THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE ORANGE FREE STATE REPUBLIC 1854 - 1902

A comparative study of the cultural conflicts and building achievements of a Model Republic.

LEON ROODT

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LEON ROODT
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These framed numbers occur in conjunction with the text for cross-reference purpose. The illustrations are grouped together at the end of each chapter.

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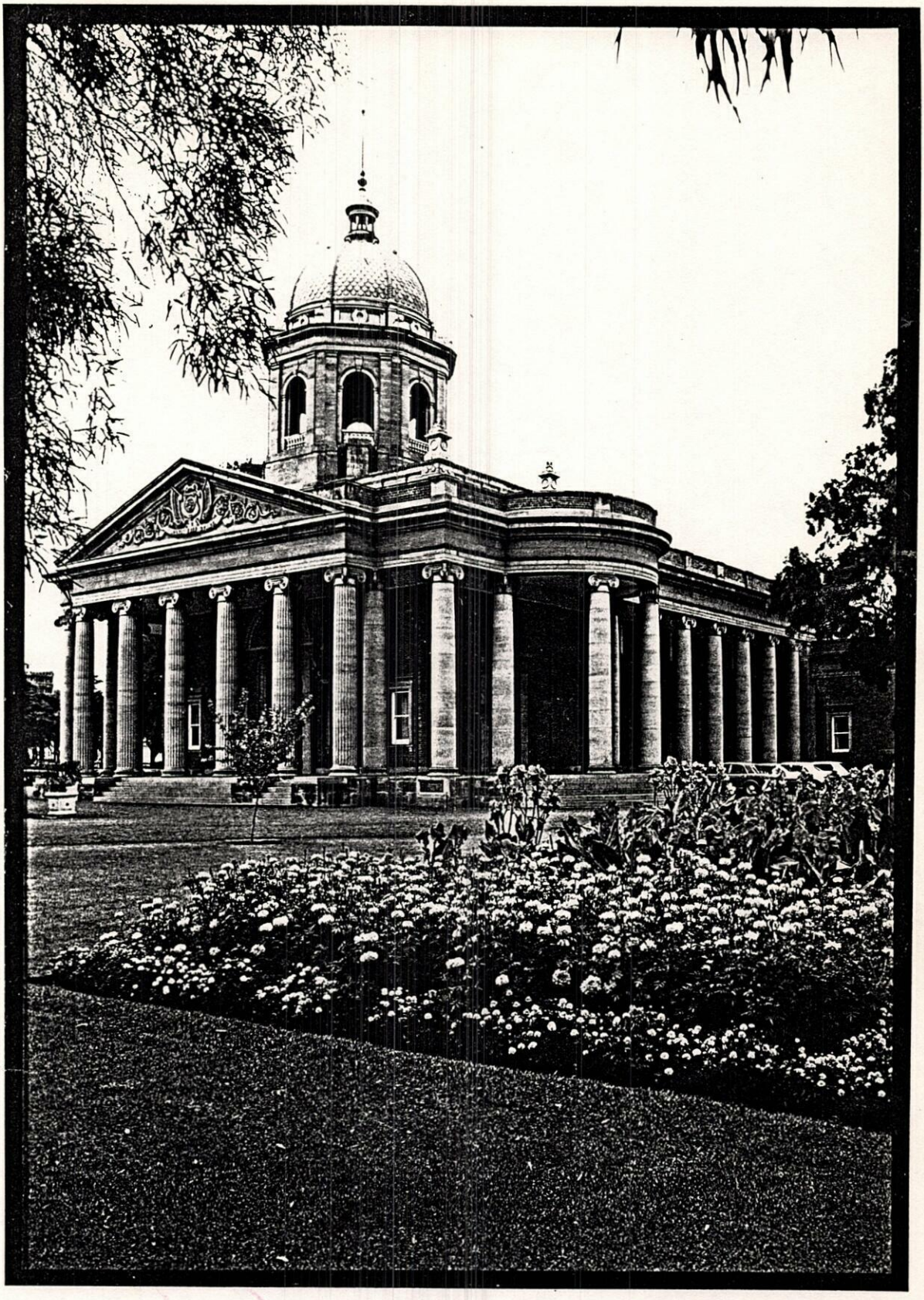
GLOSSARY

Term employed in text	English equivalent and explanatory notes
Afrikaans	a new language which developed indigenously from Dutch and other roots. It was incipient from about 1870 onwards and formally recognised as the second official language in 1928
Afrikaner (sometimes Afrikander in early English texts	a person born to Dutch-speaking parents and who came to see himself as part of a distinct cultural group and speaking a language which became less Dutch and more vernacular until it crystallised into a new viable language called Afrikaans.
beroep	invitation extended to a minister of religion to a new parish
Boer	literally a "farmer" but also a generic name in the previous century for all Dutch-speaking peoples
brakdak(ke)	roof consisting of clay over reeds
buitewyke	outlying sections of a gemeente
burghers	citizens
bywoner	a person residing on a farm as an assistant
dominee	parson, minister of religion
Dopper	nickname for a member of the Gereformeerde Kerk
dorpshuis	town house used for Nachtmaal
Gereformeerde Kerk	Reformed Church
gemeente	congregation or parish
Handelshuis	a general dealer
hartbeeshuis	a thatch and pole house of a temporary nature
hardbieshuis	see hartbeeshuis
Hoog Hollands	High Dutch
kapstylhuis	A-frame house
Kerkraad	Church council
Kerkraadnotules	Church council minutes
knopkieries	a stick with a knob-like head
Konsulent	person acting on behalf of an absent dominee
kraal	a protected shelter for farm animals
Landdrost	Magistrate
Nachtmaal	Holy communion
Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk	Dutch Reformed church
pastorie	parsonage or manse
platteland	rural countryside
Raadzaal	Council chamber
rieme	thongs
Riemlander	person residing in the N-E Free State
riksdaalders	coinage dating from the time of Dutch control of the Cape. (Abbreviation: Rds.)
Rinderpest	a highly contagious cattle disease
rondawel	round hut which a conical thatched roof
smous	itinerant salesman
stinkhout	a hard indigenous timber
stoepkamer	a side-room with access from a verandah
Transgariep	the area lying between the Orange- and Vaal Rivers.
transportryer	a person providing a transportation service with ox-wagons

Tweetoringkerk	Twin-towered church
uitgewekenes	departed peoples
vlei	low-lying marsh
Volksraad	Central Government of the OFS
Volksraadnotule	minutes of the Volksraad
voorhuis	literally "front of the house", main reception or living room
Voortrekker	a person participating in the Great Trek
waenshuiskerk	a barn-shaped church
winkelstoep	shop verandah
ysterklip	dolerite



The fourth Raadzaal, Lennox Canning, 1892

Although the winning design for the fourth Raadzaal was prepared almost simultaneously with the plans for the Presidency (1884), work on this important building was delayed for a few years. Canning and Goad, the architects, had in the interim established a practice in Johannesburg shortly after its inception. The design shows a mature comprehension of the basic requirements for a State building of importance. Despite numerous disputes and even the ultimate dismissal of the architect, the final result is a building with many exceptional qualities internally and externally. Stylistically, liberal use has been made of the classical orders married to Renaissance elements. The prototypes of Canning's design stretch beyond St. George, Bloomsbury and St. Pancras, London to the Temple of Artemis (B.C. 356).

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PREFACE

Considerations of the circumstances prevailing within the Orange Free State during the latter half of the nineteenth century have been so largely dominated by events of political or military significance that the extensive body of building executed during that period has been accorded only sporadic attention by historians.[1]

To more fully comprehend the nature of the architectural legacy the Department of Architecture of the University of the O F S fielded a team of 150 students to make a comprehensive field-survey in 1977. By its extent and coverage it covered a terrain which would have lain beyond the resources of any one person. In addition to these studies the author presents in more detail a number of case histories with which he was personally involved.

The principal aims of the work can be summarised as follows:

To analyse the complex nature of the underlying cultural and environmental determinants at work in shaping the architectural image of a *de novo* State in a remote hinterland, and in particular to demonstrate how the ascendency of Victorian influence occurred concurrently with the decline of the Cape Dutch phenomenon; secondly to show that a neoclassical impetus stemming from Holland, Belgium and Germany played a vital role in important civic buildings toward the end of the Republican era, and finally to emphasize that while clearly discernable rural vernacular developments led to interesting and unique indigenous tectonic expressions, they could never fully escape the pervasive and modifying influence of external cultural impacts.

Arising from these general aims and from the analysis of the available material it was possible to formulate the principal hypothesis namely that the architectural matrix of the Orange Free State was unique, inasmuch as the complex nature of the cultural determinants and environmental factors yielded, in the incredibly short space of 50 years, tectonic expressions which, by mid-century, departed transitionally from African precepts, gradually assimilating the pervasive influences of Europe and finally guardedly accepting the dictates of Neo-Gothicism and neoclassicism even as it subtly modified them eclectically into buildings expressive of the concept of a Model Republic.

To structure the analysis it was decided to isolate five salient periods, defining them as: Disputed advent, Modest beginnings, Eventful growth, Brief flowering and Untimely extinction. In each of these periods five entrepreneurial functions are identified namely, Private homebuilding, Commerce and industry, Buildings for the Community, Local Authority and Central Government.[2] The five periods are delineated in five chapters. These chapters are preceded by an Introduction which provides the setting for the subsequent events. A final section collates the conclusions arrived at and examines the validity of the hypothesis.

In tabulated form the arrangement of the material could be represented thus:

CHAPTER	Private Homes	Commerce & Industry	Community	Local Authority	Central Govt.
1 Disputed Advent 1800 - 1854	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.4	1.5
2 Modest Beginnings 1854 - 1863	2.1	2.2	2.3	2.4	2.5
3 Eventful Growth 1863 - 1888	3.1	3.2	3.3	3.4	3.5
4 Brief Flowering 1888 - 1900	4.1	4.2	4.3	4.4	4.5
5 Untimely Extinction 1900 - 1902	5.1	5.2	5.3	5.4	5.5

The components do not all carry the same weight in their architectural significance, varying from embryonic beginnings to large scale urban projects, but this framework permits the identification of particular aspects within the overall arrangement of the data.

INTRODUCTION

The introduction serves to set the scene for the subsequent chapters and is divided into four components i.e.

A. The relevant historical and cultural time-scales.
B. The indigenous peoples.
C. The natural environment.
D. The nature of early architecture in the Trans-gariep.

A. THE HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL TIME-SCALES OF THE ORANGE FREE STATE REPUBLIC.

The duration of the O.F.S. as an independent Republic

Viewed simply as an historical event or period it would be accurate to say that the Republic of the Orange Free State came into being on 23 February 1854[1] and technically ceased to exist on 31 May 1902[2], but seen in the wider context of nineteenth century history in Southern Africa it can be shown that the existence of the Republic should more properly be regarded as lying compressed between two major events, both of which entailed massive human incursions into the Transgariep[3] area. The first of these, now universally referred to as the Great Trek, reached its peak in the years between 1836 and 1838. The impelling force at the root of this migration was the firm belief of upwards of 6000[4] Afrikaners that political stability, cultural independence and personal security, would forever elude them if it had to be sought within the constraints placed upon them by successive British Governors at the Cape. The second major incursion came six decades later when British forces under General Roberts occupied the republic militarily and annexed it politically[5], circumstances which culminated in the loss of independence in terms of the treaty of Vereeniging which formally ended the Anglo-Boer War.

In this sense, the duration of the whole process of advent, growth and demise of the republic is remarkably co-incident with the reign of Queen Victoria who came to the British throne in 1837 and died in 1901 after a lifetime within which she headed the most extensive empire in history, with Great Britain importing raw materials from the four corners of the earth and exporting, in addition to manufactured goods, the *pax Brittanica,* liberalism, philanthropy, missionaries and undisguised imperialism. The virtues and advantages of each of these were held to be universally beneficial to those upon whom they were bestowed and were proclaimed by force of arms if necessary. This sentiment was forcibly stated by Lord Wolseley, Commander in Chief, British Army when he said:

> I have but one great object in the world — that is to maintain the greatness of the British Empire ... I firmly believe that in doing so I work in the cause of Christianity, of peace, of civilisation, and the happiness of the human race generally. [6]

The cultural time-scale of the Transgariep

With the British annexation of the area between the Orange and the Vaal rivers in 1848 a large stretch of land was added to the already extensive British Empire, but the phase displacement of cultural time as between the heartland of South Africa and the European culture to which it would be linked, was considerable and indicates the development which the coming State would have to undergo in its move toward a fully-fledged independent, model republic in the short space of fifty years. In 1848 there was no in-

frastructure of any kind, no settled community beyond the Griquas along the Orange River, no political entity other than the embryonic Boer Republic in Potchefstroom. Urban development was in its earliest stages at Winburg and Bloemfontein. Governmental control in the Orange River Sovereignty proclaimed by Sir Harry Smith in 1848 was maintained by a handful of troops stationed around a mud-and-stone fort at Bloemfontein. There was no facility for formal education in any sphere, no adequate medical care, no roads and bridges, no lines of communication other than sporadic mail deliveries on horseback often delayed by floods and lions.

By contrast Britain and the Continent were experiencing an unprecedented surge of industrial activity, which was accompanied by innovations in the arts and the sciences. Steel manufacture was boosted by the newly-invented Bessemer process. In 1859 the "Great Eastern" of 23000 tons crossed the Atlantic in 15 days and cable communication had been established between England and France in 1850. The network of European railways was extended at the rate of 5 000 km annually; Millais had painted his Angelus, Gounod's Faust and Wagner's Tannhauser were established in the opera houses of Europe, Turner had painted some of his masterpieces and the novels of Charles Dickens were capturing the imagination of readers.

Attention of liberal opinion was sharply focussed on the conditions of the disadvantaged and missionaries were imbued with a desire to liberate all men from human bondage, and free them from ignorance and political servitude.[7]

When the great exhibition of 1851 was held in Paxton's Crystal Palace the first rudimentary buildings of clay and thatch were arising on the grasslands of the Free State's interior, and in contrast to the glazed wonder-building, a small glass window would be a prized possession when it reached the end of its 9 000 km journey.

Yet life had other compensations which no European metropolis could offer. Game was plentiful, sun-drenched space abounded and freedom of movement made possible the creation of an independent lifestyle for an adventurous man and his family; a self-sufficient life at harmony with individual religious beliefs and in harmony with nature, very remote from the velveted drawing rooms of Kensington or the excesses of a Brighton Pavilion. The absence of these caused no sense of cultural deprivation or a sense of personal impoverishment. In a series of rapid steps the driving forces underlying developments in the Victorian era spilled over into South Africa and the fruits of the industrial revolution, which seemed so remote in 1850, came swiftly to a small state which often viewed these changes with conservative alarm. Spurred on by enlightened presidents however, the model republic accepted with good grace its emancipation from the limitations of Africa into the enticing possibilities of a Western civilisation. Within two generations the living rooms of the presidencies could display Axminster carpets, Rosewood pianos, stuffed settees, Loo tables and the *Illustrated London News* or *News of the World*. Architects from Great Britain and Holland produced neo-classical designs and merchants advertised the latest London fashions.

Unlike the Cape Province which leisurely developed an individual style of architecture, that of the Orange Free State underwent a process of accelerated growth, force-fed with the societal, cultural and industrial norms of Great Britain, Holland and to a lesser extent Germany. The Afrikaner's participation in the process was at first only marginal and innovation was regarded as a function of the financial and commercial entrepreneurs, who were usually English-speaking. With the latter came the shops, the trades, the banks, doctors, lawyers, teachers and every other diversification of skills necessary for an urban community.[8] The gradual osmosis of the Afrikaner's distinctly rural set of values through the walls of cultural reserve into the medium of urban activity took nearly a century to complete and is in process even today. Only in two respects was he a full participant in contemporary events - and that as soldier and politician and these proclivities ensured his control over republican affairs in a manner greater than could be accounted for by numbers alone.

B. THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLES OF THE TRANSGARIEP C. 1850

Historical Viewpoints

Much of the history of extensive exploration by whites into the interior of Africa has been written from a peculiar European point of view which held that any tract of land marked "terra-incognita" on early maps was in fact "non-existent" until their locality was discovered by whites and that the complex historical events which black indigenous peoples participated in were in fact little better than non-events. An awareness amongst the blacks of an own historical heritage has of late begun to manifest itself and extensive "rewritings" of history have become common with a view to creating heroes posthumously from the ranks of those previously accused of calumny and to reveal the "true" nature of the revered pioneers. History writing has its own pendulosity and the local scenarios have now been redrawn, even overdrawn, to indicate that the coming of the white man to the interior was an event wholly harmful to indigenous peoples, to their cultures, their possessions and their survival.

To recreate history "as it really was" remains an unattainable ideal, despite the formulation of this goal by Ranke as long ago as the 1830's [9] . The interpretation of history is invariably influenced by the historian's place at a point in time, his cultural background and his intellectual qualities. Some aberration, some filtering, some transmutation is subtly superimposed upon the events as they are reinterpreted from a particular viewpoint. These circumstances have a bearing on any attempt to examine the history and cultures of indigenous peoples of South Africa prior to their first contacts with whites from the South, probing northwards between the great rivers as hunters, traders, travellers, scientists and missionaries.

The early history of African peoples is characterised by a complex of migrations, internecine strife, annihilations, reabsorptions and redistributions in a series of events which are only now beginning to assume an identifiable pattern. The data relating to these events is shrouded and unclear due to the absence of a written language and the instruments for recording events. What has survived is an oral tradition of handing on the deeds of forefathers[10] and lately, the archeological sites which confirm such folklore.

The San (Bushmen)

What does emerge from the piecing together of the mosaic is that prior to 1700 the area now known as the Orange Free State was sparsely populated and that the inhabitants were of two distinct groups. The first and earliest inhabitants were undoubtedly the San or Bushmen, a race of slight people, inured to the rigours of the climate, who lived exclusively from the hunt and the gathering of berries and edible roots. They neither kept domesticated cattle nor did they plant crops. They wandered after herds of antelope and were as at home in the desert as they were on the banks of the Orange River or in the sandstone caves of the Drakensberg.

Their weapons were the bow and the arrow with a poisoned tip. They roved in small nomadic groups and were of a war-like disposition showing little compassion toward subjugated foes or even to members of their own kind. They had lived in South Africa for at least 10 000 years with a culture attuned to nature but wholly unadaptable to the impending effects of the new civilisation. Wherever Black peoples could not conquer them they left them severely alone. The Bushman was every man's enemy. As a people they figure prominently in the records of early travellers but in the processes of change which they could not accommodate, their numbers suffered attrition by genocide, disease and racial intermixture. Today only a few remnants survive as cultural curiosities with minimal impact on the trend of events.

The Legoya

The second group of people who left some traces of their existence in the Orange Free State was a black race, usually called the Legoha (or Legoya) who were proficient in the construction of conical, bee-hive huts of stone. These were used as shelters for man and beast. Although little is known about them their stone culture is impressive in its remains. The huts were constructed with concentric circles of stone with gradually diminishing circumference. The cone was completed at the top with an opening which could be sealed with a single flat stone. The arrangement of the stones to ensure firm interlocking, must have required a special skill, as attempts to recreate such structures have proved unexpectedly difficult. Exact dating has been a matter of considerable debate but the most often expressed opinion makes the structures from 600 - 700 years old.[11] The fact that remains of settlements are visible in the Transvaal (Witwatersrand) and as far South as the present-day Winburg suggests that they were a migratory people in search of grazing. Their southward movement was probably arrested by their contact with the San people who did not take kindly to the invasion of water sources which they regarded as their own by virtue of generations of occupation.[12]

The Difaquane

At the dawning of the 19th-century there arose a black ruler in the area now known as Natal who coalesced a large assortment of Nguni tribes into a highly organised social and military unit. Shaka and his later successor, Dingane, unleashed a reign of terror on all neighbouring peoples, conscripting able-bodied survivors into their own armies, forcing young women into concubinage and abandoning the very young and the very old to their own fate in a denuded countryside stripped of all food supplies, shelter and every vestige of organised tribal life. The shock waves of the indiscriminate killing and subjugation, spread across the Orange Free State and each fleeing group collided with existing settled communities, of which a number had arisen in the central plateau from the middle of the 18th-century onwards. To escape the onslaught the route normally followed was westwards toward the desert areas of the Kalahari, or southwards to the mountain fastness of the present-day Lesotho. The devastation was so complete by 1835 that pioneer trekkers reported their wagonwheels crushing the bleached bones of the countless victims of the dreaded Zulu war machine.[13]

Far to the North a second threat arose where Mzilikazi, a fugitive from Zululand, gradually built up a new empire using the invincible tactics that had made Shaka great. A Matabele Empire was called into being and again victims from assimilation and despoliation were sought far afield. Three times the armies of Dingane and Mzilikazi faced each other in the vicinity of the Vaal River but the results were inconclusive. It is estimated that 28 tribes disappeared completely and more than a million square kilometers of South Africa were ravaged and pillaged.[14]

Strangely no permanent occupation of the area between the Orange and Vaal rivers followed upon these campaigns. Always the Nguni peoples would withdraw to the benign climate of Natal or the Northern Transvaal. Had, by some strange coincidence,the Trekkers ventured into the interior at a time when the Zulus and the Matabele were active in that area on the usual massive scale, the odds would have daunted the most courageous had they been aware of them. Providentially at the time when the Voortrekkers decided to move *en masse,* the interior had been denuded of peoples so effectively that 12 000 emigrants could trek into the hinterland almost unmolested with only skeletons to remind them of the dangers they had only barely missed. In 1838 this tranquillity ended abruptly with a confrontation between advancing trekkers and the Zulu impis at Bloodriver, which ended favourably for the whites.

By 1839, three years after the main exodus of Afrikaners had commenced,the major threats to the establishment of an independent republic between the Orange and the Vaal had been removed. Only Moshesh in the East posed a threat. He regarded the movement of pioneer trekkers into the foothills of the Drakensberg as invasion of his domain. The resulting conflict took more than 20 years to resolve and in a certain sense has remained alive to the present time, despite treaties, boundary commissions and the healing effect of time.

The Griquas

There existed in the Southern Orange Free State a settlement of Griqua peoples at and near Philippolis which, as a town, had been the creation of the London Missionary Society. The Griquas were of mixed descent with various gradations of White, Black, Khoi (Hottentot) and San. Despite this diversity they showed a certain cohesion in their cultural patterns which they modelled as closely as possible on the European in both their good traits and bad. They came to this area early in the 19th-Century and as a result of agreements with successive Cape Governors their territorial rights were recognised and protected by the British Government. They were a pastoral people but the imminence of a new migration of whites, having the advantage of numbers, vitality and determination frayed their subsistence economy to the point of collapse. The last cohesive remnants of the Griquas undertook a Great Trek of their own over the Drakensberg to Kokstad where they dispersed by intermarriage and normal attrition to a position of near extinction.[15]Buildings erected by the Griquas in Philippolis were only marginally more durable or comfortable than those erected by black peoples or San. In the case of the residences of the "kaptyns" fairly commodious buildings were erected and a European style of living permeated through to them.

First Europeans

The vastness of the interior, its legends of ivory, gold and bountiful game have always held a certain fascination for the more adventurous European. For some it meant conquest of the unknown, for others opportunity to hunt and trade, a few were genuine scientists and a sprinkling sought to bring the Light of the Word to Darkest Africa.

Although the appellation "first" in the South African context is one often subject to revision, the first properly authenticated visit to the Orange River was that of Captain Gordon in 1777. In December of that year Gordon reported having reached the Orange River near the presentday Bethulie, at the confluence of the Caledon and the Orange Rivers. The river was so flooded that Gordon could not cross into the Transgariep. It was in fact Gordon who first named the river the Orange River in honour of the House of Orange.

Other early visits to the interior which were made before 1800 were those made by pastoralists in search of better grazing beyond the river. None of these movements were intended to be anything else than a temporary sojourn. It would be a full 30 years before the concept of a major migration would begin to crystallise.

C.1 THE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT: GEOLOGY AND PEDOLOGY

Geological pre-history

The nature and time sequence of the geological formation of the sub-continent of Africa is a complex natural phenomenon but some consideration of this period is invaluable when dealing with the nature of the available building materials and the physical environment within which building took place.

Despite the complicated sequence of events which led to the formation of the presentday landscape of the Orange Free State,it is perhaps less complicated in its manifestations than are those of the Transvaal with its Bushveld Igneous Complex. With a few minor exceptions in the Parys-Vredefort area the whole of the Orange Free State shows only evidence of the so-called Karroo-system which authorities describe as being of the order of 150-300 million years old, which makes it a comparatively recent system when compared with say, the Archaean era, evidence of which is visible in the Transvaal and is considered to be 2400-3500 million years old. [17]

The Karroo-system is widely distributed over the whole of the southern portion of the Republic and as a system accounts for nearly one half of the total land area of the Republic of South Africa. The Karroo-system is made up of a series of components which,in terms of date succession from most recent to earliest, are:

Stormberg series
Beaufort series
Ecca series
Dwyka series

All of these components occur in the Orange Free State.[18] (See map No. 1)

The Stormberg series has two sub-divisions i.e. the Lava and the Sediments. The uppermost formation of the Karroo-system is a thick outpouring of basaltic lava. The lavas of the Stormberg series lie principally within the boundaries of the present day Lesotho but the sediments which underlie and flank it stretch well into the Eastern Free State. This series, in time order from latest to earliest,is classified as follows:

4 Drakensberg Lavas
3 Cave Sandstone
2 Red Beds
1 Molteno Beds.

In the Molteno area the Molteno Beds are 600 m thick and consist of a grey glittering sandstone and shale.

The succeeding Red Beds consist of red stone, shale and mudstone to a maximum thickness of 480 m. Fossil dinosaurs occur in these beds.

The Cave Sandstones are a very distinctive formation, up to 240 m thick, of a creamy coloured band, surrounding the Drakensberg Lavas. Its most dramatic occurence is at Golden Gate but it occurs fairly generally in the Eastern Free State. The rock is unbedded and very uniform, consisting of a fine-grained sandstone with rounded grains typical of wind deposition. The name cave sandstone is derived from the undercut erosion caused by moisture and which gives rise to caves and overhanging brows. Many of these declivities show signs of Bushmen paintings of pre-historic times.

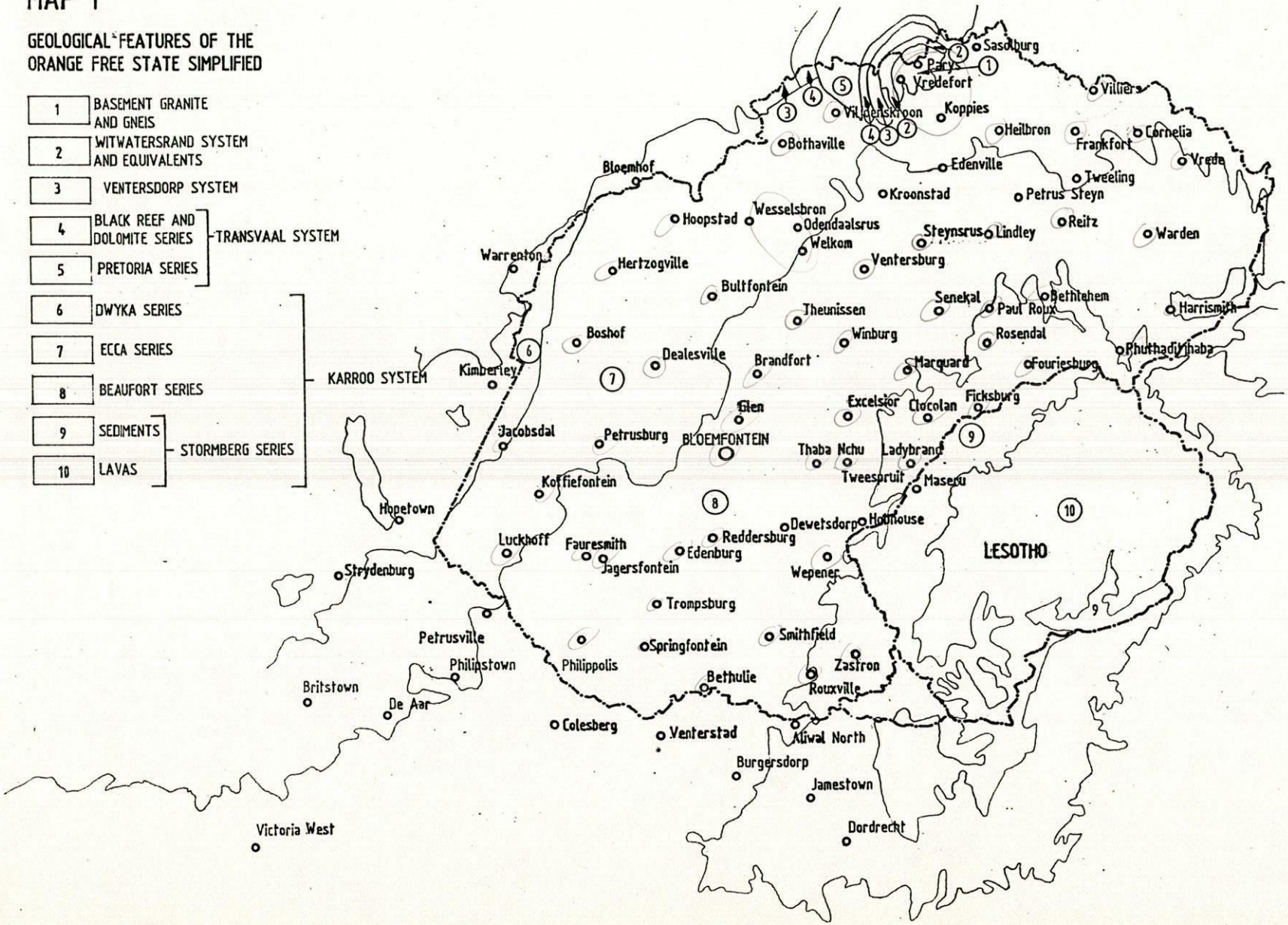
The Drakensberg lavas give the mountains of Lesotho a many-layered appearance. Some of the basalt flows show a thickness of 1350 m and there are a number of transitional zones where sandstone and lava alternate.

Karroo dolerite

The Karroo-system is also characterised by a vast network of dikes, sills and sheets of dolerite. These consist of materials similar to the Drakensberg lavas and are volcanic intrusions. Dolerite is coarser-grained than basalt and after weathering is seen as rounded boulders or "koppie-stone" as it is commonly referred to. Owing to its resistance to weathering it is often a prominent feature of the landscape and was, and still is, much used for durable foundations and for random walling. It is an intractable material for toolworking but some fine examples of dressed "ysterklip" (ironstone) buidings exist in the Orange Free State. The dolerite dikes have also played an important role in the movement of underground water and this in turn had an important effect upon human settlement in an area not plentifully endowed with water.

MAP 1

GEOLOGICAL FEATURES OF THE ORANGE FREE STATE SIMPLIFIED



The Beaufort Series

This series covers a large area in the Orange Free State and in some areas thicknesses of up to 3 000 m are found, and it is rich in fossil reptiles. The series is made up of feldspathic sandstones and mudstones and these are distinguished from the underlying Ecca series by being more colourful and less shaly.

The Ecca Series

The Ecca Series is deposited in beds of up to 1 800 m thickness, the lower portions of which consist of blue-gray shales and dark sandstones. Over-laying these are the Middle-Ecca beds which are often coal-bearing. The uppermost portion of the Ecca-series consists of a sequence of dark shales, and the soils forming the overburden are usually dessicated clays, a very poor founding material due to its expansive nature when wet.

Dwyka Tillite

The tillites of this series occur only in the extreme west of the Orange Free State. They possess a bluish-gray fine-grained matrix containing a variety of pebbles and boulders. The pebbles and the underlying strata often show the typical striations of glacial movement. The material does not appear to have had any architectural significance in the Orange Free State. The area of the Dwyka Tillites lies principally in the area bounded by the confluence of the Vaal and the Orange rivers — the area annexed by Great Britian after the Diamond fields dispute of 1871.

Summary of the Geological Situation

From a building material and a structural point of view it can be said that excellent sandstones were available, particularly where the Stormberg series is evident. Sandstone of a lesser quality could be found in the Beaufort Series and due to dolerite intrusions in many places a hard, all-purpose stone was available for rough building work. The importance of a coarse granular sand, the residue of decomposed sandstone was not fully realised or exploited until cement became available from 1885 onwards.

The Pedology of the O F S (Soils)

Generally speaking,the central plateau of the Orange Free State is overlain by a clayey soil with the expansive properties common to the fine-grained montmorillinites. These are deleterious to stable foundation conditions when soil moisture-content varies seasonally.

Due to the sparsely populated nature of the country in its pioneer days these effects were masked by a number of factors. The cracking of walls on an isolated farmstead was usually ascribed to improper building methods. The search for a suitable building site for any important building was guided by the Biblical injunction not to build on sand but on firm rock. Thus, not infrequently, important church buildings were founded on dolerite intrusions or upon stable sandstone underlays. The search for groundwater often terminated in areas exhibiting dolerite dikes and farmsteads would thus be sited in the vicinity of good subsoil and founding conditions.

The underlying formations had a profound effect on later urban development and the additional expense of founding buildings on piles became very onerous when mining towns like Welkom and Virginia were laid out from 1947 onwards. Odendaalsrus, an existing town, had perforce to undergo development after the discovery of gold but in its original setting it defied all the usual canons and was founded on 13 m of clay, with fairly disastrous results. But of all this nothing was known or understood in the previous century. By trial and error, certain deductions were made but the conclusions were often mirror images of the truth. The typical "Corners down" image of a clay-damaged building prevailed until the early 1950's when prof Jennings of the national Building Research Institute demonstrated that buildings were in fact bodily raised by expanding clay and that corners in fact remained where they were, or moved relatively little.[20]

The availability of sandstone in the Orange Free State had a marked influence on 19th-century architecture. At first, before rail transportation was inaugurated, local sandstones were used and as a rough rule it could be said that the further west the stone was quarried the poorer its quality was likely to be, but this is only a relative concept since even the Bayswater sandstones of Bloemfontein survived reasonably well for 90 years, succumbing only to the ultimate onslaught of air pollution and the accelerated weathering brought on by it.[21]

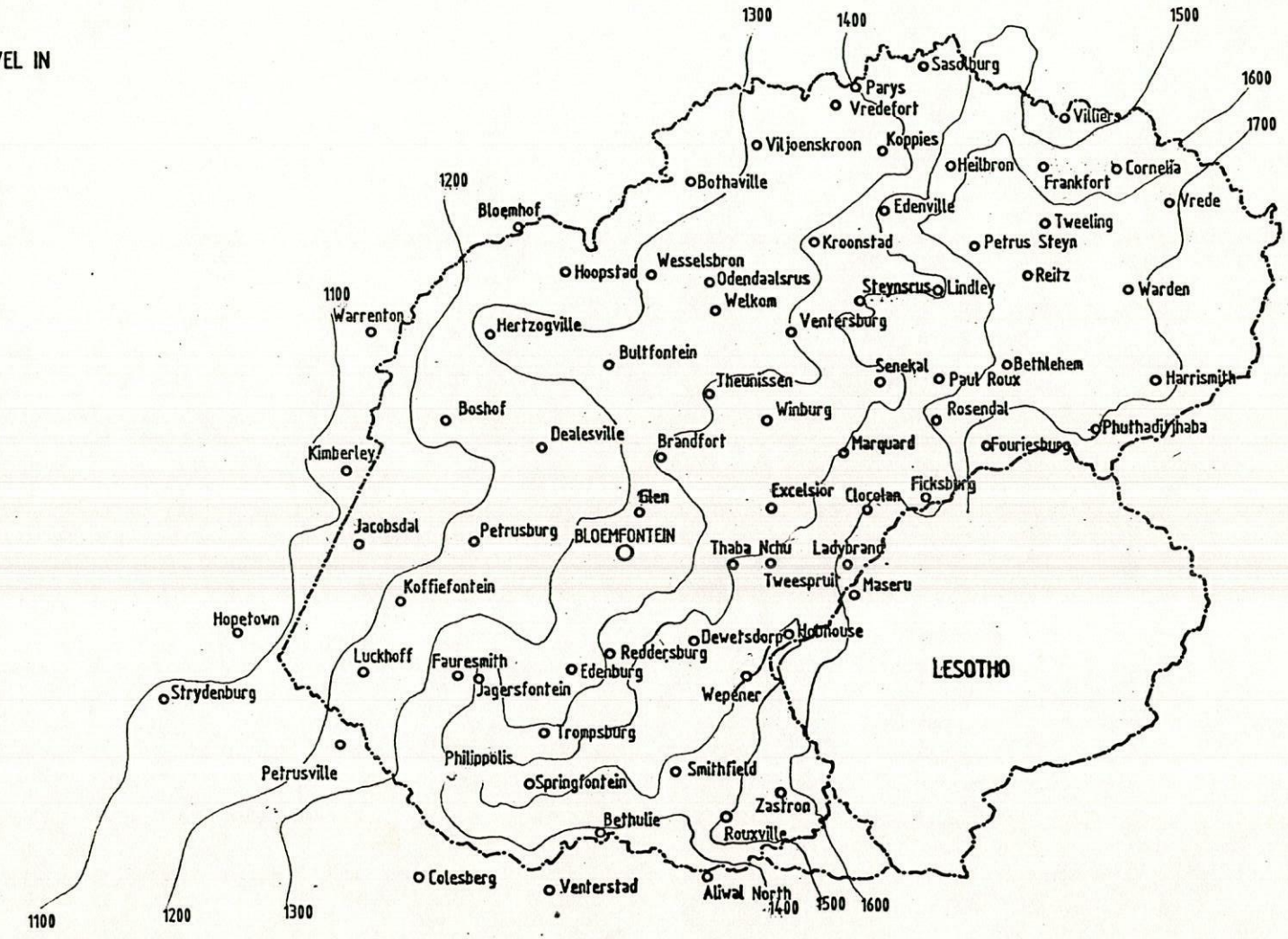
The surface soils and clays of the Orange Free State produced brick-making material of an indifferent kind. Sundried bricks were much used for early building due to the scarcity of coal and wood as firing agents and this circumstance persisted until the end of the century. Brickburning became feasible after 1890 when coal supplies by rail became a regular feature in the interior. A fairly good red brick became available for general use. In Bloemfontein the blue-gray shales of the Ecca series are, even today, powdered, slurried and burnt, the basic end-product being invariably a reddish brick. Further north, in the Odendaalsrus-Welkom area burnt bricks tend to have a more orange hue.

C.2 LANDSCAPE AND TOPOGRAPHY (See Map. No. 2)

In general the topography inclines gradually from the Western Orange Free State up to the Drakensberg mountains in the east. This slope is gradual for the greater part but becomes dramatically spectacular in the immediate vicinity of Lesotho where peaks of up to 3300 m above sea-level occur. In the central and western portion of the country the landscape is characterised by vast plains relieved only by sporadic dolerite outcrops and localised hills rising suddenly from the plains. In the extreme West even these give way to a flat undifferentiated panorama where aeolian soils have gradually filled the original undulations until today the area reveals innumerable shallow pans without any natural outlet to a river. In winter the aspect can be very bleak in the vicinity of brackish or salt-pans. In summer, when occasional good rainfalls occur the aerial view is one of extensive shimmering water surfaces laying amid intensively cultivated farmland. The extended vistas from high ground give an impression of limitless space and when bathed in the powdered sunshine of spring or autumn must have had a strong emotional appeal to pioneer trekkers. Dr Gustav Preller, the historian, gave prominence to the role of the landscape as a factor of enticement to mobile peoples. He quotes Clausz in saying: "this concept of space and distance, governed the soul of the Northern races (in Europe) and a longing for movement within the boundless environment drove him on".[22]

MAP 2

HEIGHT ABOVE SEA-LEVEL IN METRES (SIMPLIFIED)



The surface area of the Orange Free State is bounded by two great rivers ("great" by South African standards), the Orange in the South and the Vaal in the North. They are such pronounced features that they inevitably became demarcators of political boundaries, and they figure largely in all agreements, treaties and disputes.

*C.*3 CLIMATE

Rainfall, orientation and diurnal variations

The rainfall pattern has a marked effect on the natural vegetation and the kind of agricultural pursuits that are viable. The West and the South boundaries are transitional zones where the central grasslands give way to semi-desert scrub and bush suitable for sheep-farming. Rainfall gradually increases towards the East and the North so that sheep farming is superceded by cattle farming and this in turn becomes crop-farming land in the climatically more favourable areas of the North-East. The landscape has been considerably modified by human intervention but enough remains to give an idea of its appearance during the previous century. The most marked difference in our own time being the absence of the game which once inhabited the plains of the Free State in such profusion that every visitor to the area invariably commented upon it.[23]

In the West, rainfall averages about 400 mm per year and generally increases in an easterly direction towards the foothills of the Drakensberg were 700 mm per annum would be the average. Rainfall predominates in the summer months and winter droughts are usually broken by thunderstorms of considerable electrical severity and characterised by sudden sharp downpours. Being a high-level grassland plateau the country is inclined to be hot in summer and cold in winter with frost being very common. Large diurnal variations of temperature are a feature of winter where cold frosty nights are often followed by sunny cloudless skies.[24] (See map no. 3)

The Architectural implications of these climatic parameters are such that buildings would have to be resistant to sudden downpours as well as to slow soaking rains which do occur from time to time. Thick walls would greatly assist in keeping interiors cool in summer and preventing heat losses in winter. However, very small window openings would reduce the effect of solar insolation in winter. Structures of such durability would imply permanence of residence or at least such an intention. The use of flat, reed roofs with clay topping, such as are common in the Karoo (Colesberg, Graaff-Reinet)[25] are not resistant to the effects of high rainfall and the weight of hail. In the Karoo, rainfall would lie in the range of 300-400 mm per year (Beaufort West: 300 mm per year) or less and buildings with such roofs are not likely to survive the intermittent downpours of a 700 mm per annum area. This coincides with observations that such flat roofs are not prevalent much beyond Philippolis, Petrusburg or Philipstown. Although flat roofs were used in the 19th-Century in Cape Town itself, the problems of waterproofing them required a specification of considerable cost and ingenuity. Such flat arose from the need for a more fireproof constuction than the thatch commonly in use, as well as from the need for a wind-resistant finish, tiles being notoriously fragile in the strong winds experienced at the Cape.

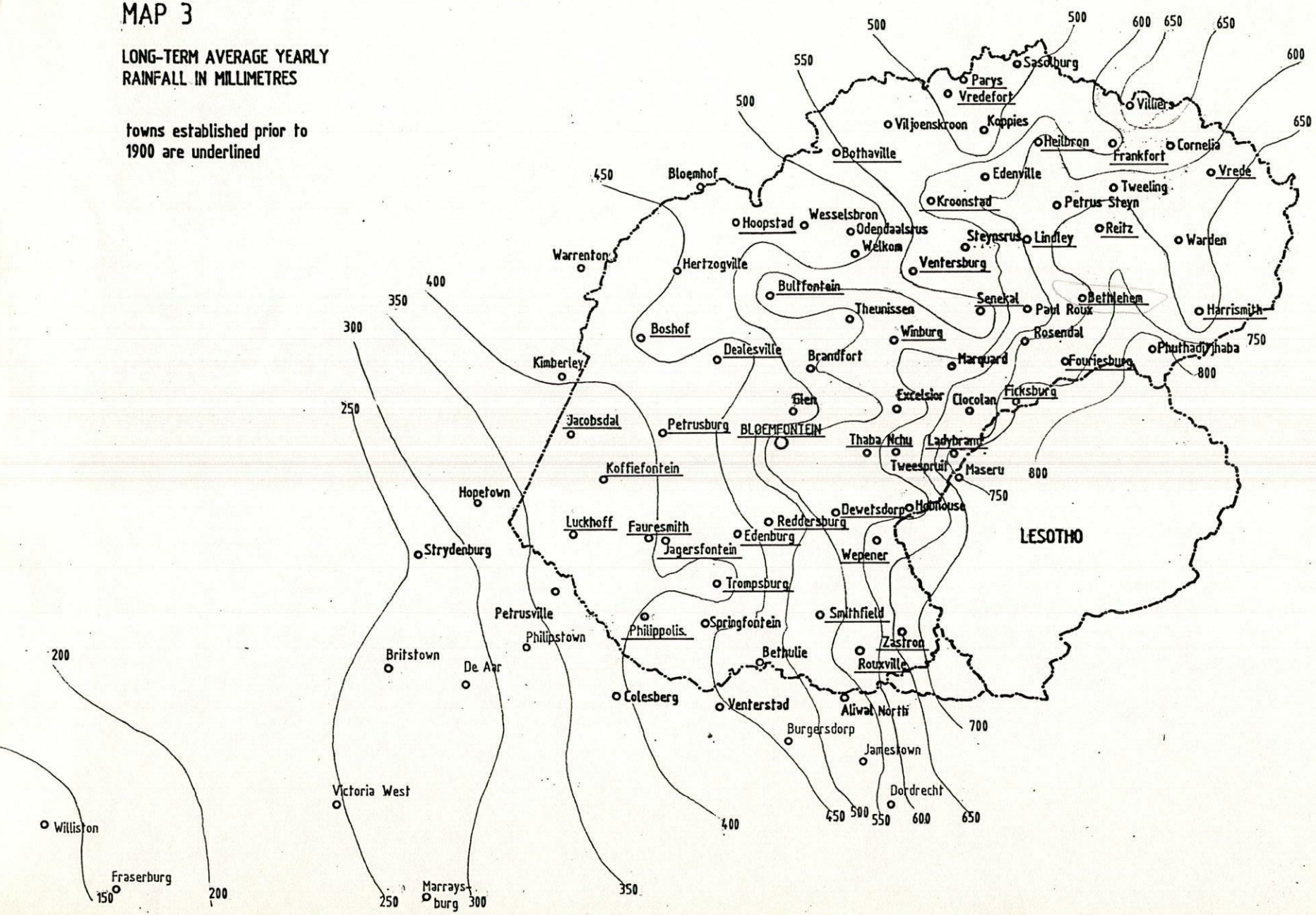
Orientation seems to have played only a minor role in early home building. Aspect often dictated the principal orientation and if any preference can be discerned it was for bedrooms to be east-facing. The importance of day-break in any rural community was thus underscored. This orientation also had the advantage of yielding a cool side for sitting-out in the hot afternoons.

Something of the pragmatic approach persists to the present time where the dwelling of farm labourers are invariably orientated towards the rising sun. Homes thus simultaneously turn their backs on the dry and dusty west winds of autumn and on the driving summer rains which usually have their origin in the South-West.

MAP 3

LONG-TERM AVERAGE YEARLY RAINFALL IN MILLIMETRES

towns established prior to 1900 are underlined



The climate, although subject to extremes of diurnal and seasonal variations, nonetheless permitted of a wide range of agricultural pursuits necessary for the survival of the new immigrants and the Free State built its very first beginnings towards economic independence upon a wool and maize economy, with cattle always being a prized possession amongst both black and white inhabitants. The earliest population dispersions into the area were of a rural and pastoral bent with urban nuclei functioning as trading points and centres for religious activities. Periodic droughts afflict the interior and these are often broken with flash floods of a localised nature like the one of 1904 that did much damage to the urban area of Bloemfontein where it was contiguous to Bloemspruit.

D. ENVIRONMENT AS A DETERMINANT IN BUILDING METHODS

Natural building materials

The use of massive in-situ clay walls formed of box-like chunks of well-kneaded clay, often with dung added, must have seemed a natural way of building to the first home builders, where speed of erection, low-cost, labour-intensive methods had to be used. These walls had an innate stability which was a prerequisite from the point of view of security in a hostile environment. In the absence of well-developed stone masonry skills in the 1830's the process of building material selection would as like as not favour dolerite (or rough sandstone) for the foundations, massive banded clay walls placed in layers of 300 - 450 mm thickness (on the vertical face) and often 600 mm thick on the horizontal bed. To obtain an even face the use of a box-like form or mould seems to have been mandatory, as the clay tiers give the impression of in-situ formation. An old "wa-kis" (wagon chest) would fit the bill exactly.[27] As a protection against rain the clay wall would be plastered in mud with cow dung or antheap-soil being added for greater durability. The roof would be a thatched one made from local thatch and the windows would be small for security reasons and climatic control. The bridging across openings with heavy (but scarce) timber was a further limiting factor.

Concurrently with the pitched, thatched roof which was still common in towns like Graaff-Reinet and Colesberg towards the middle of the previous century the flat-roofed Karoo dwelling with its reed base and clayey finishing layer became the most popular alternative. In the dry Karoo the low rainfall did not pose a threat to the flat clay roofs without binding material, other than natural lime or ant-hill materials. The scarcity of thatching material in dry areas would be a further stimulus to alternatives not requiring this material.

In urban settings the thatched roof presented an ever-present fire hazard and in pursuance of the flat-roofed buildings of the mother city the gradual preponderance of flat "brakdakke" behind a raised parapet wall became the indigenous common denominator during the period 1830 - 1850, gradually supplanting the pitched thatch roof.

It was natural that any home-building beyond the Orange River would reflect this duality of what was culturally acceptable, particularly for the more modest dwelling whether urban or rural. One significant factor however was different from the prevailing Karoo climate once a home-builder ventured into the interior. The yearly rainfall figures showed a rapid increase from west to east and the structural suitability of the clay-topped roof decreased in direct proportion to the increase in rainfall. The penetration of the "brakdak" across the Orange River was fairly extensive in the drier areas like Boshoff, Philippolis and Fauresmith but even here the history of this type of roof was a litany of chronic leaks. The casual thunderstorm did not seem to harm the clay surface as much as a soft soaking rain lasting two or three days which would tend to saturate the covering material, allowing water to seep through. Towns in the north of Cape Province like Petrusburg and Philipstown even today reveal vestigal remains of the flat roof, although these towns date from a period when corrugated-iron was generally available.

The climatic determinant however, at rainfall levels of 500 mm or more, such as prevails at Bloemfontein, precluded the wide-spread use of the flat clay roof. The Thomas Bains painting of Bloemfontein, dated 1851, indicates a total preponderance of pitched thatch roofs and possibly one of a pitched corrugated-iron roof. [28] Wherever the flat roof was used deeper into the Orange Free State its useful life was extended by the timely arrival of the universal roofing material, corrugated-iron. The conversion permitted the stylistic form to be projected into future variations of the flat roof and gave rise to a significant genre of building.

This material with its advantageous area-to-weight ratio was available in Southern Africa rather earlier is commonly supposed. E. Rosenthal has shown that corrugated-iron was probably used as early as 1847 in Port Elizabeth and certainly in early 1849 in Pietermaritzburg. A book published in 1850 describes "uncouth buildings of corrugated-iron" in a description of the Natal scene.[29]

The arrival and general distribution of this universal material from the early 1850's onwards presented certain options to home-owners. If they lived in arid areas the new material could be ignored for a time. If they lived in areas of 500 mm or more of yearly rainfall they could make an early transition to a flat corrugated-iron roof and if they lived under thatch they could change to a pitched roof in corrugated-iron.

The preference for the flat metal roof option laid over the clay had certain practical advantages. The overlay of corrugated-iron could be readily achieved while the clay roof remained intact as a temperature shield.

In a way the choice paved the way for a whole generation of subsequent buildings. The flat-roofed, corrugated-iron building became the successor to the flat clay roof while the pitched roof in corrugated-iron proved a natural forerunner of the British influence advancing from the Eastern Cape, the *heimat* of the 1820 settlers. As a cultural remainder the flat roofed building showed only sporadic traces in the urban setting of the interior. In rural areas it became gradually modified by the addition of verandahs - the great gift of corrugated-iron — to become the precursor of the *Stoepkamer* house and ultimately the Victorianised home of the late 19th-Century

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The interior plateau lying beyond the Orange River was during the first half of the 19th-Century a remote grassland teeming with wildlife but only sporadically inhabited by nomadic indigenous peoples who were rarely at peace with each other and certainly unprepared for the ingress of European migrants in the form of a massive incursion of *de novo* settlers whose quest for freedom and independence brought them into conflict with the similar desires of peoples residing in the interior.

As a result of attrition by the Nguni peoples of Natal and the Limpopo area the decimated remnants of dozens of tribes regrouped themselvs in two localities in some semblance of order, having only barely escaped the effects of a near total genocide. These areas were the rim of the Kalahari and the foothills of the Drakensberg.

The oldest cultural survivors, the San, were gradually ousted from their century-old haunts and left a rich legacy of rock paintings but no permanent architecture. The durability of their rock paintings was in marked contrast to their ephemeral domestic structures.

The other peoples of black or mixed descent perpetuated the architecture most suited to their needs. The Griquas' domestic building ranged from basic huts made of matted reeds to completely westernised homes bearing the stamp of the Cape Peninsula from whence many of them came,bringing with them the trappings of a westernised culture including a language which was basically Dutch with a leavening of other words which were the unconscious prototypes of a new languange in-the-making namely Afrikaans.

When whites ranged into this interior, first as hunters or pastoralists and later as fully fledged immigrants they were only marginally influenced by indigenous building types, preferring to move firstly into the *hartebeeshuis* which owed much to the inherent skills of those blacks and coloureds who came with them from the Cape or were employed by them in the new hinterland.

Whatever building was done was decisively influenced by climate and the nature of the natural building materials which came to hand i.e. grass, reeds, mud, clay and stone. In the drier western parts of the *Transgariep* the flatroofed building covered in reeds and alkaline clays were a natural extension of the Karoo-type home. Further to the east the higher rainfall predicated a pitched roof despite the considerable difficulties in obtaining timber suitable for trusses.

Climatic extremes of heat and cold lent urgency to the provision of shelter and the structural precepts of the first artisan-missionaries paved the way for the more substantial modes of building to follow from mid-century onwards.

The expiring legacy of the Cape Dutch heritage met at this time the British influence in its ascendency. This potent factor was not only carried into the hinterland by itinerant tradesmen but sustained by an extended chain of supply which, however tenuous, stretched all the way to the capitals of Europe and ensured a flow of goods and ideas into a cultural vacuum which absorbed all rapidly and readily as if in a race with time.

CHAPTER 1
DISPUTED ADVENT 1800 - 1854

INTRODUCTION

The first chapter deals with the period antecedent to the establishment of the Republic and delineates the historical and cultural matrix underlying the architectural endeavours of the indigenous peoples as well as those of the first missionaries and white migrants into the hinterland. To adequately comprehend this significant phase a synoptic view of the socio-political situation is given. This is followed by an analysis of indigenous building work and those of the first white settlers in the Orange Free State. This work was primarily of a domestic nature wholly conditioned by local climate and natural materials. The first cultural conflicts are identified and the significant role of climatic factors is demonstrated.

The pioneer buildings of commerce and industry are discussed in Section 1.2 of the Chapter and the difficulties of transportation and infrastructure are compared to the results achieved despite the discouraging difficulties created by a vast hinterland remote from British and Continental sources of supply.

In Section 1.3 the very significant role of the early Continental Missionaries and the local Dutch Reformed Church are examined as well as the scholastic establishments which flowed from their paternal care. The histories of the first *Nederduitse Gereformeerde gemeentes* are discussed in some detail to show their catalysing effect in urban formation.

Section 1.4 is dedicated to an examination of the unsteady beginnings of Local Government under the control of the *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk*. Local Government bodies were often dominated by people of British origin with a leavening of Continental entrepreneurs but, despite their best endeavours, they were invariably hamstrung by paucity of income, and characterised by ineffectual actions.

Section 1.5 highlights the modest but important role pla ed by the British Sovereignty in creating the first buildings necessary for government, defence and education.

THE HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL MATRIX OF TRANSGARIEP ARCHITECTURE. 1800 - 1854

The Significance of the Great Trek

A century and a half of Dutch control over the Cape of Good Hope came to an end in 1806 when British forces permanently occupied the Cape and assumed control over a land mass of such vastness, such diversities of peoples and in such a period of global sociological turmoil that successive British governors reacted to the complexity of the situation with uncertainty. On the one hand they were confronted by a majority of Dutch-speaking white inhabitants who had, over five generations, evolved a pattern of interracial relationships, forms of government and religious institutions which had a durability and a direction of their own. On the other hand European religious and philanthropic movements, which had gained great momentum throughout the world in the first half of the nineteenth century, exerted pressures on British Governments to recast the patterns of racial relationships, to unmake the systems of domestic service, to extend British law and to make the process of anglicisation mandatory.

The emergence of an identifiable Afrikaner consciousness as a forerunner to a fully fledged Afrikaner Nationalism was accelerated by these policies and culminated in the Great Trek, a mass movement of like-minded people which was directly responsible for the birth of the subsequent republics in Southern Africa. Over a period of four years, 1836 - 1840, about two thousand families left the Cape permanently, determined to create a way of life compatible with their own value systems. The extent of the migration appears to have surprised the Cape and British Governments and their reactions were less ones of regret and disappointment then those of embarrassment and outrage! The deliberate move to evade the *Pax Brittanica* had all the trappings of base ingratitude. To imply that life under British rule was unbearable seemed insulting to those that had to administer it.[1]

Although many English-speaking people who had arrived with the 1820 Settler movement, and had shared the hardships of frontier life with the departing Afrikaner, regretted their going as a destabilising factor, the vehemence of the abuse hurled after the departing trekkers seems strangely overdrawn to a later generation. To compensate for the feeling of impotence engendered by this movement away from British rule, the jurisdiction of Cape courts was extended to the area north of the Orange River as a symbolic gesture.[2] At the suggestion of the representatives of the London Missionary Society the Griquas along the Orange River had placed themselves under the protection of the British Government and in the early stages of the Great Trek this area was bypassed.[3]

The whites who found themselves in the Trans-gariep could be divided into two groups. The earlier migrants were pastoralists who saw opportunities for furthering their economic interests in the interior but never contemplated a break of the firm ties of family, property and church which bound them to the Cape. They were temporary sojourners who were not interested in divesting themselves of their cultural ties or the sovereignty of the British Government. This remained true even after their sojourn became almost a permanent absence, and they requested British protection for their persons and property in their capacity as British subjects.[4]

British influence beyond the Orange river

Although the republics of Pietermaritzburg, Winburg and Potchefstroom were *de facto* functioning political systems, they were never recognised by British Governments and Natal was in fact annexed in 1843. A British presence was established in the Orange Free State in 1846. This token occupation was

opposed by the majority of the inhabitants but after the battle of *Boomplaats* the area between the Orange and the Vaal Rivers was declared a British Sovereignty, and Major Warden was installed at Bloemfontein in 1848. The British foothold was, however, so tenuous that the independence of the Transvaal was recognised by Britain in January 1852 in terms of the Sand River Convention.

British control over the Orange Free State lingered on from 1848 until 1854 when the costs of controlling the vast hinterland and the spectre of successive defeats of British forces at the hands of Moshesh's warriors convinced the Colonial Government that it would be well rid of its responsibility. In 1853 Governor Cathcart was instructed to arrange for the independence of the Trans-Oranje area. This move was strongly opposed by the English-speaking section of the community which had increased considerably during the period of the sovereignty.[5] Even Afrikaans-speaking churches did not accept this abandonment without protest. The protests were not upheld and on 23 February 1854 Special Commissioner Sir George Clerk carried out his Government's desire for divestment of power. At the Bloemfontein Convention the Orange Free State became a belated and almost unexpected reality.[6]

1.1. THE PIONEER HOME-BUILDERS OF THE TRANSGARIEP

Early indigenous architecture

Early attempts at providing shelter in the rather severe climatic conditions of the cold interior had certain common identifiable factors, the first of which points to the urgency for the provision for such shelter when moving into a hostile climatic environment and the second reveals the exclusive use of local materials provided by nature in the immediate environment. The remoteness and relative inaccessibility of the interior meant that both the indigenous peoples as well as the migratory whites from the Cape would have to find in nature all that was necessary for adaption to build shelter and be instructed both by usage and by need.

What we know of the earliest indigenous structures had come to us in fairly detailed descriptions of the Transgariep and its peoples, made by the early travellers and missionaries to the interior. These early descriptions of indigenous homes are fortuitous and may be ascribed to their novelty to the European mind, and proof of the traveller's itinerary and descriptive powers.[7] Whenever these same travellers saw structures more European in character their descriptions became embarrassingly vague from the architectural historian's point of view. This phenomenon is unusual enough to be deserving of comment as it reveals an attitude towards building by even the more enlightened traveller which must be chastening to architects generally. The early history of the Free State abounds with detailed descriptions of game hunts, including the type of antelope, their numbers, the disposition of the hunters, the size of the cartridge, the type of rifle, the direction of the wind and may include a description on how to make "beltong" (sic) but as to the nature of the house in which the author slept it seems hardly worth mentioning. The general attitude towards buildings appears to be their acceptance as necessary and useful adjuncts to the larger business of living and descriptions we have of early settlement in the Orange Free State are centred around the human activity which they suggest. It then transpires that although buildings may be essential to human survival, even to any fruitful co-operative social effort, these things were, as if by common consent not much spoken of, or if they were discussed, was not the kind of information that merited recording. The letters of missionaries concern themselves with endeavours toward monogamy and the elimination of circumcision rites amongst the indigenous peoples, whilst their considerable, almost super-human efforts to get buildings erected, often receive only passing reference.[8] There are a number of important exceptions and to these we are greatly indebted. The most valuable of these are the descriptions of Campbell[9] made during 1812 - 1814 and Backhouse's journey to the interior in 1839 during which he took due cognisance of what people built as an important function of their cultural development.[10]

The Architecture and artifacts of the San, Khoi and Griqua peoples

What these early travellers and missionaries found was an interior peopled by a mixture of races who lived often in enmity, but just as often inter-married and became resigned to the ongoing quest for survival. The San or Bushmen were for milleniums an ubiquitous, nomadic people, devoid of any sense of organised agriculture or animal husbandry. They lived by hunting and their peregrinations brought them into conflict with other inhabitants who had moved into this area from 1800 onwards. The most important amongst the latter were the Khoi or Hottentots, who were more robust, intelligent and in possession of the elements of a pastoral existence. Since they were dependent on rainfall and springs for their survival their living habits were also those of a nomadic people. The third group which was to be found in the vicinity of the Orange River was that of the Griquas, [11] a people of mixed descent with a strong leavening of European blood which did not better qualify them to go on living in the Cape Province but seemed rather to estrange them from the sources of their parentage. Nonetheless, any feeling of consanguinity amongst the Griquas did not so much arise from their predominant and common African heritage but rather from the awareness of European blood, even where this was only marginally present in successive generations. [12] Some evidence of the cultural effects of this genetic situation is apparent in the type of building work undertaken by the Griquas as later examples will demonstrate. The lingua-franca amongst the Griquas was Dutch and the metamorphosed version of it — Afrikaans. A fair percentage could read and write which enhanced the possibility for the mobility of ideas from the established civilisation of the Cape toward the inhospitable interior. They had the rudiments of Christian upbringing and were not averse to the acceptance in their midst of English missionaries. Although they regarded themselves as culturally superior to the Khoi and San peoples, they did not refrain from intermarriage. They traded extensively with Cape Town and other closer trading nodes and possessed firearms which were often used in acts of repression or brigandage. [13] Quite a few acquired building skills in the Cape which they transferred to the interior where their destiny seemed to lie. These capabilities enabled them to build towns of considerable size such as Philippolis in a style and manner which was in marked contrast tot the building work of the indigenous peoples. When Campbell visited Klaarwater in 1813 he speaks of services attended by 300 persons and a community cultivating vegetables from a system of irrigation from a nearby fountain. He even refers to a smithy who attempted simple metalworking tasks. [14] As to the nature of the buildings extant at that time, reference must be made to the engravings which were part of the original text of both Campbell's narrative as well as the later one of 1839 by Backhouse. In the 1813 engraving the view of Griquatown shows a missionary settlement consisting of three rectangular buildings with thatched roofs, a walled enclosure serving as a cattle pen and lying beyond it, a series of hemispherical huts of the Griqua people. [15] Campbell gives the numbers of Griquas residing in Griquatown as 1266 to which must be added 1341 Korannas. The Christian congregation consisted of 26 men and 16 women. 210 Children attended the mission school. For transportation the inhabitants could boast 24 wagons. [16]

As far as the trades were concerned there were "bambus-makers" (cane workers), makers of wood-vessels for holding milk or water. Wagon-repairing was undertaken and one man, Fortuyn, living at Hardcastle could construct a wagon. They also constructed buildings which showed evidence of a fair knowledge of masonry and building work generally. [17]

But most prominently, the universal building materials were mats made of thin rushes which were woven together with great dexterity - a skill which still persists in the lower reaches of the Orange River. These formed covering panels over hemispherical ribbed cages made of saplings bent into shape. These structures were evolved for ease of erection and rapid dismantling to suit an intinerant people and one of the first tasks the missionaries set themselves was to convert the Griquas from a restless roving people to the life of a settled community, characterised by permanent buildings, vegetable gardens and pastures. Only in this way could the necessary order and stability arise for continuous Christian activity. It must not be assumed,

however, that the Griquas only exhibited traits of European culture subsequent to the coming of the missionaries. As early as 1801, the missionary William Anderson, found the Griquas eager to form a congregation under his protection as they desired to partake again of the Christian Sacraments denied to them since their departure from the Western Cape.[18]

In the Philippolis region there resided in the early part of the 19th-Century the last remnants of a significant San Settlement which had been a feature of that part of the world for more than 3000 years.

Philippolis, as a mission station was thus primarily intended for them. The San inhabitants who collected here were mainly redirected there from the area south of the Orange by Andries Stockenstrom. Dr Philip encouraged other San settlements to move to Philippolis and a further reinforcement came from the resettlement of Bastard-hottentots from Bethelsdorp in the Eastern Province. The contiguity of the San and the Griqua proved too volatile for any Christian endeavours and ultimately they were once more moved further east to the Caledon river. Those who tarried were systematically exterminated by the Griquas.[19]

The Legoyas of the Iron age

For the sake of completeness mention must be made of other settlements in the Free State area which predate the arrival of the *Voortrekkers* namely the stone-building Legoya and the black remnants of the Difaquane. The Legoya have left us with extensive stoneworks mostly in the form of beehive-shaped dwellings made from carefully stacked stone to achieve conical, self-supporting structures used for a variety of purposes but all being of very modest size.

The stone builders are a phenomenon of iron age settlements which must have existed for a few centuries before the coming of whites to the interior. Fairly detailed descriptions of such organised settlements are given by Arbousset the French missionary who came to Moshesh's Country as early as 1836.[20]
These descriptions of the communal organisation seem strangely mechanical and regimented when compared with the free flowing forms which remain today.[21]

The Legoya must have been successful in animal husbandry and a pastoral existence to have survived in the interior for so long and their preference for stone buildings, reminiscent of the Zimbabwe ruins, indicates a natural proclivity for this doleritic material, despite the abundance of suitable clays. Special skills were exhibited not only in the techniques of stone placement but also in the arrangement of groups of buildings with articulated usage. In his descriptions of the Legoya Arbousset describes them as being demoralised by plunderers and lacking cohesion as a group, so that whatever independence they may have enjoyed as an iron age people became dissapated in the melting pot of nations that occurred west of the Drakensberg in the first part of the previous century. The numerous stone remains became the quarries for a later generation of builders whose time had come.[22]

The Tswanas and the Sothos

The other black tribes that survived the Difaquane, cannibalism, drought and disease settled in a dispersed fashion on the eastern and western rims of the present-day Orange Free State. Those that lived in the shadow of the Drakensberg looked to Moshesh for leadership and protection whilst those to the west, on the edge of the dry desert areas became a cultural entity known as the Bechuanas (Botswana). The amalgam of building methods which arose out of this cultural symbiosis devolved into variations of the circular hut crowned with a conical thatch roof and depending on the availability of materials, such as colour variation of local clays and thatching techniques, decorative styles developed. The stone-building skills of the Legoya had evaporated under the stresses of European occupation of the hinterland and the obvious advantages of the more adaptable and commodius round clay hut which in its mutated form is still with us in game parks and holiday resorts where they simply became *rondawels.*

The building work of the black nations in its structural essence was repetitive folklore made visible and much of the internal and external arrangements of the parts had (and still have) symbolical meanings. It is in the rich decoration of the external clay walls that the skill of the decorator and the desire to be identifiably different has revealed itself. In the more nomadic phase of home building the earliest prototypes resemble beehives with saplings grouped in a circular fashion with hoops of lighter boughs decreasing in diameter until the beehive shape is terminated in a small conical top. The whole is then plastered or partially plastered on a matrix of interwoven material. The upper portion would be thatched. In the more advanced home, related to the more settled circumstances, the external mural decorations were a special feature. The decorative art performed by a female artist skilled in this type of work was called the *mokgabisi* and the decorative patterns were inscribed in a wet clay plaster which could be a mixture of clay and dung in which case it was called *seretse*. Immediately adjacent to the house is an open stoep called the *lelape* and this in turn is enclosed by a low wall which is called the *seotlwane*. The interior reveals a permanent clay table called the *mahaolwane* which has a quasi-religious significance related to the worship of ancestors. The "sanctification" of the home is completed by the witchdoctor (Ngaka) who sprinkles the magic medicine or *moriane* to protect the future inmates.[23]

The decorative patterns range in their simplest form from chevron and linear patterns, through floral motives to complicated geometric constructions in rich colours. Whilst these were originally only seen in a few earth colours, including white clays, the coming of "civilisation" to the interior meant that synthetic paints could be used and chromeplated components from motor vehicles would add the finishing touches to the elaborate and gaudy elevations. This over-emphasis of colour and form may have unwittingly received an impetus from curious tourists who pay to see the corrupted creations of a once truly indigenous art form. As a remnant of a highly specialised decorative discipline it none-the-less illustrates the vestigial remains of an indigenous artform of the peoples once inhabiting this area.

THE ROLE OF THE FIRST MISSIONARIES BEYOND THE ORANGE RIVER.

The era of the Missionary Societies of Europe

The resurgance of evangelism in Europe following in the wake of the industrial revolution meant that the expansion of European dominance in Africa and Asia had as a corollary the desire to export the gospel to peoples whose existence had become revealed by commercial enterprise. The concept of slavery became ever more abhorrent and the desire to relieve heathen peoples of the worst consequences of superstition, cannibalism, internecine strife and illiteracy, was genuine enough to mobilise considerable financial and religious resources in the capital cities of Europe.

In London, Paris and Berlin a concerted effort was mounted to give expression to this universal feeling of empathy with the disadvantaged, and between 1800 and 1850 this was reflected in an ever increasing number of mission stations in South Africa, including a number beyond the Orange River. The best known of these were the mission stations founded along the Orange River by the London missionary Society described in the previous section; and the French mission stations which saw as their spiritual hinterland the peoples of Moshesh grouped around Thaba'Bosiu.

The early missionaries all had a common problem. Before they could preach to a congregation they had to create one. In view of the nomodic nature of the inhabitants this was no easy matter. The presence of certain clearly defined sources of water helped towards defining areas that were suitable both for habitation and evangelization. Around these watered places the first attempts were directed at establishing permanent communities. Rarely was water so abundant that the two intentions could coincide. At Philippolis, in 1834, the population remained spread out over the countryside living in large extended family groupings.

Many of the Griquas still lived in the traditional beehive huts of the Khoisan, made of wickerwork frames covered with reed matting, and with hides in winter. Although these reed huts would serve as a useful windbreak and sunshade in the drier areas lying to the West, the beehive hut was not resistant to thunderstorms and an adaption to building types introduced by the furthest emigants of the black races began to emerge. This would entail the use of pliable poles as a framework with thinner interleaving branches, the whole finished in clay plaster and weatherproofed with a thatched roof. Interestingly the cylindrical clay hut with a conical thatched roof is described by Backhouse in his publication of 1839.[24]

Large sized timbers were a rarity in the Orange Free State and usually entailed extensive journeys to the upper reaches of the Orange River or to the Kat River in the Eastern Cape.[25]

Backhouse describes the willows of the Gariep (Orange) River, the *Salex Gariepiana,* as extending along the banks for upwards of a thousand miles.[26]This may be some exaggeration but indicates the widespread distribution of this tree. As a building material it was of doubtful value as the branches of the tree are usually contorted with few long lengths for straight roofing timbers.

Early buildings in Colesberg and Philippolis

There was a steady flow of traffic from Colesberg to Philippolis, a flow considerably amplified by emigrants. The first report of a guest house comes from the description of a cottage about an hour-and-half by horse-wagon from the Orange River. This was erected "expressly for the accommodation of travellers and strangers".[27]

The Colesberg of 1839 is described by Backhouse as follows

> The town consists of three irregular streets of brick houses, a large proportion of which are stores, or general shops, supplying goods wholesale and retail. The trade with the interior, and with Boors in the surrounding district, is considerable.[28]

Of Philippolis he says that it consisted in June 1839 of a single street containing cottages, a chapel and a number of mat huts. The huts were

> formed of a few arched sticks into the ground, so as to form a hemispherical framework; over these, mats were spread, leaving a small entrance, which, when occasion required, was also closed with a mat. The mats were formed of rushes, strung side by side, so that they neither excluded light nor air. When rain came on, it beat into the huts, but the rushes soon swelled so as to exclude the wet. Persons accustomed to these habitations, complained of the closeness of houses. Mat huts are easily packed, either on oxen or in wagons, the sticks being tied in bundles, and the mats rolled together.[29]
>
> Houses of a more substantial kind are too costly for many of the Griquas, the timber needful in building them, having to be brought from the woods between Klip Plaat and the Kat River, distant about 200 miles. Timber was worth from 5d. to 7½d. per foot at Philippolis.[30]

Backhouse indicates that Philippolis contained sixty mat huts and a stone chapel which was built in the Dutch style;

> it stood at the head of the town, near a stony hillock. The house of the Missionary, which was a very simple, thatched one, and only divided to the height of the walls, was of brick and had a few trees behind it. The rest of the houses were of mud, and many of them so neglected as to be half unroofed.[31]

At this stage (1839) Adam Kok lived in a small thatched cottage, built of clay, but "far superior to the mat huts of the generality of people".[32]

In addition to the influence of Cape Dutch style which was manifesting itself at Philippolis, Backhouse describes the buildings at Beersheba as representing all stages of development. Those of the coloured peoples were progressively improving and

> the round or ovalshaped, those composed of mats, and those which were circular and had upright plastered sides and thatched roofs, were giving way to what were called in this country, Hartebeest houses.[33]

Backhouse is an early entrant into the dispute of the origin of the name *Hartebeesthuis.* He favours the explanation which points to an

> imaginary similarity in their figure to the outline of the species of buffalo, called in South Africa, the Hartebeest.[34]

The hartebeest house was described as built of reeds, plastered with mud; they are in the form of roofs, but the lower part of their sides tending toward the perpendicular. Ventilation was achieved by leaving holes in the roof to let out smoke.[35]

The possibility of erecting fairly large chapels is clear from Backhouse's description of the one at Imperani which could seat 500 persons squatting on the floor.[36]

In the higher reaches of the Drakensberg foothills cold weather posed problems of its own and at Morija a chapel with a fire in the centre is described. Unfortunately the fire was extinquished by a gust of snow.[37]

In 1839 two Europeans were building a stone house for Moshesh. As payment for this work they were to receive forty oxen and it was in "European style". Unfortunately no engraving was made of this.[38]

The Wesleyan Mission Stations

At the Plaatberg Missionary Station of the Wesleyans there was a community of *Bastaards,* i.e a people with a proportion of European blood. It is interesting to note that their homes consisted chiefly of hartebeest houses and that a few had better cottages. Two or three of them had houses built in European style. This would imply a gable-ended building with a thatched roof, two windows on the front facade and a central doorway. Although one house had a chimney and fireplace Backhouse remarks that

> the fire, according to the common custom of the coloured natives, was made in the midst of the floor. In consequence of this practice, both the houses and the people are far from cleanly.[39]

At the time the *Voortrekkers* moved northwards in 1836, Thaba'Nchu was a natural point of call. The Barolongs who lived here were well disposed to the emigrants and Backhouse's description of the large black settlement at Thaba'Nchu gives an impression of considerable extent

> The houses of the Barolongs are circular with erect mud walls and thatched roofs; they are enclosed with circular fences. The children often slept separately in little conical buildings resembling ovens. There are fourteen villages in the vicinity of Thaba'Nchu — a total community of 12 000.[40]

The Chapel serving the mission station was built of *raw* brick and plastered. It was T-shaped, the top and the shaft being each eighty feet long and thirty feet wide. It could at a pinch accommodate 1 000 persons.[41]

Backhouse describes houses at Griquatown being built with raw brick and plastered with clay and cowdung. As a reason for deficient, burnt bricks he postulates that lime enters into the composition of the clay, and that the bricks would not "stand when burnt" the raw brick evidently being more durable. Presumably the formation of unslaked lime in the burning process would account for the deleterious effect when bricks are wetted, causing subsequent disintegration of the brick.[42]

The most northerly reach of Backhouse's epic journey took him to Kuruman. He describes the missionaries homes as being of a "rural farm-house style".The more permanent buildings were built of hard, dove-coloured limestone and had thatched roofs. The scarcity of building timbers is often commented upon and timbers for building work in Kuruman were fetched in the neighbourhood of Mosega some 320 km distant.[43]

The French Missionaries

The French influence on early building work in South Africa goes back a long way. The French Missionary Rolland reported in 1830 having been shown the remains of a building in Franschoek which was erected by the French Hugenot refugees in 1694 using the local red clays.

The endeavours of the French Missionaries to bring the gospel to the people of Moshesh is a saga of its own and names like Casalis, Lemue, Daumas, Rolland, Arbousset, Gosselin and Pellissier are engraved on the pages of the early history of the Transgariep. They preceded the Voortrekkers by a full five years and until their activities were curtailed by decisions of the *Volksraad* they shared all the vicissitudes pertaining to pioneer life in the interior. They took up positions in the South East of the later Orange Free State and became not only confidants of the Basuto but pioneer builders of considerable energy.

In their wisdom the Paris Missionary Society saw to it that their representatives would include builders and when Pellissier's home was built in the present-day Bethulie area in 1835 it was no temporary abode but a substantial building with walls 900 mm thick at the base. Such durable methods ensured the survival of the structure to the present time. It serves today as a museum to commemorate the thoroughness of these pioneer missionaries who overcame great hardships and personal tragedies to serve their calling.[44] [1]

The French Missionaries were not only instructed spiritually but their preparation for work in Africa included outfits for shoe-making, rifles, barometers, cookery books and manuals on land-surveying. Casalis and Arbousset served apprenticeships as Blacksmiths and Carpenters while Gosselin took a course in pottery.[45]

The first mission station was established at Morija, a place being selected for the buildings by Moshesh himself. The second station was at Bethulie where Pellissier had came from Bechuanaland in 1833.

The third station was established by Samuel Rolland at Beersheba (Zevenfontein) in 1835. All three these stations were regarded by Moshesh as lying within his territory or at least within his jurisdiction.

Even in the early 1830's Rolland could claim that he was experienced in the making and burning of good bricks which enabled him to erect with ease walls of all shapes and sizes. At Mothito (Bechuanaland) he built a brick home of 8,4 x 3,6 m.

When speed of erection was essential to Rolland's purposes he adopted other means. At Beersheba he built a commodious church using heavy poles driven into the ground at 1,5 m intervals, the intervening space being filled on the wattle-and-daub principle. A heavy cross-member laid horizontally over the top of the poles created a stable seating for the roof trusses supporting a thatched roof.[46]

For his own house, built in 1835, Rolland used brick and stone and instructed his protegés in the use of carpentry tools. Timbers were square-edged, presumably trimmed with adzes while thatch was fastened with raw-hide thongs. [10]

In 1841 the French Missionary-architect Maeder undertook major buildings works at Beersheba including the erection of no less than 50 brick homes for black followers resident in the vicinity of the Mission station, all the while sending back sketches of the station to the Mother institution in France. [9]

By 1843 the Paris Mission Society accepted responsibility for five Stations in Basutoland proper, a semi-independent station at Beersheba and a seventh completely outside Basutoland at Bethulie.[47] Rolland's church at Beersheba prospered and in 1843 there were 200 full members and 300 scholars attending schools. The Missionaries in their reports to Paris stated that civilization was progressing. The round native huts were already being superceded by square cottages, in fact a model community.[48] [11]
The missionaries held the conviction that the acceptance of the square or rectangular house, in preference to the circular hut, was a signal that the civilizing effect of the gospel was powerful enough to perform a mutation in building forms which was the outward manifestation of an inward change.

A similar attitude is revealed in the present-day Natal where the Zulus have deprecated the use of the traditional round hut and have indicted the universal preference for a house with four corners, in the process coining a new word which sounds like Zulu i.e. *fokona* which is a corruption of "four corners". Any suggestion by whites that the black peoples should build traditionally is regarded as an attempt to retard the process of political and ethnic emancipation into a westernised world, and black and white nostalgia for the past are not identical.

At the French Mission Stations satisfactory progress was maintained and by 1847 there was, apart from 463 church members, a flourishing school and a printing press under Ludorf's management which had at that time already printed extracts from the translated scriptures. Every Sunday congregations of 900 - 1000 crowded around the missionary at Bersheeba. The church building, though large, was too small to hold all who wished to attend. This was in marked contrast to the situation closer to Moshesh's heartland. Here converts were slow in coming and easily slipped back into apostasy.

In1847 a decision was made to establish a theological training school at a place called *Carmel* lying between *Beersheba* and *Bethulie.* [13] [14]

The unsettled political climate and deteriotating relations between the Free State and Moshesh, following upon the attainment of the Free State's independence in 1854 and unresolved border disputes, led inevitably to war.

On the 23rd March 1858 the Boers surrounded *Beersheba* — set huts on fire and bodily removed the population. Rolland was interned at nearby Smithfield. The church building and houses occupied by the missionary's family were spared. For the rest, it meant the demolition of 23 years work.[49] [10]

By the 28 April 1858 the Free State Commandos had arrived at *Morija* station in Moshesh's heartland. Fearing for his own safety Arbousset fled to the mountains but his house was burnt down, his library removed and his furniture sold by public auction.[50]

The vast temple that had only just been inaugurated in January 1858 was spared but the doors were battered down and the pulpit desecrated. The Maeder family (Arbousset's assistant) was not disturbed and descendants of the Maeder family became ultimately a force in the Dutch Reformed Church of a few decades later.

The resultant decline of the activities of the Mission Stations was aggravated by a sense of despondency amongst the missionaries and by a sense of alienation which had arisen between the Basutos and the French missionaries who were regarded as a disrupting element in tribal traditions. The second war of attrition which occurred in 1868 led ultimately to the inclusion of large parts of Moshesh's territory into the Free State which rendered a number of stations subject to Free State authority. Even the Bethulie station which had allocated to it about 10 000 morgen by the *Volksraad,* ceased to exist as early as 1862. The station itself had become a Free State town.

The ultimate blow to the functioning of the French Mission Stations falling within the new enlarged Free State was the prohibition placed on French Mission Stations by the *Volksraad* in March 1866.[51] The animosity was not so much directed toward the spiritual work but was inspired by the belief that the missionaries were instrumental in political activities inimical to the safety of the fledgling republic. Although the Boer farmers had for more than four decades felt the sharp edge of conflict with the Black peoples their resentment resided in their belief that the missionaries were engaged in sharpening this edge at home and blunting the efficacy of the Free State's case overseas.

The accounts of the development of the various French Mission Stations in or around the territory which Moshesh regarded as being his domain are largely dominated by matters of spiritual progress or the lack of it, combined with the political exigencies of the time. Consequently building work is referred to only in passing even when the stations had increased to eleven. This attitude of ecclesiastics to the process of building seems to be a common denominator between various religious persuasions. The expenditure of energy, means and materials to build a church of substantial size cannot hope to compete with the detailed descriptions of the political ramifications between Moshesh and his sons and their respective vassals. These buildings, casually ignored in the retelling, represent,however,a major investment of European skill, faith and endeavour in a hostile climate.

The initial reluctance of the Dutch Reformed Church in the Free State to participate in mission work must to a large extent have been the hangover from the French connection but subsequently the Afrikaner's mission effort was so extensive that it dwarfed the efforts of the French pioneer mission-builders and the unifying effects of the Christian faith obliterated all traces of earlier animosity, the descendants of the French missionaries ultimately becoming prominent in the affairs of the Dutch Reformed Church itself, and a second wave of mission churches followed in the wake of the establishment of the various Dutch Reformed Churches in the eastern Free State.

If the diplomatic offensive emanating from French Mission Stations during the middle of the previous century was ineffective in averting the inevitable it would have been a consolation to these French pioneers to have known the extent of the civilizing influence that their endeavours had exerted on later generations, both black and white.

The German Missionaries

The German Missionaries had their own roll of honour as pioneers in the interior and their activities were almost exactly co-existent with that of the French Missionaries. Arriving only slightly later than the emissaries of the other Mission Societies their choice of a working area was of necessity circumscribed by the fact that the more obvious localities were already occupied by others.

The German pioneers, Wuras, the Langes, Döhne, Radloff, Zerwick, Gebel, Ortlepp, Kraut, Schmidt and Gregorowski decided that the Korannas would be the object of their missionary work and in consequence they set up a first station at Bethany. The Korannas were not as amenable to the gospel as the Bechuana or the Sotho. Not only were they less energetic but also more prone to a nomadic and unsettled existence. The Teutonic temperament was perhaps less tolerant than the Gallic and the Koranna Mission ultimately foundered for lack of adherents who were rapidly diminished by intertribal attrition, disease and nomadism. The name of Wuras and his assistants at Bethany stand out as examples of tenacity, endurance, enterprise and religious faith. The buildings erected by them at Bethany are still extant and the early engraving of this station which occurs in Backhouse's Narrative is very informative from an architectural point of view. [12]

Some of the later generations of these German pioneers played important roles as doctors, geologists, ministers of religion and land surveyors. It is perhaps to be regretted that German thoroughness did not have the same opportunities for building as were later evidenced in South West Africa. None the less, a present generation has before it the original church built at Bethany by C Wuras and his assistants. It was a brick building, 18 m long x 6 m wide. This building subsequently became the transept of a later enlargement. The roof was supported by two struts and was inaugurated on 11 May 1845. In addition a number of dwellings were built at the station as well as a hospice for needy children.

The original church of 1845 was enlarged in 1869 to the plans of the architect-builder Richard Wocke who was at that time also building the new *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* at Philippolis.[198]

Unlike the French missionaries which had their activities curtailed by an act of the *Volksraad* the German station at Bethany survived into this century by dint of accommodating itself to ever changing congregations after the dis-integration of the Koranna ethnic group. The second World-war and diminished interest in mission work in war-torn Germany caued a grave setback in the fortunes of the station. The Group Areas Act caused the inhabitants of the area to be moved elsewhere in 1963 and one and a half centuries of missionary endeavour came to a sad ending.[199]

PIONEER HOME-BUILDING BY WHITE MIGRANTS IN THE TRANSGARIEP

The early dwellings of European Settlers

Although Gordon had travelled to the Orange River as early as 1777 the period before 1800 is shrouded in twilight as far as white movements across the Great River is concerned. Hunting parties and traders must have told of the bountiful conditions in the *terra incognita* and cattle farmers trying to overcome drought conditions in the Karoo sporadically sought refuge for their cattle in this area. Conditions proved so favourable that the desire to return to the Cape declined to the point where temporary visists extended into permanent residence. One of the earliest documented settlements of an immigrant who became an emigrant was that of Andries Venter who in 1820 settled on a farm he called *Hexriviersberg,* lying between the present-day towns of Smithfield and Reddersburg.[52]

It is not difficult to place the nostalgic memories of the farmer in the naming of his farm. Remnants of the first building have survived. These were of the typical homogenized clay in bands of approx 450 mm thickness. Both buildings were used as dwellings but one is called the "church house" since it served that purpose for residents in this pioneer community. This building was 10,5 m long and 4,5 m wide with clay walls approx 0,5 m thick. Slate footings were provided as a waterproof levelling base for the subsequent layers of clay. The clay was bonded with straw and cow-dung, the mixture being kneaded to a heavy plastic material by subjecting it to cattle hooves over a seven day period. The layers were placed and allowed to dry before the subsequent course was added.

From a purely structural point of view this system poses a number of interesting problems as seen from 160 years later. Principal amongst these is the validity of the intuitive assumption that some kind of formwork was necessary for the placement of a material like well kneaded clay, since no matter how stiffly kneaded a 300 mm layer of clay would tend to settle bulbously on the base line. Such formwork was in fact used by 1820 Settlers in the building of cob-houses but Burchell in his *Travels I* has an entry dated 14 April 1811 which indicates that heavy clay walls were in fact built in layers without formwork at all. He says:

> No kind of mould or form is used in this process; but the earth is merely laid on with a spade, and, when half dry, the sides are pared smooth. When one layer is perfectly dry, but not sooner, another layer is laid on; and thus from time to time repeating the operation the wall may be carried up to the height of a second storey.[53]

In the period 1820-1850 there was a gradual upgrading in home-building methods the most important being the use of random rubble as a type of coarse aggregate set in the clay mass. This considerably improved weathering properties and it was inevitable that the aggregate should become the substance and that walling would be built almost entirely of rubble and finished with a heavy clay plaster coat. Always the lateral dimensions of the building were determined by the possibility of obtaining suitable rooftimbers and of keeping the load of thatch to acceptable levels.

The choice of roofing methods

The almost consistent use of the pitched thatch roof despite the difficulties in obtaining suitable timbers indicates that the alternative of a flat roof must have been deliberately avoided for climatic reasons. The simpler solution of laying poles across the walls, covering them with thatch or needs and then with clay must have been an obvious alternative. Not only would this have obviated problems of thrust on the walls, but a flat, claycovered roof seems less of a fire hazard, an important consideration in the strife-torn pioneer days. The saving of thatch and the avoidance of ridge sealing problems must also have been apparent. As far as farm dwellings of any substance were concerned they had pitched roofs and gabled ends. The same constructional methods were employed by missionaries working in the interior even prior to the coming of the *Voortrekkers.*

The survival of the flat roof deep in the interior of the hinterland must therefore be sought in considerations of custom and economy rather than climatic suitability. On the other hand it was projection of a satisfactory Karroo solution with as yet unproven qualities in higher rainfall areas. It was easy to erect and used the minimum of materials. It seemed a natural way to build if your cultural lineage was linked to the Western Cape and Karoo. In the urban context it also furnished a solution to fire hazards as side walls and parapets protected neighbouring buildings and there was no unprotected reeding or thatching material which could ignite. The treatment of the street facade would become important and a decorative cornice mould was universally adopted at about the level where the roofing timbers entered the external wall. the detail and sensitivity of this moulded cornice seems to deteriorate the further north it is found until it becomes merely a crudely fashioned excrescence of badly-formed plaster.

As a weatherproof roofing material in higher rainfall areas it must have been highly unsatisfactory and in areas with a high probability of hail the consequences must have been alarming. This must have been particularly true in those areas where reeds were unobtainable and thatch was the only substitute. The availability of materials like tar and lime provided temporary palliatives. It is certain that the period between 1850 and 1870 when corrugated iron became generally available must have been a trying one for every home-builder, and the emergence of the new universal sheeting material usually meant the earliest possible substitution for local materials with the products of Birmingham.

Apart from the obvious choice of the South-east Free State, land was also occupied in the Fauresmith district in the South-west as early as 1820 and it must be assumed that such transactions were concluded between the Griquas and the new immigrants as the Griquas were nominally the land-owners of this ill-defined area. As the sojourners from the Cape began to recognise each other's right to particular stretches of the hinterland they felt free to build more permanent homes, which were very basic structures intended for emergency accommodation only.

Pioneer farmsteads of the Southern Free State

A statement made by Jan Johannes Botes indicates that he arrived in the Transgariep as early as 1830. He headed a small trek of 14 or 15 families from the Nieuwveld area. They settled in a place called *Zevenfontein* (later Beersheba). The first attempts at establishing a permanent agricultural settlement dates from December 1830 as seed crops were sown at that time. For the shelter of the families a number of *hartebeest* huts were built.[54]

The immigration of peoples to the better grazing conditions of the Free State were bound to the climatic conditions of the North Cape and in 1826 conditions were so favourable that few felt the need to make the trip. The year 1827 however was particularly disastrous owing to the depredations of locust and springbok. It is also on record that the years 1834 - 1838 were climatically unfavourable and this in turn must have been a further stimulus to the exodus of the Great Trek.[55]

Other pioneer farms and their present-day districts were *Klipplaatsdrift* (Rouxville) and *Dansters Nek* (Zastron). If the desire of the pioneer settler was to remain close to the Cape and close to good grazing they would naturally gravitate to the South-East corner of the Orange Free State. In the central and the Western parts the grazing would be suitable for sheep rather than cattle, up to a line near the present-day Bloemfontein where cattle farming again becomes feasible. This meant that cattle farmers would tend to move deeper into the Orange Free State in the earlier stages or would tend to give preference to the Eastern Free State with its higher rainfall. The area near the Caledon river, in particular, was sought after but this area Moshesh regarded as his territory. Early settlement in this area suffered because of a conflict of interests. At *Verliesfontein* (Zastron-district) a farmhouse built of stone was burnt down as well as a watermill.

Environmental factors also influenced the materials used. Futher east the preference was for stone and pitched, thatched roofs, while the interior clay walling was common. The earliest flat clay roofs in the tradition of Colesberg and Graaff-Reinet were not durable and the search for wood in the treeless savanna must have been frustrating.

The A-frame house (Kapstylhuis)

The erection of a dwelling house consequent upon white settlement went through a series of stages which commenced with the wagon and a tent being the only shelter. This was usually followed by an A-frame type of structure which was in fact a "roof standing on the ground". The timber A-frame was thatched on all surfaces with usually a door or window opening at the narrow ends. As a farm building it has survived to this day, principally in the form of tobacco drying sheds. This phase was followed by the *hardbieshuisie* which was slightly more commodious in that its walls were near-vertical up to door height whereafter the supporting poles would curve inwards to form a convex surface. The lower part of the wall would usually be plastered with clay and cow-dung and the walls may have a few small openings with hinged shutterboards for protection against the weather.

Door openings were similarly constructed and were usually placed in the centre of one of the long sides. The A-frame and the *hartebeeshuis* are not essentially local solutions to a local problem, rather were they universal solutions practised wherever thatching grass was readily available. They were used in the Western Cape and still occur in the lowveld in the Transvaal. Their prototypes were known in Europe and do not represent a uniquely South African building system. In much the same way the thatched structures of the Khoi and San peoples represented the essence of environmental adaptation handed down over generations. They were the end products of a system of shelter dictated by human needs and available materials. They were in fact more artifacts than architecture and represented almost final answers to a finite problem — a problem as yet uncomplicated by the pressures of numbers or the diversification of cultural requirements. As systems they had an ancient lineage but as far as their survival is concerned they were gradually bastardised through a series of transformations brought about by hessien, corrugated iron and lately plastic. The more metamorphosed they became the less acceptable they were environmentally until they became the blighted urban squatter communities of the twentieth century.

The transition to something more westernised in character and in keeping with the examples of the Cape Province was inevitable and the fact that some Griquas and Korannas were in fact living in rectangular stone cottages must have spurred the early pioneers toward more permanent home building. By the middle of 1840's the large influx of settlers was beginning to make its influence felt and the A-frame, *hartebeeshuis* interlude, if it was adopted at all must have been fairly brief. The retention of existing structures after the erection of a larger more durable one is fairly common so that examples of early dwellings survived into the twentieth century but only in their capacity as ancillary buildings. The process of decay in thatched buildings is fairly rapid and not much energy was directed towards restoration or maintenance.

The first home building subsequent to the Great Trek

The rapid dispersion of thousands of families into an interior characterised by a hostile climate accelerated the efforts towards building a first permanent home. These first homes were almost universally built with three rooms in tandem with the kitchen placed in a separate structure away from the house. Entry into the building was through a door into the central room. In the earliest stages of building the two bedrooms on either side of the livingroom were simply divided with suspended curtains or sheets.

The homes built on the farm *Hoffmans Rust* are of interest not only due to their associations with President Hoffman but owing to the fact that in 1983 it exhibits the full gamut of home building over a span of 140 years. The original clay dwelling has survived and is being restored. A second home was built c. 1895 with a pronounced Victorian flavour but has been abandoned by the present owner in favour of a prefabricated home because of the "lack of amenities" in the older house. [184]

The earliest surviving house at *Hoffmansrust* is an interesting example of early home building in the period immediately after the Great Trek. Hoffman was also a builder as well as a farmer and is reputed to have done building work for Moshesh with whom he was on friendly terms. Since the farm was a gift from Moshesh for services rendered it must be assumed that Hoffman was active in this area prior to that date.

The house shows a peculiar use of natural materials inasmuch as the walls are composed not only of the usual homogenous clay in striations but also show the use of lumps of anthill material used as a coarse aggregate set in a clay binder. Weathering of the walls has revealed these lumps with antholes penetrating them. The cohesive force of the binding material secreted by ants (krilium) must at least partially explain the durability of so lowly a material. This early example of "aerated concrete" must have influenced the interior climate of the house beneficially. The use of materials in this fashion also speeded up the building process as the elaborate prekneading of ordinary clay and cow-dung would be unnecessary. Such a use of material would pre-suppose the use of formwork equal to the height of one of the bands of clay. If this was the case, it is possible to visualise the building process: First a layer of dolerite as a foundation to meet the biblical injunction to build on stone, secondly the setting up of rough formwork into which plums of anthill material are thrown to be cemented together with a liquid grout made from the same material, pulverised and mixed with water. Finally the whole would be finished with a clay plaster and a thatched roof put over. There are suggestions in the clay profile that the building had at one stage a shallow monopitched roof which it could have had from the early fifties onward if corrugated iron was used. It is unlikely that a clay and reed roof would have survived long in this area, but it is conceivable that as an interim measure from 1843 to 1854 it was so roofed. [illegible]

Other examples of pioneer farm dwellings worthy of mention are the early stone houses in the Kroonstad and Winburg districts. At Kroonstad there is an interesting survival at *Bossiespruit* of an all sandstone dwelling with an apparently low pitched roofline. At *Rietfontein* the birth place of Pres M T Steyn was recently restored to an approximation of its appearance in about 1850. Again stone is the predominant material but in this instance used randomly, while the low pitched roof suggests an early transition to corrugated iron. At *Boschpoort* in the Kroonstad district there is an interesting example of a three-roomed house with sandstone and dolerite walls up to cill height with brick walling above that. If these bricks were part of the original building this must be an early example of its use in the interior (c. 1842).[56]

The exact dating of early farm houses is complicated by the circumstance that the available information is usually by word of mouth, handed down by successive owners and generations. Other secondary factors which hamper dating are subsequent alterations and overlapping stylistic and structural properties. Bearing these limitations in mind the following examples may be included in the earliest group of farm houses which preceded urban settlement in the Orange Free State:

Klipplaatsdrift (Rouxville district)

Only remnants of the original farmhouse now remain and this house is regarded as the oldest in the Orange Free State, it having been built by Veldkornet Gustavus Wilhelmus Fouché who moved to this area in 1835 at the age of 28.[57] Other contenders for the distinction of being the oldest house across the Orange River are the Archbell house at Thaba'Nchu and the Pellissier house at Bethulie (see section 1.3). These latter two missionary houses have the further distinction that they have survived.

Bloemfontein (Bloemfontein)

Although claims for permanent occupation at the so-called Bloemfontein (Fountain of Flowers) can be verified for R M and J N Brits as far back as 1822 on this historic farm there was only a thatched A-frame type of dwelling *(Kapstylhuis)* when it was purchased by Major Warden in 1846 so that it could hardly be termed as a permanent residence. It is difficult to imagine any family living under such conditions for 20 years or more. [58]

Hexriviersberg (Reddersburg)

Although this is probably the oldest permanent settlement of any significance beyond the Orange River (1820) little is known about the first buildings on the farm. The clay walls still vaguely discernible probably relate to a period around the middle thirties of the previous century. War with Basutos destroyed most of the pioneer homes totally.[59]

Verliesfontein (Zastron)

This farm was occupied by Jan Hendrik de Winnaar in 1838 and lived there peacably until 1850. This house is described by him as being built in brick complete with outbuildings and watermill with a large orchard and vineyard. This farm was in an area where Poshuli claimed right of ownership and after numerous threats De Winnaar was obliged to leave the farm in 1855 when it was destroyed, along with the outbuildings, water-driven mill and orchards. He claimed £450 compensation from the *Volksraad.*[60]

Knechtskloof

This house in a remote valley of the Koesberg was inhabited before 1850 and was also destroyed in the Poshuli episode. What is interesting is that this house was built of brick, indicating that this material was known to the pioneers and used by them.[61]

Doornkloof (Bethlehem)

This farm was occupied and developed by the trekkerleader Charl Cilliers after the annexation of Natal and is interesting inasmuch as it shows building development over a few decades (c.1842 onwards).

Hoffmansrust (Wepener)

This house dates from 1843 and was seriously dilapidated before being restored in 1983. For a more detailed description, see previous text. (p.30)

Dansters Nek

This house was occupied by Veldkornet Hendrik Weber in 1848 and subsequently by Johannes Botha until 1855 when he was driven out as a result of the Poshuli war. The walls were of stone laid in mud mortar. The dimensions were 10,6m x 4,5m. Walls were built to door head height and two small windows were provided under yellow-wood lintols.[62]

Middelvlei (Bethlehem)

The earliest building on this farm was erected in 1848 and had clay walls enclosing a space approx 3m x 6m. Only the external walls up to 2m were still extant in 1977. The owner of the later house was one of the founders of Bethlehem, F P Naude. Bethlehem dates from 1864. A sandstone inscription indicates that FPN (F P Naude) moved into the house in February 1854.

Leeukop (Smithfield)

The birthplace of Gen C R de Wet dates back to 1848. The house was built of sandstone and had a slate damp-proof coursing. The 450 mm walls were of roughly-hewn sandstone. The roof was thatched and floors of clay and cow-dung.

Rietfontein (Winburg)

The birthhouse of Pres Steyn dates back to about 1848 and is a typical example of the three-roomed, all-stone house common to this period.

Bossiespruit* or *Bosjespruit (Kroonstad)

This early example of dressed stonework with a monopitched roof has miraculously survived but now falls within a military area.

Harmonie (Virginia)

This substantially built house dates back to 1850 and was obviously intended to safeguard the family (Erasmus) from outside attacks. The walls are 750 mm thick. The house was seriously damaged by fire during the Anglo-Boer War and survived two direct hits from British cannon.

The Stables (Lindley)

This farmstead probaby dates back to 1850.

Lagerskraal (Theunissen)

This very early farmhouse has been ascribed to 1849 or 1850.

The universal and basic nature of early dwellings.

In retrospect the early rural farm dwellings erected by emigrant farmers from the Cape show a great diversity of materials but an almost formalised three-roomed tandem plan. The earliest attempts at more permanent home building beyond the *hartebeeshuis* have their roots in other than the indigenous methods found in the interior by the new arrivals. These intermediate thatch and pole stages where important transition periods which must have owed much to the example and skill of the local inhabitants. The urge was for more comfort, space and durability and to achieve this the inventiveness and initiative of the homebuilder were decisive.He could choose the quick and cheap method and build with clay or he could make an early start on a random stone building or even, in a few cases of rough-hewn stone. All these types were co-existent and in a few rare examples included sundried brick as a material. The accessibility of stone, thatch, poles and clay had to be individually assessed and applied. Three rooms would be the universal norm and a man's financial standing was measured by the size of his cattle or sheep herds and not by the size of his house. Any undue ostentation was likely to draw unwanted attention from marauders if not from the peers and relations of the pioneer builder. The outdoor exigencies occasioned by 3000 ha of land, lions, jackal, not to mention territorial disputes with Moshesh, were in any event of such a demanding a character that the basic home, once built, had to serve for at least 20 or 30 years before it could be substantially upgraded. The addition: of rooms occurred from time to time but the use of earlier ancillary buildings by other members of the family must have been a real necessity as large families were the rule rather than the exception. The generation gap, a latter-day term, had a different significance in the rural setting, each generation built its own house, either to replace an older one or on an inherited farm. Thus any one farm could be expected to show three generation cycles of building over the 60 years from 1838 - 1898.

Most of the rural areas which have been permanently settled show this pattern of an early clay house (1838 - 1858); followed by a house of rough-hewn stone or random rubble (1858 - 1878); followed by the final well-built house, usually of dressed stone or brick and containing generous accommodation in the Victorian manner (1878 - 1898), the last phase showing accellerated development particularly after 1886,subsequent to the discovery of gold, whilst the preceding phase benefitted from the discovery of diamonds. Such divisions are, however, only approximations which assist in the dating of rural buildings. The phases are sometimes incorporated in each other and occasionally exist side by side with differing roles being assigned to the earlier buildings.

When the British Sovereignty was proclaimed in 1848 it can be assumed that 80% of the people residing in the Free State lived in a three-roomed house built of consolidated clay or of undressed stone. As for roofing,a brief experimental phase with reeds and clay was followed by thatch on a pitched roof and then, as soon as possible after 1860, corrugated iron. When the Republic was proclaimed in 1854,corrugated iron was virtually unknown in the interior except possibly for a few commercial buildings, particularly where the owner of the business supplied building materials. The availability of corrugated iron did not imply its immediate universal distribution. Transportation costs made it a relatively expensive material and the universal conversion to its use passed through the monopitch phase as it incorporated the single span roofing timbers. Black housing in rural areas still exhibits this phase, the only difference being the use of stone as a holding down material in lieu of screws which are expensive and create permanent holes which render the sheets less adaptable and interchangeable.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The process of settlement and home-building in the area beyond the Orange River is seen to have four separate phases which are at times unrelated and at times co-existent and inter-related. Their general chronological sequence could be defined in four categories i.e. archetypal building by indigenous peoples; the period of the Missionaries; the period of pioneer emigrant farming settlements and lastly the period of rapid dispersion of whites into the interior following upon the Great Trek and the acquisition of independence in 1854.

These phases are characterised by the fruits of conflicting cultures. The prototypes of the indigenous population such as the hemispherical domes used by the San and Griqua were not used as points of reference either by the Missionaries or the Voortrekkers. Nor were the cone-and-cylinder forms of the black peoples regarded as prototypes. The preference for rectangular shapes under pitched thatch or under flat *brakdakke* characterised European buildings.

This preference was also reflected in a few Griqua buildings in those cases where the owners were influenced by European cultural inputs via the Cape Province.

The fate of the roof structure seems to have been one principally determined by climatic factors. In the higher rainfall areas pitched thatch roofs were more or less mandatory and where flat clay roofs were adopted against the dictates of climate they appear to have been mercifully rescued by the timeous appearance of the universal building material i.e. corrugated iron which was available from 1850 onwards.

Despite the slender palette provided by nature the variations produced by man with the limited means at his disposal showed infinite combinations of basic materials including the reeded half dome, the *hartbeeshuis,* the *kapstylhuis,* the clay house under thatch, the clay house under reeds and clay, the stone and mud combination and even the use of ant-hill lumps as a type of coarse aggregate. The inhospitable climate gave an urgency to all building endeavours.

1.2 THE NATURE OF THE PIONEER ENTREPRENEURIAL FUNCTION

Early Commerce and Transportation

The extensive settlement of pioneer farmers in the Orange Free State hinterland after 1836 was now at such a distance from the main centres of maritime import and warehousing that it became lucrative for entrepreneurs to provide intermediate sources of supply. In the first phase the itinerant *smous* travelled by wagon to the interior and returned, as soon as his wares were sold, to the nearest point of replenishment, usually Colesberg, Graaff-Reinet or Grahamstown. In the expansive phase of the new settlement the stock-in-trade covered a wide range of requirements as the early advertisements of Graaff-Reinet's newspapers indicate.[63]

Firms like Mosenthals (1842) brought world trade to Graaff-Reinet and to the hinterland, via a series of branches at places like Aliwal North and Hopetown. The Mosenthals brought out German-Jewish relatives from the Duchy of Hesse-Cassel and many of these became leaders in local community affairs. Isaac Baumann, who settled at Graaff-Reinet in 1837 moved to Bloemfontein where he was twice elected Mayor. The European immigrants who flocked to Graaff-Reinet from 1850 onwards exhibited true entrepreneurial spirit, identified themselves with local circumstances and gave the benefit of their special skills as tradesman. After the Great Trek the price of land reached a low ebb of about 10c (9d) per morgen but by 1850 it was worth R2-00 (£1-00).[64] The basis for the future wealth of the Northern Cape and the Orange Free State was also laid down at Graaff-Reinet with the importation of Merino-sheep. Soon wool was the principal foundation of an economic revival and expansion.

The availability of building materials offered for auction at the Graaff-Reinet Market indicates that for the year 1856 more than 1000m of stinkwood planking was sold and more than seven tons of tallow, some of which must have been used for waterproofing limewash. Eight tons of thatching straw was sold, a remarkably small quantity. Yellow-wood beams were available and of yellow-wood planks an astonishing 11 400 m were offered by merchants at fixed prices.[65]

Although corrugated iron was first produced in Europe in the 1820's its export to South Africa seems to have commenced only in the 1850's and then only for those that could afford the expense. It was natural for firms dealing in building materials to be the first users of such an important innovation. The general distribution of corrugated iron to the interior could hardly have been earlier than 1855-1860 but the climatic conditions of the interior made the substitution of corrugated iron in lieu of thatch one of necessity. The early examples of flat roofs in the interior are often associated with pioneer commercial concerns. The value of goods stored or the safety of persons and property accelerated the change from conventional flat reed-and-clay constructions to corrugated iron. The earlier versions survived until about 1900 but "renovations" had finally caught up with the typical urban residence of the Karoo-town of the nineteenth century.

Although corrugated iron is a much maligned material its contribution to the development of nineteenth century South Africa, particularly after the discovery of diamonds and gold, deserves a worthier ode. Owing to its weight/area ratios, it was the ideal material for ox-wagon haulage. A large area could be enclosed with the sheets on a single wagon-load and as a surrogate for heavy clay or stone materials it was absolutely indispensible as the early photographs of Kimberley, Johannesburg and Bloemfontein reveal. Its ultimate perversion as a shack-material for low-cost housing tarnished its life-saving reputation.

The Metamorphosis of the Shop

The need for enclosing large interior spaces prior to the general availability of corrugated iron must have posed considerable problems for the urban entrepreneur. Once the span of a roof truss went beyond about 4m, any attempt to build large trussed roofs for thatching would have presented technical problems and fire hazards of the first order. A flat roof supported on intermediate walls or poles would represent the only feasible alternative. As far as the facade treatment of commercial premises is concerned the Georgian taste for simple treatment of walling with large sliding sashes and a concealed roof played a role in the pre-Victorian era in creating plain, unprotected shopping facades. This was not a satisfactory climatic transplantation from Europe since it ignored the high solar radiation of the highveld and the gusty nature of summer dust and rainstorms. This deficiency was ameliorated by the later addition of the verandah under corrugated iron supported by timber and later by cast iron. If we assume, as is reasonable, that merchants would have been the first to use corrugated iron in the 1850's the reluctance to use it for protection of the facade must have been prompted in the early stages at least by stylistic considerations as much as by questions of first cost. The availability of larger sheets of glass would indicate that a measure of overhead protection in "hail-country" was a sound precaution. The protection of windows with shutters was an interim measure against theft and the climate. The *winkelstoep* came soon to be the clear demarcation line between foot and vehicular traffic and the raised level of the verandah ensured a safe place to stand, talk and browse in addition to its functional use as trading platform for bales of wool and bags of maize. Manure and mud had the same effect on a prospective customer as high prices. In the transitional stage between the flat reeded roof and the corrugated iron roof and even for that matter from the pitched thatch roof to any other alternative the preference was for a flat corrugated iron roof rather than for a pitched one. The cost and availability of timber must have had a profound influence on this decision.

An early photograph of Bloemfontein dated 1864 clearly shows the transitional phase. A whole street of thatch-roofed buildings dominates one half of the photograph and on the other, early examples of flat-roofed buildings are visible, the most prominent of which is probably Dr Krause's chemist shop. Also featured is another flat-roofed house which appears to have had its original walls built up to form a new parapet to conceal a flat roof. If it originally had a thatched roof, such building-up would be necessary in the conversion.[66] The first shops of firms like Baumann's and Fichardts in Bloemfontein might have gone through similar conversion stages. Of the two, Baumann's seems to have been most uncompromisingly Georgian in its outlook, and therefor probably a *de novo* creation. The Georgian era had come to an end in Britain by 1830 but its elements seemed indestructable and held their fascination unabated. Whether the large sliding sash window set sympathetically in the blank facade, read together with a moulded cornice would have been regarded as Georgian on the highveld in the late 1850's is doubtful. It is more probable that tradesmen, conversant with the elements of the Georgian in their cities of origin, re-adapted them to a simplified shadow of the real thing — something distantly remembered and revitalised by the illustrations in the merchant's catalogue. The moulded cornice adorning the facade above window level seems to become more uncertain as it travelled northward, sometimes slipping down to eye-brow level above windows and then again perching heavily and unsteadily at the parapet top. It had a durability beyond expectation and the most forlorn houses wore it under twenty coats of limewash like a beneficiary of reduced circumstances proudly sporting a dead benefactor's gold watch over his threadbare waistcoat. This slight, sometimes wavy line of plaster signified a cultural connection, however tenuous, with Europe and delineated clearly to contemporary eyes that this was a town house and not some unsignificant structure intended for non-Europeans. Even the Griquas held onto this life-line of plaster as proof of cultural elevation but never in a self-conscious way. For the early merchant's emporium then, such a "finish" was proof of a substantial link in the long supply chain of building components as well as the umbilical cord to a set of values which appeared to English merchants to gain lustre by added distance, and to the German shopowner the nostalgia for Mecklenburg was kept alive by German newspapers.[67] Respectability was not a negotiable commodity in Victorian times.

Commerce in the pre-republican era was essentially geared to mobility and the absence of settled communities made it essential for the entrepreneur to take his wares to his customers rather than the reverse order we have come to accept. The two-way trade with the interior was an offshoot of the hunter-trader's business who would leave places like Grahamstown with truck beloved by the Blacks in the interior and return laden with valuable hides, ivory and furs.

The hunter-trader was followed by the *smous* who attended to the earliest wants of the migrant farmers supplying almost every domestic need from clothing to gunpowder. The nature of the transactions was often marred by the gullibility of the purchasers and the absence of any guide to fair trade practices, but the *smous* obviated tedious journeys to towns in the Cape Province and this proved to be a boon to farmers reluctant to leave their families and flocks.

The volume of trade generated by the thousands of families in the hinterland after 1838 was too extensive to be handled by the occasional *smous* and when the sovereignty was proclaimed in 1848 a large number of entrepreneurs had already moved into the interior to exploit the *Pax Brittanica* and the prodigious manufacturing capacities of Britain and the Continent. To the commercially inclined the Free State was a *tabula rasa* waiting for profits to be chalked up and in the space of a few years every nodal point of significance had a firmly established business, fully equipped to provide an extensive range of goods which in its diversity and volume belied the problems of transportation from Europe to the Cape and thence by ox-wagon from coastal depots.

The long haul

The sheer physical volume of the haulage required to achieve this cornucopia of supplies staggers the imagination. Stinkwood ox-wagons hauled by 16 oxen-spans trekked through an area innocent of roads and bridges, in all possible weathers, with wild animals waiting for the lion's share. No wonder goods were expensive by the time they landed in the interior. Catering for this vast armada of *transportryers* became in itself a business and ponts for a dry crossing of the Orange River were not long in coming and competition was keen.

The more enterprising realised that profits could be made from the steady traffic on the road between Colesberg and Philippolis even before Bloemfontein was established. A cottage was erected about 1½ hours by horse-wagon from the Orange River "expressly for the accommodation of travellers and strangers".[68]

Although the hospitality in the interior was always generous those living near the main streams of traffic either withdrew their hospitality or turned it to profit for themselves. This was the heyday of the wagonmaker, the chainmaker, the yokemaker, the horsebreeder, the trainer of oxen, the brandymaker, the blacksmith, the farrier and the saddlemaker. The bonanza arising from the accoutrements of transportation was a bubble that lasted for more than 50 years and only received its first real setback in 1890 with the coming of the railway line to Bloemfontein. The whole economy was geared to a principle of goods-exchange with the result that capital formation in the form of hard cash was a tedious process. The generation of capital became essentially an urban phenomenon with profits generated and kept there while the rural communities suffered from the want of choice in purchases.

Early British and Continental entrepreneurs

Commerce was thus essentially and urban business conducted by persons who were born outside South Africa. Shops in Bloemfontein and elsewhere were exclusively owned by entrepreneurs from Britain, Holland, France and Germany who had the necessary connections at the purchasing end and held letters of credit which would be honoured by banks in South Africa. First and second generation settlers from Grahamstown also moved into this commercial vacuum.

In 1848 C E Fichardt arrived in Bloemfontein from Breslau. He immediately opened a business on the corner of Kerk and Charles Streets. The age of the *smous* was over. The time for an extensive commercial undertaking based on mutual trust had come. The Fichardt business enterprise survived on the same site for more than a century, long after C E Fichardt returned to Germany in 1864.

The manner in which Mr Fichardt became integrated in the functions of the Society within which he conducted his business is demonstrated by the fact that he designed the first Dutch Reformed church, supplied the materials and attended the services.

Since the location of the future railway system was not a factor in the decision to place a business in a certain locality, shopkeepers and businessmen selected a town for commercial operations on the principle of free enterprise and the vacuum of unfulfilled needs of a community. This ensured a reasonably well-dispersed system of distribution for essential goods but for all of these Bloemfontein became the nodal point of commercial activity.

The earliest shops were very basic structures, in fact little more than adapted dwellings. The first major commercial buildings developed around the market square of Bloemfontein particularly during the period of the British Sovereignty when there was a large influx of businessmen who were firmly convinced that the *Pax Brittanica* would guarantee their commercial enterprises and that Britain would not relinquish its dominion over so important an area.

But the mere acquisition of more land meant the assumption of more territorial and military responsibilities, not a very attractive prospect when the Free State appeared little more than a scrub wilderness devoid of any mineral wealth even if it teemed with game. Thus almost by default the Orange Free State became independent again in 1854 when the Sovereignty was abandoned. Shopkeepers and all those who looked to Great Britian for financial and cultural succour objected strenuously to the abandonment of the Sovereignty and many relinguished their only recently established businesses. Enough remained, however, to ensure that the newly independent republic would not want of entrepreneurs and the supply lines were kept open by legal conventions and the profit motive.

The quest for storage space and for iron

The early conversion of business premises to roofs of corrugated iron roofing seems certain. Not only were the clay roofs subject to leaking but they also represented a security risk. No other material was suitable for the large scale enclosure of storage space which was essential in view of the long line of communication from Europe and the time delay necessary to replenish supplies. The acquisition of vast numbers of game hides also required considerable storage space. One trader at Winburg, named Adler, had a turnover of 40 000 hides a year. If the selling price of such a hide was a little as five shillings the yearly turnover in hides alone would make a successful trader wealthy in a comparatively short time, even if it impoverished the country in terms of its environmental assets.

Interpreting Thomas Baines' 1851 painting of Bloemfontein we can, after allowing for some artistic licence, discover that the business centre of the town was hardly distinguishable from the residential quarter. The building processes for homes and shops were identical and thatch was the universal roofing material. Shops were enlarged by acquiring adjacent properties rather than by extensive, large span buildings on one site. Buildings in the town were generally depicted as having their walls plastered and finished white, the exception being the clay and thatch buildings which made up the military compound to the east of the Cathedral site. Even the Dutch Reformed Church, which adjoins the present day business centre was a pure Cape-Dutch gabled building at the time. The Baines painting shows a heterogenous town varying from the Bushmen's matted, domical huts, to a towered cathedral (which in fact was not completed until much later).

Even the universal principle of covering the stoeps of shops was not at that time (1851) evident from Baines' painting and by 1854 when the Free State became independent businesses were conducted from buildings that resembled houses and as a business expanded it simply occupied more house-like structures. In the short space of 10 years this picture was to change dramatically and by 1861 when the earliest extant photographs were taken,Bloemfontein's character had undergone a considerable metamorphosis.

Commerce in other Free State Towns

The commercial aspects of the pioneer towns of the Orange Free State are known to us only from descriptions such as those relating to Sir Harry Smith's visit to Winburg in 1848. These refer merely to a small number of houses but we know that Vergottini established a business in Winburg as early as 1849 and that he was soon joined by others. Few names crop up so regularly in the early history of the OFS as that of George Vergottini and in particular his name is linked to the commercial and community affairs of Winburg.

George Vergottini was born in Paarl in 1820. His father was Italian and his mother Dutch-speaking. Between 1849, when he opened his business in Winburg and 1877 when he died, Vergottini played a leading role in Winburg. He became in succession a member of the *Kerkraad,* the *Heemraad,* a justice of the Peace and member of the *Volksraad.* As a member of the *Kerkraad* he was often involved in furthering the erection of new buildings and parsonages (see section 1.3).[69]

The movement of The Dutch-speaking section of the population into commerce was a negligible factor. The ready capital necessary to initiate such a business was not available to a numerically superior group, which seemed wholly to concentrate on farming, an activity in which they were well versed.

The extent of commercial enterprise

The overburden of business, both commercial and in banking, was centred in the English-speaking section of the population and it consequently dominated the establishment of new businesses. In a letter from Sir George Clerk to Newcastle it is estimated that at the end of the Sovereignty period in 1854 there were already established in Bloemfontein alone, no less than 139 traders, speculators and other businessmen. In the areas outside of this nodal concentration it was estimated that 40 more were plying their businesses.[70]

In the Koffiefontein district on the farm *Schuinskop* there are remains of a dolerite foundation ascribed to an early hotel or hostelry for travelling *smouse,* the forerunner of the commercial traveller. This structure almost certainly dates back to the period of the Sovereignty.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The pioneer commercial enterprise of the period before 1854 displays a tentative approach to the investment of risk-capital which meant that the level of development which was already well advanced in Colesberg and Graaff-Reinet by 1850 and even earlier in Grahamstown, did not serve as immediate precursors of business infrastructure in the OFS. The pioneer phase could not be leapfrogged as the lines of communication were too extended and the population too thinly distributed.

That these developments in the Cape Province must have influenced the second phase of building in the Transgariep area must be assumed as axiomatic. Since Algoa Bay was the nearest port of entry for hinterland imports and Grahamstown was en route, the honey from this supply route could not be extracted without some cross-pollination of ideas being carried to the interior. Although Piet Retief, as a building contractor, was operative in Grahamstown as early as 1815 his predilection was for simple flat-roofed buildings such as those known to him from the urban development in the Cape. The use of the double-storeyed town house was already an established fact at the time of the British occupation of the Cape.

These doubled storeyed buildings were newly built or remodelled on Georgian lines after the arrival of the 1820 Settlers and as structures they were versatile enough to serve as shops with the minimum of adjustment.[71]

By 1850 the visual appearance of Graaff-Reinet had radically altered with the introduction of a considerable number of two-storeyed buildings which owed much to Georgian influences introduced by English artisans.[72]

The introduction of corrugated iron roofs in Graaff-Reinet in the early 1850's, particularly on commercial buildings must have been observed by businessmen coming from Bloemfontein at that time. The same is true of Colesberg, which at the middle of the century was an important commercial centre, being the last important town in the Cape Province before crossing the Orange River.

The parallel foothold which the Cape vernacular architecture established across the Orange River proved to be a much less virile transplant and it is known to us in a few gabled buildings which represented the enfeebled aftermath of a once gloriously fertile building epoch in the Cape Peninsula.

In the concurrence between the two cultural imputs, the Dutch via Cape town and the British via Grahamstown, the Cape approach of large gables and thatched roofs never really transplanted northwards. It was in the end essentially an architecture restricted to a mediterranean climate and a fairly sophisticated building team, a combination which did not exist inland.

When the Free State shop-owner had to make up his mind as to the urban impression that he wished to create he toyed briefly with large Georgian windows in an almost domestic-scaled building, before becoming completely eclectic with a postcard from Berlin as likely to influence a facade in Bloemfontein as an English engraving of commercial development following on the great exhibition of 1851 in England. This pragmatic eclecticism was accelerated by commercial intercourse with Great Britain and the continent; the influx of British tradesmen to the interior after 1848 and the liberating influence of corrugated iron from the middle fifties onwards. The limits of architectural experiment were prescribed by the means of the entrepreneur and the imagination of the artisan. Both parameters had built-in limitations since capital was difficult to accumulate and inventive artisans rarely needed to become itinerant.

The introduction of sundried bricks for commercial building must be ascribed to the early pioneer entrepreneurs as building with clay and cow-dung in the urban area was obviously impractical. This would be particularly true once exterior walls with numerous and fairly large openings were called for. In a sense the business proprietor was a leader in building techniques as he was more likely to promote the use of building materials by demonstrating their possibilities in his own building.

The earliest uses of sandstone in a more formalised way for plinths, cills and lintels would be the off-shoot of early affluence in town rather than of rural building methods where skilled trades took longer to infiltrate. Whereas home-building in rural areas before 1854 was very much a do-it-yourself affair, in the urban areas artisans were already firmly established at the time the Sovereignty was abandoned. The political abandonment was unfortunately followed by a temporary exodus of artisans who believed that their gainful employment was directly related to British dominion. The more far-sighted found greater opportunities created by this circumstance and their services were consequently greatly in demand.[73]

1.3. *PIONEER CHURCH-BUILDING AS AN ENTREPRENEURIAL FUNCTION OF THE COMMUNITY*

INTRODUCTION

As a stimulus to building activity the architectural expression of religious convictions come second only to the home-building urge and in this respect two main branches of endeavour are discernable, namely, on the one hand, the work undertaken by the early missionaries of the various European Mission Societies in the first half of the 19th-Century , and ,on the other hand, the unleashing of the driving force of religious activity as it manifested itself in the congregations of the indigenous Dutch Reformed Church, which yielded, and still yields, an influence which touches upon almost every facet of the Afrikaner's cultural and communal commitment.

The Age of the Missionaries

The activities of religious and philanthropic bodies in the early history of the *Trans-Oranje* are so interwoven with the political events immediately prior to the Republic being established, that the intervention of missionaries in the affairs peripheral to religious instruction was alternately praised or reviled depending upon the political stance of the commentator. The early 19th-Century was characterised by a great religious awakening in Europe which manifested itself in a number of major missionary endeavours in the Protestant churches of Great Britain, France and Germany. The London Missionary Society concerned itself with the social and religious needs of the indigenous peoples of the Cape Province, with their principal activities being centred around Griquatown, Bethulie and Philippolis. The Paris Missionary Society was drawn towards the land of the Basuto where they became involved in the affairs of State, particularly in respect of the "foreign policy" of the Basuto people. Other Societies involved were the Berlin Mission Society and the Moravians. The extensive network of religious activities stemming from the establishment of mission stations in the Cape, Lesotho and as far north as Kuruman and the area later known as Rhodesia, represented a major long-range operation remote from the sources of economic support, and despite the dedication of the many who volunteered to work under conditions so foreign to their places of birth, the results were disappointingly slender in relation to the expenditure of money and human energy.

Success was more clearly discernable in the spheres of basic education, the rudiments of culture and hygiene as it was understood at that time. The sociological and political impact of mission work seemed to outstrip the religious consequences.

The chasm between the points of view of the early missionaries and the *Voortrekkers* is part of history but a process of *detente* followed and Dutch Reformed ministers, who were often of Scottish extraction, became friendly with missionaries. Rev Archbell of Thaba'Nchu became a great friend of the *Voortrekkers* and the family Pellissier from Bethulie became ultimately fully absorbed into the Afrikaner cultural sphere.

The Voortrekker and his Church

Although other denominations have a heritage of pioneer work in the Orange Free State, the ecclesiastical scene was so dominated by the events within the ***Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk*** (Dutch Reformed Church) that the architectural implications of building work done by congregations of this church seem to overshadow that of any other. By sheer weight of numbers the Afrikaner's involvement in church-building made the contribution of English-speaking churches, important as it was, seem peripheral to the main stream of church-building activity engendered by the Afrikaner's resettlement in the interior.

The deepseated and fundamental nature of the *Voortrekker's* religious motivations can best be comprehended by examining briefly the relationship between the *Voortrekker* and his church which occupied a central position in his religious, cultural and social life. The discarding of religious bonds which tied pioneer trekkers to the Mother Church in the Cape Province was not a matter lightly undertaken[74]There must have been much anguished speculation about the limitations of life in the wilderness without participation in the Sacraments - a circumstance repugnant to their view of what constituted a wholesome and well-ordered life. The events of baptism, confirmation and communion formed so largely the framework around which their religious devotions were structured that foregoing them seemed a deliberate act of spiritual impoverishment; a fact which made many hesitate in their decision to follow the general movement northwards.

Governors of the Cape were aware of the powerful influence emanating from the church and considerable official pressure was brought to bear on ministers of religion to use their good offices in persuading intending emigrants to desist in their intentions. In April 1838 Governor Napier issued a proclamation to the *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* in the Cape in which ministers were enjoined to urge their members to "desist from this emigration madness".

There were,however, forces active within the organised church which made separation easier rather than more difficult. The formation of new *gemeentes* (parishes) within the extensive areas of the Cape hinterland gave rise to a demand for ministers to lead them. To meet his demand the Governor gave his blessing and assistance to the importation of preachers of integrity from Scotland. Since the parishioners were, for the greater part, Dutch-speaking, these fledgeling ministers went to the Netherlands for a year to acquire some proficiency in the Dutch language. Dutch spoken with a Scottish broque must have been a rather unique experience for the congregation but so genuinely spiritual were the new arrivals that they soon became the acknowledged and revered leaders in church and community affairs.

Their acquiring of Dutch (the *linqua franca* of the interior) never dimmed these ministers' appreciation of the cultural gifts of Europe from whence they had so recently departed. They lived, in fact, in two worlds. Their intellectual stimulation and reading matter came from Europe but their ministrations to far-flung Karoo congregations required them to have the resourcefulness and ruggedness which a thinly-spread community in a harsh landscape would necessarily demand. The State was principally responsible for the subsistence of ordained ministers, with all the leverage that such a circumstance would confer upon the purse-holder, but in all fairness, it can be accepted that any attempts to dissuade their members from leaving the Cape, arose as much from a genuine concern for their spiritual welfare as from any desire to meet the demands of the Governor, namely that the church should play a rôle in halting the extraordinary exodus. They had visions of the ordered religious life falling rapidly into disarray in the untamed wilderness. In their own case, to leave the amenities of Edinburgh and Amsterdam in favour of a Karoo congregation must have seemed to be the limit of personal sacrifice; but for members to leave this outpost for the plains to the north was surely tempting Providence, besides which it was contrary to official policy. For the Rev. Read at Colesberg; Taylor at Cradock; Murray at Graaff-Reinet; Smith at Uitenhage; Pears at Albany; Morgan at Somerset East; Thompson at Stockenström and Fraser at Beaufort West these must have been perplexing and distressing times.

Warder

A complicating factor was the deliberate policy of anglicisation that successive Governors had actively pursued and formalised into legislation. Language issues became inevitably a built-in factor in church affairs. An urbanised component of the congregation had by design and preference become anglicised and found themselves at variance with a rural component which spoke little else than Dutch with a subtle leavening of a new language, Afrikaans, which was entirely home-grown. Presiding over this dichotomy was a *dominee* who preached in "High Dutch" in the morning and administered to his flock in fluent English in the evening. However cordial the minister's relationship may have been with individual members of the pioneer trekkers, officially they were unsympathetic to a movement which they neither understood nor condoned. For the time being the church was not going to be a party to the trek or to give much aid or comfort to the "dissidents". In the aftermath of the departure the remaining members of some congregations were again so predominantly English-speaking that services were almost wholly in that language.

In the face of the many realities of family and faith, the insistent pleas for assistance that came flooding back over the Orange River transformed indifference into genuine concern. When Sir Harry Smith, Governor of the Cape, visited the Orange Free State and Natal some ten years after the Great Trek had commenced, he was wont to enquire from emigrants whether their migrations had brought them peace of mind and personal satisfaction. He reported that some had mentioned their distress at having no occasion in ten years for formal religious activity; that children were lacking in baptism and that their daughters were given into matrimony in civil ceremonies instead of the church weddings upon which they had set their hearts. Whatever other privations these people could have mentioned, and there were many, they gave highest priority to the lack of organised religious activities within a congregational context, and having therewith, a fully ordained minister regularly dispensing the Sacraments within the precincts of a permanent church building.[75]

Within the church the concern of ex-members now residing in the Transgariep, was gradually transformed into positive action and several ministers did in fact visit them there. Initially they were forbidden to dispense Sacraments and the need for services of an own full-time minister remained a pressing one. The possibility of calling someone from the Netherlands was seriously considered and even acted upon but the response was negligible. In May 1837 Piet Retief appointed Erasmus Smit as the first and only minister of the migrant congregation, a task of formidable proportions considering that the parish consisted of the Orange Free State and Natal. As to the venue for divine services, Frans Schutte who visited the interior as a trader in 1837, described the "Church-in-the-veld" as follows:

> I found that on either side wagons had drawn up and between and above them canvas had been suspended, the space serving as a church.[76]

Whatever reservations intending migrants may have had about the orderliness of their religious activities in the hinterland, these were made subservient to the more pressing and practical needs of survival. Just how churches and homes were to be built would be decided when the time came. In fact, skilled tradesmen with a knowledge of building were unlikely to join extensively in the trek movement if they were fully and gainfully employed in the established towns of the Cape Province. For immediate purposes there was enough knowledge of joinery to laboriously fashion handcrafted furniture, enough carpentry to undertake emergency repairs to wagons and enough smithing to metal a wheel. Such skills were not considered unusual but were part and parcel of an independent existence.

Strangely enough, the first permanent church building of the *Voortrekkers* was not built across the Orange River but in the then remote Pietermaritzburg where the Church of the Covenant was erected in 1840, a mere 15m x 9m with seating provided by the church-goers themselves. During the years 1840-1847 services were also rendered to the trekker community by the American missionary, Daniel Lindley, who not only preached in Natal but undertook arduous trips to the interior in 1842.[77]

Between 1838 and 1848 continuous efforts were expended in a vain attempt to find some lasting solution to a situation which was giving grave concern to all emigrants,namely the absence of an ordained minister. The Dutch Reformed Church now realised that the migration was as permanent as it was extensive; that the needs were real and pressing and that further procrastination would not be reconcilable with Christian charity. Several deputations were sent to interview those who had settled across the Orange River and further afield and had there formed embryonic communities by 1843.

Church-building at the early Mission Stations

Both Campbell (1812) and Backhouse (1839) gave fairly extensive descriptions of the places of assembly built for the fledgeling communities of Griqua, San and Black peoples, and as conquests over the disabilities of a remote and hostile environment they represent remarkable achievements but in their architectural character they exhibit the hall-marks of expanded cottages, usually with clay walls and pitched thatch roofs. With few exceptions the missionary presence beyond the Orange River consisted of pious, friendly and hardy personages and their capabilities usually included the ability to erect a small church as a focal point in the remote node of Christianity. Campbell speaks of twelve stations, some in very remote areas in 1812 and Backhouse confirms that in 1839 the congregations of interested persons who assembled in these church buildings often numbered a *few* hundred. The charge has been levelled at the LMS Missionaries that they performed a superficial christianising service in which the provision of much sought after items such as brandy and plugtobacco formed principal inducements or rewards for placing the individual at the disposal of the proselytizing church.[78] Much of such criticism was more malicious than accurate but the filling of a church in Bethulie, or Verheullpolis as it was once known, seemed to have a straight line relationship with the availability of tobacco of the chewing kind. The effectivity of the gospel measured in terms of its true acceptance could be measured in very small numbers indeed when compared with the more methodical instructional methods of the Moravians who were careful to nurture firstly the by-products of civilisation i.e. crop-sowing, learning, building and cattle-raising. Leaving aside considerations of inducement it was clear tht the normal congregations of confirmed and baptised members were very small indeed and their architectural wants were consequently limited. The two principal buildings known to us were the church at Bethulie and the church at Thaba'Nchu. Backhouse describes his visit to Bethulie in June 1839 and mentions the mission house of J P Pellissier and the chapel;[79] [1]

> At half-past ten O'clock the bell rang, and about 200 persons assembled in the chapel, which was formerly the dwelling of an artisan; it was scarcely capable of containing more than the number assembled; the windows were without glass and a piercing, frosty wind rendered the place almost untenable.

The artisan mentioned by Backhouse was probably C Gosselin who was a missionary-tradesman assisting Pellissier in the building of his own home during the period 1834 - 1835.

The other early mission church is that described by Backhouse at Thaba'Nchu: [80]

> The Wesleyan church here, had at this time, about 100 members, inclusive of about twenty inquirers. The chapel was built of raw brick and plastered; its form was that of a T, the top end of the shaft being each eighty feet long and thirty wide; it was calculated to hold about 1000 persons.

The Thaba'Nchu centre of religious activity was apparently held in high esteem by the *Voortrekkers* who not only conducted themselves and their affairs in the friendliest of terms with Moroka's people but occasionally had their marriages confirmed in the missionary's house. It was clear from these circumstances that the emigrants must have felt a great need for their own ordained ministers. [2]

Even in the benign presence of the Wesleyan missionary the bridal couple could only signify their assent by nodding, no words being spoken across the language barrier. [81]

At the dawning of the Anglican Churchs' cathedral building programme in the interior there was little in the character of the missionary churches to indicate the radical change which was at hand. The pioneer church builders were pragmatists who thought of church-building simply as a necessary link in the important chain of events necessary for bringing the gospel. They eschewed ostentation and did not think of their building work as being important from a purely cultural or art-historical point of view. Functionalism took priority over any other consideration and the mobilisation of men and materials in an unsympathetic climate must have enervated their spiritual and physical reserves. The visible consequences of their labours were not of the order to inspire confidence of the kind necessary when embarking on cathedral building. The measles brought to Africa by the European moved with devastating swiftness through the ranks of every community but the life-giving force of the gospel seemed to experience difficulties in achieving a viable cross-graft. The possibilities for a flourishing Christian church must have appeared unlimited to the committees of London and Paris but the efforts of the pioneers seemed to have stalled in the harsh sun of the highveld, and in its bleak winter landscapes. It is to white communities that we must look for the survival of European thinking on religion and culture. Here the transplantation was more successful both in respect of English and Dutch speaking peoples, and this is true even via biological relays to the Griqua people however remotely the life-blood of a transplanted culture may have pulsed in their veins. It was the Griquas,in fact,who built the first stone church north of the Orange River in the 1840's [82]

EARLY CHURCHES OF THE NEDERDUITSE GEREFORMEERDE KERK IN THE ORANGE FREE STATE.

(i) WINBURG [83]

The religious and political intentions of the *Voortrekkers* had coalesced by 1848 into a number of clearly identifiable communities of which Winburg was the earliest, having formed a *gemeente* as early as 1841. The reason for this development lay in the nodality of Winburg as a major staging post for dispersion into the interior by organised trek-groups. As was common at the time the church was liberally endowed with the only gift that the emigrant-government could bestow, namely land. The sale of town erven constituted for many pioneer churches a principal source of income and the *Kerkraadnotules* are interspersed with motions on the sale of church land, its repossession for non-payment and its ultimate disposal to local authorities when these arose. [84]

The minutes of *Kerkraad* meetings indicate that a church building existed in Winburg before 1848 but the minutes that have survived start on 31 March 1848. The reason for this fresh start seems to be the transitional period between the time when the emigrants were regarded as being in the *diaspora* and the time when the *N G Kerk* in the Cape Province began to involve itself directly with the church affairs in the hinterland. The commission which was present at this meeting included the Rev Murray and Albertyn as well as two other persons. The first step was merely to appoint a *Kerkraad.*

At a second meeting held on 28 April 1848 there was a strong consensus for the building of a new church and it was agreed that as soon as the first magistrate was appointed to Winburg in terms of the Orange River Sovereignty which had just been proclaimed by Sir Harry Smith, tenders would be called for.[85] This waiting upon the magistrate illustrates the nexus which still existed between church and state and was a natural feature of the relationship between these two bodies. As the intention to build a new church was obviously going to move to fruition very slowly the *Kerkraad* decided on 3 October 1848 to call for quotations to plaster the existing church internally and externally. The magistrate was the trustee of church monies and would be responsible for making funds available for such repairs.[86] More than any other word with the exception of "money", the word "plaster" seems to crop up in minutes with monotonous regularity. On 20 October 1848 a tender was accepted for Rds. 100 for the necessary repairs.[87] These were to be effected by Mr J W Wessels who was himself an elder in the Church Council. The sale of church erven for fundraising purposes is also mentioned.

The employment of members of the Council to perform contractual building work figures largely in church minutes generally and the consequential disputes arising out of this circumstance make up a large proportion of the quasi-arbitratory rôle of church building committees even to this day. The reasons for this are probably to be found in tenders which are too low, such "reasonableness" residing in the wish of the contractor not to "overcharge" the church and secondly in his intimate knowledge of the church's desperate financial circumstances. It is also clear that there was no extensive building tradition amongst the members of a community made up largely of farmers. Contractual obligations were vaguely set out at the beginning of contracts and often misunderstood due to the implementation of them by word of mouth. Plans were not drawn but described. The minutes of the Winburg *Kerkraad* were kept in a beautiful "copperplate" and the *scriba* would jot down in pencil the names of those present at the end of the minutes and each would then overwrite in ink his signature over the prototype provided, some strong and firm, others with trepidation. The fact that salaries and costs are now frequently given in pounds and shillings was an indication of the farthest reaches of British domination.[88]

Adversity could also strike suddenly and on 20 January 1849 the Winburg *Kerkraad* voted Rds. 10 as a contribution to D S vd Merwe who's house had been struck by lightning, and burnt to the ground.[89]

By dint of saving every penny the *Kerkraad* could in January 1849 hand over to the Civil Commissioner T J Biddulph the sum of Rds. 2500 for safe-keeping. The intention was revised to build a new building and the surveyor F Rex was asked to set out the foundations for a new church which would be 27m long and 9m wide.[90] Tenders would also be called for the transportation of stone already quarried. The stipulation was for 200 loads of stone and 50 loads of approved clay. A mason had apparently been working on the stone foundations during April 1849 as there is reference to payment of Rds. 20 to J Gillen for masonrywork. The presence here of such an English name indicates that there must have been some mobility of skills toward the interior. A Black labourer was hired for eight days for Rds. 6.[91]

At a meeting held on 4 May 1849, A Murray Senior, from Graaff-Reinet was present to install his son A Murray Junior as the *Konsulent* of the congregation. Whether or not these two ministers influenced the meeting is not known but the previous decision to build a new church was cancelled (taken into revision). In respect of new church building work it is almost a convention for important decisions to be taken into revision, reversed and later revived in the original form.It was now decided to lengthen the existing church by 9m. The joinery required was to be delivered by the Contractor as well as 1 door and 1 doorjamb, along with the glazed windows. A tender of Van Rensburg and Wessels for Rds. 1800 was submitted for this work. As a safety precaution payment would be made upon completion.[92]

In December 1849 the possibility seems to have existed that a minister would be ordained. It was normal for a person to be "called" to a particular congregation and Winburg seems to have been certain that their plea would be heeded as plans were now rapidly set in motion for the building of a parsonage. Biddulph would again be asked for a payment of trust money and for a loan. The question of legality of ownership of erven granted to the church must have arisen,for on 16 September 1849 a memorandum was sent to his Excellency, Sir Harry Smith asking him to confirm the right of ownership. At the same time the tender for the extension to the church building was accepted.[93]

The tender was already 5 months old but apparently still valid. The arrival of Ds van Velden was delayed until September 1850 and in May of that year it was decided once more to proceed with the building of a parsonage.[94] To this end tenders were called for the delivery of the following materials: [95]

50 loads of stone
40 000 bricks
5 000 bundles of thatching grass
12 Timber beams of 7m length (175 x 100)
13 truss members 4,5m long (100 x 50)
and 12 Yellowwood floorboards

The house proposed must have been fairly commodious judging from the 40 000 bricks which would have been built into the superstructure, but owing to their unburnt nature the walls were necessarily thick. It appears that only one room had floorboards (yellowwood). Biddulph provided Rds. 2000 and Piet Venter Rds. 1000, towards the costs of providing these materials.[96] Ds van Velden arrived on 15 December 1859 and Dr Murray handed over responsibilities to him on 16 December.[97]

The erf on which the "old" prison was situated, was offered for sale, in an attempt to improve the financial position in respect of the parsonage.

The question of using the church building for school purposes was raised on 10 March 1851 and subject to a number of stringent requirements this concession was made.[98]

The multiplicity of uses to which any large roofed structure had to be put underlines the paucity of means of the early urban communities, and the surrounding districts which may have had "in kind" to offer but little in ready cash. The apportionment of seating in the church against the laying of a charge was quite common in the *N G Kerk* and such "reservations" date well into the 20th-Century. In 1851 the charges read as follows:

Eight front rows	£0-2-6 per seat
Four following rows	£0-2-0 per seat
Four last rows	£0-1-6 per seat [99]

Since a pulpit was not yet installed a lectern must have served instead. Dr A Murray had promised in May of 1850 to see to this item.[100]

The absence of any detailed information on building methods, materials and design decisions is attributable to the fact that the building committees (commissions) which had the responsibility of debating these matters, rarely kept minutes and if they did these were never regarded as being of sufficient importance to become archival material. It is unlikely that they regarded decisions on matter-of-fact issues as being of any historical significance. This disability still hampers historical research as the architectural information is summarised in motions put to the *Kerkraad.* Even important historical buildings, which had powerful building committees watching over them are devoid of the detailed material which would have thrown more light on the discussions at committee level and on the building problems of the day. From the researcher's point of view it seems a pity that the recorded events in church council minutes often deal at great length with the investigation of the censurable behaviour of members of the *gemeente,* whereas matters architectural are given only passing reference. Often building took place without any proof of authority to do so existing within the extant minutes. Winburg was no exception in this respect. Clashes of personalities and human foibles are thrown into relief by the recorded discussions. On 26 March 1851 a serious dispute arose with Biddulph in connection with the quality of bricks produced by his brick-ovens.[101] It seems to have been a fairly general occurrence for Government officials to have been involved in business transactions. Not only was Biddulph incensed by the complaints but he made his displeasure known in terms which caused grave dissatisfaction to the *Kerkraad.*

Rather than dispute contentious matters at local level the Council decided to refer the matter to the Governor, no less. Whether this, in fact, ever happened is difficult to determine but Sir Harry's volatile reaction to disputes about poorly burnt bricks leave little to the imagination. At this time work was also proceeding on the parsonage and by 19 May 1851 the stage had been reached where the *zoldering* (ceiling) was discussed, as well as the fencing-in of the parsonage erf. The structure had reached the stage where surplus scaffolding could be offered for sale.[102]

An interesting name now begins to crop up in the minutes namely that of G Vergottini. The transmutation of a Catholic Italian family name into a leading one in the Kerkraad of Winburg is one indication of the fluid nature of the times and events. Mr Vergottini, or simply "Brother V" as he was called, was a deacon and purseholder and obviously a man of many parts. No problem was too intractable for "Brother V". Towards the beginning of 1852 uncertainty creeps into the written record as to the "state of the country". These factors are blamed for the slow progress of the parsonage. The recently erected roof of the parsonage is already giving trouble by March 1852 and lime was provided by a member of the council to effect repairs. Another name, that of carpenter O'Flynn(written O'Flien)is recorded in a manner that whets the researcher's appetite. Not only was O'Flynn given to submitting excessive accounts for his woodwork but he was given to submitting unsuspecting "church people" to overdoses of potent wine. Those upon whom his hospitality was forced were often reticent to refuse out of decency and usually ended up in a comatose state in a remarkably short time. Out of consideration for his actions the *Kerkraad* docked £5 from his "exorbitant" account.[103]

In September 1852 church building was again mooted with renewed fervour and loans were obtained toward that purpose. Little was done until March 1853 when Ds van Velden focussed the attention of the *Kerkraad* on the poor state of the roof of the existing church.[104] It was decided to remove the roof entirely. There was also some concern about the gables of the parsonage and the minister's request for some walling around the building is again strongly stated, but nothing was done about this owing to lack of funds.

"Brother V" comes to the rescue of the church roof by offering thatching grass at low prices.[105] By strange coincidence Vergottini always seemed to have just what everyone else lacked at a particular time. In January 1854 Ds van Velden appears desperate for the completion of his parsonage. In the rainy season then experienced the roof proved unequal to the task. Brother Vergottini immediately offers lime and thatching reeds. Whether the many procrastinations at last wore down Ds van Velden we can only guess but he announces his acceptance of a post elsewhere.[106] The long awaited house is now let with the exception of two front rooms which are retained for the use of visiting ministers.[107]

Ds Louw now acts as *konsulent* of the congregation but warns the *Kerkraad* to carefully consider whether the unsettled times did not make the calling of the new minister something that could wait awhile. For his trouble he is himself chosen but in August of 1854 he declines acceptance.[108]

The sum of £25 was granted to the congregation by the first President of the newly independent republic, Pres J Hoffman, who drew, for this purpose, from the fund bequeathed by Sir George Clerk as a gesture of goodwill.[109]

After 13 years of strife the congregation had now a church building giving general concern, a rented parsonage, a vacant pulpit, a small reserve fund and a great faith in the future of their church.

(ii) THE GEMEENTES OF 1848

The year 1848 was a notable one in the history of the *N G Kerk* in the Orange Free State. In that year three new *gemeentes* were formally established and in order of seniority they were Fauresmith, Smithfield and Bloemfontein. From an architectural point of view the developments surrounding Bloemfontein's church-building activities before 1854 were probably more significant than those of Fauresmith and Smithfield, if for no other reason than that Bloemfontein was selected by Sir Harry Smith and his predecessor as the focal point of administrative authority for the whole of the area lying between the Orange and the Vaal Rivers. Bloemfontein was also fortunate that it alone of 4 church districts had in 1849 a full-time minister in the person of the redoubtable Andrew Murray. These newly formed congregations needed men of calibre to lead them and fortunately they were forthcoming after a decade of hesitance which followed on the great exodus of 1838.

The responsibilities of the 21-year old Andrew Murray were very onerous. The other *gemeentes* that had arisen in the OFS were normally under his care as the pulpits in the other areas were vacant. His parish consisted of half the present day Free State and extended as far north as the Soutpansberg Mountains. Murray fully identified himself with the religious and political ideals of his congregation. In this respect Bloemfontein was at once the focus of an anglophilic point of view and also the dividing line between those so inclined and the *Voortrekker* population to the north of Bloemfontein which looked to Potchefstroom for its cultural succour. So tangled was the skein of political thought and so heterogenous the composition of the population that when the Sovereignty was abandoned by Britian in 1854 there were many who regarded this as a disaster to be averted at all costs. Even Murray felt constrained to travel to Europe to plead for its retention and the majority of the *Kerkraad* must have identified themselves with this undertaking as permission for his leave of absence would indicate.[110]

Being educated in Great Britian, the Netherlands and Germany, the early ministers of the *N G Kerk* in the Free State must have seemed like extraordinary men-of-the-world, greatly respected for academic and theological attainments; a circumstance which enhanced the appreciation for their services and magnified the importance of their pronouncements on matters ecclesiastical and political. The other pioneer ministers were Ds Pieter Roux at Smithfield and Ds Dirk van Velden at Winburg. By dint of extensive travelling and unflagging energy they seemed to create the illusion that the Church was in fact fully operational, if hopelessly undermanned.

The Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, Bloemfontein

When Bloemfontein became the centre of the British presence beyond the Orange from 1846 onwards, and in particular after the proclamation of the Sovereignty in 1848, the only building of any consequence was a small clay-walled, dung-floored, thatch-roofed one, which as an official building, was the first in many things to many people. It became the first *Raadzaal,* the first school, and the first church to quite a few denominations. Its historical importance and cultural significance was so out of all proportion to its modest architectural qualities that by common consensus it has been carefully preserved to the present day despite a number of narrow escapes. Its out-of-plumb walls and studied quietude in the busy streets of Bloemfontein make it a landmark enjoying the affection of all concerned with conservation. Obviously it could be no permanent solution for such a variety of activities, and the *Kerkraad* of Bloemfontein took early steps toward the erection of a permanent church building. On 6 January 1849 the foundation stone of a new building was laid, and on 6 May 1849 Andrew Murray was ordained as the new minister.[111] A festive celebration marked the inauguration of the new church building on Saturday 29 May 1852. Long before that date, however, numerous problems had to be overcome. The most pressing of these was money. In August 1850 Warden was approached for assistance and an allowance was granted which permitted the work to proceed. The contractor was C E Fichardt who submitted a tender of £1 500 for the erection of the work. The fact that he placed an advertisement for thatching material would indicate that this material was not readily available to him as contractor and that, as merchant, corrugated iron had not yet penetrated thus far into the interior, despite the fact that it was generally available a few years later.[112] The completion of the building now seemed endlessly delayed, in particular the plastering contract appeared intractable.

Even as late as 1854 the unfinished building was causing concern and a certain Mr Burt contracted to do the work. A lime shortage and a surplus of liquor proved to be a combination capable of delaying any contract indefinitely.[113] Although the building was modest in its proportions the use of Cape Dutch gables weighed heavily with the Church Council.[114] Unfortunately the gables also weighed heavily on the foundations and alarming tilts arose which made it imperative to cast off the overburden by breaking down the gables to roof-line level. Whatever pretensions the building may have had as a remote echo of the Cape Dutch style in a remote hinterland, were now stripped from it and all that remained were two embryonic castellated towers which owed some obeisance to German influences. These may have been added at the suggestion of Mr Fichardt who was at various later stages instrumental in providing designs or proposals for public buildings. These two buttresses seem strangely incongruous and may have been added solely to stay the outward movement of the gables. They could hardly have featured as normal attributes of the Cape Dutch vernacular.[115] [69]

As far as the interior was concerned the upgrading of the basic finishes was a slow and painful process. In 1853 it was described as follows:[116]

> The church in which we met was a large T-shaped building with a pulpit on a low platform opposite the shank. It had a clay floor and no seats. A table which had stood in front of the platform, was moved a little to the right.

At the time of the abandonment of the Orange River Sovereignty, the *N G Kerk* of the principal town in the Transgariep was an unfinished, threatened structure, devoid of comfort and even of seating, but it was the focal point of the Afrikaner's religious devotions and was fortunate in having in its early formative years a personage as distinguished as Andrew Murray. Owing to the predominance in the urban population of English-speaking persons the attendance at normal Dutch services was only in the order of 70 to 100 persons.[117] At *Nachtmaal* the situation was dramatically altered and the Afrikaans-speaking members of congregation would travel long distances to be present at the dispensing of the Sacraments.[118] Since A Murray was fully bilingual,evening services were for a time held in English during the eleven years that he was an incumbent.

As late as 3 July 1854 the *Kerkraad* was still wrestling with plaster problems and Mr Fichardt was called in to give an explanation. The explanation offered by Fichardt was threefold i.e. a shortage of lime; Burt, the contractor's desire to sublet the contract and thirdly that Burt instead of getting the church plastered went about getting himself plastered.[119] Mr Burt now fades from the scene as the *Kerkraad* decided on another sub-contractor. It was at this meeting that the decision was taken to remove the gable superstructure.

The Rev Andrew Murray and his wife were experiencing problems in getting their temporary parsonage erected. Mr Sylvester is appointed to complete the external plasterwork for £12. The other materials for the parsonage were apparently donated by members of the *Kerkraad,* lime, sand, bricks, stone and thatch being promised.[120]

In April of 1854 an appeal was made to Sir George Clerk for financial assistance. As no reply had been received from him by July an alternative request was put to him for the donation of a residence previously used by officials of the Sovereignty and now redundant. The homes of messrs Grant or Hopkins being suggested. Sir George who had completed his mission with the transfer of power in February 1854 does not appear, in terms of the minutes, to have reacted but financial tensions were reduced to the extent that early in 1855 it was decided to purchase a house at a public auction of British property.[121] Such a purchase is confirmed in the minutes of 23 April 1855, a sum of £410 being paid for the house. This purchase took place during A Murray's absence in London and upon his long delayed return in August of 1855 he expresses his appreciation for the improved accommodation.[122]

The Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, Fauresmith

Fauresmith was the name given to a nodal concentration of certain well-populated districts lying South of Bloemfontein. Before the concept of a new town and district had been formalised the inhabitants of this area had been visited by the Cape Synodic commission assigned to visit the *uitgewekenes* (emigrants) with a view to assisting them in the organisation of their religious activities. By prior arrangement a number of local representatives met the Commission at a place called *Groene Kloof* on 11 March 1848.The visit of A Murray, Snr, P K Albertyn and B Pienaar,by mere coincidence,virtually coincided with the whirlwind excursion of Sir Harry Smith into the area and to many must have seemed as an extension of Cape influence under the British Crown, rather than a disinterested attempt to organise new congregations. Such extension of British dominium was quite widely accepted as beneficial particularly in the area to the South of Bloemfontein. The first *Kerkraad* was elected at this first meeting of the Commission. The Chairman emphasized the importance of the early commencement of a church building and the procurement of a site towards this end.[123]

The Commission also visited the farm *Hexrivier* along the Riet River on 18 March 1848 and further representatives were elected to the Church council. Again the question of a suitable site for church building was raised.[124] A similar meeting was also held on *Plaatjiesfontein* on the Riet River on 8 May 1848. Out of these various gatherings a commission was appointed to select a site suitable for a church, so placed as to serve this whole communmity. The area selected with acclamation was *Zuurfontein.*[125] This farm belonged to the *Bastaards* and was, in terms of an agreement with the Governor inalienable. It was agreed to approach Major Warden with a view to gaining permission to acquire this land. On 6 June 1848 a meeting was held at *Brandfontein* and the deputation which interviewed Warden in Bloemfontein on 24 May 1848 reported that the Major was uncertain as to the legality of such a step and undertook to write to the Governor in Cape Town.[126]

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On 8 July 1848, all concerned were drawn together at *Groene Kloof* to hear Major Warden's reply. Rather pointedly he addressed his letter to the elders of the Reformed Church living in Griqualand. The letter intimated that the Governor did not have the constitutional right to alienate any land in this particular area without the consent of Adam Kok, whom Sir H Smith, had only a short while before threatened with summary execution by hanging from the roof beams of the building in which an altercation about land had taken place.[127] The letter was signed by Mr Allison the clerk of the British resident,and was dated 4 July 1848. For some reason the assembly thought the reply to be spurious and untypical of Sir Harry Smith. [128] It was even demanded that Warden should appear *in loco* with the original reply of the Governor in his hand! The solution proposed was to eliminate the middle man and write to the Governor direct. [129]

The dallying, and insistence on *Zuurfontein,* gave Bloemfontein the chance of preceding the Rietrivier Community, in order of seniority. Bloemfontein had acquired church land in the embryonic town and a church district reaching out toward the supplicant's district was a reality.[130] Those falling into the ambit of Bloemfontein sought to place their allegiance there and to be absolved from their promises of assistance to the *Groene Kloof* undertaking. In the end the letter to the Governor was never written. Trouble over land occupation arose continually between the emigrants and the Griqua. The Riet River congregation decided to write to ds A Faure, the Actuary of the *Ned Geref Kerk* in Cape Town. They were convinced that Major Warden had favoured Bloemfontein rather than the strife-ridden Griqualand. The reasoning given for their own case throws interesting light on the pattern of development in the Southern Free State in 1848. If the church district boundaries were considered to stretch from the Orange River to Bloemfontein over a distance of nearly 200 km then Bloemfontein was at its extreme limits while the intervening land is well populated as far as the Kaffirriver. People living in the Rietriver area would be compelled to travel up to 120 km to reach Bloemfontein. Ds Faure was asked to use his good offices to persuade the Governor of the fairness of their case.[131] Had they been less adament about *Zuurfontein,* events would not have been so bogged down as they were.

