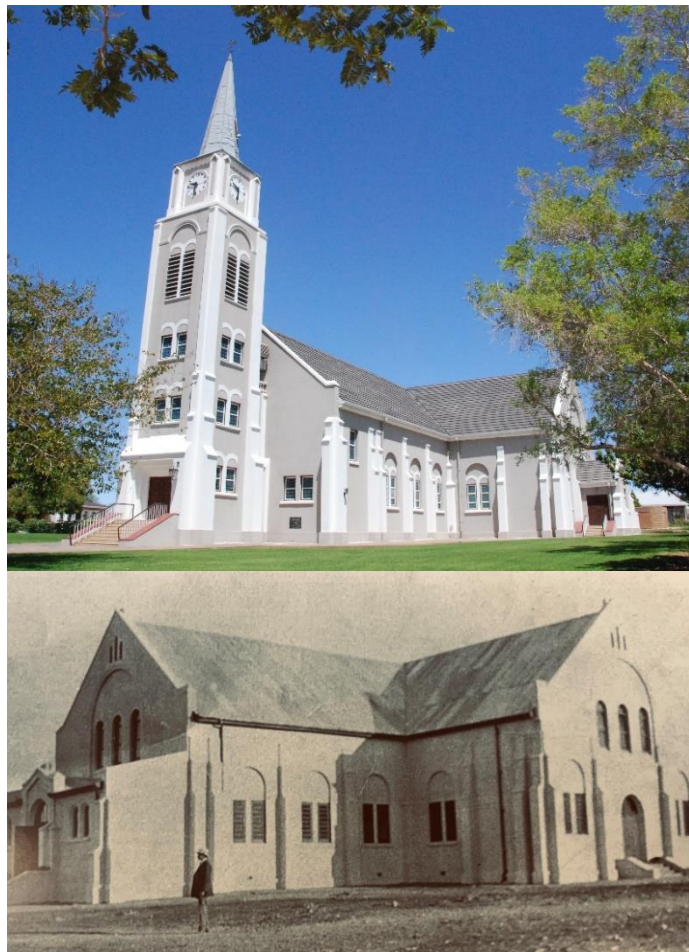


1920: DRC Kakamas (tower added after 1962)

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
7/2/1920	25/9/1920	WH Louw	WH Louw		22 Voortrekker Road, Kakamas

Figure 3.51: Photos of DRC Kakamas (2017)

Figure 3.52: B&W photo dated 1922 of DRC Kakamas without tower (DRC Kakamas Kerkraad, 2011: 35)

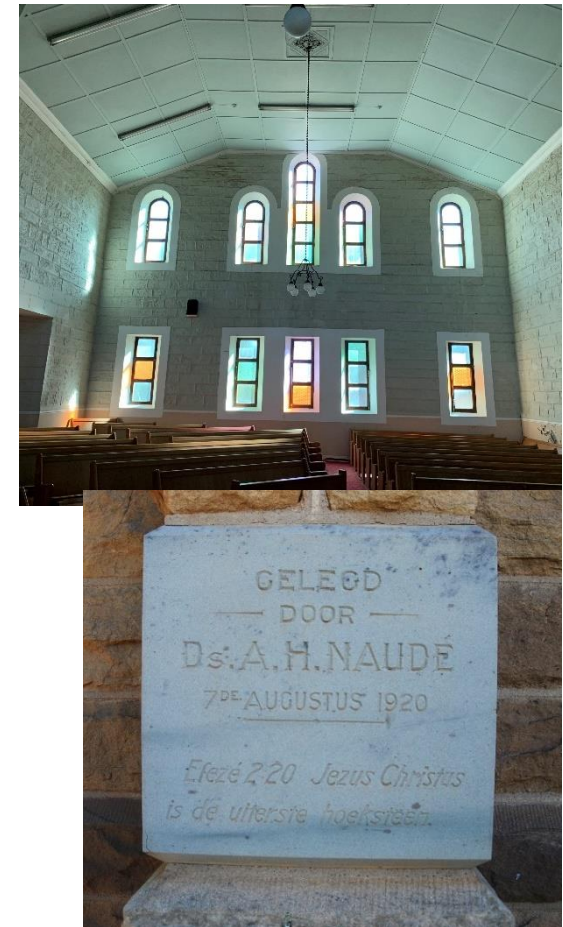


1920: DRC Indwe

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
7/8/1920	1921?	WH Louw	WH Louw	WB Anderson?	41 Voortrekker Street, Indwe

Figure 3.53: Photos of DRC Indwe (2021)

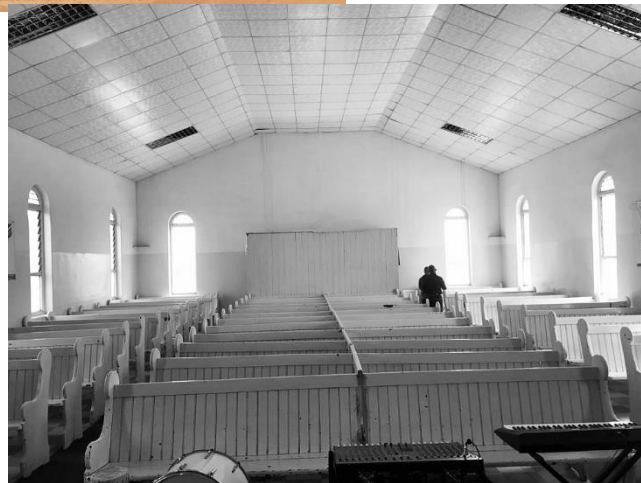
Figure 3.54: B&W photo c1960 of DRC Indwe from the back (supplied by M van Rooyen, 2023)



1920: DRC Lusaka, Zambia (now the Salvation Army)

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
11/9/1920	7/5/1921	WH Louw	WH Louw		Great North Road, Lusaka, Zambia

Figure 3.55: Photos of DRC Lusaka (Werner Nel, 2021)



1920: DRC Witbank

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
20/11/1920	1923?	WH Louw	WH Louw	WB Anderson	11 Kruger Street, Witbank

Figure 3.56: Photos of DRC Witbank (2018)



1921: DRC Amersfoort

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
12/2/1921	27/1/1923	WH Louw	WH Louw	Hart K Bennet	c/o North & Sybrand van Niekerk Street, Amersfoort

Figure 3.57: Photos of DRC Amersfoort (2020)



1921: DRC Swartruggens

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
23/4/1921	27-29/1/1922	WH Louw	WH Louw	PJJ du Toit	c/o Church & Bischof Street, Swartruggens

Figure 3.58: Photos of DRC Swartruggens (2019)



1921: DRC East London

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
1/8/1921	8/4/1922	WH Louw	WH Louw		3 Lambart Road, East London

Figure 3.59: Photos of DRC East London (2021)



APPENDIX F: THE LOUW & MOERDYK PERIOD FROM 1921 TO 1927

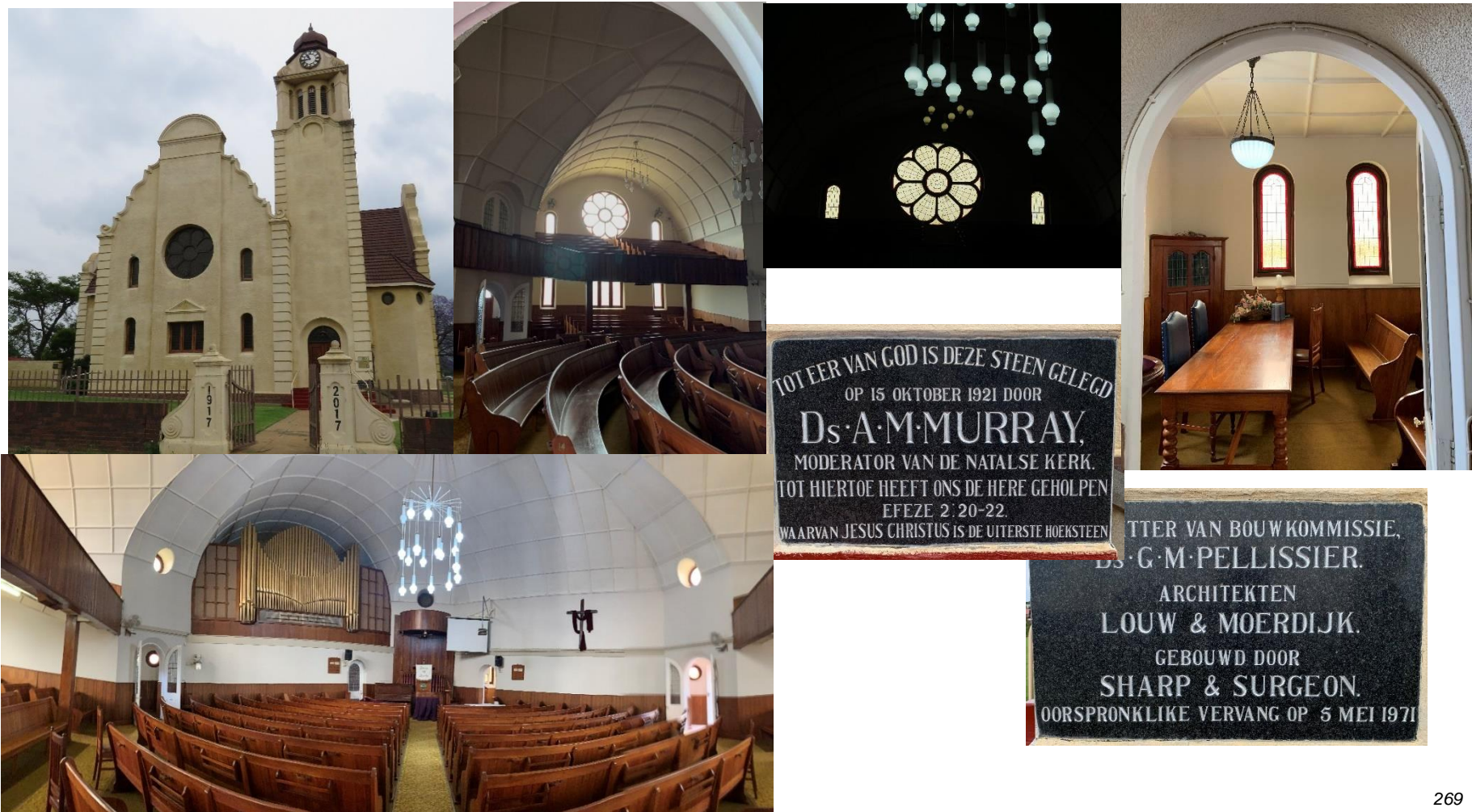
Figure 3.60: Cornerstone of DRC Bloemfontein North (2021)



1921: DRC Dundee

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
15/10/1921&1971	7-10/12/1922	Louw & Moerdyk	WHL & GM	Sharp & Sturgeon	c/o Wilson & Beaconsfield Street, Dundee

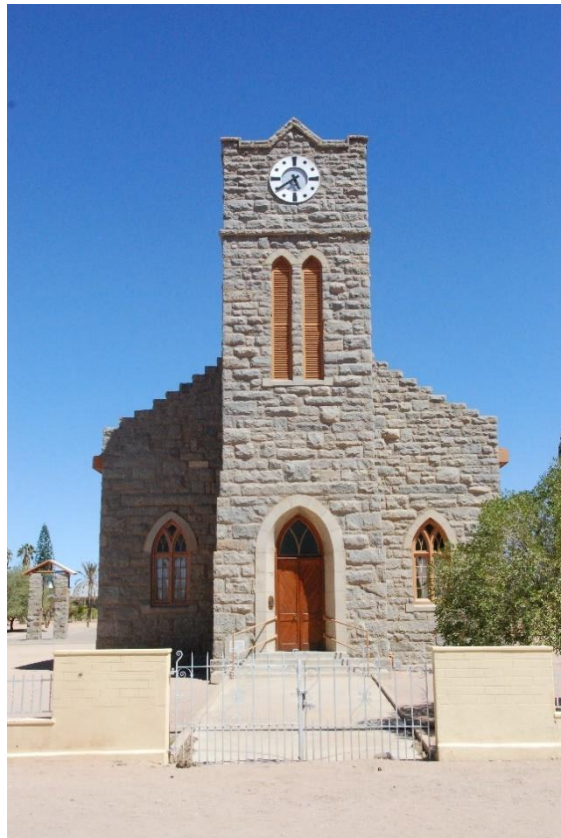
Figure 3.61: Photos of DRC Dundee (2020)



1922: DRC Pofadder

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
20/5/1922	1923	WH Louw	WH Louw		Church Street, Pofadder

Figure 3.62: Photos of DRC Pofadder (2017)



1922: DRC Victoria West: additions and new tower

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
1922?	1922	WH Louw	WH Louw		c/o Church & Commercial Street, Victoria West

Figure 3.63: Photos of DRC Victoria West (2017)

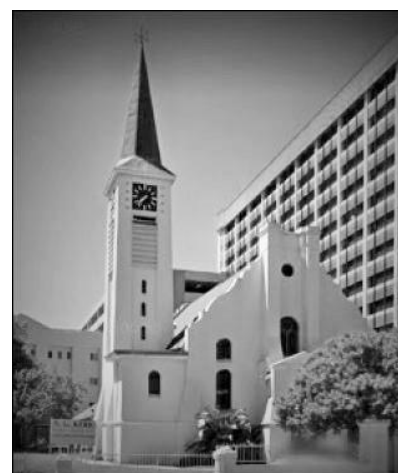
Figure 3.64: B&W photo of old DRC Victoria West church (Maeder & Zinn, 2017: 72)



1922: DRC Umtata

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
21/7/1922	27/1/1923	WH Louw	WH Louw	AJ Small	18 Durham Street, Mthatha

Figure 3.65: Photos: of DRC Umtata (DRC Umtata church office, 2021)



1923: DRC Bloemfontein North (*Klipkerk*)

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
3/2/1923	1923	Louw & Moerdyk	G Moerdyk	Brothers Craig	c/o First & Aliwal Street, Bloemfontein

Figure 3.66: Photos of DRC Bloemfontein North (2020)

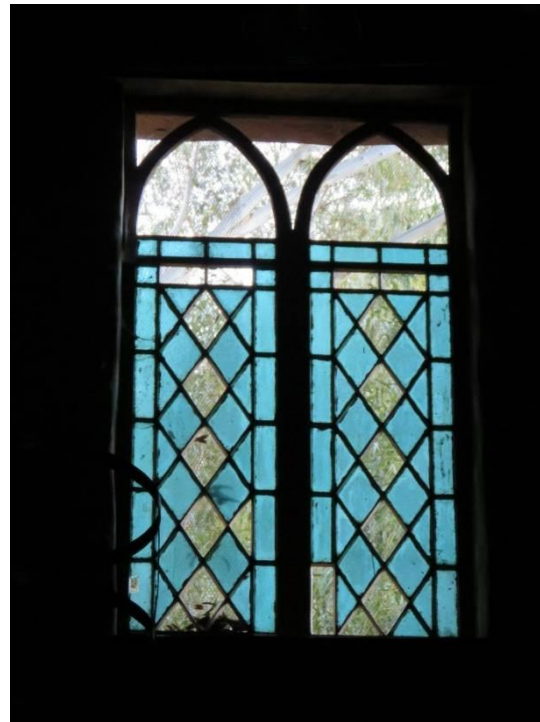
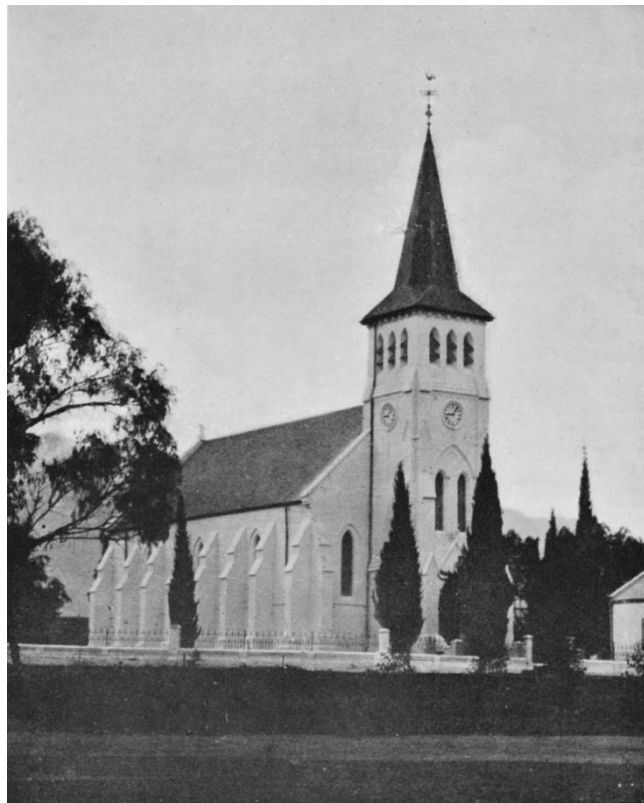


