

A critical interpretation of the temporal impact of landscape, space  
and power on the built environment of Church Square, Pretoria

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### **Declaration**

I declare that the thesis hereby submitted by me for the Philosophiae Doctor degree at the University of the Free State is my own independent work and has not previously been submitted by me at another university or faculty. I furthermore cede copyright of the thesis in favour of the University of the Free State.

Elizabeth Yolanda van der Vyver

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Professor Arthur Barker was the one who suggested that the study seemed to be about change and he encouraged me to investigate the seminal moments that caused change. The

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## Abstract

This thesis critically interprets the temporal impact of landscape, space and power on the built environment of Church Square, Pretoria. It proposes to reveal, through critical analysis and comparison, the powers behind the processes of the making of Church Square as urban space, as well as the social and spatial relationships embedded in it.

Four distinct periods or episodes can be identified in the history of Church Square and certain seminal moments caused the change from one episode to another. During each episode the physical composition of the space represented and reflected the powers that were the driving forces behind change. A two-dimensional representation of Pretoria in the middle of the nineteenth century shows that the landscape had been shaped by forces of nature and human dominance. The first aim is to determine the powers through which Pretoria was established and then to describe the advent of the philosophy of change, to identify the change from movement to settlement and to determine how the powers of law, state and church formed the Boer worldview. The authority of the state through which the beacons of the first Boer farms were erected is determined and the influence of the prevailing geography on primary settlement is explored. The change in landscape from agricultural settlement to town for the purpose of establishing a *Zittingplaats des Volksraads...in het midden des lands*<sup>1</sup> is documented. The reason for setting out Pretoria according to a grid pattern is described as both a sign of human dominance over landscape and of water management. Once the wider historical context has been established, the focus moves to the historical area in an around the Square.

Although data collection from Surveyor-General diagrams (SG diagrams) and title deeds is rarely seen as part of the creative process, it forms an essential part of any architect's design methodology and the findings from these legal documents finally find a proud, albeit understated, place in the visual, architectural design outcome. The same is true of an historical architectural study. Any attempt at reconstructing the past of the built environment in context will inevitably refer to land parcels, -ownership and -use, which often provide more insight into the powers that shaped and reshaped the landscape over time, than the buildings themselves. A visual record[ing] of surveyed change over time confirms the notion that landscapes are always temporal, of the moment and in process, that they reflect human agency and action, and that they provoke memory and facilitate or

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<sup>1</sup> A permanent seat for the national assembly in the middle of the land.

impede action. The study proposes to reveal both the dimension of historical time and the dimension of historical space, therefore including both meanings of temporality: as the real physical world and as one being limited by time. It aims to offer a new focus and approach to historiography of the area and to reveal the significance that the temporal relationship gives to data gathered in architectural history writing.

The establishment and development history of Pretoria and Church Square hinted on the frequent change in dynamic between Boer and Brit and the sixth chapter aims to elaborate on this dynamic. It attempts to determine how the built environment in and around Church Square reflected change. It identifies four distinct periods or episodes in the history of the town that can be linked directly to the changed dynamic between Boer and Brit. It proposes to describe the seminal moments that caused change and to determine the powers that were the driving forces behind the change that was made visible in the physical composition of Church Square during each episode. Although the Boer-Brit dynamic visibly influenced the built environment of Pretoria right at its establishment in 1855, the strife between Boer and Brit can be traced back to the first conflict of 1795, when the British occupied the Dutch-owned Cape of Good Hope. A summary of the historical context is followed by a description of the run-up to the tragic Anglo-Boer Wars that were waged at the end of the nineteenth century in the *Zuid Afrikaansche Republic* (the ZAR or the South African Republic). The aftermath of the War is investigated and the opposing worldviews of the two cultures are presented. The aim is to critically interpret the impact that the changed Boer-Brit dynamic had on the built environment in and around Church Square.

The struggle between the desire to preserve memories and the desire to suppress them has been a global topic of discourse since the middle of the twentieth century. On Church Square the presence and absence of memories can best be illustrated in the name of the Square. The name “Church Square” has prevailed even though the central church was demolished over 114 years ago. Recent political protests proved that the Square is still loaded with political meaning and the trauma associated with colonialism and apartheid. As some oppose the offensive idea of Church Square and attempt to destroy the images of past powers, others try to protect their cultural heritage and memory. Since apartheid was introduced as a political system in 1948, the physical composition of the space has remained more or less the same. There has only been one significant change, namely the

insertion during apartheid of Paul Kruger's monumental ensemble in the centre of the Square in 1954, where it remained through the transition into democracy in 1994, up until the present post-apartheid condition.

The ambiguous term post-apartheid is used to denote the current South African period as a definitive break from apartheid. Although apartheid and post-apartheid seem on the surface to be two very distinct political and social systems they are inextricably intertwined and the different and opposing discourses on Church Square during these two time periods are presented in one chapter under different discursive headings or topical foci. These include the Afrikaner worldview that led up to apartheid, commemoration of traumatic events during apartheid, the Rivonia trial, modernisation and development proposals. Despite the relative stagnation of the physical appearance of Church Square, there has been a significant shift in the ideologies of the powers behind change. The activities in and around the Square during this time were thus not manifested in the physical, but in the rhetorical. Change was not structural but ideological and the debates surrounding the Square reflected the turbulence of the discourse. The topical foci confirm that even if the built environment does not change significantly, its landscape is always temporal, of the moment and in process. The urban landscape still reflects human agency and action and provokes memory and facilitates or impedes action.

**Key words:** Pretoria's Church Square, the philosophy of change, Afrikaner worldview, nineteenth century monumentalism, historic land surveying, architectural historiography, temporal landscapes, producing urban space, Boer and Brit, apartheid and post-apartheid

## ***Afrikaanse abstrak***

*Hierdie tesis is 'n kritiese interpretasie van die temporele impak van landskap, ruimte en mag op die bou-omgewing van Kerkplein, Pretoria. Dit beoog om deur kritiese analise en vergelyking te openbaar watter beherende moondhede agter die vormingsproses van Kerkplein as stedelike ruimte staan. Dit poog ook om die sosiale en ruimtelike verhoudings wat daarin vasgevang is, te openbaar.*

*Vier afsonderlike periodes of episodes kan in die geskiedenis van Kerkplein geïdentifiseer word en sekere sentrale oomblikke het die verandering van een episode na die volgende veroorsaak. Tydens elke episode het die fisiese samestelling van die ruimte die magte wat die dryfkrag agter die verandering was, verteenwoordig en weerspieël. 'n Tweedimensionele voorstelling van Pretoria in die middel van die negentiende eeu wys dat die landskap gevorm is deur die kragte van natuur en menslike dominerings. Die eerste doel is om die magte waardeur Pretoria gestig is, te bepaal en om dan die opkoms van die filosofie van verandering te beskryf, om die verandering van beweging na nedersetting te identifiseer en om te bepaal hoe die magte van wet, staat en kerk die Boere se wêreldsiening gevorm het. Die staatsgesag waardeur die bakens van die eerste Boereplase opgerig is, word bepaal en die invloed van die algemene geografie op primêre nedersetting word verken. Die verandering in landskap van landbou-nedersetting tot dorp met die doel om 'n "Zittingplaats des Volksraads...in het midden des lands" te skep, word gedokumenteer. Die rede waarom Pretoria volgens 'n roosterpatroon uitgesit is, word beskryf as beide 'n teken van menslike dominerings oor die landskap en as waterbestuur. Sodra die wyer historiese konteks bepaal is, word die fokus verskuif na die historiese gebied in en om Kerkplein.*

*Alhoewel datainsameling uit landmeter-generaalsdiagramme (LG-diagramme) en titelaktes selde as deel van die kreatiewe proses gesien word, vorm dit 'n noodsaaklike deel van enige argitek se ontwerpmetodologie en die bevindinge uit hierdie regsdokumente vind uiteindelik 'n troos, hoewel ondergeskikte plek in die visuele, argitektoniese ontwerpresultaat. Dieselfde is waar vir 'n historiese argitektuurstudie. Enige poging om die verlede van die bou-omgewing in konteks te herkonstrueer, sal onvermydelik verwys na grondgebied, -besit en -gebruik wat gereeld meer insig gee in die magte wat mettertyd die landskap gevorm en hervorm het, as die geboue self. 'n Visuele weergawe en opname van opgemete verandering oor tyd bevestig die gedagte dat landskappe altyd temporeel, in die*

*oomblik en in proses is, dat dit menslike agentskap en aksie reflekteer en dat dit geheue ontlok en aksie fasiliteer of verhoed. Hierdie studie stel voor om beide die dimensies van historiese tyd en historiese ruimte te ontbloot en dus beide betekenis van temporaliteit in te sluit: naamlik as die werklike fisiese wêreld en as een wat deur tyd beperk word. Dit beoog om 'n nuwe fokus en benadering tot historiografie van die gebied te bied en om die waarde te ontbloot wat die temporele verhouding in 'n historiese argitektuurskrywe aan die versamelde data verleen.*

*Die stigtings- en ontwikkelingsgeskiedenis van Pretoria en Kerkplein dui op die gedurige verandering in die dinamika tussen Boer en Brit en die sesde hoofstuk beoog om hierdie dinamika uit te brei. Dit poog om te bepaal hoe verandering in die bou-omgewing in en om Kerkplein weerspieël is. Vier afsonderlike periodes of episodes in die geskiedenis van die dorp kan direk aan die veranderde dinamika tussen Boer en Brit verbind word. Die seminale oomblikke wat verandering teweeggebring het, word beskryf en die beherende moonshede wat verantwoordelik was vir die sigbare veranderinge in die fisiese samestelling van Kerkplein tydens elke episode, word bepaal. Alhoewel daar sedert die stigting van Pretoria in 1855 sigbare tekens was van hoe die Boer-Brit dinamika die bou-omgewing beïnvloed het, kan die struweling tussen Boer en Brit teruggevoer word na die eerste konflik van 1795, toe Brittanje die Kaap de Goede Hoop beset het. 'n Opsomming van die historiese konteks word gevolg deur 'n beskrywing van die aanloop tot die tragiese Anglo-Boere oorloë wat aan die einde van die negentiende eeu in die ZAR gevoer is. Die nadraai van die oorlog word ondersoek en die teenoorstaande wêreldbeskouings van die twee kulture word aangebied. Die doel is om die impak wat die veranderde Boer-Brit dinamika op die bou-omgewing in en om Kerkplein gehad het, krities te interpreteer.*

*Die bewaring van herinneringe teenoor die onderdrukking daarvan was sedert die middel van die twintigste eeu deel van 'n wêreldwye diskoers. Op Kerkplein kan die teenwoordigheid en die afwesigheid van herinneringe die beste deur die naam van die Plein geïllustreer word. Die ruimte word steeds "Kerkplein" genoem ten spyte van die feit dat die sentrale kerk meer as 114 jaar gelede afgebreek is. Onlangse politieke proteste het bewys dat die Plein steeds gelaai is met politieke betekenis en die trauma wat met kolonialisme en apartheid geassosieer word. Terwyl sommige mense die idee van Kerkplein as beledigend sien en strew om die beelde van vervloë magte te vernietig, probeer ander om hul kulturele erfenis te bewaar. Sedert apartheid ingestel is as politieke*

*stelsel in 1948, het die fisiese samestelling van die ruimte min of meer dieselfde gebly. Daar was net een noemenswaardige verandering, naamlik die invoeging tydens apartheid van die Paul Kruger monument in die middel van die Plein in 1954. Die beeld het bly staan deur demokratiese transformasie in 1994 tot in die huidige post-apartheid toestand.*

*Die dubbelsinnige term post-apartheid beskryf die huidige Suid-Afrikaanse tydperk wat van apartheid losgemaak is. Maar, alhoewel apartheid en post-apartheid op die oog af blyk om twee afsonderlike politieke en sosiale stelsels te wees, is hulle onlosmaaklik aanmekaar verbind en die verskillende en teenoorstaande diskoerse rondom Kerkplein tydens hierdie twee tydperke word in een hoofstuk aangebied onder verskillende diskursiewe opskrifte of aktuele fokuspunte. Dit sluit in: die Afrikanerwêreldsiening wat aanleiding gegee het tot apartheid, herdenking van traumatiese gebeure tydens apartheid, die Rivonia verhoor, modernisering en ontwikkelingsvoorstelle. Ten spyte van die relatiewe stagnering van die fisiese voorkoms van Kerkplein was daar 'n beduidenisvolle skuif in die ideologieë van die beherende moondhede wat verantwoordelik was vir verandering. Die aktiwiteite in en om Kerkplein gedurende hierdie tydperke is dus nie in die fisiese gemanifesteer nie, maar in die retoriese. Verandering was nie struktureel nie maar ideologies en die debatte oor die Plein weerspieël die onstuimigheid van die diskoers. Die aktuele fokuspunte bevestig dat selfs al verander die bou-omgewing nie beduidend nie, bly die landskap altyd temporeel, in die oomblik en in proses. Die stedelike landskap reflekteer steeds menslike agentskap en aksie en ontlok geheue.*

**Sleutelwoorde:** *Kerkplein in Pretoria, die filosofie van verandering, Afrikaner wêreldsiening, negentiende eeuse monumentalisme, historiese landmeting, argitektoniese historiografie, temporele landskappe, stedelike ruimtevorming, Boer en Brit, apartheid en post-apartheid*

## Preface

### Urban Squares: the powers behind the heart of the city

We begin to learn with what Alfred North Whitehead called a stage of romance: a sense of fascination with a subject, which we see as a whole but which we have not studied piece by piece (Brumbaugh 1970: 4). My initial fascination was with the comparison of urban squares and the changes that these public spaces undergo with regime change and especially, with the emergence of democracy.

My first ‘romance’ was with Potsdamer Platz in Berlin. This public square started off as a rural crossroad, where the old road from Potsdam passed through the city customs wall<sup>2</sup> at Potsdam Gate. In 1841 Potsdam Station was built just inside the ring wall and an interconnecting railway line for goods and military transport was built in 1851, linking the terminal stations. The customs wall was removed in 1860, but the gate remained. The square developed into a commercial node and bustling intersection in the 1920s, was bombed in the Second World War, remained in ruins after 1945, became no-man’s land in the 1950s, was cut in two when the Berlin Wall was erected in 1961 when the gate ruins were also finally demolished and after German unification, was developed into the commercial centre it is today. Although Potsdamer Platz was never the political centre of the capital, it was seen as the heart of Berlin and we find incredible forces of power behind the dramatic changes in and around this space. The German obsession with commemoration and memory is visible in the paving lines that follow the original and now demolished course of the Wall (see Huyssen 2003: 16).

Although China cannot be described as an emerging democracy (yet), Tiananmen Square in Beijing saw the pro-democracy protests and bloody massacre unfold in the 1980s and has been the stage for a number of political events and rebellions in the past. Originally created in the seventeenth century adjacent to the Forbidden City, its sheer size is a result of Mao Zedong’s enlargement for pre-television displays of military power. He did this by destroying countless fine grain *hutongs* (courtyard houses) in the 1950s. This square has all the characteristics of urbanism and change as a result of the power of the State. Contrary to Berlin’s preservation of the memory of trauma in an urban setting, the Chinese government famously suppressed the memories of the 1989 student uprising by

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<sup>2</sup> A wall surrounding Berlin *mitte* to facilitate levying of taxes.

trying to control the narrative of what happened. Tiananmen Square is truly the heart of China's capital.

Pretoria's Church Square is undoubtedly the heart of the city, where the new capital<sup>3</sup> of the *Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek* (hereafter ZAR) was founded in the mid nineteenth century and from where the town developed inside the natural landscape of ridges, the river and *spruits*. The square is still surrounded by buildings that represent state, commercial and judicial power, but the name originated from the church that was built in the middle of the Square in the 1850s. After burning down it was replaced by another church in 1885, which was demolished in 1904. Despite the fact that the church building has been absent from the square for over a century, the name Church Square prevailed. With the arrival of democracy in 1994 the square did not undergo any significant structural change (the last addition was the insertion of Paul Kruger's statue in 1954) but recent renovations for the bus rapid transport system confirmed the square as a transport node and political protests proved that the square is still loaded with political meaning and associated with colonialism. As some oppose the offensive idea of Church Square by an attempt to destroy the images of past powers, others try to protect their cultural heritage and memory. With street name changes the City announced that it would not stop until Pretoria was truly an "African City".

This prompted an investigation into other African public squares as an attempt to determine the meaning of public open space in African cities. However Africa is not a homogenous continent. Mazrui (1986: 34) stated that there is a perceived division of Africa through European geographic boundaries: the area north of the Tropic of Cancer is perceived as Arab-dominated, the area south of the Tropic of Capricorn as White-dominated (colonial) and the area between the two Tropics is perceived as Black Africa. Folkers (2010: 24) concurs and adds that Maghreb history was covered by Mediterranean history rather than African history, because of its geographical location north of the Sahara. Arab influence in Africa is not limited to the Maghreb and can be found on the east coast but, although a central marketplace is a common architectural feature of Islamic or Arab cities, public squares never achieved the prominence they have in Western cities. When looking to the Middle East as the source of Arab influence, we find the exception of

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<sup>3</sup> Potchefstroom was the capital before Pretoria. The events that led up to Pretoria becoming the new capital are discussed in Chapter 3.

Shah Square<sup>4</sup> in Isfahan, but on the east coast of Africa there is no equivalent. We find instead a series of smaller connected public spaces, as in Stone Town on the island of Zanzibar, where there are over 140 small squares with often pre-determined gender-based rules of access.

In traditional fine-grained African settlements there is a variety of spatial definitions. Open space develops from threshold spaces between individual dwelling units. Semi-private activities are connected to semi-public activities by pathways that increase in size and importance. With the introduction of the motorcar some paths become roads and in terms of hierarchy, the wide streets usually accommodate the market place, which is fed by medium sized paths, which in turn are fed by smaller routes leading to dwellings. Recent attempts (Eglash 1998; Nkambule 2015) to link hierarchical spaces to fractal geometry and to use fractals to describe the nature of irregular and organic urban fabric in African traditional and informal settlement, have been criticised as misleading (Nkambule 2015: 317).

The importance of geography in the layout of cities and the creation of open space is a factor in each case. The development of the Ugandan capital for example took place around the hills of Kampala resulting in a unique elliptical street layout and boat-shaped buildings. With a different religious structure on each hill, there seems to be no heart in Kampala from which it all evolved, such as a space that can be compared to an urban square. Movement of people, goods and services flow through the transportation network. With all the routes converging in a taxi park, this open space and transport node has been compared to the heart of Kampala<sup>5</sup>.

Finally, colonial placemaking inevitably implied the creation of urban squares typical of the colonial power's country of origin, which was not necessarily a copy of public space in the motherland. The street layout and corresponding German colonial architecture in the colonial coastal settlements of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania and of Tsingtao in China are so strikingly similar that it is difficult to believe they are so far away from each other and from the respective motherlands. The creation and manipulation of public space was done under a colonial banner with bureaucratic power controlling the urban settlement.

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<sup>4</sup> Also known as Meidan Emam, retrieved from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Naqsh-e\\_Jahan\\_Square](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Naqsh-e_Jahan_Square).

<sup>5</sup> Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DjA7qxHkFHM>.

## **Collect and organise facts**

Once the background for the study was set, the next step was to collect as many facts about these urban squares as possible. The focus was on the reasons for initial establishment, geological features that influenced the form of settlement, historical changes in power and architectural shapes (structure) and use (function). By organising these facts, a preliminary framework started to develop, which served as heuristic device guiding future comparisons (Leedy 1989). The following themes emerged as a common denominator:

Methodology, Democracy, History, Africa and Urbanism (space)

I started to build up a bibliography according to these themes. Reading was wide and often unfocused: Cole's *The Universe and the Teacup: The Mathematics of Truth and Beauty* found application under both Methodology and Democracy, Hesse's *Magister Ludi: The Glass Bead Game* and Pirsig's *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance* informed methodology and the scientific method. Folkers's *Modern Architecture in Africa* explained, not only the modern project in Africa, but also provided historical background to settlements and architecture. *Space, Power and the Body – the Civil and Uncivil as Represented in the Voortrekker Monument and the Native Township Model* by Steenkamp provided valuable sources on the theory of power generally and urbanism in South Africa specifically. My interest shifted to power and its influence on urban space and Sudjic's *The Edifice Complex: How the Rich and Powerful Shape the World* and Elleh's *Architecture and Power in Africa* provided insight into the problem of power and ideology, both in Europe and in Africa. Other general readings on urbanism included *Soft City* (Raban 2008), *Endless City* (Burdett and Sudjic 2007), *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory* (Huyssen 2003) and *Finding Lost Space* (Trancik 1986).

## **Church Square as case study**

Then through various recommendations during research forums and seminars, the focus of this study shifted away from the “exotic” to the local, namely to Church Square in Pretoria. The theme of comparing urban squares was too wide and open ended. Delimiting the study to a local, accessible example meant that collection and organisation of facts would be easier and the scope of research would be more realistic. The decision was taken to make Church Square in Pretoria the laboratory from where a structural framework for

comparison would be developed. The study required theory building relating to the analysis of urban squares that could be applied to other urban squares.

Church Square is thus described, documented and explained as a particular “case”, as an example of an object and as an illustrative example of the group or class. Groat and Wang (2002: 346-7) define a case study as “the investigation of a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context.” An architectural case study is defined as “an empirical enquiry that investigates a (historic) phenomenon or a (historic and contemporary) setting.” Church Square as a case study within the built environment is thus a contemporary phenomenon investigated within its real-life context by conducting an empirical enquiry that investigates the historic phenomenon in its historic and contemporary setting. Groat and Wang (2002: 352) stress the importance of theory in case studies, but warn that theory should not detract from the intrinsic value and uniqueness of the case in question (Groat and Wang 2002: 355). The research design in a case study should be guided by the development or testing of a theory and should embody a theory of what is being studied, which should be similar to a hypothesis in post-positive research.

According to Van Zyl (2013: personal communication) doing case studies research often involves using mixed methods from both the qualitative and quantitative research paradigms, but Groat (in Groat and Wang 2002: 25) believes that the use of the terms quantitative and qualitative should be reserved for the tactics employed to gather and interpret evidence without referencing the system of inquiry. Both tactics and the system of inquiry will be further discussed under *Methodology*. Case study research involves maintaining an appropriate balance between particular and general. Reading therefore shifted to the history of Pretoria, landscape and settlement generation, laws of ownership and the establishment of state and church. Data collection began to focus on visual data available on the topic of Pretoria in general and Church Square in particular. Visual data included maps, photographs, paintings and diagrams that were often available on the Internet from the public domain. The University of Pretoria has an extensive Africana collection, which gave me access to a range of textual and visual sources.

### **Conducting research as an architect**

A constant factor in the research and writing of this thesis was the question of how to introduce a novel argument to the subject of Church Square in Pretoria. When I completed

my BArch degree in 1995, the fifth and final year thesis (it was still part of an undergraduate degree) required a context study, aimed at placing the building design (architecture) in its physical and historical contexts. The physical context entailed a site analysis and the historical context required the history of firstly the site and its environs, and secondly of the building typology. Other planning disciplines in the natural sciences may deal with only physical site analysis (town planning, land surveying and civil and structural engineering) and other human sciences may deal with only the social, cultural and historical aspects of the environment. The discipline of Cultural History emphasises the strong and indissoluble bonds and links between culture and nature. The discipline of Architecture seems ideally positioned between the natural and human sciences, which implies access to both quantitative and qualitative methods of data gathering and interpretation as mentioned above.

My approach to the problem of Church Square would be interdisciplinary, wherein both the physical context and the historical contexts relating to typology and the history of place, would find application. This dichotomy implies a temporal condition: the physical context and site analysis represents the present and the historical contexts of both site and building typology reflects the past. This dichotomy of temporality determined the systems of inquiry or the paradigms in which the research was to be conducted, which are qualitative, “mythical” or naturalistic (after Groat and Wang 2002: 25-31). Although Church Square has a present context that lends itself to physical and structural analysis, it continues to be a historical square that has remained relatively unchanged since 1954. The historical context thus demands a historical research strategy and therefore an interpretive-historical research strategy as described by Groat and Wang (2002: 135-171) is followed (see Chapter 1.3 *Research Methodology*). The two streams of past and present come together to expose the change that the landscape underwent and this can best be illustrated by means of a palimpsest<sup>6</sup>.

The graphic layering of urban maps to indicate change or paradigm shifts in the city of Pretoria was something I had already experimented with in my final year thesis (Van der Vyver 1995: 27-38 and 61). I referred to this layering as a palimpsest that communicates

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<sup>6</sup> A palimpsest is a manuscript or a piece of writing from which the original layer had been scratched off and on which later writing has been superimposed. It is something that has been reused or altered but still bears visible traces of its earlier form (retrieved from <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Palimpsest>). Palimpsest theory is explored in 2.4 below.

change in the urban landscape over time. The possibility of layering the physical features of Church Square with the social, cultural and historical contexts by engaging with emerging paradigms of philosophy became the aim of this thesis. If I could further reflect change as manipulated by political regimes and other powers in these diverse layers of context and reveal the meaning embedded in the archaeology of the site, the thesis would have enough substance for a PhD. I could motivate the rationale of the study. The risk however lies therein that architects are often criticised for wandering into the territory of other specialised academic disciplines.

### **Architects as historians**

Jordanova (2000) states that history is an academic discipline that entails the study of the past. History describes the practice of historians. Marwick (1993: 13) declares that it is impossible to understand the past directly and that it can only be understood through memories, myths and the artefacts that were left over from the past. He defines history as “the past as we knew it, or that which we know about the past, through the interpretation of historians, which is based on the critical study of the widest possible series of relevant sources, after every effort has been made to challenge myth and to avoid the continuation of myth.” Namier (1952: 8) compared the function of the historian to that of a painter, as opposed to that of a camera. The painter discovers and presents, singles out and represents the nature of an object while the camera reproduces everything at face value.

Architecture cannot be viewed outside of its context. Although we study architecture with the intention of becoming architects where the focus is often more on design and technology, the teaching of architecture includes the study of cultural history, which is informed by the built environment. Furthermore, understanding context is inherent to architectural practice and, because of the interdisciplinary nature of architecture, architects have the right to be active in History as academic discipline, to add to the body of knowledge relating to the past and to practice as architectural historians (see *Assumptions* below). Architects may rely on historians to establish the historical context in which they conduct their research, but the built heritage as artefact left over from the past, is the architect’s domain. The architect is the creator, curator, critic and conservator-restorer of the built environment and is tasked with the discovery and presentation of the nature of the artefact to which the historian then has access. The critical study of the widest possible

series of relevant sources requires more than just the interpretation of the artefact. There are a variety of other tools that complement each other and inform historians in their interpretation of the past. These tools include written sources, oral evidence, oral reminiscence and physical remains (Shafer 1974). My MArch thesis (Van der Vyver 2001), conducted under the mentorship of Professor Fisher, required a semester of Historical Theory and Methodology under Professor Bergh (2000) and made me as a practising architect more comfortable in engaging with the discipline of History.

I rely on the research of historians like Allen, Cartwright, Cowan, Peacock, Pieterse and Rex to establish the historical context of Pretoria and Church Square on the one hand, and on the other hand I rely on the research of architectural historians like Bakker, Clarke, Fisher, Holm (A and D), Meiring and Viljoen to place the built environment of Church Square as artefact in its historical context. This will be further discussed in the *Review of related literature* (1.2 below). Once the framework had been established, the challenge to introduce a novel argument into the existing body of historical and artefactual knowledge on Pretoria and Church Square remained.

### **Interdisciplinary research vs specialisation**

Nobel Laureate Hesse was a novelist whose 1943 oeuvre *Das Glasperlenspiel* hinted at the possibility of integration of different fields of study and interdisciplinary thought. This idea has always appealed to me and was the main reason why I studied Architecture. But by the time architects reach the level of a PhD they have had to reduce their field of study so much that the advantage of having diversity disappears completely. Groat and Wang (2002: 12) similarly state that a common tendency in architecture is to divide knowledge into domains associated with particular sub-disciplines resulting in a division within the research, but they believe that integrating the apparently discreet topic areas in architecture will result in much needed research.

I knew that a thesis on Pretoria's Church Square would inevitably have a historical foundation and we have already seen that History as discipline has a relationship with other disciplines. In this regard Marwick (1993), who was a historian, discussed History's relationship with the Social Sciences, Geography, Psychology, Computers, Sociology and Philosophy. Groat and Wang (2002: 6) found that research in architectural history over the years moved from an almost exclusively art historical model into a more conceptually

expansive terrain that includes design theory and criticism. They found that interest in historic preservation seemed to have been overtaken in the late 1980s by a concern for the architectural implications of deconstruction and critical theory. Steenkamp (2008: 11) elaborated that if architecture was to rethink its past, it had to engage with ideas and issues that lie outside the conventionally constructed boundaries of the discipline and in the socio-political context to which architecture responds.

Once again the desire to constantly try and integrate the different bodies of knowledge so that they can inform one another had to be weighed up against the requirement to narrow down my research to manageable questions that would focus on the core problem. The following important facts were isolated and the need for further exploration identified:

1. Church Square is a public open space.
2. It is the heart of the city.
3. The origin of the Square warrants exploration.
4. The development of the Square inside the natural landscape warrants exploration.
5. The Square has been characterised by the demolition and rebuilding of the structures in and around the space.
6. The Square has undergone many changes, but the emergence of democracy has left the physical structure virtually unchanged.
7. The forces of power behind the changes in and around the space warrant exploration.
8. The presence of commemoration and memory reminds of the New Berlin and warrants exploration.
9. Church Square has been the stage for a number of political events and protests in the past. This is still true today.
10. A study of open space typology will determine if Church Square followed general prevailing ideas in its creation, structure and use.
11. The Square is still associated with colonialism. The stylistic role of the Dutch architects warrants further exploration.
12. The debate around the reprogramming of Church Square has gained momentum.

The most important outcome of this analysis is that Church Square is a space and needs to be treated as such. The surrounding buildings that frame the space are part of the built

environment and are no less important than the space itself but the space must be seen as a thing or an object to be analysed with a view to uncovering relationships embedded in it (Lefebvre 1991: 89). What appealed to me as far as this approach is concerned is that space becomes the ultimate platform or laboratory for interdisciplinary study, where both the physical context (which deals with the site from the point of view of the natural sciences) and the social, cultural and historical contexts (which deal with the site from the point of view of the human sciences) find application in the study. The archaeology of the space and the quest to discover the underlying meaning embedded in the layers of context introduce a novel argument and underline the importance of the study. The work of Lefebvre (1991: 108) forms an important theoretical basis for this thesis, mainly because the concept of the production of space and the theory that is associated with it, challenge specialised disciplines' carefully drawn property lines and threaten to erase interdisciplinary boundaries. The theory of Lefebvre and interdisciplinary study will be further discussed in Chapter 2 *Theoretical Framework*.

## **Chapter 1: Introduction**

The aim of this thesis is to introduce a novel argument to the subject of Church Square in Pretoria. This argument is framed from an architectural point of view through the lenses of both the natural and the human sciences. It implies the blurring of carefully drawn interdisciplinary boundaries. The thesis aims to describe, document and explain Church Square as an example of an object and as an illustrative example of the group or class, thus as a particular case.

A structural analysis of Church Square reveals the Square as an open public urban space with strong axiality, surrounded by historic buildings in a rectangular pattern. The geometry of the Square and its surrounding space-shaping buildings is expressed in known dimensions and there is a mathematical relationship in terms of scale, proportion, form and order between the open space and the built form that surrounds it, as well as between the buildings themselves. A physical site analysis comments on the visible and tangible and includes the hard and soft landscape, crafted architectural form, access roads, urban networks and patterns and the way the site is used. It requires visual analysis and the categorising and cataloguing of data. The outcome of a structural analysis of the physical space that is Church Square is valuable because it forms a basis for comparing this space to other public Squares. The outcome will allow value judgements on the usability and accessibility of the Square and on the character of the Square, but the physical context alone is not sufficient for a critical interpretation of the space. The study requires an explanation of the meaning of the themes that were uncovered in the structural analysis; themes that include axiality, geometry, historical built form, patterns, networks and relationships and, in order to do that, the Square has to be placed in its historical context.