On 8 November 1848 the Synodical Commission again visited the *Groene Kloof* area. The commission was headed by the ordained ministers P E Faure and W Robertson. No progress is reported on land issues until 30 April 1849 when A Murray Jnr visited the area, it being nominally his responsibility. At a meeting held on this date it was reported that a reply was still being awaited from ds Faure. *Zuurfontein* was not finally abandoned as a church site until 3 July 1849.[132] To provide for the more pressing needs of the local churchgoers a temporary building was erected at *Sannaspoort.* If the entrepreneur who had undertaken this task had thought that he would receive the general approbation of the congregation he was mistaken.[133] But it was a start and on 1 September 1849 it was decided to advise Major Warden of their intentions and as a gesture of mollification he was asked to lay the foundation stone. He being unable to oblige, the Civil commissioner, Stuart was invited instead.[134]

Sannaspoort now became the centre of activities and on 21 November 1849 we are surprised to read that a town is to be laid out on Jacob's farm. It was purchased by the church for 14 000 Rds, and the *Kerkraad* became involved in the business of running a town.[135]

On 28 February 1850 there is the first mention of payment due to C Smit for building work done on the church. The important decision to build, what the tenders were, and what the site and nature of the building was, all these material facts are not minuted and it must be assumed that the authority to do so was deputed to a building commission with powers to act within certain constraints.[136]

As late as March 1853 Fauresmith was still without a minister and it was decided to approach William Murray who was at that time qualifying himself for the ministry in Holland, and whose return was imminent.

Rumours of an impending abandonment of the Sovereignty by Britain had an unsettling effect on societal stability and on behalf of the *gemeente* of Fauresmith, Andrew Murray wrote to Sir George Clerk to remind him in advance of the problems which would arise from such abandonment. The conflict in the minds of the members of the church council between independence and security must have affected all their decisions and unanimity on buildng matters could only be effected at the lowest level of common consensus.

Ultimately, financial considerations outweighed any other and there is little evidence that political events had any effect on the desire to build churches other than to delay them slightly. Here, as in Bloemfontein, Andrew Murray gives notice of his intention to go to Britain to dissuade the British Government to desist in its intentions to withdraw from the Orange Free State.[138] The administrative importance of Bloemfontein subsequent to the Bloemfontein Convention in February 1854 is demonstrated by a minute of the church council that erven will in future be registered there.[139]

The Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, Smithfield

When the Smithfield congregation was established in 1848 the nearby mission station at Beersheba was already a thriving ecclesiastical community with 500 church members, 350 children in schools, a printing press and a number of rectangular buildings. Church services on a Sunday were attended by upwards of a 1 000 people. The French missionary effort was at its peak with 11 stations but as a result of revolutionary times in Europe the French headquarters of the mission were closed.

At the urging of the Rev A Murray the congregation of Smithfield was eager to make an early start with its building program but owing to the usual dispute as to where the town was to be laid out, there was a false start with Sir Harry Smith actually laying a foundation stone of a church building on the farm *Waterval* about 24 km west of the present day Smithfield.[140]

The first town layout proposed was aborted by high land prices and the community shifted its attention and allegiance to *Rietpoort*. The first erven were sold here on 1 November 1849. The tender was for £325 for a building about 20m long 5m wide and 3m high.

The dalliance of the *Kerkraad* to commence building was perhaps fortunate in this case as in May of 1853 the congregation obtained the services of Ds Roux who played a leading role not only in Smithfield but in the church activities of the whole state. A church was ultimately erected in the period 1860 - 1862. Since pews were let before that time the existence of a temporary church is implicit.

EARLY CHURCH-BUILDING BY OTHER DENOMINATIONS PRIOR TO 1854

One of the cornerstones of the policy of the first *Volksraad* was that there should be freedom of worship and this view permitted the proliferation of various denominations in the Orange Free State after 1854. During the period of British occupation from 1848 - 1854 this liberal point of view was in fact upheld by successive Governments at the Cape and the assistance given even to the *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* by Governors like Sir Harry Smith was due to the realisation that the church played a stabilising role in the community and stability in the interior was as rare as it was prized. The anglicisation process had not been without its results. The NG Congregations often had ministers fluent in English and these willingly attended to the Spiritual needs of the English-speaking community before the Anglican and Methodist Churches could extend their activities to the new towns in the Orange Free State.[141]

In this respect the services of the Rev A Murray were highly esteemed by the English-speaking community of Bloemfontein during the time of the Orange River Sovereignty when the English residents were often without pastoral care.

The Anglican Church became deeply involved in the organisation of nodal points of Church activity for persons nominally or actually of that religious persuasion. The most important event being the coming to the Cape of Bishop Gray and his indefatigable wife Sophia in 1847. Sophia Gray not only performed the duties of mother, teacher, hostess and secretary to the Bishop but she could, in the new vast diocese,practise her passion for architecture in a practical way. She prepared numerous drawings for small English Churches throughout South Africa, after having become acquainted with the local circumstances which were so different from that prevailing in Great Britain.[142] A *Cape Church monthly magazine* was published by the Bishop in January 1850 and in the first issue the editor Newman heavily emphasized the interrelation of architecture and dogma and articles on Church Architecture featured in subsequent numbers.[143]

The designs produced by Sophia Gray were of a standard calculated to improve the quality of architecture in "Colonial places of Worship" but little credit was given for her personal contribution.[144] Plans for small English Churches could be had for the asking in Great Britain and parcels of 20 plans by British architects could be laid before parishioners in the Cape. The task of adapting them to local building conditions was Sophia's. The most pressing problem was the availability of suitable stone, particularly in the Cape. Windows and sculptural details were imported from England.[145]

On 1 April 1850 Bishop Gray undertook an arduous visitation to the interior which also took him to Bloemfontein which was at that time a "straggling military trading village".[146] Robert Gray asked his wife to send Bloemfontein a suitable plan but when the local committee scrutinised it a Mr Barbour was constrained to write:[147]

> The plans forwarded by your lordship did not receive the attention due to them, they being considered too massive a style for Bloemfontein, the heat of which, during the Summer months causing great lassitude, the committee considered that every place set apart for Divine Worship should be made as cool as possible to prevent their thoughts wandering from higher things to their own discomfit.

Mr Hopkins, a member of the committee drew up an alternative plan for the Bishop's approval. A tower was included and the Bishop feared that it would be beyond the means of the parish; [148]

> I am sure Mrs Gray would willingly revise it if it is forwarded to her. She has made Church Architecture her study for some years.

At the time of the Bishop's first sermon in Bloemfontein on 5 May 1850 a subscription list was opened and a sum of £141-17-9 was raised. There is also recorded an interesting example of payment-by-results. A gentleman of the 45th Regiment promised two guineas when the foundation stone was laid and five more if he should hear Divine Service within the building.[149]

The local plan having apparently won the day the foundation stone of St Andrew's church was laid on 25 November 1850 by the British Resident Major Warden in the presence of Archdeacon Merriman who walked the 640 km from Grahamstown to Bloemfontein and back for the purpose.[150] Major Warden also recommended that the Legislative Council of the Sovereignty make a grant not exceeding £250 toward the cost of erecting an English Church.[151] He also generously advanced the money for the purchase of a site for the curate A Steabler who was attached to the local garrison. Some measure of Warden's isolation from the Church of his faith is expressed in a letter written to the local church committee at that time.

> I must tell you, Gentlemen, that for thirty years, save some short periods, I was so situated as to be beyond the reach of the Church of our Fathers. I may therefore feel a little more grateful than others for that great Boon, an English Episcopal Church in the very midst of us.[152]

The military garrison at Bloemfontein offered assistance to the English Church both by subscription and prescription. During 1851 a detachment of the 45th Regiment listed 152 donors, who apparently gave one day's pay toward furthering the church's finances. A colour-sargeant contributed 7s.6d, other sargeants five shillings and corporals half-a-crown, or two shillings, privates one shilling. Even so the total of £9-7s would only have marginally furthered the building programme, the local community supplying the bulk of the funds needed. From 1851 until the end of 1852 the building went ahead to the point where the walls were erected. Baines' painting of 1851 indicates that the church tower was well advanced and that the roofing was complete, but in this respect the artist's desire to fill his canvas with completed buildings gained the upperhand over actual events. If the scaffolding was still in position, as one would expect if the building was still to be roofed, the artist could reasonably assume that by the time his painting was framed in England the building would surely be completed. [153] The roof timbers were ordered from Port Elizabeth and while these were being delayed by the shortage of suitable wagons and by another border clash between black and white, history was overtaking the short-lived venture of the Sovereignty. [154]

On 9 August 1853 Sir George Russel Clerk intimated to the citizens of Bloemfontein that the Imperial Government had in fact decided to abandon the Sovereignty. Although this was a circumstance of great political moment and an event which would radically affect the lives of English-speaking persons in the Orange Free State, the reasons for the decision to forthwith abandon the congregation and its building programme are not clear. Steabler who had been appointed to head the church left Bloemfontein early in 1854 and bequeathed to the Congregation, which remained virtually intact except for the British Garrison, an unfinished church. The roofless building gradually fell into ruins and by 1858 the remnants of the building served as a makeshift place of safety, complete with loop-holes in the walls when Bloemfontein was threatened by Moshesh from the East. Not inappropriately the nave became a sheep kraal,[155] while the Rev Murray tended to the wants of the English-speaking community within the walls of his own church as if this flock in *diaspora* was in fact his own responsibility.[156] In May 1855 *The Friend* wrote of the Building: [157]

> It stands like an old Gothic ruin, barring the moss and ivy.

The Wesleyan church (Methodist).

The earliest endeavours of the Wesleyan community were directed at mission work and the buildings at Thaba'Nchu have already been described. This undertaking dates back to 1833 and is hardly anteceded by any other in the Orange Free State. Services in White urban areas were originally conducted in private homes and from July 1850 these were conducted by Rev P Smailes.

The Roman Catholic Church in the Orange Free State prior to 1854

The endeavours of London had their historical counterpart in the undertakings of Rome and the decision to have a presence in Bloemfontein dates from the same year as the pioneer efforts of Bishop Gray and his wife Sophy. Members of the Roman Catholic faith were sparsely represented in the interior but the decision to commence work in the Orange Free State must have been at least partly prompted by the presence of Catholic personnel in the 45th Regiment stationed at Bloemfontein.[158]

The pioneer religious leader was Father Hoendervangers who must have been chosen, in addition to the many other qualities he possessed, for his knowledge of the Dutch, French and English languages. His early attempts to establish a foothold must have been made under very difficult circumstances, as the *Volksraad* of the time was outspokenly anti-Catholic. His name, which would have been common in Flanders, gave rise in the South African context, to considerable ribaldry. In the absence of an architect-wife, Father Hoendervangers had himself to give thought to the building projects which the presence of his church would require. In January 1852 he wrote: [159]

> My house, which is at the same time my church, is so small that I have to say two Masses on Sunday although the number of Catholics is only sixty-five.
>
> The building was formerly a carpenter's shop, which was no longer fit for use except as a sleeping place for stray dogs. Although I had to take immediate occupation, it took me almost a whole month to clean it from vermin. In fact there are still ten Catholics who have not yet been to church because of the state of poverty of the buildings.

The Irish under Major Donovan gave willingly of their labours and in 1852 the first "proper" church was built not far from the small government school building. Father Hoendervangers could not spare himself in this undertaking and despite the assistance of the military personnel he says: [160]

> For four months I was carpenter and mason. Although the greater part of the work was done by soldiers, the building cost me two thousand eight hundred francs. Our little building is erected but if the price of timber remains so expensive, I shall have to be satisfied with a house that has no doors or windows. For the roof we are using warped rafters which are only fit for firewood.

Although the building material supply position has improved immeasurably over the last century, the warped timbers for roofing are still with us. In Father Hoendervangers' case the rafters were warped yellowwood, a circumstance that we may envy him.

Twenty-three years later, in 1875, Bishop Jolivet writes about this first building: [161]

> Our first Mass in the Capital of the Free State was celebrated ... in a very small and poor Chapel, where a few good Catholics met and had to kneel on the mud floor.

The Lutheran Church

The Berlin Missionary Stations were active in the Transgariep as early as 1834 when work began under the Korannas. At Bethany a Mission Station was built in 1835. A number of German families were present in Bloemfontein and in 1855 they requested pastoral care from the Mission Station at Bethany. To this end Salzmann actually came to Bloemfontein on the understanding that the local community would contribute half of his salary. They were unable to meet this commitment and Salzmann had perforce to discontinue his work here.

SOME EARLY PARSONAGES IN THE O F S

As the manses and *pastorieë* of the various denominations were the responsibility of the congregation, it is to be expected that early *gemeentes* or congregations in the Free State would almost simultaneously be involved in church buildings as well as in the provision of living accommodation for the incumbent minister.

When the Sovereignty was proclaimed in 1848 there existed at Bethulie the substantial house of Pellissier dating from 1835 and at Thaba'Nchu there was the house of the Rev Archbell dating from 1834. The other houses of the French missionaries of a few years later make up the coterie of pioneer homes for ecclesiastical purposes. The parsonage proper, or *pastorie*, as it is known was a function of the Dutch Reformed Church and was usually coincident with the first attempts at church-building. The calling of a *dominee* to a *gemeente* could not take place without the congregation guaranteeing a house for his use.

The intention of the *Kerkraad* seemed to waver between the irreconcilable of a "comfortable home" with generous accommodation and a need for the strictest economy. Wherever the *Kerkraad* tried on its own initiative to provide such a home the results were uniformly disappointing. Where manse-building was undertaken under the direct guidance and supervision of the minister, the results were dramatically better and the costs similarly enhanced. In the face of the "reasonable" demands of the minister the *Kerkraad* could hardly act out its usual parsimony. To be able to successfully call and ordain a minister from a settled community in the Cape the quality of the accommodation to be provided had at least to match those occupied by the minister at the time of his *beroep*. Where a minister was persuaded by promises to accept a

position in a new *gemeente* the *Kerkraad* would be granted a reasonable time to make good its intentions failing which the local congregations would soon be without a minister. The dedication of these pioneer ministers usually extended to the building programme and with the necessary inspirational example the problem of a sound church and a liveable home could usually be overcome.

One of the earliest examples of a well-built *pastorie* is that of Smithfield which was erected in 1854. It could boast 450 mm walls, ceilings 4,5 m high and a paved verandah. Its plan was still undifferentiated in its circulation, the rooms being back-to-back with the transverse living room serving as the point of entry to the rear bedrooms.[163]

As far as the parsonage in Bloemfontein was concerned the home of Dr A Murray evolved from the original Green Residence, universally referred to as Green Lodge at the intersection of St George's and Aliwal Streets. The original building was a small thatched dwelling but if T Baines's painting of Bloemfontein, 1851, is to believed there existed at that time a small transverse wing which appears to be under corrugated iron. It is painted red, had a steep slope and no parapet walls. In her correspondence the young Mrs Murray gives a fairly vivid description of the building. It was not so much planned as a parsonage but rather it evolved into one under the prompting hand of Mrs Murray who found ways of communicating her legitimate demands to a Dutch-speaking *Kerkraad.*

Of the parsonages at Fauresmith and Winburg we know only that they were born in travail and were the focus of numerous complaints and disputes. They missed the serenity of Pellissier's home or the early houses of the French missionaries at Beersheba, Morija and the other established stations, even if they aspired to more elaborate appointments. Between them the *Kerkraad* and the *Volksraad* must take a fair measure of the blame for the insufficiency and inadequacy of the first buildings on the ecclesiastical scene. Even when sufficient funds could be found they were often squandered in the mistaken belief that the saving of expense was a virtue that could be divorced from the result achieved. The total in-use cost over the life-time of the building represented an excercise in building wisdom which is only slightly less rare today than it was then.

1.4. THE NATURE OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES BEFORE 1854

The multiple role that the church was called upon to play in the affairs of the community it served reached out beyond the confines of spiritual leadership and included the important nucleating function of urban settlement and the formation of the administration necessary for the day-to-day functioning of the early Orange Free State Communities.

The rôle the *Kerkraad* performed arose out of the system of land endowment which both the provisional *Voortrekker* Government and the *Volksraad* of the independent Orange Free State practised as a means toward crystallising the endeavours of active communities and of providing the means for the development of capital resources to proceed with such essential functions as church and parsonage buildings, as well as establishing an authority *in loco* even if this was an ecclesiastical one with secular attributes. This system sometimes ran parallel with the magisterial function in those cases where the magisterial district coincided nominally with the parish boundaries. But in almost all cases the church was the prime mover in urban formation, preceeding all other forms of direct local government and administration. The formation of such towns, with the church as nucleus, occurred as a direct result of depositions and pleas made by the local community to the central legislative power. Permission to do so did not always readily follow as the

Volksraad was well aware that the initial concession would immediately be followed by requests for financial aid in building a church and in providing the visible expression of central authority in the form of post office, magistrate's court, prison and schools. The brunt of organisational responsibility fell squarely on the shoulders of the *Kerkraad* who appointed and paid the civil servants acting as poundmaster, market masters, water officials, land surveyors and keepers of the graveyard and mortuary,[164] all presided over by the local minister or a trusted representative of the *Kerkraad.*

This onerous responsibility was not seen as a thing apart but as an integral function of Christian responsibility in respect of orderly development. Consequently the early affairs of embryonic towns were described in the church minutes in a manner no different from those appertaining to matters spiritual.

The establishment of fully fledged local government was hastened by the desire of the church to free itself from a burden which actually lay outside its province even if it conferred certain powers upon it. A second contributory factor was the presence of English-speaking persons in urban areas, in ever increasing numbers, who were desirous of achieving their rights as citizens through a system of local government in which they would have more direct say.

Thus, although the *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* took the place of surrogate local authorities before 1848, after that date the influence of British Governmental systems became to be felt. In Natal this tendency became felt as early as 1846 with the appointment of a board of Commissioners at Pietermaritzburg.[165]

In Bloemfontein a Municipal Ordinance was issued by Major Warden in 1848 defining the Township.[166] On 19 July 1849, twenty-six landed proprietors signed a petition requesting that Municipal government be instituted. The first temporary commisioners were Messrs Rex, Fichardt and Holm, and their appointment dates from 8 June 1850.[167] Certain lands were excluded from Municipal jurisdiction i.e. the old school building, the NG parsonage and the military establishment.[168]

The temporary Commissioners met in 1852 but discontinued their functions, soon after, probably owing to a lack of jurisdiction and status, since municipal affairs became, after that date the responsibility of the Magistrate and subsequently the *Landdros.* A fully fledged municipal council acting in accordance with codified regulations only commenced its administrative functions as late as 1859. Bloemfontein being the administrative headquarters of Major Warden as British Resident, the N G Church does not seem to have had the same benefits, property-wise, as did the towns lying outside its immediate sphere of influence. It obtained such sites as it needed upon request.

The responsibilities for the Bloemfontein community were nominally those of the British Government after 1848, but in towns like Fauresmith the church played its community-forming role. The minutes of the *gemeente* show that on 28 February 1850 the *Kerkraad* appointed M van der Merwe as overseer over all town matters although he did not have the title of Town Clerk. The siting of the local cemetery was decided upon and the first incipient regulations dealing with matters of racial residence were formulated, it being decided that coloured persons would be removed from the town entrance.[169] The reason for this provision is not spelt out but the formation of squatter settlements around the fledgeling town could be the most probable reason. In August of 1850 the stipends of the Marketmaster and Poundmaster are approved for payment.

Since there is little reference in the minutes of Smithfield's N G Church about municipal affairs it must be assumed that a sub-committee dealt with these duties. The more constructive efforts of the *Kerkraad* in respect of communal activities are neglected in minutes in preference to the detailed descriptions of censurable conduct on the part of members. The preponderence of the material relating to misconduct gives a later generation an unbalanced view of the fabric of that community. It is certain that local ministers were not thinking of posterity when they laboriously noted the evidence of both parties in cases of adultery,

misconduct and drunkenness. They were concerned about the spiritual welfare of their people and the fact that the accused were invariably repentant meant that after a short while they were completely forgiven.

In this sense the *Kerkraad* was fulfilling its true functions i.e. the monitoring of the spiritual welfare of the members of the church. Whatever building was going on, was this not merely the external manifestations of a world which would end, the face of material things to which no firm bonds of commitment should be made? In particular the local minister of the early *gemeentes* seems to have been at great pains not to exert any undue pressure on the church members to undertake building projects which would over-commit the *Kerkraad* and lead to debt which could destroy the elaborate process of congregation building.

For a full five years after the dawning of the Republican era, municipal affairs were operating at a hardly discernable level and until such times as the *Volksraad* legislated towards this end the local *Kerkraad* stood in the breach. The complications arising from right-to-land as between church and local authority led to drawn out disputes later in the century and these were not finally disposed of until well in the 20th Century.

None of this pioneer activity is reflected in building work of a purely communal nature and even for this purpose the church, the consistory and the church hall served their purpose. If it was not a very efficient way to run the affairs of a town it had the virtues of economy.

Urban formation and local authorities

Despite the delayed advent of local authorities and the surrogate role of the Dutch Reformed Church in this respect, urban formation across the Orange River was already significantly advanced by 1854, but this was so only in relative terms as a settlement containing a few houses and a shop was often nick-named a town, even before the necessary statutes had been passed. W W Collins speaks of this time and indicates that Aliwal North in 1849 consisted of one building, a general store owned by a Mr Elster while Burgersdorp was a very small village.[170]

In contrast to this Philippolis had by 1847 developed to the point where it could be described as decidedly prosperous in comparison to its situation a decade earlier. In 1847 the Griqua Community could raise sufficient funds to build a new stone church, capable of holding 600 people even if it was devoid of such essentials as pews, windows and doors.[171]

More significantly urban formation was well advanced at Philippolis displaying the full gamut of building prowess from domical reed huts to rectangular, European style homes. Philippolis was on the main route of communication and trade to the interior and the life style of many of the Griquas echoed those of the whites of the Cape. It was only natural that it would be an early attraction for traders who in the absence of more settled communities in the interior used Philippolis as a useful staging post under British protection. In 1839 Backhouse described it as consisting of a single street of cottages, a chapel and a number of mat huts.

Bloemfontein, at the middle of the nineteenth century, owed its functional importance to the administrative and military presence that it presented as the focal point of the British presence in the area between the Vaal and Orange rivers. In 1851 it could boast about 30 houses, a few shops, two churches and a fairly extensive military establishment on the Southern perimeter of the town.

The need for a municipal authority was felt early on and on 8 June 1850 the first temporary Municipal commission was established, consisting of Messrs Rex, C E Fichardt and Holm. Bloemfontein had no formal Municipal Government before 1859.[172]

As a result of its remoteness relative to sources of supply Bloemfontein was an expensive place in which to live and erect buildings. Although stone and clay were plentiful the supply of timber presented exceptional difficulties. If South African varieties were sought the forests of Knysna would be the source. It was calculated that a building in Bloemfontein would cost four times as much as its equivalent at the Coast.[173]

If this was true for Bloemfontein, the situation at Winburg must have been even more onerous. The costs were accepted as inevitable as the need for buildings outweighed even these high transportation rates. In Bloemfontein itself the process of urbanisation had its origins around the fountain (Bloemfontein) which sprang from the earth near the present-day Caravan park where its location is marked with a column in Bloemspruit. The fountain was the source of all water and after the excavation of a canal running eastward from it, a number of so-called watererven were laid out. The earliest urban plan of Bloemfontein was that prepared by A Bain and R Moffat. The most valuable erven were those on the southern bank of Bloemspruit, which at that time was a meandering stream as yet unconfined by the exigencies of linear planning.[174]

The more substantial buildings, including those set aside for military purposes had roofs that were of pitched thatch while a small minority flaunted flat roofs, particularly the small cottages clustered around the church. Thatching material was available at seven shillings per hundred bundles.

The whole process of urban formation between 1848 and 1854 had the whole-hearted support of Major Warden, the nominal representative of the British Government. He established his presence here by purchasing the Brits farm and house for a mere £37-10. Once erven were sold half of the £900 so found was set aside for church and schoolbuilding activities. Warden initiated the building activities by erecting a small public building in St George's Street which has survived precariously.[175] The school opened with 28 children.[176] Before 1850 Bloemfontein had spread to the Northern bank of Bloemspruit with the principal focal points around the Dutch reformed church and the embryonic Market Square. In terms of numbers there were about 400 civilians living in the town, in 1854, as compared to 300 living in 60 houses in 1852.[177] The shopping area near the Market Square could in 1848, boast premises for R. Innes, M Leviseur and G A Fichardt. By 1852 there were already a dozen business premises with supply routes linked to Europe and sub-agents in the Cape Province.[178] If the auto-biography of Sir Harry Smith is compared with Baines'painting of 1851 it can safely be said that the number of buildings in Bloemfontein had quadrupled in three years.[179] Winburg in 1848 was even less prepossessing even if it was nominally the seat of the *Voortrekker* government in the area. It is described as consisting of three or four houses and a number of huts. Other estimates speak of seven houses and 32 inhabitants.[180] To the South Smithfield got under way in 1849 with the sale of erven on *Rietpoort* farm.[181] All these early beginnings were exceedingly modest by our reckoning but to the traveller to the interior these small accretions of civilisation must have represented havens of order and peace.

Harrismith also qualified for designation as a pioneer town since the first erven were surveyed and sold here as early as May 1849.[182]

1.5. PIONEER BUILDING WORK OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNING AUTHORITY 1848 - 1854

The Orange River Sovereignty was proclaimed British territory on 3 February 1848 by Sir Harry Smith, her Brittanic Majesty's Governor and High Commissioner in South Africa. Proclamation of the annexation having been confirmed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies on 20 June 1848, Sir H Smith issued another proclamation on 14 March 1848 defining the form of Government for the annexed territory. A British Resident was appointed and a legislative Council constituted, consisting of the British Resident, the Magistrates of the four districts then existing, two unofficial members from each district, nominated by the High Commissioner for 3 years.

The first concerns of a new authority in a strange environment would devolve around military security, legal authority, political stability and the advancement of the community's interests. For any man other than Sir Harry Smith himself, this was a formidable task and Major Warden, torn as he was between loyalty to the Crown and his understanding of the problems of the local inhabitants, had to build up the infrastructure necessary for carrying out his mandate from the most basic levels, from the time of his first arrival in 1846.

In September 1848 Sir H Smith describes Bloemfontein as: [183]

> a small village, consisting of some half dozen houses and some huts, prettily situated on the banks of a stream having its source in a bubbling fountain, and under a hill. A small fort (or Stockade) had been built, which was commanded from every side. The rebels had taken posession of the various houses and at the Resident's house had even commenced ploughing.

Winburg, to the North of Bloemfontein was nominally one of the principal centres of trekker concentration but at the time of Sir H Smith's visit on 7 September 1848 the village consisted of three or four houses and huts.[184]

Major Warden's first priority, even beyond military security, was the procurement of a house for himself and his family. The property belonging to Brits was purchased in 1846 and this house was described as looking like a "roof standing on the ground".[185] The locality of this early farmhouse was well chosen as the bountiful fountain which gave Bloemfontein its name arose close by and irrigated the first "watererven". [186] Major Warden built his own permanent residence close to Brits's home and both these structures are remembered in the writings of Collins and subsequent historians.[187] This particular site was reserved for subsequent presidencies as the formal residences of State Presidents. It is listed on maps as Lot No. 1. Warden's house may be described as the first government building in the Orange River Sovereignty.

By the middle of 1848, there was, in addition to the small garrison, about 42 adult males eligible for military service and approximately 200 women and 4 children in Bloemfontein.[188]

There is a discrepancy between the extent of Bloemfontein described in the Autobiography of Sir H Smith and later sources which indicate about twice as many homes. Even T Baines's painting of 1851 shows only about 30 houses which could hardly have accommodated the 250 persons credited to the 1848 situation.[189] The population of Bloemfontein at the abandonment of the Sovereignty was about 400 civilians.[190]

The first attempt at building anything like a permanent bastion against enemies of the crown and despoilers of the peace within the all-important Bloemfontein was the small mud and stone fort erected on a hillock immediately to the north of the fountain in 1846.[191] Captain Henry Douglas Warden came to this area with a small detachment of *Cape Mounted Rifles* which he divided into three groups. The first group was deputed to build the fort, the second to build a house [192] and the third to build accommodation for the

militia.[193] The fort was called Fort Drury after Sgt Drury an artificer of the garrison. As a fortification it soon proved to be a mortification as in July 1848 Warden had to inform Sir H Smith that Andries Pretorius was *en route* with 1000 men and that his position was untenable, having at his disposal only 100 men. He was also encumbered with 200 women and children. These were probably not only from the village but from a wider environment. Warden parleyed with Pretorius and the fort was never put to the test. Once Warden had been reinstated by the intervention of Smith after the battle of *Boomplaats,* a second fort was commenced in 1848 and after the expenditure of £475 it was thought fit to be named after a more illustrious person than a sergeant - it was to be Queen's Fort and encamped in its environs were detachments of the Cape Mounted Rifles, the 45th Regiment and a few Artillerymen totalling about 500 men in all. Sir H Smith assured the Colonial office that the fort was "most repectable and commanding"; the local opinion was less flattering. W.W. Colins writes:[194] [88]

> The Fort, then known as the Queen's fort, at the sight of which Her Most Gracious Majesty, Queen Victoria, would probably have blushed, contained four or five antiquated, obsolete, and useless iron guns, mounted on unwieldy iron stands, or carriages.

If the new structure radiated an aura of security this was soon dispelled by heavy Summer rains of 1849. Warden advised the Governor that the apparently sturdy powder magazine had crumbled and that a large portion of the barracks were in ruins. The damage was hastily repaired. The new fort was on a hill rather remote from a reliable source of water and to counteract this deficiency Sir H Smith instructed the garrison to build water tanks at the junction of the present-day Fraser and St George's Streets. These reservoirs had to be enlarged by 1850.

The first incipient signs that Great Britain was not enchanted with its new acquisition were evident as early as 1850 and by April of 1853 the first steps towards disengagement were taken with the appointment of Sir George Clerk whose responsibility it would be to achieve the transition of power. He asked permission in September 1853 to transfer the fort and its four cannon to the new Government-to-be. He did not regard the structure as much more than a "heap of stone", unsuitable as a defence against any well-disciplined force. Nowhere is its intrinsic worth better demonstrated than in its selling price in the inventory. The dilapidated structure was transferred for £95-10. The handing over of the fort on 11 March 1854 was an event of purely symbolic significance. [15]

In the brief period of the Sovereignty Warden was able to build only one other structure which could be termed a government building and that was the small school building in St George's Street which would later become all things to all people, school, church, council chamber and ultimately a museum. Although the earliest intentions of Warden to build a school building date back to his first arrival in Bloemfontein in 1846, it was not before May of 1849 that the school building was declared complete. The building has survived and has been carefully restored under the supervision of the staff of the National Museum in Bloemfontein. The researches relating to the uses of the building are listed within the building itself and include; as a church for the *Ned Geref Kerk* until 29 May 1852 when their church was completed; Andrew Murray was ordained here on 6 May 1849; The Legislative Council of the Sovereignty held its sittings here from 1849 - 1852; the first meeting of the town commissioners was held here; a farewell dinner for Sir George Russel Clerk was laid on here and amongst the guests were Moshesh and his sons; after the abandonment of the Sovereignty the building served as school, government offices and as *Raadzaal* until 1856 when new offices were occupied on the east side of Hoffman-square. [16] [17]

The fact that so simple a building could be used for so long for such important functions is an indication of the political uncertainties surrounding the advent of the new republic, and of the financial straits of the representatives of the British Government which had in spirit already abandoned the acquisition of so large a tract of land as being unworthy of any further expense. The formation of capital at the lowest rungs of financial advancement is inordinately difficult as any pioneer community knows only too well. For the first 10 years of its existence commerce in the Republic had a large element of barter in it. These circumstances severely limited the possibilities of significant public building in the Orange Free State before 1854 and even for a considerable period after that date.

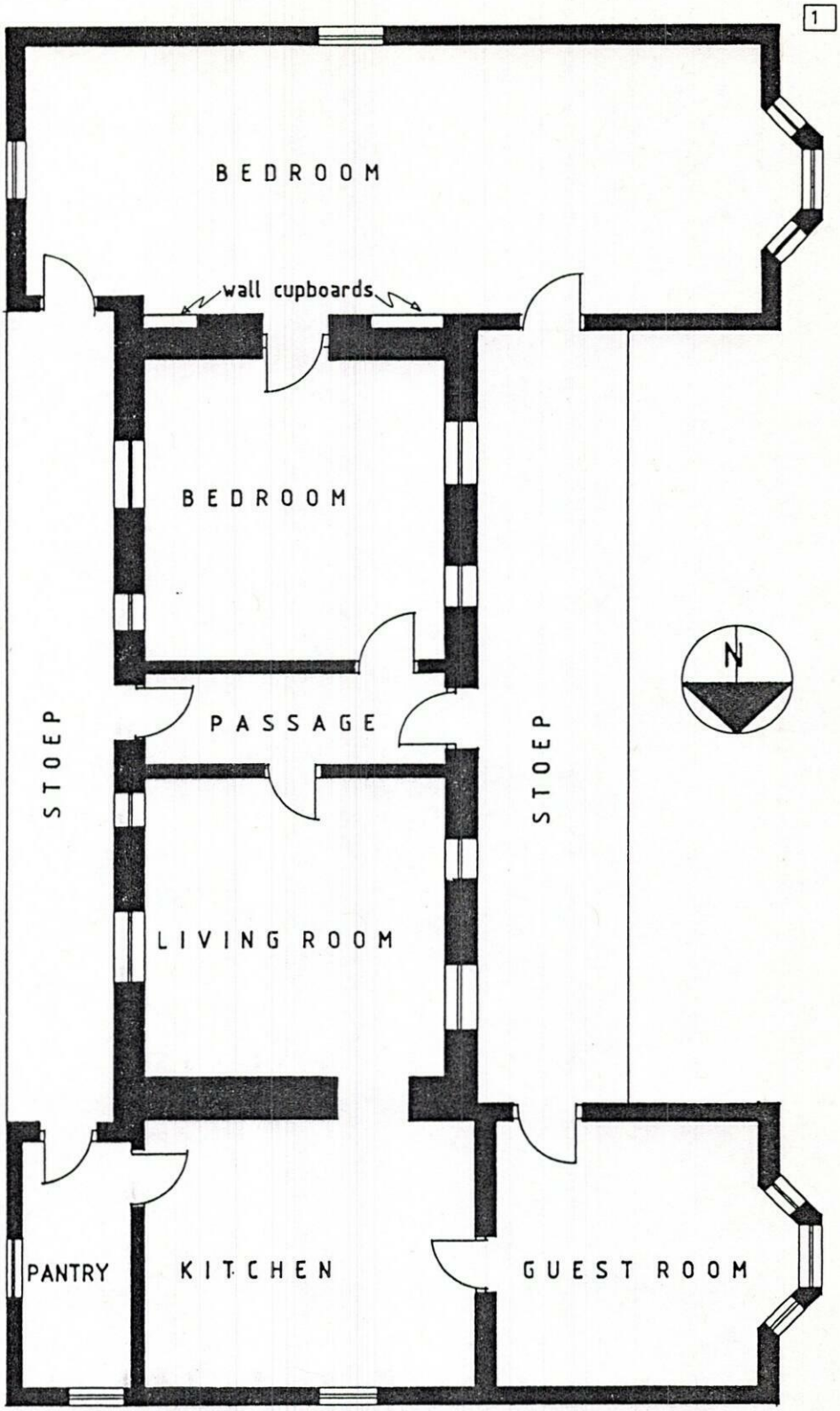
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The complications at the birth of the new Republic in 1854 were considerable and its survival must owe more to the robustness of the fledgeling state than to any affectionate care bestowed upon it by reluctant British midwifery. Culturally it suffered from the effects of political polarity. One half looked Southwards to the framework of British power, language and culture for re-assurance while the other half had severed the umbilical cords with the past and looked Northwards for freedom of movement and expression. Economically the State was at the earliest stages of agrarian development wherein sunlight, grass and cattle are laboriously converted into currency and even then any heat generated by the economy seemed at its grass roots level to be dependant on mimosa wood and cow-dung. The distillation of silver from this amalgam of hardship, poverty and deprivation is the story of the first steps towards nationhood and the earliest beginnings of a local architecture.

The necessary ingredients for forward movement were, however, present in an awareness of destiny in its peoples, buttressed by religious faith and a sense of purpose which made the present investments of time and labour worthwhile long-term ones. Thus the first coalescence of major building intentions was directed to church and school building. The British idea of fortifications never appealed to the Afrikaner who preferred mobility of striking power to the fictitious security of ramparts and cannon balls. Even when he was persuaded to build fortresses around towns like Pretoria in the 1890's no shot was ever fired from them.

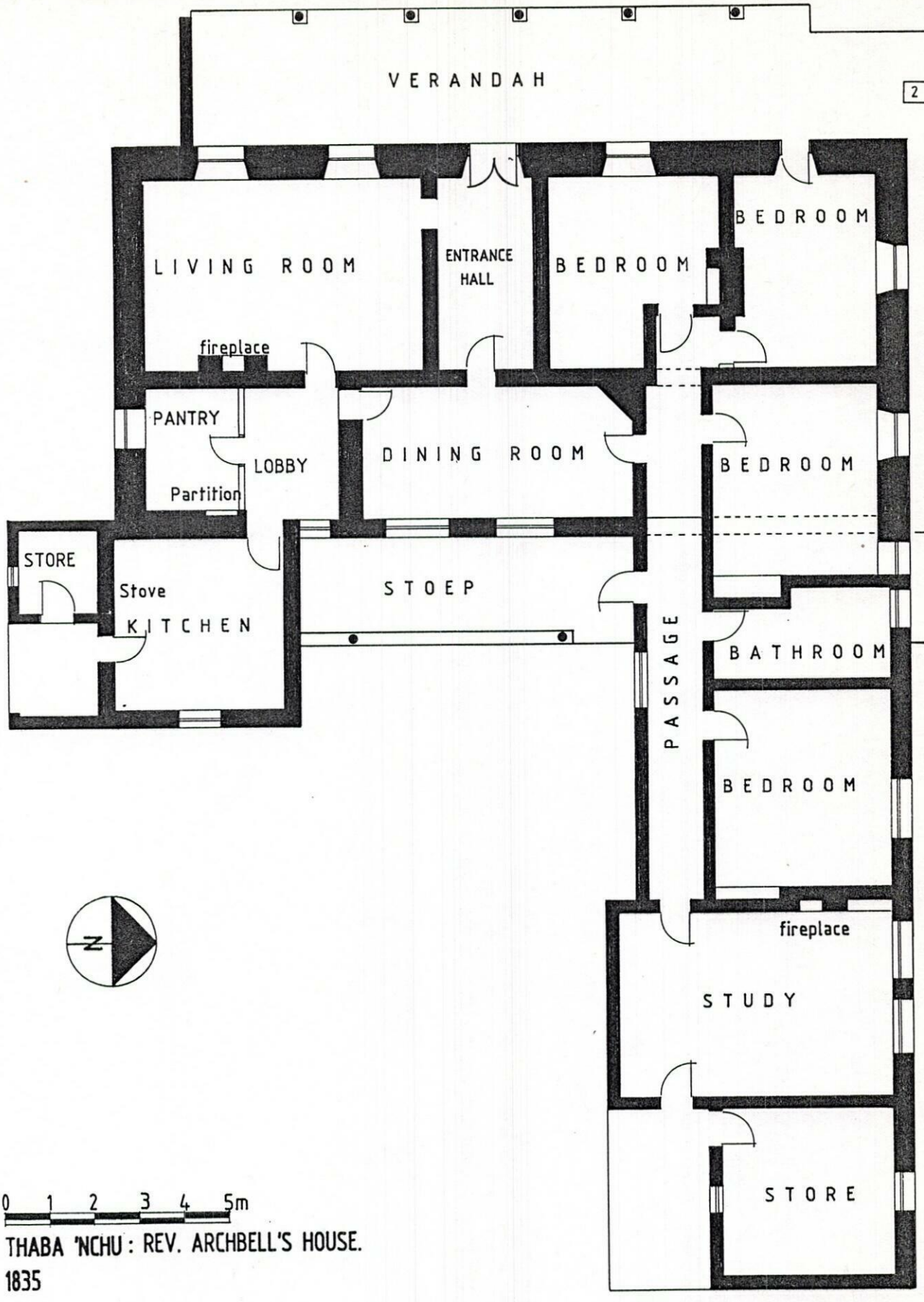
Two cultural influences are discernible. The first is the Dutch one, transmuted in the benign climate of the Boland to Cape Dutch and which yielded in its mellowest years a sense of good taste, quiet dignity in the landscape, proportion and suitability to domestic purpose. Transplanted into the Meditteranean climate of the Cape it flourished with all the benefits of an unrivalled landscape and a peculiarly beautiful type of agriculture — the vine. Attemps to project this style further afield in other climates like that of the Karoo seemed to rob it of vitality. The flat-roof variation of urban Cape Town was preferred to the high pitched thatch in urban settlements as much for reasons of fire-prevention as for economy of materials such as wood and thatch. [195] The flat, reeded roof with a clay finishing layer became the hinterland mutation and was valid as long as climatic factors were not disadvantageous. The Cape Dutch phenomenon had great impetus but it stalled on the banks of the Orange River and made only a limited showing beyond it.[196] Climate and cultural differences sapped its strength and it had to defer to a new vital force surging northwards from Grahamstown and Port Elizabeth. British pragmatism, building methods and a rainfall similar to London's made the pitched roof mandatory as an extension of known parameters. Grahamstown had a few flat roofs on buildings erected by Piet Retief with his Western Cape experience.[197]

When the tradesmen amongst the 1820 Settlers moved to the interior in the wake of the Great Trek they took Midlands-English methods with them and they practised it until corrugated iron and cast-iron Victorianised the South African scene from the Cape to the Limpopo and beyond. An English or Irish tradesman seeking gainful employment had only to move northwards where a thousand homesteaders were anxious to convert a temporary shelter into a more permanent home. The abundance of sandstone around the foothills of the Drakensberg called for new skills which were not available amongst the trekkers. None the less, the durability, safety and comfort of a sandstone house was early realised and if at first only the foundations were of sandstone or dolerite, stability and affluence pushed the content to the point where massive external walls were solidly built of stone.

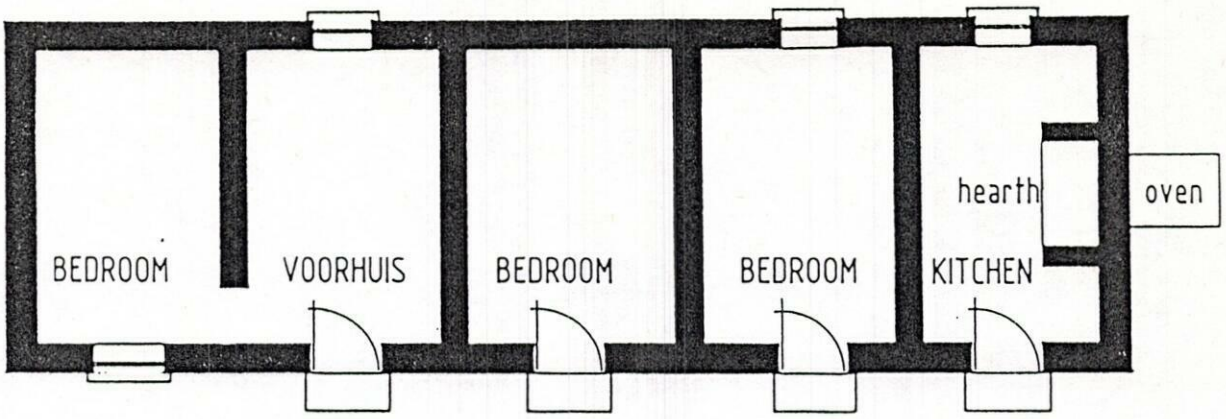


0 1 2 3 4 5m

BETHULIE: PELLISIER RESIDENCE: 1835 and later.

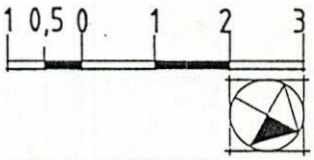


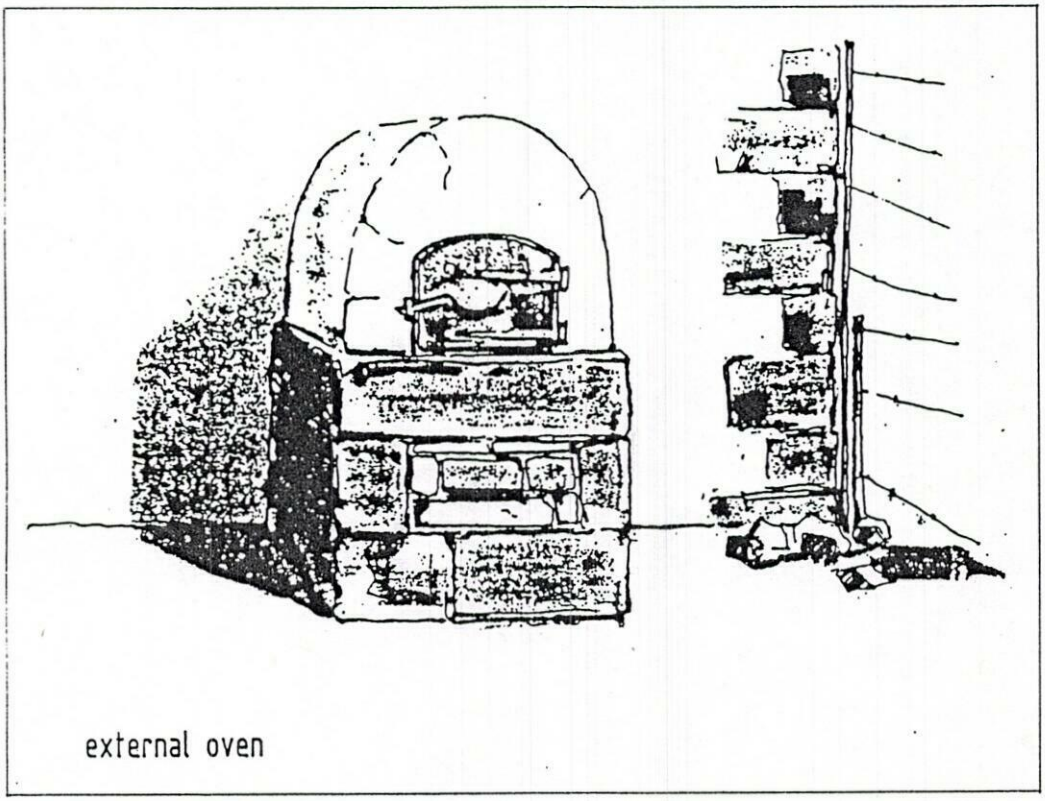
THABA 'NCHU : REV. ARCHBELL'S HOUSE.
1835



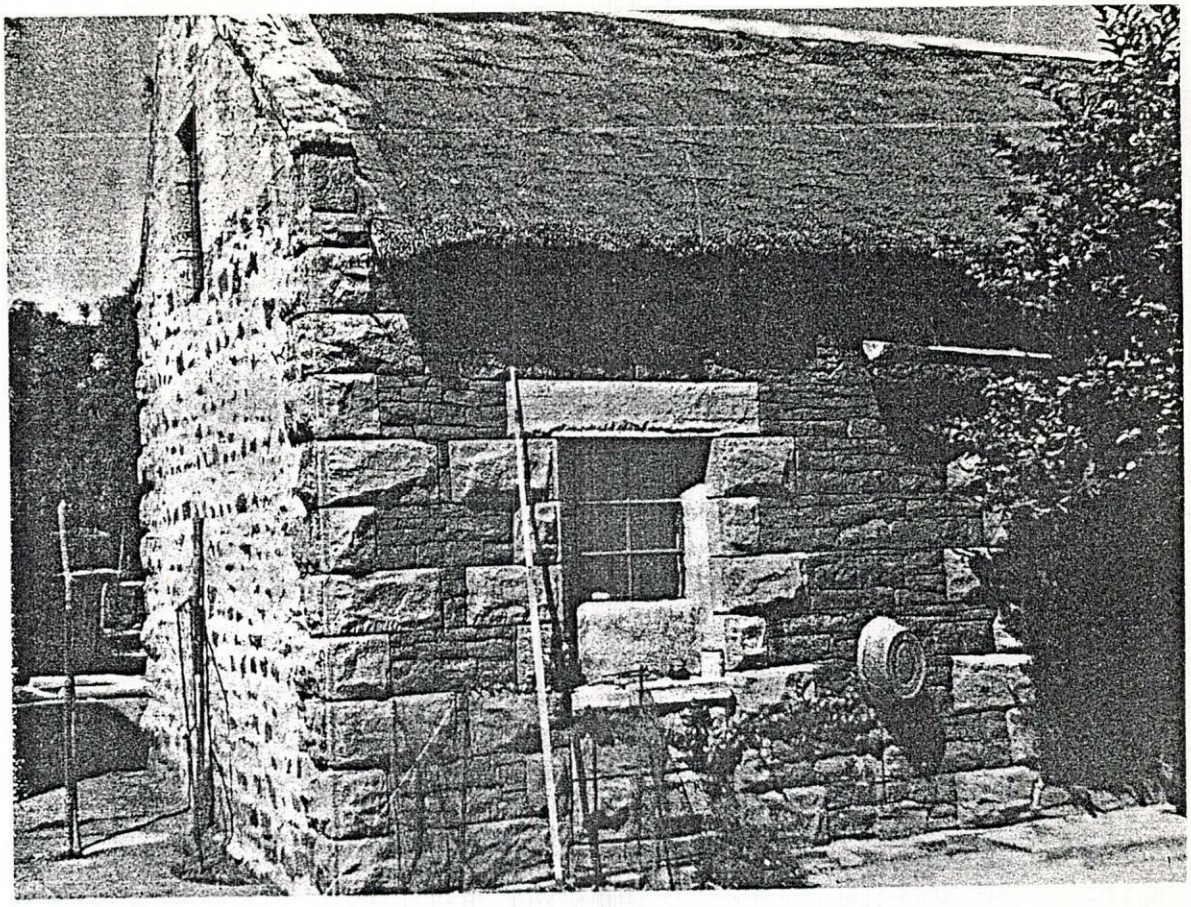
Of interest is the survival of a very early house, c. 1844, with dolerite walls, sandstone trim and gables of random dolerite.

☐ WOLWEFONTEIN : 1st HOUSE
KROONSTAD

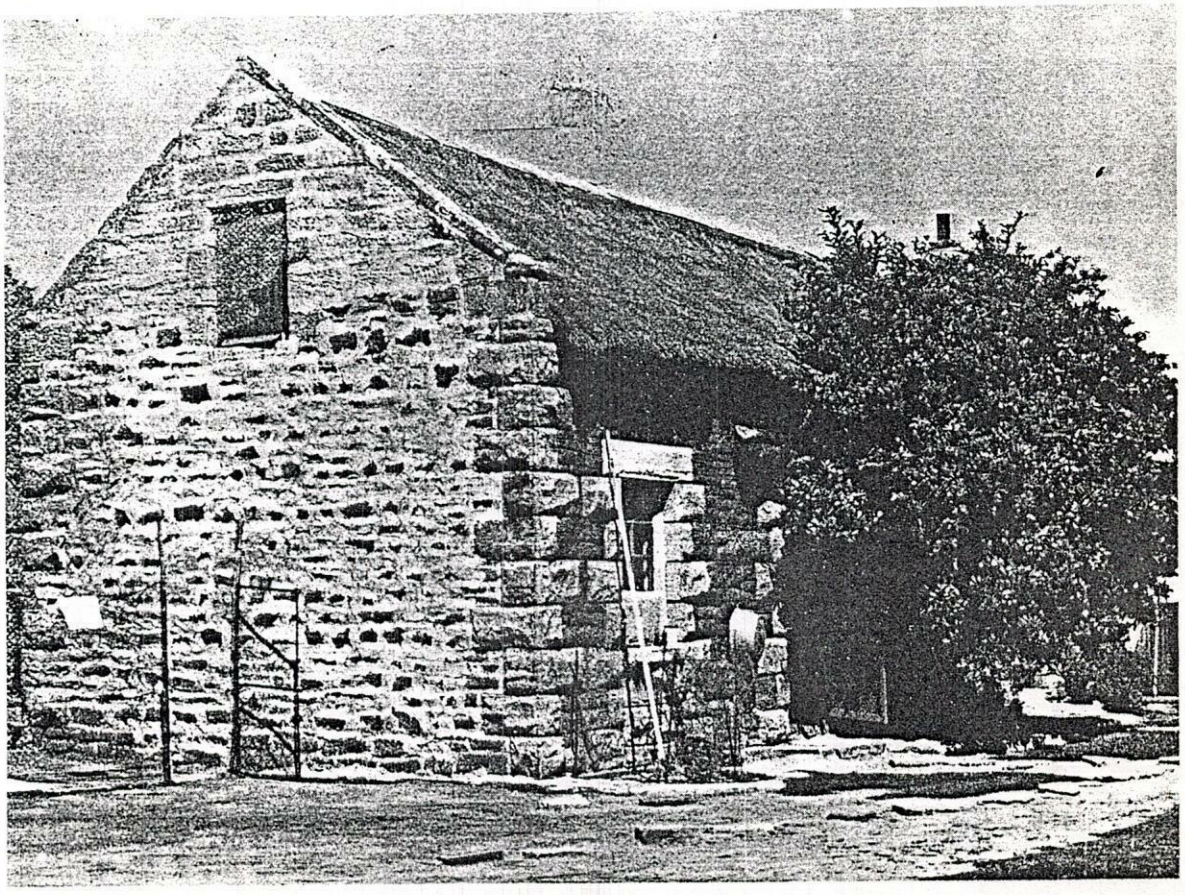


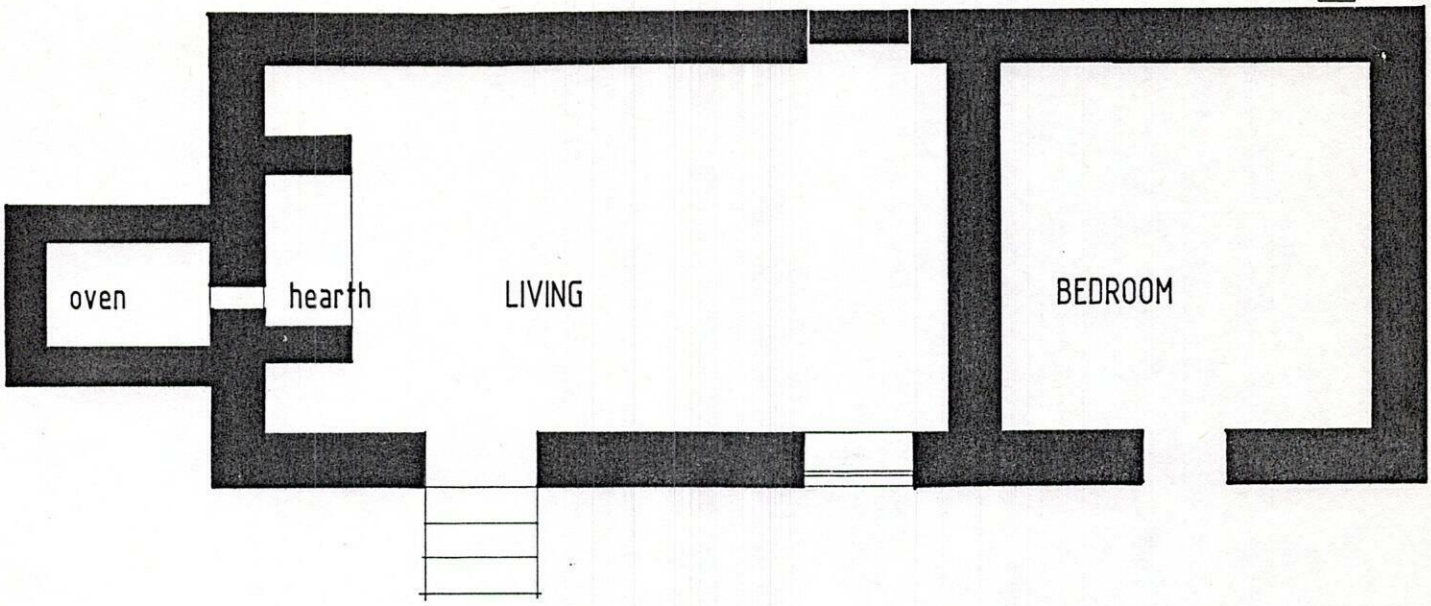


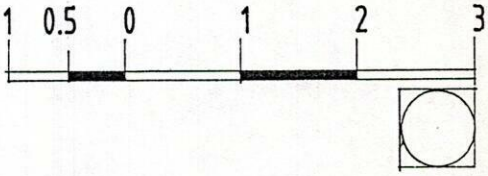
external oven



KROONSTAD: WOLWEFONTEIN 1st HOUSE
1844

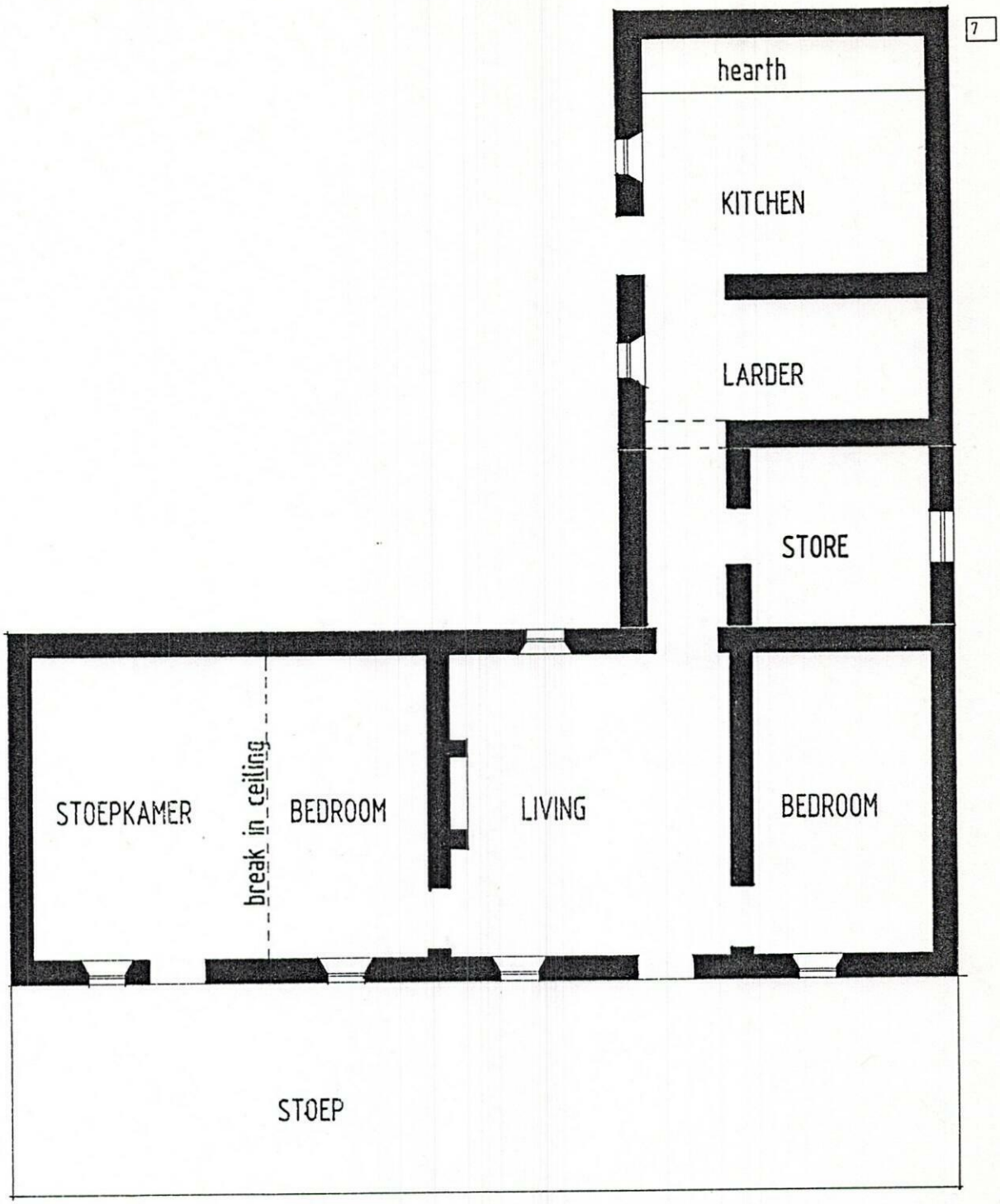




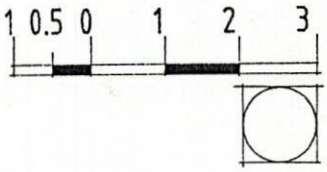


☐ HEFERSDAL c. 1850

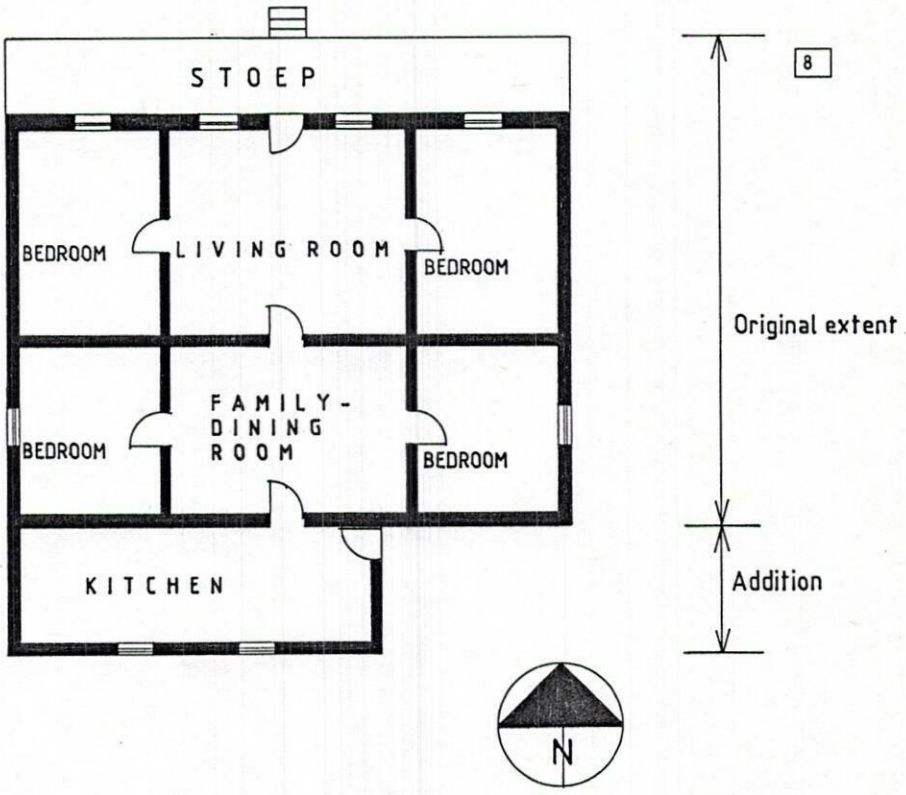
GUMTREE



This pioneer residence dates from c. 1860. It is at present L-shaped but probably consisted of a single rectangle in its earlier stage. Door and window frames are of Yellowwood as are the ceiling boards.



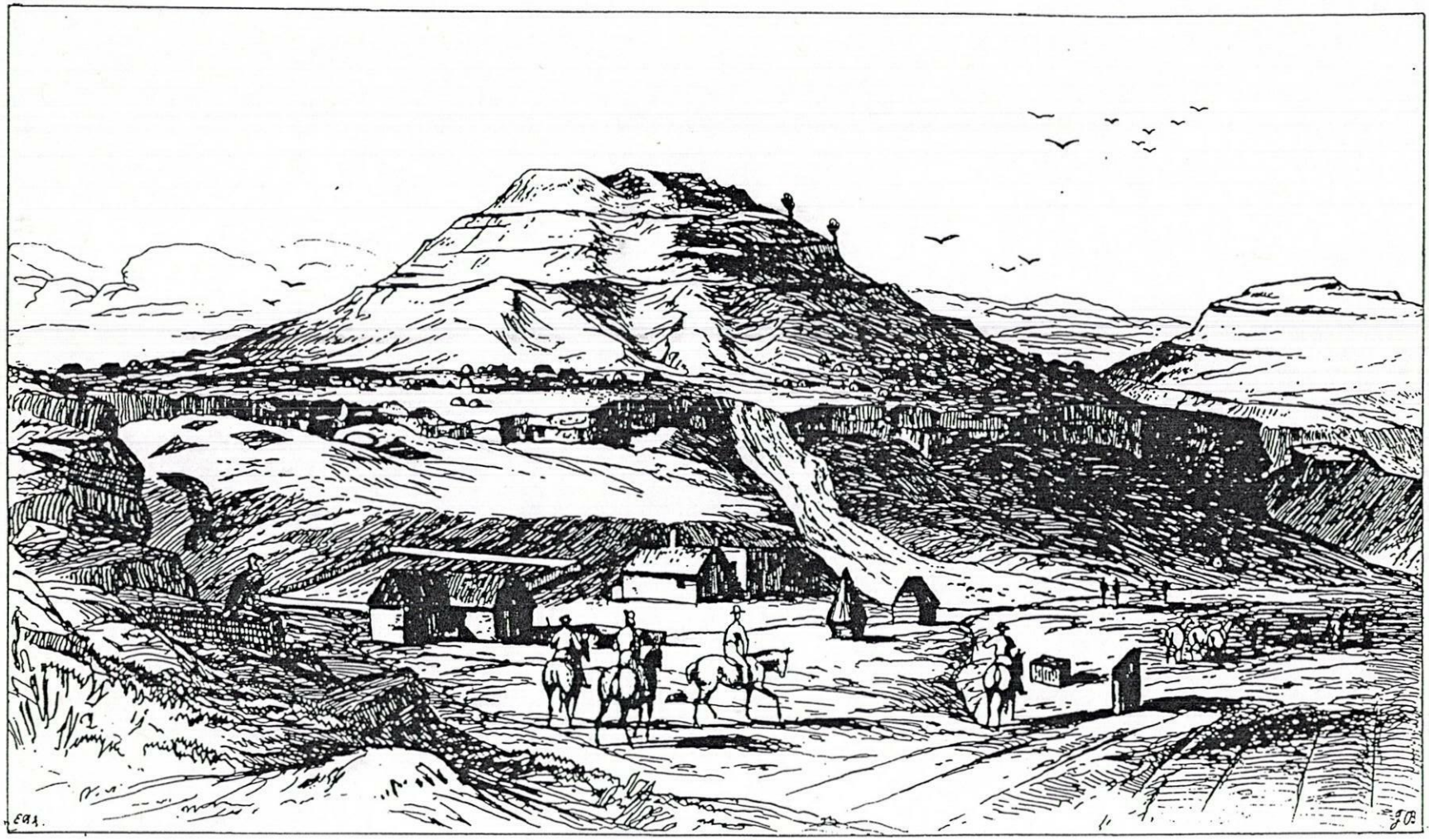
□ VINCENNES 1850
ZASTRON



PETRUSBURG: RESIDENCE ON THE FARM *Stinkfontein.*

1850

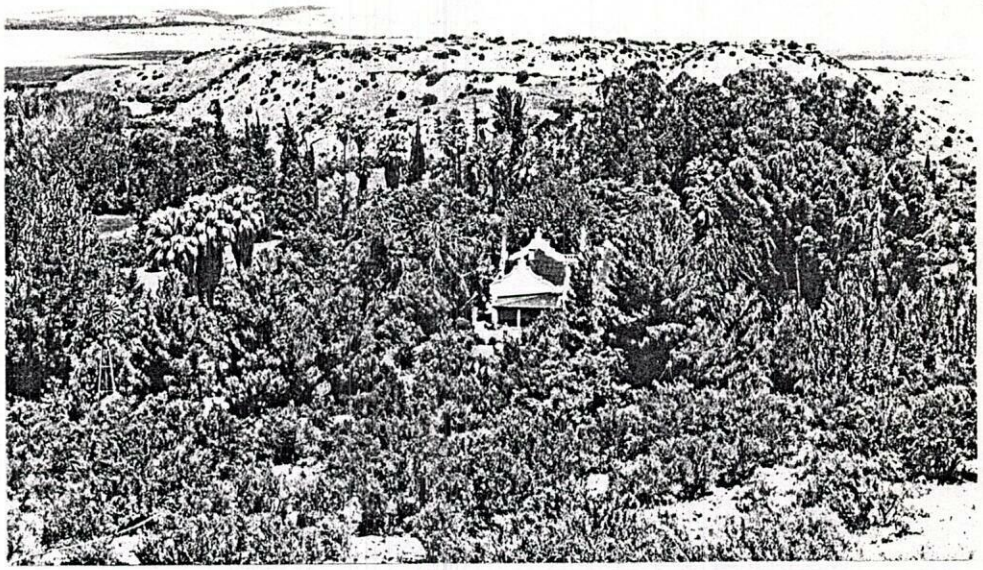
Walls: External: 400mm
Internal: 250mm
Ceiling: Slopes from 3500mm down to 2300mm



Beersheba French M.e Station.

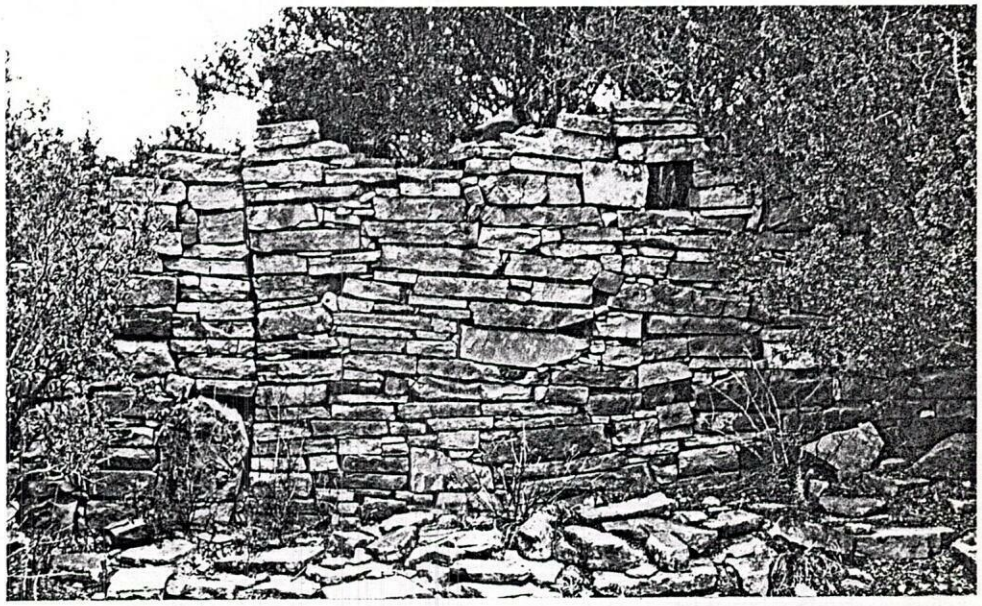
1839

10

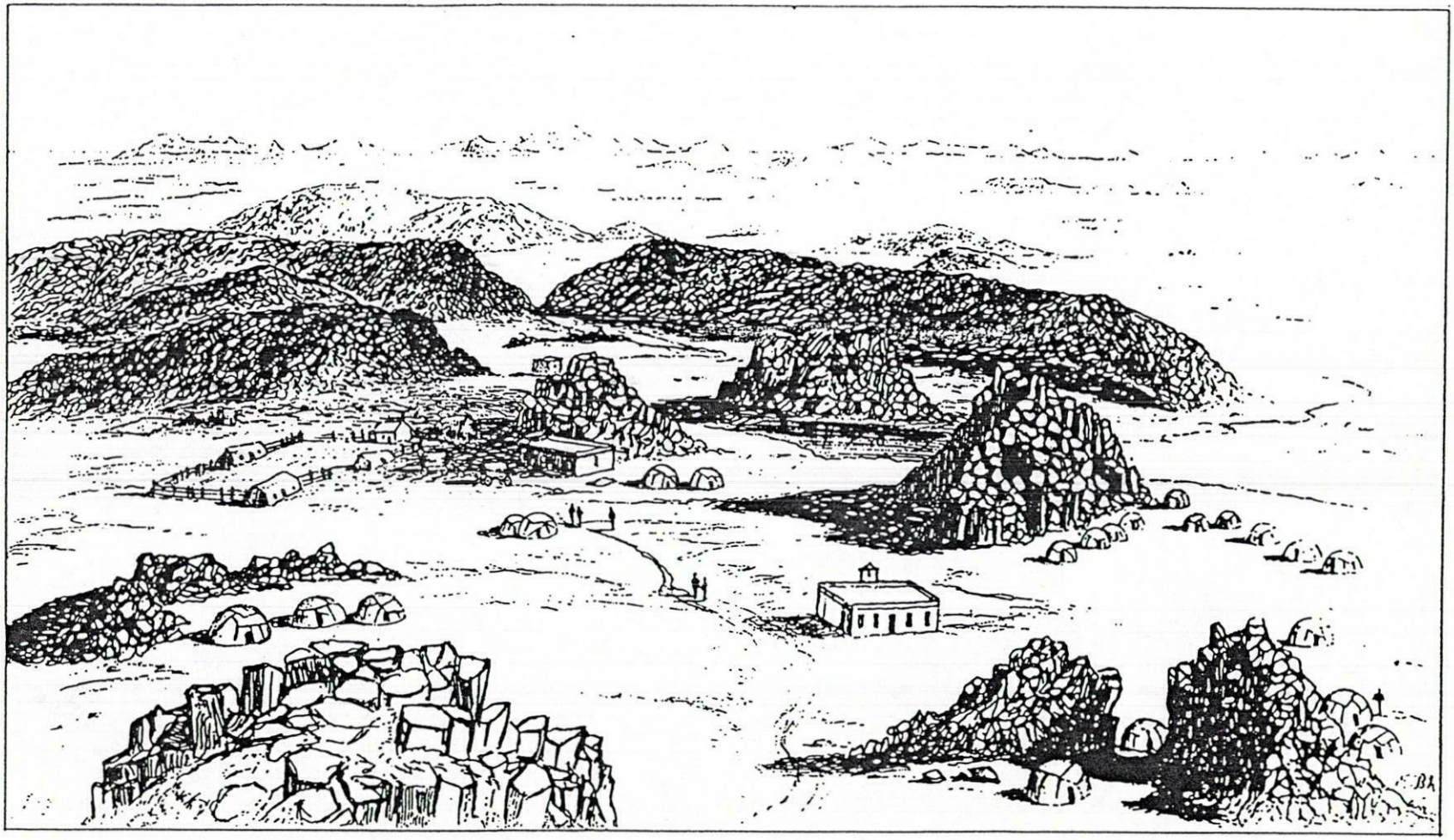


Beersheba, Smithfield district.
The luxurious verdancy of the erstwhile French Mission Station is evident from this photograph. The first buildings erected by Samuel Rolland are incorporated in the existing building which was added to and upgraded over a period of 100 years. Six generations of Swanepoels have resided here. The abundant water supply from the original Zevenfontein (Seven Fountains) has made this site an oasis in an otherwise harsh landscape. The heavy clay walls of the original house were formed between cowhides strung between poles as a formwork.

11

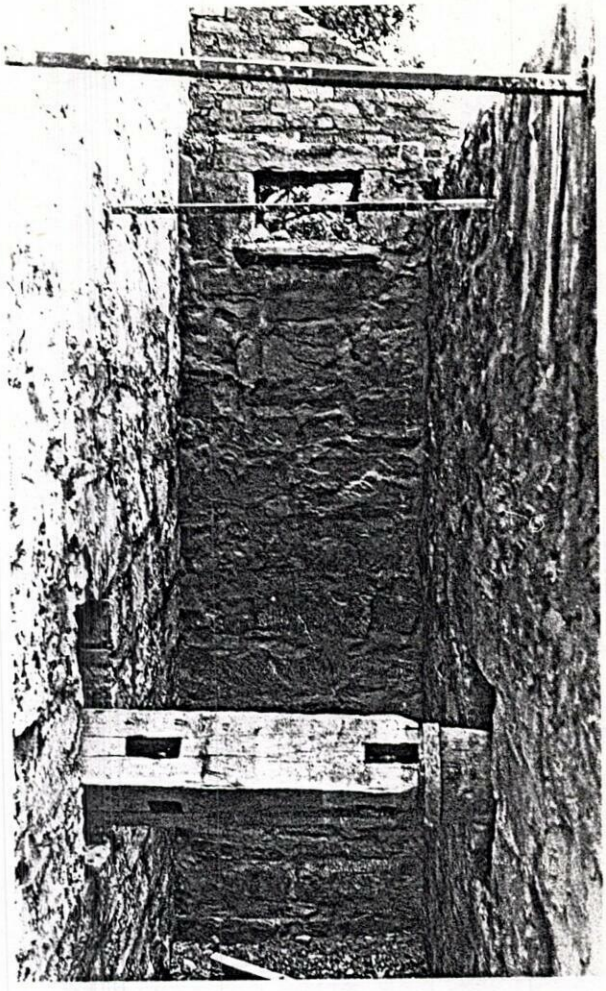


Beersheba, Stone dwellings of black proselytes.
These substantial rectangular homes were built under the supervision of the French Missionaries and owing to their relative inaccesibility they have survived for nearly a century and a half. Roofs consisted of a reeded underlay finished with thatching grass.



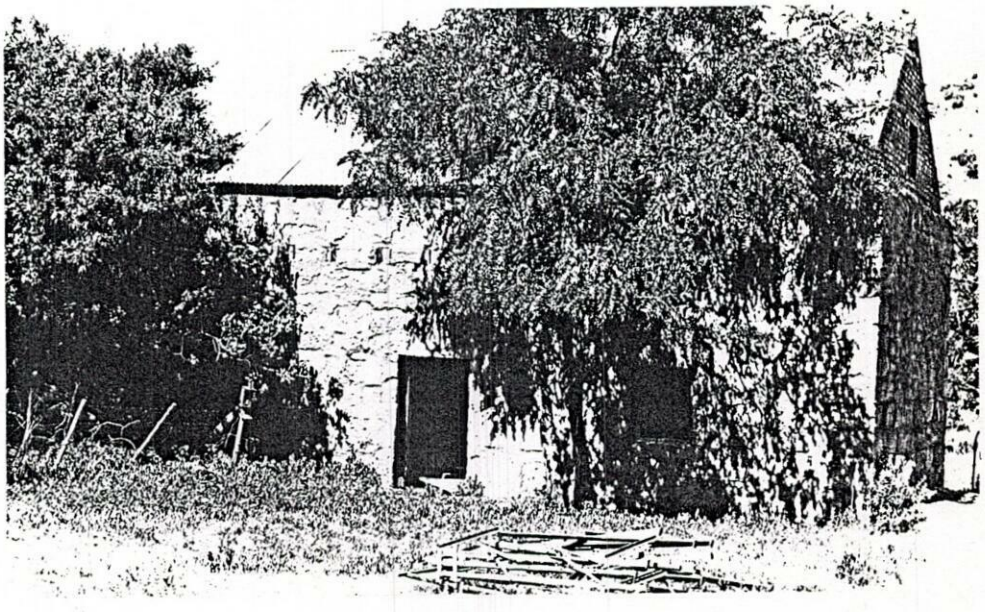
Bethany

1839



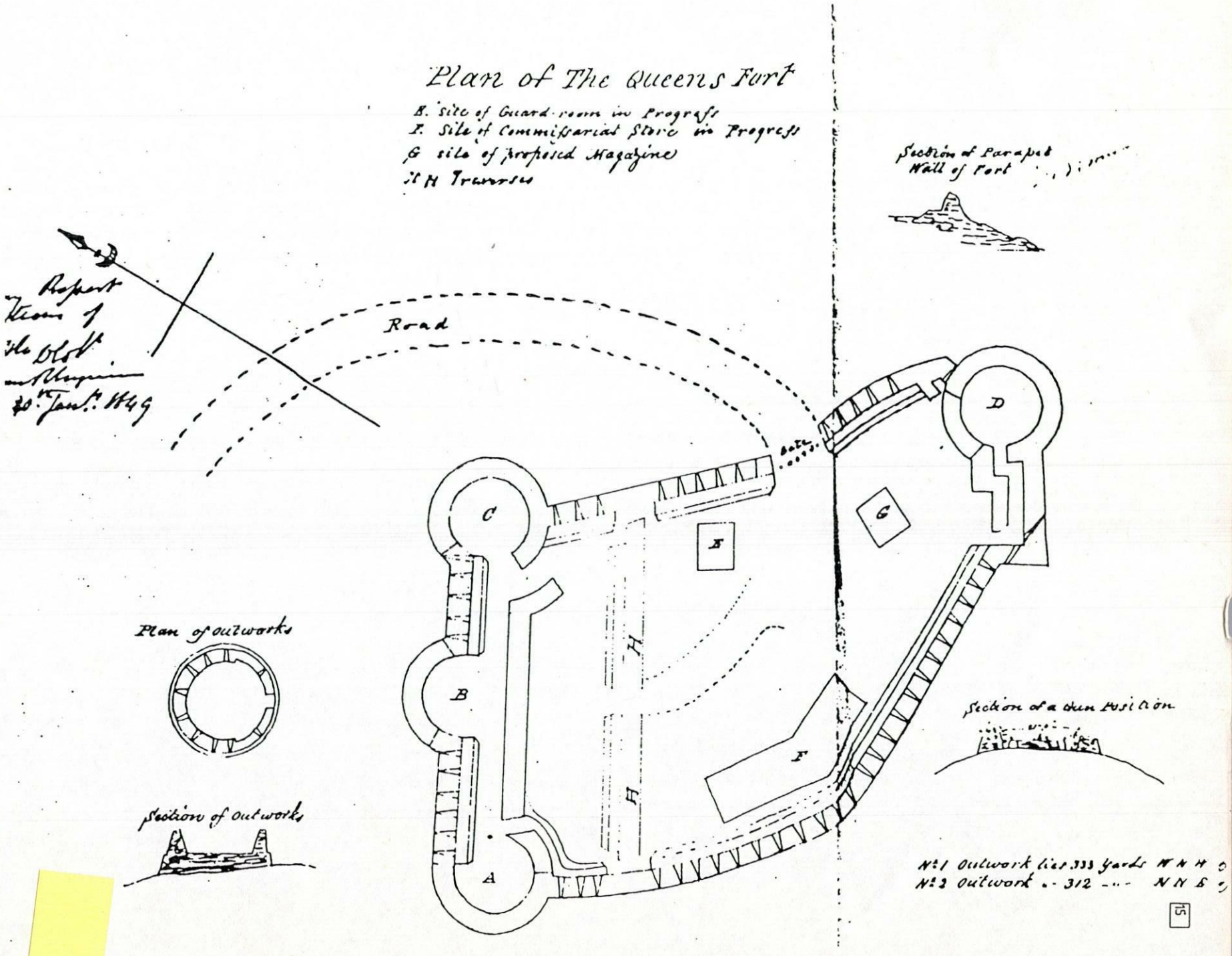
13

SMITHFIELD: CARMEL



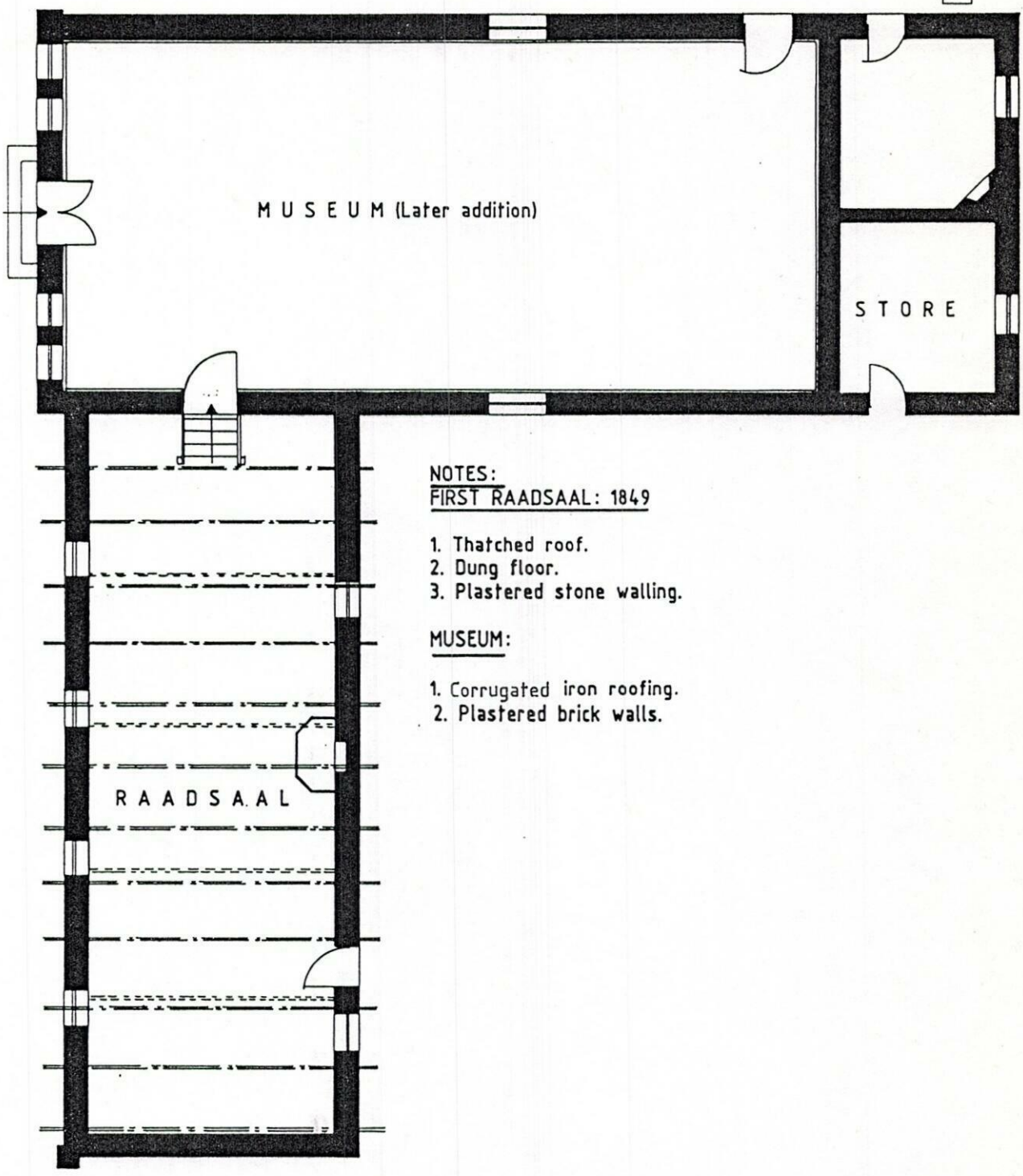
14

Remnants of the old water-mill on the farm Carmel, once a French mission station.



Queen's Fort, Bloemfontein 1848

The strained political situation in the OFS at the time the British Sovereignty was extended into this area by Sir Harry Smith, made a visible military presence necessary. To this end a fort was erected on the hills to the South of the fledgling town. The fortifications consisted principally of earthworks and a few gun positions. The drawing prepared by Inglis in November of 1848 indicates a number of smaller buildings within the ramparts of the fort. As a military structure its function was more often tested by rainfall than by virtue of any enemy action. It has survived to the present time, many additions and improvements having been made to it over the past 138 years.



NOTES:
FIRST RAADSAAL: 1849

1. Thatched roof.
2. Dung floor.
3. Plastered stone walling.

MUSEUM:

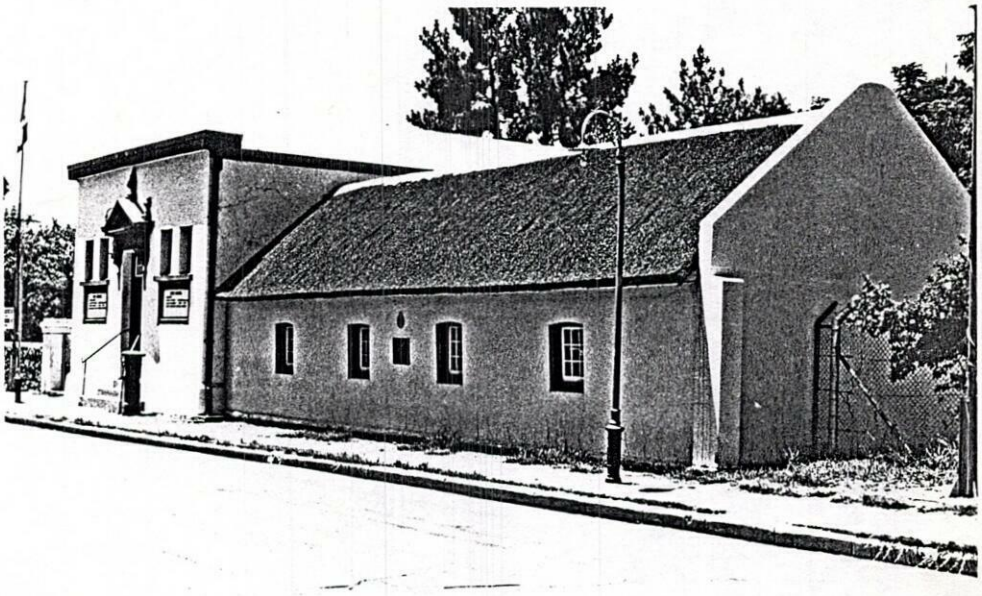
1. Corrugated iron roofing.
2. Plastered brick walls.

0 1 2 3 4 5m

1849

BLOEMFONTEIN: FIRST RAADSAAL AND NATIONAL MUSEUM.

The small Raadzaal with a later museum attached to it really forms the focal point of Bloemfontein's origins. Here important conferences were held, the Volksraad gathered, schooling was provided and on Sundays it served as a church. It has survived to remind the city of its humble beginnings.



First Raadzaal Bloemfontein 1849

This modest building in St George's Street can in every way be regarded as the cradle of all social, cultural, religious and government functions after the Sovereignty was proclaimed in 1848. It was erected in 1849 as a school building by Major H D Warden but it served as a church from 1849 to 1852 and Rev. Andrew Murray was ordained here. The Legislative Council of the Sovereignty met here (1849 - 1854) and the deliberations relating to the Free State's independence were held here. The Volksraad gathered here in the year 1854 - 1859 and the presidents Hoffman and Boshof were inaugurated here.

CHAPTER 2 MODEST BEGINNINGS

INTRODUCTION

Synoptic view of events 1854 - 1863

The unexpected advent of the Republic with the Bloemfontein Convention of 1854 surprised the Afrikaners [1], dismayed the English [2] and disheartened the black and coloured races.[3] While independence was often dearly brought, the Orange Free State had independence bestowed upon it in a rather off-handed manner. Never was a republic launched from so unstable a platform; its peoples were divided in their political intentions and were culturally heterogenous; financially the new State would have difficulties in maintaining the administrative apparatus while militarily it could hardly take up any significant defensive posture against aggressive neighbours. The inhabitants, realizing the vulnerability of their position viewed the circumstances pragmatically and co-operated in the business of survival. The first president, J F Hoffman had at his disposal the dowry bequeathed by Sir George Clerk and even this had to be spent in a prescribed manner, the better properties being offered for sale to the new republic while the remainder were donated, their lack of substance being compensated for by the semblance of authority which they represented.

The first *Volksraad* assembled in Bloemfontein on 28 March 1854 and its 29 members ratified a constitution which made provision for property and equality before the law; liberty of the press and trial by jury.[4] All the principal elements necessary for a democratic state were present and shaped the course of subsequent events. Hoffman's presidency endured for only one year, his resignation being prompted by a storm over a gift of gunpowder to Moshesh. He was succeeded in May 1855 by J N Boshof, a man of considerable ability and sound judgement.

It was fortunate for the Free State that Boshof's presidency coincided with the governorship of Sir George Grey in the Cape. The generous and well-liked personality had the future interests of the whole subcontinent at heart and dreamt of a unified political entity. He donated generously toward education in the Orange Free State and thus founded a college, Grey College, which had a profound influence in the course of education in the Orange Free State, it being generally regarded as one of the best educational facilities that South Africa had to offer at that time.

The striving for political unity was not only of Grey's anglocentric kind but parallel to it ran strenuous attemps to achieve closer republican ties between the Free State and Transvaal.[5] At its peak this movement gave the Free State a president who was simultaneously president of the Transvaal (or of such portions of the Transvaal as were willing to accept him as such). M W Pretorius's Presidency ran from the resignation of Boshof in 1859 to his own resignation in 1863. The Presidency of Pretorius was rather better known for the events which took place during it, almost in spite of it, than for any outstanding actions on his part.

The visit of Prince Alfred, second son of Queen Victoria took place in 1860. The adulation lavished upon the fifteen year old and the unusual hunting and social functions arranged for his benefit during his visit to Bloemfontein were festivities that alleviated the gloom of the drought of 1860 and 1862. If Pretorius rallied the ambitions of the republicans, "Alfie" strengthened the sentiments of the loyalists.[6]

Following upon the reluctant acceptance of the status quo after 1854, the subsequent eight years were marked by a determination of the inhabitants to overcome the numerous disabilities of the fledgeling republic. There was a general movement of a great diversity of skills into the republic and sound government provided the framework for modest economic development and social stratification. The Free Staters of whatever persuasion felt independent and reacted strongly to any external threat which seemed to endanger their independence. Architecturally this period (1854-1863) was marked by paucity of means and urgency of requirements. Apportioning the meagre resources fills the pages of the *Volksraadnotules* and even the first house of the President was conceived in modesty and born to a tumble-down existence.[7]

The first nine years of the Republic were not auspicious. The economy was precariously balanced, political strife occurred frequently and internal as well as external disputes between black and white over land issues clouded the horizon. Nonetheless it had survived the critical post-natal period and was in 1863, unbeknown to its inhabitants on the threshold of significant events of which the most important was the election towards the end of 1863 of President Brand who, for more than a quarter-century was to lead the Free State from its first uncertain steps to a fully fledged model republic by 1888.

The cultural convergence of Cape Dutch and British building methods and styles occured at the Orange River and as the distance to CapeTown increased and its cultural influence waned, the virile enterprise of the 1820 Settlers and a generation of traders and merchants that sprang from them, lent weight and gave dominance to the pragmatism of middle class English culture. Gradually the emigrant Afrikaner became culturally isolated from his Cape Dutch roots. His language underwent a metamorphosis which owed much to Dutch but in the end resembled it only in a superficial way. The last vestiges of his Dutch origins lingered on in church liturgy, the Bible being only finally translated in 1933 from "High-Dutch" into Afrikaans and the hymn-book even later. The lines of cultural communication with continental Europe became almost non-existent after 1850 and were gradually superceded by the powerful influences of a British culture which was in its Victorian ascendency and reached out to the furthest corners of the British Empire, and affected the Orange Free State which was only nominally exempt from British domination after the abandonment of the Sovereignty in 1854.

If Afrikaans traditions found a suitable climate for development in the seclusion of the platteland where it precariously evaded the insistent proliferation of English usages, in the towns the flavour was remarkably English. British coinage (the pound) once established lived on; British newspapers, magazines and catalogues revealed the core of British culture to the African hinterland with only a few weeks delay. Ladies of standing could obtain dresses of high quality and gentlemen everywhere insisted on "Best English Leather". The aura of christian familial piety and affection which was radiated by Queen Victoria and her Consort became acceptable prototypes of respectability and when the *Kerkraad* had to decide upon the correct attire to be adopted they settled for tailcoats tophats and white ties. This accorded with the prevailing Victorian view of what was right and proper.[8]

2.1. THE HOME-BUILDING ROLES OF THE FIRST REPUBLICANS

Infrastructural development

The first nine years of republican development was marked by major changes in the availability and distribution of building materials and whereas the earlier home-building attempts were wholly dependent upon local materials with occasional luxuries like yellow-wood timbers, by the time President Brand came to the presidency in 1864, materials like corrugated iron,[9] baltic deal[10] and pre-made windows were part of the stock-in-trade of the merchants in the interior. The consequence of this diversification was that a town like Bloemfontein could boast everything from the simple flat-roofed cottage to a major undertaking for a new Presidency in 1861. In addition to numerous new homes built in towns and on farms, there was a continuous process of modification and upgrading of private properties.

Since Graaff-Reinet and Colesberg were at this time fully developed towns in terms of their importance to the hinterland, one would reasonably expect that they would have had a marked influence on the stylistic developments of the new towns in the Free State, but the Cape Dutch character which typified much of the urban formation in the Northern Cape had come to the stage where its cultural impetus was expended and

its transplantation across the Orange River was a very limited and vulnerable osmosis. Whereas its homogeneity was once underwritten by custom and usage and maintained by Coloured labour these prerequisites proved to be reluctant transplants.

The reason for this must be sought in the conflict of cultural energies at the line of the Orange River. Cape Duch had come to its fullest development and had little in reserve to spawn a new generation of buildings in a new country which felt the full impact of British dominance. It was the availability, virility and common sense of the British immigrant of 1820 that turned the tide in favour of Victorianism. Even if the new *Voortrekker* families retained mental images of Stellenbosch and Franschoek they could now no longer realise these iconic forms.[11] The traditional skills of coloured builders were not available to them and such building as was done by itinerants was British both in spirit and in execution.

The decline of the Cape Dutch influence is finally demonstrated by the change of character in those towns which came later to the Northern Cape such as Philipstown and Petrusville where the conflict of two cultures had produced a stylistic admixture. Until the metamorphosis was complete, as at Kimberley in 1890, the only guiding rule was pragmatism.

The Victorianisation of the Free State home was no instantaneous process but proceeded by way of substitution and elimination of local environmental materials with the products of industrialised Britain. We can gain some inkling of this process from the informative letters written by the Rev Andrew Murray's wife, Emma, to her mother in Cape Town during the period of her stay in Bloemfontein as a young bride and wife. She was a typical product of the mid-century Victorian family having received her education at home from governesses and masters which gave her and her sisters the "necessary Victorian accomplishments; music, drawing, fancy work, a smattering of French and German".[12] When she travelled to Bloemfontein the entourage was equipped to take her "piano and other specially dear pieces of furniture and china".[13]

Mrs Murray comes to Bloemfontein

The parsonage which the Murrays were to occupy had been purchased by the *Kerkraad* in April 1855 for £410.[14] This home was originally the property of the Sovereignty government and was purchased at a public auction. The parsonage which Andrew Murray had occupied for 6 years as a bachelor was now sold.[15]

We know that Dr Krause lived close by and that he offered to introduce Mrs Murray to the mysteries of the "mud floor".[16]

Mrs Murray complained that her parsonage was "dirty beyond belief" and commenced the cleaning process by having the papering washed. This would seem to indicate that wall-paper was an early introduction and was probably prompted by the poor quality of the mudplaster which would be greatly enhanced by a "genteel" wallpaper. As for the storage of foodstuffs and dry goods she says:

> I have a number of tin boxes and canisters where I keep my daily stores and the bags are locked up in a large chest. [17]

At the end of August 1856 Mrs Murray described Bloemfontein as a village with about 100 houses, none of them of more than one storey. The parsonage "was one of the best of these".[18]

This building has survived for more than a century albeit in a much altered form and the author of the "the young Mrs Murray comes to Bloemfontein" was mistaken in saying that it was demolished to make way for the New Magistrates Court.[19] It was called Green Lodge as one of its owners was Henry Green, the British Resident who superceded Major Warden in 1852. Rev Andrew Murray describes this house in 1849 as "one of the best houses in Bloemfontein, with three good rooms and a pantry, and a large kitchen behind".[20]

The house must have been substantially built if its long life and illustrious list of owners is taken into consideration. At the time of its occupation by the Murrays certain building work was under way presumably to make it more suitable as a parsonage. It was typical of homes in the interior and had a thatched roof and mud floors. Timber planking was available but rather expensive since it had to be brought from the Cape either as indigenous yellow-wood or imported as deal from Europe. Reputedly mud floors gave a sensation of warmth to the interiors of houses and this would be a great advantage in the Free State's cold winters were temperatures often go down to -9°C. The so-called mud floor was in fact a cow-dung floor,

> applied with the palm of the hand in a circular movement. This gave the floor a lovely polish and colour, and though the smell was overpowering at first, the next day it was not at all noticeable. The carpets could then be laid, and apart from sprinkling a little water over the floor before sweeping each day, no more care was needed.[21]

Mrs Murray, while agreeing that these floors may have certain advantages none the less suggested that boarding for two rooms would be a major improvement and the *Kerkraad* agreed to this improvement as well as to the addition of two further rooms, the hospitality of the parsonage being regarded by all callers as being unlimited and taken for granted. Mrs Murray ordered new wallpapers and "grates for two more fire places". These items were ordered through Mr Rutherfoord's nephew (Emma's maiden name was Rutherfoord), who was an agent in Port Elizabeth. The site on which the parsonage stood was undoubtedly one of Bloemfontein's best since it was one of the valuable water-erven which were served by an irrigation furrow leading from the *Bloem Fontein* itself. The abundance of water made gardening a pleasure and the Murrays planted many trees including Australian Blue Gums which were then a novelty in the Free State although they were later to become universal.[22] Emma's description of the garden reads like a passage from "A Midsummer-Night's Dream".

> A little stream of water runs just in front of the house and in it are watercresses which we often have for dinner or supper. The whole garden is surrounded with a high stone wall, but there are vines trained up against it and pomegranates and quinces so that in the summer time I believe it is scarcely visible ..... Just in front of the house is a peach walk and an arbour made of vines at the end.[23]

Intellectual stimulation came to the Murrays *inter alia* by way of the *Illustrated London news*[24] and is indicative of the cultural fountains from which those drank who were conversant with the English language. The other source of information was the *Cape Town Commercial Advertiser*.[25] In September of 1856 Mrs Murray reports that building work has commenced, and this probably refers to the additional rooms. She complains about a lack of storage and that she is

> obliged to leave the Flour in the Kitchen and the milk in the same cupboard with the cold meat or pudding as we have no safe or wire covers or cupboard but this one. There is not a safe to be had in the whole town. [26]

The complaint underlines the problems of housekeeping at that time and as the parsonage would be a residence with above average accommodation the facilities of the typical home must have been minimal. The modest accommodation did not prevent Mrs Murray from referring to "Andrew's Study" and the "Drawing Room". The improvement in the parsonage must have been quite dramatic as she refers also to four rooms which were to have wood floors and ceilings. As for wall finishes she describes the new wallpapers as being "pretty" and remarks that the dark rooms need cheerful light papering.[27] In describing a hailstorm Mrs Murray says of the new additions to the parsonage

> the foundations of our two new rooms are in a bad state, regular ditches of water in some parts where the stones have not yet been laid.
>
> The poor bricklayers sometimes have a 1000 bricks spoiled in one such storm. They were all made (the bricks) but I do not know if they were all quite hard or not.[28]

The Murrays' house which was in the course of extension was struck by a violent hailstorm that hit Bloemfontein in mid-November 1856. Mrs Murray's letters indicate that

> the hailstones were the size of plums nearly, and battered so against the roof I thought it must surely come through.[29]

We know from other sources that the Church roof which was thatched was replaced in 1856 with corrugated iron and the use of this material for alterations and new work seems to have dated from this time. The parsonage was flooded during this violent thunderstorm and the house had to be evacuated until the flooring boards could replace the earth and cow-dung floor.[30] In a later letter, written in December 1856 Mrs Murray speaks of a load of rushes for thatch, so that it is quite possible that the additions may have had a thatched roof to match the main building, or alternately the existing roof could have been repaired.[31] She confirms the conclusions that most of the skilled (and semi-skilled) tradesmen were English-speaking. "Most of the trades people, Carpenters etc. are English and they are a very neglected portion of the community".[32] There was a general shortage of people who could repair and maintain household necessities. In a letter to The Friend a correspondent complains of the tribulations of a householder in Bloemfontein:

> The bakers marched out with the troops and shoemakers cobblers and tailors had rapidly disappeared. Of builders there are a few to whom one can with confidence and safety commit the simplest matter, and these are overworked.

There were no carvers, gilders or watchmakers and no hairdressers.[33]

When Hamelberg came to Bloemfontein in August 1856, he described the town as small with houses widely dispersed. With a few notable exceptions the homes were badly built and hardly exceeded a hundred in number.[34]

The exceptions mentioned by him would have included the Fichardt house adjacent to the Fichardt shop in Charles Street. Another would have been Dr Krause's residence at the south-western edge of the Market Square and the residence at the north-western edge of the square which Hamelberg subsequently purchased for his own use. These houses were much added to and altered over the years and apart from early photographs of Dr Krause's home and apothecary combined and of Hamelberg's home not much detailed information is available. By the standards of their time they were commodious and well-appointed and the fact that building materials had to be transported by ox-wagon from Algoa Bay did not preclude their use in the homes of the few who had assured incomes. The remainder of the urban settlement was devoted to housing minor government officials, businessmen, teachers, parsons, tradesmen and lawyers. Incomes were modest and just as many businesses failed as succeeded as hopeful newcomers moved into the newly independent republic.

In other urban settlements home-building proceeded apace. In places like Philippolis, which had a head start on other Free State towns, Solomon writing to Tidman on 22 December 1856 mentions that several good homes had been built in the village. A good wool clip meant that 154 new homes could be built in a substantial manner of stone or burnt brick. One home is described as an

> excellent comfortable dwelling containing parlour, dining room, three bedrooms, kitchen pantry and store room — all the timber used in the house is good English deal and the house cost the proprietor about £300. [35]

A photograph taken in 1860 from the hills overlooking the town shows about 35 houses in a panoramic view. Quite a few of these are indicative of a high standard of living amongst the Griquas.

Rural home-building

In its extent rural home building dwarfed, in the aggregate, the numbers of urban homes so that the early republican period must have experienced a great number of "first" homes on farms particularly as the first generation after the Great Trek became of age and inherited farms of their own.

A desire for something more permanent than clay began to manifest itself from 1850 onwards and wherever dolerite was to be found it became a popular building material particularly as random rubble. Dolerite usually disintegrates in nature with at least one face reasonably flat and by using the hard stone in a vertical cladding manner substantial walls could be built. More generally dolerite was used in foundations only, and then on the flat bed.

Of this generation are the homes at *Rietfontein* (Winburg), *Doornkloof* (Lindley), *Doorndraai* (Koppies), *Strydfontein* (Kroonstad), *Platkopje* (Reitz).

A typical farm house of 1855 would have a dolerite foundation, unburnt brick walls plastered in mud, a pitched thatch roof over three rooms in tandem.

Variations on this theme would imply walls totally built of dolerite or occasionally sandstone above the dolerite foundation.

The thatched roofs were replaced by corrugated iron roofs as soon as the owner's finances allowed this. Other early innovative improvements were timber ceilings and timber floors in the more important rooms.

The functionality of the early farm house was of such an order that it survived in South Africa for almost a century. Even as late as 1930 farm houses were being built with random stones laid in mud, and finished in mud plaster. Roofs were still in thatch on the highveld grass plains and floors topped with dung. Such homes were quite common on small holdings of the landowner of modest means.

As a prototype for black rural housing it enjoyed a further lease of life but black builders preferred corrugated iron and the lean-to flat roof exceeded (and still exceeds) all other types of roof in its frequency of use for rural black housing.

CONCLUSIONS

The period immediately following the creation of the Republic was principally one of the domestic consolidation with residential buildings being mostly at a very basic level of amenity. The availability of the materials of the industrial revolution rapidly altered the building methods and gave new freedom to extended plan forms. The first concerns of home-owners however, were directed at the covering of flat clay roofs with corrugated iron to relieve the distressing incidence of water penetration. The resulting conversion had the fortunate consequence that the typical Karoo-house altered little in appearance. It still showed the same street elevation and cultural characteristics while the iron roof was laid over a heat insulation of soil on the ceiling to promote internal comfort. Such conversions are still to be seen at Philippolis, the soil being of a loamy consistency and not the brackish clay used for the original reed-and-clay roof.

The conversion from *brakdakke* to flat roofs of corrugated iron posed the problem of supporting the roof rafters directly onto the reed base and clay topping. This usually meant that the existing roof would have to be removed *in toto,* that a boarded timber ceiling would be fixed in position and protected with topsoil as an insulating layer. The conversion to iron usually meant the disturbance of the clay roof and its removal. Consequently some of the oldest houses in Philippolis reveal only the consequences of the conversion and little of the original construction.

In the higher rainfall areas the thatched roof would as like as not be replaced with a pitched roof in iron as soon as the maintenance of the thatch warranted such a conversion.

These innovations in the early stages were devoted to the replacement of the original roof only and the possibilities of extending roofed areas over stoeps was still an embryonic possibility awaiting more affluent times and a stronger stylistic impulse from outside. For the interim the shutter could suffice.

The late fifties also mark the gradual exit of the cow-dung-on-clay floor in favour of timber boarding. This substitution was often done piecemeal with the principal living room given preference. The use of the cow-dung floor in the kitchen area often proving a hardy survivor long after the inclusion of timber floors elsewhere in the house.

As long as land was plentiful and a farm could be subdivided for sons and daughters the migration of young couples to their own three-roomed house lessened the need for large extended homes. The use of earlier extant prototypes on the farm by teenage sons further reduced the need for elaborate dwellings. This circumstance was however, on the verge of changing dramatically.

2.2. *COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL BUILDING IN THE EARLY REPUBLICAN ERA*

The beginnings of commercial enterprise

The establishment of the Sovereignty in 1848 drew a strong contingent of English speaking artisans, shopkeepers, bankers and other entrepreneurs into the Free State. British control of the Transgariep area was brief and when the British troops left Bloemfontein in 1854 many of the itinerants moved back over the Orange River with them. Quite a few however, remained, and having established a firm footing as merchants and tradesmen, they were reluctant to abandon this and retrace their steps to the Cape Province. This decision required a certain amount of courage as the vagaries of business in pioneer republican times were considerable. There were such imponderables as remote location, irregular transportation, lack of credit facilities, devasting droughts, a limited market, dislocating wars with Basutoland, the cyclic importance of *Nachtmaal,* and the fact that Bloemfontein was the governmental and commercial node.[36]

Undoubtedly the remote interior situation of the Free State made transportation of persons and goods a primary business without which it could never have been established nor less survived. The ox-wagon came to the rescue but animal-drawn stinkwood wagons covering 800km from Algoa Bay to Bloemfontein were necessarily an expensive undertaking. The tariff in 1864 was 10/- to 11/- per 100 pounds of weight, but charges as high as 35/- per 100 lbs were not unknown.[37]

These charges made the importation of building materials onerous, but the necessary furniture, fittings and fabrics had of necessity to be purchased from the local representatives of British exporting companies. The principal structural materials were local stone, local brick, while the use of yellow-wood and stinkwood only yielded to the imported timbers when the Cape timbers became scarce and costly.

The establishment of businesses in the period 1848 - 1854 was an extensive process. While the period before 1850 reveals only a half-dozen names of merchants and professional services the period 1850 - 1854 boasts no less than 29 including such diverse services as furrier, gunsmith, wool and ivory merchant, attorney, architect and tailor. The known list is derived from first advertisements in *The Friend* and could well have

been in excess of this number. Despite a temporary decline in business activity after 1854 at least 18 new names appear in advertisements in the period 1854 - 1863, the newer arrivals including an "accoucheur", two doctors and two bookbinders.[38]

Hotel accommodation

The influx of immigrants rendered the need for accommodation critical from 1850 onwards. The newer arrivals came without a wagon and had perforce to find lodgings or hotel accommodation. *The Friend* reports a Boarding House in Bloemfontein as early as 1852 with E Bird as proprietor. Most of the lodging houses were owned by women. There was however no sudden spate of hotel buildings and for many years the Free State Hotel was the only one in the capital city and attempts to establish a second one only occurred in 1871.

Banking

The exigencies of long-term credit and long-distance buying rendered the services of a banking institution indispensable during the early years of the Republic. The business fraternity of Bloemfontein, being acutely aware of this need decided to establish their own bank. At a public meeting held in Bloemfontein on 5 December 1861 a Joint Stock Bank was established with a working capital of £30 000 in £5 shares.

Despite the depression caused by the drought of 1863 the bank rendered handsome dividends to its shareholders. This home-grown bank was almost immediately followed by the Standard Bank which opened a branch in upper Church Street in 1863. Mr Fairie was the first manager and business expanded, necessitating the opening of a branch at Fauresmith. This bank was suspected of practices inimical to the best economic interests of the state and resulted in a *Volksraad* resolution which prohibited "foreign" banks from 1866 onwards. The Standard Bank finalised its transactions in the Free State on 5 April 1868 and the *Volksraad* entered the banking area with the issue of paper money called "blue-backs".

These notes were often distrusted but in the end the government fully redeemed them. The only other banking institution permitted in the Free State was the "Bank of Africa" which had several branches in the country.[39]

Summary

The period 1854 - 1863 saw a very dramatic development of commercial enterprise and infrastructure and at the end of this period the Free State had all the economic institutions necessary for business activity. On the industrial front, development was much slower in coming and the sporadic appearance of tanning, carding and tobacco industries did not signify an important industrial development. The Free State had an agricultural base and the full diversification of this base occupied nearly a century of development.

2.3 THE COMMUNITY AND ITS INSTITUTIONS 1854 - 1863

INTRODUCTION

As a manifestation of communal interest and intent, church-building remained the most significant cultural contribution in the field of architecture and this section examines the first developments beyond the confines of the pioneer communities. The establishment of no less than six new congregations willing to underwrite the costs involved in erecting and maintaining a church and providing for the services of a full-time minister indicate that the interior was moving toward a period of settled development with concommitant emergence of common concerns for the spiritual welfare of the agricultural communities which looked to the few nodal points as a rallying point of their endeavours.

The six new congregations of the *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* which fall within the period under consideration are: Boshof (1856), Jacobsdal (1860), Kroonstad (1860), Philippolis (1862), Edenburg (1862) and Bethulie (1862).

THE NEDERDUITSE GEREFORMEERDE KERK

The Boshof Community

The early history of the Boshoff area bears the same imprint of almost casual transactions between earliest trekker immigrants and the local inhabitants. The spreading out of wagon trails like some broad tipped fan brought the first pioneers into this area in 1839 where by usage and occupation the land was owned by Tgontgoup, a Bushman chieftain. The first arrivals were D S Fourie, G P Jacobs and J P van Zyl who moved here from Beaufort West in the autumn of 1839. The appointed heir of the land was Degoup, the grandson of the chieftain. Degoup acquired the nick-name of David Danster and a formal "contract" was concluded with him whereby the area between the Modder and Vaal Rivers was sold to the whites.[40]

The legality of the transaction was accepted in good faith by the large number that moved into this area over the next two decades but the San (Bushmen) must have regretted their absent-minded generosity in parting with so large a piece of land and when the Free State became embroiled in the Basuto wars of 1858 and later, Skeelkoos, Danster's brother attacked the new town of Boshof which was not well-defended owing to the absence of men on commando.

Farm and town dwellings in this area were substantially built for just such an emergency being complete with portholes for the firing of weapons. An effective defence was put up and Boshof had survived its first ordeal by May 1858. Sporadic attacks continued and in June 1858 a commando was put together to subdue Skeelkoos. This skirmish was effective and the Western Free State entered into a period of comparative calm until the discovery of diamonds ripped its tranquility apart.

By virtue of his early and successful acquisition of land D S Fourie had become the owner of 18 200 square km. The sale of parcels of land proceeded rapidly. As is customary when rural land becomes settled and occupied the establishment of a *gemeente* became a first priority in the thoughts of the local community. The urban nodus was by 1853 coalescing around the farm *Van Wyksvlei* where G P Jacobs took the initiative of organising a sale of stands. It would take a few years for his entrepreneurial efforts to reach fruition and it was not until 1856 that permission was granted to the petitionary of the *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* to establish a town and a *gemeente*. In the absence of any other corpus of authority the church was designated as the local authority. 47 Erven were sold at the first sale and the rudiments of the urban settlement having been established, President Boshof was asked permission for his name to be given to the new town. He acquiesced and Boshof was a reality. The urban rivalry between Boshof and Kroonstad for a magistracy was decided in favour of Boshof on the grounds that Boshof had 20 houses while Kroonstad could show only 7. In 1860 the town was declared a *landdrosdistrik*.

The energies expended by pioneer churchmen in their involvement with the circuitous process of forming a congregation is deserving of consideration by later generations. Not only did Rev Andrew Murray travel extensively to the interior to administer to his people in *diaspora* but negotiations for urban formation, urban control, the establishment of *gemeentes,* sale of land, and the whole process of civilizing the interior seemed, in the end, to devolve on the shoulders of a few, who fortunately had clear heads set upon them.

Boshof had as its focal point the nucleus of church and the attendent *dorpshuis* which were the week-end cottages or the *Nachtmaal* homes of a rural population when in "town". Such houses were built in Voortrekker and Fontein Streets. The buildings were in two distinct groups. Those with water rights belonged to the more affluent while the other groups were restricted to the so-called dry erven.

The dreams of the pioneers for a church building of some significance was inevitably tempered by the realities of cost. The first church building which served from 1857-1874 was a very simple affair erected by members of the *Kerkraad.* Its walls were of clay and was topped with a thatched roof. Each churchgoer had to bring a portable chair as the church had no pews.

The first records of the church are a litany of leaks, cracks and decay. The chorus of discontent having gone beyond the point of endurance, the *Kerkraad* was prevailed upon to build a new church.

Ds H W Brandt's relationship with the rural community does not seem to have been cordial. Trained in the United States he found the provisions for his own comfort inadequate and complained that his parsonage resembled nothing so much as a "stinking cowshed". His florid and colourful oratory so vividly brought to mind scenes from Dante's Inferno that the beale's wife fell into a dead faint during a service. Her husband, a hardnosed Hollander, stormed down the aisle and interrupted the meeting by shouting at the minister words which cannot be easily translated but could be rendered as "You low down cockroach, come down from the pulpit and I will lay my fists on you". The Parson, not easily intimidated, accepted the challenge and the wrestling match which ensued at the foot of the pulpit was only terminated by the concerted efforts of the stronger members of the *Kerkraad.* If the church buildings were plain to the point of dullness, proceedings were often enlivened by colourful personalities.[41]

To motivate the parishioners Ds Brandt had as early as 1866 initiated the steps necessary for building a new church. A sketch plan was provided by Richard Wocke, the Bloemfontein builder-architect who had only a short while before given Philippolis a handsome new church.

It took six years of fund-raising and planning before the foundation stone was ultimately laid in October of 1872. The church was two years in building, being inaugurated on 10 October 1874. The strong links between State and church were demonstrated when the *Volksraad* donated two farms, from the sale of which, sufficient building funds became available. This generosity even made possible the use of teak for joinery.

The original church was built with clay bricks plastered in lime externally and covered in corrugated iron. The style was Wocke-Gothic and future extensions were planned in the form of a Transept. Mr Louw, the Paarl architect, subsequently added the two side wings in 1913 in a manner consistent with the original building's character. [54] [55]

Today the old church lies moribund inside a cladding of face brick which was draped around the classical building in 1954 providing it with an ill-fitting cloak of latter-day durability. The metamorphosis was complete and is probably irreversible. The post-war period of the early fifties of this century had scant regard for the principles of preservation. Renewal by whatever means was regarded a sacred duty and although subsequent generations may regret the event they would be unable to prove *male fides.*

The Kroonstad community

It has already been indicated that from Winburg northwards the inhabitants saw their political *heimat* as lying in the Transvaal. The earliest pioneers of the Kroonstad era owed allegiance to Hendrik Potgieter who acquired the land between the Vaal and the Vet Rivers from Makwana. The Transvaal faction and the Natal faction united in 1840 to form the Republic of Natalia with its headquarters in Pietermaritzburg. This unworkable arrangement was alleviated by the formation of a subsidiary body of authority vested in Potchefstroom. With the annexation of Natal in 1843 the inland faction did not regard itself as being influenced or bound by events in Natal. It is significant that the area lying between the Vaal and the Vet Rivers was in a certain sense the cradle of the later republics. This feeling of independence was confirmed by the signing of the Sand River Convention in 1854 at which time Great Britain acknowledged the independence of the Republic across the Vaal even if it seized sovereignty over the Orange Free State in 1848. The sovereignty meant that constitutional bonds with the Transvaal were now also severed. Kroonstad which previously stood under the authority of Potchefstroom now had to look South to Bloemfontein. The area North of Winburg was simply declared a district of Winburg but proclamations on paper do not necessarily reflect the sentiments of the population for which they are intended. The people of Kroonstad had strong affiliations with Transvaal and actively propagated the dual presidency of Pretorius, which did in fact materialise in 1859. His term of office was brief and characterised by internal dissension. None the less, Kroonstad was the first new town of the newly independent Republic.

The farms on which the later Kroonstad was to arise were registered as early as November 1848. These farms were *Klip Plaat Drift* and *Vresgewaagt.*

In 1848 the Government Secretary J Groenendal wrote to J M Orpen the *landdrost* at Winburg, charging him to inspect the vicinity of the above-mentioned farms with a view to establishing a church community in the area. Orpen wasted no time and on 15 August 1854 he selected a site not only for a church but for a town to go with it.

The *Volksraad* confirmed Orpen's arrangement and ordained that 100 erven should be set out initially. The setting of Kroonstad was indeed a happy one on the banks of the *Valsch river.*

In order to raise money for church-building the *Volksraad* hit upon the idea of imposing a levy on land speculators in the Harrismith area and this *ad hoc* windfall was to be divided three ways, 50% to Harrismith, 25% each to the church at Wittebergen and to the new town on the *Valsch River*

By September 1854 there existed proclaimed erven, a commissioner of peace and a church, but the town was still in search of a name. In March of 1855 it was referred to in *The Friend* as CRONSTADT and for a number of years the town was called CRONSTADT in English newspapers and Kroonstad in most other official correspondence, but even here the name CRONSTADT, with its Russian connotations, was apt to make an appearance. On 30 April 1855, 21 erven had been sold for a sum of 4420 *riksdaalders.*[42]

Although a baptismal register existed as early as 1849 it was not until 1860 that a *gemeente* was formally constituted. The first small church was inaugurated on 3 January 1862. It was a simple structure with roofing thatch of *Tamboekiegras,* a dung floor and small *veldstoeltjies* as seating accommodation. Evening devotions required the use of candles made from the fat of the *Wildebeest.*[43]

Other sources indicated that the foundation stone was laid in September of 1861 by the *landdros* Truter and that the inauguration took place on 14 March 1863. The congregation only succeeded in obtaining the services of a minister in 1866, namely that of Ds P A C van Heyningen who served the community until 1877.[44]

An important event in the church calender occurred in 1861 when the *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* held its synod meeting in Cape town. The Free State *gemeentes* being nominally still part of the Cape Synod, sent their ministers to attend this synod. One of the events arranged for the agenda of the synod was a church service in the newly restored church of Stellenbosch. The architect for this restoration was Carl Otto Hager (1813-1898) who, until 1861 seems to have made a precarious living as an architect. The restoration in the Gothic idiom made a great impression on the delegates to the Synod and all who were ambitious of building more worthy churches for their own congregations in the Free State took with them a name for future reference.[45] [81]

The Community of Philippolis

As an area of urban settlement none can claim earlier precedence than Philippolis and its induction as a Free State town is an event lying some 40 years beyond its early beginnings.

The first steps towards the establishment of a settlement date back to 1823 when Andries Stockenström and the Rev Abraham Faure of Graaff-Reinet proclaimed this area as a precinct for San (Bushmen). It was named in honour of Dr John Philip of the London Missionary Society. As a refuge for San it was short-lived, particularly after Dr Philip permitted the Griekwas of Adam Kok to settle in the same place. The role envisaged for the Griekwa was that of protector but the reverse happened.

During his visit in June of 1835 James Backhouse described Philippolis as a mission station with one long street containing a number of well-built houses as well as reed and mat constructions. Most importantly there was a church which the Griquas built in the Dutch style, one of the few instances where the Cape Dutch vernacular transplanted beyond the Orange River.[46]

In 1861 the town was purchased from the *Griekwas* by the Free State Government and the *Griekwas* departed for Kokstad and oblivion.

The Griqua trek was an extensive undertaking and when they arrived in the Hanglip area (later Zastron) they decided not to go over the mountains during the winter. They in fact built a temporary church of corrugated iron to serve them for the winter of 1862. This demonstrated a determination not to be without a functional church building for such a venture.[47]

In 1862 the Cape Synod of the N G Kerk decided that Philippolis warranted a separate *gemeente* and on 18 April 1863 dr Colin Fraser was ordained there as a minister. The first church was the one purchased from the Griquas in 1861 for £900, of which sum £218 was still owing in 1863.[48] The foundations stone for a new church was laid in May 1869 and under the guidance of R Wocke, the architect, the building was completed in two years being inaugurated on 24 February 1871. [52] [53]

The Edenburg Community

The first small church building of this *gemeente* was the adapted farmhouse of H J van Aswegen. The house was enlarged to a T-shape which is also reminiscent of the T-Shaped Scottish kirks so that Edenburg did not sound all that different from Edinburgh. The project included a ceremony of a foundation stone laying which was perhaps a trifle grandiose for a project which cost £450 to build. It was finished in 1864 and could boast firm walls, a pitched roof in thatch and a clay floor.[49]

Within the confines of the same community there existed a missionary station established at Bethanie administered by the Berlin Missionary Society and its buildings must have stirred the initiative of all who saw them.

In 1864 a Mr H Huigen is appointed to act as scribe, reader and choir leader as well as Government teacher. The complaint against his appointment was that he was not proficient in English.

The first church building served for more than 15 years and is indicative of the low level of urban formation and capital generation. Again the church was the only formal responsible agent in the area and was thus also responsible for managing those affairs which are more properly the duties of a municipality. The church minutes read in part like a record of a town council's meeting.[50]

The Jacobsdal Community

This church community dates back to 1860 and the tribulations of the *Kerkraad* in its attempts to provide adequate buildings for religious devotions were many and varied. The first "emergency" church was in use for about 18 years before a more substantial building was erected in 1879. An existing garage building is reputed to be the vestigial remains of the original church.

In 1862 the *gemeente* comprised 1035 souls and 416 confirmed members which indicates a fairly extensive parish. Tenders were called for a parsonage on 1 February 1864.

The Bethulie Community

The Bethulie community had a head start as an urban settlement since the French mission station at Bethulie was by agreement incorporated into the Orange Free State on 14 July 1859. Lephui and his followers as well as the resident missionary the Rev Pellissier became Free State subjects and included in the agreement was the assignment of an area of 10 000 morgen to the existing station and those living upon the land at that time. All the buildings so laboriously and sturdily built by French hands remained the property of the mission station. [51]

The formal establishment of a *gemeente* in the area dates from 1862 and the first congregation made use of the Rev Pellissier's church which was placed at their disposal.

The first church of the *gemeente* was inaugurated as early as 10 September 1864 and it is indicative of the well-being of the parishioners that the building was completed without debt. As a first church it served the community for over twenty years. Bethulie is therefore an exception of the rule for early Free State Communities of the three-church-cyle, a cycle coincident with the Republican era for the purposes of this study.

FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS IN SOME OF THE EXISTING COMMUNITIES DURING THE PERIOD 1854 - 1863.

Smithfield's second phase church 1862

A number of the communities came into existence prior to 1854 but experienced church-building activity of some significance only a few years after their establishment. In April of 1860 the foundation stone of the new church for the Smithfield *gemeente* was laid by *landdros* J J Sauer and building work proceeded over the next two years, culminating in the inauguration of a handsome building on 29 March 1862. The church was commodious enough to accommodate 1700 persons indoors on the day of its inauguration. The cost of the building amounted to £7000, a sum which excluded the tower and organ, features which were added later. [52] [23]

This building, resplendent with its later tower, did service for a century when its stability was questioned and the church demolished prematurely to make way for a structure of lesser architectural stature.

Winburg's second phase church 1858

The energetic members of the Winburg community had reason to seek more permanent church accommodation by 1858. The second church was completed and inaugurated on 6 November 1858. This commodious and well-built church survived until the end of the century and typified the serviceable churches of the second generation of buildings. Many such second churches were demolished for no other reason than their replacement on the same site by a third generation of churches. Had alternative sites been available or acceptable many of these buildings could have survived a full century. This later lineage of church building represents the first attempts at more durable and aesthetically pleasing buildings. The Winburg church could seat 900 persons and tenders were called for 300 000 bricks, 40 baulks of nieshout, seven stinkwood planks and 200 meters of Baltic deal.[53]

The foundation stone was laid by the Rev Andrew Murray of Bloemfontein on 8 October 1853 and when completed in 1858 as many as 150 ox-wagons could be counted in the church square on *Nachtmaal* occasions.[54]

The tardiness with which building took place is clear from the minutes of the *Kerkraad* so that although the completion of the first church occurred in 1850 and the second church was mooted in 1852 it was only six years later that the second church could be inaugurated i.e. 6 November 1858. This seems to indicate that the first building was at the time of its completion already outdated and overtaken by external events beyond the control of the *Kerkraad*. This attitude of *ad hocism* meant that church councils were never really free from discussions relating to church buildings. Their hesitant decisions inhibited the provision of adequate and long-lasting solutions and this syndrome was only halted when the splendid new stone church was erected in Winburg around the turn of the century, a building which still functions, adequately, graciously and firmly more than eighty years after its inauguration.

The Fauresmith *gemeente* acquired a new church building in 1856 which was regularly in use requiring only a minimum of maintenance in 1910. It was described in 1916 as "one of the oldest church buildings in the Orange Free State. The pews were of the old type similar to those in the *Groote Kerk* Adderley Street.[55]

THE GEREFORMEERDE KERK AND ITS ROLE IN CHURCH BUILDING IN THE O F S

At this juncture a new development in church history manifests itself in the establishment of a separate church known as the *Gereformeerde Kerk* which in its interpretation of the liturgical arrangements and the restricted use of the hymn book occasioned a complete break with the *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* which was by then firmly established throughout the country.

On a farm about 50 km South of Bloemfontein a church village was laid out in 1857. This embryonic town was called Reddersburg and was intended as a rallying point for all drawn to the *Gereformeerde* confession which, although new in the Republic had its roots in doctrinal differences already firmly established in Holland and in Scotland. The emphasis placed on serving the communion at special tables grouped in the front of the church made certain architectural demands which could only be satisfactorily met with certain internal adjustments. The extensive re-ordering that the Scottish arrangements in the Post-Reformation churches would have made implicit in the Free State situation were not taken to the same extremes.

At Reddersburg the first of many barn-shaped buildings which became the hallmark of the early *Dopper* churches was erected, the foundation stone of which was laid by the redoubtable JJ Venter whose name often cropped up in *Volksraad* debates. His literal interpretation of Biblical injunctions made him hesitant even about inscriptions on foundation stones which included pictorial matter and when the foundation stone of the third Raadzaal was laid he was in favour of having the date only. Attempts to portray the

"Doppers" as lacking in cultural refinement and intellectual development proved to be based mainly on religious prejudice. The church grew rapidly despite its humble origins and became an *alter ego* to the more widely known and supported *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk*. This meant that the more conservative section of the established communities invariably built their own *Dopper* church and in the early years the so-called *waenhuiskerk* was the most prolific of the genetive forms. Like the people for whom the churches were intended they were unpretentious, sturdy and straightforward with useful lives often extending to a century or more. The church built at Reddersburg cost the not inconsiderable sum of £4 500 and was due for completion within twelve months from January 1862.[56] [20]

The emergence of a functionally new development in church liturgy in the Republic did not however imply any radical departures from architectural traditions. The phenomenon of virile ecclesiastical development having to use outmoded architectural forms has often been commented upon and the disparate development of religious thought in relation to architectural form found the latter often lacking in responses other than slight adaptations of the past. The *Gereformeerde Kerk* therefore did not in its years of inception postulate a church architecture radically different, but rather did it confirm watered down Gothic and occasionally denuded classicism. Although liturgically the church sought after being out of phase with the *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* it could not escape the all-pervasiveness of the Neo-Gothic precepts however distorted by time and lack of comprehension. The *Gereformeerde kerkraad* would content itself with the absence of a tower by seeing virtue in the lack of any form of ostentation. This trait of severe simplicity was often the handmaiden of financial limitations but was just as often seen as a desirable end in itself.

THE ANGLICAN CHURCH IN THE O F S DURING 1854 - 1863

The abandonment of the Sovereignty in 1854 proved to be a seriously disrupting influence on the Anglican Community of the Orange Free State. The military personnel who always made up a considerable portion of the church-going community, had departed and the unsettled state of affairs subsequent to the establishment of the Free State Republic had left church affairs in a certain amount of disarray. Despite a certain movement away from the Free State by English-speaking peoples these losses were more than compensated for by the arrival of new immigrants in addition to the hard core of businessmen who had decided to stay. This brought about a circumstance which seems strangely in contrast with the OFS of 140 years later. The percentage of English-speaking peoples in the small urban settlements of that time was high and English names abound even in the *platteland*. In particular this is noticeable in the names given to farms by English-speaking immigrants, so that in addition to all the -fonteins, -poorts, -laagtes, -kopjes which abounded we are confronted by Bagshot, Aldershot, The Hall, Bayswater, Westminster and a host of other solidly British names.

The Anglican church, even if it was disappointed at the "inexplicable" cessation of British authority had urgently to attend to the needs of those of the Anglican Confession who remained. The numbers of parishioners however,were never enough in the smaller towns to warrant any extensive building. The dilemma was that there were just enough to establish a need for some place of divine worship. The result of this circumstance was a whole generation of small, pristine churches spread out over the Free State, their modesty of proportion being sometimes alleviated by the generous donation of a stained-glass window ordered from Great Brittain so that the bright Free State sun should more starkly reveal the glories of St Andrew or St Michael. Donors sometimes insisted that the windows should commemorate a relative or even the donors themselves, if the likelihood of being forgotton seemed to increase as one moved further away from the larger areas of urban settlement. The survival of many of these small churches, even at the present time, demonstrates a continuous adherence to the church of forebears and a careful husbandry of the available building resources. Sadly many of these small gems have slipped into disuse and disrepair. For more than a century they represented a fragment of a half remembered cathedral in a distant homeland. The principal examples are discussed in succeeding chapters.

Work on the Bloemfontein Cathedral only commenced in 1864 after a Diocese of the Orange Free State had been established in February of 1863. Edward Twells was the first Bishop of the new Diocese. For work to begin it was necessary to clear away the building remnants of the 1850 venture initiated by Bishop

Gray. Although Thomas Baines shows this early building as if completed it was in fact left incomplete owing to the problems created by the abandonment of the Sovereignty, problems with material supply and the threatening Basuto War of 1858.

The architect for the 1864 Cathedral was Dudley Male, an English architect who provided plans for a simple building 18m long and about 7,5m wide with a side chapel measuring 7,2m x 3,6m. The total cost of the building at that time was £2 000. Building work was not completed until 30 November 1866 (St An drew's day). The new cathedral was consecrated on that day and Archdeacon Merriman enthroned Bishop Twells as the first Bishop of the Diocese. The first cathedral was later to become part of the larger cathedral consecrated in 1885. An organ was installed in the cathedral in 1867 and a fine timbered ceiling dates from the same year. Three stained-glass windows were added to the east end during 1867. [50]

As stained-glass windows they are remarkable examples of their kind and visitors to the cathedral can still appreciate their illuminating quality more than a century later.[57]

THE CHURCH-BUILDING ACTIVITIES OF THE WESLEYAN AND LUTHERAN CHURCHES IN THE O F S, 1854-1863

The principal religious activities of the Wesleyan missionaries in the Orange Free State centered around Thaba'Nchu where Archbell had conducted a trek consisting of various Black and Coloured peoples to a new homeland in 1833. The earliest buildings here date to 1834 and this early house is probably the oldest surviving dwelling north of the Orange River. The chapel built there shortly afterwards is described in chapter one and represents a major building effort equalled only by the French Missionaries along the Caledon River and in Basutoland.

Until 1863 when the Diocese of Bloemfontein was established in the Anglican church the various Missionary Societies had by common consent agreed to territorial separation in respect of the boundaries of their endeavours. After that date, however, the Anglican church entered into areas already functioning as missionary units and this duplication of effort inevitably led to a loss of momentum on the part of the Wesleyan stations who had perforce to enter into concurrence with a church which could display a more visually effective liturgy and who could offer schooling of the best kind to various native chieftains.

The Wesleyan or Methodist church gained a foothold in various Free State towns and enjoyed a close relationship with the *Ned Geref Kerk* owing to the similarity in the outward form of devotions.

CONCLUSIONS

The pioneer congregations of the *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* showed commendable enterprise in their formative years and all undertook the establishment of what may be termed the first phase church which was invariably constructed in a most basic manner with clay or brick walls and thatched roofs with a rammed earth floor. These first phase churches served for periods of up to 15 years when the second phase development was undertaken. Despite their modest construction and dimensions these first buildings indicated the first steps along the road of significant church building which was to follow. The dispersion of English-speaking persons throughout the towns of the State was a remarkable phenomenon and caused a whole series of small Anglican churches to be built. With their imported stained-glass windows depicting the Saints they represented a small haven, a comforting cultural residue in a country as unlike England as could be imagined.

EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF O F S COMMUNITIES 1854-1863

The legacy of Sir George Grey

One of the more deleterious by-products of the Great Trek was the inhibiting effect it had upon the education of the younger generations springing from it. The lack of proper educational facilities was not ignored by the widely dispersed agricultural communities of the OFS and attemps to alleviate the situation sometimes meant the employment of teachers whose credentials, if they had any, did not really qualify them to teach the basic subjects in any orderly way. Deserters, drifters and fugitives from justice were at times employed in remote areas to impart such incidental knowledge as they possessed. This was soon transmitted and ultimately rural teaching became a home-grown affair with genuine teachers a rare luxury.

In urban areas the situation was marginally better. Not only did various religious denominations exert themselves toward the establishment of schools but was also the *Volksraad* concerned that education should be set on a firm footing. The prompting came mainly from the President and the Executive Council where the more able and educated were inevitably drawn.

The first significant breakthrough can be traced back to the generous actions of Sir George Grey whose farsighted vision of the beneficial effects that education would have acted as a catalyst in his dream of a Federation of Southern African States. He visited Bloemfontein on 8 October 1855 in connection with the unrest on the Basutoland border. While in the city he adressed a letter to the *Ned Geref Kerk* of the Transgariep suggesting that a seminary should be established and donating £1 000 for such a purpose. He stipulated that £210 of this sum should be set aside for the purchase of the necessary ground. In due course erven no's 13, 14 and 15 in St George's Street were purchased. By 13 October 1856 Pres Boshof could already lay the foundation stone of the future Grey College. The facility was ready for its first pupils on 17 January of 1859 and over the next century or more it played an eminent role in the provision of secondary education to whole generations of distinguished pupils. The Rev Andrew Murray undertook to perform the onerous duties of Rector in addition to his many other responsibilities. It is noteworty that Sir George Grey also sent a builder from the Cape to assist in the erection of the first building.[58]

A number of other schools existed at the time of the establishment of Grey College. In fact as early as 1854 Father Hoendervangers had given notice that it was his intention to establish a Boarding School under the auspices of the Roman Catholic church where the ambition was to teach French, Latin, Greek and Hebrew. In 1858 he opened a so-called Free-School![59]

The names of a few other schools flicker briefly in the limelight of history but their buildings were always less pretentious than their curricula and we are left to marvel at the tenacity of teachers who for minimal stipends exerted briefly a beneficial influence on the young of Bloemfontein. Such ventures owed, invariably, much to private enterprise as the *Volksraad* was loath to spread its meagre resources too thinly over too many educational ventures.

The Basuto war of 1858 had a calamitous effect on the Government's finances so that even the Grey College for Boys was temporarily closed and the President agreed to a substantial reduction in his own salary.

2.4. LOCAL AUTHORITIES 1854 - 1863

First Municipal Ordinance

The role of the *Ned Geref Kerk* as local authority *in parentis* has already been commented upon but the *Volksraad* under the guidance of President Boshof realised early on that laws would have to be promulgated to provide for the establishment of municipalities and in particular for those towns not having municipalities. The third Ordinance tabled during the February sitting of the *Volksraad* in 1858 is entitled: *An ordinance for framing regulations for Towns and Villages, not having Municipalities.* A previous Ordinance, No 8 of 1856 had already made provision for the establishment of municipalities but it was not until 5 January 1858 that civic-minded householders of Bloemfontein decided to elect five persons to frame Municipal Regulations. The Executive Council approved these regulations but they were not finally confirmed until 29 March 1859.[60]

The beginnings of Local Authority in Bloemfontein

The first Municipality of Bloemfontein entertained no lavish ideas about building projects but satisfied themselves with the provision of posts for market-master, street-keeper, and water-bailiff, showing what the primary concerns of the local community were. To a certain extent the market, water supplies and road maintenance have remained principal concerns over a century later.

It is appropriate to look at the town over which the "councillors" had jurisdiction from 1859 onwards. Since 1854 the farm *Bloemfontein* was state property and was not finally transferred to the Bloemfontein Municipality before 1890 indicating the extent of the local authority's dependence on the control of the *Volksraad.*

The first 54 watererven were laid out on the South side of Bloemspruit in 1850, with a number of unwatered erven provided on the North bank of the stream which meandered snake-like; an umbilical cord through the beginnings of Bloemfonten. Andrew Bain, landsurveyor placed a rectilinear grid over this situation giving due recognition to the furrow which had its origin at the fountain and ran East-South-East to provide water to the watererven. The Bain survey dates from 1848[61] The water erven were the first to be sold and occupied and constitute the origins of Bloemfontein as town. For the first two years of its existence 1848 — 1849 Bloemfontein was little more than a military camp of the Cape Mounted Rifles, a composite force of whites and coloureds which numbered about 60 in 1848. In 1849 further erven were provided.

One of the few authoritative descriptions of the Bloemfontein of 1856 came from Hamelberg's diary. As a diarist Hamelberg was more concerned with giving his impressions without undue sensitivity toward the inhabitants' own perceptions. Bloemfontein was defended by a fort, with three cannon on the embankments, and on Sundays a flag was raised.[62]

Hamelberg's comments about the town itself are indicative of the need for a municipality:

> Untidyness is rife. The streets are overgrown with grass and are littered with stones and a variety of rubbish. here and there may be seen the rubble of derelict houses dating from the English time (Sovereignty).[63]

The supply of clean drinking water exercised the minds of the Town Council as a spate of regulations relating to its use was promulgated. The residents and casual visitors used the canal water for washing their feet and the dam at the fountainhead was used for impromptu baths. Soiled water also found its way into the irrigation waters. Contamination from stray pigs also proved a problem and one person had the unen-

viable duty of patrolling the streets to make sure no pigs were to be seen unattended. He was enjoined to kill all pigs found contaminating water. A municipal regulation dating from 1859 specifically prohibits any person from performing his ablutions in public fountains, dams or furrows, nor may anyone allow dirty water or refuse to land up in open water furrows. The fountain itself was subsequently covered over with a structure of 4,5m square.

Although the water erven were nominally well-provided for, the so-called dry erven on the North side of the *Bloemspruit* became dependent on wells and many were dug on that side during the later fifties. The oldest on record was one in Maitland Street where the Sonop Building used to be.Some of the wells were ex - cavated to a depth of 21 metres although the strata around the town centre generally precluded such unusual depths. The wells on the South side of Bloemspruit were 4,5m - 6m in depth as one would expect when viewing the natural base depth of Bloemspruit itself.[64]

The Market and the Market Square figured largely in the daily lives of the citizens and as an exhange of diverse produce it represented the hub of commerce and social intercourse. It was first opened on Saturday 30 April 1859 and the sale of produce in the urban area had to be concluded at the official market. Wool and hides were not subject to this restriction.[65]A market building was erected by the Market Commissioners in 1860 at a cost of £65.

The valuation of house property in Mayof 1859 was £42 902, a not inconsiderable sum for this time as this must have represented nearly 200 houses. To administer to this sprawling village the municipality had at its disposal £28-19-0. None the less, homes were difficult to obtain and rentals as high as £11 p.m. are quoted for a four-roomed house. Imported groceries fetched twice their price in Cape Town. In most cases imported goods came through Port Elizabeth (Algoa Bay) and the 740 km was usually covered in 28 days.[68]

Development in other urban areas of the Orange Free State 1854 - 1863.

The specific references to early development in other towns of the OFS are not numerous and Hamelberg was the most significant recorder of architectural detail, even if his estimates of houses tended to be deprecatory to the towns visited by him.

The Philippolis of 1856 he described as having 150 inhabitants with the houses mainly grouped in one street and being detached. They were all single storey dwellings mainly built of brick with a few of clay and even fewer in stone. The doors and doorframes were painted and some houses were plastered. There were no gardens and sites were not clearly demarcated.[69]He confirms also Backhouse's earlier description of squatters camps having beehive-shaped huts covered with woven matting.

Philippolis was by 1861 beginning to attract shopkeepers to the Southern Free State and in that year six shops were operating in the town. It formed an important link in the long supply chain to the interior — a chain including Graaff-Reinet, Colesberg, Philippolis, Bloemfontein, Winburg, Kroonstad and Potchefstroom.[70]

Smithfield of 1856 Hamelberg described as being prettily situated between high hills. The homes were all single storey and appeared to be well-built. The streets on the other hand were untidily kept. He remarks that a number of pigs and an ostrich had come to congregate together in a brotherly or sisterly fashion (he was unable to observe matters close enough to decide). When his attention was diverted to people he judged that the majority were English-speaking or of British descent. The substantial parsonage of Ds Roux did not escape his scrutiny nor did its cost of £1 800.[71]

Although Winburg was by now nearly 10 years old Hamelberg described it as a very small town of about 25 houses. He comments that a substantial church is in the course of erection but was not at that time (Sept 3, 1857) completed.[72]

Hamelberg was a Hollander of undoubted ability with a legal turn of mind, capable in debate and self-assured. His personal qualities made him indispensable to Boshof's government while his slightly condescending air was a forerunner to the love-hate relationship which characterised the Afrikaner's view of the Hollanders who came to play a vital role in the general administration of the Orange Free State. Ultimately he was instrumental in obtaining a coat of arms for the Orange Free State and served the interests of the Republic ably as consul in the Netherlands after his departure.

Jacobsdal was proclaimed a town in 1859 and the first erven were sold on 7 March 1859 on the farm *Kalkfontein* adjoining the Rietriver. This town showed only modest growth and the subsequent discovery of diamonds on the nearby Kimberley fields tended to minimise its functional importance.

The creation of Reddersburg as a centre for the newly established *Gereformeerde Kerk* was described in the previous section. The establishment of a church community or *gemeente* preceded the establishment of the town by 11 years. A petition by J J Venter, a member of the *Volksraad,* was acceded to by that body on 2 February 1861. For more than 50 years the church controlled the spiritual and material welfare of the town it was instrumental in creating. It was said of the streets that they were measured with rawhide thongs or *rieme*. The hide would tend to lengthen in the dew-laden air of the morning and tended to shrink as the air warmed up and dried out. This meant that streets were wider where they were measured in the morning and narrowed as the day wore on. The difference could not have been great enough to accentuate the perspective view of an unsuspecting viewer, even if Reddersburg was not indifferent to any artificial increment of its apparent size that inadvertently came its way.[73]

In the West, Boshof experienced the first sale of erven by public auction (previously Van Wyksvlei) and a town was laid out. 47 Erven were sold at an average price of £38.[74]

In the East, Bethlehem had reached the stage of proclamation and on 3 March 1860 the first 44 erven were sold at prices ranging from £10-£21. As a private venture it did not flourish well enough to prevent it from becoming the responsibility of the *Ned Geref Kerk* which often had to shoulder the responsibilities flowing from premature births of unviable towns.

With the possible exception of Bloemfontein urban formation in other parts of the Orange Free State was, at the end of Boshof's term of office in 1863, a very hesitant and tentative phenomenon, dependent on long lines of communication and having as their *raison d'etre* the desire to have a church building within reasonable travelling distance from any rural settlement.This usually implied distances not greater than 55-60 km. The premature embryonic communities survived under the intensive care of the local church which became arbitrator, landowner and local authority as much by necessity as by its own free will. The church square became the spawning ground of commercial enterprise and urban dwellings. If the town was fortunate enough to have a magistrate or *landdrost* the provision of a government building and a prison would add to the stature of the town. Schools were slow in coming as the *Volksraad* feared the financial implication of simultaneous establishment of schools and their ancillary buildings.

2.5. *THE INITIATING FUNCTION OF THE VOLKSRAAD*

The structure and process of the Volksraad

The representatives of the various districts that existed immediately after independence and who served the Republic until the end of President Boshof's term of office were often selected on the slimmest of voting majorities and on the grounds of property ownership which was often placed in dispute by contending candidates. The rural districts often selected men, who by virtue of their reputation as honest men of visible piety were not always suited to the onerous task of governing a country. They were, despite the best intentions, not able to divorce the interests of their constituencies from the best interests of the Republic as a whole. Their conservative approach to financial matters and an inborn abhorrence of debt rendered them liable to injudicious parsimony and the delayed implementation of the fruits of the industrial revolution. While they would give generously of their limited means for the erection of a substantial church, in all other matters of Government spending the reluctance of the *Volksraad* to follow the recommendations of the President and the Executive council needlessly delayed the erection of much needed buildings, or so diluted the funds voted for them that the money was often frittered away on cheap building which proved to be the most expensive in the end.

The President and the Executive council on the other hand represented the best in intellectual attainment, wisdom, foresight, and statesmanship that the Republic could command. Thus it transpired that the President and his advisors on the Executive council were often at a loss as to how properly to govern in the face of a *Volksraad* that was hostile to innovation and averse to expenditure even of the most essential kinds.

This dichotomy was further aggravated by the necessity for the Executive council to employ persons of Dutch origin to serve in key positions because none other were available or capable of filling these posts.

The *Volksraad* was often internally divided as a body which led to decisions which were unsatisfactory compromises or led to the abandonment of worthwhile projects.

A few members however did distinguish themselves by their example and persuasive powers and initiated numerous positive decisions which had a bearing on matters relating to architecture and civil engineering. Their names keep cropping up in the minutes of the *Volksraad* and their cogent arguments in favour of the President's proposals for legislation could at times carry the day. On the whole, members of the *Volksraad* were castigated by a newspaper like *The Friend* for their unsophisticated approach to the urgent matters of state.

First Architectural stirrings

Such was the setting when Advocate Hamelberg became a member of the *Volksraad* and initiated a number of decisions to improve government buildings. As early as 1856 he had commented on the building on the market Square which housed not only the government offices, the government secretary, the *landdrost's* accommodation, the state prosecutor and the deeds office. All of these were crammed into a building which previously had been Paddison's shop — a state of affairs which rebelled even against the *Volksraad's* sense of the proper.

On the second day of March 1859 Hamelberg and Venter proposed a motion which read:

> The *Volksraad* considers it desirable that a new President's residence should be erected and nominates a commission of three members to report back, at the next meeting, with plans and estimates of the probable cost, in order that the *Volksraad* may select one of the plans submitted, amended as necessary, and to vote the necessary funds.[76]

This motion came none too soon as the house occupied by the President had become a source of embarrassment to all who became conversant with its dilapidations and discomforts.

Apparently two or more plans were submitted as "plan B" was approved. The body responsible for drawing up this plan was none other than Advocate Hamelberg with the assistance of G A Fichardt. When the probable costs where explained to the *Volksraad* it was decided to depart from this venture and to patch up the existing inadequate residence.

To this end £800 was expended in 1860 and £500 more in 1864. The original house of major Warden was now demolished.[77]

An overview of State expenditure on school buildings, post offices and prisons show that insignificant amounts were spent on these necessary works whereas defence matters and the lingering disputes with Basutoland had a catastrophic effect on the *Volksraad's* budget. The Free State was indeed fortunate when Pres Brand appeared on the scene and progressively led the Republic toward mature Statehood.

CONCLUSIONS IN RESPECT OF THE PERIOD 1854 - 1863

The abandonment of the British Sovereignty in 1854 left an infant state on the doorstep of history and its survival under such unpropitious conditions as those prevailing in 1854 could only be ascribed to the will-to-live of those who made up the inhabitants of the fledgling state. They went ahead with the daily business of living and built their simple dwellings and first-phase churches as a matter of faith.

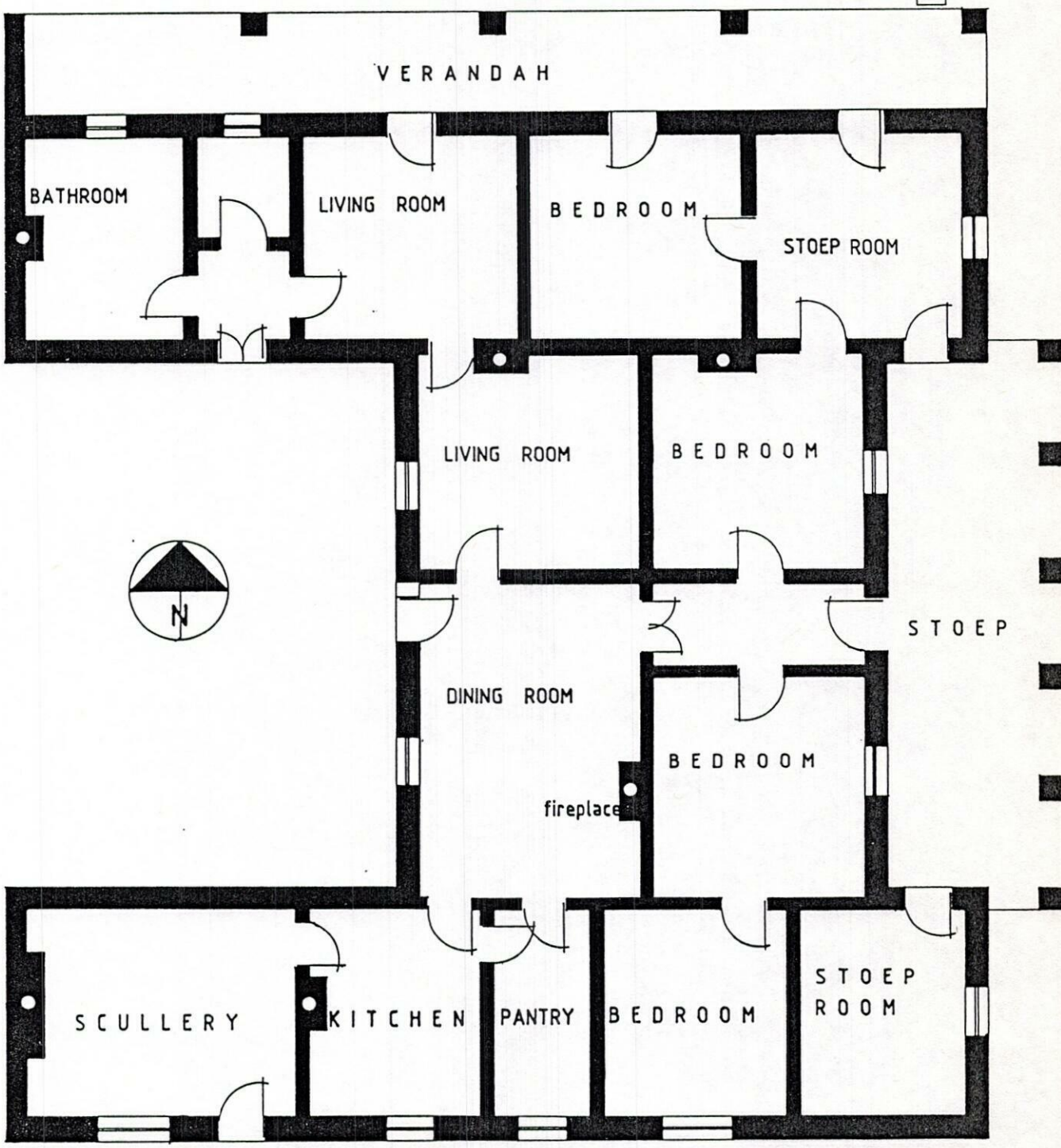
Despite an unsteady start the *Volksraad* gradually accepted its role as guardian of the highest interests of the State and such limited means as were available were distributed impartially in the interests of church and school building. The generosity of Sir George Grey laid the foundations of an outstanding educational structure.

The functioning of the State was seriously disrupted by the first Basuto War of 1858 and it was principally the wise guidance of Pres Boshof which led the Republic through very difficult times.

Despite the abandonment of the Sovereignty a strong British component remained in the Free State but their innermost loyalties laid principally with Britain and Queen Victoria and the dichotomy prevailed right up to the time of the Anglo-Boer War.

The *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* played a key role in the establishment, control and after-care of new towns in addition to its normal ecclesiastical function. As a progenitor of buildings it must rank in the first order of importance.

The economic base of the Orange Free State was essentially an agricultural one and the process of capital formation and infra-structural development was an exceedingly slow process. The trauma of its first years of existence having been overcome the young Republic was destined for better times.