1923: DRC Kruisvallei, Tulbagh: addition of tower (demolished after 1969 earthquake)

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
1923?	1923?	WH Louw	WH Louw		Waveren Street, Tulbagh

Figure 3.67: Photo of original tower windows, now in wine cellar of Oude Compagnies Post (2017)

Figure 3.68: B&W photos of DRC Kruisvallei - left c1925 with tower and right c1870 (supplied by R Jordaan from *Tulbagh onthou 50*)



1923: DRC Kamieskroon

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
29/3/1923	1924	WH Louw	WH Louw	DJ Loubser	Church Street, Kamieskroon

Figure 3.69: Photos of DRC Kamieskroon (2017)

Figure 3.70: B&W photos of interior of DRC Kamieskroon (DL Smit, 2023)

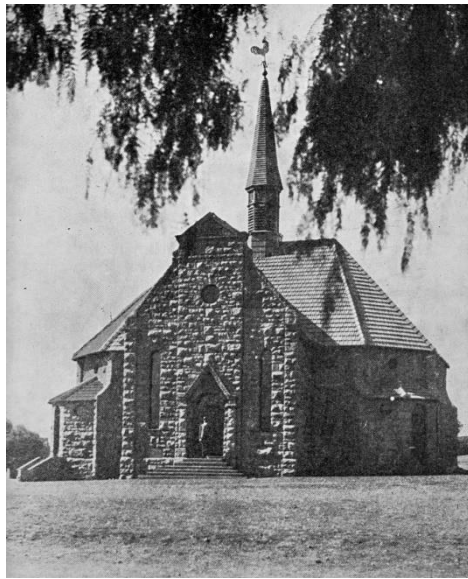


1923: DRC Luckhoff

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
21/4/1923	1923	Louw & Moerdyk	G Moerdyk?	Du Toit&Matthysen	c/o Barnard & Fourie Street, Luckhoff

Figure 3.71: B&W photo of DRC Luckhoff with original turret (supplied by Morné van Rooyen, 2011)

Figure 3.72: Photos of DRC Luckhoff (2017)



1923: DRC Paterson

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
28/4/1923	10/11/1923	WH Louw	WH Louw		Griffith Street, Paterson

Figure 3.73: Photos of DRC Paterson (2021)



1923: DRC Durban

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
7/7/1923	2/2/1924	Louw & Moerdyk	G Moerdyk?	Wilson & Henry	151 Smith (Anton Lembede) Street, Durban

Figure 3.74: Photos of DRC Durban (DRC Durban church office, 2021)



1923: DRC De Aar (*Moedergemeente*) (clad with face brick in 1960 by others)

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
8/9/1923	7/2/1925	WH Louw	WH Louw	JCL Oberholster	32 Church Street, De Aar

Figure 3.75: Detail of B&W photo c1935 of DRC De Aar (supplied by RCSA De Aar church office, 2021)

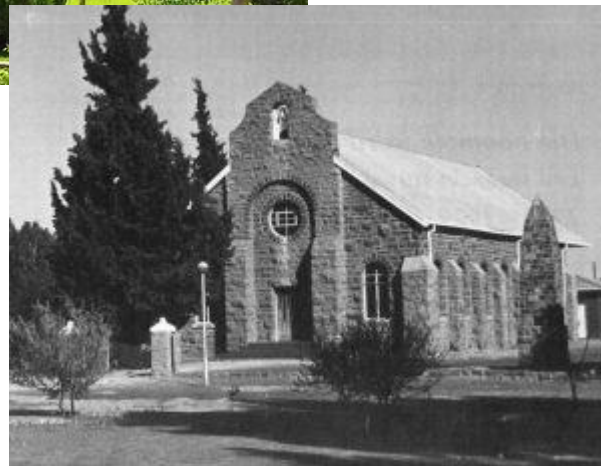
Figure 3.76: Photos: of DRC De Aar (2021)



1923: DRC Reivilo

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
20/9/1923	17/5/1924	WH Louw	WH Louw	AM Olivier	19 Voortrekker Street, Reivilo

Figure 3.77: Photos of DRC Reivilo (supplied by DRC Reivilo church office, 2019)



1923: DRC Reddersburg

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
1/12/1923	29/11/1924	Louw & Moerdyk	WHL & GM		30 Rau Street, Reddersburg

Figure 3.78: Photos of DRC Reddersburg (2020)



1923: DRC Loeriesfontein (enlarged in 1950 by Louw & Louw, rebuilt in 1960 by Wollie Bronkhorst)

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
8/12/1923	1924?	WH Louw	WH Louw		c/o Church & Main Street, Loeriesfontein

Figure 3.79: Photos of DRC Loeriesfontein, including a photo of original church with turret tower (2017)



1923: DRC Franschhoek: renovations

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
1923?	1/1924	WH Louw	WH Louw		c/o Church & Huguenot Street. Franschhoek

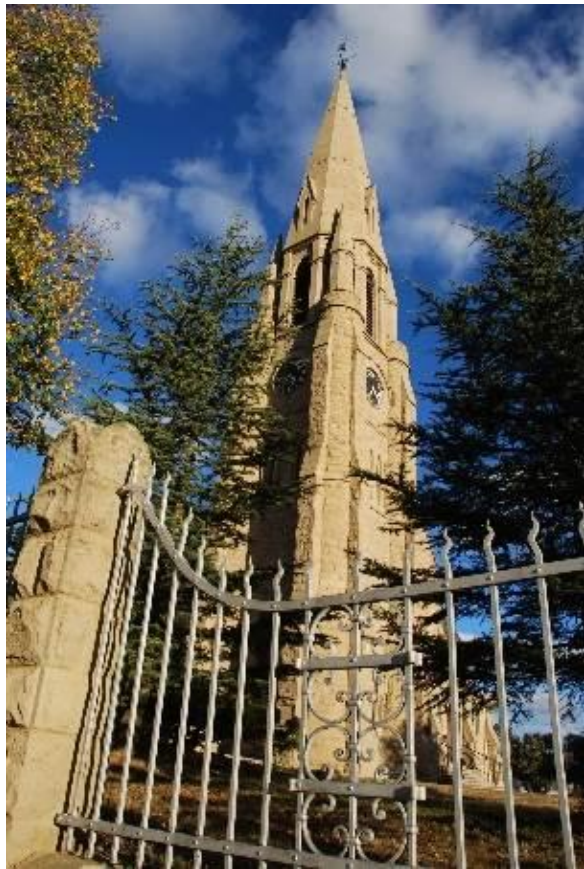
Figure 3.80: Photos of DRC Franschhoek (2020)



1923: DRC Dordrecht: fence

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
1923?	1930	WH Louw	WH Louw	CK van Niekerk	c/o Grey & Street, Dordrecht

Figure 3.81: Photos of DRC Dordrecht (2021)



1924: DRC Caledon: renovation of CO Hager church

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
1924?	1924	WH Louw	WH Louw		c/o Prince Alfred & Hoop Street, Caledon

See the 1918 project

1924: DRC Strooidakkerk, Paarl: roof renovation

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
1924?	1924	WH Louw	WH Louw		166 Main Street, Paarl

See the 1915 project

1924: DRC Hopetown: renovation of Hesse church

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
1924?	1924?	WH Louw	WH Louw		c/o Cross & Erasmus Street, Hopetown?

Figure 3.82: Sketch of demolished DRC Hopetown (Maeder & Zinn, 1917, 94)



1924: DRC Vredenburg church hall (now Dept of Justice and Constitutional Development building)

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
1924	8/1924?	WH Louw	WH Louw		c/o Church & School Street, Vredenburg

Figure 3.83: Photos of DRC Vredenburg Church Hall (2022)



1924: DRC Jubileum Hall, Bloemfontein

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
30/1/1924	16/4/1925	Louw & Moerdyk	G M & WHL	OFS Concrete Construction	c/o Pres Brand & St Andrew Steet, Bloemfontein

Figure 3.84: B&W photos of DRC Jubileum Hall (DRC Free State archives)

Figure 3.85: Photos of DRC Jubileum Hall (M Geldenhuys, 2022)



1924: DRC Queenstown

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
2/2/1924	18/4/1925	WH Louw	WH Louw	CF du Plessis	c/o Tylden Street & 38 Robinson Road, Queenstown

Figure 3.86: Photos of DRC Queenstown (2021)



1924: Reformed Church Bethulie

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
16/2/1924	1924	Louw & Moerdyk	G Moerdyk	HK Bennett	c/o Grey & Martin Street, Bethulie

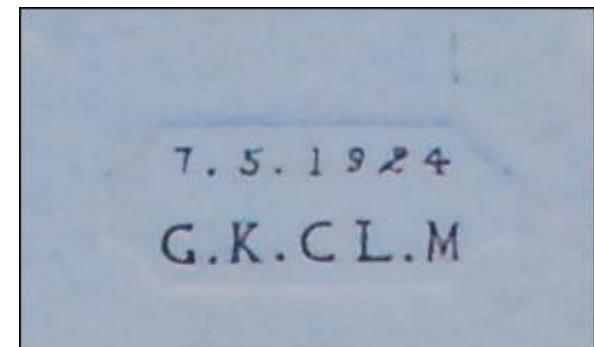
Figure 3.87: Photos of Reformed Church Bethulie (2021)



1924: Reformed Church Clanwilliam (limited information available)

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
7/5//1924	1924	WH Louw	WH Louw		c/o Park Street & River Road, Clanwilliam

Figure 3.88: Photos: of Reformed Church Clanwilliam (2017)



1924: DRC Excelsior

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
17/5/1924	1924	Louw & Moerdyk	WH Louw	AM Olivier	c/o Church & Van Heerden Street, Excelsior

Figure 3.89: Photos of exterior of DRC Excelsior (2018)

Figure 3.90: Photos of interior of DRC Excelsior (F McMEnamin, 2020)

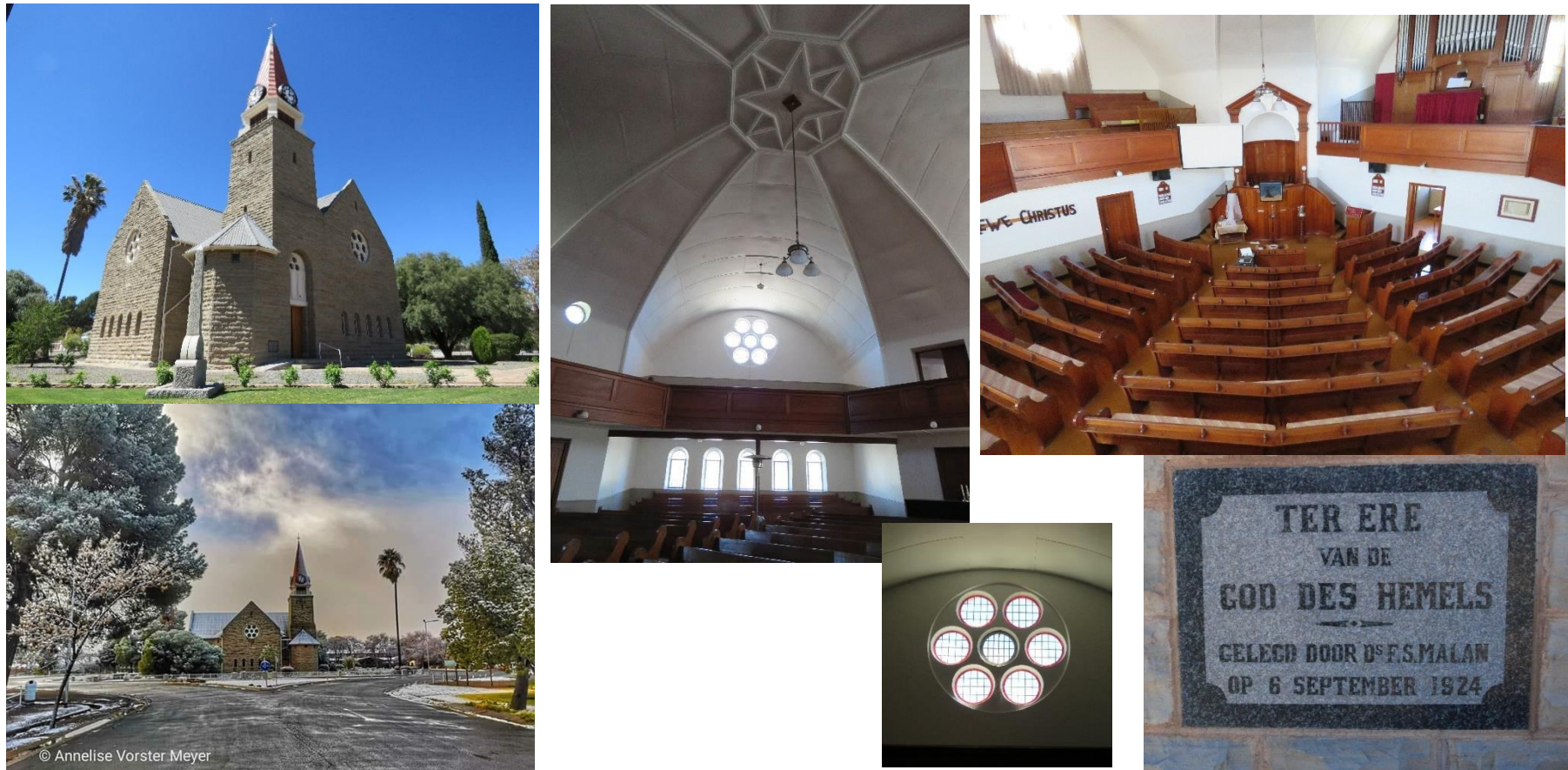


1924: DRC Loxton

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
6/9/1924	13/6/1925	WH Louw	WH Louw	F Boesen?	Church Square, c/o Church & Jooste Street, Loxton

Figure 3.91: Photos of DRC Loxton (2017)

Figure 3.92: Photo of DRC Loxton in snow (A Vorster Meyer, 2019)



1924: DRC Hertzogville

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
24/10/1924	24/4/1926	Louw & Moerdyk	WHL & GM	PJ du Toit	c/o Van Niekerk & Hoofd Street, Hertzogville

Figure 3.93: Photos of DRC Hertzogville (2020)



1924: DRC Porterville

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
3/12/1924	18/11/1925	WH Louw	WH Louw	Stewart & Cowley	c/o Church & Piet Retief Street, Porterville

Figure 3.94: Photos of DRC Porterville (2017)



1925: Reformed Church Reddersburg

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
27/6/1925	2/1/1927	Louw & Moerdyk	G Moerdyk	WF Barker	27 Boshoff Street, Reddersburg

Figure 3.95: Photos of Reformed Church Reddersburg (2018)

Figure 3.96: Photos of interior of Reformed Church Reddersburg (Morné van Rooyen 2021)



1925: DRC Louis Trichardt

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
18/7/1925	1926	Louw & Moerdyk	Moerdyk?		92 Burger Street, Louis Trichardt

Figure 3.97: Photos of DRC Louis Trichardt (2020)

Figure 3.98: Detail of painting by Pierneef (part of Station Panels, Rupert Art Foundation, 2023)



1925: DRC King William’s Town (now The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints)

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
1925	16/1/1926	WH Louw	WH Louw		15 Lower Mount Road, King William’s Town

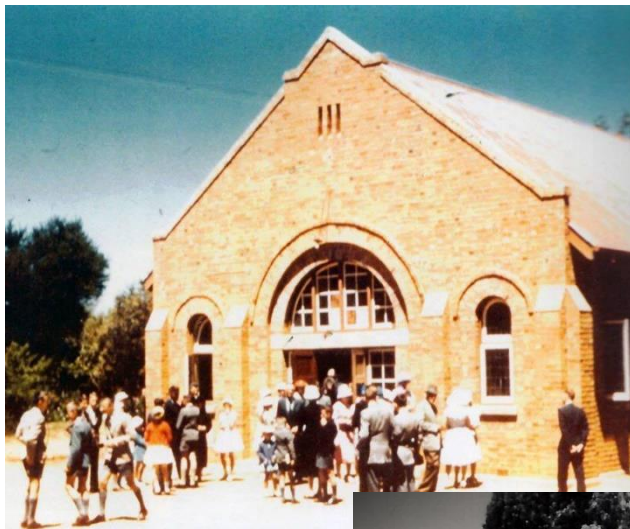
Figure 3.99: Photos of DRC King William’s Town – now The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (2021)



1925: Reformed Church Vryburg (rebuilt in 1948 after fire, demolished 1960)

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
31/10/1925	20/2/1926	WH Louw	WH Louw	AM Olivier	76 Stella Street, Vryburg.