A systematic investigation of historical visual sources such as maps, photographs and paintings reveals that the physical landscape in and around Church Square changed over time. I will argue that there were four distinct periods or episodes in the history of Pretoria's Church Square during which the physical composition of the space represented and reflected the powers that were the driving forces behind change. I will further argue that there were seminal moments that caused change.

The literature is reviewed according to the four time periods and presented in Chapter 1.2. The thesis relies on the written texts of historians and architectural historians to establish the historical context of Pretoria and Church Square. The review of the related

literature reveals the limitations of the existing body of literature, the themes required to frame this study theoretically and the need for further research. The research methodology is expounded in Chapter 1.3 and the theoretic literature is reviewed in Chapter 2 *Theoretical framework*.

The reader is then familiarised with the historical context and the narrative starts with the origin of Church Square. The history of the Square is narrowly linked to the establishment history of Pretoria as the capital of the ZAR but before the town was established in 1855 a few Boers, who had reached the end of their Trek, settled in the area. Chapter 3 describes the natural landscape as determining factor in the location of agricultural settlement near the Apies River and investigates the reasons for the change from movement to settlement. Written sources indicate that the farmers erected beacons and registered land from 1840, but the sources do not indicate where or through what authority registration was administered. The question thus arises by what legal authority the Boers claimed ownership of the land over fifteen years before the ZAR was established. An explanation of the laws that governed the *Voortrekkers* follows in an attempt to reveal how the power of law facilitated the change in landscape.

The outcome of this investigation is often unexpected. A chronological description of prevailing laws in southern Africa reveals how the influences of European economic interest from 1652 onwards to occupation, settlement and colonisation shaped the *Voortrekker* legal system. It gives insight into the worldview of the *Voortrekkers* as the first anti-colonial movement in Africa. Their movement and eventual settlement in their constitutional Boer Republics had an enormous impact on land use, and this prompts an investigation of the legal history of the use of landscape, history of land-use and the law, and the change in attitude towards land from food to power to identity. The argument also starts to address the contentious issue of land ownership.

Chapter 3 further discusses how the landscape changed from agricultural settlement to town. The first Boer towns, settled as complement to the surrounding farms, followed a similar pattern in terms of layout, which was recognisable from regular design lines of order imprinted on the landscape. A search for possible settlement codes does not produce the desired result and this chapter presents other reasons for the standard model of town planning. The earliest surveyed plans have a definite grid pattern that is linked to the distribution of water. In the same way water played a crucial role in the settlement of Boer

towns. The advent of geometric town planning is described in detail in Chapter 2 *Theoretical framework* and Chapter 3 concludes by linking this theory to the layout of Pretoria.



**Figure 1.1**  
**Delimitation: Church Square and surrounding erven, with Plan of Pretoria, March 1875**  
 (drawing by the author, from <http://csg.dla.gov.za/esio/listdocument.jsp>).

Once the wider historical context had been established, the focus of the study is narrowed down to the geographic area in and around Church Square (figure 1.1). The aim of this thesis is to introduce a novel argument from an architectural point of view and I looked to the design methodology used in architectural practice to reconstruct the past of the built environment. The first work stage of the standard service by an architectural professional is “Inception” and includes receiving, appraising and reporting on the client’s requirements with regard to the site and its rights and constraints. This stage includes an investigation of the site-specific legal documents that set the normative parameters of the site. These documents include the Surveyor-General diagram (SG diagram), the title deed and the zoning certificate. I will argue that any attempt at reconstructing the past of the built environment in context will inevitably refer to land parcels, -ownership and -use, which often provide more insight into the powers that shaped and reshaped the landscape over time, than the buildings themselves. A visual recording of surveyed change over time

confirms the notion that landscapes are always temporal, of the moment and in process, that they reflect human agency and action and that they provoke memory and facilitate or impede action. The outcome of this research is presented in Chapter 4, *Temporality in the [re]shaping of the landscape*.

The research presented through graphic reconstruction of the SG diagrams of Church Square and the surrounding erven in Chapter 4 reveals the rapid subdivision and later consolidation from the resurvey in 1875 until the present day. The study area can be divided into blocks based on the current layout and the data gathered from archived and current legal documents is catalogued as basis for the architectural analysis. Chapter 5 reveals the historical narrative of each block and includes the history of the built environment. Building plans and block forms are added to the palimpsest. The outcome is a two-dimensional graphic representation (plan) of change in the built environment over time.

The structural analysis of Church Square and surrounding buildings as catalogued in Chapter 5 reveals that the simple vernacular architecture made way for designed and stylised institutional buildings with the influx of capital from the goldfields. The discovery of gold meant the growth of capitalism and the development of a certain dynamic between Boer and Brit. Chapter 6 argues that before 1948 there were four parts to this dynamic, each characterised by change and the impact that it had on the built environment.

In the first part it is argued that the powers of state and church once again played significant roles in the development of architectural style at the end of the nineteenth century. Although developed by Dutch immigrant architects, the style was aimed at expressing the ZAR's independence from British authority and an own identity through its program of civil works. The second part is defined by war. During the Civil War and with the outbreak of the First and Second Anglo-Boer Wars (Freedom Wars) at the end of the nineteenth century (see *Definition of Terms*), development in Pretoria was temporarily halted or interrupted. The third part reflects the change in dynamic between Boer and Brit when the Second Anglo-Boer War came to an end in 1902 with the signing of the Treaty of Vereeniging. The Boer Republics acknowledged British sovereignty and with the change from Victorian to Edwardian colonial rule the Square and surrounding buildings underwent functional and stylistic changes. The fourth part starts in 1910 and is characterised by the unification of Boer and Brit, which meant the loss of the Square's status as political centre

of the capital. Chapter 5 concludes with the redesign of Church Square and its confirmation as transport node.

After roaming around for over fifty years, the bronze statue of Paul Kruger, originally cast in Rome in 1899, was finally placed in the centre of the Square in 1954 as part of a monumental ensemble containing four Boer soldiers on a sandstone pedestal. The thesis aims to compare this act of commemoration with similar Western attempts to preserve trauma as part of the twentieth century preoccupation with memory discourse and monumentality.

Although Church Square did not show significant structural change between 1948 and 1991, this period is characterised by apartheid, a political system of institutionalised racial segregation and discrimination, which had a distinct impact on the social, cultural and historical contexts of the Square. The first democratic election in 1994 marked the end of apartheid and the period thereafter became known as post-apartheid. The aim of Chapter 6 is to discuss the differences between apartheid and post-apartheid as paradigms of power by layering the physical features of Church Square with the social, cultural and historical contexts and by reflecting how change was manipulated by these political regimes as well as by other powers in the diverse layers of context.

The two periods are characterised by two different discourses of demolition and preservation. In the 1970s the apartheid regime sought to once again appropriate Church Square as centre of power by proposing to erect two tower blocks on the western side of the Square. In true Modernist planning tradition it would have required the demolition of the historic western façade. The government's proposal was met with huge opposition from the public and other interested parties who pleaded for the preservation of the historic western façade, as it was so closely linked to the architectural heritage of both the Square and of South Africa.

Post-apartheid South Africa is characterised by loud protests against the remaining presence of colonial and apartheid symbols on the one hand and the desire to preserve these symbols as part of the country's cultural heritage on the other. The decolonising debate started in 2015 with a revival of the black consciousness movement amongst University of Cape Town students, which was expressed in the "Rhodes Must Fall" campaign to remove the Rhodes statue in front of campus. This movement has spread to Church Square with increasingly loud protests, this time not from students but from

members of the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), to remove Paul Kruger's statue. This thesis aims to place this discourse in the legal context of the Constitution and the National Heritage Resources Act no 25 of 1999.

Now that the Square has been placed in its physical and historical contexts, the development (containment) of open space in the urban context can be communicated graphically and through historical narrative. The overall aim is to determine the temporal impact of landscape, space and power on the built environment and to graphically represent change over time through a palimpsest of Church Square which reveals the meaning embedded in the archaeology of the site.

The exploration of spatial theory proposes to reveal, through critical analysis and comparison, the powers behind the processes of the making of urban space, as well as the social and spatial relationships embedded in it. The processes of urban space creation are discussed and compared to the production of Church Square as urban space. The chapter approaches the question from two different sides. On the one hand a structural analysis reveals the physical characteristics of urban space and general prevailing ideas in open space making and on the other hand the non-material characteristics of urban space, which are associated with historical, social, political and cultural meaning are revealed through visual analysis of the space. Space becomes the ultimate platform or laboratory for interdisciplinary study, where both the physical context (which deals with the site from the point of view of the natural sciences) and the social, cultural and historical contexts (which deal with the site from the point of view of the human sciences) find application in the study. The archaeology of the space and the quest to discover the underlying meaning embedded in the layers of context introduces a novel argument and underlines the importance of the study.

## **1.1 The problem and its setting**

### **1.1.1 The statement of the problem**

The main problem is to graphically represent seminal historical moments of change over time brought about by landscape and the powers of law, state and church in Pretoria's Church Square by means of a palimpsest that determines the temporality of the Square in context.

### 1.1.2 Sub-questions

- Which are the seminal historical moments of change in the development of Pretoria?
- What are the dynamics of change and what are the powers that caused the changes that led to the establishment of Pretoria?
- How did geography and the powers of law, state and church cause change?
- How does the design methodology used in architectural practice determine the reconstruction of the past of the built environment?
- What does the graphic reconstruction of the historic built environment reveal?
- How did the meeting between Boer and Brit change the built environment and what were the powers that gave rise to these changes?
- How did the changing worldviews of apartheid and post-apartheid shape the social and cultural discourse surrounding Church Square and how was the built environment effected by this change?"

### 1.1.3 Delimitations

The study focuses on Pretoria's Church Square and the erven surrounding the Square. The geographic limit of the study area was determined by the way that the surrounding buildings frame the open space (figure 1.1).

This study focuses on the history of Pretoria between 1840 and 2018, but this limitation does not exclude the investigation of historical influences before 1840. The Boer-Brit dynamic, for instance, dates back to 1795.

Racist references have been removed from direct quotes in original Dutch and English texts. Use of the k-word unlawfully and intentionally impairs the dignity of another and has been ruled to be *crimen iniuria*, which is a crime under South African common law.

#### 1.1.4 Definition of terms

**Afrikaner:** The term Afrikaner dates from the early eighteenth century. It denotes an ethnic group, the Afrikaans speaking white population of South Africa, who are the descendants of Dutch settlers, French Huguenots and a combination of German VOC soldiers and Scottish ministers. There are many other contributions of blood and genes, for example Khoi-Khoi, African as well as Oriental slaves, and more European nationalities. Although Afrikaans is also spoken by Muslim descendants of Malay slaves, descendants of the indigenous Khoi-Khoi and the San, as well as biracial people that stem from sexual unions between white and African, the latter were grouped together under the term “coloured” to discern them from the white Afrikaner. During apartheid the Population Registration Act no.30 of 1950 required that all citizens of South Africa be classified according to four racial groups: white, Bantu (black African), coloured and other. The term was first applied in the 17<sup>th</sup> century to children born in Africa to parents of European origin at the Cape, who were no longer regarded as Dutch, French or German, but as sons or daughters of Africa" (SESA).

**Anglo-Boer War:** The terms Freedom War or South African War are often used, but in this thesis the term Anglo-Boer War will be used. The First Anglo-Boer War (First Freedom War) was fought from 1880 – 1881 and the Second Anglo-Boer War (Second Freedom War) was fought from 1899-1902.

**Civil War:** Although many regard this war as merely a series of skirmishes between political factions in the Boer community, the determining factors in these clashes were the powers of law, state and church. Each power played a role in the unfolding and the result was economic decline in the ZAR, and the interruption of construction projects. In his memoirs, as told by himself during his exile in 1902, Paul Kruger called it the Civil War of 1861 – 1864<sup>1</sup>. It later became known as the Transvaal Civil War. Kruger’s account of events follows: M.W. Pretorius became the state president of the ZAR in 1858 with the acceptance of the constitution, and in 1860 he was elected as the president of the Orange Free State (OFS) as well, his aim being to amalgamate the two republics. The *Volksraad* of the ZAR granted him leave for six months to attend to matters in the OFS, but passed a resolution shortly thereafter in 1860, which stated that the state president should hold no

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<sup>1</sup> Retrieved from: [https://www.sahistory.org.za/sites/default/files/the\\_memoirs\\_of\\_paul\\_kruger\\_chapter\\_4\\_the\\_civil\\_war\\_of\\_1861\\_to\\_1864.pdf](https://www.sahistory.org.za/sites/default/files/the_memoirs_of_paul_kruger_chapter_4_the_civil_war_of_1861_to_1864.pdf).

other office. Pretorius did not want to renounce the presidency of the OFS and resigned that of the ZAR. Johannes (Germanus) Grobler became the acting president, but Stephanus Schoeman, the commandant general, opposed him and declared that the post should be his. After some initial disagreement, a proper *Volksraad* meeting was convened. Schoeman was found to have broken the law and deposed as commandant general. The *Volksraad* determined that a special court should settle all the resulting disputes. The court nominated Willem (Cornelis) Janse van Rensburg as acting President until an election could be held in 1862, but Schoeman violently put an end to these proceedings. Kruger, who had by then returned home, was recalled to Pretoria to assist with what he called “these difficulties”, but constitutionally, he was not allowed to meddle in public affairs. He had joined the recently founded *Gereformeerde Kerk* and the constitution determined that only members of the state church, the *Hervormde Kerk* could exercise influence in public affairs. Acting President Van Rensburg asked that a meeting by the *Hervormde Kerk* Council be called, during which equal rights were given to the *burghers* of all Reformed churches. When Paul Kruger arrived in Pretoria, hostilities between Schoeman and Van Rensburg were mounting. Van Rensburg called a council of war and ordered that Schoeman’s men be prevented from sending out messages to his followers outside Pretoria. When one of Schoeman’s messengers rode down a sentry and refused to stop at a picket, his horse was shot and he was wounded. This signalled the start of the Civil War.

**Erf / Erven:** The legal term used in Namibia, South Africa and Swaziland to describe a piece of land registered in a deeds registry as an erf, lot, plot or stand as per Section 102 of the South African Deeds Registries Act, 1937. The term is of Afrikaans origin.

***Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk (1854), Gereformeerde Kerk (1859), Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (NG):*** The three sister churches as they are known today split from one Dutch Reformed Church in the ZAR in the middle of the nineteenth century. The original church was established in the Cape in 1665 under the presbytery of Amsterdam but in 1824 an autonomous *Nederduitse Gereformeerde* synod was established, removing the church from Dutch control. Before the Great Trek (1835 – 1846) the church was embroiled in a hefty struggle against the “wrong and unbiblical” principles of the state meddling in church affairs, which originated under previous Dutch control. The focal point was the Synod of 1837 that eventually led to the proclamation of the new church ordinance of 1843, which determined that the *Nederduitsh Gereformeerde Kerk* was given the

freedom and selfgoverning, embracing the founding principle as one of a democratic form of government of the time of the Reformation (Mostert 1939: 182). The NG-synod expressed itself strongly against the Great Trek (Mostert 1939: 328) and with the establishment of the *Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek* (the ZAR or the South African Republic), the *Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk* was established (1854) and became the state church of the ZAR in 1860. In 1858 some members broke away due to a disagreement on the singing of hymns in addition to psalms. They were known as the “Doppers” and a new church, the *Gereformeerde Kerk* was established in 1859 by Dr. Postma of Rustenburg<sup>1</sup>.

Reverend Begemann arrived in the *Oorvaalse gebied* (Transvaal) in 1861 but members were not happy with him so the *Konsulentsgemeente* of Pretoria was established with the same geographic area but with church buildings in Witfontein and Renosterpoort. Reverend Bosman replaced Begemann in 1867. Bosman was more loyal to the *Gereformeerde Kerk* and talks of erecting a new church in Pretoria started here (Botha 2005: 6). The end of 1885 saw the unification of the *Nederduitsch Hervormde* and the *Nederduitsch Gereformeerde* churches. Reverend Bosman joined the unified church together with the biggest part of his congregation. The *Konsulentsgemeente* of Pretoria remained outside of the union and came to be known as the *Nederduitsch Hervormde Gemeente Pretoria*. A large number of members of the original *Hervormde Gemeente* left the unified church in 1890 under the leadership of the *Prokurasiekommissie*. Three parties thus claimed ownership of Church Square: the unified congregation of Rev Bosman, the original *Konsulentsgemeente* and the *Prokurasiekommissiegemeente*. The Supreme Court decided in 1894 that the unification of the two churches was *ultra vires* and therefore invalid and the members of the *Nederduitsch Hervormde* congregation that did not unify remained the owners of the church properties. This court judgement meant that peaceful settlements were reached in most congregations (Botha 2005: 6). The roots of these Churches come from a continental European theological and philosophical debate (Duvenage 2016: 12).

The three sister churches are usually referred to in English as the Dutch Reformed Church, which does not factually describe the differences between them. The Afrikaans names will be used throughout the text, as well as the word *gemeente* to denote the congregation. The legal owner of, for instance Church Square, was the *Nederduitsch Hervormde gemeente*.

**Nachtmaal/nagmaal:** The Dutch word *nachtmaal* and the Afrikaans word *nagmaal* describe communion or Eucharist held four times per year during the Dutch Reformed church services. Afrikaans became an official language in 1925 and replaced Dutch, but it was already widely used earlier in the twentieth century. The Dutch and Afrikaans words will be used in the text in their historical contexts (*nachtmaal* before 1914 and *nagmaal* thereafter).

**Pretoria Philadelphia:** Before the town Pretoria was established, the Reverend Van der Hoff formed the congregation and called it Pretoria Philadelphia, in honour of M.W. Pretorius's father, Voortrekker leader Andries Pretorius, who was instrumental in the creation of the ZAR, and his father's brothers. When the town was being set out, it was referred to by the same name, which now came to mean "Pretoria of brotherly love" (Peacock 1955: 19-24; Van Vollenhoven 2000: 162; Dippenaar 2013: 20).

**Transvaal:** Although various twentieth century authors (Marais 1910; Rex 1956; Floyd 1960; Van Zyl and Van der Vyver 1982; Van Vollenhoven 2000, etc.) use the term "Transvaal Republic" to describe the *Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek* (South African Republic or ZAR) that existed between 1856 and 1902, the area only became known as the Transvaal after the end of the Anglo-Boer War in 1902 when the ZAR was defeated. From 1902 until the Union of South Africa was established in 1910, the Transvaal Colony was under direct British rule. The ZAR's geographic area was slightly larger than what later became the Transvaal Colony. In this thesis, when referring to this geographic area before the establishment of the ZAR, the Dutch term *Oorvaalse gebied*, which means "area across the Vaal" will be used, rather than the later Latin derivative, the "Transvaal". After Unification in 1910 the area became the Transvaal Province and when apartheid ended in 1994 the former provinces were abolished and the Transvaal ceased to exist. The south-central portion became Gauteng, the northern portion became Limpopo (it was first called the Northern Province and later accepted the name Limpopo), the south-eastern portion became Mpumalanga and the south-western portion became the North West Province. A tiny segment joined KwaZulu-Natal.

### 1.1.5 Assumptions

Interdisciplinary study is justified because studying architecture prepares the practitioner to oscillate between the disciplines of the natural sciences and the human sciences, between

the quantitative and the qualitative. It is therefore not necessary to justify why an architect would offer a novel argument relating to history, theory, mathematics and the built environment. It is assumed that the architect is qualified to engage in the discourse of different specialised topics.

A historical study of the facts will reveal the theory required and therefore an inside out approach is justified and not an outside in approach. The historical facts reveal change in landscape and change demands an explanation. The process of determining the reasons for change reveals the theoretical concepts required to explain change.

### **1.1.6 Writing conventions**

- Titles of Chapters are 14 points Times New Roman in Bold.
- Section headings are 12 points Times New Roman in Bold.
- 1.5 line spacing and 12 points Times New Roman are used in the body text. There is a space between two paragraphs and between section headings and the body text.
- The titles of chapters and sub-chapters are italicised when referred to in the text.
- Footnotes and long indented quotes are 10 points Times New Roman.
- Quotations shorter than five lines are integrated in the text and placed between full inverted commas.
- Figure captions are 10 points Times New Roman in Bold. Descriptions of images are sometimes included in the figure captions.
- All CAD-drawings are by the author. These include diagrams and architectural plans.
- All photographs are by the author, unless stated otherwise.
- Internet images are retrieved from the public domain, unless referenced otherwise.
- Foreign words are printed in Italics. If the foreign word is also a quote, inverted commas are added.
- Unnecessary abbreviations are avoided. Reference to figures in the text is written out, not capitalised and not abbreviated. (figure 1 and not Fig.1)
- Two authors are referred to as Holm and Viljoen and not Holm & Viljoen.
- The ZAR, VOC and DPW are explained and then abbreviated without points between separate letters (not Z.A.R., V.O.C. and D.P.W.)

- Numbers and adjectives of numbers up to twenty are written out. So are centuries (second floor and not 2<sup>nd</sup> floor, Seventeenth century and not 17<sup>th</sup> century, but 114m and 1875).
- The Bibliography only includes authored articles and books. Internet sources are referenced in footnotes.
- Spelling is standard British English and not American.

### **1.1.7 Naming conventions**

#### **The Second Old *Raadsaal***

When the first assembly building (1866 – 1889) was erected on Erf 412, it was referred to as the *Volksraadsaal* or the *Gouvernementsgebouw*, which is Dutch for national assembly and government building respectively. This building is referred to throughout the text as the first Old *Raadsaal*, following the example of many authors active during the middle of the twentieth century, which distinguishes it from the second *Raadsaal* (1890 – present). From 1910 onwards the second *Raadsaal* became the Second Old *Raadsaal* because the parliamentary function had moved to the Union Buildings.

### **1.1.8 Importance of the study**

The history of Pretoria and its establishment have been documented but a comprehensive collection/categorisation of visual data does not exist. Although there are photographs of old structures, some of the original plans/drawings are not available. The spatial quality resulting from the “idea” of Church Square has not been documented yet. There seems to be no solid theory linking Church Square with the production of space.

The reviewed literature seldom considers the archived title deeds, which provide valuable primary source material about transfer of ownership and the role that owners and officials played in the unfolding historical power relations. This data needs to be analysed and compiled in a narrative and added to the existing body of knowledge.

A discussion with Johan Swart, University of Pretoria, Department of Architecture history coordinator and archivist, relating to the importance of research in terms of Church Square in the context of South African History, brought the following to light:

There are a plethora of studies currently exploring the political undertones and implications of architecture relative to South Africa's colonial and apartheid history as well as recent architectural developments seen as continuations or challenges to oppressive practices. However, although a number of researchers have produced seminal studies on architectural history (Pearse, Lewcock, Frescura, Fisher etc.) there remains in the marginal discipline of South African architectural history a series of gaps and omissions, unexplored periods, cursory generalisations and undiscovered records. It is paramount that the architectural historical record is filled in with accurate and responsible description, not in ignorance of political and theoretical themes but as baseline for further interpretation and critical discourse (correspondence 25 November 2018).

In this regard the thesis is presented in two parts. Firstly Chapters 3, 4, 6 and 7 explore the historic powers and critically interpret the temporal impact that landscape, space and power has had on the built environment of Church Square, Pretoria, and secondly Chapter 5 attempts at filling those gaps and omissions in the history of Church Square and surrounding erven, by presenting undiscovered records and by serving as baseline for further interpretations and critical discourse. The thesis represents new questions, new methods and new interpretations.

This thesis will be available to inform further academic research, students and practitioners who do heritage work. Because the source base has been broadened to include primary sources located in legal documents, the information is available to other researchers in the various disciplines that inform architecture.

## **1.2 Review of related literature**

### **1.2.1 Introduction**

There are three data types relevant to this study: written texts, images and observations. The literature review deals only with written texts as data type. Written text is a range of primary and secondary documentary material, published and unpublished theses, articles, academic books, Africana, historical and ethno-historical records and primary documents that include minutes and motions (*memories*).

The tools that were traditionally available to the historian in order to write a history are archaeological evidence, such as physical remains and artefacts, oral reminiscence and archival material (primary sources) and written documents and oral evidence (secondary sources). These tools to the historian complement each other in the interpretation of the past (Shafer 1974). With the advent of the digital age Internet sources have been added to these tools of research. A twenty-first century researcher will inevitably start with what is

available on the various databases on the Web and then move to primary sources, but everything on the Web needs to be viewed critically.

The general intent of the literature exploration is to identify what sources are available on the topic of historical Pretoria in general and Church Square in particular, as well as to find theoretical sources that elaborate on the concepts of landscape, power and space. The literature exploration aims to review historical literature on these subjects and to lay the foundation for the study. Like a family tree containing genetic links to the topic's background, the review links to both contemporary connections and to historical information (Groat and Wang 2002: 57). The literature review further reveals what lacunae exist in the field of the research and indicates how this thesis will address these lacunae. The ultimate direction of the proposed research is historical, theoretical and architectural.

The rationale for this thesis is to add to the existing body of knowledge of Church Square in Pretoria by placing it in the contexts of landscape and power and by determining how these two informants determined space. The first part of this review deals with literature about the specific topic: Church Square in Pretoria. It starts with literature on the establishment history of Pretoria and moves on to the seminal moments that caused change in the landscape. The second part of the review covers sources that frame this study theoretically. The limitations of the literature (lacunae) are discussed in the critical part of each section. Internal and external criticism is applied to investigate written sources that inform the study (Shafer 1974).

### **1.2.2 Existing body of information on Pretoria's Church Square**

The body of existing information (not knowledge) on Church Square is often far from academic or historical. A generic Google search reveals a description from Wikipedia, recent photographs (figure 1.2), tourist information and maps, a few historical photographs (figure 1.3), computer generated 3D-models showing the *Re Kgabisa Tshwane*'s<sup>2</sup> urban

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<sup>2</sup> *Re Kgabisa Tshwane* is a programme of the South African Government led by the Department of Public Works (DPW), the Department of Public Services and Administration (DPSA) together with the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality (CTMM). The main purpose of *Re Kgabisa Tshwane* is to ensure a long-term accommodation solution of an acceptable standard for national government department head offices and agencies within the inner city of Tshwane (retrieved from <http://www.skyscrapercity.com/showthread.php?t=575516>, retrieved on 15 August 2016).

development proposal (figure 1.4) and news on recent political protests as part of the debates on decolonising public space and the removal of colonial statues (figure 1.5).



**Figure 1.2**  
Current view of Church Square from the south  
(retrieved from: <http://businessstech.co.za>).



**Figure 1.3**  
Historical photograph of Church Square taken around 1905  
(retrieved from: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/hilton-t/6593194775>).



**Figure 1.4**  
*Re Kgabisa Tshwane's urban development proposal (retrieved from:*  
<http://www.skyscrapercity.com/showthread.php?t=575516>).



**Figure 1.5**  
*Anton van Wouw, Boer Kryger, 1896, bronze statue, doused with lime green paint (retrieved from:*  
<http://www.bdlive.co.za/national/2015/04/07/kruger-will-need-a-week-long-bath>).

A brief history of Pretoria and its development from early inhabitants to post-apartheid is often summarised in popular websites such as [www.pretoria.co.za/city-info/history](http://www.pretoria.co.za/city-info/history) and [www.sahistory.org.za](http://www.sahistory.org.za). Church Square is merely referred to in passing for its geographical location in the “heart of the city”, for the location of Paul Kruger’s statue and for its

imposing public buildings <sup>3</sup> . The more academic websites such as Artefacts (www.artefacts.co.za) on the South African Built Environment (developed by Fisher and Gaylard with various contributors) and the University of Pretoria's able.wiki.up.ac.za provide a database of listed buildings, types, locations, architects, current heritage status, history, descriptions, images and sources.

Leedy (1989) lists *Determining (access to) existing data* as an important step in research methodology, the outcome being the compilation and development of a bibliography. Information on Church Square gathered through conversations and unstructured interviews expanded the bibliography and lead to more sources and knowledgeable individuals.

### **1.2.3 Existing body of knowledge on Pretoria's Church Square**

The historical visual sources such as maps, photographs and paintings have revealed that there were four distinct periods or episodes in the history of Pretoria's Church Square. The literature is reviewed according to these four time periods.

#### **1.2.3.1 Establishment of Pretoria (1840 – 1857)**

Interest in the history of Pretoria is not new and there are others who have attempted to document the establishment history of Pretoria (Pieterse 1942; Peacock 1955; Rex 1956; Cartwright and Cowan 1978, Liebenberg 2015).

It was the favourable geography that attracted settlers as early as the Stone Age to the area. Van Vollenhoven (2008) argues that it was the abundance of water from the Fountains Valley and its subsequent flow along the Apies River that generated permanent agricultural settlement by the Boers at the end of their Trek. It was also the presence of these two strong flowing fountains that lead to the establishment of the town Pretoria.

Several authors describe the natural features of the landscape (Pieterse 1942, Kraehmer 1978, Meiring 1980, Maré 2006). Pretoria was settled in a valley formed by two long, parallel ridges. This has resulted in the distinctive character of the city. Kraehmer (1978) and Pieterse (1942) describe the role that water and water management played in the

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<sup>3</sup> Retrieved from www.lonelyplanet.com retrieved on 15 August 2016.

establishment of the settlement.

Other studies document the appearance and location of the first farmhouses as well as the people who first settled in the area that is today known as Pretoria (Preller 1939; Allen 1971; Du Preez 1978; Van Vollenhoven 2008). The *Voortrekkers* initially settled on farms and not in towns, but the Boer towns developed to serve the farming community and were either government sponsored or church towns (Floyd 1960). Town- and farmhouses were crude, thatched, three-roomed, clay structures with rafters, but each village had a substantial church built by common effort before there was a minister to fill the pulpit (Cartwright and Cowan 1978).

Cartwright and Cowan (1978) provide insight into the problems that M.W. Pretorius encountered as President with the burghers and leaders of the other rebellious Boer Republics, but Pretorius ultimately united quarrelsome factions into one people and ushered in a new era of peace and prosperity. He was still determined to carry out his father's master plan, which was to unite all the descendants of the *trekkers* into one nation and thus form a new country that would have no boundaries, between the Orange and the Limpopo.

Floyd (1960) describes the establishment of towns in the old Boer republics and the location of the seats of the *Volksraad* but it is Pieterse (1942) who elaborates on this contentious issue. The different towns took turns to host *Volksraad* meetings and it was not always possible for all members to attend far away meetings, due to cost and distance. Cartwright and Cowan (1978) agree that burghers disliked the long journeys they had to make to attend *Volksraad* meetings, so M.W. Pretorius formulated a plan for a more central location for the new capital, near the banks of the Apies River, where Pretoria was founded. Pieterse (1942) elaborates on the political situation at the time of the establishment of Pretoria Philadelphia and his account of the *Volksraad* meetings, taken from the primary sources in the Transvaal Archives, provides valuable insight into the driving forces behind the establishment of the town and the struggle in the Republic to establish Pretoria as the capital. It is through Pieterse's account of M.W. Pretorius's ambitions to create a *Zittingplaats des Volksraads...in het midden des lands*, that the role of state and church in the change in landscape from agricultural settlement to town can best be related. He adds that apart from the beautiful natural setting, another reason for establishment was its geographical location in the centre of existing crossroads from Natal

to Soutpansberg, a lucrative ivory trade route, and from Potchefstroom to Delagoa Bay (today Maputo).