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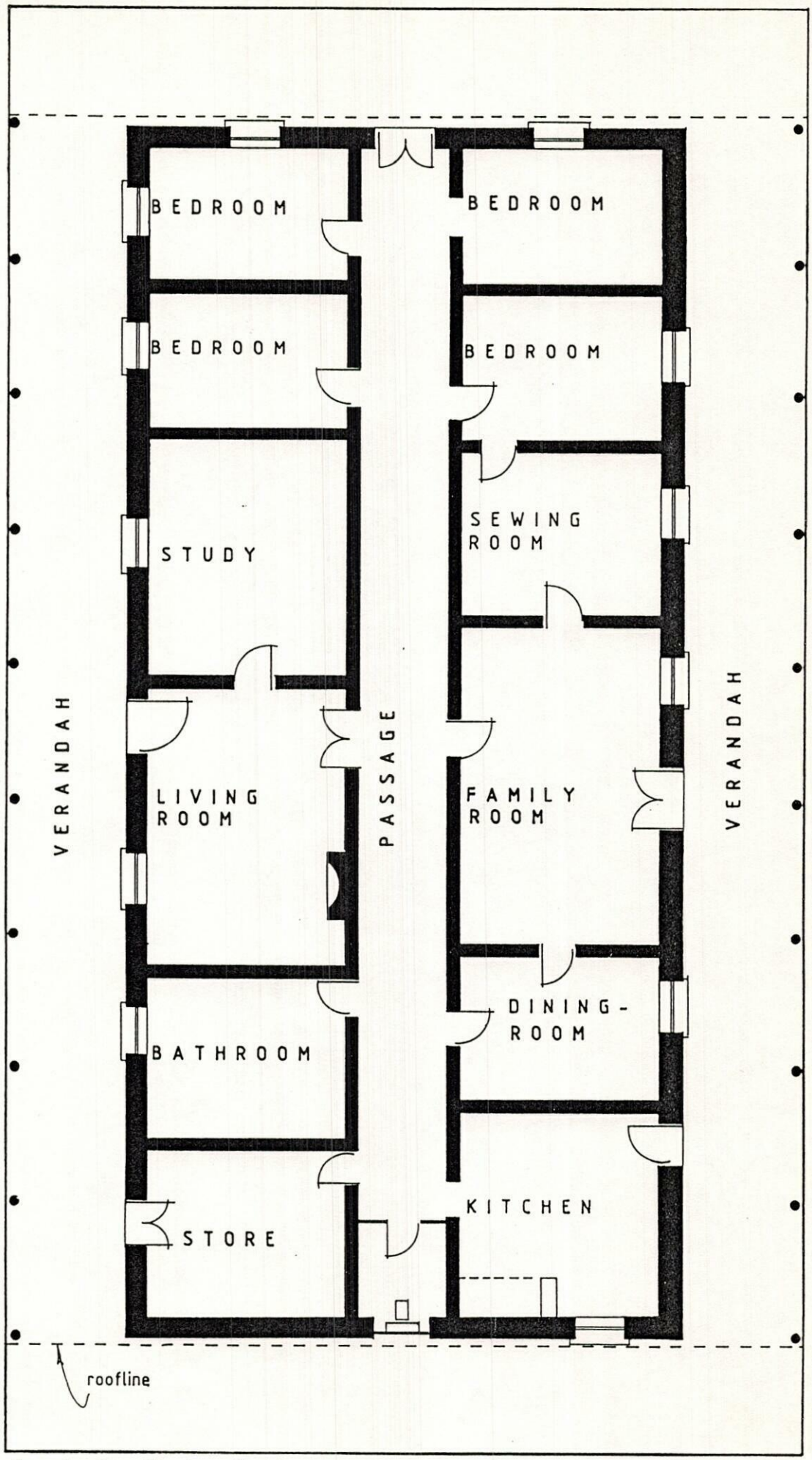
BLOEMFONTEIN: THE HALL: 1857



THE OAKS: HARRISMITH: 1862

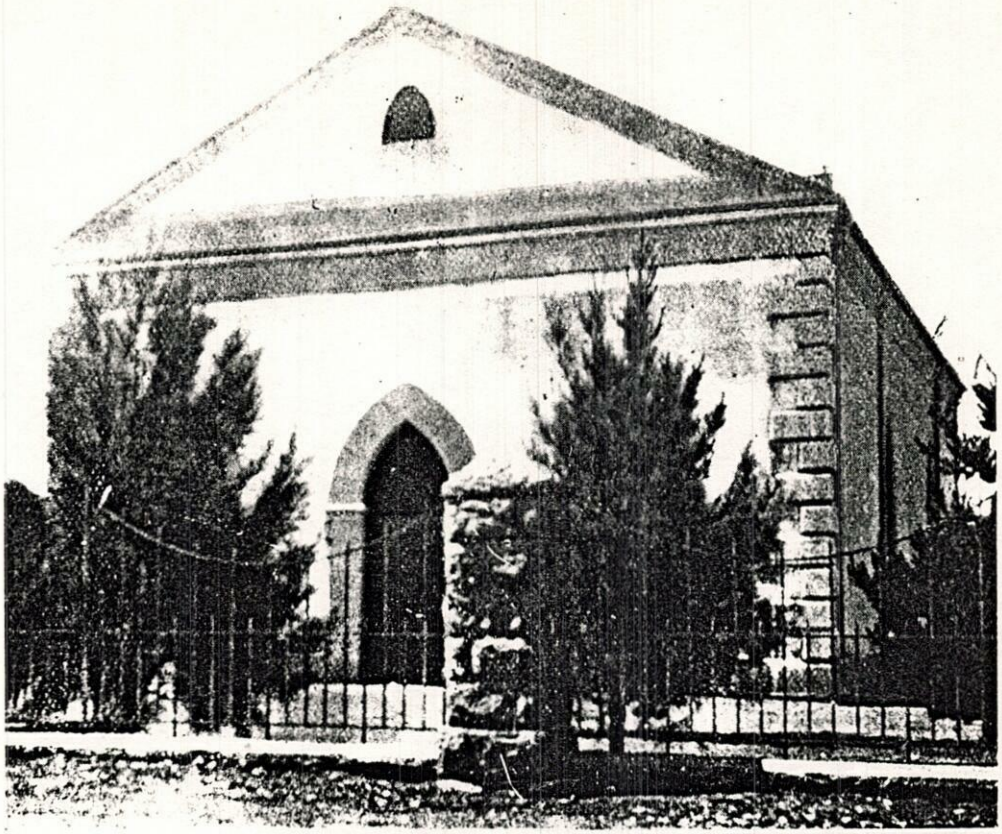


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Photo *Gereformeerde Kerk* Reddersburg
This simple edifice was the first built for the *Gereformeerde Kerk* which chose a separate existence when it was established in May 1859 by Rev D Postma with 116 adherants. The building was erected in 1860 and could seat 600. The barn-like structure became typical of the *Gereformeerde Kerk* for nearly three decades. The churches of the Transvaal, designed by Dutch architects finally paved the way for more elaborate variations.

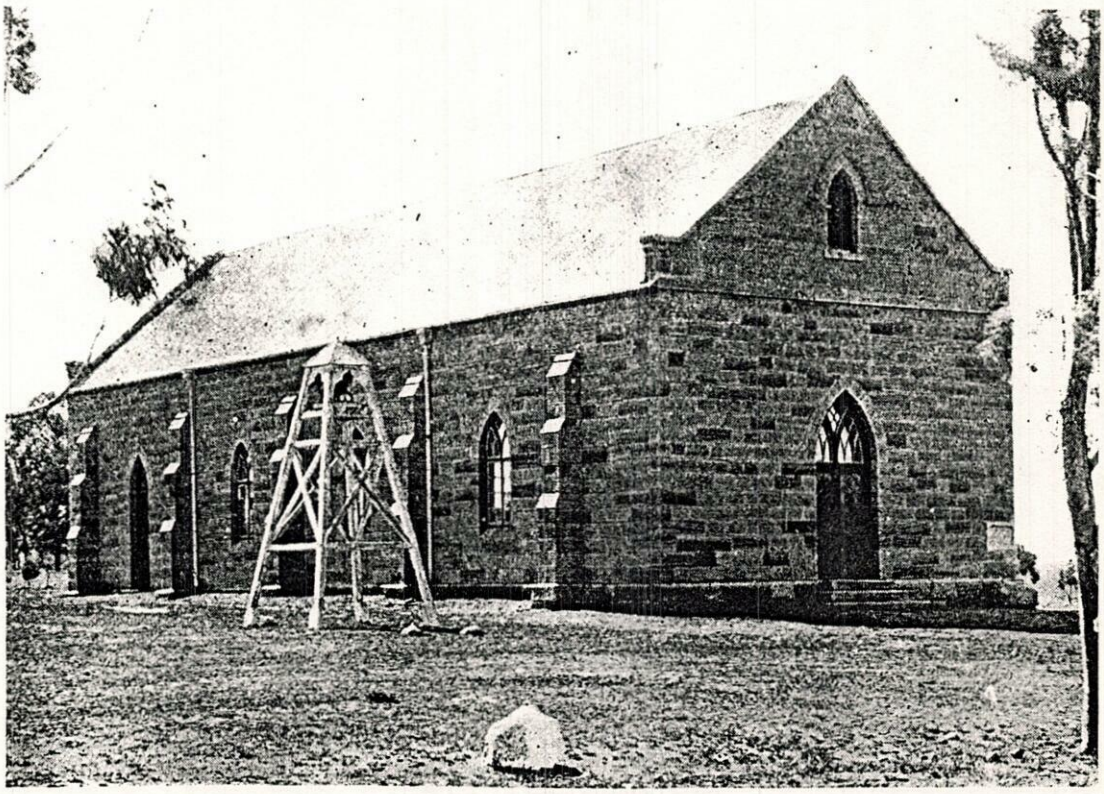

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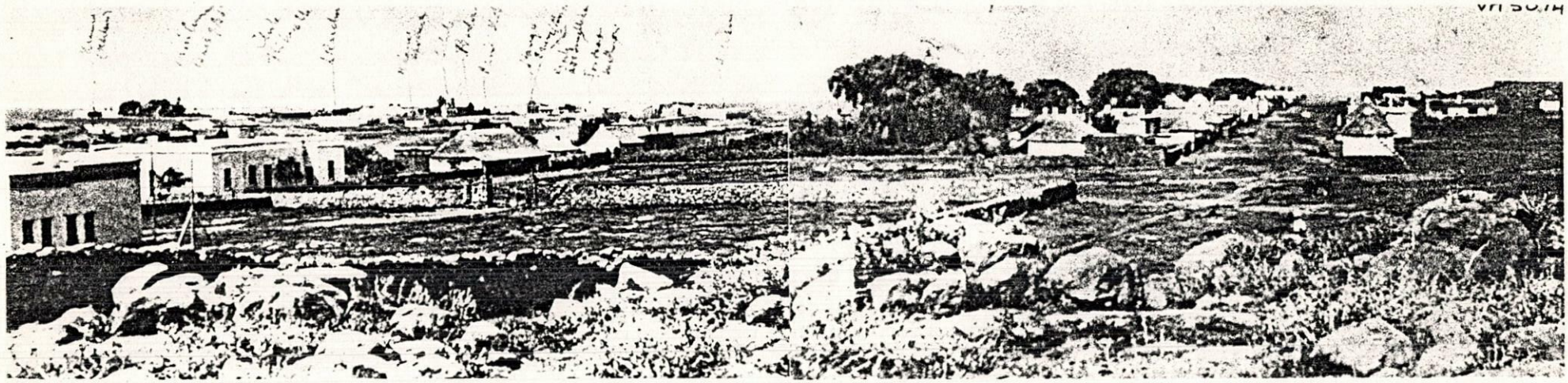
Photo *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* Vredefort
This very substantially built sandstone building was erected before the Anglo-Boer War for a *gemeente* established in 1882. Vredefort suffered grieviously during the war and arson took its toll. This building was repaired after the war and served for many years until Vredefort obtained a larger building.



Bloemfontein 1863

Reputedly one of the earliest surviving photos of Bloemfontein. It was taken from the vicinity of the Presidency looking eastward toward the town centre. The tree-lined erven are those abutting the irrigation ditch in St. George's Street.

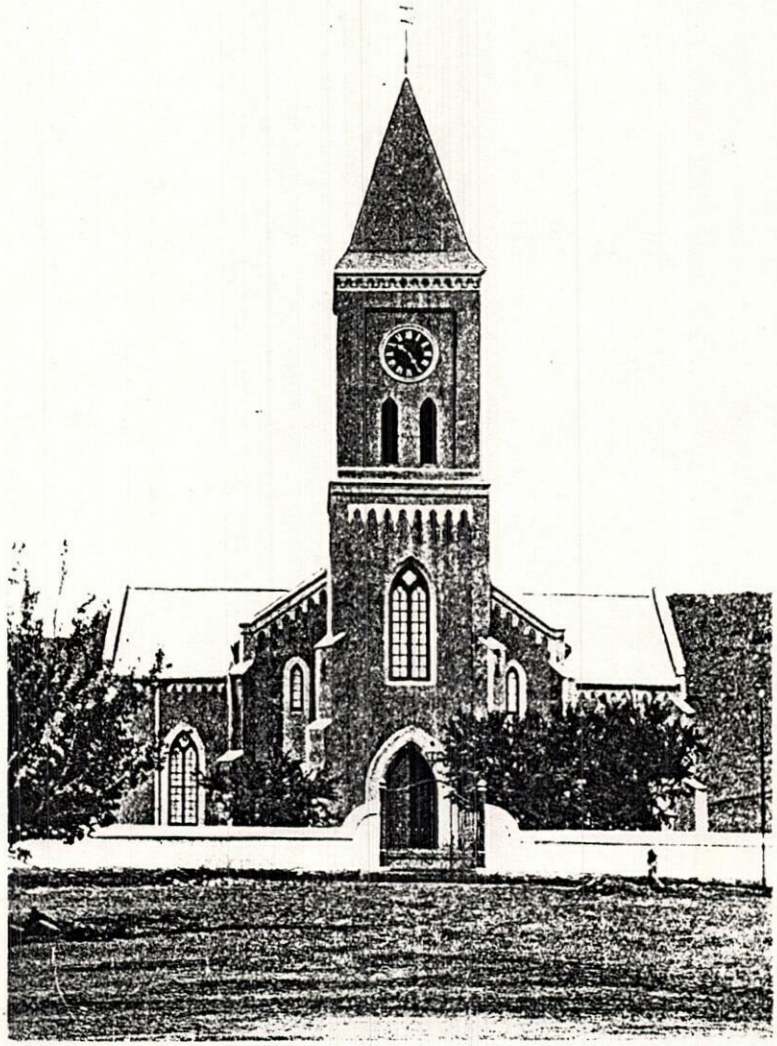
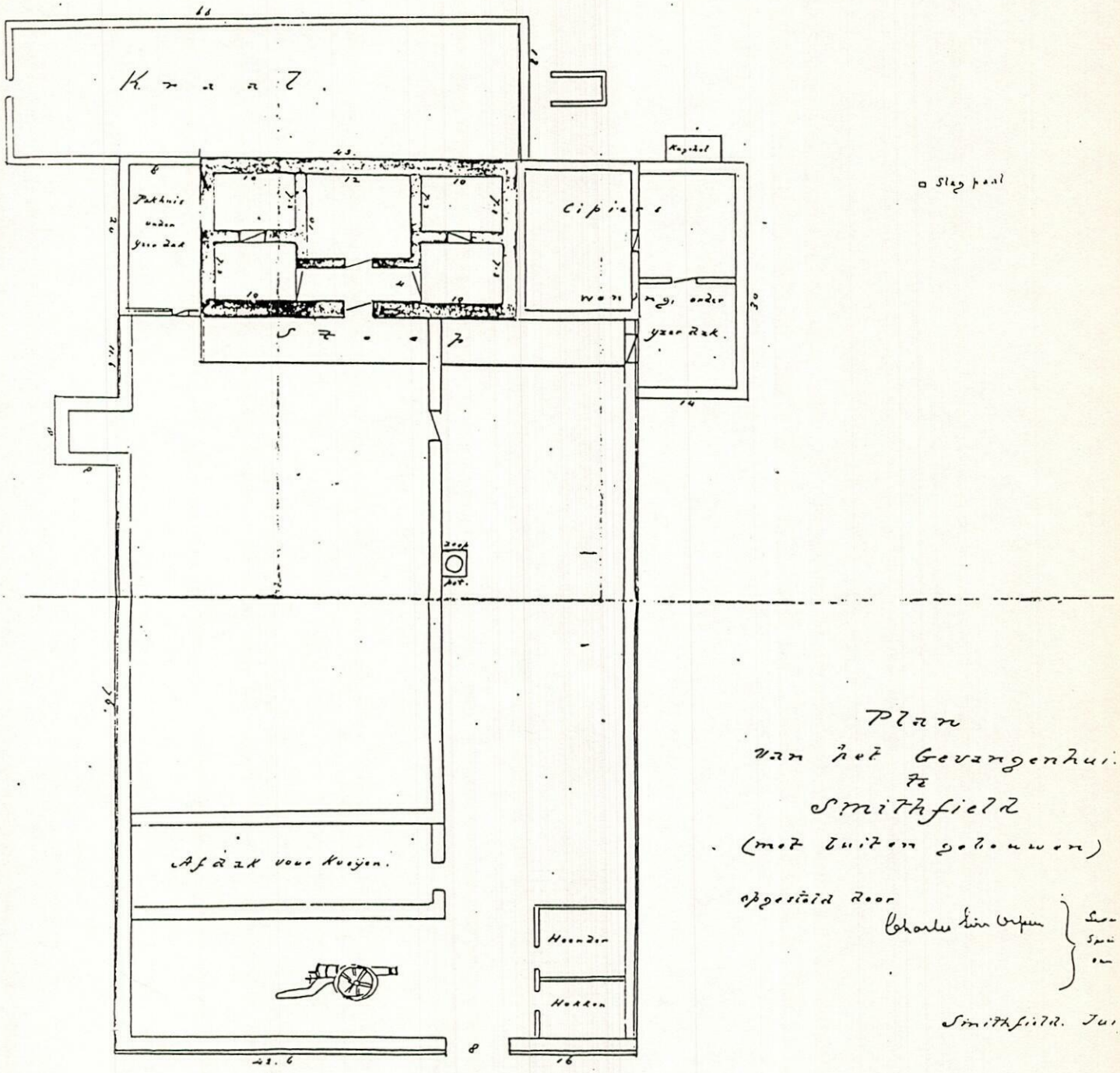


Photo: *The Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk*, Smithfield.
This Church was undoubtedly one of the gems of early church-building in the Free State. This post-war photograph (C.1905) shows the building with the additions made by R Wocke. The original rectangular church was inaugurated in 1862 and Wocke's contribution was the tower and the conversion into a Latin cross, Bishop Twells having seen the building shortly after its completion remarked that people in South Africa "know positively nothing of church architecture". The church was regrettably demolished in the 1950's owing to doubts about the stability of the structure.



The Prison Buildings at Smithfield, 1863

This diagram was prepared by Charles Orpen as a member of a special commission appointed to investigate the facilities. The integrated nature of facilities is noteworthy. The Warder's house is contiguous with the cells and in the immediate vicinity we find a cattle kraal, cowshed and fowl coops. The courtyard accommodates both a gun carriage and a soap boiler. Nearby a slaughter pole is sketched in. Such arrangements would make for economy of space and movement but only at the cost of amenity. By 1863 the use of corrugated iron was a general phenomenon as the notes on the drawing indicate.

CHAPTER 3
EVENTFUL GROWTH

INTRODUCTION

Synoptic view of events, 1863 - 1888

The quarter century following upon 1863 was marked by a series of singular events, some of which can only be construed as wholly harmful to the young republic, while others bestowed upon it the benefits of stable government, economic growth and infrastructural development. The debilitating effects of the second Basuto War of 1865 - 1866 and the enervating drought of 1863 were pernicious events but they were fortunately overshadowed by other developments such as the election of President Johannes Hendricus Brand who governed for the whole of two and half decades with a calm sagacity which earned him the title of "Father of the People". He was the first of a trio of presidents who by their legal training, personality and statemanship were able to steer the republican ship through the shoals of war, economic depressions and political crises, towards a more promising destination. As a legal man, freemason and natural leader President Brand gained the respect and esteem of a large section of the English speaking community while his patriarchal concern for his people made him a revered personality amongst the Afrikaners. Pres Brand's most trying experience was the wrangle over the Kimberley diamond fields which the Government had assumed was Free State territory since it lay between the Orange and Vaal Rivers, but which had by virtue of its richness in diamonds become a valuable prize, and which Britain secured on grounds so slender that they were constrained to offer Pres Brand's government £90 000 by way of compensation. Unable and unwilling to enter into a war with Great Britian this loss was accepted as inevitable and the Free Staters consoled themselves with the financial benefits accruing from the provision of supplies to the insatiable wants of a vast conglomeration of diggers.

Hardly had the Kimberley furore died down when news came of a Gold strike on the Witwatersrand in 1886. The isolation of the Free State had come to an end. From all corners of the Earth came adventurers and fortune hunters and the diamond and goldfields were eldorados with the routes to them passing through the Free State. The problems of communications and railroads were new and unexpected events and though slightly delayed by conservatism, by 1888 it was clear that the Free State had become part of a greater South African economic unit and secretly feared that it would soon be drawn into the vortex of British Imperialism and the visionary ideals of Rhodes and Milner. When Pres Brand died in 1888 this was still only a concern and he left a political legacy suitable for the launching of the final stages of the Free State into the full implications of viable and independent Statehood.

3.1. THE DEVELOPMENT PHASES OF EARLY FARM DWELLINGS 1863 - 1888

The pragmatic metamorphosis

Before examining specific examples of early farm dwellings it is necessary to reiterate the development stages of rural home-building to provide a framework of reference. The identifiable stages are ox-wagon, *kapstylhuis, hartbeeshuis,* clay dwellings, rough stone dwellings, dressed stone dwellings and combinations of brick and stone. This process of metamorphosis occurred in the short space of 50 years, or two generations. The fairly rapid evolvement was precipitated by factors such as the structural methods carried over from the Cape Province, the need for sturdy dwellings during the Basuto Wars and the generally improved building skills brought to the interior by British journeyman as an aftermath of the 1820 Settlers. The development stages are not truly linear but tend to overlap so that some early dwelling types survived into the 20th Century.

The cultural impetus emanating from Europe and propagated by local newspapers, inevitably affected the development of the home both rural and urban. The ox-wagon was, in addition, the principal means of transportation and even if it was supplemented by horse-drawn vehicles in the later stages of development, the ox-wagon still featured in *Nachtmaal* celebrations well into the 1930's. As a mobile home it survived ugrading of contemporaneous domestic building over a period of almost a century.

Historical and social necessity meant, however, that the *hartbeeshuis* was due for early replacement by more substantial building methods. The first of these clay types have already been considered. Remnants of dung-bound clay walls have survived to the present day as silent symbols of simplicity combined with durability.

The implications of Stone as a basic structural material

The abundance of stone, both of the hard doleritic kind and the softer metamorphosed sedimentary types made it inevitable that they should be considered as natural raw materials for home building.

The choice of stone was often linked to matters such as local availability and the skills and will to work them. The harder dolerite or *ysterklip* gave an extremely durable, weatherproof wall but required considerable hard labour and dexterity in its dressing. The use of random rubble walling with snecking was a feature of the more enterprising home-builder's methods. If dolerite extrusions were the only feature in the extended Savannah landscape this would be the first choice in the upgrading stage. Further to the east sandstone became more common and massive sandstone layers floated on volcanic upheavals. The skill to work sandstone was first a locally developed one with stone dressed rather crudely. As freestone masons began to filter through to the interior the format, bonding, coursing, trimming and decoration of sandstone became a residue of the availability of these skills. Thus it occurred frequently that early stone houses were within one generation superceded by larger, more commodious and better finished homes so that a particular farmowner could point out the remnants of a clay house, followed by a rough stone building and finally superceded by a well-built home, all within a small localised area often dictated by the availability of water. The financial fortunes of a particular landowner are reflected in his choice of materials and if a late-comer had to start from scratch he would often go through all the phases *de novo,* or if he was a *bywoner* he might inherit the early phase of a farmhouse's development.

The dating of stonework becomes complicated by the overlay of materials, economic viscissitudes and entrepreneurial skill but a few general guidelines are available that permit the placement of a particular dwelling in a general time phase.

The significance of wall thickness

One of the most important of these is, of course, the wall thickness, as there appears to be a clear relationship between the date of a building and outer wall thickness, the earlier buildings having thicker walls, gradually becoming thinner until they reach, in the 20th Century, a mandatory minimum of 220 mm. Early walls of up to 750mm thickness required large inputs of human energy and there must have been pressing external requirements for them to be more generous than the structural demands of the building would dictate. Security and durability must have been twin commands to foster so robust a construction, since this was true of buildings even with modest ceiling heights.

The suitability of a wall thickness must, to a certain extent, have been established empirically since walls tended to become thinner as building skills improved and experience accumulated. With the appearance of the sundried brick the walls tended toward 600mm and with the fully burnt brick the norm was the universal 450 mm from 1880 onwards. Where stone and brick were used in conjunction the stone would generally be 300mm with brick walling of 110mm added to this on the inside, yielding on overall thickness, in the case of a plastered wall of about 450 mm. The 600mm wall enjoyed a respectability which was only abandoned when cost factors loomed larger than any other consideration. Whenever an unwary owner stepped

outside the limits of these structural parameters his home was either shortlived or too expensive to complete. Quite a few instances are known where heavy walling of up to 900mm was suddenly reduced at cill level to more manageable proportions. Where early buildings were built of grass-bound clay sods it also seems feasible to assume that the lifting of a sod wider than 450 mm would lead to it collapsing under its own weight.

The parameters of Sandstone work

The splitting of sandstone also played a part in determining convenient blocks. If the sandstone is split in slabs thinner than 300mm the units are likely to fracture. Dressing the slabs themselves down to 300mm in the other direction gave fingers of sandstone which could be laid in a manner which would allow selection of the best fa :. The lifting of weights in excess of 45 kg per person presented hoisting difficulties which in itself ensured that length modules were rarely in excess of 600mm, the exception being lintels. Labour and material costs were linked to cubic feet and a labourer as well as his employer could establish at a glance what progress had b :en made in a given time. It is also interesting to note that the 300mm adopted standard for height does not relate to brick coursing which indicates the secondary role that brickwork played in the early stages. Once hard-burnt bricks became available as infill material the stone-quoins were in fact modified to suit brick course heights, i.e. 342-355 mm. The use of dolerite as a structural material has persisted well into this century :s the churches of Moerdyk prove, but its fractious nature never made it a popular material. If any of the stonemasons of the previous century could have made headway with it, it must have been those accustomed to working with Scottish granite while those showing skills at sandstone would likely have been grounded in the British Freestone tradition. The so-called "unskilled" black labour built numerous walls and it may well be that they represent the vestigial remains of the Legoyha tradition.

Commercial opportunities in an agrarian economy

Since agriculture was the whole basis of the Republican economy in the early phases of its existence, it was to be expected that a few individual landowners would gradually gravitate to positions of comparative affluence and that they would desire to erect for themselves substantial homesteads affording the necessary comforts as they were understood. Such landowners arose not only from the ranks of the agricultural community but also from the business communities in the urban areas. The owners of businesses acquired property in their own right and also as a result of debtors' default. As a result of the ongoing trade with Britain and the Continent the business community had direct access to the materials and tastes of Europe. By 1870 Germany was in an expansive, aggressive mood which culminated in the occupation of Paris. Economic difficulties on the Continent led to a migration of German families, quite a few of whom found their way to Bloemfontein. By now, English journeymen were firmly established in the interior, having returned after the "debacle" of 1854 to find a country urgently in need of their services. There was ample opportunity for skilled masons, bricklayers and carpenters who were in demand as itinerant tradesmen, moving from one building project to another. The quality of workmanship to be found in these earlier farmhouses was directly related to the financial resources of the owner and fortunately, some very fine examples have survived.

By fortuitous circumstance, rather than by design, the most significant home-building seems to have occurred in the area lying east of the present railway line running from the north to the south. This imaginary demarcation line appears to divide the drier, less hospitable area to the west from the areas east of it, which are more suitable for mixed and crop farming. The western areas are still largely favoured for cattle raising even if mixed farming has become more prevalent in the North-western Free State. What the Western Free-State may have lacked in climatic excellence it more than compensated for by way of mineral wealth.

The Kimberley connection and its aftermath

By 1870 the whole traumatic experience of the discovery of diamonds in the Western Free State became the prelude to the annexation of this area by Great Britain. It would have been a vital adjunct to the architec-

tural development of the Orange Free State had this area remained Republican property, but in the end Kimberley became a focal point of its own with an architecture generated by the cosmopolitan population hastily gathered there. The wealthy individuals who did in fact build homes in Kimberley produced for themselves abodes of considerable extent and amenity. It was inevitable that they would play a role in influencing domestic architecture in the Republic. This was particularly true in the period before 1890 when Bloemfontein had to look to the railhead at Kimberley for goods ordered from overseas.

The discovery of diamonds in areas lying well within the OFS, such as at Koffiefontein, Jagersfontein, Kaal Valley and Theunissen also meant that British capital was involved in developing these areas and where managerial residences were concerned these were often substantial dwellings intended to compensate the occupants in a measure for their isolated existences. It thus happened that the Free State moved meat and grain westwards and in return shipped in new ideas, newspapers, materials and fashions from the Kimberley railhead. The lavish finishes pertaining to some of the Kimberley residences toward the end of the previous century are remarkable considering the origins of the items found in them. In particular furniture and joinery attained levels of craftsmanship which could hardly be equalled in this century.

Examples of early farm dwellings.

Looking first at the surviving examples in the Northern and Eastern Free State our attention is drawn to the Kroonstad area. Kroonstad as a town played an important part in the development of the area lying to the north of Bloemfontein and Winburg and some early government buildings dating back to 1866 have survived in Kroonstad.

Wolwefontein and other early farmsteads

In the district there were farms such as *Wolwefontein* which were settled as early as 1844 by the Botha family.

This family came originally from Somerset-East and occupied this farm after abandoning Natal. The house was a gift from his father-in-law Johannes Gerhardus Dreyer who was farming at *Theronsdrift*. This fact presupposes establishment in this area in the years immediately following the Great Trek. It is situated north-west of Kroonstad on the old road to the Western Transvaal. The liberal provision of stables and troughs indicate a traveller's refuge. Successive generations of Bothas farmed at *Wolwefontein* so that the farm buildings are a record of a century's rural architecture. The first farmhouse is a very substantially built rectangle containing a sitting room *(voorhuis),* three bedrooms and a kitchen. The quoins are of dressed sandstone whilst the infilling work has been done with dressed dolerite, an extremely hard and durable magmatic stone. The end walls are filled in with roughly selected dolorite, mainly undressed with a random effect (now pointed in cement). The roof is of thatch and to protect the roof a proper fireplace was built. Back to back with the fireplace a baking oven was constructed. The overall dimensions being 15,5 x 5 m.

The second farmhouse has a date on the gable of 1885 and is a more ambitious project of 19,0 x 9,0 m. The quoins are of a finely finished sandstone with the infilling done with roughly hewn sandstone. A verandah stretches the full length of the facade and is decorated with interesting tracery work. The roof over the verandah is concave and not concave-convex as is customary in much of the other domestic work in the OFS and Northern Cape. The roof is of corrugated iron and the ceiling is of yellow-wood with a varnished finish.

Other very early examples of dressed sandstone houses are those at *Bossiespruit,* 16 km east of Kroonstad and at *Brakfontein* 16 km south of Kroonstad. Both these houses date back to 1850 or slightly later and represent the earliest post-Great Trek houses built in a substantial manner. Many later additions and alterations have obliterated much of the original character. The very low pitch on the roof suggests that

corrugated iron must have been available since no other material could have accommodated for any length of time such a low pitch, in a comparatively high rainfall area. The oldest surviving and inhabited farm house is that of *Boschpoort* (now *Theronsdrift*) which lies 16 km North-west of Kroonstad. It was originally occupied by Johannes Gerhardus Dreyer who farmed here from 1838 onwards. Dreyer's mother who died in 1847 has a grave here which must be the oldest in the district. The foundation walls are a mixture of undressed sandstone and dolerite whilst the upper walls are of a fairly hard brick, probably a replacement for an earlier soft brick. The interior walls are plastered with clay to a depth of 50mm and limewashed while the floor is finished with stone paviors.

At *Strydfontein* 12 km west of Kroonstad is an interesting farm house which was used as a hospital in the Anglo Boer War. It was also extended for this purpose during the war. Subsequently thoughts were given to settling British Tommies here who were desirous of staying in South Africa. Although Boer prisoners of war actually prepared irrigation canals nothing came of the scheme due to the erratic flows of the Valsch River.

Doornkloof (Lindley district).

The *Doornkloof* farm is of particular interest since it reflects the various development phases of a farm settled from 1847 onwards. As a result of the British occupation of Natal Sarel Cilliers, the Voortrekker leader and lay preacher, decided to move back to the Free State. He requested Willem Pretorius to procure a suitable farm and this proved to be one half of a 9000 ha farm called *Doornkloof* purchased for £15 and three head of cattle. Five years later Cilliers bought the remainder for £75. Since the farm had no improvements Cilliers was obliged to approach settlement through the known phases, starting with a *hartebeeshuis* followed shortly thereafter by a dwelling of stone bedded in clay. Nothing is left of this house except that it's position can be indicated. His third house was built in 1861 to a plan much like that of the second. The original building, now much altered, consisted of four rooms built in a rectangle of 16,6 x 6,4m of roughly dressed sandstone laid in clay. To obtain stability the walls were up to 600m in thickness which was not unusual for this time. Whether this house had a corrugated iron roof from its inception seems likely as the material would have been well-known in the Natal area where it could be shipped in through Port Natal. The 1860's were a twilight period as far as roofs were concerned. The flatter *brakdak* could not have lasted in the interior and the need for thatched roofs as a next stage is obvious despite the lack of thatching reeds which were not universally available.

It is conceivable therefore that a building may have had a change of roof within a very short span of time. The more affluent owners would change to corrugated iron as soon as they could to promote weathertightness and to reduce the risk of fire.

The use of a *solder* as a safe dry storage space is also evident at the *Doornkloof* house where yellow-wood planks make up the ceiling. The original floors of the dwelling were of paving stones.

The farm is also notable for the extensive outbuilding in stone including cattle *kraals* and horse stables. Cilliers built a stone wall around his orchard and a stone dam in the local stream to irrigate the orchard. His skills in working with stone, combined with his driving personality found their outlet in extensive building works. The farm now belongs to the Voortrekker Youth movement which has undertaken restoration work in a manner which threatens the authenticity of the existing stonework.

The Eastern Free State

In this area a number of important examples of home-building have survived probably because they were owned by persons of British descent and thus spared the worst effects of the Anglo-Boer War. British connections are also confirmed by the English names.

Near the Natal Border at Swinburne the farmhouse at *Oaklandspark* can be found. This house belonged originally to an English millionnaire, Bob Hall who used the farm for hunting purposes. He was married to an actress and built this specific house in 1860. The building has been much altered by successive generations and as accommodation on a holiday farm the original has been almost overtaken by events. The central double-storey portion of 11 x 7,3m is clearly visible and consisted of four rooms, two on each floor, the kitchen being in a separate outbuilding.

The house was built of dressed sandstone, including the foundations; windows were of the sliding sash type. The roof is of corrugated iron and appears to have been so roofed from the beginning, a further indication that those who could afford it must have been using corrugated iron from 1860 onwards.

Walling in the interior is of plastered unburnt brick, the plaster being of clay (probably antheap clay) and white-washed.

The Hall (Kafferrivier, Bloemfontein district).

This farm belonged to Thomas Holmes, a British Settler who came to the area in 1850. The present house (recently damaged by fire) was built in 1859. It has an H-shaped plan with heavy sandstone walls (plastered) and sporting gables reminiscent of Cape Dutch styles.

Doors have leaded-light insets and the rear verandah is supported on cast iron units with decorative infill (probably of a later date).

Krapfontein (Near Bloemfontein)

About 25 km south of Bloemfontein a handsome house was built on this farm in about 1880 and displays a plan shape allowing for a much more generous scale of living than was usual at the time. This plan shape and centralised verandah was to become the prototype of farm and town dwellings for the next 40 years.

Other domestic buildings which can be placed in the Brand era are listed in the appropriate annexures relating to this period. Both rural and urban domestic work experienced a considerable increase in the volume of the work as well as in the range and quality of the end product. The financial injections brought about by the discovery of diamonds and gold during Brand's term of office, made their effects felt throughout the Republic and the second generation of the *Voortrekker* settlers were now experiencing the kind of economic security which permitted them to erect homes that were commodious and well-built.

Architectural intervention in domestic design

Lying within the time range of 1870-1888 are the first instances of architectural assistance and the quality of some of the domestic work in Northern and Eastern Free State is indicative of something more than a locally contrived dwelling. Obtaining a suitable plan for a house must have been one of the principal occupations of the more wealthy residents both urban and rural and there seems to be evidence that tradesmen re-used plans with modifications to suit the requirements of individual customers, which meant that certain architectural inputs would enjoy longevity beyond that envisaged by the original architect. The development of pictorial printing based on photographs was fairly common after 1880 and other lithographic work based on engravings placed numerous alternatives at the disposal of those who were in search of inspiration.

Enter the passage

The emergence of the passage as a communicating space facilitating both access and privacy becomes fairly common in the homes built after 1880 and the availability of pre-made joinery made their own stylistic imprints on the eclecticism of a diversity of means and tastes. In particular the availability of high grade structural timbers from the Baltic made it possible to manufacture joinery of lasting quality. One of the enduring impressions of old roofspaces spanned over by deal trusses is the daring spans with light timbers which survived for seventy or eighty years but would prove untenable if they were repeated with timbers grown in South Africa at the present time. It has been jokingly said that timber trusses erected before 1875 were by common consent exempt from the calculations of Rankines Structural tables, dating from about that time. The use of 45° roofslopes also protected roofs from the worst effects of low pressure suction, a phenomenon much more common when roof pitches were taken down to 15° and less. The pyramidal effect of 45° slopes imparted strength characteristics to roofs which were an unintentional bonus to the aesthetic requirements of the time.

The increasing use of brickwork.

The use of burnt brick was rare before the advent of the railway line in 1892. Such bricks as were burnt were semi-burnt with the use of woodfired kilns but once the transportation of coal became commonplace the outskirts of most small towns could boast their own coal-fired kilns. During the sixth and seventh decade of the previous century most bricks were still sun-dried and starting in Boshoff in the west the incidence of brick came to be progressively replaced with sandstone, particularly for external walls. Internal walls were universally built with sun-dried bricks finished in a mud-plaster with ant-hill aggregate being much favoured.

Domestic dwelling at its best seemed to flower in the genre of the parsonage of the *Ned. Geref. Kerk* and a more detailed examination of this building type is made in section 3.3

The range of domestic building

In retrospect the volume of domestic building done coincident with Pres Brand's term of office was prodigious and extended over the whole republic. The demands made on labour and materials must have strained the long lines of supply to the utmost and the massive destruction of these homes during the Anglo-Boer War is made the more tragic by the realisation that many of them were younger than thirty years and most younger than twenty, and in the most regrettable instances only ten or twelve years. The extent of home-building is no where better illustrated than by the catalogue of destroyed homes as listed after the war. Of the 5000 or more homes destroyed it may safely be assumed that 90% of them were built in the period 1864-1888, even if many of them represented basic attempts at providing accommodation, or were upgraded from buildings pre-dating 1864.

For a more detailed catalogue of examples that were extant in 1977, see annexures.

URBAN RESIDENTIAL BUILDING 1864 - 1888

Although the *Volksraad* usually resisted the numerous petitions for new urban settlements the expanding nucleating effect of church buildings and the pressing requests of *Volksraad* delegates inevitably led to the establishment of new towns and the period of 1864-1888 saw the proclamation of no less than 18 towns including five new towns to serve the area allocated to the Orange Free State after the last Basuto War. In most of the new towns the urban residential building did not assume extensive proportions and even the first photographs of these towns reflect formation in the vicinity of the church square only.

In Bloemfontein itself the residential development continued to expand northwards and by 1875 the principal east-west streets such as St Andrew's; Maitland- and Fontein Streets were already extensively built up while a few houses were arising in the direction of Naval Hill. After the erection of the *Tweetoringkerk* (Twin-spired church) at the North end of Kerk Street a number of *Kerkhuisies* were erected around the church. These were intended for occasional use by members of the congregation living in outlying areas, and were located in St John Street.[1]

The discovery of diamonds had a beneficial effect on urban growth and by 1883 there was a report of a housing shortage in Bloemfontein.[2] The population figures of 1890 show an increment from 1881 of about 400 persons (i.e. 1688 as against 2077). This represents a housing requirement of 80-100 units.[3] The occupation ratio of persons per living room was rapidly worsening. Early photographs of Bloemfontein dating from about 1861 or 1862 show modest houses with plastered walls and thatched roofs. A few buildings have low roofs behind parapets and these appear to pertain to the wealthier section of the community since corrugated iron was still regarded as an expensive item. A few of the earlier houses are worthy of more than passing attention and belonged to the important citizens of the town. Amongst these were the homes of Adcocate H.A.L. Hamelberg, Dr C.J.G. Krause, houses of H Jordan, G.A. Fichardt and the parsonage of the *Ned Geref Kerk*.

In other Free State towns the information relating to town houses of the PresBrand period is rather limited mainly because of the depredations of time and the paucity of photographs relating to this period. Miraculously a few examples have survived and were listed in the 1977 UOFS survey.

The most significant survivors are listed in the annexures. One of the most interesting early homes must certainly be the Van Coller house at Boom Street 76 in Parys which was built as a farmhouse and subsequently incorporated into the urban grid-iron. The probable date of erection is 1865 and is one of the few extant examples of sun-dried brick buildings under thatch with a peach-stone floor. The thatch (or light reeds) is fixed to the timber poles with *rieme* cut from pigskin.

Although urban houses went through certain phases when they were upgraded i.e. thatch, corrugation iron mono-pitch behind a parapet, and ultimately an added verandah with timber supports and trellis balustrade, those homes that were built subsequent to 1875 were usually built with a pitched roof, later extensions often taking the form of the so-called *stoepkamer* type with additional bedrooms being added to either side of the existing *stoep* and finished with gabled walls. This plan type was so popular that it was adopted for *de novo* homes and in a sense became a typical South African prototype.

3.2. THE BUILDINGS OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY 1864 -1888

Early water-mills

Proof of infrastructural development in this period is amply demonstrated by the buildings which were now increasingly being built for very specific commercial or industrial uses. As may be expected they were mainly located in urban areas, the principal exception being the water mills which had, perforce, to be located where the water supply was adequate and continuous. The most important mills dating from this period are those at Don-Don (Hobhouse) on the Caledon River;one at Millvale (Memel); the watermill at Carmel dating from 1860 (Smithfield). The cornmill at *Carmel* was unusual in that it was driven by water diverted from a fountain. The foundations are of sandstone and are complete with a slate dampproof course. Walls generally are of 450 mm sandstone while the gables are of 330 mm brickwork. The building orginally had a thatched roof which was later replaced with corrugated iron on yellow-wood beams. The waterwheel itself was of stinkwood. The building has become a ruin but restoration would be possible. The Loesch and *Jammerbergdrif* mills at Wepener dating from 1869 and a further mill at *Jammerbergdrif* north of the river are also from the same period. An elaborate watermill was erected at Leeuriver (now Tweespruit).[4]

Other early examples of commercial milling were those of Winburg where 3 watermills were in operation in 1879 at the *Vetrivier* and at *Koolspruit*. In 1883 Messrs Pitout and Davis were operating a steammill at *Trommel*.

Examples of surviving commercial buildings

It was in the commercial sector that development was the most dramatic during this period. The extensive shopping facilities offering goods and personal services in Bloemfontein at the end of Pres Brand's term of office was extensive as a comparative listing of advertisements would show. This development was the more remarkable considering that all goods were transported overland by ox-wagon with considerable time delays and fairly high costs.

In outlying areas businesses performed an invaluable service as the goods they offered abbreviated the time necessary to obtain essential requirements. Only a few of the original premises in these areas are still extant today. At Bethlehem the handsome store building of Strapp and Son dating back to 1890 has miraculously survived as does the sandstone *Handelshuis* in Rouxville of R Wocke dating back to 1879. The Jarvis and Mason building in Harrismith dating back to 1882 is a rare survivor as is the *Afrikaanse Handelshuis* building in Winburg of 1889.

The scope of trading establishments

Cunyngham travelling through the Orange Free State in 1873 gives some remarkable figures in respect of the trade in game hides. A Mr Adler, a merchant of Winburg is reputed to have purchased 70 000 game skins in 1873. The aggregate figure for antelope hides from the Northern Free State area amounted to one million and would explain the reports of unusually large numbers of game ruthlessly slaughtered. The plains were strewn with the skulls of thousands of blesbok and wildebeest.[5]

In one respect Cunyngham's complaints have a familiar ring. The cost of essentials were regarded as extravangantly excessive. Transportation of goods from the Cape added 6d per pound weight plus 12% customs duty. The every day commodities such as meat, cost as much as in Great Britian while bread was

5/- to 6/- per pound. A cabbage was 2/6 and eggs, surprisingly enough frequently cost 6d each. Vegetable gardening became a profitable pursuit for gardeners even in urban areas and one gentleman could report an income of £300 per annum from a vegetable garden one acre in extent.[6]

The increase in wool sales is further evidence of the scale of development. In 1854 about 50 bales of wool left Bloemfontein for southern markets and by 1874 this had risen to 10 000, presumably for export.[7]

The extent to which businesses could flourish in a town like Smithfield is given in a report dated in the early part of this century. The emporium of Mr J C Keast's store is described as being "remarkably extensive in character". The stores extended over three erven and had a frontage no less than 270m x 135m. A customer could acquire everything needed for the erection of a house, including the furniture and to fully cloth himself and his family from the wares displayed there. Mr Keast also sold agricultural machinery of every description. He also traded in produce, wool, mohair, hides and farm products. Such an extensive business must have been a going concern by 1888 and survived the war unscathed.[8]

Descriptions from 1895 give fairly extensive mention of well established businesses in new and substantial premises. The overall impression is that the entrepreneurs were essentially of British extraction e.g. Strapp & Son at Bethlehem, whose business dates back to 1880, and the watermills generally were owned and operated by English-speaking families, with equipment designed and made in Great Britain.

Hotels

Early hotels have had a notoriously low rate of survival and names which once occurred regularly in the newspapers of Bloemfontein have become blurred by time. The better known ones became legends in their time as they figured largely in any congregation of people bent on celebration, particularly if the celebrities of the day participated in the convivialities with indeterminate toasts.

The earliest hotel which qualified for that appellation must have been Futcher's Hotel as W W Colins mentions this as existing when his family arrived in Bloemfontein in 1851.[9] The names of hotels frequently changed as often as the ownership and many were short-lived. The period of hotel proliferation was during the seventies when names like the Bloemfontein, The Albion (later the Phoenix), Cookes hotel, and the Criterion were cropping up regularly in newspaper reports of that decade. The Free State hotel opposite the market placed dates back to 1869 and 1870 and as an overnight stop for people attending the market it must have been a rough and ready place before it was upgraded. It was originally a single storey building with open sandcovered walkways between rooms.[10] Its later splendour with monumental frontage and "well appointed" rooms made a splendid companion for the post-office building erected next to it, both buildings facing westward across the Market Square.

The Criterion hotel at the junction of Church and Fontein Streets, was first functioning as an hotel in 1882 but was offered for sale in 1884. At that time it could boast a dining room of 12m x 6m; a private dining room of 6m x 4m; billiard room with two tables, 9m x 6m ; reading and card room of 6m x 6m; ladies cloakroom 3,m x 3,5m and 10 generous bedrooms with ceilings 4,2m high .

Facing onto Church Street were the offices, servants quarters, stores and stables for 20 horses.[11]

The Bloemfontein hotel, forerunner to the later luxurious Edwardian Hotel of the same name was sited at the corner of Maitland and East Burger Streets. Its origins go back as far as 1874 but the building was upgraded a number of times. It started off as Mrs Smellenkamp's Boarding house but was altered in 1874 by J Dickson and for a time was known as the Masonic hotel. In 1877 it was taken over by the Bloemfontein hotel Co., opening on the 19 August of that year, with its new name of Bloemfontein hotel. In 1880 it was again offered for sale with the following accommodation listed: 10 Bedrooms, one large dining room, a reading room, toilet and refreshment rooms, bar, and stabling for 30 horses as well as a harness room. In

1888 the building was again modernised and offered to let in 1889 when the rooming accommodation seems to have declined.[12]

About early hotels in other towns little is known other than scant references to their existence. The Phoenix hotel at Jagersfontein started as a store during the early years of the Republic and numerous alterations were made over the years. About 1880 a new storey was added and the quality of the accommodation upgraded.[13]

Commercial Banks

Banking in the Orange Free State suffered several birth pangs as the *Volksraad* placed prohibitions on the establishment of banks in the OFS where the board of directors were not resident in the OFS. This ban meant that even some of the international banks were not in a position to establish a foothold here until well into the sixties. Banks like the Standard Bank made an early start during the time of the Sovereignty but was forced to abandon this business by *Volksraad* decree in effect from January 1866. The Standard Bank closed down in Bloemfontein on 5 April 1868.[14]

In December of 1861 a Joint Stock bank was established and by 1864 was a thriving business with the directors listing names like A H Bain, M Steyn, Isaac Baumann, C E Fichardt, G Page, F Daniel and James Dick — the very kernel of the Bloemfontein business elite.[15]

The only surviving bank was the Bank of Africa which was permitted to do Government business and had several branches in the country. Its Bloemfontein branch was located at the corner of Maitland and West Burger Streets and at Harrismith on Erf 98.[16]

The *Volksraad* decided to increase the circulation of money by issuing the famous "Blue-backs", notes of a nominal face value of £1 to a total value of £30 000. These notes rarely reached face value in any transaction but were in the end fully redeemed by the government after compensation was received for the loss of the diamond fields. The *Volksraad* resolved in 1876 to establish a local bank called the "National Bank of the Orange Free State". This bank absorbed the old Bloemfontein Bank. The National Bank was subsequently incorporated into the Barclays Bank.

3.3. OFS COMMUNITIES AS AN ENTREPRENEURIAL FORCE 1864 - 1888

INTRODUCTION

The origins of Post-reformation church-building

The introduction of Scottish ministers to lead various *gemeentes* in the Cape and in the Orange Free State, has already been commented upon. The period after 1864 is significant as it was during this time that the guidance of Scottish ministers in matters dealing with architecture would become more pronounced as not only were they more generously distributed amongst the various communities, but in Scotland, where their training was completed, the confused architectural scene was becoming more clarified with the issues lying at the heart of the classical and Gothic confrontations assuming the attributes of a scientific debate even where the emotions engendered by the disputes seem strangely overwrought to a later age.

In Scotland, and in fact wherever the Reformation had manifested itself there were popular misconceptions about the middle ages and the Renaissance which must at least in part have given rise to the Reformation. These conceptions were the fruits of the Romantic movement.There was also a widely held view that the Renaissance was the epitome of hedonism while the Reformation spelt the death of the arts and that all Reformed church buildings where as a matter of course and by deliberate choice "barn-like" structures.[17]

The post-reformation churches in Scotland were the natural consequence of the formative influence of liturgical requirements of the reformation churches and the modesty of their import and intent could hardly have been the cause of the demise of high Gothic architecture.[18]

The stylistic ascendency of the classical architecture was due to other larger cultural forces which were at work within the western world but the undercurrent of Gothicism never really became extinguished. The gap between late Gothic, or survival Gothic as it was called, and Neo-gothic was surprisingly small. The post-Reformation church had perforce often to use the Gothic shells handed down after the dissolution and although the liturgical adaptations were sometimes crude, even reckless with the heritage of a previous era, the Scottish church found it usable and adaptable. At times even two reformed churches existed within the walls of one Gothic cathedral. But these were the exceptions. The smaller Scottish kirk, was more often than not a T-shaped structure with the pulpit at the junction of the two branches. This arrangement made a central placement of communion tables feasible. Rome, contrary to what could be expected, did not as a matter of course give preference to the Gothic tradition despite its longevity. Rather did the Popes lavishly endow the arts of the Renaissance.[19]

The indulgences to which Martin Luther so strongly objected that he triggered off the Protestant revolution, were intended for the rebuilding of St. Peters and the papal palaces in the Renaissance manner.[20]

Useful as it was as a temporary shell for the Calvanist mode of religious practice the Gothic tradition was clearly not a suitable matrix. The spoken word and the sacraments moved to the centre of the liturgical field and the minister's pulpit had perforce to be central to the internal designations.

The Neo-Gothicism which was fanned by surprising energies in the early nineteenth Century could not assist the Protestant church in any way to come to purposeful ordination of its internal arrangements. Instead it endowed even the simplest of church structures with a medieval legacy of pointed windows, the vestigial remains of a once powerful spiritual motivation in architecture. The marriage of the simple barn-shape with Gothic windows proved surprisingly durable and became to be the hallmarks of the "proper"

church for calvinistic services. The embryonic re-emergence of the cruciform church was accommodated by the use of the area usually reserved for the chancel and sacristy as a consistory — a room separated entirely from the body of the church and having its own disparate function. What was left of the cruciform shape was a tee-shape which served the Scottish kirk well and in turn, the *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* in the Cape and the Free State.

Scottish churches and their architects, particularly those that followed in the nineteenth century freely experimented with Renaissance forms and found their adaptability to internal arrangements an inspiration for some fine buildings e.g. North Leith 1816, and St. Stephens in Edinburgh 1828 which is more reminiscent of the Greek Cross plan, and St. Andrew's in Glasgow dating back to 1756. One of the finest examples is Fochabars, Bellie Parish Kirk of 1798 with its classical portico which would have fathered quite a few churches in South Africa.

The Renaissance church of the previous century in the Cape Province owes much to the skillful hands of English architects as the Cradock and Colesberg churches can testify. At Graaff-Reinet there was a fully fledged adaptation of the medieval cathedral (perhaps Salisbury) with timbered half-arches replacing the customary groined vaults.

But in the end it was the modified Latin cross terminating in a very tall tower that won the day. In the vast landscapes of the Karoo and the Free State steeples had to be venturesome to make any impression at all. One of the first acts of a *gemeente* strapped for funds was to add a steeple to the basic church as soon as funds permitted.

A church like Comrie, Perthshire dating from 1805, could be called a genuine prototype for later Ned. Geref. Churches in the Cape and the Free State, and the Roman Catholic chapel of the Annunciation was certainly a distant relative of the Kroonstad church of the 1870's. The stylistic remnants of post-Reformation Europe suited the Cape and the Free State well. The internal arrangements of the truncated-T were easily adapted to the reformed-liturgy and the lancet windows distinguished the building's use from that of more secular buildings.

The watered-down Gothicism and a bold steeple in a classical idiom placed in a lonely landscape gives an eerie sensation of *deja-vu* but for more than a century these austere, dignified buildings served generations of pious people and still do.

The centrally situated communion tables of the Scottish kirk found an echo in the *Gereformeerde Kerk* so that in one guise or another Scottish influence permeated the interior. Even the severely modest *waenhuiskerk* of the smaller *gemeente* of the *Gereformeerde kerk* owe allegiance to church buildings like that at Auldearn, Nairnshire dating to 1757. Not only were the planning requirements similar but the buildings are characterised by the same calvanistic abhorrence of any decoration or statuery. In this the churches of the South African hinterland were even more severe than their Scottish forbears who were not averse to colour on the ceilings or some carving on the pulpit and baldachino.

In the Free State there was another influence at work namely that of Germany. Richard Wocke, who played an important role as architect - builder in the first four decades of the Republican era,who with his design mentor Carl Hager in Cape Town imported something of a Westphalian flavour to their church buildings. Wocke's design for the *Tweetoringkerk* in Bloemfontein dating from 1882 has a plan shape and twin towers which owe much to St Elizabeth at Marburg, even if circumstances prescribed greater modesty in the interior.

The close liaison between the Scottish Protestant church and the *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* of South Africa was a warm and natural one with similarities in dogma and outlook which was only seriously disturbed by the Anglo-Boer War when the Scottish Church began to mourn it's sons lying dead under the smoke and thunder of *Magersfontein*. The Afrikaans churches comforted by a half-century of benign ac-

quaintance and ecclesiastical friendship, pleaded in vain for assistance from Scotland when the Free State churches were vandalized or destroyed.

CHURCH-BUILDING ACTIVITIES IN VARIOUS OFS COMMUNITIES 1864—1888

The improved political and economic situation of the Orange Free State after the ending of the Basuto wars and the discovery of the diamond fields meant that the rate of nucleation and church building accelerated rapidly after 1868. In the period under review no fewer than 18 new *gemeentes* were established and in each there was a burning desire to have a church building erected for the immediate commencement of services. The process of first, second and third church buildings repeated itself in these new communities and very few of them were in a position to by-pass the first two stages. In particular, the formation of new communities was actively aided by the *Volksraad* in the Eastern Free State where the area gained after the last Basuto War was in need of rapid settlement to prevent instability in the borderline situation. The establishment of Bethlehem 1869; Ficksburg 1870; Wepener 1870; Ladybrand 1870; Rouxville 1870, was indicative of the concerted expansion of the Afrikaans church into this area. The terms of land procurement and settlement were so favourable that many of the landless saw this as a belated opportunity not to be missed. In 1865 there were eleven Ned Geref *gemeentes* in the OFS but by 1888 this had risen to 27, an increment of 16 in 23 years. In addition to these *de novo* beginners several of the communities which were already established endeavoured to upgrade their existing first or second stage buildings.

An example of such upgrading was the NG Church at Smithfield which had a tower added during the time of Ds S J M van Niekerk (1877-1887) while the parsonage was improved.[21] At Jacobsdal tenders were called for a parsonage in 1864 but building had an inbuilt tardiness in those days and the *konsulent* Ds Louw resigned his position. The making of bricks however went on and other necessary materials were purchased for cash in Graaff-Reinet. By 1866 the building was virtually completed when Ds Du Toit arrived. What he found there raised his ire and the *Kerkraad* were advised that "they would have done better had they spilt the oil and paint in the street as such an action would have prevented the parsonage from being despoiled".[22]

To make his point he had the building repainted a year later despite the fact that the *Kerkraad* felt it could have lasted 50 years. The ministers wrath did not seem to spur the *Kerkraad* on to new levels of action. In desperation Ds Du Toit added a bathroom at his own expense and the completion of the boundary wall occupied all of 20 years. A verandah was added in 1897 and the whole venture brought to a semblance of completion just in time for the ravages of war.

The first church building at Jacobsdal was inaugurated in November 1861 and was devoid of all pretentions. The roof was a clay covered reed roof which soon leaked. The leaks were tolerated for eight years before a corrugated iron roof was erected. Tenders for a more permanent church were called for in 1876. The church called for had two alternative specifications. In the first the church was to be a "square building without a tower seating 500 persons on one level but having an organ gallery". The alternative was to seat 450 persons at ground floor level but having two side galleries in addition to an organ gallery.

Disaster now struck the community which found two-thirds of its members falling outside the new boundaries created by the settlement of the dispute relating to the diamond fields. The interior of the new church building had to be shelved until 1877. In October of that year a contract was signed with W B Langford for £7640, a sum of £2000 being assigned to the *gemeente* by the *Volksraad*. The foundation stone was laid on 29 January 1878 and a stinkwood pulpit was made by Sapsford for the sum of £375. The building was handed over in July of 1879 but numerous items had to be added to achieve the completion. The pews and ceilings were varnished while wind lobbies were built around the entrance doors. Windows were frosted to lessen solar glare. Finally the building could be inaugurated in November 1879 when it was described as "tasteful, generous and airy". A church tower was only added in 1928 at a cost of £6 800 — a cost as great as the original building itself.

When the decade of the seventies started there was church building activity in a number of towns. At Harrismith the foundation stone of the second church was laid on 15 October 1870 and work on the new church at Rouxville was completed in March of 1881. The Rouxville church is a particularly fine example of sandstone building, and although considerably altered over the years, it has survived to the present time. Even the first church dating from 1865 has survived.

Edenburg and Architect Wocke

The community of Edenburg had reached the stage in 1874 when the replacement of the first modest church had become a matter of some urgency. A decision was taken under the guidance of Ds A P Meiring that a cruciform church would be built with a 600 seat capacity. The architect-builder was Richard Wocke from Bloemfontein. This architect was in his most prolific decade being also involved in the Government offices in the capital city and numerous other secular buildings throughout the Republic. The foundation stone for Edenburg's second church was laid on 10 July 1874. The erection of a building of this scope represented a major logistical problem. Essential imported material such as timber, corrugated iron, windows and lamps were brought to the interior by ox-wagon from Port Elizabeth. As the work proceeded donors became more conspicuous and the money was found for the organ, lamps and clockwork.

The building took more than two years to complete and inauguration took place on 10 January 1877.

Although the foundations for the tower were taken down 4 metres this was not adequate to ensure safety from the Free State's swelling clays and the tower was replaced in 1889 at a cost of £2 000. The replacement was in stone. Although the tower appeared firm enough movement in the structure brought serious cracks in its wake. The subsoil conditions prevalent over virtually the whole Republic meant that church towers firgured prominently in the *Kerkraad's* minutes. Communities not only strongly desired towers to match those of neighbouring *gemeentes* but in the end invariably regretted the ambition for elevated architecture. Not only was the firm founding of such a structure a complicated task in the geological strata but any subsequent movement or displacement of the tower meant anxious concern for the building committees who vaccillated between considerations of safety and cost. [58]

A new church for Bloemfontein

By 1875 it had become clear to the *Kerkraad* of Bloemfontein *gemeente* that its first church built in 1849 was unsafe and inadequate. The other districts such as Harrismith, Edenburg and Smithfield were already enjoying the advantages of commodious and attractive church buildings whilst the mother of them all was content until then to make do. The financial implications were quite apparent as there was copious evidence as to the cost of recent church buildings in the Republic. South of the Orange River plans were afoot in Graaff-Reinet to build a fourth church of some significance and splendour. It was the *heimat* of the Murrays and the example set in Graaff-Reinet would not be lost on Bloemfontein.

Fund-raising efforts were intensified and as usual the *Kerkraad* turned to the *Volksraad* who were unwilling to accede to this request.Vergottini's proposal against such a donation was carried in the *Volksraad* on 18 June 1875. A contributory factor was probably the spectre of numerous requests flooding in from the newly established towns — the formation of which the *Volksraad* grudgingly acknowledged. The *Volksraad* also determined that their contribution to the minister's salary would be set at £275 per year.[23]

The *Volksraad* had none the less contributed to the building costs of quite a few churches from the funds arising from the compensation for the loss of the diamond fields. These contributions dated from 1877 and the Bloemfontein request was perhaps economically inopportune in 1875.[24]

In 1878 a prize of £100 was offered for the most acceptable church design. The award-winning entry was that of the architect William Bennett Hays but when these designs were put to the tender the lowest came in at £33 500, a sum so inordinately excessive in the eyes of the *Kerkraad* that this fine design was unfortunately shelved.

The ubiquitous Mr Wocke was now called upon to show a way out of the impasse. Using Hay's plan as a starting point he adapted it to his Teutonic taste, simplified it and to prove his point offered to build it for £17 500. Side porches and a mother's room were omitted. The foundation stone could now be laid by Pres Brand on 10 May 1878. The same site was used for the new building and to prepare the way the old Bloemfontein landmark succumbed to the demolishers in January of 1878.

For a period of two years and four months the warehouse of Fichardt served as an emergency church. On 7 May 1880 the building was finally inaugurated at a total cost of £20 000.

Tower problems dogged the footsteps of Wocke and one tower collapsed in 1935. As a precautionary measure the other tower was demolished as well but both terminated inelegantly at the base of the spire when they were rebuilt. The full restoration of the spires to their original state came some time later.

Historically speaking the building had a few narrow escapes and no one less than Moerdyk advocated its demolition in favour of one of his more suitable Romanesque churches. Structural instability put it on the danger list a number of times and at the present time (1984) the towers are again the object of intense investigation owing to the formation of alarming cracks.

The character of the church owes a debt to Northern German Gothic and the similarity to buildings like St Elizabeth at Marburg are obvious. [67] [68] [70]

The pulpit was designed and executed by Ernst Schmidt and his son Johannes Schmidt in 1880 and in the same year the organ arrived from Port Elizabeth by ox-wagon, unfortunately in a damaged condition, emphasizing the hazardous nature of the extended lines of supply.[26]

The Rev. Radloff left his Bloemfontein *gemeente* shortly after the completion of the building to answer a call to Hoopstad where he immediately commenced church-building activities for the local community.

At this time, (May 1880) the Ned. Geref. parsonage occupied a position approximately where the present-day bridge in Pres Brand Street crosses Bloemspruit. This site and the building on it disappeared in the realignment of the Spruit and the extension of Eunice Avenue to join up with Pres Brand Street. The open area opposite the Presidency adjoining the parsonage was known as President's Plein which in turn became roadway and the site for the present-day Magistrates Court.

The first Ned. Geref. Kerk at Reitz

The eighties represented the decade of active church building throughout the Republic and at Reitz the foundation stone of the first church was laid during May of 1886 by the chief justice Reitz. The building was of dressed stone and planned in such a way that the basic rectangular form could be converted into a cruciform church which remained the ultimate aim of all "incomplete" church buildings at the time. It was, in fact, enlarged in this manner prior to the Anglo-Boer War when it suffered extensive damage due to pilfering and vandalism. All the timberwork and joinery was stripped from the building, including floorboards, pews and pulpit. The purpose of such large scale removal of timber in a barren landscape suggests that it was all used for firewood. The provision of timber for heating and the brewing of tea represented some of the principal duties of the catering section of the British Army and the source of this in a barren landscape could be a church if it had to be.[27]

Temperatures several degrees below zero and a bleak wind blowing from the Malutis took the edge off a sense of sacrilege but did not account for much inexplicable vandalism perpetrated for its own sake.

The Anglican Church, Bloemfontein

The Anglican church, similarly experienced an upsurge of expansion and building in the decade of the eighties. The first church built in Bloemfontein on the present site was inaugurated in November 1866 and has survived to the present time as the chancel at the east end of the present-day Cathedral. The Cathedral was consecrated on St Andrew's day, 30 November 1866 in honour of St Andrew the apostle. Bishop Twells desired that the name of St Michael the Archangel should be added and the Cathedral has the double title.

On 1 December 1866 Bishop Twells was enthroned by Archdeacon Merriman and in 1867 stained glass was placed in the three windows at the east end in memory of members of the Twells family.

In 1867 William Crisp, the first provost of the Cathedral wrote:

> The Cathedral stands on rising ground at one entrance to the town. It is so built in after years a wing and aisles may be added and the present church form a chancel.

Cunyngham visiting Bloemfontein in 1874 speaks of the modest building as "a very handsome building to which is attached a comfortable roomy house for the Bishop of Bloemfontein". The service was conducted in the High Church system, and the

> Vestments of the clergy being handsomely decorated and astonishing the simple Lutherans or Presbytereans who from curiosity witnessed the service.[28]

To accommodate the expanding congregation a temporary extension was erected in 1876 to elongate the body of the church in a Westerley direction and by 1882 extensions were being erected over the corrugated iron enclosure.

The permanent extension was completed according to the plans of Byrd in 1885. The mass of the superstructure proved to be in excess of the carrying capacity of the brick piers and arches and a portion of the church collapsed during a wedding ceremony. This necessitated the rebuilding of the piers in stone which imparts a handsome and sturdy appearance to the interior. [50]

In a letter dated 27 September 1867 contained in the Crisp Papers the interior is described:

> The altar is very handsomely vested and there is a fine cross and the two lights on the re-table. There is a surpliced choir and very good congregations. On the South side is a small chapel with altar etc. where the Kaffir services are held and which also serves as a private chapel for the Bishop and the clergy.[29]

The stained-glass windows at the East end are very fine examples of glass work imported from Great Britain as are the other extant windows.

Anglican churches in other centres

Extensive building programmes covered much of the Republic's smaller towns during this period and included buildings for Wepener and the second St Patrick's church on the present-day Power Station site. This church was erected by Achbishop Crisp in 1884 and enlarged in 1894. The most famous of the trilogy of St Patrick's churches was that erected during the period 1908 and 1921, the ultimate marriage of many-faceted brickwork covered by equally complex corrugated iron roofing. The sacrificing of this building for such a mundane use as cooling towers for the new power station was indicative of the careless attitude towards the retention of important buildings which dogged Bloemfontein for 50 years after St Patrick's.

Numerous other Free State towns acquired Anglican churches. Examples of these are to be seen (or were to be seen) at Ficksburg 1870, Philippolis 1865, Ladybrand (church of the Province at Modderpoort) 1869,

Wepener 1876, Thaba 'Nchu 1868, Smithfield 1863, (Bishop Twells began his ministry here), Harrismith 1877, (St John the Baptist), Ficksburg 1871, Bethulie c.1886, Fauresmith c.1875, Rouxville 1874, Jagersfontein 1881 (corrugated iron building). There is also a small English church at Jammerbergdrif belonging originally to the Robertson family and built in the family graveyard. [78]

The Gereformeerde Kerk

The *Gereformeerde Kerk* was also active in this period, a number of the basic barn-like churches being built. A most important addition to its church property was a building in Philipstown across the Orange River in the Northern Cape. Here the architect Robertson built a generous stone church in 1876 which has survived and probably served as a model for quite a few of the later buildings in the Orange Free State, such as that at Philippolis in 1883 but is preceded by that at Thaba 'Nchu which is regarded as one of the oldest *Gereformeerde* churches in the OFS. In this case only the foundation walling was in sandstone. The mother church at Reddersburg dating from 1861 must be regarded as the prime generator of a later progeny of *Gereformeerde* churches.[30]

The Lutheran church

The Lutheran church must be reckoned as one of the pioneers in early mission building and in 1845 the missionaries had erected at Bethany a "massive brick church" of 18 x 6 m which was enlarged and embellished in 1869 by Richard Wocke, who as a German, must have felt a particular empathy with this project. The foundations are of rough hewn sandstone and the walls of plastered brick.

The first appearance of the Lutheran church in an urban context was that of Bloemfontein which was inaugurated on 10 December 1875.

The Catholic and Wesleyan churches

From 1880 onwards the Roman Catholic and Wesleyan churches sought to inject their activities into the field already fully occupied by the two Dutch churches and the Anglican church. The Roman Catholic church had made an early start in Bloemfontein in the time of Father Hoendervangers but his valiant struggle against poverty and neglect does not appear to have borne much fruit before 1875 when Charles Jollivet, a Bishop at the R C church approached the *Volksraad* with a request to purchase the old Government School (The first *Volksraad* building dating from 1849).

The chairman of the *Volksraad* pointed out the historical significance of the building as the freedom of the Republic was negotiated there. It was also in use as a School for Artillery-trainees. A certain natural religious antipathy may have underlain the refusal as well, despite the fact that J de Villiers, seconded by Vergottini were in favour of the sale, as the adjacent properties were already in possession of the R C church.[31] A modest cathedral in Gothic style was in fact erected for the Roman Catholic community a short while later in 1881 but in a position to the South East of the site desired by Bishop Jollivet. This cathedral had a dolerite foundation with hardburnt brick. The windows were headed by Romanesque arches a form of heading that Richard Wocke the architect seem to favour. (c. *Tweetoringkerk* 1882).

The Wesleyan, or Methodist church did not establish itself as extensively as the other denominations but small buildings were erected in towns such as Winburg, Kroonstad and Heilbron. The numbers of the Methodist church were moderately increased by Afrikaans-speaking people who were disaffected from their countrymen as a result of joining hands with the British Army after the occupation of the Orange Free State. The simple and unaffected liturgical requirements were not alien to these new members and their cordial acceptance as full members compensated for the loss of acceptance in the church of their birth. In Bloemfontein there was a Wesleyan church as early as 1867. This church in Maitland Street was inaugurated on 19 August 1867. A further chapel for non-whites was built in St. George's Street in 1872.

The second Methodist church in Maitland Street was inaugurated on 16 July 1875. This building was designed and built by William Biggars Langford who was prepared to undertake "building work of every description" and to "furnish Designs for Buildings, with working plans and Specifications". This self-styled architect and builder made a brief but remarkable foray into the building world at a time when he had Richard Wocke to contend with.

Other Ned Geref Churches in the OFS

In the Bethlehem *gemeente* a fairly late start was made with a phase two building of some substance and it was not before 1880 that Pres Brand laid the foundation stone on 25 January of that year. The building was nearly three years in the making and was inaugurated in November of 1882 at a cost of £14 000. The building, to all outward appearances sturdily built of stone, lasted only 25 years after which period its structure was considered so unsound that the building had to be demolished.

The third-phase church for Bethlehem had its foundation stone laid by Pres. Steyn on 12 April 1910 and this building similarly cost £14 000.

By 1883 the *gemeente* of Bethulie was also ready to move into its second phase of church building, the first building having served for only twenty years. The foundation stone for this building was laid by Pres Brand in 1886 and in July of 1887 the building was inaugurated at a cost of £7 500. To the North, President Brand had laid the foundation stone for the Brandfort church on 10 July 1883 with the inauguration following in December of 1884. This community was only established in 1875 so that its first *ad hoc* period was very short. The foundations of the building were of dolerite, because its hardness was favoured below ground level. The walls were of sandstone and the ceilings of timber (later pressed metal). The pulpit was of yellow wood.

Bultfontein was established a year earlier than Brandfort and here a temporary or first phase building served for more than 22 years until a new building was inaugurated in 1897.

In a reversal of the normal order of events Dewetsdorp as a town preceded the establishment of the *gemeente* by two years. A building was immediately erected and enlarged in 1883. This first phase building lasted for 13 years.

In the North-Eastern Free State Frankfort and Heilbron communities were becoming active by 1873. Church building of any substance in Frankfort can be traced back to 3 November 1883 when Pres Brand laid the foundation stone at Frankfort. This building was unfortunately destroyed by fire during the Anglo-Boer War and the church records perished in the fire. Heilbron experienced its foundation stone laying in 1880 when Pres Brand officiated at the event. The church was completed at a cost of £12 000. The whole structure was of sandstone with the customary deal flooring. [76]

Although Hoopstad was established as an independent *gemeente* in August of 1876 services were conducted in a thatched-roof building accommodating a maximum of 300 persons, for upwards of 11 years. The parsonage at Hoopstad is an interesting example of a surviving residence dating from 1883, remaining in use for nearly a century.

The Ned Geref church at Jacobsdal dates back to 1879 when it was a rectangular building designed by the Bloemfontein architect W B Langford.[32] It is stylistically considerably different from those erected by Wocke and was considerably altered and enlarged in 1930.

On the eastern border of the OFS the Ladybrand community was established in 1870 and by 1871 the *Volksraad* had agreed to pay a minister's salary of £275, and a number of state erven were placed at the disposal of the *Kerkraad* for church-building purposes. The community used a first phase church for twen-

ty years before a substantial stone building was erected in 1890. Tenders for the first church were called for in May 1870 and specifications stipulated that it should be 18m long by 6 m wide and 3,6 m high, below rafter level. By 17 September of 1870 the foundation stone was laid by Ds van Heyningen of Winburg.[33] Inauguration occured on 28 January 1871 and on that occasion 300 would be seated inside the church and 200 outside. The need for increased accommodation was met by enlarging the basic church to a cruciform or T-shape. The building materials were sun-dried brick and a thatch roof. In this respect it is a perfect example of a first phase church.

Although stone suitable for building was readily available there does not appear to be a predilection for its use probably because the skills necessary for its working were not readily available. This first building was erected to the East of the existing church in Erasmus Street.

The first minister was Ds L Hugo who served the community from 1872-1876. During his incumbency a parsonage was built at the corner of Church and First Street.[34]

By 1888 plans were afoot to erect a new church building but steps to implement this decision were delayed until 1887. Thirteen designs and tenders were received. That of Gustav Rohde at £8025 was accepted and the foundation stone laid on 2 March 1889. The church is described in more detail in section 4.3

The Lindley community as a separate entity dates from 1876 and its first phase church must have dated from about 1880. This building was destroyed during the Anglo-Boer War with the sacking of Lindley.

The community of Parys was a self-contained *gemeente* by 1884 but an emergency church and a parsonage are not mentioned before 1890.

Rouxville in the South-eastern Free State is listed as dating from 1870. In the period between 1870 and 1879 a first phase church was used about which little is known except its date of erection, 1865, and its cost £2 000.[35] In 1879 the foundation stone for a new sandstone church was laid. The builder was R Wocke who presumably supplied the plans as well. The foundation walling is of dressed dolerite and has a slate damp-proofcourse. The walls are of 900mm sandstone. The ceilings are of timber and the windows have uncoloured glazing, with a textured finish. Even before tenders for the church were called for Ernest Schmidt was asked to carve the pulpit so that it must be assumed that he was a wood carver of considerable skill. He was later responsible for the pulpit of the *Tweetoringkerk*. [61] [62] [63] [64] [65]

The tender of Richard Wocke was the only one received and he mentions two alernatives i.e. £11 200 in brick and £11 900 in stone. Fortunately the decision was for stone and the foundation stone was laid on 11 July 1879. On 11 March 1881 the church was inaugurated without remaining debt. With all furnishings the final cost was £14 000. An interesting feature of the contract was that once again Wocke had tower trouble. The original brick tower showed serious cracking and a new stone tower was erected in 1924 after the designs of the Free State Architect H G E de la Cornillière.[36] [62]

A second unsatisfactory feature of Wocke's churches was the fact that church-goers on the galleries often could not see the pulpit beyond the first row of pews. Not only had they to be elevated at Rouxville in 1895 but subsequently at Bloemfontein as well. This three-dimensional error in gallery arrangement is however, not unique to Wocke. Quite a few expensive churches built in the fifties and sixties of this century suffered the same disability and were only corrected at considerable cost.

Although the Senekal *gemeente* dates back to 3 July 1879 there is little record of its first phase church. Its second church is discussed in section 4.3

A church community of the Ned Geref church dates back to 1882 in Vrede but the church built before the Anglo-Boer War was so damaged that it was largely rebuilt.[37]

The original church was built in 1887 and the tower was added in 1913. Both the walls and the foundations are of sandstone.

At Vredefort the first phase church has survived owing to its solid construction in sandstone and dates from about 1883. A newer and larger church was built sometime after the Anglo-Boer war (1923). This town also suffered grievously during this war, being largely destroyed and all houses being burnt down.

On the south-eastern perimeter of the Republic Wepener made arrangements for its first emergency church in 1871 at a cost of £250. A more substantial church was begun in 1884 but by 1897 it had to be enlarged and partially reconstructed. The tower was also in danger of collapsing. A consistory was added to the original concept as well. The foundations were of dolerite and the walls of sandstone. Ceilings are of pressed metal.[38]

EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES DURING THE BRAND ERA

The remoteness of the Orange Free State from other centres of learning brought home to the rural and urban communities the realisation of the educational deprivation of their children and the desire to overcome this shortcoming lent an urgency to the intentions of Government and citizens alike. The rather surprising result of these endeavours produced a set of educational facilities which provided schooling of the highest order that the day could provide. The Dutch language was languishing in the face of the determined growth of Afrikaans as the natural home language of the majority of the inhabitants whilst English was regarded as a necessary attribute at those schools which obtained their financial and learning support from Great Britain and successive Anglophilic governors at the Cape. This meant that whilst the English language was in a strong ascendency phase in commerce, trade and education, the role of Dutch was perceived as a diminishing one, a set of circumstances that Pres Reitz and Pres Steyn were at pains to alleviate. The diminishing role of *Hoog Hollands* was only marginally retarded by the importation of Dutch-speaking citizens whilst at the same time annoying the descendents of the *Voortrekkers* with an air of superiority which the civil servants displayed toward those they were intended to serve. In the urban setting a good command of English was regarded as a necessary attribute to a wholesome existence and the long-term offshoot of this made the Orange Free State a remarkably bilingual province even to the present time.

The most important event which initiated secondary education was the establishment of Grey College which is described in the previous chapter. The school was under the control of the *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Sinode* until the *Volksraad* took over full responsibility for the college in 1882.[39]

The role of the *Volksraad* in establishing new and important schools was a neglected duty and consisted mainly of giving financial and moral support to those bodies that established private schools. The private schools enjoyed a certain esteem in the eyes of the parents and by 1880 there were 493 children in private schools in Bloemfontein and only 60 in Government institutions. By 1890 however, as the *Volskraad* assumed even greater responsibilities for education the situation was reversed. In that year only 89 pupils attended private schools whilst 331 were in Government schools.[40]

The other educational events of great importance were the establishment of three schools intended for young ladies. These were the St Michael's School which enjoyed the protection and support of the Anglican Church, and was established in 1874, the same year in which Greenhill Convent was inaugurated. One year later the *Dames Instituut Eunice* was established. The establishment of the many other schools in the OFS at this particular time was due to the exertions of Dr John Brebner who was appointed Chief Inspector of Education in the OFS in 1874. Ordinance No 1 of 1874 provided for financial aid to schools and a sum of £15 000 was voted on the educational budget. Since St Michaels and the convent were closely affiliated with religious denominations other than those to which most members of the *Volksraad* adhered to, the establishment of Eunice under the direct auspices of the *Volksraad* seemed a necessary precaution to prevent the complete Anglicization of all school-going girls.[41]

St Michael's Girls' School

Since the Anglican church was already involved in1874 in the maintenance of a boys' school called St Andrew's Boys school it was felt prudent to change the name of St Andrew's seminary, as the girls' school was originally called, to St Michael's Home. This school was intended primarily for older girls. A Junior school for girls was also established near the cathedral and survived in various forms until 1899. The standing of St Michael's was emphasized by the fact that both daughters of Pres Brand were educated there.

The site chosen for StMichael's lay at that time on the Western perimeter of the town and to provide for the necessary staffing of the institution Bishop Webb arranged for the Community of St Michael and All Angels to be established as a self-contained sisterhood in South Africa.

The Pioneer Sisters who were sent to undertake the arduous duties of teaching and healing were Sister Emma and Sister Henrietta respectively. Bishop Webb purchased a house in Markgraaff Street for £960 and this was to become the nucleus of the later St Michael's "Home".[43]

The school started with twelve boarders and about 20 day students. The modest beginning of the school is apparent when one learns that:

> Teaching was done under appalling difficulties; the walls did not reach to the height of the roof, so music and singing lessons penetrated to every single classroom.[44]

The fact that the walls did not reach to the roof suggests a thatched roof and the mud walls were covered with unbleached calico stretched over the surface. Rain was apt to reduce the unburnt brick back to mud but the existing buildings were extended and furnished with gardens and orchards being laid out.[45]

The small chapel was dedicated in 1877 and was built from memorial donations made as a consequence of the death of Bishop Webb's daughter in Cape Town at the age of five. The chapel with its stained-glass windows survived until 1970 when it was demolished to make way for the new theatre.[46]

Despite being severely handicapped by financial shortages the buildings of St Michael's were gradually extended and even included a double storey on one of the houses which was a novelty for 1875. The rapid development of Kimberley at this time attracted the attention of the Anglican church and in 1877 the Bishop and Sister Henrietta Stockdale undertook a journey to Kimberley which was to culminate in the establishment of a hospital in that city which would remain a monument to that Sister's endeavours. The interest of the Anglican church also led to the establishment of St Michael's schools in Kimberley and in 1878 in Harrismith.

The individual buildings of St Michael's were not in themselves of great architectural distinction but in the aggregate they amounted to a century's history in stone and the disappearance of these historical remnants of Bloemfontein's early history remains a source of regret. Luckily the stained-glass windows were transferred to the new St Michael's as well as the bell. Beyond that nothing remains of the original complex of buildings.

Dames Instituut Eunice

The *Dames Instituut Eunice* was, perhaps, slightly more fortunate in the survival of its buildings but only marginally so as most of the original buildings have had to make way for new buildings or were rebuilt. But as in the case of St Michael's the school has been relocated on another site so that the traditional links with the site in Eunice Street have also been severed.

The Eunice School was born out of a desire by Rev Gustav Radloff of the *Ned Geref Kerk* to make provision for the education of girls under the aegis of a Protestant institution. The arguments put forward by him were convincing enough and the *Volksraad* supported the initiatives taken by him.

The *Volksraad* also agreed to provide a site for the school and their gift encompassed the site next to the presidency as it was regarded as "waste land".[47] Plans for the school were drawn up and £4 000 was set aside for building purposes. The school was to be a boarding school although a day school was mooted but was apparently only realised some time later. The foundation stone for the Lower school was laid on 10 May 1875 by Pres Brand's wife and the documents laid under the foundation stone were retrieved when the lower school was demolished. The laying of the foundation stone was a gala affair with hundreds of prospective students and their parents in attendance and the Free State's Artillery band providing music for the occasion.

The architect-builder Mr Wocke was once again the author of an important public building and the contractor was Mr Goddard.[48]

The building was completed and occupied within the space of one year and its facilities were fully used by the first pupils. By the end of 1876 the demand for accommodation had grown to the extent that an arrangement was made that the parsonage in Green Street would be made available provided a new house was made available to the minister. The buildings were to become the formal property of the *Volksraad* as the only institution capable of bearing the financial burden.[49]

Despite numerous viscissitudes the Dames Instituut experienced a steady increase of student numbers and demands for extended facilities went hand in hand with numbers. A so-called "upper-house" was planned by Vixseboxse the Government Architect in 1892. This building is more fully described in Chapter 4.

The expansion of educational facilities was not limited to Grey College, St Michael's and the Dames Instituut however. In 1874 there were only ten Government Schools in the whole Republic with twelve teachers to serve the needs of 348 pupils. By 1892 this number had increased to 137 schools, 181 teachers and 4088 pupils.[50]

With the exception of the Convent; St Andrew's and St Michael's the educational facilities became increasingly subject to the *Volksraad* control, this being the only instance with sufficient funds to maintain the burgeoning educational apparatus. Even Grey College found its control taken over from the Dutch Reformed Synod in 1882.[51]

Green Hill Convent, Bloemfontein

The Green Hill Convent was erected in 1875 on land donated to it in 1871. This important site lay to the South of the President's *plein* and served as an educational facility for a century. At the present time (1984) the buildings on the historical site are derelict and a change of land-use appears imminent.

Thus at the end of Pres Brand's life Bloemfontein had no less than three well-established schools providing secondary education to a very fortunate young generation.

Schools at other centres

Schools in other centres than Bloemfontein were not known for their architectural elegance and received only passing mention at *Volksraad* level, usually as a source of dispute. At Harrismith an offshoot of St Michael's was established in 1878 and survived until the end of the century. To travel from Bloemfontein to Harrismith was a three day venture at that time, travelling via Winburg.[52]

An early start was made with a seminary at Bethlehem and here successive generations of sandstone buildings have survived the ravages of time albeit for new uses.

Early hospital services

Not content with the daunting task of starting St Michael's schools the Anglican Church started a small hospital, appropriately called the Cottage Hospital in 1878, near the Steam mill at the West end of St Andrew Street next to St Michael's Home, in Markgraaff Street, but it was not an extensive medical facility. Over a period of four years only 34 patients were admitted. [53]

3.4. *LOCAL GOVERNMENT DURING THE BRAND ERA*

Urban formation in the O F S

Municipal inertia in the OFS had an extended and unedifying history. The underlying causes were complex but are best explained by reiterating the circumstances pertinent to urban formation in the Republic. In many instances the *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* served as a nucleating influence and the desire to establish a church as a pivotal point in the rural fabric of settlement meant that the *Kerkraad* had to shoulder the burden of administering a town if they wished to have a church at all. In the sixth and seventh decade of the previous century the *Kerkraad* would consist only marginally of people chosen from the urban centre as these settlements were lacking in numbers when compared to the rural population who made up at least 80% of the total. The *Kerkraad* would thus consist of urban and rural members with differing objectives. In one aspect, however they were united and that was that taxation at local authority level should be a level sufficiently high to qualify as a levy, but sufficiently low as not to arouse the ire of the town-dwellers. In this emasculated state the local authority would as often as not send urgent pleas to the *Volksraad* for financial assistance with a more than averge possibility of being turned down.

Another strange anomaly which arose in those towns which were to a lesser extent under the tutelage of the church, was the number of English-speaking residents and businessmen elected as town councillors. The reason for this was a preponderance of administrative, legal and financial ability residing there. However, despite their abilities and even a desire to make a significant contribution to the common welfare, their proposals were invariably postponed until the financial circumstances were more accommodating.

A third factor hampering the local authorities was the problem of deruralizing the urban settlement. The newly arrived town-dweller was not to be weaned from his cow or parted from his sow, whilst horses were accepted as a vital adjunct of transportation. The benefits of the Industrial Revolution in Great Britain were slow in arriving in the hinterland and arrangements for sanitation, waste removal and drinking water were

a series of *ad hoc* measures taken in the wake of epidemics, but not before. The provision of made streets and street lighting were grudgingly agreed to whilst pavements were often supplied by shopkeepers for the comfort of customers rather than as a civic duty by the local authorities. In 1864 Pres Brand complained that the streets of Bloemfontein were in such a parlous state that to walk was safer than to ride in Maitland Street. Sir Henry Barkley was thrown violently from his carriage by the uneveness of the road and this circumstances could only have accentuated his political bias.

In 1859 the modest taxation of two pennies in the pound was voted down by the ratepayers of Bloemfontein with the result that street improvements were shelved until 1869 by which time the following streets were "made": Upper and Lower Church Street, St George's Street, Douglas Street and Maitland Street.

By 1873 tenders for street repairs included the forming of culverts to divert stormwater. This also implied some form of kerbstone.[54] During 1875 tenders were called for and Maitland Street was levelled, gravelled and provided with kerbing for the full length of Maitland Street up to the gates of the Government Building which was completed in 1877. As building materials dolerite was often used for the bae of the gutter and sandstone as the kerbing — sandstone being used as if it were a cheap material in abundant supply.

Street lighting in the sixties and seventies was non-existentt and people visiting at night did so by the light of their own lanterns and carriage lights.

As for the removal of rubbish it was enacted by the Local Authority that as from 1877 the citizens of Bloemfontein were prohibited from throwing rubbish into the streets. Disposal sites outside the city limits were created and from 1880 onwards a wagon would call from house to house to collect domestic waste.

By 1882 public conveniences were erected at several points, two at Waaihoek, one near the Dames Institute, one near the Fort, one at the end of town and one "out of sight" on the Kimberley road. Whether these were bucket-type conveniences is not clear, but is highly probable.[55] Even the Presidency was dependent on such a system in the late eighties.

The tardiness of the Local Authority to satisfactorily attend to water supplies, health and amenity was to have dire consequences toward and during the time of the Anglo-Boer War.

Apparent as these disadvantages were they were then, as now, outweighed by the ease of communication, commerce and the advantages of communal interaction and education. The formation of new towns proceeded apace during the Brand period and received a particular stimulus after the Basuto war when large tracts of land on the Eastern perimeter of the Free State became available for settlement provided the settler built a home of at least 6m x 3m within six months of his arrival.

The subdivision of land for urban development in the Eastern Free State began as early a 1866 but the uncertain political and security situation slowed the pace of building. By 1872 Ladybrand had a few shops, a chemist and a municipal pound. The impounding of stray cattle was an important source of revenue as there were many animals about and few fences, and in Bloemfontein the habits of pigs became se repugnant to the Municipal Authorities that they sanctioned their beating to death with clubs.

A certain Mr Mathey complained that 15 of his pigs had been beaten to death with *knopkieries*. It thus happened that while one citizen exerted himself another went home with his bacon.

The census of 1880 gives a picture of the animals quartered in the municipal area of Bloemfontein:[56]

345 horses
331 trek oxen
680 head of cattle
492 sheep
114 pigs

Added to this was the massive influx of teams of oxen on market day and even an occasional wildebeest would gallop into town to add to the menageric atmosphere.

Each erf had its stables and cowshed which in turn inevitably led to the further pollution of wells already contaminated by pit latrines. The unwholesome melange of humans and animals was terminated in 1889 when it was decreed that sheep, cattle and horses could not be kept within the municipal boundary. Three cows were permitted and presumably a stabled horse.

When the Rev Radloff looking back in 1877 during a lecture given he said of the Ladybrand of 1870:[57]

> one could then only see two insignificant looking houses, the one serving as an office for the Justice of the peace, a gaol and also for the minister of the gospel; the other was a dwelling and workshop of a carpenter.

By 1877 the same Reverend was happy to report houses, streets, gardens and trees.[58]

The origins of Bethlehem are earlier. The town of Bethlehem was laid out and the first erven offered for sale on 3 March 1860 and the first church built in 1861. At that time Bethlehem could have been called a frontier town. Whenever the Basuto made a foray into the Free State the town was in the line of attck. It was to suffer similarly forty years later. By 1877 the town had proved itself to be a nucleating force and could boast 3 churches, a hotel, 8 shops, 2 butchers, 3 bakers, 2 farriers and a school.

In view of the 100 km separating Bloemfontein and Winburg it was to be expected that some intermediate settlement would meet a need. Brandfort sprang up to supply this need and on 30 October 1866 the first town erven were sold for £1 595, and in December of the same year a further 24 erven were sold for £736.[59]

By 1867 thirteen houses had been erected with a population total of 23 men, 14 women and 17 children. The *Volksraad* showed a certain reluctance to formally recognise Brandfort but by 1874 they had no further option. The first town regulations dated from 1875.[60]

The sources relating to the rate of urban development seem to vary but the *OFS Magazine* in dealing with the history of Bethlehem gives the following tally in 1877.[61]

> Three churches (Dutch Reformed, Anglican and Wesleyan); 90 buildings, 8 stores or places of business; two smithies and wagonmakers; 1 hotel, "the Royal" paying a legimate retail licence of £40 per year; a literary institute and a library called the "Eclectic"; a Government School; two butchers; three bakers; a public hall; a municipality and a population of 363 souls all told made up of 232 whites and 131 black and coloured persons; a morning market and a Landdrost or chief magistrate Mr APJ van der Poel.

The incongruency of a "Royal Hotel" and a library called "Eclectic" can only be explained by the numerical superiority of the English speaking sector of the town's population, at least in matters commercial and cultural.

The North-eastern Free State was known as the *Riemland* indicating the prevalence of the manufacture of thongs from hides, both of wild and domesticated animals. The preponderance of this occupation was a direct result of the large numbers of game still extant in those times. As hides became rarer down South those *Riemlanders* residing to the North could do a lively trade through their local shopkeepers.[62]

Heilbron, in this area,obtained recognition of its town status in1873 and by 1875 twenty houses were occupied. By 1880, 34 houses were occupied by 187 persons and by 1890 this had risen to 91 houses with 425 white residents.[63]
The surface mining of coal in this area dates from 1878 when Knaap and Droste started a mine. High prices were obtained for coal but distribution problems probably increased the cost inordinately.[64]

Hoopstad, lying fairly close to the midwestern boundary of the Orange Free State, commenced on the farm *Kameeldoorns* in 1873 and three years later it received official recognition from the *Volksraad*. This area lies on the watershed between crop and cattle farming and the vagaries of the climate made cropfarming a fairly high risk enterprise. Agriculturally and economically they never fared as well as the Eastern Free State towns and although a rail link was planned in 1898 it never materialised.

Frankfort, a sister town to Heilbron had its genesis at much the same time and although nucleation of the urban settlement began as early as 1869 the *Volksraad* only gave its blessing for the establishment of the town in 1873. Having admitted Heilbron they had to be impartial and admit Frankfort as well. Its rate of growth, however, belied the expectations of its entrepreneurs. In twenty years only twenty houses were built and they housed 145 persons, a rather surprisingly high average of 7 persons per house.[65]

The pace of urbanisation received a further impetus in 1873 when the *Volksraad* gave town status to Wepener on the eastern border. The establishment of the border towns received a high priority from the *Volksraad* who saw in them a political and strategic advantage in the early settlement of the conquered territory. By 1890 the town housed 417 persons in 79 houses, while the town school had 68 pupils in that year.[66]

At Bultfontein, the unusual circumstances existed that the town lands were owned by entrepreneurs from 1873 until 1885. After deliberating the matter the *Volksraad* decided on "Bultfontein" rather than "Fairplay" which latter name was popular amongst horses. The slow growth of this town meant that by 1890 it consisted only of 23 houses and 97 inhabitants.

The town Lindley in the central Free State dates from 1875 when 300 erven were offered for sale of which 110 were sold for a total of £2 300. The town was named after the Rev Daniel Lindley in gratitude for the services rendered to the *Voortrekkers*. As often happened the church was built even before the *Volksraad* formally recognised the town. This strategy of forcing the *Volksraad's* hand was not popular with that body but was surprisingly effective. By 1877 there were 14 houses erected but an embryonic local administration produced town regulations only in 1880. These regulations were probably initiated by the *Volksraad* but had to be approved locally. By 1890 the community consisted of 110 persons living in 20 houses. A Government office was erected in 1881 and to prove that law and order followed in the footsteps of authority, a prison dates from the same time.[67]

The town of Senekal lay on the fringe of the fertile Eastern Free State and had a happy and strategic setting. The first erven were sold on 25 May 1875, on that day 30 being sold for £2 300.

The town was formally recognised as such in 1877 and by 1890 there was the not inconsiderable number of 99 dwellings, housing 203 whites, a surprisingly low average.

The town of Vrede preceded its recognition in 1879 by two years. In 1879 it consisted of eight buildings. In the vicinity of the town the Baptist Church held a conference and the small town of Cornelia arose in this area.[68]

Slightly later the town of Parys had its origins in private enterprise when a Mrs Davel and the van Coller brothers sold 113 erven for £3 000.

The ecclesiastical importance of the decision to establish a town is demonstrated by the fact that a Ned. Geref. church was already in use in 1880, two years before the town was granted status by the *Volksraad*. It had a municipality from 1887 onwards and as a riverine town many of its regulations reflect this to the present time.[69]

The town Vredefort was laid out at a very short distance of about 16 km and extended wrangles about the status of these two sister towns continued well into this century, but it was recognised none the less as a town in 1881, some five years after the first erven were sold. As a magisterial seat it was significant historically in that C A Fichardt was appointed the assistant magistrate in 1888.[70]

A further town was created to satisfy the material and spiritual needs of those lately settled in large numbers in the Eastern Free State border area. This was Dewetsdorp. Dewetsdorp was formally established as a town in 1880 and one year later Town Regulations were promulgated. By 1890 it could show 43 dwellings housing 225 persons.

Although the significant diamond fields of Kimberley had been excised from the Orange Free State by a *fiat* the OFS was not devoid of diamondiferous soil as Koffiefontein and Jagersfontein were to prove. The first diamond found at Koffiefontein dates from 1870 and it experienced a minor diamond rush of its own. In 1882 there were six trading premises and 25 other buildings. It was not formally recognised as a town before 1892 by the *Volksraad* which was probably prejudiced and embarrassed by the disorderly development which marked its early days.[71]

The entrepreneurial function of local authorities during the Brand era.

Although municipal councils often effectively withstood the demands for improved amenities on the grounds of economy they occasionally had their hands forced by civic-minded citizens who demanded places of communal assembly and satisfactory town offices wherein to discharge their obligations and rights.

In 1873 the town councillors of Bloemfontein purchased the Wesleyan Church in St Andrew Street for the sum of £1 100 to serve as a town hall, fully realising that this could only be an interim arrangement before a fully fledged Town Hall could be built.

The site to the North of the Wesleyan Church was allocated for a new Town Hall and this building was inaugurated on 3 July 1883. (The presentday site is occupied by the so-called *Sonop* building).[72]

Although its architectural merit was modest it was by comparison a sturdy and generous building which survived for more than fifty years. The original drawings for so important a building are little more than carefully drawn sketches with meticulous care being given to the cross-hatching if not to the other important amenities such as the planning of the toilets. Within its walls were heard every opera, every speaker of fame and every vaudeville act that happened to the interior.

The competition for this Town Hall was published in 1880 and no less than 9 designs were submitted four of them being by local architects. Mr Wocke's design, costing £13 750, was premiated and it was described as being in the "Modern style of Architecture" which in 1883 meant the Neo-Renaissance with Mr Wocke's Romanesque arches superimposed thereon. It was only demolished in 1943 subsequent to the completion of Gordon Leith's handsome City Hall dating from 1934. [83] [84]

The Town Council of the municipality of Bloemfontein became the nominal owner of 10 000 ha after the transfer of the commonage by the *Volksraad* in 1881.[73] This extensive domain appeared to be overlarge to the Council who subsequently sold valuable commonage to private owners with the result that a century later the same land had to be repurchased at considerable cost. At the time of this transfer Bloemfontein had 1688 whites living in 297 houses with thirty shops and three hotels. These houses fell mainly in the area close to the Central Business District and in particular to the North and North-west of it. The development to the South seemed to be inhibited by topography, the fort and extensive church properties then bounding St George's Street. The average family size was in the order of 5,6 persons which was on a par with urban densities elsewhere in the Orange Free State.

The principal concern of the local authority became the high incidence of gastro-enterital epidemics which could be traced to the poor quality of the drinking water. A dam had been built to the South-east of the town and was at times of considerable size being the *vlei* that formed in the lowest portion of the saucer-like configuration of Bloemfontein's geographical landscape. The need for a piped supply of potable water from an uncontaminated source became ever more urgent and was not finally resolved before the Sannaspos project was completed in 1895.

The market and market buildings occupied a considerable proportion of the Council's time and the aggregation of men, wagons, goods and animals always presented a major challenge to the local authority. As early as 1867 the market-master could report that in the year ending 30 June 1867 no less than 2055 wagons visited the market.[74]

The Council did provide a market-stall building of some elegance and market offices of little aesthetic virtue. Such a convergence of people made the market square a place of great commercial importance and the sites adjoining it were rapidly developed and redeveloped as is the nature of the true Central Business District. The Government offices, including the Second Raadzaal, fronted west onto the Market Square until it was moved to the other end of Maitland Street. The Free State Hotel and the names of Hamelberg and Dr Krause all had their place here even if at different periods.

Another perennial headache of the Town Council was the disrupting effect of Bloemspruit as a steep chasm that became impossible after even moderate rains and at drier times became a kind of cesspool, a universal dumping ground for every conceivable form of urban waste. The earliest attempts at bridging across this divide consisted of low-slung trestle bridges in timber that survived for as long as the drought lasted only to disappear in an easterly direction when the rains came. The vituperation hurled at the authorities for this state of affairs is still recorded in successive issues of *The Friend*.

Of the building efforts of municipalities before 1890, in other parts of the Orange Free State, little is known but the circumstances of their endeavours were always conditioned by limited income from rates and taxes and by the imponderables of local small town politics. Most towns could report a library of some kind invariably supplied with English books, the few in Dutch being mainly unread.

The territorial arrangements necessary to cope with rapid urbanisation of Blacks also exercised the local authorities resources to the full and the matter was usually resolved by the allocation of the least favoured land and the universal use of corrugated iron which soon gave to incoming visitors the unwelcome impression of a squatters camp on the doorstep of urban settlement. Although this material could be regarded as the one factor which made diamond and gold rushes possible it brought in its wake the stigma of stagnation, poverty, corrosion and dereliction compounded first by the smoke of dung fires and later of coal.

3.5. *THE ROLE OF CENTRAL GOVERNMENT IN PUBLIC WORKS*

The ramifications of the *Volksraad's* responsibility can be gauged from a study of the budget tabled twice a year when the *Volksraad* was in session. Its duties included such heterogeneous matters as innoculations, bridge building, the provision of schools, gaols and government offices in every district; the provision of salaries to *landdroste* and ministers of the church; the building of roads and the attending to numerous supplications for assistance from every quarter of the country. The fear of debt pervaded all discussions and the parsimonious attempts to deal with urgent matters meant, in the end, expensive inadequacy and numerous building failures that were often ascribed to bad building but could just as well have been the consequences of heaving clay, about which little was known at that time despite its almost universal presence in the OFS.

Although the early building programmes of the *Volksraad* were modest architectural ventures, as communities developed the provision of infrastructure like roads, bridges, dams and communication became even more urgent. The tradition that a "practical" man could do almost anything did not die easily and the employment of consultants was regarded as an unnecessary expenditure if not actually a folly. But the sheer magnitude and complexity of the technical problems that had to be handled, including the preparation of tender documents, in the end made the appointment of an Inspector of Works imperative. This event only occurred towards the end of Pres Brand's term of duty with the appointment of Gustav Hallé in 1883.

Prior to this event the documentation, calling for tenders and supervision of work was delegated to people of administrative ability irrespective of their vocation or experience in building matters. The *landdros* was *ex officio* usually the chairman of a local committee with the unenviable task of supervising work in outlying areas without having sufficient technical knowledge or even the time to perform their duties. The contents of documentation was often arrived at by virtue of the fact that the contractor submitted a sketch with some brief outline of the basic materials to be used. In the interests of economy tenders were often awarded to contractors who were incapable of performing the services required although this rarely precluded them from tendering. The resultant acrimonious disputes and allegations of incompetence invariably had an echo in the *Volksraad* when the local representative would become the mouthpiece of the outraged voters in his constituency who were aggrieved at the shoddiness of the work performed or by the inadequacy of the accommodation provided. These deficiencies were as often as not the consequence of the decimation of budget figures. If £1 000 were needed to erect a building, £500 was voted for this purpose with the instruction that the building had to be erected anyway.

The skills that were available in the hinterland were mostly those of itinerants and in many cases the building work represented the casual labours of a migratory breed whose prowess even in periods of sobriety was barely adequate. It was in the nature of adventurers and fortune seekers to survive by means of forays into building activity and jobbing was the refuge of a prospector on his way to a new diamond field. These circumstances led to numerous complaints about shoddy workmanship, defective materials, contractual default and abandonment,all of which came directly and indirectly to the notice of the *Volksraad.* Cumulatively these factors prejudiced the government and inflamed the tempers of otherwise peacable men to such an extent that when Inspectors of Public Works and Engineers were ultimately appointed they found themselves playing the role of lightning conductors and the abuse to which they were subjected was only marginally ameliorated by the intervention of the President and the Executive Council. Where contractors acted in good faith and in honesty they were often bankrupted or financially strained to the extent that their building activities had to be terminated. Guarantors found themselves often called upon to inter-

vene in contracts where the most reliable of contractors had tendered too low because of the inadequacy of specifications or uncertainties about contractual obligations.

It is against this background that the State's building ventures must be understood and the unfavourable declamations of *Volksraad* members must be interpreted. The vicious cycle was initiated by the *Raad's* own insistence upon economy and when the fruits of such a policy became apparent they rebelled against its taste and sought revenge upon those least able to satisfy their demands, amongst the latter often being the President and the Executive Council who pleaded long and often for a more realistic attitude to public works. The members of the Executive Council were made up of the most able and astute members of the business and legal fraternity and were a close-knit unit with the Presidents and their families. These leading families dominated the Social scene and between them wielded considerable financial and social power.[75] The Fichardts , Krauses , the Roberts , Pages and Baumanns regarded the President and his family as their personal friends. The manner in which the President's residential accommodation assumed the appearance of some minor official's neglected home at length became apparent to the *Volksraad* who began in 1865 to describe its condition as a disgrace to the nation as if their own responsibilities had been thwarted by some unnamed outside party.

The Presidency of the early sixties was indeed an unassuming building and the large family of Pres Brand entailed extensive additions to the building he moved into after Pres Pretorius' departure. These extensions were accommodated by building two wings in an East-West direction with a stepped parapet concealing the corrugated iron roof. Even if the accommodation could be called adequate the quality of the patchwork done over the years left much to be desired and the whole left an impression of ungainly awkwardness, an indefinite air of hesitation between a pioneer farm house and vague traces of Victorianism. Not even the President in a top hat playing croquet could create an illusion of a stately home. But for the young M T Steyn the house of the President was like a second home, the conveniently close "Green Lodge" which his father acquired in 1865, facilitating such social intercourse.[76]

The minutes of the *Volksraad* of 4 June 1866 give some indication of the parlous state of the Republic's finances. The recently concluded Basuto war had drained more than £11 810 from the treasury and the total deficit was £43 000. No wonder that only £995 could be allocated to Public Works. Discontent with the quality of such works had induced the *Volksraad* as early as March of 1865 to decree that no final payments were to be made on any contract unless they related to work approved by a commitee appointed by the President. This committee would also be responsible for supervision of building work, a responsibility for which they were not qualified but were obliged to carry out.[77]

Political and military circumstances in the Eastern part of the country necessitated the voting of a sum of money for a fortification at Harrismith which could hardly have been more than a well-packed stone wall.[78]

During June of 1866 the *Volksraad* requested the President to take steps to lay before the house, at the next session, a design for a new council chamber and government offices, and to call for tenders.[79]

This decision was prompted by the total inadequacy of the existing government offices on market square where the hubbub of trading activities and the bellowing of cattle, added do dust and commotion were hardly conducive to calm discussions.

Mr Wocke and the Volksraad

Apparently the Executive Council asked Mr R Wocke to prepare a drawing for submission during 1867 or 1868 for in May of 1869 Mr Wocke had submitted a letter requesting payment for the drawings submitted by him for the third *Raadzaal*. His fee was a modest £45 but upon hearing of his demand the house debated a number of resolutions beginning at £30 and falling progressively to £22.10 and even £10. By all accounts the drawings were neatly executed but in the death no money was voted. At the insistence of the Executive

Council the matter was again debated on 4 June 1869 and Mr Wocke's claim was settled at £20. Such cavalier treatment was indicative of the *Raad's* attitude to services rendered in the field of building.

Mr Wocke's relationship with the Volksraad was mainly with the more congenial Executive council and the more benign President and he apparently put up with the slights of the *Volksraad* provided the Executive Council kept him gainfully employed in the erection of buildings in various parts of the Republic. In the end he established a reputation which brought him many design-and-build commissions throughout the decade of the seventies. He was responsible for the war memorial in memory of the fallen in the Basuto wars. The committee deciding on the merits of the design consisted of G Vergottini, W C Peeters and R Wocke himself. By virtue of his special skills and the readiness with which he undertook work which no one else cared to tender for, ensured a whole generation of sturdy sandstone structures for prisons, warders' home and other public buildings. The dapper little German in his light-coloured tophat was on call for every building emergency and if "imported" architects prepared plans that were too expensive he would work them over until the client was satisfied that it could not be done cheaper. The reward for the adaptions was the building contract itself.

Cunynghame visited Bloemfontein on 1874 and reports on the "castle" (Fort):[80]

> It is somewhat rude in structure, apparently little having been done to it since it was originally built by the English.
>
> The fort contains some very useful Whitworth breech-loading cannon, which are stated to have proved most effectual in the Basuto campaign.

The parlous state of the Fort and its contingent of artillerists was the subject of a long drawn out battle between the Captain of Guard, Captain Albrecht and the *Volksraad*. His plans for more and better accommodation were only agreed to with reluctance and then only on the halving-principle.

During Cunynghame's visit to Bloemfontein he attended a *Volksraad* meeting and after the debates and budgets had been explained to him he was impressed with the sums of money voted for public buildings.[81]

The general appearance of Bloemfontein at that time gives the impression of rapidly improving economic conditions. Handsome buildings in the city were numerous and included schools for all denominations and sexes. Banks and private residences were rapidly transforming the barren basin into a thriving community.

The "one pound" note or Blue books (sic) was reported by Cunynghame to be worth 11/6 in 1872 but redeemed at par in 1874.[82]

The Third Raadzaal

Wocke's plan for the proposed Raadzaal and government offices must have lain in some abeyance for it was not until 1874 that the building got under way at the head of Maitland Street, and at the meeting of the *Volksraad* during May 1875 the President could announce that the new Raadzaal was nearly ready for occupation. At this stage the parsimonious attitude of the *Volksraad* was again apparent as the President indicated that considerable extensions to the Government offices would be necessary to accommodate the offices of the Appeal Court, the Inspector of Education, a post office and an archive for the deeds office.

These needs were not included in Wocke's earlier plans as he must have been requested to omit them. Priority was given to the Raadzaal itself and this appears to have been nearly complete while work on the offices was still proceeding.

It was decided on 28 May 1875 that a foundation stone should be laid on 31 May 1875 at twelve noon. Councillor Venter indicated that the pocket below the stone should contain the coat of arms, the *Volkslied* and the constitution of the Orange Free State. Mr Wocke the Architect required the wording for the stone and the long discussion relating to this, two days before the ceremony, must have caused him some alarm.[83]

During the same session the *Volksraad* decided that the *ad hoc* committees who were requested to supervise building work were incapable of performing this duty and that more skilled supervisory services would have to be obtained. The name of a Mr Vickers was mentioned in this connection.[84]

The arbitration in connection with the Kimberley diamond fields was at hand and the rapid development coming in its wake meant that lines of communication to the interior had to be rapidly improved. The importance of trade with the interior was realised by the Cape Government and to facilitate the upgrading of the infra-structure they undertook to build new bridges across the Orange River at Aliwal North and Bethulie while it was agreed that the Free State would accept responsibility for the bridge at Colesberg. Such important ventures could no longer fall under the jurisdiction of the butcher and the baker.

To facilitate the workings of the law plans were also approved in May 1875 for new prison buildings at Winburg, Fauresmith and Philippolis.

The "wording" for the foundation stone of the new Government building was boiled down to a date without any further details. For this strange departure from convention Councillor Venter was responsible. He also opposed any embellishment in the form of a flag or coat of arms feeling that it was "likely to be defaced". The original foundation stone with its forlorn date is still visible in 1984 having been "defaced" only by time. The *Volksraad* could celebrate a double event on 31 May 1875. Not only would the foundation stone ceremony be held but they could inaugurate the Raadzaal. The procession from the old building on Market Square must have been a spirited occasion as the President expressed his pleasure at the improvement achieved when compared to the unsatisfactory second "Raadzaal". The new hall was called, perhaps prematurely, "a roomy, well ventilated hall".[85]

The furnishings for the Raadzaal were of the best that London craftsmanship could produce and the small desks were modelled on those to be found in the Senate Room of the Government of the United States.[86] This generous room survived until 1945 when it was altered out of all recognition.

The design of Wocke was not his best even if it was his most ambitious undertaking and consisted of a single storey with an ungainly tower terminating in a Mansardian roof which gave it an air of a building placed at the median point between Holland, Belgium and Germany. As it was facing East and West the matter of sun control became urgent and as an alleviating measure shutters were fitted. Early photographs of this anusual building set in a barren landscape must have done little to inspire confidence in the *Volksraad's* ability to do justice to the Capital city of the Republic, but it was a major step forward in civic amenity and presented the first halting steps towards the architectural emancipation of the Free State in its progress towards full statehood.

The dispute about the additional office accommodation came to full bloom at the *Volksraad* session of 24 June 1876. It appears that the Executive Council had authorised the building committee to proceed with the additional accommodation in view of the imperative need for these facilities in spite of a *Volksraad* veto to the contrary in 1875. By June of 1876 Wocke had already been paid £14 000 for work done to that date.

If the commission and the Executive Council had hoped to obtain the approval of the *Volksraad* for their foresight in proceeding with the additional building work they found themselves seriously mistaken. The dispute that flared up in the Council found many speakers who vied with each other in accusing the Executive Council and the committee of deliberately ignoring the explicit instructions of the *Volksraad*. The chairman of the committee expressed his regret at ever becoming chairman and said that he had done his best.[87]

Some members felt that the issue was so serious that it could lead to a constitutional *impasse*, or even a complete schism as between the Legislative and the Executive components of Government. In seeking new outlets upon which to vent their displeasure it was only a small step to Mr Wocke's efforts on site. Coun-

cillor Peeters explained that it was a matter of life and death if the Executive Authority could treat the *Volksraad* decisions with so much comtempt. He (Mr Peeters) went on to say that although he had never met the committee on site, he had heard on good authority that much faulty work existed which was to be remedied by much overplastering.[88]

The body of the *Volksraad* having perceived that their authority had been indeed circumvented, albeit with the best intentions would not allow their ire to subside and decided not only to censure Mr. Wocke's work but to refuse to accept it. Councillor Cilliers complained about mortar joints "two inches thick" while Councillor Goosen criticised the quality of the bricks. Councillor De Villiers was of the opinion that those members of the committee who were also of German extraction, like the contractor, should resign. He was sure that the supervising committee either did not understand their duties or neglected them. Councillor Venter suggested that monies should be deducted for defective work and that the whole *Volksraad* should hold inspection *in loco*.

Mr Wocke who had survived many previous disputes was now also threatened with dismissal and the contractor's written suggestions about timber floors in lieu of stone and venetian blinds were turned down.[89]

By some stroke of genius Wocke now touched a responsive chord in the hearts of the *Volksraad* by suggesting that the tower should be made higher. Although there was a suggestion that it was "high enough" the discussion soon turned to the tower of the new church at Graaff-Reinet and when its height of 100 feet (30m) was mentioned, the majority of the members voted for the higher tower. Wocke had managed to divert the dispute from his defective work to the more serious matter of the tower's height. The Council having realised that their actions had seriously offended the President and the building committee affected a more conciliatory tone. Work was allowed to proceed on the higher tower provided only that a fair settlement could be arrived at with Mr Wocke about the costs.[90]

The eventful debate of 24 June was not fully spent until a lengthy discussion about a verandah was finally settled. An important decision was also taken not to move the Post Office to the new building but rather to keep its locality in the down-town area and to obtain additional land for a future building.

As a parting shot Mr Venter pointed out that no proper bonding had been used in the walling along the back of the new building and that its collapse was imminent.[91] Two days later some further suggestions of Mr Wocke for the Government Offices were tabled i.e. that the walls should be painted with an oil paint. It is not clear what the specification previously was, but probably lime distemper. It was suggested from the floor of the house that the perimeter wall of stone should be replaced with wrought iron. The new wrought iron fence around the Boshof church was universally admired, and prompted the suggestion.[92]

This was a happy inspiration as the wrought iron railing eventually erected is a superior solution to Mr Wocke's stone wall. The building is not obscured by the body of the wall and the whole effect is of greater delicacy and transparency.

On the same day the Artillery School was also discussed and the parlous state of this section of the country's defence is nowhere better illustrated than by the fact that the Free State was borrowing field artillery from the Transvaal.[93] It was, however, proposed that the Fort should become a National Monument. This had a certain appeal as it meant that the building would not have to be altered nor would it be demolished to make way for a new expensive Fort.

The diamondfields award

By July of 1876 the diamond fields dispute had been finally settled and although the Free State had suffered a defeat and a great financial loss as a result of the settlement it was spared the responsibility of caring for a massive influx of fortune seekers who were reluctant to be governed. The cost of providing

services for the large instant city of Kimberley would now devolve on British shoulders. The £90 000 award made by way of compensation proved a valuable financial injection at a critical time. The demands made by hopeful supplicants after the news became known would have drained the new-found resources immediately. Apart from redeeming paper money at par, monies were also available for important public works.

In December of 1876 tempers flared up temporarily in the *Volksraad* when it was found that the New Raadzaal and government offices building was without a flagpole, this necessary adjunct of a public building having been forgotten. The *Volksraad* was of the opinion that this omission was deliberate and that it spoke of contempt.[94]

The Big Railway Debate

In December of 1876 the big Railway Debate began as a result of a British grant of £15 000 to initiate the planning of such a service in the OFS. The vehemence and ramifications of this debate went through a full cycle of events over a period of twelve years or more. Initially the provision of a railway service in the Republic was apposed on every real or imagined grounds. It was feared as a disturber of the peace, as a route into the interior for a foreign power and the precursor of imperial conquest. In addition cattle would be killed and the Sabbath desecrated. As these fears were gradually overcome and as the advantages of rail transport became obvious the wheel appears to have made a full turn and in the eighties the battle of the routes was raging in all earnest. Those who had originally opposed the coming of the railway now strove assiduously to ensure that their constituencies would not be passed by. Despite the urgent pleas by Pres Brand for a more positive and diligent attitude toward the railway issue he was not to live to see it realised.

During his address to the *Volksraad* at the beginning of the May 1877 session of the *Volksraad* the State President reported that the Government offices had in fact been completed and that the staff of the various departments were occupying them.[95]

Re-enter Mr Wocke

On 8 June 1877 the *Volksraad* considered a letter from Mr Wocke dated 27 May 1877. Usually a letter from Mr Wocke meant trouble in the form of additional expense and this was no exception. He admitted miscalculating the cost of the perimeter wall around the Government offices saying that they should have read "650 x 186 feet instead of 450 x 186 feet". There is also a recommendation about a well and a reduction of his retention monies. In his final account Mr Wocke must have included the cost of the higher tower as this item and various others yielded a figure which was so unacceptable to the *Volksraad* that they appointed a committee of three persons to peruse this account.[96]

A fortnight later this commission tabled its report showing that Mr Wocke's final account was for £22 493-18-5¼. After due deliberation the committee deducted £9-10 from this account, and honour was satisfied. The decision to place a wrought iron railing around three sides of the building was also confirmed at this time. Portion of the site would still be enclosed with a wall (Western perimeter).

A shallow well dug by Mr Wocke aroused deep emotions. The tender was for a well of a specified depth to hold 2,7 m of water. Before reaching the specified depth Wocke struck rock and could not proceed further. There was however 2,1m of water depth in the well. After a lengthy debate it was decided not to compel Wocke to dig deeper but to insist that if the water level fell below 2,1m he would have to return and excavate to a greater depth in the rock. It was proposed that £25 be deducted for non-fulfillment of contract. To Mr Wocke's credit stood the fact that he demolished defective work executed during his absence.[97]

The *Volksraad* also decided not to insure the building against fire despite the supervising committee's advice to do so.[98]The old government offices and the market were now made available for letting despite the *Volksraad* opinion that they were in a parlous state.[99]

On 5 July 1877 the *Volksraad* generously made available the First Raadsaal building as a Museum and with this act demonstrated a regard for the historical significance of a building which reflects great credit on that body. But for this gesture the building would long since have succumbed.

The *landdros* offices in Winburg also suffered the fate of extensive prevarication. On 6 July 1877 three tenders were laid before the house i.e.

Bredell and Vlotman	— £2 800
R Wocke	— £2 650
D MacArthur	— £2 550

Surprisingly, Mr Wocke's tender is recommended for acceptance and as a builder of repute his qualities were described in glowing terms:

> He is a person that one can rely on, and it is better to accept Mr Wocke's tender since the Government has known him for some time. He always does his work justice. His only mistake was that his drawings were always submitted imcomplete with the result that he had to come with later improvements and suggestions.

Apparently all was forgiven, but not quite, as it was decided to call for tenders once more and further to call for plans and quotations for Government buildings in Kroonstad.

The complaints made against Wocke's documentation are not dissimilar to complaints lodged against architects a century later where the defects and omissions are rectified under the heading of "variation orders". What the complaint does highlight in the *Volksraad's* day is the lack of full training which would have enabled Wocke to prepare adequate documentation. The sketches prepared by him could not be taken as much more than a broad outline of the direction which his building would take. If a correction of course appeared necessary to him during construction he was at least not hampered by explicit details in his original submissions. This was detrimental to costing and budgeting but left Wocke free to improvise and to "improve" as the building progressed, his second and third thoughts often adding distinction where none existed before. This procedure was also indicative of a very busy contractor whose buildings in the course of erection taxed his abilities and attention to the full, particularly if he was designing on site. To augment his fund of ideas he probably consulted Carl Otto Hager in Cape town, as the latter architect spoke of the many plans prepared for churches in the Free State without any indiction that he was directly responsible for their execution.

An interesting item occurs in the *Volksraad* minutes of 6 July 1877.The *Volksraad* gave the Executive Council instructions to dispose of the "iron" house and old prison at Jacobsdal by public auction. The use of corrugated iron for emergency building must have been well established by 1877 particularly if some of them were regarded as disposable due to old age.

Lines of communication

In the provision of infrastructure the *Volksraad* was dilatory but not idle. Communications in particular received high priority and by 1878 the telegraph lines had reached Bloemfontein from Colesberg via Fauresmith and Reddersburg.[100]

The problem of a terminal point for the telegraph line was temporarily resolved by using Le Clus' home but in 1885 the old government offices were used for this purpose. Communications were established with Harrismith and Natal in 1882. Telephonic communication was not established in the OFS before the Anglo-Boer war, although the *Volksraad* authorised the Municipality of Bloemfontein to institute a local service in 1897.[101]

Appointment of an Inspector of Public Works

Although the *Volksraad* had serious reservations about the need or the wisdom to appoint Engineers or Architects to oversee the growing body of Public works they gave their consent to this in 1881 when, in terms of Ord inance No 14 of 1881, the post of Inspector of Public Works was created. The first incumbent of the post was Gustave Hallé who was trained in Great Britain and like many other British citizens of that time came to South Africa for health reasons and stayed on to play an important role in local affairs.[102]

Whilst on the one hand his appointment by some was deemed unnecessary, once he was appointed a torrent of responsibilities descended upon him principal amongst these being the supervision of a number of bridges, schools, magistrates offices, prisons and telegraph offices. In 1883 during a two week period he prepared documents for no less than 28 tenders.[103]

His staff consisted of one assistant and an endless round of supervision entailed his travelling in excess of 15 000 km by horse cart. The economic exigencies which were rampant in 1885 and 1886 caused the *Volksraad* to abandon its department of Public Works and Hallé was forced to leave his position. The most frightful aspect of this situation was to him the innumerable important and half-finished works which were now subject to the "tender mercies of the elements and of *landdrosts* and J.P.'s as ignorant of engineering or building requirements as I have shown the members of the *Volksraad* to be".[104]

The New Presidency and Architect Lennox Canning

Just prior to his departure Hallé was to be involved with one of the most important and ambitious projects that the *Volksraad* had hitherto ventured upon namely the New Presidency in Eunice Street. Mindful of the sorry state of the President's official residence in the Capital city, and that a home had been built in Pretoria for Pres Kruger, the *Volksraad* were unanimous in their desire to do a decent job properly and at the suggestion of the President it was decided to call for entries from interested parties to submit designs in competition. It must be remembered that it was a time of financial distress, just prior to the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand and the President was extremely reluctant to appear to have condoned any lavish spending on his behalf by the State. The competition suggestion bought him some time but by early 1885 the design of Lennox Canning had been premiated and the foundation stone was laid on 22 May 1885. If the minutes of the *Volksraad* are studied it appears that the Executive Council had already proceded with the contract even before the *Volksraad's* final approval had been obtained. A member, possibly speaking on the spur of the moment and out of turn, indicated that he had seen the building work on the new Presidency and that it looked well-built. Interestingly he mentions that the *Volksraad* should consider the use of the new Portland cement rather than lime. This material was now available in South Africa in barrels from Great Britain.

The Presidency was born in dissension, dispute and wrangling and although it survived to the present day it has never abandoned the unique property of bringing out the contentious in every situation. In 1885 the following issues were in dispute : its location on the site; whether it should be of brick or stone; whether for the sake of cost the north wing should be adumbrated; the embellishments were shorn off in the need for savings; the main archway over the entrance door sagged dangerously; the building was alternately damned for being cold in winter and hot in summer; it was incorectly orientated for Free State conditions and so on ad infinitum.The Architect Lennox Canning was an ascerbic gentleman who was never reluctant to express his opinion on matters relating to his practice and matters outside his jurisdiction as well. He wrote frequent letters in newspapers and his expressions of opinion to the press were not lost on the *Volksraad.*

He must have displayed some exceptional, if facile, talent for design as he not only won the competition for the Presidency but that for the New Government Building as well, although the latter building was delayed for nearly a decade.

When the Presidency was completed in 1886 even the uninitiated marvelled at the speed with which it was erected. The Building period extended over about 16 months. The restoration of the building took 12 years (1972-1984) and even the Friend was to remark in May 1885 that had it been built slightly slower it would have been better built. [98] [99]

To the chagrin of Canning vestigial remains of the previous presidency were incorporated in the new building to serve as kitchen and service rooms. The architect believed that this wrong would one day be righted and allowed in his plan for such a completion of his original design by locating the service stair in a strategic position for such a rectification. To counter the criticism that attached itself to this building almost from the start, Canning was wont to point out the positive aspects, like the handsome tiles in the main hall, the generous rooms, latest American sliding doors, beautiful roof lights, and plaster made of ant-hills.

Although time has produced an aura of simple grandeur the building was almost universally held in abhorrence or regarded as being in poor taste. But as for Pres Brand and his family the commodious, almost over-generous Scottish Baronial castle must have seemed inordinately grand after the dismal, uncomfortable and shoddy building that they had occupied for 25 years and which had mercifully been torn down before their eyes when the new building was completed. [96] [97]

Since the generosity of the *Volksraad* did not extend to furniture the successive Presidents had perforce to provide their own furniture. This usually meant the maintenance of two homes and the consequential sparse furnishing of the Presidency. Although many important and even glittering occasions illuminated life in the Presidency, the austerity of life in this cavernous building can be gauged from the few surviving photographs. The principal living and ball rooms were given a fair amount of attention, but the private quarters of the family give no hint of being presidential. The walls were adorned with Victorian photographs, Blesbuck-horns and even a horse-shoe but all rooms were resplendent with fire-places as if in the Scottish highlands. [100] [101]

During the term of office of Hallé and subsequent Inspectors the problems of leaking internal roof-returns so exasperated them that they had the roof reconstructed to eliminate internal valleys by raising the upper part of the roof in a heavy-looking truncated pyramid supported on thin timber scantlings internally and adorned with fretwork joinery near the top. To achieve this awkward transition the roof form had to be bastardised and the end result was a domination of roof over building which was foreign to Canning's original concept.

The basket-handle arch over the main entrance was sagging dangerously within a short time after its erection and to remedy this defect three intermediate arches were placed below the original arch to shorten the span. The contractors were Lang and Royce and their tender for the building in sandstone was £12 200. Mr R Wocke tendered £14 205 and it must perhaps be regretted that he did not have the opportunity of obtaining this contract which would conceivably have benefitted from his experience and greater latitude within the tender amount.

Building methods were, in many respects, haphazard. The excavated foundations were filled with debris from the stone mason's work and this bric-a-brac infilling inevitably meant that the walls would move out of the vertical and crack.The inner skin of the outer wall was made of lime mortar and plums of sandstone. This inner wall was finished with a mudplaster using antheap soil.

But Cannings *piece-de-resistance* were the heavy rooftrusses that suspended floors with long hangers from above to enable the ball-room and reception room to have large clear spans. The subtlety of this device, hid-

den within the lightweight walls Canning did not even bother to explain. His less subtle conservatory on the South side (sic) of the building had perforce to be omitted. What would have been a splendid device in the Northern hemisphere became in the cold nights of Bloemfontein a worthless appendage without sun during winter. It was abandoned on grounds of cost rather than on common sense issues.

The Military establishment

The outlook for the Queens Fort gradually improved after 1879 under the guidance of Captain F W Albrecht. His insistent demands for a fair share of the budget meant that the establishment was virtually rebuilt. During 1882 £5 000 was spent on building new barracks for the enlisted men, while in 1888 a new stable was provided for the horses and in 1890 £2 600 was spent on the Fort building itself, followed by a further £3 600 in 1891 as if some unknown threat was already vaguely making itself felt. The building works on the fort proper were completed in 1892 while a second stable was added in 1896. The buildings were sound and commodious enough to serve as a hospital and quarters for the Royal Engineers, after 1900.

First bridge-building contracts

During 1883 the *Volksraad* also sanctioned the building of the so-called *Swalu-brug* (or Swallow bridge) over the Wilger River near Harrismith. The keystone shows the date of 14 November of that year, the stone being laid by Robert MacFarlane,a member of the *Volksraad.* The bridge has a span of 24m. Despite his extensive duties as Inspector of Works, Hallé obtained permission to undertake private commissions to augment his income. His income in 1883 was a salary of £500, travelling expenses for the year £341, and income from his private practice £313. Despite the marginal time available for such practice it none the less constituted a sum equivalent to 60% of his salary. Although he could have been gainfully employed almost anywhere in Southern Africa he maintained that he remained in the Free State for his health's sake.

New Government Buildings

Hallé's report of May 1884 contains strong recommendations for three important buildings i.e. the Presidency (£15 000), the new proposed Raadzaal (£10 000) and £7 000 for a new Post Office. The urgency was communicated to the *Volksraad* and all three these projects were sanctioned. In this respect Hallé's initiative paved the way for three of the Republic's most important buildings. Fortunately the Presidency and the fourth Raadzaal have survived. Of the three Hallè only saw the Presidency erected as his post was abolished shortly after its completion in the interests of State economy. By all accounts his work was done with care and skill despite the difficulties encountered with the execution of work and the unintentional incompetence of the local supervising committees. His technical ability is reflected in his description of the caissons needed for the inspection of bridge foundations and for the laying of these foundations.[105]

What the relationship between Hallé and Canning was at the time of the building of the Presidency is not known but neither gentlemen were known for their reticence. The committee adjudicating the competion entries must have conferred with Hallé and at the June sitting of the *Volksraad* in 1884 the committee recommended the acceptance of the design submitted by Canning under the motto "Wijsheid, Kracht and Schoonheid" (Wisdom, Power and Beauty). This motto had a strong appeal to the sentiments of the *Volksraad* but after some preliminary discussion about the merits of the building the debate veered once more to the matter of costs.

The new Presidency and the Volksraad

The *Volksraad* member Mr Klijnveld was of the opinion that "all the plans were far too beautiful and thus unsuitable for the OFS" and proposed that none of the entries should be accepted. Two members were so taken aback by what was laid before them that they suggested that no prize-money should be paid for the premiated design since it was unsuitable for the country it was intended for. Although there was some hidden wisdom in this opinion it was founded on the more mundane considerations of cost.[106]

The chairman of the adjudicating committee explained that the *Volksraad* was not obliged to execute the premiated design, but there was a general consensus that this design should be awarded the prize. Councillor Klijnveld became involved in a one-man crusade to thwart the building of the new Presidency and when the discussion went the full cycle of repairing the existing Presidency all the old arguments were again brought forward. Luckily for Canning and Hallé the old Presidency was in such a parlous state that not even specious arguments could save it. Dr C J G Krause saw a way of terminating the dispute by proposing that £3 000 should be spent repairing the old building. This large sum and the "disgraceful state" of the President's home won the day and gradually the proponents of Canning's design triumphed. The only recourse that the economisers had was to systematically denude the Canning design of its architectural features and force upon the new building an unhappy wedding with remnants of the old Presidency.

These desperate cost-saving methods were forced on Canning as the economies insisted upon would threaten the survival of the project if they were not implemented. The original drawings were referred back to Messrs Goad and Canning for these revisions and he was offered by way of consolation 2,5% of the tender sum for any additional work done by them. The contract was ultimately awarded to Messrs Lang and Royce of Queenstown since their tender for dressed stonework was lower than that of Messrs Fairbank which in turn was lower for the building in brickwork. The *Volksraad* fortunately did not regard the £125 that could be saved by Fairbank as of sufficient import to jeopardise their desire for a stone building.[107]

The interest in the Presidency and fourth Raadzaal from potential builders is remarkable when it is considered that no less than 27 entries were received for the Presidency and 23 designs for the fourth Raadzaal. These important documents have been lost or destroyed. A further matter of coincidental interest is that Canning's designs were premiated in both cases. For a comparatively unknown architect to enter from Queenstown and achieve such singular results in open competition reveals a person of considerable creative ability. The tragedy of his personality was his inability to consider the effects of his personal vanity or to realise that important bodies like the *Volksraad* could not be slighted with impunity.

Despite the devious route to fruition the foundation stone of the Presidency was laid on 22 May 1885 and work proceeded apace. The building was ready for occupation in September of 1886 and *The Friend* gives fairly elaborate descriptions of the design and materials.

By the middle of 1885 the *Volksraad* was debating the abolition of the Inspector of Public Works' post. Contrary to expectations Councillor Klijnveld is opposed to this suggestion, and it is pointed out that such a step could only be taken if Ord. No. 14 of 1881 is repealed.[108]

The fact that Lennox Canning was being paid a fee for services may have suggested a redundancy for an Inspector for important works if they were in future to be done by architects. Defective work at Bultfontein however proved to be the beginning of the end. Hallé was now regarded as being "not the right person for the post". At about the same time (May 1885) the son of Richard Wocke, Albert C R Wocke was appointed as a clerk in the office of the Inspector of Works.

The extent of Public Works undertaken or in the course of completion in 1885 is listed in Hallé's report for that year:

Bridges: £66 000
Telegraph: £116 000
Buildings: £134 000

Included in these projects was a new "Iron" bridge at Commissiedrif and the report mentions that the expansion of the joists between midday and midnight was 50mm. These joists must have been amongst the earliest used in the Free State as the lower carbon steels were then only becoming available in Europe and the USA.

The Situation in the South African Republic (Transvaal)

While the Free State was thus contemplating the dissolution of its Inspecotrate the Transvaal was preparing the way for a massive immigration of building and other skills from the Netherlands. A number of trained architects made their appearance in Pretoria. Before their arrival Tom Claridge of Kimberley was given the task of designing Pres Paul Kruger's home in Church street (1883/1884). The Transvaal Presidency was a more modest affair than that of Bloemfontein but it suited the temperament of its incumbent and was not the same source of controversy as its Free State counterpart.

By 1887 Simmonds and Claridge were still active as architects in Pretoria having designed the Post and Telegraph Office and the Ned Geref Church on the church square. Soon a whole list of distinguished Hollanders began their work in the Transvaal: De Zwaan, Frans Soff, The Brothers Wijers, Vixseboxse, Meische, Lindhorst, and others.[110]

The dramatic turn of events initiated by the discovery of an extensive gold reef on the Witwatersrand was soon followed by the establishment of Johannesburg in 1886 and the requirements of the large numbers of people congregating here were to a certain extent met from the Orange Free State so that the Republic's fortunes once again took a turn for the better and when Pres Brand came to the end of his long and fruitful life the Free State was posed for a number of important transformations, the most important being the arrival of the railroad which was being pushed ahead against all odds to serve the needs of the Transvaal now ridden with gold-fever and subjected to one of the most extensive population movements ever seen in Southern Africa. The development of the infrastructure necessary for the Witwatersrand came in surging waves and these ripples left a sediment of accrued capital before they moved on. Once the fact had been accepted that the railway line could not be turned back the attempts to turn its direction towards various towns on its way to the North became a principal concern of the *Volksraad* members who were under pressure from their constituencies to ensure that their home town would not be bypassed by a fate that could hardly be rectified at a later date.

The Fourth Raadzaal

The quiet remoteness of the Free State's villages was about to undergo a transformation as roads were improved, bridges were built and rail and telegraph links established. As far as it was in the power of Executive Council to make the Republic a fully functioning entity, they had succeeded in doing so when Pres Reitz assumed office in 1888. As for its entrepreneurial function the *Volksraad* had one last major undertaking to complete and that was the fourth Raadzaal. Although Lennox Canning's plans were approved a few years earlier the process of getting the contract under way was delayed by financial considerations. It is perhaps unfortunate that Lennox Canning and his partner Goad were drawn into the vortex of building which characterised early Johannesburg. The immediate result was that his commitments on the Reef made his visits to the Free State rather onerous from the point of view of energy and time. These set of circumstances, combined with Canning's fractious personality, had within it all the elements of a major confrontation between architect and client as later events were to prove.

CONCLUSIONS

Guided by the benign sagacity of Pres Brand over a period of 25 years the Free State survived the loss of the diamond fields, a Basuto War, droughts and financial crises to become more like the ideal Model State envisaged by successive presidents.

During this period the *Volksraad* had firmly established itself as a legislative body with the reins of power and money firmly in its hand. The *Volksraad,* though often parsimonious had an open hand in respect of church and educational requirements and became ultimately aware of its own needs in respect of important public buildings. Both in the matter of church and public buildings Richard Wocke played a very important role.

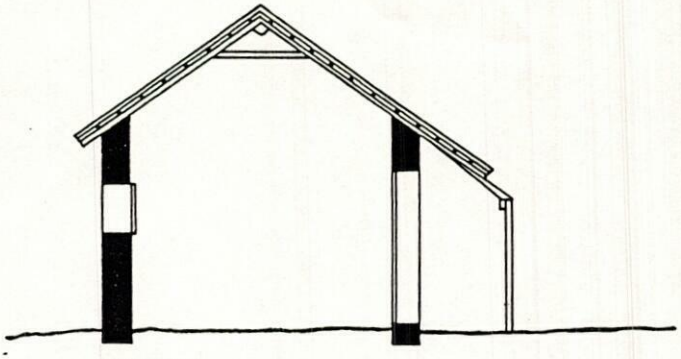
He was entrusted with numerous important government projects and must be regarded as the major factor in the establishment of the visible artifacts in church and state endeavours. His buildings were adequate if austere and in the period before the coming of Canning, Stucke and Harrison, he was the universal erector of numerous important buildings that needed to be erected to further the functioning of state and community. To him the Republic owed the design and construction of the third Raadzaal, numerous Ned. Geref. churches and a Town Hall in Bloemfontein.

Once the award for the loss of the diamond fields had made economic recovery possible the State was on threshold of its final and rapid progress toward a fully fledged Model Republic.

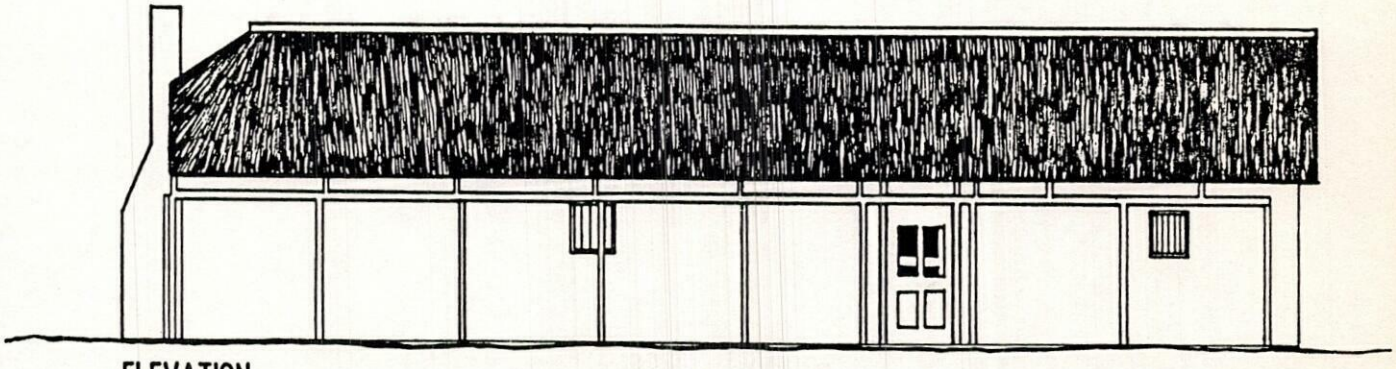
By 1888 the coming of the Railways was imminent, telegraphic communications had been established and bridges were being built. The Volksraad was again contemplating the employment of a Government Architect as well as an Inspector of Public Works which was to be an engineering post. Commerce had laid its state-wide network of supply lines and building materials of all kinds were freely available.

In the countryside and in the city more substantial, commodious and comfortable homes were being erected and the skilled component going into its realisation was steadily increasing. Steeled by adversity and encouraged by their limited but real achievements the inhabitants of the Orange Free State were becoming more conscious of their statehood and more concerned about the way the country was governed at all levels of authority.

Despite the heterogenous nature of the population a *modus vivendi* had been developed which permitted a peaceful and effective co-existence. The Republic was indeed poised for its final and most dramatic phase of development.



SECTION



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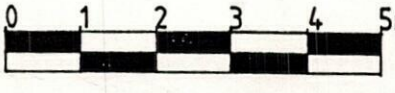
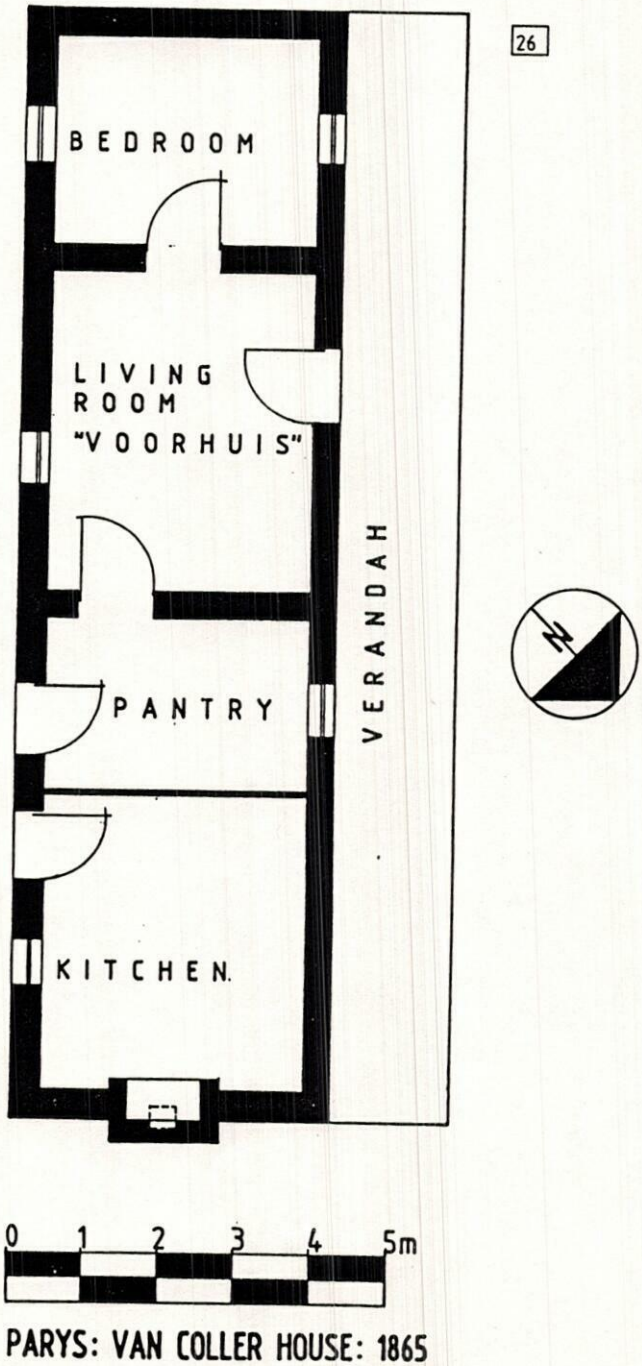


PARYS: VAN COLLER HOUSE: 1865



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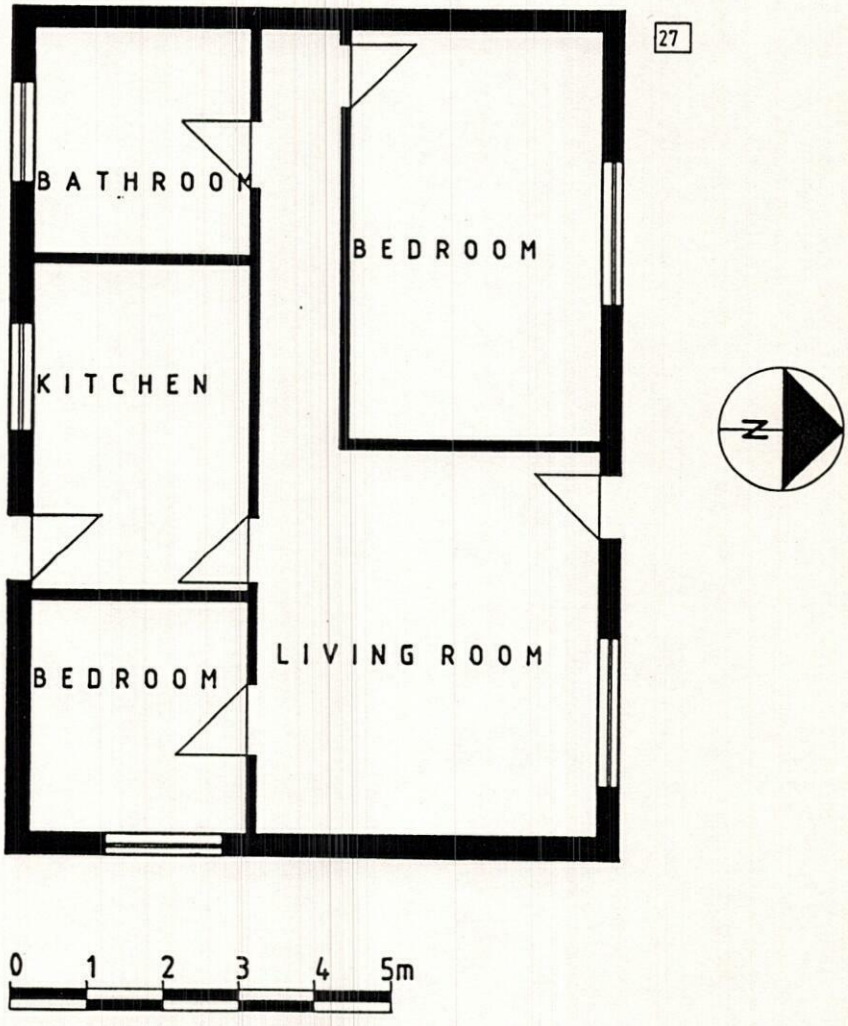
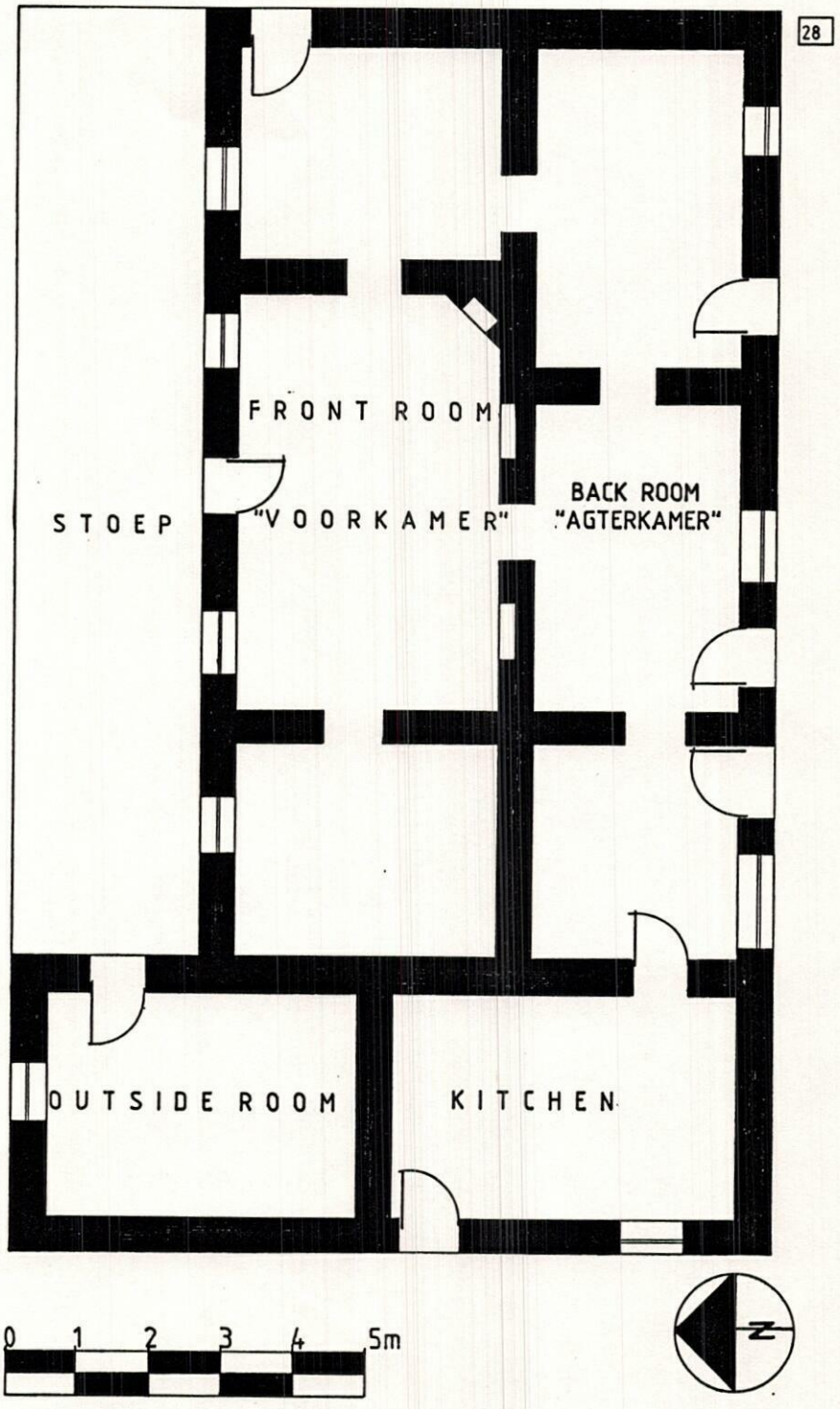
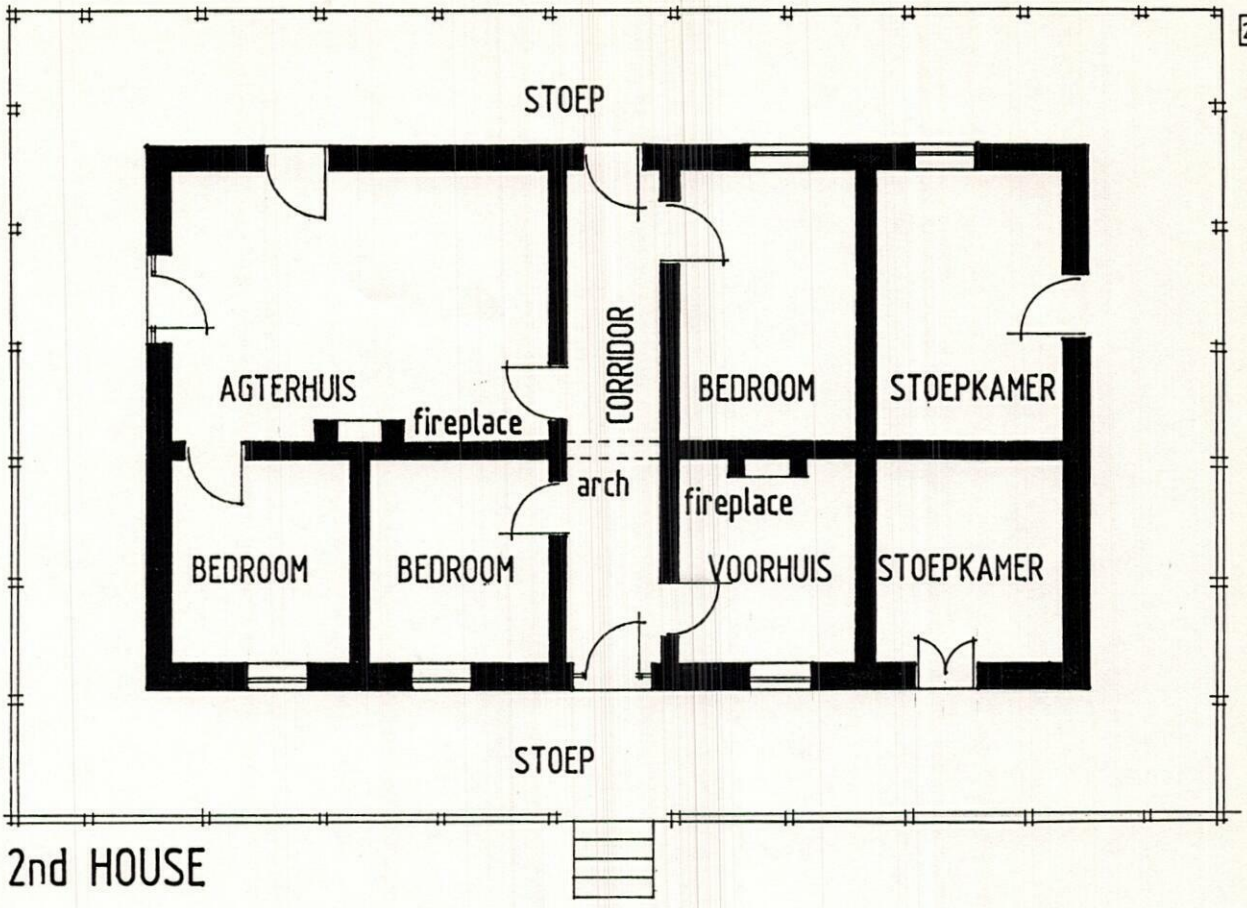


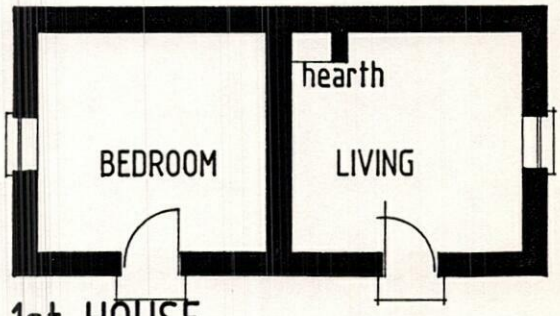
BOSHOF: EARLY TOWN HOUSE IN FONTEIN STREET: 1865



FIRST RESIDENCE ON THE FARM *Leeuwpoort* NEAR HEILBRON
c. 1865

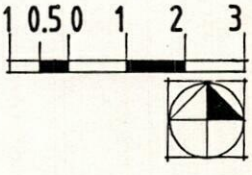


2nd HOUSE



1st HOUSE

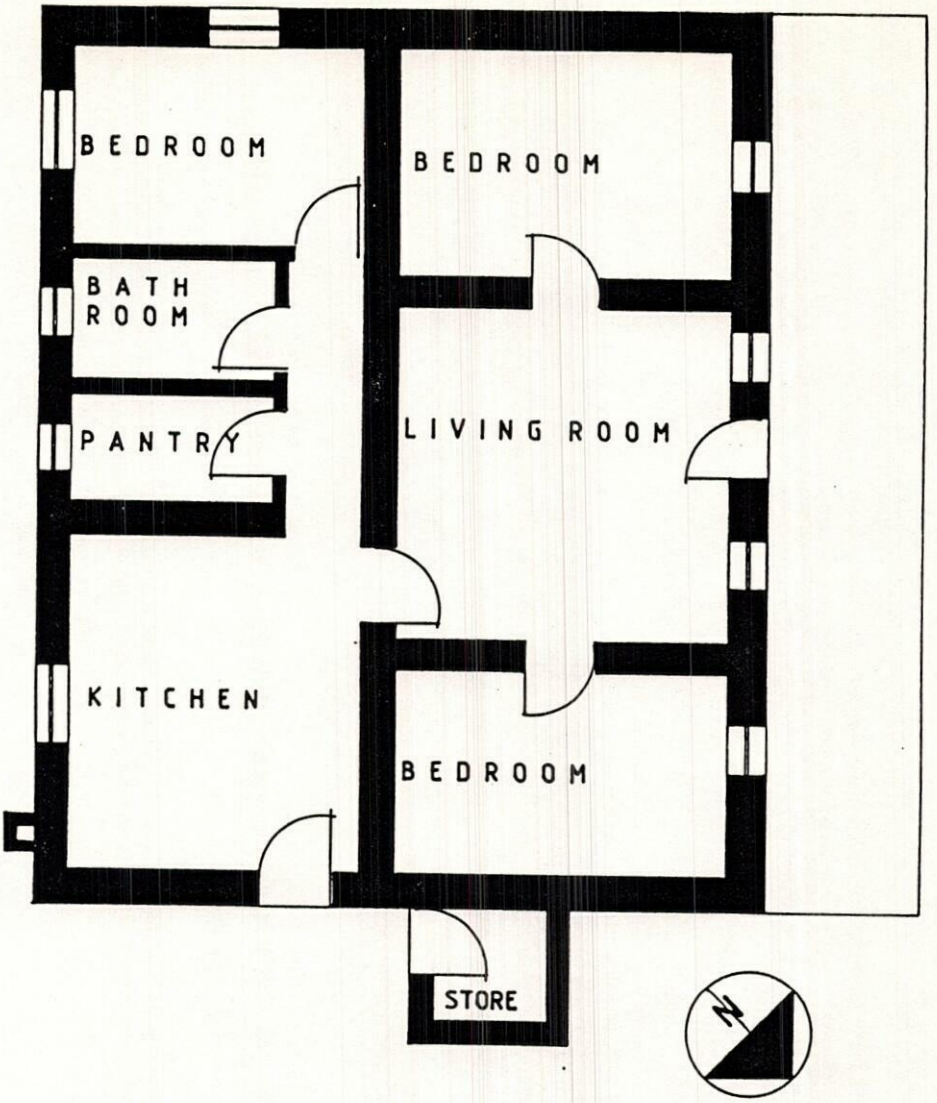
This farmyard went through two previous house-building phases, firstly a "hartbeeshuis" in 1840, followed by a two-roomed sandstone house which was replaced by the present house in 1869 (rebuilt after the Anglo-Boer war).