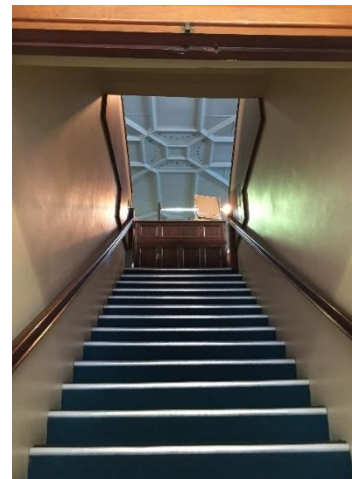
Figure 3.100: Photos of Reformed Church Vryburg (provided by Morné van Rooyen, 2022 - from *Gereformeerde Kerk Vryburg 1886-1986, 1986*)



1926: DRC Hermanus (additions by others in 1960 and 1992)

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
6/1/1926	1926	WH Louw	WH Louw		c/o Church & Main Street, Hermanus.

Figure 3.101: Photos of DRC Hermanus (2020)



1926: DRC Observatory (now New Apostolic Church)

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
1925/6?	1926?	WH Louw	WH Louw		c/o Drake & Collingwood Street, Observatory, Cape Town

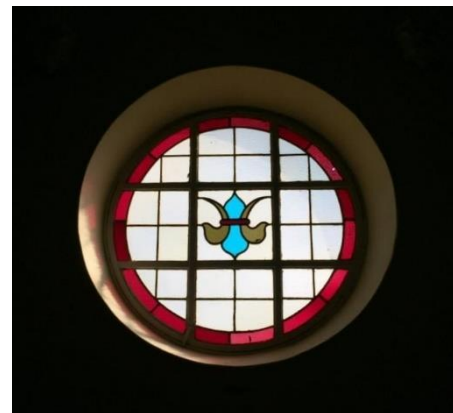
Figure 3.102: Photos of DRC Observatory (2018)



1926: DRC Stanford

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
5/6/1926	7/5/1927	WH Louw	WH Louw	Tribelhorn	c/o Church & Queen Victoria Street, Stanford

Figure 3.103: Photos of DRC Stanford (2021)



1926: DRC Marquard

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
14/8/1926	1927?	Louw & Moerdyk	WH Louw	WF Barker	c/o Church & Park Street, Marquard

Figure 3.104: Photos of DRC Marquard (2021)

Figure 3.105: Photos of interior of DRC Marquard (M Bester, 2016)



1926: DRC Kestell

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
9/10/1926	31/1/1928	Louw & Moerdyk	G Moerdyk	WF Barker	c/o Piet Retief & Rensburg Street, Kestell

Figure 3.106: Photos of DRC Kestell (2021)



1926: DRC Vereeniging.

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
30/10/1926	1927?	Louw & Moerdyk	G Moerdyk	T du Toit	c/o Hofmeyer & Leloe Street, Vereeniging

Figure 3.107: Photos of DRC Vereeniging (2018)



1927: Reformed Church (Grey Church), Bloemfontein (demolished 2016)

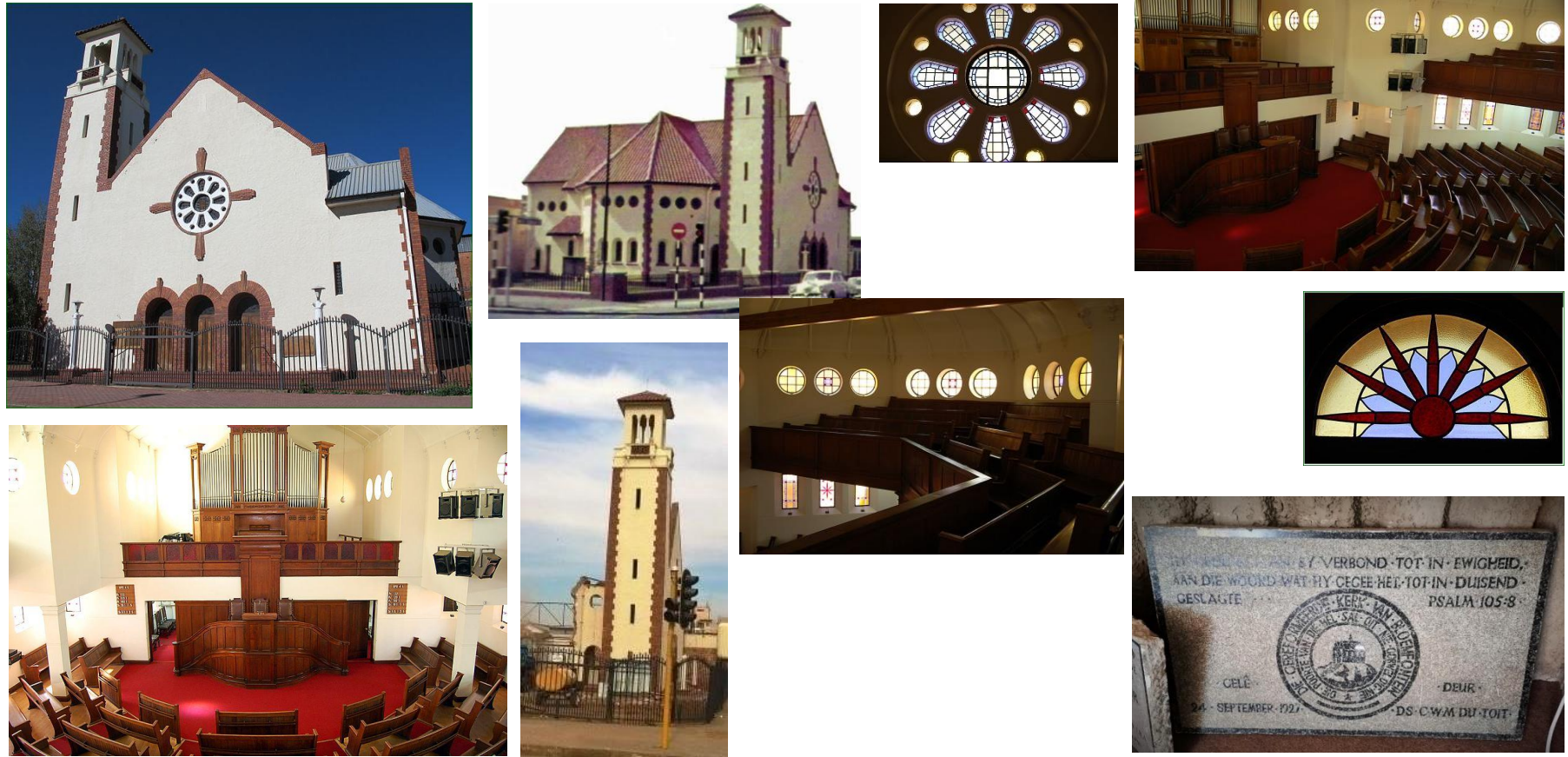
Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
24/9/1927	1928?	Louw & Moerdyk	HJ Louw		c/o Zastron & West Burger Street, Bloemfontein

Figure 3.108: Photos of Reformed Church Bloemfontein top left (D Hohne, 2013)

Figure 3.109: Photo of Reformed Church Bloemfontein centre (Verster, 2013: 85)

Figure 3.110: Photos of Reformed Church Bloemfontein interior (G Opperman, 2008)

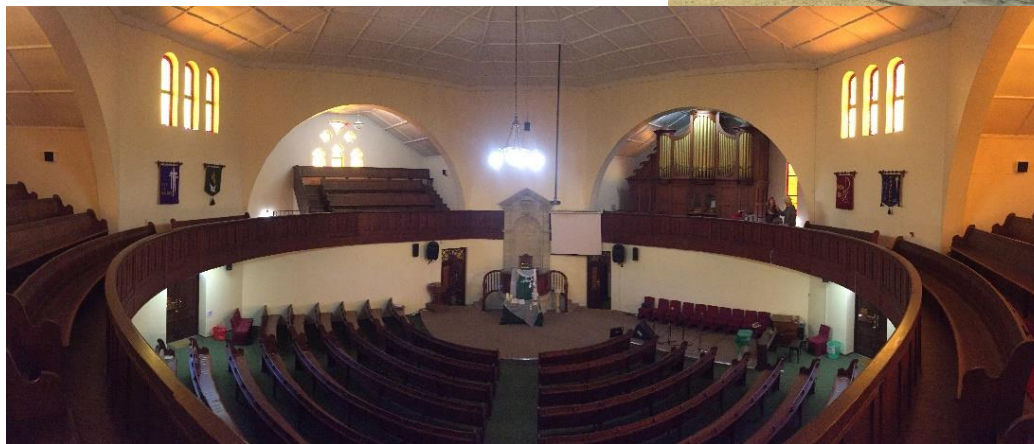
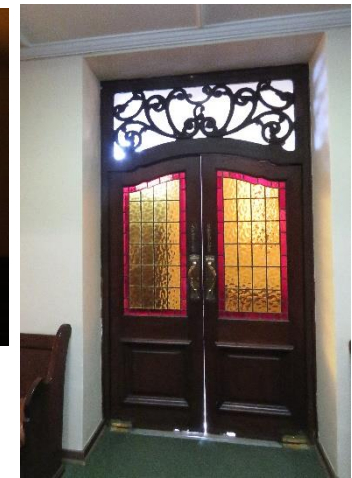
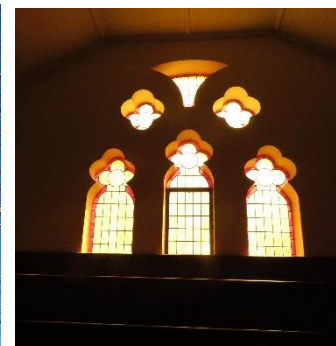
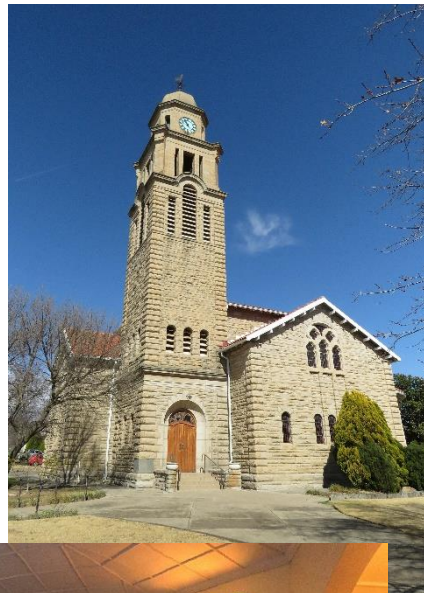
Figure 3.111: Photo of cornerstone (J Cronje, 2021)



1927: DRC Volksrust

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
12/11/1927	1930?	Louw & Moerdyk	G Moerdyk	CV Spalding	Adelaide Tambo Street, Volksrust

Figure 3.112: Photos of DRC Volksrust (2018)



APPENDIX G: THE LOUW & LOUW PERIOD FROM 1927 TO 1951

Figure 3.113: Cornerstone of DRC Hertzogville church hall (2021)



1926: DRC Lindley

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
27/11/1926	8/1927	WH Louw	WH Louw	HJ van Jaarsveld	c/o Church & Brand Street, Lindley

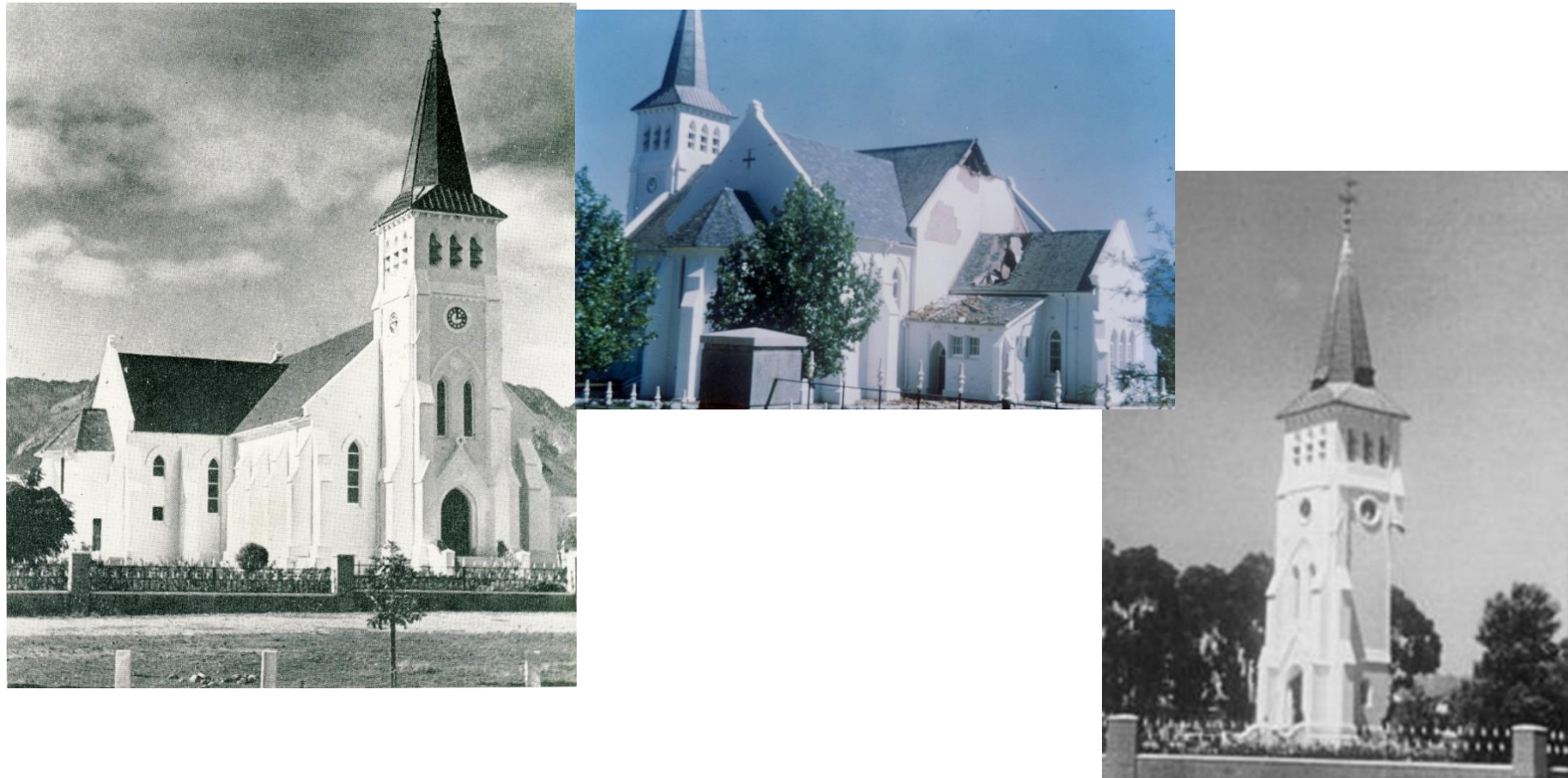
Figure 3.114: Photos of DRC Lindley (2018)



1927: DRC *Kruisvallei*, Tulbagh: renovations and addition of wings (demolished after earthquake of 1969)

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
5/2/1927	9/1927	WH Louw	WH Louw		Waveren Street, Tulbagh

Figure 3.115: Photos of DRC *Kruisvallei* (supplied by Rosette Jordaan, 2023 - photo of lone tower by J Jordaan, 1969. Also refer to 1923: addition of tower)



1927: DRC Middelburg, Karoo church hall? (only limited information in diaries)

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
1927??	1927??	WH Louw	?	?	?