Pieterse (1942) describes the role that the Church had in establishing the capital. The *Volksraad* was hesitant about declaring a capital where no town existed (Kraehmer 1978: 7) and after numerous of his motions were denied, Pretorius changed his strategy and addressed his request to the Church, which was a softer target (Pieterse 1942: 10). Elandspoort was probably already a *Kerkplaats*, but Pretorius approached the Reverend Van der Hoff, who influenced the Church Council to vote for the establishment of a new congregation on the bought farm Elandspoort.

The two farms of Elandspoort and Koedoespoort were declared a town in November 1853 and construction of the church commenced in 1856. Louis and Lionel Devereux submitted a design for the square and Devereux, Devereux and Skinner, Pretoria's first designer-builders, built the church. It was a simple structure of mud and stone with a stepped gable and thatched roof (Meiring 1980; Pieterse 1942: 34). The new *Hervormde* congregation only got its first reverend in 1861 (Pieterse 1942: 12). The members of the *Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk* (Dutch Reformed Church) were widely dispersed on farms and congregated every quarter for the *nachtmaal* service held over several days. Pretorius therefore instructed that the terrain should be extensive to make provision for outspan and camping facilities during *nachtmaal* gatherings, when many wagons and tents would stand around the square. Various authors describe the *nachtmaal* and other activities on Church Square (Pieterse 1942; Allen 1971; Meiring 1980; Clarke and Kuipers 2015). It was the natural meeting place of the farming community, not only for *nachtmaal* and religious occasions but also for social and political gatherings and trade.

According to authors Pieterse, Peacock and Kraehmer it was A.F. du Toit who was tasked with the setting out of erven, but Rex (1956) clarifies that the original Church Square and surrounding erven were set out by William Skinner and the Devereux brothers, Louis and Lionel, who also built the church and that Du Toit merely continued with their work, using the pegs that were already there. When Du Toit arrived in Pretoria there were already 118 erven set out together with the streets (Market and Church) leading into the Square. Apparently there was a mistake with the setting out of the church foundation and the corners of the Church building were not completely central to the Square. Marais (1910: 77) believes the choice of site where the heart of Pretoria was set out, is testimony

of good foresight because the site can be easily drained and is conducive to healthy living.

### **Addressing the lacunae**

The literature reviewed above represents the classical understanding of the establishment history of Pretoria, but this topic warrants further theoretical investigation to determine the driving forces behind the change from natural landscape to human agricultural settlement and from human movement to settlement. Pretoria's identity is based not on stability but on change. There are seminal moments that caused these changes, which are not covered by any of the authors. This study investigates the advent of the philosophy of change and the seminal moments that caused these changes.

A number of sources mention Church and State in passing, but these powers have been largely ignored in the interpretation of the meaning of Pretoria's establishment history. The study of Power has expanded remarkably over the past decades to include now significant sources like Foucault (1991), Lefebvre (1991) and Deleuze (1972). The importance of growing power theories warrants further exploration and an in-depth look into the actual powers that determined change and justifies an attempt at developing a contextual site-specific interpretation of power theory.

Furthermore law as the power that facilitated change needs to be included and scholarly studies on the historical development of South African Law reviewed. The question arises how and by what authority the Boers registered the first farms. The literature reveals that the first settlers conformed to legal requirements of ownership (Van Vollenhoven 2000: 182-3; Marais 1910: 115), but it seems to be silent on the authorities that sanctioned these transactions. Bearing in mind that beacons were erected and farms registered twelve years before the *Zuid Afrikaansche Republic* (ZAR) came into being in 1852 (RAK 2434), this question needs to be answered in order to critically respond to the growing interest in the contentious issue of land ownership. The registration authority near the Apies River can be determined through a historical investigation into the Boer Republics, the dates of their establishment, their constitutions and dissolution. Here again both Pieterse (1942: 1) and Rex (1956) with their research of the original minutes of *Volksraad* meetings in the Transvaal Archives, uncover the details of agreements between Republics, the roles of Potgieter and Pretorius and their sons after them, the battle for the locality of the seat of the *Volksraad* and political schism.

Several authors mention the natural features of the landscape but these are descriptive accounts and do not link to theory. Contemporary theory of Landscape is worth reviewing as it includes critical theories of Temporality and Power that find application in this study. The genetic link to the background of geography as settlement generator reaches back to the history of the ancient Greeks and their colonial settlement patterns, which provides a family tree of sorts for the development of Boer towns in general and Pretoria specifically, as further explored in the next chapter.

The new contribution to the literature includes the concepts of Change, Power and Landscape and relates these concepts to the historical establishment narrative of Pretoria. It enriches this narrative by lending a theoretical orientation to the study and by giving insight into the worldview that led to the changes mentioned.

### **1.2.3.2 From agricultural settlement to town (1857 – 1886)**

Church Square is the heart of Pretoria, the focal point from which the town grew (Allen 1971: 22). The square was originally known as *Marktplein* (Meiring 1980; Rex 1956). It was set out around the existing church and the surrounding erven were laid out according to a grid pattern, unrelated to topography and other natural considerations. This is a distinguishing feature of all Boer-founded towns, as described by Floyd (1960), Haswell (1988) and Peters and Du Preez (2014). Allen (1971) and Kraehmer (1978) also discuss the topic of geometric town planning superimposed on the natural topography.

Pieterse (1942: 21) gives an account of A.F. du Toit's geometric setting out of the town, his methodology and design. The first houses arose quickly followed by simple trading establishments. Kraehmer (1978: 8) tells that construction of a school and thereafter the government building followed, but everything did not happen as fast as these authors would like us to believe as Rex (1956) correctly points out. After Pretoria was declared the central seat of Government in April 1860, instruction was given to construct the First *Volksraadsaal* and Government offices but the outbreak of Civil War, which lasted from 1860 until the beginning of 1864, meant that it took a while before these projects could be built (Rex 1956: 151) because the political situation was unstable and all attention was focused on the war effort and military matters (Rex 1956: 276). Furthermore M.W. Pretorius became the president of the Orange Free State as well, and thus from the beginning of 1860 he was often absent from the Transvaal and spent more time in the Free

State. He could not give attention to the building of the first government office (Rex 1956: 266). The power struggle during the Civil War was reflected in the struggle to take possession of the Government Office and the flag. Schoeman took over the Government office, handed over reluctantly by Struben, which was still housed in M.W. Pretorius's house at the time. In April 1862 the Government School building, which housed the Executive Council offices, was taken with force from Schoeman after he was fired as acting President (Rex 1956: 158).

Pieterse (1942: 38) gives a thorough description of the government building's layout, building materials and construction by Skinner and Devereux. Some farmers acquired properties close to the church and built *tuishuise* (farmers' town-houses or cottages) for accommodation over the *nachtmaal* weekend. In 1875 A.H. Walker, a qualified land surveyor, re-measured the erven but he could not improve on Du Toit's measurements. Streets were made 80 feet wide in order for an ox wagon to turn around.

For years the Square was an outspan and market place, but the trading activities intruded on the rights of *nachtmaal*-goers so the market was moved to Market Square a few blocks to the east (later Strijdom Square) in 1882. This did not stop the traders, so *Landdrost* Smit announced in 1889 that all auctions and public trade were strictly forbidden on Church Square. The outspan of wagons was also forbidden, except if it was for church purposes and the delivery of building material was banned except on a width of 15 feet on the perimeter of Church Square (Pieterse 1942: 22). Maré (1975: 29) felt that placing the church where two main roads were to cross, did not testify to good town planning principles. She wrote that parked ox wagon disrupted traffic flow in the town. These comments should be viewed critically as being written with modern town planning principles in mind. Although it is true that traffic through the Square was impeded during a *nachtmaal* weekend, the planners could not have foreseen later growth of Pretoria and initially the Square did fulfil its original purpose of being an outspan. The creation of a servitude on its perimeter in 1899 solved traffic problems (see figure 5.13: SG diagram 3193).

Marais (1910: 77) describes how Pretoria developed into the foremost trading town at the northern border of South Africa. Oxen from Pretoria were driven to Grahamstown to be sold and most of the local trade wares were transported in wagons from Durban or Pietermaritzburg. The journey there and back took two months. Wool was gathered at

Bloemfontein and sent to Port Elizabeth.

Holm, D (1998: 59) describes the *Voortrekker dorp* as based on a simple standard model, well understood by both planners and users, with its regular design lines of order imprinted on the land and the wild landscape, and Jordaan (1989) states that the *Urbs quadrata* is the image according to which these towns were laid out (see also Holm and Viljoen 1993: 35). Haswell (1988: 24) and Peters and Du Preez (2014) argue that the gridded layout and long streets could take best advantage of the slope for the irrigation of the rectangular erven.

Pieterse (1942: 24-32) describes the management of water in the new town, the construction of open furrows that led water from the fountains to Church Square and provided drinking water for animals and water for the irrigation of surrounding erven, the building of dams and the provision of sluices that were to be controlled by the water fiscal. Water regulations were introduced to determine the cost of water usage, the maintenance of furrows and to make various sanitary provisions. In 1877 residents were warned against typhoid and other illnesses due to dirty water and it was suggested that a sanitary commission be appointed unless the regulations could be more strictly policed. Celliers<sup>4</sup>, the editor of *De Volksstem* wrote that water was clean when it arrived in town but that was where the deterioration began. “The so-called water furrows of Pretoria are simply a disgrace to any civilised community” (Celliers 1877; see also Peacock 1955: 132). It seems that since the Government of Sir Theophilus Shepstone came into being in 12 April 1877 due to the annexation of the Transvaal, the residents of Pretoria lost their interest in the prosperity and maintenance of the town. Marais (1910: 77) writes that water rights from the Fountains did not belong to the farm Groenkloof on which Pretoria was laid out, but that water had to be bought from the previous owner Bronkhorst. He elaborates that large portions of farms on the western side of town were bought for communal cattle grazing fields. This was essential to early towns because most of the town’s residents kept cattle. All erven had water furrows, most had rose hedges and roses crept on vacant lots to 20’ high over willow trees. Marais (1910: 78) describes the erven around Church Square as the most favourable for leading away storm water in summer because it falls to three sides and is swiftly carried away in *spruits* and loops.

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<sup>4</sup> Jan F. Celliers (Jan Volkstem) was the owner and editor of *De Volksstem* from 1873 until 1888. During the first British occupation, authorities prohibited publication and Celliers was arrested for his support of the Transvaal cause (Peacock 1955: 138).

Liebenberg (2015: 15) focuses on the influence that the annexation of the Transvaal by Britain in 1877 had on cartography, since maps were henceforth produced by the British military. The Intelligence Department of the War Office (IDWO) mapped all overseas areas and colonies and before the Anglo-Boer War (South African War) there were intensive efforts by Britain to collect as much intelligence on the Transvaal as possible. These maps include military features.

*Kruger's Pretoria* by Allen (1971) (figure 1.6) forms an important part of the body of historical knowledge on Pretoria's Church Square. Her account of Kruger's Pretoria is mainly anecdotal, but it contains valuable historic photographic source material and useful information about the buildings in and around Church Square. She comments on the development of Pretoria as capital and the town's street layout, power struggles between state and court, (also see Meiring 1980: 12) as well as land ownership in and around Church Square. Allen's description of the first Church, its builders and context, its ruination (see also Pieterse 1942: 34), the construction of the second church and its demolition provides insight into the Church Square that has since disappeared. Allen describes construction difficulties due to the high water table and deterioration of buildings due to foundations drying out and shifting after the open furrows, that had been a feature in Pretoria for so long, were piped underground.

Anecdotal too is Jeppe's expression of the townspeople's irritation with farmers from surrounds invading the Square for their quarterly *Nachtmaal*, though welcome to the traders around the square where farmers' wives stocked up on necessities for the next three months, they ruined the only flat open space for cricket with their oxen, wagon wheels and tents (Allen 1971: 35-36).

Jeppe relates that they often crept down to the farmers' tents to sever their supporting tent ropes with their pocket blades as an act of revenge. They also deviated the watercourse into the Square, which made the tented camp resemble "a lake covered with boats in full sail the next morning" (Allen 1971: 36).

Apart from being the Outspan at *Nachtmaal* for visiting farmers and the cricket pitch for townspeople when the farmers weren't there, the Square was used for markets and auctions. Allen describes the social activities on the Square.

This book does not give an account of historic events, but the *Burgher Oorlog* and the First and Second Anglo-Boer Wars are mentioned briefly in relation to its effect on the buildings and their use. Her interest is more focused on the first role players around the

Square: Broderick, Lys, Struben, Lang Piet Marais, Beckett, Bourke, Heys, Brooks and Loveday<sup>5</sup>.

The buildings described by Allen, some existing and some already demolished, include the first and second *Raadsaal*, goal, Palace of Justice, Post Offices, President Hotel, Marks fountain, Old State Bank building, Old Netherlands Bank building, South African Hotel, President theatre, the Oaks, Law Chambers, National Bank and Mint of the ZAR, Kruger's statue, Lewis & Marks building, Standard Bank building and the Pretoria Club. She describes the styles in which these buildings were built and lists dates of construction and demolition, previous uses, decoration and sculptures. The information gathered from this source is used to start populating a database of buildings and their various uses over time. None of these properties or their owners is linked to specific erf numbers. There is also no reference to a map of Church Square to illuminate the contextual relationship.

Pieterse (1942) is once again a valuable source that contains clarification of the powers of the *Landdrost* and *Heemrade*, the creation of town regulations, the role of the law court, punishment, the establishment of municipalities and the financial struggles to maintain all of this. He further describes the early residences, the school and the goal, without going into too much architectural detail.

### **Addressing the lacunae**

The literature reviewed above represents the early history of Pretoria, its buildings and personalities. These sources provide a description of the initial development of the town Pretoria, but this topic warrants further theoretical investigation to determine the driving forces behind the change from agricultural settlement to town between 1857 and 1886. Various sources mention that the town was laid out according to a grid pattern, unrelated to topography and other natural considerations, but fail to provide the genetic link or family tree of geometric town planning.

The reviewed literature does not provide an answer to the question whether the Boers followed a settlement code in the laying out of their towns. Holm, D (1998) talked about a simple standard model and Peters and Du Preez (2014) concluded that rectangular erven were easily irrigated, but an investigation into colonial laws dating back to the Dutch East

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<sup>5</sup> Pretoria streets were named after these personalities.

India Company (VOC) needs to be incorporated in order to determine whether it was the power of law or cultural tradition that determined the town layout.

The acquisition of erven in the newly laid out town of Pretoria conformed to legal requirements of ownership. The right of property ownership is a real right and as such can be registered in terms of the Deeds Registries Act. In order to determine the role that the Power of Law played in the historical development of Church Square, the concept of real rights needs to be included, since real rights establish an almost direct relationship between the holder of the right and the property. This study traces the origin of real rights from its inception in Roman law, to its transformation by the natural lawyers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, to its incorporation into the doctrine of subjective rights by the Pandectists in the nineteenth century, to its current basis in the law of property (Du Bois 2007: 427).

Pieterse (1942: 34) relates that President M.W. Pretorius, who was the owner of the Church and Church Square, transferred the property at the beginning of 1867 to the Church Council of the *Hervormde* Congregation of Pretoria, but he does not investigate further change in ownership of Church Square and the surrounding erven. None of the reviewed literature researched the archived title deeds, which provide valuable primary source material about transfer of ownership and the role that owners and officials played in the unfolding historical power relations. This data needs to be analysed and compiled in a narrative and added to the existing body of knowledge.

It is clear that the initial intention for land use of the surrounding erven were to provide the farmers from the surrounds with *tuishuise* where they could stay during the quarterly *nachtmaal* but it seems that trading establishments and institutional buildings quickly replaced them or were housed in these temporary residences. The reasons behind change in land use have not been fully investigated and a theoretical exploration of the production of space (Lefebvre 1991), which has enjoyed a growing interest in recent years, contributes to a contemporary understanding of the early urban landscape. Space as a social relationship, which is inherent in property relationships, has not been linked to the ownership in and around Church Square. Ownership of the earth and land is also closely bound up with the forces of production, which impose a form on that earth or land (Lefebvre 1991: 85). There often is a division of commercial and political power in urban landscapes, but on Church Square, these powers seem to have been mixed from the beginning in terms of land use.

All these studies mention that early architecture was simple. Holm and Viljoen (1993) confirm that Wierda found a simple vernacular when he arrived in Pretoria. The visual sources, illustrations and photographs of buildings around Church Square, from the time of the establishment of the town to the discovery of diamonds and gold nearby (1857 – 1886), confirm this, but none of the sources seem to elaborate on the stylistic typology and the origin of the vernacular architecture. Marais (1910: 78) describes two types of vernacular buildings to be found around Church Square: the one is thatched, with verandah and two *stoepkamers* on each side of the verandah (such as M.W. Pretorius's house) and the other was intended for commercial use: a flat corrugated iron roof with verandah and a four feet high parapet wall for the firm's signage (such as the European Hotel).

The new contribution of this study to the literature includes a historical account of geometric town planning, a search for colonial settlement codes, an explanation of ownership as a real right, the research of archived title deeds to determine how the real right of property ownership determined power relations, the concept of power at work in the change in land use and the production of space, as well as stylistic exploration of the vernacular.

### **1.2.3.3 Boer-Brit dynamic (1795 – 1948)**

The discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand in 1886 greatly impacted the history of the ZAR (1854 – 1902) and its capital Pretoria. The repercussions of this discovery was felt in all walks of life and this part of South Africa's history has been covered by many authors from varying disciplines, ranging from social history to economic history. Where the first two historical periods of this review allowed for a broader literature search that covered the general establishment history of Pretoria and the early history of the town, the next two historical periods required a more focused search that narrowed down the sources to include only literature on the built environment in and around Church Square.

#### **1.2.3.3.1 After the discovery of Gold (1886-1899): the Dutch emigrant architects of the ZAR Public Works Program**

Rex (1956: 264) describes the dire financial position of the ZAR before the discovery of gold and tells of the impact that this had on the execution of government projects. Before

1886 Paul Kruger's "tame Englishmen" erected government buildings in a simple Karoo-style that resembled utilitarian buildings (Holm and Viljoen 1993: 15) and the state had to ask for contributions from the local community (Rex 1956: 266). With the discovery of diamonds and gold in the second half of the nineteenth century capitalism grew and southern Africa was linked with the global economy (Duvenage 2016: 5).

Allen (1971) describes how the influx of capital changed the face of Church Square and Holm and Viljoen (1993: 15) link this prosperity with the government's search for an own identity that would emanate dignity and prestige. Abrahamse and Clarke (2014: 3) concur and describe how this desire for identity and independence (from the British) was expressed through the program of civil works. Holm and Viljoen argue that Paul Kruger brought in knowledgeable, sophisticated, Calvinist, Dutch architects to design government buildings for the newly rich Republic, because he did not deem the local draughtsmen competent enough for such an important task and because he wanted to strengthen the Dutch/Afrikaans language and the Dutch Reformed Church. Abrahamse (2014: 15) agrees and adds that Sytze Wierda and his ex-apprentice and assistant, Klaas van Rijse, were probably drawn by these very circumstances when they applied for their respective positions in the civil service of the ZAR.

Clarke (2014: 157-173) explores the Dutch landscape tradition of the late nineteenth century and examines how it was influenced by the English picturesque landscape tradition. He examines this influence on the provisioning of public spaces and the planning of urban centres in the ZAR, which he claims housed a predominantly rural and agrarian population. Abrahamse (2014: 16-17) states that there was a striking diversification of building typologies at the end of nineteenth century and the trend in Holland was to apply diverse historical styles to these building types so that each style could lend the right character to each typology. For instance the Renaissance style was deemed appropriate for government buildings because it exuded dignity and authority. He stresses the importance of recognising the influence of this trend in the works of the Dutch architect emigrants to southern Africa.

Wierda, assisted by Van Rijse, designed both the *Raadsaal* and the Palace of Justice on Church Square. Much has been written about the design, style, construction, building materials, decoration and ultimate restoration of these two buildings (Meiring 1980: 61; Holm and Viljoen 1993; Bakker *et al* 2014). The architects and builders of these two

prominent buildings, as well as other role players and personalities, have been investigated extensively.

With increased wealth it was decided to demolish and replace other buildings around the Square. During this time the old Post Office was replaced and the Netherlands Bank Building was erected as a symbol of prosperity (Meiring 1980: 51, 65).

The contribution that Dutch-born architects and engineers have made to the architecture of the *Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek* (ZAR) (1854–1902) through its Public Works Department (*Departement Publieke Werken*) (1887–1901) has been given three different names by different authors. Picton-Seymour (1977) called it the Transvaal Republican Style and made a clear distinction between this style and Victorian Architecture, which was more orientated towards the Neo-Gothic and Neo-Renaissance and Holm and Viljoen (1993) calls it the ZAR– style. More recently the term “ZA Wilhelmiens” has been coined by a group of architect-researchers affiliated with the University of Pretoria, to express the Dutch link of the period that roughly coincides with the life of the Dutch queen Wilhelmina (1880–1962) (Clarke and Kuipers 2015: 2). This group includes therein the subsequent Union of South Africa (1910–1961) and explores the shared heritage of Eclectic ZA Wilhelmiens’ architecture.

With regard to the concept of shared heritage, Folkers (2010: 344) states that it is often unwanted because of the possible negative associations, in this case the association with the later Apartheid regime. He warns that as a consequence, valuable buildings erected in the colonial and post-colonial era are often neglected or ultimately demolished.

#### **1.2.3.3.2 The First and the Second Anglo-Boer Wars (1881 and 1899-1902)**

The history of the Transvaal at the end of the nineteenth century is marred by the First and the Second Anglo-Boer Wars. The British annexed the Transvaal in 1877, which led to the first freedom war of 1881 and the Second Anglo-Boer War was fought from 1899 to 1902.

Holm and Viljoen (1993: 59) give an account of the events that lead up to war. *Uitlanders* were allowed to vote for the second *Volksraad* after residing in the ZAR for four years and after a further ten years they could vote for the first *Volksraad* but the discovery of gold brought many *uitlanders* to the area in an around Johannesburg and the

mining magnates were not happy with the regulations established by the ZAR. They wanted immediate voting rights. Holm and Viljoen describe the Jameson raid and the roles of Cecil John Rhodes and Alfred, Lord Milner in the outbreak of war. Their interest lies primarily in the effect that War had on the building of the Old *Raadsaal*.

### **1.2.3.3 The Transvaal Colony (1902-1910)**

Meiring (1980: 59) describes how regime changes were announced on Church Square, which had through the years seen the ever-changing face of history in victory parades, freedom celebrations, triumph and defeat. The *Vierkleur*, designed by Van der Hoff (Pieterse 1942: 19), was hoisted for the first time in the square in 1857 (Botha 2005). It was lowered to the Union Jack with annexation later that year, hoisted again in 1881 and finally had to make way for the Union Jack when the British troops entered Pretoria on 5 June 1900. But the Second Anglo-Boer War was to last for another two years. It only came to an end in 1902 with the signing of the Treaty of Vereeniging.

During the Anglo-Boer War the Public Works Department was composed of Royal Military Engineers, but this was soon changed to civilian management with the signing of the Treaty (Clarke and Kuipers 2015: 8). After working in the Public Works Department of the ZAR for twelve years, Wierda's service was suddenly terminated. He practised in Johannesburg for a while and retired in Cape Town in 1906 (Holm and Viljoen 1993: 62). He died in 1911 at the age of 72 in Sea Point Cape Town. Between 1902 and 1910, which is the period after the Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902) and before the founding of the Union of South Africa (1910–1961) a group of Britons who served in the South African Civil Service under High Commissioner Alfred, Lord Milner (born 1854 – died 1925) actively promoted the British Empire. They were called Milner's Kindergarten (Clarke and Kuipers 2015: 7).

In 1902 King Edward VII was crowned in England and with the change of leadership from Victorian to Edwardian colonial rule the Square and surrounding buildings underwent functional and stylistic changes. Holm and Viljoen (1993: 71) claim that the change in rule in England was felt on different levels which included the built environment. There was a spirit of reconciliation under King Edward as opposed to direct aggression under Queen Victoria. This was reflected in the lighter interiors of the Edwardian style as opposed to the sombre darkness of Queen Victoria's reign and preference was given to male architecture

as opposed to the female characteristics of Victorian architecture. Holm and Viljoen clarify the male and female aspects of architecture by comparing the Old *Raadsaal* on Church Square (male) with the Palace of Justice (female). They describe the changes that Church Square underwent which include the demolition of the pedestal for Paul Kruger's statue on the west side of the Church in 1902, the demolition of the Church itself and the removal of the coat of arms on the *Raadsaal* (see also Meiring 1980: 43). The Old *Raadsaal* is the focus of Holm and Viljoen's book and they describe the functional and stylistic changes that the building underwent under colonial rule, the most important being the adjustment to the *Volksraadsaal* to fit the Westminster system where ruling parties are seated in rows of desks opposing each other.

Paul Kruger died on 14 July 1904 in Clarens, Switzerland. His body was returned to the Transvaal and on 16 December 1904 his memorial service, which was attended by 30,000 people, took place on Church Square, where he had taken the oath as head of state four times, the first being in 1883 (Meiring 1980: 61).

Industrialist Sammy Marks donated a large cast-iron fountain to the city, which was placed in the centre of the Square in 1906 where it stood until 1910. Meiring (1980: 43) sees the fountain as providing some consolation to the residents and other authors describe the fountain and its origin (Clarke and Kuipers 2015: 69; Haarhoff 2012: 115).

#### **1.2.3.3.4 The Union of South Africa (1910-1948)**

Architect Herbert Baker, although older, hosted and regularly met with Milner's Kindergarten (see above) during their time in the Civil Service of the Transvaal Colony. He endorsed their ambitions of promoting the British Empire and although their service came to an end with the Union of South Africa (1910–1961), the tradition continued despite ideological change (Clarke and Kuipers 2015: 7). Baker was a friend and favourite of Cecil John Rhodes and later also of Alfred, Lord Milner and as the Union of South Africa was being formed, Baker was already busy with the plans of the new Parliament Building, the Union Buildings, on Meintjeskop in 1910 (Holm and Viljoen 1993: 76). This meant that the Old *Raadsaal*, as it was now called, was not a part of the future. Church Square had lost its status as political centre of the capital.

A 1910 competition for the redesign of the then still gently sloping site, won by Vivian

Rees-Poole, separated traffic and pedestrians and created the current layout, generated by the ideal inclines for trams at the time. This created the terraced layout the square still has, with traffic circling a formal lawned central park (Clarke and Kuipers 2015: 69). Rees-Poole's design incorporated a criss-cross of pathways leading to destinations other than the Square itself (Maré 1975: 40). Meiring (1980: 11) stated that the layout of Church Square as it is today was the work of Baker, and Kraehmer (1978: 21) clarified that it was Herbert Baker's pupils and followers that were responsible for the layout of Church Square, as we know it today.

Allen (1971) laments the introduction of the tram terminus that changed the aesthetic and the use of the Square, since the principal considerations were now the slopes and angles that an electric tram could negotiate. She describes the hurried pedestrian traffic, dull tarmac paths without attractive paving that intersect at the massive masonry supporting Kruger's statue without the benefit of flowers and water. Pretoria had exchanged its heart for a public transport system. The Union of South Africa had a specific national identity. For more on the concept of national identity see Vale (1992: 45).

### **Addressing the lacunae**

The literature review reveals that the dynamic between Boer and Brit played out in four episodes that are each characterised by change in that dynamic. Furthermore each part had a distinct impact on the built environment. The discovery of gold in the Transvaal changed the economic power of the ZAR and made it possible for the government, through its Public Works Program to commission the construction of grand designs by Dutch immigrant architects, but this economic change led to the two Anglo-Boer Wars and the end of the Republic. Although recent publications (Clarke *et al* 2014 and 2015) have explored the Dutch shared heritage<sup>6</sup>, the underlying changing dynamic between Boer and Brit during the same period remains to be investigated. Determining the driving forces behind change is an on-going theme in this thesis and once again the roles of law, state and church are further explored. Another factor is added to the argument, namely the role that economic power played in the changing dynamic between Boer and Brit. This thesis aims

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<sup>6</sup> The publication *Eclectic ZA Wilhelmiens: A shared Dutch built heritage in South Africa* (Bakker, K.A., Clarke, N.J. and Fisher, R.C. (eds.) 2014, Pretoria: Visual Books) is an edited book of essays relating to the Dutch contribution to South African architecture and infrastructural development in the second half of the Nineteenth Century.

at including significant sources like Lefebvre (1991) to expand on the interpretation of the built environment through theory relating to spatial production.

Allen (1971), Meiring (1980) and Holm and Viljoen (1993) discuss style change of government buildings as capital from the goldfields poured into the ZAR coffers and Abrahamse (2014) discusses the styles deemed appropriate for government buildings by Dutch immigrant architects, but these sources seem to be silent on the stylistic application with regard to other building typologies. Holm and Viljoen (1993) focus on the Old *Raadsaal* in the exploration of interior style change, which occurred with regime change and a similar analysis of other buildings around Church Square is warranted.

In the same vein, the less prominent buildings around Church Square are often ignored. This thesis aims to fill the gaps by graphically representing the distribution of power and the change in power relations, which are linked to legal documents and two-dimensional diagrams.

Certain errors were found in the existing literature and this study rectifies these errors. Abrahamse and Clarke (2014: 43) incorrectly indicate that when Wierda arrived in Pretoria the Dutch Reformed Church stood on the eastern half of the Square and that the western half was unoccupied. This misconception is perpetuated by Clarke (2014: 164) in his claim that the Palace of Justice and *Raadsaal* were located on the axis, on opposite sides of the Square with the podium intended for Paul Kruger's statue in the centre of the Square and that the formal public space was edged on the east by the Neo-Gothic church spire. In fact, the church was in the centre of Church Square, the axis runs in the middle of Market Street (later Paul Kruger Street) and both the Palace of Justice and the *Raadsaal* are west of the central axis. It is true, however, that before the church was demolished the western part of the Square was almost a separated urban room, bordered by representations of law (north), church (east), state (south) and the commercial buildings of the west façade (west). The pedestal intended for Paul Kruger's statue punctuated the centre of this secondary space. This formal visual unit disappeared with the demolition of the church.

Clarke (2014: 164) further hints at the discreet separation of the legislature and judiciary as distinct autonomous entities of state, but this is also not true in the strict sense of the word. Refer to Le Roux's (2003: 55-63) article on Kotze's attempts at establishing

an independent judiciary, which only came to fruition with the Interim Constitution of 1994.

The literature review reveals that this time period is characterised by the demolition of existing structures, which were either replaced with new structures or the urban space was left empty. None of the reviewed sources explore the significance of the absence of these structures and in order to address this lacuna, the study investigates the presence, erasure and subsequent absence of built form and open space through palimpsest theory. The term “palimpsest” refers to configurations of urban space and its unfolding in time and the deciphering of the historic urban palimpsest that is Church Square requires the interpretation of visual data gathered from SG diagrams, title deeds, zoning certificates, archived photographs, drawings, maps and building plans.

Although Holm and Viljoen (1993) discuss the changes that were made to the layout of the First *Volksraadsaal* as the political systems changed, the Old Raadsaal needs to be placed in its typological context. The development of parliamentary typology needs to be included in order to position the building in its family tree, which contains the genetic links to the background of this type of architecture. The same needs to be done for the Palace of Justice. The historical information on judicial architecture and its contemporary connections will be a new contribution to the literature.

Contemporary theory of landscape is worth reviewing as it includes critical theories of temporality and power that find application in this study.

The new contribution of this study to the literature is the division of the Boer—Brit dynamic into four episodes and an analysis of the impact that the change in this dynamic had on the built environment in and around Church Square. With regard to this built environment it further interprets spatial production theory, analyses style change, determines the distribution of power and the change in power relations, applies palimpsest theory in deciphering the presence, erasure and subsequent absence of built form and open space and finally places building typology in context.