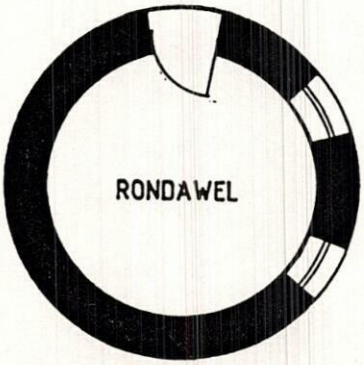


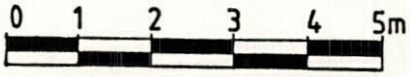
☐ DRAAIHOEK

MEMEL

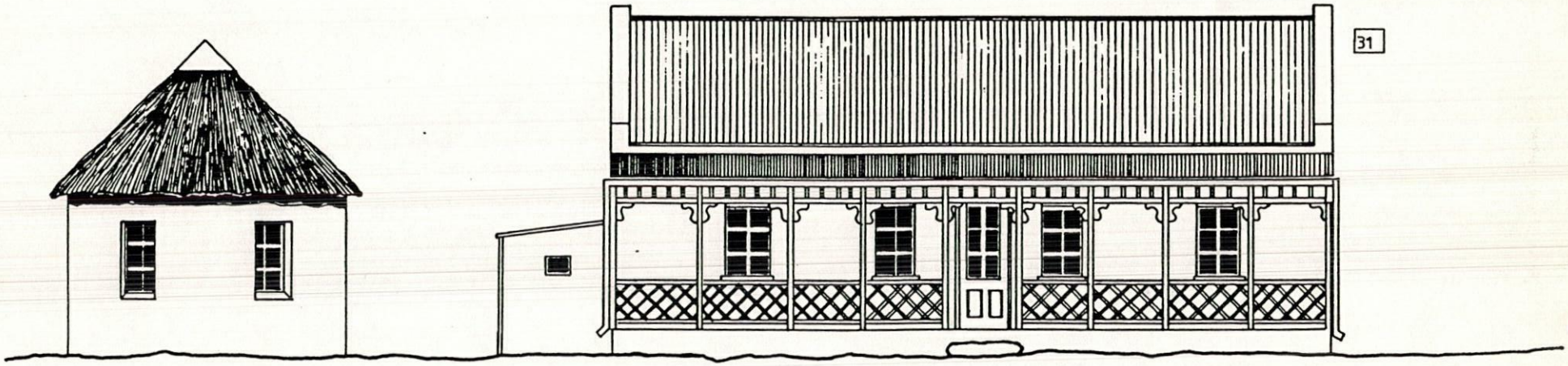
1869



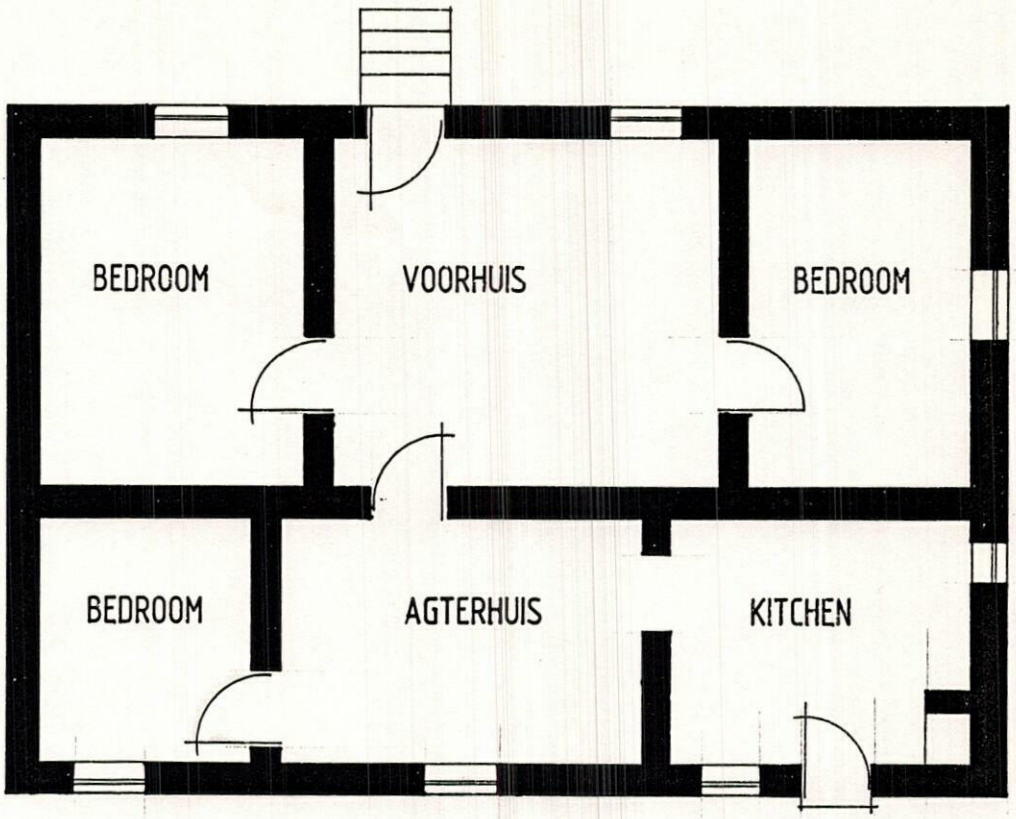




VAN COLLER HOUSE
PARYS
1870

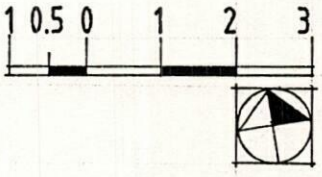


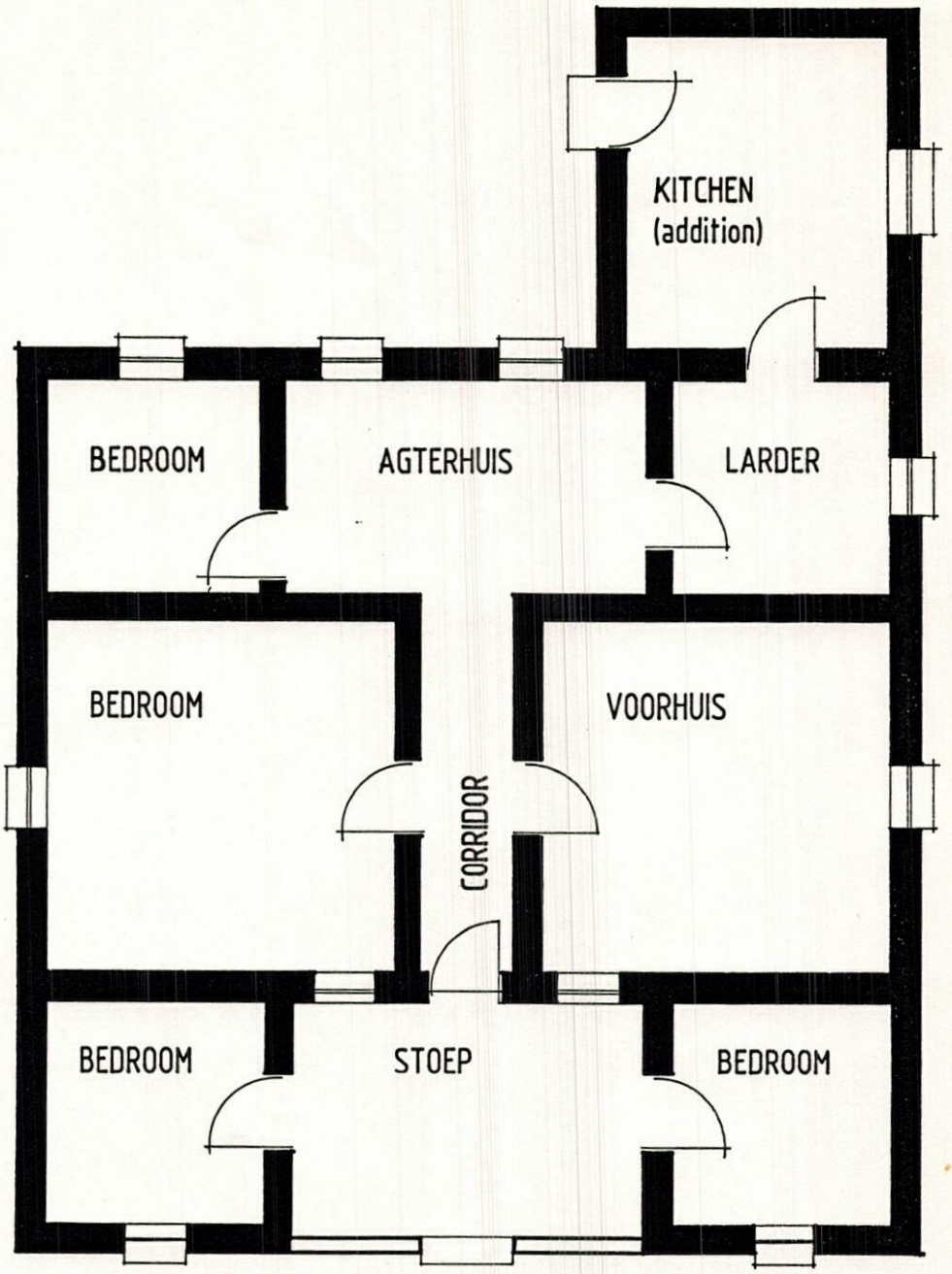
VAN COLLER HOUSE
PARYS
1870

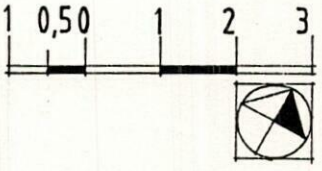


32

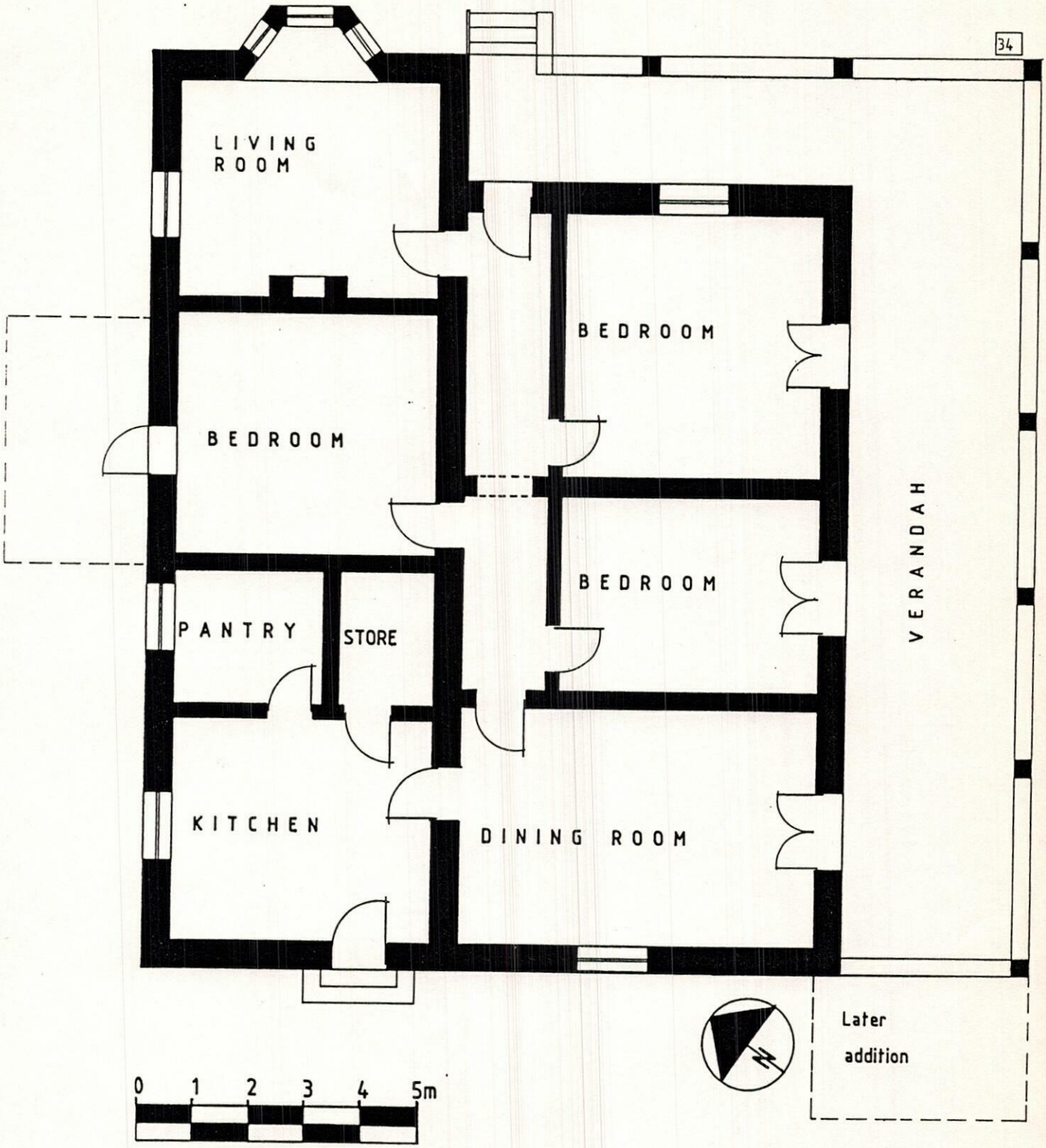
☐ MEYERSGELUK 1870
HARRISMITH



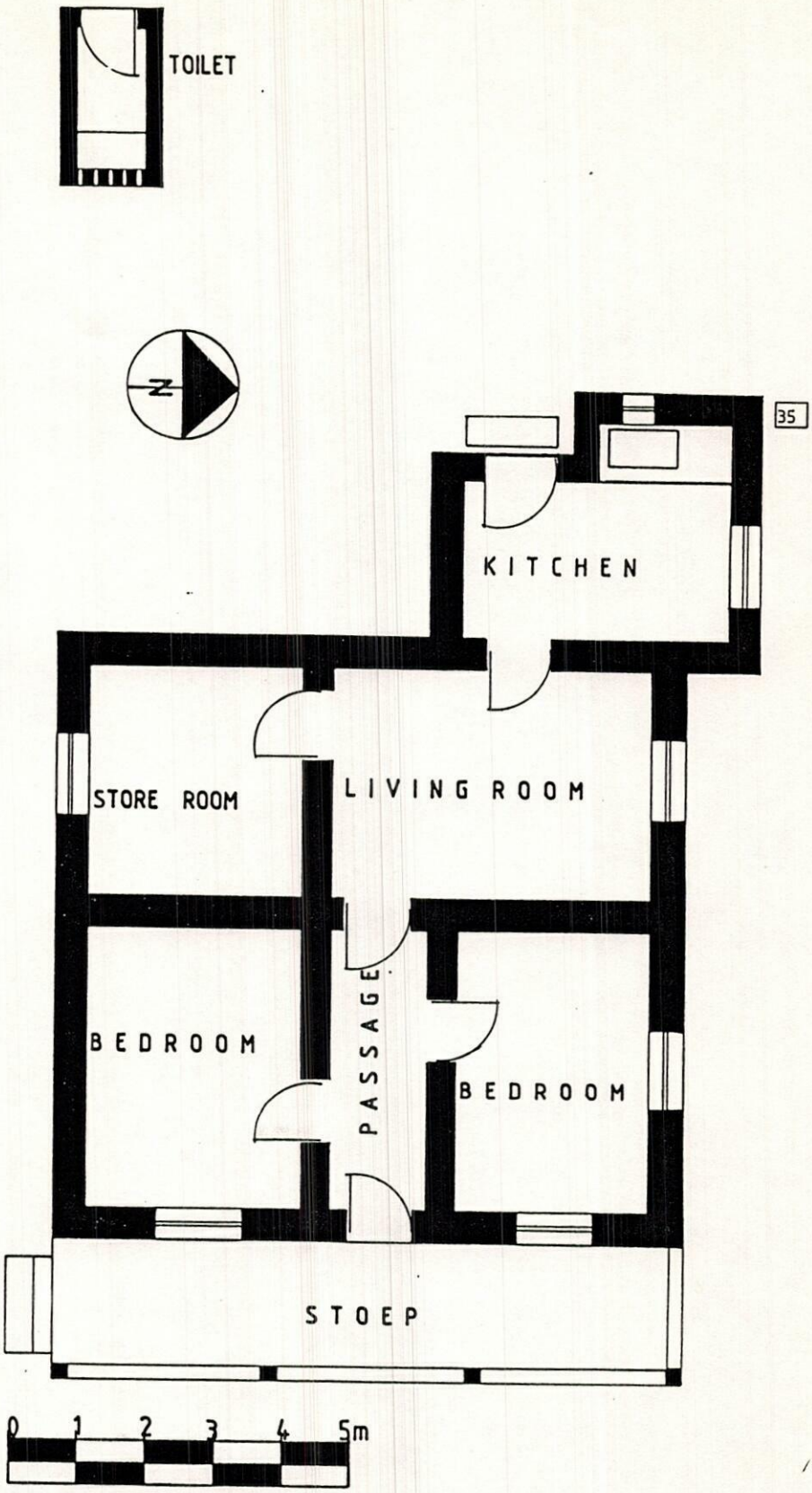




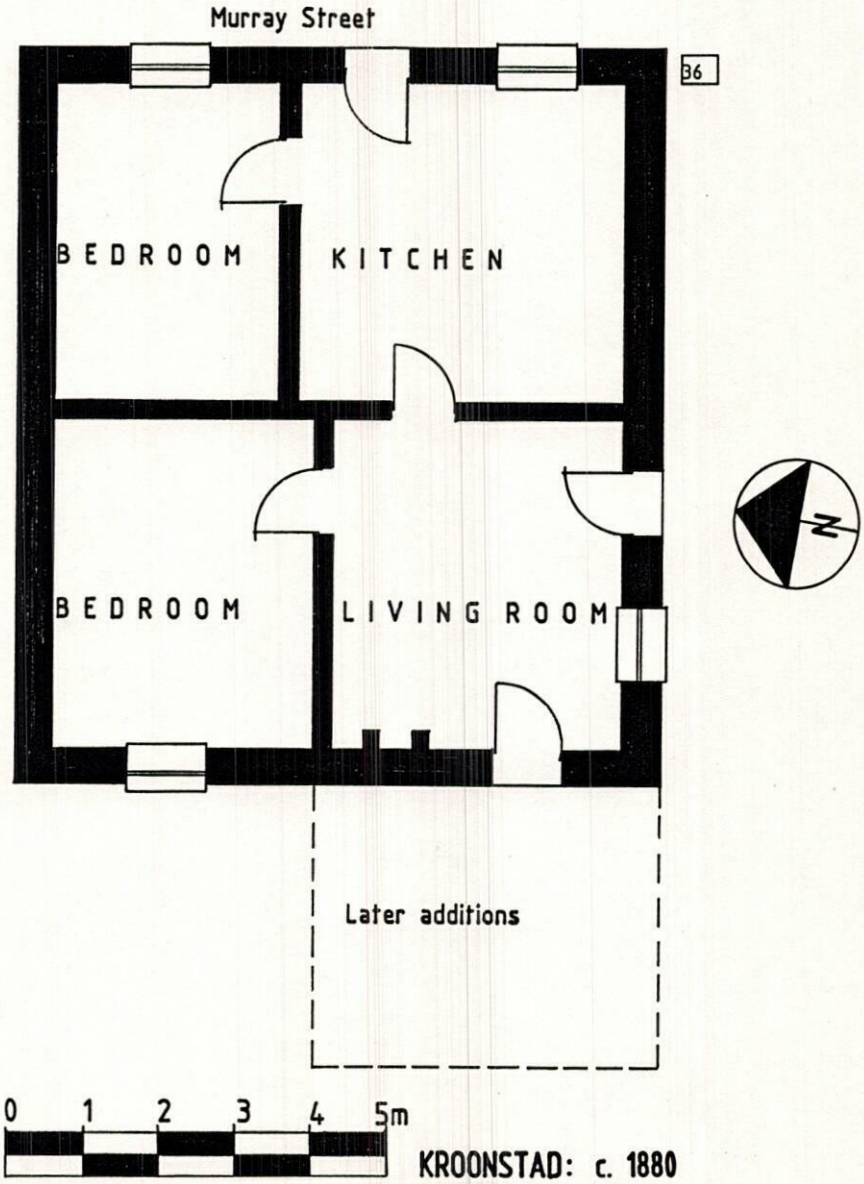
☐ GEGUND 1870
HARRISMITH



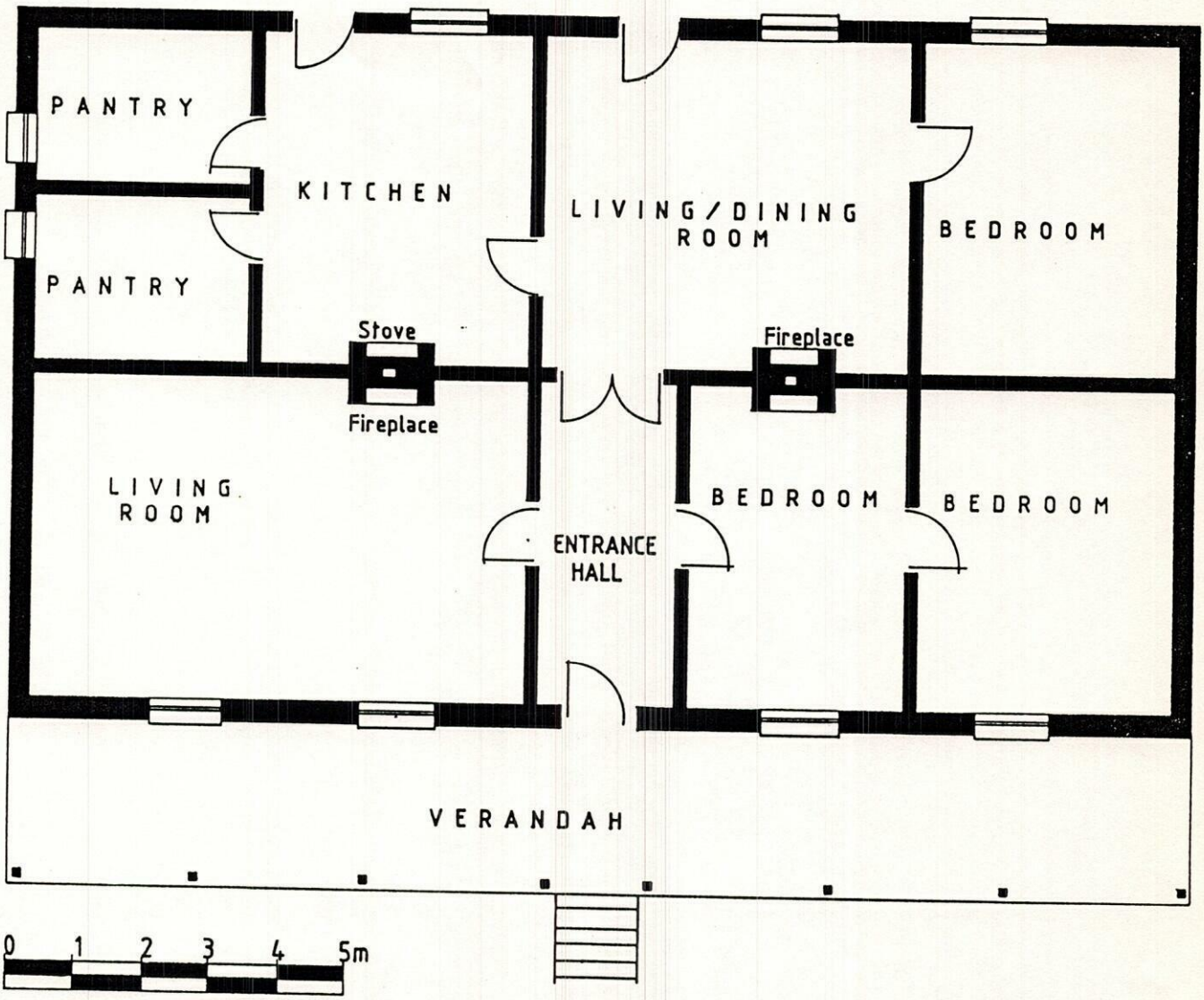
FICKSBURG: RESIDENCE DE VILLIERS: c. 1870.



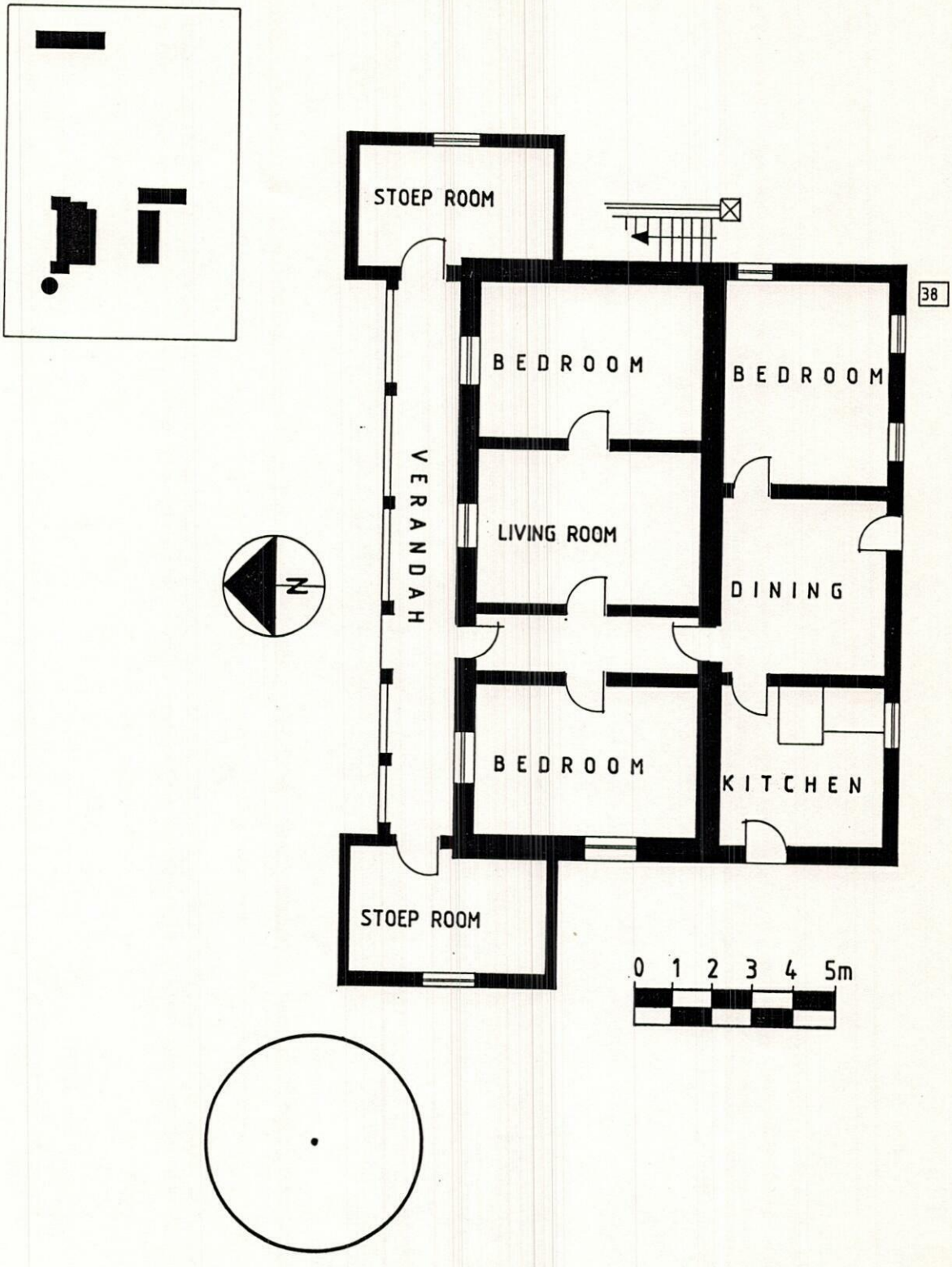
WINBURG: SO-CALLED "*Dorpshuis*" OWNED AND USED BY CHURCH-GOERS FROM OUTLYING DISTRICTS.
c. 1875-1880



KROONSTAD: c. 1880
SANDSTONE CHURCH HOUSE.

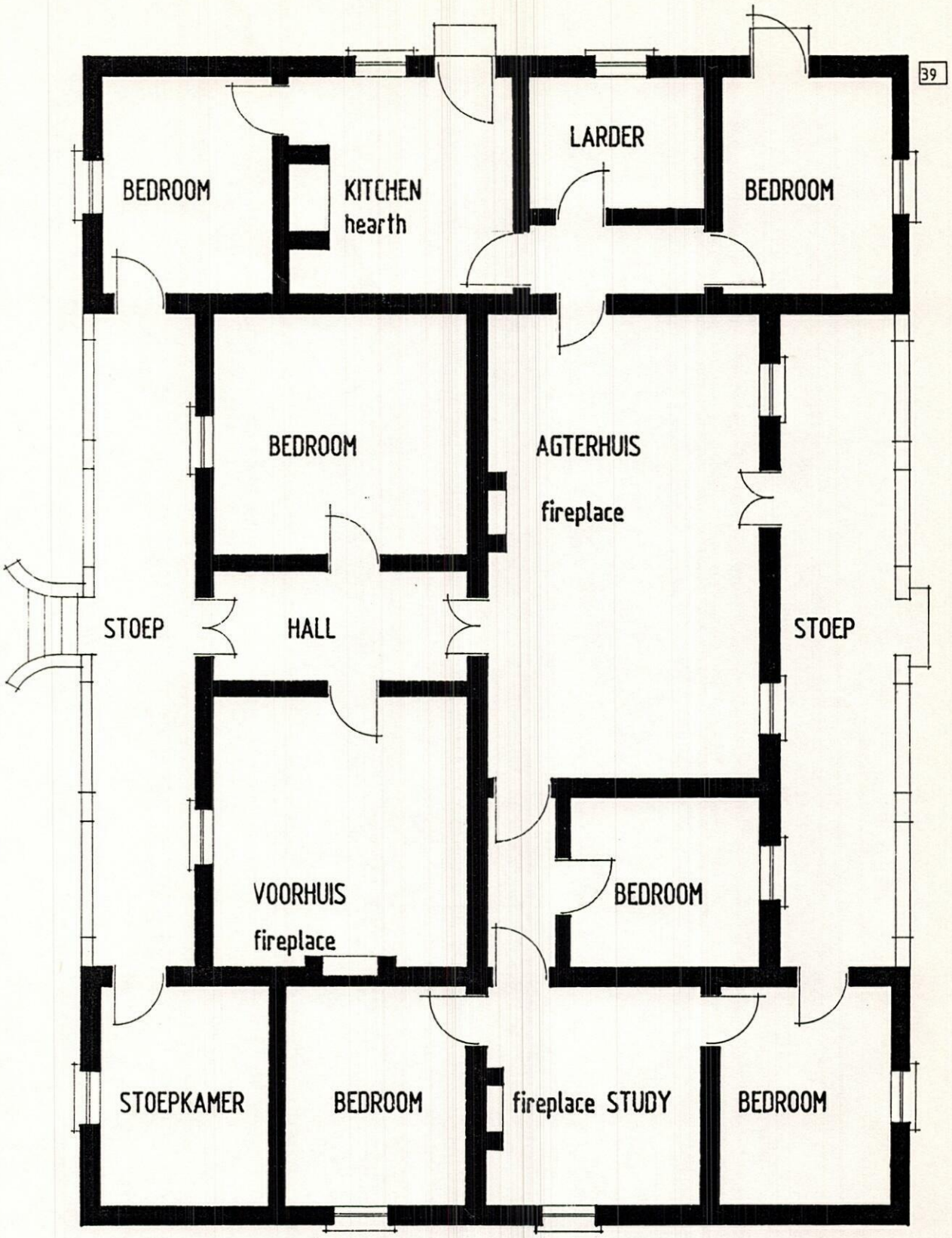


MEMEL: RESIDENCE ON THE FARM *Koloniesplaas.*
c. 1880



WINBURG: RESIDENCE ON THE FARM *Hattinghskraal.* 1880

Example of a basic three-roomed unit (c. 1880) extended by additions along the South wall and stoepkamers with a verandah on the North side

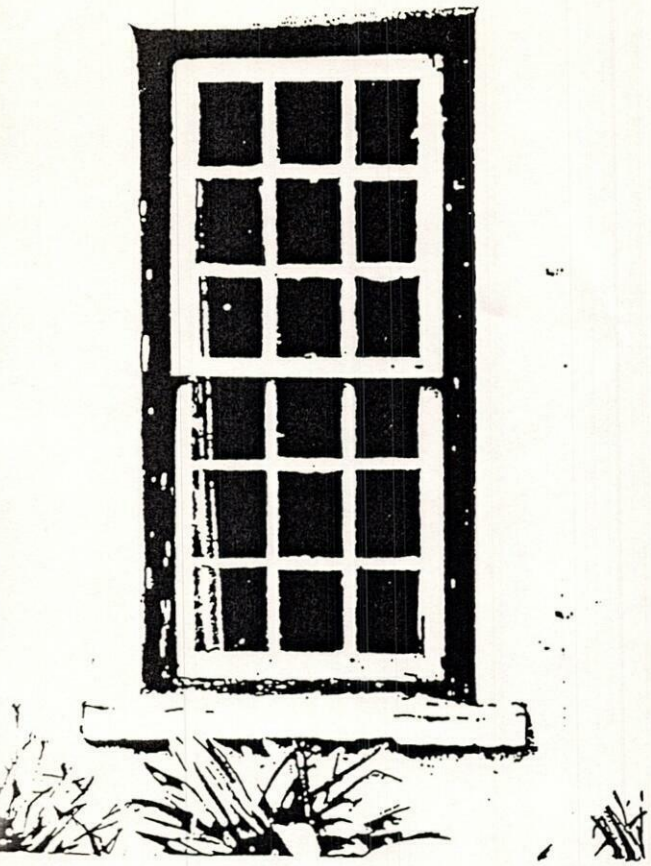


25km South of Bloemfontein, this solidly built home of sandstone is now plastered.It dates from about 1880 and shows how the "agterhuis" was used as a circulatory area.

1 0.5 0 1 2 3

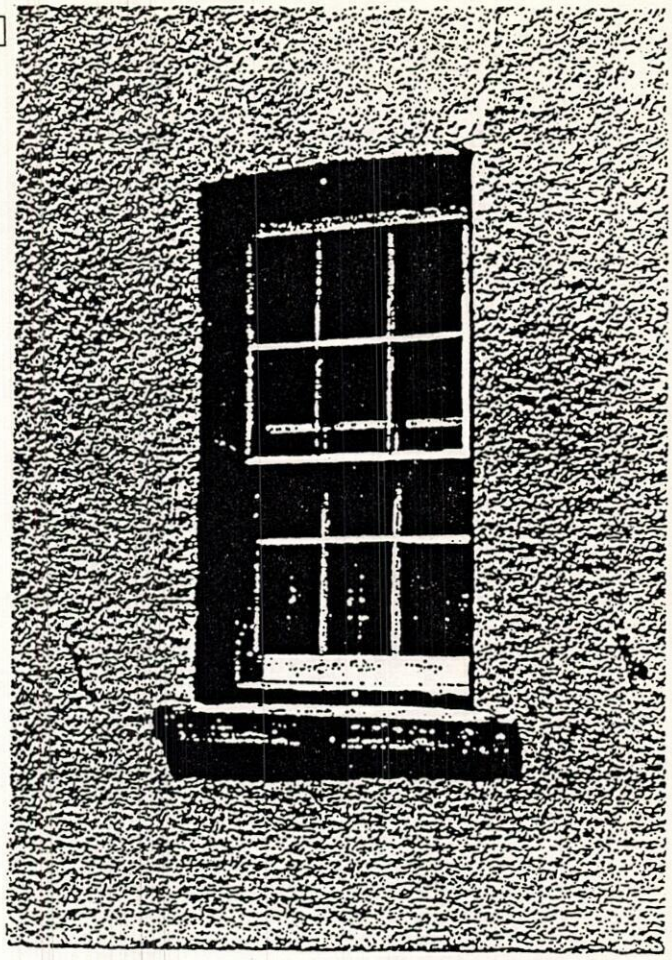
☐ KRAPFONTEIN
BLOEMFONTEIN
1880

40



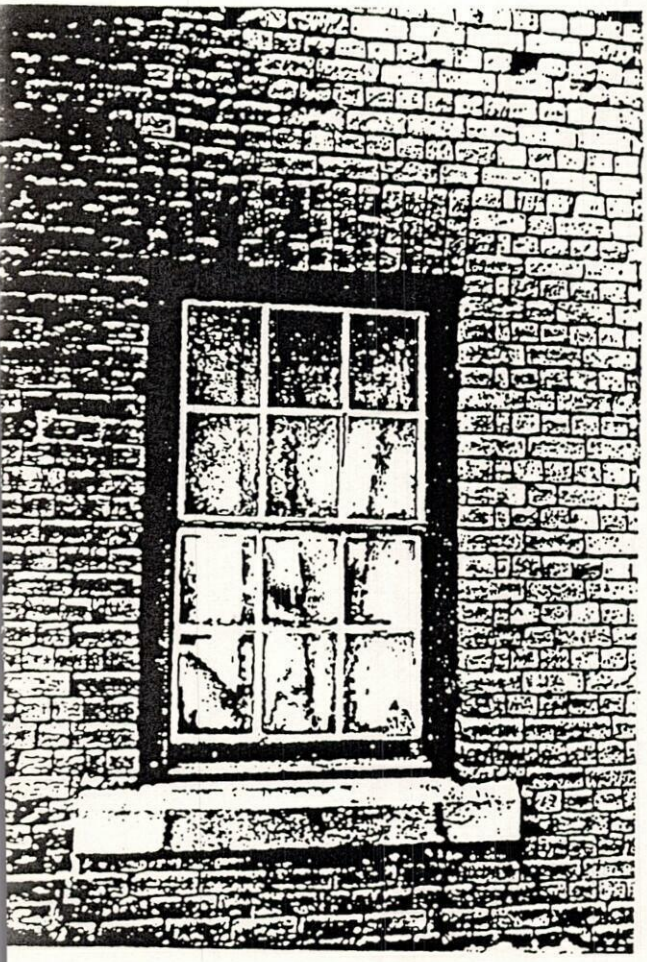
The Hall

41



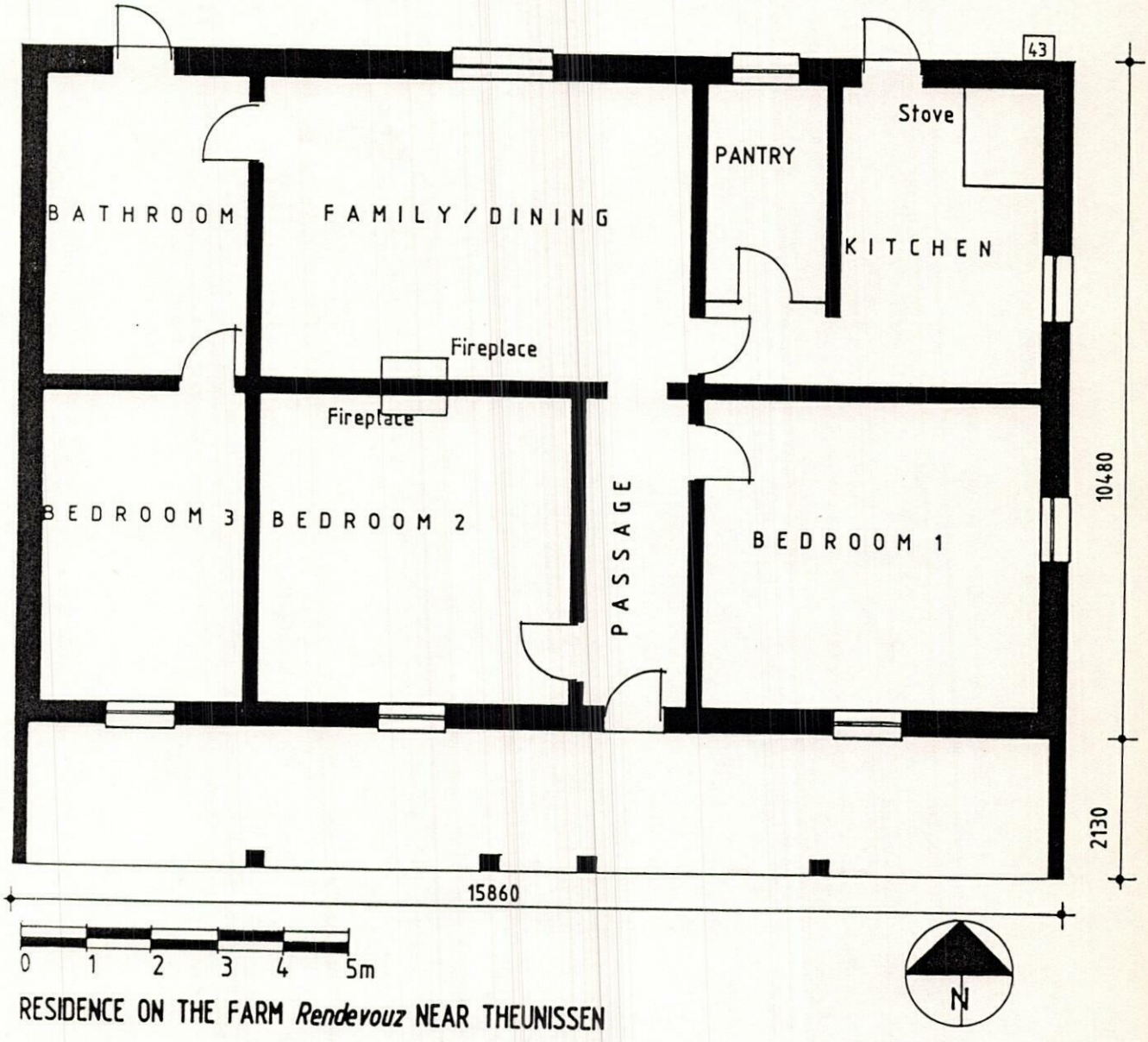
Krapfontein.

42



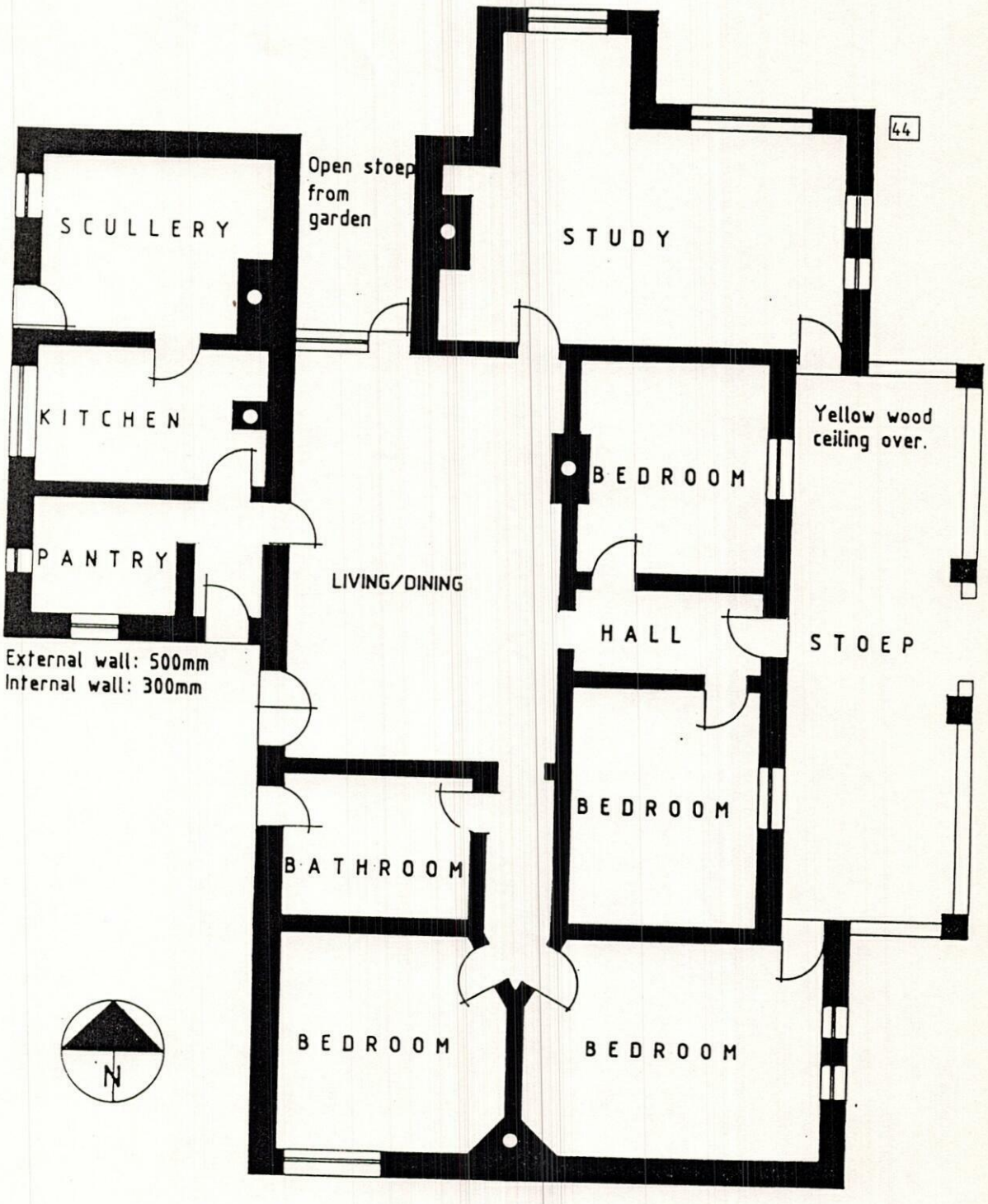
Doornkloof.

WINDOWS



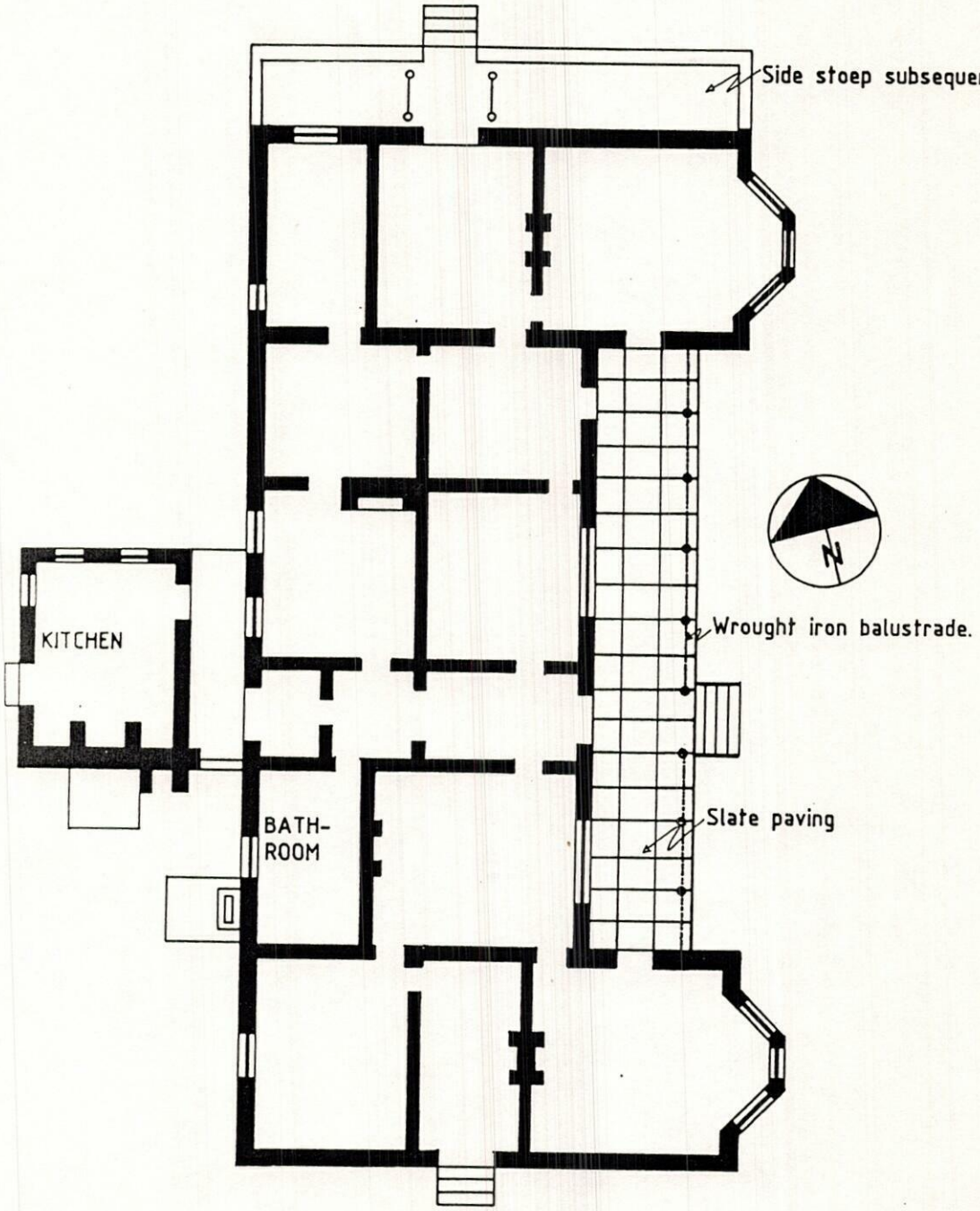
RESIDENCE ON THE FARM *Rendevouz* NEAR THEUNISSEN

This pre-war house survived, having served as a military office during the war. The house belonged to Sir Pierre van Rijneveld, one of the pioneers of flight in South Africa. The plan shape indicates a date c. 1880



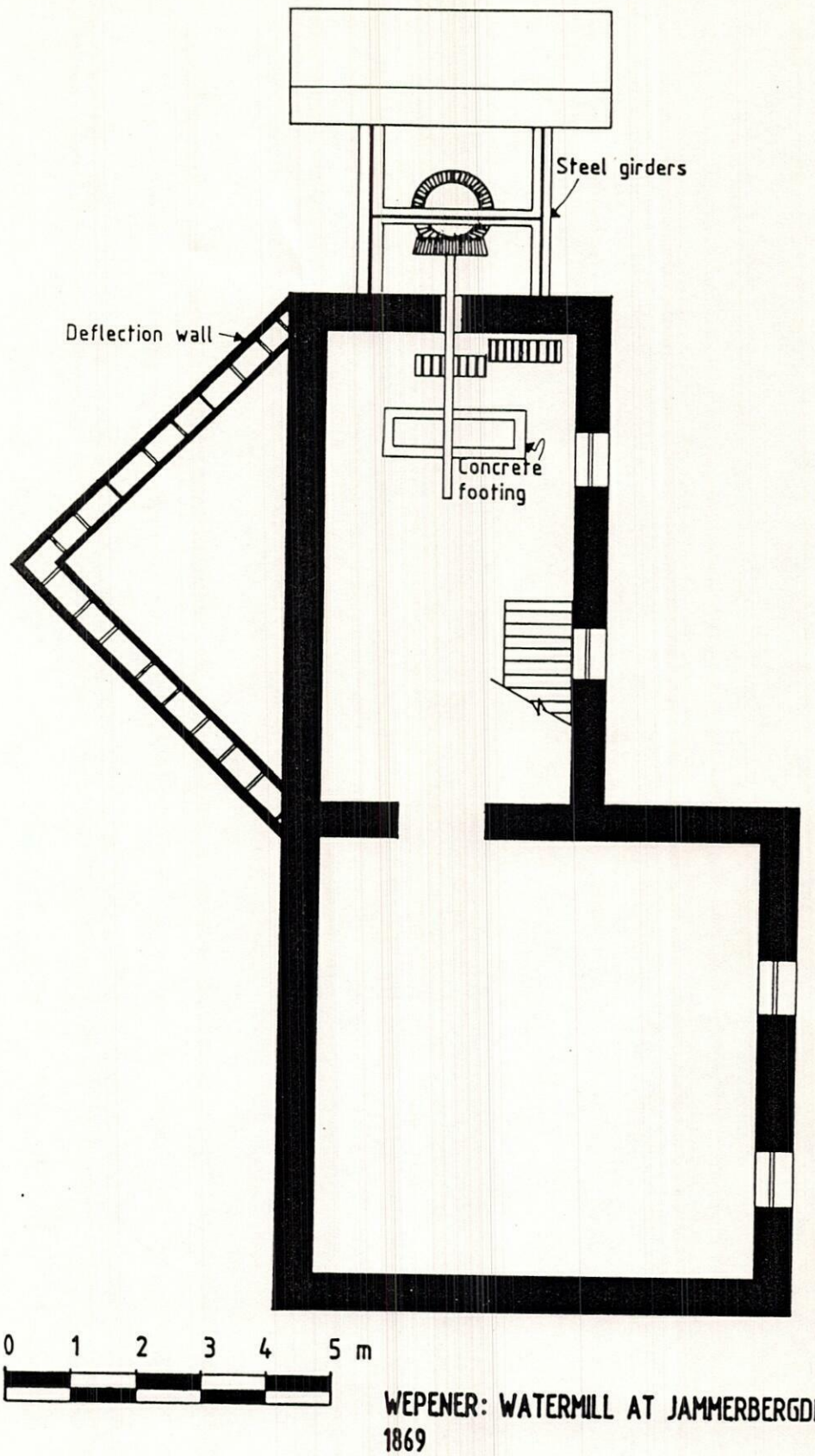
0 1 2 3 4 5

BLOEMFONTEIN: LIGHTFOOT HALL: 1882



WEPENER: STRUAN HOUSE ON THE FARM *Jammerbergdrif* : 1884

This is one of the Free State's stately homes belonging to the Robertson family. It has been little altered and well maintained. The workmanship is of the highest order. The "stoepkamer" configuration is here taken to its ultimate development.



WEPENER: WATERMILL AT JAMMERBERGDRIF: 1869

47

Photo The Royal Hotel Harrismith
The solidly built sandstone building embellished with the latest that Macfarlane could supply in balcony supports and neatly attired waiters represent the best that the Free State of the post-war era could offer in terms of accommodation. The building appears to have been extended in phases, the earliest parts probably dating to c.1885.

48

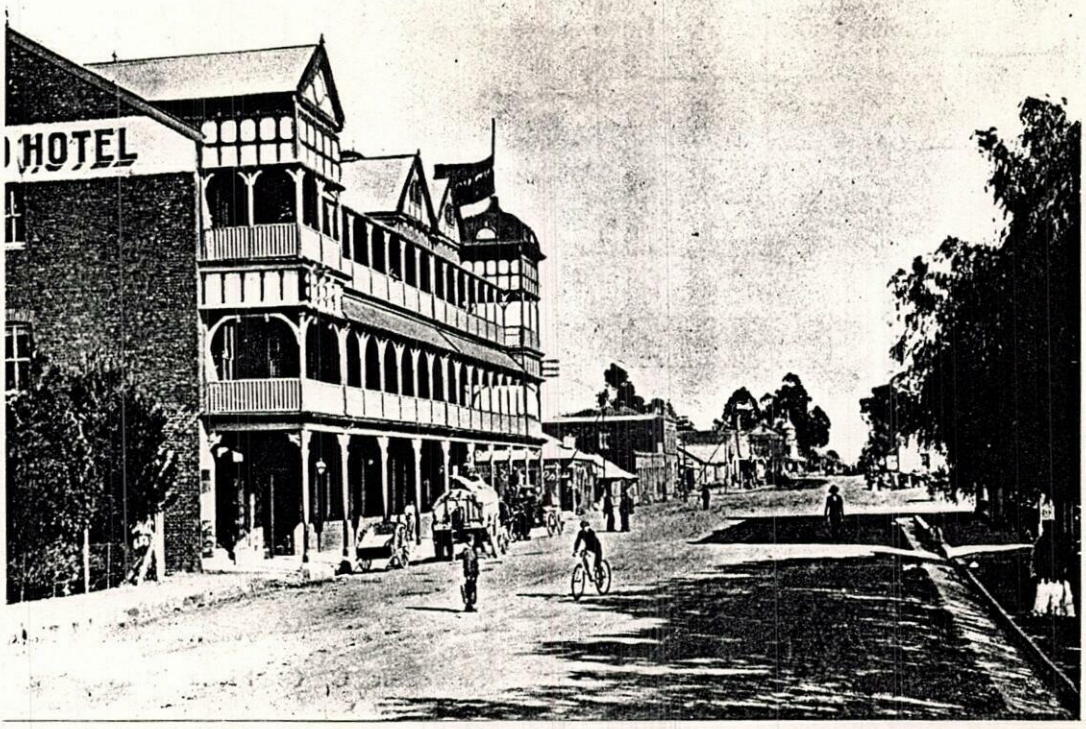
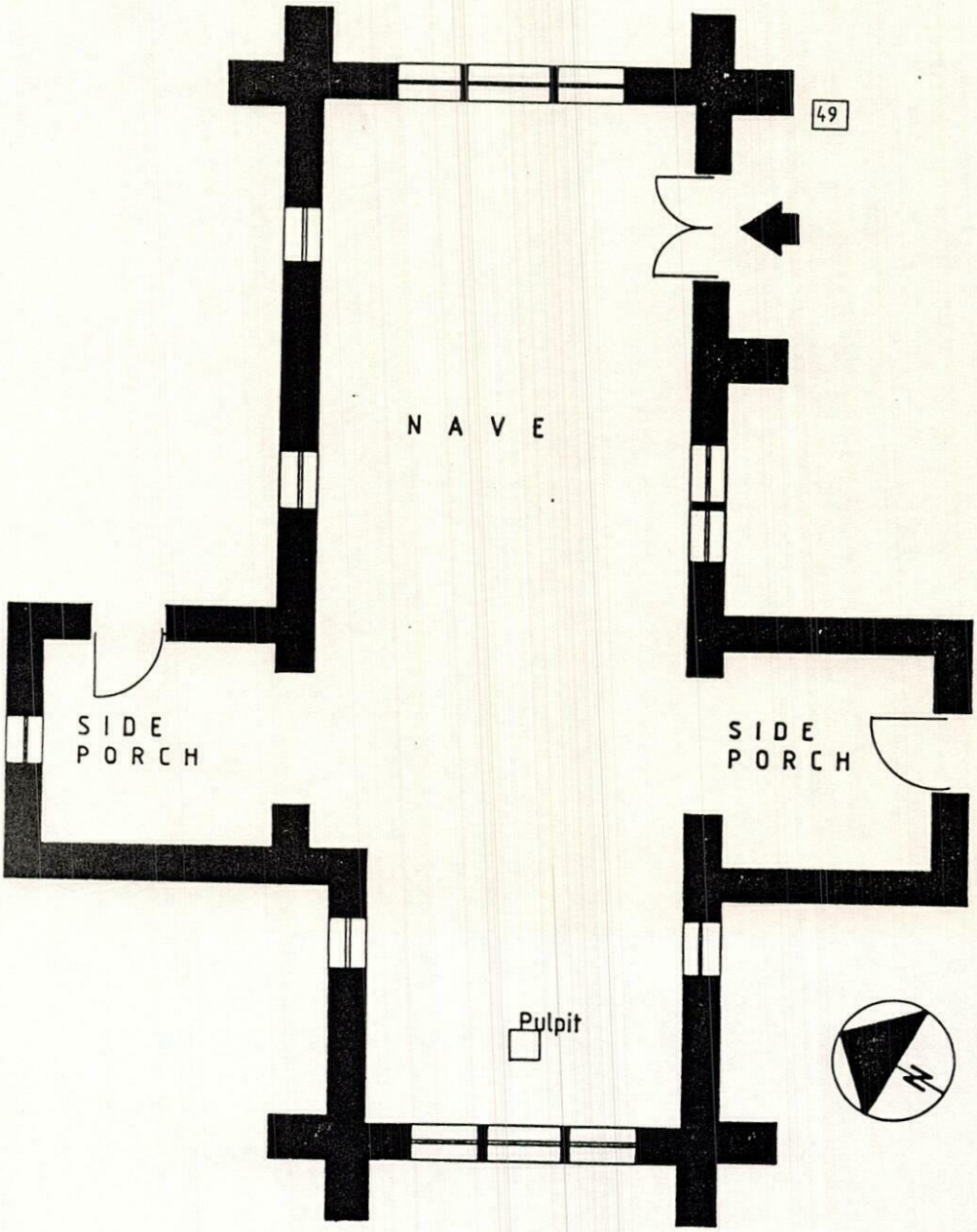
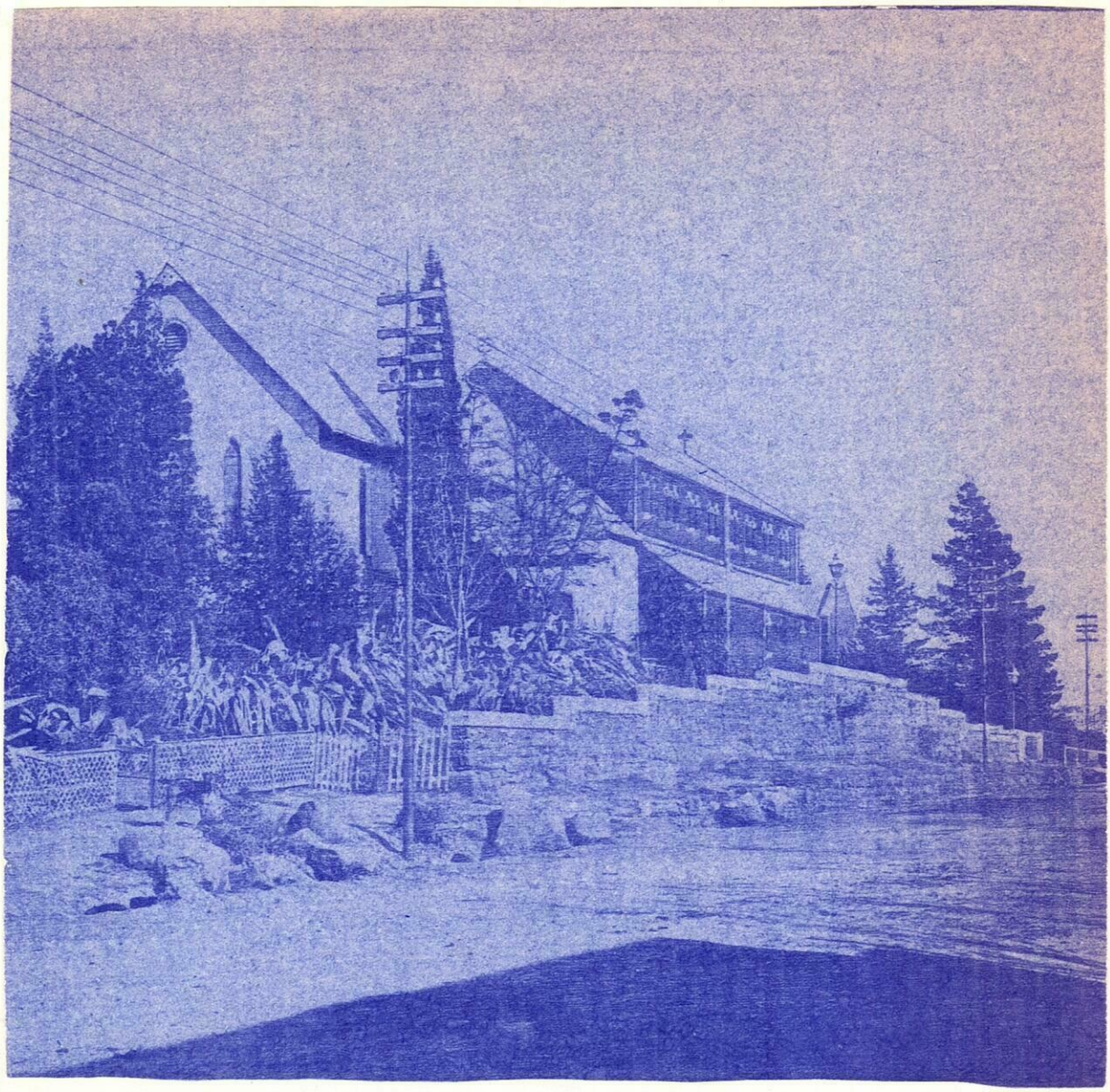


Photo Charles Street looking West.
The leisurely pace of traffic in Charles Street is in marked contract to the same locality in 1986. The first balcony of the hotel is supported on cast-iron columns with patterned brackets while the upper storey rests confidently on timber supports and curved brackets. This confidence arises principally from the quality of the imported timbers. In the far background the bluegum trees in the Fichardt's garden can be seen while in the middle distance on the right Baumann Square is visible where the Market Building of 1923 was erected. The Grand Hotel was situated on the corner of Charles and Hanger Street.



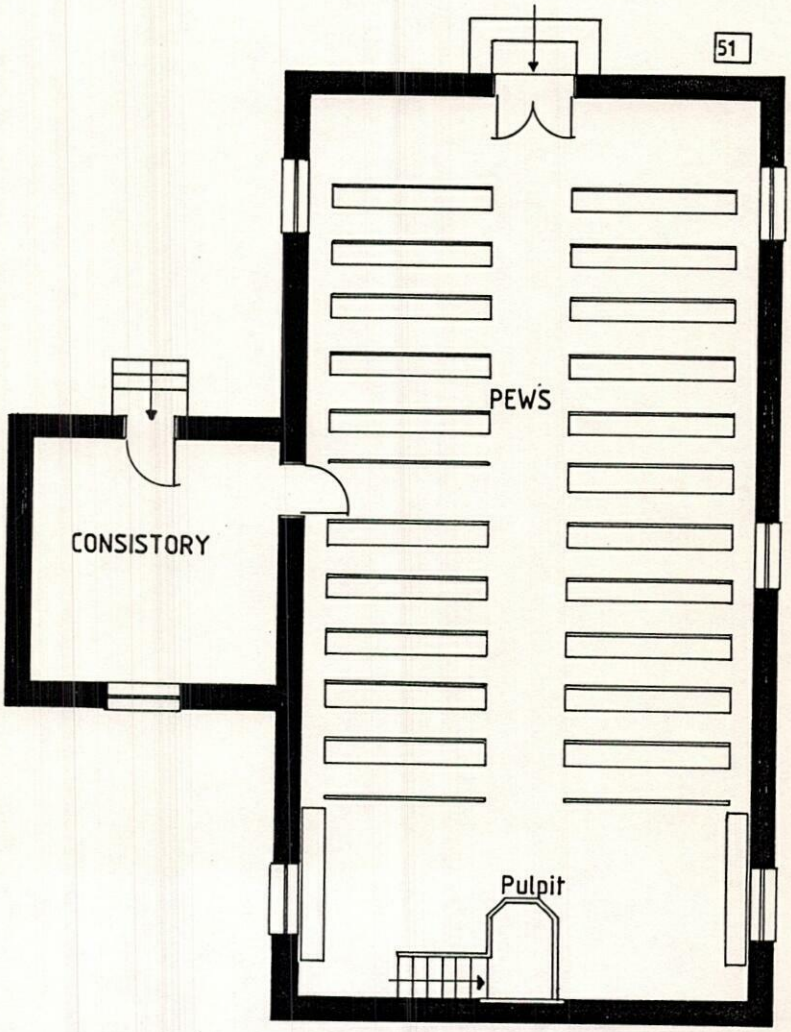
0 1 2 3 4 5m

PHILIPPOLIS: ANGLICAN CHURCH: 1865

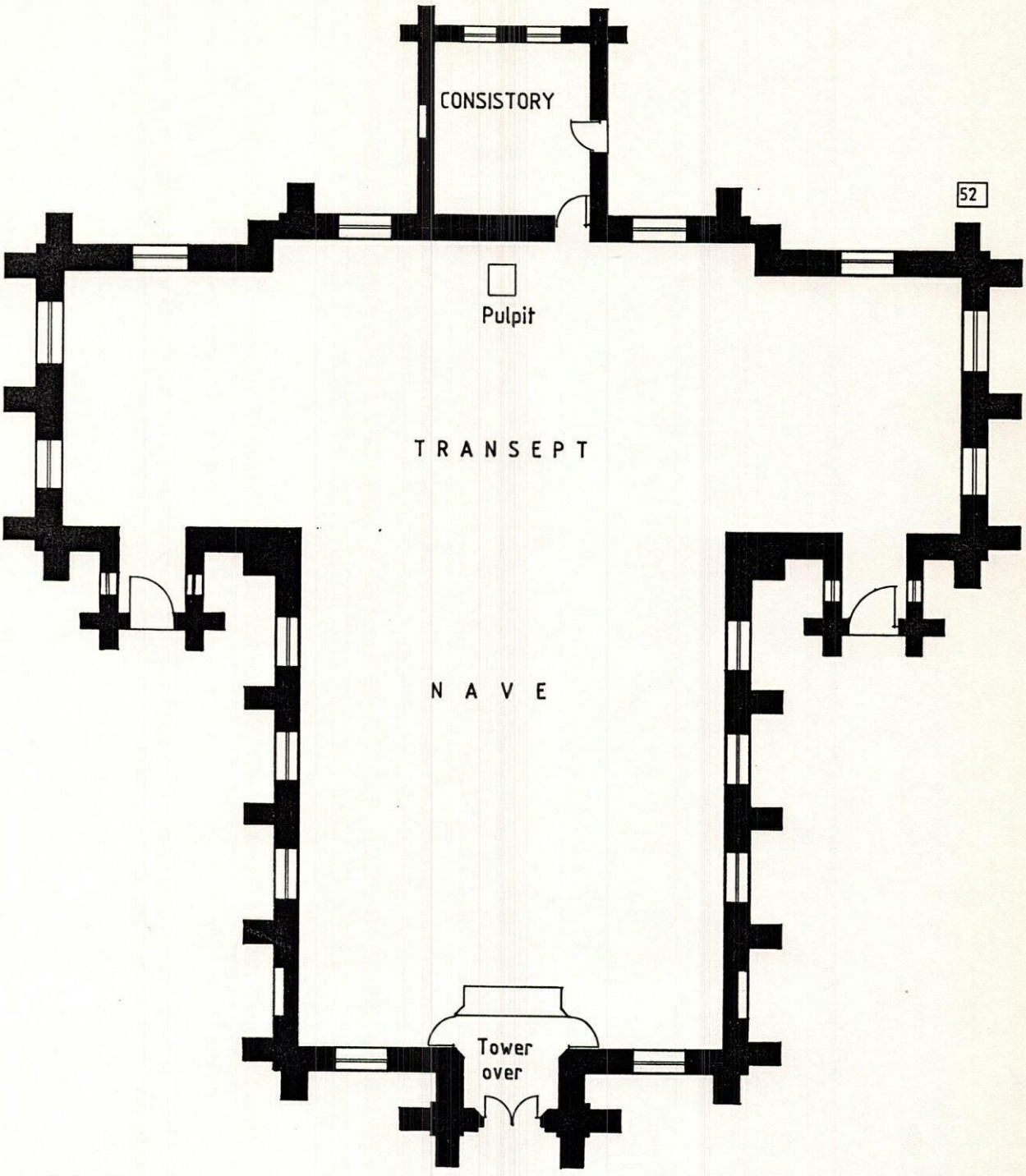


The Cathedral of St Andrew and St Michael, Bloemfontein

The origins of this church date back to the time of the Sovereignty. Sophy Gray prepared plans for the first church but these were not accepted by the Church Building Committee. Building work proceeded during the years 1851-1852 but was abandoned along with the Sovereignty in 1854. It was not before 1866 that a new church was built to the plans of the English architect, Dudley Mole. This church is the section nearest to the viewer in the photograph. This portion now forms the Choir and Sanctuary of the Cathedral as it was enlarged in 1882-1885 to the plans of Arthur Byrd. The rich interior with its fine stained glass windows is one of the great architectural gifts of the republican era to the present generation.

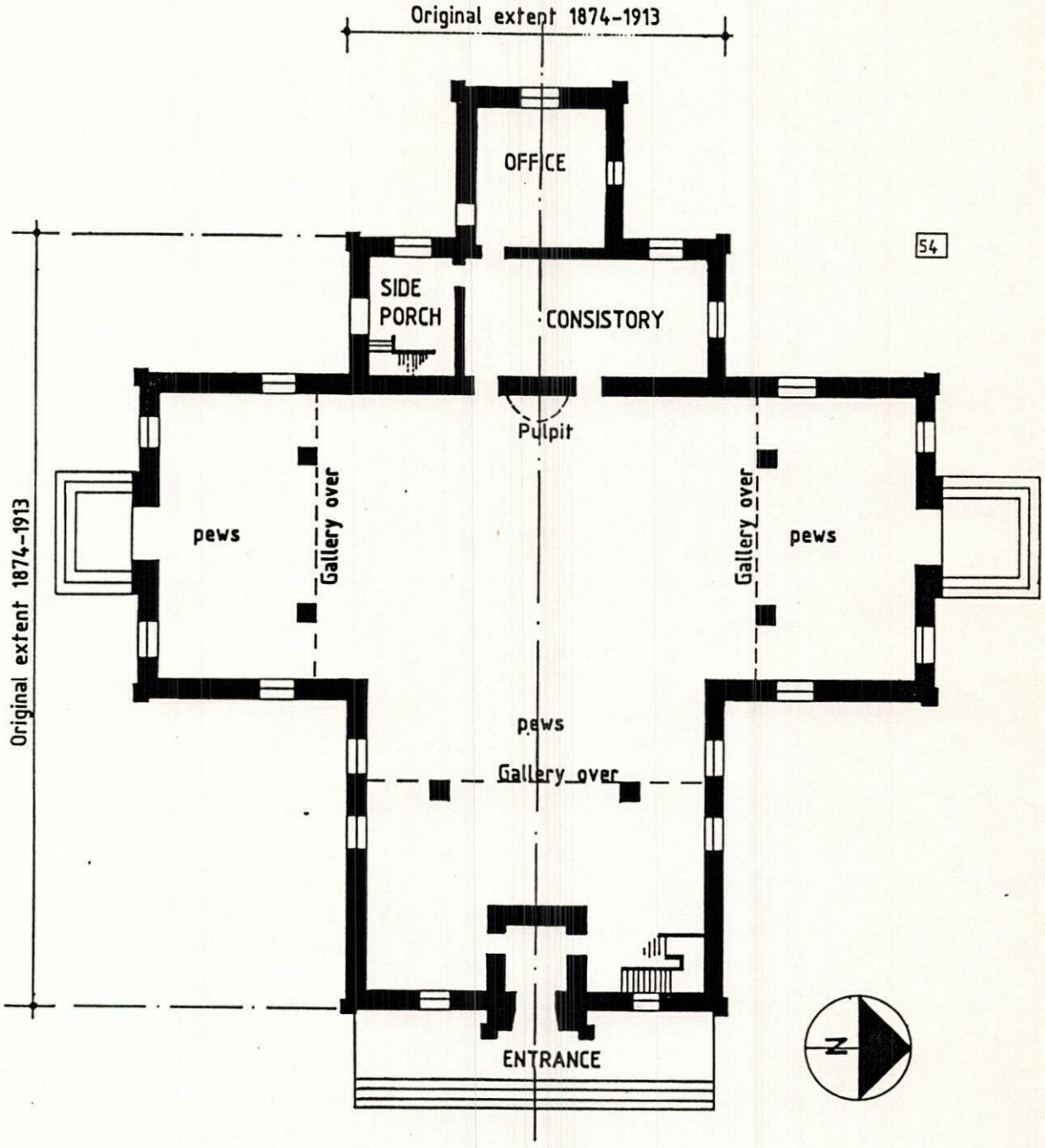


THABA 'NCHU : GEREFORMEERDE KERK
1870



PHILIPPOLIS: N.G. KERK.
1871

Photo *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* Philippolis
The site of this church dates back to the time when it was used for Adam Kok's church who was then the leader of the Griquas. The *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Gemeente* dates from 1861. In April of 1863 the Rev Fraser came to the community. He was the father-in-law of Pres Steyn. The foundation stone for this building was laid on 8 May 1869 and was an early example of R Wocke's work. The church had two wings added in 1896. Like so many other churches, this one also suffered grieviously during the Anglo-Boer War — the organ being destroyed by fire. The Rev Fraser repaired the damage and went on to serve a total of 44 years in the same church.



0 1 2 4 6 8m

BOSHOF: N.G. KERK: 1874

55

Photo *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* Boshof
The congregation dates back to 1856 when the first town erven were sold in favour of the church. A cruciform building was erected on the Market Square as a first phase church but in 1871 Wocke built a new church for £16 000. The building could seat 1 000 persons. Architecturally it was unusual inasmuch as Wocke provided heavy engaged piers on the front elevation and carried this motif through onto the tower. The rather squat spire was also unusual for Wocke and this post-war photo (prior to 1916) shows nothing of the normal German Gothic spires which Wocke favoured. The building was subsequently faced in facebrick with unintentional impiety.

56

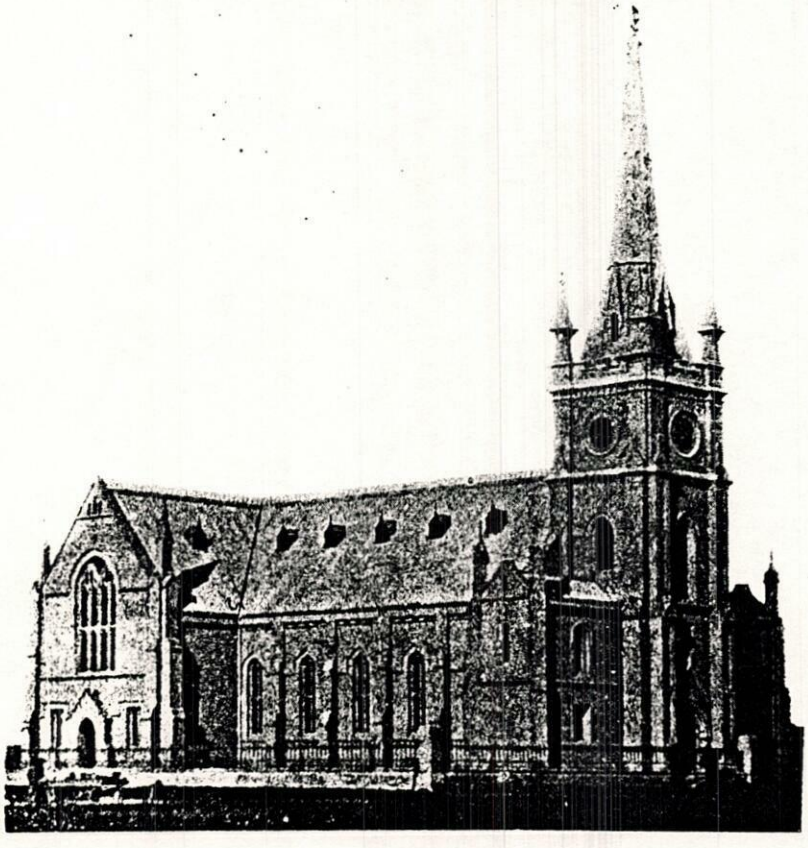
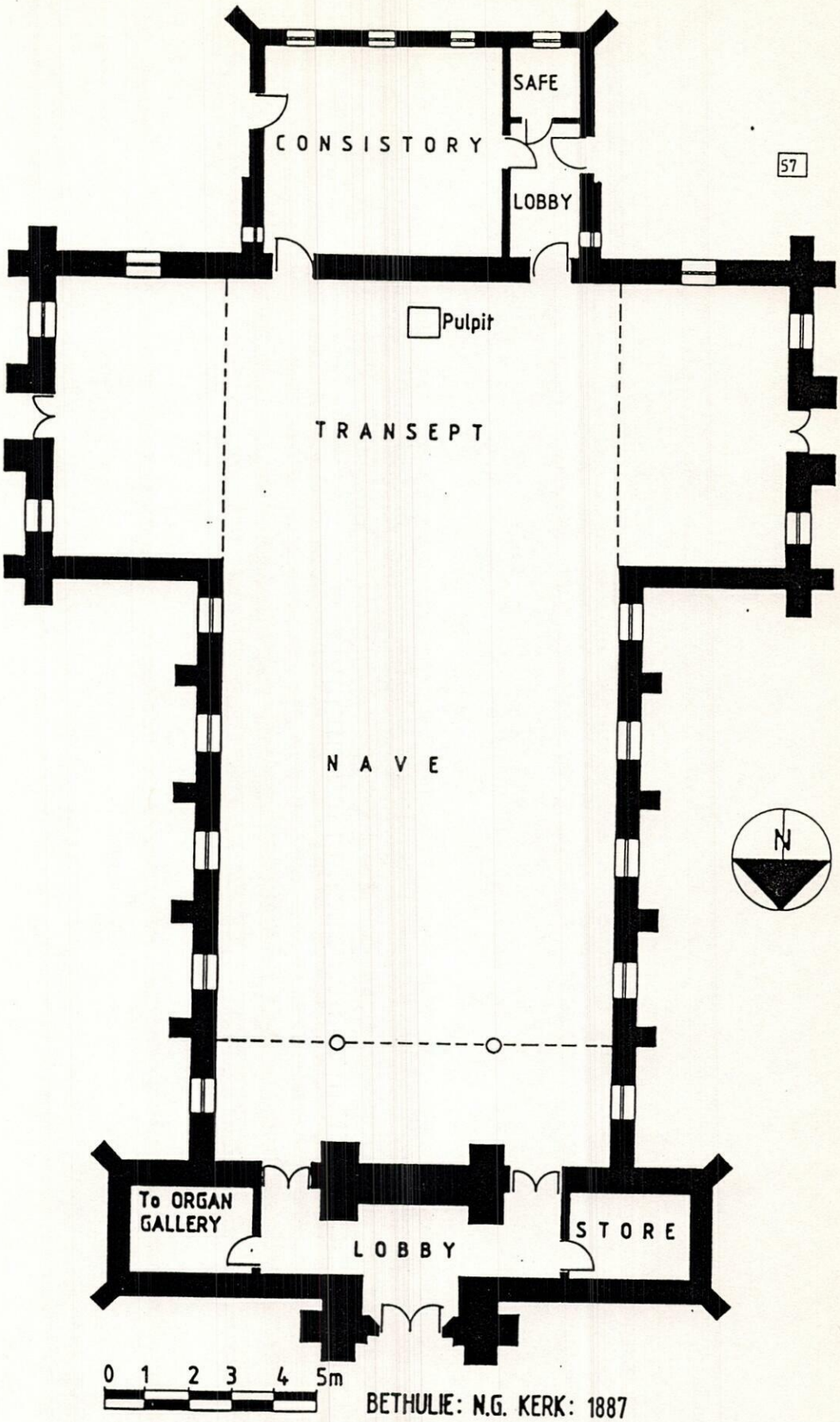


Photo *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk,* Bethulie
The establishment of the *gemeente* dates from 1862. The French missionary Pellissier made his own church available to the fledgeling community until such time as the first-phase church was completed in September of 1864. Work on the new church was commenced in 1886 and completed in July 1887 at a cost of £7500. The foundation stone was laid by Pres. Brand. At the time of its completion the church boasted a very tall and slender spire of brick and plaster but this had subsequently to be rebuilt at a more modest height.



BETHULIE: N.G. KERK: 1887

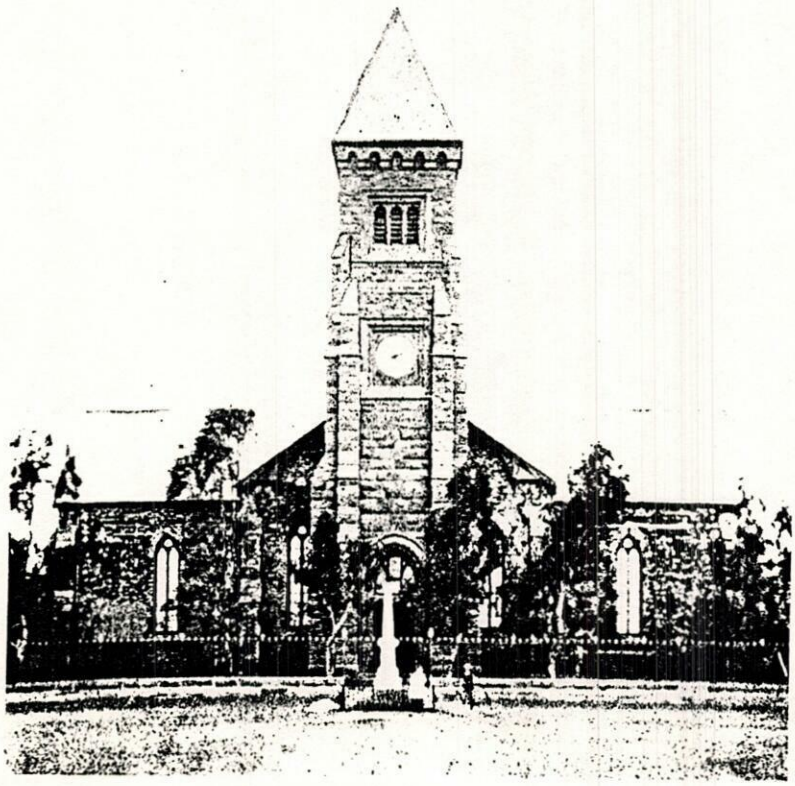
The Bethulie church is one of the more substantially built Ned. Geref. churches in the O.F.S. Its foundation stone was laid in 1886. Its tower had to be shortened to make it structurally safe .

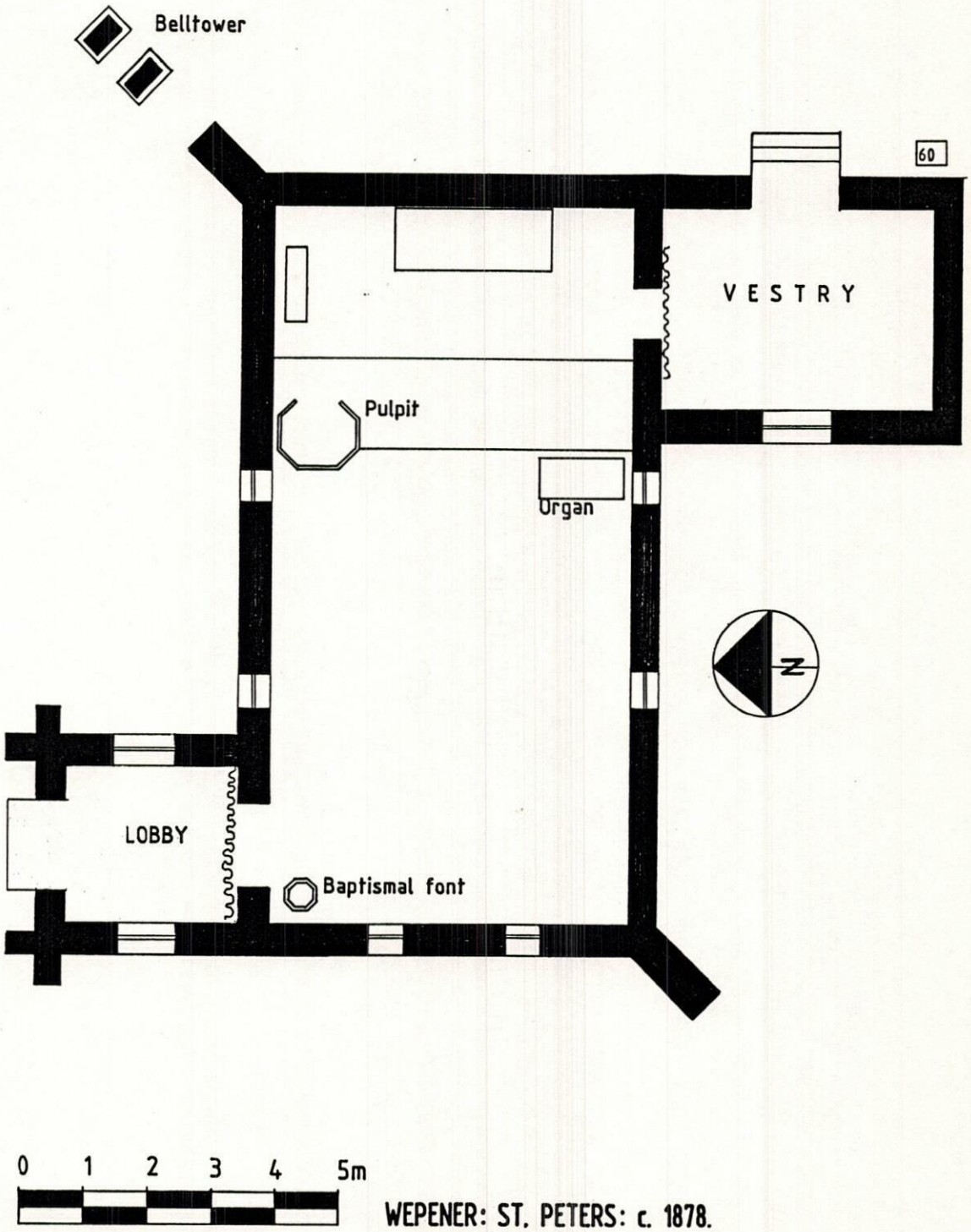
58

Photo *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* Edenburg

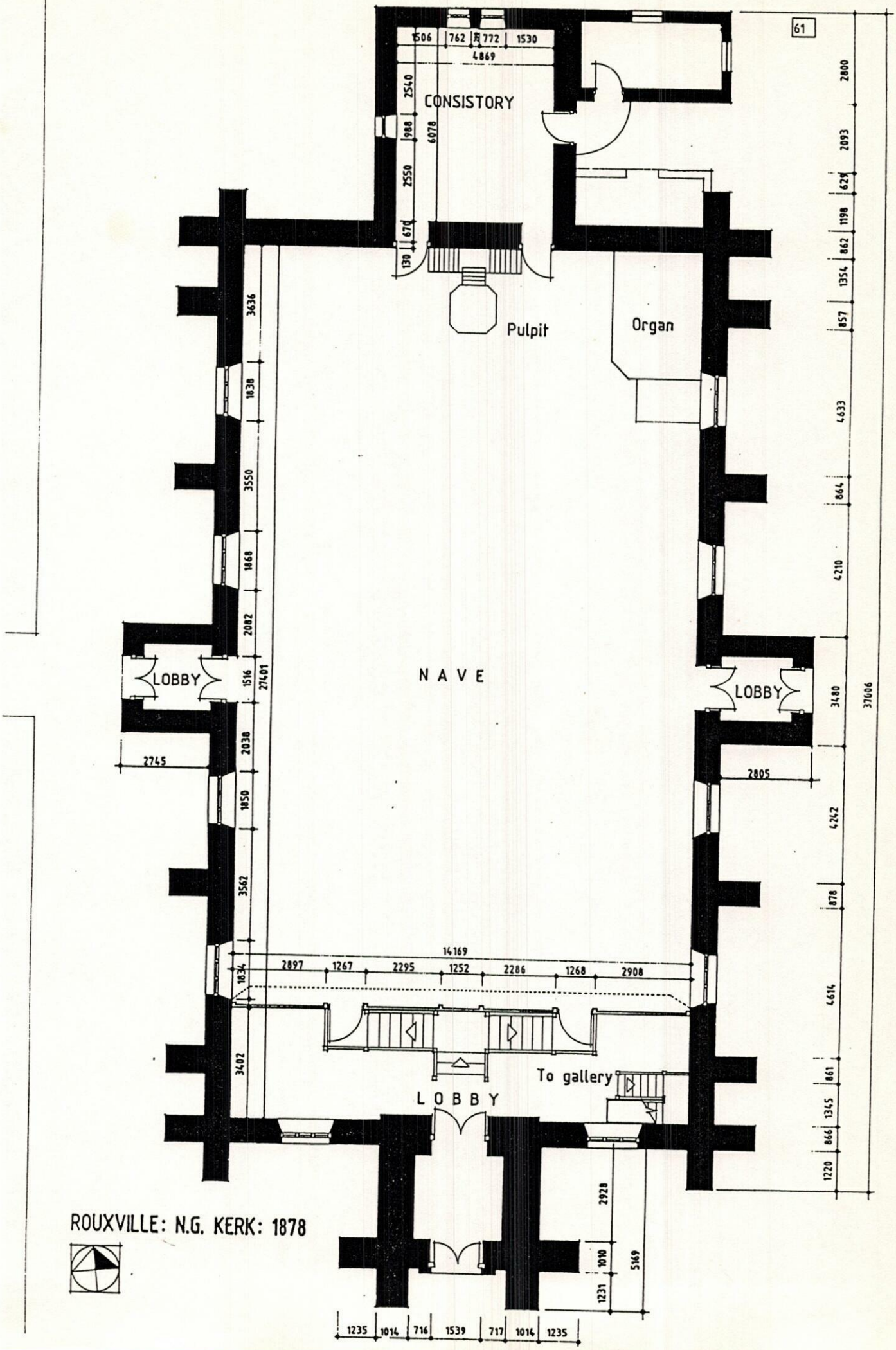
The parish dates back to 1863 and the troubled times of the Basuto wars. The verger who was appointed in 1864, a certain Mr Huijgen, lost his position due to a lack of proficiency in English! The foundation stone of the second church was laid on 18 July 1874 and the building was formally inaugurated on 10 January 1877. Wocke's tower was replaced by one designed by Cordeaux in 1889 - a rather ponderous construction of sandstone set into the simple, plastered form of the original church.

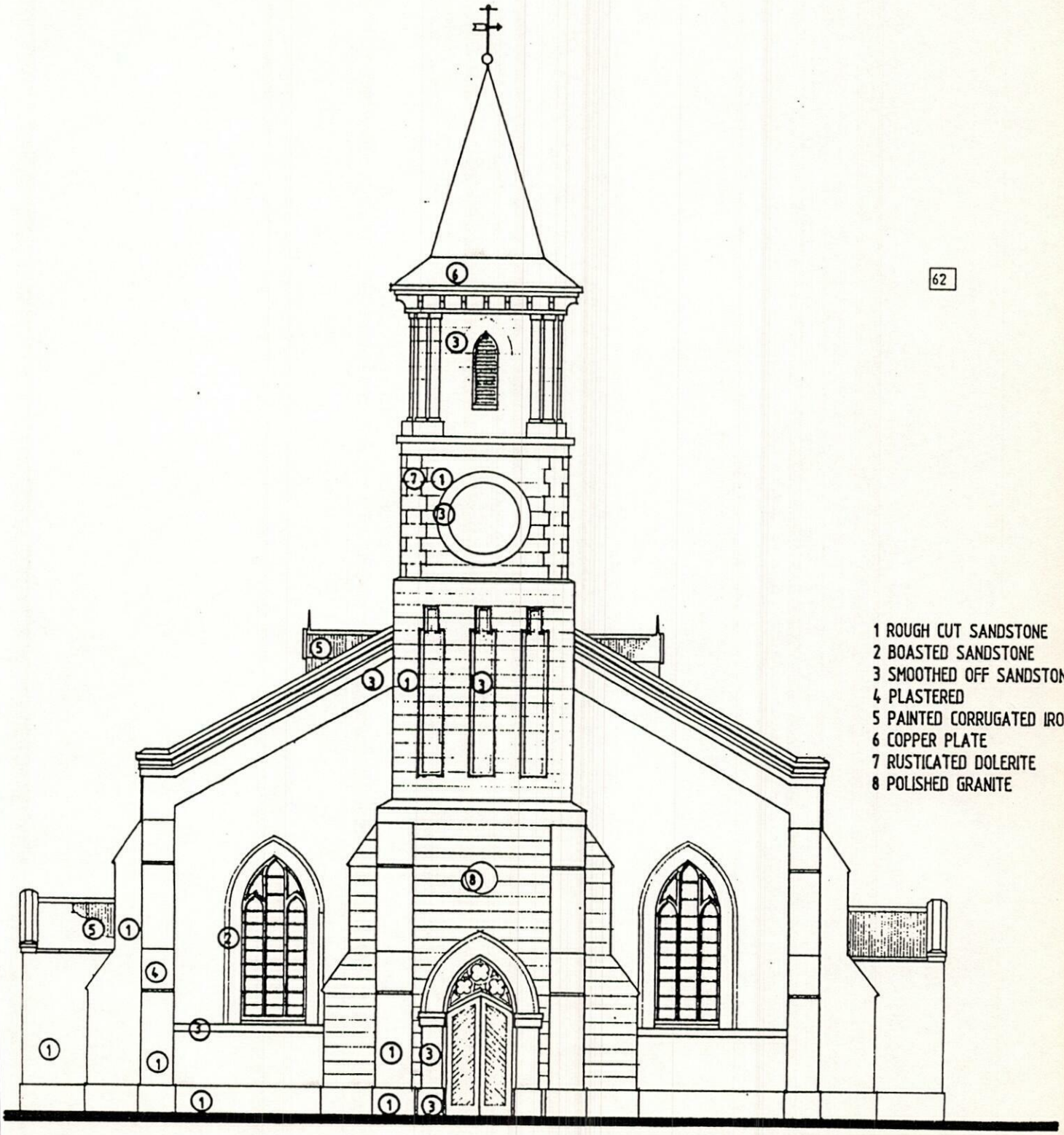
59





WEPENER: ST. PETERS: c. 1878.


61
CONSISTORY
Pulpit
Organ
NAVE
LOBBY
LOBBY
LOBBY
To gallery
ROUXVILLE: N.G. KERK: 1878

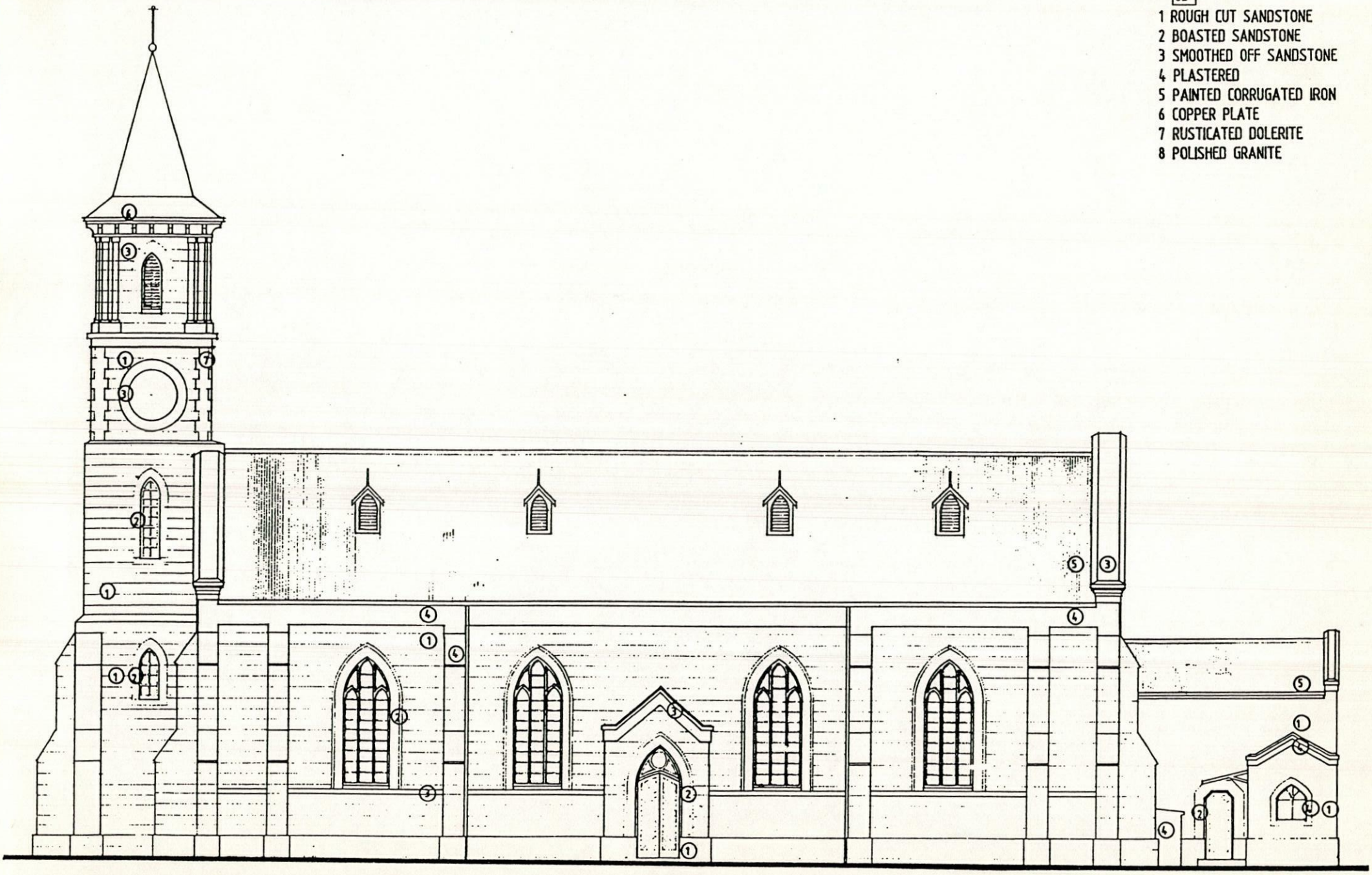


1 ROUGH CUT SANDSTONE
2 BOASTED SANDSTONE
3 SMOOTHED OFF SANDSTONE
4 PLASTERED
5 PAINTED CORRUGATED IRON
6 COPPER PLATE
7 RUSTICATED DOLERITE
8 POLISHED GRANITE

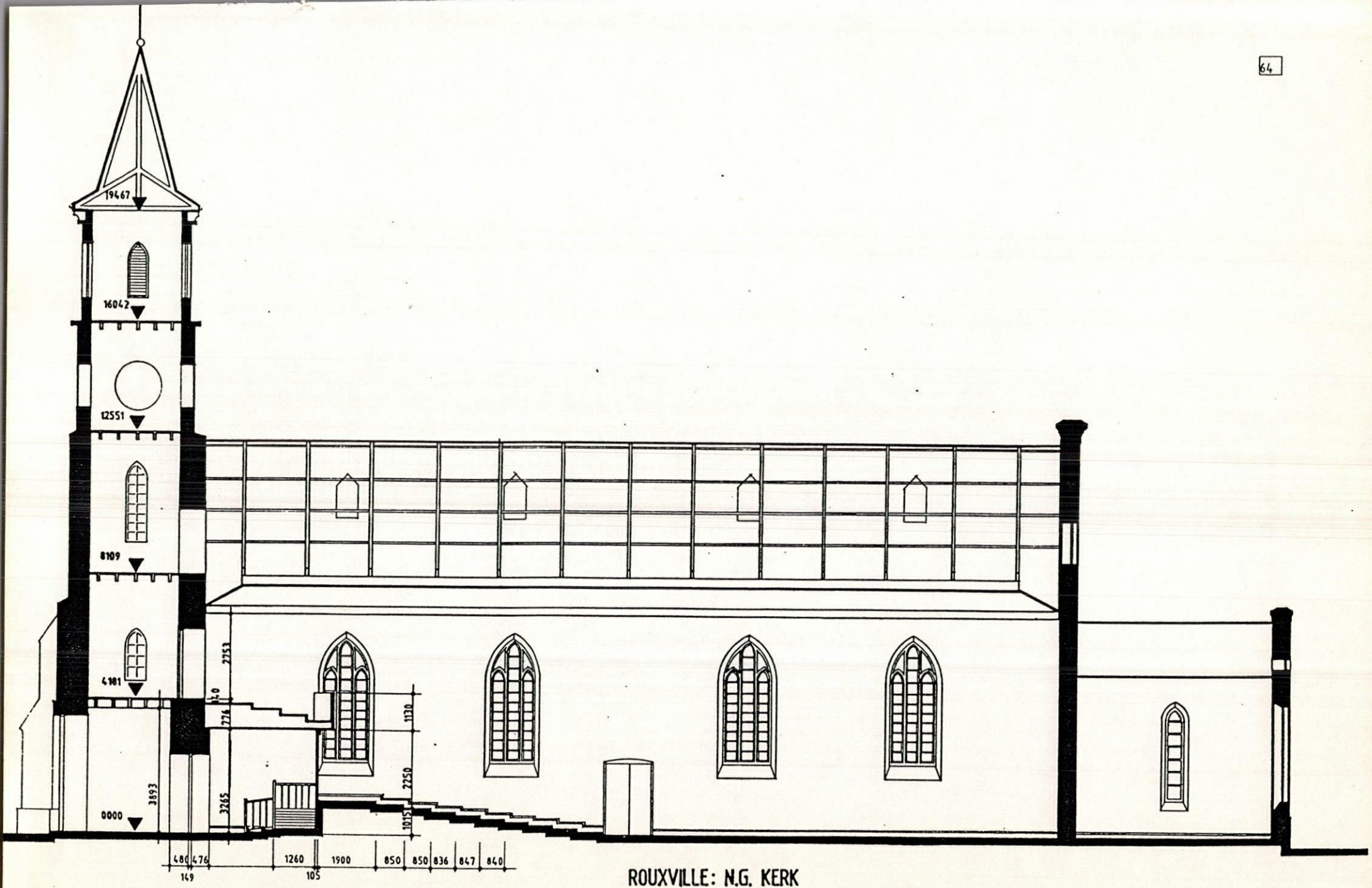
ROUXVILLE: N.G. KERK
SOUTH ELEVATION

63

1 ROUGH CUT SANDSTONE
2 BOASTED SANDSTONE
3 SMOOTHED OFF SANDSTONE
4 PLASTERED
5 PAINTED CORRUGATED IRON
6 COPPER PLATE
7 RUSTICATED DOLERITE
8 POLISHED GRANITE



ROUXVILLE: N.G. KERK
EAST ELEVATION



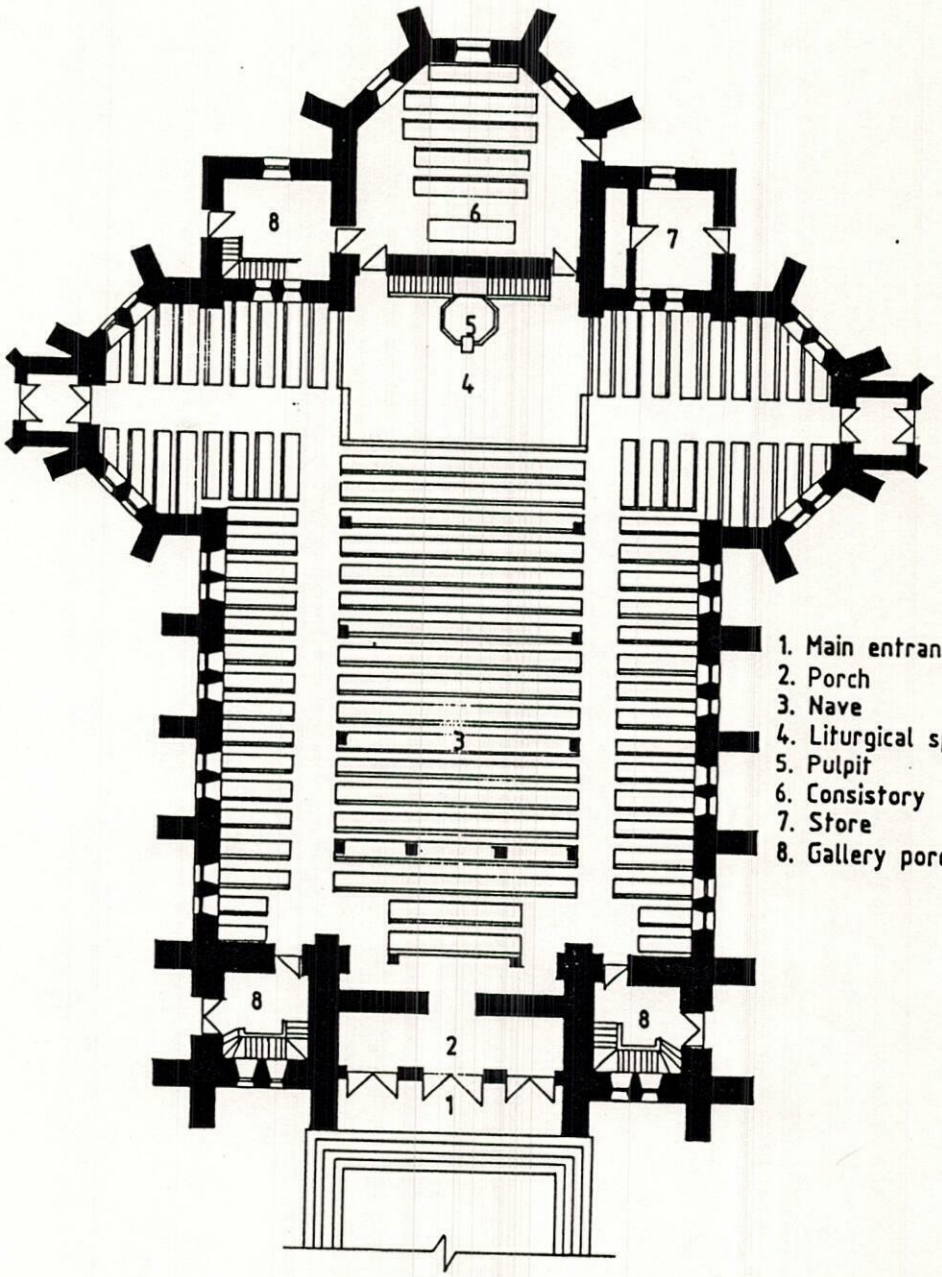
ROUXVILLE: N.G. KERK
SECTION

65

Photo *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* Rouxville
The Rouxville church is a further example of Wocke's building activities in the Orange Free State. The brick tower shown in the photograph is a variation on the Smithfield church's theme. Wocke allowed himself (and his clients) only a rearrangement of the parts of the tower. The tower shown here, was later rebuilt in stone. Although Wocke's buildings were generally of very sound construction, his steeples were rarely towers of strength.

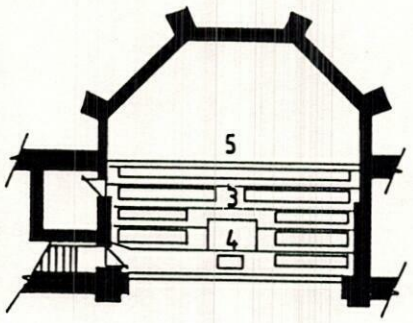
66

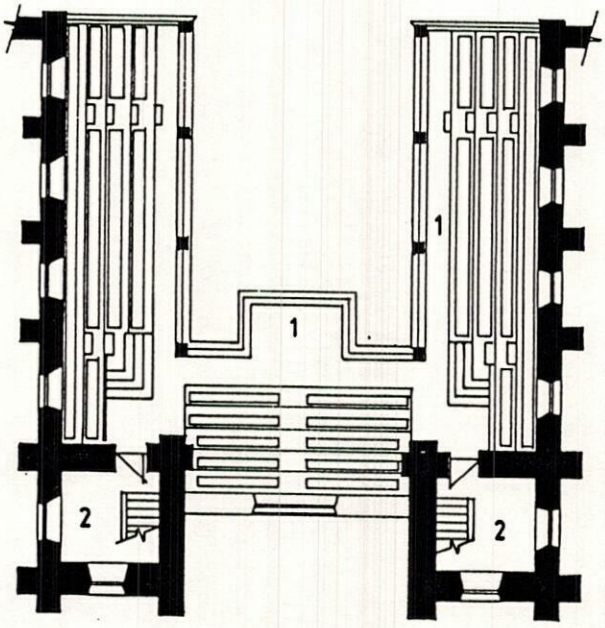
Photo *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* Fauresmith
This parish is the second oldest in the Orange Free State having been established in 1848. The first phase church was a temporary building on the Market Square. A permanent church was built in 1856 with later additions and renovations. The fairly elaborate tower is in strong contrast to the body of the church and was a later addition. The roof of this church shows a very early use of corrugated iron (1856). The use of elaborate railings around the church was also typical of the OFS where stray cattle on the way to Market Square had to be kept out of church grounds. This church was unfortunately sacrificed for a rather timid contemporary building with far less presence and character.



67

BLOEMFONTEIN: N.G. KERK: 1880
(Tweetoringkerk)
GROUND FLOOR PLAN



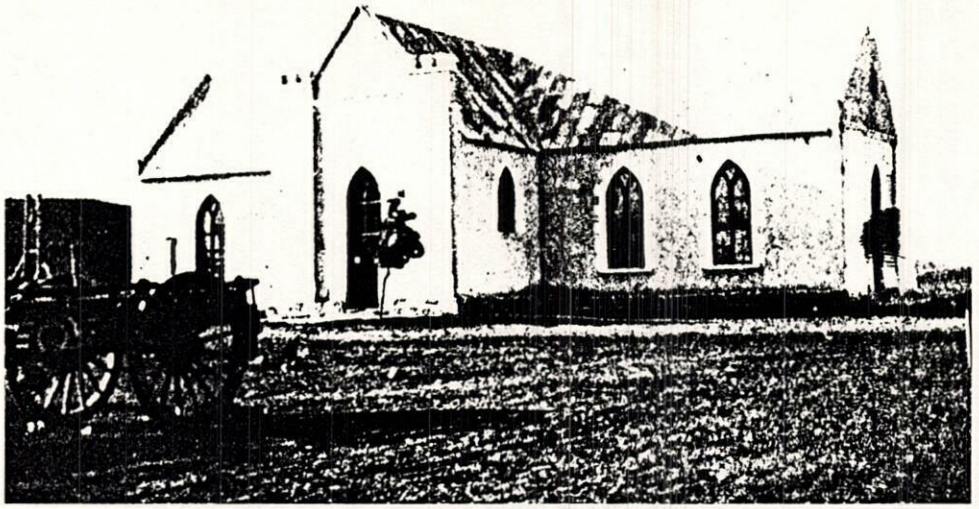


1. Gallery
2. Tower shaft
3. Choir
4. Organ
5. Organ loft

0 1 2 3 4 5m

BLOEMFONTEIN: N.G. KERK: 1880
(Tweetoringkerk)
PLAN AT GALLERY LEVEL

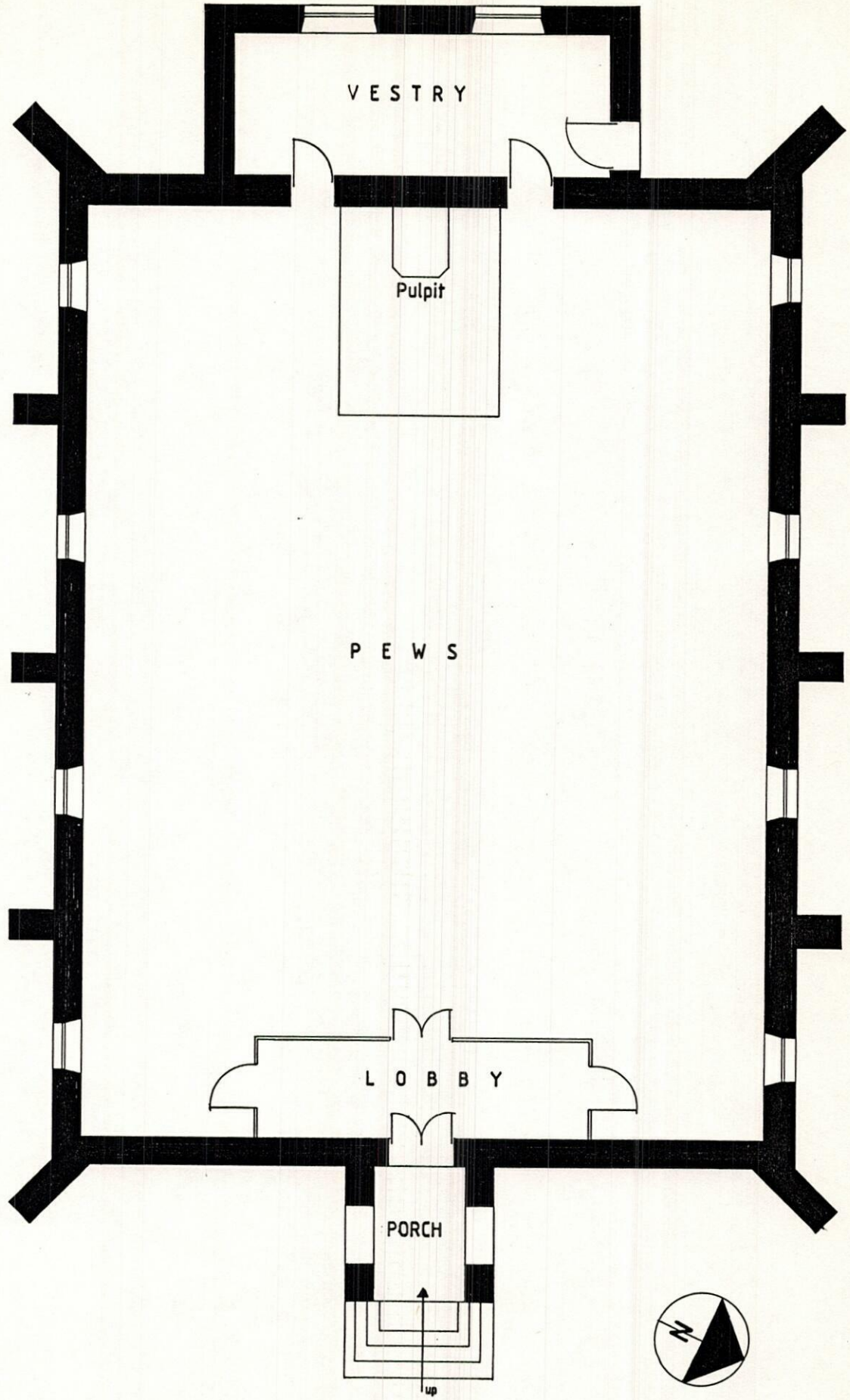
69



The first *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* Bloemfontein (erected 1849). It started off with Cape Dutch gables and a thatched roof but by 1880 both these attributes had disappeared. This photograph dates back to the early 1860's. The redoubtable Andrew Murray started his ministry here at the age of 21 years.

70

Photo: *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* Bloemfontein
This early photograph (c.1892) shows the church edifice at its best. Designed and built by R Wocke it was inaugurated in May 1880 and has survived to the present day despite numerous vicissitudes including the rebuilding of both spires. It was built at a cost in excess of £20 000 and contained a fine hand-carved ornamental pulpit, designed and made by E T Schmidt. The *gemeente* in 1896 consisted of 3275 souls. During the 1930's Moerdyk recommended its demolition but it survived this threat as well. It was completely renovated and restored in 1986 by the architect G. Fagan. The early pulpit and light fixtures are, however, irretrievably lost, the first by fire and the second by the substituion of contemporary light fittings.



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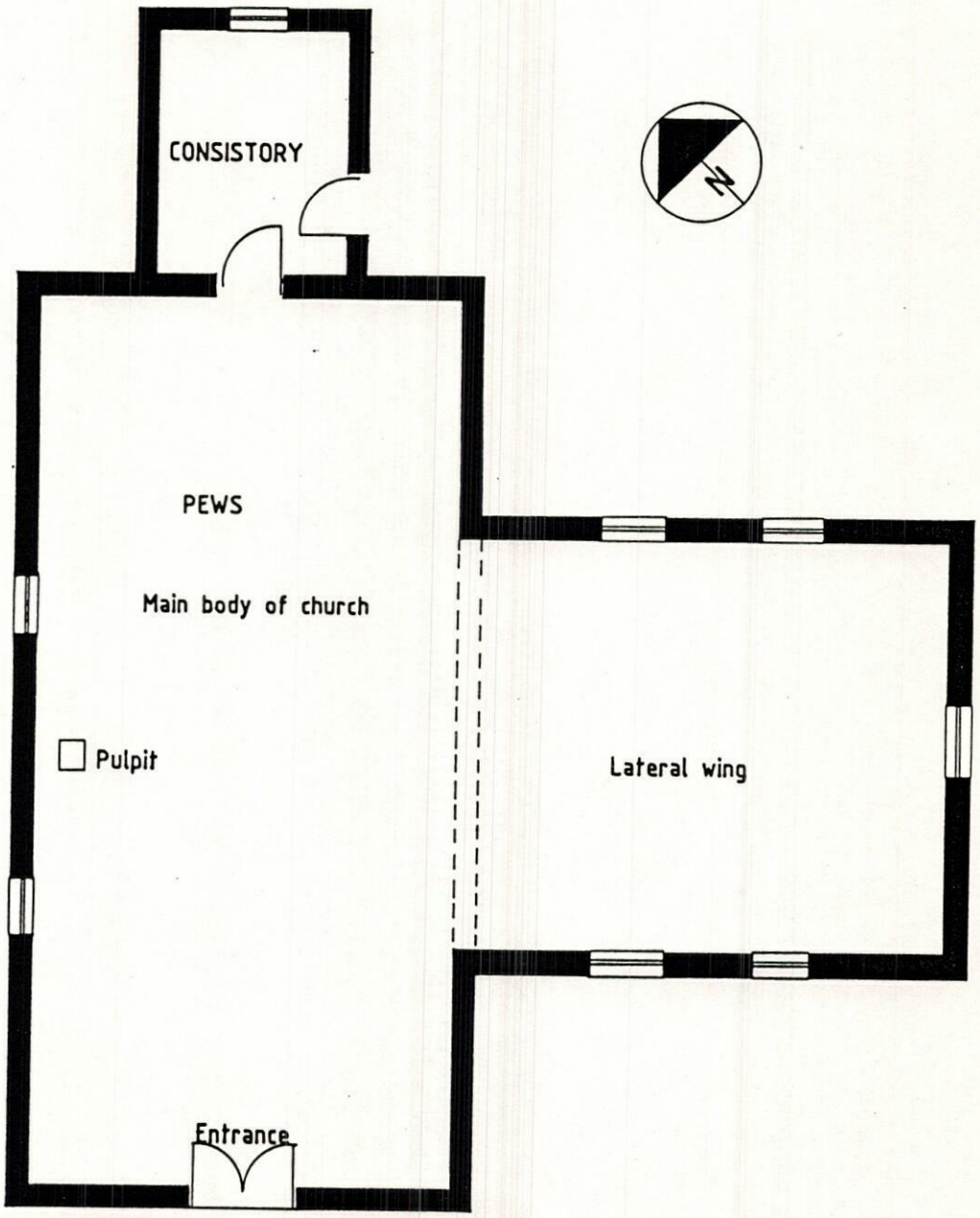
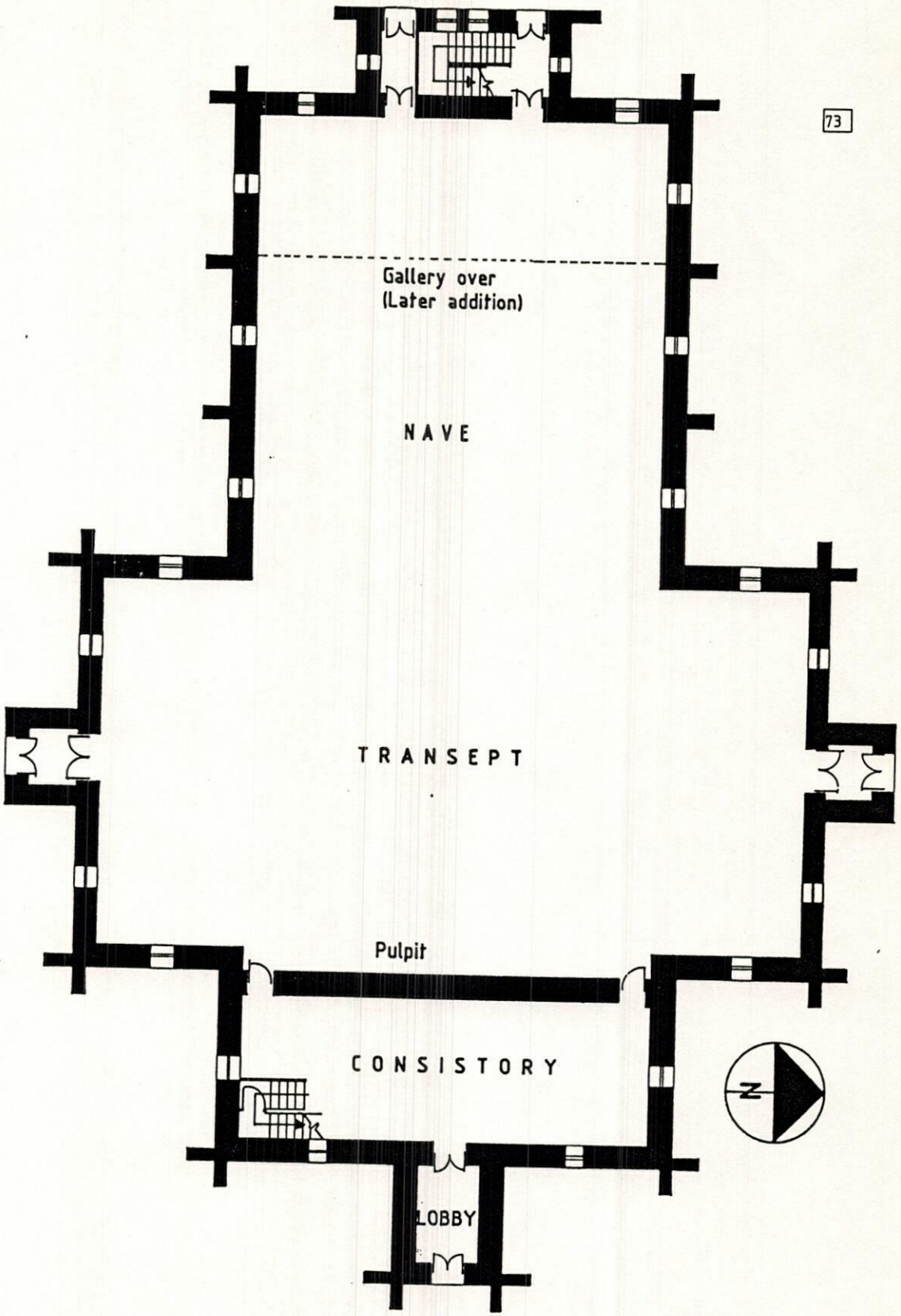
METHODIST CHURCH: HEILBRON 1882



PHILIPPOLIS: GEREFORMEERDE KERK: 1883



BRANDFORT: N.G. KERK.
1883

74

Photo *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* Brandfort
This community traces its origins back to 1875, the foundation stone of its first church being laid on 10 July 1883 by Pres Brand. It was inaugurated in December 1884. The church was enlarged to accommodate 1100 persons and re-inaugurated in April 1907. The photograph gives an impression of an all brick building with sandstone being very sparingly used. The bleakness of the landscape is again very evident. Generally the architectural featurs are hesitant, the curves of the lancet windows being of undefined curvature while the clock face seems over-large for the field in which it was placed. The tower shows traces of Wockensian influence but is probably of too late a date.

75

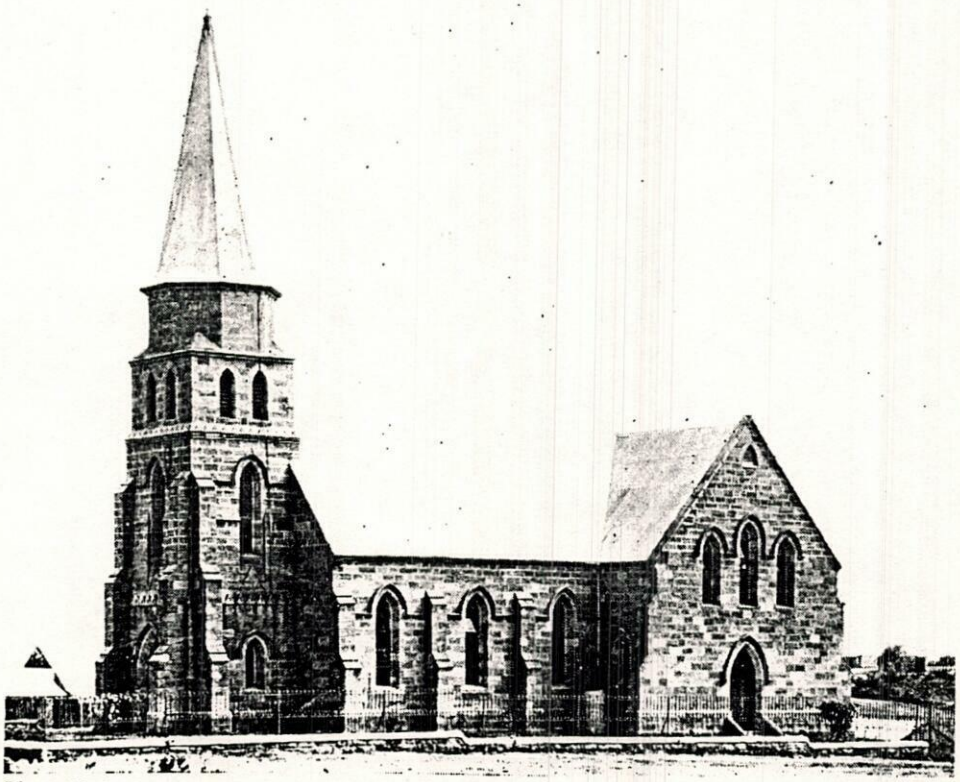
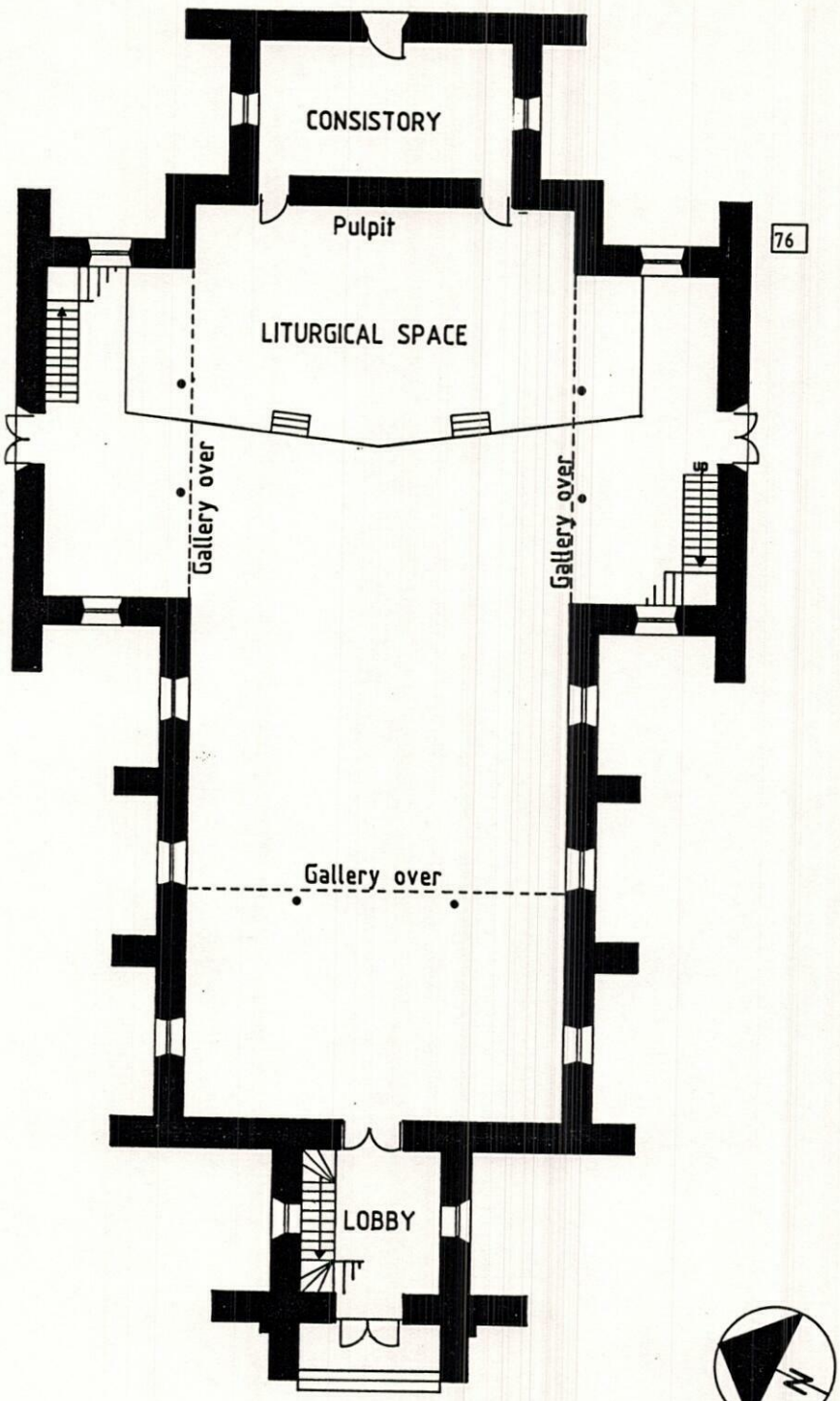
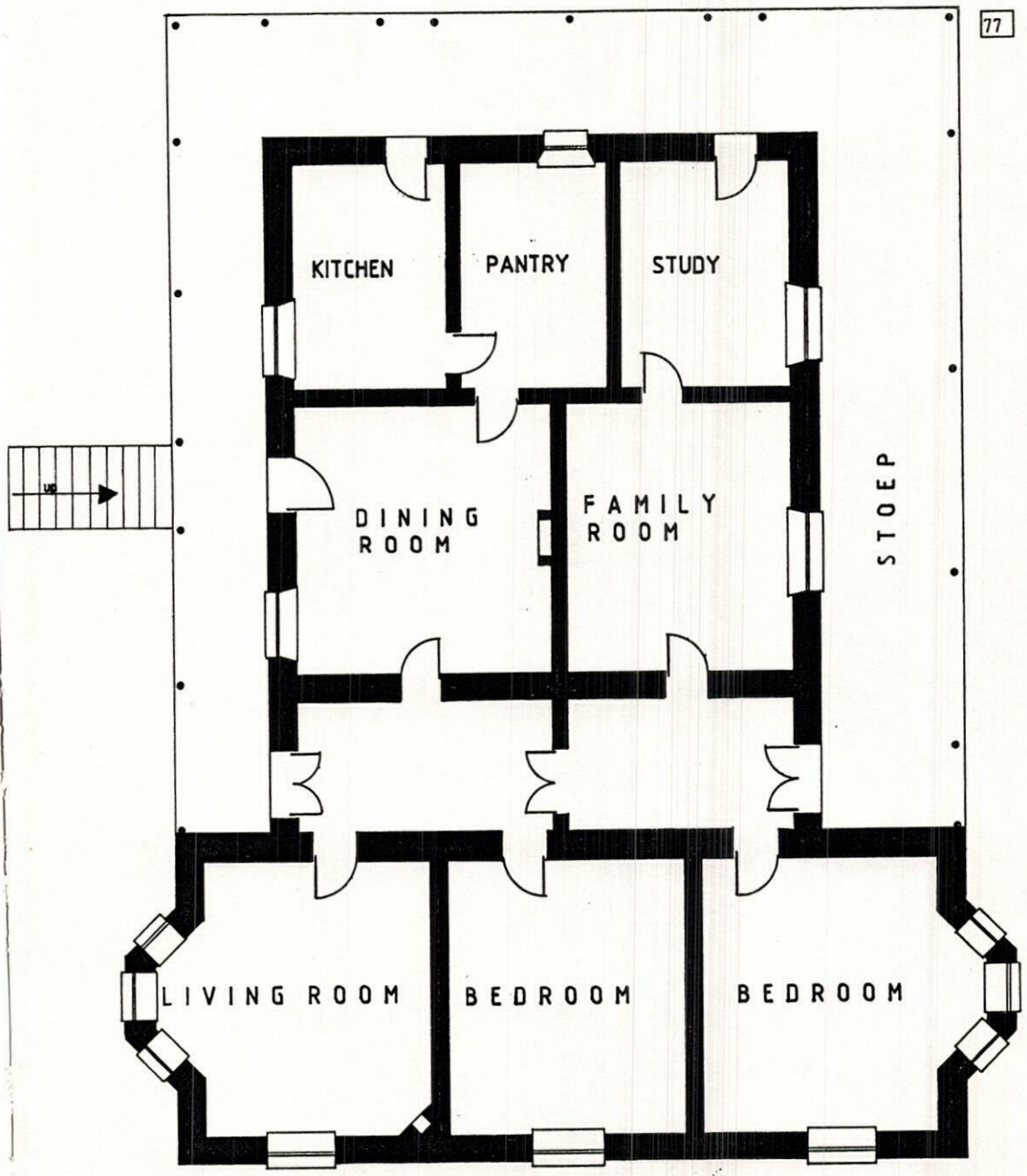


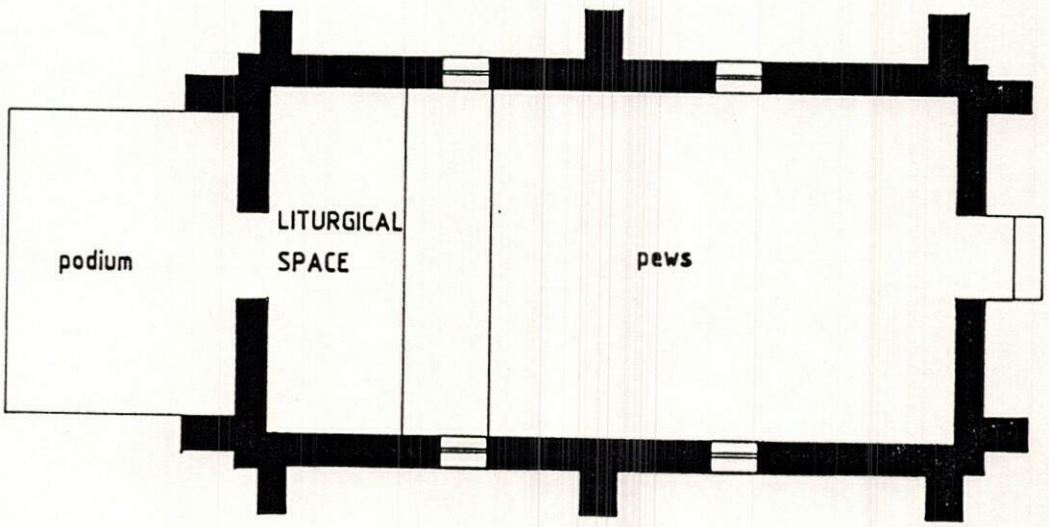
Photo *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* Heilbron
The church community dates from 1874 being previously part of Kroonstad. The foundation stone of the second phase church was laid in 1880 by Pres. Brand. It cost £12 000 at the time of building. The main structure is very substantially built in sandstone but the tower does not have the elegance of some other Free State churches. This view dates from c.1912.



HEILBRON: N.G. KERK. (Rebuilt).
1880

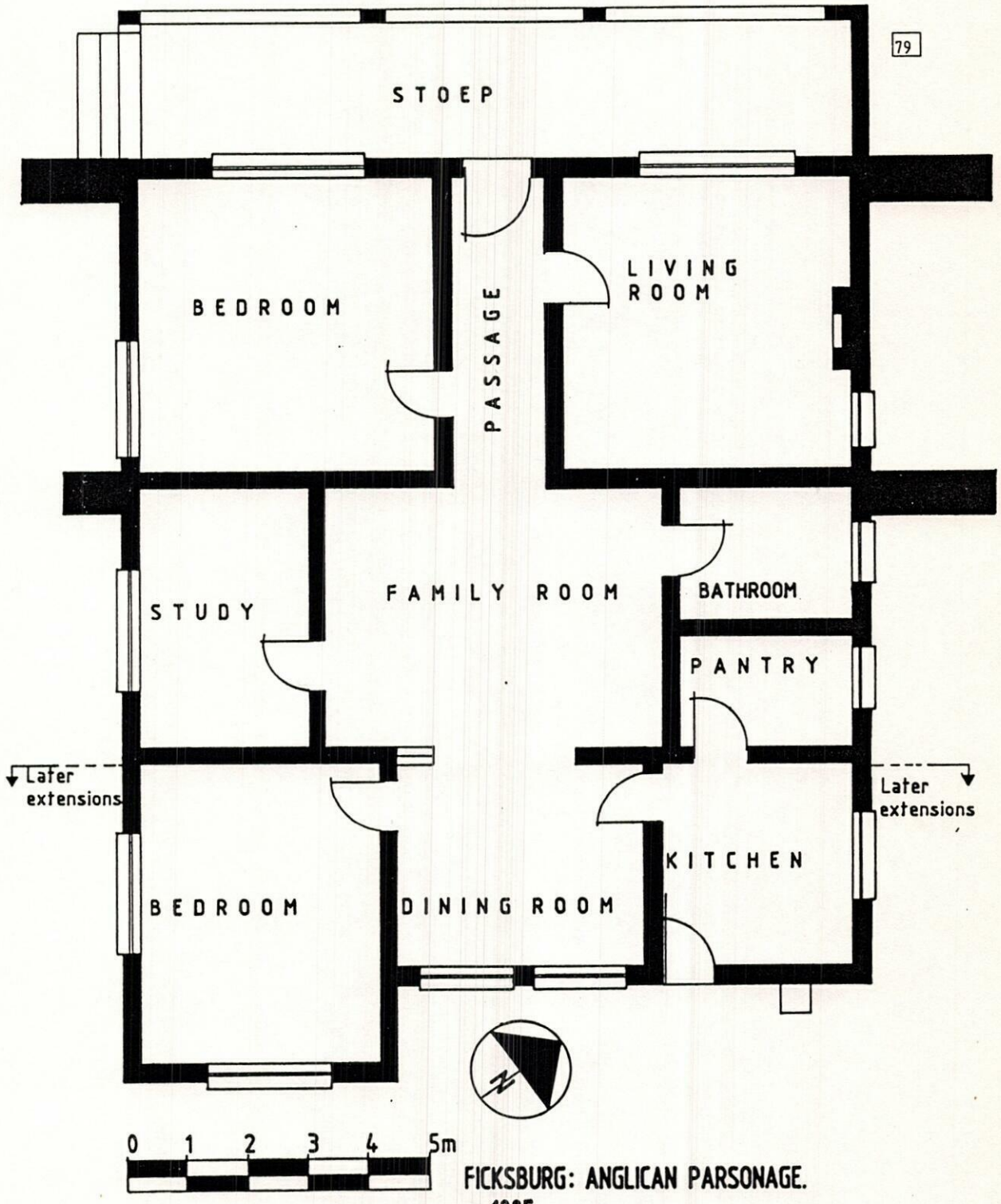


HEILBRON: FIRST N.G. PARSONAGE.



JAMMERSDRIF: CHAPEL c. 1885

Small English chapel in the Robertson family graveyard



FICKSBURG: ANGLICAN PARSONAGE.
c. 1885

80

Photo *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* Harrismith
The Harrismith *gemeente* dates from 1849. Services were first held in a school. The second building dates from 15 October 1870 and a third building (photograph) had its foundation stone laid in August 1892. Wings were added prior to the Anglo - Boer War. The building suffered damage during the war but being solidly built of sandstone up to the tip of its tower, it survived. The fact that the parish had a Scottish Minister at one stage (Rev Dougal McMillan) may account for the slighlty Scottish flavour of the tower.

81

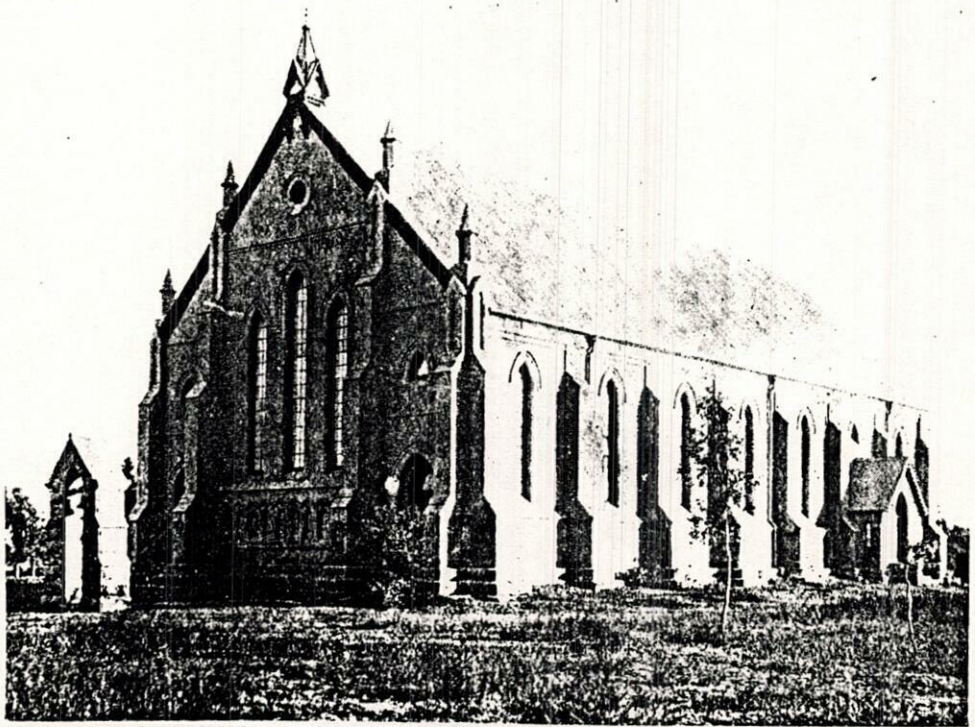
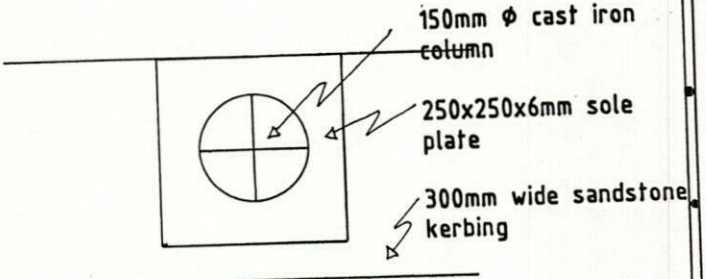
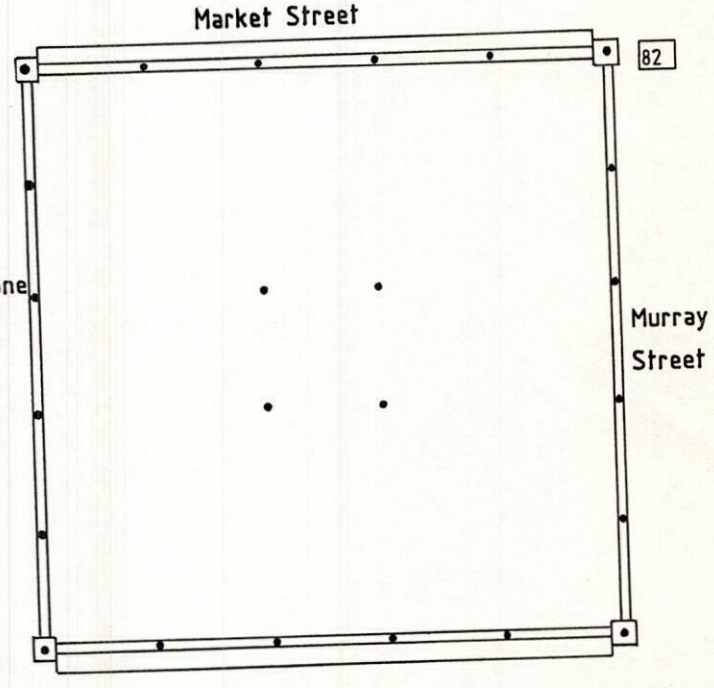
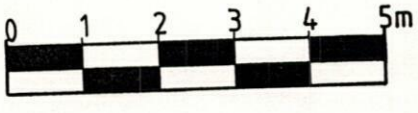


Photo *Nederduitse Gereformeerde kerk* Kroonstad
The Kroonstad *gemeente* saw its church buildings to go through all three phases. The first inaugurated in 1862 had a thatch roof and a dung floor. Evening services required that each member should bring his own candle, made from *Wildebees* tallow. The second church was completed in November of 1877 and this is the church shown on the photograph. The architect was C O Hager from Cape Town. This building lasted until 1912 when a third church was commenced. The second church shows the skills of Hager in the handling of the proportions and decorative elements. Although devoid of a tower, it has enough presence to deal with this deficiency without seeming adumbrated. Hager reputedly designed a number of other churches in the Free State and it must be assumed that he provided drawings for Wocke during the latter's most prolific period.

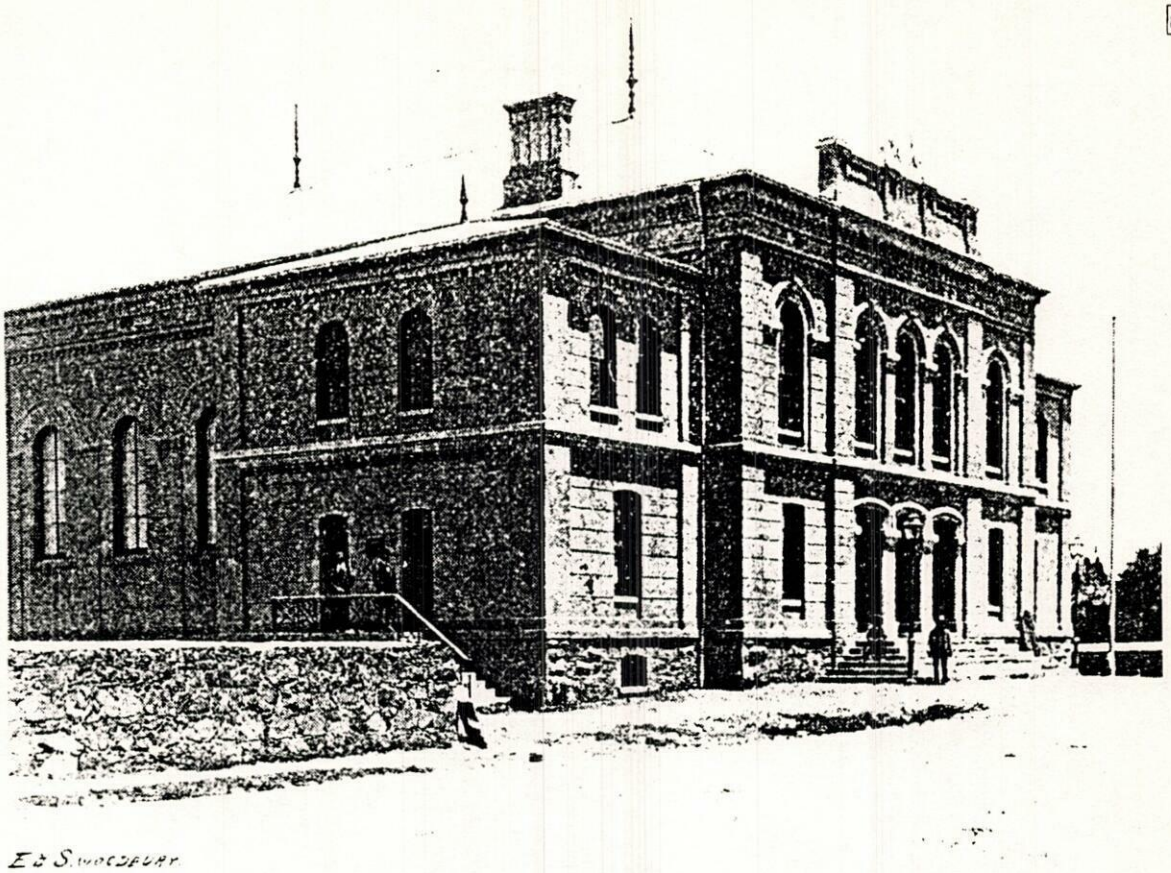


DETAIL COLUMN





KROONSTAD: MARKET HALL
1880

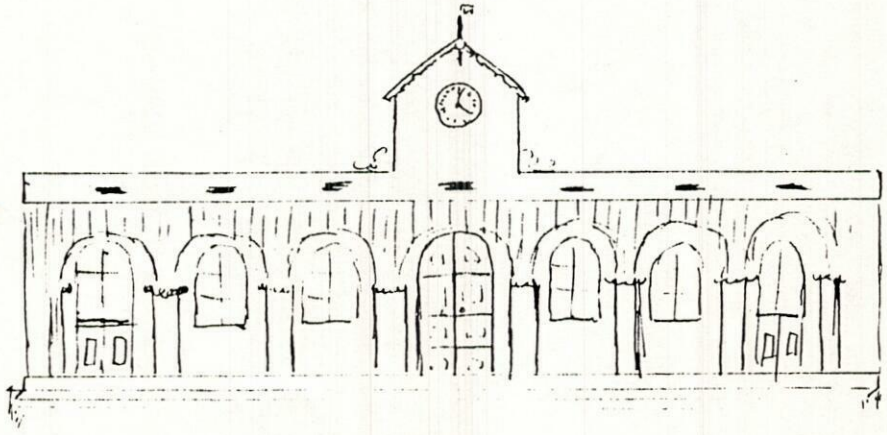


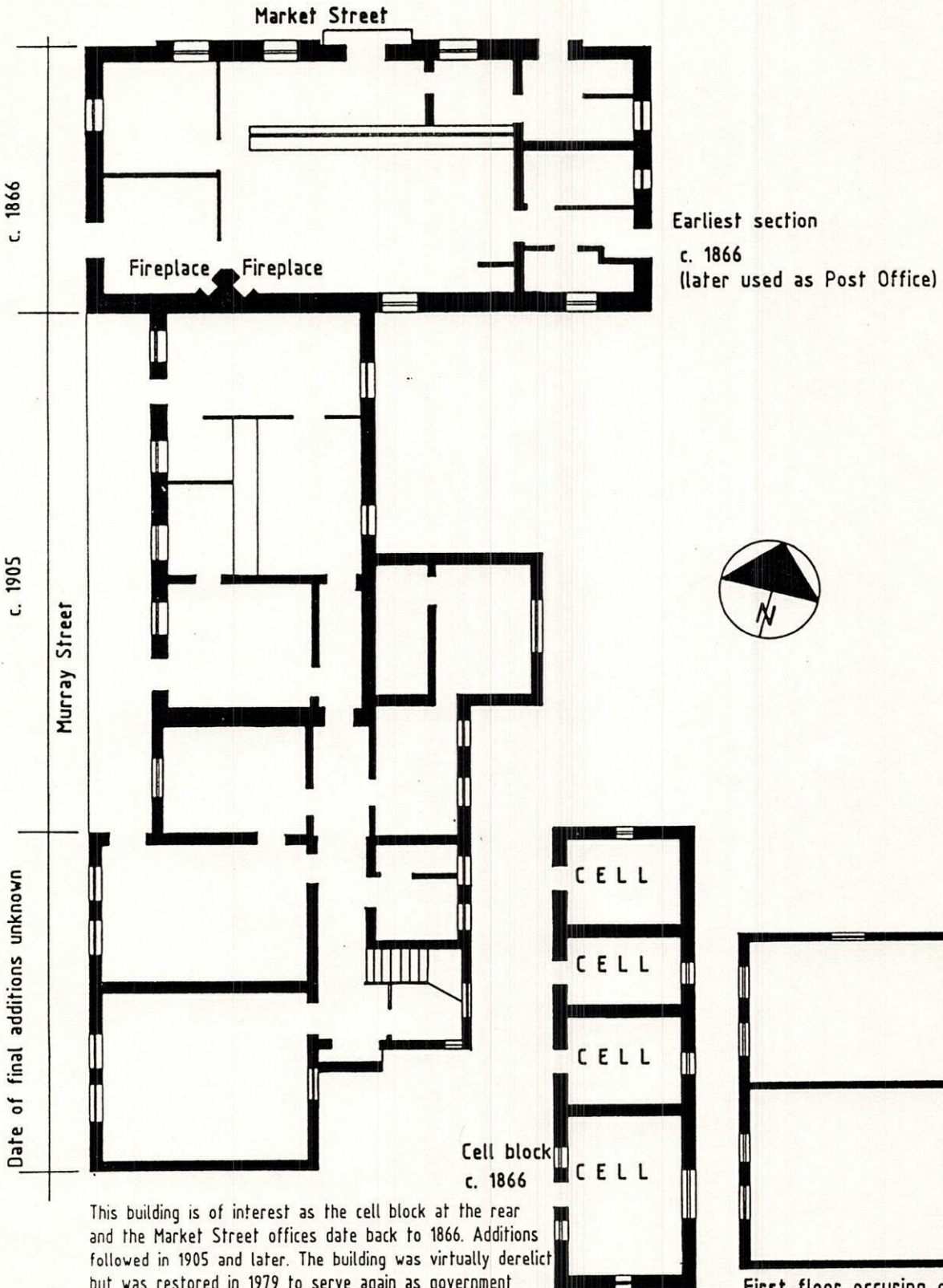
E & S. Woodbury

The 1883 Town Hall, Bloemfontein

At the time the Municipality of Bloemfontein sought a new Town Hall they could have called on the services of a number of skilled architects in the Cape Colony. They persevered with the architect/builder Wocke whose abilities in getting buildings built was considerable even if his architectural talents did not extend to attractive documentation or full specifications. If the drawings reputedly prepared for the Town Hall by Wocke are compared to the contemporaneous work of Lennox Canning for the fourth Raadzaal the disparities are obvious. Wocke's buildings were heavily dependent on site development where he could call on the skills of the stone masons in his employ. The final product was always remarkably better than his attempts at drawing or describing his proposals for a project.

The inhabitants of Bloemfontein were rather proud of this creation by Richard Wocke but at times it was facetiously located by saying it was the building opposite Wright's Cash Stationery Store. Opened in July 1883 it served for more than 50 years for all large gatherings and for dramatic, operatic and variety companies. It contained an elegant Council Chamber on the upper floor and for a time it housed the Free State Chamber of Commerce which was founded in August 1883. Bloemfontein's next Town Hall was the handsome building of Gordon Leith which commenced in 1934.