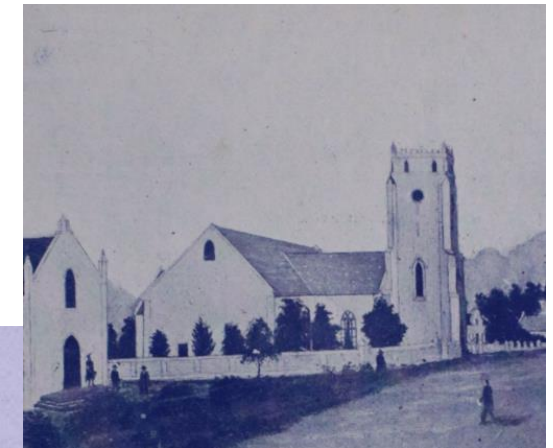
1927: DRC Worcester, rebuild of tower

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
1920/1927	15/5/1927	WH Louw	WH Louw		80 Church Street, Worcester

Figure 3.116: Photo of present tower of DRC Worcester (2021)

Figure 3.117: B&W photo of second tower of DRC Worcester (Maeder & Zinn, 1917: 55)

Figure 3.118: Original tower of DRC Worcester: detail of painting by PJG Meiring 1877 (Heese, 1970: 55)



1927: DRC Stellenbosch *Sentraal*

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
19/3/1927	1927?	WH Louw	WH Louw		c/o Victoria & Ryneveld Street, Stellenbosch

Figure 3.119: Photos of DRC Stellenbosch *Sentraal* (2017)



1927: DRC Paarl *Toringkerk* church hall, Paarl

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
13/4/1927	10/12/1927	WH Louw	WH Louw	Oosthuizen & Sterrenberg	c/o Main & Malherbe Street, Paarl

Figure 3.120: Photos of DRC *Toringkerk* church hall (2021)



JESUS KRISTUS SELF DIE
 UITERSTE HOEKSTEEN
 EFESE 2:20
 HIERDIE STEEN IS GELE DEUR
 DR. M. J. V. D. WESTHUIZEN
 OP 13 APRIL 1927

1927: DRC Napier

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
23/4/1927	14/4/1928	WH Louw	WH Louw	J Larsson	c/o Church & Sarel Cilliers Street, Napier

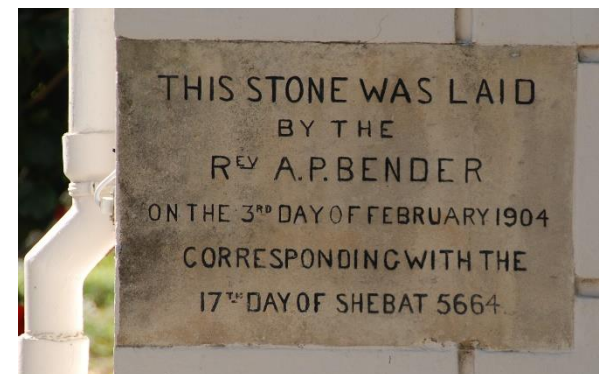
Figure 3.121: Photos of DRC Napier (2018)



1927: Paarl Hebrew Congregation: repair of Synagogue after fire

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
1927?	9/1927	WH Louw	WH Louw		c/o Synagogue & Breda Street, Paarl

Figure 3.122: Photos of Paarl Hebrew Congregation Synagogue (2021)



1927: DRC Weenen

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
8/10/1927	1928	Louw&Louw	WH Louw	Hart K Bennet	Colenso Street, Weenen

Figure 3.123: Photos of DRC Weenen (2020)



1927: DRC Uitenhage

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
29/10/1927	2/2/1929	WH Louw	WH Louw	WF du Plessis	Close to 71 Cannon Street, Kariega

Figure 3.124: Photos of DRC Uitenhage (2021)



1928: DRC Greytown

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
4/2/1928	17/8/1929	WH Louw	WH Louw		152 Voortrekker Street, Greytown

Figure 3.125: Photos of DRC Greytown (2020)



1928: DRC Verkeerdevlei: renovations

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
19/5/1928	1928?	WH Louw	WH Louw		c/o Pastorie & Louis Wessels Street, Verkeerdevlei

Figure 3.126: Photos of DRC Verkeerdevlei (2018)



1928: DRC *Die Vlakte* church hall (demolished?)

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
20/10/1928	16/12/1928	WH Louw	AL Meiring	C van der Vlugt	c/o Taronga & Lansdowne Road, Crawford

Figure 3.127: None

1928: DRC Britstown: renovations

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
1928?	1928	WH Louw			c/o Church & Bree Street, Britstown

Figure 3.128: Photos of DRC Britstown (2018)



1929: DRC Nuwekerk, Graaff Reinet (now Assemblies Church)

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
16/3/1929	7/12/1929	WH Louw	WH Louw		c/o Caledon & Bourke Street, Graaff Reinet

Figure 3.129: Photos of DRC Nuwekerk – now Assemblies Church – see at centre top (2017 and 2021)



1929: DRC Port Elizabeth church hall

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
16/11/1929	26/4/1930	Louw & Louw	WH Louw		c/o Geard & Middle Street, Gqeberha

Figure 3.130: Photos of DRC Port Elizabeth Church Hall (2021)



1930: DRC Jacobsdal: addition of tower and wings

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
1930?	24/5/1930	WH Louw	WH Louw	CF du Plessis	c/o Church & Andries Pretorius Street, Jacobsdal

Figure 3.131: Photos of DRC Jacobsdal (2018)

Figure 3.132: B&W photo of DRC Jacobsdal c1915 (Maeder & Zinn, 1917: 163)



1930: DRC *Die Strand*

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
1/3/1930	9/1930	WH Louw	WH Louw		c/o Church & Fagan Street, Strand

Figure 3.133: Photos of DRC *Die Strand* (2017)



1931: DRC Elliot

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
24/2/1931	5/1932	WH Louw	WH Louw	Frank Milns	c/o Church & Dampier Street, Elliot

Figure 3.136: Photos of DRC Elliot (2021)



1933: DRC *Die Vlakte* church hall (now Range Road Community Hall)

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
22/3/1933	12/5/1933	Louw & Louw	AL Meiring	SP le Roux	14 Range Road, Lansdowne

Figure 3.137: Photos of Range Road Community Hall (2023)



1934: DRC Touws River

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
15/9/1934	2/2/1935	Louw & Louw	WH Louw		c/o Jane & Maitland Street, Touws River

Figure 3.138: Photos of DRC Touws River (2017)



1934: DRC Windsorton

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
10/11/1934	16/2/1935	Louw & Louw	WH Louw		c/o Windsor & Wilson Street, Windsorton

Figure 3.139: Photos of DRC Windsorton (2021)



1935: DRC Hertzogville church hall (demolished)

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
26/1/1935	2/11/1935	Louw & Louw	WH Louw	H Ryksen	c/o Van Niekerk & Hoofd Street, Hertzogville

Figure 3.140: Photo of DRC Hertzogville cornerstone (2020)



1935: Reformed Church De Aar (rebuilt in 1961 by others)

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
2/2/1935	1935	Louw & Louw	WH Louw		15 Voortrekker Street, De Aar

Figure 3.141: B&W 1935 photo of the inauguration of Reformed Church De Aar (RCSA De Aar church office)

Figure 3.142: Photos of Reformed Church De Aar (2021)



1935: DRC Graaff-Reinet Nuwekerk church hall (now Assembly Church Hall)

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
17/10/1935	5/3/1936	Louw & Louw?			c/o Caledon & Bourke Street, Graaff Reinet

Figure 3.143: Photos of DRC Graaff-Reinet Nuwekerk Church Hall (2017 and top right - 2021)



1936: DRC Warrenton

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
30/5/1936	10/4/1937	Louw & Louw	WH Louw	Sterrenberg & Lutz	c/o Church & Uys Street, Warrenton

Figure 3.144: Photos DRC Warrenton (2021)



1937: DRC Riviersonderend

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
6/11/1937	29/10/1938	Louw & Louw	WH Louw	Sterrenberg & Lutz?	c/o Church & Dommissie Street, Riviersonderend

Figure 3.145: Photos of DRC Riviersonderend (2023)



1937: DRC Nieuwoudtville church hall?

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
1937	1938?	Louw & Louw?	WH Louw?		?

Figure 3.146: Photos of DRC Nieuwoudtville Church Hall (2017)



1938: DRC Karasburg, Namibia (now the church hall)

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
14/5/1938	1939?	Louw & Louw	HJ Louw		Seventh Street, Karasburg

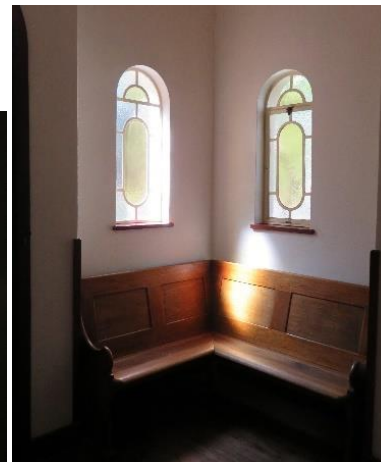
Figure 3.147: Photos of DRC Karasburg (Deon van Almelo, 2015)



1939: DRC De Bloem

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
21/10/1939	19/5/1940	Louw & Louw?	HJ Louw?		81 Raymond Mhlaba Street, Bloemfontein

Figure 3.148: Photos of DRC De Bloem (2022)



1940: DRC Somerset West

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
20/3/1940	22/3/1941	Louw & Louw	WH Louw	TWE Steneberg	c/o Andries Pretorius & Dirkie Uys Street, Somerset West

Figure 3.149: Photos of DRC Somerset West (2017)

Figure 3.150: Aerial view of DRC Somerset West (Pine Pienaar, 2021)



1940: DRC Goodwood

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
27/4/1940	7/12/1940	Louw & Louw	HJ Louw		19 Church Street, Goodwood, Cape Town

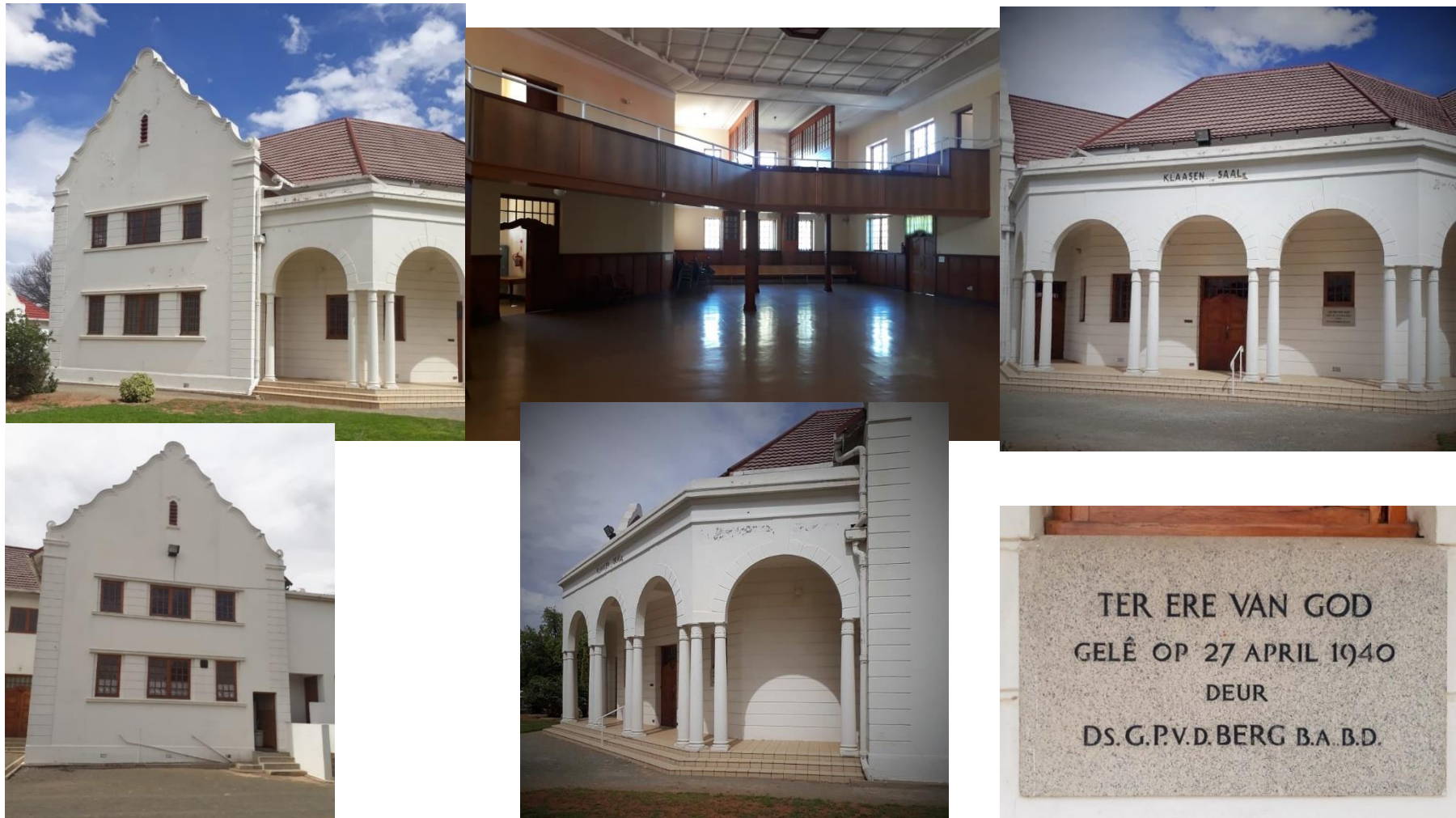
Figure 3.151: Photos of DRC Goodwood (2018)



1940: DRC Middelburg, Karoo church hall

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
27/4/1940	7/12/1940	Louw & Louw?			c/o Church & Van Reenen Street, Middelburg, Eastern Cape

Figure 3.152: Photos of DRC Middelburg church hall (DRC Middelburg church office, 2021)



1940: DRC Villiersdorp Eureka church Hall

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
16/4/1940	1940	Louw & Louw	WH Louw?	JP Jordaan	c/o Malherbe Street & Main Road, Villiersdorp

Figure 3.153: Photos of Eureka church hall (2023)



1940: Mission Church Wellington? (unlikely – only brief mention in diaries)

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
1940?	1941?	Louw & Louw?			Mellin Street, Wellington?