#### **1.2.3.4 Apartheid and Post-Apartheid (1948 – 1994; 1994 – 2018)**

Although Church Square did not show significant structural change between 1948 and 1991, this period is characterised by apartheid, a political system of institutionalised racial

segregation and discrimination, which had a distinct impact on the social, cultural and historical contexts of the Square. The literature on Church Square that covers this time period revolves around two themes: the placing of Paul Kruger's statue in the middle of the Square and the proposed demolition of the West Façade.

After roaming around for over fifty years, the bronze statue of Paul Kruger by Anton van Wouw was finally placed in the centre of the Square in 1954 as part of a monumental ensemble containing four Boer soldiers on a sandstone pediment. Various authors have covered the conception, creation, casting, transport, interception, repatriation and relocation of the statue (Engelbrecht 1952: 98; Pietersen 1968: Allen 1971: 153; Maré 1975; Meiring 1980: 61; Punt 1992: Labuschagne 2011: 142-154; Haarhoff 2012: 115; Clarke and Kuipers 2015: 69). The statue attracts multidisciplinary interest: ranges from the arts to history, to politics, to architecture and landscape architecture and to urban design.

Many authors have documented twentieth century modernist development and its contempt of the past that saw the erasure of cultural landmarks in favour of characterless buildings (Richie 1999: 860; Huyssen 2003: 41; Sudjic 2005: 71; Goosen in Duvenage 2016: 224). Similarly, Church Square was not spared Modernist attempts to change its face in the name of progress. In the 1970s the government planned to place two tower blocks on each side of Church Street West. It would have meant the demolition of the entire historic West Façade. This sparked outrage amongst Pretoria citizens, who started to fight politicians and bureaucrats for its preservation. The strife to save the West Façade has been extensively documented (Allen 1971: 55; Meiring Naudé 1979: 4; Meiring 1980: 11; Clarke and Kuipers 2015: 9; the complete December 1975 issue of *Pretoriana*).

The seventies also saw the beginning of planning guidelines, town planning schemes and policy statements. Kraehmer (1978: 2) lamented that the higher tiers of Government ignored town-planning schemes. Verwoerd's Capital City Planning Committee failed because controlling authorities ignored their aesthetic recommendations.

During apartheid the Square contained particular political meaning that was manipulated by the regime. Meiring (1980: 61) and Holm, D (1993: 80) describe the political significance of the fact that the first State President of the Republic of South Africa (C.R. Swart) was inaugurated on Church Square on 31 May 1961. Tempelhoff (1998) describes the considerable prestige that the Square enjoyed as an important symbol

in Afrikaans-speaking circles and investigates the thematological and chronological interpretations of events and trends during the period 1989 to 1997. Tempelhoff is a good source to use when comparing how meaning associated with the Square changed with the change in political regimes. Labuschagne (2011: 142-154) adds to the political meaning of the Square by describing the statue's travels through space and time and Clarke and Kuipers (2015: 70) state that the Square played host to anti-Apartheid demonstrations and served as backdrop to the Rivonia Trial.

The first democratic election in 1994 marked the end of apartheid and the period thereafter became known as post-apartheid. Post-apartheid South Africa is characterised by loud protests against the remaining presence of colonial and apartheid symbols on the one hand and the desire to preserve these symbols as part of the country's cultural heritage on the other. Tempelhoff (1998) indicates the factors that caused important transformations in contemporary social, economic and political perceptions of Church Square and Hook (2013: 1-6) places social change from apartheid to post-apartheid in its psychic temporal context. He describes the friction of apartheid/post-apartheid transposition and the overlaying of past- and future-orientated trajectories of history. Hook addresses the temporal kernel of the question regarding psycho-social change. He focuses on 'psychosocial time', specifically on instances of repetition, fixation, regression or nostalgia, which are symptomatic of different, often countervailing relations between 'psychical causality' and power (Olivier 2015: 124-130).

The decolonising debate started in 2015 with a revival of the black consciousness movement amongst University of Cape Town students, which was expressed in the "Rhodes Must Fall" campaign to remove the Rhodes statue in front of campus. The statue of Paul Kruger has not remained exempt from the call for colonial and apartheid symbols to step down from their pedestals on account of the historic injustice associated with their persons (Clarke and Kuipers 2015: 14). The decolonising debate and the statues must fall protests are mainly covered by the media and has been extensively debated on social media, but academic writers are also adding to the debate. Du Plessis (2017) discusses this discourse in the legal context of the Constitution and the National Heritage Resources Act no 25 of 1999. Even before these protests gained momentum, Labuschagne (2011: 142-154) warned against the removal of statues by explaining the significance of maintaining the historical nexus between the monument and its site.

Huyssen's (2003: 1) description of memorialisation of national pasts as a means to legitimise the present sheds light on the twentieth century obsession with commemoration. He describes how previously historical memory was used to relate a community or a nation to its past when the boundary between past and present was strong and stable and the discourse of history guaranteed the relative stability of the past. He argues that it is different today and that, through the modern media of photography, recorded music, film and the Internet, as well as through the explosion of historical scholarship and an even more unquenchable museum culture, both recent and distant pasts impinge upon the present.

Van Marle (2015: 142) reflects on how Pretoria as a political, social, and cultural space could evolve from the bureaucratic centre of apartheid and nationalism to something else. Her reflection takes place against the framework of spatiality and spatial justice and she investigates how Pretoria residents think about public spaces such as Church Square and the Palace of Justice through a politics of memory. She asks how Pretoria was affected by the trials of the 1960s and remarks that journals like *Pretoriana* (1964), although focused on architecture, buildings and public spaces in Pretoria, failed to mention the Rivonia trial that was taking place at the Palace of Justice (Van Marle 2015: 142).

Clarke and Kuipers (2015) address the recentring of Tshwane and Van Marle (2015) considers the possibility of re-visioning Pretoria. Van Marle attempts to relate a notion of spatial justice with a revisioning of the city, and a focus on how the city is represented in various ways. Post-Apartheid and the advent of democracy is characterised by the search for national identity (see Vale 1992: 45).

### **Addressing the lacunae**

Although the topics of apartheid and post-apartheid have been extensively covered by literature, this thesis aims to add to the body of knowledge on Church Square by linking the significance of the insertion of Paul Kruger's statue in 1954 to similar Western attempts to preserve trauma as part of the twentieth century preoccupation with memory discourse and monumentality. The explosion of memory discourses in the twentieth century has added to the ways we understand history and deal with the temporal dimensions of social and cultural life in ways rarely achieved by professional historiography alone (Huyssen 2003: 5).

In 2002 Elleh described post independence monuments on the African continent as self-contradictory. He described the tumultuous economic, political and social settings in which these monuments were perceived and concluded that their creators resorted to myth. He investigated how art and politics have influenced the production of monumental objects on the African continent since the post independent years and linked monumental buildings with expressions and exercise of political power (Elleh 2002: xviii - xiv). A novel contribution of this thesis is to view the ZAR as an early post-colonial African state and place the conception of the statue in its economic, political and social contexts. Other authors have written about monumentality and anti-monumentality in relation to Pretoria (Maré 2006; Labuschagne 2011), but the self-contradictoriness of the creation of the statue and its role in a “post-colonial” ZAR have not been explored yet. This theme will be taken through to the post-apartheid debate of decolonisation and recent calls for a “struggle” statue to be placed on Church Square as another self-contradiction.

Sudjic (2005: xiv) relates the removal of statues and monuments in post-war Europe as an effort to repress future uprising and curb the hankering after the old regime and Huyssen (2003: 2) states that the nineteenth century model, wherein nation states monumentalised national and universal pasts so as to legitimise or to give meaning to the cultural, political and social present and to envision the future, no longer works. The notion of Huyssen that monuments are transformable and transitory will be explored in relation to Church Square in Chapter 2 *Theoretical framework* (2.3.9).

The arrangement of Church Square as a physical space falls more in the category of urban design and landscape architecture. The artistic significance of the monumental ensemble as plastic art created by Anton van Wouw and consisting of bronze sculptures and bronze carvings arranged on and around a sandstone pedestal has been extensively documented, however an analysis of the physical arrangement of this monument in space needs to be done.

#### **1.2.4 About the authors**

Gustavson (1976) argued that no one can escape his or her own personal views and that the author has to be aware of his or her own subjectivity. A brief description of an author’s background attempts to improve understanding of the context in which the author conducted research and aids internal and external criticism as means to investigate written

sources (Shafer 1974).

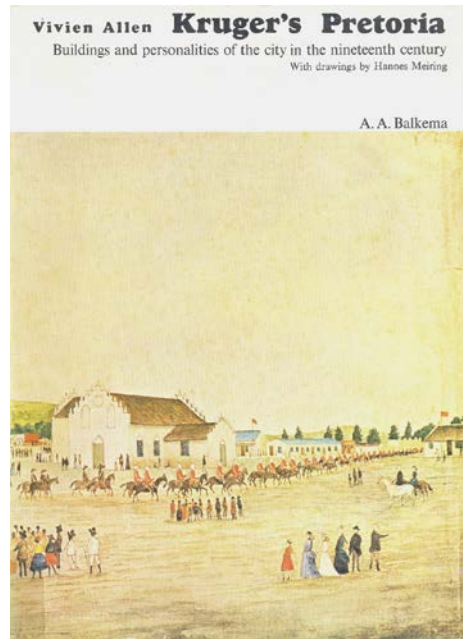
The authors of the literature reviewed up to now come from different academic backgrounds. Although not a historian, Allen was a journalist, working as a music and theatre critic for the Pretoria News before writing a series of feature articles on Old Pretoria, which were eventually compiled into this book<sup>7</sup>. Vivien Allen was born in England in 1925 and educated at Roedean and the Royal Academy of Music, London. She married Michael Allen in 1949 and they moved to Cheshire with their three children. The family moved to Pretoria in 1966 and lived in Melrose House, which was built by her great-grandfather, for a year or two. She would have had access to both primary and secondary sources revealing the history of Kruger's Pretoria. Her interpretation of historical events is more focused on social and cultural aspects, than on political or economic history. This work is an example of social history, often called "new social history", which had its golden age and showed major growth in the 1960s and 1970s, when Allen was compiling this book. Social history studies the experiences of ordinary people in the past and contrasts with political history, economic history, intellectual history and the history of great men<sup>8</sup>. Social history is linked to memory discourse.

The historical studies of Pieterse (1942), Peacock (1955) and Rex (1956) are unpublished theses from the middle of the twentieth century, around a hundred years after the *Voortrekkers* arrived in the area (1840) and after the town Pretoria Philadelphia was established (1855). Rex published a biography of Sytze Wopkes Wierda (1974) and is known for his research on church history. Holm and Viljoen (1993: 79) point out that Rex was not an architect or an architectural historian, but a historian and that his approach to the history of the *Raadsaal* was a historical one. Pieterse and Rex's valuable contributions to this thesis is their research of the primary sources from the Transvaal Archives and their interpretation of this evidence in the form of minutes and *memories* (motions).

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<sup>7</sup> <http://www.proteaboekhuis.com/index.php/kruger-s-pretoria-buildings-and-personalities-of-the-city-in-the-nineteenth-century.html>

<sup>8</sup> Retrieved from: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Social\\_history](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Social_history) on 15 August 2016.



**Figure 1.6**  
Cover of *Kruger's Pretoria* (retrieved from:  
<http://www.ais.up.ac.za/special/bookmonth/Oct07/>).

Rex (1956: 253) pointed out various inaccuracies and errors in Preller's *Old Pretoria*, especially regarding property ownership. An extensive search in the Deeds Office Archives confirms Rex's averment and Preller's book has to be viewed critically. Preller further inaccurately stated that the first *landdrost* was Philip Bronkhorst when it was, in fact, A.F. du Toit (Rex 1956: 112). Preller is better known as historian, author and literary critic. His historical work includes publications on the Great Trek and the Anglo-Boer War. He was a well-known journalist who fought for the recognition and promotion of Afrikaans.

*The Old Transvaal 1834-1899* was compiled by Nat Cowan, who was custodian of the Bensusan Museum of Photography, a division of Johannesburg's Africana Museum, and Alan Patrick Cartwright, who was a historian and author of popular books on South African history. The book is profusely illustrated and some of the photographs are published here for the first time. Van Vollenhoven is an accredited archaeologist and historian and Sophia du Preez worked in the documentation service of the South African Army and published on Voortrekker history, homes and customs for the Voortrekker Monument Museum (1974).

Various texts refer to Struben as important role player in Kruger's Pretoria and Struben

is also referred to as author of the 1920 *Recollections of Adventures: Pioneering and Development in South Africa 1850-1911*. It is important to distinguish between the different Strubens mentioned in historical accounts of Pretoria, especially with a view to investigating ownership around Church Square.

Johan Herman Marinus (J.H.M.) Struben was born in Oosterwijk Castle in Holland in 1806, but became a naturalised British citizen in 1846 when he married Frances Sarah Beattie, a daughter of a well-known Scottish born ship owner. He was known as Captain Marinus Struben because he commanded a small squadron of vessels employed by the Dutch East India Company (VOC). Due to his wife's health the family travelled to the Cape where they stayed for a short while, before moving to Natal upon the invitation of Sir Benjamin Chili Pine, the Governor of Natal. Captain Struben became the Chief Magistrate and was known for harmonising forces of Boers and British settlers in Natal. He arrived in Pretoria with his family in 1855 and built a cottage on the corner of Church Square and Market Street. He was declared insolvent (Rex 1956) and died in Pretoria in 1869 (Struben 1920: 1-3). Struben Street was named after Captain Struben.

Hendrik Wilhelm (H.W.) Struben, known as Harry, was a son of Captain Struben. He was born in Germany when his family was travelling. All his siblings save Fred (see below) were born in England (Struben 1920: 3). He is known for his memoir *Recollections of Adventures: Pioneering and Development in South Africa 1850-1911* which was published in 1920. H.W. Struben provided valuable historic information on nineteenth century South Africa. He was an avid hunter and described the animals that roamed freely in the interior around 1855. He regarded the Dutch / Afrikaners as his friends and was sympathetic to the Boer cause and against the 1877 annexation of the ZAR by Shepstone. According to Peacock (1955) Struben ran the first school and served on the school commission in 1860, but started a transport business thereafter when the school was forced to close. Peacock incorrectly refers to him as J.W. Struben (instead of H.W.).

Frederick Theophilus Pine Struben, known as Fred was another son of Captain Struben and his only child to be born in Natal. (The author believes he was named after the Secretary of Natal affairs "Theophilus" Shepstone and Sir Benjamin Chili "Pine", the Governor of Natal.)

It is interesting to note that Allen, being an Englishwoman, refers to Captain Struben as a naturalised Englishman with an English wife, although he was born in Holland and his

wife was from Scottish descent, whereas Pieterse (1942), being an Afrikaner, calls him a Hollander that arrived from Natal with cart and *skimmelperde* and fails to mention that he was a British citizen.

Although Kraehmer was an architect by profession, he was the first person with a planning qualification to head the City of Pretoria's planning department.<sup>9</sup> The purpose of his study included in this review was to assess the visual environment of the city. His focus was urban planning rather than architecture. Floyd was an expert on the history of town planning in South Africa.

Meiring was an award-winning architect, artist and conservationist. His book commemorated 125 years since Pretoria's establishment (Meiring 1980) and is illustrated with his well-known, characteristic drawings of buildings with accompanying annotations. He includes the existing buildings around Church Square but does not record the early character of already demolished structures. Maré is an architect, author and editor of the South African Journal of Art History. She has written about Church Square extensively. Both Albrecht Holm and Dieter Holm are architects, architectural historians and restoration experts. Albrecht Holm served as the chairman of the Pretoria branch of the Transvaal committee of the Simon van der Stel Foundation (1987–9) and Stefan Meiring Naudé was the National Chairman (1978 – 82). Willem Punt was the director of the Simon van der Stel Foundation and the editor of *Restorica*, the Foundation's official publication from 1976. He resigned in June 1978. Kuipers is an architectural historian affiliated with the Delft University of Technology and Clarke is an architect and heritage specialist from Pretoria currently at Delft University of Technology. Jordaan is a practising architect and urban designer and Peters and Du Preez are architectural academics and historians affiliated with the University of the Free State.

Abrahamse is a senior researcher of Urban History at the Dutch Cultural Heritage Agency in Amsterdam and Diedré Viljoen is a cultural historian and co-author with Albrecht Holm and Hannes Meiring of *Mure wat praat* (Viljoen 1991: 34).

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<sup>9</sup> Retrieved from <https://repository.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/28504/05chapter5.pdf?sequence=6> on 15 August 2016.

### **1.2.5 Conclusion**

The sources that were reviewed cover a range of approaches with different focuses on the same subject. It represents a range of primary and secondary documentary material, published and unpublished theses, articles, academic books, Africana, historical and ethno-historical records [the study of cultures and customs by examining historical records and other records on their lives and history] and primary documents that include minutes, *memories* (motions) and title deeds. The images in these sources cover a range of graphic, visual (maps or plans) and archival material, as well as photographs and drawings (hand drawings, sketches, paintings, building plans) to create a visual lexicon.

The literature review elaborates on the assessment of the truth-value of sources. As an example, data from archived title deeds and Rex's (1956) thesis were triangulated to expose certain errors in Preller's (1939) work. In order to establish conflicting dates on the SG diagrams, handwriting analysis triangulated with information available on the Surveyors-General helped to decipher the palimpsest. The historic data collected from archived SG diagrams, for example, contain numerical data and are reproduced by means of a quantitative methodology (see Chapter 2), but the interpretation of these diagrams inform the qualitative and are analysed and judged in terms of social and political history.

### **1.3 Research Methodology**

In the *Introduction* in the first Chapter it was explained how the initial fascination with urban squares led to the collection of facts and how, once these facts were organised, it came about that Church Square was viewed as a case study. The use of mixed methods in case study research was briefly mentioned. We find an increasing tendency in academic research, including architecture, to use multiple methods from diverse traditions in one study. This integrative approach to research is embraced in this study as well (Groat and Wang 2002: 361).

The *Introduction* further describes the temporal dichotomy between the physical context (the present) and the historical context (the past) and confirms that, since Church Square has remained relatively unchanged since 1954, it is a historical square, thus requiring a historical research method (Leedy 1989: 125-137) and an interpretive-historical research strategy, as described by Wang (in Groat and Wang 2002: 135-171). Interpretive research is defined as

“investigations into social-physical phenomena within complex contexts, with a view toward explaining those phenomena in narrative form and in a holistic fashion. Interpretive-historical research implies that the phenomenon is a past condition, relative to the researcher.” The system of inquiry or the paradigm in which the research is conducted is qualitative, “mythical” or naturalistic (after Groat and Wang 2002: 25-31). An effort is made to document the progress chronologically, but some of the processes are iterative and helixical.

### **1.3.1 System of inquiry (paradigm)**

The notion of systematic enquiry suggests the conscious demarcation, categorisation analyses and presentation of information (Groat and Wang 2002: 7) and the standards for evaluating research quality are substantially dependent on the system of inquiry (Groat and Wang 2002: 23).

In the early Greek world, mythology was the only method available to record history and explain nature (Brumbaugh 1970: 5). *Mythos* was the sum of early historic and prehistoric myths and preceded *logos*, which developed as our rational understanding of the world increased. However, our knowledge today is still shaped in relation to the “*mythos* over *logos*” argument and the sharp division between art and science, subject and object (Pirsig 1974: 349) and facts and values (Grabow 1983: 81) persists in the systematic enquiry of research in general and architectural research in particular. Efforts have been made to resolve the dichotomy in architectural research into a more integrated framework and in this regard, Groat and Wang (2002: 13, 25) provide a conceptual framework for understanding the commonly employed range of systems of inquiry or paradigms that serve as the epistemological basis for architectural research. These frameworks assist furthermore in clarifying the relations between different systems of inquiry.

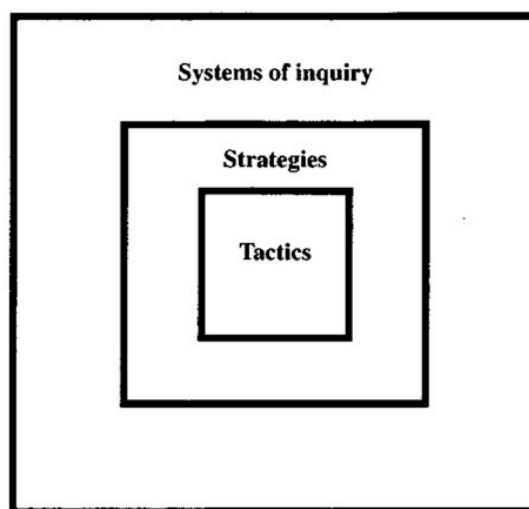
Robinson (1990: 20-32), as referred to by Groat and Wang (2002: 25), harks back to Ancient Greece when he defines the two systems of inquiry as “science” and “myth”. Both science and myth endeavour to explain the world, but they do so in different ways. “A scientific explanation is mathematical thus atomistic, reductionist and convergent, but mythic or poetic description is seen as continuous, holistic, divergent and generative.” Architectural research that draws from the arts and humanities, as this thesis does, is

conducted in the “mythic” paradigm and includes most of the scholarly work in architectural history and design theory.

A more common device for framing the dichotomous model of art and science is the use of the terms qualitative and quantitative (Groat and Wang 2002: 25), and when using that distinction, this thesis would fall in the qualitative paradigm.

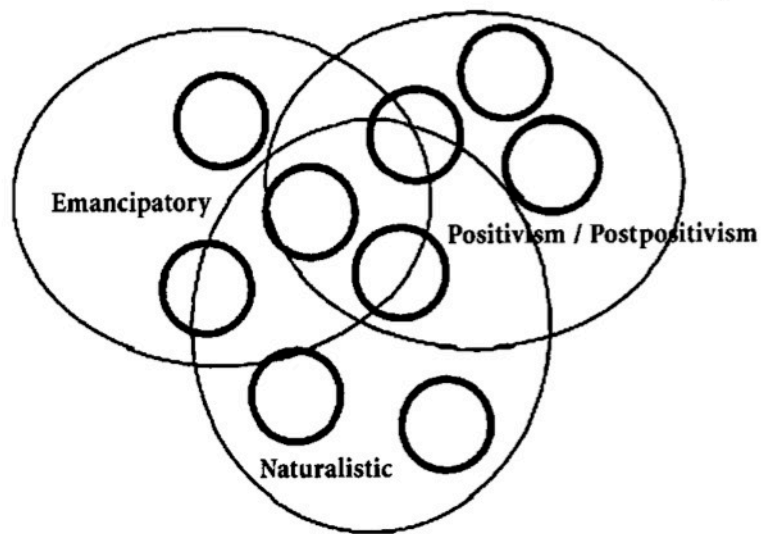
Qualitative research depends on non-numerical evidence whether verbal (oral or written), experiential (about people) or artefactual (objects, buildings and urban areas). Qualitative research assumes a subjective reality and a view that the researcher is interactive with the subject, whereas quantitative research assumes an objective reality and a view that the researcher is independent of the subject. The qualitative paradigm follows an inductive process that seeks clarification of multiple critical factors affecting the phenomenon, whereas the quantitative paradigm involves deductive processes that seek cause-and-effect explanations (Groat and Wang 2002: 26).

But Groat warns against the oversimplification of the dichotomy between quantitative and qualitative. Although the system of inquiry frames the choice among a range of strategies (figure 1.7), this is not an invariant and necessary relationship. Although there should be coherence and consistency among system of inquiry and tactics employed, a particular system of inquiry does not automatically determine either strategy or tactics of the study. Rather a variety of both strategies and tactics can be orchestrated in ways consistent with the chosen paradigm and research design may be atypical of that system of inquiry (Groat and Wang 2002: 11, 29, 31). As mentioned in the *Preface*, Groat (in Groat and Wang 2002: 25) believes that the use of the terms quantitative and qualitative should be reserved for the tactics employed to gather and interpret evidence without referencing the system of inquiry (Groat and Wang 2002: 30).



**Figure 1.7**  
**The relationship between system of inquiry, research strategy and research tactics**  
**(Groat and Wang 2002: 10).**

Instead of the dichotomy, Groat proposes a tripartite cluster of three paradigms: post-positivist, naturalistic and emancipatory (figure 1.8) (Groat and Wang 2002: 31) and stresses that good research that yields important theory or significant practical applications can be achieved within any of these paradigmatic clusters (Groat and Wang 2002: 34). These three paradigmatic clusters share common ontological and epistemological assumptions on objectivity.



**Figure 1.8**  
**Clusters of systems of inquiry**  
(Groat and Wang 2002: 31).

When nineteenth century Positivism dominated scientific thought, it was believed that the basis of scientific knowledge was formed by a disinterested, passive and objective observer's sharp observations of the real world. The result of repeated observations of the same phenomena was generalised in "laws" that fit in with known facts and explained observed regularity. The implication on historiography and philosophical knowledge was that it was treated as a science and the question arose whether humankind should be studied in the same way as natural phenomena. History was to follow the same methodology as natural sciences, so that findings could be judged according to scientific standards without bias and moral involvement. Historical knowledge was only valid through the scientific method (Tosh 2000: 109). But this notion that objectivity equaled a disinterested and passive approach, was not realistic, because an objective observer or researcher can be just as enthusiastic about a topic or the research as a subjective researcher, with the difference that the objective one does not run the risk of making subjective, biased

and often pre-determined conclusions. Objectivity is not necessarily only applicable to natural sciences. The fact that a researcher as a human being cannot always be 100% objective when working with the human sciences does not mean that objectivity cannot be striven towards. Because the consequence of the opposite argument is that prejudice and own agendas are hidden behind the so-called “unavoidable subjectivity” and philosophical approach to the human sciences.

Post-positivism (as opposed to positivism) therefore presumes that objectivity is a legitimate goal that may be imperfectly realised. Naturalism encompasses qualitative, hermeneutic, phenomenological, interpretive and constructivist research and presents a multiple of socially constructed realities where value-free objectivity is neither possible nor necessarily desirable. Naturalistic researchers recognise the “value and reality of the interactive dynamics between the inquirer and the people or setting being studied. They state theoretical position and values explicitly and they acknowledge the role of interpretation and creation in reporting their findings” (Groat and Wang 2002: 33). Historical research is part of the larger interpretive system of inquiry. The philosophical possibilities behind the interpretation of either past or present social situations are rooted in assumptions of a coherent world (Groat and Wang 2002: 88). Finally, emancipatory researchers share with the naturalists the recognition of the interactive dynamics between researchers and participants. They highlight the historically and socially situated context in which the study respondents find themselves and a multiple realities are also recognised, but social, political, cultural and ethnic issues play a role in the social construction of reality (Groat and Wang 2002: 33).

When considering the traditional dichotomy, the system of inquiry is distinctly “mythical” or qualitative, but the complementary nature of the tripartite cluster as diverse systems of inquiry provides a better fit for the interdisciplinary approach of this thesis, wherein both the physical context (which deals with the site from the point of view of the natural sciences) and the social, cultural and historical contexts (which deal with the site from the point of view of the human sciences) find application.

### **1.3.2 Research strategy and research design**

Research strategy or method is skilful management and planning (Groat and Wang 2002: 10), consistent with the nature of the research question. Research design is an action plan

for getting from here (the research question) to there (knowledge derived from the research) and implies naming the steps between here and there (Groat and Wang 2002: 11). The researcher will have to depend on more than one type of strategy. Some strategies may become subservient, therefore taking on the supportive role of research tactics rather than strategies (Groat and Wang 2002: xii). An interpretive-historical research strategy draws upon evidence derived from archival or artefactual sources. The research question focuses on a setting or circumstance from the past. It seeks to understand settings and phenomena in a holistic way.

The nature of the research questions in this thesis is mainly historical and relates to the establishment history of Church Square and Pretoria and to the historic changes in the built environment as activated by, amongst other things, industrialisation and commemoration. The appropriate method is what Leedy (1989: 90) describes as the historical method, which is the attempt to solve problems arising out of a historical context through gathering and examining relevant data. The object of this method is to provide a means through which a researcher may deal with problems that arise from events that happened in the past. The historical researcher seeks to get as close to the original events as possible in the hope of better reconstructing events.

The data gathered through the historical method relates to the narrative and findings by others on the past and present phenomenon that is Church Square. For heuristic purposes, the strategy of this study is to address the nature of the historical narrative by others and to report on their findings by arranging it in an own narrative. Regarding narrative and analysis in interpretive-historical research, Wang (in Groat and Wang 2002: 139) explains that the validity of an historical account starts with a demonstration that the events occurred in the actual flow of time. A historical narrative can thus not violate the sequence of that flow or the coherent interconnectedness of its contents in what Collingwood (1956) termed “one historical world”. The strategy of this study is to give an account of all possible events that surrounded Church Square and surrounding erven as time progressed, by calling out relevant facts as I see them and by constructing an account of the events in the form of narrative sentences, from a point in time after the events, thus removed from the objective flow in the privileged position of a storyteller. This strategy involves a temporal condition because the event and the account of the event are two situations separated by time. The connection to literature is essential. Interpretive-historical research

is the only strategy that outlines how a narrative explaining past events can be framed (Groat and Wang 2002: 139: 167). The account of what actually happened in the natural and social processes surrounding Church Square is a journey to be followed in all the details of its development. Gallie (1964: 66) postulates that “Story” is the species to the genus “History” and that the story must have a beginning, development and conclusion, which carry the reader along a coherent drama (see also Groat and Wang 2002: 140). This study presents the “story” of Pretoria’s establishment and the development of the town, as well as the “story” of Church Square and each erf surrounding the Square (see Chapter 5). Each erf’s “story” entails evidence collected from other narratives and from legal documents, such as SG diagrams and title deeds.

Collingwood (1956) postulated the idea of “historical imagination”, which he derived from Kant’s *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781) and *Critique of Judgement* (1790). He believed that all history was the history of thought and the role of the historian was to re-enact in his mind, the thoughts and intentions of individuals who lived in the past (Tosh 2000: 110). In order to do that, “human imagination is required to comprehend past phenomena in terms of coherent wholes, similar to the ability to create art. The historian has to constantly engage in imaginative narrative activity and select, simplify and schematise, leave out unimportant facts or put in what he thinks is essential” (provide reference – check Groat and Wang). Collingwood’s “one historical world” implies the continuum of empirical space and time and where fiction has no obligation to be part of this continuum, historical accounts have to be part of it in order to be believed. All aspects of the historical account must square with the logic of the connections within this empirical space-time continuum (Groat and Wang 2002: 141). Research starts with data and evidence and finishes with narration but critical interpretation is consistently happening. The historian uses pieces of the perceptible world, located in space and time, to aid the imagination to rediscover the past, so as to re-enact the situation in her mind (Groat and Wang 2002: 153).

Finally, Wang (in Groat and Wang 2002: 142-149) provides four interpretive lenses through which past phenomena can be viewed, as part of research design: covering laws, absolute spirit, structuralism and post-structuralism. This study will not focus on the covering laws or causal explanations as to why building elements look the way they do by applying the scientific method, but it will consider the communal consciousness,

worldview or *zeitgeist* as the causes of historical change, as postulated by Hegel. Hegel's belief that history was the movement of an absolute spirit included the role of special individuals as agents that brought about change. Although the communal spirit tends to devalue individual lives, the progress of the communal spirit is dependent on the activity of individuals (Groat and Wang 2002: 145).