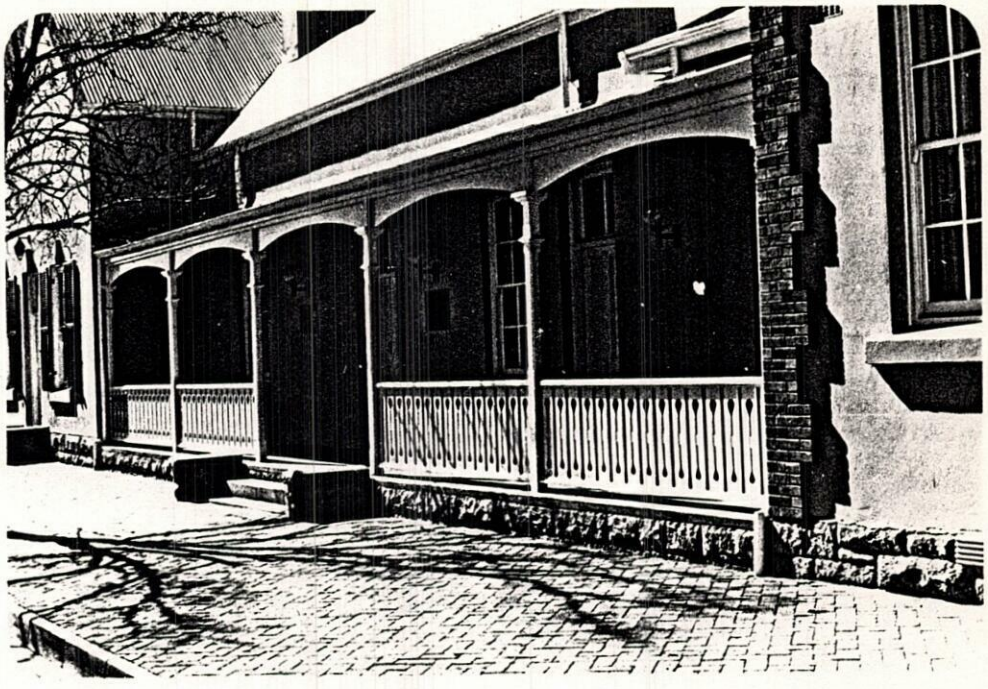




This building is of interest as the cell block at the rear and the Market Street offices date back to 1866. Additions followed in 1905 and later. The building was virtually derelict but was restored in 1979 to serve again as government offices.

0 1 2 3 4 5m

OLD GOVERNMENT OFFICES AND PRISON : KROONSTAD



86

Old Government Buildings, Kroonstad 1866 and 1905

This early example of Government Architecture dates, in part, from 1866. The building was virtually derelict and due for demolition but was restored in 1980 to serve again as Government offices.

87

Photo: Guns at Queens Fort, Bloemfontein
This panoramic view taken from Queens Fort shows Bloemfontein at about 1870. The cannon on its trundle gave a certain amount of psychological support to the concept of defence. The artillary of the O F S only became a fighting force to reckon with shortly before the Anglo-Boer War thanks to the untiring efforts of Major Albrecht.

Photo: Panoramic View of Bloemfontein 1905.
This photograph appears in Calverley's Book on Bloemfontein and reveals a town placed in a bleak landscape with evidence of coal smog allready well-established. The view is from the Fort and indicates the extensive building work toward the South of the town centre. Much of this extension work is under corrugated iron if not wholly constructed of that material.

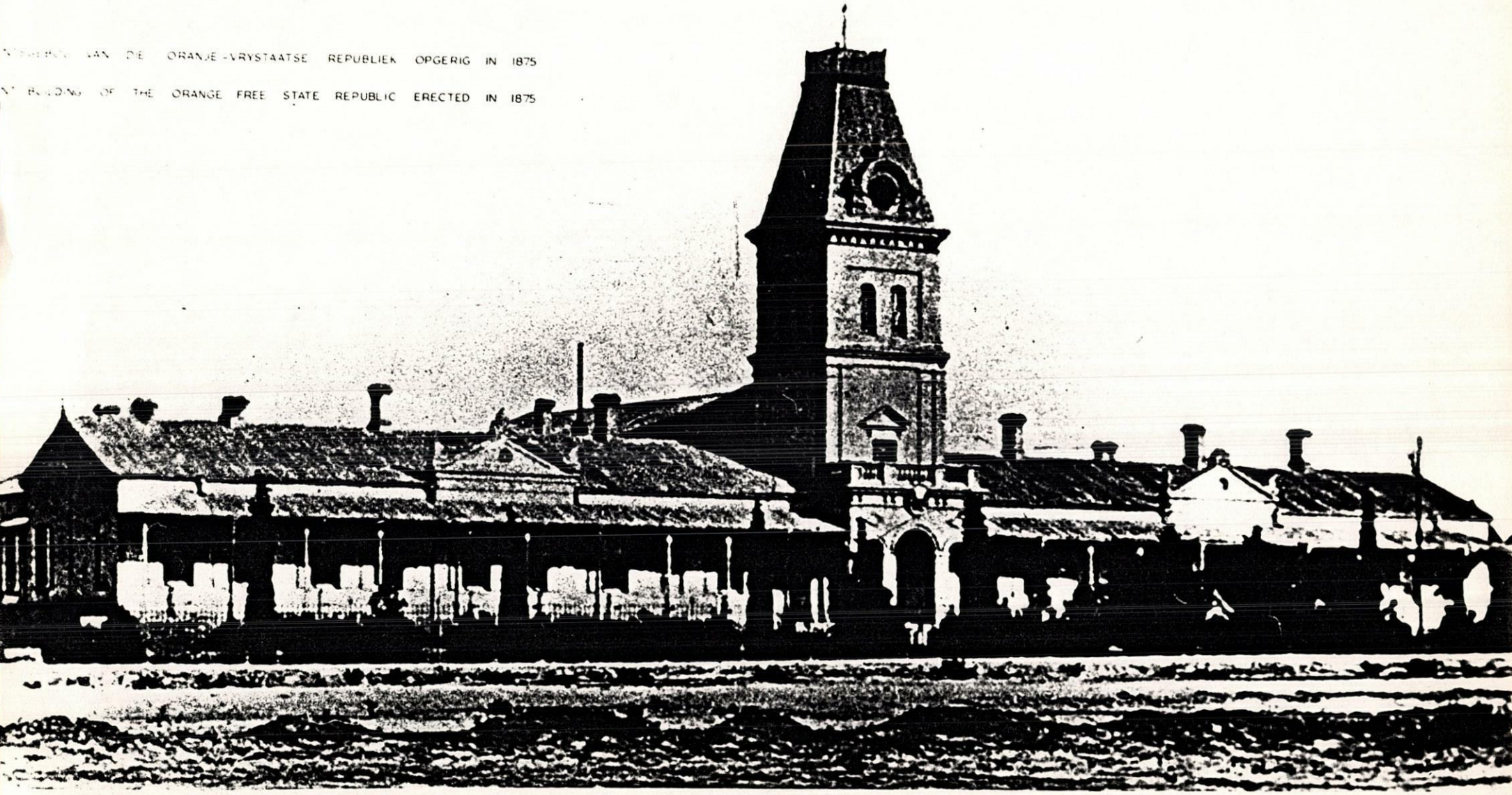


Photo: Government Offices and third Raadzaal 1875

Twenty-one years after its establishment the Free State acquired its first government building of some significence. The State Offices and third Raadzaal in Bloemfontein were designed and erected by the architect/builder Richard Wocke who suffered the importunities of a fractious Volksraad and enjoyed the protection of a sympathetic Executive Council. After a drawn-out debate the architect was awarded a design fee of £20. This important but unpretentious building was considerably enhanced by Wentink's addition of a second floor in 1896 and ultimately by Herbert Baker's masterly hand in 1908, which latter building still proudly heads Maitland

Photo: Government Offices, Bloemfontein. 1877
This building represented the Volksraad's first attempt at providing accommodation for government functions at a level other than *ad hoc* arrangements. The building was designed and built by Richard Wocke and in its newly-completed form reveals the architect's stylistic uncertainty. The stodginess of the lateral wings seem to be emphasized by the ungainly tower. This photograph appeared in a British Album of 1880 and the truncated tower-roof seemed so unfinished to the publishers that they sketched in a piramidal top. This must be the pinnacle of the retouchers art. Such cosmetic enterprise, however, did little to enhance the ungainliness of the edifice. It took the concentrated efforts of Vixseboxse, Wentink and Sir Herbert Baker to rescue the building from oblivion. The later architects added a floor and completely altered the stylistic qualities of the building. In its regenerated form it is a handsome feature at the head of Maitland Street.

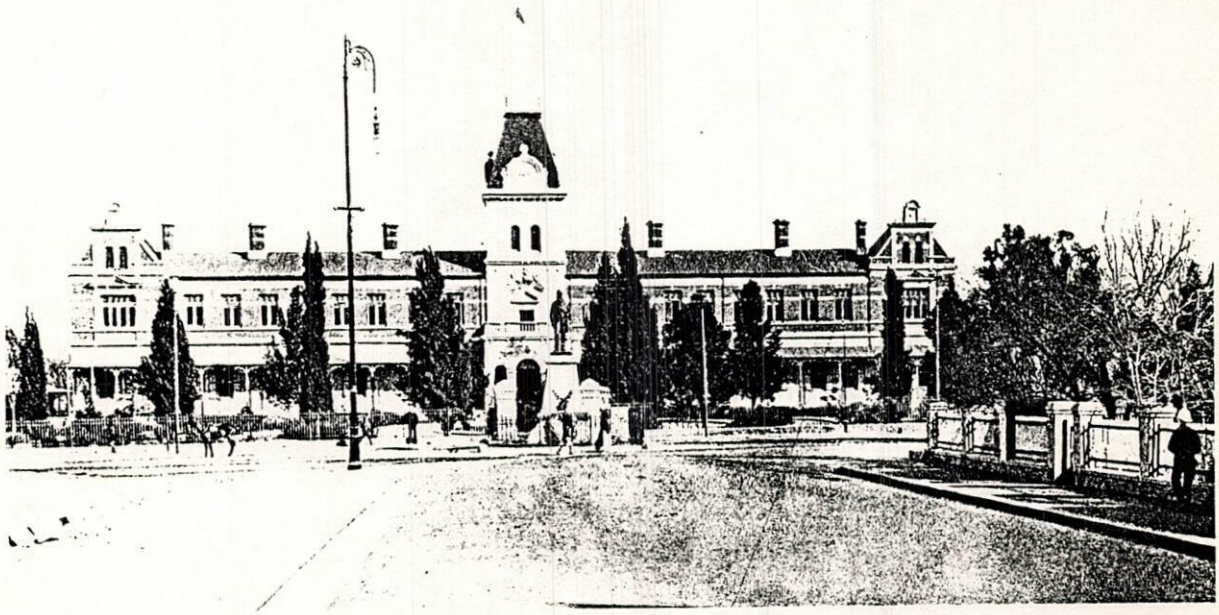
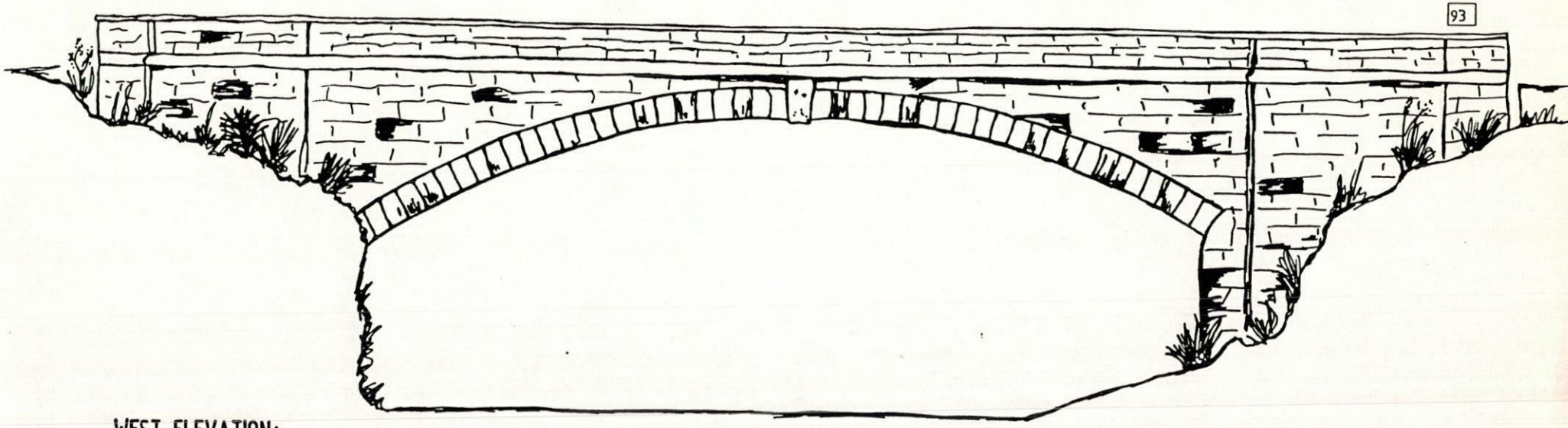
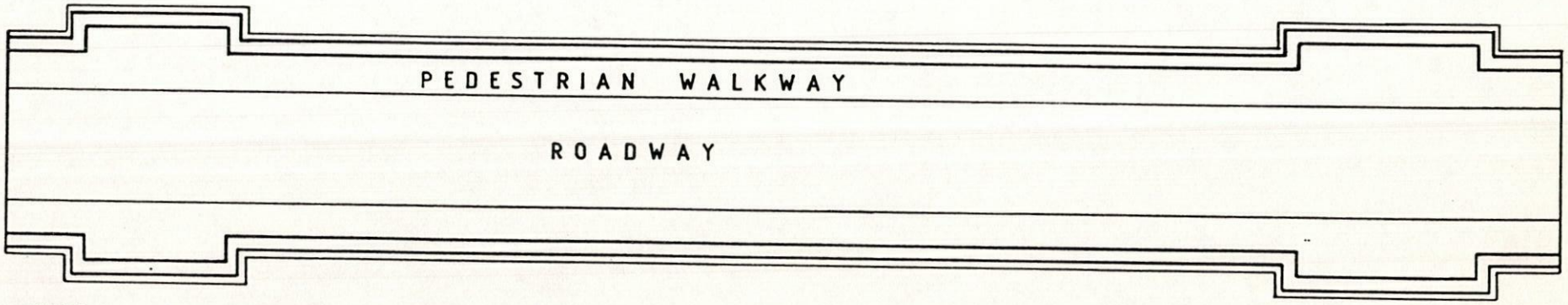


Photo Government Buildings, Bloemfontein c.1904
The second floor of this building was designed by Vixseboxse and subsequently completed by Wentink about 1895. The opportunity to upgrade Wocke's building was overdue when exercised. The appearance of the upperfloor was considerably enhanced by the addition of banded brickwork and sandstone trim. The Wocke tower immediately assumed a more restful composition with the two-storied building than it ever did with the single-storied design. The ground floor verandah however remained as a discordant note in the more elegant treatment of the new addition. A few of the Cypress trees planted in the garden at this time have survived to the present day, having grown to a height of 20 m. The whole facade was redesigned by Baker and Masey in 1905. As a record of architectural ambitions over a period of 30 years it is unique having survived three major rebuildings and a serious fire.



WEST ELEVATION:



PLAN:

Roadway 150mm lower than walkway.
Material: Sandstone generally.
Span: 24m

SWALU-BRIDGE: HARRISMITH: 1883

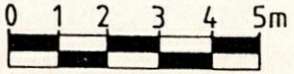
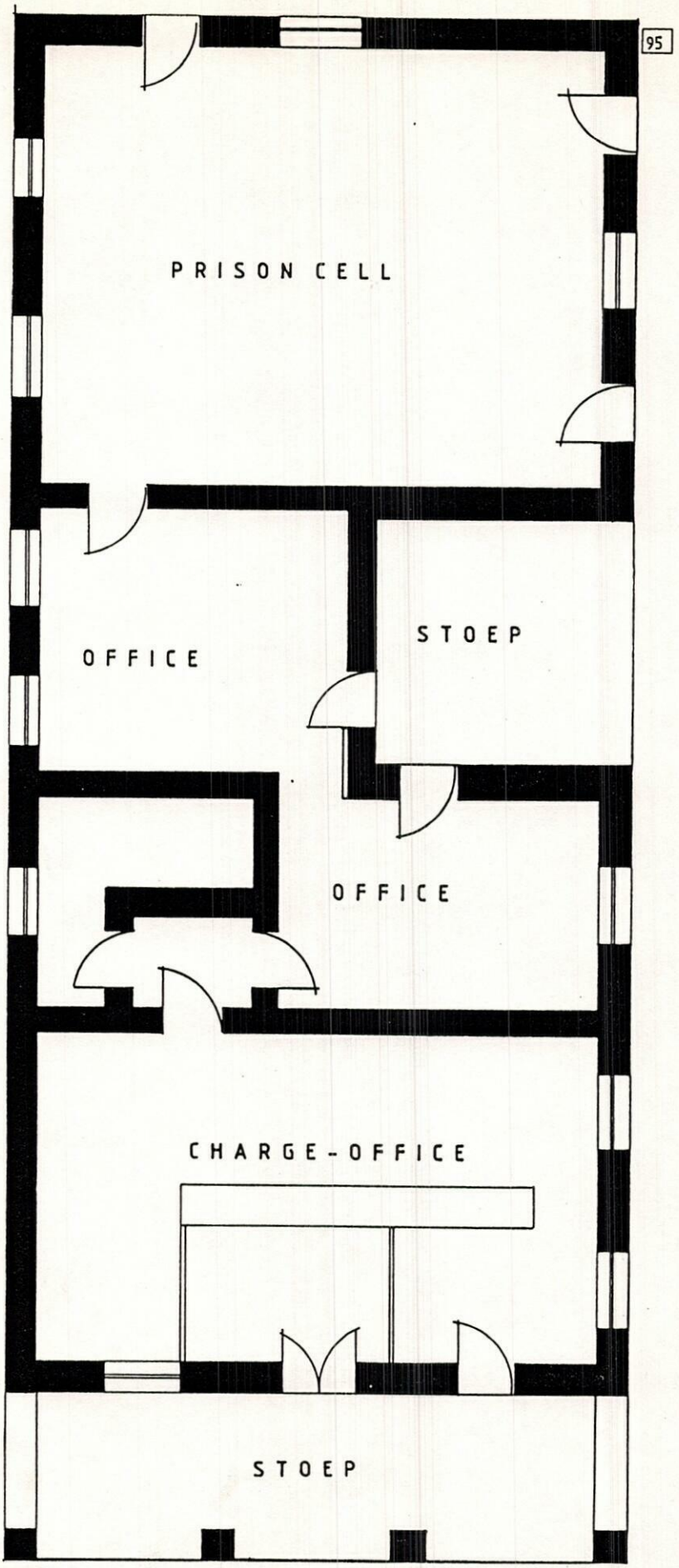
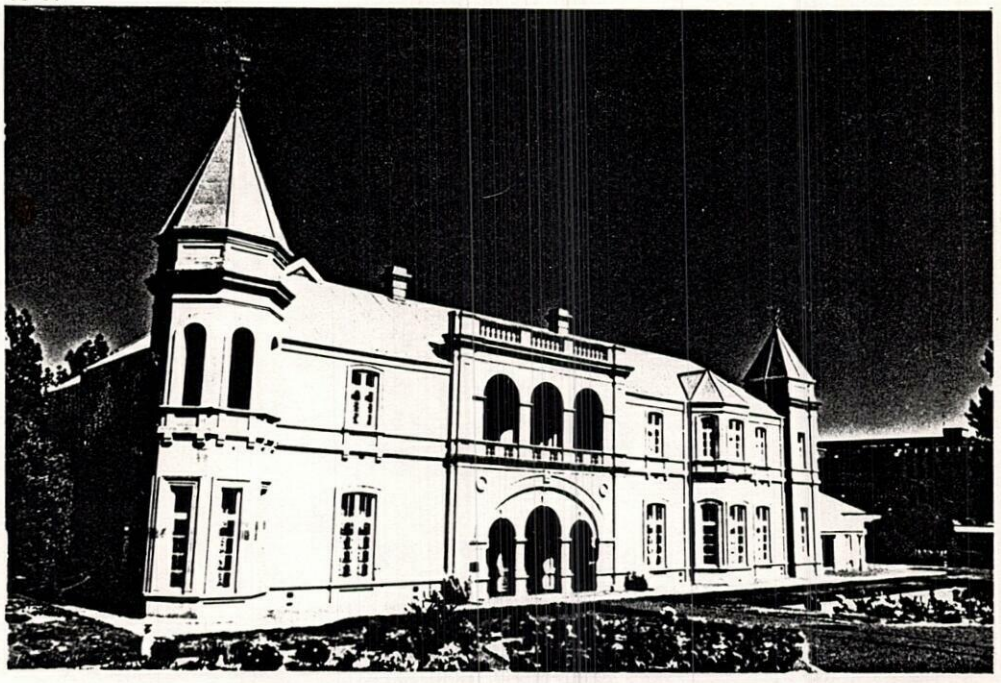


Photo: Senekal 1884
This interesting photograph of Senekal dates from 1884 and probably owes its existence to the occurrence of snow which was rare enough to warrant a photograph. It depicts clearly the manner in which rural towns developed one-building deep around the church square. The almost total preponderance of the pitched roof in corrugated iron shows the preference for this profile in the higher rainfall areas. In the right rear the road winds onwards to Bethlehem. The town suffered during the war, being occupied and re-occupied by opposing forces a number of times.



VREDEFORT: THE OLD MAGISTRATES OFFICE.
1885

19 87

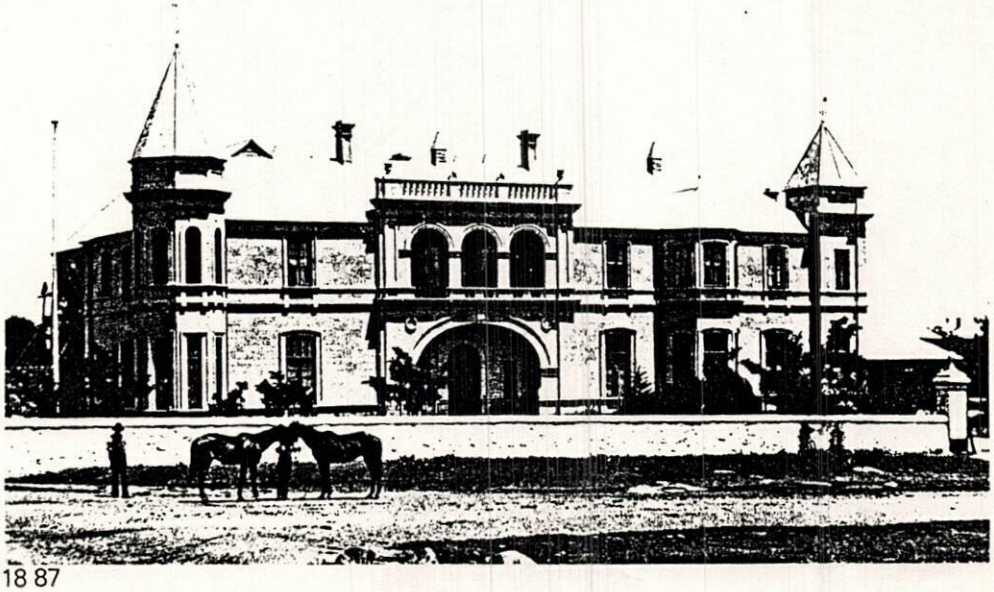


96

The Old Presidency 1885

Despite being much criticised for its ponderous external lines and overscaled, distasteful interiors the Presidency represented the Volksraad's first genuine attempt at housing its presidents in a manner befitting their high office. The winning design submited in 1884 by Lennox Canning in open competition was much altered during the post 100 years but has, just recently, been restored to its original form as completed in 1885. It housed three Presidents; Pres. Paul Kruger, Milner and Rhodes dined here and it symbolised the State's authority to the extent that when Bloemfontein was occupied by British forces in March 1900, Roberts immediately selected the Presidency as his command headquarters.

97



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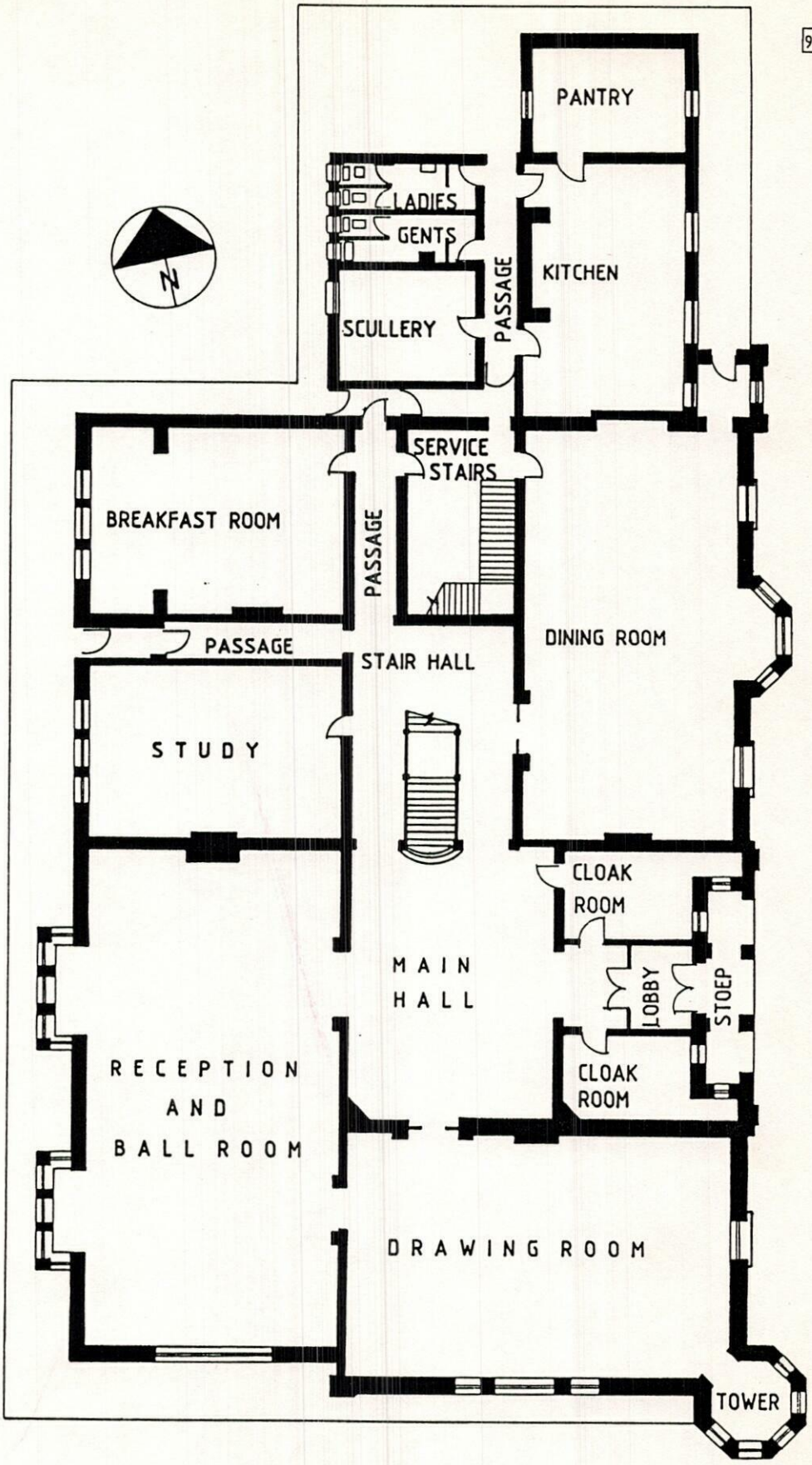
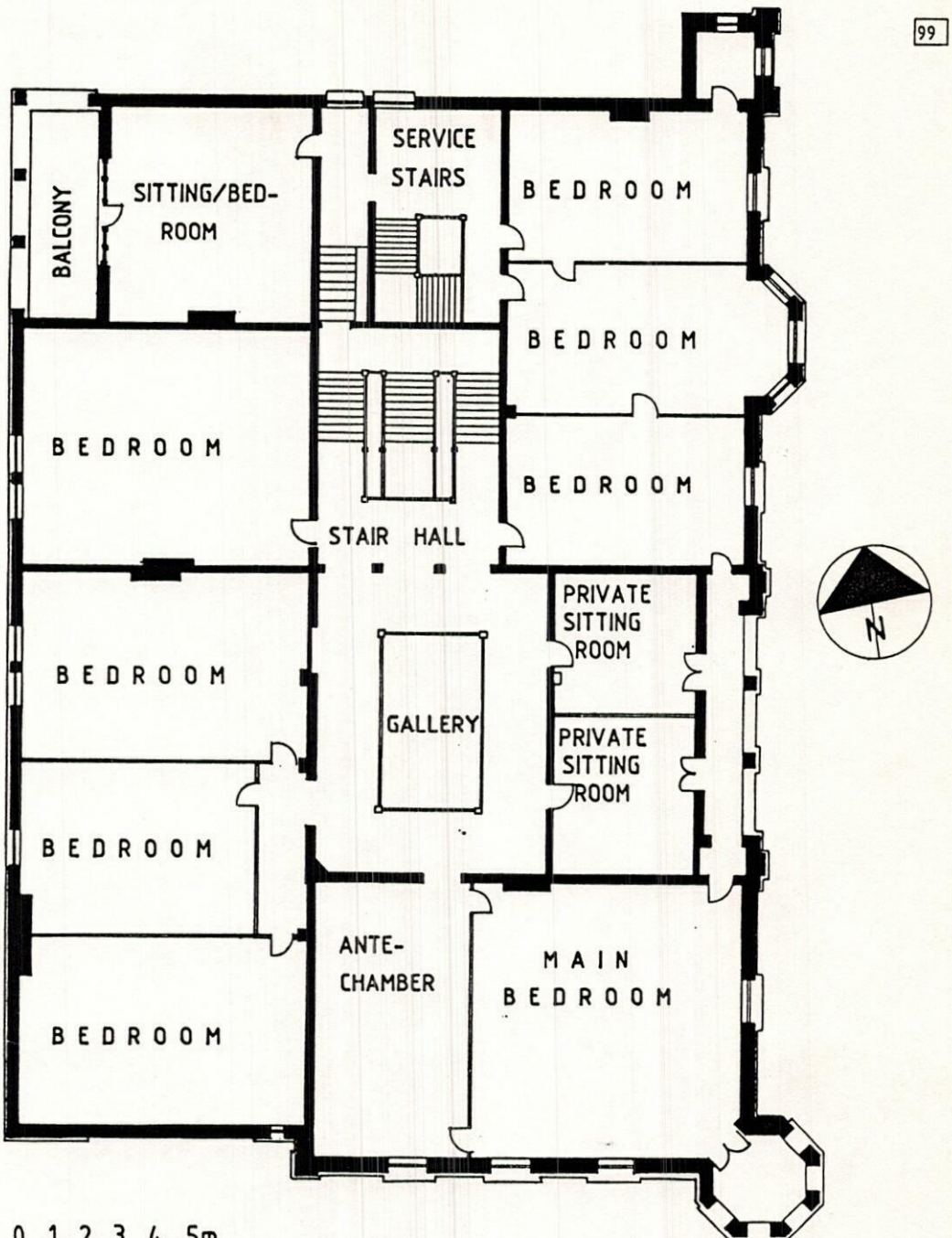


GROUND FLOOR PLAN:
BLOEMFONTEIN: OLD PRESIDENCY: 1886



FIRST FLOOR PLAN:
BLOEMFONTEIN : OLD PRESIDENCY: 1886.

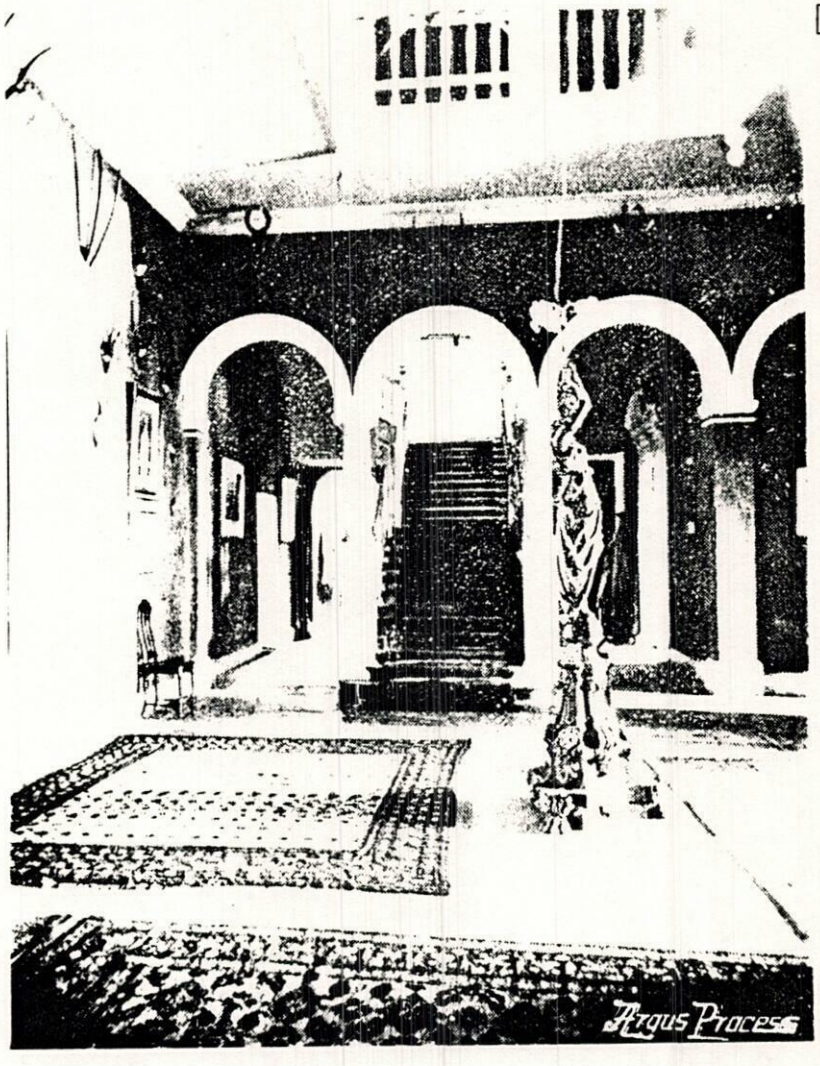


Photo The Presidency: Interior View
This interior view of the main reception hall of the Presidency shows the "lady with the lamp" and wires to the lamps indicate the availability of power and suggests a date not earlier than 1899 or 1900. The incongruity of the sensuous French Statue vying with the antelope horns is a latterday affectation. The inmates lived comfortably with such contradictions. It indicated the ambivalence of the two worlds in which they lived — urban Victorianism combined with rural roots. Ceilings and timberwork are painted white with walls contrasting in dark colours.

The statue of the female was present in the same position when Lord Robers moved into the building and converted it into his head-quarters during March 1900. As the successive Presidents had to furnish the over-large house themselves its overriding characteristic was one of Spartan frugality even when tempered by a touch of French Rococo.

CHAPTER 4
THE PERIOD OF LATE FLOWERING 1888 - 1900

INTRODUCTION

At the beginning of the last decade of the Republic's independence the cultural influences of Great Britain and in particular Victorian ideas had so permeated the fabric of events that the life-style of its inhabitants was only marginally influenced by persons of Dutch extraction. *The Friend* newspaper kept the local readers informed of events in Great Britain and the important personages there were household words in the Republic. There was a considerable intercourse of peoples. Bloemfontein had a surfeit of vaudeville, opera, drama and touring lecturers, not to mention charlatans, quacks, and crackpots. The majority hailed from England and the residues of their inputs was fortified by the reading of English journals like the *Illustrated London News* and other journals which purveyed the concepts of dress, manners, etiquette and culinary expertise to a heterogeneous group of people who were in the towns strongly pro-British and in rural areas strangely neutral to the cornucopia of events and goods hailing from a far-off country but brought to their doorsteps by extended but well-organised lines of communication and credit. The symptoms of cultural transference were also strongly evident in the building industry. The skilled craftsmen were as often as not of British descent and whenever a detail was left to their discretion they re-used what their trades had taught them in Britain. English terms for items of building material were well-established in the Republic by 1890 but shopkeepers had a system of dual language control over items. If the Afrikaans-speaking buyer stated his requirements in that language the book entry would be made in English. Banking and bookkeeping was essentially an English preserve and being fully bilingual was regarded as a necessary prerequisite for success in the commercial world..

It was precisely to stay this burgeoning wave of Victorianism that Paul Kruger brought to the Transvaal a whole coterie of skills from Holland. His choice was very deliberate in its selection of administrative abilities and included a group of architects. Just as the Free State was in need of special skills at the end of the eighties so was the Transvaal and it is inevitable that in the period of closer liaison between the two Republics that these skills could be exchanged or loaned in areas where they were most needed. The impact of the Hollanders was thought to be more benign and more assimilable than that from Britain but in the end it was only the language overburden that was removed and the Hollanders remained culturally aloof. In their dealings with citizens they often displayed airs of superiority and condescension that rankled with the broader public. If the Hollanders showed reserve towards the English they did not do this from a sense of solidarity with the Afrikaner. This reticence came with them from Europe but in the end they found their cultural affinities more strongly with Europe than they did with South Africa. Although there was an upwelling of support for the later struggle of the Afrikaner with Britain many of the Dutch professionals returned to Europe during the War and a few returned subsequently.

In one respect the Republics made an excellent bargain. The Architects like Wierda, Vixseboxse and Wentink were very capable men and they briefly infused Pretoria and Bloemfontein with an architectural influence that was patently not Victorian but rather owed much to the end-of-the-century eclecticism of France, Germany, Holland and Belgium with the latter being particularly favoured.

The Orange Free State was fortunate in having as President, after the death of Pres Brand in 1888, a man of considerable natural ability, Pres Reitz, who like many of the other presidents came from a legal background and brought a logical and enlightened attitude to the affairs of the State. Reitz was preoccupied with the possibility of the Afrikaner forming a united front in politics and in culture in South Africa which to a certain extent caused estrangement between him and the English-speaking section of the community. It was he, however, who presided over a very important development phase of the Republic during the coming of rail transportation to the country. He was able to reassure the rural communities of the lasting benefits of such a development and he played a considerable role in generally promoting in-

frastructural work during his term of office. During his presidency he witnessed a crossing of a cultural rubicon from which there could be no turning and to set the seal on this stage of development he saw the fruition of the fourth Raadzaal and he could bequeath to his successor, Pres M T Steyn in 1896 a fully fledged model republic even if it was unbeknown then that it could only last a further four years.

The last years of the Republic were dominated by events such as the Jameson Raid which although abortive, was an early warning to the Republic of events to come. In this Chapter, the period of full maturity of the Orange Free State as a fully fledged Western Republic will be examined in some detail and an attempt will be made to show how diverse the influences were that operated in the shaping of events towards the end of the century.

4.1. THE DOMESTIC SCENE IN THE PERIOD 1888 - 1900

The economic recovery after 1885 was extensive and dramatic. The agricultural products of the Orange Free State were in great demand and the extensive building of lines of communication to the interior brought not only an influx of special skills but also of opportunities. Trade and commerce were facilitated and the laborious transportation by ox-wagon from remote parts experienced a very rapid decline. After 1892 although,even then,the activities which led to its demise were also the cause of a belated and final upsurge in transportation. These circumstances meant that in rural terms landowners were now wealthy enough to embark on a phase-three home which was often architect-designed, was built by skilled workmen and used the best of materials. The farm house had now gone the full cycle from a simple flat-roofed clay building to a four or five roomed cottage under a pitched roof of thatch or corrugated iron until it had, finally, a well articulated plan and showed local adaptations of Victorian building which set it apart from similar homes elsewhere in the world. A generous stoep was not unrelated to the verandah of the Victorian bungalow in tropical areas but when two side wings were projected forward to form the typical *stoepkamer* we had a local variation which proved to be a prototype for farm buildings for more than a century and many of these have survived either as double or single *stoepkamer* types.

This metamorphosis of the rectangular bungalow into a three-limbed shape was facilitated by the advent of corrugated iron which meant that side and front verandah roofs could be easily added by means of sheets bent in an "S" shape (double curved) or with one end rounded. The reverse curve meant that verandah roofs could be taken up over the taller sliding sashes and then curve down gracefully to the low supporting beam over the front edge of the stoep. The balustrade protecting the raised podium or stoep became a source of innovative designs in fretwork and this elaboration was often taken to the tops of the supporting shafts. Entrances became extremely ornate and exhibited the unusual skills of the fretwork-saw specialist. The advantages of such embellishments were that they were light in weight, could be made on the spot or

easily transported and were a comparatively inexpensive way to enrich even the most modest stoep. This phase had its height between 1885 and 1895. By the latter date the rail transportation systems made possible the importation of the exuberance of the Macfarlane Cast Iron Order which for its durability, variety, adaptability, and affordability made it the miracle material of its age. It was suitable for verandah supports, crenellations, lettering, balustrades, fountains, kiosks, markets and bridges. In the multiplicity of its uses it was however, essentially an urban material, not often transported a long distance from a railhead.

Bloemfontein exhibited in its proliferation of buildings in the last decade of the century the dual characteristics of Victorian timberwork in residential buildings and cast-iron work in urban commercial buildings. Although the first came to full fruition the cast-iron age seems to have lagged behind the development in the Cape and the Transvaal, only making up for lost time after the Anglo-Boer War and then only briefly.

The arrival of Portland cement on the building scene in the nineties tended to revolutionise time-honoured concepts and in 1891 even concrete bricks were being offered for sale.

The discovery of columnar dolerite at Ventersburg and environs made possible the production of long lengths of solid stone with natural lines of cleavage. These stone columns were used extensively for fencing posts and in 1892 a field 32 km^2 in extent meant that the fencing of railway lines could be undertaken with this material. At three shillings per pole it was comparatively expensive. Although many of these are still to be seen around farm houses, the material does not seem to have been popular for building purposes, the smaller stone with single flat face being generally more sought after.[1]

The network of railways speeding throughout the Free State in the nineties also meant that coal was available for the burning of bricks and after 1892 they became universally available. Parallel to the use of burnt brick thousands of sun-dried bricks continued to be used, particularly plastered internally with mud or antheap soils. The single most effective covering material for this plaster was wallpaper which began flooding the world in the last quarter of the previous century, although its use is noted in Bloemfontein in 1850. These papers not only effectively bound the mud plaster with its coldwater glue but the floral designs attempted to give an air of gaiety but also quite often imparted a gloomy sombreness if not downright restless ugliness. As a simple expedient the wallpaper was remarkably effective and the late Victorian home was not considered complete until it was papered. The use of lime-based paints was also fairly common during the eighties particularly where the cost of papering was to be eschewed.

Important as the domestic work of the Public Works department was, it was in the private sector that the Victorian home saw its fullest developement. In Bloemfontein the commercial entrepreneurs of distinction built handsome homes, generous in proportion and lavish in their Victorian opulence with crowded interiors and elaborate draperies. The Fichardt residence underwent a number of transformations to become a fine example of architectural eclecticism. In addition there arose the homes of Charlie Fichardt in Elizabeth Street with its carefully detailed brickwork and well-proportioned joinery, the Leviseur home in Markgraaff Street, the architect Harrison's own house in Kellner Street, *Avoca* at 79 Aliwal Street home of Philip Gregar and numerous others known to us only through photographs or hidden under later deformations. 128 129 130 131 132 133

The typical suburban villa of Bloemfontein in the 1890's was a red brick building with white sliding sashes in a dark green frame. Doors were similarly treated in dark green with white trims and decorative work was mainly isolated in fretwork balconies and posts. Door glazing was often colourful and leaded lights were quite common where privacy was required. Sanitary arrangements were still of a basic kind. Bathroom and kitchen waste water was generally allowed to flow into the yard or garden. The kitchen furniture consisted usually of a few tables and a crockery cupboard. The bucket system of soil handling was generally in use by 1890 and these superceded pit latrines that were contaminating borehole water. Lighting was with paraffin

and cooking was done in coal stoves. The pantry or larder was regarded as an essential room and bathrooms were added just prior or just after the war. In the bedroom a marble-topped wash-stand with porcelain jug and basin were essential items and a two-doored compartment concealed a Royal Doulton commode to match the beaker and basin above. Beds varied from simple sturdy, cast-iron units with unyielding bases to elaborate constructions in brass with finely coiled spring bases. As a representative building of 1895 - 1905 the restored Hertzog house in Goddard Street would be a very typical example of the suburban home.[2] 112 113 114

If fortunes were to be made in the Capital city, the advances in the rural parts of the country were no less dramatic. Some of the wealthier landowners built their third phase homes in a most substantial manner and a few examples of such dwellings, many with the typical side wings or *Stoepkamers* are still to be seen throughout the Free State, although the debasement of the original proceeds apace.

Sandstone is painted to prevent defoliation, cracked sashes are replaced with steel windows and brick-piers replace the once slender timber columns supporting the stoep-roof. Despite these deformations a large body of sandstone dwellings dating from 1888-1900 are still extant and worthy of preservation. An overview of some of the surviving examples is given in the Annexures, and a few of the more detailed surveys are to be found in the accompanying photographic record.

DOMESTIC BUILDING (RURAL)

By the end of the 19th century a large number of imposing farm houses had been erected but their wanton destruction during the Anglo-Boer War has meant that a very few have survived unscathed. A number of the most important can be considered in some detail:

Leeuwpoort (district Heilbron)

The existing house dates back to 1894 when it was commissioned by Johann Frederic Weilbach. The building was erected by a Scottish contractor named Sharpe using Italian stonemasons. The unusual combination of a German client, a Scottish contractor and Italian masons is typical of this period and led to the erection of a number of fine buildings.

This house is 7km North-west of Heilbron and is apparently the only important residential building in the district that survived destruction. The craftmanship portrayed in the dressed sandstone is of the highest order. It is a rectangular building 24,6m x 11m with a 2m wide stoep surrounding it on three sides. The foundations and stoep paving are similarly of sandstone. The verandah has a very interesting system of double timber supports decorated with fretwork at the head of the support. 119 120

The house boasts such sophistications as two bay-windows and windows 1m wide. The lintels over windows are in dressed sandstone. Attention was accorded such details as the surrounds of the roof ventilator.

The internal walls were built with unburnt brick, plastered in lime and painted. Floors are of deal planking and ceiling of yellow-wood Two cast-iron fireplaces have survived intact with their original tiles.

Sandhurst (district Harrismith)

The farm *Sandhurst* originally belonged to Edward Warden who was given the farm by the British Authorities at the time of the British Sovereignty.

In 1889 the then owner, J J van Reenen built a very substantial sandstone building which has survived almost unaltered to the present day. The building is H-shaped with generous doors and windows. Some of the doors are half-glazed where they lead onto the stoep.

Bagshot (District Harrismith)

A second farm in the area was given to William Warden but by 1888 it was in possession of Adolph Johannes Krogman. Krogman was sympathetic to the British occupation and made a handsome living out of supplying horses to the British military forces, as evinced by the substantial stables at the rear of the house. The sturdy and attractive simplicity of this house has ensured its survival despite alterations and additions. [103]

Walton (District Harrismith)

The substantial farmhouse at Walton is one of the finest examples of meticulous sandstone work and loving care lavished on verandah details. The house was designed by architect Tandy of Durban. The stonemason, an Englishman reputedly married to a Black woman, was obviously an exceptional craftsman. The plinth detail under the bay window is a particularly fine example of stone detailing. The roof space is an accessible attic which is illuminated by small Gothic windows.

Koloniesplaas (District Vrede)

The survival of the substantial dwelling 17,3 x 9,6 m is difficult to explain but it was in British possession at the end of the Anglo-Boer War. It was built in 1880 with very substantial sandstone walls including the raised verandah. The main entrance door has a solid sandstone lintel 1,5m x 0,5m and doors and windows are substantially made. Again the decorative element of timber verandah supports it to be seen. The roofspace has been converted into an attic with two small windows for lighting.

Zeekoevalleipoort (District Vrede)

The foundation stone of this unusual dwelling was laid in on 8 January 1891 and the owner M J Uys built on it a dolorite building with sandstone quoins and window surrounds. The floor is about 1,5m above natural ground level at the front. [115]

Stained-glass windows in lead frames are a feature of the doors which are provided with fanlights.

The house has six gables most of which are provided with a window for lighting the roofspace. Elaborate timberwork decorates the door-approaches and the fireplaces are particularly handsome. The main living room has waist-high panelling in solid timber.

The crossing of the passages is marked by vaulted ribbing terminating in a domed cupola.

Unfortunately this building is not inhabited and although the church which owns it, does undertake cleaning from time to time the structure is fast decaying.

4.2. THE BUILDINGS OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY 1888 - 1900

The dawning of a brighter day for the economy of the OFS was coincidental with the term of office of Pres Reitz and came to full fruition under Pres Steyn. The effects of the increasing population, the demands of the Witwatersrand and Kimberley and the increased real money in circulation, inevitably had an effect on buildings erected for trade and commerce.Shops became extensive in their floor areas, the use of corrugated iron removing the old fears of damaging leaks and permitting alterations and additions with a certain facility. The shop fronts themselves underwent a metamorphosis moving away from enlarged domesticity to large panes of glass held in position with finely turned timber corner posts. The shopfronts became increasingly to be covered with a corrugated iron roof supported on cast-iron piers and important banks and businesses had imposing fronts cut from sandstone with well-detailed mouldings, quoins, returns and copings. The period of architectural elaboration was at hand with intricate details being mass-produced.

The upgrading of shopfronts went hand-in-hand with the belated improvement of roads and pavements by the local authority. In time goods trains were able to bring the heavier cast-iron items to the interior - loads that could not be economically carried by ox-wagon. The rapid deployment of Macfarlane's cast iron products have a straight–line relationship with the railway. It was now possible to replace the fretwork balustrade with an ornate Rococo replica from Europe. The transportation of glass, mirrors and showcases became commonlace from 1892 onwards and the long lines of communication terminated in the storerooms of a hundred emporiums over the country. Since people as well as goods could be moved there was an influx of visitors, traders, buyes and sellers and *Volksraad* members could move to "Town" by rail and see for themselves how veld fires were being created and how stray cattle were succumbing to the iron horse.

The enhanced movement of people and goods meant a new lease of life for the hotel industry and from 1890 onwards there was a rash of new names or revitalised old ones. In Bloemfontein the Masonic Hotel opened in 1890 in Maitland Street near the station. It was advertised as being open for the reception of guests in a "thoroughly English style" with well-furnished bedrooms, smoking room, dining room etc. It also boasted a special cellar for keeping the "liquors" and a billiard room. A swimming pool is mentioned with a minimum of detail.[3]

Bloemfontein, not unnaturally, had a Bloemfontein Hotel, a Railway Hotel, a Central Hotel, and a Royal Hotel but amenities still left a lot to be desired. An early visitor arriving by rail in 1895 spoke of an hotel where the water for washing had to be hand-carried from the well in Market Square, the provision of adequate drinking water still being subject to dilatory action of the town council. [151] [152]

In other towns, Reitz could show a Royal Hotel in Kerk Street without any incongruity being apparent while Heilbron had its Commercial Hotel dating from 1890. It had 26 bedrooms, a dining room for 80 persons, a drawing room and a billiard room. Harrismith had a Royal Hotel with Mr Stewart Bain as owner by whom it was built in 1892. This had no less than 45 bedrooms, large dining room, drawing room, billiard room and bar with stabling for 30 horses.[4]

Reddersburg and Jagersfontein each had their own hotels some of ancient lineage being gradually improved by each successive owner.

On 3 January 1893 the Govt Secretary could send a telegraph to the *Landdrost* of Kroonstad expressing the State President's wish to stay over at Mrs Loxton's hotel during a visit.[5] The President could travel by train and be comfortably housed in a large number of towns linked by the new railroad. The Stationmaster's of-

fice was often the local telegraph office, this facility being a necessary adjunct to the effective functioning of the train service.

By the last decade of the century banking had become firmly established and the National Bank opened its new offices in 1891 on the corner of St Andrew and West Burger Streets. It was described as "Georgian in the Victorian vernacular" and designed by Reid Brothers. The stock-in-trade mouldings had "been fitted together to form a not unpleasing whole".[6] [154]

The building had a somewhat heavy and solid appearance with pediments and with balustraded balconies. The usual distortions of scale arising from the use of predetermined elements intended for larger buildings on small modest structures gave the building an air of inflated importance which did not sit lightly on its small frame. The Orange Free State soon sported a whole generation of modest banks in small towns many of which functioned on the same site for a century undergoing many "face-lifts" and renovations along the way.

The most significant attempt at a multistoried commercial building in the heart of Bloemfontein was the new premises for the Mutual Assurance company. It was designed by architect: Stucke and built by the contractor Fernhead who also acted as contractor for Mutual Buildings in Johannesburg.[7] [148]

Stucke's building enshrined all that materials and design skill could assemble towards the end of the century. At ground floor level nine plastered arches are supported on cast-iron columns and below these arches were glass panes a full three metres high. The offices of the upper floors were provided with very generous casement windows, topped by fanlights finished in coloured glass. An asymmetrical, recessed entrance was topped with two balconies with cast-iron balustrades and the whole of this portion elaborately finished with a ventilated dormer and the necessary inscription. The East and West corners were finished with circular lantern-like turrets. The elaboration of all facets of the building are typical of the spendthrift use of classical motifs and are reminiscent of the building work being done in Johannesburg in the 1890's

The building of shops in other towns of the Free State followed the same pattern as that of Bloemfontein but land values being lower the shops tended often to be emporiums in their diversity and scale. There was a belated emergence of cast-iron work with elaborate embellishments and generous areas of glass. The shop-fronts themselves were principally in finished timber of rather slender proportions while the verandah supports and ventilators were invariably in cast iron. [140]

At Koffiefontein the Moses Building was erected during the period 1894-1911 in Hampden Street while nearby the splendid Reinach's Store was erected and only recently abandoned to oblivion. [150]

At Kroonstad extensive commercial building was done in the last decade of the previous century and remnants of these have survived notably Law Chambers at 17 Market Street and a block of flats at 27 Murray Street reputedly from the same period. In the same street a shop with the enigmatic initials "J P" has survived principally due to the use of sound sandstone in the foundations and walling.

At Lindley a chemist shop at 25 Brand Street is pointed out as having survived from the pre-war period but it is likely to have been rebuilt after that town was destroyed in the Anglo-Boer War .

The Winburg church square is also unique for the number of pre-war commercial buildings that have survived there, including the building now called the "Afrikaanse Handelshuis". [157] [158]

In the Zastron district an interesting butchery has survived on the farm *Maghaleen* which supplied transport riders with meat and English troops with provisions when they passed by on their way northwards. It is built on two levels — the basement being used as a "cold storage" while the ground floor level is allocated to a shop, preparation and smoking rooms. The walling is of sandstone with slate damp-proofing course, and is 450mm thick.

THE WATER-POWERED MILLS OF THE O F S

It was in the harnessing of the scarce water resources of the Republic however, that the most innovative enterprise was shown by investors. The demand for milling services, particularly in the grain-rich Eastern Free State led to the building of a number of very substantial water mills in the late eighties and early nineties. The emergence of electrical power was at hand but in the few years that needed power from other sources mill engineers produced some fine examples of their art. The best known of these were the Leeuw River Mills situated near the present-day Westminster in the district of Ladybrand. 141 142 143 144 145

The main building was constructed of stone obtained locally and was built by John Newberry about 1893.[8] The structure consisted of an extensive basement used for storage purposes with three storeys above that containing the grinding and sifting equipment. The milling plant was a "complete roller process" by Messrs E R and F Turner of Ipswich, England. The elaboration of the equipment was unusual in that it consisted of "break and smooth rolls, purifiers, sorters, scalpers and centrifugal dust collectors". The motive power was a horizontal turbine built by Messrs Gilbert, Gilles & Co. of Kendal. The water supply for driving this turbine was obtained from a large dam built across the Leeuw River and situated about 1 km from the mill. The dam at maximum content was about 6,5km long and nearly 1 km wide. The water was canalized in an open furrow to within 200m of the mill at which point an open steel furrow 2m x 1,2m takes the water onto the turbines with a fall of 10,6m and creating energy equivalent to 52Kw.[9] Secondary turbines generated 33kw and 6,75 kw respectively. These turbines supplied not only all the motive power but also drove an early dynamo which provided lighting for the whole establishment, through a direct current 100 volts. The electrical power installation must have been one of the first in the OFS although Kimberley had an electrically powered tram service in 1890, and some lighting a few years earlier.

Other important and substantial mills were erected at Jammersberg drift, the Don-Don mills at Hobhouse, with secondary projects at *De Wetsdal* in the Smithfield district which was unique in as much as the mills were well above water level. The water wheel was rotated at river level and the motive power transmitted to the mill above it by means of a 100m driving cable. The 750 mm thick walls were of sandstone with a slate damp – proof course and the interior was furnished with patented milling equipment imported from Great Britain. In the Van Stadensrus district there was a mill on the farm Bloemfontein. The motive power was a paraffin engine which was transported by ox- wagon from Port Elizabeth. The mill must similarly have been transported before the arrival of rail transportation. At *Maghaleen* in the Zastron district a water mill built of sandstone and four levels in extent was operating until 1938. The waterwheel weighed 12 tons and its transportation must have been no mean feat considering the condition of roads at that time (1894).

In the Smithfield district a woolwashery functioned on the farm *Traacha.* The building had a sandstone foundation with a slate damp-proof course. The walling was 450mm at the base with 330mm brickwalling above this level. The floors were of cut sandstone blocks.

These large stone structures with their elaborate milling equipment sent some 10 000 km from Great Britain represent the epitome of free enterprise and perseverance. The fact that they have been allowed to fall into decay or were pilfered for material is an indictment of a later generation. They were indeed good examples of late flowering!

The availability of rail transport had a profound influence on the supply of building materials and by 1892 White's Portland cement was being offered for sale[10] but milling ventures were not always profitable as an advertisement in *The Friend* showed: [11]

> Sale of valuable property at the west end of town known as "the Mill". Situated on high ground. Insolvent estate of W R Wynn. Mill building and dwelling house.

4.3. COMMUNITY BUILDINGS OF THE REPUBLIC'S LAST DECADE

The extensive building programme of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk

Excepting only the fourth Raadzaal, the last decade of the nineteenth century would perhaps be best remembered, from an architectural point of view, for a series of very fine *Nederduitse Gereformeerde* churches built in various places in the Orange Free State. Ten new congregations were added to the 27 already existing before 1890 and the improved economic climate induced the *gemeentes* to plan new third phase churches or to amplify the rectangular churches of the eighties with a transept and tower, attributes which were considered essential for the church of any self-respecting community. These major works expressed not only a firm religious conviction but spoke of economic self-assurance. Quite a few of these churches have survived but interiors suffered due to "modernisation" with incongruent materials or through the injudicious additions of reinforced concrete galleries.

No fewer than ten new *gemeentes* were established between 1890 and 1898. This was an indication of the accelerated growth pattern and the emergence of a strong local sense of cohesion of communities who were no longer content to be *buite wyke* of some "distant" church. In 1891 no fewer than five new *Ned. Gereformeerde* congregations established themselves as identifiable separate entities i.e. Thaba'Nchu, Reitz, Luckhoff, Bothaville and Ventersburg. The advantage of a late start was that the community would already be in possession of a first phase church which would be bequeathed to them as a dowry by the "mother" church from which they sprang. It was thus possible to proceed immediately to a substantial church without a secondary intermediate phase as the older parent church would have undergone. Jagersfontein and Petrusburg followed in 1892, Zastron in1893, Fouriesburg in 1894 and Trompsburg in 1898.

Coincident with these newly established parishes, the older communites were themselves moving into their third phase of church building so that the overall pattern was one of considerable activity in establishing the infrastructure for continued divine services. The most significant upgrading occured at Ladybrand 1890, Hoopstad 1892, Harrismith 1892,, Fouriesburg 1894, Senekal 1896, Dewetsdorp 1896, Ventersburg 1896, Bothaville 1896, Philippolis 1896, Trompsburg 1898, Wepener 1898, Jagersfontein 1899, Parys 1899, Petrusburg 1899 and Winburg 1899. [166] [167] [200] [201] [203]

All these churches were now substantially built, and in some cases partially rebuilt so that at the end of the century there were few towns that did not possess a church which could not accommodate 600 persons. Quite a few could accommodate 700 and one or two a 1000 persons for special occasions when additional seating was provided.

With the ending of the Wocke era in about 1885 new personalities were appearing on the architectural scene. Of the church builders the architect-builder G Rohde will be remembered for his Ladybrand and Hoopstad churches. Mr Rohde came to South Africa in 1879 and spent a year at King Williamstown. He moved to Bloemfontein in 1880 where he stayed until 1888 leaving in that year for Ladybrand to build the Ned Geref church in that town.[12] The building of the church commenced in 1889 and was completed in 1890 at a cost of £12 000. It contains three galleries and has seating accommodation for a thousand persons. This church was nearly totally destroyed by fire in 1966 but it has been restored. Mr Rohde paid a high penalty for his involvement in this church. He fell from the tower scaffolding and suffered a leg fracture of so severe nature that this leg had to be amputated below the knee. The building was also unusual inasmuch as the pulpit and the font were in stone, the work of a German artisan Schaeffer. Mr Rohde's achievement must be measured against the fact that his design was premiated in open competiton with twelve other com-

petitors. The syphoning effect of the Witwaterand goldfields was at its height when Mr Rohde commenced building in 1889 and workmen's wages were inflated. Mr Rohde appealed successfully to the *Kerkraad* for additional payment. The church bells were ordered in Germany and as a last twist of misadventure the ship carrying these bells sank. Two bells were rescued and one was installed in the Ladybrand church. [168] [169] [170] [171] [172]

Not dismayed by his fortunes at Ladybrand Mr Rohde now proceeded to erect the Hoopstad church where the foundation stone was laid on 6 June 1891 by Pres Reitz. To gain access to suitable sandstone for the Hoopstad church a quarry had to be opened on the banks of the Vaal River and special *stinkhout* wagons with low slung bodies were used to move the massive weights through the sands of the Western Free State. When the tower was nearly completed it was struck by lightning and the force of the occurrence was such that the tower had to be partially dismantled and re-erected.[13] [186] [187] [188]

During, the war the church was used for military purposes by the advancing British Armies and infantrymen scratched their names into the soft lime plaster at the top of the tower. When the church was inaugurated on 2 December 1892 more than a thousand people sat under one roof. During restoration in 1969 it was found that the rooftrusses were not symmetrical about their centre lines and that the roof slopes were not parallel to the gable slopes. The errors of a later generation were not absent during restoration when the steel roofspans over the liturgical centre would not occlude owing to an incorrect engineering calculation. The rigger assumed it to be incompetence on his part and took to drink. This circumstance did not improve the chances of a successful junction but helped to focus attention on the real problem.

At Harrismith Messrs Mowat and Still completed the new *Nederduitse Gereformeerde* church toward the end of 1892. The contractors offered the surplus builders' plant for sale at the Railway station on January 6, 1893. Amongst the items offered were six large blue gum poles used for erecting the tower.[14]

At Fouriesburg a stone church was built with dolerite foundations and sandstone walls but the building was considerably altered and extended after the war. The older, Eastern part dates to 1894. [179] [180]

The Dewetsdorp church has remained much the same at it did in 1896 but the interior has been twice renovated. The design and specification for this church was prepared by the incumbent minsiter the Rev W A du Toit while the foundation stone was laid by Pres Reitz towards the end of his term of office.

In fairly quick succession the following churches were erected: Ventersburg (1896), Bothaville (1896), Philippolis (enlarged 1896), Senekal (1896), Trompsburg (1898), Wepener (1898), Jagersfontein (1899), Parys (1899), Petrusburg (1899), and Winburg (1899) (unfinished until 1904).

Although each of these churches has an interesting history it is the buildings of Senekal and Winburg that spring to mind as outstanding examples of architecture.

The foundation stone of the Senekal church was laid on 6 July 1895 by the *Landdros* of Winburg. It was unusual for foundation stone layings to be undertaken by anyone less than a president but Pres Reitz was in ill health at this time and this may explain his absence. The building was designed by the architects A E and J H Till who had the singular distinction that they designed the church of Winburg as well. They opened an office in Kroonstad in 1891 and lived there for a number of years. [189]

The pews and magnificent Norman and Beard organ were reduced to ashes by occupying British forces in 1900. The clockwork in the tower was, at the same time, destroyed and removed. The overall impression of this church is one of dignified grandeur and in its proportions and assembly displays the sure hand of a master. In it, handcrafted sandstone is taken to heights which have seldom been equalled since. The supreme accolade for distinguished Neo-Gothicism in stone must go to the Winburg church by the same architects. The setting of the church against sloping ground created the possibilities for a dramatic approach stair. The cruciform plan shape was admirably suited to the liturgical requirements of its time

despite its catholic origins. In its detailing, mouldings, play of light and shade all the way up to the tip of the magnificent stone tower it represents the epitome of sandstone architecture, a way of building peculiarly the Free State's own. [204] [206]

The building was subject to criticism on the score of its cost but it was the war that halted it at cill level while it waited patiently for the misfortunes of war to subside. The long wait proved worthwhile and in January of 1903 the same firm of contractors, Messrs Rundle, Rowe and Marshall were re-engaged for its completion. It was inaugurated on 18 March 1904. It was in the nature of the faith of those responsible for the new church buildings that foundation stones were being laid a few months before the war was due to start. At Petrusburg Pres M T Steyn laid the foundation stone on 14 January 1899 and building work proceeded spasmodically during the war without any celebrations at the time of its completion.[15] At Parys the inauguration of the church in 1899 was attended only by women and children. At Wepener the church was inaugurated on 14 July 1899 under the very shadow of the impending War

Stylistically the Neo-Gothic profile had been so consistently adopted for the Afrikaans churches that many of the *gemeente* were under the impression that it was essentially their own and was often referred to as a *Boere-kerk*. The stylistic language of the modified Gothicism had so long been in familiar use that many could be forgiven for assuming that it was the product of the Afrikaner's way of thinking about what a church should look like. A few early attemps at classical revivalism are also evident particularly in the Cape Province and even the *Groote Kerk* in Cape Town shows mixed ancestry. What exactly the stylistic impact of important church buildings had on the local community is a matter about which architectural historians are strongly divided. Doreen Greig writing about Graaff-Reinet's *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* states.[16]

> The uniformity of materials and stylistic consistency, with classical overtones, which prevailed in Graaff-Reinet, was shattered in 1886 by the erection of a new Dutch Reformed Church on the prominent island site of the original church. This was indeed a triumph for the Goths, a high steepled structure in coarse grey stone whose really hideous Gothic Revival forms and details are made far too obvious by being heavily emphasized in light cream.

Bierman writing in 1955 about the same town and the same church finds the church and residential buildings not totally out of harmony but redolent of the logical stylistic tendency of the neoclassism.[17]

In a sense the conflict between the Gothic and the Classical styles which raged in Europe for over a century had its echoes in far off South Africa but the predilection for the trappings of Gothicism were so universal that there was no sense of conflict. It seemed perfectly natural, wise and sound to build this way. In such matters the *dominee's* taste could be trusted and the cross-fertilizing effect of neighbouring towns enshrined a concept that could be embroidered upon but was as unalterable as any architectural dictates of religion could make it.

In Pretoria the Dutch immigrant architect Van Rijsse had designed the new *Gereformeerde Kerk* in 1897 near the home of Pres Kruger. The interesting feature about this church was that for the plan form the Greek Cross was used as was often the case in Holland but it did not seem to achieve general acceptance amongst *Gereformeerde gemeentes* who preferred starting with the simple rectangle and then adding a transept at a later date to complete a Latin Cross.

In Venterstad the name of C O Hager crops up in connection with the pulpit which was designed by him for the *Gereformeerde Kerk* in 1889. This confirms that this German architect often worked outside the boundaries of the Western Cape, although it is difficult to pinpoint his involvement. It is conceivable that he sold plans to contractors like Wocke.[18]

Typical of the second phase church building in the *Gereformeerde Kerk* was the addition of two lateral wings to the old church of 1887 in Rustenburg which was enlarged in 1898. In addition galleries were fitted so that the church could seat 1 000 persons if need be.

At Philippolis the *Gereformeerde Kerk* was enhanced in 1913 by the addition of a Baroque gable.[19]Rules were not so rigid that a certain amount of eclecticism could not be practised, particularly if this meant the attainment of some uniquely local structure rather than the emulation of well-tried precepts.

In fact the *Gereformeerde Kerk* became in the eighties and nineties a kind of *alter ego* to the *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* and wherever the latter had a significant following the *Gereformeerde Kerk* soon had a building of its own. Most of the buildings were modest in size but well-built. In Petrusburg a church was inaugurated in 1892 and it escaped the Anglo-Boer War unscathed.

At Vredefort a church building for the *Gereformeerde Kerk* was built in 1891 at a cost of £800. It was unfortunately damaged in the Anglo-Boer War when its foundation stone was bodily removed by memento hunters and booty-seekers. [202]

As far as the mission work of the *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* was concerned the 1890's saw the beginnings of missionary zeal. This was reflected in the buildings erected for religious purposes amongst the black inhabitants falling within the boundaries of the church. Many of these buildings had timber frames and corrugated iron cladding so that few of these buildings survived.At Witzieshoek a foundation stone for a new mission station was laid on 19 July 1899 but when war was declared a few months later the English artisans fled, taking the black labourers with them. The semi-completed church was then brought to completion by an elderly and frail German who was described as a courteous, thorough tradesman and a well-educated person.[20]A Belgian painter completed the paintwork. The total cost of the building was £1115 which was considerable for those times. The delimitation of residential zones made it impossible for black *gemeentes* to "inherit" the first or second phase churches of the white communities but apart from this consideration the last phase church was often built on the same site as it predecessors which entailed the destruction of the final building's ancestors.

At Bethlehem the old mission church has miraculously survived as a museum and its longevity was entirely due to it being built by Louis Ferdinand the Creole who became a master craftsman in sandstone and a legend in the Bethlehem district. Although he gave his trade as stone mason when admitted to South Africa he only "acquired" the trade subsequently and proved his skills to be superior to those of his mentors. The extension of religious buildings for the Anglican, Wesleyan and Lutheran churches was modest in all areas outside Bloemfontein important as these facilities must have been to the local communities. The Anglican Cathedral in Bloemfontein had a new nave dedicated in June 1885 and in consequent years various stained-glass windows were added. By 1900 it had become enriched by these additions and by fifty years of history, much of which was linked to the fortunes and misfortunes of war as the later plaques and memorial tablets were to show. Within a stone's throw of the city's hubbub is a quiet island for spiritual meditation which has survived a century's viscissitudes.[21]

The Baptist church had its foundation stone laid in December of 1893 by Mr J G Fraser, Chairman of the *Volksraad*. It was situated in Hanger Street just off Maitland Street and seated 250- 300 persons. Mr Bolt was the contractor and the building cost £1 800.[22]

The Presbyterian church was inaugurated on 5 February 1899 at the corner of Zastron and West Burger Streets. Of these two churches no traces remain. At Vrede a Wesleyan church survived which has corrugated iron walling with a sandstone foundation, dating from 1896.

SCHOOL-BUILDING AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

Although few schools remained financially independent in the last decade of the 19th century, schools such as Grey College and Eunice had a long tradition of private enterprise bolstered by church and state so that in a sense they still reflected something of the community's own interest in education without it becoming solely a Governmental responsibility.

Grey College had a major new project launched in 1894 for a handsome new building in Douglas Street by the architect W H Stucke. The foundation stone was laid by Pres Reitz in May of 1894. It has been called a romantic fortress of learning. The final addition was added in 1898 and the total cost was in excess of £16 000.[23] [222]

Although Stucke ultimately designed the Grey College Building the ambitions of other architects to participate in the project was apparently not dampened by considerations of professional ethics. *The Friend* of 21 May 1890 reports that "the Inspector of Education has received a set of plans of the proposed new High School Buildings of Grey College". The plans were by Lennox Canning who estimated the cost at £20 000. His participation may have been due to a limited competition but in his brash manner Canning was predisposed to believing that the work would be his. It is significant that the quieter, more methodical Stucke would later be asked to investigate the work of Canning on the fourth Raadzaal and to assist in bringing out a report.

This building served only briefly as a Grey College as the limited urban site upon which it was built did not permit of adequate sporting facilities being provided. In consequence of this a new building was designed to the west of Bloemfontein by Sir Herbert Baker. The Hamilton Hall was opened in 1907 by Sir Hamilton Goold-Adams.

The so-called Upper House of Eunice was designed by the Government Architect Vixseboxse in 1892 and survived until 1914 when it was destroyed by fire. This building was rebuilt and altered in 1918-1920. It is a fine example of the straightforward, durable and useful types of building that Vixseboxse designed during is short stay in Bloemfontein. [223]

The original St Andrew's college was situated close to the Cathedral of St Andrew and St Michael but in 1898 it was decided to move it a few kilometres to the North. The foundation stone was laid in March of 1899 and the building was only briefly occupied before the war terminated the venture. The original building has now become part of the *Oranje Meisieskool.*

A further interesting development was the provision of a residential technical School called the "Home and Industrial School" for young boys. Its foundation stone dates to 1898 and the building falls within the confines of Railway territory. It was intended for the disadvantaged with a view to providing them with some basic training as a precursor to trade or industry.[24]

All these commendable activities took place as if no external factor could possibly disturb the quiet development of the Model Republic, as was only too soon to be the case.

CLUBS AND LODGES

The occurrence of Freemasonry was common in the Orange Free State and in the benign atmosphere engendered by the membership of successive Presidents the various orders enjoyed a fairly stable and flourishing existence. The buildings erected for the purposes of Freemasonry were generally very modest and some of the smaller towns have these as quaint relics on the outskirts of the town.

As far as club facilities were concerned Bloemfontein could display a splendid late Victorian edifice facing on to Market Square. The architect William Henry Stucke (1865-1931) designed this unusual building in 1892.[25] In it Stucke showed his flair for the elaboration of detail, in this case timber tracery, arches and fretwork. The whole is topped with a domical form and metalwork crown. Its appearance was so engaging that it was later duplicated on the opposite corner of the same block. [211] [212]

As for sporting clubs the Ramblers on the North side of the town represented everything that late Victorian relaxation and sport could provide. Its broad balconies provided ample seating for viewing cricket mat-

ches. A generous bar and public rooms meant that gentlemen who perforce had to reside in Bloemfontein did not need to feel themselves disadvantaged. The building has a sandstone foundation with plastered brickwalling.. This building and its copious grounds have often been the objects of commercial pressure and its survival is more due to resistance to change by its members than from any deepfelt need for historical conservation.

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4.4. *THE ROLE OF THE LOCAL AUTHORITY 1888 - 1900*

By comparison with other Free State towns the accretion of population was fairly rapid in Bloemfontein. Even so, the population curve had an asymptotic character commencing with steady and uniform growth until the war and then showing a dramatic turning point and escalating numbers thereafter. This was the worst possible situation for a Board of Commissioners as the Town Council was called, since the early growth was not extensive enough to provide the tax base necessary to provide, at short notice, extensive infrastructure for the large influx of people. The pattern of urbanisation was atypical of the present situation. In urban areas whites predominated until the end of the decade. The war was instrumental in uprooting many blacks from their traditional areas and accelerated the urbanisation process. In 1880 Bloemfontein had 1688 whites as against 879 other races.

By 1890 the white population had increased to 2077 and the black and coloured races to 1302 persons. The 2077 whites living in 482 houses yielded a net occupation density of 4,3 persons per dwelling.[26] By 1899 the white population had increased to 5 800 persons.The completion of the railway in 1890-1892 facilitated the movement into Bloemfontein of both blacks and whites and at some point near the turn of the century the blacks overtook the white inhabitants, gradually increasing the relevant proportions to the present day. The housing dilemma that flowed from this influx posed considerable problems for the local authority who proceeded to erect corrugated iron buildings in the Waaihoek area to the South of the city creating a depressing visual impression for all who arrived by rail in Bloemfontein. Some estimate of the impact of war on the rate of urbanisation can be gauged from the fact that the total population of Bloemfontein had reached the surprising figure of 33 883 or ten times the population of 1890. Although there was a lessening of this figure with the return of more normal times, the town of Bloemfontein had forcibly tipped the scales in its favour.

The problems of the local authority developed principally around the supply of adequate and clean drinking water. The occurance of enteric and typhoid were much too prevalent for any complacency. Bloemfontein had a climate that was regarded as salubrious for those afflicted with respiratory problems and tuberculosis but this was scant consolation if the death rate was high from other and essentially local causes. The unsatisfactory condition was compounded by the retention of farm animals in the residential areas - a concession which was withdrawn in 1889 except for a few cows which were stabled in town.

The problems of Bloemfontein's water supply had a venerable history and *The Friend* published a letter in 1859 that gave some clue to the prevailing conditions at the Market Square fountain.[28]

> I voted for one penny in the pound per annum (rates). I thought of the filthy state of the fountain and felt convinced that I and my household would again be doomed to swallow innumerable tadpoles with microscopic myriads of animacules which delight in seven, ten — and even twenty heads and goodness knows how many tails.

The large dam which had been built to theWest of Eunice in the early seventies was an impressive collection of water when it rained and the so-called water-erven also benefitted from this supply. A visitor to Bloemfontein writing in *The Friend* did not share the local pride in this dam and was constrained to write:[29]

Just a wind-dam and nothing more — exposed to all the vile corruptions that such places are liable to: for what did I see? A pair of decaying dogs and other vile abominations.

Droughts, however, were sometimes so severe that the dam became at times completely depleted. Circumstances forced the Local Authorities' hand to the point where the Sannahspos project was commenced. This scheme collected water from the Modderriver and piped it to reservoirs in Bloemfontein.[30] These works were only formally opened on 20 April 1899 but gave adequate relief until such time as the town's growth again created problems.

Street lighting also fell properly within the jurisdiction of the Municipality. As early as 30 May 1883, 40 paraffin lamps were provided. A lamplighter lit 30 lamps on lamppoles and 10 on lamp-brackets. The provision of gas lighting enjoyed a brief day as negotiations for the supply of electrical power were initiated by Delfos Bros & Co as early as November 1894 but the negotiations were so protracted that power was only just made available when the war intervened. A power station was built in Harvey Road and the shell of this building was only recently destroyed. The cost of the installation was £171 000 which represented a major investment for a local authority at that time. The power station was built opposite Hornby and Daubney's steam roller mills.[31]

When the railway line reached Bloemfontein in 1890 and the Station being completed shortly after, there was a general consensus that something had to be done about Maitland Street. At its West end the new Government Offices looked down toward the station along Maitland Street and it seemed a propitious time to link these two important civic buildings with a road suitable to the occasion. The first part of the contract extended from East Burger Street to the Station. *The Friend* reported that by September of 1891 no less than 13 491 loads of gravel and 306 loads of stone had been allocated to road improvements.[32] The most significant improvement was the making of sandstone culverts and the provision of level pavements of 3m width. The disparity of private pavement levels had now to submit to greater urban discipline. The extensive use of sandstone for culverts is indicative of the generous source of supply.[33] Streets were realigned where necessary and houses numbered. A confusing aspect was the renumbering of erven which makes the reconciliation of old maps and later ones rather difficult.

A further and unexpected cause for rapid urbanisation was the *Runderpest* which played havoc with all livestock for a few years until the surviving animals had either acquired immunity or had been vaccinated. The agricultural losses so incurred caused numerous destitute families to flock to Bloemfontein and rapid urban development took place to the North and the West of the Central Business Area. The development was haphazard and corrugated iron shacks began to spring up in unexpected places. In 1893 the Town Council decided to prohibit "blikke huizen" (literally tin houses), if they were placed in between brick buildings in the important streets of the town.[34]

Particularly in Fountain Street the living conditions had become a matter for grave concern to the whole community. 48 Persons lived in 8 or 9 rooms. Amongst these were nine families.[35]

In 1896 the area lying between the town and Naval Hill was proclaimed a new township but no building had been done here before 1900. To the East of Naval Hill so-called "Villa-plots" were laid out in 1892 oblvious of the effect that the railway yards would ultimately have on this area. These plots had upset prices of £500 compared to the £65 charged for the normal stands.[36]

The battle of the bridges

The battle of the bridges occupied much of the Town Council's attention for more than two decades. The problem was the duality that existed in the development of the town on either side of the chasm of Bloemspruit. It was difficult to negotiate in dry weather and impossible in wet. Although the scale of the problem was hardly that of Buda and Pest the responsibility of bridging the gap fell on the shoulders of the city fathers and the burden at times became unbearable.

In 1868 there was one pedestrian timber trestle bridge and by 1873 a further two were provided to join the two components of the city via Green and Fraser Streets.[37] These bridges found the flood-waters of Bloemspruit irresistible. In1874, as if by common consent, all three bridges ended up in a tangled mass of timber.[38] In the end the cost of doing the job properly had to be squarely faced and steel bridges were ordered from Great Britain. These were handed over in April of 1892. At least these bridges could cope with wagons and horse-drawn vehicles.[39]

Complaints did not cease automatically after these bridges were built. A Mr Ellison, architect, complains in a letter to *The Friend* that his property in Fountain Street had been flooded "because the piers of the new bridge being built askew".

The Vice-Mayor pointed out that bridges had to be square with the street and consequently could not always be square with the *Spruit*.

Mr Ellison, being so addressed by one of his peers allowed the flood of complaints to subside.[40]

The Friend of January 1892 mentions that Mr Vixseboxse, the Government Architect was taking levels for the contemplated bridges at East Burger Street and at Harvey's Drift. This indicates that the *Volksraad* had more than just a superficial interest in the bridges. They were probably deeply committed financially and the Council's honour was at stake every time members of the *Volksraad* were prevented from attending the sittings other than as pedestrians and sometimes not at all.

Sanitary arrangements

The sanitation of the town area gave rise to complaints and *The Friend* reported: [41]

> The hot weather we have experienced is finding out the weak spots in our sanitary conditions - vile smells in more than one quarter.

Other towns in the Orange Free State had the powers to elect town councillors and to form municipalities but to such an extent was the financial power and administrative monopoly vested in the *Volksraad* that town councils had invariably to apply for assistance from that body.

The town council of Winburg erected a town hall in 1892 costing £3 000 after a loan had been negotiated with the *Volksraad*. This at least was proof that the local community had recovered from the severe recession of 1886. In that year the finances of the town council were so precarious that even paid officials had to resign for lack of funds to pay their salaries. The trek to the Witwatersrand ensued and those that remained could shoot at cranes strutting unconcernedly in the market square of the town.[42]

Boshof also acquired a Town Hall and this interesting building survived until 1914 when it was destroyed by fire, being subsequently rebuilt. In due course towns like Ficksburg and Jagersfontein acquired Town Halls, some of considerable architectural merit.

The first fire brigade was purchased by the Bloemfontein Municipality in 1897 but not until the Criterion Hotel had been burnt down.

When extensions to the Town Hall were required Mr Stucke the architect was requested to furnish a plan for the necessary alteration.

Establishment of New Towns

The period between 1888 and 1900 saw the establishment of no fewer than nine new towns. The memoran-

da for their establishment brought irrefutable evidence of their need and despite the *Volksraad's* reluctance to incur these new expenses the following towns were formally recognised and established:

Dewetsdorp	1888
Reitz	1889
Petrusburg	1891
Villiers	1891
Luckhoff	1892
Thaba'Nchu	1892
Koffiefontein	1892
Bothaville	1893
Fouriesburg	1893

4.5. THE VOLKSRAAD AS PROVIDER OF INFRASTRUCTURE 1888 - 1900

INTRODUCTION

By 1890 the stage for the final act in the life drama of the Orange Free State had been set. All the principal characters were waiting in the wings and events were to lead inevitably toward a war which no one desired and of which no one could have envisaged the ravages it was to play in the tragic end that was at hand.

Although much can be gleaned from the official documents and newspapers of the day the description of an eyewitness in the Centenary issue of *The Friend* of 1954 entitled "Bloemfontein sixty years ago" gives a rare insight into the conditions prevailing in Bloemfontein in 1894, and indeed in South Africa in general:[43]

> I left Port Elizabeth by train for Bloemfontein in May 1894. No dining cars were in use those days and stops for refreshments were fixed at appropriate intervals.
>
> As electric lighting was unknown, men at the nearest stop before nightfall walked on the roof of the coaches and installed lighted lamps (oil lamps with wicks) which gave enough light to see when you wanted to move, or dress or undress.
>
> In those days most of the coal used in the Cape Colony came from overseas and was very expensive. Stoves and heating appliances used wood. Wood sold by auction on the market squares.
>
> My journey to Bloemfontein was uneventful, though I was tremendously impressed by the amount of bush country through which we passed without seeing any signs of human life. Stops for water and coal provided the opportunity for coffee. Minerals and other drinks were seldom seen.
>
> No fences or signs of boundaries — not even the railway was fenced off except at Stations and sidings.

Rail tracks did not go straight. Contractors were paid per mile and passengers as well.

The first approach to Bloemfontein was disappointing. Native huts, constructed of poles, paraffin tins and sacks of all shapes and sizes were the first things we saw. Children in the nude, and adults in little more, gathered to see the arrival of the train.

The Spruit (Bloemspruit) appeared to be littered with garbage and rubbish of all kinds (it was meandering and thus not visible for its full length).

The station consisted of one platform and a row of offices built substantially of iron-stone. Looking east was a view of endless veld with no buildings to break the landscape. Thaba'Nchu mountain stood out in the clear atmosphere in the far distance. On the left of the main entrance to the station, where the Railway Bureau (now) stands was a big square of ground with one iron building occupied by a Mr Phil Nicolai as a general store — colloquially known as a *Kaffirwinkel.*

Facing Hoffman square (then the Market Square) in St Andrew Street were the premises of two or three blacksmiths, farriers and wagonbuilders. As quite a number of these existed in other parts of the town it would almost seem to have been the chief industry.

In my bedroom at the Criterion Hotel (afterwards the Royal Hotel) I found a warning to use water sparingly. The water in the room was barely enough to wash my hands and splash my face with and on enquiring about a bath I was told that there was no bathroom but that I could arrange with one of the native servants to bring in a galvanised one to my room and pay him to fetch water from the pump (about where the cenotaph is today). The pump was next to the Koffiehuis which, I believe, stayed open all night for the farmer when they brought their produce to the market. Apart from the fountain the town was dependent on wells. The squares had no pumps. One strong well supplied that area known as the railway camp and this community was the most fortunate as water pipes carried water to the doors of the houses.

These reminiscences, although made about events 60 years after their occurrence give a sense of participation in the quality of life at that time. The tenuous umbilical cord of the railway line laboriously snaking its way through the bush is accorded the importance that it deserved. In Bloemfontein the squalor of rapid urbanisation is underscored in human terms while Bloemfontein's struggle for water is already outlined with a few laconic statements about the problems of having a bath.

THE VOLKSRAAD AND ITS CONSULTANTS

But it was elsewhere in Bloemfontein that the final phase of the Republic's building was getting underway. The events that underlay the creation of a few of the most important structures in the last decade of the nineteenth century, were shaped in the debates of the *Volksraad* and what tumultuous years they were for architects and engineers in the OFS.

The experiment of doing without an architect or engineer to oversee the rapidly diversifying programme of infrastructural building was shortlived. The departure of Hallé in 1886 left a hiatus of about four years until J E Vixseboxse was appointed as Government Architect in 1890, with his assistant D E Wentink following in 1891 as draughtsman. Vixseboxse played an important role at a critical juncture and the buildings designed by him reflect a mature and capable personality. His training was as engineer and he responded to Pres Kruger's call for assistance in the Transvaal in 1888 at which time he took up a position with the Department of Public Works. His superior there was the very able Dutch architect Sytze Wierda who arrived in Pretoria in 1887. The latter architect was responsible for the important state projects on the Market Square of Pretoria i.e. The Palace of Justice and the Raadzaal opposite. These projects must clearly have influenced the younger Vixseboxse. Probably as a result of a bilateral agreement he took up a position with the Orange Free State Republic on 10 September 1890. He held this position until 1 May 1893 and during the short term of office he designed such buildings as the New Post Office on Bloemfontein's Market Square (1891); a further floor for the government offices at the head of Maitland Street (1892); The Upper House at Eunice (1892); the New Station Building (1891); The National Hospital (1892) and a series of smaller public buildings for other towns in the Orange Free State. Although Vixseboxse's work was not beyond reproach his innate ability and ambition won him the prize for the New Museum Building in Cape Town in 1893. He made this submission jointly with Wentink his assistant. To give execution to his premiated design Vixseboxse left for Cape Town in 1893 leaving Wentink behind to take up the position vacated by himself.

But it was in connection with the fourth Raadzaal that a great storm was brewing and the principal personalties in this episode were only being readied for this in 1890. Lennox Canning who had won the coveted prize for this building in 1885 had to wait a few years to be called upon for his services. Architect Stucke was undertaking a number of private commissions in Bloemfontein, while the *Volksraad* was moving towards its most choleric phase.

Lennox Canning arrived in Bloemfontein on 5 February 1890 by the Johannesburg coach, (the railway line not having been completed at that stage) to oversee the commencement of the work on the fourth Raadzaal.[44]

Canning had gone to the Witwatersrand as a hopeful architect and in the extent of his commissions with his partner Goad he was not disappointed. Within four years he had designed and supervised four important buildings in the bustling Johannesburg, *inter alia* the new building for the Stock Exchange and the Market Street Arcade. The sheer volume of buildings erected in four short years was impressive, even when considered one hundred years later, and when Canning came to Bloemfontein he was self-assured and impatient. After the business-like dealings with the mining houses of Johannesburg the debates of the *Volksraad* seemed as irrelevant as they were unintelligible to him.

Towards the middle of March 1890 Mr Robertson the contractor for the fourth Raadzaal also arrived by coach from Johannesburg to commence work on the Raadzaal. The burst of activity on the Rand showed a temporary lull in 1890 and Mr Robinson was eager and pleased to have such an imortant project awarded to him. At that time neither he, nor Canning, nor the *Volksraad* realised that his tender was unrealistically low, and the fruits of this circumstance would only become apparent over the next two years. The labour force was made up almost entirely of "British lads" who were regarded by *The Friend* as "as fine a bunch of workmen as you could wish to see". The incongruity of the most important building erected for a Dutch-speaking community by artisans with cockney accents was not regarded as unusual.

When the *Volksraad* convened on 5 May 1890 Pres F W Reitz in his policy speech at the beginning of the session told the Raad that he had, as requested, called for tenders for the New Raadzaal and that the lowest bid i.e. that of Mr J R Robertson had been accepted at £27 000. The completion date was scheduled for 29 March 1892.[45] Although Lennox Canning had some early misgivings about the low tender submitted, he sublimated this instinct by suggesting that with certain economies the tender was realistic.

The President was also requested by the *Volksraad* to call for tenders for the New Post Office just recently designed by Mr Vixseboxse the new Government Architect. £5 000 was budgeted for this project in the financial year while £6 000 was set aside for a new buildig for Eunice, also designed by Vixseboxse.[46] It was a time of unexpected mellowness and generosity. The *Volksraad* agreed to spend £100 on furniture for the Presidency and allowed Major Albrecht £355 for additions to his fort. A request of £350 for ironpipes and an irrigation ditch in Bloemfontein was, however, turned down as an unnecessary extravagance.[47]

Even as the foundation stone laying of the fourth Raadzaal was being planned for 27 June 1890 the *Volksraad* was forced to discuss certain deficiencies at the Presidency completed some four years earlier under Canning's supervision. The architect had decided rather unwisely, to build ' "a basket-handle" arch in stone over the main entrance.[48] This type of arch with its sharp re-entrant curve near the springing line has lines of force tending towards the outside limits of the structure and although Michaelangelo could cope with arches as long and delicate as those of Ponta St Trinita in Florence, Canning's deflected seriously under the superimposed loads. Early photographs taken just after the completion fo the Presidency (1887 or 1888) show a distinct sagging of the *intrados*. The attention of the *Volksraad* was drawn to this condition by Mr Albrecht. At the same time it was recommended that the Presidency should be painted with waterglass. The aqueous solution of sodium or potassium silicate solidifies after exposure to air and was probably intended to protect the sandstone. The *Volksraad* wisely decided to refer the matter to the Executive Council with powers to act towards stiffening the arch and effecting repairs wherever necessary. The arch repair was allocated £200 and other repairs £800.[49] [97]

On the following day, 24 June 1890 the President had to allay fears about the quality of the stone being delivered for the fourth Raadzaal as well as concern about the bricks. The President assured the House that the building would be built under proper supervision and that the achitect would soon be in Bloemfontein to take charge of the project. The redoubtable Mr J A Venter was not appeased by this statement and said categorically that certain of the sandstones quarried were unsuitable as they exfoliated upon exposure to air. He complained similarly about the sandstone at the Presidency.[50]

The President is asked to warn the architect to ensure that the quality of the sandstone is suitable for the work to be undertaken.

A foundation stone at a lower level than the present one was exposed about thirty years ago. The date on it was the planned one but for unknown reasons was superceded by another stone at a higher level. The names of Pres Reitz and the contractor figured on this stone.[51]

Lennox Canning decided to bring J C Tulley to Bloemfontein to supervise the building work and to represent him locally. He was appointed in a supervisory capacity by the *Volksraad* after the completion of the Raadzaal and must have made a favourable impression on Vixseboxse and the *Volksraad*. He supervised the Isolation Hospital, the Asylum and the Superintendent's house for the latter building. The Superintendent's house at the Leper hospital was only destroyed a number of years ago on the farm belonging to the University of the Orange Free State. Tulley also worked on the Eunice School (Upper House) in a supervisory capacity.[52]

Present at the foundation stone laying on 27 June 1890 were the following personages:

Pres F Reitz
J Geo Fraser (chairman of the *Volksraad)*
Chief Justice M de Villiers
The Rev Kriel on behalf of the *Nederduitse Geref. Kerk*
Mr R Innes (Mayor)
Lennox Canning (Architect)
J R Robertson (Contractor)

The plans for the building were also placed under the foundation stone.

At this stage everything had an air of normality and the President was complimentary toward the contractor for the building work done to that point. The completion date was now mentioned as 3 June 1893.[53]

Progress with the Railway line MAP 10

Toward the end of 1890 the railway line had reached Bloemfontein and elaborate festivities befitting the occasion were arranged. The celebrations took three full days to spend themselves and whosoever desired to make a speech was granted the opportunity. 300 tents were erected near the fountain for visitors and when the first train arrived it was suitably welcomed by Cecil Rhodes, who travelled in the train; Dr J W Leyds the Government Secretary of the *Z A Republiek;* Lord Henry Loch, Governor of the Cape Colony; Geo M Theal the historian and no one less than Olive Schreiner. Pres Kruger was prevented from coming by the technical circumstance that he had not timeously obtained permission from his *Volksraad.* 222

To further enhance the lustre of the event, a reception was held at the Presidency, a torch procession moved down Maitland Street, the Fort was allowed to discharge fireworks, and special train trips were taken to the nearst siding South of Bloemfontein i.e. Ferreira Station. A ball in the 1883 Town Hall was reputed to have had 700 guests who danced from 9 pm until 4 am the next morning. The railway, so long resisted, was welcomed with an exuberance that Bloemfontein could never again match.

The line was rapidly advanced to the North and by 7 May 1892 it had reached Viljoensdrift on the Vaal River.

The new Post Office [219] [220]

The honeymoon at the fourth Raadzaal was soon over and when Robertson again submitted the lowest tender for the New Post Office the Government Secretary sent a telegram to Pres Reitz who was away at Hoopstad:

> 8 Jan 1891
>
> (Translated)
>
> The members of the Executive Council are of the opinion that the tender for the Post Office should be awarded to Robinson and Stephenson even if their tender is £800 higher than that of Robertson, provided that they can put up sureties for a thousand pounds or deposit a like sum in the bank. The Council wants nothing more to do with Robertson. They say that he is a jerry builder that is even now trying his best to build in bricks at the Raadzaal which have already been condemned.

Apparently in reply to a request from the President for information about Railway housing the Government Secretary advised him on 19 August 1891 that they would be of corrugated iron with burnt bricks internally and not sundried bricks.

The Inspector General of Works

The *Volksraad* had in the interim appointed a new Inspector General of Works in addition to the State Architect. The incumbent was a Hollander Mr Thiange and of all the officials ever appointed in the Free State, none had a rougher passage than Mr Thiange. His first adversity was that he was a Hollander by birth, secondly there were reservations about his ability and thirdly, most unforgivably, he spoke in a high-toned, squeaky voice. These factors were each individually sufficient to prejudice the *Volksraad* against him but in combination they caused a state of perpetual ferment and the abuse heaped upon the unfortunate man seems strangely overdrawn in hindsight. He was held in high esteem by the Executive Council which invariably defended the Inspector General against the more insulting abuse from members of the *Volksraad*. The salary of the Inspector General was fixed in June of 1891 at £800 whilst that of Vixseboxse was budgeted for at £600 per annum. Travelling expenses were fixed at £2 per day for both gentlemen. The budget for the financial year for the fourth Raadzaal was £13 800 with £300 being added for a heating system. June in Bloemfontein is a good time to propose a heating system.[54]

Two days later the Raad voted £5 020 for a new National Hospital and £20 000 for Grey College extensions with £10 000 allocated for the particular year.[55] The Presidency again required £500 for repairs. In the budgeting cycle the *Volksraad* showed a recurring syndrome namely the quick acceptance of fairly large sums of expenditure and in contrast to this extended haggling over smaller sums.

Mercurius

By September of 1891 the Executive Council became restive about a number of issues, principal amongst these was the matter of furnishing the Raadzaal and a controversy over the statue of Mercurius which was to be the crowning glory on the dome of the New Raadzaal. Apart from the general distrust of mythological figures one newspaper pointed out that Mercurius was supposed to be the patron god of liars. The Government Secretary sent a telegram to Canning expressing the *Volksraad's* concern and requesting the statue be omitted from the finished design.

Canning never at a loss for words replied telegraphically on 3 January 1892:

> Your mythology somewhat at fault. Mercurius besides presiding over the light fingered, was god of travellers, farmers, orators and merchants whilst as the patron of eloquence he is a fit emblem to adorn the cupola especially as statuette is modelled from one (of the) great works of classic sculpture. I bow to the President's determination but cannot think he shares the views expressed in your telegram. Happy New Year.

The model for the statue of Mercury to which Canning refers was probably that of the artist Bologna which is in the Louvre, Paris. What must have annoyed the members of the *Volksraad* most was that Mercury, besides having more duties than any other god in mythology, was also the patron of thieves, gamblers and ambassadors and with his *caducous* guided the souls of the dead to the lower world. When all this was pointed out to the members, they found their sense of dignity affronted. Although Canning probably desired no more than an artistic climax to his *magnum opus* he discovered that the *Volksraad* read some hidden meaning into his gesture which Mercury could openly reveal with impunity. So it was taken down, briefly enjoyed a sojourn on the roofline of "De Express" and finally was consigned to a new building in Johannesburg where its patronage was not held to be wholly incongruous.

The question of acoustics at the fourth Raadzaal came up for discussion early in January of 1892 where the solution proposed and adopted for the Raadzaal of the Transvaal Republic was a series of silver steel wires (piano wires) suspended tautly across the room. The State Architect, Wierda, was satisfied that the acoustical defects that had existed previously were completely cured by this device, perhaps the earliest example of a building wired for sound.[56]

No scientific explanation was offered for this phenomenon but its visual properties must have detracted from its general acceptance.

Canning's time must have been fully occupied with the fourth Raadzaal as a report from Johannesburg intimates that Canning "who has in hand some important work in the Free State, is on a brief visit to the Rand."[57]

Meanwhile Vixseboxse was not idle and even found time to conduct classes in Architectural Draughting. A press announcement of his intentions stated that these classes would be conducted at Grey College provided the public evinced sufficient interest.[58] On 3 February 1892 the foundation stone of the new building for the *Dames Instituut Eunice* was laid, a project which also sprang from Vixseboxse's drawing board.

Work on the Post Office had also in the meantime progressed to the point where the town could boast four new towers within the space of one year (The Raadzaal, Post Office, Fichardt's house and the New Club Building in the course of erection.)[59] Vixseboxse's first steel bridge in Bloemfontein at lower Kerk Street is reported to have had serious problems of closure, the steelwork not coinciding with the prepared anchorages, but by February 26 the bridge was in fact completed.[60]

Canning's difficult journeys to Bloemfontein, being half by train and half by a horse-drawn vehicle, were slightly eased when the Railway line reached Kroonstad on 20 February 1892. But at the Raadzaal itself events were gradually getting mired down by the inability of the contractor to meet his obligations and the late delivery of the furniture for the building which was now put forward until 30 November 1892. Canning was at this time made a full Fellow of the Society of Antiquarians of Scotland which he called the "Blue Ribbon of the Architectural Profession".[61]

A telegram from the Government Secretary to the State President at Bethulie dated 29 February 1892 indicates that Canning is preparing a "list of extras," the most terrifying phrase in the building industry. At last on March 11, 1892 the contractor stopped work, having refused to proceed any further. His overly-low tender had at last caught up with him despite Canning's attemps to meet this deficiency by substituting cheaper work in lieu of that originally specified. These circumstances must have been disconcerting for the responsible committee and the *Volksraad* to which they had to report. In particular Vixseboxse must have found this vexing, as he was fully occupied with a round of building activities inside and outside Bloemfon-

tein. On 30 April 1892 he sent plans to the Superintendent of Education for a new hostel at the Girls' School in Bethlehem, the estimated cost being £2 000-£2 200. The plan was dated 30 April 1892.

The extent of the Government's involvement with education can be gauged from the fact that in 1892 there were no less than 98 Government Schools in the Republic, with 151 teachers and 3 249 pupils of whom 574 received free education.[62]

The extension of the civil service warranted the addition of a further floor on the Government Building at the head of Maitland Street. The designs for this addition gave Vixseboxse and Wentink some scope for improving the basic groundwork provided by R Wocke. The building was ungainly in the extreme but after Vixseboxse's addition even Wocke's long awaited ideal seemed to have come to fruition and the proportions of the whole were enhanced by the addition.[63]

On 2 May the President had to report on the debacle of the Raadzaal's contract. Not only had the contractor defaulted on his contract but even the surety faltered when he had, in good faith invested a further £7000 of his own money on the project. Replying to criticism of the Public Works Department the President pointed out that the project hailed from the time when no department existed. (After Hallé's departure in 1886).[64]

The Raadzaal investigation

To investigate the future course of action the *Volksraad* now appointed an investigating committee consisting of P M Botha, H Kleijnveld, B O Kellner, J G Keijter and J M Wessels. Mr Klijnveld spoke his mind about Canning the very next day saying that it was incomprehensible that after the bad experience with the President's home the commission for the Raadzaal had been entrusted to the same architect.[65] An architect, he said could never lose even if he has been instrumental in ruining a dozen contractors - he would always get his 2½%.[66] The final showdown between the *Volksraad* and its consultants, private and in-house, was looming.

The impatience for the New Raadzaal was spurred on by the discomfort occasioned by the third Raadzaal where it was "recommended" for its discomfort, drafts, and chilliness. In fact the ills circulating amongst the members of the *Volksraad* was referred to as the *Raadzaal Ziekte*.[67] These circumstances did nothing to ameliorate the feelings of the members towards their architect and on 21 June 1892 the war of the telegrams commenced. These documents had such an important bearing on future events that they are best quoted *verbatim:*

Govt. Secy to Canning

Urgent

June 21. It is the desire of the *Volksraad* that you should come to Bloemfontein at once, leave tomorrow if possible as the Raad is likely to break up on Monday next. The members would very much like to hear you on your defence with regard to the report of the commission. Wire at once when you will be here so that I can report.

The report referred to in the telegram was submitted by a committee consisting of Messrs Rose, Stucke and Vixseboxse and was dated 14 June 1892. The *Volksraad* had wisely decided that Canning should be tried by his own peers in his own profession. This decision was taken after the original committee had drawn up a full report and the three gentlemen were required to give a technical opinion on the structure itself. Both the original report and the technical addendum are very interesting documents and give insights into building conditions, building materials and costs. On the whole the report was very damaging to Canning's

reputation as well as that of the contractor. The report was a model of dispassionate professional assessment and indicated that the *Volksraad* would at least be implicated in expenditure of a further £13 800 and that the value of the work done and materials on site was £26 000. The commission reported on deficiencies both in structure and in materials and the *Volksraad's* wish to see the architect before them was understandable.

But it was not in Canning's nature to accept peremtory commands or to submit willingly to the criticisms of two other architects. In reply to the Secretary's telegram he sent one of his own.

> My present arrangements will not admit my coming to meet the Hon *Volksraad* with reference to report of Raadzaal commission. I was in Bloemfontein when commission was sitting and then my presence and service were ignored, and my assistent Mr Wocke called in my place. The commission have gone out of their way to offer me and my profession most unpardonable insult and moreover they have framed a report based upon the *ex parte* evidence of the late contractor and his partizans. I regret that my endeavours to conscientiously discharge my duties towards esteemed clients, the Govt, have met with such small appreciation at the hands of the hon *Volksraad* and that they should have appointed a commission which so far forgot the justice and courtesy due to a professional man of my standing. Am forwarding a letter.

This was strong and heady stuff and the *Volksraad* was not long in reacting to what it regarded as an insult to its dignity and a contempt for its authority.

While the *Volksraad* was debating as how best to chastise their errant architect a new prospective contractor was waiting in the wings to take the place of those lately defected. On June 25 1892 the Government Secretary advised Mr Tennant in Johannesburg that:[68]

> on account of dispute with architect which has been occupying attention of *Volksraad* during last few days matter is still undecided.

but by June 28 the clouds had sufficiently cleared for the Government Secretary to advise Mr Tennant to call on Bloemfontein if he "happened to be in the neighbourhood".

But the *Volksraad* had decided to revise the Specifications of the Raadzaal and to call for new tenders. Documents were sent to Messrs Tennant; Scrimgeour and Klute ; Bell; Farrant; and Courtney. Mr Vixseboxse's new specifications called for tenders to be in by 31 July 1892.[69] The *Volksraad* had considered the various avenues open to them and decided to lay Canning's telegram before the Executive Council to investigate the charges made against him by the Commission and the investigating architects.[70]

The contractor Farrant enquired on 24 July 1892 as to his standing in connection with his tender for completion of the Raadzaal as he was offered other buildings in Johannesburg. Pres Reitz gave an answer couched in the same words as the earlier telegram to Tennant.[71] At this time the debate around Canning's actions had, one way and another, occupied the *Volksraad's* attention for more than a month.

On 1 August the Government Secretary advised the tenderers that the tender of Messrs Kirkness had been accepted. These negotiations seemed to have been conducted in parallel with the official tendering procedure. The Kirkness tender was for £13 610.[72]

In the end the *Volksraad* accepted the recommendation of its appointed committee that on the evidence before it would not be wise to continue with Canning as the architect for the Raadzaal. Canning's attitude towards his client finally proved too much for the *Volksraad* to stomach and he was relieved of his commission.

This circumstance is one in a long chain of events which bedevilled Canning's practice in South Africa. Not only were there numerous complaints about the efficacy of his professional conduct, he appeared to view his clients (the *Volksraad*) with disdain elaborating in the press on their lack of insight into all matters artistic and architectural in a manner which inevitably led to the decline of his reputation. He wrote

numerous letters to the press defending indefensible positions in acrimonious language. His commissions on the Witwatersrand seemed to dwindle coincidently with his setbacks in the Orange Free State.

In 1895, the architect, designer of stage sets and military costumes; the holder of various strange and little known memberships; the actor ; the raconteur; the musician; the winner of competitions, found that he had not carved out a successful professional career but had unwittingly written a chapter which could properly be headed "how to make enemies and antagonise people".

The Raadzaal now became Vixseboxse's full responsibility and so intimately was he bound up with its completion that in later years his daughter, Mrs Ulyate wrote to the archivist at Bloemfontein complaining that the fourth Raadzaal had been erroneously ascribed to Canning when in fact her father was the architect.

The remedial measures proposed by the three architects, Rose, Stucke and Vixseboxse were put in hand and the building finally completed substantially as designed by Canning.

Early in 1893 the chairs and other items of furniture arrived in Bloemfontein and by 1 May 1893 it could be reported that the Raadzaal was virtually completed, although the important drapes and curtains were not installed before December of that year.

The country suffered not only from locusts, drought and foot-and-mouth disease, but in the NewRaadzaal all was not well with the acoustics. The last time the *Volksraad* had business in the third Raadzaal of 1875 was on 5 June 1893, and members who complained about the acoustics in the older Raadzaal were so disappointed in the new that they expressed a desire to return there.[73]

But when the key was handed to the Inspector of Public works it passed from him to the chairman of the *Volksraad* and thence to Pres F W Reitz who was genuine in his praise of the new building.

Much money, effort and disappointment marked the erection of the Raadzaal he said but the cost has been paid. It was, he said: " a graceful and attractive building, chaste, pure and tasteful and one which does credit to the designer".[74] [228] [229] [230]

The furniture from the previous Raadzaal was now sold to members at £3 a piece. When the hangings and fittings for the New Raadzaal were in place *The Friend* was enthusiastic.

> The new hangings and fittings for the New Raadzaal have been put up and give the hall and other apartments a very gorgeous appearance.
>
> Magnificent plush curtains and hangings are hung in the hall, which not only improve the appearance but also the acoustics.
>
> The portion appropriated to the members is fitted up in a specially gorgeous style, and is carpeted with Axminster and Turkish carpets, the latter having been specially ordered from Constantinople. The walls are hung between the pillars with magnificent curtains in *terra cotta* plush and the entrance under the gallery is similarly draped.
>
> The offices, parlours, President's Room, reading room, smoking room etc, are not less sumptuously supplied and the whole building is undoubtedly the most comfortable and luxurious home for legislators to be found in South Africa. The furnishings were supplied by D Isaacs & Co. Cape Town.

The *Volksraad* was at last housed in a substantial building, adequately furnished and luxuriously appointed, from the handsome little desks to the bold leaded lights and marble inlay on the floors.

The exterior reflected the eclecticism of the times with Roman and Greek motifs, cohabiting with leaded light windows and a cupola in pressed metal made in a manner which Canning said could only be properly done in Amsterdam. [FRONTISPIECE]

Vixseboxse had a very busy time during 1892 and early 1893. Not only was the New Post Office completed during this period but the National Hospital as well. Plans were prepared for a further floor on the Government Offices and in his "spare" time Vixseboxse in conjunction with Wentink entered for a competition for the New Museum building in Cape Town. In March of 1892 these gentlemen were advised that their entry was successful and had won not only a £200 prize but the commission as well.[75] Wentink did not accompany Vixseboxse to the Cape after his resignation but remained in Bloemfontein to take Vixseboxse's place.

Although Vixseboxse supervised the building of the Museum the outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War placed him in an inviduous position as a citizen of Holland and he decided to return to his Fatherland as the only option open to him. He returned to South Africa after the war and practised in Oudtshoorn during the ostrich feather boom. His best known design is the *Pinehurst* residence for the Edmeades family (1911).[76] In 1919 there is a brief report that Vixseboxse supervised the dismantling and re-erection of the tower to the Ned Geref Kerk in Beaufort West. After that he seems to fade from the picture, his descendents, through his daughter, remembering only his unusual name.

After the Canning episode the *Volksraad* could turn their full attention on the unfortunate Thiange, the Inspector of Public Works who was to take the brunt of the *Volksraad's* displeasure and undisguised abuse. Even local contractors were wont to play elaborate pranks on the unfortunate Thiange by pointing out the incorrect positions for bridges other than those decided on.[77] The Executive had considerable faith in Thiange as an Engineer and the protective attitude adopted by this body whenever Thiange was reviled in the *Volksraad* angered that body. Thiange was in fact quite a capable engineer and bridges designed by him were approved by Engineers called from Britain for the specific purpose of commenting on the adequacy of his calculations. But bridges were expensive and the building of piers in difficult founding conditions meant that these piers were at times subject to flood-forces which they could not resist. These occurences had the effect on the *Volksraad* of a cumulative aggregation of grievances.

Mr Fisher, chairman of the *Volksraad* was obliged after a session of severe criticism to say of Thiange:[78]

> The *Volksraad* is asking too much from one man when it expects him to build works which can resist the hand of God, and if failing to do so, to ask for his discharge. Someone capable of building (piers) which could resist the floods recently experienced at the Wilgerivier bridge would have to summoned from Heaven since no such person exsits on earth. As soon as an infallible engineer is found he (Fisher) would also vote for the dismissal of Thiange, but not before.

Another member describing Thiange's case said that:[79]

> The man is small, his voice is somewhat unpleasant, and at times he may be discourteous, but improvements in these qualities are not the most essential requirements of an official.

This dubious defence moved a member to say "yes but it appears that he builds bridges in mudholes". A further point of criticism levelled at Thiange was that he preferred to purchase materials directly in Holland rather than from merchants in Bloemfontein. The Chambers of Commerce were opposed to such economies.[80]

Thiange also had the responsibility of furthering the network of Railway lines throughout South Africa and this he did in conjunction with the Engineers of the Cape Railway System. But in the end Thiange succumbed to the attacks and resigned in 1895.

The patience and forebearance of the President during these unpleasant debates illuminate the minutes of the *Volksraad*. He was ever ready to defend the actions of those officials in whom the Executive Council put their faith, he listened patiently to endless harangues which were added to the agenda, and coaxed all concerned to a forward looking position. No problem seemed too large or too small for him to handle. As an example an incident in January 1893 can be quoted. The State President was on a formal visit to Heilbron when he received an urgent telegram from the Government Secretary reading:[81]

Have received a small box from Uitenhage containing Lady Birds. What must I do with them?

The President's suggestion, whatever it might have been, would probably have been harmful to the Secretary and the Lady Birds.

The *Volksraad* took time out to unveil a monument to President Brand on 7 July 1893. This cast bronze statue was sculpted by J W Best of Amsterdam and so pleased the *Volksraad* that a special certificate of appreciation was sent to the artist on 19 September 1893. The statue is 2,4m high and stands on a polished Aberdeen granite base designed by architect Stucke while Fernhead was the responsible contractor. For once, all the circumstances were propitious and the city of Bloemfontein enjoys this lifelike tribute to this day.[82] After the efficient services rendered by Stucke during the Raadzaal debacle it was natural that the Executive Commitee would make greater use of his services. Unfortunately Stucke seems for a time to have slipped into the role of quasi-arbitrator on contentious building matters rather than the recipient of new Government commissions. Stucke and his partner Harrison were entrusted with three new bridges in 1894 for the local authority.

The Grey College continued to be treated generously with funds and in July of 1893 a further £10 000 was voted for a new building, while at the same the *Volksraad* gave further token of its displeaure of Thiange by reducing his salary from £800 a year to £600.

The *Volkshospitaal* designed by Vixseboxse was formally opened on 1 November 1893 with a capacity of fifty beds. This building was also subject to criticism in the press and was subsequently modified a number of times, but as an aid to medicine it served a very important function until a new hospital was built to the South of Bloemfontein forty years later.[84] In the period June 1898 to June 1899, 270 patients were admitted of whom 61 were black patients. [224]

During may of 1893 Thiange's bridge at Zandriver was discussed in the *Volksraad* but his design was vindicated by a consulting engineer seconded from Great Britain.[85] The extent of the Inspector General's duties was outlined by C W H van der Post in a debate on that day. It was, he said, never the intention that Mr Thiange should be burdened with the financial administration of building contracts nor should he be responsible for the brand-irons and brand-marks on the rumps of asses.[86] The *Volksraad* did concede in the same session, that local supervisory committees did not function well "although there were many (such committee members) that had more knowledge (of building matters) than many experts did".[87]

Although there is ample evidence that Vixseboxse performed well as a state architect, after his departure for Cape Town he was censured in the *Volksraad*. Mr Fisher reported on 3 May 1893 as follows (Translated).[88]

I regret that the Government architect has now resigned as I could show that this official was deficient in many ways. Although I do not hold the head of the department responsible it is a fact that most buildings in Bloemfontein are not well built and the Government has not recieved value for its money.

There was also dissatisfaction about the manner in which contracts in outlying areas were supervised and executed. Mr Wessels of Vrede, speaking of the supporting pillars at doorways, said that they were worthless and had already collapsed. Vixseboxse had apparently just escaped the wrath of the *Volksraad* as

one member had proposed that if the State Architect was not performing his functions properly he should be dismissed and a more competent person appointed in his place.[89]

The *Volksraad* member A J Burger echoed the sentiments of many other members when he stated:[90]

> I am opposed to experts who have no practical experience and have less sense about stones than the common sense of an ordinary person.

Mr Du Toit of Smithfield had similar reservations.

> The local commission on the spot has more knowledge of the nature of the soil than supervisors and architects.

Mr Fraser, chairman, stated that although he had nothing against the department of the Government Architect he would like his displeasure noted about the (services) of the architect who had just resigned (Vixseboxse) and trusted that a knowledgeable and capable person would be found to take its place.[92]

The Inspector General (Thiange) was also criticised for having no knowledge of South African conditions and soils and it was suggested that perhaps local committees were the best after all.[93]

Mr D Wentink, Vixseboxse's assistant was now appointed to supervise all building projects but as his salary was less than Vixseboxse's (i.e. £300 per year) it must be assumed that the *Volksraad* had down graded the position to bring it into line with the Raad's estimation of its true worth. [239]

There is much to suggest that Wentink, the backroom boy for so long had indeed made essential inputs into the design of buildings when Vixseboxse was his superior. This is borne out by the qualities of certain projects undertaken by Wentink after Vixseboxse's departure, i.e. the additional floor to the Government Offices, the completion of the Post Office and the design of the Railway Bureau near the Station. Wentink was called the "Works Assistant" and on 30 June 1894 his salary was still only £300 per year.[94] [221]

The commission for the Raadzaal reported that a claim had been received from Canning in respect of certain unpaid fees for services rendered. Perhaps against their inclinations £500 was voted for this. Canning was moving toward a position of financial crisis and this late claim must have been humiliating to him.

The last six years of the Republican Government was occupied with a plethora of legislation, building and matters of state, particularly after the Jameson Raid. One of the principal concerns of the Government was the provision of additional accommodation and a total of £6 000 was voted for this project in 1894.[95] The metamorphosis which the ungainly building underwent under the hand of Wentink is remarkable and the end product left an impression of some Mansardian grace and utilitarian dignity. It was later remodelled by Sir Herbert Baker during the time of the Orange River Colony.

Members of the *Volksraad* suggested in 1894, after hearing Pres Reitz's plan for an extended, dignified building for the Government Offices, that these offices were perhaps not necessary after all, since space in the existing building could be generated by the simple expedient of throwing away all the old documents. It was also suggested that the Auditor General could fruitfully put to fire all his archival records.[96]

Fortunately Mr Fraser intervened to say that he know of no state that burnt its old records. Although many records were destroyed by fire at a later date this was by accident and not by design.

To prevent the haphazard commencement of new towns the *Volksraad* acted law No 6 of which made it an offence to initiate new 'towns' without the permission of the *Volksraad* and in the event of someone selling erven in an unproclaimed area he could be fined £200.

The fourth Raadzaal was voted a splendid wrought iron fence in 1894 at a cost of £4 000 and a number of conveniences at a cost of £319.[97] The fence is a splendid piece of wrought-iron craftmanship and the entrance gateway is particularly noteworthy.

Mr Stucke was awarded the commission for the New Grey College building and the *Volksraad* budgeted £10 461 for building costs and architects fees.[98]

All in all 1894 was a good year for schools. In addition to Grey College Senekal and Fauresmith were voted £1 000 each for a school building.

After Thianges resignation (dismissal) in 1895 *The Friend* expressed its regret:[99]

> The Raad, we consider, were very precipitate in the matter of the dismissal of Mr Thiange. Although Thiange resigned he was none the less dismissed. In getting rid of Mr Thiange we are losing an exceedingly able official and we believe an honest man. He was dismissed just before the Railway Congress in Cape Town.

In August of 1895 Mr G A Northcroft was appointed acting Inspector General of Public Works in the place of Mr Thiange. In his report for the year 1895 he mentions that he was aided in his duties by D.E. Wentink as architectural assistant and Mr H.G.E. de la Cornillière as draughtsman. The local budget for building work to be tabled was £40 080 and Mr Northcroft could report that the fourth Raadzaal was completed.[100]

Wentink was now doing the same work as Vixseboxse at a salary of £400 per annum (1896) and his duties were at least as onerous as that of his predecessor. Mr Northcroft the Inspector General was receiving £700 per year. As an indication of his ability Mr Northcroft was still in the OFS in 1911 when his salary was £12 000 per annum.

The Presidency, occupied by President M T Steyn from March 1896 onwards figured often in the minutes of the *Volksraad* and after reviewing the difficulties with the roof the *Volksraad* agreed to vote £1 600 for improvements to the roof structure and for repairs, as well as a further £200 for furniture.[101]

In his concept for the Presidency Canning had designed the building with a pitched roof enclosing at the centre, where the roof lights were, a number of internal, recessed water catchment areas. These were inclined to leak particularly during hailstorms or heavy rain. In addition the solar heat gain through the roof lights must have rendered the internal climate too hot for summer without giving any relief in the winter.

To overcome this difficulty the Government Architect, (presumably Wentink if the roof item in the agenda refers to the roof alteration), took up the sloping outer edge of the roof and closed them at a new upper level with a separate enclosing roof. To achieve this difficult transition the slopes had to be bastardized achieving an awkward fit in various places. The outward appearance of the building now revealed a roof which completely dominated Canning's design. This change appears on all photographs taken after 1896 with only one or two rare photographs showing the building as originally designed and built.

The incumbent President was expected to provide the furniture for the Presidency with the exception of a few items for the main reception rooms. President Steyn had purchased the farm *Onze Rust* near Bloemfontein so that he was obliged to keep two households going. In consequence the Presidency was sparsely furnished, a circumstance commented upon by Lord Roberts when he occupied the building for his headquarters in March of 1900.

Apart from these considerations, all the Presidents occupying the Presidency were reluctant to give any outward appearance of lavishness or ill-considered expenditure on their behalf. This was particularly the case when the Republic received a great economic setback with the great *Rinderpest* when cattle which did not die from the disease had often to be destroyed to prevent contagion spreading. Still, as family people they imparted something of their own stamp on the building.

Interiors were furnished with the trophies and memorabilia dear to each family.

Roofing problems were apparently not all resolved in 1896 as a further £500 was voted in 1897 for improvements to the roof while furniture received a budget of £800.[102]

The same budget included £331 for repairs to the gable and roof of Vixseboxse's Post Office while education received again the lion's share i.e. £5 000 for Grey College and £6 000 for a Railway Hostel for indigent youths. The recently completed *Volkshospitaal* required £4 000 for enlargement and improvements, while a new Post and Telegraph Office,at Kroonstad called for £1 200.[103] Hospitals of various kinds occupied the attention of the *Volksraad* in particular. An institution for lepers was budgeted for in June 1897 and a home for the Superintendent. Apparently this building was never used as such owing to other arrangements being made for lepers elsewhere in South Africa.

Whatever complaints about parsimony could be laid at the door of the *Volksraad* these could not be substantiated in respect of schools and hospitals. Education and health had an aura of desirability about them that any member could oppose only at the peril of his political career.

The Railway and Telegraph fever gripped most communities during the latter half of the nineties as each was concerned to ensure that the main line would not be out of reach. Telegraphic communication was complete by about 1897 and the older districts could boast a school, a *landdros* office,prison cells, a church and a few bridges all mainly built of stone. Boshof and Ladybrand were awarded £2 000 and £2 800 respectively in 1897.[105]

The extent of railworks, stations, bridges, telegraph lines etc. took up no less than £88 000 of the budget which represented very large sums of money for the *Volksraad* to decide on.

Internally the Republic of the late nineties represented an outward appearance of an ideal state: James Bryce writes of the OFS in 1895 in the following terms:[106]

> that singularly happy, prosperous, peaceful and well-governed community, the Orange Free State . . . . No religious animosities divide christians, for there is perfect religious freedom. No political parties have sprang up. The lion and the lamb on the crest typify the harmony which exists between British and Dutch elements. In the Orange Free State I discovered in 1895, the kind of commonwealth which philosophers of the 18th century painted.

This idyllic situation saw the first signs of its dissolution when the Jameson Raid occurred in the Transvaal in 1895 and Pres Kruger and Steyn drew closer along lines of blood and cultural ties to present a united front to the British encroachment which they were beginning to observe and fear. In the *Volksraad* Pres Steyn made known the fact that British troops had landed in South Africa.[107] Pres Steyn, a man of peace but resolute in war had to make the choice between Rhodes and Kruger and made a clear-out decision.

Internally, life in the Republic gathered a momentum of its own as if the prospect of a long and bitter war were merely the unreal dreams of politicians. In June, 1898 the *Volksraad* went into a recess for the purpose of attending the foundation stone laying of the Central Oranje Vrijstaat Spoorwegen Bureau, the work of the architect Wentink.[108] It represented the most dignity for the least outlay but was in every way representative of the architecture that the Republic was generating towards the end of the Century.

Hospitals and education again largely figured in the debates, indicating a certainty and a hope for peace that was not to be deflected by the shadows of the gathering clouds of war. Hospital extensions and repairs are listed at £5 900 with Grey College getting an allocation of £4 675; Kroonstad a school of £2 000; Bethulie a school of £1 500 and a bridge at Hoopstad across the VetRiver £15 000. An interesting item also refers to two new powderhouses, at Frankfort and Villiers.[109]

A visitor to Bloemfontein in 1898 described the town thus: [110]

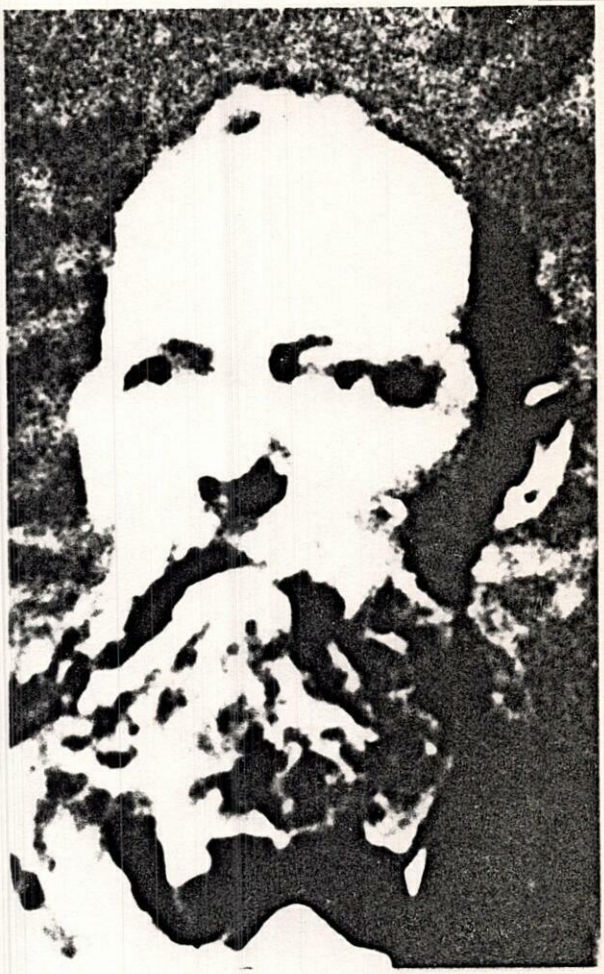
> The town itself I find rather stretched out despite its 4000 inhabitants but rather less attractive than on the previous occasion, with its treeless, dusty streets. Streetlighting and water reticulation are still absent but imminent. A few buildings such as the Post Office, hospital and police station are designed by Dutch Architects in a Dutch Renaissance style, tasteful but a thorn in the eye of the British Residents. Others like the President's residence and Grey College are unmistakeably a British style. To me the finest building is the Raadzaal.

Several other building matters received the attention of the *Volksraad* in the July session of 1898. The possibility of a press gallery in the *Volksraad* is discussed and £265 is voted for a fireproof vault for the Surveyor-general's office. A new staircase at Government Offices required £400 and £2 000 was voted for extensions to the National Museum. An interesting item appears on the budget i.e. pillar postboxes (see post-script). Several secondary telegraphic links were approved as well as a number of bridges: at Jacobsdal £3 000; extension of Frankfort bridge £847; Jammerbergspruit £4 496 and a bridge over Riet River £12 000.

The Railway Bureau was completed in 1899 apparently just in time to house the meeting between Kruger and Milner on the neutral ground of the OFS, on 31 May 1899.

When Pres Kruger emerged from this futile meeting both he and Pres Steyn realised that the die was cast and that war was inevitable.

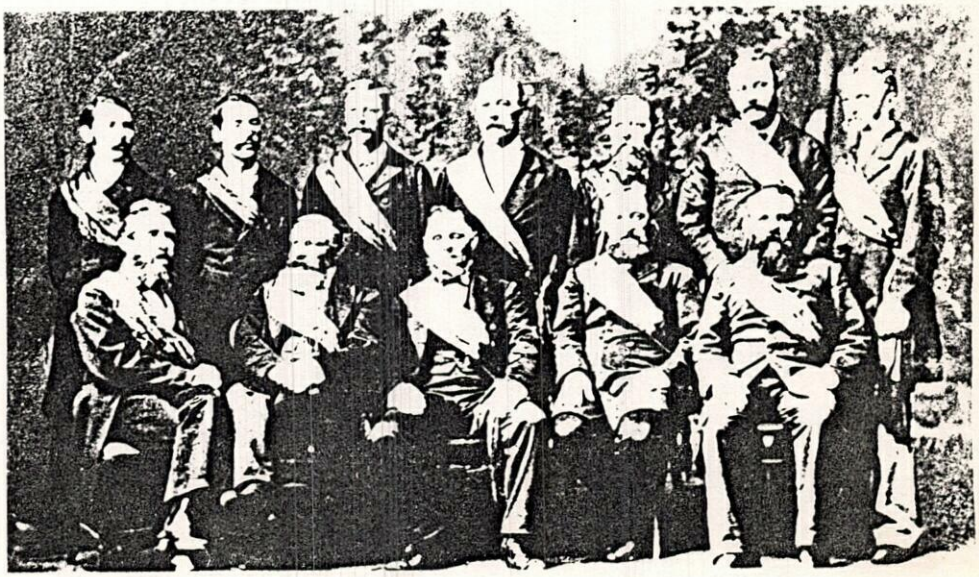
The Republic that had experienced a period of late flowering was on the brink of major educational, infrastructural, and architectural developments all of which were to be suspended as if in mid-air and a period of attrition was about to start which turned a happy and thriving republic into a devastated ruin. Bloemfontein survived the holocaust but the *platteland* felt the full brunt of a scorched earth policy and as a functioning farming entity was eliminated in the space of a year.

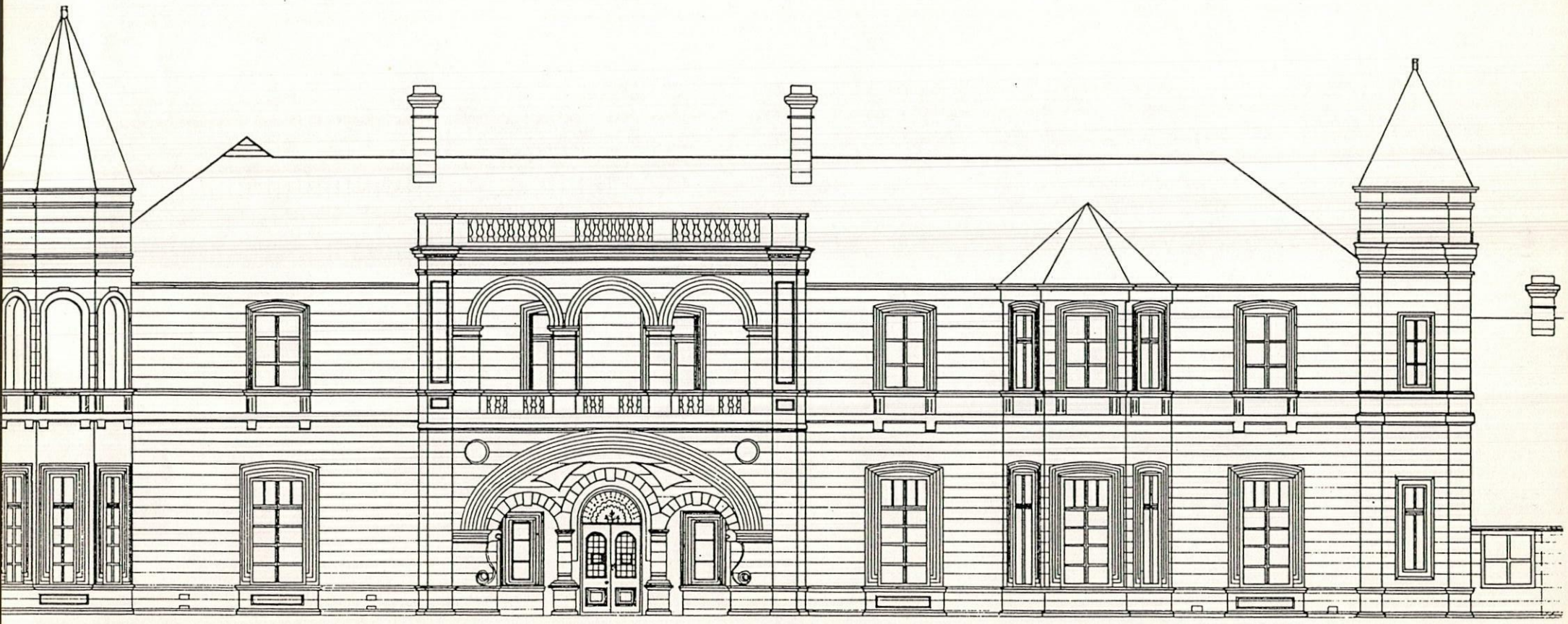


The diminutive Richard Wocke (1831-1890) was, as far as can be ascertained, responsible for the design of some eighteen buildings in the OFS, the most notable being the *Tweetoringkerk* and the original Government Offices in Bloemfontein at the top of Maitland Street. As architect/builder his activities dominated the OFS building scene during the seventies. He was elected to the Bloemfontein Town Council and in the photograph he appears with the other members elected in 1885:

Seated (left to right): D. Tennant, F.W. Salzmann, S. Goddard, R. Innes, John Clark.

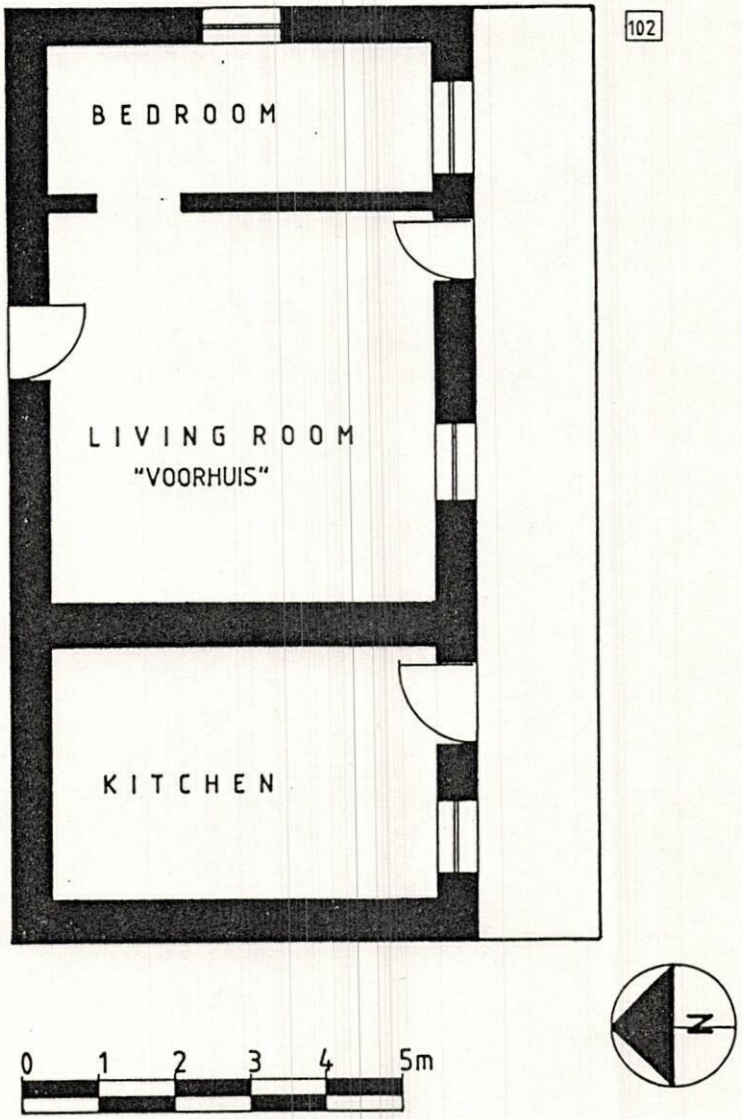
Standing (left to right): ——— F. Butters, C. Voigt, G. Stock, R. Wocke, W.H. Norton, J.F. van Iddekinge.



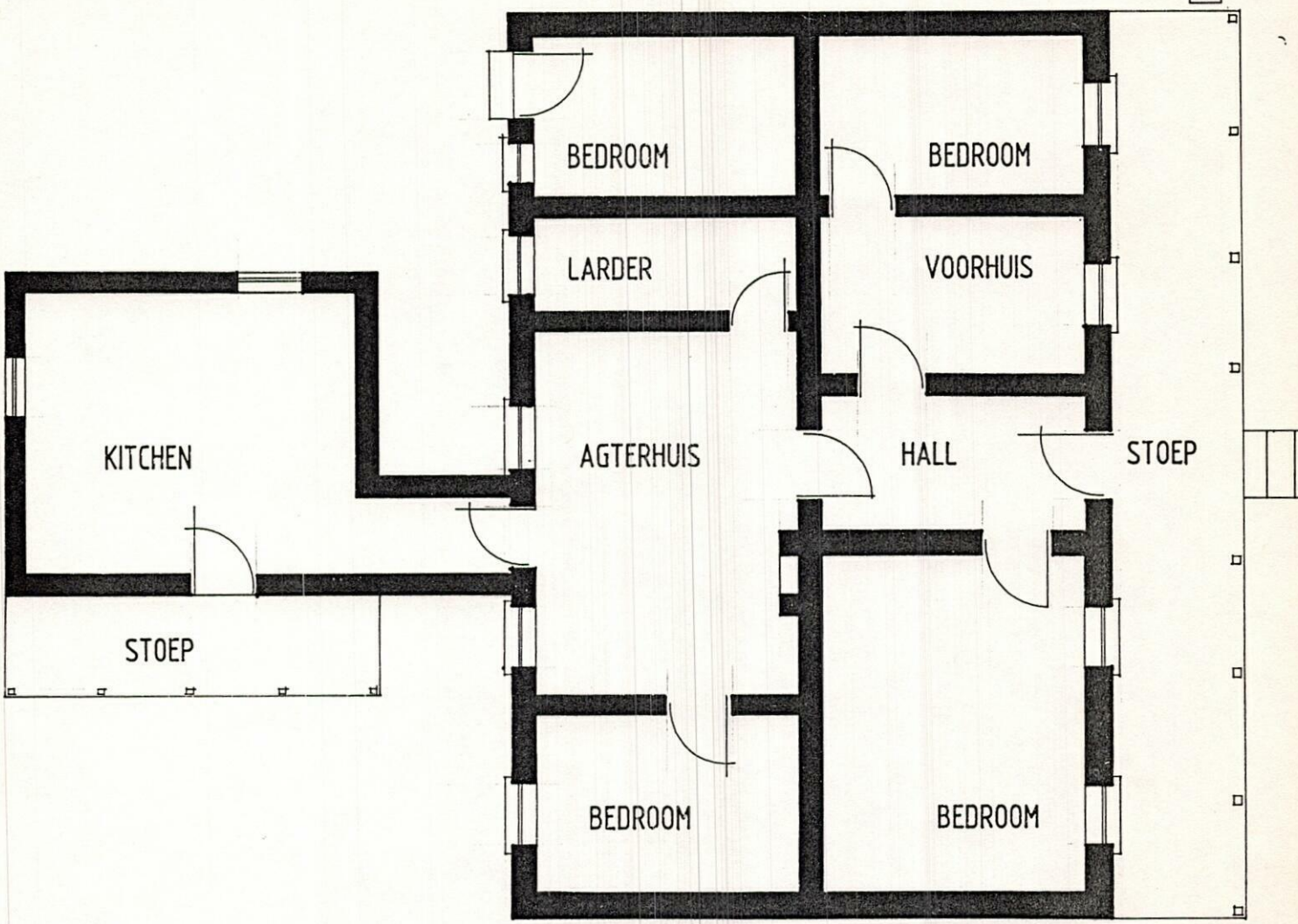


)ld Presidency, Bloemfontein. 1886. East Elevation

The triple relieving arches under the entrance arch were inserted within a few years of the building's completion. The original roof line vas reinstated during restoration 1972-1984.



SASOLBURG: EARLY FARM HOUSE NOW
ON TOWNLANDS: 1888



This farm was awarded to William Warden in 1852.
The existing residence dates from 1888.

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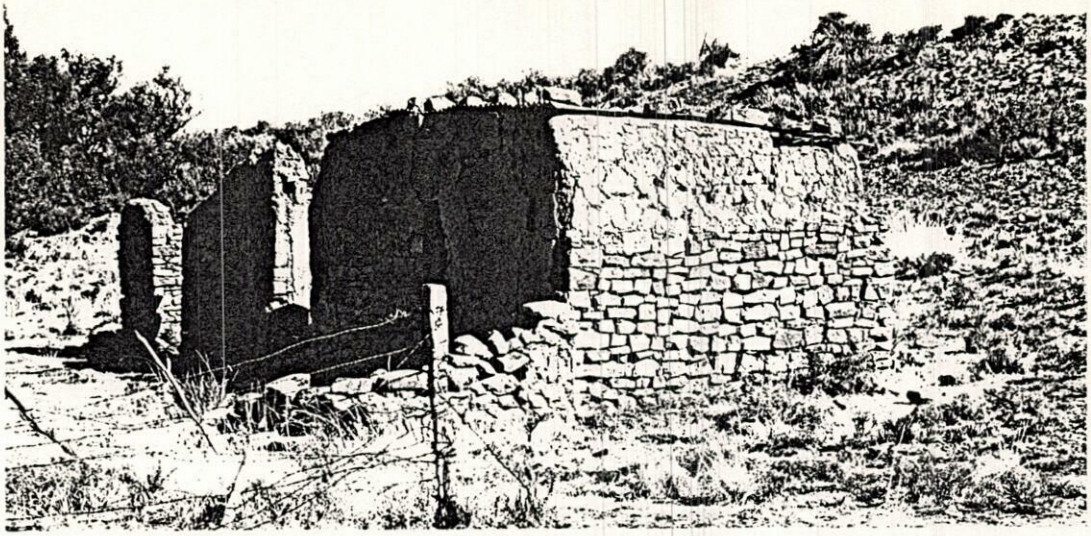
BAGSHOT 1888

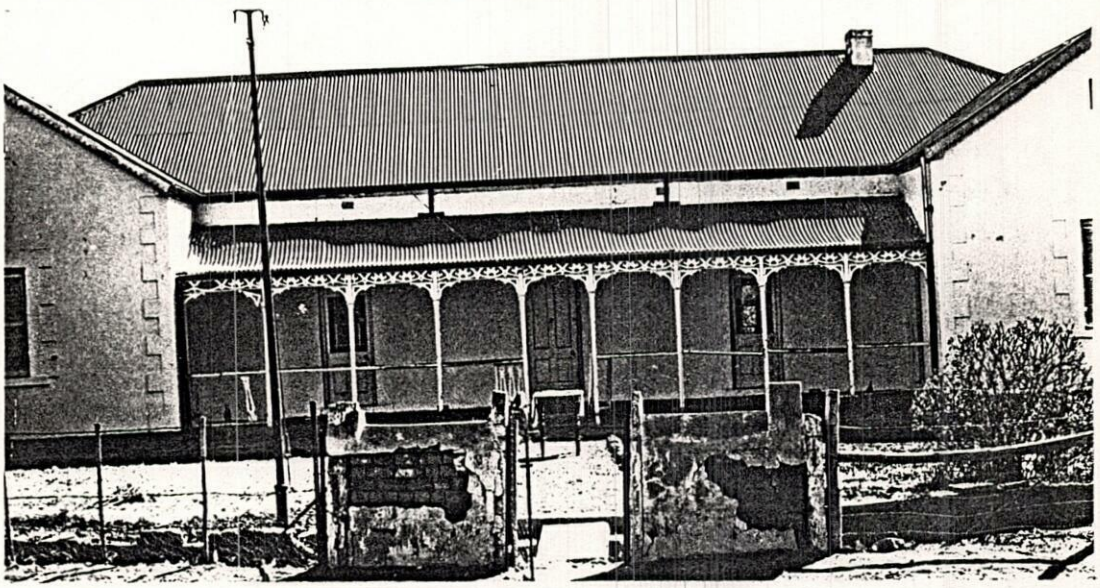
HARRISMITH

104



1850

105

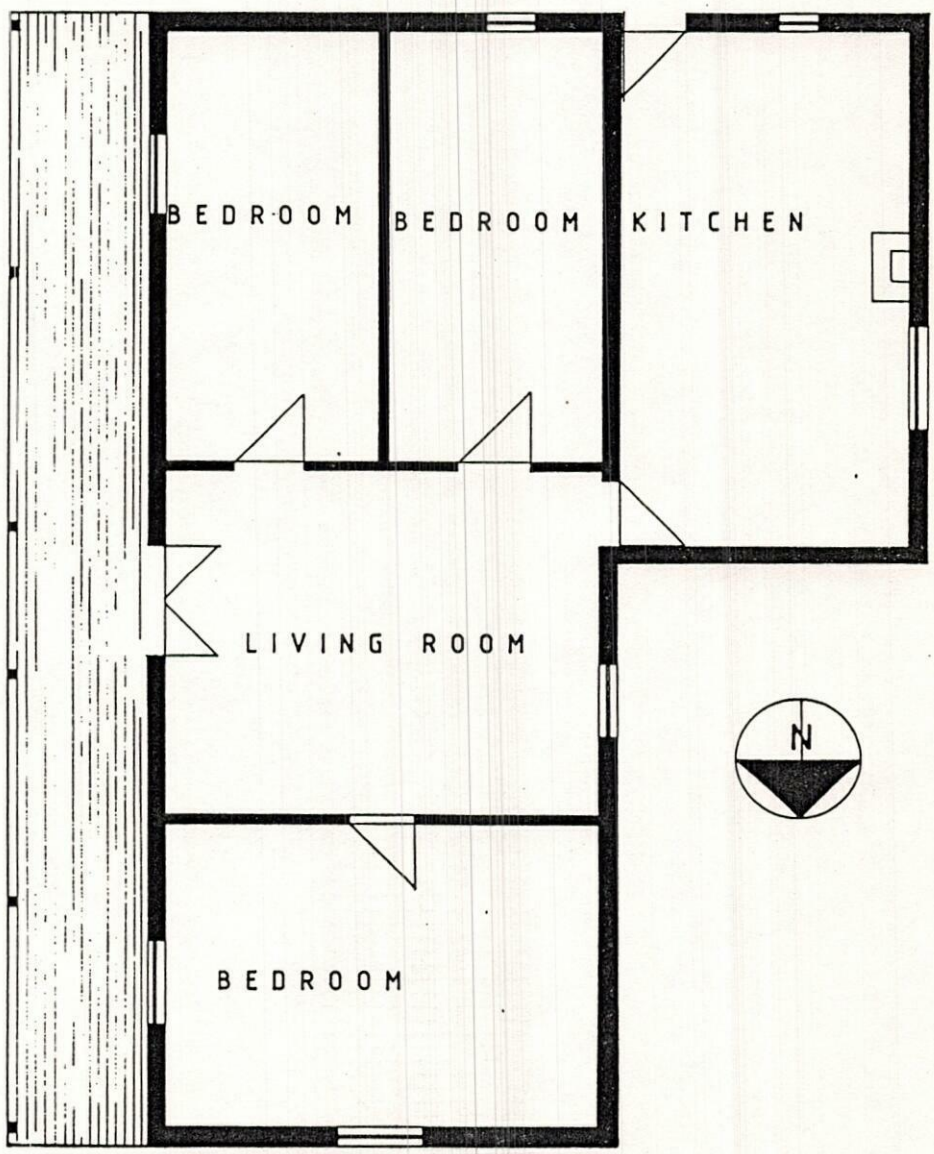


1888

106

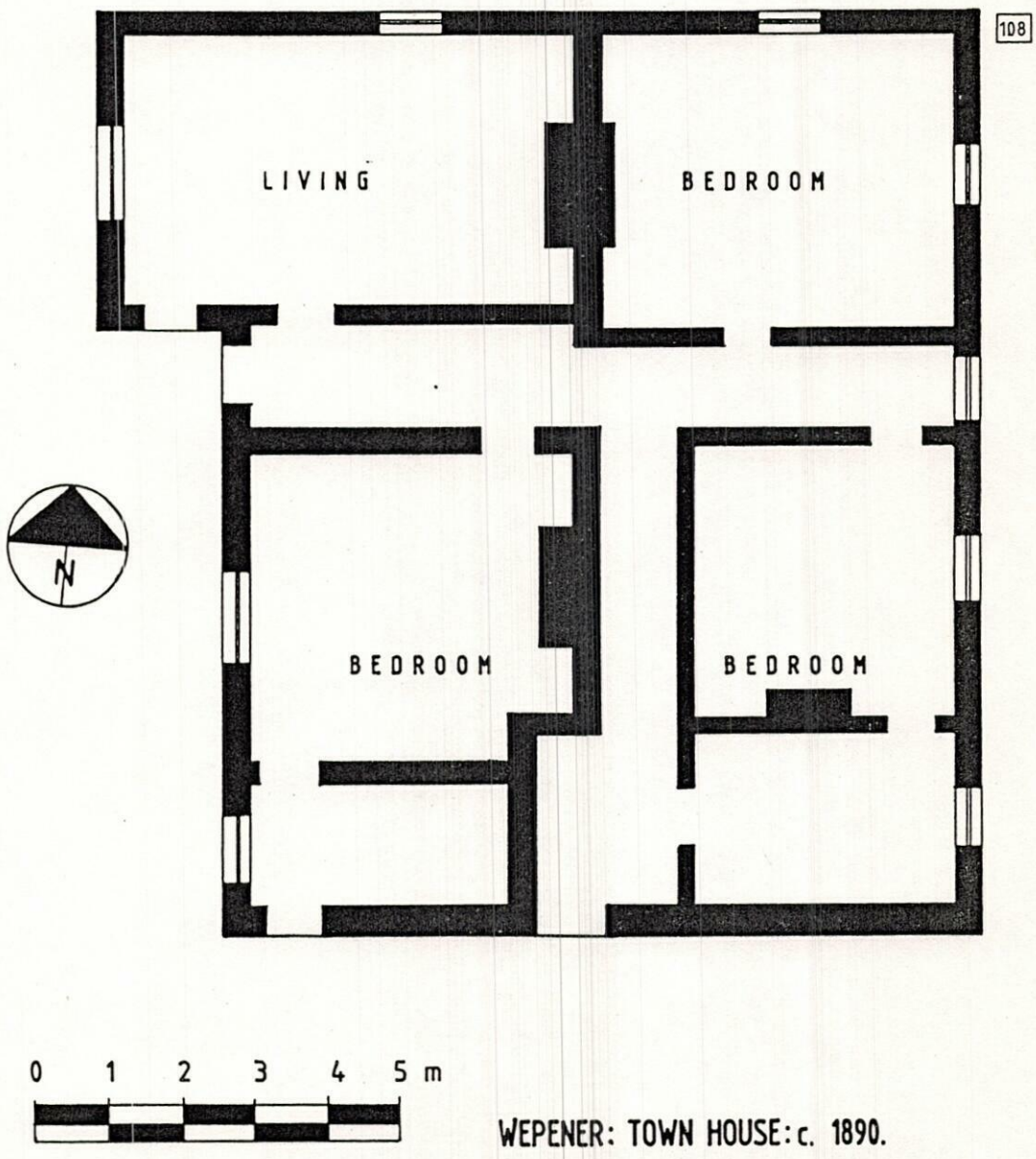
1980

Homes at *Hoffmansrust* (Wepener district)
The upper photograph shows the remains of Pres Hoffman's first house on the farm ***Hoffmansrust***. It was built about 1850 with clay walling and a thatched roof. Although Hoffman was himself a building contractor very few concessions were made to convenience or to domestic comfort. The Post-Trek immigrants built homes on a great many farms but they were neither natural nor energetic builders, preferring often to retain the basic three-room house for almost a generation. The centre photograph shows a generously proportioned stoepkamer house of the late eighties. This house was recenly abandoned in favour of the prefabricated home showed in the lower photograph because of its improved facilities. Historical cycles may exhibit phases of retrogression as often as progression.

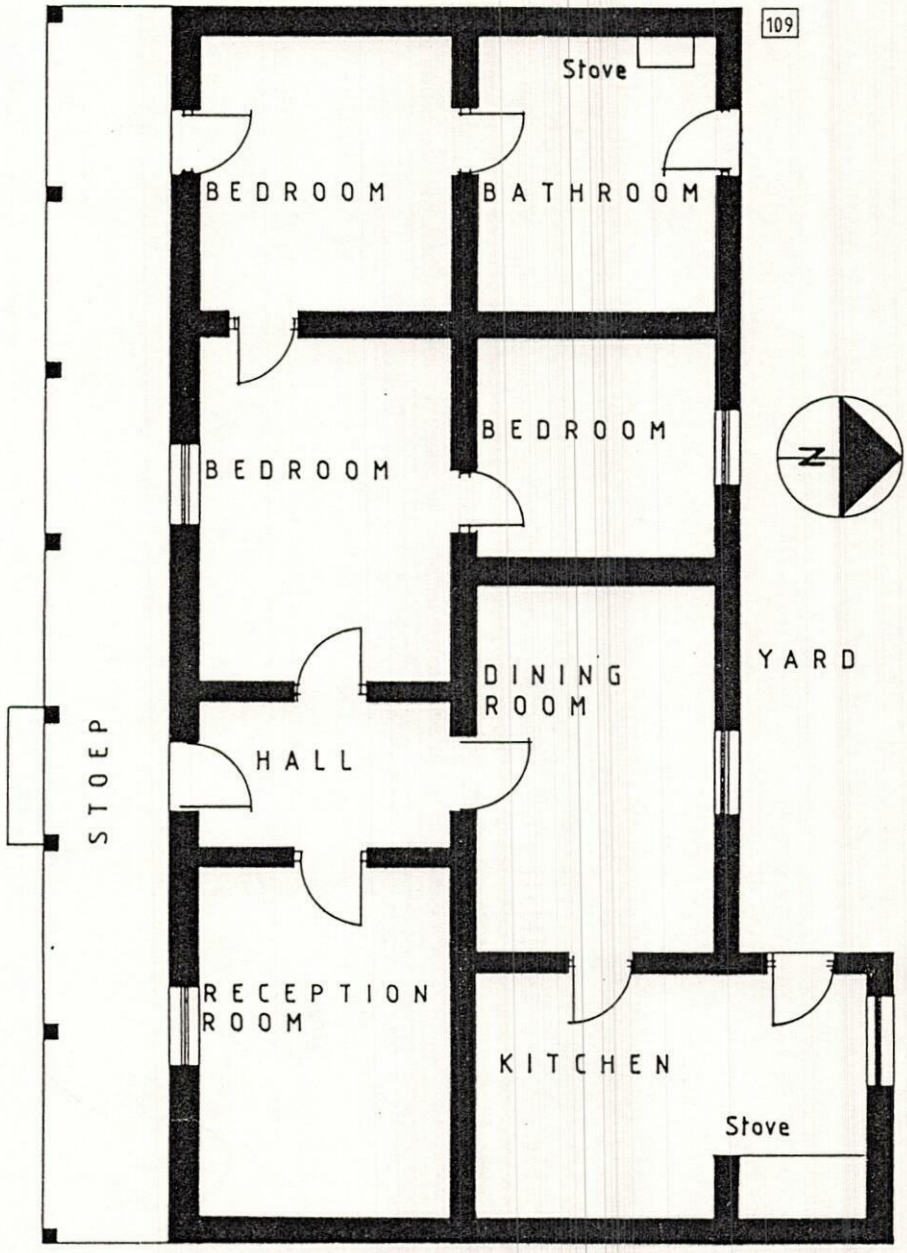


BOSHOF: HOUSE ON THE FARM *Tweefontein/Kareepan* : 1890

Col. de Villebois Mareuil was carried here mortally wounded during the Anglo-Boer War



WEPENER: TOWN HOUSE: c. 1890.