1941: DRC Grabouw church hall? (WH Louw involved in discussions re church design in 1930s, but hall built by others)

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
15/3/1941	3/8/1941	Louw & Louw?	Scott & Thesen	WJ Hanekom	c/o Hofmeyer & Ryke Street, Grabouw

Figure 3.154: Photos of DRC Grabouw church hall (2021)



1942: DRC *Die Vlakte* (now Masjed Ghiedmatiel Islamia)

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
1942?	1942?	Louw & Louw	WH Louw?		c/o Lawson & Taronga Street, Crawford, Cape Town

Figure 3.155: Photos of mosque - bottom (2022)

Figure 3.156: Photos of church c1986 – top (Morné van Rooyen, 1986)

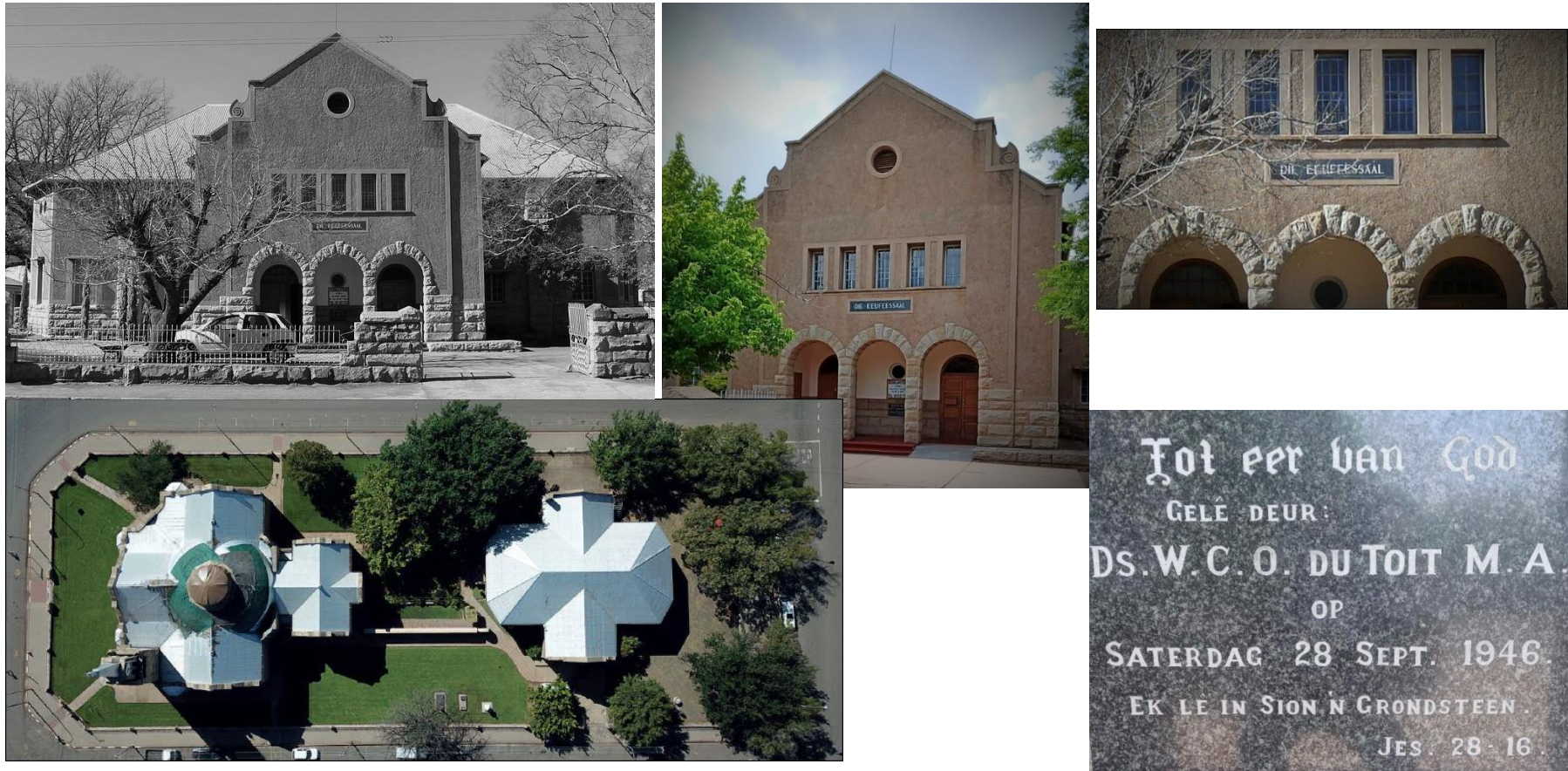


1946: DRC Burgersdorp church hall

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
28/9/1946	13/10/1947	Louw & Louw	W Bronkhorst		c/o Bird & Coetzee Street, Burgersdorp

Figure 3.157: Photos of DRC Burgersdorp church hall (DRC Burgersdorp church office, 2021)

Figure 3.158: Aerial photo of DRC Burgersdorp (Roodt, 2021, 56)



1947: DRC Goodwood Vrijzee (formerly Elsie's River)

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
29/3/1947	5&6/6/1948	Louw & Louw	HJ Louw	M van Zyl	c/o Merriman & Oxford Street, Goodwood, Cape Town

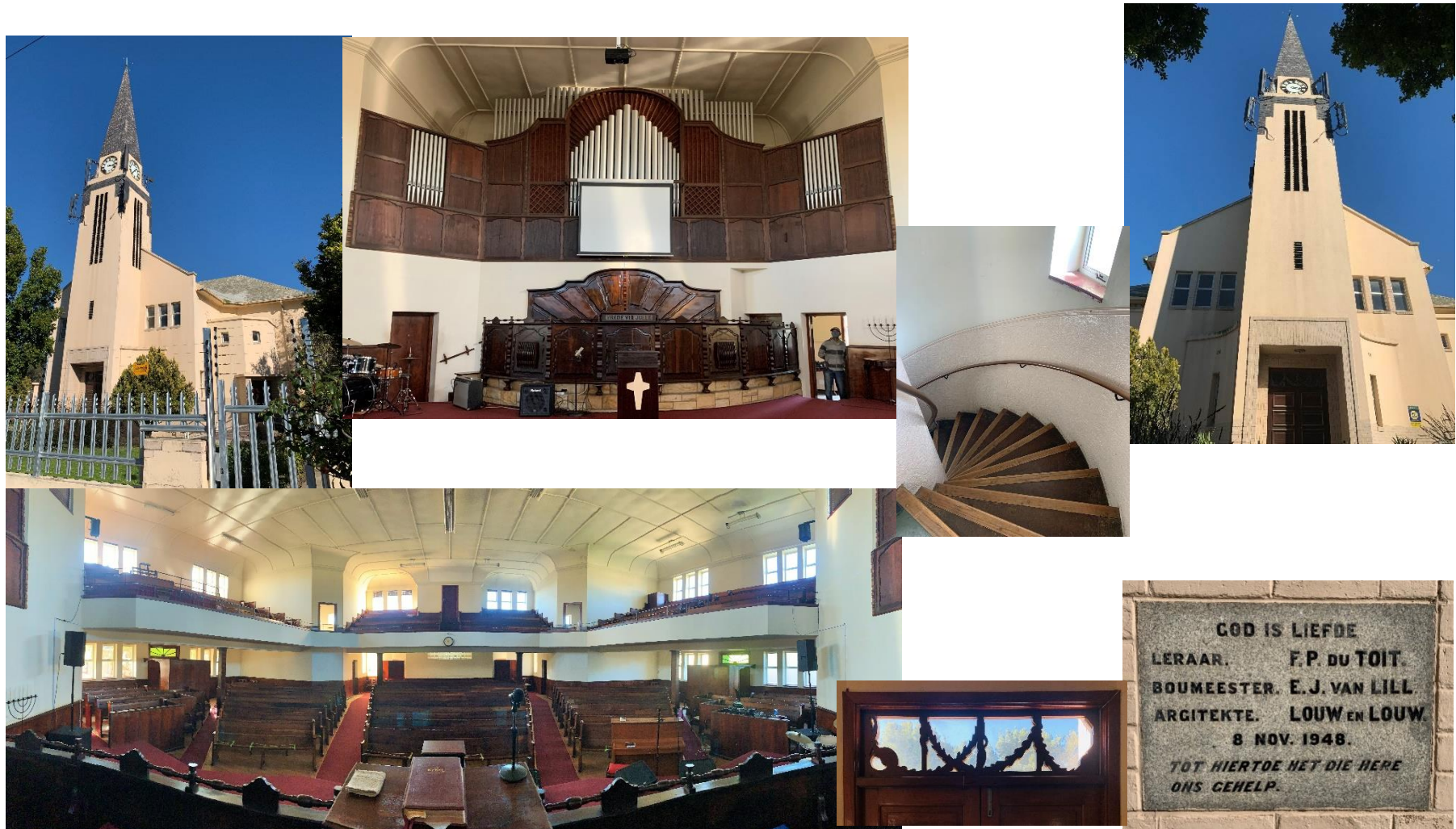
Figure 3.159: Photos of DRC Goodwood Vrijzee (2021)



1948: DRC Parowvallei (formerly Tiervlei)

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
8/11/1948	1949?	Louw & Louw	WH Louw?	EJ van Lill	41 De Villiers Street, Parow, Cape Town

Figure 3.160: Photos of DRC Parowvallei (2020)



1948 DRC Ruyterwacht (formerly Epping West)

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
4/12/1948	5/1949	Louw & Louw	WH Louw?		c/o Louis Trichardt & Saldanha Street, Epping, Cape Town

Figure 3.161: Photos of DRC Ruyterwacht (2017)



1948: DRC Bellville West

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
5/3/1949	15/10/1949	Louw & Louw	HJ Louw?	CR Mostert	c/o Seventh Ave & Cleveland Street, Bellville

Figure 3.162: Photos of DRC Bellville West (2022)



1949: DRC Vredendal

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
24/5/1949	23/9/1950	Louw & Louw	HJ Louw		c/o Kerk Road & Voortrekker Street, Vredendal

Figure 3.163: Photos of DRC Vredendal (2020)



1949: DRC Murray De Doorns

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
30/7/1949	20/8/1950	Louw & Louw	WH Louw		1 Church Street, De Doorns

Figure 3.164: Photos of DRC De Doorns (2018)



1949: DRC Kanoneiland

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
25/11/1949	4/2/1951	Louw & Louw	WH Louw	A Barnard	Main Street, Sandeiland, Kanoneiland

Figure 3.165: Photos of DRC Kanoneiland (2017)



1950: DRC Villiersdorp

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
28/1/1950	26/11/1950	Louw & Louw	HJ Louw		c/o Church Street & Main Road, Villiersdorp

Figure 3.166: Photos of DRC Villiersdorp (2017)



TER ERE VAN GOD
 GELE OP 28 JAN. 1950.
 DEUR
 DS. C. J. DU RAAN
 OPENB. 21 : 5.
 „KYK EK MAAK ALLES NUUT“.
 DIE OU KERKGEBOU WAS OPPERIG IN 1845.

1950: DRC Keimoes

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
21/10/1950	14/10/1951	Louw & Louw	WH Louw	De Kock Brothers	R27, Keimoes

Figure 3.167: Photos of DRC Keimoes (2017)



1950: DRC Thompson's Fall, Kenia (now Africa Inland Church)

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
1950?	1953?	Louw & Louw	WH Louw	?	?

Figure 3.168: Photos of AIC Thompson's Fall (R Mangat, 2020 and Africa Inland Church church office)



1950: DRC Loeriesfontein: enlargement

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
1950?	1951?	Louw & Louw	WH Louw		c/o Church Street & Main Road, Loeriesfontein

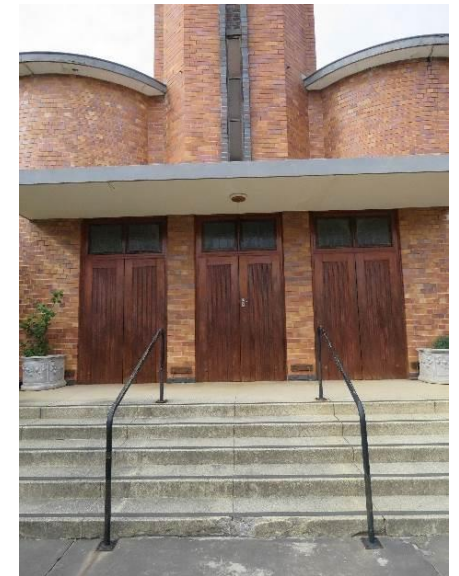
Figure 3.169: Photo of original DRC Loeriesfontein against the *konsistorie* wall (2021)



1951: DRC Grahamstown

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
17/3/1951	14/9/1951	Louw & Louw	WH Louw	FP van Heerden	c/o Mark & Hill Street, Makhanda

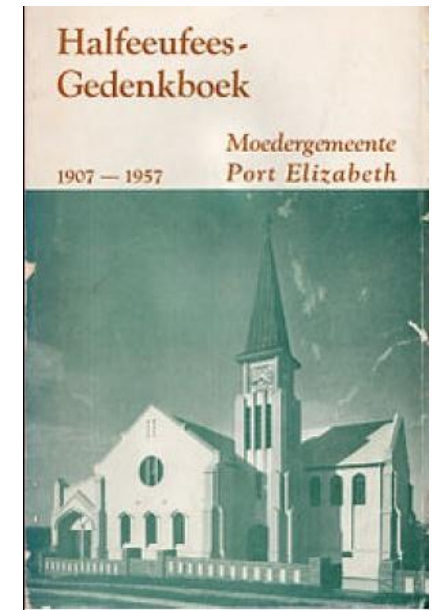
Figure 3.170: Photos of DRC Grahamstown (2021)



1951: DRC Port Elizabeth: addition of tower, transept and internal rebuild

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
12/8/1951	1952?	Louw & Louw	WH Louw	Louw & Swart	c/o Geard & Kirkwood Street, Gqeberha

Figure 3.171: Photos of DRC Port Elizabeth after additions (2021)



1951: DRC Vishoek

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
29/9/1951	1952?	Louw & Louw	HJ Louw	CRB Mostert	c/o Kommetjie Road & Third Avenue, Fish Hoek

Figure 3.172: Photos of DRC Vishoek (2018)



APPENDIX H: THE LOUW & LOUW (WOLLIE BRONKHORST) PERIOD FROM 1951 TO 1960

Figure 3.173: Photo of cornerstone of Swellendam church hall (2021)



1952: DRC Ceres (substantially renovated after 1969 earthquake)

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
4/6/1952	24/10/1953	Louw & Louw	W Bronkhorst	Boland Builders	18 Owen Street, Ceres

Figure 3.174: Photos of DRC Ceres (2019)



1952: DRC Montagu church hall

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
18/10/1952	1953	Louw & Louw	W Bronkhorst	JD Snyders	c/o Piet Retief & Bloem Street, Montagu

Figure 3.175: Photos of DRC Montague church hall (E Wright, 2022)

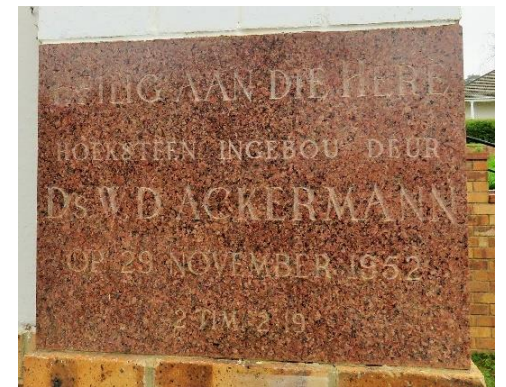


1952: DRC Greyton

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
29/11/1952	15/8/1953	Louw & Louw	H Louw	C Mostert	Church Street, Greyton

Figure 3.176: B&W photo of interior of DRC Greyton (G du Plessis, 2023)

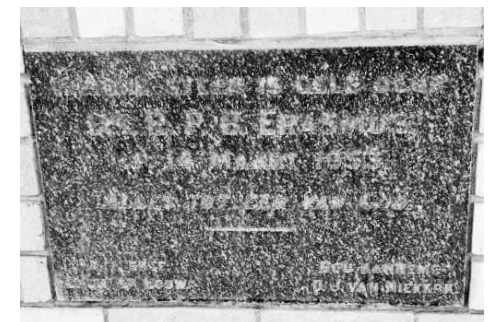
Figure 3.177: Photos of DRC Greyton (2020)



1953: DRC Reivilo church hall

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
14/3/1953	10/1953	Louw & Louw		PJ van Niekerk	19 Voortrekker Street, Reivilo

Figure 3.178: Photos of DRC Reivilo church hall (DRC Reivilo church office, 2019)



1953: DRC Vredenburg: reconstruction and addition of tower

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
20/3/1953	20/3/1953	Louw & Louw	W Bronkhorst	CRB Mostert	c/o Church & Main Street, Vredenburg.