It was noted in the *Preface* that both the physical context (which deals with the site from the point of view of the natural sciences) and the social, cultural and historical contexts (which deal with the site from the point of view of the human sciences) find application in the study. The last two interpretive lenses, structuralism and post-structuralism are applied in the research strategies of these two sciences respectively. The *Preface* indicates that a structural analysis determines the physical characteristics of Church Square as urban space and reveals general prevailing ideas in open space making. This ties in with Wang's (Groat and Wang 2002: 147) determination that a structural analysis reveals that architectural form has a universal language and that the built form through history is assessed as basis that transcends culture. Themes that include axuality, geometry, historical built form, patterns, networks and relationships form a basis for comparing this space to other public Squares.

In Post-structuralism, architecture as a material product of culture is part of a larger forthcoming discourse, so a historical assessment of architecture in this strategy is also an assessment of social and cultural discourse (Groat and Wang 2002: 151). Foucault postulated that historical periods come and go and that each period is understood as a web of discourses and that "reality" is just as by-product of these discourses, distributed into various topical foci that are maintained by tacitly agreed upon ways of seeing that define that era. Topical foci appear as discursive headings and ways of seeing are often made real into expressions of institutional power, such as political and economical structures, a moral code, the ecclesiastical class and so on. The research strategy and research design frames the choice among a range of tactics (Groat and Wang 2002: 11).

### **1.3.3 Research tactics**

At the tactical level, interpretive-historical research makes use of empirical evidence from the past. Tactics are qualitative and quantitative techniques for gathering and interpreting evidence found in a wide variety of sources, including evidence from archives, collections,

public and private documents, buildings, artefacts, observations and conversations (Groat and Wang 2002: 13) as well as archaeological and material evidence available at the site (Groat and Wang 2002: 88). Tactically, interpretive-historical research provides a means of getting into a context or event in time past. The harmony between different tactics needs to be appreciated, because the inference of past realities upon present circumstances is quite often hard to clearly isolate (Groat and Wang 2002: 167). Tactics can be divided into collection of data, and identification, organisation and evaluation or analysis of evidence (Groat and Wang 2002: 151).

### **1.3.3.1 Collection of data**

It is important to note that all data is not necessarily evidence that the historian can use. At this first tactical level the term “data” is used as the precursor of “evidence”. This tactic entails identifying sources and gathering facts. Data contains information and is usually associated with scientific research, but a wide range of disciplines collects data. Bender (2002) warns that data can self-produce if delimitation is not clear and describes path finding through the rapidly increasing notions of time and landscape. The aim of research is to sift through ‘noise’, to filter the irrelevant, eliminate sources of possible error and confusion and to read buried patterns (Cole 1997: 171). One of the challenges of case study research relates to the integration and analysis of the data collected. The process involves finding a way of relating significantly different types of data to each other in a way that facilitates this integration. This is particularly true in cases where both qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection are used. Now that the frame in which research is conducted has been established, the next step is to compile and develop a bibliography.

### **1.3.3.2 Determine (access to) existing data**

#### **1.3.3.2.1 Published sources**

Compiling and developing a bibliography, entails expansion of the reading list and determining how the sources could be accessed (Leedy 1989). Discussions and unstructured interviews<sup>10</sup> led to more sources and knowledgeable people. Noble (2016: personal communication) described his early readings and theoretical interests as following

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<sup>10</sup> Interviews were aimed at identifying existing data and not as part of qualitative research.

the threads and leads, which were sometimes in the footnotes. A database search of sources relating to Church Square included the South African e-sources (Sabinet)<sup>11</sup>, which produced 10 sources and the Africa Wide Information database, which revealed 59 sources. The sources range from journal publications to historical photographs and documents. Most of the journals could be accessed via the Internet or in either the Africana or Open Collections of the University of Pretoria library, which I could access as Alumnus.

#### **1.3.3.2 Unpublished sources**

In order to reconstruct the historical development of Church Square since establishment to the present, as an architect would approach a design problem, access to the following documents were required: Surveyor-General diagrams (SG diagrams), title deeds, plans of buildings, photographs, drawings and descriptions of Church Square before building documentation, old maps, scaled GIS maps and topographical maps (contours).

Scanned copies of the historic SG diagrams are available on the government website <http://csg.dla.gov.za/esio/listdocument.jsp> and the original documents can be viewed at the Surveyor-General's office in Pretoria. However the earliest SG diagrams date back to only 1875, when Arthur H. Walker re-measured and renumbered A.F. du Toit's original layout of 1859. No SG diagrams were issued with du Toit's layout in 1859 or with the original layout of the Devereux brothers before him, because the Surveyor-General only came into existence in 1870.

Most of the SG diagrams contain the number of the title deed that is linked to the diagram and which records the transfer of ownership. It was thus possible to compile a database with the old and new erf numbers, the original SG diagram number and subsequent transfers with, in most cases, the title deed. Although most of the title deeds do not precede 1875, one or two title deeds refer to the old erf numbers that reflect A.F. du Toit's layout.

The establishment history of Pretoria is closely linked to the first farms in the area and it is therefore warranted to determine access to unpublished archival data regarding ownership. According to Kruger (2013) "the information of the Registrar of Deeds is an invaluable genealogical source and one of the most neglected sources of information that

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<sup>11</sup> Retrieved from [http://reference.sabinet.co.za/sa\\_epublications?pg=2](http://reference.sabinet.co.za/sa_epublications?pg=2), 2016/12/08.

has yet to be fully exploited by genealogists and researchers.”<sup>12</sup> When the Voortrekkers started the Great Trek led by Andries Hendrik Potgieter in 1838, they compiled a register that was known as the *Plaas Requesten* (Farm Request) register. Therein they recorded the names and locations of farms allocated to the Voortrekkers. The register consists of several parts, and it is presumed that the information was kept in separate registers that were later copied to one register (RAK 2433, figure 1.9). Inspection registers were compiled from 1841 to 1888 (RAK 2434). In each district a community leader, usually the *veldkornet* (field cornet) was appointed to survey each property with the help of other commission members<sup>11</sup>. On 9 and 10 August 1841 the beacons of farms in the Pretoria area were inspected. The inspection report is the first documentary proof of white settlement by the Bronkhorst brothers in Pretoria (Van Vollenhoven 2000: 182-3). The transfer of properties was later recorded in the *Registers van Transporte* (1858 - 1899) (RAK 2435 and 2437). All these documents are available in the National Archives of South Africa (NASA) in Hamilton Street, Pretoria.

M.W. Pretorius bought the farms of Prinsloo, Van der Walt and Bronkhorst on the banks of the Apies River in 1853 (Rex 1956: 40), but transfer of these transactions only took place on 6 November 1857. Between January 1859 and 1868 Pretorius systematically sold or donated the erven in and around Church Square to new owners. These transactions were recorded in the *Cassa Book* and both Rex (1956) and Peacock (1955) provide valuable information on initial ownership, before 1875.

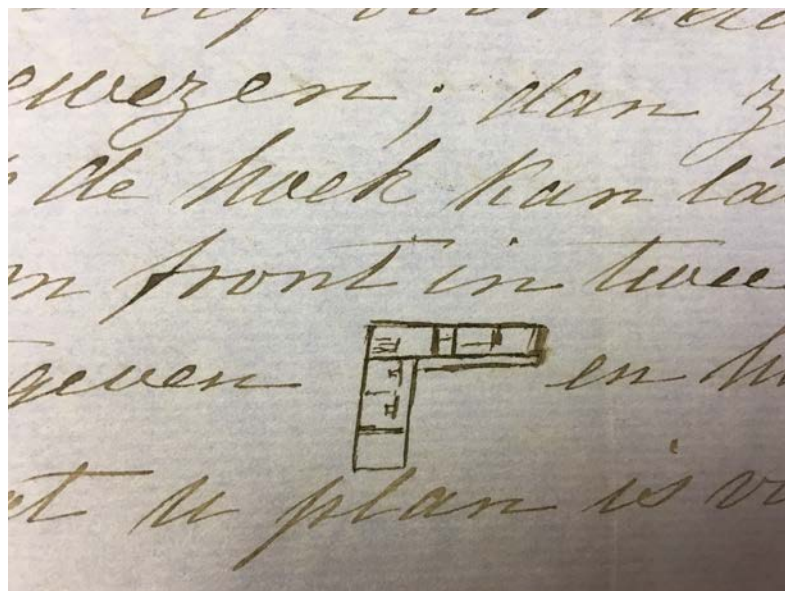
Access to original building plans was often not possible. Before the Dutch emigrant architects arrived in the ZAR around 1887, building plans were not drawn up and designs were limited to rough sketches, as the one made for the first Old *Raadsaal* by Landdrost A.F. du Toit (figure 1.10). Building specifications provided a description of building elements, their dimensions and materials and contractors could tender on this list of specifications (*bestek*). It is possible to graphically reconstruct early buildings based on old photographs and tender specifications.

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<sup>12</sup> Retrieved from <http://www.genza.org.za/index.php/en/branch-activities/324-voortrekker-farms-and-other-rak-registers>.



**Figure 1.9**  
RAK register 2433, NASA



**Figure 1.10**  
Part of A.F. du Toit's letter to President M.W. Pretorius showing proposed  
plan of the first Old Raadsaal on Church Square, NASA, SS R1969/58

The *Volksraad* decided on 24 June 1887 to appoint a state architect and the position was offered to Wierda who was on his way from Amsterdam. Van Rijse, in the mean time, held the position of acting State architect, and drafted his own plans. When Wierda arrived, Van Rijse became his chief assistant and together they built up the Department of Public Works (Holm and Viljoen 1993: 20). These architects were responsible for the design of both the second Old *Raadsaal* and the Palace of Justice. The architectural drawings are held in the archives of the Department of Public Works and copies were published to document the restoration of these buildings during the second half of the twentieth century.

In order to access building plans at the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality the registered owner needs to grant a general power of attorney to the applicant and due to the sensitive nature of buildings around Church Square (banks, Treasury, the office of the Public Protector and the Post Office) this could not be given for security reasons. However, the Goad insurance maps that are preserved in the Es'kia Mphahlele Community Library on Sammy Marks Square in Pretoria have the plans of buildings since 1925 and for the purpose of this study, these maps suffice to determine layout, use and change over time.

### **1.3.3.3 Data types**

**1.3.3.3.1 Written texts:** These include a range of primary and secondary documentary material, published and unpublished theses, articles, academic books, Africana, autobiographies, historical and ethno-historical<sup>13</sup> records and archived data (official documents and records that someone deemed worthy to record) that include minutes, motions (*memories*) and title deeds from the period or on the period. Primary data is the *sine qua non* of historical scholarship (Leedy 1989: 125).

**1.3.3.3.2 Images:** A range of graphic material was compiled to build up a visual lexicon. These include visual (maps and plans) and archival material, photographs and drawings (hand drawings, sketches, paintings, building plans).

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<sup>13</sup> Ethno-history is the study of cultures and customs, conducted by examining historical and other records on their lives and history.

**1.3.3.3.3 Observations from site visits:** The following site visits were conducted during which direct observations were made. Observations are a primary source that are relayed as facts and transmitted as descriptions (Leedy 1989: 88).

Potsdamer *Platz*, Berlin  
Tiananmen Square, Beijing  
Church Square, Pretoria  
Stone Town, Zanzibar  
Old Taxi Park, Kampala  
Dar es Salaam, various squares  
Hohe Strasse (former Roman *Cardo*) and Schildergasse (former Roman *Decumanus*), Cologne, Germany  
Sand River Convention Monument, commemorating signing on 17 January 1852  
Fountains Resort Fountain and Pump House, Pretoria  
Groenkloof Nature Reserve Fountain and Cave, Pretoria  
Marthinus Wessel Pretoria residence, Potchefstroom  
Winburg Voortrekker Monument  
Pretoria Club museum

Interior of buildings surrounding Church Square, as per delimitation

#### **1.3.3.4 Identification and organisation of evidence**

Evidence that the researcher can use needs to be sifted from the data collected. The identification of evidence requires the reduction of information collected on Church Square, the classification of detail and the filing in appropriate categories. Tosh (2000) lists politics, biography, ideas, economy, society and mentality as six categories from which the historian can pull in order to weave a holistic account of the object in question but architectural research does not fall easily into Tosh's categories because it focuses on the material objects that constitute the built environment (Groat and Wang 2002: 151).

Thematic content analysis is a very common qualitative method involving the identification of recurring themes. Characteristic analytical procedures include preliminary processing of material, which often includes paraphrasing, identification and characterisation of recurring themes and may include some simple quantitative processing and discourse analysis (Van Zyl 2013: personal communication). Recurring themes identify typicality of form and features and the origins or causes in relation to those of other members of its class. Or if there are differences, the differences are described in an attempt to explain them. Different points of view illuminate different features of the world

(Cole 1997: 202) and observations of differences and likenesses arise from comparison or contrast (Cole 1997: 89). Invariants are things that do not change, so that we can come to know what the natural world is really like (Cole 1997: 171).

#### **1.3.3.5 Evaluation or analysis of evidence**

Wang (Groat and Wang 2002: 154-5) lists four types of evidence, which can situate the object in the time and space of the “one historical world” as Collingwood (1956) put it. These are determinative, contextual, inferential and “recollective”. A brief description of each type of evidence relevant to Church Square will assist in explaining these concepts.

Determinative evidence includes dates, photographs and archaeological evidence that can pinpoint dates. Photographs were used throughout the study and electronic means of enlarging and analysing photographs assisted greatly in determining the physical past of the built environment of Church Square. Archaeological evidence relating to the first farmsteads, particularly the house of Lucas Bronkhorst (Van Vollenhoven 2005) proved invaluable in the documentation of the establishment history of Pretoria. Contextual evidence in the form of archival evidence such as the letters that A.F. du Toit wrote to President M.W. Pretorius and acting State Secretary Stiemens assisted in corroborating evidence relating to the setting out of the town. Abrahamse’s (2014: 16-17) comparison between Wierda’s designs for Church Square and his architecture in Amsterdam is another example of contextual evidence. An example of inferential evidence is the link that could be found between A.H. Pretorius’s house near Pietermaritzburg and the first Old *Raadsaal* on Church Square, by considering the proximity of dates and by following reasoned interpretation and logical deduction (see *The [his]tory of the Raadsaal block*, 5.2). Wang’s fourth evidence type, “recollective” means oral reminiscence and oral evidence and is used to corroborate other evidence and although this type of evidence found application in secondary sources mentioned in the *Review of related literature* (1.2), it is not applicable to this study.

#### **1.3.3.6 Peer review as measure of research quality**

Qualitative researchers go to great lengths to prove that their methodologies are systematic and trustworthy, but when compared to the scientific method, which is driven by proof of

hypothesis, qualitative data may remain suspect. Because a interpretive-historical study depends upon emplotment (the assembly of a series of historical events into a narrative with a plot<sup>14</sup>) and literary construction, the trustworthiness of the different narrational perspectives on a historical event or object that it provides is questioned. This constitutes a weakness (Groat and Wang 2002: 167), but this weakness becomes the means to measure the accuracy of historical narrative, which is done through internal and external criticism and ultimately peer review.

Wang (Groat and Wang 2002: 199) believes that the peer review process of scholarly journals and conference groups tend to give credence to qualitative research, especially in fields such as architecture. The contribution of the editors of both of the *South African Journal of Art History* (SAJAH) and the *African Consortium for Law and Religion Studies* (ACLARS) was acknowledged in *Chapter 1* and the various conference delegates that commented on my conference submissions, as well as the anonymous referees who reviewed everything I wrote critically, have given credence to the theory developed in this thesis. As Wang (Groat and Wang 2002: 86) suggests, when dealing with architectural theory, the success of interpretations depends on peer review and by becoming a consistent writer, the author proves that she spent time in the field and that she knows the data well. Papers relevant to the research questions were presented at conferences and the resultant peer reviewed journal articles, as well as two chapters in a book, were published during the course of the research (see Bibliography, Van der Vyver).

#### **1.3.4 Combining strategies**

In architecture, research is characterised by using mixed methods at the different levels of the research process in an effort to resolve the paradigmatic dichotomy. The result is a more integrated framework that further strengthens research quality. Since each research method contains both strengths and weaknesses, a combination of methods enables the benefits of the strengths to complement each other and provides checks against the weak points. “Triangulation<sup>15</sup> is the principle of combining strengths and neutralising weaknesses” (Groat and Wang 2002: 361). Researchers in the naturalistic paradigm

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<sup>14</sup> Retrieved from <https://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/emplotment>.

<sup>15</sup> Triangulation is a concept traditionally used in navigation and military strategy and refers to the use of multiple reference points to locate the exact position of an object (Groat and Wang 2002: 361).

advocate triangulation to address research credibility and confirmability and in the post-positivist system of inquiry triangulation addresses validity and or objectivity. The use of triangulation to assess the truth-value of sources is explained in the literature review (1.2).

Groat and Wang (2002: 369) state that combining strategies requires a higher level of sophistication in research methodology than if a more conventional approach of applying one strategy is used. The aim of this thesis is to be a robust example of the mixed methodology research design through the complementary use of more than one research strategy and the application of both quantitative and qualitative tactics. This requires integration of different bodies of knowledge and apparently discreet topics that inform one another, as opposed to dividing knowledge into domains (Groat and Wang 2002: 12). Integration means an appreciation of the interdisciplinary nature of architectural enquiry and knowledge. Architecture encompasses so many different disciplines and architectural research must engage with the diverse elements of knowledge from other disciplines (Groat and Wang 2002: ix ; 378-9).

In this thesis the interpretive-historical research strategy is combined with visual research methodology and the strategies associated with case studies and logical argumentation.

#### **1.3.4.1 Visual research methodology**

Visual research presents the possibility of resolving the dichotomy, thus the division, between art and science and between subject and object. Most planning disciplines rely on some form of visual research but architects and urban designers possess visually based skills and tools. They apply visual research methodology throughout the work stages of the standard service by an architectural professional, from inception (stage 1) to close out (stage 6)<sup>16</sup>. Visual research is a thinking process that is used to analyse precedents, to assess the site spatially, to document design processes and to communicate the spatial outcome of designs. Visual research methodology includes visual assessment, visual analysis and visual communication. The term “visual assessment” describes a non-linear, systematic, graphical analysis and interpretation of images. Visual analysis is the graphical disassembling of spatial knowledge into parts and the identification of relationships between

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<sup>16</sup> For an explanation of work stages, see: South Africa. 2015. South African Council for the Architectural Profession. Board Notice 12 of 2015. *Government Gazette*, 38863:103, June 12.

these parts. Visual communication enables visual analysis, interpretation and development in all the stages of visual research. The aim of visual research is to reach new conclusions that are graphically generated and communicated, and to establish graphically represented facts through a systematic graphic investigation into materials and sources (Nkambule 2015: 54). Twentieth century architectural visual communication introduced the use of computer-aided drawings, characterised by three-dimensional, photographic and realistic presentations and animations (Van Uffelen 2009: 13).

In this study visual research is firstly conducted to assess and analyse SG diagrams (1.3.4.1.a) and historic images (photographs and paintings) (1.3.4.1.b). The aim of both research processes is to reconstruct the past of the geographic area that is Church Square and its surrounding erven. The focus is thus firstly on that which has been lost. Secondly visual research is conducted to assess and analyse the present spatial relationships (1.3.4.1.c) of Church Square and the built environment on the surrounding erven. Different visual research methodologies are followed to address each problem. The outcome is communicated in both written and visual narratives.

The paradigm in which visual research is conducted is at once scientific (the explanation is mathematical thus atomistic, reductionist and convergent) and “mythic” or poetic (description is seen as continuous, holistic, divergent and generative). It is at once qualitative, because it depends on non-numerical evidence that are both written (for example descriptions in tender specifications) and artefactual (photographs of objects, buildings and urban areas) and quantitative, where quantitative research assumes an objective reality and a view that the researcher is independent of the subject. The qualitative paradigm follows an inductive process that seeks clarification of multiple critical factors and the quantitative paradigm involves deductive processes that seek cause-and-effect explanations (see Groat and Wang 2002: 26). Visual research once again shows that although the system of enquiry frames the choice among a range of strategies and tactics, it relies on a variety of strategies and tactics that are atypical of that paradigm.

As for objectivity, visual research and the analysis of visual material assumes the Positivist stance of an objective observer, or at least then a Post-positivist stance where objectivity is a legitimate goal that may be imperfectly realised. However, once mathematical data (spatial relationships and measurements from SG diagrams) is extracted from the evidence, the interpretation of the findings is conducted within the Naturalist

paradigm. The visual material in question is historic and represents the lost built environment. In order to reconstruct the past the author has to interpret historic evidence and make certain assumptions regarding the coherent world and its social situations. The author conducts historical research, which is part of the larger interpretive system of inquiry (compare with Groat and Wang: 88).

The visual research strategy entails collecting visual data from archival and artefactual sources, examining relevant data and deriving evidence from the sources. The research sub-question “What does the graphic reconstruction of the historic built environment reveal?” focuses on a setting (Church Square) and circumstances from the past and seeks to understand the setting and phenomenon in a holistic way. The problem that arises out of the research question has a historical context and by applying the historical research method, the author deals with the problem that arises from events that happened in the past and the impact that these events have had on the built environment. As a result, the author seeks to get as close to the original built environment as possible in the hope of better reconstructing it.

Visual data gathered through the historical method relates to what others in the past have found to be important enough about Church Square to capture. For heuristic purposes, the strategy of this study is to address the nature of the historical photographs and drawings produced by others and to report on it by arranging it in an own narrative. The validity of the historical account starts with a demonstration that the photographs were taken in the actual flow of time. The historical narrative surrounding visual images cannot violate the sequence of that flow or the coherent interconnectedness of its contents in what Collingwood (1956) termed “one historical world”. For instance, attempts at dating certain photographs often proved difficult because of conflicting dates given by different sources, but development on adjacent erven was used to triangulate<sup>7</sup> sources in order to get closer to the absolute flow of time.

The strategy of visual research relating to the study of Church Square and surrounding erven implies the incorporation of all possible historic images into the account of that which, as time progressed, had been lost. It requires the construction of an account of the events that shaped the lost built environment. This is done in the form of narrative sentences, from a point in time after the events, thus removed from the objective flow in the privileged position of a storyteller. This strategy involves a temporal condition because

the event and the account of the event are two situations separated by time (Groat and Wang 2002: 167). The historic photographs form an important part of the journey to be followed in all the details of its development.

Just as Collingwood's "historical imagination" (see 1.3.2 above) is essential to the reconstruction of history based on historic visual evidence, so too is it essential to the reconstruction of history based on visual evidence. The author had to constantly engage in imaginative narrative activity and re-enact in her mind, the story surrounding historic photographs and drawings in order to provide a historic account that implies the continuum of empirical space and time, which is thus part of Collingwood's "one historical world". All aspects of the historical account must square with the logic of the connections within this empirical space-time continuum (Groat and Wang 2002: 141).

At the tactical level, visual research makes use of visual evidence from archives, collections, public and private documents. Visual evidence includes plans of buildings, historic photographs, maps and drawings. Visual evidence is evaluated or analysed by using both determinative evidence and contextual evidence. Determinative evidence includes dates and photographs that can pinpoint dates. Photographs were used throughout the study and electronic means of enlarging and analysing photographs assisted greatly in determining the physical past of the built environment of Church Square. Contextual evidence was applied in the form of archival evidence such as the tender specifications published in *De Volksstem*, which assisted in corroborating evidence relating to the construction of buildings.

#### **1.3.4.1.1 Surveyor-General (SG) diagrams**

The first work stage of the standard service by an architectural professional is "Inception" and includes receiving, appraising and reporting on the client's requirements with regard to the site and its rights and constraints.<sup>7</sup> The SG diagram, obtainable from the Surveyor-General, is a site-specific legal document that determines part of the normative parameters of the site on which the proposed building design and construction will take place. Although data collection from SG diagrams is rarely seen as part of the creative process, it forms an essential part of any architect's design methodology and the findings from these legal documents finally find a proud, albeit understated place in the visual, architectural design outcome. Scanned copies of the historic SG diagrams are available on the

government website <http://csg.dla.gov.za/esio/listdocument.jsp>. Once data from the website was gathered, documents were organised in folders with erf number as title.

All the available SG diagrams of Church Square and surrounding erven were transferred onto a CAD-model using MicroGDS to create a site plan. The original erven set out by A.F. du Toit formed the basis on which subsequent subdivisions were overlaid. Most of the old plans are in *Rijnland voeten* or Cape feet. 1 Cape foot = 0.314858m. The conversion can be done manually, however a table available on the internet<sup>17</sup> is used to do the conversion.

The Cape foot was a unit of measurement in South Africa dating from Dutch colonial days. In the Netherlands, several foot-size units (*voeten*) were in use. The Rijnland foot (*Rijnlandse voet*) was 31.4 cm = 1.03 ft = 0.343 yd. It was the Rijnland foot that was taken by Dutch settlers to the Cape Colony in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is the same as a Cape foot. In 1859, by which time the colony had passed into British control, the Cape foot was calibrated against the English foot and legally defined as 1.033 English feet (0.314858 m). Many lots in the South African colonies were surveyed in terms of the Cape foot, which was the reason this conversion factor was important<sup>18</sup>.

SG diagrams were redrawn according to the following formula, bearing in mind that the erven were set out a few degrees from true north.

Set axes -90°; Rule angle – (value of angle of direction -265.289°);

Converting minutes and seconds to a fraction:

265° 17' 20":  $((20/60)+17)/60 + 265 = 265.289^\circ$

The SG diagrams often contain more than one date. The diagram number ends with a year, which determines when the original diagram was issued, but subsequent dates refer to subdivisions and in order to dissect the different sets of information on one diagram and to link the written data with graphic data, handwriting analysis triangulated with information available on the Surveyor-Generals themselves assisted in deciphering the palimpsest. Most of the SG diagrams contain the number of the title deed that is linked to the diagram and which records transfer of ownership.

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<sup>17</sup> [www.convertunits.com/from/cape+foot/to/meters](http://www.convertunits.com/from/cape+foot/to/meters).

<sup>18</sup> Retrieved from [units.wikia.com](http://units.wikia.com).

Analysis of visual material includes the identification of recurring images that identifies typicality of form and features or if there are differences, the differences are described in an attempt to explain them. The images have to be correlated with the narrative (written sources) of others, to situate the object of the image in the time and space of the “one historical world” as Collingwood (1956) put it.

#### **1.3.4.1.2 Historic photographs and paintings**

Visual research methodology is used to analyse historic photographs, to translate the interpretation of scale and proportion into known dimensions, to compare these dimensions with the descriptions in tender specifications, which are in feet and inches, and, once converted to the metric system, to identify where information is lacking. The evidence deduced from historic photographs and paintings and the descriptions in tender specifications from the archives are transformed by using the author’s own architectural experience to reconstruct the lost, past built environment, that which does not exist anymore and for which no architectural drawings exist. This entails some “poetic license” and the application of own architectural design experience to fill in the gaps where no information is available. The author thus completes the designs by making value judgements as to scale, proportion and geometry, critically interpreting, on a balance of probabilities what is more probable or likely, by applying the rules of evidence. The result is a simulation by the author and a presentation of what the built environment might have looked like.

Many of the early drawings depicting Church Square and the surrounding erven are not accurate depictions of the past built environment and with the advent and popularisation of photography, the frequency of photographic evidence increased. In this regard the contribution of Pretoria-based Swiss photographer H.F. Gros<sup>19</sup> has been invaluable. In

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<sup>19</sup> Swiss-born Henri Ferdinand Gros (1842 – 1915) was the first permanently-based photographer to settle in Pretoria from 1875 to 1890. Without the Gros photographs, we would not have had an idea of what Pretoria looked like in that time. He married Elizabeth Farren in Pretoria in 1875 in the St. Albans church. They had one son. Gros arrived in South Africa during 1869 at the age of 27 and with a fellow Swiss, Weber, they had *Weber and Gros* in Burghersdorp (1869) and Bloemfontein (1871). Gros opened the *Superb Saloon* studio at the Kimberley diamond fields, toured the Lydenburg goldfields (1874) and photographed Pilgrims Rest and the MacMac. His studio was initially on Church Square behind the court house, but was best known in its location on the corner of Church Street East and Van der Walt Street from where he operated for 25 years. The building was the first double storey in Pretoria and on Van der Walt Street, a large double door entered an enclosed courtyard, which at one time had a hanging garden on a tall trestle. This garden was approached by a ladder (Dunston 1975). Gros died at his home, Villa Pretoria, in Switzerland in 1915

photography different viewpoints illuminate different features of the world and the built environment and observations of differences and likenesses arise from comparison or contrast.

Historical photographs can be viewed through the interpretive lens of structuralism because they reveal physical characteristics of Church Square as urban space. Structural analysis reveals that architectural form has a universal language and that the built form through history is assessed as basis that transcends culture. Themes that include axuality, geometry, historical built form, patterns, networks and relationships can all be derived from visual images.

#### **1.3.4.1.3 Representation and spatial relationships**

The buildings currently on the erven surrounding Church Square can be constructed from available plans and elevations. For buildings that do not exist anymore and for which no plans are available, such as the first church on Church Square, plans and elevations are constructed from descriptions, drawings and photographs. The first step is to determine the design, additions and alterations by using hand sketches developed from these documents, which are then translated into CAD drawings and 3D-models. The placing and orientation of these structures on the current site plan should be possible through descriptions in historical documents and by comparing natural features in the landscape, in other words by identifying the *koppie* behind the depiction.

The result is a copy of the past reality or a representation of the lost built environment. Groat and Wang (2002: 275-8) include simulation research in the research processes that are specifically used in architecture and warn that representation should not be confused with simulation. Architectural drawings, photographs and to-scale architectural models are all representations. These are “fixed images that stand for a real object because the images have measurable qualities that describe and depict the real thing.” But if these representations are included in a research program that can manipulate specific factors and generate useful data that can be applied back to the real-world context under study for its benefit, then it becomes simulation research, which sprouts out of humans’ fascination with the replication of these real-world realities. Groat and Wang (2002: 275) explain that

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(Retrieved from <http://www.theheritageportal.co.za/article/henri-ferdinand-gros-pretorias-first-permanently-based-photographer-1875-1890>).

many art forms are simulative and comment that Plato warned of the deceptive nature of copies of reality, although he referred specifically to theatre.

In order to comment on the spatial relationships of Church Square and surrounding buildings a mathematical-spatial model with numerical data has to be created and represented spatially, thus graphically (see Groat and Wang 2002: 293). The layers of information are combined to produce a spatial outcome<sup>20</sup>. This is the first time that Church Square is thus analysed.



**Figure 1.11**  
**3D–printed model of Pretoria inner city built for AZA 2018 exhibition**  
**(photograph by Marianne de Klerk).**

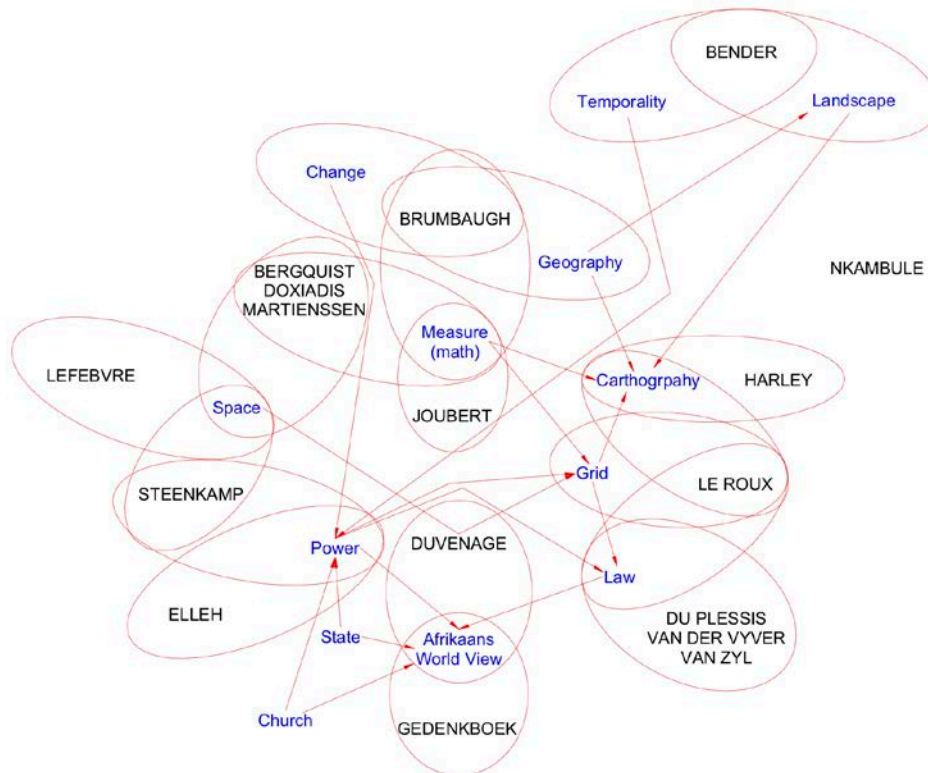
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<sup>20</sup> More recent research has sought to broaden the applicability of virtual simulation to general architectural education and the ability to depict canonical designs three-dimensionally in virtual reality has been likened to the revolution in perception brought on by perspective drawing. Modelling technology can be used in instruction from design studios to history classes (Groat and Wang 2002: 296.) Much has happened since 2000 in the field of architectural computer modelling and simulation. The power of computers have opened a new line of research into historic structures.