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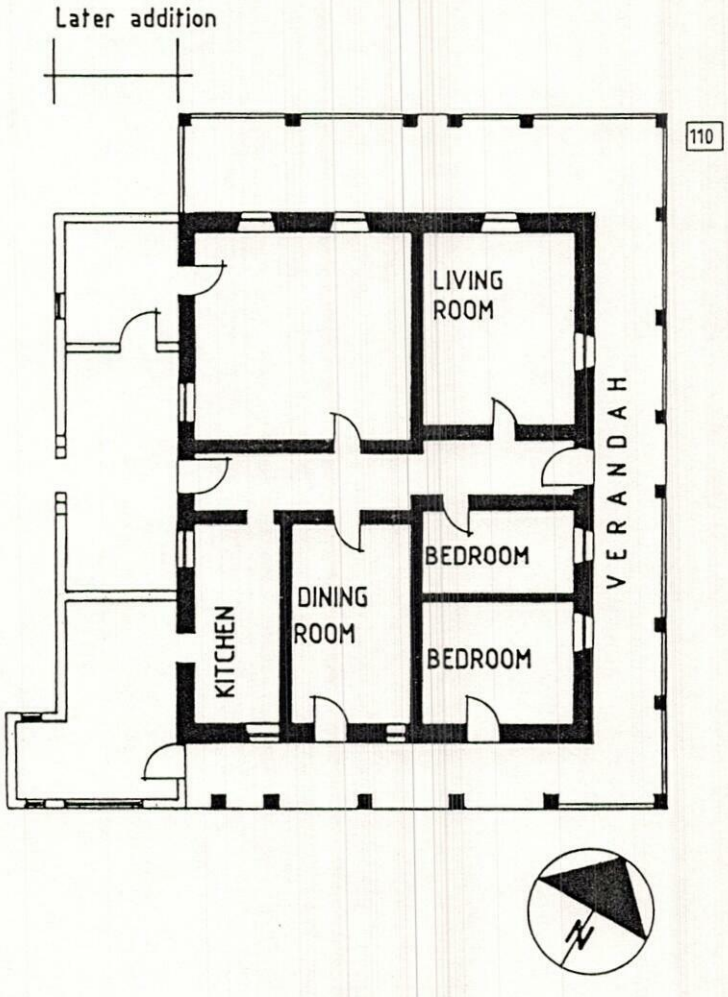
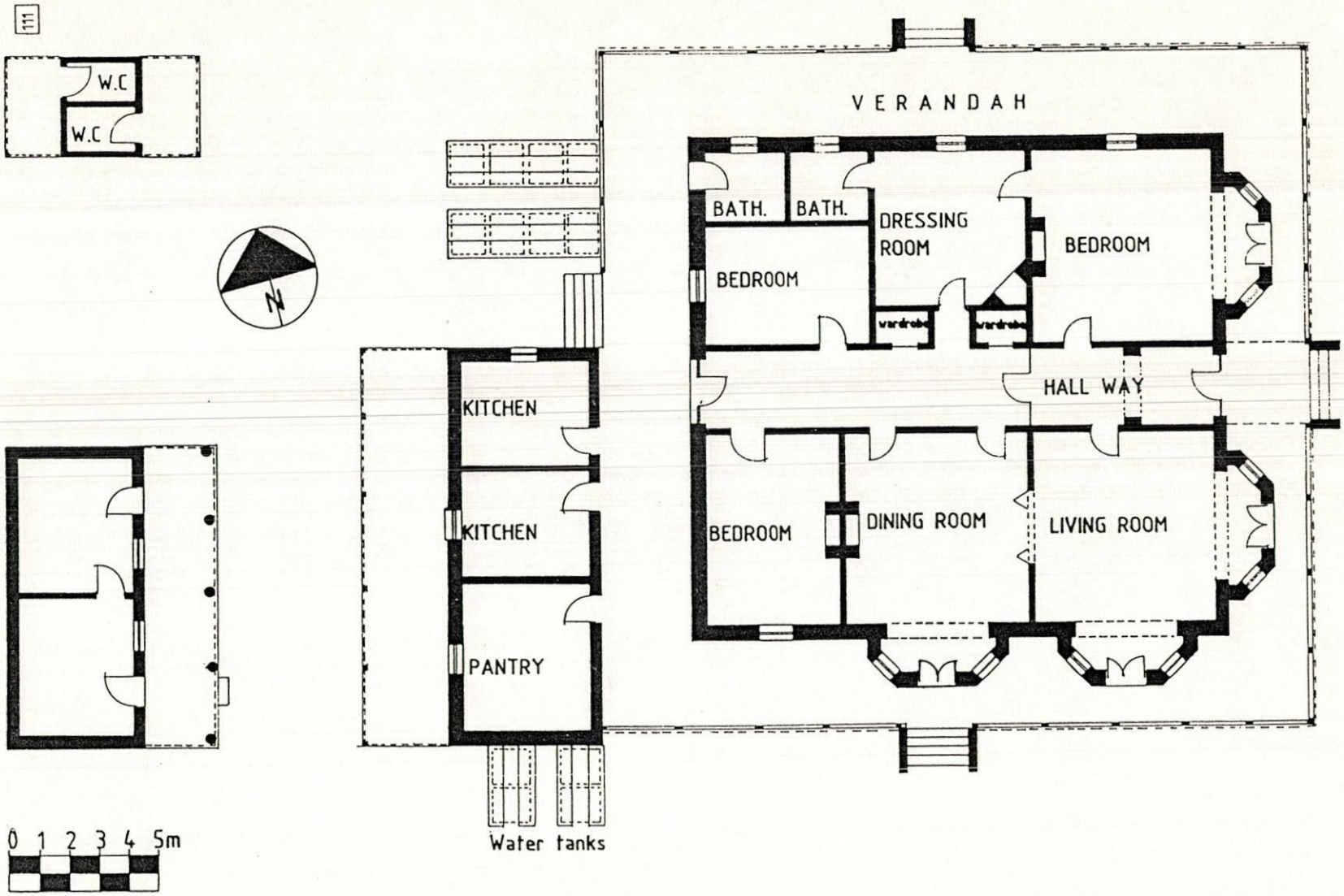
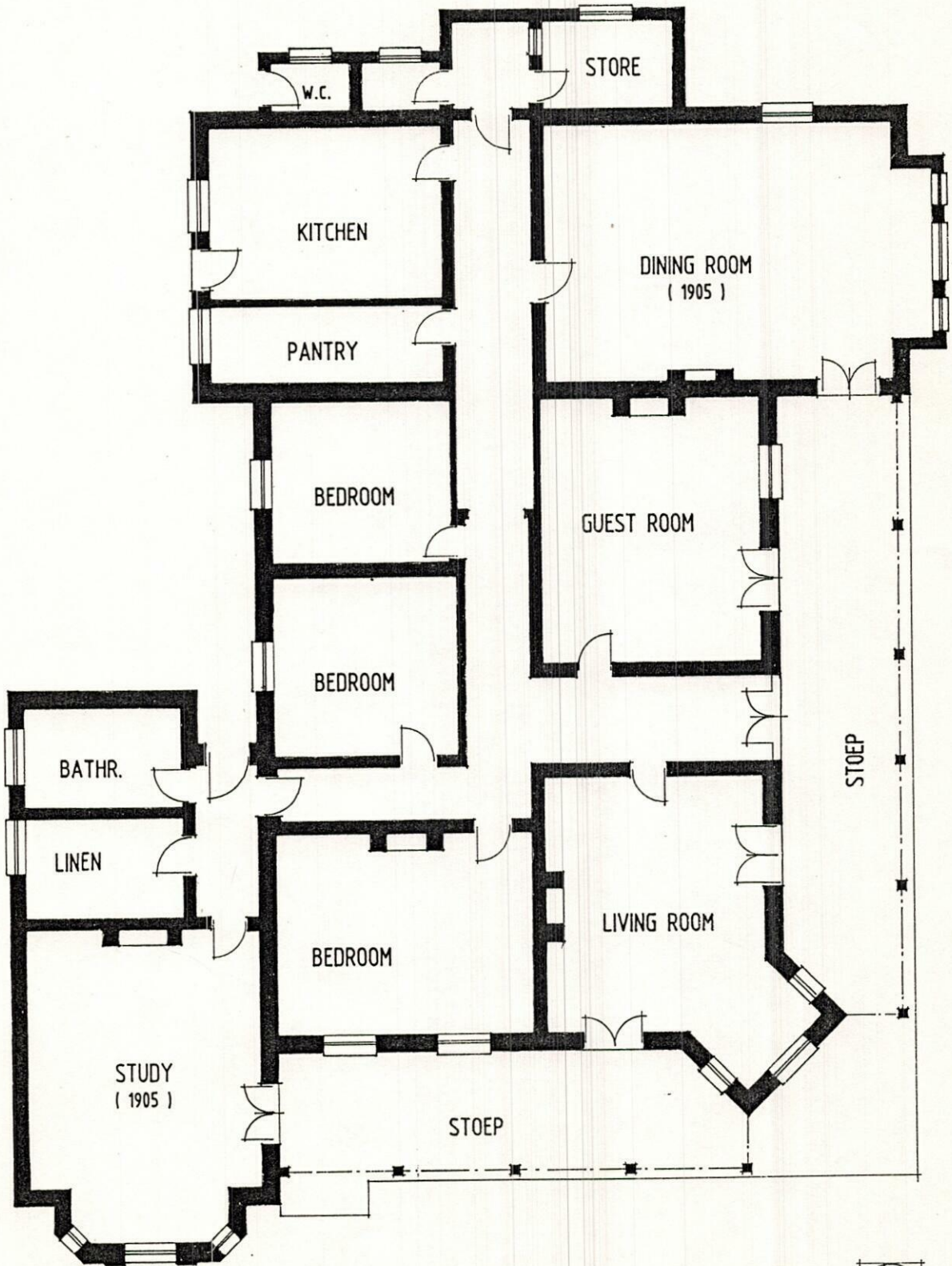
WINBURG: TOWN HOUSE.
c. 1890



EDENVILLE: HOUSE IN HAEFFLE STREET:1890



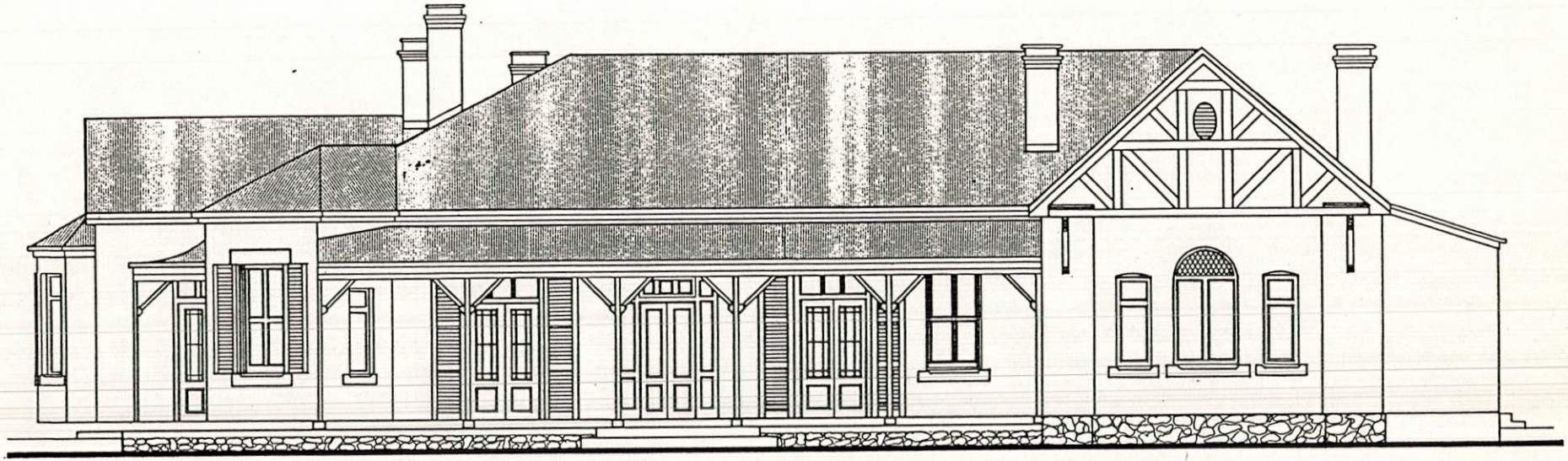
VENTERSBURG: RESIDENCE ON THE FARM *Weltevrede*: 1890



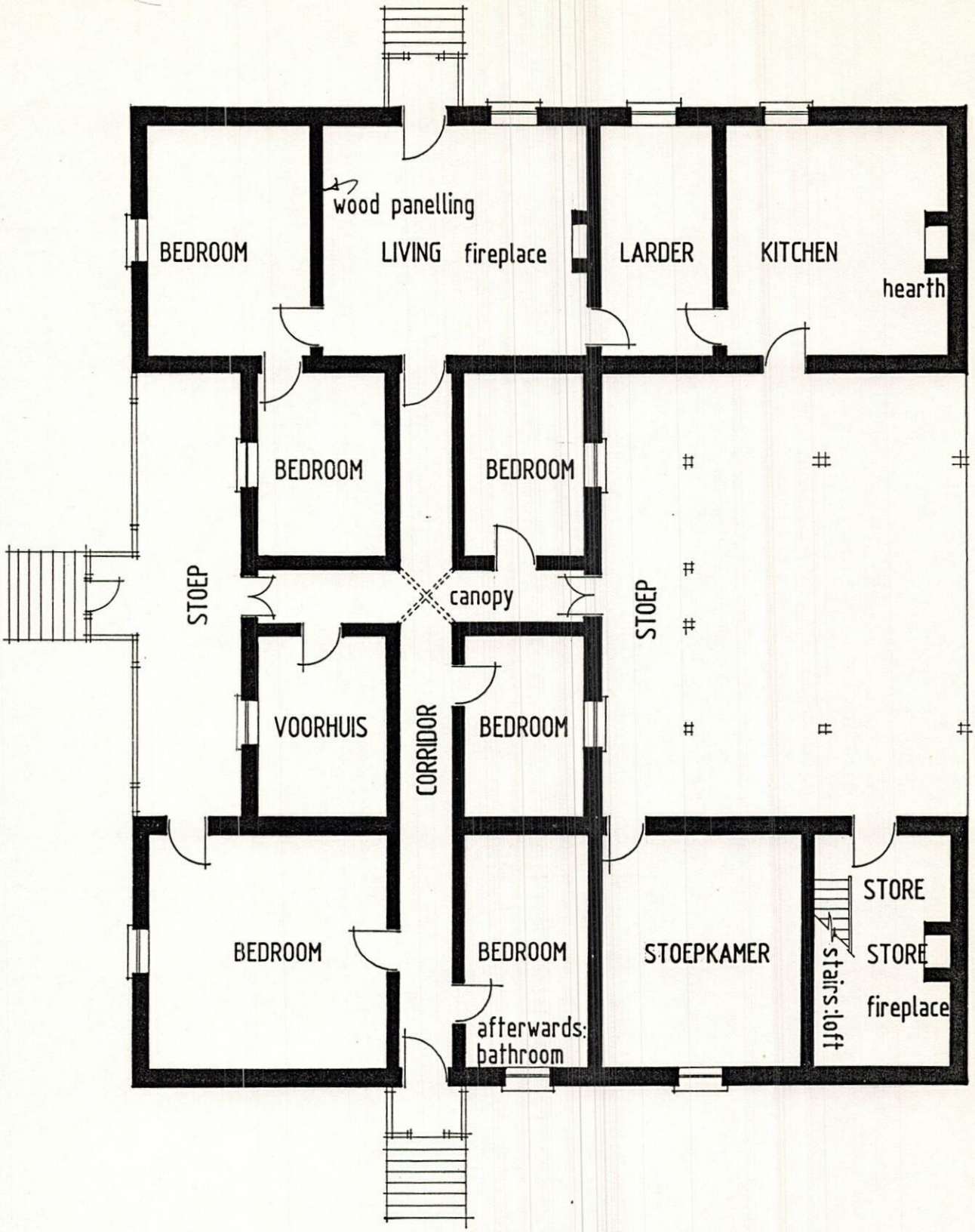
BLOEMFONTEIN: HERTZOG HOUSE
1890 AND 1905

General Hertzog's Residence, Bloemfontein

This comfortable home was acquired by Gen. Hertzog in 1895 and enlarged by him in 1905. The house is situated at 19 Goddard Street and was recently restored to its original state. It is representative of the domestic architecture of the late Republican period.



HERTZOG HOUSE : BLOEMFONTEIN. 1890
NORTH ELEVATION



Situated about 30km from Vrede this building is undoubtedly one of the finest extant rural dwellings. It was built in 1891. Its plan shape shows the fully developed "stoep-kamer" profile. External walling is of dressed dolerite with openings trimmed in sandstone.

☐ ZEEKOEVALLEIPOORT 1891
VREDE

1 0.5 0 1 2 3

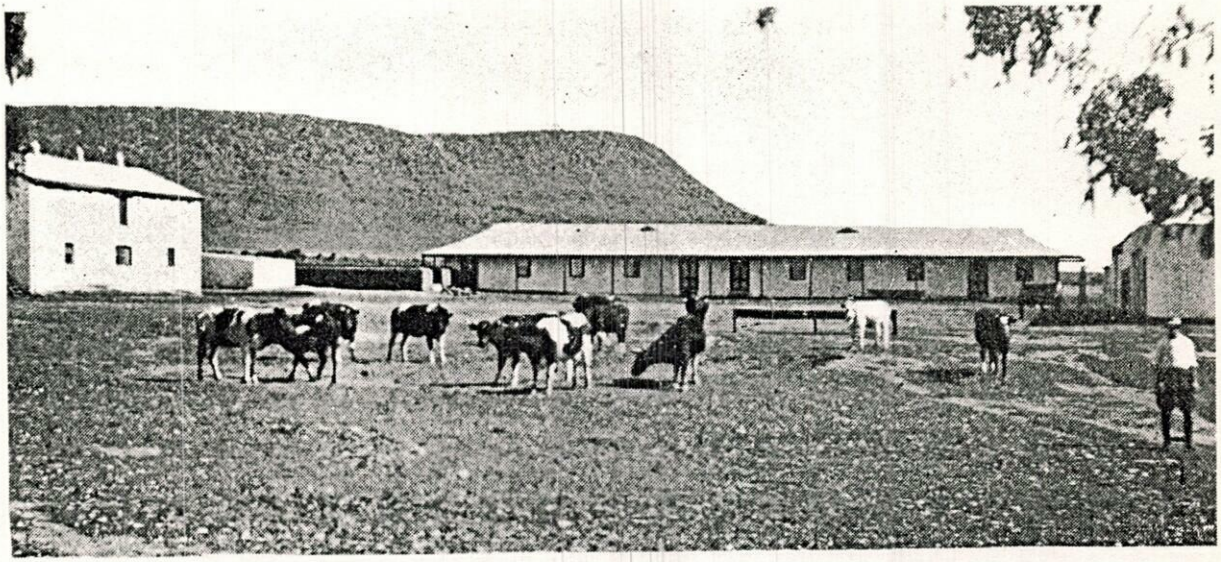


Photo: Hope Valley Farm, Bloemfontein district.
In 1905 this well appointed farming establishment shows a mixture of pre-war and post-war buildings. The large barn on the left has survived to the present day but the other farm buildings are derelict. The handsome house on the farm was destroyed by fire a few years ago

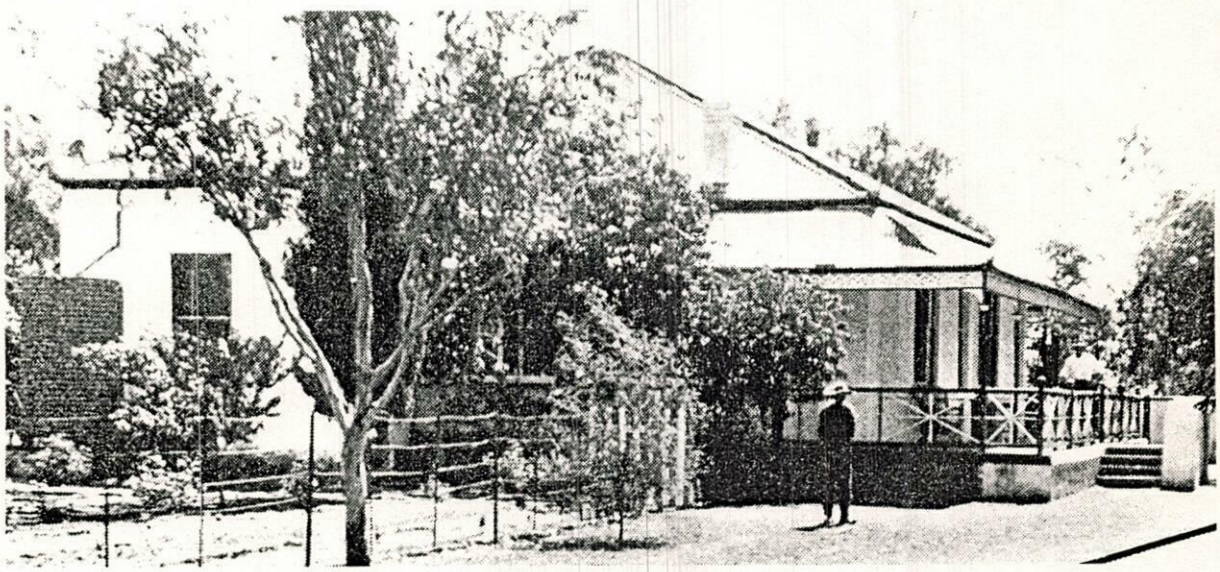
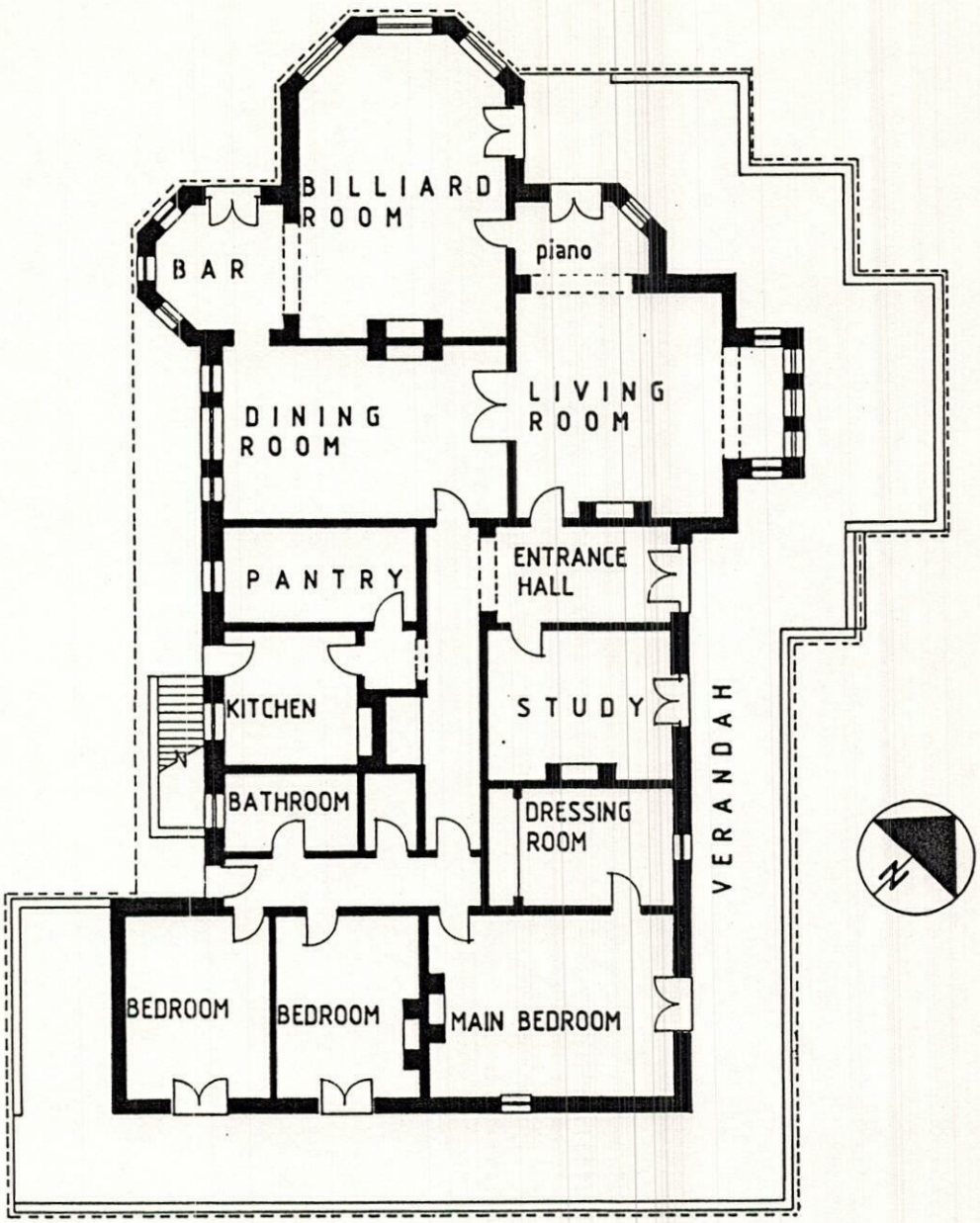


Photo: The homestead at Hope Valley Farm.
This attractive home survived the war unscathed and this post-war photograph clearly shows it with all its Victorian attributes. A generous verandah surrounds the house on three sides. The upper verandah has a trim of delicate lattice work and the balustrade is strongly accentuated with cross-work reminiscent of the British flag. This configuration features prominently in timber and metal balustrades in the late 19th Century and early 20th Century. The owner looking out toward the North would just be vaguely aware of Bloemfontein some 15 km distant. The building was destroyed by fire a few years ago, and only ruins remain.



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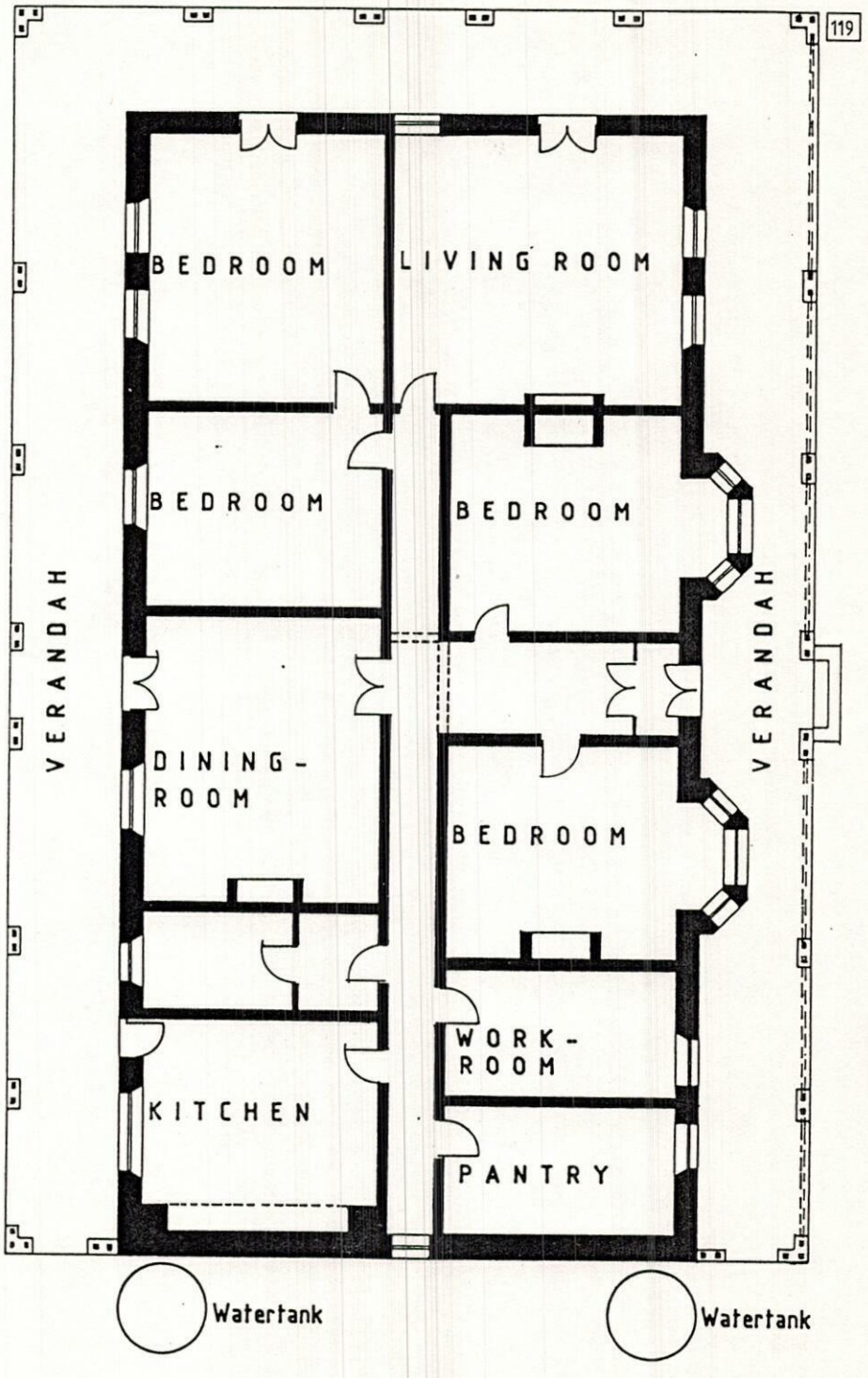
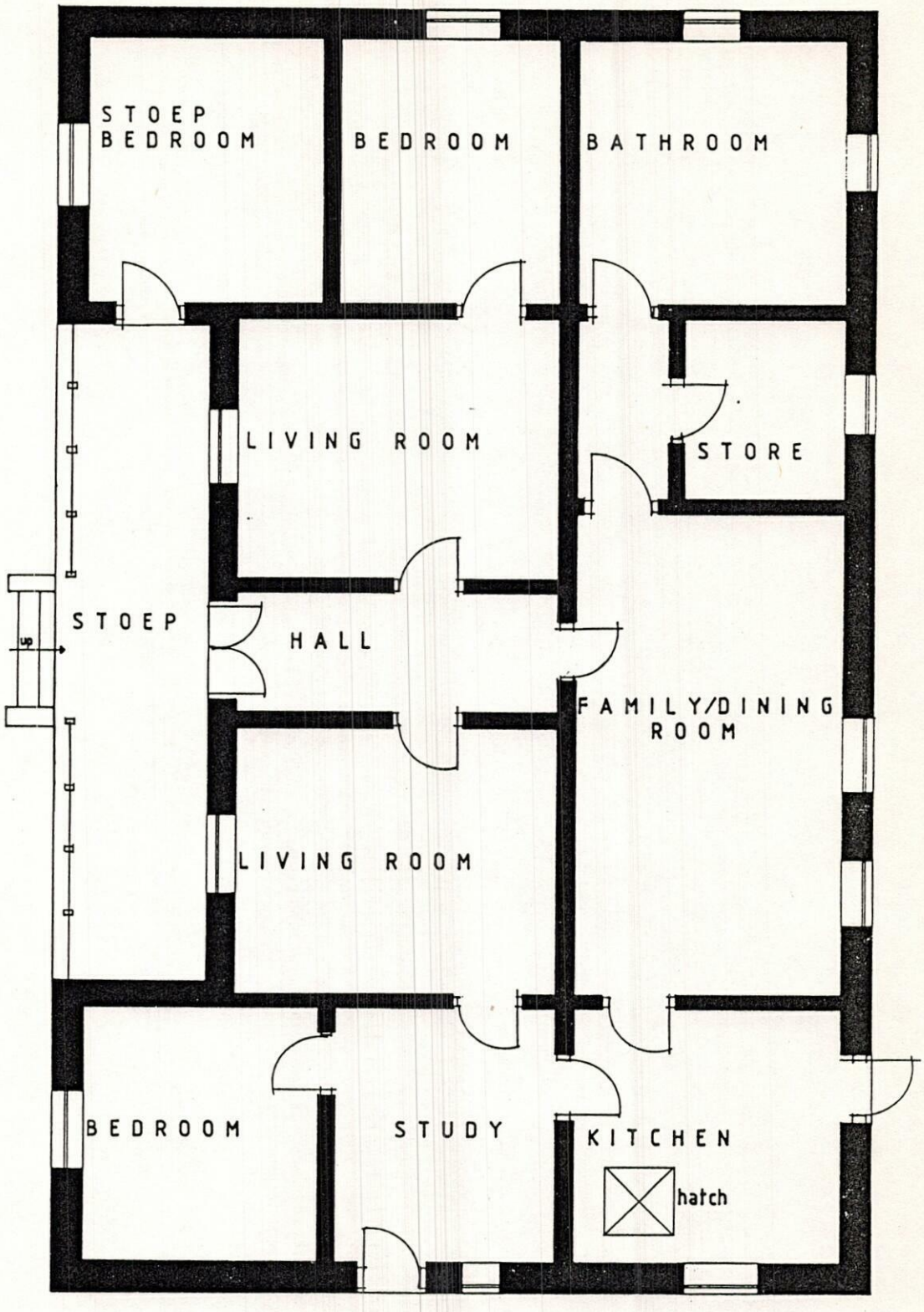
HENNENMAN: HOUSE ON THE FARM *Ferreirasrust.*
c. 1893

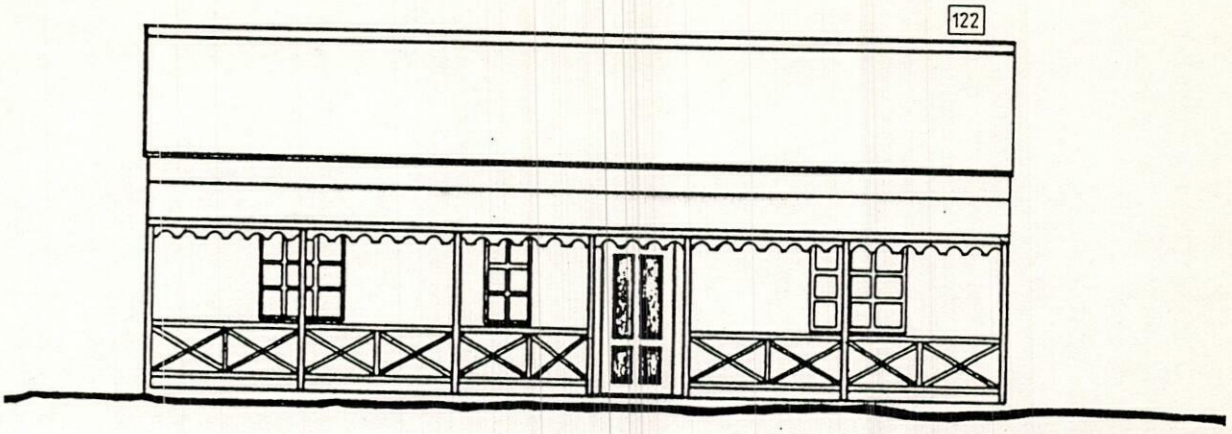


HEILBRON: SECOND HOUSE ON THE
FARM LEEUWPOORT. (WEILBACH HOUSE)
1894

John Edwin Harrison (1870 - 1945). Architect.
Leeuwpoort, Heilbron district.
In the Northern Free State the Weilbach home on the farm *Leeuwpoort* has miraculously survived and its stonework is representative of craftmanship of the highest order. The verandah columns are grouped in pairs, and the decorative fretwork between columns is a most distinctive feature of this handsome building.



RESIDENCE ON FARM *Doornpan* NEAR BULTFONTEIN
c. 1895



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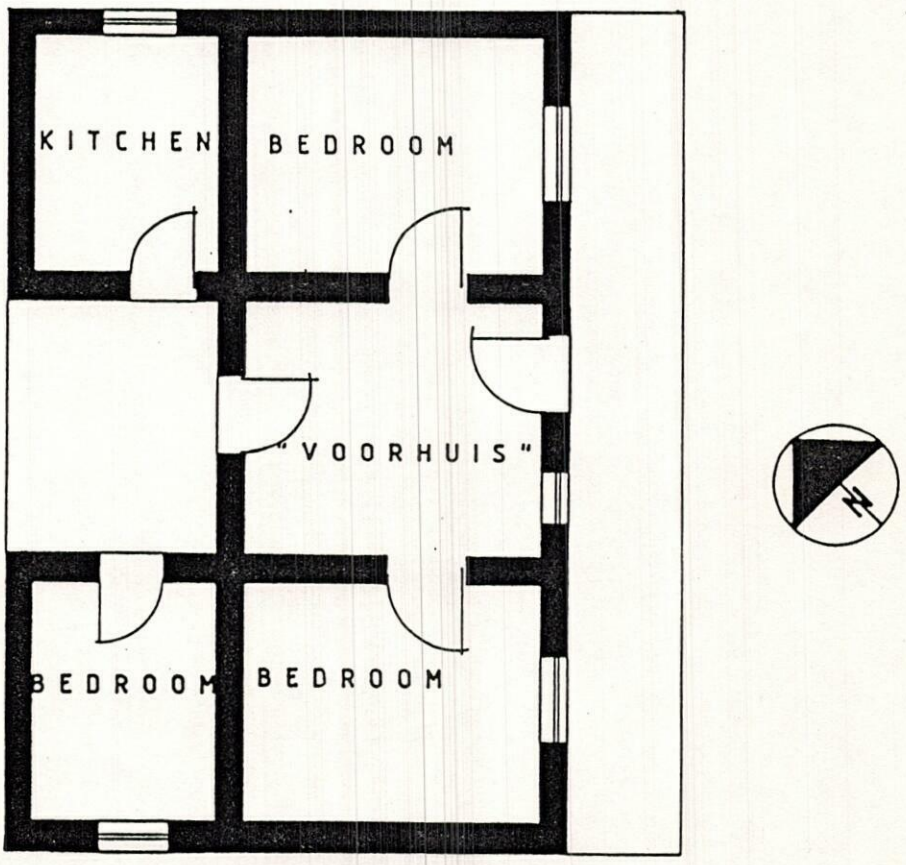
SOUTH-EAST ELEVATION
ROELOFSE HOUSE: PARYS: 1895



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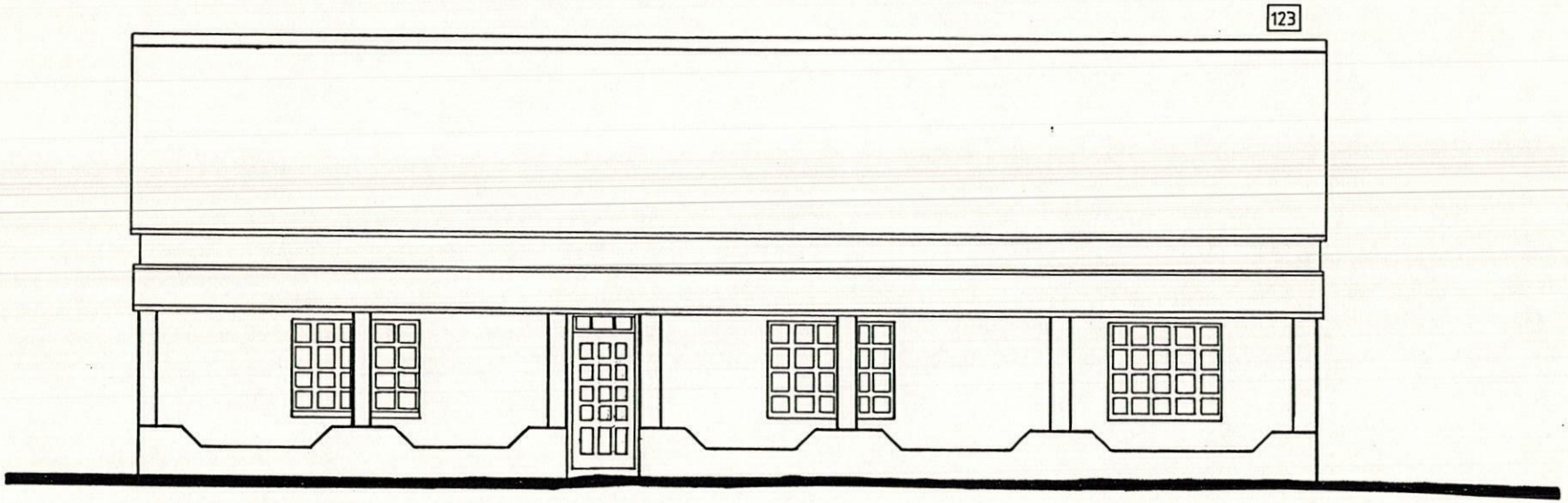
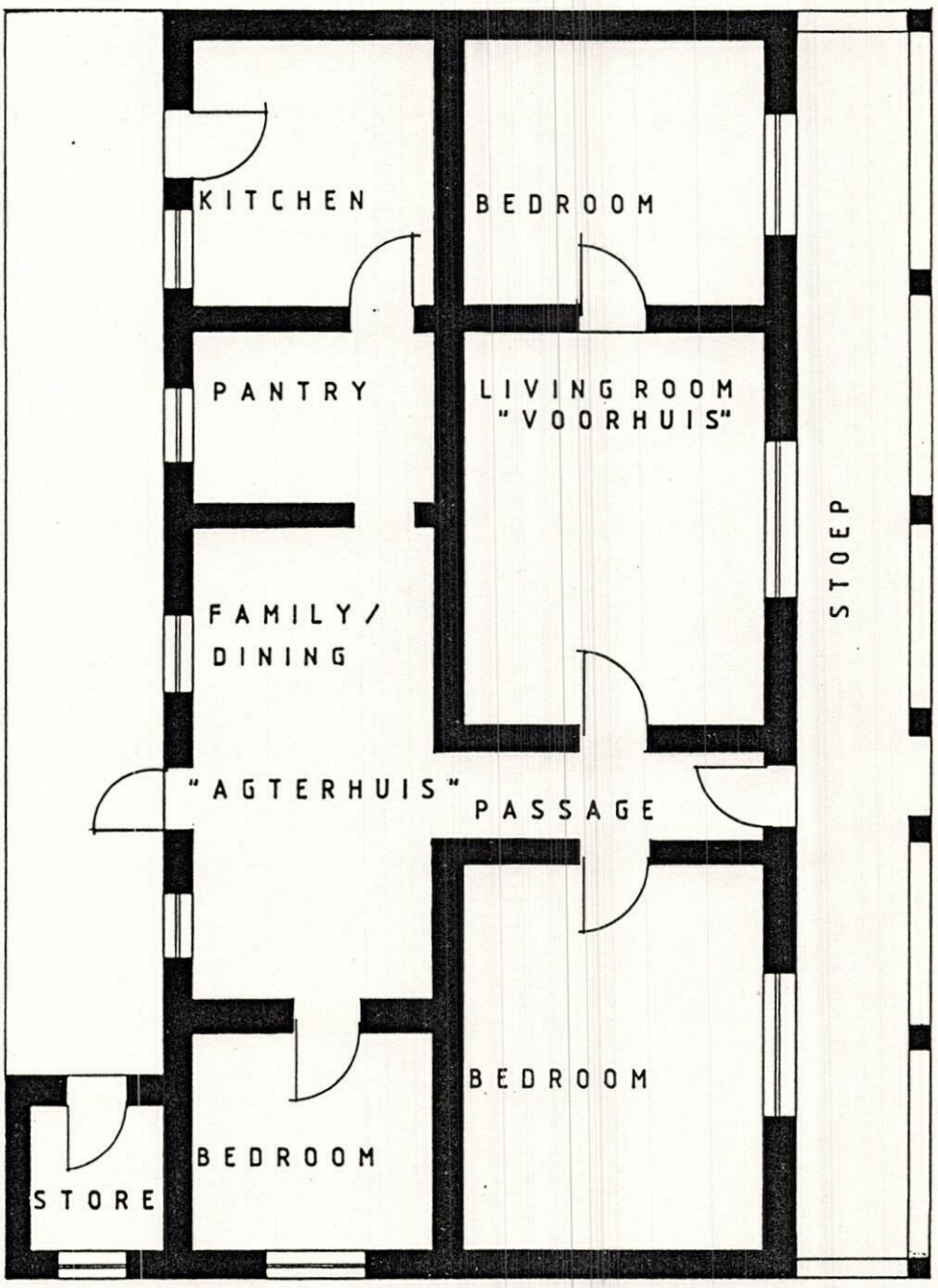
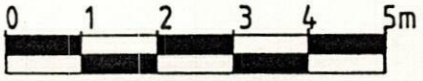
ROELOFSE HOUSE
PARYS:1895

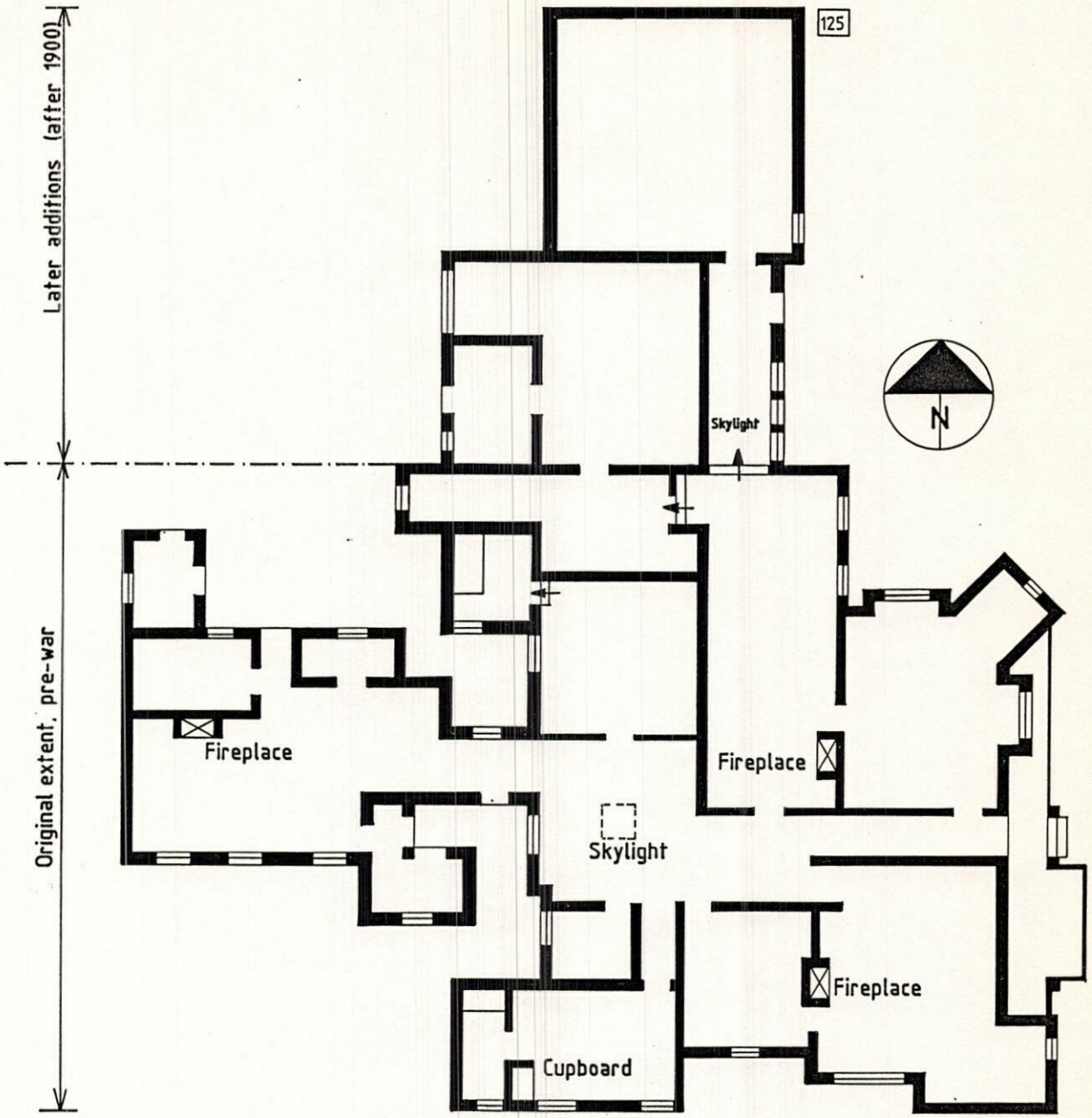


GROOTE SCHUUR : PARYS : 1895



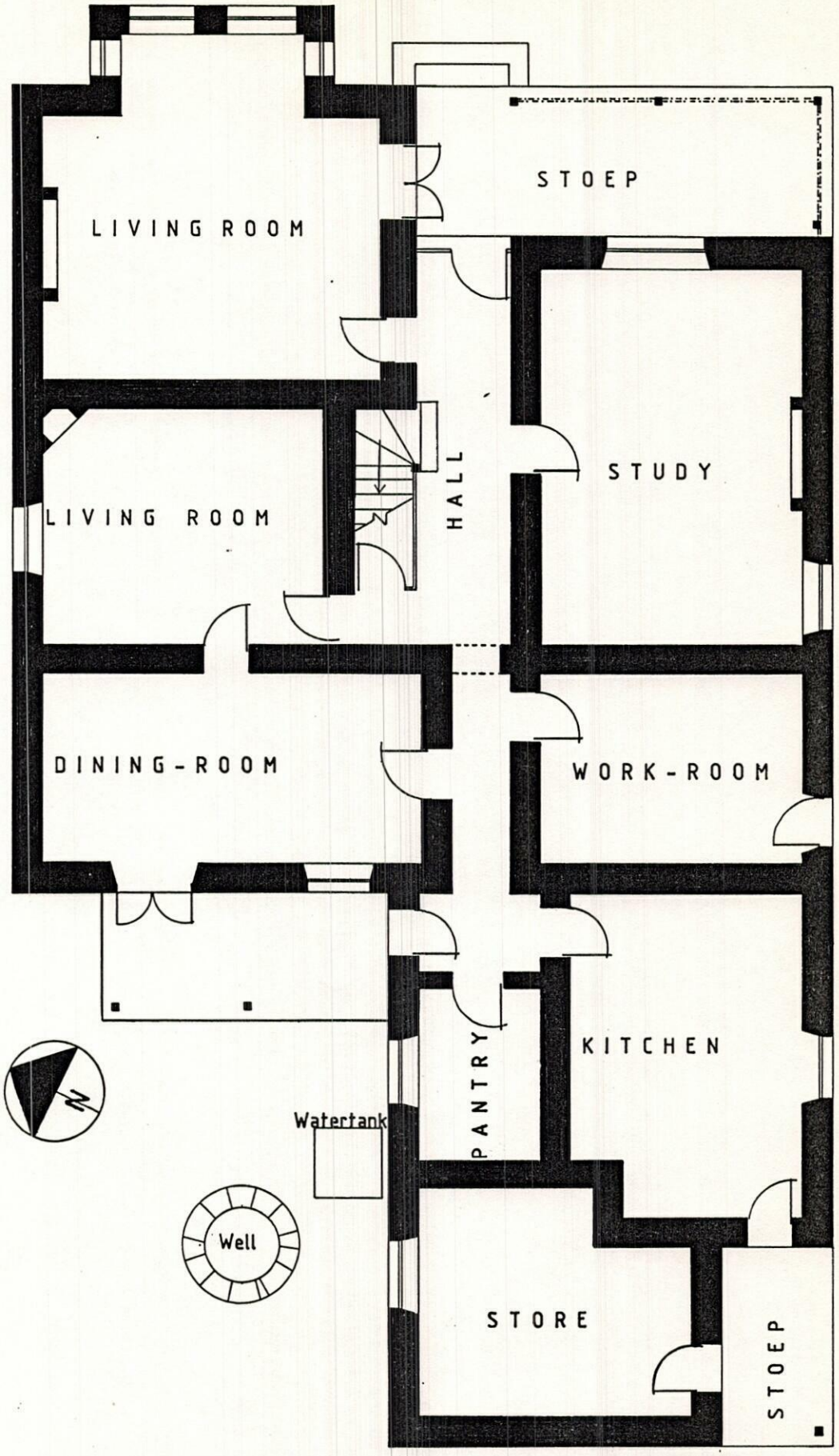


RESIDENCE AT 55 BUITEN STREET : PARYS
GROOTE SCHUUR

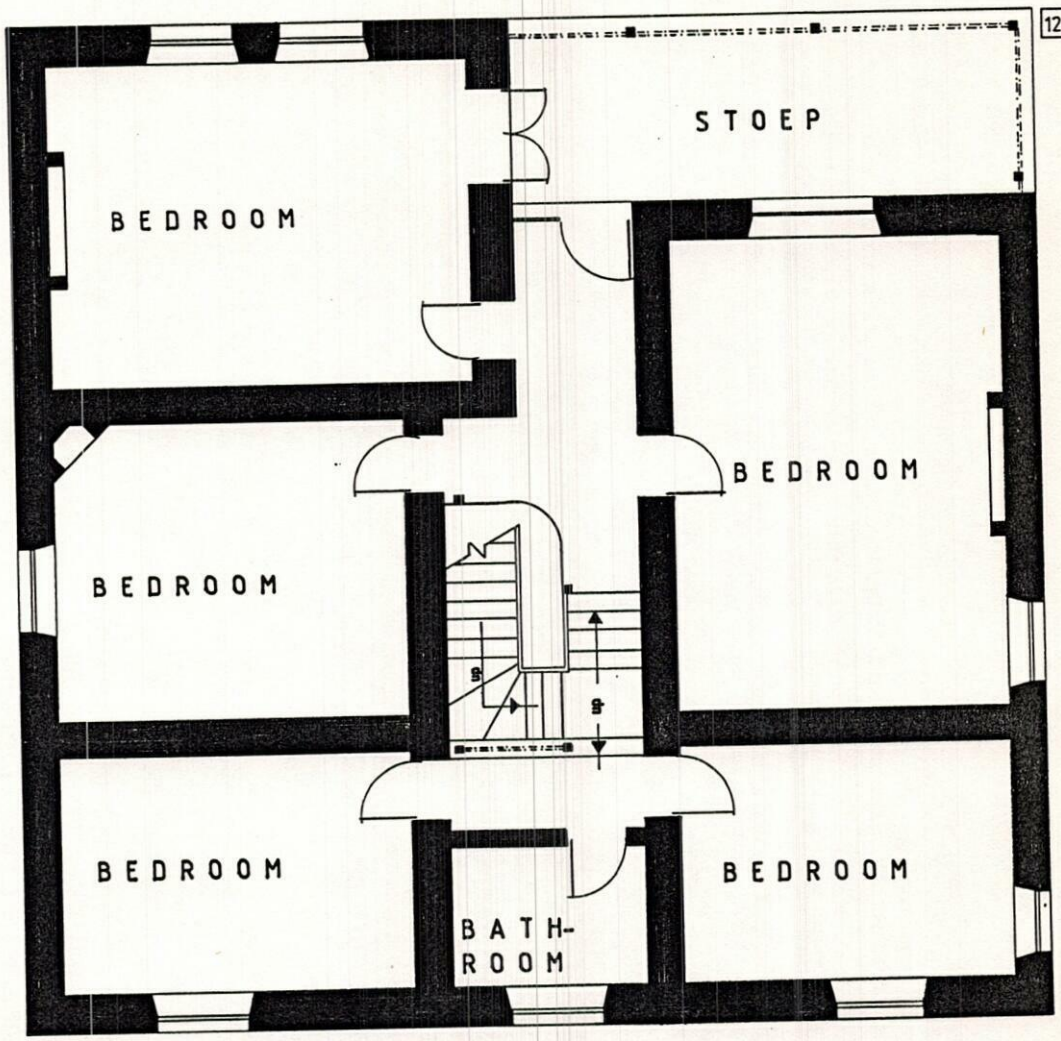


KOFFIEFONTEIN: WHITWORTH RESIDENCE.
1895

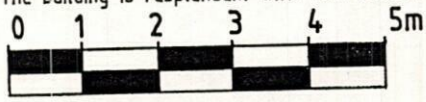
Mine Manager's Residence
De Beer's Consolidated Mines Ltd



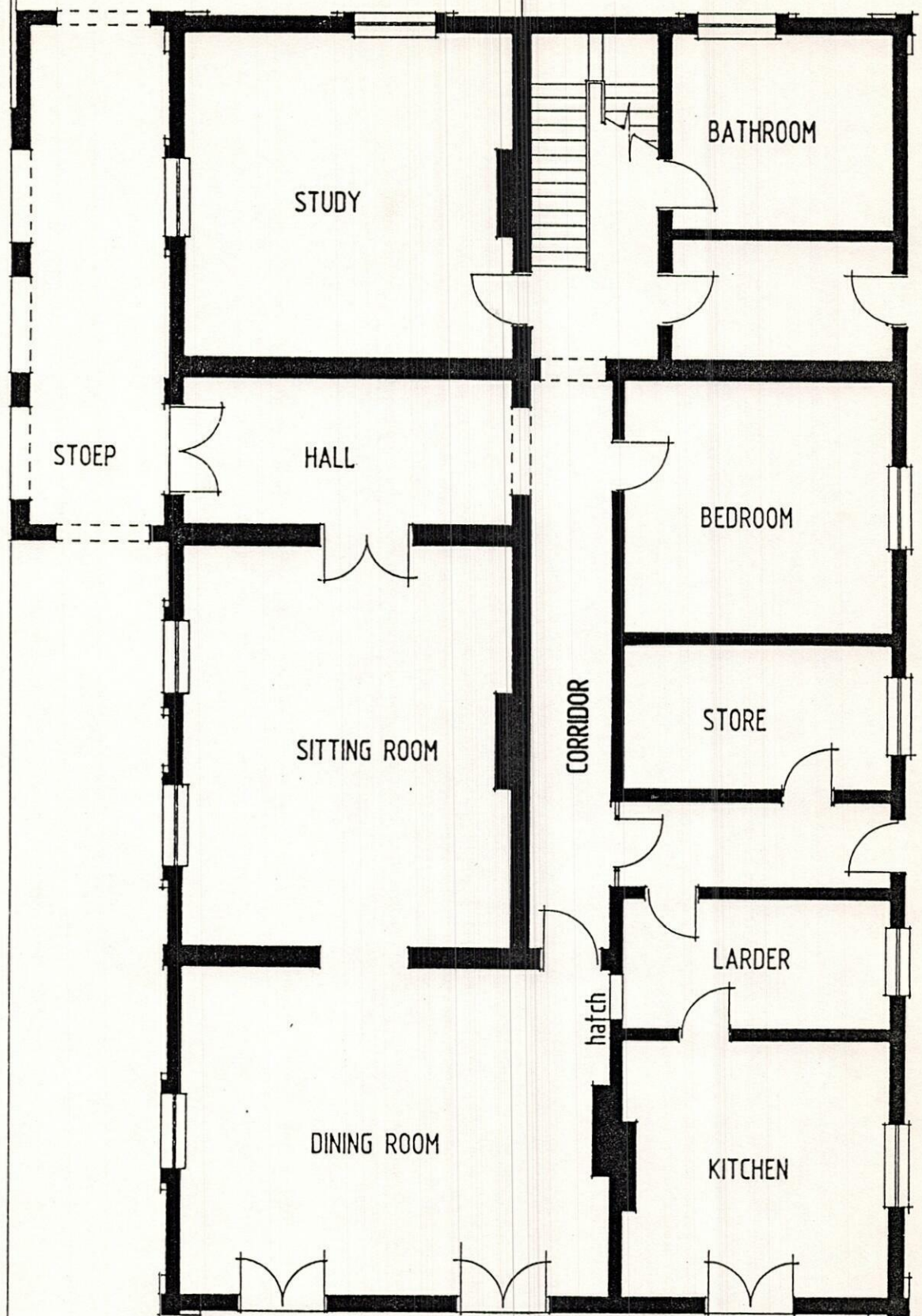
HEILBRON: COBWEB CASTLE: GROUND FLOOR.
1895



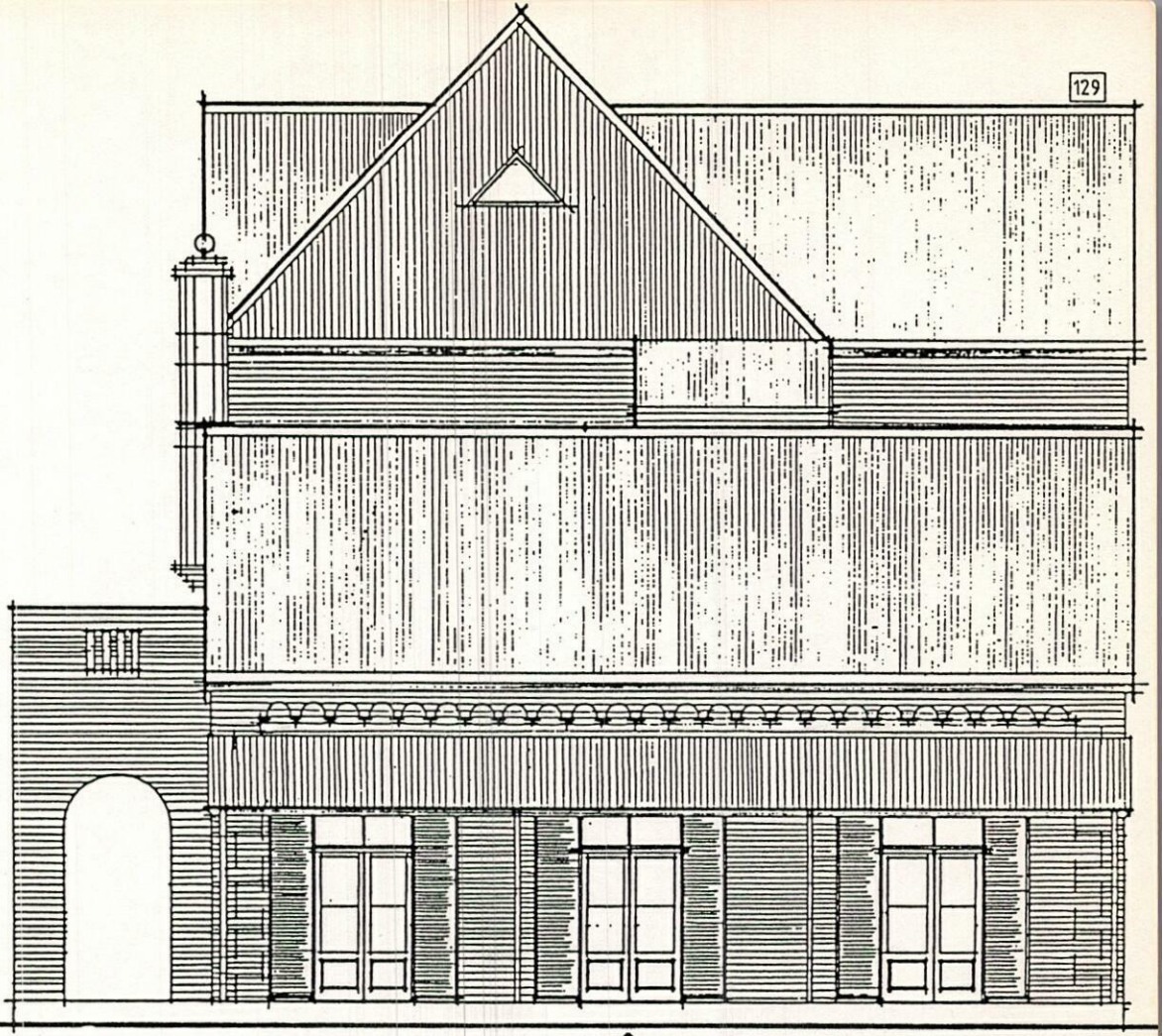
This interesting and sturdily built sandstone house was erected by John Pierce owner of the first business in Heilbron. Although its dating is uncertain it was probably erected contemporaneously with the Ned. Geref. Kerk in 1890.
The building is resplendent with Teak balustrades on the balconies.



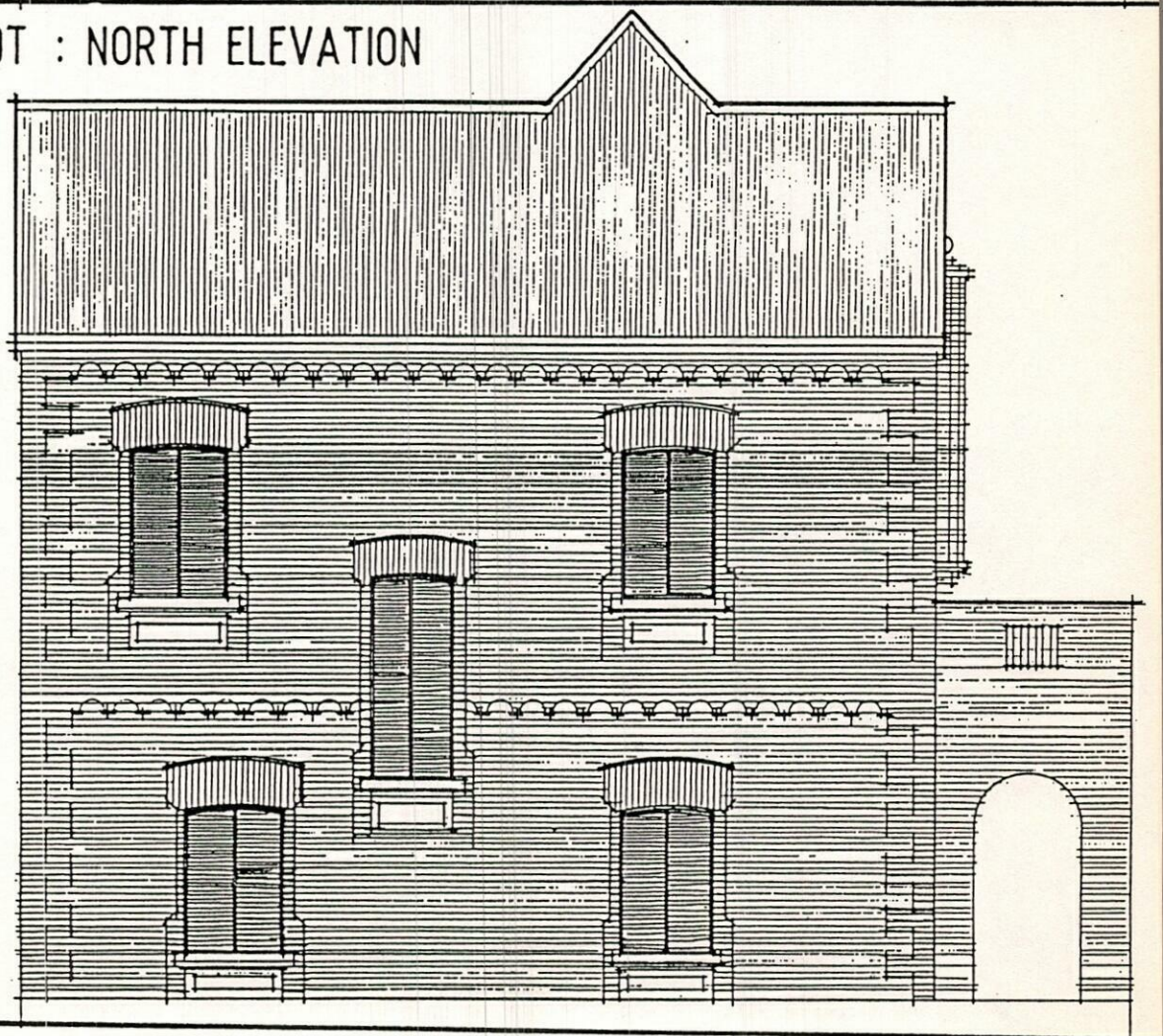
HEILBRON: COBWEB CASTLE: FIRST FLOOR, 1895



HOUSE FICHARDT 1896
BLOEMFONTEIN

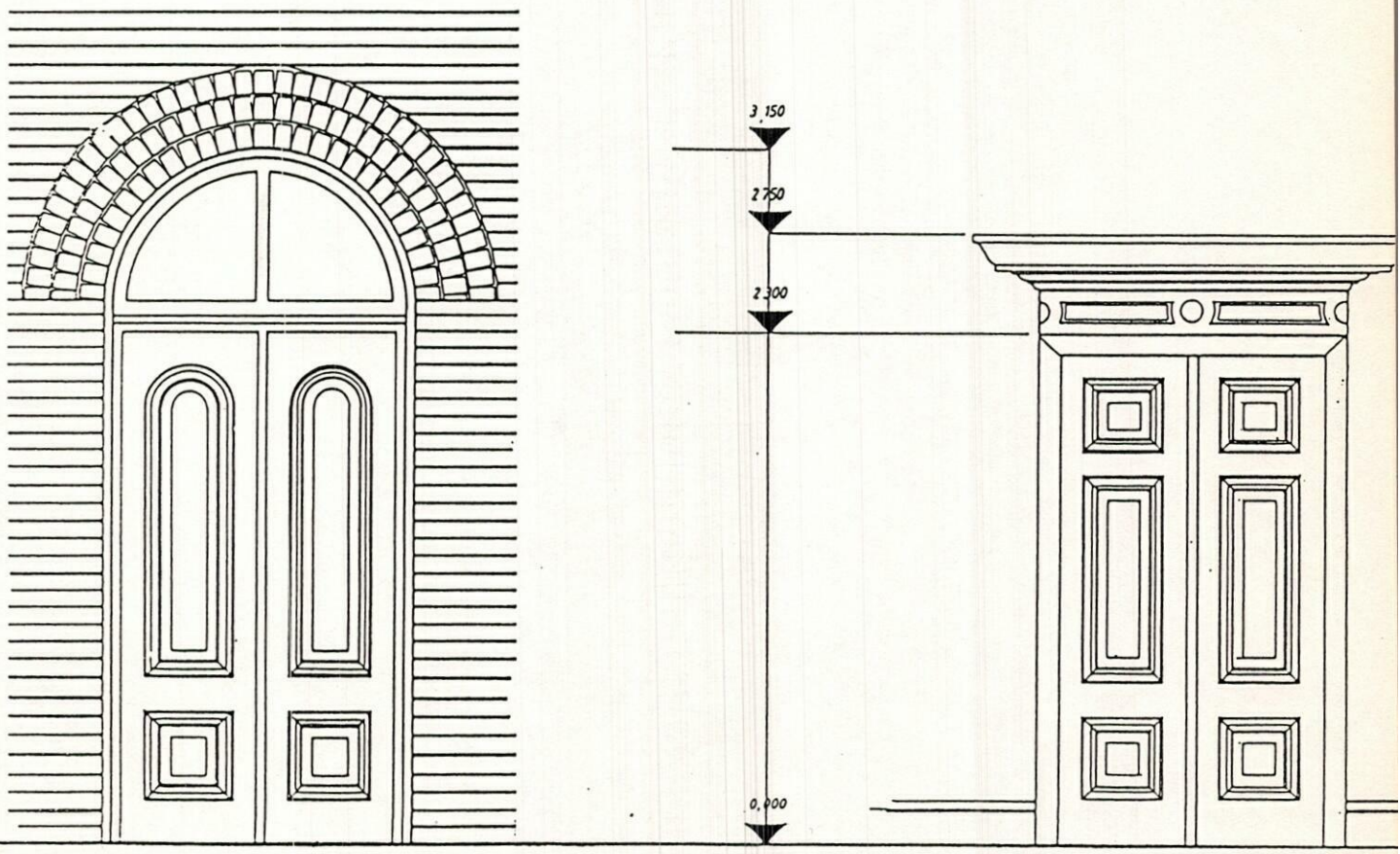


☐ HOUSE FICHARDT : NORTH ELEVATION
BLOEMFONTEIN

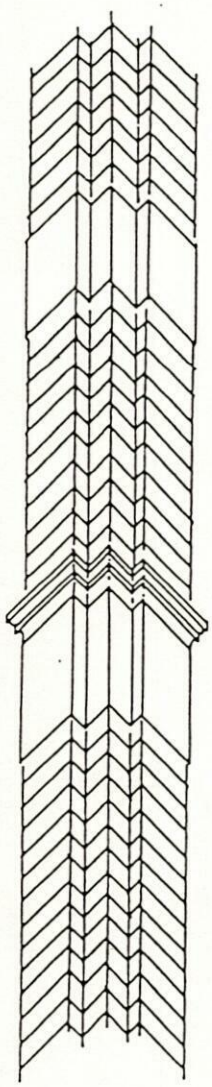


☐ HOUSE FICHARDT : SOUTH ELEVATION
BLOEMFONTEIN

☐ HOUSE FICHARDT : EAST ELEVATION
BLOEMFONTEIN



☐ HOUSE FICHARDT : DOOR DETAILS
BLOEMFONTEIN



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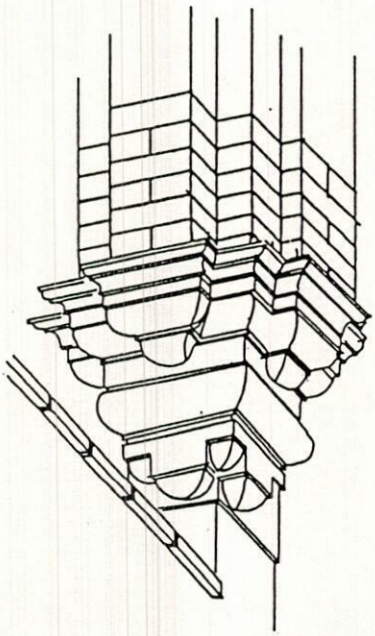
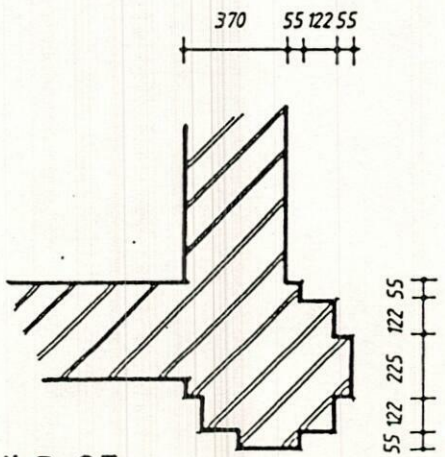
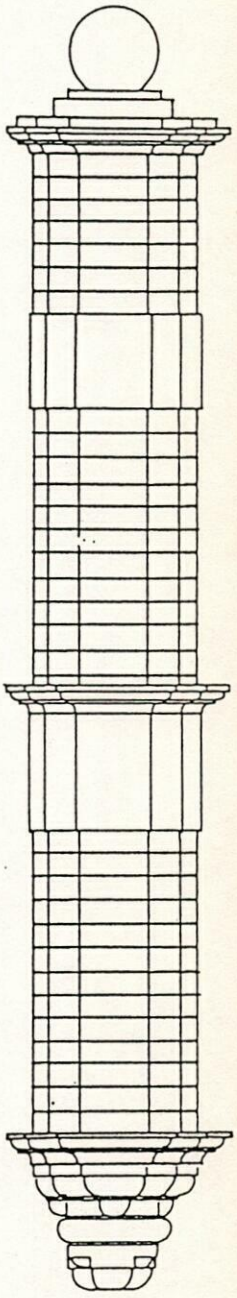


PERSPECTIVE



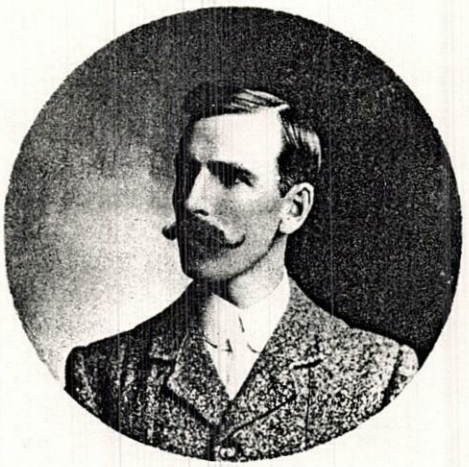
PLAN



ELEVATION

HOUSE FICHARDT : DETAILS OF CORBEL

BLOEMFONTEIN



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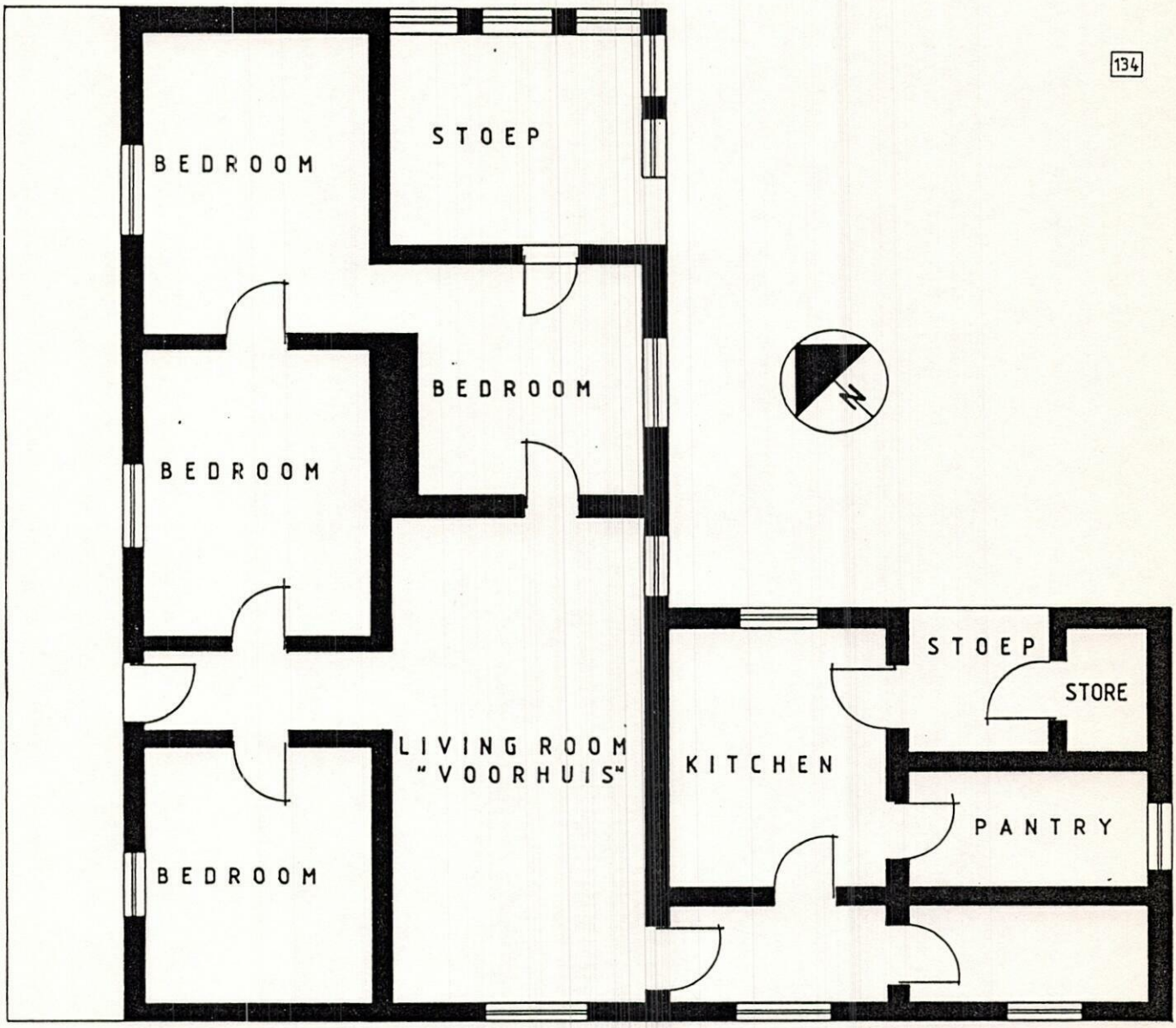
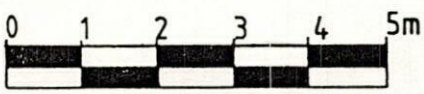
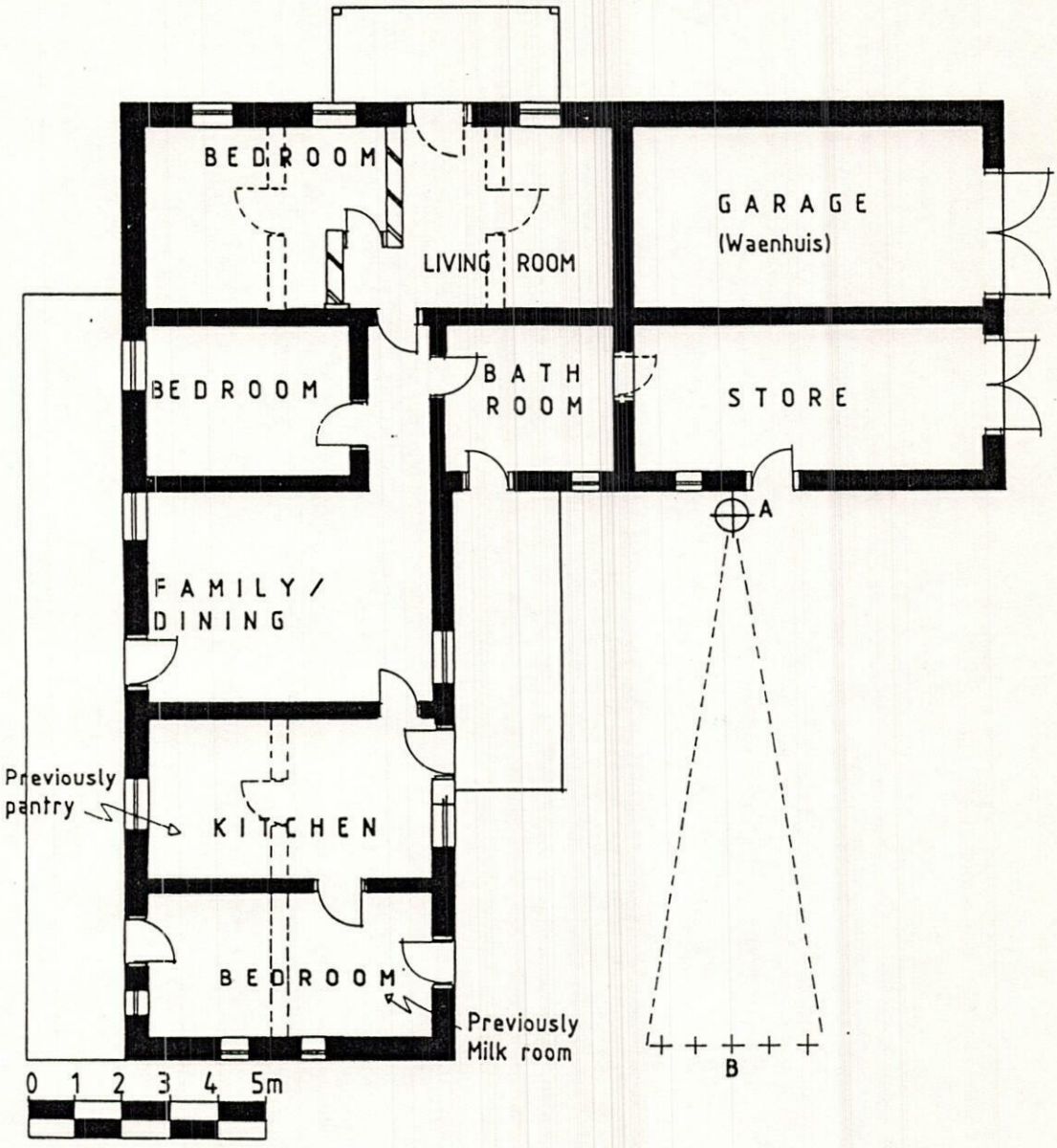
Freshford House 1897

The Architect J E Harrison built this home for himself in Kellner Street, Bloemfontein, in 1897. While in Bloemfontein he was in partnership with W H Stucke and the names of both these architects lived on in the practices that succeeded them. Harrison's stay in the house was interrupted by the Anglo Boer War but he lived there again briefly from 1900 - 1902. The house has been restored by the staff of the National Museum (1986).



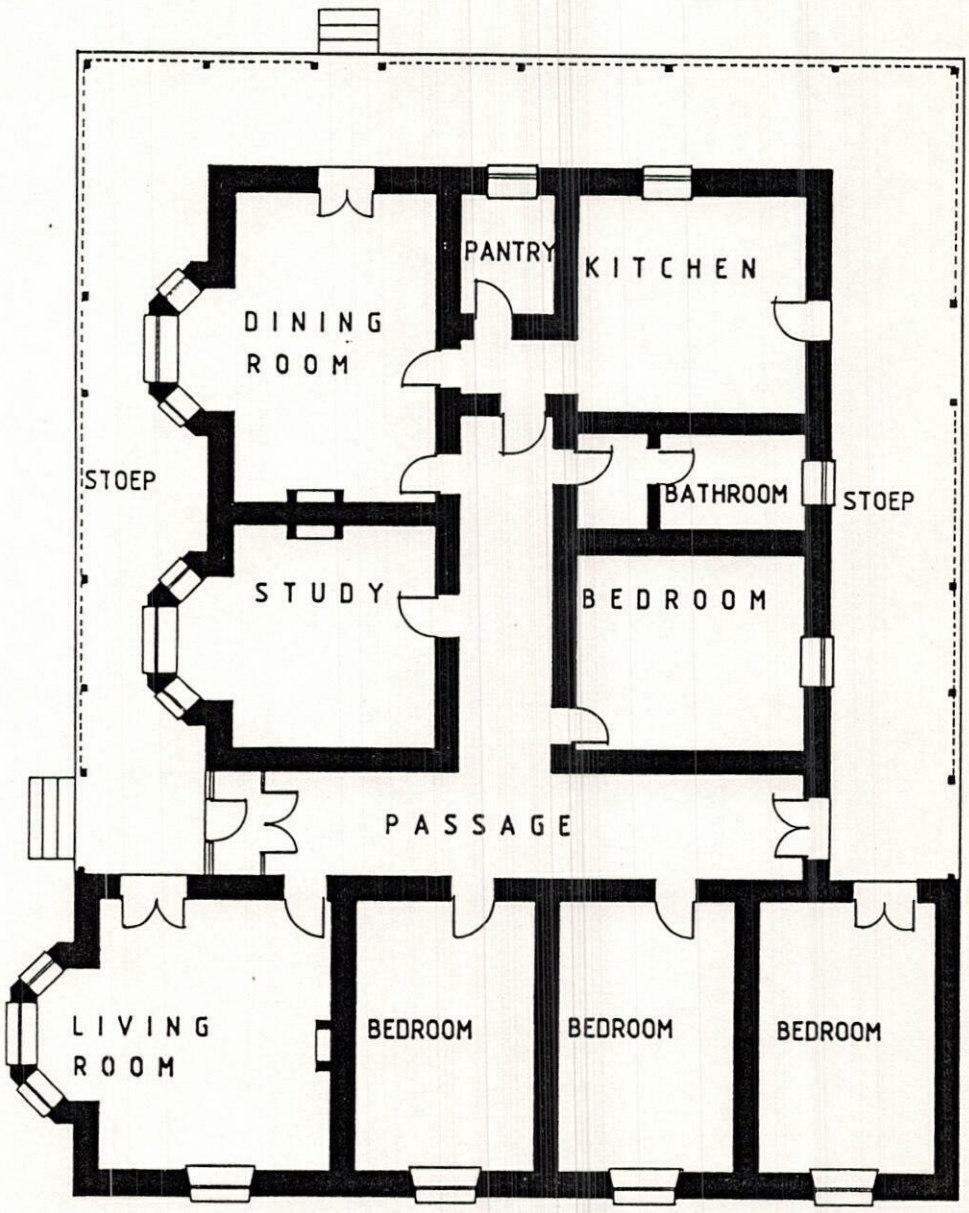


PARYS: HOUSE V.D. MERWE: 1897



HOOPSTAD: RESIDENCE ON THE FARM *Smaldeel.*

A: Position taken up by Japie Greyling in Anglo-Boer War.
B: Position of British firing squad.



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HOFMEYER HOUSE : HEILBRON
1898

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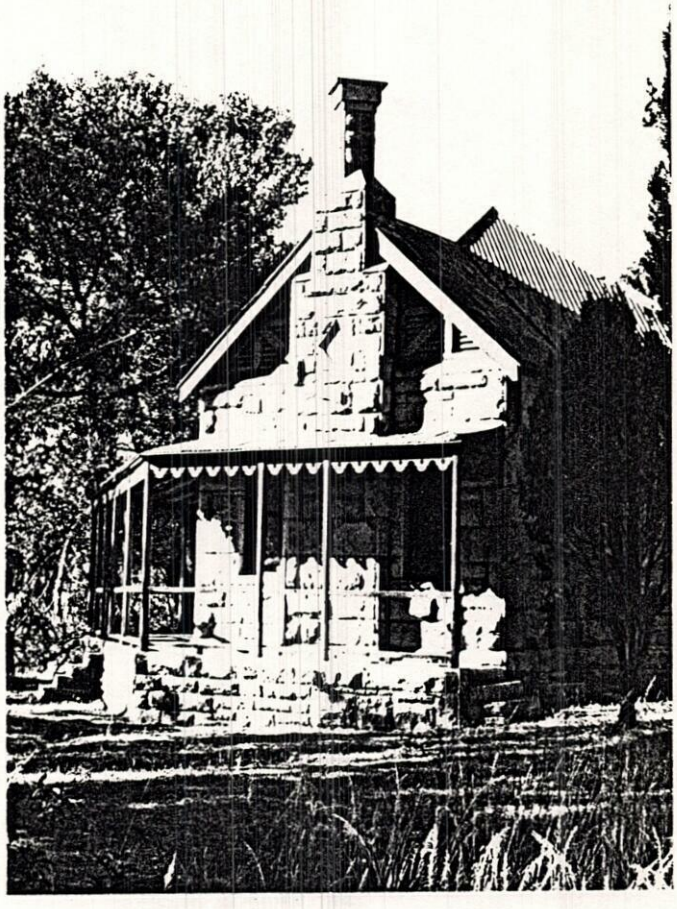
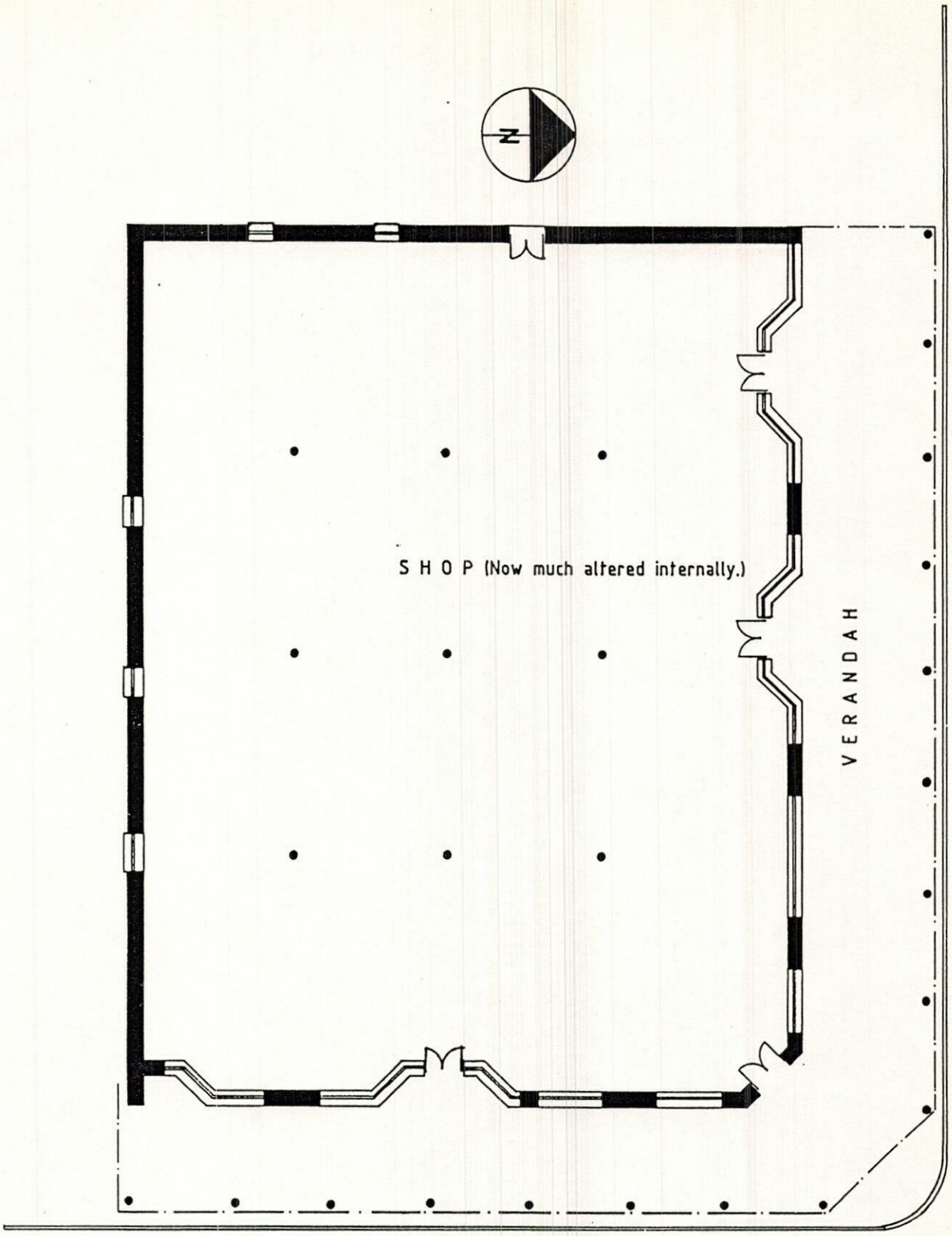
Prynnsberg (Clocolan district)
The Newberry homestead at *Prynnsberg* is undoubtedly one of the finest examples of domestic sandstone buildings in South Africa. The skill of the artisan has been harnessed to display the full palette of eclecticism, from Cape Dutch, through stepped Belgian gables to French Renaissance details. It is to be regretted that permission to view the interior has been consistently refused. The survival of this gem will become increasingly problematic.



Prynnsberg Farm Manager's cottage
The care lavished on this simple dwelling by the stonemason is a fine demonstration of the free expression permitted by this responsive material in the hands of an artist.



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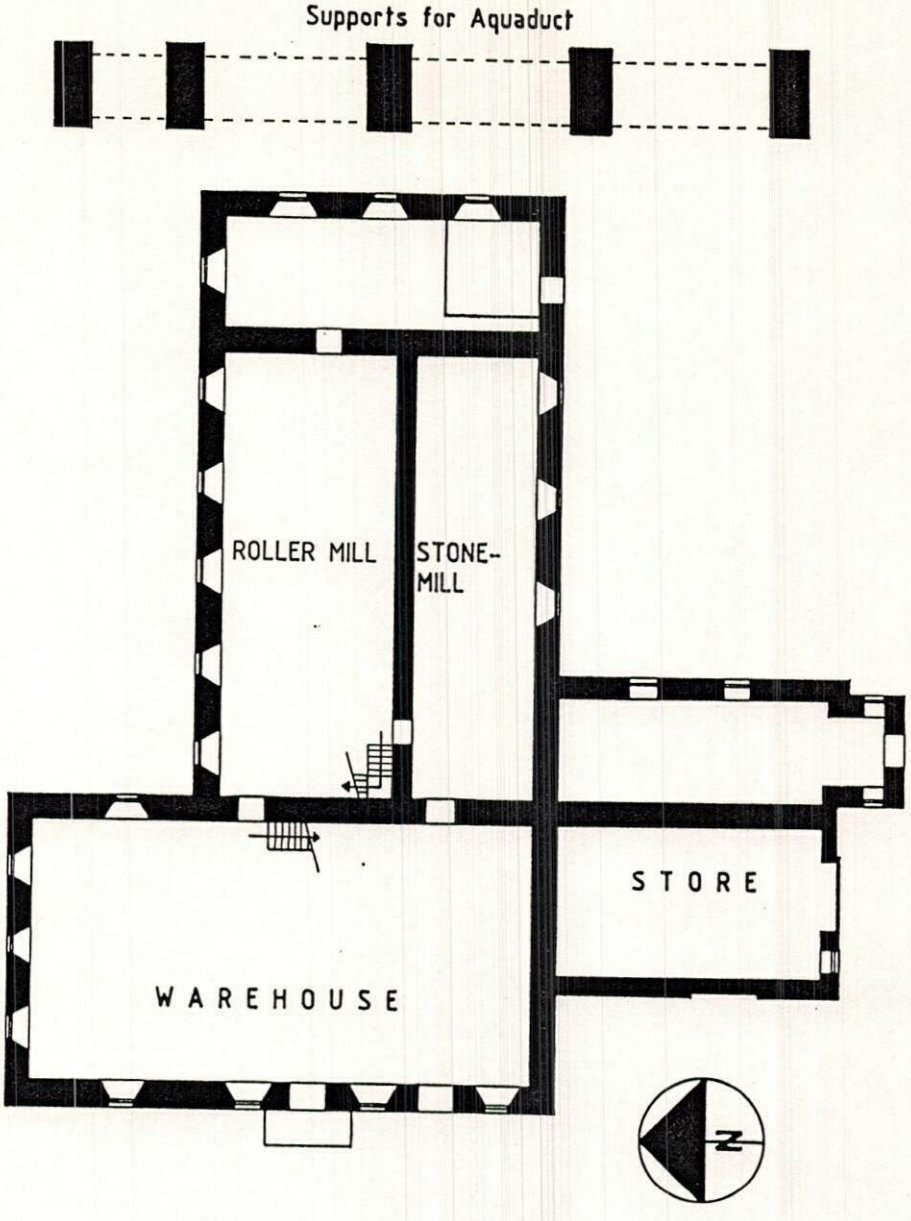
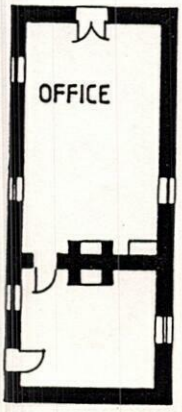
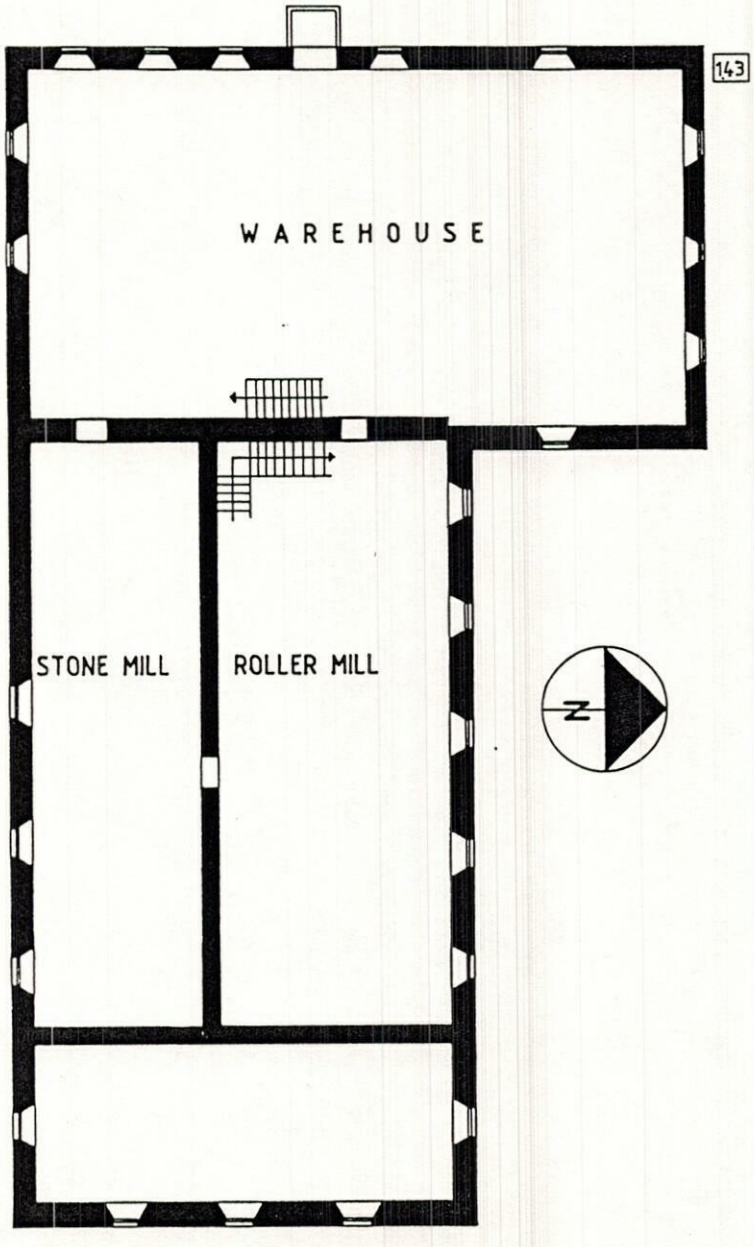
BETHLEHEM: SHOP OF JAMES T. STRAPP & SONS: 1890



TWEESPRUIT / WESTMINSTER:
LEEURIVIER MILL
PLAN AT GROUND LEVEL
1890



TWEESPRUIT/WESTMINSTER: LEEURIVIER MILL:
PLAN AT FIRST FLOOR.
1890



TWEESPRUIT/WESTMINSTER: LEEURIVIER MILL:
PLAN OF SECOND FLOOR LEVEL
1890

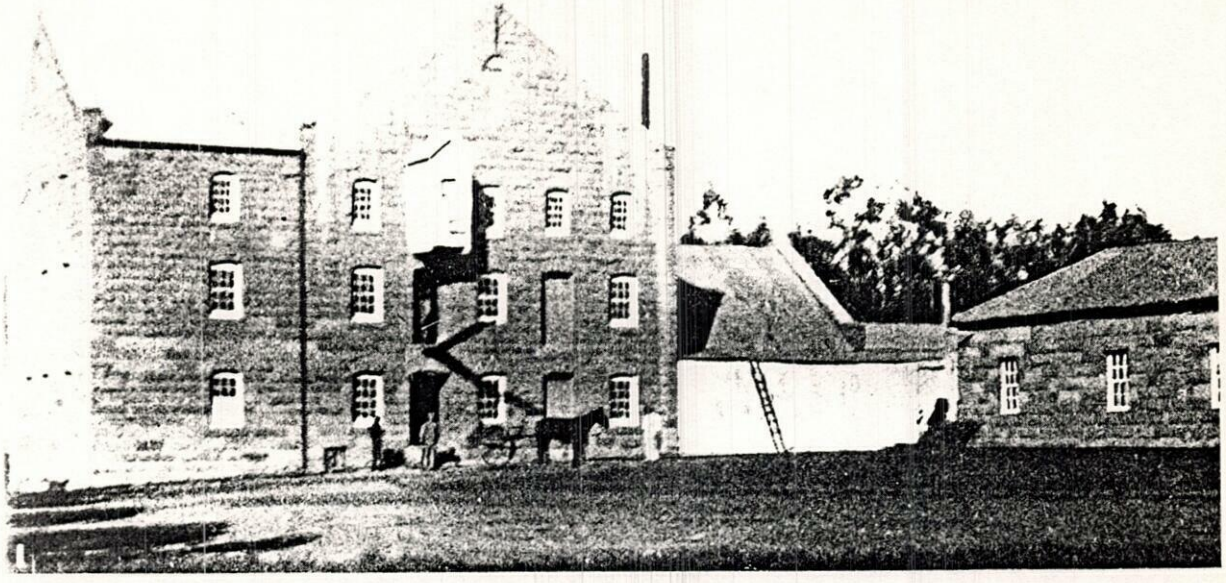


Photo: Leeuw River Flour Mill
This very substantially built mill has survived as a ruin but in its heyday it housed elaborate water-driven equipment to serve the interests of the wheat farmers of the Eastern Free State. The appearance is that of a Scottish building with all the traits of excellent craftmanship.

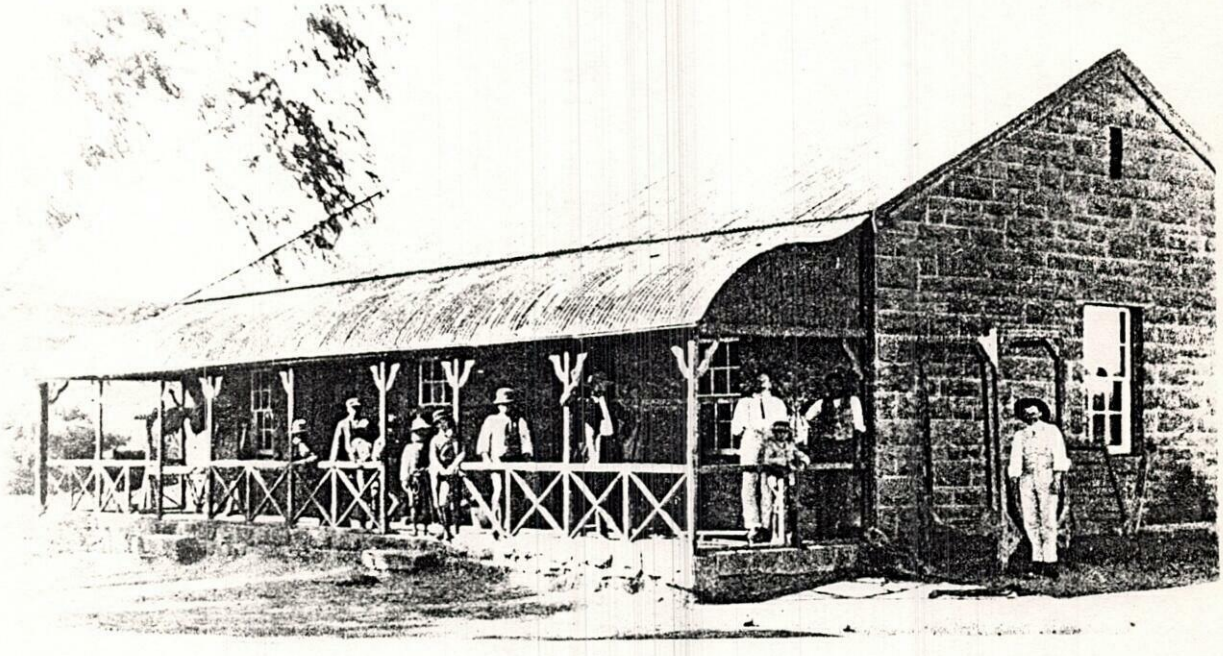


Photo: The General Store at Leeuw River Mill.
This Sandstone building dating from the late eighties or early nineties shows how the basic rectangular building was adapted to the climate. A generous verandah was added with the roofing sheets fixed in an unusual manner. Usually the concave sheets are fixed at the lower rather than at the upper end. A sandstone flagged verandah is demarcated with a timber balustrade, the whole being a sturdy, functional and durable building.

Photo: The Premises of J Geo Fraser Attorney-at-Law and Notary Public who combined a law practice with that of auctioneer and general agent. This photo taken about 1892 shows the South side of Maitland Street with the rudiments of street drainage and a built-up pavement. The building reflects an almost domestic character with its "Stoepkamer" profile, fretwork gable trimmings, timber supports to the verandah roof, and shuttered sliding windows. The quoins are trimmed with sandstone and a horizontal plaster-cornice forms the base line of a large pedimented gable. Maitland Street was not adequately gravelled nor the pavements properly paved until 1895, and then only after numerous complaints from residents about ruts and potholes causing them to be hurled from their horse-drawn transport. Geo. Fraser became a well-known member of the *Volksraad* and served the Republic in various capacities until the outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War. He had the dubious distinction of being in the small party responsible for handing over the keys of Bloemfontein City to Field Marshal Roberts in March 1900.

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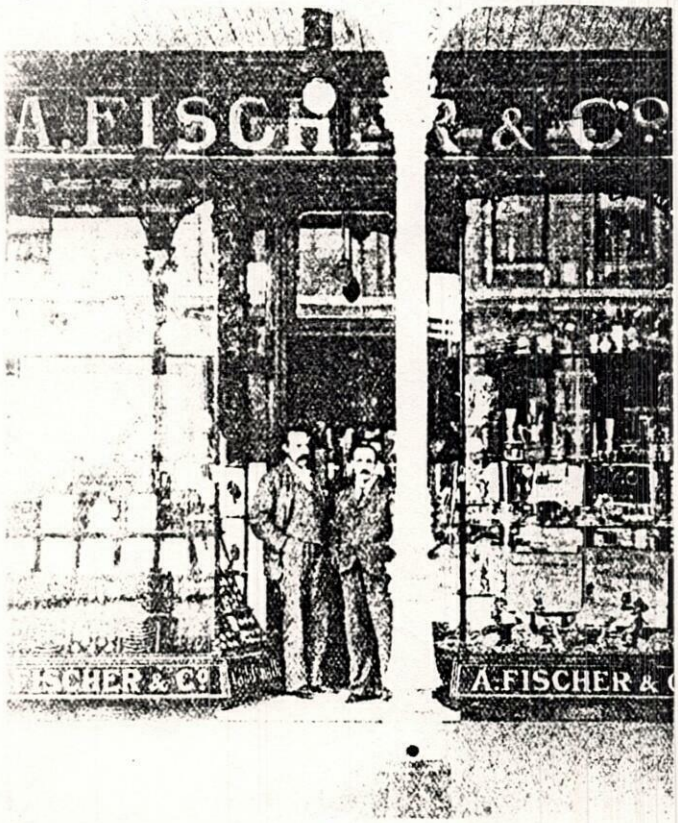


Photo: A Fischer's Premises, Maitland Street
This post-war photograph reveals the opulent effect achieved by the diamond dealer's and jeweller's business in Maitland Street. The cast-iron column with supporting brackets dates from the nineties as does the timbered ceiling over the pavement. Reflected in the shopfront glass the portico of the Town Hall opposite may be identified. This small shop has miraculously survived in Maitland Street as the Lumen Pharmacy.

148

Photo: South African Mutual Life Assurance Society, Maitland Street, Bloemfontein.
This building, housing the Free State Branch of the Society, was commenced during 1892 and completed towards the end of 1893. The architect was W H Stucke and as the first building of three storeys in Bloemfontein it attracted considerable attention. The upper floors have an almost domestic character with the ground floor facade being pierced by nine arcaded openings sheets of glass of unusual size. The elaboration of detail is unusual for a Bloemfontein building at this time, and was instrumental in establishing Stucke's reputation as an architect.

149

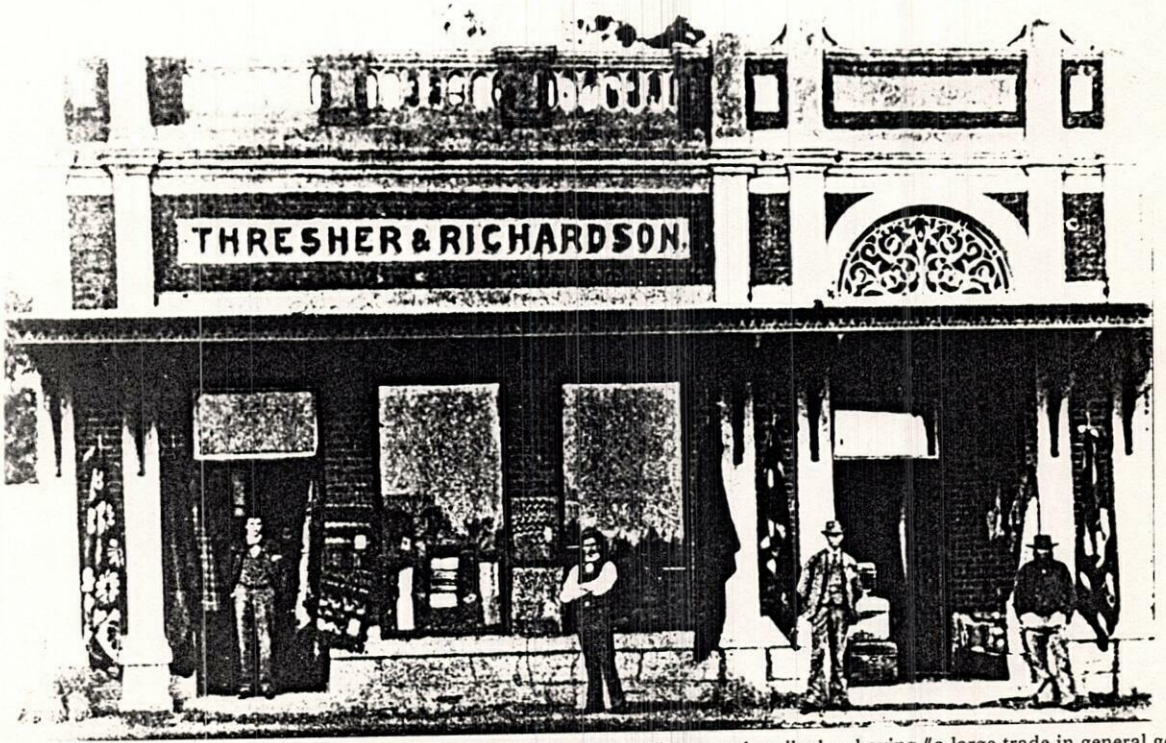
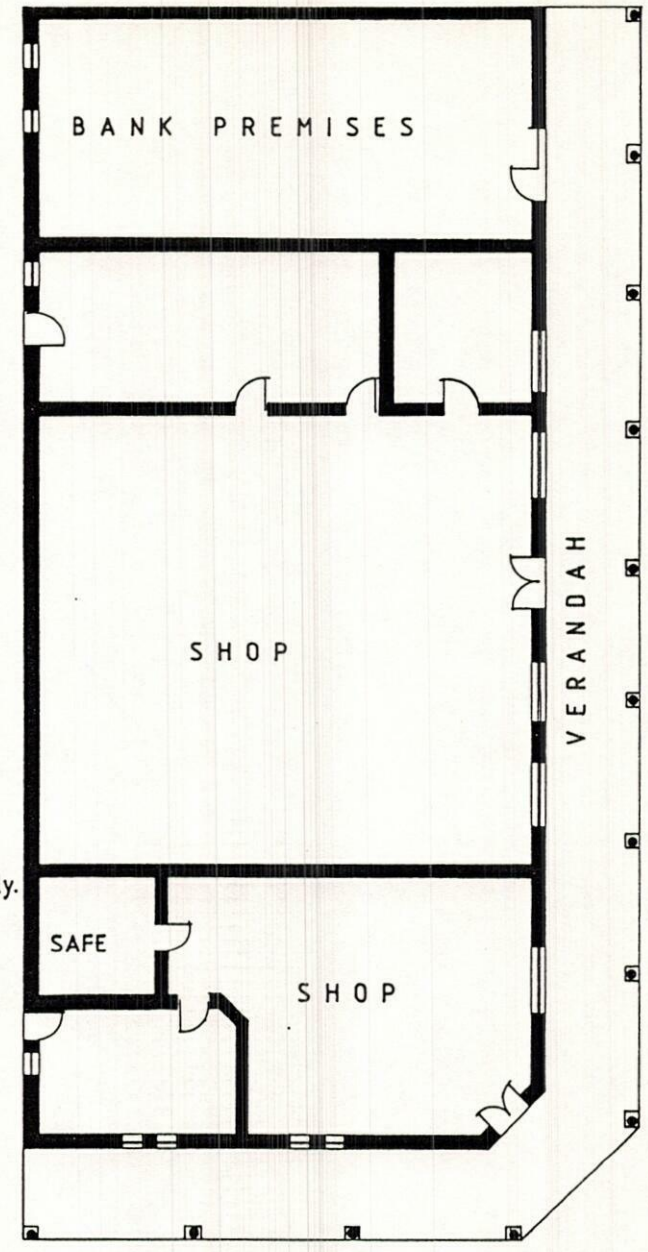
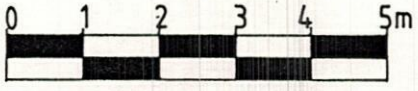


Photo: The Bloemfontein premises of Thresher and Richardson. The firm was described as having "a large trade in general goods, drapery, saddlery, outfitting, household requisites — dealing largely with the farming population, and purchase produce on the best terms". The use of red brick, plaster mouldings, sandstone plinth cast-iron brackets, large window panes and semi-circular grille is reminiscent of architect Stucke's work in Bloemfontein and may well have been designed by him. The building was situated on the Market Square.



Wall thickness 360mm generally.
Ceiling heights 5000mm.



KOFFIEFONTEIN: MOSES BUILDING: 1894-1911

151

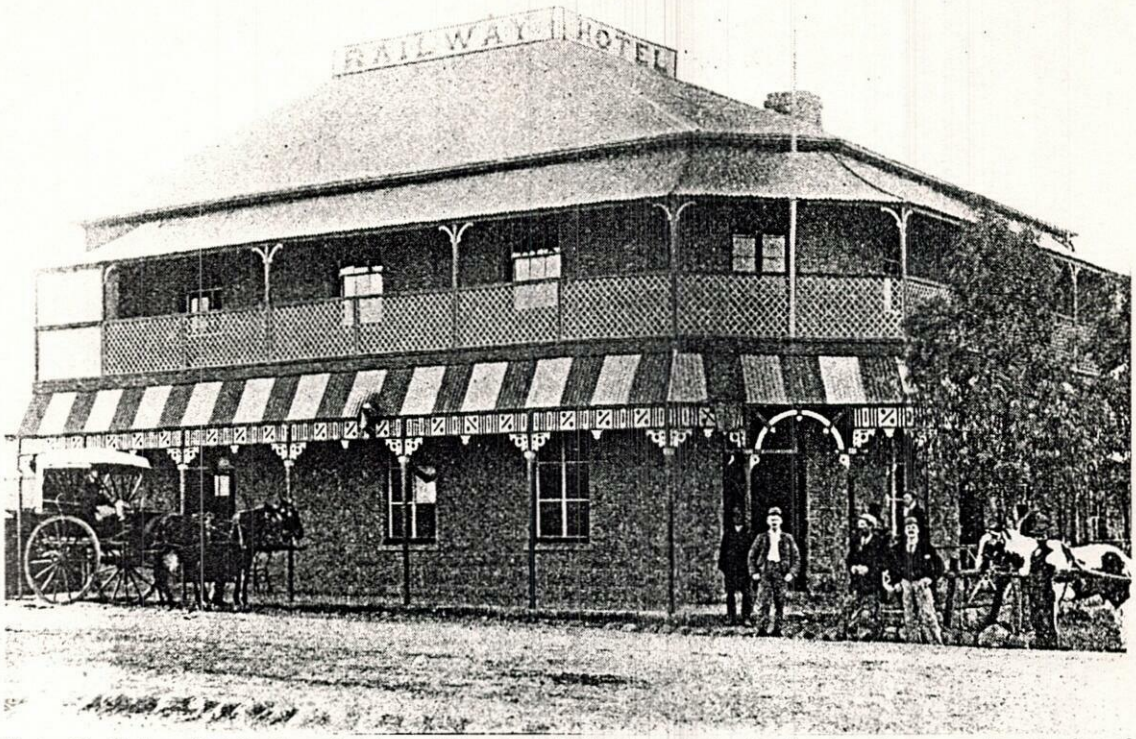


Photo: The Railway Hotel in Bloemfontein could boast in 1896 that it was in "a salubrious locality — away from the dust of the busy thoroughfares of the city, at the end of clean, fashionable St George's Street". The stark lines of the main bulk of the buiulding were softened (or perhaps hardened) by the addition of umbrellalike canopies on timber supports showing intricate timber fretwork at street level and cross-trellising at the upper level. A heating stove had its chimney taken unceremoniously through a sheet of flat-iron and thence across the pavement. On the extreme right the downward slope of Church Street is just visible.

152

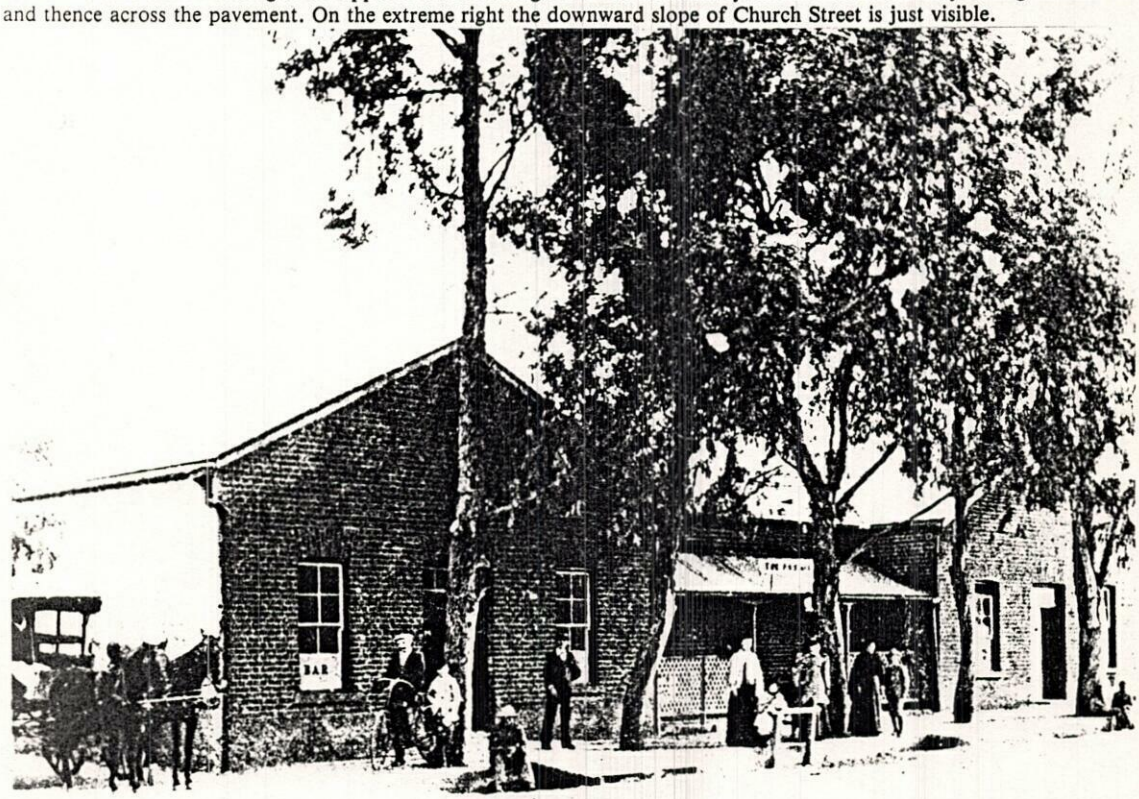


Photo: The Phoenix Hotel, Bloemfontein
This straightforward structure was described in 1895 as being a family and residential hotel in a healthy and most fashionable part of the town namely the West end of St. Andrew Street - snugly nestling under the branches of the Eucalyptus, it was advertised as being near to the Government Offices and the Raadzaal and only a few minutes walk from the Market Square.

153

Photo: The premises of Barlow Brothers and Co. in Maitland Street belonged to the oldest established firm in the Free State dealing as "Stationers, Fancy Goods and Printers". In the photograph they are shown occupying the building inscribed "The Friend of the Free State and Bloemfontein Gazette". These premises were refurbished about 1895.

154

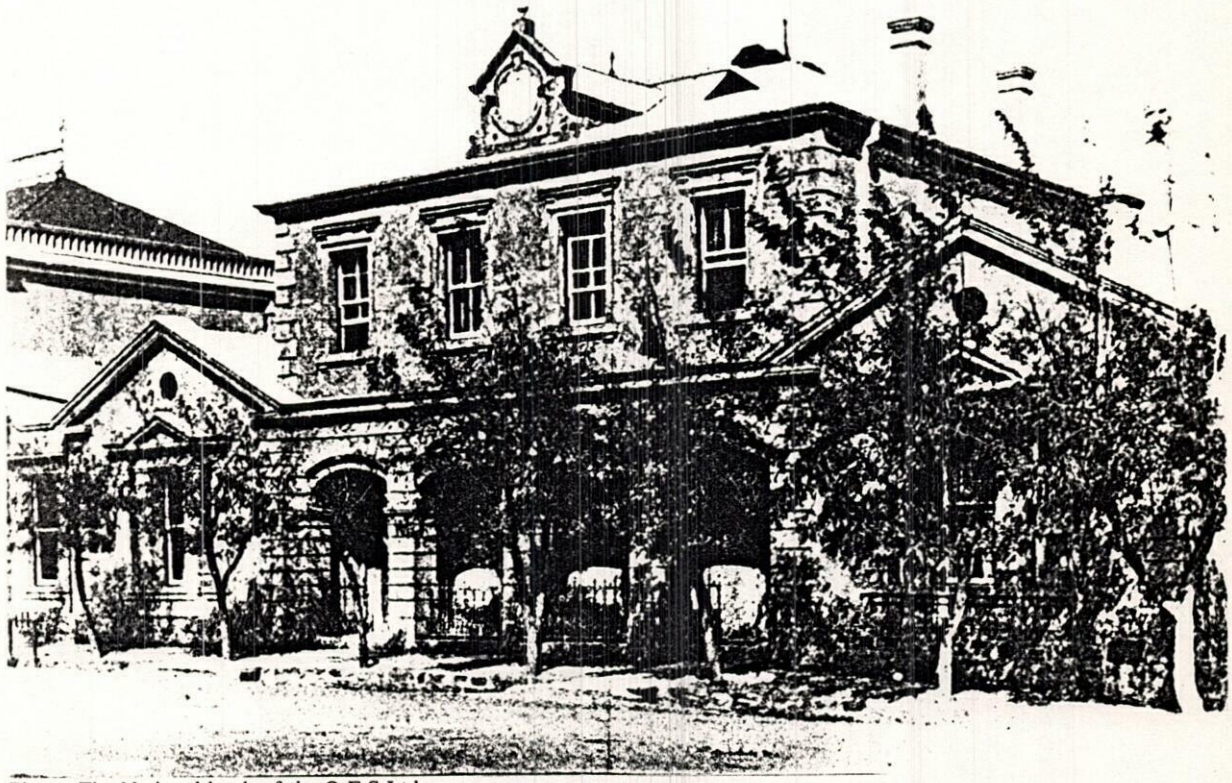
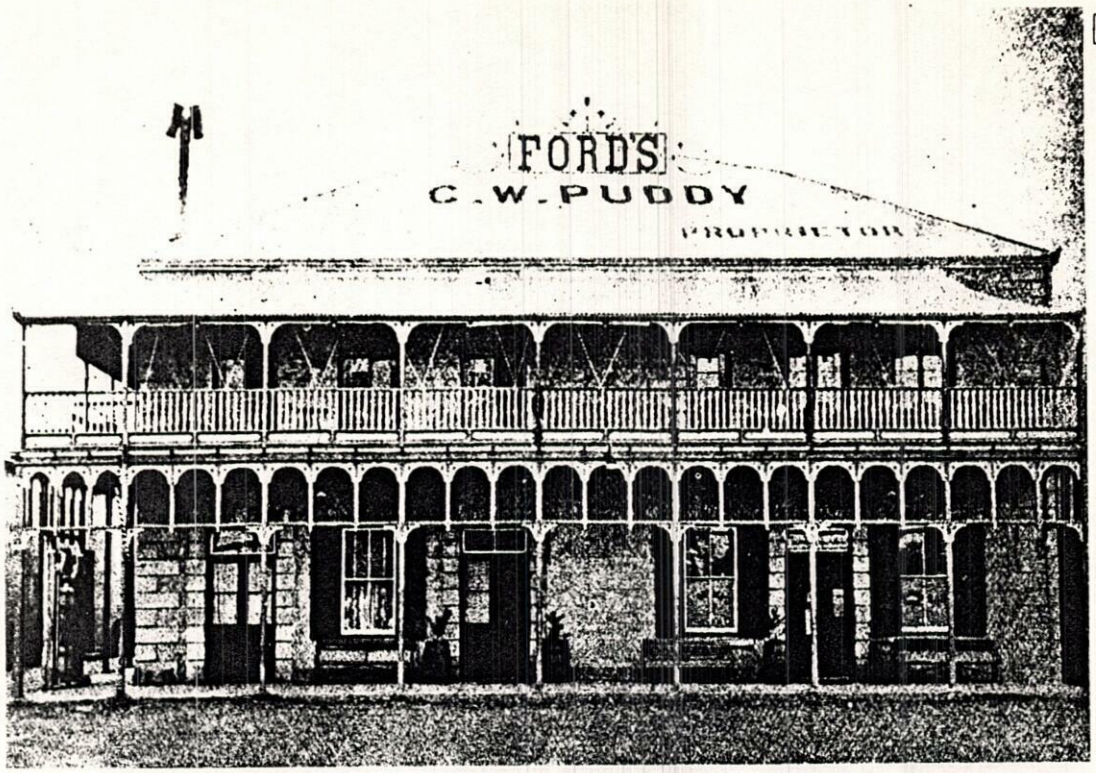


Photo: The National bank of the O F S Ltd.
This institution sprang from the ashes of the old Bloemfontein Bank which was founded in 1862 with a capital of £30 000. After the resolution of the diamond fields dispute and payment of £90 000 compensation to the OFS, £70 000 was set aside as capital for a Bank. The building had a hesitant style hovering between that of a domestic building and a more formalised public building as evidenced by the arcaded openings on the lower portion of the main facade. In 1896 the bank had 13 branches in various towns of the O F S and in rural areas the Manager's residence was a component part of the bank building.



155

Photo: Ford's Hotel, Winburg
This building facing on to the Market Square illustrates the elaborate and semi-precarious manner in which the bleak sandstone buildings of the day were adjusted to the climate. Concave sheets cover the upper verandah and this roof load is transmitted via slender timber supports to columns at ground floor level where the slenderness ratio has been tempered by a transom supporting a series of small arches. At the upper level the roll-up blinds make up the first line of climatic defence. The post-war bedrooms were reputedly "sumptuosly furnished" and the Duke of Westminster" used the stables" if nothing else.

156

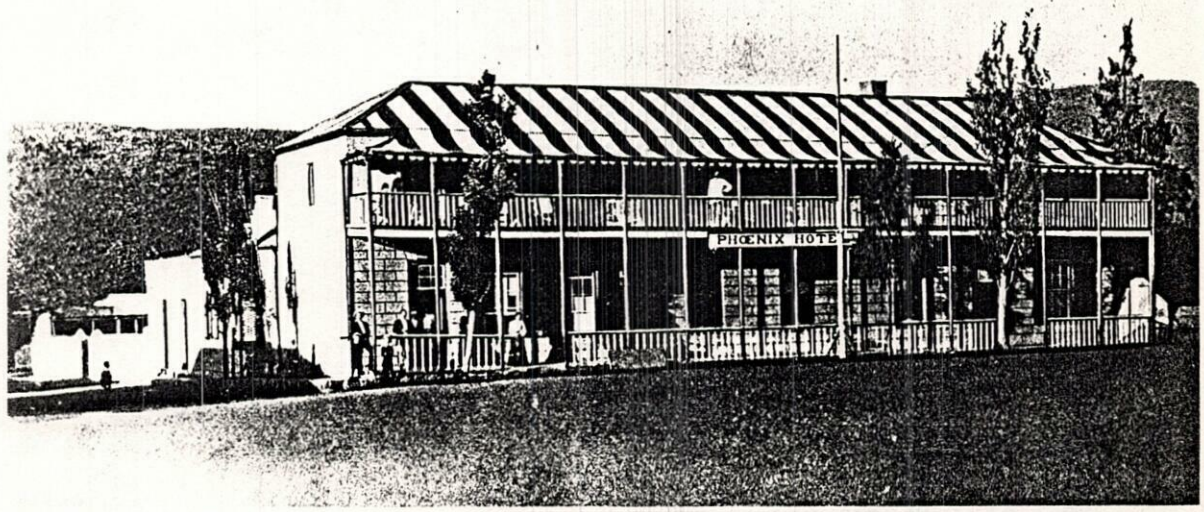
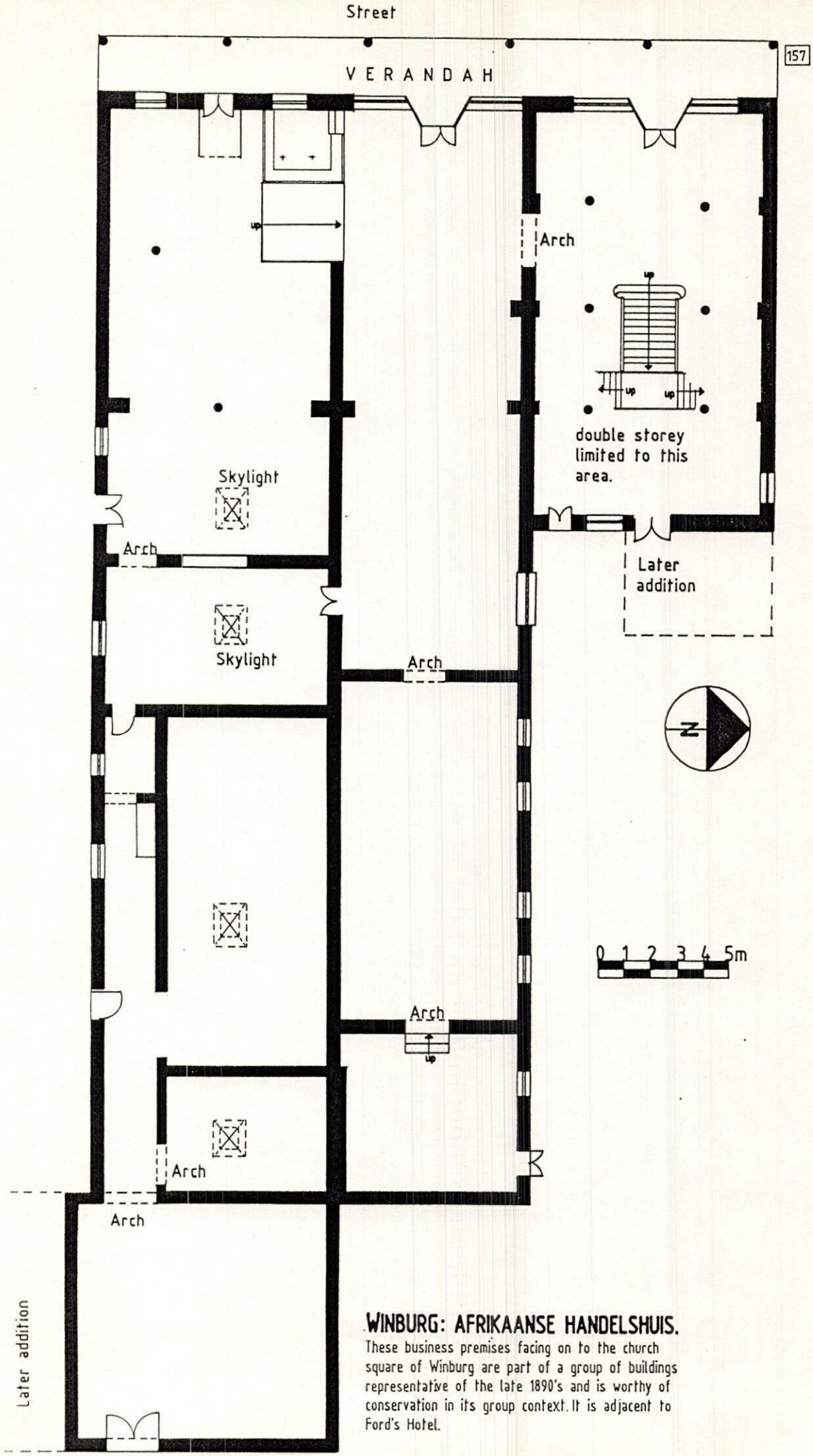


Photo: The Phoenix Hotel at Fauresmith.
This post-war photograph shows a building already 30 years old and much altered since the time it was a store. It reveals the love of the candy-striped roof and the timbered balcony added as a later gesture to comfort. A slightly later hotel (dating from about 1913) in Jagersfontein echoes many of the stylistic norms of this building.

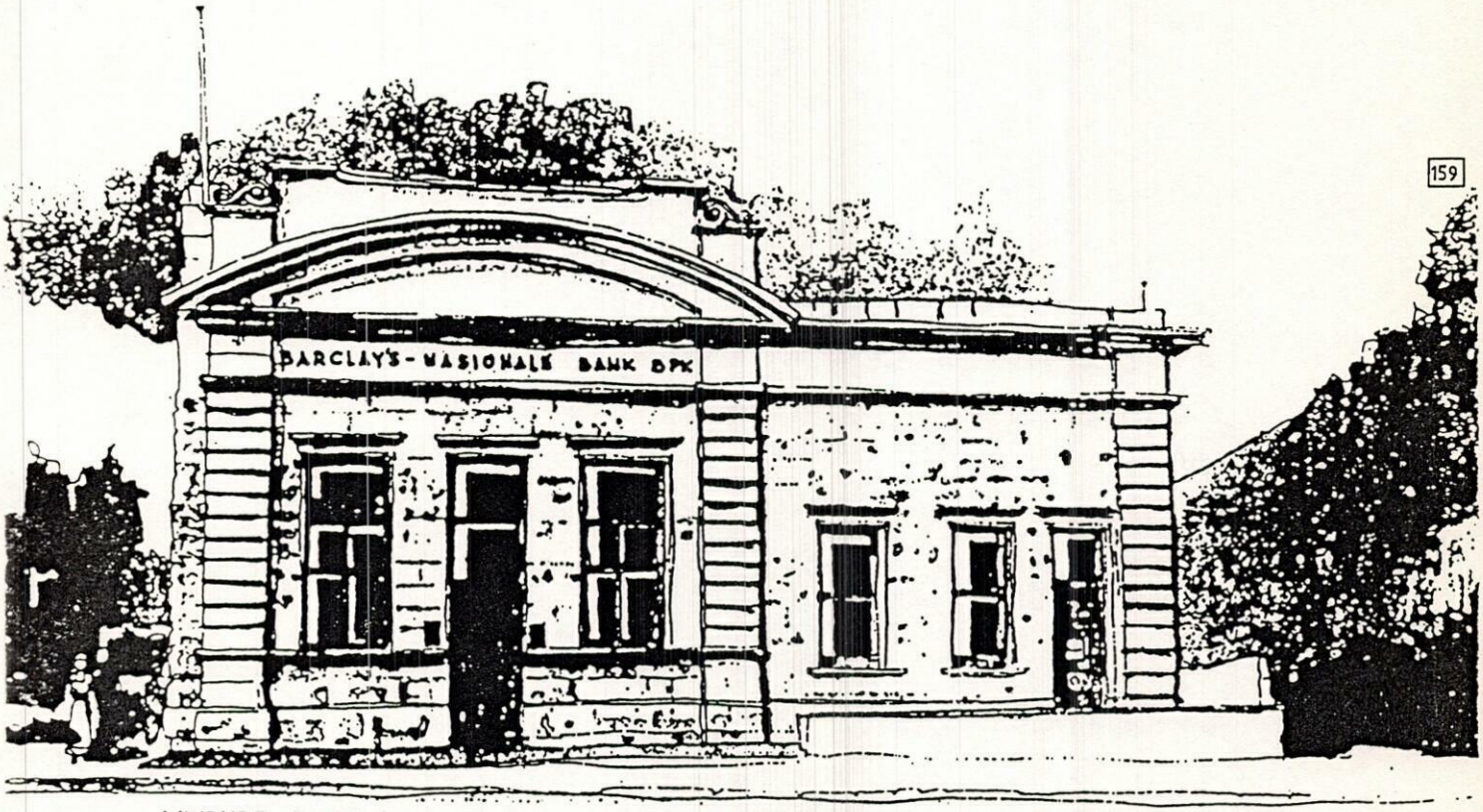


WINBURG: AFRIKAANSE HANDELSHUIS.

These business premises facing on to the church square of Winburg are part of a group of buildings representative of the late 1890's and is worthy of conservation in its group context. It is adjacent to Ford's Hotel.

D. van Biljon.

☐ AFRIKAANSE HANDELSHUIS : WEST ELEVATION
WINBURG



WINBURG: BARCLAY'S NATIONAL BANK:
SOUTH ELEVATION. .

D. van Biljon.

160

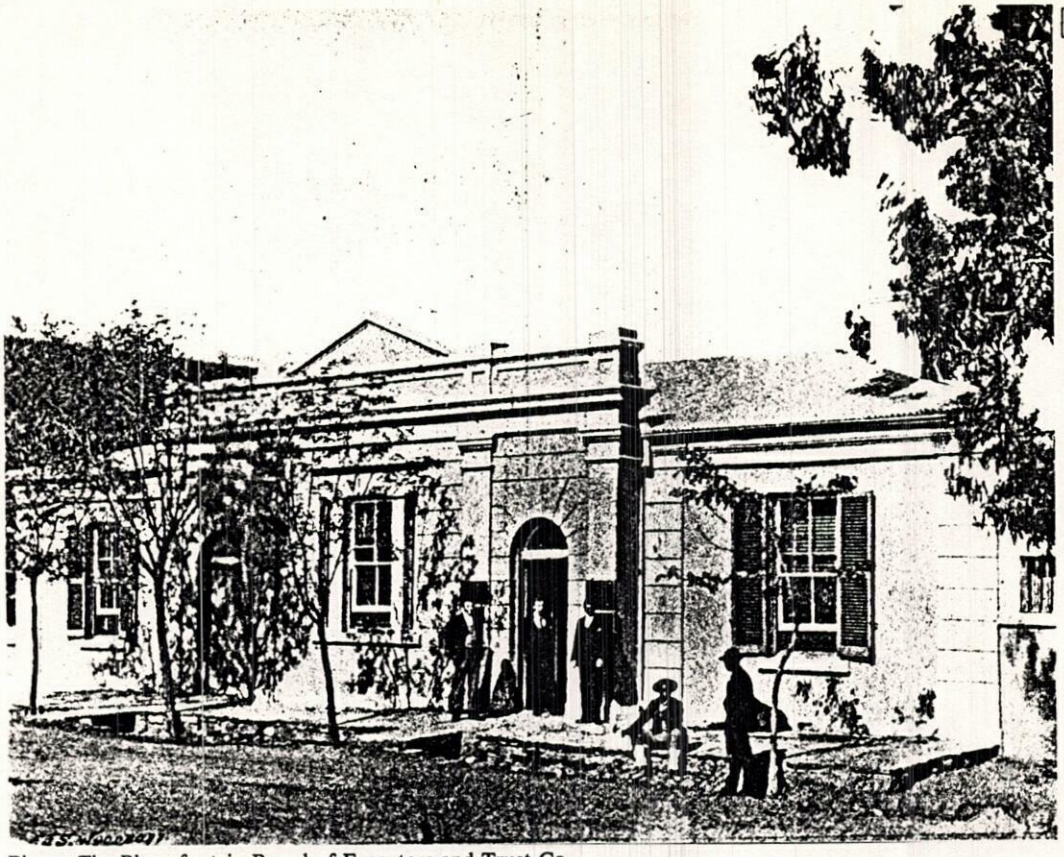


Photo: The Bloemfontein Board of Executors and Trust Co.
This simple, straightforward building stands exactly at the change-over point from domestic to commercial building. The fenestration is still sliding sash with hinged shutters while the doorway, overhead cornices and fronton proclaim the first pretentions towards a business building in its own right. It is conceivably a converted domestic building. The rough pavement suggests that the photograph dates from the early nineties.

161

Photo: P. Greger Tailor and Clothier Maitland Street Bloemfontein
This firm was, in 1896, the oldest tailoring establishment in Bloemfontein. It was responsible for the tailoring requirements of the last three Presidents of the OFS, and had a large mail order business by means of "self measurement forms" and sample swatches. The range of business is emphasized by the number of white employees posing in their shirt-sleeves outside the building. The upper floor housed premises of the Southern Life Association. The general construction is of red brick and plastered trim. The lettering over the main entrance does not have the kind of fit which could be expected of a bespoke tailor. The "clouds" and "trees" surrounding the building suggest the hand of the retoucher.

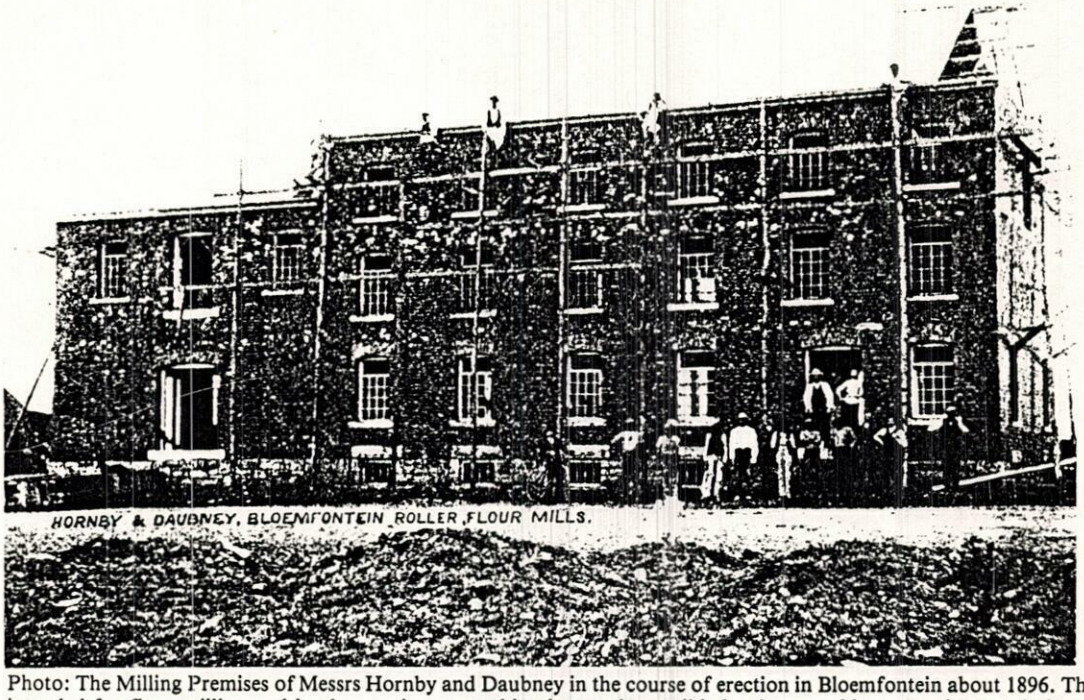


Photo: The Milling Premises of Messrs Hornby and Daubney in the course of erection in Bloemfontein about 1896. The building was intended for flour-milling and lumber-sawing, a combination made possible by the use of heavy equipment designed by Messrs T Robinson & Sons, Engineers of Rochdale, England. The grain grown in the Orange Free State was regarded as being superior to any other in South Africa. Since the Mill could not be water-driven it must be assumed to be steam-driven. The introduction of electrical power was coincident with the erection of the building but at that stage only from privately owned generators. The firm of Hornby and Daubney also conducted an extensive business as building contractors.

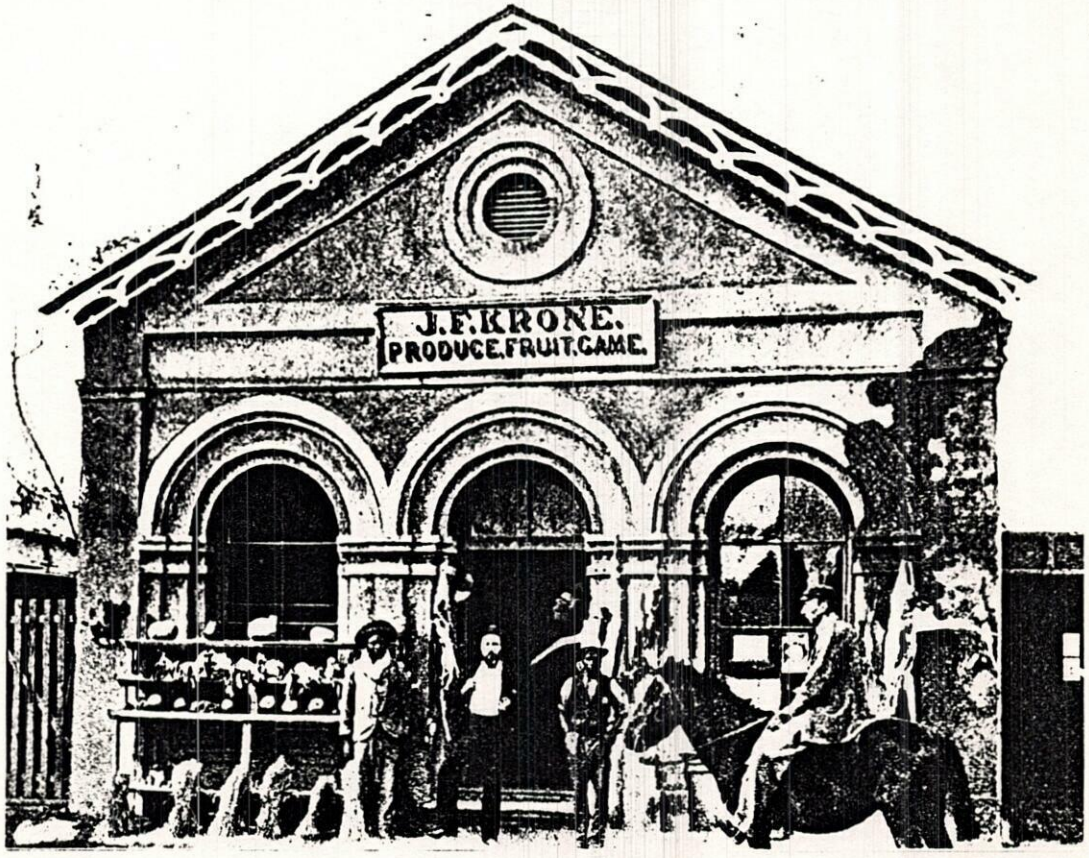
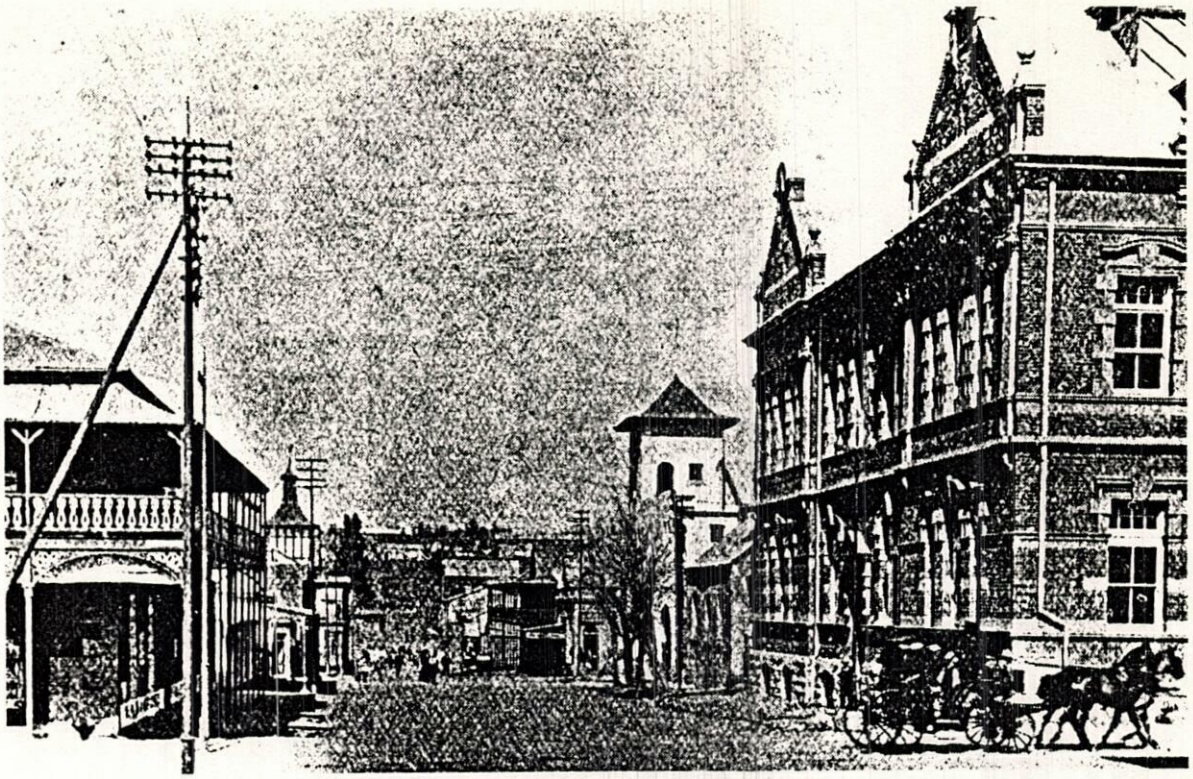
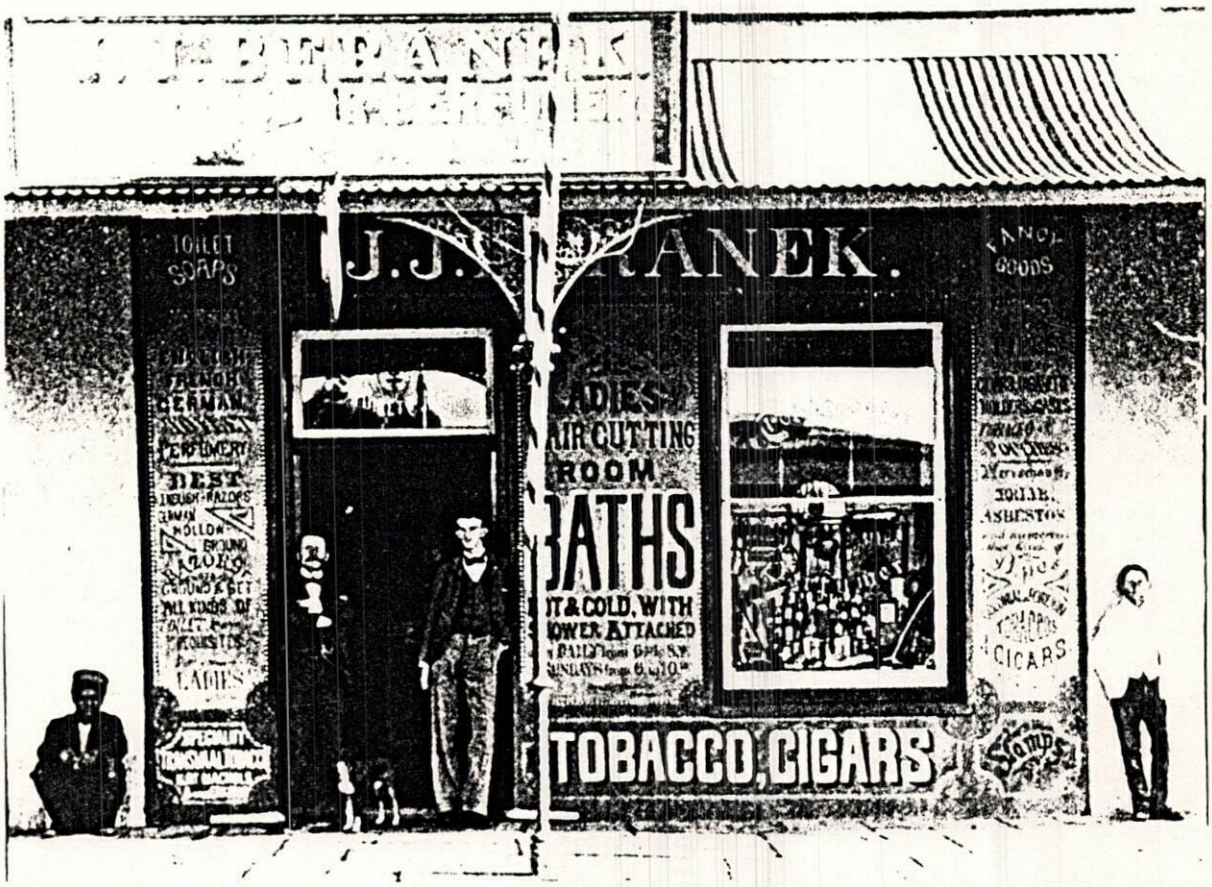


Photo: The fresh produce shop of J F Krone in Church Street which was always "replete with fresh vegetables and fruit together with game of every description". This business had contracts for supplying produce and game to the Johannesburg market. Architecturally the building is interesting for the detailed plasterwork in the creation of the semi-circular arches and the elaborate scroll work in the timber fascias. The carpenter's skills were particularly lavished on fascias, barge boards and balustrades.



164

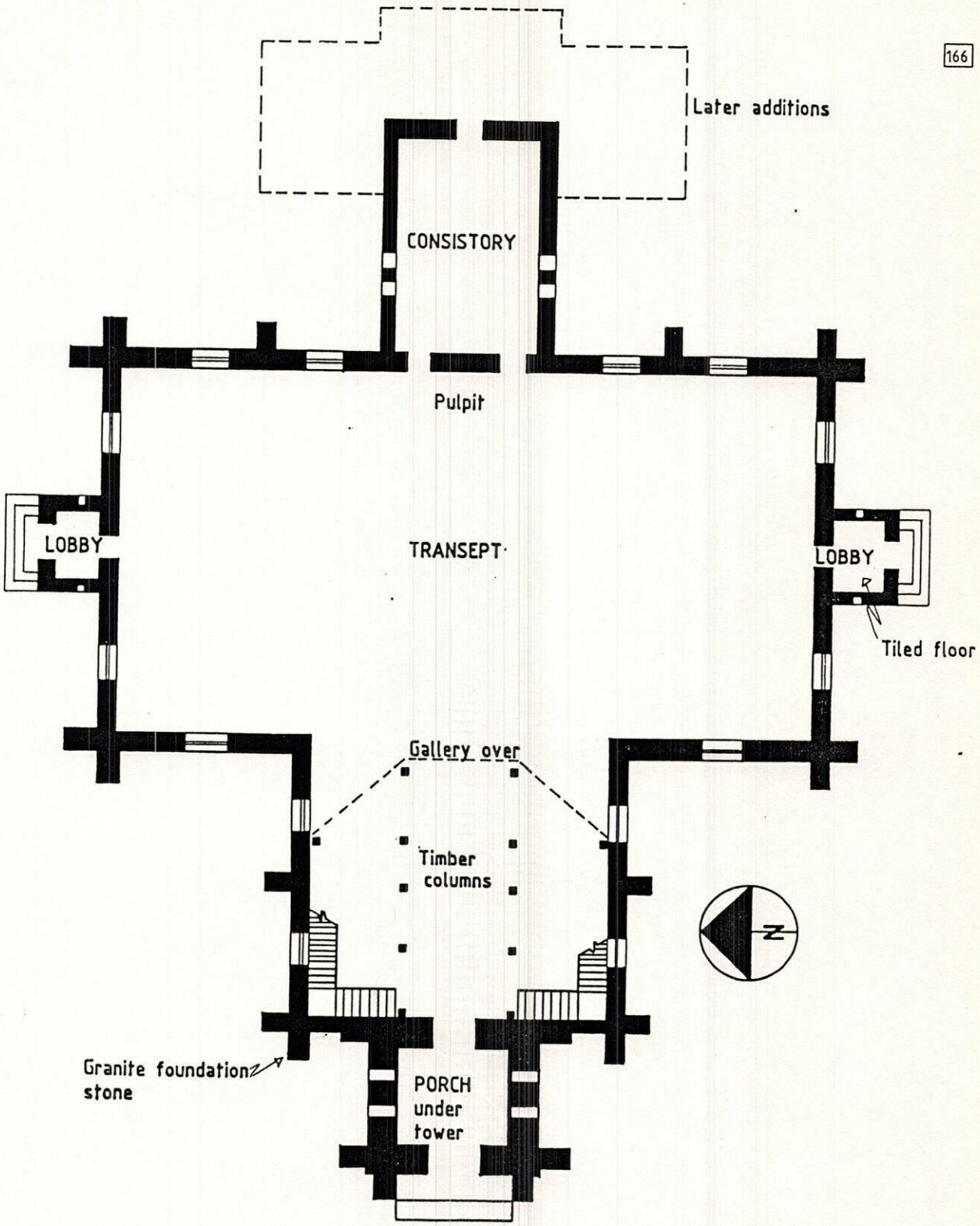
Photo: East Burger Street Bloemfontein
This interesting photo dating back to the post-Anglo-Boer War period shows the heterogenous nature at the corner of Maitland Street and East Burger Street looking South.