Figure 3.179 : Photos of DRC Vredenburg (2019)



1953: DRC Gobabis

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
25/3/1953	1953	Louw & Louw	H Louw	Mollentze & Van Es	70 Heroes Lane, Gobabis, Namibia

Figure 3.180: Photos of DRC Gobabis (D Snyman, 2021)



1953: DRC Gansbaai

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
28/3/1953	1953	Louw & Louw	W Bronkhorst	R von Rheede	c/o Main & Franken Street, Gansbaai

Figure 3.181: Photos of DRC Gansbaai (2018)

Figure 3.182: B&W photo of interior of DRC Gansbaai (DRC Gansbaai church office, 2023)



1953: DRC Carnarvon

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
6/6/1953	12/2/1955	Louw & Louw	W Bronkhorst	Boland Builders	Church Street, Carnarvon

Figure 3.183: Photos of DRC Carnavon (R Hettasch, 2021)



1953: DRC Grabouw

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
22/8/1953	8/5/1954	Louw & Louw	W Bronkhorst	G Kayser	c/o Ryke & Hofmeyer Street, Grabouw

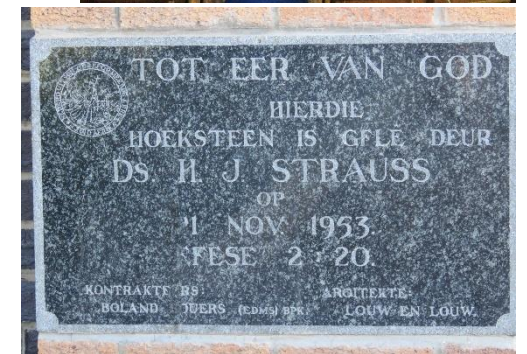
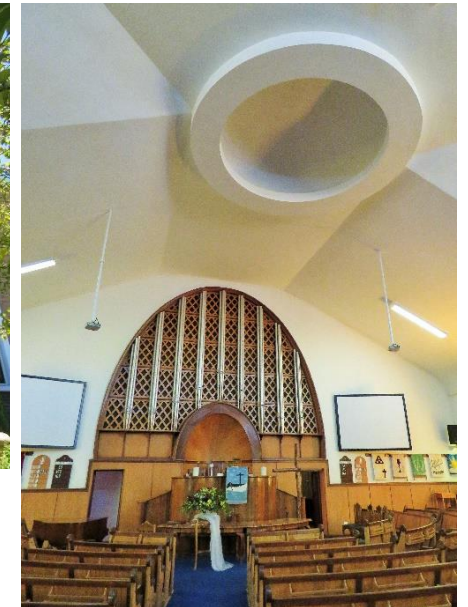
Figure 3.184: Photos of DRC Grabouw (2021)



1953: DRC Gamka East, Beaufort West

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
1/11/1953	1954	Louw & Louw	WH Louw	Boland Builders	c/o Bird & De Villiers Street, Beaufort West

Figure 3.185: Photos of DRC Gamka East (2017)



1954: DRC Velddrif

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
15/5/1954	1954	Louw & Louw	W Bronkhorst	G Kaiser	c/o Church & Smith Street, Velddrif

Figure 3.186: Photos of DRC Velddrif (2017)



1954: DRC Swellendam church hall

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
17/7/1954	1954?	Louw & Louw	W Bronkhorst	DH Odendaal	9 Voortrek Street, Swellendam

Figure 3.187: Photos of DRC Swellendam church hall (2021)



1954: DRC Herold

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
31/7/1954	1954?	Louw & Louw	W Bronkhorst	Boland Builders	Centre of town, Herold

Figure 3.188: Photos of DRC Herold (2021)

Figure 3.189: B&W photos of interior of DRC Herold (P du Plessis, 2022)



1954: DRC Kuruman

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
7/8/1954	24/9/1955	Louw & Louw	W Bronkhorst	GG van Heerden	c/o Church & Acacia Street, Kuruman

Figure 3.190: Photos of DRC Kuruman (R van Wyk, 2020)



1954: DRC Graafwater

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
6/11/1954	6/11/1956	Louw & Louw	W Bronkhorst	EJ van Lill	c/o Church & Main Street, Graafwater

Figure 3.191: Photos of DRC Graafwater (2020)



1954: DRC Kakamas church hall

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
13/11/1954	6/1955	Louw & Louw	W Bronkhorst	Koortzen Brothers	22 Voortrekker Road, Kakamas

Figure 3.192: Photos of DRC Kakamas church hall (2017)



1954: DRC Ceres church hall

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
10/12/1954	1955	Louw & Louw	W Bronkhorst??	G Kaiser??	c/o Owen & Murchison Street, Ceres

Figure 3.193: Photos of DRC Ceres church hall (DRC Ceres church office, 2022)



1955: DRC De Aar North

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
12/3/1955	21,22/7/1956	Louw & Louw	W Bronkhorst	L Hollander	c/o Miller & Schreiner Street, De Aar

Figure 3.194: Photos of DRC De Aar North (2021)



1955: DRC Louisvale

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
7/5/1955	1956	Louw & Louw	W Bronkhorst	AJN Pretorius	R559, centre of town, Louisvale

Figure 3.195: Photos of DRC Louisvale (2017)



1955: DRC Herbertsdale

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
8/6/1955	1956	Louw & Louw	W Bronkhorst	Boland Builders	c/o Main & Kretzen Street, Herbertsdale

Figure 3.196: Photos of DRC Herbertsdale (2021)

Figure 3.197: B&W photos of interior of DRC Herberstdale (D Strydom, 2022)



1955: DRC Tsitsikamma

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
11/6/1955	1956	Louw & Louw	W Bronkhorst	G Kaiser	Unnamed Street close to Tsitsikamma Primary School, Witelsbos

Figure 3.198: Photos of DRC Tsitsikamma (G Mawer, 2021)

Figure 3.199: B&W photo of DRC Tsitsikamma (A van den Berg, 2021)



1955: DRC Bredasdorp church hall

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
18/6/1955	18/6/1955	Louw & Louw	W Bronkhorst	PJ Coetzee	13 Church Street, Bredasdorp

Figure 3.200: Photos of DRC Bredasdorp church hall (2021)



1955: DRC Brandvlei church hall

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
22/10/1955	1956?	Louw & Louw	W Bronkhorst	JD Snyders	138 Voortrekker Street, Brandvlei

Figure 3.201: Photos of DRC Brandvlei church hall (A Botha, 2021)



1955: DRC Lutzville

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
13/12/1955	1956	Louw & Louw	HJ Louw (& WB)	Engelbrecht Brothers	c/o Church & Station Street, Lutzville

Figure 3.202: Photos: of DRC Lutzville (2020)



1956: DRC Vanrhynsdorp: rebuild of CO Hager church and addition of tower

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
1956	1956?	Louw & Louw	W Bronkhorst	EJ van Lill	c/o Church & Namaqua Street, Vanrhynsdorp

Figure 3.203: Photos of DRC Vanrhynsdorp (A Lang, 2017)

Figure 3.204: B&W photo of original church (Maeder & Zinn, 1917, 123)



1956: DRC *Kangovalleie*

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
13/6/1956	1957	Louw & Louw	HJ Louw		Centre of Town, Schoemanshoek

Figure 3.205: Photos of DRC *Kangovalleie* (2018)

Figure 3.206: B&W photo of interior of DRC *Kangovalleie* (A van den Bergh, 2023)



1956: DRC Outeniqualand

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
18/8/1956	28/9/1957	Louw & Louw	HJ Louw (&WHL?)	Mossel Bay Construction	Charles Street, George district.

Figure 3.207: Photos of DRC Outeniqualand (2021)



1956: DRC Piketberg church hall

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
20/10/1956	17/8/957	Louw & Louw	W Bronkhorst	CHE Visser	16 Church Street, Piketberg

Figure 3.208: Photos of DRC Piketberg church hall (2017)



1956: URC Ceres

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
3/11/1956	20/4/1957	Louw & Louw	W Bronkhorst	G Kaiser	29 Lyell Street, Ceres

Figure 3.209: Photos of URC Ceres (2019)



1957: DRC Somerset West church hall

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
12/10/1957	1958	Louw & Louw	W Bronkhorst	G Kaiser	77 Andries Pretorius Street, Somerset West

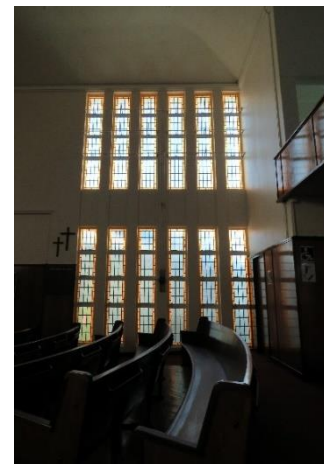
Figure 3.210: Photos of DRC Somerset West church hall (2021)



1957: DRC Stellenbosch North

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
7/12/1957	13/9/1958	Louw & Louw	H Louw (& WB)	PWJ Hougaard	c/o Ds Botha & Langenhoven Street, Stellenbosch

Figure 3.211: Photos of DRC Stellenbosch North (2021)



1958: DRC Darling

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
15/2/1958	28/9/1958	Louw & Louw	HJ Louw	JDJ Brand	c/o Church & Queen Victoria Street, Darling

Figure 3.212: Photos of DRC Darling (2019)

Figure 3.213: B&W photo of 1957 fire damage to old DRC Darling church (DRC Darling church office)



1958: DRC Caledon

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
25/4/1958	11/4/1959	Louw & Louw	HJ Louw	G Kaiser	c/o Plein & Prince Alfred Street, Caledon

Figure 3.214: Photos of DRC Caledon (2021)



1958: DRC Upington North

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
18/10/1958	17/10/1959	Louw & Louw	W Bronkhorst	Basson Builders	c/o Dr Nelson Mandela Road & Coetzee Street, Upington

Figure 3.215: Photos of DRC Upington North (2017)



1958: DRC Ugie

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
3/9/1958	1959	Louw & Louw	W Bronkhorst	G Kaiser	c/o Church & Smith Street, Ugie

Figure 3.216: B&W photo of DRC Ugie (A van Schalkwyk, 2019)



1960: DRC Murray De Doorns church hall

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
26/3/1960	1960?	Louw & Louw	HJ Louw	DL Boonzaaier	1 Church Street, De Doorns

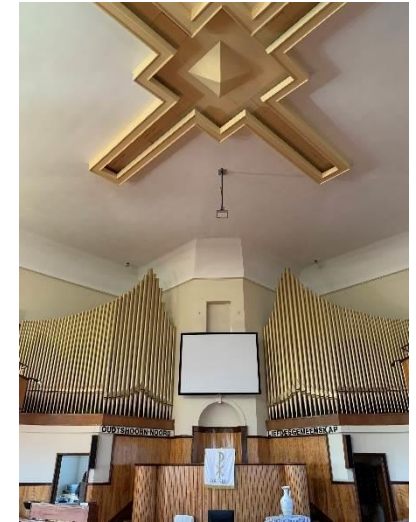
Figure 3.217: Photos of DRC Murray De Doorns church hall (2018)



1960: DRC Oudtshoorn North

Cornerstone	Inauguration	Architect	Project Architect	Builder	Address
17/9/1960	1961	Louw & Louw	HJ Louw		c/o Hope & Adderley Street, Oudtshoorn

Figure 3.218: Photos of DRC Oudtshoorn North (2021)



APPENDIX I: TABLE OF PROMINENT SOUTH AFRICAN CHURCH ARCHITECTS BORN IN THE 19TH CENTURY

Table of prominent South African church architects born in the late 19th century	
ARCHITECT	CHURCHES
Carl Otto Hager (1813-1898)	
Born in Dresden, Saxony	Lutheran Church Stellenbosch 1854
Studied at the Royal Academy of Art in Dresden	DRC Stellenbosch enlarged 1863
	DRC Clanwilliam 1864
	DRC Fraserburg 1868
	DRC Heidelberg Cape 1873
	DRC Ladismith 1874
	DRC Caledon 1876
	DRC Kroonstad 1877
	DRC Tulbagh 1878
	DRC Oudtshoorn 1879
	DRC Calitzdorp 1880
	DRC Ceres 1881
	DRC Vanrhynsdorp 1891
	DRC Middelburg 1890
WB Hayes (1814 – 1878)	
Born in England (no further information)	DRC Mossel Bay 1880
Sophia W M Gray (1814 – 1871)	
Born in Yorkshire, England	40 to 58 Anglican parish churches
No training as architect	
Richard Carl George Theodor Wocke (1831 – 1890)	
Born in Langenbielau, Silesia, Prussia	DRC Philippolis 1871
Trained by CO Hager	DRC Boshof 1874
Considered to be first architect in the Orange Free State	DRC Edenburg 1877
	DRC Rouxville 1879
	DRC Tweetoringkerk Bloemfontein 1880
	DRC Brandfort 1887
John Todd Welchman, FRIBA 1875 (1833? – 1899)	
Born in England?	DRC Colesberg 1861-1866
(Partnered with Charles E Read from 1861-1867)	DRC Cradock 1864-1868

	Christ Church Grahamstown 1871-1876
Charles E Read (1833? – 1875?)	DRC Colesberg 1861-1866
Born in England? Left the Cape in 1868	DRC Cradock 1864-1868
Charles Freeman (1833 – 1911)	DRC Round Church, Sea Point, 1878
Born in Gloucester, England	DRC Durbanville 1890
Articled to George Clarke, Warwick	DRC Beaufort Wes 1892 (with Bisset)
	DRC Worcester 1896
	DRC Sutherland 1898
	DRC Malmesbury 1899
James Bisset (1835 – 1919)	
Born in Aberdeen, Scotland	DRC Graaff Reinet 1886
Trained as an engineer at London University	DRC Beaufort West 1892 (with Freeman)
Sytze Wopkes Wierda (1839 – 1911)	
Born Friesland, Netherlands	DRC Sunday School, Troyeville 1903
Trained as a carpenter	
Henry Sidon Greaves ARIBA 1880 (1844 – 1901)	
Born in Edinburgh, Scotland	Clock Tower Cape Harbour 1883
Articled to John Whichcord, London, 1865 - 1875	Houses of Parliament, Cape Town 1885
Chief Architect, PDW, Cape 1879 -1900	General Post Office, Cape Town, 1897
Johan Carel Maximillian Hager (1844 – 1917)	
Born in Stellenbosch	Builder of DRC Kruisvallei, Tulbagh 1878
Trained by his father CO Hager	Possibly involved in DRC Middelburg 1890
George M Alexander FRIBA 1886 (1851 – 1904)	
Born in Edinburgh Scotland	DRC Britstown 1891/9
Articled to his father George	DRC Rondebosch 1891
	DRC Tafelberg 1893
John Gaisford (1853 – 1928)	
Born in Potchefstroom	DRC Calvinia 1899
Trained as lawyer, records unclear	DRC Robertson 1905
	DRC Nieuwoudtville 1906
Gustav Heinrich Christian Rohde (1854 – 1937)	
Born in Kiel, Denmark (now Germany)	DRC Ladybrand 1889
Trained as builder, Norddeutsche Baugewerkerparker Verein	DRC Hoopstad 1891
Antonie Mauritz de Witt (1854 – 1916)	
Born in Dordrecht, Netherlands	DRC Kruisvallei 1873
Articled to Dirk de Witt	DRC Wepener 1887

	DRC Bredasdorp 1911
Folkert Wilko Hesse (1855 -1923)	
Born in Amsterdam, Netherlands	DRC Kuilsrivier 1903
Studied at Art School Amsterdam	DRC George 1904
	DRC McGregor 1904,
	DRC Steytlerville 1906
	DRC Uniondale 1908
	DRC Murray De Doorns 1908
	DRC Swellendam 1910
	DRC Upington 1912
	DRC Riebeeck Kasteel 1913
	DRC Merweville 1914
Walter Donaldson (1855 – 1941)	
Born in Pietermaritzburg to British parents	DRC Petrusburg 1899
Training unknown	DRC Ficksburg 1905 (tower 1907)
	DRC Zastron 1913
	DRC Rosendal 1914
Arthur Henry Reid FRIBA 1889 (1856 – 1922)	
Born in Plymouth, England	DRC Jansenville 1885
Considered to be the first architect in ZAR	DRC Bethulie 1886
Articled to William Henry Reid (father)	DRC Pearston 1887
Partnered with his brother Walter from 1897 - 1921	
Walter Reid FRIBA 1906 (1866 – 1933)	DRC Nieu-Bethesda 1905
Born in Plymouth, England	DRC Molteno 1905
Articled to William Henry Reid (father)	
Klaas van Rijske (1860 – 1941)	
Born in Zaandam, Netherlands	Paul Kruger Reformed Church 1895
Trained by Sytze Wierda, Amsterdam	DRC Pretoria 1902/6 (Kraan & Weyers)
Johannes Egbertus Vixseboxse (1863 – 1943)	
Born in Almelo, Netherlands	DRC Wynberg rebuilt 1897
Apprenticed carpenter and trained artist	DRC Beaufort West tower 1919
Herbert Baker FRIBA 1900 (1862 – 1946)	Many Anglican churches
Born in Kent, England	St Andrew's Church, Newlands 1894
Studied at Tonbridge, Kent	St Barnabas Church, Tamboerskloof 1896
Articled to Andrew Baker 1881	St John the Divine, Mahikeng 1901
Johan CE Seeliger ISAA 1927 (1863 – 1938)	
Born in Paarl to German parents	Goedverwacht Mission Church 1896
Studied at Baugewerkschule in Berlin	Zionskirche, Cape Town 1897
Johannes Gijsbertus Kraan (1865 – 1932)	