## Chapter 2: Theoretical framework

In the review of the literature relating directly to Pretoria and Church Square (1.2.2) the limitations of the existing body of literature was revealed, the themes required to frame this study theoretically were identified and the need for further research was highlighted. The following theoretical themes were identified in the section above and the review of the theoretic literature relating to the research questions is conducted according to these themes:

The advent of the philosophy of change; the study of power, power theories and a contextual site-specific interpretation of power theory; critical theories of temporality and power; temporality; contemporary theory of landscape; worldview; the grid and the genetic link or family tree of geometric town planning; economic power and theoretical exploration of the production of space as per Lefebvre (1991) with the interpretation of the built environment through theory relating to spatial production; palimpsest theory; the development or genetic links of parliamentary typology and twentieth century preoccupation with memory discourse and monumentality.



**Figure 2.1**  
**Preliminary theoretical framework**

The exploration of these theoretical themes led to two other themes, one where power is expressed in Cartography and the other where mathematics plays a role in the measure of all things. The diagram in figure 2.1 identifies a preliminary literature search and the overlap of some themes.

## **2.1 The philosophy of change** (this leads to temporality)

When unpacking the history of the physical space that is Church Square in Pretoria and when analysing the visual evidence that represents different historical periods or episodes, it becomes apparent that the urban space has undergone various changes in the last 175 years. The changes that occurred in the object of Church Square were changes over time in the same space. The concepts of temporality and spatiality thus find application but it is important to note from the outset that change in the physical object and space that is Church Square can be attributed to factors of change outside the space. The first research sub-question prompts an investigation into determining the seminal historical moments that caused change in the development of Church Square and Pretoria. These are external changes and the relationship between these circumstances (causes) and the Square itself will be discussed later in this chapter. The second sub-question: “What are the dynamics of change?” prompts a theoretical line of questioning into the philosophy of change and it is therefore fitting to investigate whether an appropriate theory of change exists.

During the literature review *The Philosophers of Greece* by Brumbaugh (1970) became my pocket book for easy reference concerning the origins of philosophy. Brumbaugh describes the historical emergence of philosophy and provides insight into the Greek worldview. He narrates the advent of the philosophy of change from Milesians Thales and Anaximander to Anaximenes and eventually Heraclites (Brumbaugh 1970: 23-7). It was Heraclites’s ever-living restless fire, *pyr* that supplied the driving force of a universe in endless change (Brumbaugh 1970: 48). Heraclites, like his predecessors, began by looking for the one stuff underlying the changing world we observe all around us but he falls neither in the Milesian nor Pythagorean group. Reality for him consisted of motion, process, power, strife and flow (Brumbaugh 1970: 43).

It was thus energy and not matter that was important to Heraclites. Brumbaugh (1970: 49) concludes that we can recognise today the genuine possibility of a process philosophy in which physical reality is not matter, but power. The advent of the philosophy of change

finds application in Chapter 3, where the powers of law, state and church, together with landscape are situated in the dynamic of change that led to the establishment and development of Pretoria (1840 – 1886). The purchase of the works of these early Greek philosophers on this chapter is their realisation that change is brought about by power.

Change is identified when one observes a difference in the features of a thing and when this change occurs over time, the change is temporal. Change can have a cause and although cause is neither necessary nor sufficient for change in that thing, the research questions in this thesis are to seek, identify and explain the cause of change at the end of each episode. The second and third sub-questions are “What are the dynamics of change and what are the powers that caused the changes that led to the establishment of Pretoria?” and “How did geography and the powers of law, state and church cause these changes?” Time, unlike cause, is required and change implies the passing of time, although some have posited that time can pass without any changes in a thing. Brumbaugh (1970: 50) elaborated that the Eleatics from the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE, particularly Parmenides, appear to have been the first to deny change. Parmenides invented formal logic by applying the Pythagorean’s mathematical methods of truth to the philosophical problem of the natures of being and not being. He used this logic to show that being is unchanging and uncreated, but this conclusion denied the possibility of any appearance of variety or change. Zeno of Elea was a follower of Parmenides who tried unsuccessfully to prove him right but compelled philosophers to ponder the definition of being and not being. Zeno showed the mathematicians that the Pythagorean program of building continuous quantities out of finite series of discrete units ran into impossible inconsistencies. The Greek philosophers and scientists after Zeno did not accept the doctrine that reality is a total, unmoved absolute, but instead set about trying to show how formal logic could be valid and reason reliable, while multiplicity and change are possible (Brumbaugh 1970: 60).

Another form of change, which is also bound up in the notion of temporality, is change in motion. Change in motion impacts on the body of people and their impact on the environment. The change from movement to settlement by the Voortrekkers in the nineteenth century is explained in Chapter 3. This change enabled the establishment of Pretoria and Church Square. We find that early Greek philosophers Anaximenes and Heraclites were already occupied with the relationship between change and motion, but as the philosophies of change and motion developed, its theories were placed in the realm of

physics and mathematics. Mathematics had its roots in Ancient Greece in traditional metaphysics and formed part of the historic development of philosophy until it was gradually emancipated from its roots (Lefebvre 1991: 1). Questions relating to change were hence split into the two worlds of “myth” and science that are discussed in *Methodology* above.

Abundant literature<sup>21</sup> exists on the relationship between change, cause, time and motion. These studies include determining the instant of change, which is associated with mathematics and motion through formulae relating to physics. The instant of change questions when exactly change takes place (what is the state of motion at the instant of change?) and once again refers to temporality. It analyses the state before and after change. Sources further explain consistent change, such as seasons that return cyclically or periodically, and inconsistent change, which is the view that an object in motion does no more than simply occupy different points of space at different times, like a succession of stills in a film only continuously connected, this view being attributable to the later philosophical studies of space and time by David Hume (1711 – 1776) and Bertrand Russell (1872 – 1970). Change is seen as a matter of a relation to states at nearby instants of time. In the mathematical description of change of position by a suitable function of time, motion is the rate of change of position or velocity (m/s).

Change is also observed when there is a continuous set of alterations in the same thing or when one single item is substituted for another. Both these forms of change can be observed in historical Church Square and surrounding built environment. This thesis shows how both the landscape and the built environment of Church Square and its surrounding erven experienced continuous alterations and how objects placed in the landscape were often substituted with other objects. Erven, buildings, streets and crafted objects bear witness thereto.

Early philosophers were also concerned with resilience to change, a theme that applies to Church Square today and one that relates to questions about the future of this public space (see Chapter 6). Aristotle identified that which persists over time and through change as “matter” or “substrate”. He believed that it was the form of that matter that changed and that form was either acquired or lost. Aristotle had a theory of causes that he linked to essence. He distinguished between essence and accident which some have seen as a

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<sup>21</sup> See <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/change/> for a list of sources.

solution to the problem of persistent identity through change<sup>1</sup>. Later eighteenth century philosopher Kant stated in 1781 that things change in relation to time and recognised that this gives rise to the problem that some things can persist through change.

The developmental history of the philosophy of change, thus its origin and growth, are rooted in ancient Greece and forms part of western civilisation and thought, but its influence spread further. The spread of Christianity through the Roman Empire in 400 saw a change in philosophy, marked by a love-hate relationship between Christianity and Greek civilisation. Christian culture and intellectual tradition was adopted from Israel and was, in many ways, at odds with Greek ways of thinking. Christian emperors ordered the destruction of pagan temples and shut down schools of philosophy that had been active since the time of Plato and Aristotle. However, Christian philosophers were greatly influenced by Greek thought and medieval philosophy was marked by a blend of Greek and Christian views insofar as philosophers could make them compatible. The concept of change and the problem of the instant of change, although rooted in antiquity, were intensely debated by late medieval philosophers. Because medieval<sup>22</sup> philosophy rests entirely on the notion of God as preached by Jewish, Christian, and Muslim religious traditions, most of the questions that philosophers wrestled with focused on God. Motion and change on earth was thus traced back to a first cause, namely to God, as the first mover of things in the process of change and motion. Today there is still a large group of monotheist philosophers who follow the religious assumptions of medieval minds and their writings<sup>23</sup> and we see a similar conviction in the Boer worldview. The nineteenth century Boer worldview is discussed in more detail in Chapter 5 but it suffices here to mention that its reliance on religion and its rejection of the prevailing British philosophy of the time shaped the view that God ultimately determined change.

At the beginning of the twentieth century Albert Einstein explained how time is a result of change, in contradiction to previous conceptions that change occurs in time. This point of view makes it easier to understand direction of time, as in reality time is a perception of the order of change seen from a point of view. Time is thus directly observed because change occurs chronologically. This contrasted with Aristotle's view that change is distinct from time because change occurs at different rates, whereas time does not<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>22</sup> Historians define the time span of medieval civilization as the years roughly between 400-1500, starting with the fall of the Roman Empire and ending with the advent of the Renaissance.

<sup>23</sup> Retrieved from <https://www.utm.edu/staff/jfieser/class/110/5-medieval.htm> on 14 November 2018.

When considering historical change, Toynbee comes to mind. He was a philosopher of history active in England in the 1940s and 1950s, who claimed that history unfolds in a reaction to certain imperatives, usually in a definitive direction or series of stages, or series of cycles, which was typical of nineteenth century thought and was challenged by twentieth century historians.

Twentieth century theorist Kuhn identified change through the history of science. In his 1962 *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* he proposed an episodic model wherein a period of scientific continuity with accepted facts and theories, which he called “normal science”, was interrupted by a period of revolutionary science. This leads to a new paradigm, which Kuhn described as the core concepts of revolution, launching the word “paradigm” to analogical use in the second half of the twentieth century. Kuhn’s approach to science has been widely criticised because many believed that his insistence that paradigm shifts were a combination of sociology and science introduced an irrational element into science’s greatest achievements and so tarnished the nobility of the discipline. Once again the Cartesian split into the two worlds of “myth” and science comes to the fore (see 1.3 *Research Methodology*). However South African architecture academic Fisher (1992; see also Van der Vyver 2001: 117-124), applied the paradigmatic approach to historic episodes in architecture in the second half of the twentieth century. The episodes introduced in Chapter 5 *Boer and Brit* follow an analogous, cyclical pattern of identification of a normal science (the golden age of the *Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek*, hereafter ZAR) with its accepted theories (search for own identity), interrupted by a period of crisis (*uitlander* question), which led to revolution (the *interregnum* of the Second Anglo-Boer war) which led to a new normal science (peace and the Transvaal Colony), etc.

As reaction to early twentieth century Modernism, the second half of the twentieth centuries saw an increased concern by architectural theorists with the historical context of the built environment, with the psychology and mechanics of change and with the nature of the resultant architecture (see Herbert 1975: 1).

In the middle of the twentieth century Foucault postulated that historical periods are mere webs of discourses and that change occurs when the topical foci of the discourses change. This implies that it is the dynamic of ideas that have powered the histories of nations and civilisations and that have been instrumental in bringing about cataclysmic

changes in those histories. Tosh (2000: 135) questions whether the main changes in history have certain characteristics in common and whether there is a motor driving historical change. He also discussed the rejection by certain scholars of historical theory.

In the twenty-first century the theme of “resilience” is once again discussed in connection with the concept of change. It indicates a tolerance for change and determines an object’s structural and functional persistence through change. Resilience and Church Square is discussed in further detail in Chapter 6.

This section asks what is change<sup>24</sup> and where<sup>25</sup>, when<sup>26</sup> and how does change take place. The last question looks for the cause of change and although cause is not required for change, time is and change implies the passing of time. The causes of change<sup>27</sup> and the different types of change<sup>28</sup> are investigated. The relationship between change, cause, time and motion is discussed, as well as the resilience to change.

## **2.2           Temporality** (this refers back to change and leads to power, Cartography, palimpsest, spatiality, memory and landscape)

In the section above on change, it was proved that time is a requirement for change and that change implies the passing of time. This prompts a theoretical line of questioning into the concept of temporality.

### **2.2.1           Introduction: temporality, history and landscape**

The interdisciplinary nature of this study was explained in the *Preface* and *Introduction*. The inclusion of both the physical context and the historical context of Church Square presents a dichotomy and implies a temporal condition: the physical context and site

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<sup>24</sup> Change is observed when there is a difference in the features of a thing. Change can be alterations in the same thing or when one single item is substituted for another.

<sup>25</sup> Change over time can be in the same space or, when an object is in motion, at different points of space, which it occupies at different times.

<sup>26</sup> What is the instant of change? Change is temporal. Time, unlike cause, is a requirement for change.

<sup>27</sup> The cause of change in an object or space can lie inside or outside that object or space. The classic Western philosophic view of change is linked to the universe and the world. The Heraclitian view of change is linked to power. Power can be physical, as part of the mathematical world or ideological, as part of the “mythical” world. In the middle ages, change was attributed to God.

<sup>28</sup> The different types of change include change in motion, position and form. Consistent and inconstant change is linked to cyclical or episodic change. All change has a temporal aspect. Historical change refers to the past.

analysis represent the present and the historical contexts of both site and building typology reflects the past. This dichotomy of temporality determines the systems of inquiry or the paradigm in which the research is conducted, which is qualitative, “mythical” or naturalistic (after Groat and Wang 2002: 25-31).

The word “temporality” has two meanings. It firstly indicates the real physical world, from which is excluded the non-temporal or spiritual world and secondly it indicates something which is limited by time, that which is not lasting or eternal. By implication, temporality includes both the dimension of space and the dimension of time. Similarly, history is dimensional too, having both the dimension of historical time and the dimension of historical space (historical geography) (Leedy 1989: 128) and thus also includes both meanings of temporality: as the real physical world and as one being limited by time. Bender (2002: 103-112) describes the notion of historicity and spatiality in people’s engagement with the world around them and in how they engage with the past embedded in the landscape.

### **2.2.2 Memory: historiography and art**

The idea of capturing a memory implies a temporal condition because the event and the account of the event are two situations separated by time. Groat and Wang (2002: 167) link this temporal condition to historiography, because when the historian attempts to capture the past, he or she is in the privileged position of a storyteller, some time in the future of the actual event being documented. Dreyer (in Duvenage 2016: 54) describes this time divide in historiography as a curtain that separates one’s person from the past. This curtain has to be pierced by the historiographer’s thoughts in order to make sense of the world. The historiographer has to determine how people engage with the world around them and with the past.

Dreyer states that:

it is not possible to have a two-directional conversation with the people of the past. They communicate to us in a one-directional flow from the past. Their works, words and thoughts swell over the ocean of time, sometimes ending before reaching the coasts of our own existence. Sometimes the wave that reaches us is so small that it is hardly perceptible, sometimes the swell is so strong that it works to shape and determine the contours of our existence. They still remain swells and require tremendous effort and patience from the historicist to breath life into the ‘*Totenstadt*’ of the past (translated by author) (Duvenage 2016: 54).

But this strategy is not unique to historiography. Since the beginning of artistic expression, humans have endeavoured to capture their memories in a more lasting form. Stone Age rock art is a good example of early artistic expression that represents the later recollection, in tranquillity, of an earlier memory. Lewis-Williams (1989) postulated the theory that it was only the shaman who created art through a process of an initial, intense experience (the trance), later recollection of the memory in tranquillity and simultaneous artistic capture of the memory in a lasting form. It implies a separation in time between the experience, its recollection and the depiction and therefore includes a past, present and future action. Bushman rock art is thus a bridge between the two worlds. The images that the shaman saw during the trance state were painted on the rock face. The artist's experience was created after the act of observation, thus relying on memory. The shaman entered the non-temporal or spiritual world through the intense, emotionally powerful experience of the trance and later depicted his hallucinatory visions during a tranquil period of recollection, thus implying both meanings of temporality.

### **2.2.3 Temporality in sculpture, painting and photography**

The later creation of three-dimensional art forms such as sculptures and friezes had different temporal implications. Objects represented could be from the temporal world, being part of the real physical world or from the non-temporal or spiritual world. Furthermore, three-dimensional sculptures freeze a moment in time and refer to the second meaning of temporality namely being limited by time. Sculptured objects are often completely or partially removed from their context or background, with just a pedestal as part of the display (figure 2.2). As sculptural art progressed, statues became monumental, life-sized, life-like and realistic representations of the (temporal) world out there. Church Square and surrounding buildings are richly decorated with three-dimensional, crafted, sculptural objects.



**Figure 2.2**

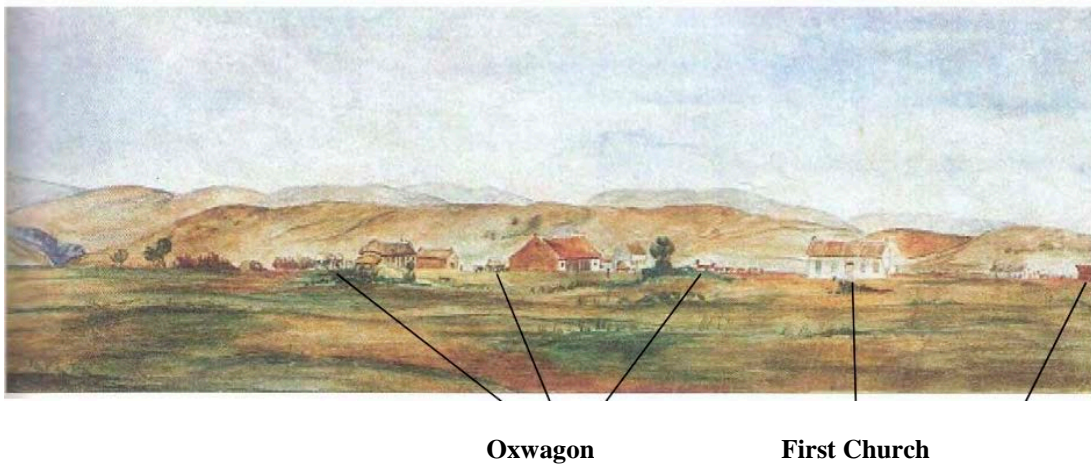
**Anton van Wouw, *Monumental Ensemble of Statue of Paul Kruger and Four Boer Krygers*, 1896, bronze statues on sandstone plinth, Pretoria, Church Square (retrieved from the public domain [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Statue\\_of\\_Paul\\_Kruger,\\_Church\\_Square](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Statue_of_Paul_Kruger,_Church_Square)).**

However painting, which is two-dimensional, usually depicts the background or context and when a painting is of an urban setting, the urban context and the surrounding landscape becomes the *raison-d'être* of the representation. The importance of paintings and other graphic material as data types in the visual lexicon compiled for this study was mentioned under 1.3 *Research Methodology*. The evidence from historic paintings was used to determine the past of the built environment, that which has been lost. The 1857 painting by Marianne Churchill (figure 2.3) is one of the earliest depictions of Church Square and its surrounding landscape. Both meanings of temporality apply to this painting. Everything represented here stems from the temporal world, that which is (was) part of the real physical world (first meaning of the word). Furthermore, a moment in time is frozen (arrested) which implies the second meaning of temporality, that which is limited by time.

The painting is a reflection of a moment in the past. It is a memory that captures the animate and inanimate characters (people, their animals, ox wagon and the backdrop of buildings and landscape) that occupied a certain space during a specific time. The

environment can generally be conceptualised as the separation between people and people, people and things and things and things. The urban environment can also be understood in such terms – and this separation may be spatial, temporal, social or symbolic (Rapoport 1977: 163). The spatial, temporal and social systems of the city, which provide the perceptual inputs (the material for cognitive schemata and affective responses), are the result of a wide range of social and cultural factors (Rapoport 1977: 248).

The photograph in Figure 2.4 shows the same space as in 2.3 but forty years later. All the buildings in Figure 2.3 have been demolished and replaced by new buildings. Different animate and inanimate characters now occupy the space.



**Figure 2.3**  
**Marianne Churchill, *Church Square, Pretoria* 1857 Watercolour**  
 (retrieved from the public domain <http://repository.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/11714/Pta-07-01.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>).



**Figure 2.4**  
**Church Square during the military occupation of Pretoria showing the second church by Tom Claridge in the central position of the Square, with the Old *Raadsaal* on the left and the Palace of Justice on the right, both by Sytze Wierda (Allen 1971: 223).**

With the advent of photography<sup>29</sup>, the image of a pre-determined, limited space in the real world could be framed and captured in its context as it presents itself in that moment to the viewfinder and lens. Temporality as described in the previous art forms finds clear application in photography. The word “photography” in Greek literally means to draw with light and shadow. Opperman (2014: 71) explains that: “by means of photography a focused, projected, chemical-fixated and chemical-developed shadow is captured, i.e. a mechanical image of some object(s) is captured on photographic paper in the space in front of the camera.” Gibson (1980: xi-xviii) discerns between the camera image (*camera obscura*) and the photographic camera image (*camera lucida*). The *camera obscura* is the picture that is projected through the pinhole on the inside surface of a dark space. This projected image is often classified as the arrested image. The *camera lucida* is an image captured (arrested) by a complex process of shutter release and film emulsion. The photographic image is thus caught while the camera shutter is open (see Opperman 2014: 72). Figure 2.4 represents a moment frozen (arrested) on a two-dimensional surface, limited in time and space.

#### 2.2.4 Cartography

Cartography is defined as both the study and the practice of making maps. The practice of making maps combines science, aesthetics and techniques from the visual arts and the aim of cartography is to model the real world out there on a two-dimensional surface in order to communicate spatial information, thus implying the first meaning of the word temporality. The word was derived from the Greek *khartēs*, which means papyrus, sheet of paper or map and *graphein*, which means to write<sup>30</sup>. From the earliest times different cultures have attempted to model the real world out there on a two-dimensional surface in order to communicate spatial information, therefore implying the first meaning of the word temporality. As more of the earth was explored from the fifteenth century onwards, previous maps were copied and new geographical information was added. In 1569 the cylindrical Mercator projection<sup>31</sup> overcame the difficulty of representing the earth, which

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<sup>29</sup> The daguerreotype was invented in 1839 (retrieved from <http://www.loc.gov/teachers/classroommaterials/connections/daguerreotype/history.html>.)

<sup>30</sup> Retrieved from <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cartography>.

<sup>31</sup> Retrieved from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mercator\\_projection](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mercator_projection).

is an oblate sphere<sup>32</sup>, on a two-dimensional surface. It distorts the size of landmass as latitude increases from the equator to the poles and it can therefore not be a completely accurate representation of the temporal world.

As technology developed, more accurate maps could be produced but the accessibility of any representation of the real world was questioned during the first part of the twentieth century. Polish-American scholar Alfred Korzybski (1879-1950) argued that human knowledge of the world out there is limited by the nervous system and by language. Therefore humans cannot have direct access to reality and can only experience it through abstractions such as maps. His statement “the map is not the territory” developed into the map-territory relation<sup>33</sup> that describes the relationship between the object and its representation. Similarly Belgian surrealist artist René Magritte (1898-1967) announced that the painting of the pipe was not a pipe itself [*ceci n'est pas une pipe*]. Thus the representation of the object or the abstraction derived from the object, or the reaction to it, is not the object or the thing itself as found in the temporal world.

Later in the twentieth century Harley (1989) appealed to postmodern map users to not accept maps uncritically as scientific, objective knowledge, but to search for alternative ways to understand and interpret them. He used “deconstructionist tactics to break the assumed link between reality and representation which has dominated cartographic thinking.” He suggests an alternative strategy rooted in social theory rather than in science, which locates the presence of power in cartography and investigates the social forces and hidden agendas that have structured cartography. Harley concludes that:

We begin to learn that cartographic facts are only facts within a specific cultural perspective. We start to understand how maps, like art, far from being "a transparent opening to the world," are but "a particular human way of looking at the world."<sup>34</sup>

We find the second meaning of temporality in the creation of a map. A map is created by an action in the present (drawing) that represents an action in the past (measuring). Korzybski<sup>7</sup> believed that the territory does not precede or survive the map, but that the map precedes the territory.

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<sup>32</sup> Retrieved from <http://regentsprep.org/regents/earthsci/units/introduction/oblate.cfm>.

<sup>33</sup> Retrieved from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Map-territory\\_relation](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Map-territory_relation).

<sup>34</sup> Retrieved from <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/p/passages/4761530.0003.008/--deconstructing-the-map?rgn=main;view=fulltext>.

### **2.2.5 Surveyor-General (SG) diagrams**

In the *Research Methodology* section (1.3) it is described how data collection from legal documents, including SG diagrams as primary (archival) source material, serves to provide evidence for the research. These site-specific legal documents determine the normative parameters of the site and reveal themselves as rich in historical information. Both meanings of temporality are expounded: as the real physical world and as one being limited by time. In order to trace the history of site development and change of Pretoria's Church Square and surrounding erven, the archived SG diagrams are analysed. These SG diagrams bear witness to subdivision and consolidation and graphically record change over time. This recording of SG diagrams shows that the landscape was shaped and reshaped by the authority of the Surveyor-General's office in Pretoria.

An SG diagram is a two-dimensional representation of boundaries from a viewpoint above, thus from the z-axis. The map, aerial photograph and SG diagram represent the horizontal regardless of topography. The SG diagram was not created to preserve a memory, but it contains layered evidence of past (and present) boundaries, personalities and the powers of authority. Its aim is to determine the legality of ownership, use and boundaries and once a property is subdivided or consolidated, the archived SG diagram is often the only witness to past divisions of landscape and the captured memory it contains, since the physical remains of earlier boundaries would usually have been demolished in the temporal landscape. We find that change is inevitable and fast and the idea of the archive is a counterweight to the ever-increasing pace of change, as a site of temporal and spatial preservation (Huyssen 2003: 26).

### **2.2.6 Temporality extended in Cinema**

Historical photographs and paintings of urban settings capture (arrest) a moment in the past and the memory of animate and inanimate characters that occupied the urban space in that moment is represented in the visual image. With the advent of moving pictures the stage set by the backdrop of buildings and landscape could be extended in time as fixed, while moving people, animals and machines transported through the space. Furthermore, the backdrop could move so the stage was not set. The word "cinema" comes from the Greek word "kinetics", which means "movement". Opperman (2014: 72) describes a film as a series of still images that are recorded in sequence and projected by means of a cinematic

projector to display an action, event or movement. Time and space could now be manipulated by the rate at which an observed image changed, measured in frames per second (FPS). The human eye can theoretically process 1000 separate images per second but after 150 it is perceived as motion. Early silent movies were projected at a frame rate of 24 FPS whereas modern film projectors give 72 images per second because each frame is flashed on the screen three times.<sup>35</sup> Twentieth century architectural visual communication introduced the use of computer-aided drawings, characterised by three-dimensional, photographic and realistic presentations and cinema-like animations (Van Uffelen 2009: 13). Temporality in the [re]shaping of the landscape of Pretoria’s Church Square is demonstrated in Chapter 4 by using stop-motion photography and animation techniques.

Figure 2.5 depicts a framework for the comparison of selected examples of visual art forms in terms of their temporal position, both as being limited by time and as being part of the real physical world, and then in contrast, as referring to the non-temporal.

| VISUAL ARTS | AGE                                   | MEDIUM                            | TEMPORAL          |  |                   |                                       | NON-TEMPORAL             |                    |
|-------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------|--|-------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|
|             |                                       |                                   | Limited by Time   | Real World                                       |                   | Spiritual World                       |                          |                    |
|             |                                       |                                   | Animate objects   |  | Inanimate objects |                                       | Context                  |                    |
| 1           | Rock painting                         | Stone Age                         | Paint             | Depiction from memory after trance               | Humans, animals   | Boats, guns                           | Removed from its context | Entoptic Phenomena |
| 2           | Sculpture: Kruger monumental ensemble | Nineteenth Century hero depiction | Bronze            | 3D Moment frozen in time                         | Human             | Presidential garb                     | Removed from its context | No                 |
| 3           | Painting                              | Nineteenth Century landscape      | Watercolour       | Transient figures transcend the limits of time   | People animals    | Vernacular buildings in the landscape | Real context             | No                 |
| 4           | Cartography                           | From 7th century BCE to present   | Measured drawings | 2D measured representation of reality            | No                | Landscape                             | Measured context         | No                 |
| 5           | Photography                           | 1839 to present                   | Photograph        | Real moment frozen in time, presented in 2D      | Yes               | Yes                                   | Real context             | No                 |
| 6           | Filmmaking                            | 1889 to present                   | Film              | Frames per second manipulated to create movement | Yes               | Yes                                   | Real context             | No                 |

**Figure 2.5**  
**Comparative framework of temporality in the selected visual art forms**  
 (source: diagram by the author)

### 2.2.7 Duration of fixed and changing objects in space

The objects fixed in a space, like buildings, enjoyed a longer presence (time) in the space, whereas the time that moving subjects (people, animals, vehicles) spend in the space, is shorter. But all are ephemeral. The longevity of even fixed objects is relative (compare figures 2.2 and 2.3), as are the boundaries set by the power of authority (see SG diagrams above and Chapter 4). This enforces the idea that there is a historicity and spatiality to people’s engagement with the world around them. Thus in a designated space such as

<sup>35</sup> Retrieved from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Frame\\_rate](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Frame_rate).

Church Square, moving subjects (people, animals and vehicles) spend less time, briefly dwelling in or traversing the space, whereas fixed objects, such as buildings and boundaries, although by no means permanent, enjoy a longer repose in the space. Fixed objects like buildings, sculptures and statues are different from the boundaries that contain them, because they are visible, whereas boundaries are mostly invisible in space, except when walls and fences are built to define them.

In *A city is not a tree*, Alexander (1965: 2) described an urban setting as a system wherein all the elements work together. He identified amongst these elements a fixed, unchanging part (the newsrack, the traffic light and the sidewalk between them) as opposed to changing part (people, newspapers, money and electrical impulses). From the designer's point of view, the physically unchanging part of this system is of special interest. It is the unchanging receptacle in which the changing parts of the system can work together. He defined the fixed part as a unit of the city. "It derives its coherence as a unit both from the forces that hold its own elements together and from the dynamic coherence of the larger living system that includes it as a fixed invariant part." For the purpose of this argument, one can describe the fixed elements as having a longer duration in urban space as elements from the changing part.

When measuring time and duration, one refers to human experience and human memory of place. It is thus the interpreter of this past human experience that reconstructs the past and this interpretation is invariably done from a Western point of view (Bender 2002: 103-8). Humans live in a cultural, mental and temporal reality and it is the buildings that articulate our experiences of duration and time between the polarities of past and future. "All buildings maintain our perception of temporal duration and depth, and they record and suggest cultural and human narratives" (Pallasmaa 2007: 189-90).