165

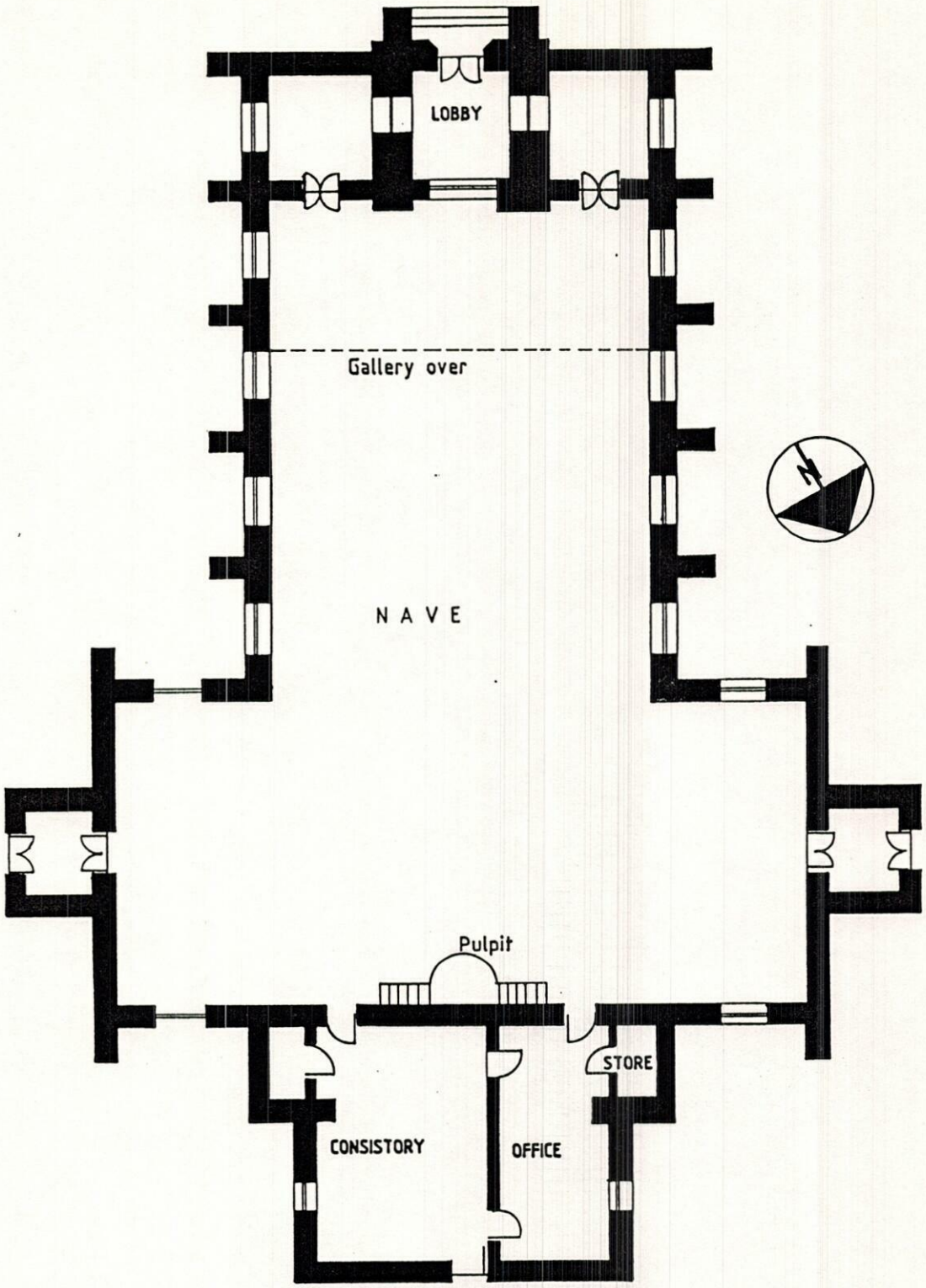
Photo: Beránek's hairdressing saloon C.1898

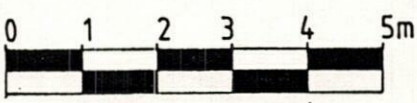
Despite its modest external appearance Mr Beránek's hairdressing establishment offered an extensive range of goods and services. The public of Bloemfontein had access to English, French and German Soaps and perfumery while English and German hollow ground razors were sold and maintained. Hot and cold baths with showers attached were offered for seven days a week. Tobaccos and cigars both colonial and foreign were available along with Transvaal brands and even "Asbestos" pipes. For full measure postage stamps could be purchased. Of Architectural interest are the slender, twisted cast-iron columns and ornate roof brackets. The candy-striped roofing sheets were typical of this period as were the rectangular sandstone paving slabs.



WEPENER: N.G. KERK
1887

Photo *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* Wepener
A separate *gemeente* was established in 1870. The first 'emergency' building was built in that year for £250. The second phase church was commenced in 1882 and enlarged in 1897 when a tower was added. The enlarged church had a new foundation stone laid by Pres M T Steyn on 15 August 1898. This phase of the building cost £13 000. The structure has a certain elegance which is marred by the ungainly manner in which the spire base meets the tower shaft. In many church buildings the roof was ventilated at about midpoint. This device had hardly any beneficial effect as it often allowed hot air above the roofing sheets to be blown into the roof void. Deterioration of those facing West often facilitated the entry of bats, owls and pigeons all of which, while enjoying the sanctuary of the church were not amenable to its codes of conduct.

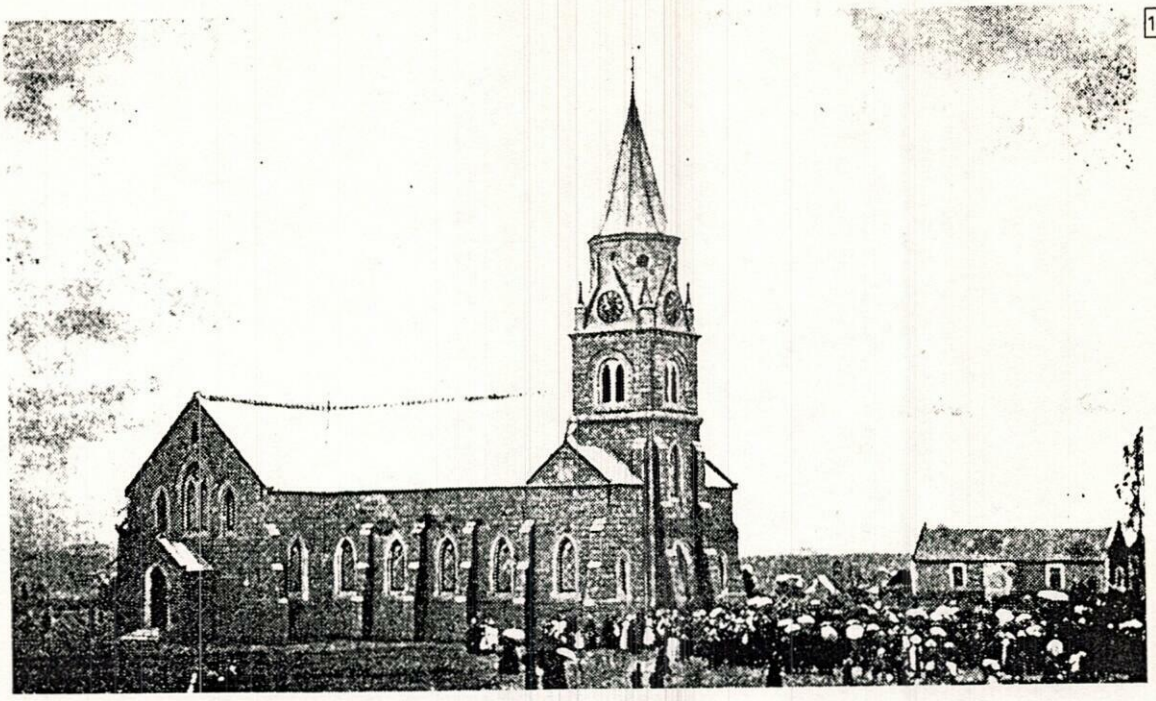




N.G KERK: LADYBRAND: 1889

This fine example of the stonemason's art was nearly destroyed by fire in 1966 after which the interior and window-insets were much altered. It was built by Rohde who was also responsible for the church at Hoopstad.

169



This interesting photograph was taken on 15 November 1890 at the time of the inauguration of the new church building. The old church is also visible on the right-hand side of the photograph. This small building served the local community for more than 20 years after the formal establishment of the *gemeente* in 1870. This congregation dates from the period immediately after the Basuto wars when many new immigrants were drawn to the rich agricultural area known as the "conquered Territory".

170

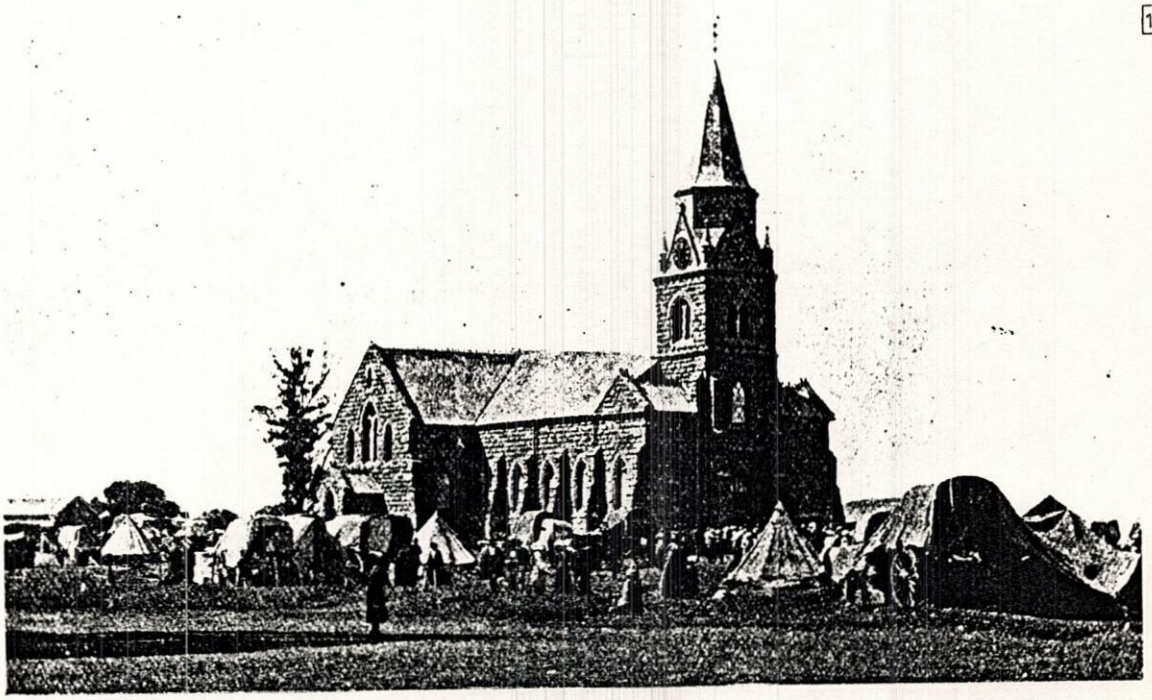
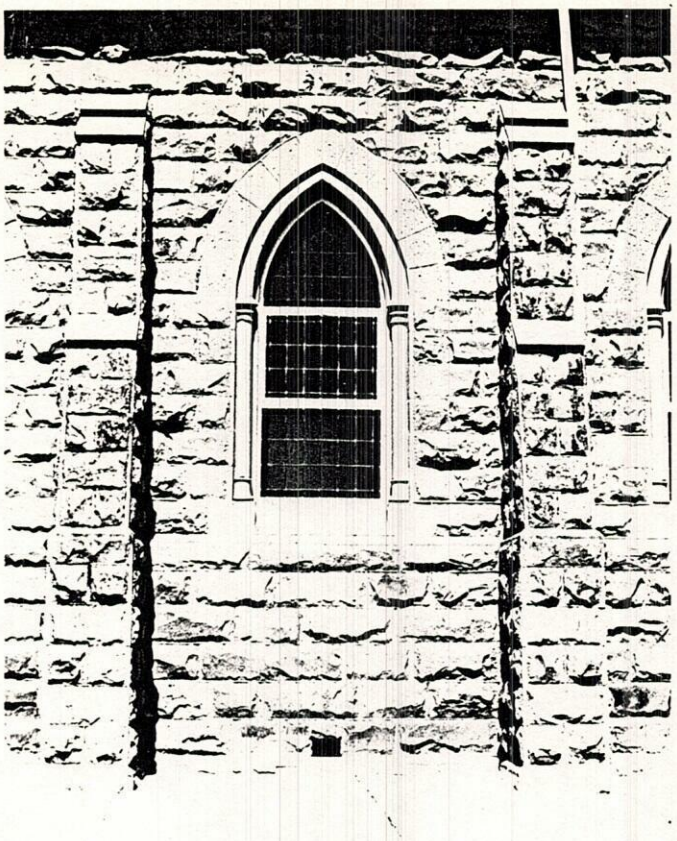
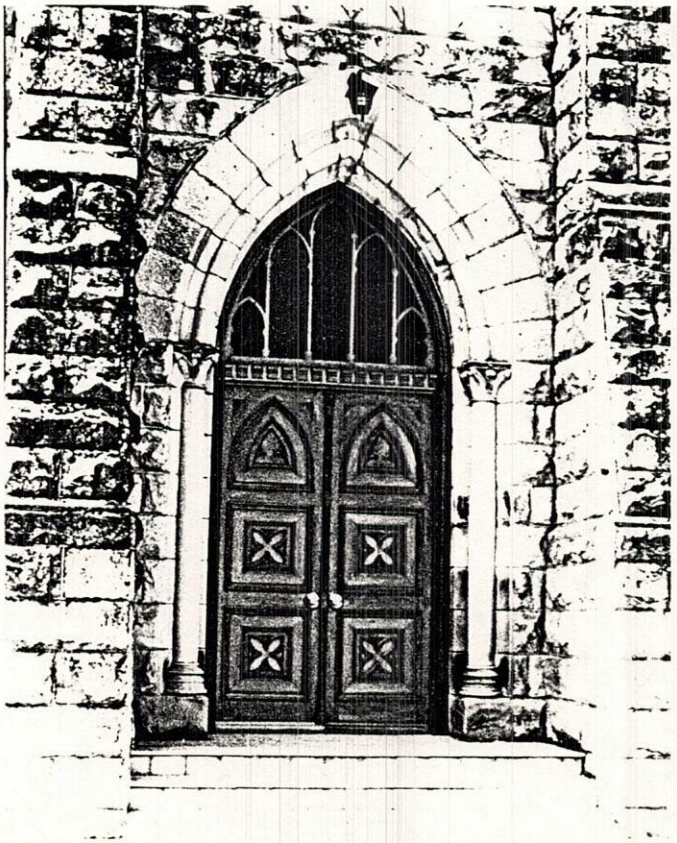


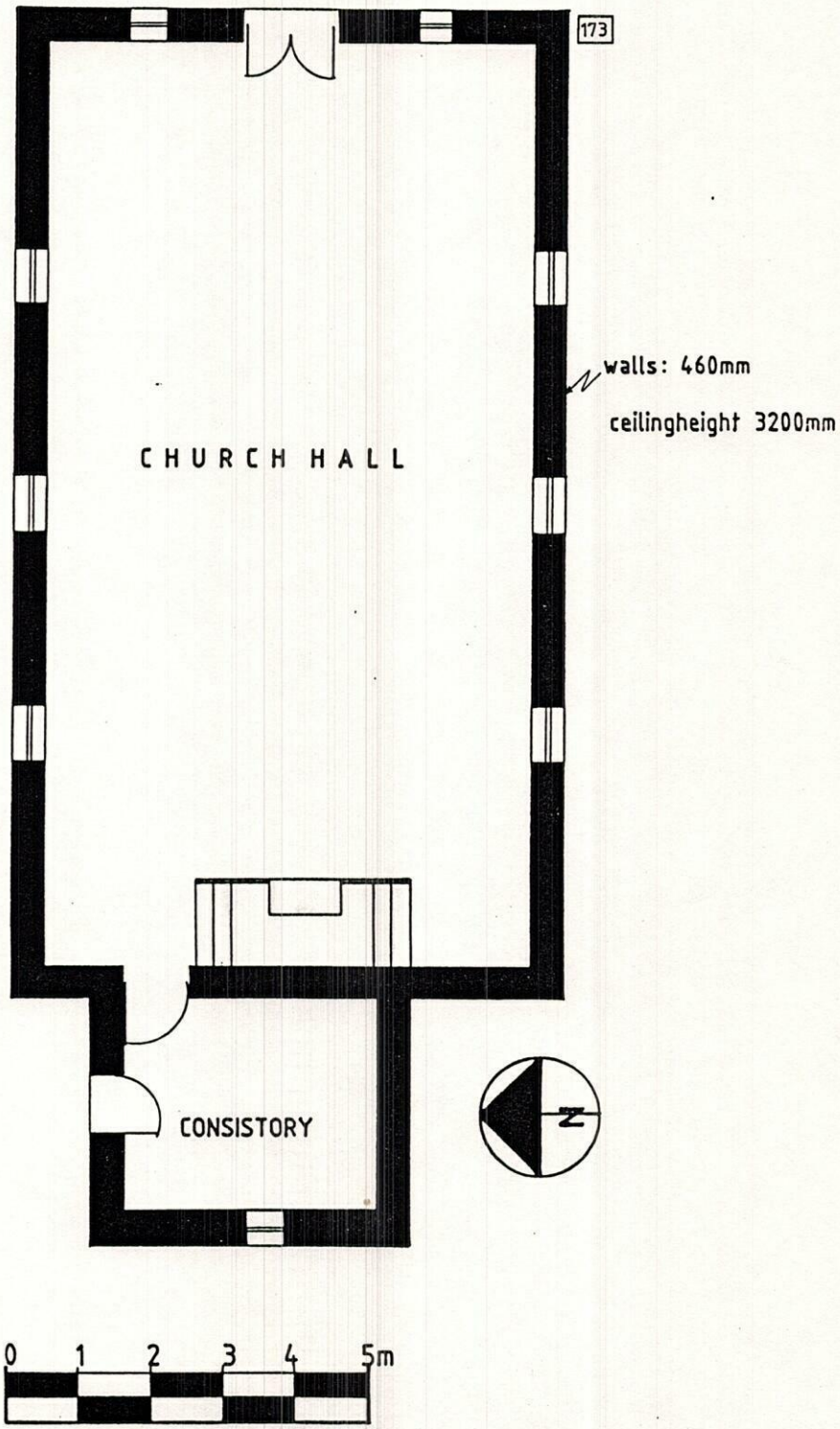
Photo: This early photograph of the *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* at Ladybrand shows the accretion of wagons and tents which were a feature of the quarterly *nachtmaal* gathering. This impressive sandstone edifice was commenced in 1889 and completed in 1890 at a cost of £12 000. It has three galleries and at full capacity can seat 1 000 persons. The architect/builder was G Rohde who was seriously injured in a fall from the tower scaffolding.



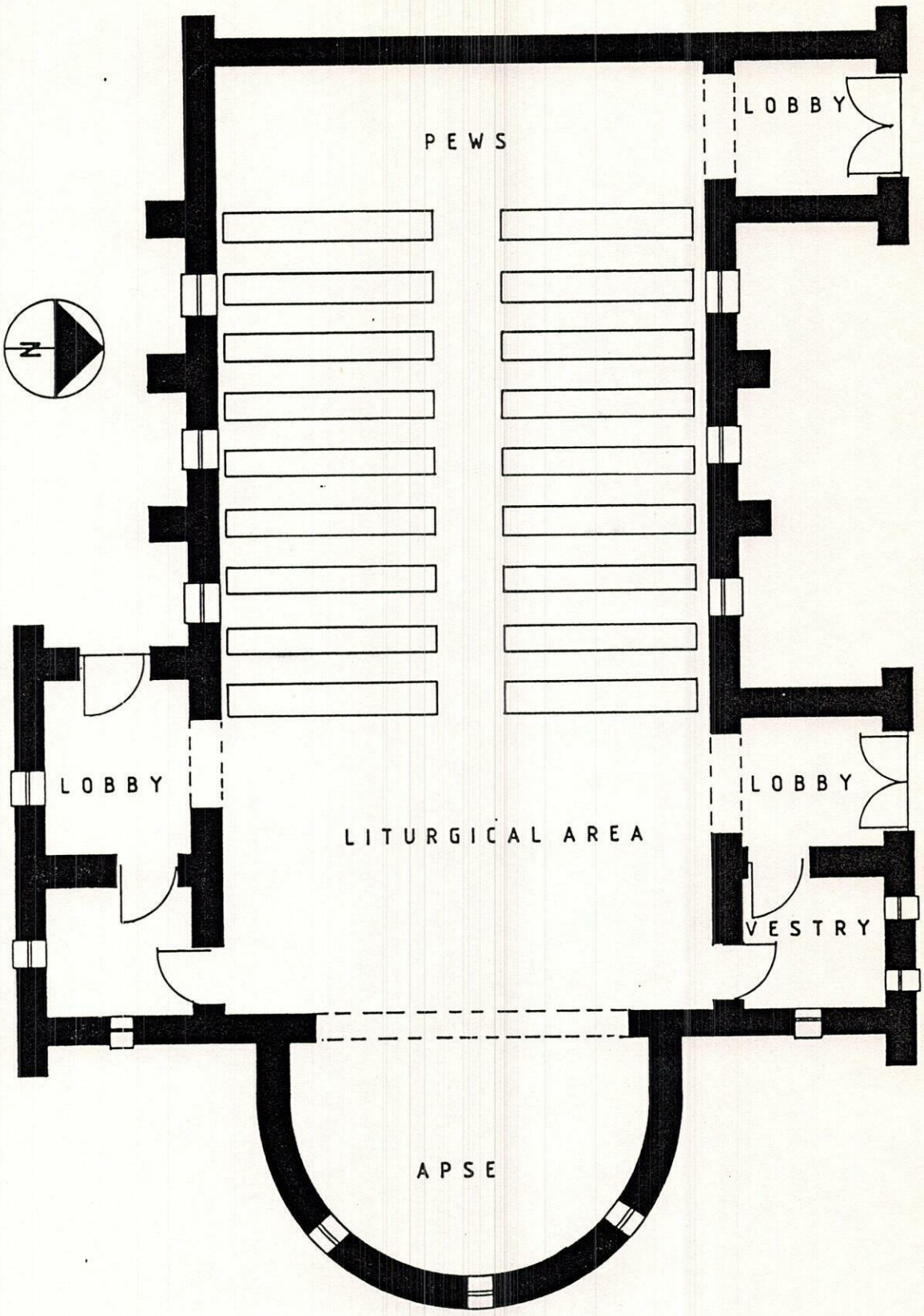
Window detail: N.G. Kerk, Ladybrand
The window opening and surround shows a similar sensitivity of treatment as that of the main entrance door, even with a latter-day opening section to the window. In many Neo-Gothic variations in OFS churches the curves for the pointed window openings were too shallow, giving a hesitant, indeterminate appearance to the arching members.



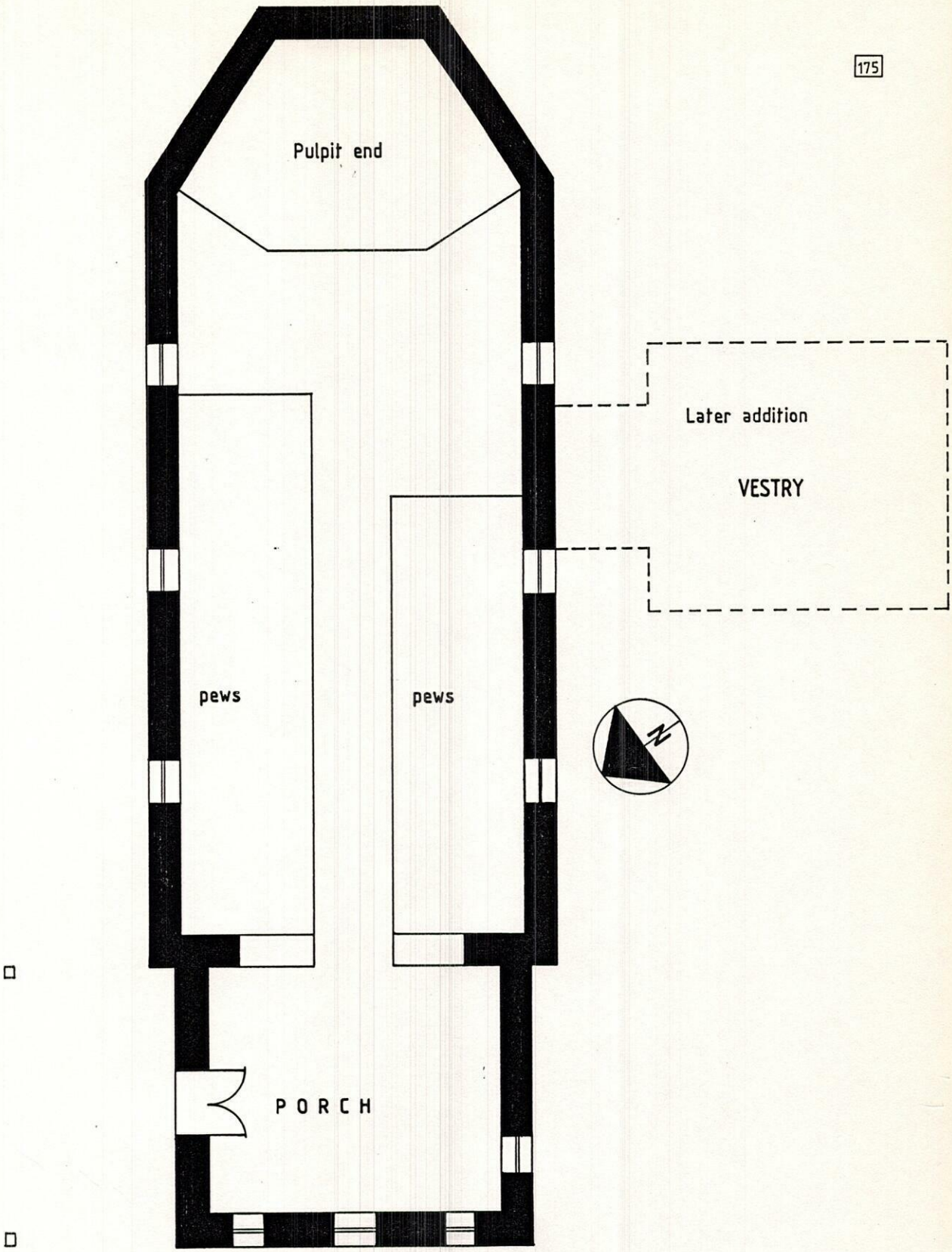
Door detail: N.G. Kerk, Ladybrand.
The detailing of the main entrance door and surrounds is a very fine example of the stonemason's and joiner's art in the last two decades of the previous century.

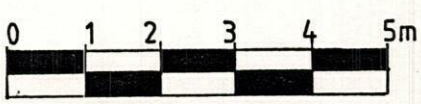


JACOBSDAL: N.G. MISSION CHURCH: 1890

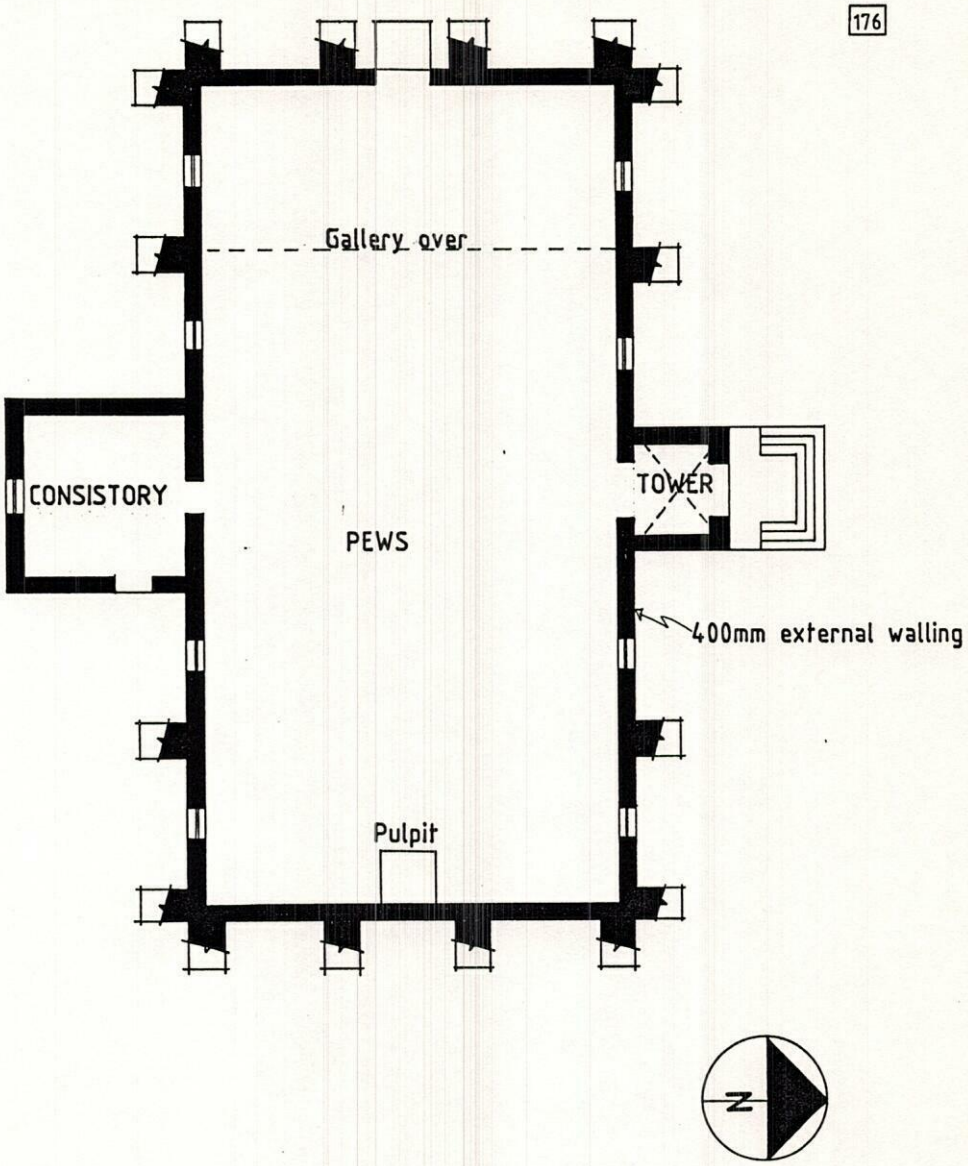


BETHLEHEM: ANGLICAN CHURCH.
1890





FICKSBURG: ANGLICAN CHURCH
CHURCH: 1891
PORCH AND VESTRY: 1895



PETRUSBURG: GEREFORMEERDE KERK.
1892

177

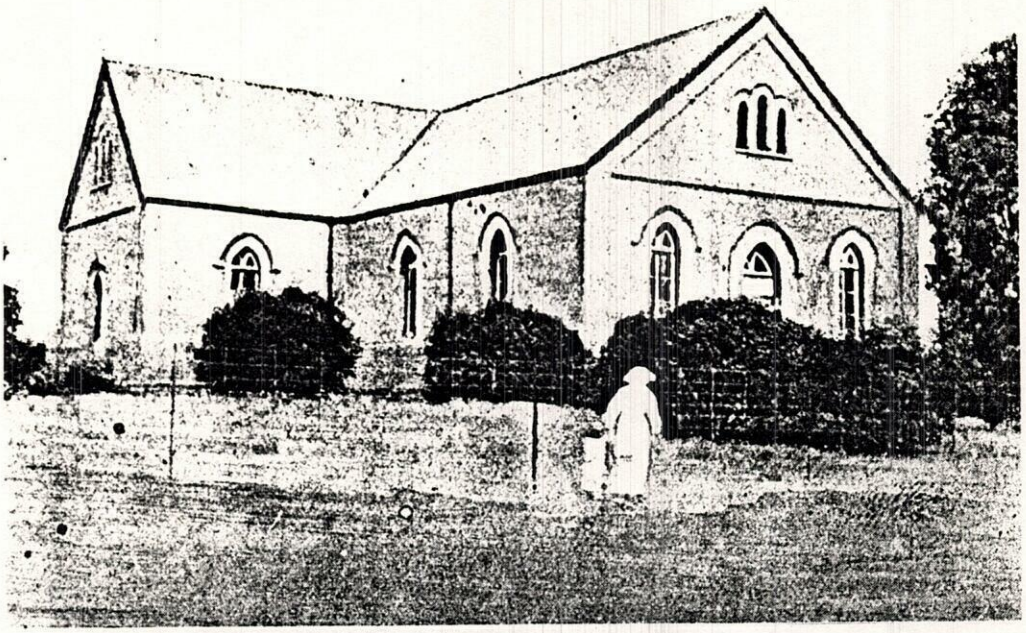


Photo *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* Petrusburg.
Although the church community had a separate identity from 29 June 1892 it was not until 14 January 1899 that Pres M T Steyn could lay the foundation stone. The building was inaugurated at the beginning of the Anglo-Boer War. The architect was given as Walter Donaldson of Ficksburg while the builder was P C van Zyl of Brandfort. The skills necessary for even this modest building being drawn from comparatively distant areas. As its first use coincided with the Anglo-Boer War 1899, no festivities were arranged.

178

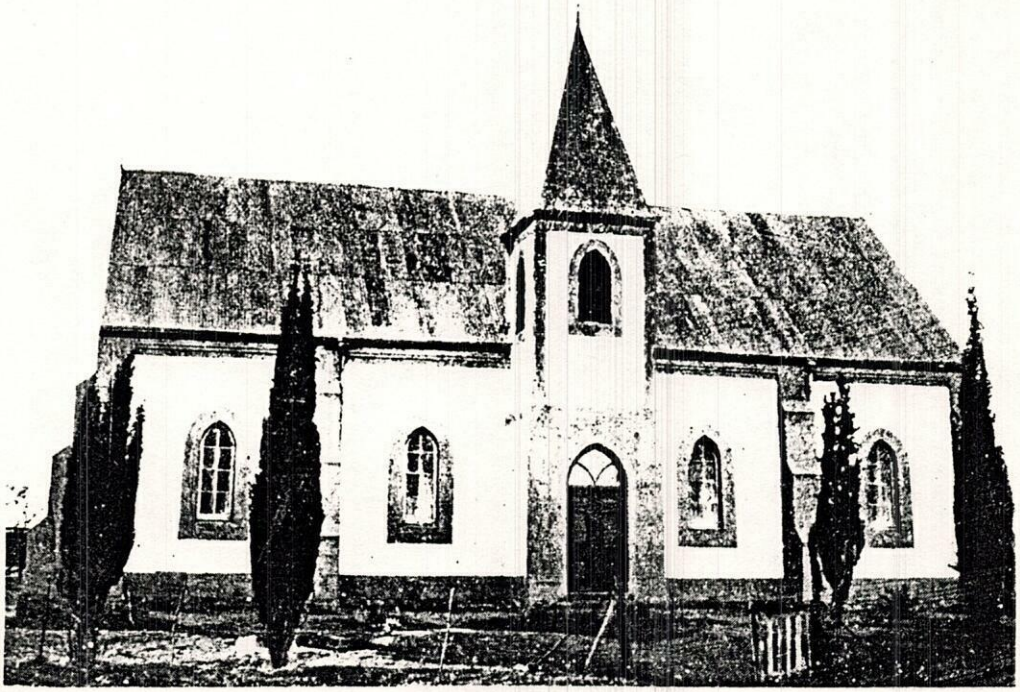
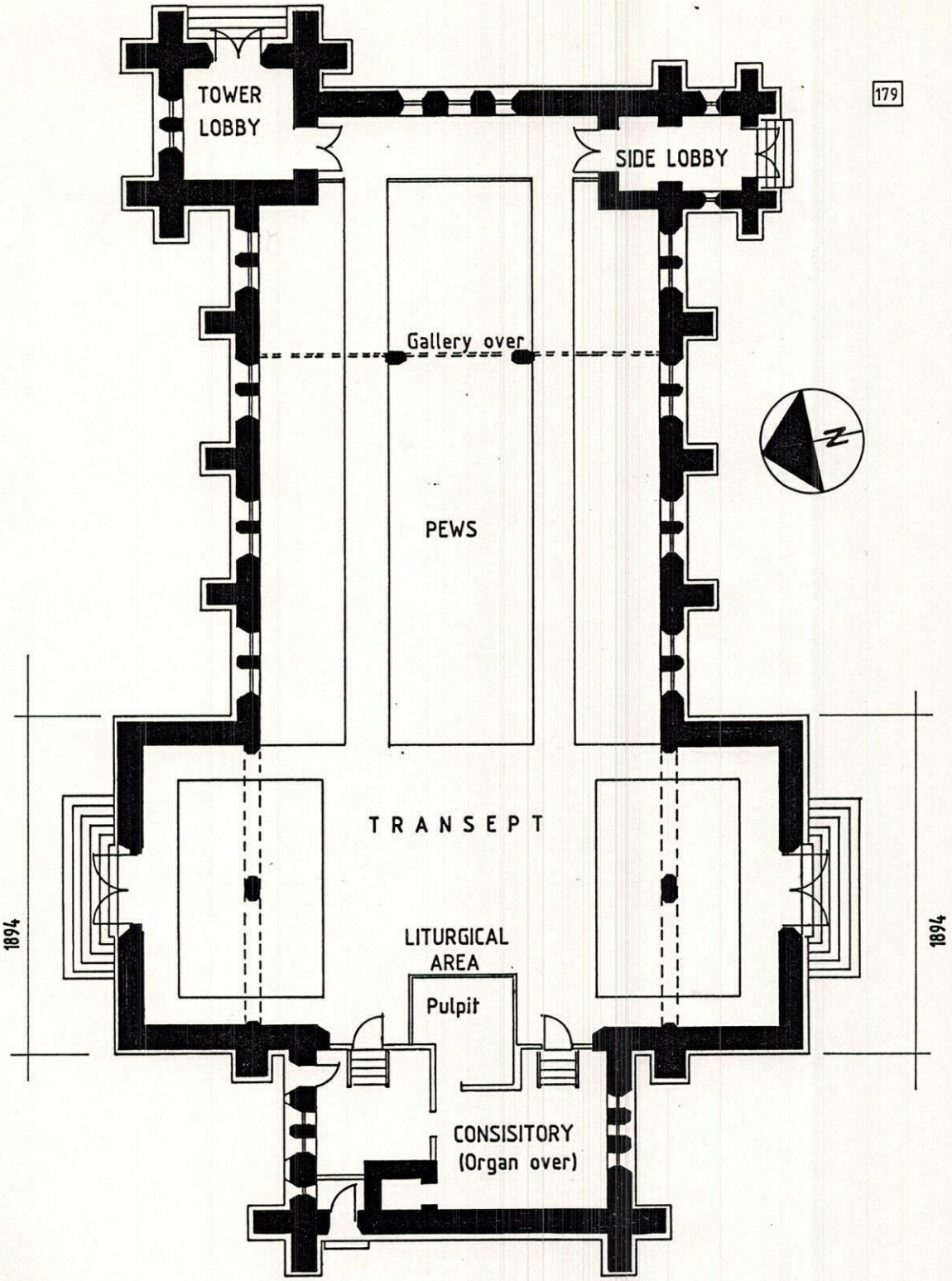


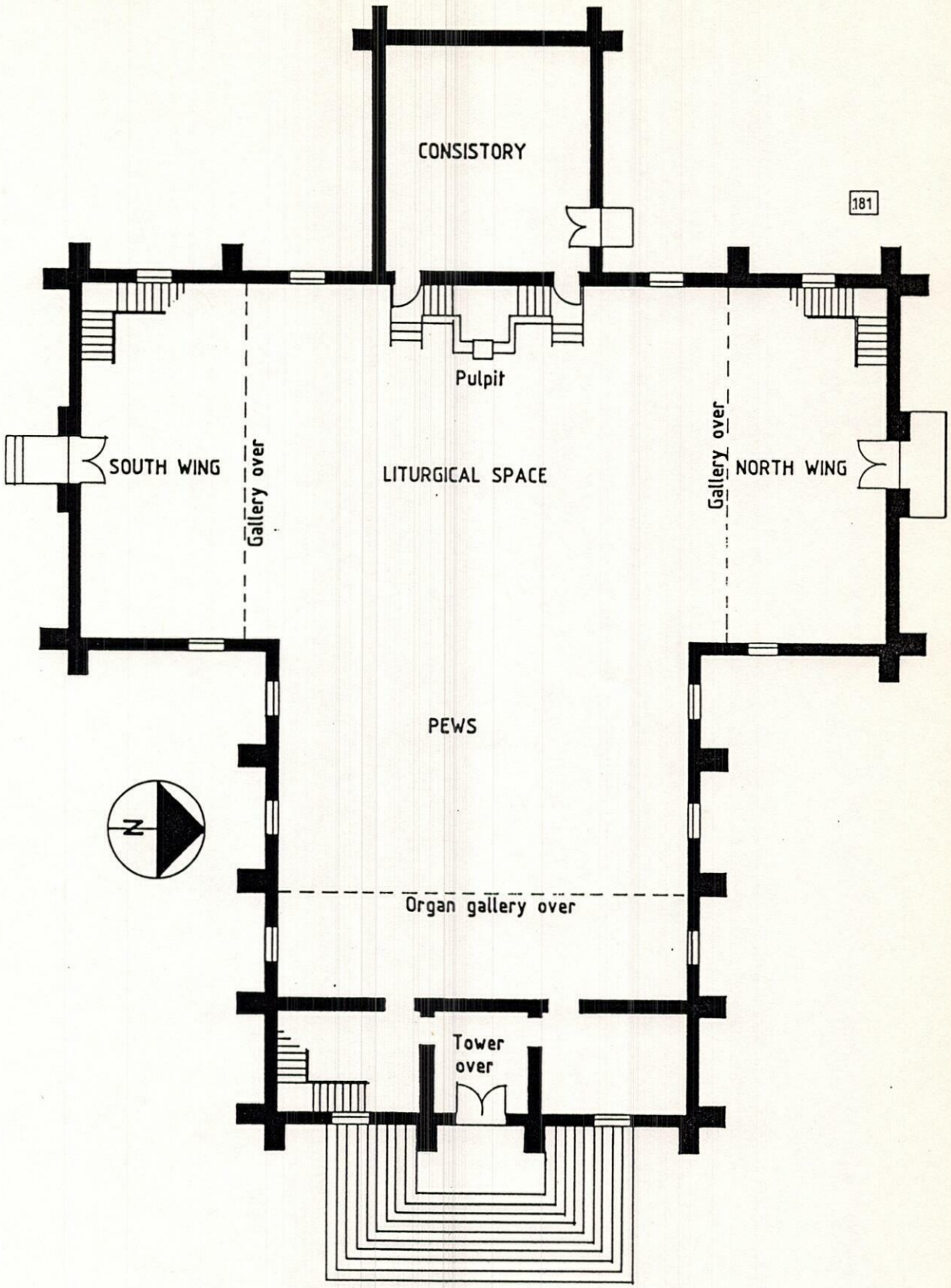
Photo *Gereformeerde Kerk* Petrusburg
This austere building was built for the *Gereformeerde* parish of Petrusburg and was erected in 1892. It was one of the few church buildings which were left virtually intact after the Anglo-Boer War. The tower appears to have been added to the basic rectangular church.



0 1 2 3 4 5m

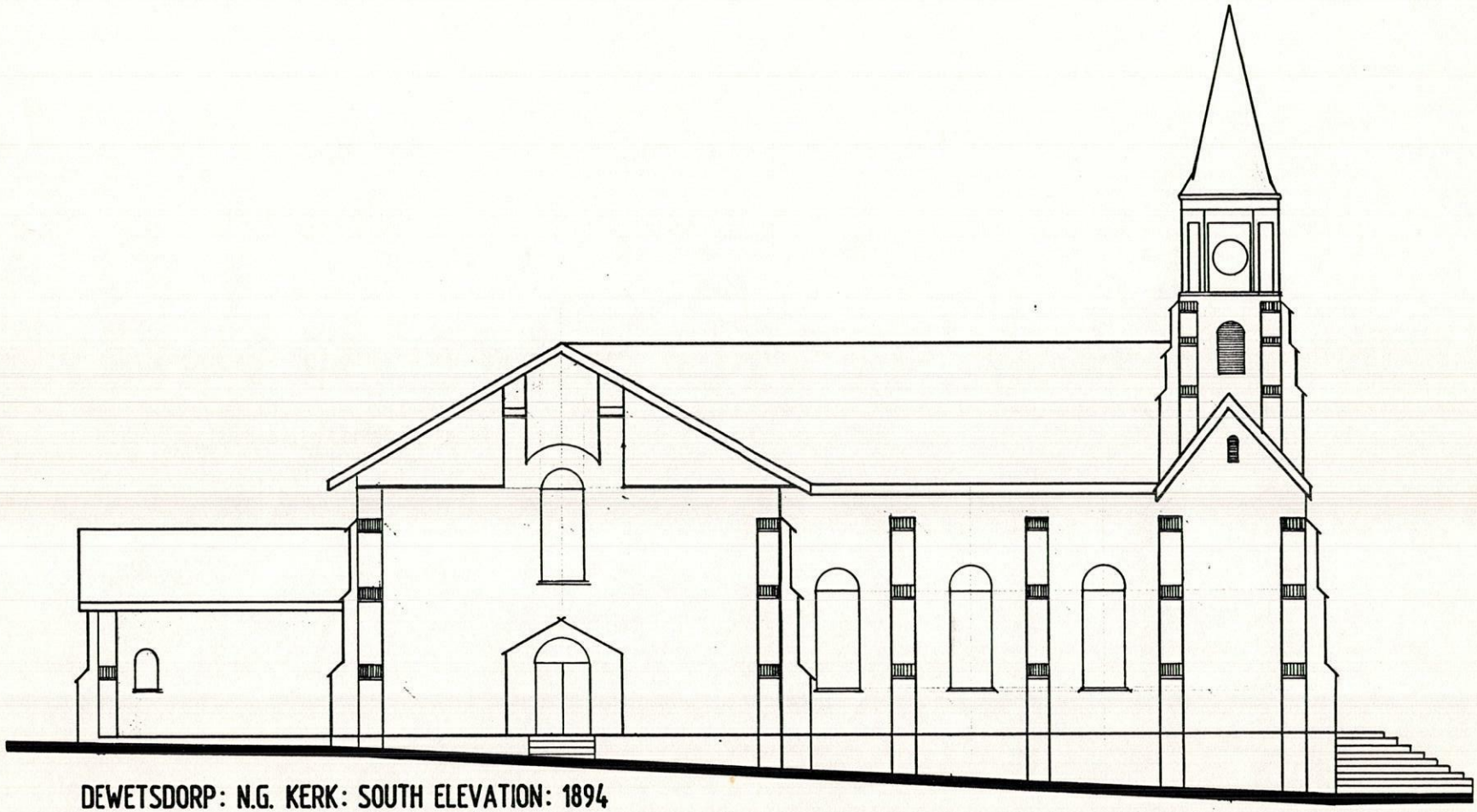
FOURIESBURG: N.G. KERK: 1894

Photo: *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* Fouriesburg.
This photo shows the church at Fouriesburg as it appeared after extensive alterations in 1909. The earlier church which is embodied within the altered building was a sandstone building of modest proportions and without a tower. This view must have been taken shortly after completion of the alterations since building rubble is to be seen and the clock faces had not yet been fitted. The older church can be seen on the right of the photograph. Its foundation stone was laid on 31 December 1893. The post-war recovery is evident in this undertaking and shows a fully developed second phase building following a first phase building of 15 years before.



0 1 2 3 4 5m

DEWETSDORP: N.G. KERK: 1894



DEWETSDORP: N.G. KERK: SOUTH ELEVATION: 1894

0 1 2 3 4 5m

Photo *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* Dewetsdorp
The congregation of Dewetsdorp was formally established on 15 December 1882 and although there was a first phase church it was replaced by this building in 1896. It was designed by the incumbent *dominee* Rev W A du Toit who also drew up the specifications. Although its ancestry may have laid elsewhere this is a particularly handsome edifice. The tower is fully integrated into the building and the proportions of the components are in harmony with each other. The foundation stone was laid by Pres Reitz which ceremony came toward the end of this term of duty. The departure from the usual lancet windows in favour of romanesque openings give this church a particularly unique flavour amongst the Free State's pre-war buildings.

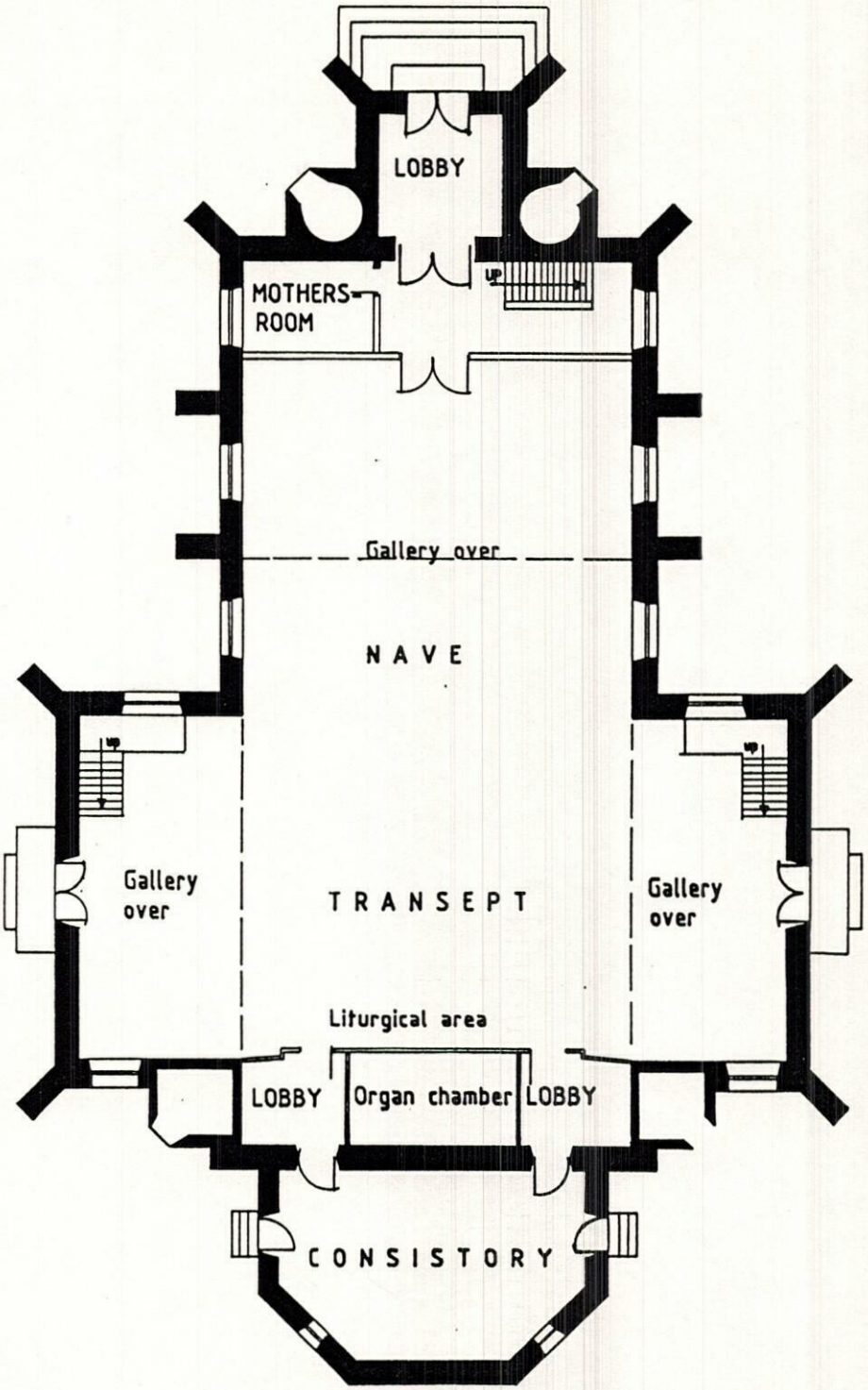
184

Photo: Baptist Union Church Bloemfontein

The Baptist Union Congregation was established in 1892 and this particular building was opened for worship in 1894. The availability of a good quality hard-burnt red brick used in conjunction with sandstone trim and wrought iron railings must at least been partially influenced by the contemporary fourth Raadzaal, close by, which set a new standard for more durable building.

185

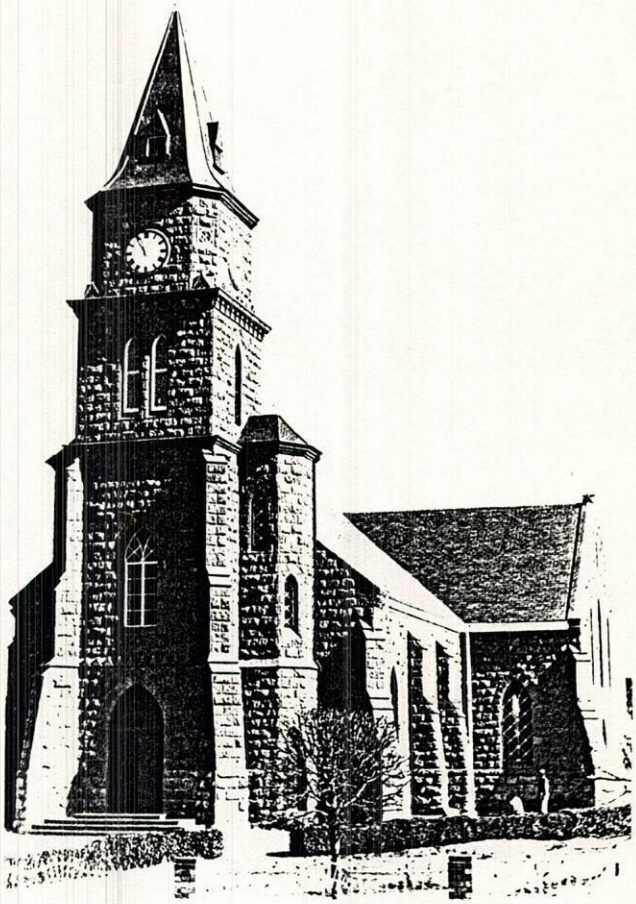
Photo: The Wesleyan Chapel occupied a prominent position in Maitland Street after its inauguration in July 1875. The architectural details reflect the modest Neo-Gothic approach which was much favoured in the Orange Free State as being ecclesiastically suitable. Often the lancet windows and the pointed arches of the doorways were the only distinguishing feature of church buildings even for a variety of denominations. The condition of pavements in the early 1890's still left much to be desired and only the faint light from a cast-iron lamp standard and safety chains on the footbridge prevented pedestrians from sustaining serious injury. The Rev. James Scott officiated here for sixteen years. For a building costing only £4000 the interior space must none the less have been impressive. Early photographs of Maitland Street suggest that the building may have been finished in unplastered red brick. This church building was the second of the Wesleyan congregation, the first in St Andrew Street having been vacated after only a few years of use.



This impressive sandstone building was built by Rohde who was also responsible for the Ladybrand church. The walls in the upper-tower have the names of British Regiments inscribed in the plaster.

0 1 2 3 4 5m

HOOPSTAD: N.G. KERK. 1895



Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, Hoopstad, *1896*
This solidly built sandstone building by Rhode was completed shortly before the Anglo-Boer War. The tower was struck by lightning during erection and had to be partially rebuilt. It served as a hospital and look-out post for British troops. During restoration in 1968 the timber ceiling was reinstated and the timber rooftrusses replaced with steel.

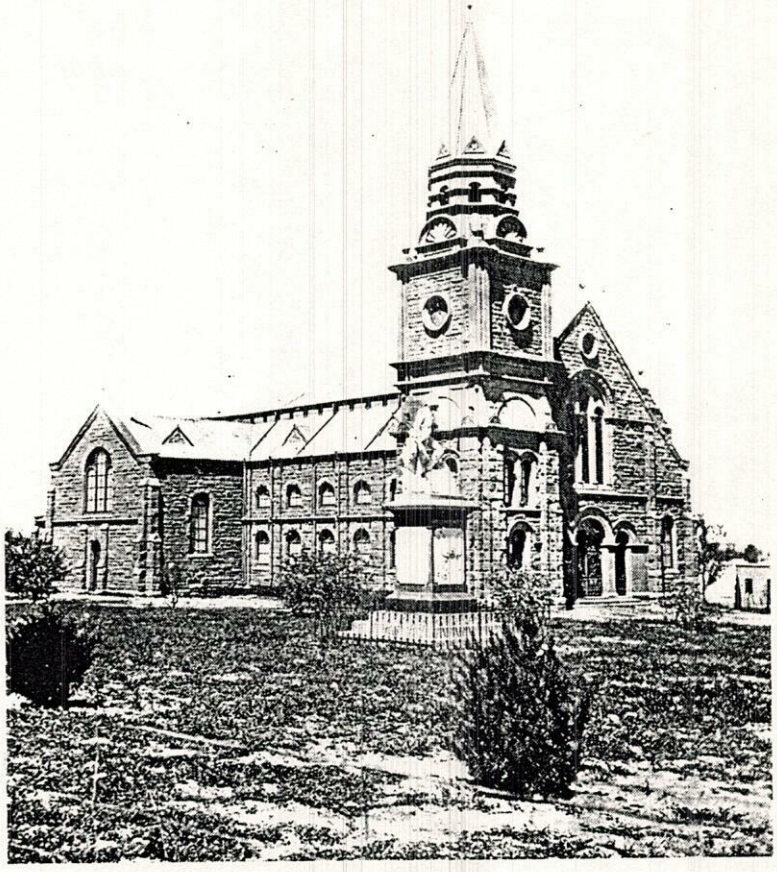
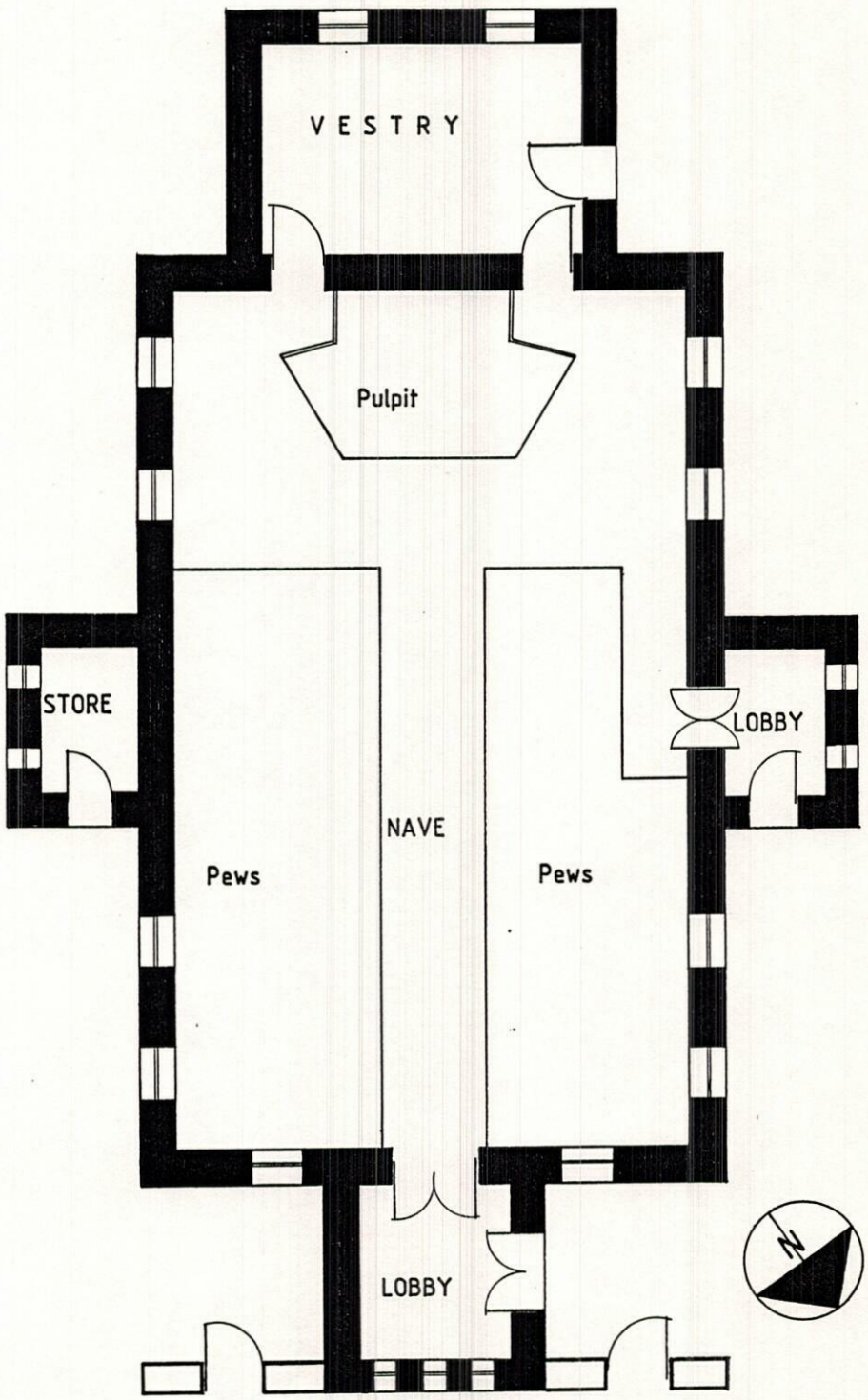
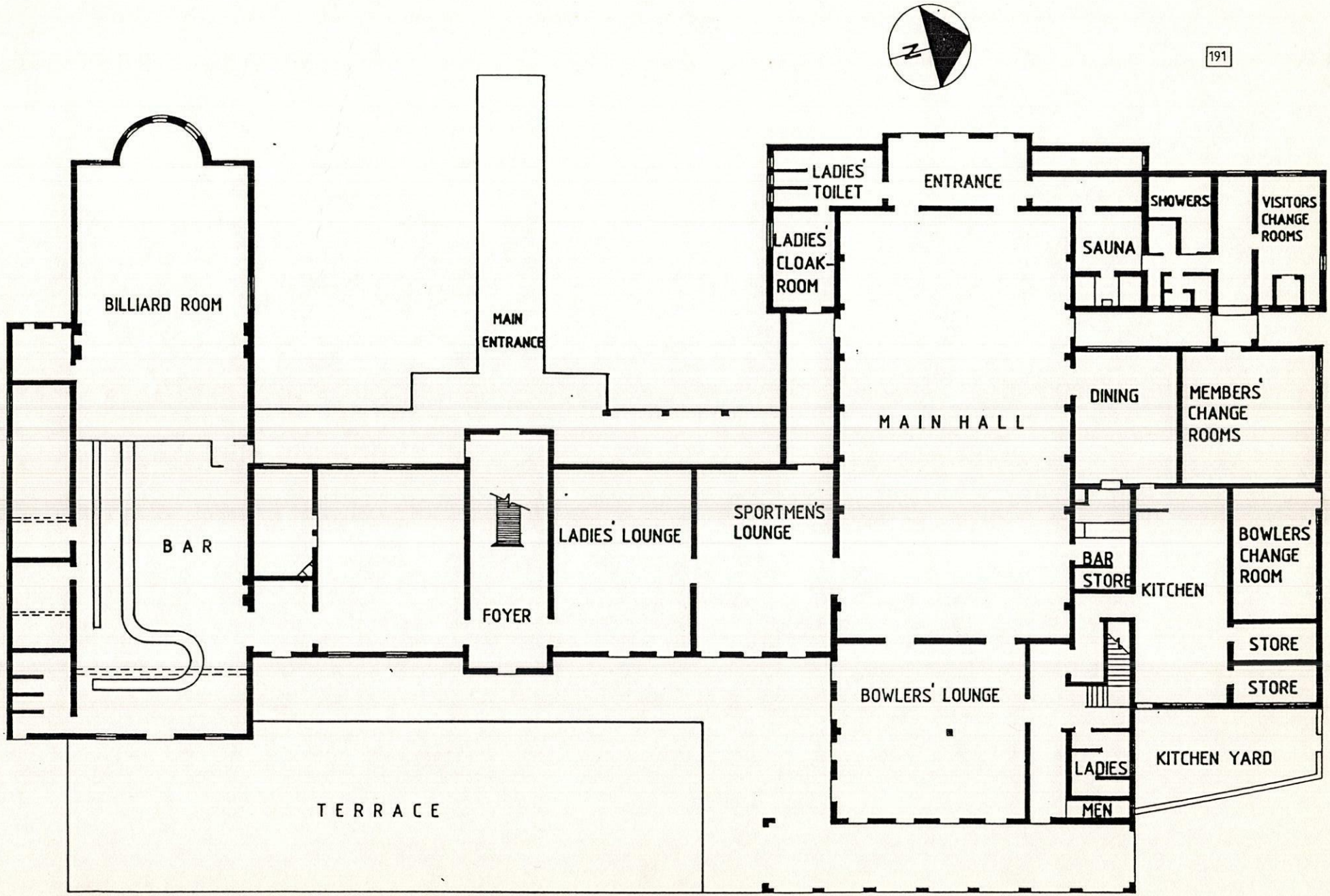


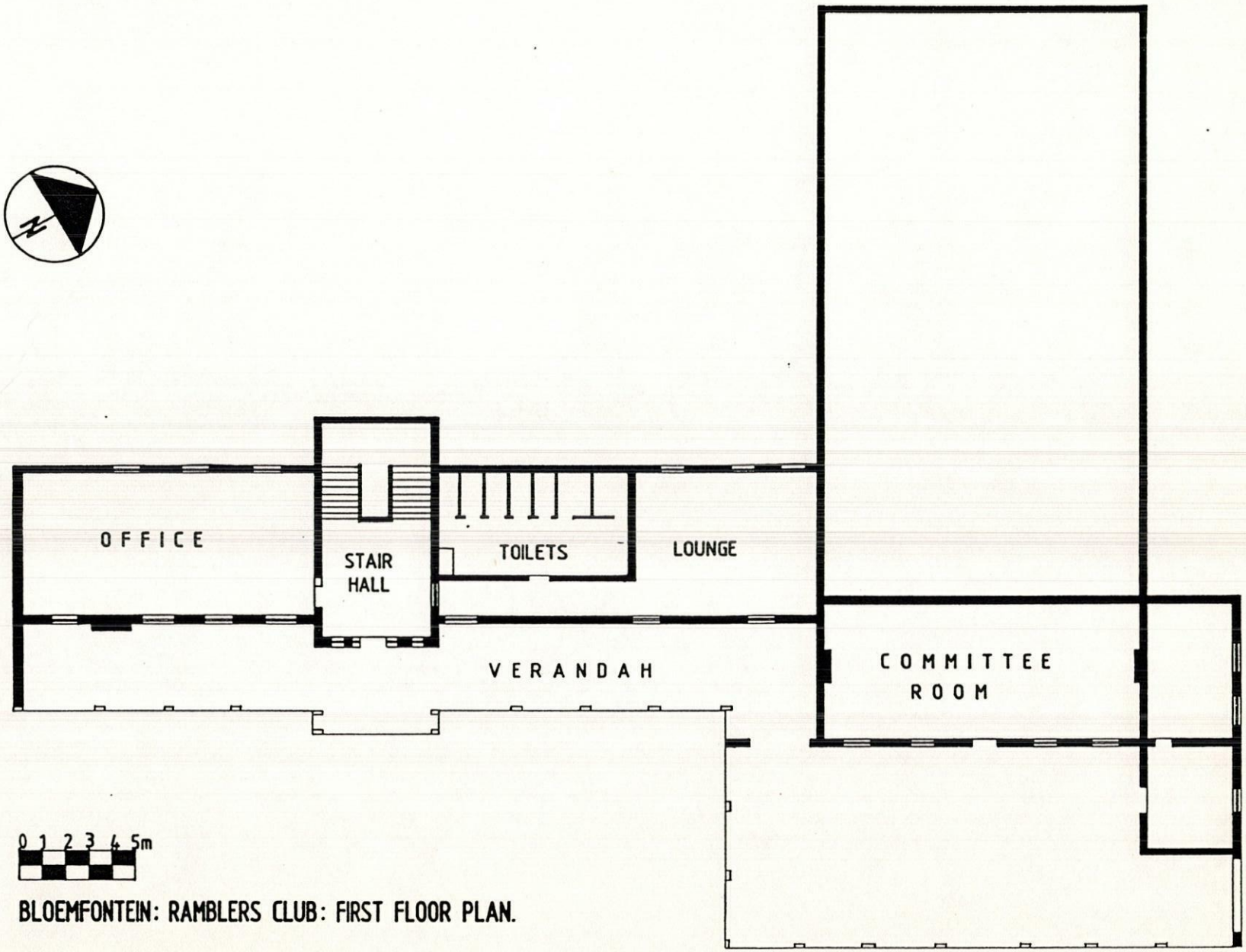
Photo *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* Senekal
This congregation was established on 3 July 1879 and served a very large district including the areas now known as Steynsrust, Marquard, Paul Roux and Rosendal. There was a first-phase building which was replaced by this handsome structure in the period 1895-1896. The foundation stone was laid on 6 July by E J Collins, the *landdrost* of Winburg. The laying of a foundation stone by anyone other than a president, was unusual but Reitz's health was rather precarious at this time. A few pews and a fine "Norman and Beard" organ were destroyed by fire during the Anglo-Boer War. The clock mechanism was similarly ripped out and destroyed. In its richness of composition and grand manner of building it must certainly rank as one of the finest examples of church-building in the whole of South Africa. The use of round-headed windows is also noteworthy.



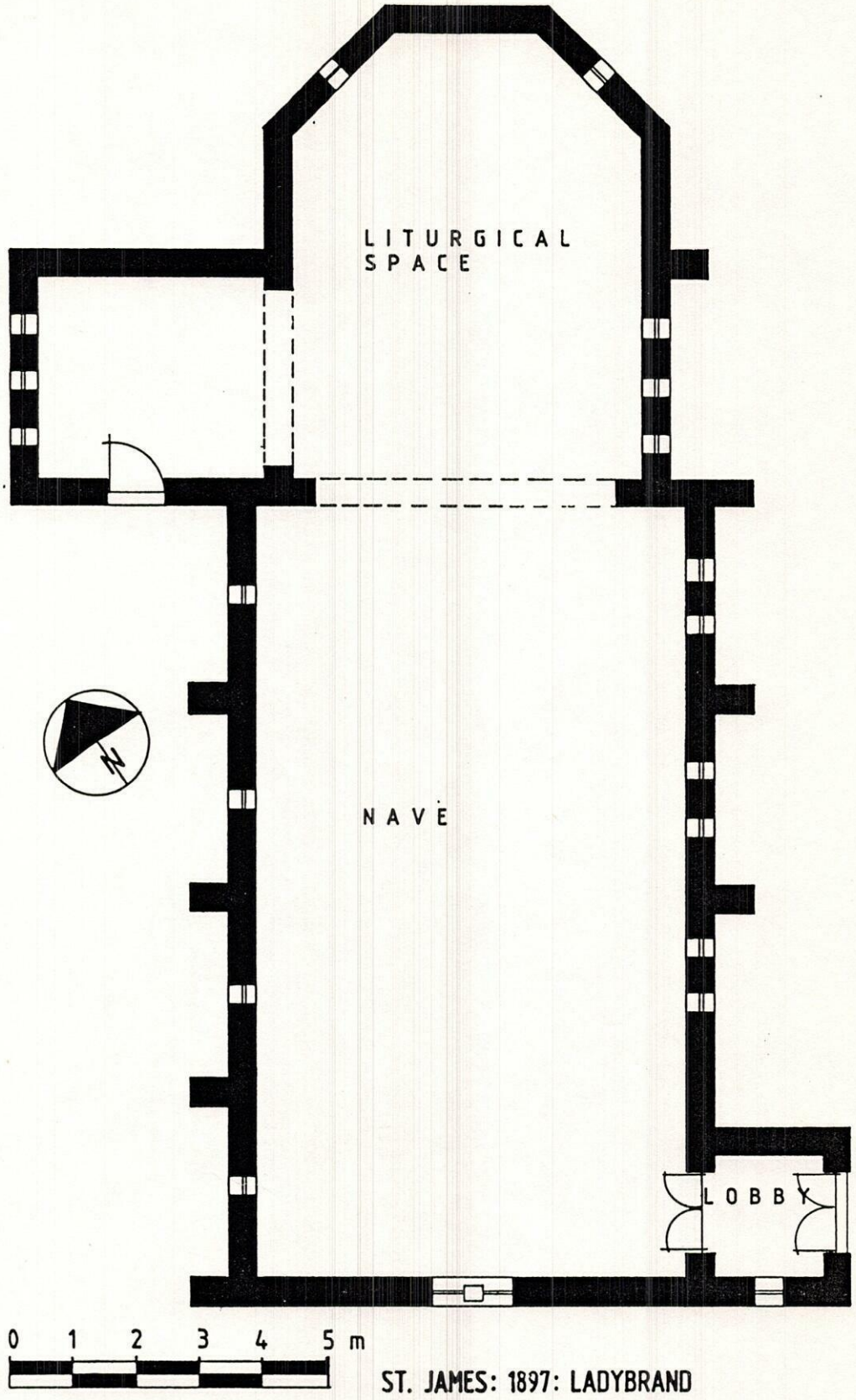
FICKSBURG: METHODIST CHURCH.
1896



BLOEMFONTEIN: RAMBLERS CLUB: GROUND FLOOR PLAN. 1896



BLOEMFONTEIN: RAMBLERS CLUB: FIRST FLOOR PLAN.



ST. JAMES: 1897: LADYBRAND

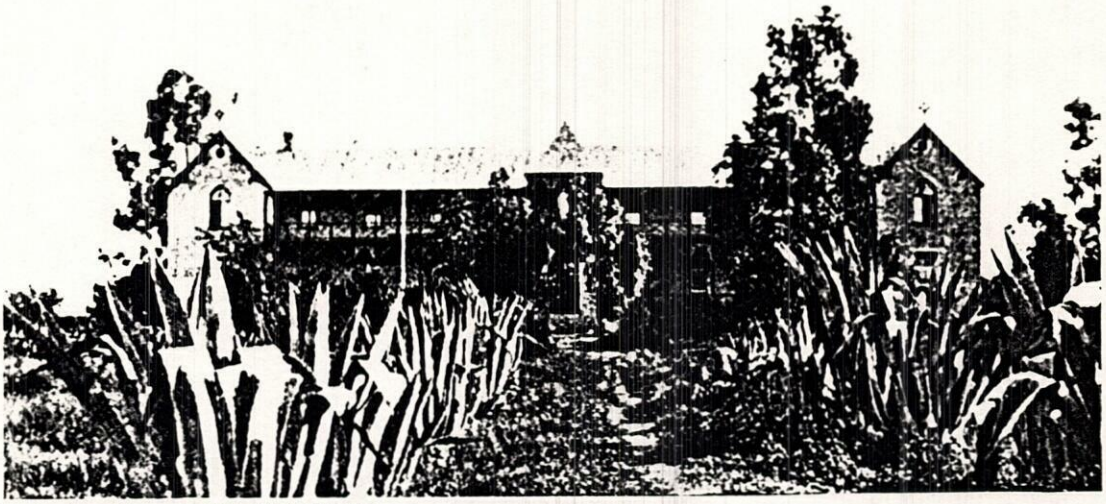


Photo: The Convent of the Holy Family.
The establishment of a convent and school for the Roman Catholic community of Bloemfontein was iniated by Bishop Jolivet in 1874. During the early years the Convent Chapel was used as a church but as the community grew in numbers a separate church building was erected. The high school had about 80 students at boarding school besides the day students. The railway camp had its own parochial school with 80 pupils which is indicative of the strong Irish presence amongst the labourers involved in building and maintaining the railway line through the Free State. At the time of the British occupation of Bloemfontein in March 1900 the Sisters provided the troops with light refreshments in the gardens. The overall architectural treatment of the building is one of symmetry and simplicity, the elevated crosses on the gabled ends being the only indication of the religious nature of the building. The balconies looked out over the town centre lying to the North.

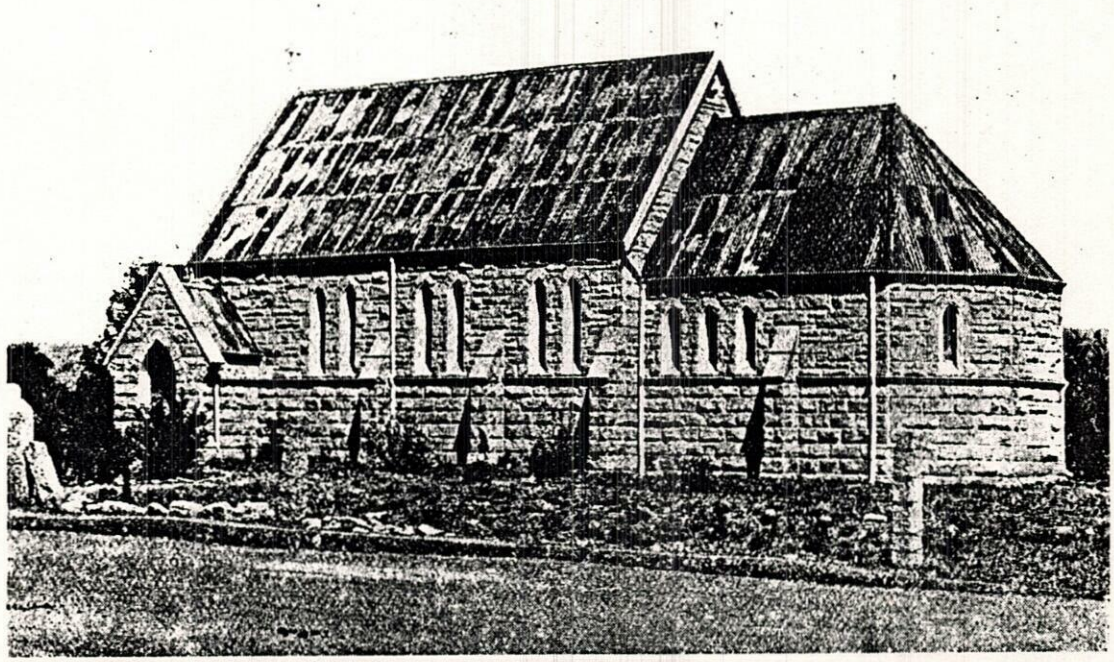


Photo: St James's Church at Ladybrand
A large number of small Anglican churches were built throughout the Orange Free State during the latter years of the Republic. St James's Church was consecrated on 26 January 1898 and was capable of seating 200 persons. Since Ladybrand is in the heart of the sandstone area it is natural for this material to be used but a great number of the other small Anglican churches were more modestly finished in plaster or brick.

196

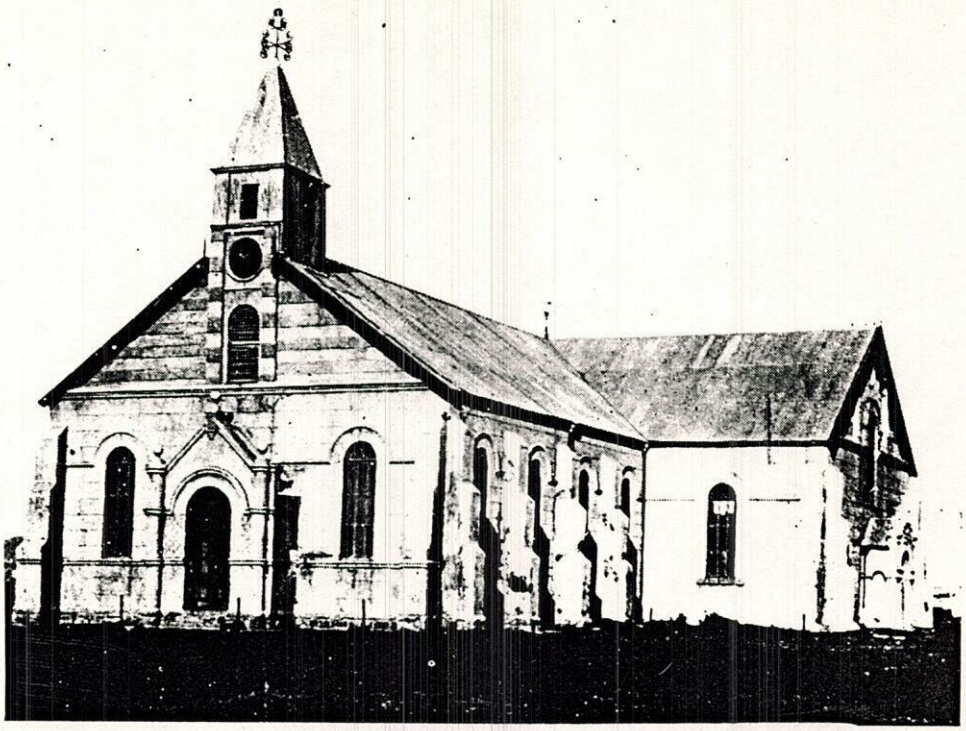
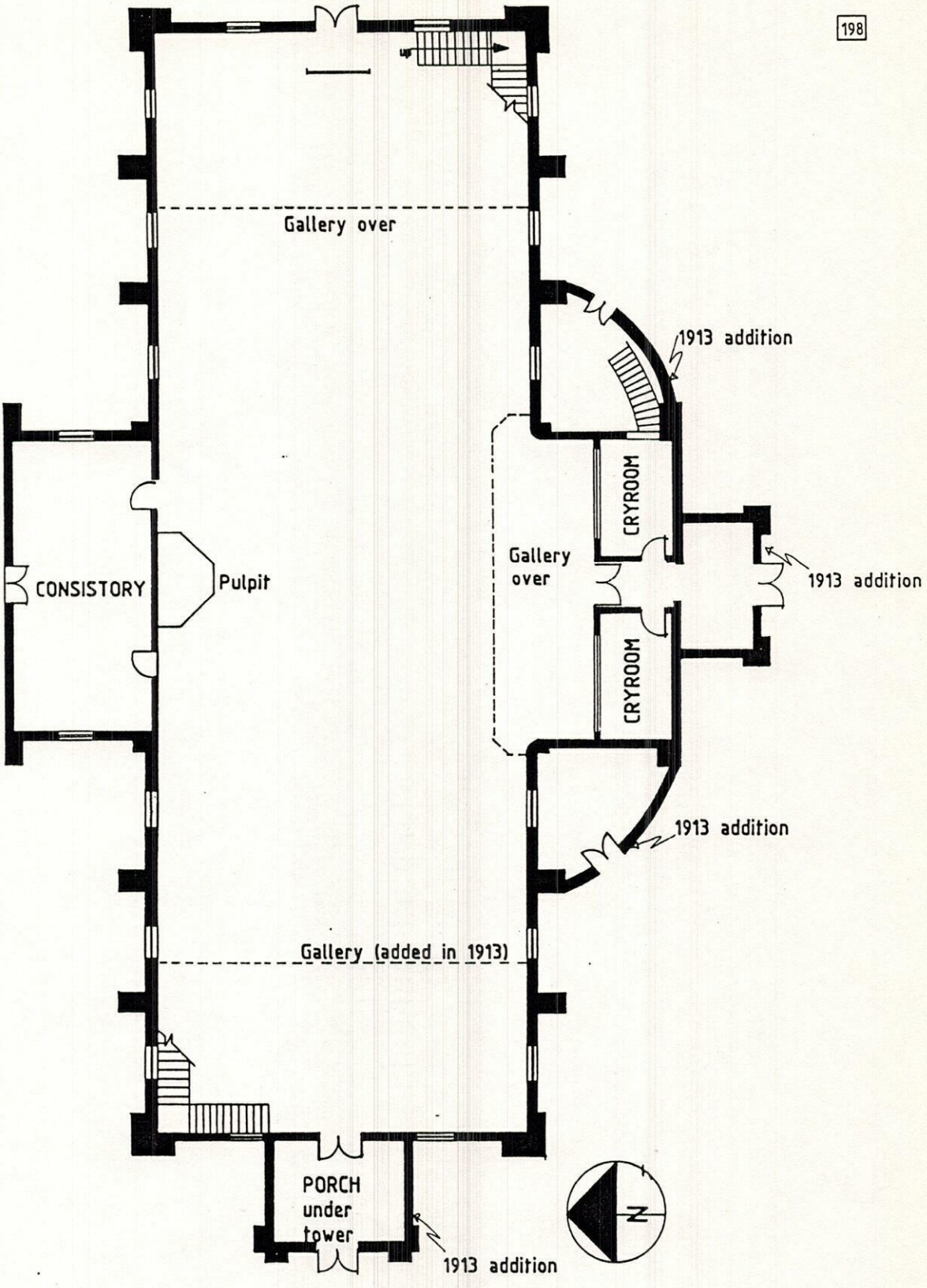


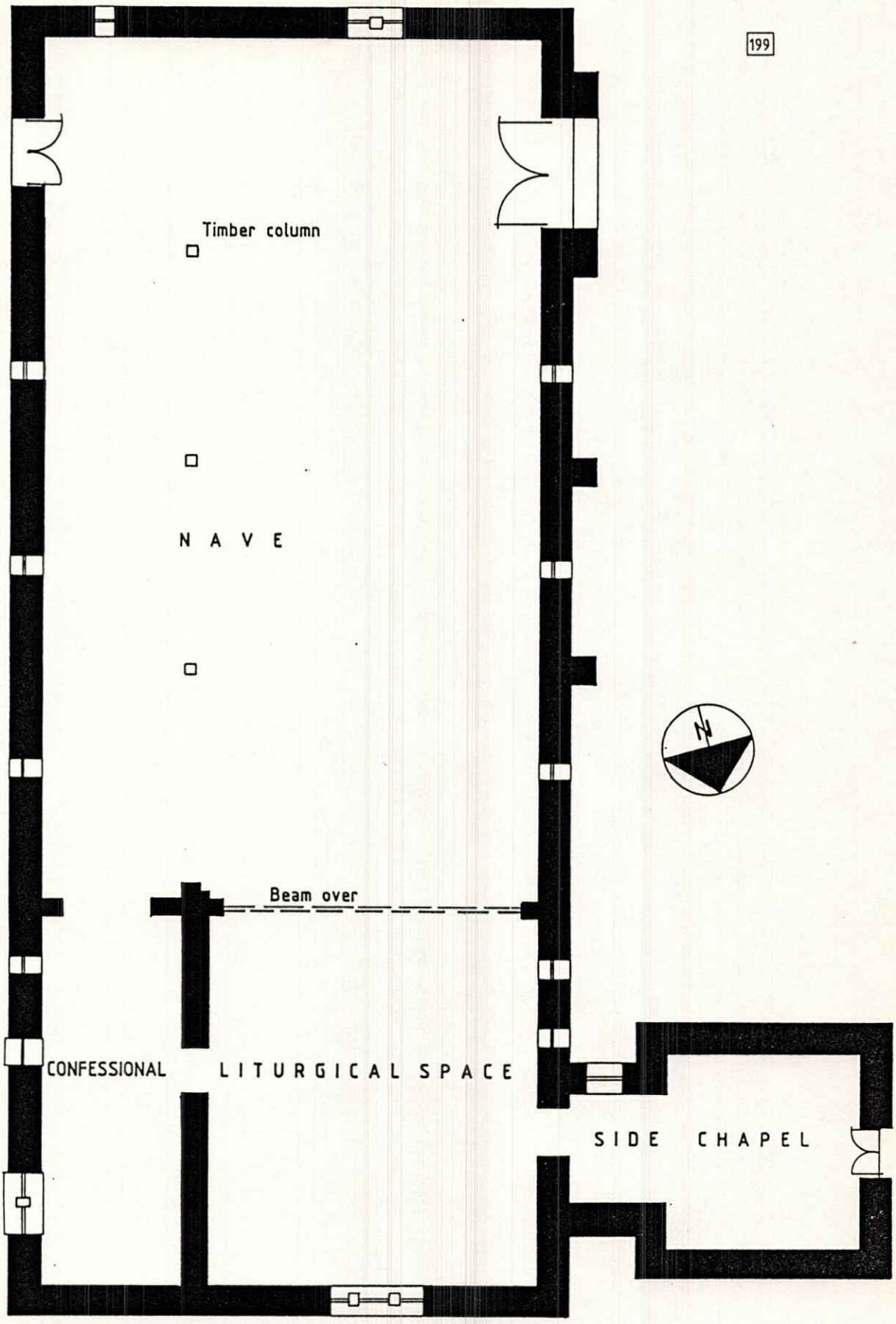
Photo *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* Bultfontein
The parish was established in 1875 but records are scant as all documents were destroyed by fire during the war. This building was the second church and was in use from 22 January 1897. The general impression is one of unrelated components and the elevated structure over the gable apex does not qualify for the appellation of a tower. The semi-circular window heads are also a departure from the majority of churches.

197

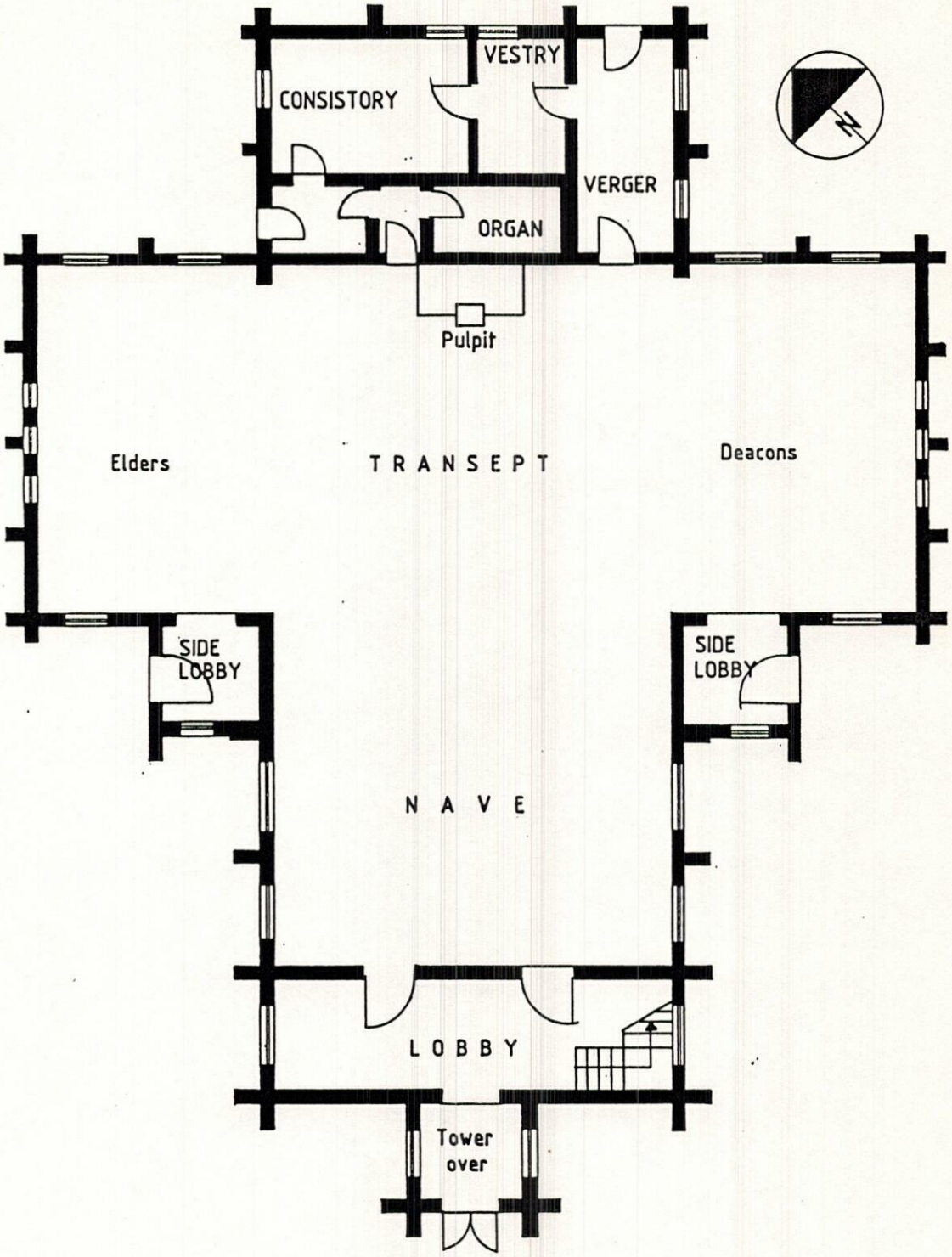
Photo *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* Jagersfontein
The Jagersfontein *gemeente* dates from 1892 and a basic rectangular church was built before the war. Subsequently two wings were added to increase the accommodation during the time of Rev J R van Huyssteen. The building could seat 600 persons.



VREDE: N.G. KERK: 1897



CHURCH OF THE PROVINCE OF S.A. ON THE FARM
Modderpoort NEAR LADYBRAND. 1899



PARYS: N.G. MOEDERKERK: 1899.

201

Photo *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* Parys
The *gemeente* dates back to 1884. In 1890 an emergency church was built followed by the new building, completed in 1890 at a cost of £6 000. Only women and children could attend the inauguration as the male population was already at war. The interior of the church is one of quiet loftiness but alterations to the building over the years have affected its architectural integrity.

202

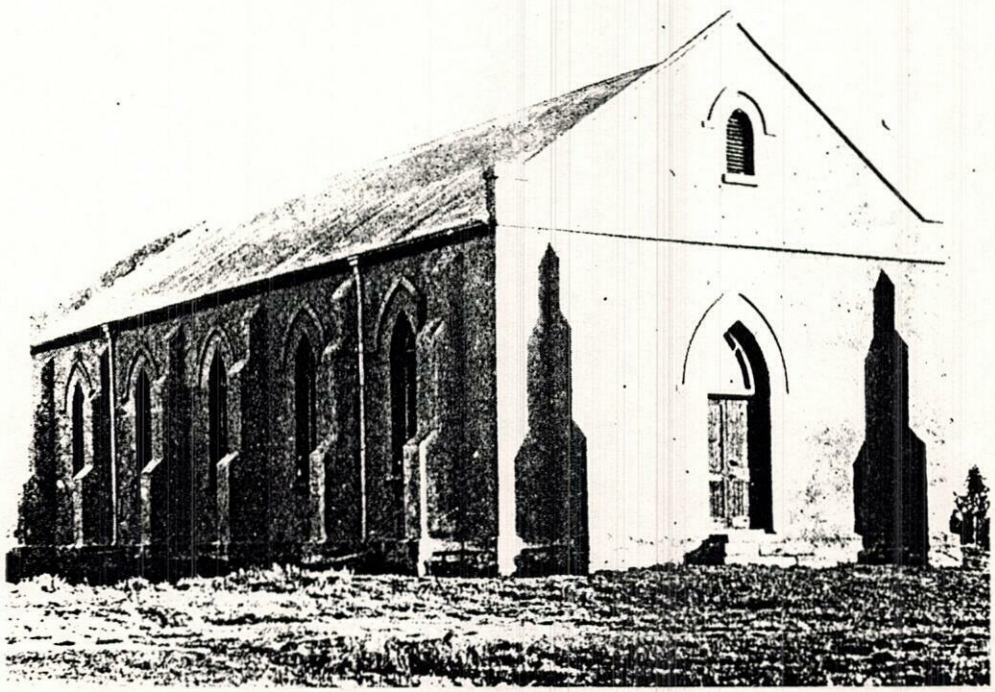
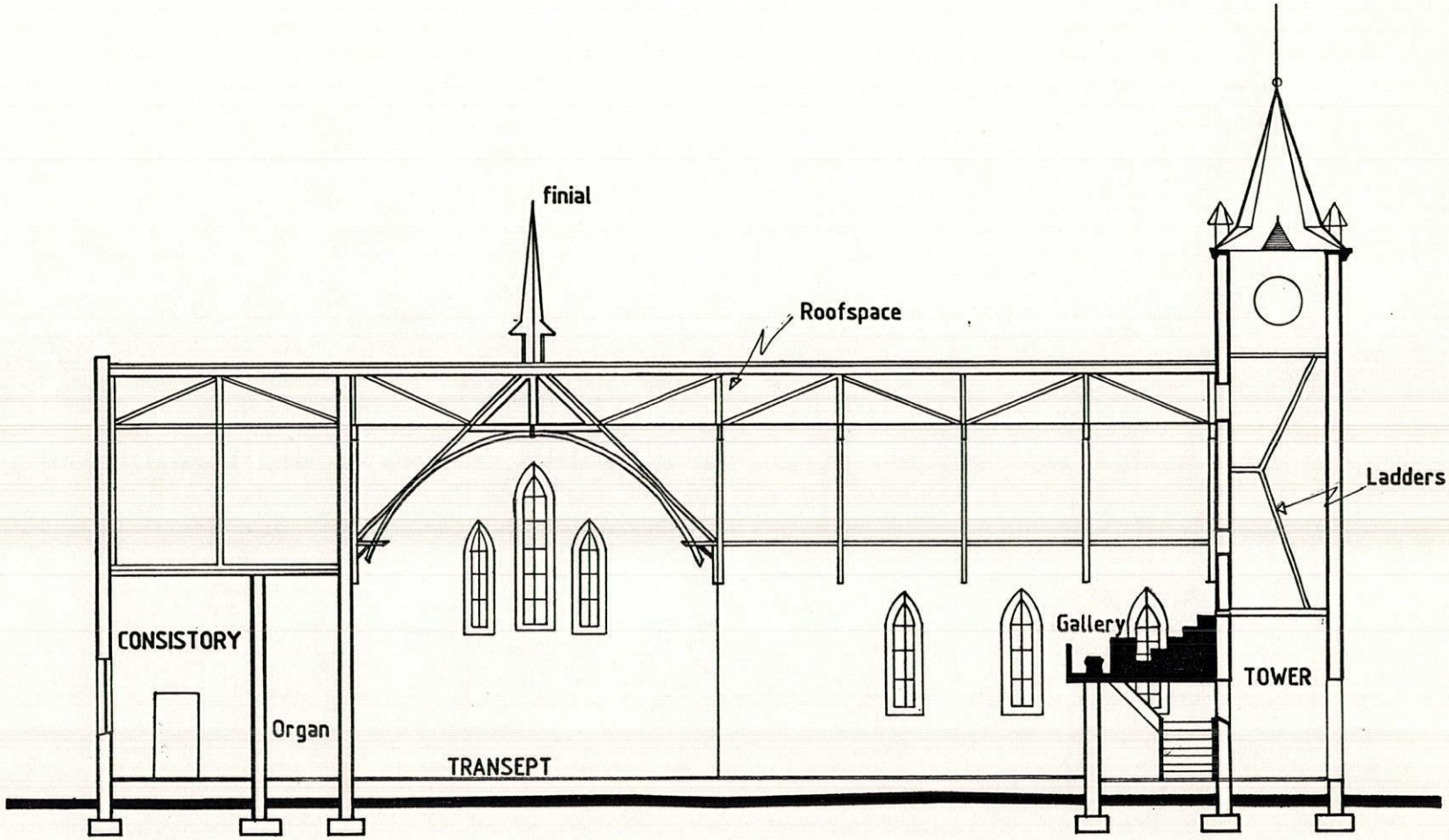


Photo *Gereformeerde Kerk* Vredefort
This early *Gereformeerde Kerk* had the typical simple rectangular form generously supported by heavy buttresses. The foundation stone of the second building was laid in 1891, the building costing £800. The structure suffered damage during the Anglo-Boer War and the foundation stone was removed.



SECTION

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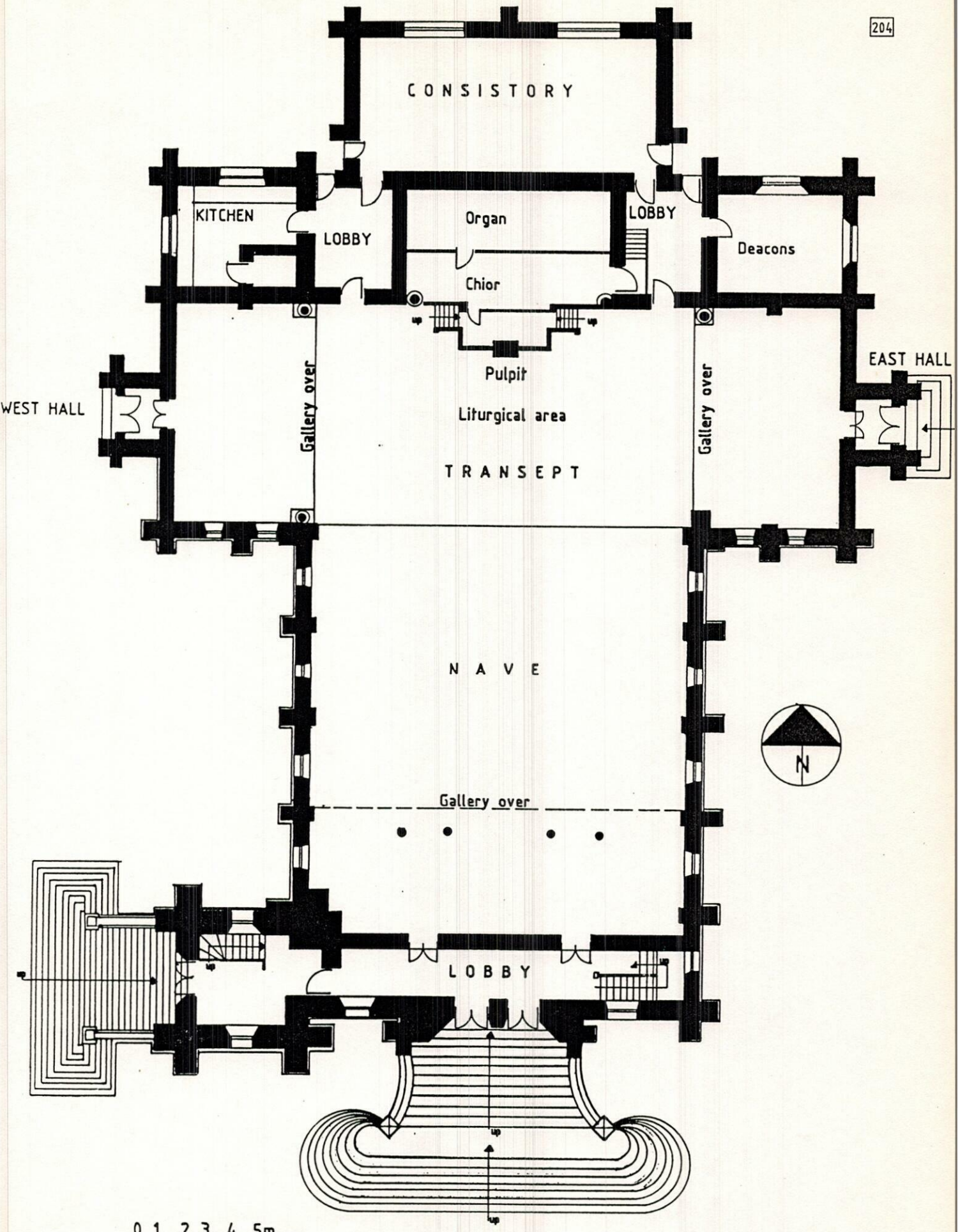
PARYS: FIRST N.G. KERK: 1899



WINBURG: N.G. KERK: (" *Die Klipkerk* ").

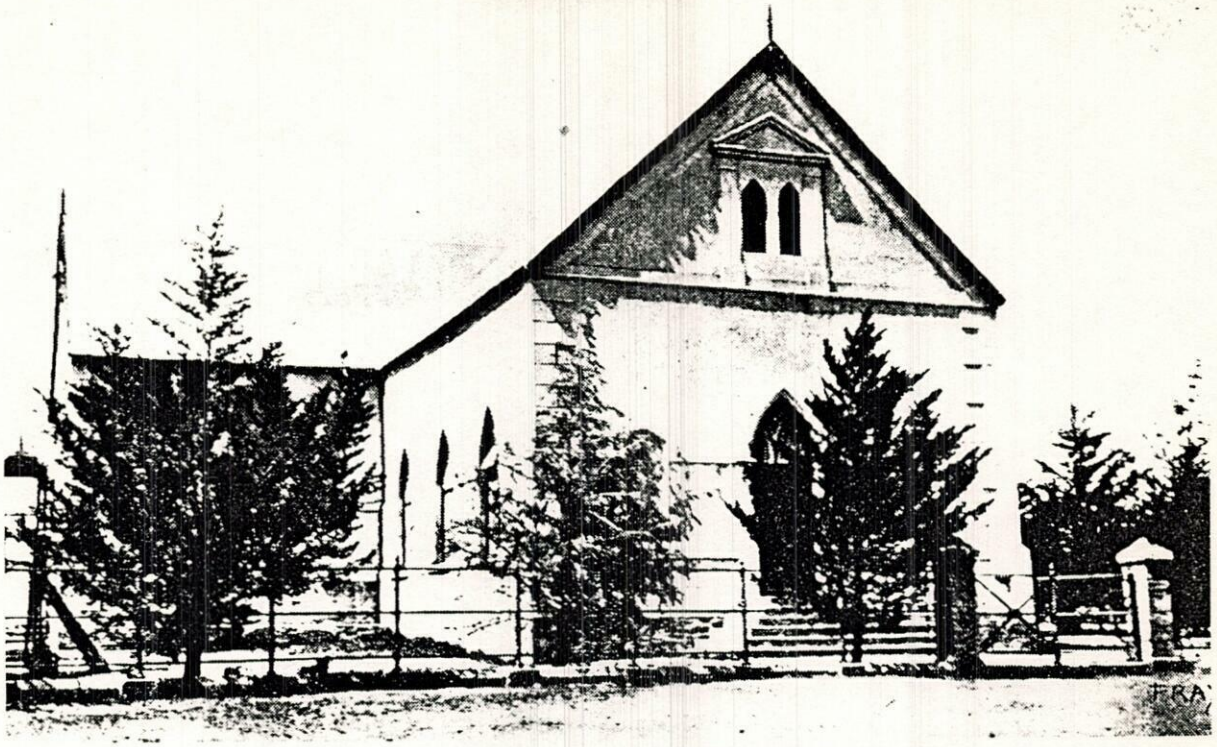
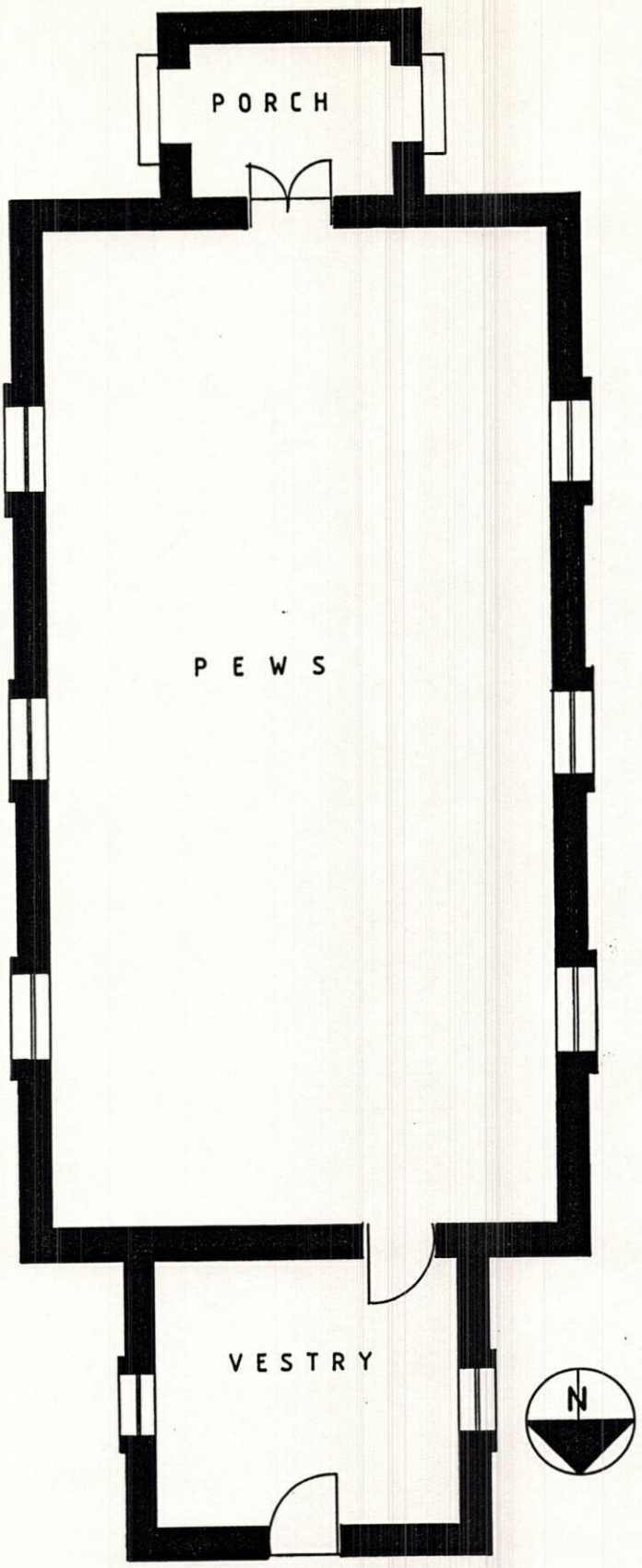


Photo The second church building of the *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* in Winburg. 1858-1899.
The second-phase church of the Winburg *gemeente* was a substantial building which served the community until just before the Anglo-Boer War when it was demolished to make way for a new church. Although the congregation dates from 1843 a baptismal register goes back to 1842. The *gemeente* boundaries included within its jurisdiction the later communities of Senekal, Ventersburg, Theunissen and Marquard. The classical theme on the main gable contrasts strongly with the Neo-Gothic windows and doorways elsewhere. Stylistic eclecticism was not frowned upon, rather was it seen as proof of cultural exposure and assimilation by those responsible for its design. The symbolism of pediment and engaged columns survived thousands of years to live again briefly in an area remote from its origins. As an image it had an indestructability of its own, beyond the durability of the buildings it adorned.

Photo: *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk,* Winburg
This magnificient sandstone building was designed by A E and J H Till and construction commenced on it just prior to the Anglo-Boer War, work having reached window cill level when it was interrupted. In it the Neo-Gothic style adopted by the Church for most of its buildings reached a level of sophistication and enrichment which placed it in the forefront of its kind. The building was finally completed by the same contractor and inaugurated in 1904. It represents the peak of sandstone work in the Orange Free State which can still be classified as Republican.



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WINBURG: METHODIST CHURCH:

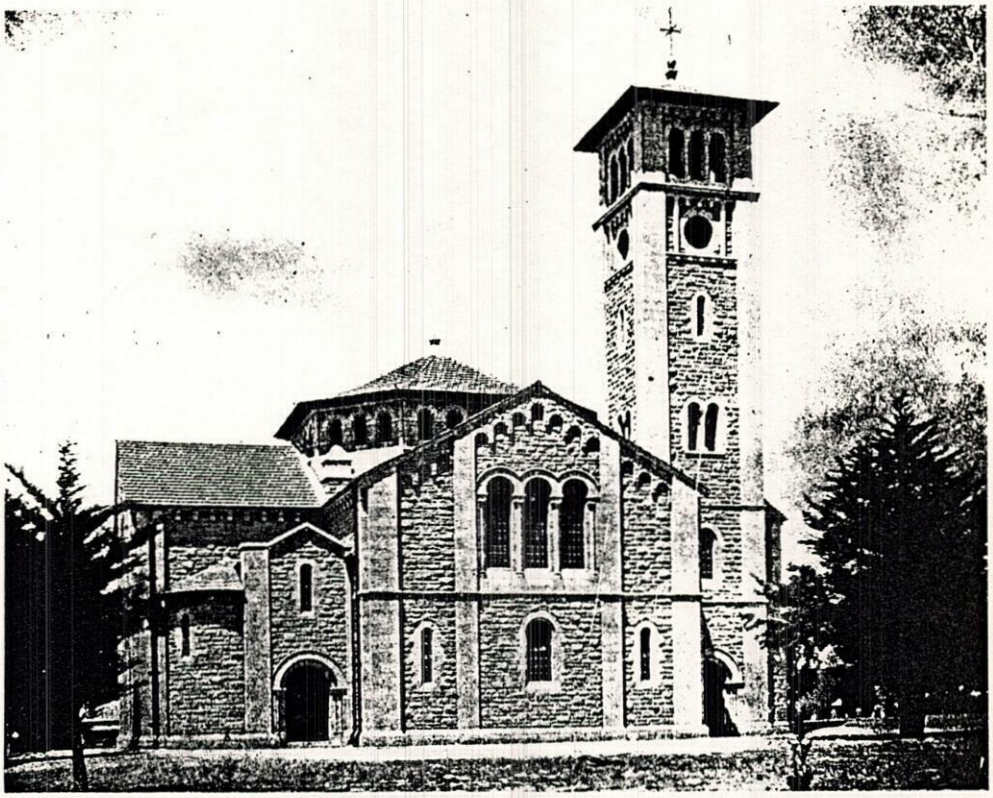
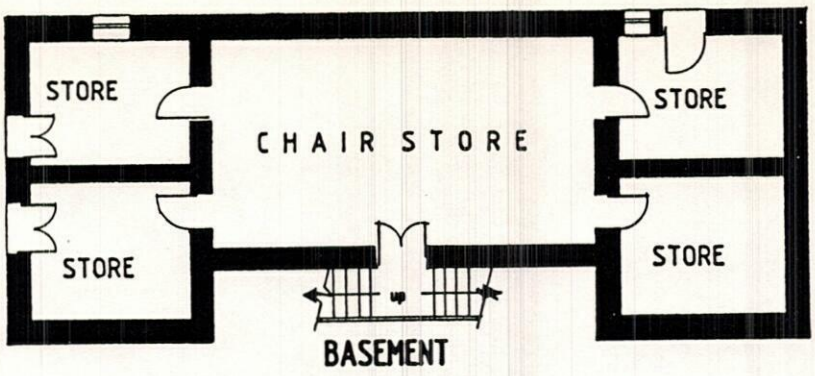
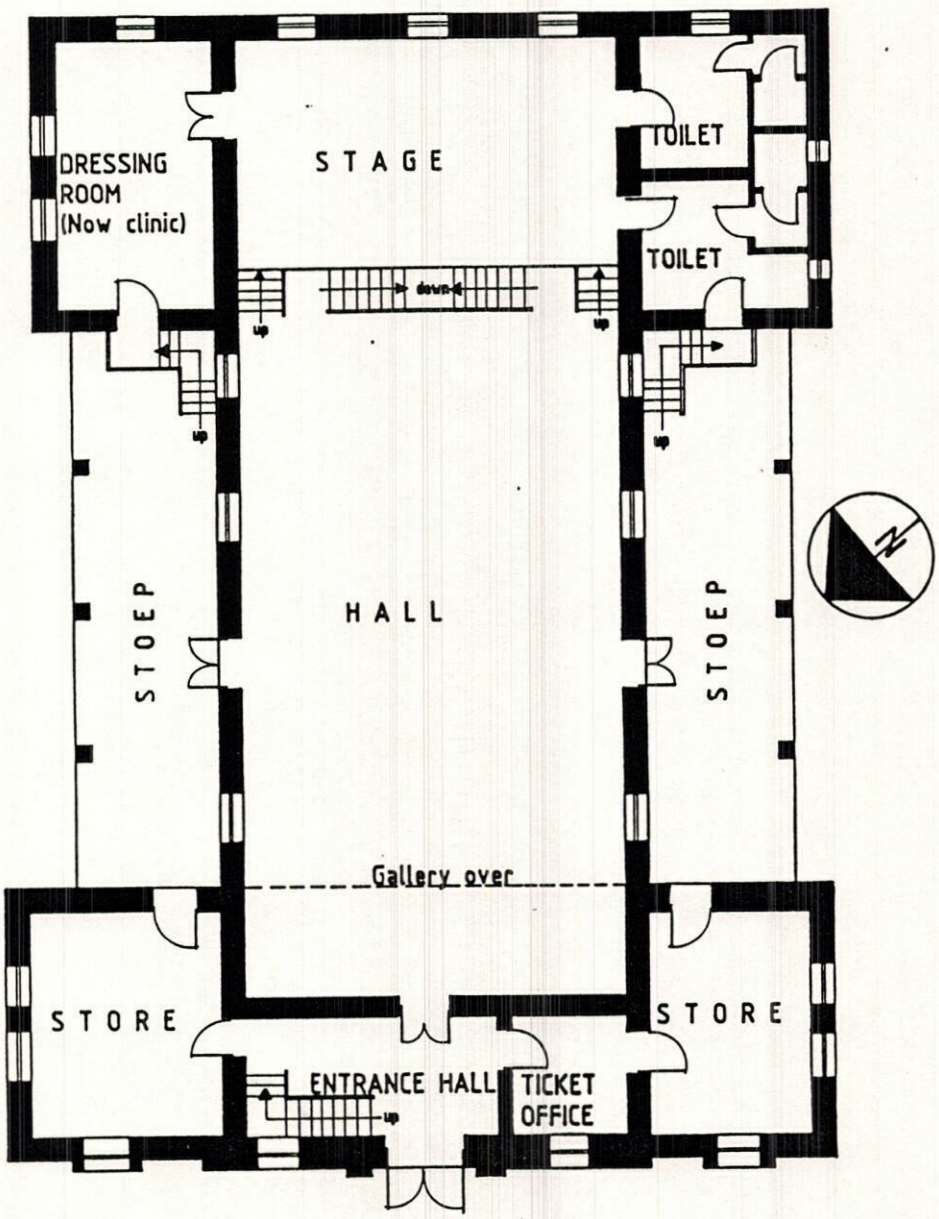


Photo *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* Bethlehem
This third-phase structure dates from 1911 and represents the ultimate stage of development attained by the builders of sandstone churches in the Orange Free State. It also marks a departure from the Neo-Gothic toward more Romanesque and Byzantine forms favoured by Moerdijk and others from 1918 onwards.

Photo: General view of Bethulie. c.1892
The church building facing onto the Main Street dates from 1887 but the tower had to be reduced in height a few years later in the interests of structural stability. The scaffolding seen around the tower may be pertinent to this process of truncation. As the third oldest town in the Orange Free State dating from the same year as Bloemfontein (1848) Bethulie had taken on quite an established appearance at the time of the photograph. Monopitch roofs are quite common and have their ancestry in the flat clay-topped reed-roofed buildings which came to the Orange Free State from the Karroo. The transformation to corrugated iron was largely completed before the war.





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FICKSBURG: TOWN HALL.
1893

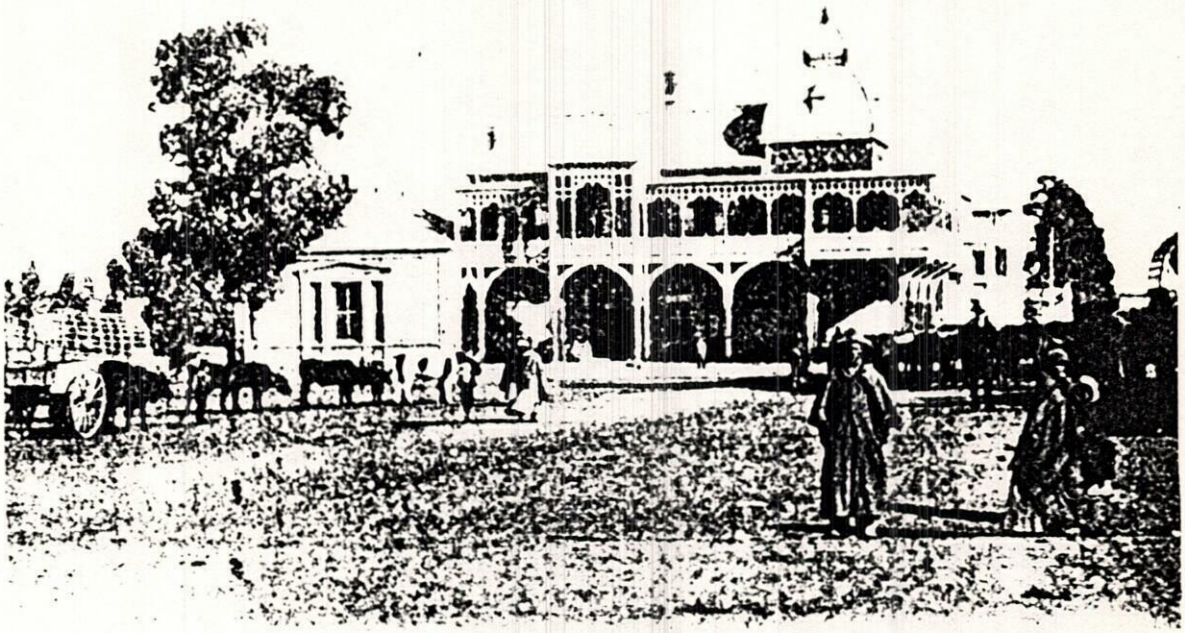


Photo: The Bloemfontein Club.
This interesting building was one of Stucke's first projects for Bloemfontein. It achieved much on a limited budget and its strategic position on the West side of the Market Square made it much photographed building. Its interior was described as "very neat and cosy, the reading and billiard room being particularly comfortable". The crown-shaped final was in fact not purpose-made but typical of the precast units available from Great Britian at that time. Churchill and Lord Roberts visited the club regularly in 1900. Roberts initially ignored Churchill as he was a "reporter" but they later became friends.

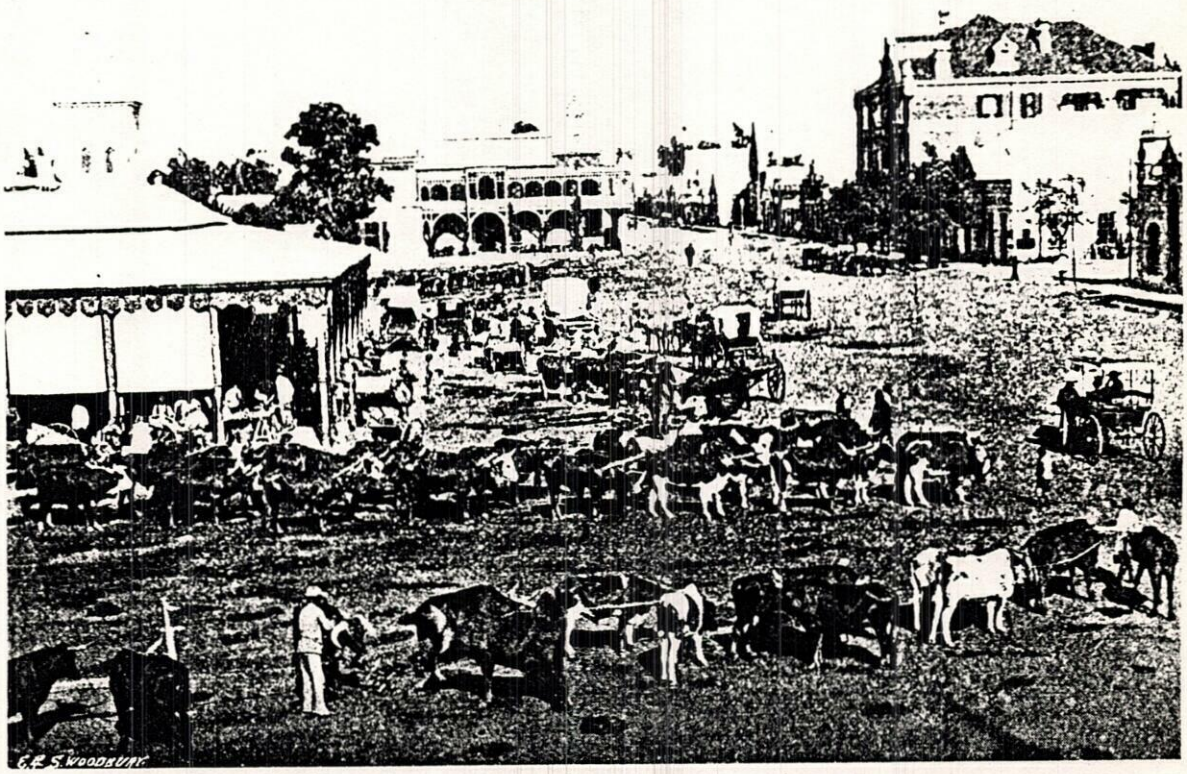


Photo: The Market Square C.1896
Looking Westwards, showing Stucke's Mutual Building on the right and his club building in the centre looking out over the hubbub of market-day activities. The building on the left with its modest tower is the Market Building designed and built by Wocke.

213

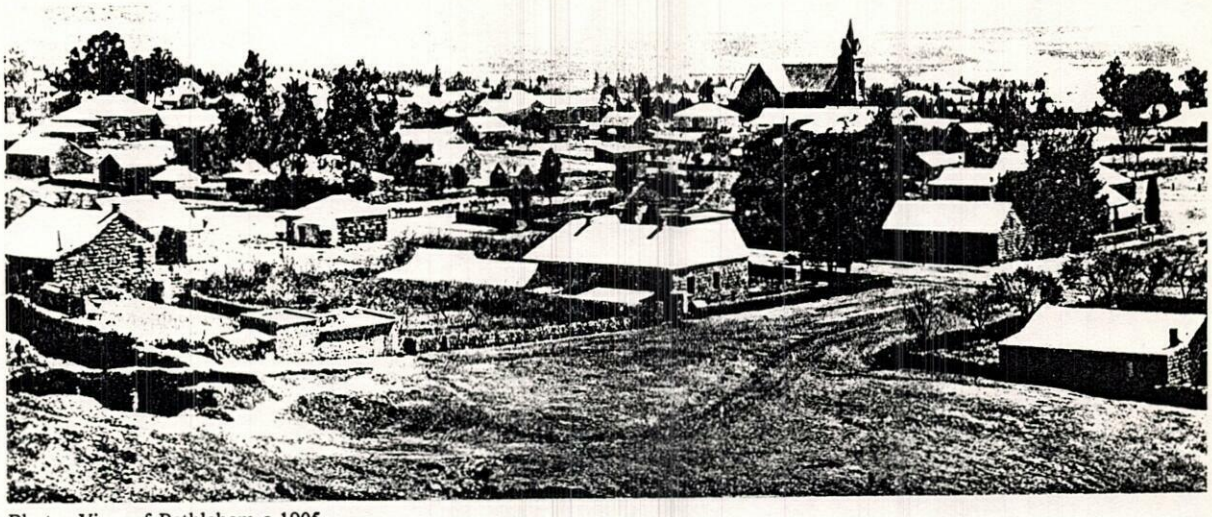


Photo View of Bethlehem c.1905
This tranquil view of Bethlehem suggests that war-time damage had been largely repaired if the new appearance of the roofs can be used as a measure. The *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* was demolished a few years after this photograph was taken. The church only served for about 25 years after its erection in 1885. It was structurally unstable and had to be demolished. The liberal use of sandstone for building and dolerite for garden walls demonstrates a well-developed masonry tradition.

214

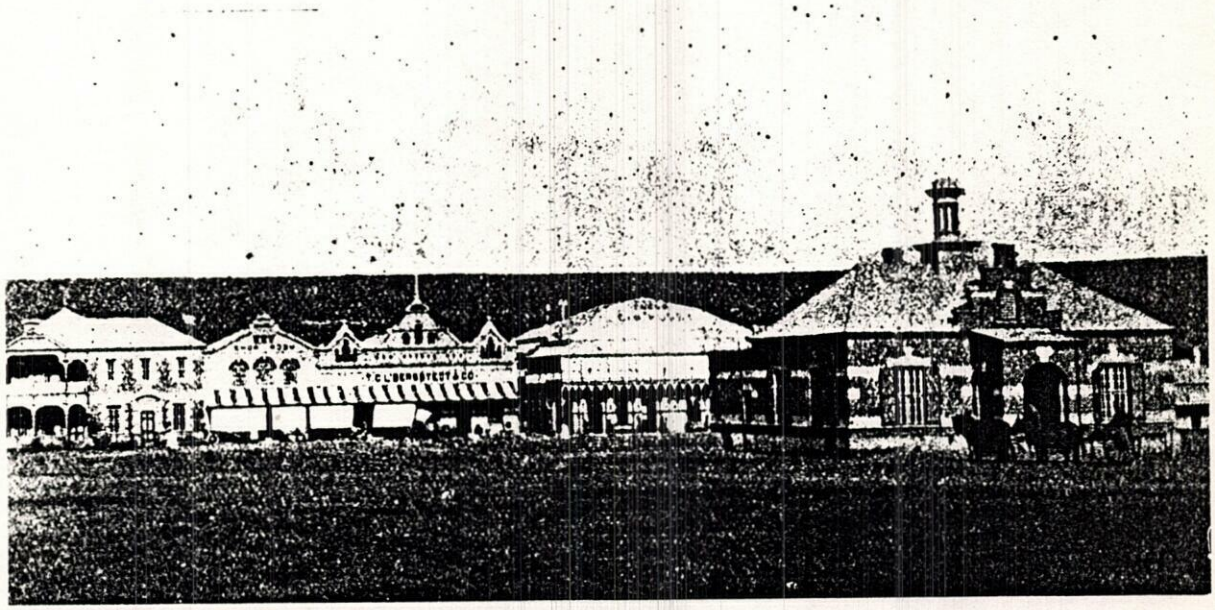
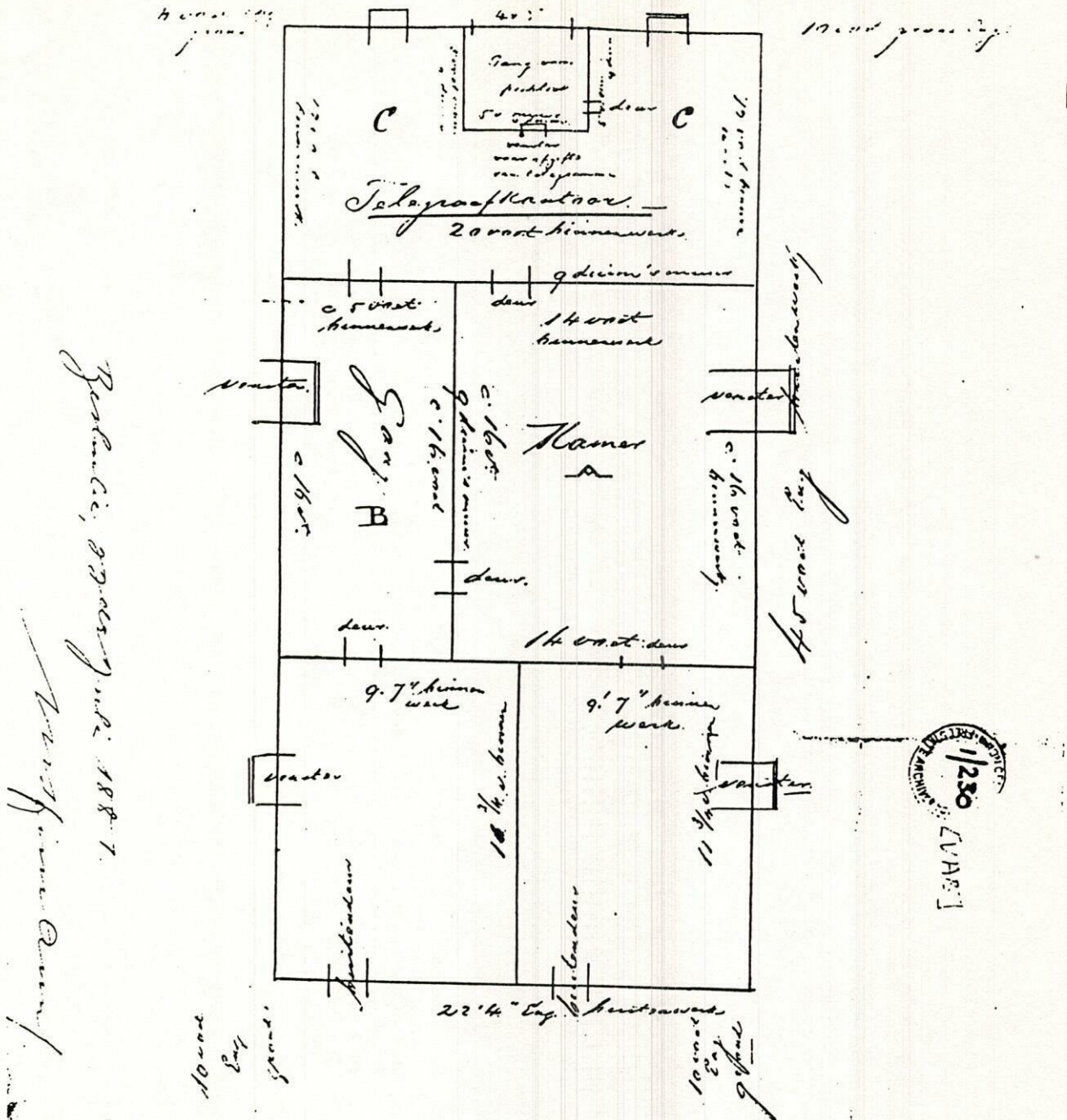


Photo: Portion of the Market Square at Winburg, looking South
A stylistic melange characterised much of the architecture of the smaller towns of the Orange Free State. This photograph shows the Market Square as it appeared about the middle nineties of the previous century. The Post Office in the foreground shows miniaturised components of the Post Office in Bloemfontein and is almost certainly by Vixseboxse. The stepped gable, the striated plaster or stone bands and the prefabricated lantern are typical of his work. In the background the emergence of covered sidewalks can be seen with the early timbered verandahs as precursors to the later cast iron. Immediately behind the Post Office Ford's Hotel can be seen.

Photo: Maitland Street looking West (C.1905)
This post-war photograph of Maitland Street shows Bloemfontein's principal thoroughfare very much as it was during the late nineties. Street lighting is now in evidence even if at considerable intervals. The street surface has been gravelled and kerbs neatly made of sandstone. In the immediate foreground the shadow of the three-storied S A Mutual Life Assurance Society Building can be seen. In the middle distance the Town Hall is visible while in the far background the Government Offices can be discerned.

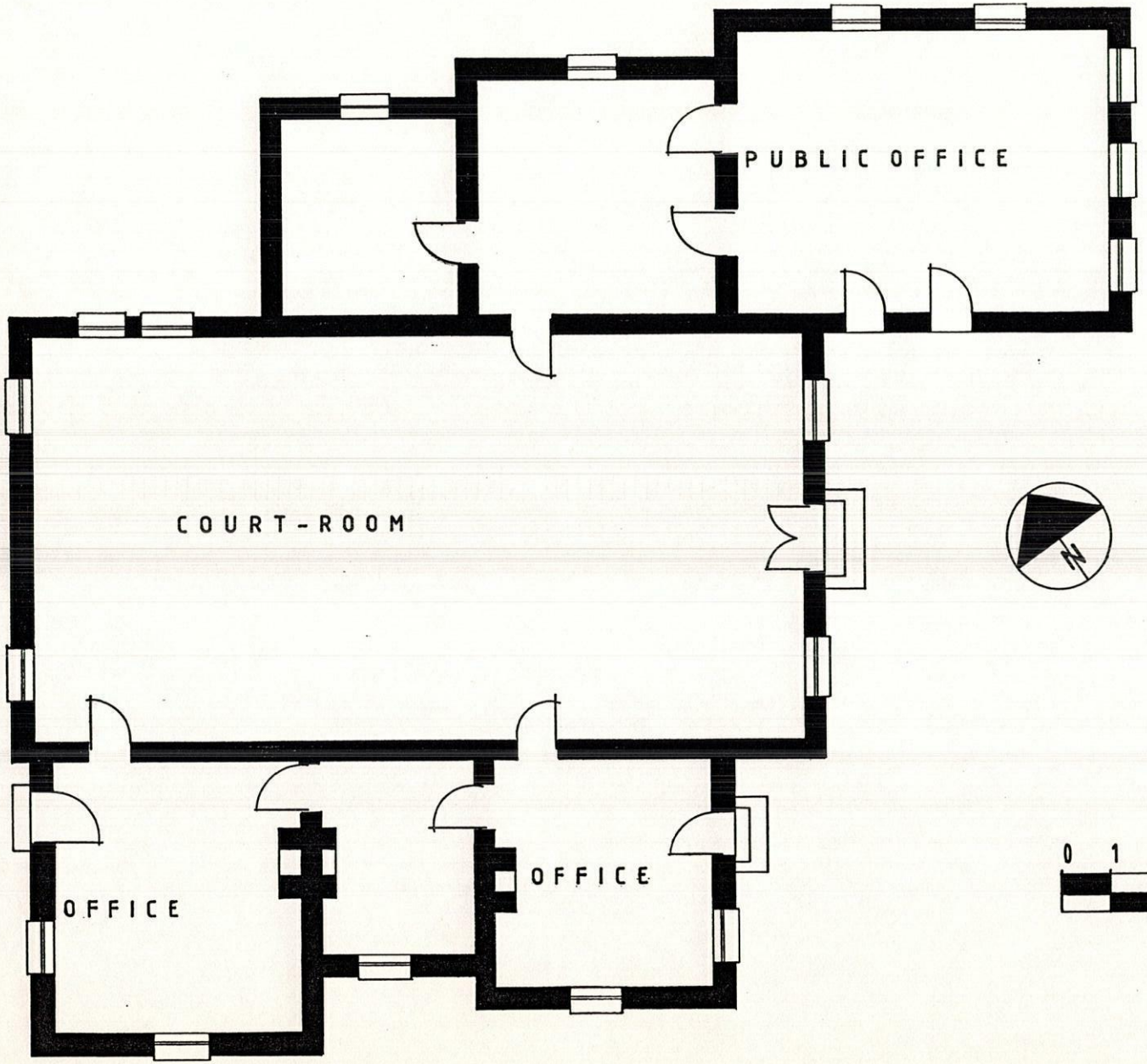
Photo: Upper Maitland Street C.1905
This photograph of the upper end of Maitland Street, taken after the war,. shows the newly completed Fichardt Chambers with Cape Dutch influences superimposed on a Bombay Colonial Style. At the far end the Government Offices are visible as they appeared before the devasting fire of 1908 destroyed the work of Wocke and Wentink. The subsequent rebuilding was done by Sir Herbert Baker and his Bloemfontein partner Fred Masey. This partnership had, in fact, completed additions to the pre-war building when the fire broke out. The work after the fire bequeathed to Bloemfontein a handsome Baker legacy which in one way and another had the work of at least three other architects ensconced within it.



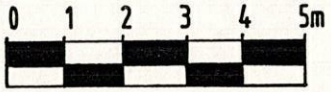
Plan van gebouw met grondt, deel uit N: 81 Bethulie
die aangegunde maat is Engelsche voeten. Het gebouw
klein in een plaan uitgetekend worden, in geheel zoo
uitgevoerd, nog niet voltooid. heeft 3 plaatsen binnen en
3 plaatsen Stoking, hoogte van gebouw 14 voet onder de
balken. Spits Zyden dak met grondt, hoogte van dak
9 voet hoogte van gebouw. Het grondt 100 voets van
dak en 2 voet, buitenmuren 14 duim dik, van
3 voet stainen. Vensters in front 3 voet vensters
3 ten achteren vensters 7 x 3'9" voet Engelsch. Deuren
3 binnen en buiten behoorlyk te worden
gemaakt. Het gebouw te worden opgetrokken

Telegraph office, Bethulie 1881

A contractor's sketch and specification for a telegraph office at Bethulie indicates the casual nature of the structural information underlying a tender document. These buildings were often cause for complaint at Volksraad level where the parsimonious attitude of the governing body rarely permitted excellent buildings. It was only after the appearance of Vixseboxse and Wentink that Government buildings became properly designed and specified.



NOTE: The uses of the different compartments are unknown.



MAGISTRATE'S OFFICE
FICKSBURG
1890

Photo: Maitland Street, Bloemfontein, looking East c.1905
Vixseboxse's Post Office, overlooking Market Square, had by this time suffered an adaptation to the Western sun by having a corrugated iron roof added at the first floor balcony level. The Station buildings are visible in the terminal vista while on the extreme right a tall chimney is visible which probably served the Power Station.

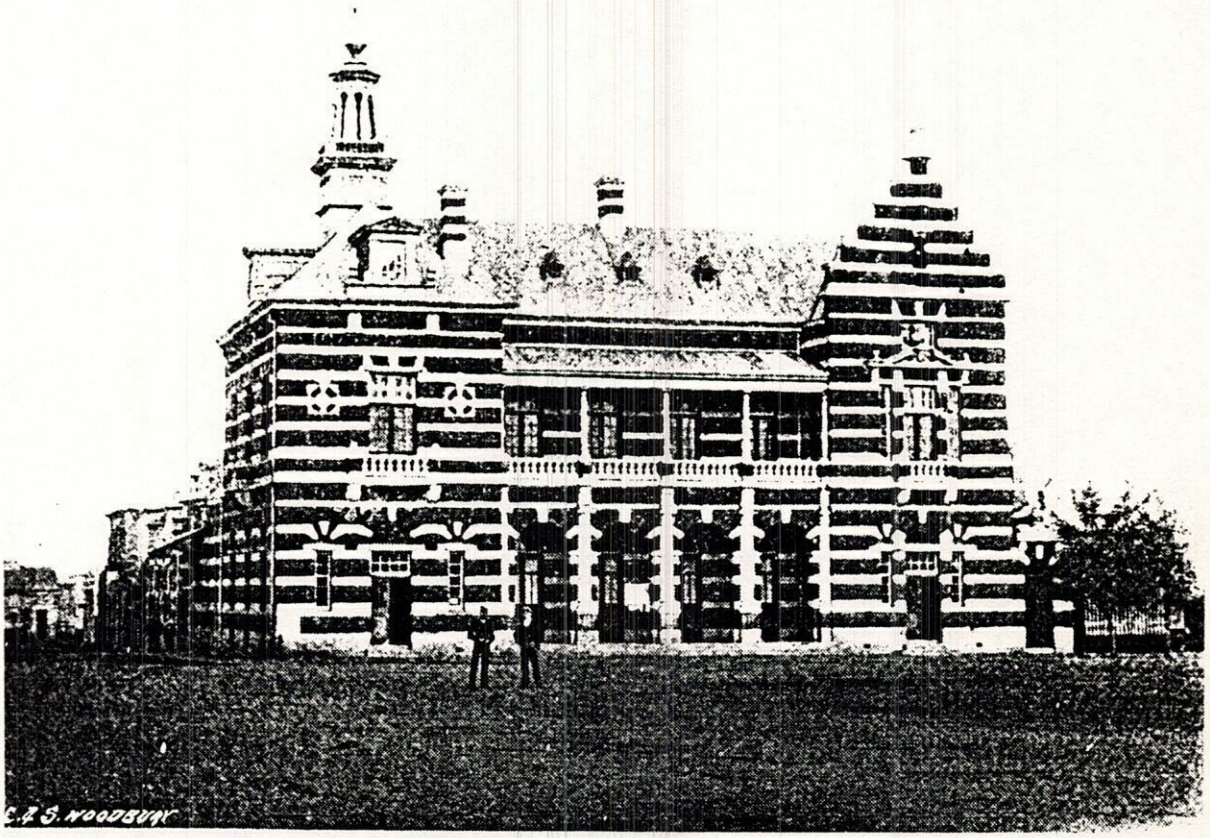
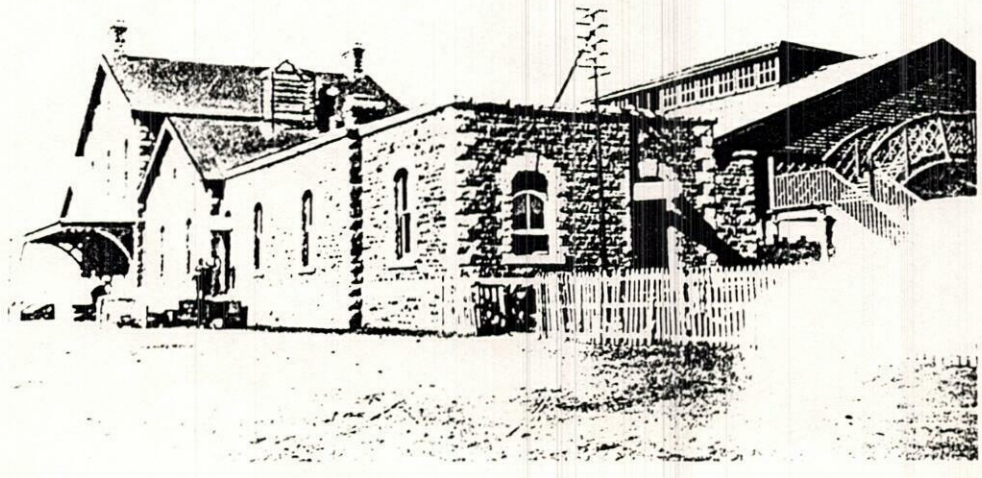


Photo: The Post and Telegraph Office, Bloemfontein. 1891
This building was one of Vixseboxse's earliest commissions as Government Architect and the English Press of the day referred to it as being in the "Zebra" order of Architecture and sometimes as Free State Dutch, both appellations being derogatory as there was little admiration for the Dutch Architects from the English-speaking section of the community. The stepped gable is a Flemish touch while the tower gazebo and finial were probably catalogue items as they appeared almost simultaneously in the Transvaal, particularly over school halls. The Western exposure caused a lean-to roof to be added over the central windows. The long sway of the symmetrical facade is also clearly at an end.

Photo: Railway Institute (Spoorweg Bureau)
This building represents one of the last governmental projects of the Republic. It was designed by the Architect Wentink who succeeded Vixseboxse after his departure to the Cape Province. It housed the administrative offices of the Free State Railway System and was completed just in time to house the fateful meeting between President Kruger and Milner. It may be said that the inevitability of the Anglo Boer War became apparent here. In the background of the photograph the Railway Station of 1892 can be seen also from the hand of Vixseboxse. The architectural strides made during the nineties are nowhere better illustrated than in these two surviving buildings as they reflect early Vixseboxse to late Wentink. (Station building below).



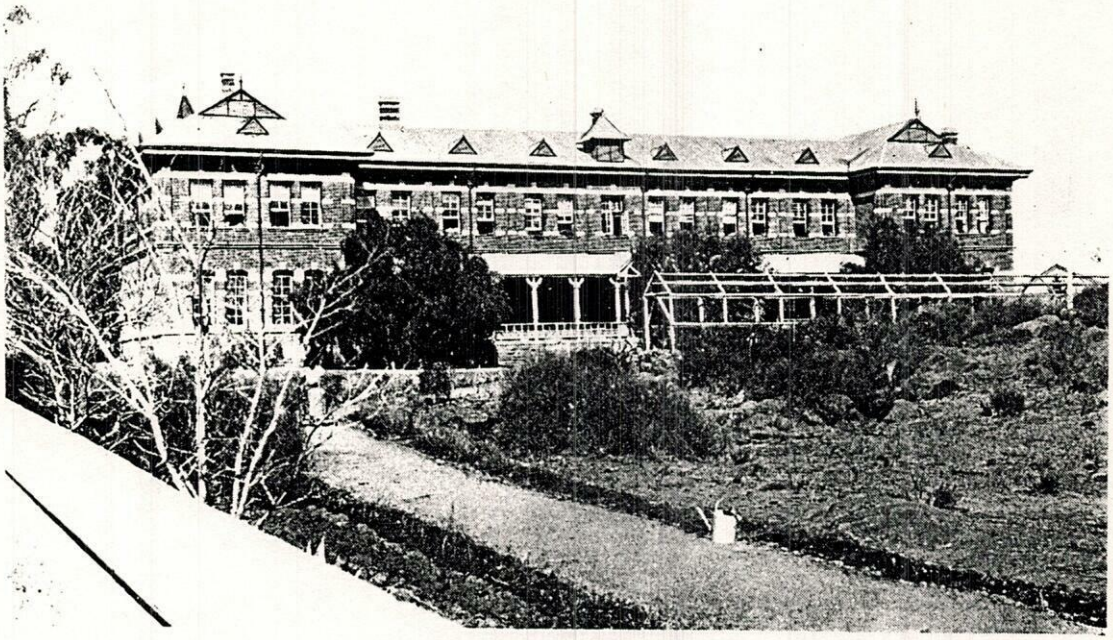


Photo: Dames Institute Eunice, Bloemfontein
The so-called "Upper-House" on High Street was a design of the Government Architect Vixseboxse who presented Pres. Reitz with an engraved trowel to perform the foundation stone laying on 3 February 1892. Both the Upper and Lower House played an important role in the education of the young ladies of the Free State. The building shown on the photograph was destroyed by fire in 1914. Both buildings served as hospitals during the Anglo Boer War.

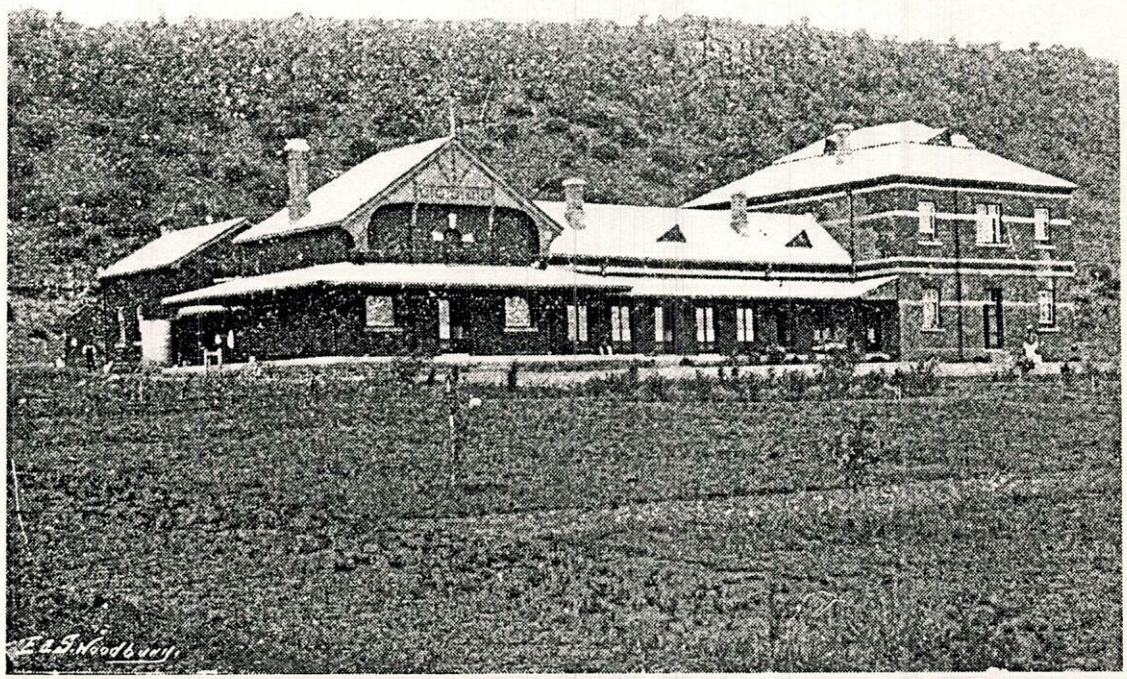
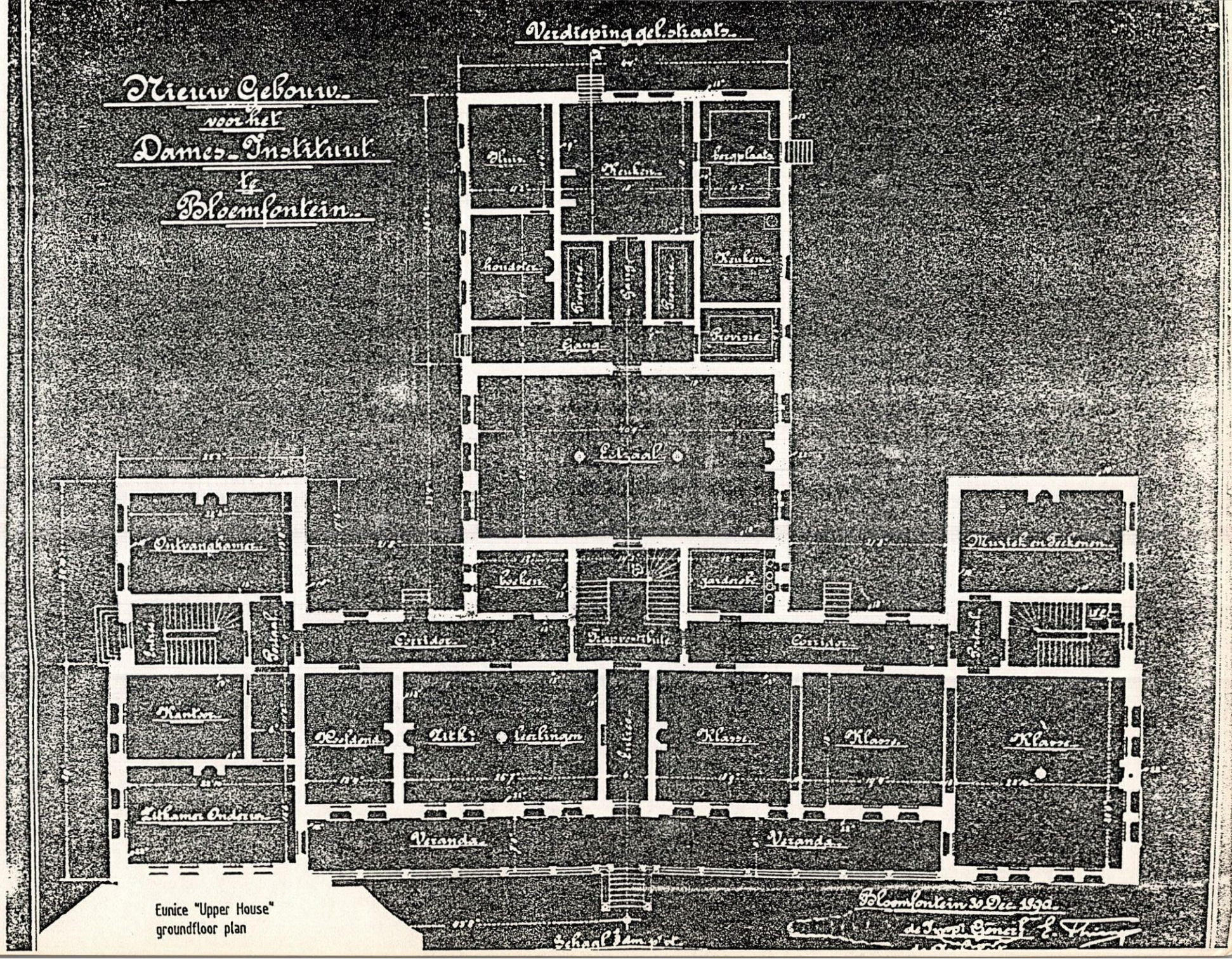


Photo: Volkshospitaal
This hospital building designed by Vixseboxse shows typical elements of his style, particularly the striated treatment of the facade. The institution was a Government one controlled by a board of which Dr B O Kellner was the Chairman. At the time of its opening in October 1894 it could accommodate 32 patients. Although its locality was then considered "high and free from contamination" the site, today, falls in a smog area. It has long since been replaced by the Sentraal Hoërskool. The "general arrangements are of the newest and most comfortable style. The ventilation and all sanitary arrangements are perfect". There were separate wards for sexes and for white and coloured patients. An isolation ward for infectious diseases was provided as well as an operating theatre.



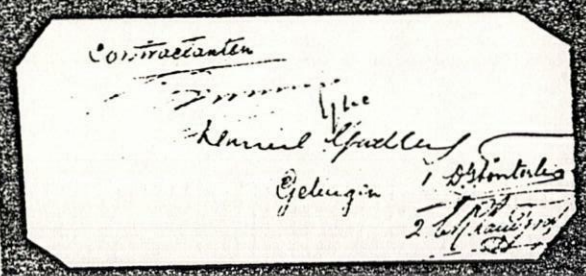
Eunice "Upper House"
groundfloor plan

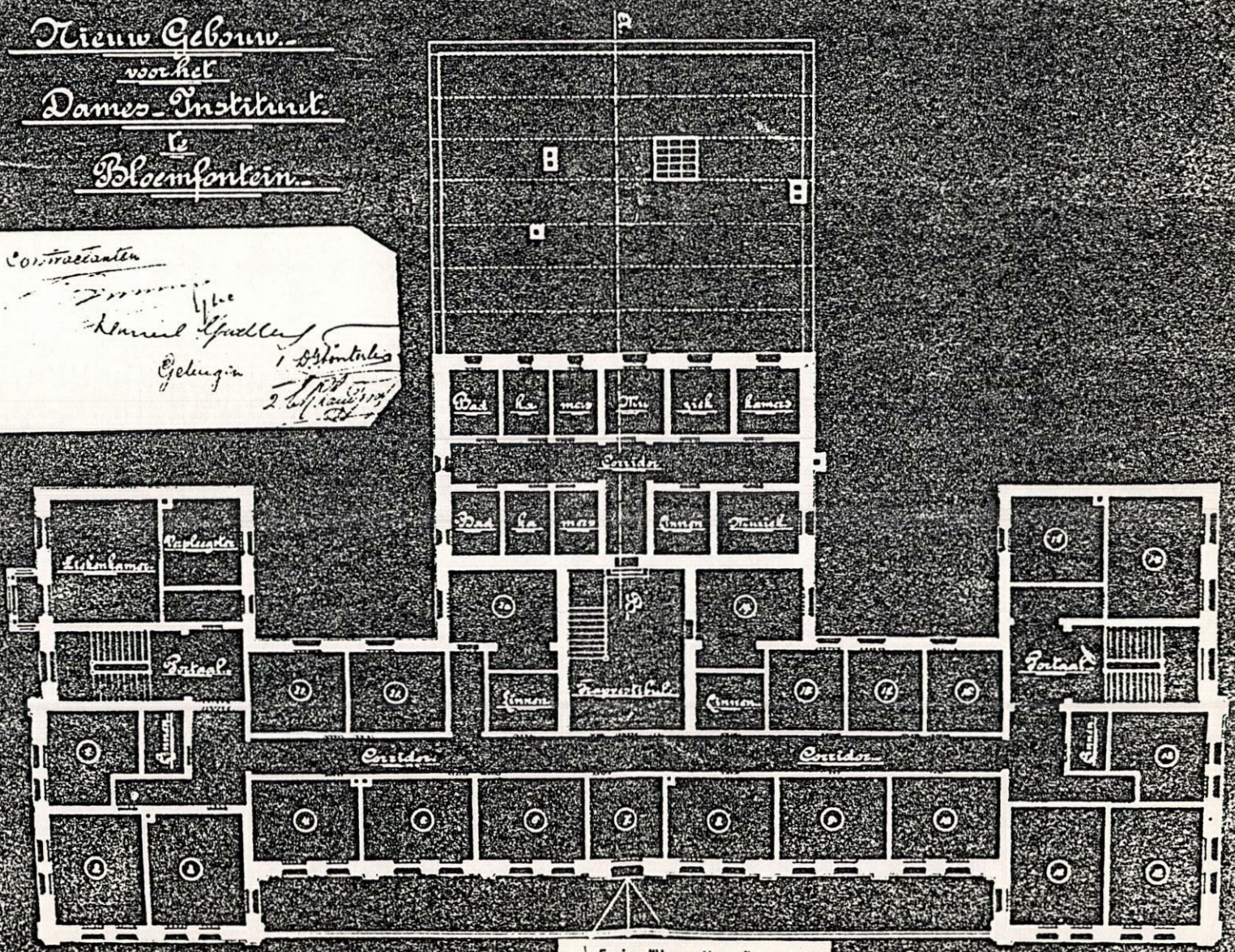
Tekening XIV
behoort bij bestek XIV

DEPARTEMENT VAN OPENBARE WERKEN.
ORANJEVRIJSTAAT.

Tweede Verdieping.