Born in The Hague, Netherlands	Reformed Church Vryheid 1897
Training unknown	DRC Pretoria Grootkerk 1902-1906
Jan Brink Weyers (partner of Kraan) (1865 -1953)	<i>Ned Herv</i> Church Pretoria 1904-1905
Born in Est en Nijmegen, Netherlands	
Training unknown	
John Henry Till (1865 – 1956)	
Born in Devon, England	DRC Senekal 1895
Albert Edwin Till (partner of John Till) (1870 – 1942)	DRC Winburg 1899/1904
Born in Devon, England as brother of John Till	
John Parker FRIBA 1902 OBE (1866 – 1921)	
Born in Greenock, Scotland	Presbyterian church Mowbray 1899
Articled to Thompson & Baird Glasgow	Presbyterian church Gardens 1901
Mayor of Cape Town from 1913 – 1915	Presbyterian church Wynberg 1902
Harry George Veale (1868 – 1924)	
Born in Southampton, England	DRC Heidelberg, Gauteng 1891
William Henry Ford LRIBA 1912 (1868 -1921)	DRC Hanover 1907
Born in Melbourne, Australia	DRC Aurora 1908
Studied at Scotch College & University of Victoria	DRC Vosburg 1909
	DRC Frankfort 1911
	Reformed Church Frankfort 1912
	DRC Dealesville 1912
	<u>DRC</u> Jamestown 1912
	DRC Burgersdorp 1913
	DRC Kroonstad 1914
	DRC Ventersburg 1913
	DRC Sterkstroom 1913
	DRC Heidelberg Western Cape 1913
	DRC Benoni 1921
Hermann Kallenbach (1871 – 1945)	
Born in Naumiestis, East Prussia (present Lithuania)	DRC Laingsburg 1904
Studied architecture at Munich & Stuttgart	DRC Barkly East 1906
	DRC Thaba Nchu 1906
	DRC Jeppestown 1906
William Hawke FRIBA 1906 (1872 – 1938)	
Born in Grenoble, France	DRC Bethlehem 1910
Partner of McKinlay from 1905 – 1938	DRC Aliwal North 1924
Walter Nicol McKinlay ISAA 1927 (1877 – 1953)	DRC Trompsburg 1911/1937
Born in Edinburgh	
James Buchanan Pentland-Smith LRIBA 1911 (1872 – 1917)	DRC Fouriesburg 1908

Born in Carnbee, Scotland	St Mary's Church Fouriesburg 1910?
	Methodist Church Bethlehem 1910?
Henry Davidge Pitt FRIBA 1921 (1873 – 1958)	
Born in Somerset, England	
Partner of Edmund James Sherwood from 1903 - 1908	DRC Northern Paarl <i>Toringkerk</i> 1905/8
Edmund James Sherwood (1849 – 1921)	
Born in Hull, England	
Johannes Rienk Burg ISAA 1927 (1874 – 1960)	
Born in Leeuwaarden, Netherlands	DRC Vrede 1912
Studied at the Technical College Leeuwaarden	DRC Belfast 1914
	DRC Dullstroom 1919
	DRC Edenville 1921
	DRC Germiston 1923
Herbert Thomas Jones LRIBA 1912 (1875 – 1953)	
Born in Kimberley	Wesleyan Church Rosebank 1899
Articled to Charles Freeman	
Wilfred S Payne ARIBA 1902 ISAA 1927 (1876 – 1958)	
Born in Durban	
Studied at Architectural Association 1897 – 1898	
Partner of EO Payne from 1903-1927	Methodist Church, Kloof 1910
Edmund Osman Payne ARIBA 1902 ISAA 1927 (1877 – 1927)	
Born in Durban as brother of WS Payne	
Studied at Architectural Association 1897 – 1898	
William John Delbridge ARIBA 1904 (1878 – 1946)	
Born in Mossel Bay	Muizenberg Pavilion 1911
Articled to Smith & Brewer, London 1898 – 1904	St Michael's Church, Komani, 1921
President of the Cape Institute of Architects, 1916 & 1921	
Wynand Hendrik Louw ISAA 1927 (1883 – 1967)	
Born in Paarl	More than 120 Ecclesiastical Buildings
Studied at the Architectural Association 1905 – 1906	
Geoffrey Eastcott Pearse ARIBA 1912 ISAA 1927 (1885 – 1968)	
Born in Riverton, Natal	St George's Church Johannesburg 1910
Studied at the Technical Institute, Regent Street, London	Christ The King Anglican Sophiatown 1932
GE Gordon Leith ARIBA 1907 ISAA 1927 (1886 – 1965)	
Born in Knysna	DRC Heilbron South 1935
Studied at the Architectural Association 1905 – 1907	
Francois Hesse ISAA 1927 (1887 – 1956)	

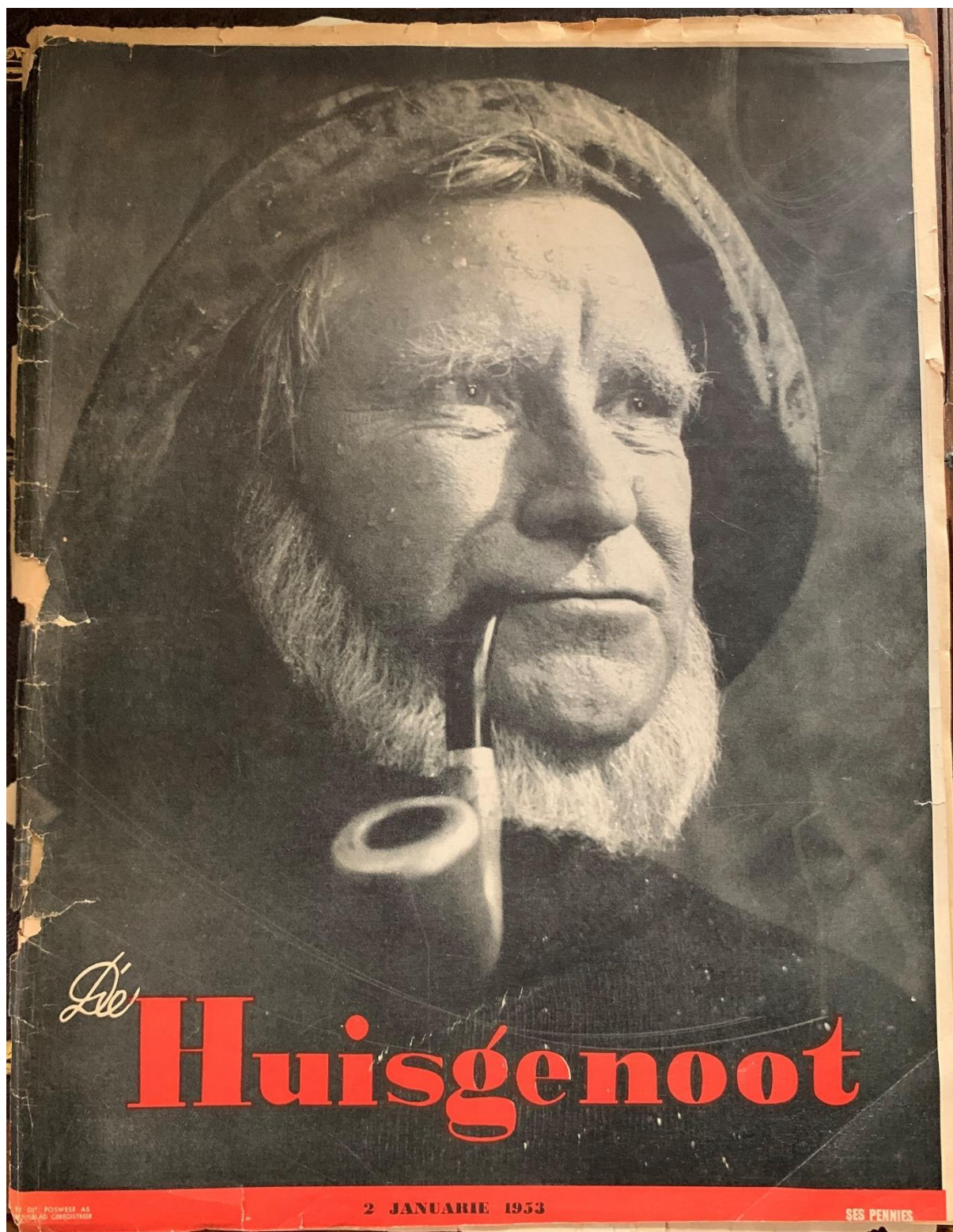
Born in Amsterdam, Netherlands as son of Folkert Hesse	DRC Vredefort 1922
Trained by Folkert Hesse	DRC Petrusville 1925
	DRC Memel 1925
	DRC Charl Cilliers 1935
Frederick McIntosh Glennie ISAA 1927 (1889 – 1954)	
Born in Cape Town	Mutual Heights 1934 (with WH Louw)
Articled to Baker & Masey 1911	Some Catholic building projects
Gerard LP Moerdyk ARIBA 1921 ISAA 1927 (1890–1958)	
Born in Nylstroom to Dutch parents	Possibly more than 80 churches
Studied at the Architectural Association 1910 -12	

(Brown, 1969; Walker, 2018; Minnaar, 2000; Artefacts.co.za: online)

APPENDIX J: REFERENCES IN CHAPTER 3.7 SUMMARY OF THE LIST

(Maeder and Zinn, 1917; Dreyer, 1930; Kerkraad NGK Stanford, 1938; Kerkraad NGK Olifantshoek, 1941, 1966; Kerkraad NGK Reitz, 1941; Oberholster, 1941; *Nederduits Gereformeerde Gemeente Kakamas*, 1951; *NG Gemeente Vredenburg. 100 Jaar van genade*, 2002; Olivier and Geldenhuys, 1952; Du Toit, 1953; Underhay and Hopkins, 1955; Van der Vyver, 1956; Kerkraad NGK Port Elizabeth, 1957; Smit, 1963, 1967, 1976; Oberholster and Van Schoor, 1964; Bosman, 1965; Hopkins HC, 1965; J. Maree, 1967; W. Maree, 1967; Hopkins, 1968, 1972; Olivier, 1968; Heese, 1970; Kerkraad NGK Boshof, 1974; Koorts, 1974; Smit and Oberholster, 1975; Du Plooy, 1977; Cooper CA, 1980; Malan, 1980; Van Wyk, 1982, 1992; Kerkraad NGK Grabouw, 1984; Claassen, 1987; Louw, 1987; Charel Nel, 1989; C Nel, 1989; De Villiers, 1989; Van der Merwe, 1991, 2004, 2011, 2016, 2017b, 2017a, 2017c; Le Roux, 1993, 2008; Press, 1993; Vermeulen, 1999; Die Kerraad Ned Geref Gemeente Outeniqualand, 2000; Hattingh, 2000; Jooste, 2000; Oosthuizen, 2000; Kerkraad, 2002; Van der Bank, 2004a, 2004b; Kerkraad Ned Geref Kerk Kestell, 2005; Van Zyl, 2005; Kerkraad Ned Geref Gemeente Upington-Noord, 2007; Victor, 2007; Kerkraad Ned Geref Gemeente Greytown, 2009; Hoevers, 2010a; Menache and David, 2010, 2012, 2015; Kerkraad NGK Kakamas, 2011; Kerkraad Ned Geref Kerk Durban, 2013; Verster, 2013; Bakker, Clarke and Fisher, 2014; Krige, 2015; De Jager and Visser, 2016; Clarke, Fisher and Kuipers, 2021; Duncan, 2021; Menache and Wolff, 2021; Roodt, 2021)

APPENDIX K: DIE HUISGENOOT, 02.01.1953

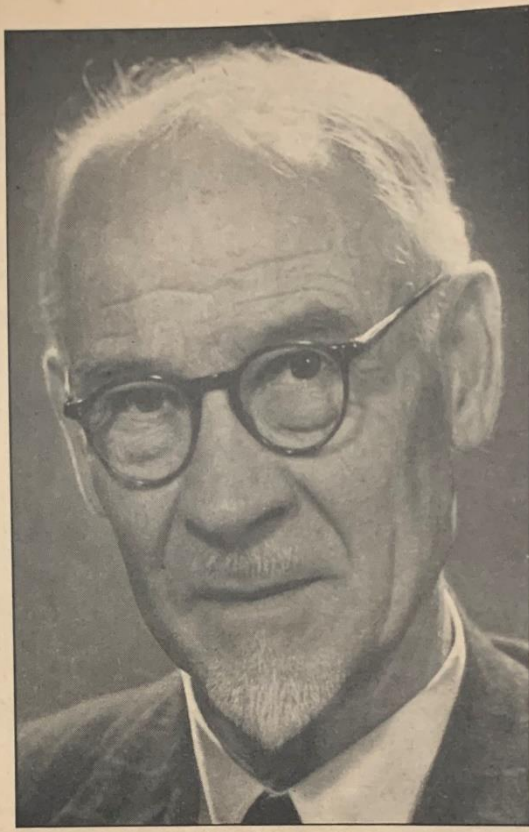


Die dominee van Thomson's Falls en mnr. Wynand Louw van die Paarl het besoek gaan afle in die gemeente Meru, Tanganjika. Op pad daarheen besluit hulle om hulle gasheer van die aand, 'n tergees van die eerste water, 'n poets te bak. Dit was reeds skemer 'n hulle aankoms op die plaas en omdat mnr. Louw so baie op veldmaatskappij J. C. Smuts, destyds leier van die Opposisie, gelyk het, word hy as „generaal Smuts“ voorgestel. Meteens was die aarde, waarop mnr. Louw geloop het, te koud vir die elenaar van die plaas. Alles is in werking gestel om die verblyf van die „hoogsgeplaaste besoeker“ aangenaam te maak.

Na die aandete moes ds. Hofmeyr Louw en sy Belandse vriend die ouderling van die wyk gaan opsoek. Intussen het hulle gasheer aan die werk gegaan. Hy het die bure wyd en syd per telefoon aangesê dat generaal Smuts onverwags opgedaag het en dat almal die volgende dag op die plaas verwag word. Dit moes sommar 'n groot gebeurtenis wees. Verbeel u die ontsteltnis van die twee besoekers toe hulle die aand tuis kom en ontdek wat daar aan die gang is. Hulle moes dadelik die identiteit van mnr. Louw verruil en die vuur wat reeds in die gras was, help blus. Verbeel u eger ook die verleenheid van die gasheer wat die geterg lank daarna moes verduur en selfs die bynaam „Generaal“ gekry het.

Die feit dat hy as dubbelganger van wyle genl. Smuts aangesien is, het mnr. Wynand Louw soms goed te pas gekom. Met die onthulling van die standbeeld van genl. Louis Botha voor die Uniegebou het 'n konstabel hom hoffik bejeen en begelei tot voor op die verhoog, waar die ander hooggeplaastes posisie ingeniem het en vanwaar hy die verrigtinge ten beste kon waarnaem. Tydens genl. Smuts se siekte, wat later tot sy dood gelei het, was mnr. Louw juis in Londen en het mense telkens verbaas gestaan dat „General Smuts“ dan nou weer so herstel het dat hy in Engeland kon rondbeveeg. Selfs die koerantmanne daar het, van hierdie gebeurtenisse kennis geneem.