### **2.2.8 Measuring time**

Data gathered with regard to past events can be compiled chronologically in a list containing events and their corresponding dates. Leedy (1989: 127) cautioned that a chronological list should not be seen as completed research, because it does not critically interpret the meaning of these events. The following list represents the important dates and events in the life of Church Square chronologically:

- 1852 – ZAR established
- 1854 – Reverend Dirk van der Hoff requests that Church be built, *Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk*
- 1855 – Pretoria established, M.W. Pretorius's house completed, M.W. Pretorius elected President of ZAR, Pretoria Club founded
- 1857 – First mud-walled Church completed, designed by Devereux, Devereux and Skinner, A.F. du Toit commences layout of Pretoria, M.W. Pretorius's house leased to government for five years, Du Toit's *Landdrost* office established in the house
- 1859 – Map by A.F. du Toit, *Gereformeerde Kerk*. First government school built next to M.W. Pretorius's house
- 1860 – Pretoria proclaimed capital of ZAR, start of Civil war, M.W. Pretorius's house transferred to *Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk*
- 1862 – NG-synod, M.W. Pretorius's house becomes parsonage
- 1864 – End of Civil War
- 1866 – Construction of First *Raadsaal* completed
- 1867 – Church Square transferred from M.W. Pretorius to *Nederduitsch Hervormde Gemeente*
- 1868 – Addition to school building
- 1874 – First Post Office moves into the Austin old store buildings, becomes Pretoria Hotel
- 1875 – Resurvey of erven by A.H. Walker
- 1877 – Britain annexes the Transvaal, European Hotel built, Judge Kotzé's law reform programme
- 1878 – Map by Fred Jeppe, Standard Bank rents Preller's house
- 1879 – Compass Sketch Plan by Royal Engineers, Bureau lane connects Andries Street with Church Square, R.C. Green's Red Brick Store
- 1880 – First Anglo-Boer War (First Freedom War), European Hotel rebuilt, Pretoria granted Municipal status
- 1881 – ZAR re-established
- 1882 – Church burns down after lightning strike, first bar Broderick's Hole-in-the-wall, Post Office in former residences of Dolf Jansen, Schoeman and then van der Hove
- 1883 – Paul Kruger sworn in as first State President on Church Square, commencement of Second Neo-Gothic church, designed by Tom Claridge, built by Marinus Franken, Natal Bank in old Preller residence.
- 1885 – Completion of steeple church, *Nederduitsch Hervormde en Gereformeerde kerk*, Palace Street
- 1886 – Discovery of gold in the Witwatersrand
- 1887 – Construction of Second Post Office, designed by Leslie Simmonds
- 1889 – J. van Vooren and J.H. Oerder's map for the ZAR Department of Mines, auctions forbidden on Church Square, First Old *Raadsaal* demolished, Second Old *Raadsaal* cornerstone laid, designed by Sytze Wierda, built by Kirkness,
- 1890 – Creation of Second *Volksraad*, *Kaap de Goede Hoop Bank* closes, Construction of Law Chambers, designed by Philip, Carmichael & Murray commences, construction of Erasmus Buildings, designed by Leslie Simmonds; President Hotel built by Mrs Lys, by de Zwaan, construction of Transvaal Mortgage and Loan (TML) Building
- 1891 – Completion of Second Old *Raadsaal*
- 1893 – Opening of *Nationale Bank en Munt* (designed by Frank Emley & Frank Scott, constructed by Kirkness), construction of Law Chambers completed, Bourke Trust building
- 1894 – President Hotel becomes Grand Hotel, court determines *Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk* is legal owner of church properties, M.W. Pretorius's old house demolished, Standard Bank construction commences, designed by Emley & Scott.
- 1895 – Standard Bank completed, Sammy Marx commissions Anton van Wouw to sculpt a statue of President Kruger.
- 1896 – Construction of Palace of Justice commences, designed by Sytze Wierda, constructed by John Munro. Construction of *Nederlandsche Bank* commences, designed by Willem de Zwaan
- 1897 – *Nederlandsche Bank* completed
- 1898 – Paul Kruger dismisses Chief Justice Kotzé
- 1899 – Church Square sold to ZAR for educational purposes, pedestal built for Kruger statue west of church; Palace of Justice completed, construction of Lewis and Marks building; Kruger declares war from Second Old *Raadsaal*, Second Anglo-Boer War (Second Freedom War) breaks out.
- 1900 – Pretoria occupied by British, Union Jack flown from *Raadsaal*, Palace of Justice used as hospital, called "Irish hospital" for British.
- 1902 – The Treaty of Vereeniging signals the end of the Second Anglo-Boer War

- 1903 – Annex of the National Bank and Mint erected.
- 1904 – Paul Kruger memorial service, Church torn down by colonial government, construction of Reserve Investment Building (Café Riche), designed by Frans Soff, commences. Construction of Tudor Chambers completed, designed by John Ellis, commissioned by George Heys
- 1905 – Original pedestal for Paul Kruger Statue demolished, Church Square transferred to Municipal Council of Pretoria, Café Riche completed.
- 1906 – Sammy Marx cast iron fountain placed in centre, interior design change to *Raadsaal* to reflect Westminster system, Bank of Africa building, designed by T.A. and R Sladdin, constructed by Kirkness completed; TML Building renamed Alexandra building in honour of Queen Alexandra, wife of King Edward VII of England.
- 1907 – Parliament Street created through subdivision
- 1910 – Union of South Africa, Church Square redesigned by Poole and Barber, Sammy Marx fountain moved to National Zoological Gardens, second Post office demolished, terminus for new electric trams, Third / General Post Office constructed, designed by William Hawke, constructed by William Nottingham.
- 1913 – Statue of Paul Kruger installed in Princes Park
- 1914 – Fire destroys top floor of *Nederlandsche* bank
- 1925 – Statue of Paul Kruger (Anton van Wouw) inaugurated at Pretoria Station, with four burghers
- 1928 – Construction of Old Mutual Assurance Co, designed by Frederick McIntosh Glennie, Standard bank buys Grand Hotel property
- 1930 – Construction of *Ons eerste Volksbank*, designed by Cowin & Ellis; Construction of Old Reserve Bank building, designed by Herbert Baker; Construction of Barclays Bank Building (Barclays Bank DC and overseas), designed by Gordon Leith
- 1931 – Construction of Capitol Theatre, designed by Percy Rogers Cooke, “atmospheric” interior by S. Konya, part of Grand Hotel demolished, construction of Standard Bank, designed by Stucke Harrison, commences.
- 1933 – Standard Bank building completed
- 1934 – Part of Alexandra building demolished
- 1954 – Paul Kruger statue placed in centre on new plinth.
- 1955 – Construction of addition to Reserve Bank, designed by Gordon Leith, TPA building constructed, designed by Meiring & Naudé, Moerdyk & Watson; Centenary Building
- 1956 – Construction of Rentbel and Saambou Buildings
- 1961 – CR Swart sworn in as first president of Republic
- 1962 – *Raadsaal* restoration
- 1963 – TPA building completed
- 1964 – Rivonia trial held in Palace of Justice
- 1965 – Plans to demolish western façade for 50-storey International Style high-rise meet with resistance
- 1968 – Extension to Barclays National Bank, designed by Daneel Smit & Partners
- 1970 – SARB buys Old Mutual Assurance Co.
- 1971 – Cabinet approves construction of two tower blocks on west façade
- 1972 – Plans for tower blocks placed on hold, Act 53 of 1972 places power to approve demolition of existing historical buildings with Minister of Public Works.
- 1974 – Another scheme to demolish western façade presented by government, Capitol Theatre closed, Citizens’ Committee for the Preservation and Restoration of Church Square formed
- 1975 – Protest meeting held, petition signed by thousands delivered to Prime Minister
- 1986, 2008, 2010 – Third/ General post office restored, new Post office built, 1986 *Raadsaal* restored, 1993 and 2002 Palace of Justice restored, Netherlands bank restored 1988, 1984 restoration of Law Chambers, 1990 Café Riche

The list above was compiled after conducting extensive research and data gathering. It includes important events that relate to law, state and church and since this study focuses on the built environment, the list includes the commencement, completion of and addition to the buildings in and around Church Square. The list concludes with restoration dates of

various buildings. The three wars that were fought in the Transvaal and directly affected Church Square are indicated. The two twentieth century World Wars are therefore not on the list. The actual events are elaborated upon in the chapters. Although the list was compiled by selectively applying all the research conducted for this study, it is still just a list and should not be seen as a critical interpretation of the temporality of the Square yet.

A better approach would be to place these events on a timeline where time is measured as distance, where events are placed on a ruler, which has been divided into years and decades (figure 2.6). A graphic representation of time emphasises the importance of appreciating the significance that the temporal relationship gives to data. Now it is a series of events and one can see the time continuum and rhythms, sterile years and elapsed time.

The table tries to convey periods of intense change and periods of hiatus. In order to be believed, the historical account of Church Square must form part of the empirical space-time continuum that Collingwood called the “one historical world”. A graphic representation of temporality in the form of a timeline gives more insight into the relationship between ideas and events than a mere chronological listing. Historical description is not historiography. It is mere data gathering and not interpretation. It is only through investigating the temporality of ideas that one can write a true history of place. The lacuna in the existing historiography of Pretoria’s Church Square exists because historical and architectural narratives do not investigate and analyse the legal documents to determine the powers that changed the landscape over time.

### **2.2.9 Duration of Ideas**

It is crucial in the writing of a history to not ignore the temporality of facts, ideas, events, buildings and humans. Temporality has to be comprehended before the historiography can be completed. The creation of art and architecture never occurs in a void, but in a context of ideas. Maps and surveys, creation of art and buildings have a longer time span from inception to completion but their duration is still relatively short in comparison to the philosophical movements prevalent at the time, which often stretch across decades or centuries and although time appears to be sterile when looking at the built form, history was in fact crowded with events during the hiatus. Figure 2.6 exposes voids on the timeline when, for around fifty years in the twentieth century, there was virtually no change in the physical structure of Church Square.



Ideas have a longer repose in intellectual space than events. Philosophical movements take time to develop, mature and finally to decline, but events occur and take up an instance on a timeline. The philosophical movements are shown on the left side of the ruler in figure 2.6. These include British and Dutch philosophy, church movements and the influence that these factors had on Afrikaans philosophy (from Duvenage 2016). The philosophical movements stretch across the timeline.

The timeline further illustrates what Baird (2015: 66) postulated, namely that if more than one system of knowledge are allowed to speak together, they might bring out a synthesis of eras and ideas. “Imagine two worlds together attempting to explain human contact with the temporal, the constant and the infinite”.

#### **2.2.10 The power of Western time (and space)**

Timekeeping is essentially a Western concept. In the early Greek world, mythology was the only method available to explain nature (Brumbaugh 1970: 5) and time was personified as a mythological creature, Chronos, who governed linear, chronological time in pre-Socratic philosophy, not to be confused with the other Greek word for time, *kairos*, which means the right moment for something to happen<sup>36</sup>. With the gradual emancipation of mathematics from its roots in traditional metaphysics as part of the historic development of philosophy (Lefebvre 1991: 1), questions relating to time were hence split into the two worlds of “myth” and science that are discussed in 1.3 *Research Methodology*. The spread of Christianity through the Roman Empire in 400 saw the introduction of Biblical time to the West. Biblical chronology contains significant historical, as well as mythical events, but does not allow time to be independent of the events that it marks (Bender 2002, no page numbers). The Bible marks the present as the time of God’s favour (2 Corinthians 6:2) and sees the world and its desires as temporary, creating hope of eternal life for those who do the will of God (1 John 2:17). “God has set eternity in the human heart, yet no-one can fathom what God has done from beginning to end” (Ecclesiastes 3:11). The nineteenth century Boer worldview relied greatly on Biblical determination of time (see Chapter 5).

Biblical chronology did not fit in with the seventeenth century Cartesian system of time-space coordinates that allows scientists to plot uneventful data over neutral time

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<sup>36</sup> Retrieved from [https://www.greekmythology.com/Other\\_Gods/Primordial/Chronos/chronos.html](https://www.greekmythology.com/Other_Gods/Primordial/Chronos/chronos.html) on 25 November 2018.

(Bender 2002). With scientific explanation, time was reduced to mathematical increments and clock time became a medium of hierarchic power and governance. The concept of time as part of Western discourse locates the historical sources of power. Evolutionary time is an example. In the nineteenth century, evolution was one of the streams of thought parallel to British Idealism (Duvenage 2016: 26)<sup>37</sup>. The anchor of the theoretical development of human evolution was the application of radio carbon dating as methodology: absolute dating and objective natural non-cultural time, gave evolution an aura of scientific trustworthiness. However, evolutionary time had social and political implications. Bender (2002) states that:

Evolutionary sequences and political practice of colonialism and imperialism may look incorporative because they create a universal frame of reference able to accommodate all societies, but since it is based on the episteme of natural history, they are founded on distancing and separation.

### **2.2.11 Destroying time and space**

With the onset of Modernity, the meaning of time and the way that it is lived, changed. Lefebvre (1991: 95-6) described how modern time has become isolated and functionally specialised as it is recorded on measuring instruments like clocks. While clock time infiltrates a wider network of social relationships (Bender 2002), time has vanished from social space and lived time has lost its form and social interest. The essential part of lived experience used to be our time, but now our time is no longer visible and intelligible to us, except when we are working. Time at work is assessed in terms of money and since it can be bought and sold, time becomes an object that disappears like an object. Time cannot be constructed. It is consumed and exhausted without leaving a trace. Lefebvre argues that time spent working in economic space means that economic space subordinates time to itself and the primacy of the economy implies the supremacy of space over time. Time is thus concealed in space. In a similar vein, political space sees time as a threat to its power and the primacy of politics also implies the supremacy of space over time. He saw the expulsion of time as a hallmark of modernity. Time is no longer even a dimension of space, but a mere scribble that can be erased (Lefebvre 1991: 95-6). This erasure of historical time and the impact that this has had on historiography, means that the picture of the past that is acceptable to historiographers differs greatly from the relationship of the

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<sup>37</sup> As a form of naturalism, evolution diminishes God's creative powers, which is the reason why it was rejected by Afrikaans ideology (see Chapter 4).

historic space to the time that gave rise to it (Lefebvre 1991: 110). Huyssen (2003: 6) presented a solution to the voiding of temporality and the collapsing of space.

### **2.2.12 Regaining temporal and spatial grounding**

Huyssen (2003: 23-4) defines the problem as the compression of time and space rather than its destruction. High modernity in the West is characterised by its consumer society. Time and space have become commodities and as consumer objects, their shelf life has been radically shortened. Society, as well as the media, increasingly voids temporality and collapses space. But since space and time are fundamental categories of human experience and perception and because they are subject to historical change, humans attempt to secure some continuity within time and they attempt to create some extension of lived space within which they can breathe and move. In the late twentieth century humans have become more time conscious and have been trying to secure the future and to take responsibility for the past (Huyssen 2003: 16). To this end Huyssen (2003: 6-7) sees memory discourses as essential to imagine the future and to regain a strong temporal and spatial grounding. “Whether cultural memory practices are political or not, they do express a society’s need for temporal anchoring when in the wake of the information revolution and an ever-increasing time-space compression” (Huyssen 2003: 28). Huyssen (2003: 26) presents the archive, a site of temporal and spatial preservation, as counterweight to the ever-increasing pace of change.

### **2.2.13 Time and landscape**

One of the aims of Chapter 3 is to situate landscape in the dynamic of change that led to the establishment and development of Pretoria.<sup>38</sup> The natural landscape in and around Pretoria is described as favourable to initial agricultural and later urban settlement. A cross-section through time reveals that the landscape of Pretoria changed from a natural space to a social space. Lefebvre (1991: 110) argues that every social space has a history that is invariably grounded in nature, which includes natural conditions, such as site and climate. In nature, time is inscribed in space, like a tree trunk’s year rings and natural space is visible in the script of time. Historiography’s analysis tends to fragment and segment

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<sup>38</sup> The advent of the philosophy of change, also in relation to the landscape, is explored in 2.1 above.

temporality, but when the history of a space considers its primordial and unique natural characteristics, historiography becomes more than just thought's performance of cross-sections upon time that arrests the flow of time without too much difficulty.

In Chapter 4 temporality in the constant shaping and reshaping of the landscape over time is described by graphically recording the subdivisions and consolidations in and around Church Square from 1875 to 2003. A visual recording of surveyed change over time confirms the notion that landscapes are always temporal, of the moment and in process, that they reflect human agency and action and that they provoke memory and facilitate or impede action. It reveals the compression of time and the changing impact that human agency has had on the landscape (Bender 2002: 103). The analysis of SG diagrams in Chapter 4 not only aids to establish and monitor properties and boundaries, but it also illustrates that the diagrams were a force in the creation of social configurations.

Bender (2002: 103-8) tries to negotiate the labyrinth that is time and landscape. Landscape implies time passing. When landscape is described in terms of geology, it is linked to evolutionary time, but when referring to land-use one speaks of human history, which implies human intervention, -action and -movement. She links Western notions of landscape with politics that marks the reorganisation of social and economic relations.

This study ultimately attempts to provide a digital means of preserving previous text, restore traces on the landscape and document erasures, as was done on the legal documents of the SG diagrams and title deeds, which resulted in what Huyssen (2003: 81) calls a "complex web of the historical, that points to the continuing heterogeneous, diverse life of a vital city which is as ambivalent to its built past as it is of its urban future." It finally aims to reveal the significance that the temporal relationship gives to data gathered in architectural history writing.

## **2.3 Memory, trauma and monumentality (this leads to palimpsest theory)**

### **2.3.1 Temporality and memory capture**

Twentieth century preoccupation with memory discourse, commemoration and monumentality was identified as a theoretical theme in the literature review (1.2) and the temporal condition of capturing the memory of an earlier event through various mediums at a time after the event was mentioned under *2.2 Temporality*. Archived material such as

SG diagrams is often the only witness of the past of a landscape and the memories of a structure or boundary that has since disappeared from the landscape can be retrieved through analysis of the archival material in which it was captured (see Chapter 4). The important role that memory discourse plays in the temporal grounding or anchoring of a society that experiences an ever-increasing time-space compression in the wake of the information revolution was stressed above (see Huyssen 2003: 6-7; 28).

Together with literature, art and landscape, buildings constitute the most important externalisation of human memory. When applying this to Church Square, the architectural structures that currently occupy the space on the one hand and the lost (demolished) built environment that can only be remembered through architectural images on the other, materialise and preserve the course of time and make it visible. These structures are thus mnemonic devices that concretise remembrance by containing and projecting memories. They stimulate and inspire us to reminisce and imagine. “We cannot conceive or remember time as a mere physical dimension; we can only grasp time through its actualisations; the traces, places and events of temporal occurrence.” Architectural structures facilitate human memory (Pallasmaa 2007: 189-90).

### **2.3.2 Nineteenth century myth and monument**

Pallasmaa (2007: 190) stressed that we need images of historical structures in our minds to strengthen our perception of the depth of time, but our perception of time is inextricably linked to our desire to know our origins (Grobler 2008: 164). In this regard Hollier (1989) pointed out that the search and desire for origins was manifested in the nineteenth century desire for the monumental, which was an inevitable reaction to the way that religious and metaphysical securities of earlier ages were stripped away in modernity by economical, political and industrial revolutions. The desire for the monumental in the nineteenth century created a discourse of origins that was produced by what Georg Lukács later termed “transcendental homelessness” as the *conditio moderna* and to which he opposed the utopia of an integrated civilisation (Huyssen 2003: 40). Nineteenth century obsessions with origin went hand in hand with its mythical grounding that attempted to fulfil what Huyssen called “the cultural legitimising needs of the post-revolutionary bourgeois nation-state in the grip of accelerating modernisation”.

Despite its liberal and progressive beliefs, nineteenth century modernity remained locked in an essential dialectic of enlightenment and myth (Huysen 2003: 41). Adorno and Horkheimer explored this concept in their 1944 critique of modernity, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, written during their exile from Germany during World War II. They asked why enlightened societies revert back to myth (“myth is already enlightenment, and enlightenment reverts to mythology”) and claimed that older rituals, religions and philosophies contributed to the process of enlightenment, despite being declared mythical and out-dated by modern forces of secularisation. If a society is so enlightened, why is it then that, just as myth, it is so resistant to change? “Such resistance to change characterises both ancient myths of fate and modern devotion to the facts.” The answer is that enlightened societies are driven by an irrational fear of the unknown, which drives them to domination. They define a triple domination: domination of nature by humans, domination of nature in humans and domination of humans by humans. Progress in an enlightened society comes at a cost to the “other”, whether the “other” is human or non-human. The “other” is either marginalised, exploited or destroyed, albeit through sophisticated, indirect methods. They concluded that: “humans believe themselves free of fear when there is no longer anything unknown. This has determined the path of demythologisation, but enlightenment is mythical fear radicalised”<sup>39</sup>.

Bringing this into the context of monuments Huysen (2003: 42) explained that as Schliemann was unearthing classical monuments of antiquity, nineteenth century Europeans attached their origins and cultural roots to a civilisation that differentiated them from their non-European “others”. The romance of archaeology and their admiration of classical monumental architecture came to guarantee origin and stability as well as depth of time and space in a rapidly changing world. “Monumental architecture of antiquity seemed to guarantee permanence and to provide the bulwark against the speed-up of time, the shifting grounds of urban space and the transitory-ness of modern life.” Add to this the desire to create and monumentalise a deep national past that discerns the West from its non-European counterpart and a desire to legitimise or give meaning to the present in order to envision a cultural, political and social future, and the search for national monuments is better understood.

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<sup>39</sup> Retrieved from <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/adorno/> on 1 January 2019.

The result was that monument mania overtook Europe. Walter Benjamin remarked in his Moscow diary that there was hardly a square in Europe whose “secret structure was not profaned and impaired over the course of the nineteenth century by the introduction of a monument” (Huysen 2003: 38-39). The planning of the Doornkop heroes’ memorial and the conception and creation of what later became the Paul Kruger monumental ensemble<sup>40</sup> on Church Square (5.1) should be seen in light of the nineteenth century desire for the monumental.

### 2.3.3 Commemorating the Great Trek in 1938

A hundred years after the Great Trek, the Afrikaners embarked on a countrywide commemoration of their ancestors’ migration from the Cape Colony to the interior. This re-enactment or symbolic Trek was organised by the *Afrikaanse Taal- en Kultuurvereniging* (ATKV) (the Afrikaans Language and Cultural Association) that was founded in 1930. Replicas of the original ox wagon left the statue of Jan van Riebeeck at Table Bay, Cape Town on 8 August 1938 and wound their way on different routes through small towns and cities, where they were met with enthusiasm by Afrikaans residents dressed in traditional Voortrekker clothes. The route was called the “Path of South Africa” (Mostert 1939: 162). Solemn ceremonies were held, wreaths were laid on the graves of fallen heroes and streets were re-named to reflect anything associated with the Great Trek. The ox wagon became an icon (Mostert 1939: 149) and a symbol of faith, trust in an almighty God and the preservation of the Afrikaans language (Mostert 1939: 196).

A leather-bound compilation of the speeches, prayers and images of the *Ossewa-Gedenktrek*, or the commemorative Trek was published in 1939<sup>41</sup>. The book is a valuable source of the worldview, nationalist ambitions and aspirations of the Afrikaner *volk* (people) a hundred years after the Great Trek. The central theme is a call to all Afrikaners to remember the sacrifice of the forefathers, to return to God and the values that the Voortrekkers held dear and to build up what was lost during the Second Anglo-Boer war and the Great Depression of the 1930s. It sheds light on the mentality that led to the system

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<sup>40</sup> The statue of Paul Kruger and the four sentinels currently in the centre of Church Square were conceived and created at the end of the nineteenth century, although the ensemble was only erected on Church Square in the twentieth century (1954).

<sup>41</sup> Mostert, D 1939. *Gedenkboek: van die Ossewaens op die Pad van Suid-Afrika: Eeufees: 1838-1939*.

of apartheid and stresses the spirit of brotherhood and charity, especially towards poor whites.

The book stressed that the Voortrekkers did not move away from the Cape because they wanted to be lawless; on the contrary, it was their desire for freedom that led them to establish an own republic in the north according to their concept of civilisation. Voortrekker laws are testimony to the fact that the Voortrekkers were called to create a Christian nation established on broad democratic principles, with a strict but fair attitude towards indigenous tribes and to be their guardians without viewing them as equals (Mostert 1939: 61). The Voortrekker constitution stipulated that any land had to be obtained legally, to be either bought or traded and not through violence or corruption (Mostert 1939: 138). Nationalism is a strong theme and is proffered as a reaction to Imperialism. Materialism and reckless internationalism are seen as the cancer of society. The Voortrekker women are praised for being prepared to trek with their husbands and in so doing keeping their men from mixing with the indigenous population and thus ensuring a pure race, as opposed to other colonies as in South America. The family unit was important in the Great Trek and writers urged Afrikaners not to neglect family life because it would invariably lead to the undermining of church, school and *volk* (Mostert 1939: 145).

The contributors of the *Gedenkboek* pleaded against the modern tendency to separate religion and politics with the result that the Afrikaners ran the risk of finally wanting what Rousseau and his allies wanted, namely a state without God. They implored the Afrikaner to say 'no' to anti-religious currents that were at work in South Africa, namely the influence of Socialism and Communism and to hang on to, like the Voortrekkers, the truth of the Scripture, the truth of equality of all people in front of God (Mostert 1939: 187). Ironically, the Voortrekkers wanted a democratic form of government to let the principle of equality in front of God come to its right.

There is no doubt that the discourse is one of severe "othering". The indigenous population is described as barbarious heathens (Mostert 1939: 154) and the Voortrekkers are praised for maintaining their faith and civilisation in the isolated landscape amongst the masses. The reading of the Bible is attributed to protecting the Voortrekker from illiteracy. The purpose of the Trek was for the Voortrekkers to create order out of the chaos and to tame the interior for farming (Mostert 1939: 162-63). The Afrikaans daughters of 1938

were criticised for not being in touch with the values of their ancestors and education is blamed for it (Mostert 1939: 157). The battle of Blood River is mentioned as well as the Day of the Covenant.

The ox wagons arrived in Pretoria on 16 December 1938. They first travelled through Voortrekkernek in Wonderboom from the north to Church Square, then to the University of Pretoria where an ox wagon track was imprinted in wet cement, and finally to the site of today's Voortrekker Monument, where the cornerstone was laid in celebration of the centenary.

The “completion” of Church Square, when the Kruger statue and Boer soldiers were placed in its centre in 1954, follows from the aspirations represented in the *Gedenkboek*. Piet Muller in Meiring (1980: 12) believes that Church Square is the only place where the ideals of the Great Trek were given visible form in an urban environment. It stands as reminder of people who trekked into the wilderness, not to abandon themselves to lawlessness, but to found a new civilisation based on order and justice.

#### **2.3.4 Afrikaner foundation myths**

During the twentieth century countless memorials, monuments and museums mushroomed across South Africa<sup>42</sup>. The most notable is the Voortrekker Monument that commemorates the Great Trek which, together with the Second Anglo-Boer War, are seen by Afrikaners to be the two key events in the foundation of their nation. The Monument is an outstanding representation of the Afrikaner's foundation myth and contains a historical frieze that depicts the Taking of the Vow that served as the basis of their belief that they were God's chosen people<sup>43</sup> (Grobler 2008: 170). These events form part of the Afrikaner's “struggle history”. The Great Trek represents the struggle to achieve freedom from the British, and the Anglo-Boer War represents the struggle to secure that freedom. These struggles claimed the lives of relative large numbers of Afrikaner men, women and children who

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<sup>42</sup> For a guide to Afrikaner memorials, see Grobler, J. 2012. *Monumentale erfenis: 'n gids tot 50 Afrikaner-Gedenktekens*. Pretoria: Kontak-Uitgewers.

<sup>43</sup> Du Toit states in Duvenage (2016: 120) that he searched for the source of the idea that Afrikaners were the Chosen People of God during his research at Yale in 1981, but that he found no relevant primary historical sources for the middle of the nineteenth century for this notion, until David Livingston developed it as polemic construction, which ironically was taken over by later generations of Afrikaners. Du Toit wrote “No chosen People” and later critically added a comparative perspective to the twentieth century development of the idea of *uitverkorendheid* (being chosen) 1994.

were made heroes by those that survived. The National Women's Memorial in Bloemfontein pays homage to around 35,000 women and children who died in British concentration camps and as stated on the pedestal, they did not die in vain but died as a sacrifice to the freedom of those that survived (Grobler 2008: 172).

These events also had a decisive impact on the rigid Afrikaner nationalist identity for the total duration of the twentieth century (Grobler 2008: 173) and as a result the government's political agenda was expressed in memorials, monuments, museums and historic sites. Grobler (2008: 163) mentions the universal trend to politicise cultural memory sites and explains that because these sites are invariably tourist attractions, the government wants to control the way that the heritage and culture of a country and its people is presented to tourists. A government's interference means the manipulation of the cultural property of a nation. "The twin forces of foundation myth and political correctness make it unavoidable for politics to be a determining influence on the way that heritage and cultural attractions convey their message to tourists."

In the middle of the twentieth century South African monuments commemorated the Afrikaner's grief and loss, perpetuated by the apartheid government for their nationalist agenda and with the advent of democracy after the end of apartheid in 1994, this rhetoric was repeated by the government of the "new South Africa", who is similarly embroiled in dialogues concerning the struggle for freedom (from white domination and apartheid), the search for a new (African-based) foundation myth and the restoration of dignity (to black South Africans) (Grobler 2008: 174). This rhetoric should be seen against the background of the global explosion of memory discourses at the end of the twentieth century, which has added to how we understand history and deal with the temporal dimensions of social and cultural life in ways rarely achieved by professional historiography alone (Huysen 2003: 5).

### **2.3.5 Remembering trauma in the 1990s**

Everyday existence is mostly unremarkable and easy to forget, masked by our march towards progress. But a traumatic event is less susceptible to the vagaries of memory (Huysen 2003: 101), probably because trauma is a psychic phenomenon located on the threshold between remembering and forgetting. In the 1980s post-modern pluralism was characterised by an obsession with happiness, but in the 1990s trauma was given global

preference (Huysen 2003: 8). People relate to place and time through memory (Bender 2002: 107), but by privileging trauma, our understanding of memory is marked exclusively in terms of pain, suffering and loss and our memories are collapsed into trauma, which denies human agency and locks us into compulsive traumatic repetitions (Huysen 2003: 8). Hook (2013: 1-6) describes the violent pathological repetitions of past social and political formations and focuses on “psychosocial time” when describing repetition, fixation, regression and nostalgia, as symptoms of the relationship between psychical causality and power<sup>44</sup>.

One of the ways to break out from compulsive traumatic repetitions is to engage in public memory discourses. The transnational discourse of human rights is one way for individuals to deal with historical trauma. Truth commissions and juridical proceedings are more effective than transferring psychoanalysis onto politics and history. Another way is the creation of objects, artworks, memorials, public spaces and commemoration (Huysen 2003: 9). Certain architectural structures, such as memorials, are conceived and built deliberately to preserve and evoke grief and melancholy, joy and hope (Pallasmaa 2007: 190). Where everyday life is time marked by forgetfulness and the uncelebrated and un-monumental, trauma is worthy of commemoration and preservation in the national consciousness.

The intense global interest in witness and survivor testimonies started with a multi-national holocaust discourse, merged with discourses on AIDS, slavery, family violence and child abuse and radiated out to South Africa after apartheid<sup>45</sup>. “The privileging of trauma formed a thick discursive network with those other signifiers of the 1990s, all which have to do with repression and a present repetitively haunted by the past” (Huysen 2003: 8).