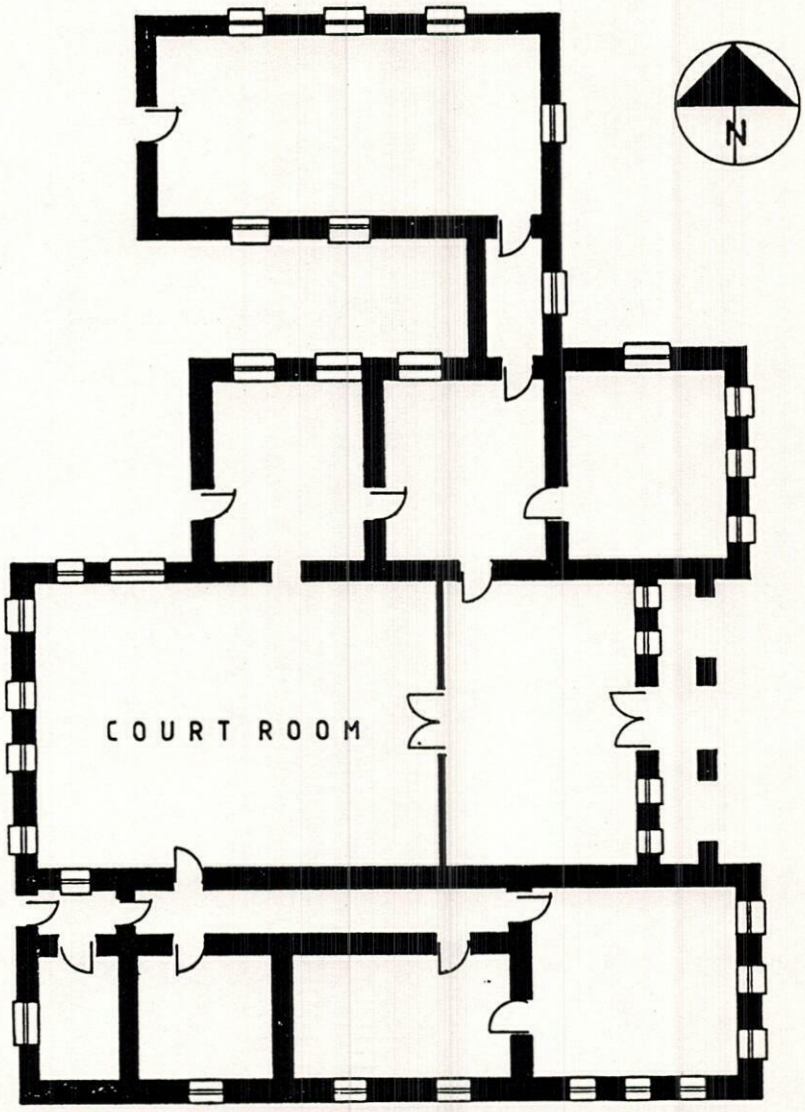
Nieuw Gebouw
voor het
Dames-Instituut
te
Bloemfontein.





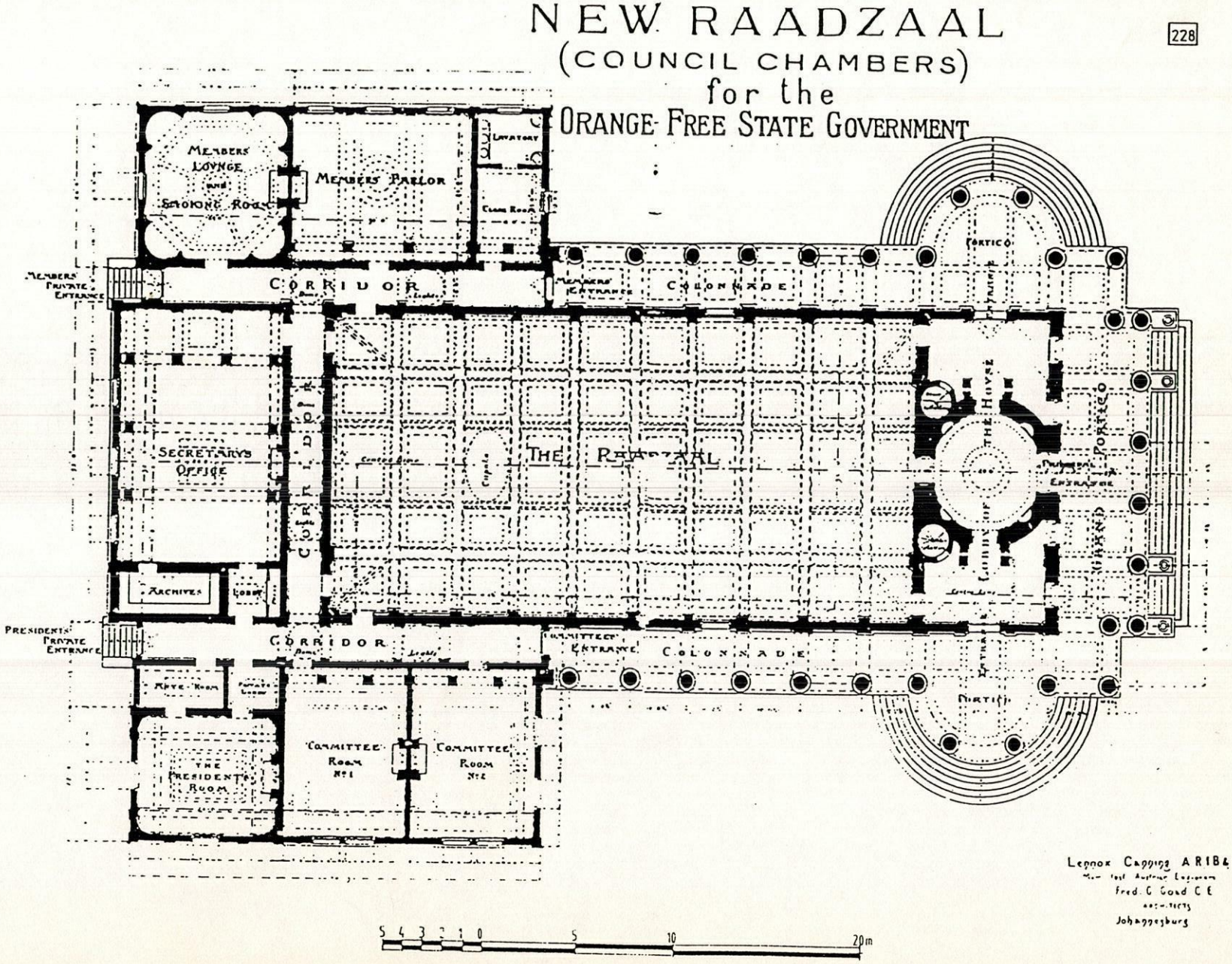
Eunice "Upper House"
first floor plan

Bloemfontein 30 Dec 1900
Hoofd Gemeente
Architect



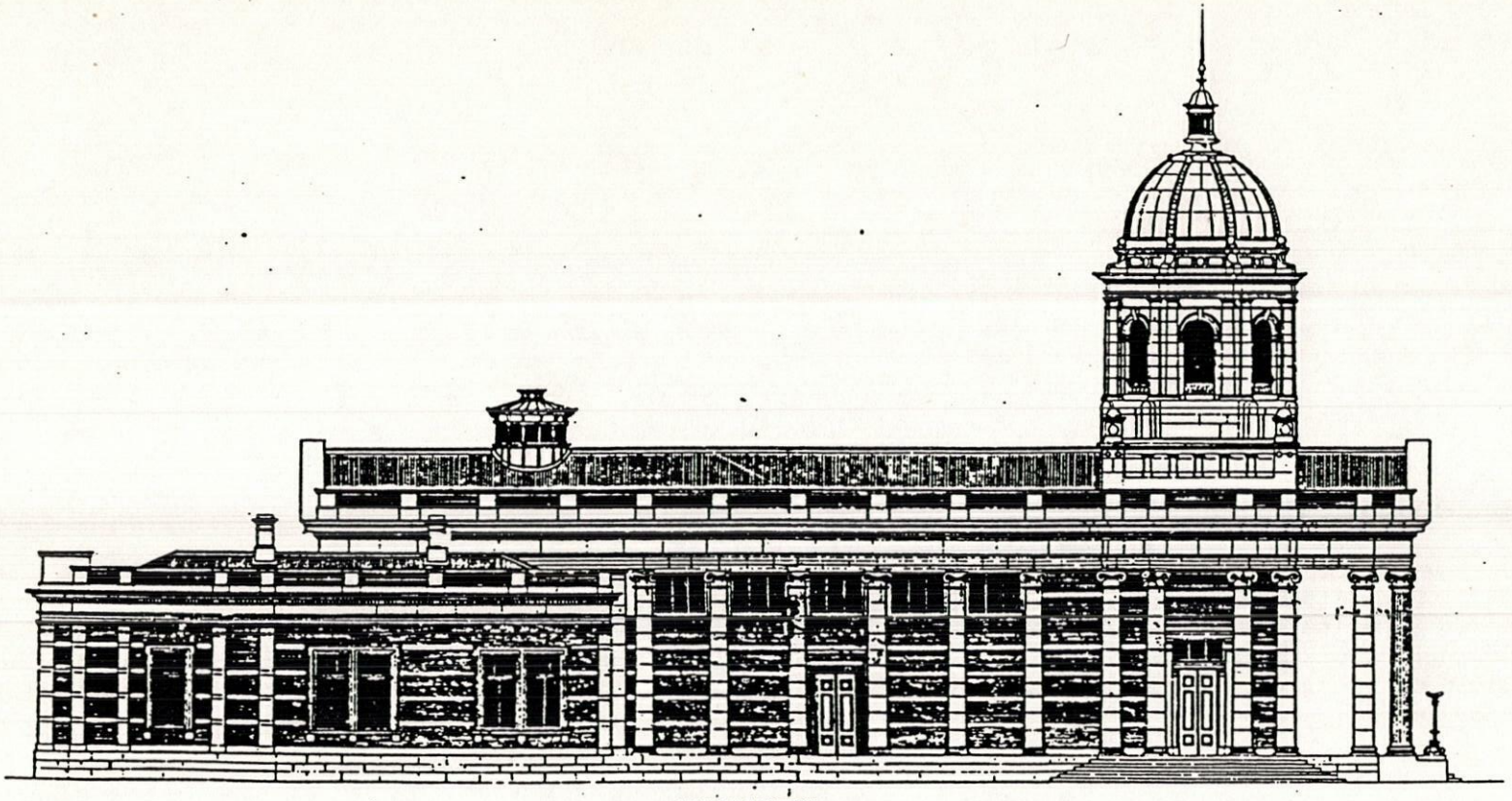
BETHLEHEM: MAGISTRATES OFFICE: 1893

Sandstone work by the famed stonemason Louis Ferdinand

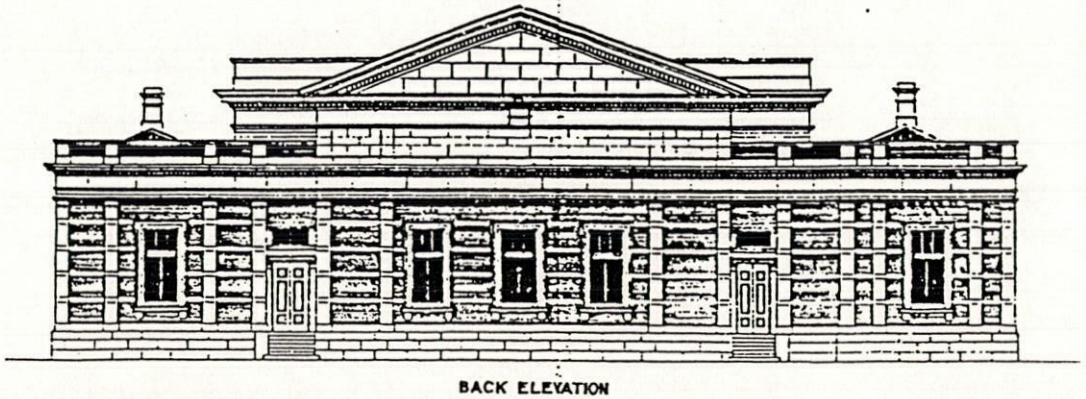


Plan of the Fourth Raadzaal, Bloemfontein

Lennox Canning's working drawings for the Fourth Raadzaal in Bloemfontein. At the time of their preparation the firm Canning and Goad were practising from their newly established office in Johannesburg. The design dates from 1884 when it won a competition which elicited 23 entries, including ones from England, Holland, Australia, Germany and USA.



SIDE ELEVATION

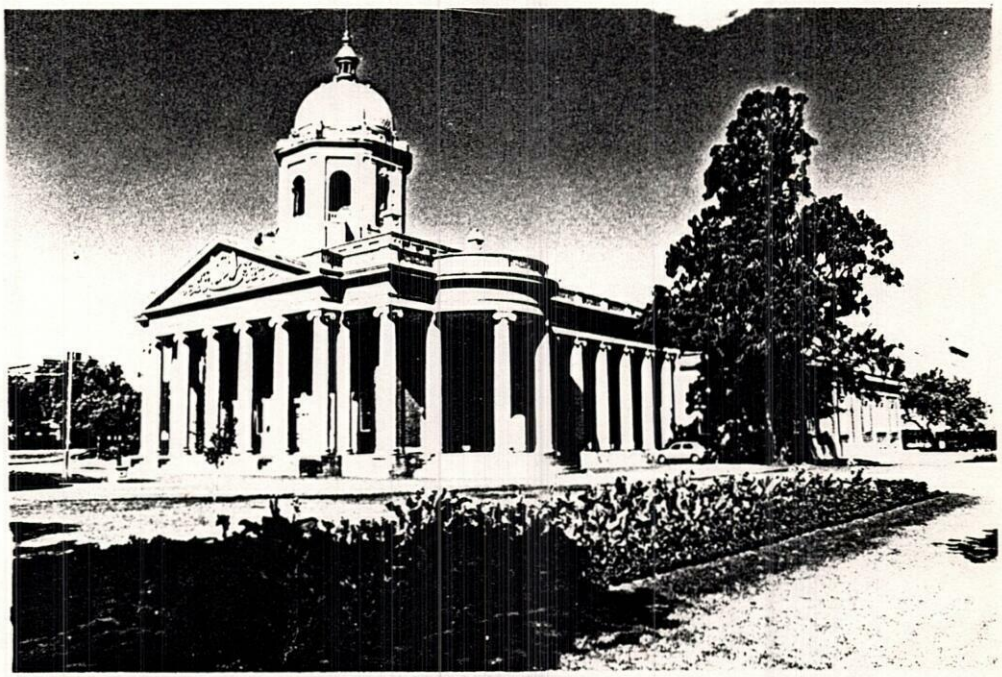


BACK ELEVATION

5 4 3 2 1 0 5 10 20m

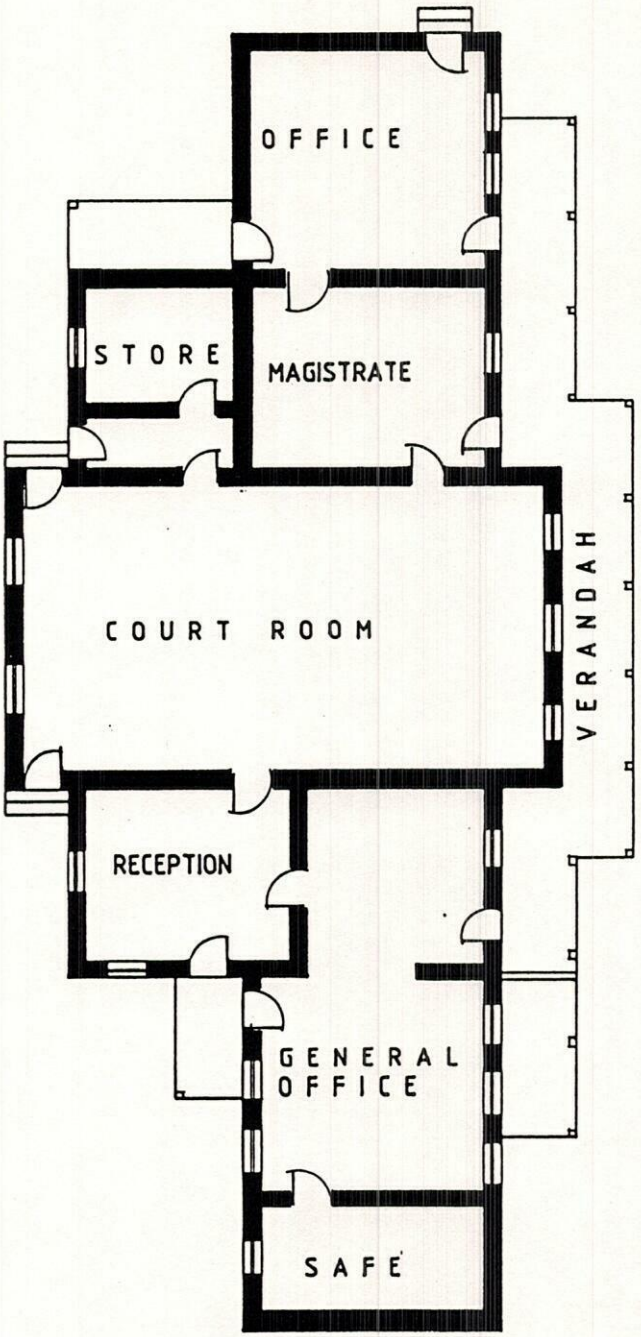
FOURTH RAADZAAL
BLOEMFONTEIN 1893

Side Elevation (North) and Back Elevation (East) of the Fourth Raadzaal. The pronounced horizontal striations were not included in



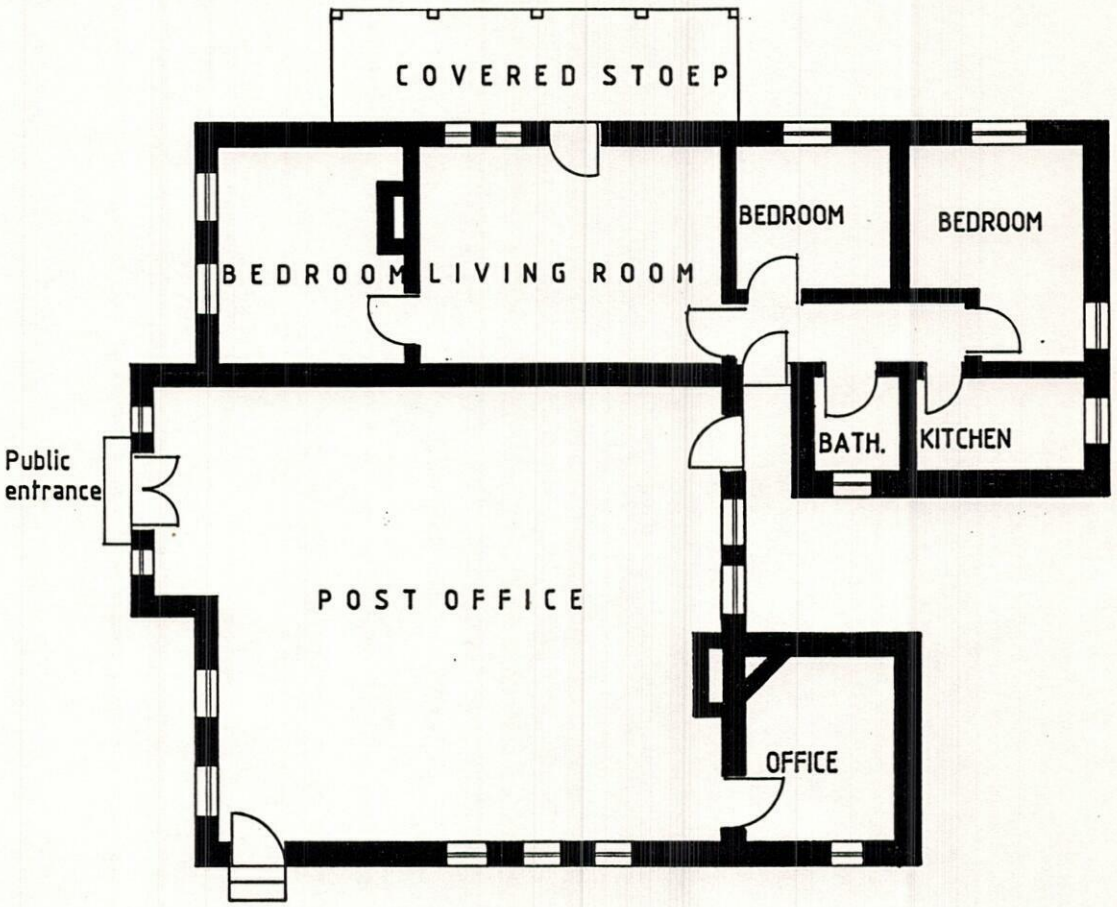
The fourth Raadzaal 1893

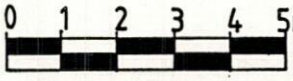
Commissioned by the Volksraad; designed by the English Architect Lennox Canning; built by Cockneys for a Scottish Contractor who had tendered too low; supervised by a Dutch Architect, the fourth Raadzaal project held within itself the seeds of a major building drama which was not long in unfolding. The Architect was dismissed by the Client for incompetence and a disrespectful attitude; the Contractor was bankrupted and the building structurally redesigned to make it buildable. Once completed, however, it was generally acclaimed as a fitting seat for the Republic's highest authority. Its stylistic eclecticism does not offend and its internal appointments are even now much admired. Its enclosing wrought-iron railing is one of the finest in South Africa.



HOOPSTAD: MAGISTRATE BUILDING.
1895

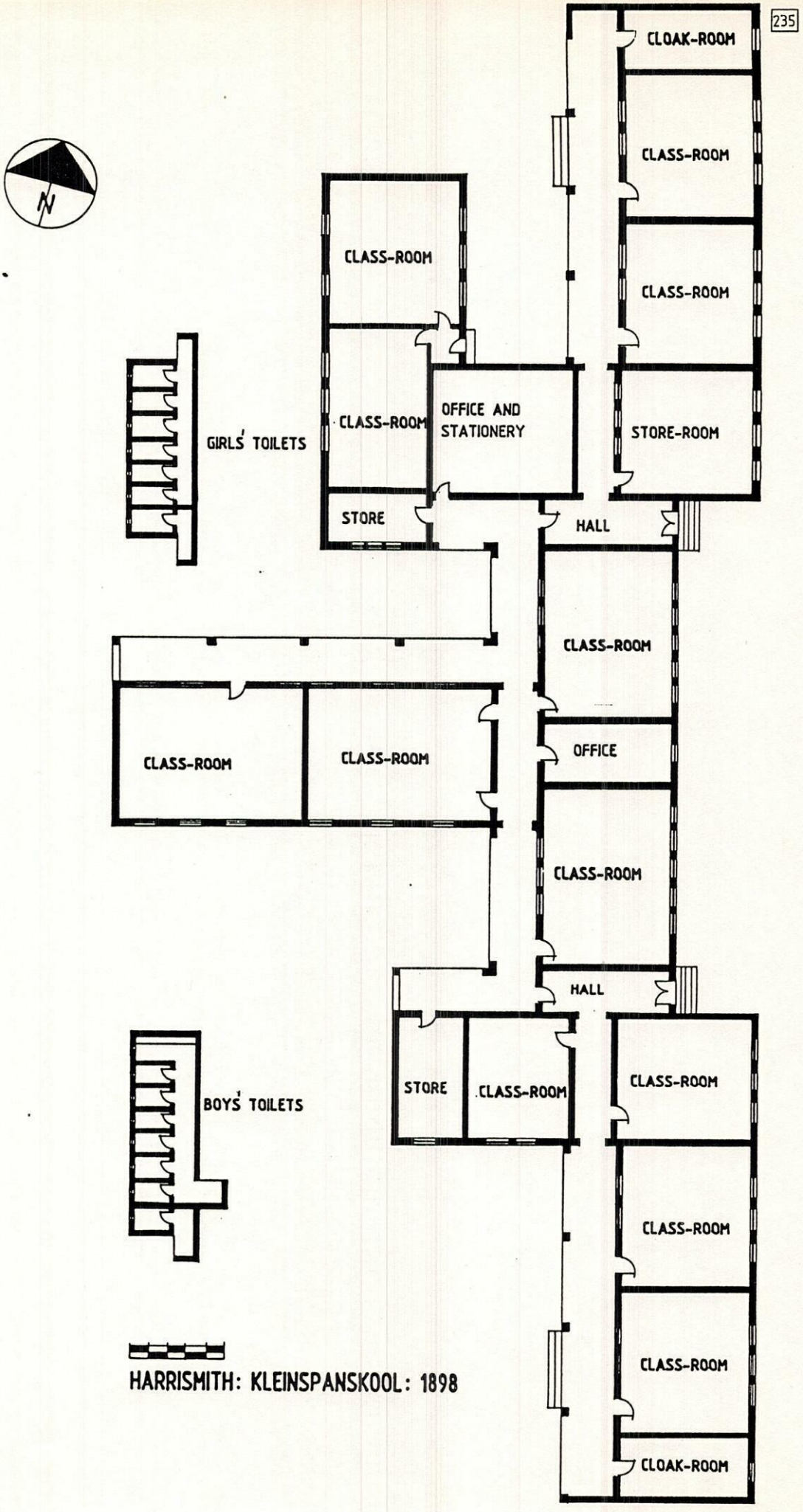
Photo: Grey College Bloemfontein
This early photograph of Stucke's design for Grey College depicts a substantial building with rather ponderous details. The lintols over the windows seem hesitant between true pediments and relieving arches. The quoins are a mixtrure of sandstone and plaster while particular attention is given to the roofline. The enclosing garden wall is of random dolerite protected by plastered brick copings as was common at that time. The main walling of the building is at present plastered but the photograph shows a typical brick finish with what appears to be pointed joints if the shadow lines on the wall can be so interpreted. The College building served as the seat of Grey College for about 10 years i.e. from 1895 - 1905. At the latter date work on the new Grey College to the west of the city was commenced. The 1895 building has survived and in its plastered form serves as premises for the Technical College. In 1896 the Upper School of Grey College had 63 pupils and the Lower School 137.





HOOPSTAD: FIRST POST OFFICE. (Later library).
Probable uses of rooms indicated.
1896

Magistrate's Court at Boshof (August 1897)
This drawing contains no less than three signatures, that of Cornilleire the draughtsman, D.E. Wentink the Architect, and G.A. Northcroft as Inspector General of Public Works.



HARRISMITH: KLEINSPANSKOOL: 1898

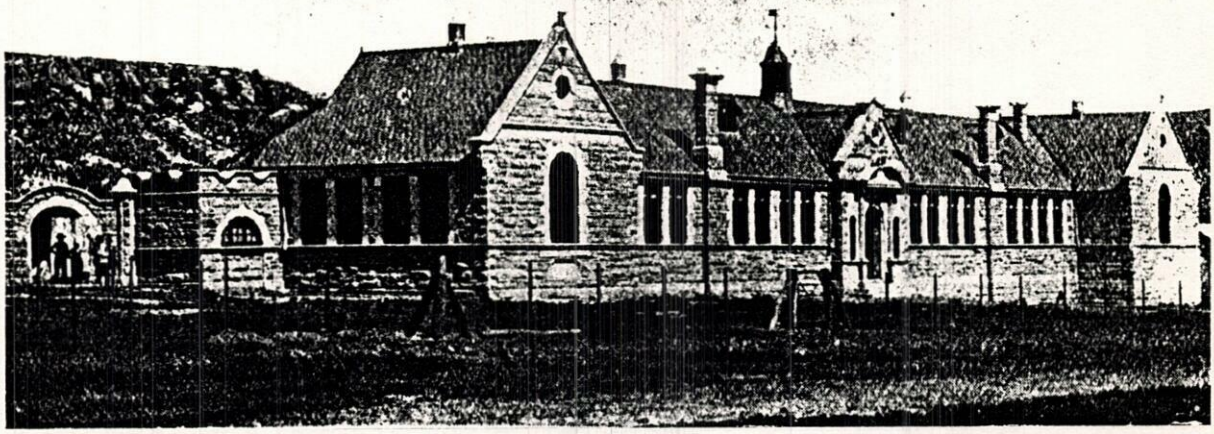


Photo: School Building at Ladybrand.
This sandstone school building at Ladybrand photographed after the War was typical of the schools built in the smaller towns during the later Republican period. It reflects the willingness of the *Volksraad* to invest in education, the one aspect of the budget which was rarely neglected even if it was often reduced.

Photo: The first Post Office at Parys c.1891
This miniature Government Building dates from Vixseboxse's time as Government Architect, although the parsimony of the *Volksraad* is more apparent than the hand of the architect. The problems involved in getting buildings, such as these, built in remote areas fill the minutes of the *Volksraad* who invariably halved th architect's budgetary requests and then lamented the quality of the buildings produced.

School building for Bethulie (March 1899)
At the time Wentink's design for this school was ready for tendering the clouds of war were already gathering.

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D E Wentink. Architect to the OFS Government

After the departure of Vixseboxse in 1893 Wentink went on to design a number of outstanding buildings notably the Railway Bureau (1899) and the conversion of the 1875 Government Building. Under Wentink's capable hand a large number of government buildings were built throughout the OFS. De la Cornillière was the principal draughtsman and they both served the Government until the outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War.

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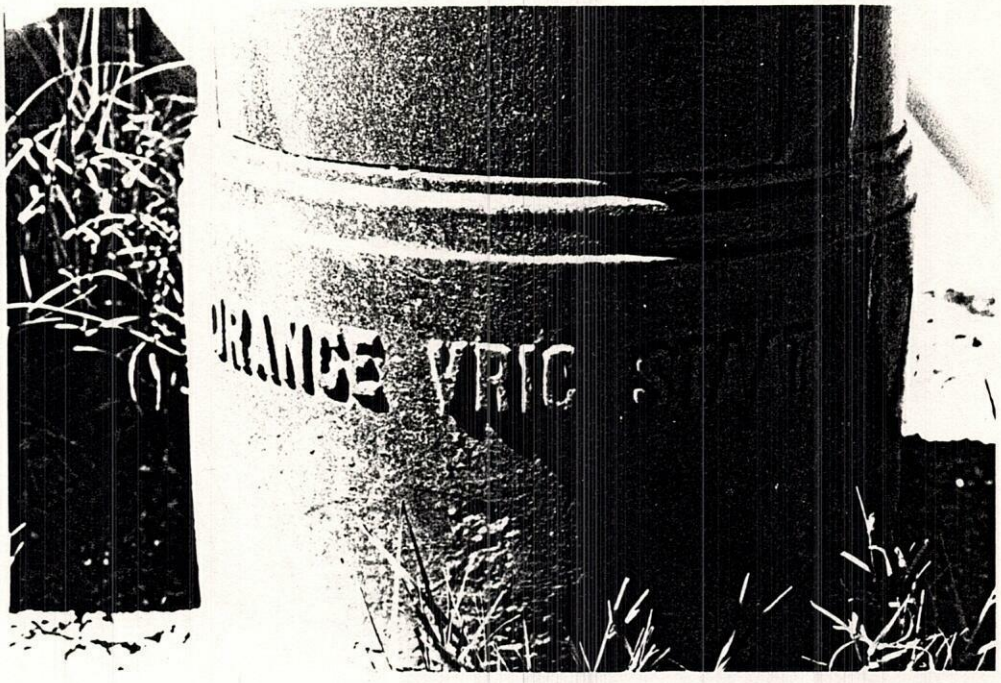
E. Thiange, Inspector-General of Public Works 1889-1895

Mr Thiange had a very active period in the OFS, having to bear the responsibility for seeing the railway line built through the Free State including any necessary bridges. His relationship with the Volksraad was less than cordial. The combination of small stature, high-pitched voice, abrupt manner, Dutch extraction and washaways of bridge foundations proved to be beyond the Volksraad's powers of endurance. He resigned in 1895.

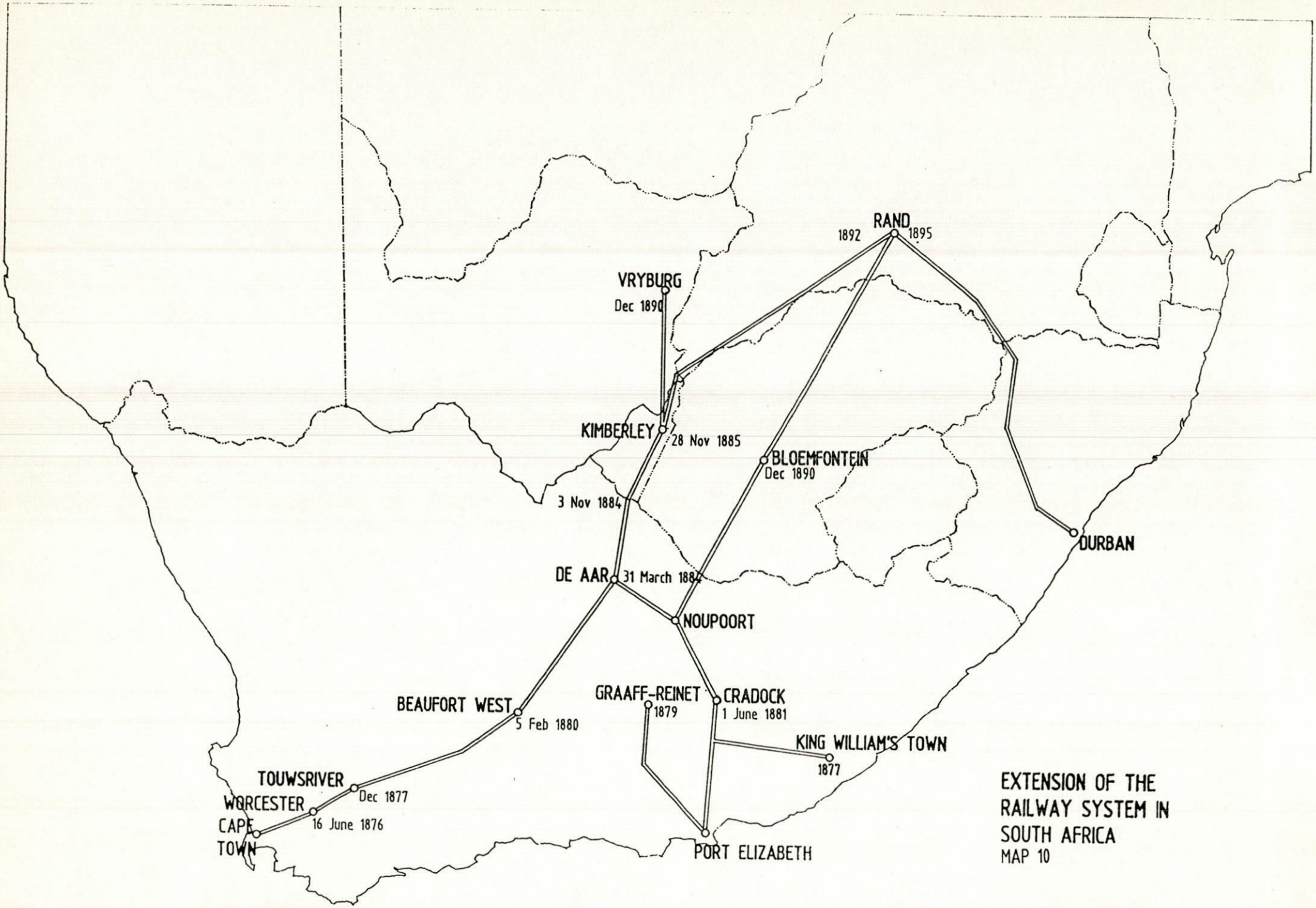


Postscript

The lettering of the base of this post box reads:

ORANGE VRIG STAAT

and probably indicates a misinterpretation of a handwritten order for postboxes before the days of the typewriter. In longhand script, particularly in the capital letters, the J and the G were remarkably similar so that ones literacy in Dutch was necessary to decide which was which. Once the foundry foreman in London had accepted his superiors interpretation of the first word as "Orange" he was more or less obliged to render the second word as "Vrig" allowing the customer the usual margin of idiosyncrasy as he was paying. What the Volksraad actually paid for was ORANJE VRIJ STAAT.



EXTENSION OF THE RAILWAY SYSTEM IN SOUTH AFRICA
MAP 10

CHAPTER 5
DEATH OF A REPUBLIC

WAR COMES TO THE FREE STATE

The Republics of the Transvaal and the Free State found themselves at war in October 1899 and despite a few early and spectacular Boer victories the British war machine pushed its way relentlessly forward. The invasion from the Cape Province into the Free State was territorially the most advantageous and as early as 13 March 1900 Lord Roberts occupied Bloemfontein without encountering any resistance from the town. One after another the towns fell and Bethlehem was the last seat of the Free State Government. President Steyn decided to continue the War despite the many omens of defeat. The Free State became committed to commando warfare and as often as other Afrikaner leaders considered negotiating for peace, just as often Steyn would argue against surrender. The rapid advance of British troops throughout the Free State in the early phases of the War meant that towns were occupied virtually intact. It seemed as if the War would be "over by Christmas" of 1900. But the later phase of commando warfare soon altered this state of affairs.

The roving groups of Free Staters and Transvalers inflicted humiliating losses on the British forces and then vanished into thin air. To cope with this unexpected turn of events Roberts and Kitchener decided upon a scorched earth policy and during 1901 and 1902 a systematic destruction of farmbuildings and certain selected towns took place. Frankfort, Lindley and Bethlehem were virtually levelled with the ground and on the vast plains of the Free State virtually every farmbuilding had been burnt down and the entire contents destroyed. When the women and children who were thus displaced were forcibly removed to concentration camps the primitive and unsanitary conditions took a frightening toll, 26 000 ultimately dying. Their properties destroyed and their families decimated the most loyal *burghers* had no option but to lay down their arms. The independent existence of the Orange Free State ended, as did that of the Transvaal, on 31 May 1902 when the peace terms agreed to at Vereeniging were signed in Pretoria. Although the countryside of the Free State had been devastated, many of its towns, including Bloemfontein, survived unscathed.

A few important farm dwellings were also preserved, the owners being English-speaking. The inhabitants of Bloemfontein who were predominantly of British descent were able to discard their position of ambivalence and actually welcomed Roberts upon his entry into Bloemfontein. For many the grevious error of Britain in abandoning the Sovereignty in 1854 had at last been set right, and pro-British sentiments could once more be vented without any feelings of dual loyalty.

On the 13 March 1900 Bloemfontein experienced a remarkable spectacle:[1]

> And so it was that Lord Roberts, with his A.D.C.'s and foreign attachés, followed by the troops, made his formal entry into Bloemfontein that afternoon. The English and other residents of the town hung out flags and decorations and cheered as if their savior instead of a conqueror had arrived. It was all most surprising. Without a shot being fired on the town or in it, the diminutive Lord Roberts rode up to the Presidency and ran up a small Union Jack of silk which his wife had made for him. According to Louis Creswicke the population then gave the invaders such a warm reception that the British had to wonder whom they were fighting.

5.1. THE WARTIME FATE OF THE FREE STATE FARM DWELLING 1900 - 1902

The extent of damage brought about by the scorched earth policies adopted by Kitchener during 1901 and 1902 was well known to the individual concerned but the overall picture lacked a scientific base of measurement. This deficiency has been overcome with such detailed and painstaking analyses as that undertaken by Dr S B Spies in his work *Methods of Barbarism?* The swathes of denudation and devastation cut through most of the Orange Free State and a large part of the Transvaal have now been documented from the records available in various British and South African archives.Spies comes to the conclusion that[2]

> It is no longer possible to doubt that there was deliberate, massive, widespread and ruthless devastation of Boer property in the two republics by British forces during this period.

Estimates made during the latter part of the War (November 1901) by Schalk Burger and F W Reitz in a letter to Lord Salisbury that "to date at least 30 000 farmhouses apart from a number of villages had been burnt or destroyed in both republics".[3]

Milner who was alarmed at the reports he was receiving, commented in October 1902 to Chamberlain that[4]

> a very large number of houses in both colonies have no doubts been destroyed or seriously damaged. Total of both classes may amount to as much as 30 000.

Quoting G B Beak, Spies indicates that

> 75 per cent of farm houses in the Orange River Colony suffered more or less severely during the war and that 5 000 in that territory were practically destroyed.[5]

The country that was due for clearing was in excess of 12 million ha. and was:[6]

> thinly populated with villages lying 65 to 80 km apart, and farms usually located in sequestered valleys far off the main tracks. The trek from one homestead to another meant, in some districts half a day march. The overall number of farms was 11 772. Commanders wavered between clearing the district and pursuit of a vanishing foe. Commanders were requested to clear "every living thing".

The task assigned to troops was uncongenial and when they did arrive at a farm dwelling they vented their frustration on the building and its contents, while at headquarters a large map began to take shap with coloured pins. Red for "totally cleared", blue for "partially cleared" and yellow "untouched".[7]

On 23 October 1900 the first systematic attempts at destroying villages began and Hunter, after advising Roberts, destroyed the village of Bothaville. 45 Houses were burnt but public buildings were spared, including the church and the manse as well as the Red Cross Station. A few days later Ventersburg suffered a similar fate and although 16 houses cited as being destroyed, the church was also in fact burnt down. Bruce Hamilton who was in charge of the Ventersburg operation posted the following notice:[8]

> The town of Ventersburg has been cleared of supplies and partly burnt, and the farms in the vicinity destroyed, on account of the frequent attacks on the railway line in the neighbourhood. The Boer women and children who are left behind should apply to the Boer Commandants for food, who will supply them unless they wish to see them starve. No supplies will be sent from the railway to the town.

The British force under Captain March Phillips which had as its objective the towns of Kroonstad, Lindley, Heilbron and Frankfort outlined his approach to the task as follows:[9]

> We usually burn from six to a dozen farms a day; those being about all that in this sparsely-inhabited country we encounter. I do not gather that any special reason or cause is alleged or proved against the farms burnt. If the Boers have used the farm; if the owner is on commando; if the line within a certain distance has been blown up; or even if there are Boers in the neighbourhood who persist in fighting - these are some of the reasons . . . . . Anyway we find that one reason or other generally covers pretty nearly every farm we come to, and so to save trouble we burn the lot without inquiry; unless indeed, which sometimes happens some names are given in before marching in the morning of farms to be spared.

In November 1901 Kitchener comtemplated sending the women and children "back to their farm houses" and upon hearing of this Steyn wrote to Kitchener:[10]

> Your Excellency knows and his Majesty's Government knows, or ought to know, that there is hardly a single house in the Orange Free State that is not burnt or destroyed, that all the furniture and especially the bedding and clothing of the women and children have been burnt or have been looted by His Majesty's troops.

This letter of Steyn's emphasizes the destruction brought upon the cultural artifacts of a whole generation and flames must have consumed thousands of laboriusly hand-made settees and chairs and destroyed innumerable yellow-wood tables carefully nurtured through the Great Trek and handed down through

generations. Elaborate embroidery, handmade dresses and musical instruments vanished in smoke. An infantryman relates how he and a friend carried out a piano from a farm dwelling and then set about destroying the instrument by banging on the keys with the butts of their rifles. The instrument which had so laboriously travelled the high seas, survived transhipments and frame-breaking journeys on ox-wagons succumbed at last to the frustrations of two infantrymen. The picture of desolation which confronted returning commandos and prisoners of war must have seemed the final blow to an already demoralised population. To many "going home" meant an endless journey to a burnt-out hulk, an empty *kraal,* and pilfered valuables.

By the beginning of 1902, the devastation of the Orange River Colony, so far as human food was concerned was comparatively complete.[11]This meant that the defeated suffered a further ignominy in having to receive food from their victors. All forms of transport being animal-drawn the possibility of moving around was severely limited and even obtaining the necessary rations became a problem, some desperate farmers even using sleds or small steel-rimmed wheels from some agricultural appliance. Although building material like timber and iron could be obtained from the British administrative authority not much use was made of this as the recipient became financially indebted if he made use of the facility.

5.2. COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL BUILDINGS IN THE PERIOD 1900 - 1902

By the same token that most of the entreprenurial functions in trade, commerce and industry were owned by English-speaking persons or other non-combatant nationalities, they survived the devastation almost unscathed and except where the owners were obviously engaged in the War against Britain or were in a position to supply the Boer regiments with needed materials or foodstuffs, the businesses were able to function during hostilities and were ready to assume trade upon the cessation of the war. The payment of war reparations to compensate the penniless republics (now colonies) paved the way for a massive financial injection into business but the period of recovery was slow and painful. None the less, numerous advertisements appeared in newspapers of new companies beginning business during the War. This occurred mainly in Bloemfontein in the wake of the civil administration which followed the military conquest of the republic.

The establishment of a civil administration in the Orange Free State immediately after the fact of physical conquest of the surface area was an unusual one which appeared, on the face of it, to be contrary to international law or usage at that time. It was unusual to decide upon such matters until victory (or defeat) had been formalised into the clauses of peace agreements. Such administration within a nominal colony made the return to almost normal trading conditions possible in the period 1900 - 1901 whereas the actions of Boer-Commandos must have had a very disrupting effect on rail supplies. These disruptions were regarded as being a serious threat to British forces and reprisals for damage to the infrastructure such as railways,

bridges and telegraph gave rise to a series of reprisals of unusual severity. Once businessmen had taken an oath of loyalty the confiscation of their stock-in-trade would no longer be possible and it was inevitable that the local merchant would become a purveyor of every kind of consumable.

This situation was in marked contrast to the desperate situation of the rural population who could in effect be reduced to a state of poverty as the result of a single military sweep. As an aftermath of war many destitute persons were swept into the towns and in that sense poverty became universal in the immediate post-war period. Where traders gave credit this could only be underwritten by land and as a consequence of non-fulfilment of debts a massive transfer of property took place.

After the capture of Bloemfontein, Roberts permitted the two existing Free State Banks, The National Bank and the Bank of Africa to reopen for business provided they concluded no transactions with territories not under British Rule.

The Standard Bank which had lost the right to do business in the Free State in 1864 also reopened in Bloemfontein in March 1900.

Commercial enterprise was stultified by the lack of supplies during the early part of 1900 and Roberts informed Milner that supplies in the hands of Bloemfontein merchants were practically exhausted. This situation improved but as British troops advanced it became clear that the supply of food available to civilians in other towns was critically low. With the possession of lines of supply the military and civilian authorities were able to avert famine and soon goods arrived by rail. To prevent profiteering the maximum retail prices were promulgated. On the Witwatersrand only government stores were allowed to do business after the British occupation. Wherever private enterprise was permitted to continue trading, the flow of goods was invariably freer than that pertaining to stores run by the military authorities. In the Orange River Colony as the Free State was known after occupation, stores were only allowed to function if they were close to railway lines, and if they were in British-held towns.

5.3. *THE WARTIME COMMUNITY AND ITS BUILDINGS*

The havoc created in the Free State towns by the ravages of war differed in kind and intensity. In the measure that a town was populated by English-speaking persons or non-combatants to that extent it seemed to escape the worst effects of arson and looting. Thus is transpired that Bloemfontein, being undefended and largely Anglophilic in outlook was occupied and governed without any traumatic phases of readjustment while towns like Bethlehem, Lindley, Frankfort, Bothaville and Ventersburg suffered grievously. In particular towns having some connections with the Boer generals were selected for particulary severe depredations, and a town like Lindley, which experienced the defeat of a crack British regiment, was not spared when the tables were turned. Churches suffered much less than could have been expected. Although instances are recorded where churches were deliberately spared the arsonist's torch, the survival of church buildings must be seen against the background of their serviceability to the invading army. A substantial building with thick stone walls,a warm timbered floor, separate offices and pit or bucket latrines, suggested a safe hospital for the numerous casualties who were drawn together in these large interiors for medical supervision. It must have been argued that the Boer forces would be reluctant to shell their own churches which were often the sole surviving building of importance. The towers provided a useful vantage point for a look-out over the surrounding countryside as the numerous initials and names of British soldiers in the upper towers of Free State churches would indicate.

The desire of the civil authorites under Lord Milner to normalise civilian communal life at the earliest opportunity must have had a saving effect on these buildings once their hospital functions had been discharged. Not all escaped undamaged as the records of Ventersburg and Bethlehem would indicate. The damage was usually of such a nature that the rebuilding of the church would become mandatory as soon as the necessary funds could be found e.g. Ventersburg *N G Kerk* which was rebuilt to new plans in 1912.

Similarly,schools could serve as hospitals, brigade headquarters and troop billets. Their survival was further enhanced by the desire of the authorities to permit schools to operate to promote the semblance of normality. Thus in early 1901 there were apart from the 30 000 white children in concentration camp schools, also 12 000 white children in other schools in the Transvaal and Orange Free State.

In Bloemfontein colleges such as Grey and Eunice functioned sporadically during the war. Sir John Fraser, curator of Eunice School was summoned by a commanding officer and told to evacuate the lower school so that it could be used as a hospital. Typhoid was rife amongst British troops and they were dying at the rate of 56 per day. There were also 500 wounded to be cared for. These large numbers requiring accommodation virtually guaranteed that any large building would be commandeered. Since schools were dependant on tuition fees and Government grants they could not continue as schools and had perforce to close down until the British Government provided for their maintenance. When E B Sargent had been appointed Commissioner for Education for the Transvaal and Orange River Colony he had under his care no less than 33 Concentration Camp Schools. These schools consisted initially of marquees but were, "by the end of 1901 replaced by well-ventilated structures, made either of sundried brick or stone and roofed over with sailcloth".

The rooms accommodated 120 children and cost £30 a piece. It was evisaged that the children would be "taught to understand the greatness of the English Imperial idea" as Sargent expressed it.

Despite the fact that the war had cost the lives of many thousands of children in the camps there was at the end of 1902 more children in the camp-schools than ever before in the history of the Free State. Their transference to an orderly and structured post-war education was a major undertaking and school building was a top priority in the post-war period.

The decision to re-open Eunice Girls' High School in February 1901 entailed major building works and[12]

> In May 1901 tenders were called for the taking up of the flooring, cleansing and disinfecting providing most of the rooms with new flooring, putting the whole building in order, including the front boundary walls, altering the position of six doors, plastering the outside walls with cement, adding access to the bathrooms and providing five earth closets for the Lower House.

A tender for £778.19.8 was accepted. This advertisement indicated that building work would be undertaken during the war, that timber was available for floor boards and that cement could be obtained. Even bricks for boundary walls were to be had. These circumstances must have been created with the assistance of the civilian authorities who were under pressure from the loyal populace to get the education of their children under way again.

It was church property however, that suffered grievously under the effects of war even if the damage was not as complete as in the sphere of domestic buildings. The Scottish church, which was in many ways a godfather to the young *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* having supplied it with ministers, a calvanistic outlook and even precepts for its buildings, became hostile towards those with whom it earlier had only the warmest relationships. In Scotland the "Dutch Reformed Church" was condemned by the Moderator of the Free church and ministers from the Free State were coldly received when they went to seek help for the restoration of their damaged churches. The *dominees* did not expect to find political acquiescence but they wanted to protest against "the reckless and purposeless destruction of churches and parsonages by fire and dynamite, the removal of Communion plates and other church valuables, and the burning of libraries and records. Even in South Africa Presbyterian churches couched their hostility in unusual terms: the Rev Davies of St Andrew's Presbyterian Church said "there was more of the Spirit of Christ in a recent speech of Mr Rhodes than in all the sermons preached from the pulpits of the DRC in the past twelve months".[13]

Ramsay Macdonald's visit to South Africa in 1902 gives a particularly detailed description of the destruction wrought amongst churches.[14] He says

> Everyone must regret, however, that this policy of destruction was in so many cases carried to wanton lengths. Let me take church property as an example. We found in village after village that the parish registers were destroyed, that the Communion services had been stolen, that manses had been polluted by being turned into the abodes of the Kaffir women who followed the columns.[15]

He also lists some of the churches that had sustained damage during the war, the most notable being:[16]

Fouriesburg: Church damaged, pews and pulpit gone.
Manse rendered uninhabitable.
Rouxville: Manse destroyed; Church damaged by destroying harmonium,

Ficksburg: Communion service and font missing.
Organ damaged, books removed,
38 lamps removed
Jacobsdal: Manse damaged.
Philippolis: Manse burnt and minister departed.
Lindley: Four churches burnt, two European and two black.
Bultfontein: Manse empty and furniture destroyed;
Lamps and tables damaged, and Communion service removed.
Ventersburg: Church burnt down and manse damaged.
Of a library of 1000 volumes only 50 left.
Hoopstad: Cornerstone broken out and contents removed.
Window panes smashed, pulpit burnt,
Communion services removed.

5.4. *THE ROLE OF THE LOCAL AUTHORITY 1900 - 1902*

In its own way the extensive damage done to the recorded history the Free State towns prior to 1900 must be regarded as a loss of great significance seen in its historical context. Fire consumed the total records of so many towns that enquiries for information on local authority affairs and records of the 19th Century invariable meet with the same response "destroyed by fire in 1900". Many valuable photographs were similarly consumed or were so damaged that they had perforce to be discarded.

Local authorities were confronted by the exigencies of war as much as any other private citizen and their principal concerns seemed to have been with the provision of cemetry space for the never ending victims of war and contagious diseases. The provision of water supplies and sanitary conditions within town limits exercised the ablest minds. The town-dweller was often reluctant to part with his cow and pig and elaborate regulations dealing with these requirements existed well into the 1920's. Applications for such accommodation can be found on building plans dated 1918.

The reluctance of the town–dweller to pay municipal rates whilst simultaneously demanding that "something must be done" to upgrade the amenities of a town affected local authorities in a very negative way and prevented the building of any significant public buildings which could have survived the intervening years and the records that are available indicate buildings which neither fired the imagination of the inhabitants nor that of the later historian examining the meagre records. The building of public offices by fully fledged municipalities never reached levels of significance which would have guaranteed their surivial. Municipal affairs, having started under the auspices of the church, staggered along under the burdens of inadequate funding and onerous demands. The town-dwelling Afrikaner, where he was in the majority liked the delegated powers of local authority but expected these to be maintained by the munificence of the Central Government. The role of the English-speaking section of the Free State towns towards the end of the century was remarkable but even where this greater administrative ability was apparent it was powerless to convert civic pride into a financial system which would have permitted extensive building. The sole survivor into the 20th Century of town-hall building of any significance was the Town-hall of Bloemfontein which was erected in 1883.

5.5. *GOVERNMENT BUILDING DURING THE ANGLO-BOER WAR*

The rapid advances made by British troops into the Free State in the early part of 1900 were only temporarily retarded by the ineffectual opposition offered by General Cronjé in the area lying between Kimberley and Bloemfontein and by February of 1900 the capture of the Free State Capital seemed imminent. Although a last ditch stand in the environs of Bloemfontein was considered by Boer strategists in the end this was decided against in favour of a massive pull-out from the central Free State which gave Lord Roberts the opportunity of marching on to Pretoria for an early occupation of the capital city of the Transvaal Republic.

The presence of many people with pro-British sentiments in Bloemfontein also assured for itself a certain immunity and its strategic position in relation to the battlefield as a whole implied that it would become an important staging post for the bringing up of fresh troops, horses and war material. Although no long drawn-out military occupation was contemplated, Bloemfontein became an important centre for civil and semi-military administration. This process was speeded-up by the virtual annexation of the Free State in late 1900 and its reversion to British rule and authority.

The only reminder of the erstwhile presence of so many Afrikaners in the area came to be the concentration camps to the West of city during the difficult years of 1901 and 1902 when women and children became the reluctant and uncomprehending victims of Kitcheners "total war". These encampments suffered from the lack of medical care and the precepts of human hygiene applicable to large concentrations of people, particularly the most vulnerable i.e. the very young and the elderly.

The prevalence of children's diseases and afflictions associated with crowd hygiene made the inmates candidates for a death rate so alarming that its repercussions had echoes in the British Parliament. Although British troops were marginally better off from the point of view of medical care, they seemed to suffer seriously from the depredations of enteric, typhoid and other intestinal hazards. The fourth Raadzaal was converted into a hospital at the height of the epidemic and the use of churches and other public buildings for hospitalisation became an incidental redeeming feature for the buildings themselves.

To the extent that a building could serve a useful purpose for the occupying forces, to that extent its survival became more certain and the handful of rural houses that outlived the war owed their existence to such purposes as temporary field hospitals, remounting centres, officers' messes, and brigade headquarters.

In Bloemfontein itself the mounting British casualties caused by war and disease became so acute that even private schools became serviceable as casualty centres.

In the old Presidency Lord Roberts established a command post after having hoisted a small Union Jack in the grounds of the building on 13 March 1900. The easy capture of so important a town seems to have been a major surprise to the British command. After a long gruelling trek across the hot plains West of Bloemfontein the British troops came rather unexpectedly upon an intact town.[17]

> Then all of a sudden, below some flat-roofed kopjes, a crowd of red-brick, tin topped, colonial style bungalows, with white chrysanthemums, tended by African Servants — so many black and white stripes across the front gardens. There was a duty market square; the Flemish gables of a British insurance office and the Indian-looking balconies of the English Club; and the tall cool Ionic columns of the Raadzaal and the Railway Bureau. Without warning, you had ridden into the heart of the enemy's capital.

The surrender of Bloemfontein was in fact the surrender of empty public buildings since President Steyn and the Government-in-the-field had removed all the important documents. Whatever morbid forlorness the buildings may have expressed the pro-British community gave Lord Roberts and his men a rapturous welcome. Some of the most ardent in the crowd were blacks who believed that a new era of liberty had dawned and celebrated by looting the Boer artillery barracks.

At the Presidency the "reassuringly English bad taste" of the President's marble hall with its furniture from Maples Tottenham Court emporium, the Victors toasted each other. Much admired was the "incongruously nude statue of a lady". This refers to the gilded, heroic female form which held aloft a naked electric bulb and was intended to convey the kind of welcome associated with the Statue of Liberty in the USA. In the President's home it must have been an embarrassment to the President, and consideration for the worthy motives of the donors of such an improbable creation was the only reason for its survival in so important a reception chamber.

In his *War Impressions* Menpes gives some detailed descriptions of the old Presidency which had become Lord Roberts's headquarters.[18]

> A building hopelessly vulgar both inside and out, filled with intolerable French Statuary and rosebudbedecked walls - everything of the Early Victorian antimaccasar period. Lord Roberts's own sanctum was just saved by its sombreness. It had evidently been used by President Steyn as a library. At any rate, it was stacked with books, large dusty volumes lay everywhere. It was a great bare room with a good sized desk and tall windows looking out on rather a dreary garden. In short the whole place was remarkable for its irredeemable ugliness.

Lord Roberts had in his entourage members of Indian regiments who presumably were entrusted with the more menial tasks of the campaign. A rare photo of Roberts breakfasting with his officers in the old Presidency's dining room shows them being attended upon by Indians in Sikh uniforms. Whether the Free State's dictum against Asiatics was known to all Indians is debatable but Indians serving in the army made a point of being photographed in front of the fourth Raadzaal as if to emphasize the scope of the British Military victory.

Roberts and his men enjoyed the brief respite in Bloemfontein during the refit and rest, and the general would visit the Anglican Cathedral every morning where "The chief sat in the front pew, below the pulpit, a frail, white-haired figure, with the black arm band, alone".[19]

The fact that Bloemfontein's population had increased ten-fold during the period immediately after the occupation led inevitably to a collapse of hygiene standards and soldiers drinking water from polluted streams and rivers added to the numbers contracting typhoid. Even where troops were placed in the temporary hospitals they seemed to be neglected in a manner which reduced their chances of survival. The only ray of light during this "plague of Bloemfontein" were the volunteer hospitals staffed by civilian doctors including Dr Conan Doyle. The *Volkshospitaal* of the Boer government was doing excellent service for the British but by being so occupied it was unable to do anything for the women and the children 3 km to the West cooped up in concentration camps that characterised the later stages of the war.

Leaving aside considerations of disease, the benign conditions pertaining in Bloemfontein, a friendly population, brass bands, banquets, female company and an intact city proved to be an exception to the rule, an island of tranquillity in an unsettled sea of strife.

The time of the commando war was about to begin and its long drawn-out phases at last caused Kitchener to suggest the devastation of the rural countryside. The denudation of the countryside meant the destruction of the building work and artifacts of three generations and massive evacuation of women and children from the farms to the dreaded concentration camps, at last decayed the body and the spirit of the republic. At the Bloemfontein camp people were dying at the rate of 25 per day and the decimation of families reached levels where in one instance a mother lost 9 children in one week.

It was the beginning of the end. Although commando warfare dragged on for nearly two years the very extended nature of the protracted struggle ensured that the Model Republic became a near-wilderness of destroyed homes, decimated cattle herds and a desperate struggle for survival in an inhospitable climate. By the time the Treaty of Vereeniging was signed on 31 May 1902 the Free State had suffered more than the Transvaal on whose behalf it had entered the war.

By a strange coincidence all the larger urban centres seemed to have been spared the worst ravages of war but smaller towns in the Free State were often selected for deliberate destruction, particularly if they were in any way associated with the Boer generals heading the commandos. Towns like Lindley, Bethlehem, Frankfort, Ventersburg and Bothaville were despoiled, sometimes in a fit of revenge as in the case of Lindley, were troops of the 13th Battalion of the Imperial yeomanry were captured on 31 May 1900. When the tide of the war had turned Lindley paid a high price.

In the overview, the architectural heritage of the Orange Free State suffered grieviously in direct proportion to the size of the habitation. Bloemfontein at one end of scale survived almost intact while smaller rural communities were severely damaged. At the other end of the scale, the farm house of an active *burgher* was destroyed with a completeness that suggested a war on buildings, a private war within a war. Fire and looting swept away possessions accumulated over generations and often carted with difficulty more than a 1000 km by ox-wagon from the Cape. The prodigious bursts of energy necessary to build a home laboriously by hand was wasted in the "sweeps" of regiments determined to extinguish all signs of habitation and to destroy all crops and animals that could not be converted into rations.

Country-wide, churches were often spared for utilitarian reasons and schools were obviously useful for a variety of military purposes. Milner's desire to have a subjugated peaceful population revert to civil administration also meant that government buildings simply went on serving their previous functions even if the administration had undergone a major change. Colonel Hamilton Goold-Adams was made responsible for the civil administration of the annexed "colony" and later became the Governor of the Orange River Colony, as it was called from 1902-1910 when the Union of South African came into being.

Photo: The Bloemfontein Hotel (Post-War)
This particular site at the corner of Maitland and East Burger Street was occupied by a series of hotels for nearly a century. The site was strategically located close to Market Square and about 300 metres from the Railway station. The site is still one of the most valuable pieces of real estate in the city but is at present occupied by Trust Bank. The present-day Bloemfontein Hotel has been moved back some 100 metres Northwards from the historical site. The photograph shows the hotel in its rebuilt form just after the war in all its Edwardian grandeur, bespeaking comfort and good company. The eclectic nature of its architectural characteris reflected by the unique stylistic capriciousness of each succeeding level, the versatility of the "cast iron orders" being particularly well exemplified. The ground floor may be tipified as Victorian, the first floor as Edwardian, the second floor a mixture of Vixseboxsian post office and neoclassicism while the uppermost floor reveals a mansardian touch. A generously proportioned British flag flies over all as if to exemplify the essential Englishness of the capital of a Boer Republic recently vanquished.

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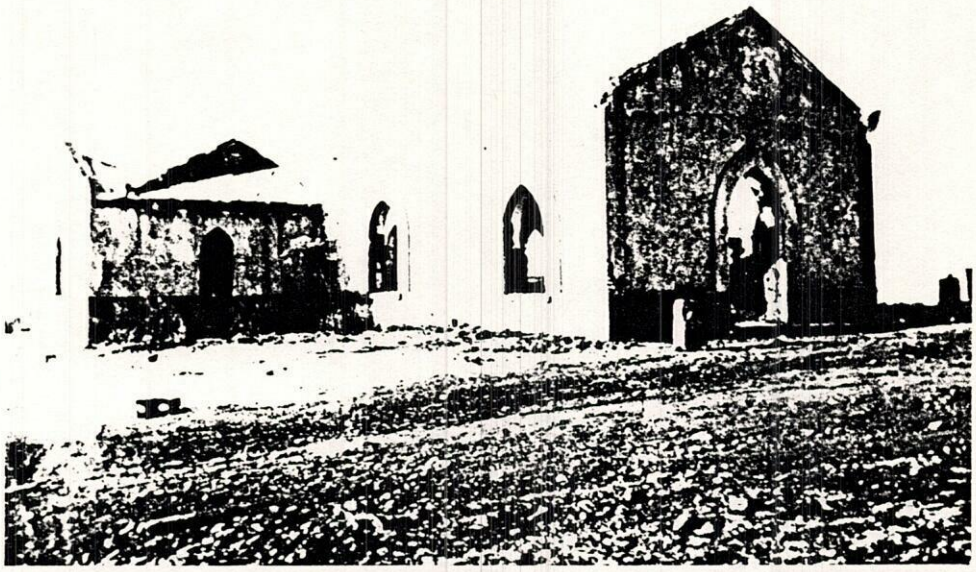

Wartime devastation had as its most serious consequences the destruction of Church registers and on the domestic scene the total loss of the handmade artifacts of three generations.

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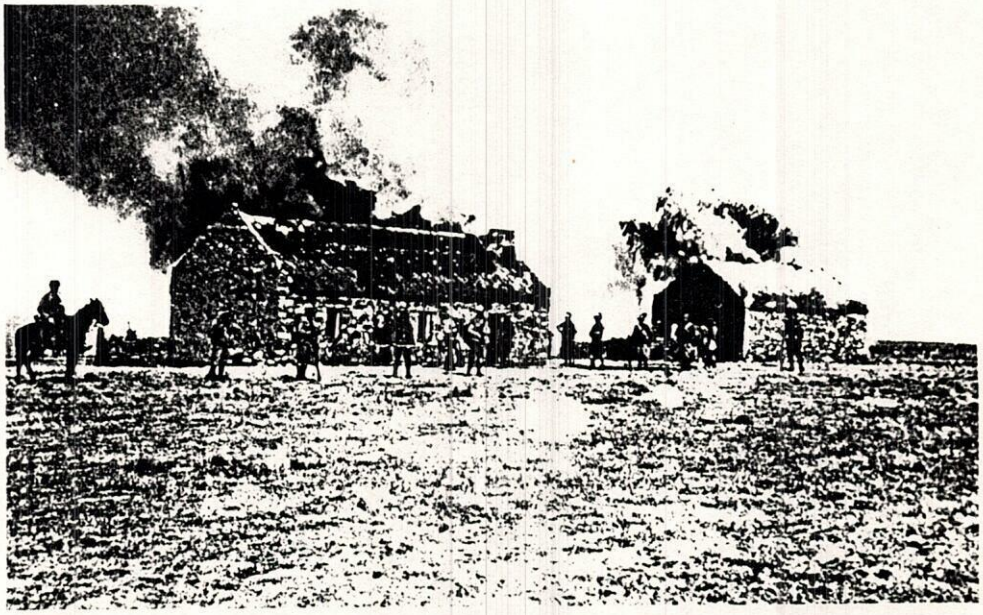

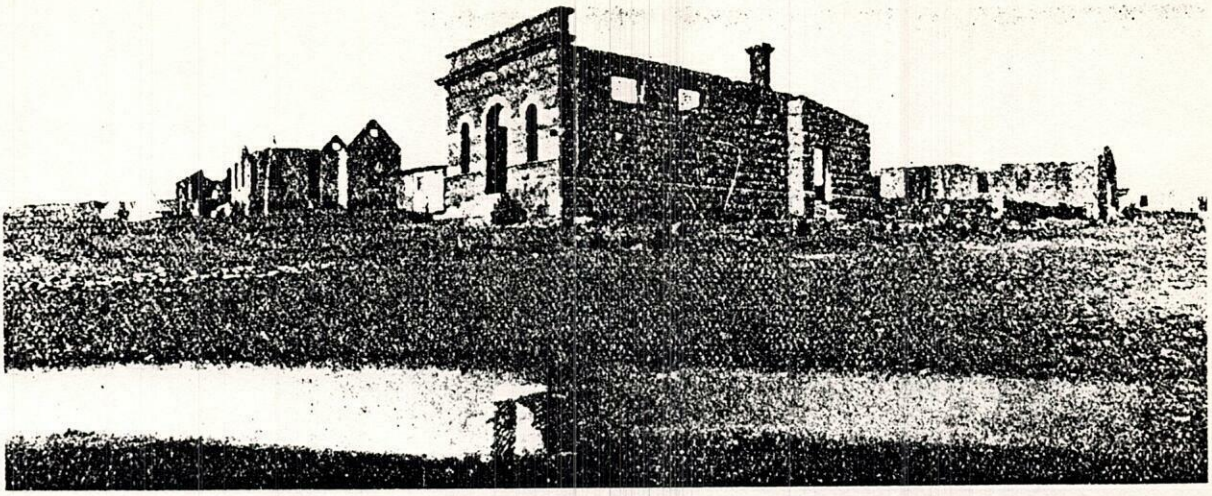

Photo: The desolate scene of Lindley's town centre taken on 6 October 1902 eloquently reflects the aftermath of war.

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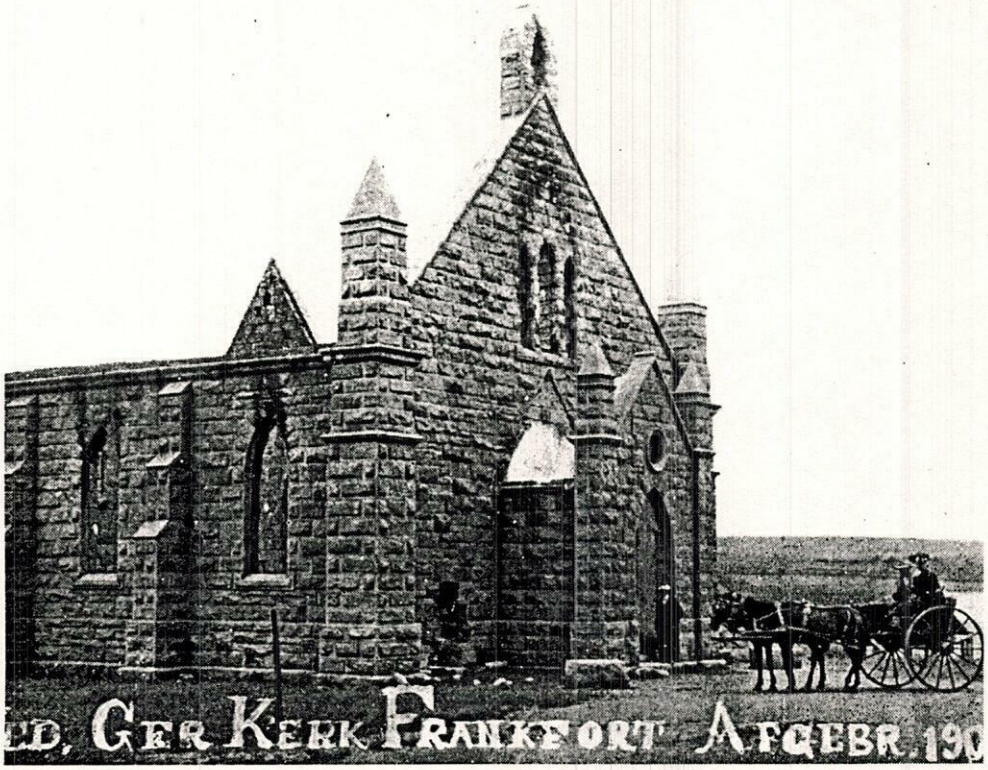


Photo:*Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* Frankfort
This photograph clearly illustrated the extent of the destruction of church property during the scorched earth policy of 1900-1901. The stability of the stonework despite the intense heat is remarkable. On the main gable the aperture can be seen where the foundation stone was removed to gain access to the "treasures" laid there only a few years before. This building dates from November 1883 when Pres. Brand laid the foundation stone.

Photo General view of Bloemfontein from Signal Hill. Early 20th-Century.
The presence of numerous tents in the South background suggest that the photo was taken during a period of military presence at Bloemfontein. Several landmarks can be identified on this photograph. The town shows a well-established and well-wooded character. The fourth Raadzaal is evident in the centre of the photograph; Eunice Upperhouse, the Presidency and the Convent are visible in the upper background, slightly above and to the left of the Raadzaal the Anglican Cathedral can be discerned. In the foreground home-building is proceeding in Kellner and Barnes Street.

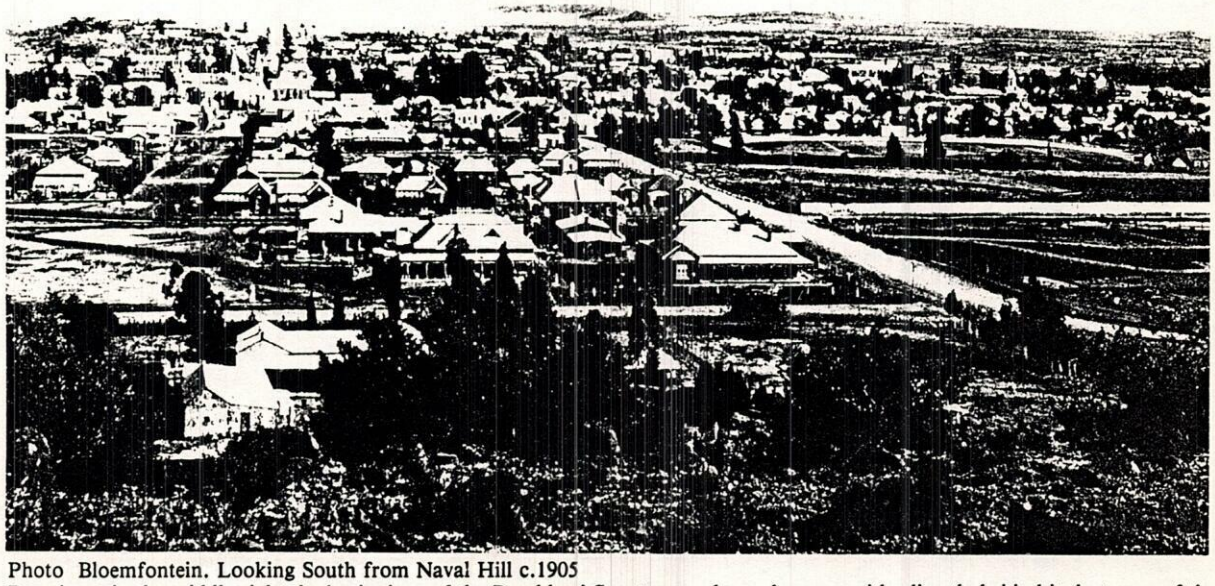
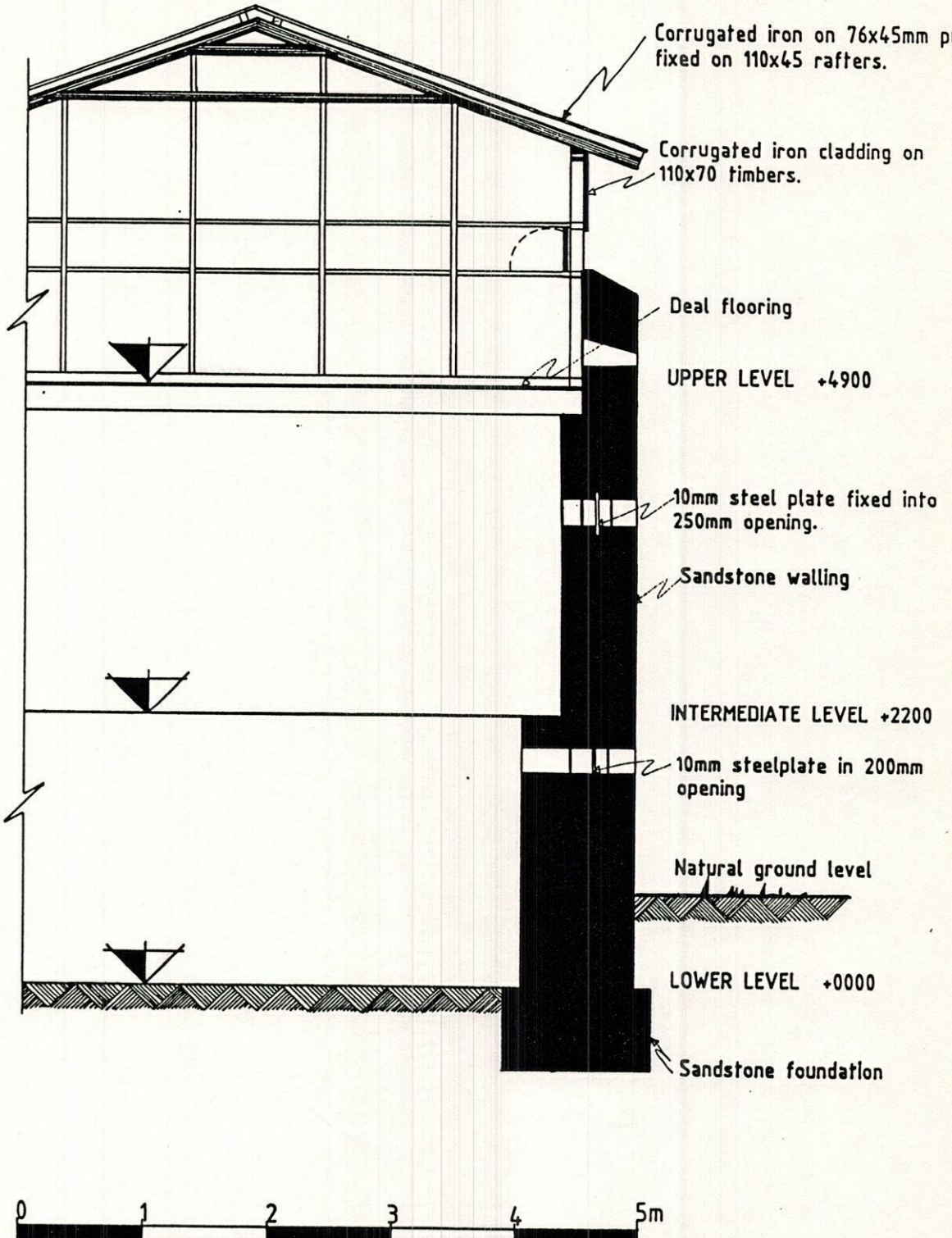


Photo Bloemfontein. Looking South from Naval Hill c.1905
Prominent in the middle-right the beginnings of the Ramblers' Sportsground may be seen, with, directly behind it the tower of the fourth Raadzaal rising above its surroundings. Clearly visible in the middle-left the twin towers of the *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* are evident. The road running North to South and curving out of the photograph on the right is West Burger Street.

Photo Bloemfontein was so enamoured with its original club building (on the right of this photograph) that a mirrored replica of it was built. Strangely the new building is devoid of chimneys and suggests that alternative forms of heating were introduced in the post-war period. The goods offered on the Square appear to be mainly firewood and *bric-à-brac* consisting of items salvaged from the exigencies of war. Judging by the shadow angles the photo was taken during an early morning in July. An early electrical lamp standard and its power lines can be seen on the extreme right of the photograph like some oversized globular fuschia.

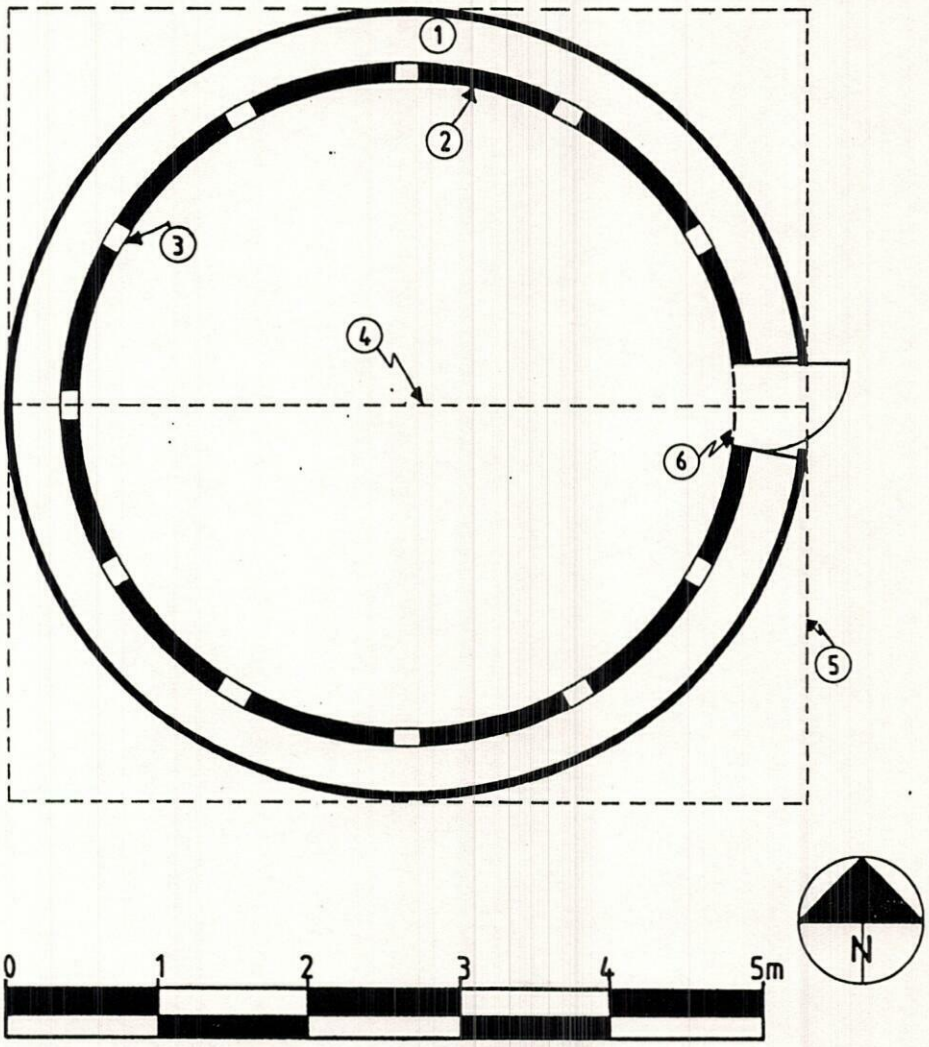
Photo Market Square, Bloemfontein, looking West.
Another view of Market Square taken at the same time as photo 63. The three-storied Mutual Building dominated the North side of the Square. Immediately to the left of this building a sign shows the location of "Cuthberts Boot Store". 85 Years later Cuthberts still occupy nearly the same position. A "Coal Depot" can also be distinguished.



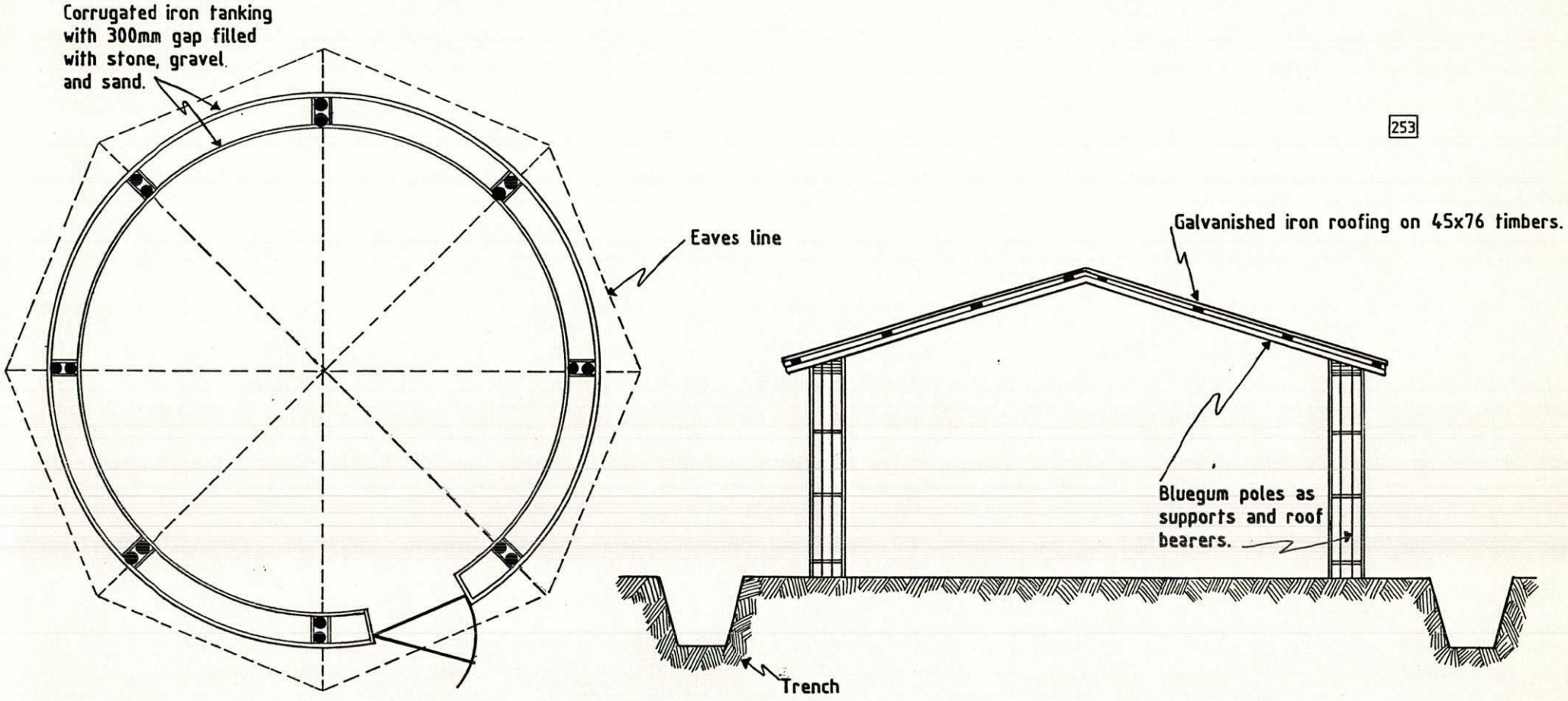
HARRISMITH: SECTION THROUGH EXTERNAL WALL OF BLOCKHOUSE.
1900

KEY:

1. Stone wall bound with mud.
2. Double corrugated iron liner filled with crushed stone.
3. Firing apertures.
4. Roof ridge line.
5. Eaves line.
6. Door.



BLOEMFONTEIN: 20 WAVERLEY ROAD: BLOCKHOUSE.
1901



HARRISMITH: TYPICAL ANGLO-BOER WAR BLOCKHOUSE AS ERECTED BY BRITISH FORCES.
1901

THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE ORANGE FREE STATE REPUBLIC 1854 - 1902

OVERVIEW AND CONCLUSIONS

The nature, extent and quality of the human artifacts, defineable as architecture, relating to the Republican period of the Orange Free State can justifiably be indicated as unique. Its origins were so modest and its political birth so ephemeral that its abandonment to the wildebeest came close to reality at the time of the relinquishing of British sovereignty over this remote hinterland. Yet within the short space of half a century it moved strongly and rapidly through all the phases of cultural development that could be identified in cultures considerably more mature in terms of years.

As a phenomenon the existence of the Orange Free State Republic was essentially co-existant and co-terminate with the age known as the Victorian era and its architectural achievements can only be fully appreciated if the buildings at the end of the century are compared with those extant a mere two generations before. The full panoply of development could, in fact, have occurred within the lifetime of one person as W.W. Collins amply demonstrates in his *Free Statia.*

Within such a lifetime the building methods ranged from the first rudimentary structures beyond the confines of the ox-wagon. These basic structures owed a great deal to indigenous techniques but were only marginally influenced by existing forms, if at all.

The interface of cultures had its earliest beginnings on a settled basis when the various missionary societies began their religious activities amongst the indigenous peoples, the Khoi, the San, the Griqua, the Bechuana and the Korana. Significantly they did not adopt the local forms found by them in remote areas even when they were eminently suitable adaptations to environmental conditions. The development of the *hartbeeshuis* was essentially a European derivative of what the local scene offered. Even where it was covered with grass or hides its form and scope were essentially more ambitious. The adoption of a square or rectangular form in preference to a cylindrical, conical or domical form reveals an essentially European trait, a difference imbued with a nuance of cultural superiority even if the internal accommodation was only marginally superior.

These early archetypes fall in the grey area of artifacts on the borderline of architecture and as such they were destined to be relevant during a very short period of the Free State's history. They signify the first accommodation with a hostile climate using only local materials but by the same token they would be vulnerable to external forces tending to supplant or upgrade them as settlement became more permanent.

Leaving aside condiderations of *in loco* cultural conflict there was at an early stage evidence of other forces at work in shaping the architecture of the Transgariep area. The use of thatching as a roofing material was as old as the settlement at the Cape itself and in that benign climate with its abundance of grass and in particular reeds, this material enjoyed a popularity and universality hardly dimmed by three centuries of use. Its gradual disappearance from the urban scene was principally a result of legislation against fire risks, high first cost and maintenance demands.

Once settlement beyond the Cape, in the drier Karoo, became a fact the use of thatching materials became problematic. Not only was suitable thatching material increasingly difficult to find in arid areas but the use of a steeply-pitched roof in low-rainfall areas became redundant. The urban Cape Town building with its flat roof and corniced parapet walls became the archetype for remoter buildings in the interior.

Although important farmsteads beyond the Hex-River mountains would retain a pitched thatch roof the ancillary dwellings of farm labourers increasingly adopted the flat reed- and -clay solution with a parapet on three sides. These two variations co-existed and by the middle of the 19th Century Northern Cape towns like Graaff-Reinet and Colesberg were still ambivalent — about half being in thatch and half under flat clay roofs, the so-called *brakdak*.

The early pioneers in the Free State therefore had a choice which they could exercise once they had need to move beyond the basic provisions of the *hartbeeshuis*. The choice was inhibited by climatic factors as they were soon to discover. What is perfectly suited to the dry Karoo climate was much less so in areas having rainfall above 450 or 500 mm per year. This difference was often discovered empirically and descriptions of early flat-roof buildings in the interior reveal the ever-recurrent problems of waterproofing.

The wisdom about this circumstance took about one season to acquire and if there was a preference for the green pastures of the Eastern Free State the home-builder relied steadfastly on thatch and pitched roofs. If the Voortrekkers settled in the Fauresmith, Boshof , Philippolis areas they had marginal grace and much of the charm of the Karoo house found echoes in Northern Cape and South-western Free State areas where yearly rainfall levels are moderate.

Further North and Eastward the pitched, thatch roof appeared mandatory and early paintings of Bloemfontein dated 1851, reveal a total preponderance of thatched roofs despite the abundance of alkaline clays suitable for claying over reeded roofs.

Issues of safety, however, must have been a major concern in the interior of the Free State during the Basuto wars when a favoured method of attack against a farming community would be the torching of the thatch. If home-builders persisted in using the thatch roof in the presence of abundant clay the climatic and comfort considerations must have been overriding. The tug-of-war between the simple clay roof and the thatch roof was principally determined by two factors. The one was climate and the other was the emergence of a new universal roofing material — corrugated iron, which by virtue of its advantageous area-to-weight ratio was soon to revolutionise building methods entirely.

The appearence of this useful building material confronted the home-builder with a further set of choices. If his home was in a dry area he could place the sheeting directly over the clay on suitable roofing timbers leaving the clay intact as in insulating material. Essentially the outward appearance of the home would have changed hardly at all. Alternatively if he lived in higher rainfall areas he could convert his pitched, thatch roof into a pitched corrugated iron roof which would alter its appearance dramatically. Even in high rainfall areas the pitched roof could be eliminated in favour of a flat roof under corrugated iron. Not only would the material required be less, and therefore cost less, but pitch became largely irrelevant to the waterproofing qualities of the roof.

The use of walling material under these roofs showed all the variations that local environments could determine. In flat, sandy areas the scarcity of stone would cause the home-builder to address himself to clay walling strengthened by cow-dung or anthills. These layered structures had a durability of nearly a century. The last few of these have only recently melted away into their environments.

Alternatively, if stone was available the rough coursing of stone laid in clay would be an indicated solution. A choice of stone presented itself in many areas. If sandstone was predominant it could be roughly dressed without much difficulty, while dolorite presented a more durable but also a more intractable material which lent itself to snecked rubble walling. Instances are known where sandstone quoins were used in conjunction with dolerite walling. In almost all cases the preference for foundations was for dolorite.

The use of unburnt brick was fairly common for internal walls and even for external walls where stone was not available or where the owner's means did not extend to such durable materials. The universal plastering medium was mud and occasionally a plaster made from anthills where the krilium exuded by ants provided an additional binding medium.

The next stage of development was characterised by the building of second phase homes which permitted a departure from the universal three-roomed tandem plans. This upgrading was often accomplished by adding rooms to the original three to provide a six-roomed back-to-back solution without any passages. A feature of upgrading, whether in a new house or an extended one was the addition of a verandah. This occurred at first on the "front" elevation but gradually assumed the proportions of a totally eveloping enclosure.

The *leitmotif* for urban settlement in rural areas was usually the need and desire for a church and a great deal of a community's energies and resources were poured into the provision of this necessary adjunct of communal life. It thus transpired that the most significant buildings during the first thirty years of the Republic's existence were the handsomeNeo-Gothicstructures erected by the *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* in every corner of the Republic. This church-building urge manifested itself, just as did the domestic building, in three phases i.e. pioneer building, second phase building and a third phase building. The first phase church was usually a clay or unburnt brick building under thatch with a dung floor. After 10-15 years this was supplanted with a more substantial rectangular building under corrugated iron with timbered floor and ceiling. The third phase church-building of a Republican community was usually a substantial building of sandstone, with a latin cross shape andNeo-Gothic windows and finials. The sum of church buildings in the Orange Free State represents a major undertaking both in terms of means and of architectural skill. In its realisation Wocke played a significant part.

Although other church denominations played significant roles in the OFS their total impact on the architectural scene was less obvious even if often more picturesque. The Anglican Cathedral in Bloemfontein represents the epitome of the English influence in church building in the Republic.

The beginnings of commercial ventures occurred mainly in buildings that were domestic in scale and appearance and it was only from the 1880's onward that trading premises began to display qualities that made them at once distinctive and suited to their purpose.

The commercial buildings which sprang up over the Republic in the shape of shops, banks and hotels were redolent with British influence. Almost the entire commercial world was dominated by British entrepreneurs with a sprinkling of German and Dutch participants.

The Afrikaner's contributions to the development phases of the Orange Free State were mainly agricultural, political and military while his architectural gifts were enshrined in the creations of artifacts for domestic survival in aggressive natural environments and hostile political confrontations. Although the black inhabitants of the interior experienced these some circumstances, the Voortrekkers in their first and second phase buildings showed an independence of thought and action which made possible the establishment of a viable, functioning state in an area where even Britain in its most expansive mood of imperialism declined to add it to the Empire.

Two cultural streams collided at the Orange River and although derivatives of the Cape Dutch phenomenon survived beyond the Orange River it was the virile British building tradition coming to the Free State via the 1820 settlers that eventually determined the direction which the Republic's architecture would take. Even the extensive church building programme of the last quarter of the century owed much to the Scottish church buildings of the post-Reformation period. This influence seeped into the interior via the Scottish ministers who were invited to head the numerous congregations without pastoral care.

The contribution of local authorities to the infrastructural scene of the Republic was hesitant, ineffective and completely overshadowed by the powers of intervention vested in the *Volksraad*. When communities coalesced *de novo* for purposes of establishing nodes for religious, commercial and communal activities the church had often to assume the role of a surrogate local authority. In doing so it had to deal with matters of health, marketing, water supply and landownership, as the reading of the minutes of church meetings reveal. Even when the municipal functions of communities were taken over by elected or appointed incumbents they often found themselves hamstrung by paucity of means, by political differences and general aversion to urban taxation. The role of municipal functionaries in the previous century rarely illuminate the pages of urban history and the contribution of local authorities remained essentially one of ordering the most rudimentary functions of towns.

By and large the decisions, gratuities, dispensations and discords of the *Volksraad* dominated the scope and pace of all cultural activities, including that of architecture, and it is to this authority that we owe the legacy of fine public buildings. The gifts of architecture were often greater than the intent to erect them and the desire to place functional buildings at the disposal of the community at large often suffered from the inroads of parsimony which left the buildings devoid of merit and bereft of permanence.

Yet President Brand Street with its old Presidency and fourth Raadzaal must rank as one of the finest in South Africa. A later generation has been fortunate that the post Anglo-Boer War buildings were often handsome additions to an already graceful setting. The Government Building remodelled by Herbert Baker in the halcyon days of the Orange River Colony, the Supreme Court of 1907, the Appeal Court of 1929 and the City Hall of 1934 by Gordon Leith are a fitting climax of a building surge dating from the middel eighties.

The brief interludes of Vixseboxse and Wentink, the Dutch architects in the nineties gave Bloemfontein a handsome Post Office, a fine Government Building at the head of Maitland Street and some fine Railway buildings notably the Station and the Railway Offices. Upon these public buildings were indelibly stamped the influences of Dutch and Belgian architecture.

Perhaps the epitome of the Republican era's venture into State building is the fourth Raadzaal, designed by Lennox Canning and completed in the early nineties. Although marred by disputes and controversies, including a formal inquiry into the conduct of the architect, it remains a fitting expression of a nation's desire to outwardly express its concept of a Model Republic.

The cultural attainments mentioned in the previous chapters were achieved in a country, which for the greater part of its existence was reached only with difficulty by means of elaborate ox-wagon journeys; was remote from the sources of inspiration and investment; often suffering grievously from wars of attrition and droughts of unusual severity but which was blessed by the benign and intelligent guidance of a whole series of Presidents. These men, cultured and well-educated, gave unstintingly and uncondescendingly of their time and resources to promote the welfare of the Republic they so fervently believed in. Had the Anglo-Boer War not intervened to destroy the rural artifacts of three generations or despoiled numerous towns the extant legacy would have been far greater but enough has survived to prove the validity of the hypothesis.

The remaining examples are almost daily being depleted and the stock of Republican building is worthy of all the efforts that can be mustered to preserve them. Only a genuine concerted restoration programme will ensure the survival of the architectural highlights of what was aptly regarded as a Model Republic.

It is the combination of these factors, seen within the constraints of a telescoped time-frame, which makes the architectural contribution of the Orange Free State a unique cultural phenomenon.

PREFACE

NOTES

1. *The exception is Bloemfontein which has had many researches directed at its political, economic and ecclesiastical history and toward the historical geography of the town. (cf. Bibliography).*

2. *The central governing body, or Volksraad, became financially involved in the building activities of the inhabitants by way of capital votes, subsidies and ad hoc payments for schools, churches and municipalities. The subdivisions chosen for chapters are based on the entrepreneurial function despite any fortuitous assistance given by the Volksraad.*

INTRODUCTION

NOTES

1. *On this day the Bloemfontein Convention was signed by Sir George Russell Clerk, Josias Philip Hoffman, president-elect, and 24 others. The transfer of power was opposed vigorously and Clerk is reputed to have said that if no-one could be found to hand over power to, he would leave it to the "wildebeest". (Collins W.W. **Free Statia**, p. 48).*

2. *Ratification of the terms of the Treaty of Vereeniging took place in Pretoria but the de jure existence of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State Republics is deemed to have ended at Vereeniging on 31 may 1902 when the terms of surrender were accepted.*

3. *The original name of the Orange River. It was so called by the Hottentots and the area to the north of it was often referred to as the Transgariep.*

4. *Sources differ on the numbers actually participating in the Great Trek but the figure given by a Cape Newspaper sumpathetic to the movement , is 7000 - 8000 persons (Zuid-Afrikaan, 11.8.1837). The total figure may be as high as 10 000.*

5. *The annexation of the Orange Free State before the cessation of hostilities was an unusual step in 1900 and contrary to international usage, cf. Spies S.B, Methods of Barbarism? p.55).*

6. *BELFIELD. E. **The Boer War**, p.5.*

7. *LA ROUSSE **Modern History** p.327 - 328.*

8. *COLLINS W W **Free Statia**. p. 19.*

9. *CARR E H **What is History?** p. 8 - 9.*

10. *BECKER P **Path of Blood**. p. 15.*

11. WALTON J, **Early Ghoya Settlement in the Orange Free State, p. 1**

12. Ibid, p. 27 According to Arbousset who travelled to the interior in 1836 the Ghoya were well disposed to the San and the latter reciprocated so that the Leghoya became in time expert hunters and the Bushmen pastoralists. This perception of friendly interaction is at variance with other records of enmity which existed between the San and most other peoples.

13. Ibid., p. 32

14. BECKER P, **Path of Blood, p. 243**

15. ROSS R, Adam Kok's Griquas, p. 104

16. FORBES V S, **Pioneer Travellers in South Africa, p. 98**

17. MOUNTAIN E D, **Geology of South Africa, p. 27 et seq.**

18. The map is a simplified version of that published by the Geological Survey of South Africa, and in its most general form is usually bound in with works on South African Geology (e.g. McIVER JR, **Gems, Minerals and Rocks in Southern Africa).**

19. For a general description of the Karoo System see MOUNTAIN E D **Geology of Southern Africa, p. 65**

20. JENNINGS J E, Over a period of 30 years Jennings published numerous papers on expansive clays, collapsing soils and sinkholes. He is perhaps best known for his evolvement of underreamed piles in the Free State Goldfields area.

21. The Presidency in Bloemfontein was built of local Bayswater and Tempe sandstones both of which are of poorer quality than the stone from the Ficksburg-Ladybrand area.

22. PRELLER G S, **Andries Pretorius, p. 5**

23. ARONSON T, **Royal Ambassadors, p. 27**

24. Weather Bureau. South Africa: Normal annual rainfall map based on the 30 year period 1921 - 1950. (See "Sources of general information" in Bibliography).

25. HENNING C G, **Graaff-Reinet, p. 187**

26. PEARSE G E, **Eighteenth Century Architecture in South Africa, p. 8**

27. The exact method used is conjectural but the linear pattern of the successive clay bands suggest that formwork of some kind was used although semi-dried clay could be pared into shape (See also p.37).

28. Painting by T. Baines: Bloemfontein 1851, now in possession of Kings Lynn Museum Norfolk, England.

29. ROSENTHAL E, **Girders on the Veld, p. 17.**

CHAPTER 1

NOTES

1. *In a British parliamentary debate Molesworth declared that "no one knew, what disastrous commotions may be produced by this Tartar horde of wandering boors". (cf. VAN JAARSVELD, **Geskiedkundige Verkenninge**, p. 20) and Sir Andries Stockenström was concerned about "their system of encroachments and usurpation, oppression and bloodshed, ... which is even there unparalleled in atrocity and extent". (cf. VAN JAARSVELD, **Geskiedkundige Verkenninge**, p. 24).*

2. ***The Cape of Good Hope Punishment Act, 1836.***

3. *ROSS R, **Adam Kok's Griquas**, p. 37.*

4. *MULLER C F J, e.a. **500 Jaar Suid-Afrikaanse Geskiedenis**, p. 152.*

5. *COLLINS W W, **Free Statia**, pp. 42 - 45.*

6. ***Ibid.**, pp. 54 - 57.*

7. *E.g. CAMPBELL J, **Travels in South Africa 1812.** and BACKHOUSE J, Narrative of a Visit to Mauritius and South Africa 1839.*

8. *The number of Christian converts referred to in Backhouse's narrative is surprisingly small when measured against the effort mobilised to achieve it.*

9. *CAMPBELL J, **Travels in South Africa**, p. 276, p. 300.*

10. *At the time of the publication of the map (1844) accompanying Backhouse's narrative there was no indication of the earlier settlements of whites to the North of the Orange River following upon the Great Trek of 1836 - 1838, e.g. Winburg 1839 or Potchefstroom 1841.*

11. *See Wyld's map in Backhouse's **Travels in Mauritius and South Africa**, dated 1844.*

12. *When Sir Henry Barkly placed the Griquas in Nomansland under British Rule in 1874 they complained that they were not "livestock or Kaffirs or uncivilized or helots but that they were Burghers of a State, a people, a nation", cf. ROSS R, **Adam Kok's Griquas**, p. 128.*

13. *ROSS R, **Adam Kok's Griquas**, p. 24. "The Bushman steal our cattle, we are determined to exterminate them". See also BECKER P, **Path of Blood**, p. 90.*

14. *CAMPBELL J, **Travels in South Africa**, p. 163.*

15. ***Ibid.**, p. 160.*

16. ***Ibid.**, p. 257.*

17. *Ibid., p. 258.*

18. *ROSS R, Adam Kok's Griquas, p. 17.*

19. *Ibid., p. 17.*

20. *WALTON J, Vroeë plase en nedersettings in die Oranje-Vrystaat, p. 7.*

21. *Ibid., p. 7.*

22. *Arbousset T and F Daumas, Narrative of an exploratory tour to the North East of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope.*

23. *KALTENBRUN G A, Die Argitektuur van die Swartman in die OVS, p. 145.*

24. *BACKHOUSE J, Narrative of a visit to Mauritius and South Africa, p. 355.*

25. *Ibid, p. 356.*

26. *Ibid, p. 347.*

27. *ROSS R, Adam Kok's Griquas, p. 73.*

28. *BACKHOUSE J, p. 345.*

29. *Ibid., p. 349.*

30. *Ibid., p. 350.*

31. *Ibid., p. 350.*

32. *Ibid., p. 352.*

33. *Ibid., p. 357.*

34. *Ibid., p. 357.*

35. *Ibid., p. 358.*

36. *Ibid., p. 397.*

37. *Ibid., p. 365.*

38. *Ibid., p. 372.*

39. *Ibid., p. 385.*

40. *Ibid., p. 412.*

41. *Ibid., p. 413.*

42. *Ibid., p. 447.*

43. *Ibid., p. 456.*

44. *ELLENBERGER V, A Century of Missionwork in Basutoland.*

45. *Ibid., p. 8.*

46. *BALFET F, Samuel Rolland 1801-1873, p. 67.*

47. *ELLENBERGER V, p. 22.*

48. *Ibid., p. 38.*

49. *Ibid., p. 101.*

50. *Ibid., p. 102.*

51. *Ibid., p. 40.*

52. *WALTON J, Vroeë plase en Nedersettings in die Oranje-Vrystaat, p. 14.*

53. *BURCHELL, Travels as quoted in Early Nineteenth Century Architecture in South Africa (R. Lewcock) p. 137.*

54. *WALTON J, Vroeë plase en Nedersettings in die Oranje Vrystaat, p. 10.*

55. *ROSS R, p. 30.*

56. *SAMUELS J, Unpublished thesis UOFS, Vroeë Huise in die OVS.*

57. *OBERHOLSTER JJ, Die Historiese Monumente van S.A. (No. 13), p. 217.*

58. *SNYMAN T M ,Historiese Aardrykskunde van Bloemfontein. Verslag No. 2.*

59. *WALTON J, Vroeë plase en Nedersettings in die Oranje-Vrystaat, p. 13.*

60. *Ibid., p. 14.*

61. *Ibid., p. 14.*

62. *WALTON J, Voortrekkerhuise, p. 99.*

63. *HENNING C G, Graaff-Reinet, p. 39.*

64. *Ibid., p. 40.*

65. *Ibid., p. 62.*

66. *Gedenkalbum van die O.V.S. 1854 - 1954 (Foto). Samesteller, J.J. Oberholster e.a.*

67. *Memorabilia found under the foundation stone of the old Presidency, Bloemfontein, and replaced during restoration.*

68. *ROSS R, p. 73.*

69. *V.D. WALT L B, **Ontstaan en Groei van Winburg.***

70. *ROSS R, **Adam Kok's Griquas, p. 69.***

71. *REYNOLDS R and B, **Grahamstown from Cottage to Villa, p. 28.***

72. *HENNING C G, **Graaff-Reinet, p. 190.***

73. *MURRAY J, **The Young Mrs Murray comes to Bloemfontein, p. 79.***

74. *GERDENER G B A, Die Kerk en die Groot Trek, **Die Huisgenoot,** Desember 1938 p. 30*

75. *SMITH Sir H, **Autobiography.***

76. *GERDENER G B A, **Die Huisgenoot, 1938, p. 31.***

77. ***Ibid., p. 33.***

78. *CAMPBELL J, **Travels in South AFrica, p. 396 - 398.***

79. *BACKHOUSE J. p. 354.*

80. *BACKHOUSE J, p. 413.*

81. ***Ibid.,*** p. 416.

82. ROSS R, p. 61.

83. *Minutes earlier than 1848 do not occur in archives although Gerdener speaks of registers being kept for the years 1840 - 1849 (Huisgenoot, December 1938 p.33).*

84. *Such transactions are minuted intermittently in the period 1848 - 1854 in Winburg and Fauresmith.*

85. *WINBURG, **Kerkraadsnotule, 28.4.1848.***

86. ***Ibid., 3.10.1848.***

87. ***Ibid., 20.10.1948.***

88. ***Ibid.,5.12.1848.***

89. ***Ibid., 20.1.1849.***

90. ***Ibid., 20.1.1849.***

91. ***Ibid., 14.4.1849.***

92. ***Ibid., 14.5.1849.***

93. *Ibid., 16.9.1849.*

94. *Ibid., 4.2.1850.*

95. *Ibid., 20.5.1850.*

96. *Ibid., 20.5.1850.*

97. *Ibid., 16.12.1850 These minutes also indicate the jurisdiction of the Kerkraad over town lands allocated to it for fund-raising purposes by the Volksraad.*

98. *WINBURG, **Kerkraadsnotule,** 10.3.1851.*

99. *Ibid., 10.3.1851.*

100. *Ibid., 20.5.1850.*

101. *Ibid., 26.3.1851.*

102. *Ibid., 19.5.1851.*

103. *Ibid., 14.6.1852 and 5.7. 1852.*

104. *Ibid., 28.3.1853.*

105 *Ibid., 1.8.1853.*

106 *Ibid., 30.1.1854.*

107 *Ibid., 30.1.1854.*

108. *The impending abandonment of the Sovereignty was generally regarded in church circles as being harmful and an unsettling event which ministers actively opposed.*

109. *WINBURG, **Kerkraadsnotule,** 14.8.1854.*

110. *BLOEMFONTEIN, **Kerkraadsnotule,** 2.10.1854*

111. *Ibid., 6.1.1849. The procession for the foundation stone laying must have proceeded from the small school building erected by Warden. Warden donated the bell and he and his secretary, Allison, were invited to serve on the Building Committee.*

112. ***The Friend,** 28.10.1850.*

113. *According to the minutes of the Kerkraad of 3.4.1854 Mr Fichardt strongly recommended that Burt's tender of £40 for the plasterwork and repairs be accepted.*

114. *Cf. T TABINES'S painting of Bloemfontein 1851.*

115. *Engravings give the impression that the buttresses were round but an early photograph shows them to be flat, engaged columns.*

116 *ORPEN J M, **Reminiscences of Life in South Africa**, p. 267.*

117 *VAN SCHOOR M C E, **Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, Bloemfontein: 75 Jaar**, p. 17.*

118 ***Ibid.***, p. 18.At the inauguration of the church on 29.5.1852 there were 900 persons present, 180 *wagons* and 1500 oxen.

119 *BLOEMFONTEIN, **Kerkraadsnotule**, 3.7.1854*

120. ***Ibid.***

121. ***Ibid.**, 8.1.1855.*

122. ***Ibid.**, 20.8.1855.*

123. ***FAURESMITH, Kerkraadsnotule**, 11.3.1848.*

124. ***Ibid.**, 18.3.1848.*

125. ***Ibid.**, 8.5.1848.*

126. *The alienation of the so-called "inalienable" land could only take place with the concent of Adam Kok who was reluctant to permit a church being built in the midst of such land as he feared it would lead to the establishment of a town complete with a magistrate.*

127. ***The Friend**, 8.3.1852.*

128. ***FAURESMITH, Kerkraadsnotule**, 8.7.1848. The letter was signed by Allison, clerk to the British Resident and the Kerkraad probably thought they were being fobbed off.*

129. *FAURESMITH, **Kerkraadsnotule**, 8.7.1848.*

130. *WARDEN had just given his whole-hearted support to the establishment of the N G Church in Bloemfontein and he must obviously have preferred this orderly and logical development to the embarrassing request from Griqualand.*

131. *Letter from Kerkraad to Ds Faure, Cape town, as quoted in the **Kerkraadsnotule** of 18.10.1848.*

132. *FAURESMITH, **Kerkraadsnotule**, 3.7.1849.*

133. ***Ibid.***

134. ***Ibid.**, 1.9.1849.*

135. ***Ibid.**, 21.11.1849.*

136. ***Ibid.**, 28.2.1850.*

137. ***Ibid.**, 19.8.1853.*

138. *Ibid., 21.10.1853.*

139. *Ibid., 6.5.1854.*

140. *GERDENER G B A, p. 10.*

141. *COLLINS W W, Free Statia, p. 24.*

142. *GUTSCHE T, The Bishop's lady, p. 168.*

143. *Ibid., p. 110.*

144. *Ibid., p. 110.*

145. *Ibid., p. 110.*

146. *Ibid., p. 112.*

147. *WOOD CT, A Short history of Bloemfontein Cathedral, p. 8.*

148. *Ibid., p. 8.*

149. *Ibid., p. 8.*

150. *The church as built was unlike those normally proposed by Sophia Gray and rather different from those executed under her hand. It seems that the local committee were determined to have their own way.*

151. *WOOD C T, p. 8.*

152. *Ibid., p. 9.*

153. *The 1851 painting indicates a cathedral complete with roofing. The tower as shown with pinnacles and crockets, and is almost Norman in appearance. The written records are quite clear that the building was not roofed as timbers for this purpose was being awaited and that the building generally was in an unfinished state. The frontier troubles with Moshesh at Platberg in December 1852 was a further contributory factor in the delay.*

154. *WOOD C T, P. 9.*

155. *Ibid., p. 9.*

156. *COLLINS W W, Free Statia, p. 24.*

157. *The Friend, 12.5.1855.*

158. *Irish names like Donovan figure in the 45th Regiment.*

159. *WHELAN W P, Cathedral of the Sacred Heart, p. 7.*

160. *Ibid., p. 7.*

161. *Ibid., p. 7-8.*

162. *VON DELFT H. Festchrift zur Hundert-jahrfeier der Evangelish - Lutherischen Kirchengemeinde, Bloemfontein. Irange-Freistaat, p. 3.*

163. *SCHOEMAN K, Vrystaatse Erfenis, p. 62.*

164. *FAURESMITH, Kerkraadsnotule, 28.2.1850 en 8.8.1850.*

165. *MULLER C F J e.a., 500 Jaar Suid-Afrikaanse Geskiedenis, p. 219.*

166. *The Friend, Supplement, 21.3.1946.*

167. *The Volksblad, Feesuitgawe, 22.3.1946.*

168. *Argiefjaarboek vir S A Geskiedenis, 1948, p. 355.*

169. *FAURESMITH, Kerkraadsnotule, 28.2.1850.*

170. *COLLINS W W, Free Statia, pp 11 - 12*

171. *ROSS R, p. 73.*

172. *SNYMAN P M, Historiese Aardrykskunde van Bloemfontein tot 1900, p. 39.*

173. *Ibid., p. 28.*

174. *Ibid., p. 28.*

175. *B R 2/1,26.11.1848,p.120 (British Resident's papers)*

176. *SNYMAN P M, p. 37.*

177. *Die Volksblad, 22.3.1946.*

178. *The Friend, 25.12.1896.*

179. *SMITH,Sir H, Autobiography, p. 604.*

180. *Ibid., p. 606.*

181. *GERDENER G B A. Gedenkboek N G Gemeente Smithfield, p. 11.*

182. *JACOBS, Oranje, Blanje, Blou, p. 24.*

183. *SMITH Sir H, Autobiography. p. 60.*

184. *Ibid., p. 606.*

185. *WARDEN G, Unpublished notes as quoted in the Archives Yearbook for 1948, by BARNARD B J in his biography of Major Henry Douglas Warden, p. 351. George Warden was the son of Major Henry Warden and accompanied his father on the first*

historic visit to Bloemfontein. He describes Brits's house as "palen of sparren in geplant, met rieten gedekt en gepleisterd binne en buiten, het lyken na een dak van een huys op de grond geplaats".

186. *BARNARD B J, Major Henry Douglas Warden, p. 351.*

187. *Warden promised Brits another farm. C.O. 1037/293 Warden/Maitland,2.4.1846.*

188. *The Friend, 25.12.1896.*

189. *The discrepancy may be accounted for by the fact that not all persons seeking the protection of major Warden's garrison at the time of the Pretoria advance, were necessarily living in Bloemfontein itself.*

190. *SNYMAN P M, p. 18*

191. *Remnants of the fort were still reputedly visible in the 1940's.*

192. *While Warden's new house was being built, Mrs Warden, of Afrikaans extraction, moved into the Brits home. The first Residency when completed was a comfortable home for Warden and his growing family. Cf. BARNARD,Major Warden.*

193. *Ibid., p. 352*

194. *CALTEX Publication, Bewaring van ons erfenis. Deel 1.*

195. *Cf. PEARSE G E, Eighteenth Century Architecture in South Africa, p. 8.*

196. *The first N G Kerk in Bloemfontein (1849) was gabled in the Cape Dutch manner until the forces of gravity overtook the gables.*

197. *REYNOLDS R and B, Grahamstown from Cottage to Villa, p. 27.*

CHAPTER 2

NOTES

1. *COLLINS W W, **Free Statia**, p. 63.*

2. *Ibid., p, 62.*

3. *ROSS R, **Adam Kok's Griquas** p. 89.*

4. *COLLINS W W, p. 69.*

5. *Ibid., p. 71.*

6. *ARONSON T, **Royal Ambassadors**, p. 26 - 27.*

7. *The Volksraadsnotules show, from the earliest years onwards the pattern of reluctant spending on public buildings, a phenomenon which was to dog it for more than 40 years.*

8. *The Victorian mode of dress only fell into disuse during the 1960's having held sway for more than a century.*

9. *LEWCOCK R, **Early nineteenth Century Architecture in South Africa**, p. 117.*

10. *Although deal was imported into the Cape in the 18th Century, yellow-wood seems to have been preferred in the interior.*

11. *The sporadic reappearance of Cape Dutch gables in the interior after 1900 are only faint echoes of the real thing and it was not until Herbert Baker and Moerdyk came on-to the scene, that gables in the interior again revealed an insight into the nature of the historical precedent.*

12. *MURRAY J, **Young Mrs Murray goes to Bloemfontein**, p. 7.*

13. *Ibid., p. 9.*

14. ***Kerkraadsnotule, 23.5.1855.***

15. *Ibid., 20.8.1855.*

16. *MURRAY J, p.16.*

17. *Ibid., p. 22.*

18. *Ibid., p. 26.*

19. *Ibid., p. 26.*

20. *Ibid., p. 26.*

21. *Ibid., p. 27.*

22. *Ibid., p. 28.*

23. *Ibid., p. 28.*

24. *Ibid., p. 32.*

25. *Ibid., p. 37. The* ***Cape Town Commercial Advertiser*** *was very unsympathetic toward the Afrikaner and his culture and something of this is reflected in Mrs Murray's point of view.*

26. *Ibid., p. 35.*

27. *Ibid., p. 53.*

28. *Ibid., p. 55.*

29. *Ibid., p. 65.*

30. *Ibid., p. 66.*

31. *Ibid., p. 77.*

32. *Ibid., p. 79.*

33. ***The Friend 6.8.1856.***

34. *SNYMAN P M p. 28 quoting from Hamelberg's diary.*

35. *ROSS P, p. 76.*

36. *COLLINS W W,* ***Free Statia,*** *p. 185.*

37. *Ibid., p. 310.*

38. *GROENEWALD H H A and A D HERHOLDT,* ***Bloemfontein tot 1900.*** *p. 461.*

39. *COLLINS,p. 209.*

40. *JACOBS,****Oranje Blanje Blou.*** *p. 64.*

41. *Ibid., p. 65.*

42. *Ibid., p. 47.*

43. ***Ons Kerk Album,*** *p. 164.*

44. *JACOBS, p. 47.*

45. *Kwartaalblad van die S A Biblioteek, September 1982. Artikel deur S Hofmeyer, p. 167-176.*

46. *BACKHOUSE J,p. 350.*

47. *ROSS R, p. 103.*

48. *Ibid., p. 103.*

49. *VAN SCHOOR M C E and J C MOLL, Edenburg 1863 - 1963.*

50. *Ons Kerk Album, p. 166.*

51. *COLLINS, Free Statia, p.162.*

52. *GERDENER, p. 19.*

53. *The Friend, 27.1.1853.*

54. *VENTER, p. 169.*

55. *Ons Kerk Album, p. 158.*

56. *COLLINS, p. 158.*

57. *CROSS A H, Brief history of the Cathedral of St. Andrew and St Michael Bloemfontein, p. 9.*

58. *COLLINS, p. 80.*

59. *The Friend,12.11.1858.*

60. *COLLINS, pp. 118 and 166.*

61. *PIENAAR C J, Bloemfontein van 'n 100 jaar gelede, Die Volksblad Byvoegsel, Feb 1954, p. 43.*

62. *HAMELBERG, Dagboek p. 159.*

63. *Ibid., p. 159.*

64. *SNYMAN, Historiese Aardrykskunde van Bloemfontein, p. 41.*

65. *The Friend, 1.4.1859.*

66. *COLLINS,p. 118.*

67. *BADENHORST A R, Aspekte van Sosiale Lewe, p. 16.*

68. *Ibid., p. 16.*

69. *HAMELBERG, Dagboek, p. 140.*

70. *ROSS R, p. 69.*

71. *HAMELBERG, Dagboek, p. 155.*

72. *Ibid., p. 165.*

73. *JACOBS, Oranje, Blanje Blou, p. 138.*

74. *COLLINS, p. 83.*

75. *HAMELBERG, Dagboek, p. 159.*

76. *Volksraadsnotule, 2.3.1859.*

77. *Die Volksblad, 22.3.1946.*

CHAPTER 3

NOTES

1. *SNYMAN, p. 20.*

2. *The Friend, 26.7.1883.*

3. *SNYMAN, p. 29.*

4. *VENTER, Winburg, p. 157.*

5. *CUNYNGHAM, p. 81.*

6. *Ibid., p. 73.*

7. *Ibid., p. 73.*

8. *20th Century Impressions of the Orange Free State.*

9. *COLLINS W W, Free Stratia, p. 20.*

10. *BADENHORST A R.*

11. *The Friend, 3.4.1884.*

12. *The Friend, 5.7.1877.*

13. *20th Century Impressions of the Orange Free State, p. 80.*

14. *COLLINS, p. 19.*

15. *Ibid., p. 191.*

16. *Ibid., p. 210.*

17. *HAY G, The Architecture of the Scottish Post-Reformation, pp. 3-4.*

18. *Ibid., p. 4.*

19. *Ibid., p. 5.*

20. *Ibid., p.5.*

21. *Ons Kerk Album.*

22. *OBERHOLSTER J J, Eeufeesgedenkalbum van die N G Gemeente, Jacobsdal 1860 -1960, p. 82.*

23. *Volksraadnotule, 18.6.1875.*

24. *Ibid., 15.6.1877.*

25. *Die Volksblad, 22.3.1946.*

26. *Ibid., 22.3.1946.*

27. *Ons Kerk Album, p. 177.*

28. *CUNYNGHAM, p. 70.*

29. *WOOD C T, A Short History of Bloemfontein Cathedral.*

30. *PRETORIUS J C, p. 39-40.*

31. *Volksraadsnotule, 11.6.1875.*

32. *SCHOEMAN K, Vrystaatse Erfenis, p. 51.*

33. *BOSCH J A, gives the date as Saturday 8.10.1870.*

34. *BOSCH J A, Ladybrand 1867 - 1967.*

35. *UYS C J, Rouxville 1863 - 1963.*

36. *Ibid., p. 113.*

37. *Ons Kerk Album, p. 173.*

38. *OBERHOLSTER J J, Wepener 1869 - 1969,*

39. *COLLINS W W, Free Statia, p. 83.*

40. *SNYMAN P M, Historiese Aardrykskunde van Bloemfontein, p. 37.*

41. *O'CONNOR H, No other School so Dear, p. 13.*

42. *LEITH M, One the Faith, p. 7.*

43. *Ibid., p. 5.*

44. *Ibid., p. 7.*

45. *Ibid., p. 7.*

46. *Ibid., p. 11.*

47. *O'CONNOR, p. 19.*

48. *Ibid., p. 21.*

49. *Ibid., p. 34.*

50. *Ibid., p. 83.*

51. *COLLINS, p. 83.*

52. *LEITH, p. 14.*

53. *The Friend, 18.2.1875.*

54. *The Friend, 30.1.1873.*

55. *SNYMAN P M, p. 180.*

56. *Ibid., p. 179.*

57. *OFS MAGAZINE VOLUME 1, p. 10.*

58. *Ibid., p. 10.*

59. *JACOBS, p. 77.*

60. *Ibid., p. 78.*

61. *OFS MAGAZINE, History of Bethlehem, p. 154.*

62. *JACOBS, p. 99.*

63. *Ibid., p. 101.*

64. *Ibid., p. 107.*

65. *Ibid., p. 102.*

66. *Ibid., p. 88.*

67. *Ibid., p. 105.*

68. *Ibid., p. 108.*

69. *Ibid., p. 117.*

70. *Ibid., p. 131.*

71. *Ibid., p. 120.*

72. *SNYMAN, **Historiese Aardrykskunde van Bloemfontein.***

73. *CALVERLEY, p. 40.*

74. ***The Friend, 26.7.1867.***

75. *MEINTJES, **Pres M T Steyn.***

76. *Ibid., p. 15.*

77. ***Volksraadsnotule, 8.3.1865.***

78. *Ibid., 9.3.1865.*

79. *Ibid., 2.6.1866.*

80. *CUNYNGHAM, p. 71.*

81. *Ibid., p. 72.*

82. *Ibid., p. 72*

83. ***Volksraadsnotule, 28.5.1875.***

84. *Ibid., 28.5.1875.*

85. *Ibid., 31.5.1875.*

86. ***Die Volksblad, 22.3.1946.***

87. ***Volksraadsnotule, 24.6.1876.***

88. *Volksraadsnotule, 24.6.1876.*

89. *Ibid., 24.6.1876.*

90. *Ibid., 24.6.1876.*

91. *Ibid., 24.6.1876.*

92. *Ibid., 26.6.1876.*

93. *Ibid., 26.6.1876.*

94. *Ibid., 13.12.1876.*

95. *Ibid., 8.5.1877.*

96. *Ibid., 8.6.1877.*

97. *Ibid., 22.6.1877.*

98. *Ibid., 22.6.1877.*

99. *Ibid., 23.6.1877.*

100. *SNYMAN P M, p. 201.*

101. *The Friend, 14.5.1897.*

102. *SCHOEMAN K, p. 92.*

103. *Ibid., p. 92.*

104. *Ibid., p. 93.*

105 *Inspector of Works; Report to Volksraad, May 1884.*

106 *Volksraadsnotule, 13.6.1884.*

107 *Inspector of Works' Report to Volksraad, 31.3.1885.*

108 *Volksraadsnotule, 10.6.1885.*

109 *REX H M, Neo-Renaissance in Z A R en O V S. Artikel in "Bewaring van ons Erfenis".*

110 *Ibid.*

CHAPTER 4

NOTES

1. *The Friend, 28.7.1892.*
2. *The Hertzog House was restored during the period 1983 - 1984 to its state at about 1905.*
3. *The Friend, 26.12.1890.*
4. *The Orange Free State, p. 267.*
5. *Telegram, Govt. Secy to Landdros Kroonstad, 3.1.1893.*
6. *Die Volksblad, Suplement 27.5.1977.*
7. *The Friend, 10.10.1893.*
8. *The Friend, 25.7.1893.*
9. *The Orange Free State, p. 101, 102.*
10. *The Friend, 19.1.1892.*
11. *The Friend, 5.1.1892.*
12. *The Orange River Colony, p. 174.*
13. *As related to author by elderly inhabitants at Hoopstad.*
14. *The Friend, 6.1.1893.*
15. *MEIRING H, Boukunsskatte van Suid-Afrika, p. 18.*
16. *GREIG D, A Guide to Architecture of South Africa, p. 121.*
17. *BIERMANN B, Boukuns in Suid-Afrika.*
18. *PRETORIUS J C, Die Aandeel van die Gereformeerde Kerk van Suid-Afrika.*
19. *Ibid., p. 41.*
20. *Ons Kerk Album, p. 193 .*
21. *CROSS A, A Brief History of the Cathedral of St Andrew and St Michael.*
22. *The Friend, 19.12.1893.*
23. *PICTON-SEYMOUR, p. 369.*

24. *The Friend, 3.1.1899.*

25. *SCHOEMAN K, Vrystaatse Erfenis, p. 105.*

26. *Oranje Boeke, 1880 - 1881, 1890 - 1893.*

27. *SNYMAN P M, p. 44.*

28. *The Friend, 6.7.1859.*

29. *The Friend, 22.2.1883.*

30. *SNYMAN P M, p. 42.*

31. *The Friend, 25.10.1898.*

32. *The Friend, 4.9.1891.*

33. *The Friend, 7.10.1892.*

34. *SNYMAN P M, p. 30.*

35. *Ibid., p. 30.*

36. *Ibid., p. 30.*

37. *Ibid., p. 30.*

38. *The Friend, 31.8.1882.*

39. *The Friend, April 1892.*

40. *The Friend, 22.3.1895.*

41. *The Friend, 8.1.1892.*

42. *VENTER, p. 146.*

43. *The Friend, Centenary Issue February 1954.*

44. *The Friend, 5.2.1890.*

45. *Volksraadsnotule, 5.5.1890.*

46. *Volksraadsnotule, 21.5.1890.*

47. *Volksraadsnotule, 21.6.1890.*

48. *Volksraadsnotule, 23.6.1890.*

49. *Volksraadsnotule, 23.6.1890.*

50. *Volksraadsnotule, 24.6.1890.*

51. *Die Volksblad, 23.2.1954.*

52. *PICTON-SEYMOUR, p. 365.*

53. *Die Volksblad, 22.3.1946.*

54. *Volksraadsnotule, 13.6.1891.*

55. *Volksraadsnotule, 15.6.1891.*

56. *The Friend, 5.1.1892.*

57. *The Friend, 12.1.1892.*

58. *The Friend, 8.1.1892.*

59. *The Friend, 8.1.1892.*

60. *The Friend, 19.1.1892.*

61. *The Friend, 6.2.1892.*

62. *Brebners Report to the Volksraad 25.4.1892.*

63. *Volksraadsnotule, 2.5.1892.*

64. *Volksraadsnotule, .5.1892.*

65. *Volksraadsnotule, 9.5.1892.*

66. *Volksraadsnotule, 9.5.1892.*

67. *Volksraadsnotule, 27.5.1892.*

68. *Outgoing Telegrams 25.6.1892.*

69. *Outgoing Telegrams 25.6.1892.*

70. *Outgoing Telegrams 4.7.1892.*

71. *Outgoing Telegrams 24.7.1892.*

72. *The Friend, 9.8.1892.*

73. *Volksraadsnotule, 5.6.1893.*

74. *Volksraadsnotule, 8.6.1893.*

75. *De Express, 12.3.1893.*

76. *SCHOEMAN K, Vrystaatse Erfenis, p. 102*

77. *Outgoing Telegrams, 24.1.1893*

78. *Volksraadsnotule, 8.6.1894*

79. *Volksraadsnotule, 9.6.1894*

80. *Volksraadsnotule, 9.6.1894*

81. *Outgoing Telegrams, 20.1.1893*

82. *The Friend, 7.7.1893*

83. *The Friend, 11.7.1893*

84. *De Express, 28.2.1893 and 3.3.1893*

85. *Volksraadsnotule, 8.5.1893*

86. *Volksraadsnotule, 8.5.1893*

87. *Volksraadsnotule, 3.5.1893*

88. *Volksraadsnotule, 3.5.1893*

89. *Volksraadsnotule, 3.5.1893*

90. *Volksraadsnotule, 3.5.1893*

91. *Volksraadsnotule, 3.5.1893*

92. *Volksraadsnotule, 5.5.1893*

93. *Volksraadsnotule, 5.5.1893*

94. *Volksraadsnotule, 30.6.1893*

95. *Volksraadsnotule, 2.7.1894*

96. *Volksraadsnotule, 28.5.1894*

97. *Volksraadsnotule, 2.7.1894*

98. *Volksraadsnotule, 2.7.1894*

99. *The Friend, 9.4.1895*

100. *Inspector-General's Report for 1895*

101. *Volksraadsnotule, 25.6.1896*

102. *Volksraadsnotule, 9.6.1897*

103. *Volksraadsnotule, 9.6.1897*

104. *Volksraadsnotule, 9.6.1897*

105. *Volksraadsnotule, 10.6.1897*

106. *MARQUARD D, Quoting James Bryce. The Friend, Centenary Supplement Feb 1954*

107. *Volksraadsnotule, 24.6.1897*

108. *Volksraadsnotule, 7.6.1898*

109. *Volksraadsnotule, 8.7.1898*

110. *MULLER P N, Quotation from his papers.*

CHAPTER 5

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1. *MEINTJES, President Steyn, p. 114*

2. *SPIES S B, Methods of Barberism?*

3. *Ibid., p*

4. *Ibid., p*

5. *Ibid., p*

6. *BEAK G B, The Aftermath of War, p. 12*

7. *Ibid., p. 18*

8. *SPIES, p. 123*

9. *Ibid., p. 125*

10. *Ibid.*

11. *BEAK G B, p. 18.*

12. *O'CONNOR, p. 55.*

13. *MACDONALD, What I saw in South Africa, p. 42*

14. *Ibid., p. 55.*

15. *Ibid., p 53.*

16. *Ibid., p. 54.*

17. *PAKENHAM T, The Boer War, p. 371.*

18. *MENPES, p. 69.*

19. *PAKENHAM, p. 377.*

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SOURCES OF GENERAL INFORMATION

1. *Volksraadnotule:* The minutes of the meetings of the *Volksraad* are kept in sets of various orders of completeness at the OFS Archives, Bloemfontein and in the *Africana* section of the University of the OFS Library.

2. *Kerkraadnotules:* A fairly comprehensive set of the minutes of the *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* are kept in the Archives of the church, St Andrew Street, Bloemfontein.

3. *The Friend: The Friend* newspaper is a valuable reference inasmuch as it has been published with few interruptions since 1848, and copies of the original newspapers may be seen at the Public Library, Bloemfontein.

4. *The Africana Library,* University of the Orange Free State, houses valuable copies of documents relating to the previous century. In particular the works relating to the Anglo-Boer War are a useful source of information.

5. *The Free State Archives:* Elizabeth Street, Bloemfontein, house most of the original surviving documents of the Republican Era including an extensive photo archive.

6. *Die Volksblad:* Of this century's vintage, it none the less published interesting anecdotes and historical material relating to the previous century.

7. *De Express* was a comparatively short-lived opposition paper to *The Friend* and gave prominence to matters which the other was inclined to play down, (1875 - 1900).

8. *1977 Survey of Republican Buildings,* Department of Architecture, University of the OFS. The documentation arising from this extensive attempt at recording Republican buildings was and will remain a valuable adjunct to any historical research.

9. *20th Century Impressions of the Orange Free State.* A publication with text and photographs relating to the OFS. (Africana section, UOFS Library), Lloyds, Natal, 1906.

10. *The Africana Library,* Johannesburg which possesses rare photographs dating back to the Republican era in the Orange Free State.

11. *National Building Research Institute* which published a handbook of Natural Building Stones, 1967.

12. *Ons Kerk Album:* Issued in 1916 by the *Ned. Geref Kerk* and listing the basic facts and containing photographs, many taken between 1914 and 1916, of the extant *gemeentes.* (Africana section, UOFS Library).

13. *Weather Bureau Department of Transport,* which is responsible for all publications relating to meteorological data.

ANNEXURE A

1977 Survey of Republican Buildings undertaken by 150 students of the Department of Architecture.

The buildings listed in this survey make no claim to comprehensiveness as it was inevitable that in the 14 days allocated to this extensive undertaking not every building relating to the Republican period was neccessarily located by one of the 30 five-man teams performing the survey.

A number of definitions are necessary to define the nature of the subdivisions: 1-5 used in the text:

Type 1 — *Private Domestic Building,* means homes built by individual landowners for their own use.

Type 2 — *Commercial and Industrial Building,* means premises erected by entrepreneurs for the purpose of conducting a business or industry for profit.

Type 3 — *Community Building,* means any building erected for the benefit of, and by consensus, for a community and paid for substantially by those responsible for initiating the project, and includes churches, clubs, private schools, private hospitals, freemason's lodges, and residences built by such communities for ministers or incumbents.

Type 4 — *Local Government Building,* means any building or structure erected by a municipality for the provision of amenities intended for the ratepayers under its jurisdiction and includes town halls, water works, sanitation schemes, markets, power stations, cemeteries, fire stations and bridges within the municipal area.

Type 5 — *Central Government Building,* means any building initiated and paid for by the *Volksraad* and includes government offices, schools, railway stations, police stations, magistrate's courts, post and telegraph offices, forts, prisons, monuments, bridges and domestic buildings for state officials and employees.

Provisional Dating

The date shown against an individual building is as accurate as the available information will allow. More exact dating is a separate, time-consuming task awaiting future implementation. Where the 1977 Survey could not furnish an exact date an estimate was attempted. Even persons actually occupying a house were not always sure whether a home had been built prior to 1900 and the available evidence often indicated a date much earlier than originally surmised.

Supplementary nature of text and Listings.

The text and the listings must be regarded as being supplementary to each other.

System of Evaluation used for 1977 Survey.

A simple system of evaluation was evolved for the notation of historical buildings

by students in 1977. The system consisted of three sub-headings each with a scale of values from 1-6. The highest evaluation that a building would get would be 3x6 = 18 points, while the lowest would be 3 x 1 = 3 points. The subheadings were:

1. Historical Significance	Scale 1-6 points
2. Architecture Significance	Scale 1-6 points
3. State of Preservation	Scale 1-6 points

The survey soon revealed that there were a great number of buildings which rated only 7 points or less on the scale of evaluation. Whilst these buildings were interesting in their own right their loss to subsequent generations would not have the same deleterious impact as that of a building with, say a 14-point rating. For the purpose of this study mainly buildings with evaluations adding up to 10 or more points are listed in Annexures "C". Obviously ratings higher than 13 are indicative of buildings which should be preserved at all costs.

ANNEXURE B

Alphabetical list of present-day OFS towns with their dates of establishment where these are known. The 1977 UOFS Survey used present-day districts as the historical districts are now no longer known.

NAME OF TOWN	*DATE OF ESTABLISHMENT*
Allanridge	1947
Arlington	1932
Bethlehem	1860
Bethulie	1864
Bloemfontein	1848
Boshof	1856
Bothaville	1893
Brandfort	1874
Bultfontein	1874
Clarens	1912
Clocolan	1906
Cornelia	1918
Dealesville	1914
Dewetsdorp	1880
Edenburg	1864
Edenville	1912
Excelsior	1911

Fauresmith	1849
Ficksburg	1867
Fouriesburg	1893
Frankfort	1873
Harrismith	1850
Heilbron	1873
Hennenman	1948
Hertzogville	1913
Hobhouse	1912
Hoopstad	1876
Jacobsdal	1860
Jagersfontein	1882
Kestell	1905
Koffiefontein	1892
Koppies	1909
Kroonstad	1855
Ladybrand	1867
Lindley	1878
Luckhoff	1894
Marquard	1905
Memel	1913
Odendaalsrus	1912
Parys	1882
Paul Roux	1910
Petrus Steyn	1912
Petrusburg	1912
Philippolis	1862*
Reddersburg	1863
Reitz	1889
Rosendal	1911
Rouxville	1864
Sasolburg	1954
Senekal	1877
Smithfield	1849
Springfontein	1904
Thaba'Nchu	1892
Theunissen	1907
Trompsburg	1898
Tweeling	1920
Tweespruit	1949
Van Stadensrus	1925
Ventersburg	1874
Viljoenskroon	1921
Villiers	1891
Virginia	1954
Vrede	1879
Vredefort	1881
Warden	1913
Welkom	1947
Wepener	1867
Wesselsbron	1920
Winburg	1837

Zastron 1882

* An earlier Griqua Town existed here.

NOTES:

(i) Proclamation dates were often preceded by the unauthorised sale of land or the authorised established of a church community as a nucleus of the later town.

(ii) A number of towns had false starts on sites different from their final locations.

ANNEXURE C

Summary of data collected during the 1977 Survey of Historical Buildings of the Republican era of the Orange Free State by students of the Department of Architecture, University of the Orange Free State.

Key to Codes

MATERIALS

Bb = Burnt Brick
Bs = Sundried Brick
Co = Composite Ceiling
Ci = Corrugated iron
Cl = Clay
Do = Dolerite
Du = Cow-dung
Fs = Strip Flooring (Deal)
Fy = Strip Flooring (Yellow-wood)
Gc = Glass (coloured)
Ma = Marble
Re = Reeds and clay
Sa = Sandstone
Sl = Slate
Th = Thatch
Wo = Wood ceiling (Pine)
Wy = Wood ceiling (Yellow-wood)

CONDITION OF BUILDINGS IN 1977

UA = Substantially as originally built.
SA = Slightly altered since erection.
MA = Much altered and/or extended since erection.
AD = Abandoned and deteriorating
RR = Only ruin remaining
PR = Building destroyed. Only photographic record available.
RT = Restored.

HEADING EXPLAINED

Col. 1. Name of Town
Col. 2. Date of Town's establishment.
Col. 3. Indicates whether building is in town or on a farm.
Col. 4. Components in given order:
Foundations
External walls
Internal walls
Ceiling
Roof
Floors
Col. 5. The actual or probable date of erection.
Col. 6. Survey rating on a scale of 18 points.
Col. 7. Condition of building during 1977 Survey.

Name of Town and list of Buildings	Town or Farm	Foundations	Ext. Walls	Int. Walls	Ceiling	Roof	Floors	Date or pro-bable date.	Rating in 1977 Survey	Condition 1977 (or updated)
BETHLEHEM (1860)										
1. Anglican church	T	Sa	Sa	R6	Wo	Ct	Co	1890	13	SA
2. Magistrates Court	T	Sa	Sa	B6	Wo	Ci	Fs	1893	14	UA
3. Strapp's Shop	T	Sa	Sa	-	Wo	Ci	Fs	1890	13	SA
4. N G Mission Church	T	Sa	Do	-	Wo	Ci	-	1906	13	SA
BETHULIE (1864)										
1. N G Kerk	T	Do	Bs	Bs	-	Ci	Fs	1864	13	SA
2. Pellissier House	T	Do	Bs	-	Wo	Ci	Fs	1886	11	MA
BLOEMFONTEIN (1848)										
1. Eunice Upperhouse	T	Do	B6	Bs	Wo	Ci	Fs	1893	14	PR
2. Third Raadzaal	T	Sa	B6	Bs	-	Ci	-	1875	13	MA
3. First Raadzaal	T	Sa	Bs	Bs	-	Th	Du	1849	14	SA
4. Fourth Raadzaal	T	Sa	B6 Sa	B6	Ps	Ci	Pq	1892	18	UA
5. Grey College	T	Do	Bb	B6	Wo	Ci	Fs	1894	14	MA
6. Ramblers Club	T	Sa	Bb	Bb	Wo	Ci	Fs	1896	14	SA
7. Railway Bureau	T	Do	Bb	Bb	Wo	Ci	Fs	1899	18	SA
8. Railway Station	T	Do	Do	Bs	Wo	Ci	Fs	1890	15	SA
9. N G Kerk	T	Do	Bb	Bs	Wo	Ci	Fs	1880	15	SA
10. Old Presidency	T	Sa	Sa	Bs	Wo	Ci	Fs	1886	17	SA
11. Krapfontein House	F	Sa	Sa	Bs	Wo	Ci	Fs	1880	11	SA
12. Holmsdale House	F	Sa	Sa	Bs	Wo	Ci	Fs	1880	11	SA
13. The Hall (House)	F	Sa	Sa	Bs	Wo	Ci	Fs	1857	12	MA
14. Rocklands House	F	Sa	Sa Bb	-	Ps Wo	Ci	Fs	1895	13	SA
15. Post Office	T	Sa	Sa Bb	Bs	Wo	Ci	Fs	1890	14	MA
16. Blockhouse (Waverley Street)	T	Sa	Ci	-	-	Ci	Fs	1901	14	MA
17. Kaffirriver Blockhouse	F	Sa	Sa	-	-	Ci	Fs	1901	11	MA
18. Anglican Cathedral	T	Sa	Bb	Bb	Wo	Ci	Sa	1877	14	SA
BOSHOFF (1856)										
1. N G Kerk	T	-	Bb	Bb	Ps	Ci	Fs	1874	12	MA
2. Anglican Church	T	-	Bb	-	Wo	Ci	Fs	1880	10	SA

Name of Town and list of Buildings	Town or Farm	Foundations	Ext. Walls	Int. Walls	Ceiling	Roof	Floors	Date or pro-bable date.	Rating in 1977 Survey	Condition 1977 (or updated)
5. Kareepan House	F	Do	Sa	-	-	Ci	Fs	1885	10	SA
BOTHAVILLE (1893)										
1. Old School	T	Sa	Sa	Bs	-	Ci	-	1890	11	MA
2. Pastorie N G Kerk	T	Sa	Sa	Bs	Ps	Ci	Fs	1892	10	MA
BRANDFORT (1874)										
1. N G Kerk	T	Do	Sa	Bs	Ps	Ci	Fs	1885	12	SA
BULTFONTEIN (1874)										
1. Old Police Cells	T	Sa	Do	Do	-	Ci	-	1875	12	SA
2. Magistrates Court	T	Sa	Do	Do	Wo	Ci	Fs	1880	12	SA
DEWETSDORP (1880)										
1. N G Kerk	T	Do	Bb	Bb	-	Ci	Fs	1896	13	SA
2. Daspoort House	F	Sa	Bs	Bs	-	Ci	Fs	1885	11	MA
FAURESMITH (1849)										
1. School	T	Sa	Bb	Bb	Wo	Ci	Fs	1895	11	SA
2. Roërich House	T	Sa	Bs	Bs	Wo Ps	Ci	Fs	1857	12	SA
3. First Pastorie	T	Sa	Bs	Bs	Wo	Ci	Fs	1880	12	MA
4. Koffiefontein House	F	Sa	Bb Sa	Bs	Wo	Ci	Fs	1895	10	MA
5. Bankbuilding (Standard)	T	Sa	Bb	Bs	Wo	Ci	Fs	1899	10	SA
FICKSBURG (1867)										
1. Town Hall	T	Sa	Sa	Sa	Ps Wo	Ci	Fs	1895	12	SA
2. Magistrate's Court	T	Sa	Sa	Sa	Wo	Ci	Fs	1890	12	SA
3. Wesleyen Church	T	Sa	Sa	Bb	Wo	Ci	Fs	1896	12	UA
4. Anglican Church	T	Sa	Bs	Bs	-	Ci	Fs		10	MA
5. First School	T	Sa	Sa	-	Wo	Ci	-	1876	10	MA
6. House in Voortrek-ker Street	T	Sa	Sa	Bs	-	Ci	Fs	1870	11	SA
7. House in Piet Retief Street	T	Sa	Bs	Bs	Wo	Ci	Fs	1880	11	MA
8. Boschfontein House	F	Sa	Sa	Bs	Wo	Ci	Fs	1892	11	MA
9. First Library	T	Sa	Bs	-	Wo	Ci	Fs	1880	10	UA

Name of Town and list of Buildings	Town or Farm	Foundations	Ext. Walls	Int. Walls	Ceiling	Roof	Floors	Date or pro-bable date.	Rating in 1977 Survey	Condition 1977 (or updated)
FOURIESBURG (1893)										
1. N G Kerk	T	Sa	Sa	Sa	Wo	Ci	Fs	1894	14	MA
HARRISMITH (1850)										
1. Bagshot House	F	Sa	Sa	Bs	Wo	Ci	Fs	1888	10	MA
2. Sandhurst House	F	Sa	Sa	Bs	Wo	Ci	Fs	1889	10	UA
3. Walton House	F	Sa	Sa	Bs	Wo	Ci	Fs	1898	10	MA
4. Blockhouse	T	Sa	Sa	-	-	Ci	-	1901	10	AD
5. Oaklands House	F	Sa	Sa	Bs	Wo	Ci	Fs	1860	10	MA
6. Swalu bridge	F	Sa	Sa	-	-	-	-	1883	12	UA
7. N G Kerk Qua-Qua (Witsieshock)	T	Sa	Bs	-	Wo	Ci	Fs	1885	11	SA
8. Blockhouse Botanical Gardens	T	Sa	Sa	-	-	Ci	-	1900	14	UA
HEILBRON (1873)										
1. N G Kerk	T	Sa	Sa	-	Wo	Ci	Fs	1880	13	Rebuilt
2. Leeuwpoort House	F	Sa	Sa	Bs	Wy	Ci	Fs	1894	14	UA
3. Cobweb Castle	T	Sa	Sa	-	Wo	Ci	Fs	1895	10	UA
HENNENMAN (1948)										
1. Ferreirasrust	F	Do	Sa	Bs	Ps	Ci	Fs	1895	11	SA
HOOPSTAD (1876)										
1. N G Kerk	T	Do	Sa	Do	Wo	Ci	Fs	1895	16	RT
2. Library (Old Post Office)	T	Sa	B6	Bs	Wo	Ci	Fs	1896	14	SA
3. Magistrate's Court	T	Do	Bs	Bs	Wo	Ci	Fs	1895	10	SA
4. Smaldeel House	F	Sa	Sa	Bs	Wo	Re Ci	Fs	1870	11	MA
JACOBSDAL (1860)										
1. N G Kerk Pastorie	T	Do	Bs	Bs	Wo	Ci	Fs	1866	10	MA
2. N G Mission Church	T	Do	Bs	Bs	Wo	Ci	Ci	1890	10	SA
3. Bank House	T	Do	Sa	Bs	Wo	Ci	Fs	1891	11	MA
4. N G Kerk	T	Do	Bs	Bs	-	Ci	Fs	1879	13	MA
JAGERSFONTEIN (1882)										

Name of Town and list of Buildings	Town or Farm	Foundations	Ext. Walls	Int. Walls	Ceiling	Roof	Floors	Date or probable date.	Rating in 1977 Survey	Condition 1977 (or updated)
1. Town Offices	T	-	Bb	Bb	Wo	Ci	Fs	1895	10	MA
2. Methodist Church	T	Sa	Bb	-	Wo	Ci	Fs	1890	11	SA
3. N G Kerk	T	Do	Bb	Bb	Wo	Ci	Fy	1890	11	SA
4. R C Church	T	Sa	Bb	-	Wy	Ci	Fy	1885	11	AD
5. N G Pastorie	T	Sa	Bb	Bs	Wo	Ci	Fs	1890	11	MA
6. Anglican Church	T	Sa	Bb	Bb	Wo	Ci	Fs	1885	12	SA
7. Hotel	T	Sa	-	Bs	Wo	Ci	Fs	1895	12	SA
8. Lohshoek House	F	Sa	Bb	Bs	Wy	Ci	Fy	1880	13	MA
KOFFIEFONTEIN (1892)										
1. Moses Building	T	Do	Bb	Bs	Wo Ps	Ci	Fs	1894	12	MA
2. Witworth House	T	Do	Bs	Bs	Wo Ps	Ci	Fs	1895	10	MA
KROONSTAD (1855)										
1. Law Chambers	T	Sa	Bb Sa	Bb	Wo	Ci	Fs	1900	11	SA
2. Old Market Building	T	Sa	-	-	-	Ci	-	1880	14	SA
3. Wolwefontein House	F	Do	Sa Do	-	-	Th	-	1880	11	SA
4. Shop in Murray Street	T	Sa	Sa	-	Wo	Ci	-	1893	11	SA
5. Old Govt. Building	T	Sa	Bs	Bs	Wo	Ci	Fs	1663 1883 1905	10	RT
LADYBRAND (1867)										
1. Anglican Church Modderpoort	F	Do	Sa	Bb	Wo	Ci	Sa	1899	11	UA
2. N G Kerk	T	Do	Sa	Sa	-	Ci	-	1889	14	RT
3. Anglican Church	T	Sa	Sa	Sa	Wo	Ci	Fs	1897	11	UA
4. Government Offices	T	Sa	Sa	Sa	-	Ci	Fs	1895	15	UA
LINDLEY (1878)										
1. Doornkloof House	F	Do	Do	Do	Wo	Ci	-	1861 and later	14	MA
2. Ontevrede House	F	Sa	Do Sa	Do	-	Ci	Sa	1860	11	MA
LUCKHOFF (1894)										
1. Skuilhoek House	F	Do	Do	Do	Wy	Ci	Fy	1880	13	MA
MARQUARD (1905)										
1. Trommel House	F	Sa	Sa	Cl	Wo	Ci	Fs	1870	10	MA

Name of Town and list of Buildings	Town or Farm	Foundations	Ext. Walls	Int. Walls	Ceiling	Roof	Floors	Date or pro-bable date.	Rating in 1977 Survey	Condition 1977 (or updated)
2. Rietfontein House	F	Sa	Sa	Bs	Ps	Ci	Fs	1895	11	SA
3. Bresler's Flat House	F	Sa	Sa	Bs	Ps	Ci	Fs	1869	13	SA
MEMEL (1913)										
1. Koloniesplaas House	F	Sa	Sa	Bs	Wy	Ci	Fs	1880	10	AD
2. Seekoeivlei-poort (House)	F	Do	Do	Bb	Wy	Ci	Fs	1880	12	AD
PARYS (1887)										
1. N G Kerk	T	Do	Bs	Bs	Wo	Ci	Fs	1899	13	RT
2. Van Coller House (2)	T	-	Bs	Bs	Wo	Ci	Du Fs	1870	10	MA
3. Van Coller House (1)	T	-	Bs	Bs	-	Th	Du	1865	10	MA
PETRUSBURG (1891)										
1. Stinkfontein House	F	Se	Bs	Bs	-	Ci	Fs	1850	10	AD
2. Geref Kerk	T	Do	Bs	Bs	-	Ci	Fs	1892	11	UA
3. N G Kerk	T	-	Bs	Bs	Wo	Ci	Fs	1899	11	PR
PHILIPPOLIS (1862)										
1. N G Kerk	T	Do	Bs	Bs	-	Ci	Fs	1871 and later	15	SA
2. Anglican Church	T	Do	Bs	Bs	Wo	Ci	Fy	1865	10	AD
3. Powder House	T	Do	Bs	-	-	Bs	Sa	1860	10	SA
REDDERSBURG (1863)										
1. Puntjesfontein House	F	-	Bs	Bs	Wo	Ci	Fs	1860	10	AD
2. Lutheran Church	F	Sa	Bc	Bs	Wo	Ci	Fs	1870	10	AD
3. Geref Kerk (First)	T	Sa	Bs	Bs	-	Ci	Fs	1861	14	SA
ROUXVILLE (1864)										
1. N G Kerk	T	Do	Sa	Sa	Wo	Ci	Fs	1878	12	SA
2. Prison Building	T	Sa	Sa	Sa	-	Ci	Fs	1873	11	SA
3. Klipplaatsdrift (first house)	F	-	Cl	Cl	-	-	Du	1836	14	RR
4. Warehouse in Louw-Street	T	Sa	Sa	-	-	Ci	Sa	1873	10	SA
SENEKAL (1877)										
1. Anglican Church	T	Sa	Sa	-	Wo	Ci	Fs	1880	10	SA
SMITHFIELD (1849)										
1. Magistrates Court	T	Sa	Sa	Sa	Ps	Ci	Sa	1894	14	UA

Name of Town and list of Buildings	Town or Farm	Foundations	Ext. Walls	Int. Walls	Ceiling	Roof	Floors	Date or pro-bable date.	Rating in 1977 Survey	Condition 1977 (or updated)
2. Warehouse Kerk Street	T	Sa	Bs	-	Wo	Ci	Fs	1860	10	MA
3. St John's Church	T	Sa	Bb Sa	-	Wo	Ci	Fs	1879	13	SA
4. N G Kerk	T	Sa	Bb	Bb	Wo	Ci	Fs	1862	13	PR
5. N G Pastorie	T	Sa	Bb	Bs	Wy	Ci (Th)	Fs	1860	12	SA
6. Beersheba House	F	Sa	Cl	Cl	Wy	Ci (Th)	Fs	1845	15	MA
7. Mill at Dewetsdal	F	Sa	Sa Bb	-	Wy	Ci (Th)	Fy	1890	10	RR
8. Woolwashery at Traacha	F	Sa	Sa Bb	-	-	-	Sa	1896	10	RR
9. Commill at Carmel	F	Sa	Sa Bb	-	Wy	Ci	Fy	1870	10	AD
THABA'NCHU (1892)										
1. Archbells House	T	Do	Do	Cl	-	Ci (Th)	Fs	1835	11	MA
2. Geref Kerk	T	Sa	Bs	Bs	Wo	Ci	Fs	1870	11	MA
THEUNISSEN (1907)										
1. Rendevouz House	F	-	Bb	Bb	Wo	Ci	Fs	1880	10	MA
TWEESPRUIT (1949)										
1. Leeuwriver Mill	F	Sa	Sa	Sa	Wo	Ci	Fs	1890	11	AD
VENTERSBURG (1874)										
1. Skanskraal Defence Works	F	Do	-	-	-	-	-	1856	10	UA
2. Weltevrede House	F	Do	Sa	Bs	Ps	Ci	Fs	1893	12	UA
VREDE (1879)										
1. N G Kerk	T	Sa	Sa	Bs	Ps	Ci	Fs	1887	12	MA
VREDEFORT (1881)										
1. First N G Kerk	T	Sa	Sa	Bs	-	Ci	-	1882	12	UA
2. Magistrates Court	T	Sa	Sa	Bs	-	Ci	Fs	1885	12	SA
WEPENER (1867)										
1. St Peters Church	T	Sa	Bs	-	-	Ci	Fs	1878	10	SA
2. Church at Jammer-bergdrif	F	Sa	Bs	-	Wo	Ci	Fs	1890	11	SA
3. N G Kerk	T	Do	Sa	Bs	Ps	Ci	Fs	1887	12	SA

Name of Town and list of Buildings	Town or Farm	Foundations	Ext. Walls	Int. Walls	Ceiling	Roof	Floors	Date or pro-bable date.	Rating in 1977 Survey	Condition 1977 (or updated)
4. Struan House	F	Do	Sa	Bb	Wo	Ci	Fs	1884	13	SA
WINBURG (1837)										
1. Afrikaanse Handels-huis	T	Do	Bs	Bs	Wo	Ci	Fs	1898	12	MA
2. Barclays Bank	T	Sa	Sa	-	-	-	-	1898	14	SA
3. N G Kerk	T	Sa	Sa	Sa	Ps	Ci	Fs	1899	16	SA
4. Rietfontein House	F	Do	Do	-	Rc	Ci	Sa	1860	15	RT
ZASTRON (1882)										
1. Mill at Maghaleen	F	Sa	Sa	-	Wo	Ci	Fs	1894	12	AD
2. Vincennes House	F	Sl	Sa	Cl	Wy	Th	Fy	1850	10	MA

ANNEXURE D

Sequential development of Pioneer housing in the OFS (whites)

Approximate Date	*Mode of Shelter*	*Variants found*
Before 1820	Ox-wagon when sojourning in the Transgariep for short periods	-
1830	A-frame house with thatched and plastered reed side walls.	Rounded ends in thatch, gable infilled with clay. Door in gable end.
1840	*'Hartbeeshuis'* with thatch and plastered reed side walls.	Sometimes covered in animal hides.
1850	Solid clay bound with cow-dung or anthill soil.	Sundried bricks and anthill plaster (rare).
1860	Undressed stone bedded in clay.	Stone stacked as snecked rubble.
1870	Roughly dressed sandstone walls externally with sundried brick internally plastered in mud.	Dado of rough-dressed stone topped with sundried brick, mud-plastered.
1880	Well-dressed sandstone with mud-plastered internal walls of burnt brick (wood or dungfired).	Sandstone quoins and cills with dressed dolerite infill.
1890	Burnt brick throughout with sandstone cills and lintols. Coal fired kilns.	Dolerite foundations. Sandstone foundations.

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