Hy self sê dat die skrywer Hendrik van Loon hom eerste op sy uiterlike ooreenkoms met die beroemde Suid-Afrikaner attent gemaak het. Van Loon het met sy besoek aan ons land in 1934 met genl. Smuts in Kaapstad 'n maaltyd geniet. Daarna was hy en mnr. Louw saam op die Franconia onderweg na Amerika. Toe hulle die hawe van New York binnevaar,



Mnr. Wynand Louw. Die bekende skrywer Hendrik van Loon het eerste vir hom gesê dat hy na genl. Smuts lyk

Dit is in hierdie tydperk dat die kunstenaar Hugo Naude invloed op ons nagskemaat het. Hy het dikwels op die plaas in die Paarl kom kuier en daarvoor rondgeswerf om etse van ou Boesmans huise en ander tonele te maak. Dan het hy Wynand met hom saamgeneem en hy het hulle myle afgelê. Eendag het hulle na die Franschoekse vallei gegaan en 'n huis van 'n gewestige familie aangegetref, waarvan die dekgas vervang was deur sink, die ou deure en verande verwyder en 'n veranda aangebou. „As dit met die groen hout gebeur, wat van die dorre!“ het Naude uitgeroep. Die leier vir ons eie is op hierdie wyse by Wynand Louw ingeskerp en sou hy later inskerp word om talie van die huise in Kaap-Hollandse styl te herstel. As hy vandag nog 'n plan vir 'n gewone woonhuis moet ontwerp, ontbreek die graadsk noot.

Toe hy hom algaande beroep gemaak het om argitek te word, was daar in Suid-Afrika geen fasiliteite vir opleiding en moes hy na die buiteland vertrek. Die keuse het op die argitekkool van die beroemde „Architectural Association“ in Londen, geval, waar hy hom in 'n kort tyd bekwam het. Hier het die ongeluk hom eger getref: hy doen 'n langaandtoer op wat hom noodsaak om van die koue klimaat van Noord-Europa huis toe te vlug.

Toe hy in 1907 in die Paarl aankom, het sy oom, ds. P. G. J. Meiring, hom die eerste kans om sy bekwaamheid te toon. Hy bou 'n kerksaal wat vandag nog in diens van die gemeente staan. Maar daar was geen vaste werk nie en die jong Afrikaner gaan soek sy geluk in die Noorde. Hy sluit by die Transvaalse Departement van Openbare Sake aan onder die Milner-regime publieke geboue te beplan. Die voorskritte was eger altesame volgens buitelandse model, en dit kom die jong vaderlandse argitek nie bevredig aan. Hy het gevoel dat sy siel in sy binneste verstik.

Juis op daardie tydsterf roep sy oom ds. Attie Louw, hom na Heidelberg, Transvaal. Hy was besig om die fondamente van die onderwysdorp aan die Suikerbostrand te lê en het hulp geëis. Wynand Louw moes help met die opstap van die skoolgeboue en koshuise. In 'n studeerkamer hang 'n sprekende portret van hierdie geveerde Transvaalse leier, wat in daardie stadium vir hom 'n toring aangedui het.

Hy het in 1910 na Kaapland teruggekeer. Hy sou 'n groot taak nou aan-

WYNAND LOUW — HY IS DIKWELS VIR GENL. SMUTS AANGESIEN

Baanbreker-argitek het Nuwe Boustyl vir Kerke Geskep

Deur Dr. H. D. A. du TOIT

het die president van die Verenigde State juis met sy vlaggeskip verbygesien en die op see ingegaan, terwyl 'n bewige salvo kanonvuur losbars. Van Loon kyk na mnr. Louw en sê: „That is for the General!“

Daar is sekere trekke wat die twee op mekaar laat lyk — die puntbaardjie, die grys hare, die aristokratiese houding — maar daar is ook heelwat punte van verskil. Trouens, wyle genl. Smuts val vanself in 'n aparte groep en is moeilik vergelykbaar. Aan die ander kant het Wynand Louw op heel beskeie wyse diep spore gaan trap en die fundamente help lê vir die opbou van volk en kerk.

Hy is een van tien seuns wat in 1883 uit die huwelik van oom Tobie en tant Sophie Louw van die Paarl gebore is. Sy vader was 'n eg patriargale figuur, 'n man met wye invloed in kerk en samelewing. Op die Hugenotepaas La Bori en Picard, in die skaduwee van die gewels van die ou Kaaps-Hollandse woning, het die jonge Wynand gespeel. Daar in die plaas-skooltjie is die trap-der-jeugd hom ingedreun.

Vroeg reeds is hy na Kaapstad om sy studie aan die Normaalkollege voort te sit. Hy was bevoorreg om onder die dak van sy oom ds. C. F. J. Muller, predikant van

As argitek het mnr. Wynand Louw 'n nuwe kerkboustyl aan Suid-Afrika gegee. Maar ook op ander gebiede het hy op heel beskeie wyse help opbou aan sy volk en kerk.

De Nieuwe Kerk, later hoogleraar aan ons Teologiese Kweekskool te loseer. 'n Intieme vriendskap is hier met sy neef, wyle Tobie Muller, aangeknoop. Die verder onderwyskolf is op Stellenbosch afgele, waar hy sy matriekeksamen afgelê het. Die student Wynand Louw het nooit opvallende talent vir sport getoon nie, maar een aand was 'n paar van hulle aan die wandel buite die dorp, toe iemand die voorstel maak dat hulle 'n wedren oor 'n myl begin. En jou waarlik, daar kom Wynand eerste, terwyl hy selfs die kampioen mylhardloper, Tienie Louw, klop. Van toe af moes hy gereed in die atletiekbotsings optree!

VAN meet af het hy hom aangetrokke gevoel na die boukuns waarin hy later veel sou presteer, maar hy moes sy voet op die heel eerste sport sit. Hy word ingeskrif as handlanger by 'n bou-aannemer in Kaapstad, waar eenvoudige hulpdienste van hom verlang word.

vaar. Waar die hele boubedryf in Hollandse en veral Engelse hande was moes hy deur harde werk en deur sy bekwaamheid wys dat Afrikaners ook

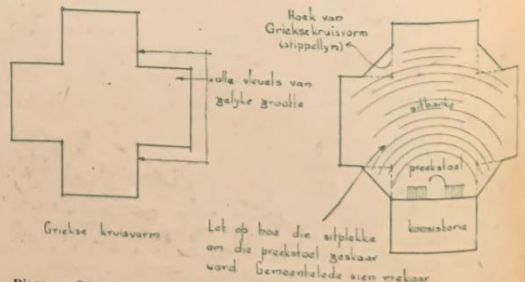
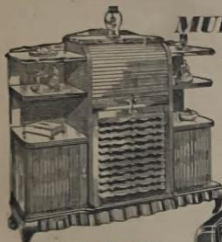


Diagram: Die uitstoot van die binnehoek van die Griekse kruis word hier aas getoon. Dit lewer groot strukturele probleme op.

BEGIN 1953 MET LUISTERGENOT



MURPHY-CONSOGRAM

Model 154/51, outomatiese driespoed-gramradio (220 WS.). Kontant £99 15/- of deposito van £14 15/- en 24 maandelikse paalemente van 85/- (Lugdraad ingesluit).

Ook beskikbaar: Battery-model, £118 0/9 kontant.

PHILIPS
-tafelmodel vir 220 volt (WS.) of 6-volt-battery. Kontant £33 18/3 of deposito van £6 18/3 plus 12 maandelikse paalemente van £2 9/6 (Lugdraad ingesluit.)



MURPHY

Model 154/35, outomatiese driespoed, 220 WS., 8 golf-bande. Kontant £89 15/-, Deposito £12 15/- plus 24 maandelikse paalemente van £3 17/-

Platteland: 6-volt-battery-model. Kontant £120 0/9, Deposito van £20 0/9 en 24 maandelikse paalemente van £5 (Lugdraad ingesluit).

PHILIPS
(Vir droë-sel-battery.) Alle golfrentes. £17/7/6 kontant. Deposito van £4/7/6 en 6 maandelikse paalemente van 45/6



PHILIPS

(WS./GS. 220). - Ingeboude lugdraad. Kontant £16 18/9, Deposito van £4 13/- en 12 maandelikse paalemente van 22/- (Lugdraad ingesluit).

POS VANDAG HIERDIE KOEPON
G & G RADIO (Edms.) Poedrus 2782
HFK, Kasteelstraat 7 en 43 KAAPSTAD

Stuur my asselief alle besonderhede van die volgende artikels wat ek met 'n X merk.

- Murphy-Consogram, model 154/51 Philips-tafelmodel
 Philips (Droë-sel-battery) Murphy, model 154/35 Philips (WS./GS. 220)

Gebruik u elektrisiteit (Ja of Nee)?

NAAM

ADRES



Gee u VOETE ook 'n kans!

Kie u voete? G'n wonder nie! Hulle pyn en brand na 'n lang dag se werk, omdat hulle moeg is ... omdat hulle heeldag geen vars lug gekry het nie ... omdat hulle porieë deur surskiedings verstopt is.

'n RADOX-voetbad sal hulle nuwe gevoel die suurstoflading in die water reinig die verstopte porieë - dit streel en versterk. U sal self soos 'n ander mens voel!

RADOX in u bad sal u hals liggaam volkome verfris.

By alle apteke. Pakkies 2/6 en 4/6. Badbakkies 2/3 per doos van 6.

RADOX verfris u van kop tot toon

bladsy 24

WYNAND LOUW

(Vervolg van bl. 23)

afgewerp het nie en dat by dikwels teleurstelling moes verduur. Maar daar was ook profyte. 'n Aansienlike aantal seuns van ons volk in die kansel, agter die lessenaar en in verskeie strategiese betrekkinge van die maatskappy, bly hom dankbaar vir geldelike steun tydens hulle studentejare. Hy het hulle 'n kans in die lewe gegee toe niemand anders wou waag nie. Dit is sy vreugde om ander

gelukkig te maak. Wanneer dit vrugtetyd is in die somer, word die personeel van die Nasionale Pers, waarvan hy reeds baie jare direkteur is, jaarliks na die Paarl genooi om 'n hele dag sy gasvryheid te geniet.

Daar in sy huis op „Die Hoogte“, omring deur sy vier kinders en hulle gesinne, vind ons hom as vader en veldoener van almal. In 1950 is die vrou van sy jeug hom ontval; later is hy met haar niggie, mev. Mabel Geldenhuys, getroud.

Sy volk is vir hom baie werd.

maar sy kerk kom eerste. Met tussenpose dien hy nou jare reeds eers as diaken en later as onderling, in die kerkrad van die ou moedergemeente van die Paarl. Die kerk weet dan ook om van sy talente ruim gebruik te maak. Hy is lid van die finansiële kommissie van die Algemene Sendingkommissie en 'n geskiedkundige yweraar vir die uitbreiding van Gods Koninkryk. Immatrikuleer dit is die geheim van sy geslaagde bouwerk en onbaatsugtige lewe dat hy bo die dakke van huise en torings van kerke uit die oog gevestig hou op Hom wat die groot Argitek van ons lewe is en 'n huis bou nie met hande gemaak nie, maar ewig onver-ganklik in die hemele.

Wederkerig
Vader: „Ek hou niks van die man met wie jy nou uitgaan nie.“
Dogter: „Toe maar, Pa, hy hou ook niks van Pa nie.“

Kan jy?
Hy: „Ek sal my lewe gewilliglik opoffer om jou gelukkig te maak.“
Sy: „Vir hoeveel is jou lewe verseker?“

Daar was baie
„Wie was daardie mooi vrou met wie jy gister in die dorp rondgestap het?“
„Omtrent hoe laat?“

ALTYD VOOR...

Studebaker



BLY VOOR
IN LYN EN WAARDE

Studebaker

STATE LAND CRUISER V8

Nuutste onder die nuwes wat betref stroom-belynde ontwerp! Die V-8-masjien volgens 'n gevorderde ontwerp skitter met 120-pk-werkverrigting! Die voordeligste V-8; bespaar u gellings petrol!

En met hierdie uitmuntende kenmerke:

HEUWELREM; SNELRAT; BUIEBANDE MET WIT WANDE

Besoek u naaste Studebaker-handelaar.

SOUTH AFRICAN MOTOR ASSEMBLERS & DISTRIBUTORS LTD., UITENHAGE, KAAPPROVINSIE

DIE HUISGENOOT, 2 JANUARIE 1953

APPENDIX L: GORDON LEITH'S LETTER TO WYNAND H LOUW,
14.12.1906

occupy the studio, Barrett & I have taken two unfurnished rooms in the Calcutt Road, quite near here, it is a very nice house & most convenient.

I wonder how you enjoyed the voyage? Was Ji sick? How well "Wool" was of sound? I have not yet been to call on him. How's "Luan" now? Your two or three fine time flies man, it will be time to return before I know where I am.

Went to see the Springbok at the Crystal Palace, they could have made "aima" toward the Englishmen - as it was it was a mere mud fight. Being all the time, I kept myself warm by shouting for the 9.60's old Maxwell & another chap were with me. I kicked up a tremor.

16-1-07 23. Calcutt Road
London S.W.
Dec. 14th 1906.

Dear Wynand

Please excuse me for not writing sooner, I will not venture an excuse -

I must congratulate you on having passed so well in the Intermediates, Ji had very healthful with glass!! You were well in the first half of the list, while I was W.P. 20 from the bottom you will feel awfully sick now that you come up in for your final, I know how keen I am on it, so simply have to reverse the order to find how you feel on the matter.

You will see by the above address that we are coming

your complaint, & I will give you my mother's address where you must put up for a week or two, our house is out of town & on a hill so that we get the fresh wind from all sides except one. My father suffered from the same complaint & he would never have lived so long had it not been for the healthy position of his house. I like nevertheless you will never be as good as he, you have every chance of totally recovering, whereas he left it till it was too late.

I trust you have had a good old Springbok Xmas. - that you will soon be fit & fighting. Believe me,

Your sincere friend
Gordon Leith

now, everybody was looking at me as if I were a quack - encouraging remarks were also thrown at me. go it! go it! foolhard!! (me) He's however I never flinched but yelled all the louder. man? wish you had been there, I should have liked to meet some of those fellows.

I have not yet managed to get into a good office, if I cannot do so soon, I am going in with a small man, but I must have practical experience. Thank you started work yet, or are you going to have a rest? I suppose the latter will do you more good. Let me know if you intend going to Pretoria it is an awfully good place for

15/1/07

23 Cathacomb Road

London S.W

Dec 14th 1906

Dear Wijnand

Pease excuse me

for nor writing sooner, I will
not venture an excuse –

I must congratulate you
on having passed so well in
the intermediate, Jij het mij
heeltemaal uitgestof. You were
well in the first half of the list,
while I was No 20 from the bottom.
You will feel awfully sick now
that you cannot hop in for
your final, I know how keen
I am on it, so simply have
to reverse the order to find how
you feel on the matter.

You will see by the above a-
ddress that we no longer
occupy the studio, Beamdhib + I have
taken two unfurnished rooms in
the Cathcart Road, quite near here,
it is a very nice house + most con-
venient.

I wonder how you enjoyed
the voyage? Was jij siek? Hoe
veel “mooies” was op boord? I have
not yet been to call on Lhian
hoe’s haar naam? Your Devon
House friend time flies man, it
will be time to return before I
know where I am.

Went to see the Springboks at
the Crystal Palace, they could

make "rings" round the
Englishmen - as it was it
was a mere mudfight. Raining
all the time I kept myself warm
by shouting for the S.boks old
Maxwell + another chap were
with me. I kicked up a tremendous
row, everybody was looking
at me as if I were a go-
rilla – Encouraging remarks
were also thrown at me,
qp it! + qp it! Foghorn!! (me) ???
however I never flinched but
yelled all the louder. man I wish
you had been there, I should
have liked it to meet some of
those fellows,

I have not yet managed to
get into a good office. If I cannot
do so soon, I am going in
with a small man, but I
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Have you started work yet, or
are you going to have a rest
I suppose the latter will do you
more good. Let me know if
you intend going to Pretoria it
is an awfully good place for
your complaint, + I will give your
my Mothers address where
you must out up for a week or
two, our house is out of town
on a hill so that we get the
fresh wind from all sides except
one. My father suffers from
the same complaint + he would
never have lived so long had it

not been for the healthy position
of his house. I hope nevertheless
you will never be as bad as he.
You have every chance of totally
recovering whereas he left it till
it was too late.

I trust you have had a good
old Springbok Xmas + that
you will soon be fit + fighting.

Believe me.

Yours Sincere friend
G Gordon Leith