Since the end of apartheid various “sites of memory” have been established across South Africa. The history and life of Mandela is the focus of many of these sites and tourists can visit his house in Vilakazi Street, Soweto, his capture site in Howick, KZN,

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<sup>44</sup> See also Olivier’s (2015: 124-130) review of Hook’s *(Post)apartheid Conditions: Psychoanalysis and Social Formation*.

<sup>45</sup> The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was set up by the Government of National Unity to help deal with what happened under apartheid. The conflict during apartheid resulted in violence and human rights abuses from all sides, from which no section of society escaped (retrieved from <http://www.justice.gov.za/trc/> on 31 December 2018). The Apartheid Archive Project collected narrative accounts from a wide range of South Africans about their experiences of racism during apartheid (Hook 2013: 15).

Lilliesleaf Farm in Rivonia, Constitution Hill in central Johannesburg where he was imprisoned in the Old Fort during his trials in 1956 and then again in 1962 and Robben Island near Cape Town, where he served the biggest part of his 27 year prison sentence. The Apartheid Museum in Johannesburg, the Hector Pieterse Museum in Soweto and Freedom Park in Pretoria are other sites that recall from memory the struggle against apartheid and the trauma that it caused many South Africans. In South Africa memory practices have a clear political function but are affected and partly created by international coverage of memory obsessions (Huysen 2003: 28).

Huysen (2003: 109) reminds us that “the old practice where a figurative sculpture is placed on a pedestal in the middle of a square (as on Church Square) has been replaced by the preferred construction of memory sites in the expanded field that combine sculpture, landscaping, architecture and design and their incorporation into an urban fabric, such as Libeskind’s museum extension in Berlin, the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington and Memorial Park in Buenos Aires.”

### **2.3.6 Erasing the “other’s” memories as expression of power**

With each significant socio-political change, new leaders perform a memory reformulation ritual and strive to erase the memories of their predecessors (Elle 2002: 163). Berlin is such a paradigmatic public memory space (Huysen 2003: 9). Each regime attempted to make its mark on Berlin’s urban landscape and to undo the legacy of its predecessors and impose its own identity and authority: the Third Reich, the fourth-power occupation, the division between Federal Republic and the Democratic Republic and finally reunification (Sudjic: 2005: 121).

Hitler demolished around 25,000 properties to construct his new city Germania but after the German defeat little remained of his constructions. In 1949 the Russian occupiers demolished the remains of the damaged but mainly intact Chancellery and used the salvaged stone to build Berlin’s huge Soviet War Memorial (Sudjic: 2005: 45-6). The German Democratic Republic (DDR) had other targets and Ulbricht, who worked closely together with Stalin, wanted to model East Germany closely on the Soviet Union. The

Berlin City Palace of the Hohenzollern<sup>46</sup> was dynamited in September 1950, despite the protests of Ulbricht's own architects and art historians. A part of the architectural history of the city and the physical legacy of the old dynasty was erased in order to construct a new socialist order. Ulbricht motivated the demolition by claiming that the building was too badly damaged and that it would be too costly for the country to restore it, but he added: "May it no longer remind us of an inglorious past." Schinkel's pioneering Prussian state architecture school (*Bauakademie*) was similarly demolished in 1961 to make way for the DDR's Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the west side of Marx-Engels Platz, the *Palast der Republik* with its orange mirror-glass façades fashionable in the USA at the time was completed in 1976 and stood on the site of the old palace courtyard and Mies's new National Gallery completed in 1967 required the demolition of the remains of the German House of Tourism<sup>47</sup> (Sudjic: 2005: 121-4).

In the Federal Republic in West Berlin the discourse surrounded the debate between erasure and preservation of relics of the past regime. Should any trace of the past be erased to guard against the resurgence of the malevolence that it represented or should it be preserved "as reminder of German guilt and a warning of the horrors that Nazism was capable of"? Some argued that Speer's work should be restored because of its intrinsic aesthetic merit (Sudjic: 2005: 124).

With unification the new Germany was less prepared to wipe out traces of Hitler's Berlin than it was to eradicate the traces of the DDR. During his remodelling of the Reichstag architect Norman Foster persuaded German Chancellor Kohl to preserve the chalk and paint Cyrillic graffiti left by the victorious Russian soldiers on the bullet-ridden walls behind glass, but the *Palast der Republik* was demolished after being abandoned due to the presence of asbestos. The DDR's Ministry of Foreign Affairs was demolished in 1996 and proposals to rebuild Schinkel's *Bauakademie* culminated in the erection of a temporary structure wrapped in canvas that simulated its façades and indicated the volume and form of the original building. The structure was constructed by students in 2000. Similarly a life-sized canvas mock-up of the Baroque façade of the old Hohenzollern Royal Palace was erected in 1993, which swayed the public in favour of reconstructing the

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<sup>46</sup> The massive stone palace, begun three hundred years earlier, was across from the Lustgarten and had Baroque façades, a corner dome, two inner courtyards and 1200 rooms (Sudjic 2005: 122).

<sup>47</sup> Dierksmeier and Röttcher designed the *Haus des Fremdesverkehrs* (German House of Tourism) in 1936 as part of a quadrant of stone-fronted blocks that were the only section of Speer's north-south axis for the city Germania that was actually built (Sudjic 2005: 124).

old palace. The new building, to be completed in 2019, will be called the Humboldt Forum and will house a world cultural museum. Angela Merkel called the project the final “closing of a wound”<sup>48</sup>.

Elleh (2002: 163) stated that the most obvious way to reformulate memory with the transformation from one regime to the next is by changing street and city names. This is usually met with resistance because a part of the population feels that name changes would lead to loss of identity (Rapoport 1977: 111). In post-colonial African states name changes<sup>49</sup> are common, but many post-colonial states also relocated their capitals from where colonial masters established their cities on the coast for export of raw material, to a location more central in the country in an attempt to make social and economic improvements in the interior and to erase colonial memories<sup>50</sup>. In Pretoria many street names were changed after the end of apartheid to commemorate struggle heroes. Church Street was divided into sections and given different names. Church Street East became Helen Joseph Street and Church Street West became WF Nkomo Street. The capital remained in Pretoria but the metropolitan municipality was renamed the City of Tshwane in 2000 after a mythical Chief Tshwane.

### **2.3.7 African memory, myth and monument in post-apartheid Pretoria**

A statue of Chief Tshwane was erected in front of the Pretoria city hall near an equestrian statue of Andries Pretorius after whom Pretoria was named, and his son Marthinus Wessel (MW) Pretorius who was the founder of Pretoria in 1855. There is no historic proof that Tshwane ever existed. Oral tradition claims that he lived around 1600 and ordered his family to move away to avoid “genocide by the plundering Voortrekkers”, but the Voortrekkers only arrived in the area in the 1830s and did not even exist around 1600. This is an attempt at a black founding myth and the creation of an imagined past (Grobler 2008: 175-7).

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<sup>48</sup> Retrieved from <https://www.germansociety.org/classes/konversationsabend-humboldt-forum-reconstruction-old-imperial-palace-berlin/> on 4 January 2019.

<sup>49</sup> Rhodesia was changed to Zimbabwe, Salisbury to Harare, South West Africa to Namibia, etc.

<sup>50</sup> The Malawian capital was relocated from Blantyre to Lilongwe shortly after independence in 1964. The Tanzanian capital was relocated from German founded Dar es Salaam to Dodoma in the interior in 1973. The Ivory Coast capital moved from the port city Abidjan to Houphouët-Boigny’s birth town Yamoussoukro in 1983. The Nigerian capital moved from coastal Lagos to central Abuja in 1991.

The erection of Chief Tshwane's statue should be seen in the African context of commemoration. Both Elleh (2002: 163) and Grobler (2008: 177) remark on the application of Western memory devices to create African monuments. "The current practice is to imitate western commemorative conventions. A "proper monument" is regarded as a bronze statue on a pedestal, even though this style might be questioned in the post-apartheid context that aims to create an African Renaissance" (Grobler 2008: 177). Both the statues of Chief Tshwane (by Sculptor Angus Taylor) and Nelson Mandela (by sculptors André Prinsloo and Ruhan Janse van Vuuren) at the Union Buildings<sup>51</sup> fit that mould. In other African countries<sup>52</sup> adaptations of Roman-based iconography have marked post-colonial African structures.

In an increasingly secular Western culture, memory has been marketed successfully, driven by the fear of forgetting, through public and private memorialisation (Huyssen 2003: 15, 18). Huyssen's (2003: 23) hypothesis is that "the prominence of museums and mnemo-history is an attempt to create a barrier against the erasure and disappearance of memories in a society where the speed of change and the ever-shrinking horizons of time and space cause deep anxiety." But on the African continent politics have influenced the production of monumental objects since independence (Elleh 2002: xviii) and in post-apartheid South Africa, with its Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), the issues of memory and forgetting are more than just concerns of the past. They have become part of the very political legitimacy of its regime today (Huyssen 2003: 94). To date the statues of the founding fathers of Pretoria stand side by side with the legendary Chief Tshwane in front of the city hall and the statue of Paul Kruger remains in the centre of Church Square, but recent calls for non-African symbols of power to step down from their pedestals have become a prominent part of the decolonising debate, which has led to protests on Church Square and damage to the bronze statues.

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<sup>51</sup> The new 9m high statue of Nelson Mandela was unveiled on 16 December 2013 in front of the Union Buildings on the spot where Hertzog's statue once stood. The two wings of the Union Buildings symbolised the coming together of the Afrikaans and the English in 1910 and now Mandela's spread out arms link the two wings in an embrace of the nation. Mandela is smiling and in movement, in contrast to Paul Kruger's slightly downward solemn stare to the north. Mandela's statue looks to the south with his back turned to the Union Buildings in a welcoming gesture towards the people, from the state.

<sup>52</sup> An adaptation of the concept of the Roman triumphal arch was erected for the celebration of Ghana's freedom from the British (Elleh 2002: 163). Houphouët-Boigny ordered the construction of the world's largest Catholic church in Yamoussoukro. His Ivorian ideology was driven by the search for the perfect architectural style, which he believed could only come out of the Greek and Roman tradition. The Basilica of Our Lady of Peace is a replication of a Renaissance inspired Greco-Roman style of architecture and ornamentation (Elleh 2002: 4, 110).

### 2.3.8 Removal of statues as part of the decolonising debate

The decolonising debate started in 2015 with a revival of the black consciousness movement amongst University of Cape Town students, which was expressed in the “Rhodes Must Fall” campaign to remove the Rhodes statue in front of campus. Protests extended to Oxford, England, which is home to the Rhodes scholarship. English born Cecil John Rhodes was Prime Minister of the Cape and had strong British imperialist sentiments. Although protesting students are mainly part of the “born free generation” (born after 1994) and were thus never part of the apartheid struggle themselves, they are dissatisfied with the remaining presence of colonial and apartheid symbols, as well as with a dysfunctional government that cannot change their economic situation which is another remnant of colonial and apartheid legacies. The feeling that a statue can “radiate supernatural omnipresence” caused some protestors to hurl human faeces at the statue in order to shame and thus de-sanctify it.

This movement has spread to Church Square with increasingly loud protests, this time not from students but from members of the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), to remove Paul Kruger’s statue because “he killed black people”<sup>53</sup>. The statue of Paul Kruger has thus not remained exempt from the call for colonial and apartheid symbols to step down from their pedestals on account of the historic injustice associated with their persons (Clarke and Kuipers 2015: 14). Although the complete opposite of a British Imperialist, Kruger was the first president of the ZAR, which was established by the white Afrikaans Voortrekkers when they settled north of the Vaal and made Pretoria their capital. The monument has recently been vandalised during shows of public violence, painted lime green and set alight (figure 1.5).

However, many of the mainly Afrikaans population see the proposed removal of statues as offensive to their culture and as an attempt to erase signs of their heritage. They look towards the Constitution and the National Heritage Resources Act, no 25 of 1999 to protect their heritage (Du Plessis 2017). Although the Constitution of South Africa states that the country belongs to all who live in it and that we are united in our diversity, this diversity runs deep with a rainbow of heritages in the South African public sphere (Du Plessis 2017). The National Heritage Resources Act no 25 of 1999 states that no person may

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<sup>53</sup> Retrieved from <https://www.news24.com/Archives/City-Press/Activist-Paul-Kruger-statue-will-be-defaced-until-it-is-removed-20150429> on 6 January 2019.

destroy, damage, deface or remove from its original position any heritage site without a permit issued by the heritage resources authority responsible for the protection of the site. The City of Tshwane suggests public dialogue in order to change public spaces to represent a new identity.<sup>54</sup> Even before these protests gained momentum, Labuschagne (2011: 142-154) warned against the removal of statues by explaining the significance of maintaining the historical nexus between the monument and its site. Placing an African struggle hero in Paul Kruger's place would completely sever the historical nexus.

In this regard Clarke has included the term "resilience" to the discourse on erasure vs. preservation. He acknowledges that the built environment has to frequently adapt in order to reject past ideologies and to reflect new ones, but he adds that "museumifying" or preserving the built environment in a fixed state for the sake of commemorating an intangible memory of the past, would fail to address its worth in terms of the present society with its new needs and values. Erasing historical structures will not change history and it will not automatically address current problems. He suggests that the built heritage in Pretoria be allowed to play a role in developing the general resilience of the city in order to become inclusive and liveable, in the current socio-political context (Clarke and Kuipers 2015: 85).

There are those that add another dimension to the discourse surrounding the removal of statues, but their motivation for wanting to do so is based on the notion that the nineteenth century model, wherein nation states monumentalised national and universal pasts so as to legitimise or to give meaning to the cultural, political and social present and to envision the future, no longer works (Huysen 2003: 2).

### **2.3.9 Anti-monumentalism**

Post-war Europe saw a similar call for the removal of statues and monuments, which Sudjic (2005: xiv) related as an effort to repress future uprising and curb the hankering after the old regime, but this is hardly the case in South Africa. Huysen (2003: 38-9) stated that there were other concerns:

From early modernism to current post-modernism, there has been an aesthetic consensus for anti-monumentalism. The monument is aesthetically suspect because it is tied to nineteenth century bad

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<sup>54</sup> Retrieved from <http://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/oom-pauls-days-are-numbered-1846816>.

taste, kitsch and mass culture. It is politically suspect because it represents nineteenth century nationalism and twentieth century totalitarianism. It is socially suspect because it is the privileged mode of expression of mass politics. It is ethically suspect because in its preference for bigness it indulges in the larger than human, in the attempt to overwhelm the individual spectator. It is psychoanalytically suspect because it is tied to narcissistic delusions of grandeur and to imaginary wholeness. Michel Foucault claimed that monumental seduction represents the fascism in us all, in our heads and in our everyday behaviour, the fascism that causes us to love power and to desire the very thing that dominates and exploits us.

Maré (2006: 95) concurs and adds that monuments are primarily erected to celebrate military victories and the prominent stature and prestige of a living or deceased political leader or to serve as political statements rooted in some current ideology. She believes that monuments encourage a false sense of memory of the historical truth that they are supposed to commemorate and no matter how they are designed, most monuments are intended to politically indoctrinate those for whose viewing they are intended. She claims that, as a material object, no monument can heal a nation and the building of monuments cannot escape the struggle for possession and interpretation of memory that is rooted among the conflict and interplay of social, political and cultural interest values in the present. Critique of these notions is that monuments are not always about memory or the interpretation thereof and that a monument can be visualised and designed to attempt to heal a nation.

Monuments have proven to be transformable and transitory. If a monument is also a statue, it is exposed as temporal and, just like the monumental ensemble of the once celebrated figure of Paul Kruger, the traditional stabilities that had always remained unquestioned in the past, become the focus of resistance. Public memory is subject to change. It cannot be stored forever or secured by monuments (Huysen 2003: 28). In the current history and memory debate, our notions of the past are disturbed and our imagination of alternative futures is in crisis (Huysen 2003: 2).

#### **2.4 Palimpsest theory**

In the *Preface* it was explained that the best way to expose change in landscape is by means of a palimpsest that illustrates how the two streams of past and present come together. This layering communicates change in the urban landscape over time and the possibility of layering the physical features of Church Square with the social, cultural and historical contexts by engaging with emerging paradigms of philosophy became the aim of

this thesis. In the *Introduction* the overall aim was identified as determining the temporal impact of landscape, space and power on the built environment and to graphically represent change over time through a palimpsest of Church Square which reveals the meaning embedded in the archaeology of the site. The main problem was also formulated as the graphic representation of seminal historical moments of change over time brought about by landscape and the powers of law, state and church in Pretoria's Church Square by means of a palimpsest that determines the temporality of the Square in context. The history of Church Square has witnessed the creation, erasure and re-creation of the built environment and its boundaries. This layered evidence of past and present prompts a theoretical line of questioning into palimpsest theory.

#### **2.4.1 The meaning of palimpsest**

The palimpsest is usually associated with literary texts and is inherently tied to writing. Historically a palimpsest is a page from a scroll, manuscript or a parchment roll from which the original text has been scratched off so that, for economic reasons, the page could be reused in another document, since writing material was costly. Papyrus was less durable and less expensive than parchment from animal hide and as a result most palimpsests that survived are on parchment. The word was derived from the Greek *palimpsestos* and the Latin *palimpsestus*, which means: "scratched or scraped again". In Ancient Rome letters were scratched into a wax surface that could be smoothed over and re-used. Parchment, which became popular in Western Europe from the sixth century onwards, was initially washed with oat bran and milk and after some time the original text [*scriptio inferior*] would reappear. In the late Middle Ages the words were scraped away with a stone and were lost forever<sup>55</sup>.

The number of palimpsests appears to increase more rapidly in periods of intense intellectual activity (Lowe 1972) and moments of critical change (Baird 2015: 63) than during periods of economic decline. The destruction of Greek religious text was forbidden by decree in 691, which increased the demand for parchment on which secular or pagan texts had been written. It seems that there was also a spiritual motivation, namely to overwrite religious text on pagan (heretical) parchment, just as Christian churches were

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<sup>55</sup> Retrieved from <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Palimpsest>.

built on pagan sites, to sanctify the ground.<sup>35</sup>

The term “palimpsest” has come to be used in other disciplines to denote something that was created for one purpose and later re-used for another. In archaeology it refers to layers of architectural remains, in landscape archaeology it refers to the way different generations alter the landscape and in literature it refers to differing book editions and a multi-layered record produced by layering text over time. It is used in literature and art to describe an object, place or idea that reflects history.<sup>35</sup> In 1845 Thomas de Quincey<sup>56</sup> wrote an essay titled *The Palimpsest* where he stated that “even though the process of layering which creates a palimpsest was born out of a need to erase and destroy previous texts, the re-emergence of those destroyed texts renders a structure that privileges heterogeneity and diversity.” The concept of temporality is inherent in the palimpsest.

The term “palimpsest” can further be used with success to discuss configurations of urban space and their unfolding in time, without making architecture and the city simply into text. Text has to be distinguished from buildings and monuments because there is a difference between reading texts and reading urban space (Huysen 2003: 7). Cities are after all palimpsests of history, incarnations of time in stone and sites of memory extending both in time and space (Huysen 2003: 101). In the same way the SG diagram as palimpsest can be used to read different “editions” of an erf, changing boundaries over time, layers that had been scratched out, configurations of landscape and its unfolding over time, history of the site and its role players and memory extending beyond time and space. Similar to a parchment from which the original text has been scratched off in order to overlay a new text, the original SG diagram of Church Square’s surrounding erven was reused to bring about amendments, although the motivation for keeping the old diagrams and whether it was also for economic reasons is not known.

#### **2.4.2 Deciphering the palimpsest**

Recent technologies like ultraviolet light, X-rays and photography can now decipher ancient palimpsests without causing damage, but in the nineteenth century, scholars who tried to decipher palimpsests had to separate layers and use chemicals that were often destructive or damaging to the texts and images. The principle they followed was a

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<sup>56</sup> Retrieved from <https://lucian.uchicago.edu/blogs/mediatheory/keywords/palimpsest/>. [11]  
[SEP]

precursor to modern scholarship, where knowledge is divided into discrete branches to maintain the purity of knowledge and authorship. This methodology aimed to classify, separate, purge, divide, disconnect and dissociate one text from the other. As the mathematical was separated from the mythical on parchment, scholars attempted to separate the distinct voices and texts present in the literary palimpsest into discreet branches.

The tendency in postmodern textual analysis is to go against this tradition of separating multiple viewpoints, to find imaginative connections amongst layered subjects and to allow texts to have a dialogue (Baird 2015: 61-62). Baird (2015: 66) postulates that if two systems of knowledge are allowed to speak together, they might bring out a synthesis of eras and ideas. “Imagine two worlds together attempting to explain human contact with the temporal, the constant and the infinite”. The methodology used to decipher both text and drawing on the SG diagram palimpsests of Church Square follows modern scholarly tradition of extricating layers. Diagrams are then redrawn on a computer model where each layer on the drawing represents a calendar year during which change took place (see Chapter 4). The palimpsest can then be easily re-assembled by switching on all layers.

Lefebvre’s (1991: 96) argument in 2.2.11 on the erasure of time can be linked to palimpsest theory. He argued that time disappears like an object because it can be sold like any other object, which implies that time is no longer a dimension of space but merely an incomprehensible scribble that a moment’s work can completely rub out. This erasure of time is directed at historical time and the concealing of time in space must have more far-reaching implications than the simple effacement of marks or the erasing of words from a sheet of paper.

## **2.5 Space**

### **2.5.1 Introduction**

Spatiality finds application in each of the theoretical concepts of change, temporality and memory as explored above. Church Square is a specific urban space that underwent numerous physical changes attributable to factors of change outside of the space. Its resilience to change will determine the future of this urban space. As for temporality, space and time are bound together in various theoretical concepts / disciplines. Historical time

and space, the empirical space-time continuum as part of Collingwood's "one historical world" and the seventeenth century Cartesian system of time-space coordinates are examples that were explained above. Furthermore the ever-increasing time-space compression, the ever-shrinking horizons of time and space, the disappearance of time from social space, the erasure of time and the collapsing of space, as well as the loss of form and social interest from lived time all cause deep anxiety in the transitory-ness of modern life. Finally memory extends beyond time and space.

In this section the spatiality of Church Square will be explored as if space is an artefact rather than just a void. Because Church Square is in an urban setting it falls in the realm of urban design. Urban design can be defined as the organisation of space, time, meaning and communication. It is more concerned with the relationships among elements and the underlying rules, than with the elements themselves (Rapoport 1977: 15). It is also more than just the juxtaposition of units. It implies order and arrangement in the relationship of the units (Martienssen 1964: 11). Urbanism thus implies planning and a brief history of site planning reveals that all urban layouts are expressed in geometry, with an overwhelming prevalence of the gridded layout. The grid pattern was also used in the setting out of Church Square. This section thus starts with an exploration of the grid as human construct and its role in the history of site planning.

In urban design open space between building mass is generally known as urban space. Architects are trained to be aware of the spatial consequences of their designs, both on the interior and the exterior of their buildings. In an urban setting the consequences of their architectural designs in terms of urban space becomes more important. Urban space can be resultant (haphazard) or intended (designed). Trancik (1986) described the problem of resultant or lost space as the inadequate use of space, which afflicts so many urban centres today.

The investigation initially focuses on the creation of the physical space that is Church Square. In order to understand urban space as an artefact, one has to consider how the space was made, by whom and what this tells us of the society that it has been made for. Urban space is produced by either carving out space or by moulding it. The terms

“carving” and “moulding” are borrowed from the plastic arts<sup>57</sup>. The premise of this section is that if urban space can be physically manipulated, if it can be carved or moulded in three dimensions as if it is a plastic medium, then both the embedded social and cultural meaning and the language that narrates the process of its creation are revealed. Furthermore, it intends to prove that the making of urban space as a volume gives as much individual identity to the Square as do the crafted sculptural and architectural elements that the space contains (Van der Vyver 2017: 191).

Historical examples of where open urban space was created by carving it out of the existing urban fabric are Haussmann’s Paris (figure 2.13), Mao’s Tiananmen Square (figure 2.14) and Hitler and Speer’s proposed Germania in Berlin (figure 2.15). These examples required the demolition of parts of the existing urban fabric in order to carve out open areas according to a master plan, superimposed over the existing. The more frequent creation of urban space is enclosing three-dimensional open space from the sides using two-dimensional architectural surfaces. In each case both urban space and architectural detail give the area its character. Both methods of creation will be discussed below (2.5.9 and 2.5.10).

The second part of the investigation focuses on the intangible aspects of space, its meaning and the social and political relationships embedded in space. When architectural and urban space is evoked, the terms readability, visibility and intelligibility are used, but when it is described in social terms, it appears as the intangible outcome of history, society and culture. Both transparency of space and opacity of nature are myth. Space has meaning, absence of meaning or overload of meaning but all conceal their contents (Lefebvre 1991: 92).

## **2.5.2 The grid as human construct**

The literature review in 1.2.2 above revealed that Church Square was set out around the existing church and the surrounding erven were laid out according to a grid pattern, unrelated to topography and other natural considerations, which was a distinguishing feature of all Boer towns. Various sources discuss the topic of geometric town planning

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<sup>57</sup> Plastic arts are art forms, such as sculpture or ceramics that involve the physical manipulation of a plastic medium, one that can be carved or shaped, such as clay, wood, stone or plaster, by moulding or modelling the material in three dimensions (retrieved from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Plastic\\_arts](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Plastic_arts).)

superimposed on the natural topography, but fail to provide the genetic link or family tree of geometric town planning. Some explain that the gridded layout and long streets could take best advantage of the slope for the irrigation of the rectangular erven, but these studies lack a historical account of the advent of this practice. The “grid” as theme was identified in the lacunae discovered in the existing literature and an explanation of the meaning thereof is required to frame this study theoretically.

The grid as human construct, imprinted on the landscape, is most visible in a two-dimensional representation of the urban landscape (on plans). In his PhD-thesis, Fisher (1989: 85-100) aligned plan styling to episodes of paradigm shift or change. He argued that since the plan is an interactive artefact of its time, it can only be iconologically interpreted contextually. He explores a circular plan of a dwelling (a constant plan of a constant building type) and illustrates paradigmatic episodes throughout history to ascertain the meaning of these plans. In a similar vein the grid as two-dimensional cultural construct is explored in this section by following the same episodes, but with the ultimate focus on settlement patterns. As Fisher (1989: 86) states: its construction reveals something of the nature of human beings and its modification (change) reveals something of their cultural evolution. Fisher elaborates on Rapoport’s (1969: 75) classification based on the attitudes that humans have had towards the environment by adding two more categories.

Rapoport distinguishes between:

1. Religious and cosmological, where the environment is regarded as dominant and man is less than nature;
2. Symbiotic, where man and nature are in a state of balance and man regards himself as responsible to God for nature and the earth and as a steward and custodian of nature and
3. Exploitative and mechanistic, where man is the completer and modifier of nature, then the creator and finally the destroyer of the environment.

Fisher (1989: 87) calls these categories “paradigms” and adds two more:

1. The Sympathetic paradigm, from a musical analogy “relating to vibrations occurring as a result of similar vibrations in the neighbouring body” (Collins 1979). This encompasses an animist world where natural objects and phenomena and the universe possess souls (Collins 1979). This world allows for shamanist practices based on the belief that the world is pervaded by good

and evil spirits with whom the Shaman can commune and through whom they can be appeased (Fisher 1989: 87).

## 2. Ecosystemic

An outcome of my M.Arch thesis (Van der Vyver 2001: 117-124) was that these five paradigms were representative of South African history and that they could also be applied chronologically (Sympathetic, Cosmic, Symbiotic, Mechanistic and Ecosystemic) to the historical context of Pretoria as place.

The work of Rapoport (1969 and 1977) and his critical view of climatic determinism forms an important part of landscape theory. The reliance on visual sources such as maps and photographs links grid theory to other theories of cartography, change, landscape, palimpsest and space.

### 2.5.2.1 The Stone Age grid (Sympathetic paradigm)

Man's innate desire to express himself<sup>58</sup> artistically in a geometric fashion can be traced back to the earliest<sup>59</sup> Stone Age art forms of southern African rock painting and rock engraving. The hunter-gatherer San, whose last remnants, the Bushmen, still survive in small numbers in the Kalahari Desert, represent the Stone Age in southern Africa. Although the San was an egalitarian society, men and women had different roles and the shaman or medicine man played an important role in divination and curing the sick. He performed these duties while in a trance, the trance being an important link between the world of the spirits and the everyday world. Information gathered while in this altered state of consciousness was communicated to the group through the medium of painting or engraving. The images, which the medicine man saw during the trance state, were painted on the rock face and often did not represent reality. The literature reviewed in this regard is Lewis-Williams's 1989 *Images of Power*.

The sympathetic-magic explanation<sup>60</sup> for what Bushman art means was brought to Africa from Europe, but there was no evidence that the Bushmen believed in this type of magic. Another explanation is that the San painted whatever caught their fancy: hunting

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<sup>58</sup> This term is not gender neutral, since the earliest Shaman's were believed to have been men.

<sup>59</sup> The earliest rock paintings were found in Namibia and are between 25 000 and 27 000 years old.

<sup>60</sup> This explanation proposes that people made depictions of animals prior to the hunt in the belief that the act of depiction or of shooting arrows at the depictions would ensure success.

escapades, fights, dances, interesting incidents, meat-providing animals and an occasional mythical figure and the result is that their art is reduced to amusing vignettes and absurd comments on rock art. There are numerous reasons why such comments distort Bushmen rock art, but the most telling reason is that the art is viewed through Western eyes. Current research has shown that a great deal of this art is related to the trance-dance, which still forms an important part of the San's response to environmental pressures.

Lewis-Williams (1989) postulated the theory that only the shaman was responsible for the creation of rock paintings and engravings, after coming out of a trance. He explains the presence of geometric forms as follows: 'Shaman' is a Tungus word from central Asia and has been accepted in anthropological literature to mean someone in a hunter-gatherer society who enters a trance in order to heal people, foretell the future, control the weather and ensure good hunting. At a trance dance women usually sit around a central fire, clapping the rhythm of special songs. The men dance in a circle around the women. The sounds are believed to activate a supernatural potency that resides in the songs and the shamans themselves. This potency rises up in the shaman's spine and he enters a trance. Shamans also rely on hyperventilation, intense concentration and highly rhythmic dancing to alter their state of consciousness. Once the shaman returns to his body, he falls into a deep sleep. The next day, fully recovered, he may tell the people about his experience, or relate it through art. Bushman art was probably a powerful emotion recollected in tranquility.

A trance has three stages: entoptic, construals and entoptic and icons. People, no matter what their cultural background, see entoptics: luminous geometrical shapes that include zigzags, chevrons, dots, grids, vortexes and nested U-shapes, experienced in incandescent, shimmering, moving and sometimes enlarging patterns. During the second stage of a trance people try to make sense of entoptic phenomena by elaborating them into objects with which they are familiar (construals) and in the third phase iconic hallucinations appear to derive from memory and are often associated with powerful emotional experiences. The grid and other rectangular patterns are thus present in the earliest Stone Age art despite the absence of geometric shapes in their natural world.

|     | ENTOPTIC PHENOMENA |   | SAN ROCK ART |           |
|-----|--------------------|---|--------------|-----------|
|     | A                  | B | ENGRAVINGS   | PAINTINGS |
| I   |                    |   |              |           |
| II  |                    |   |              |           |
| III |                    |   |              |           |
| IV  |                    |   |              |           |
| V   |                    |   |              |           |
| VI  |                    |   |              |           |

**Figure 2.7**  
**Entoptic phenomena in San Rock art (retrieved from:**  
<https://treeofvisions.files.wordpress.com/2015/04/entoptic-imagery-lewis-williams.jpg>**).**

### 2.5.2.2 Iron Age site planning (Cosmic paradigm)

Although most of pre-colonial Iron Age art and artefacts do not follow rigid grid patterns, there is a distinct geometry in the design and execution of these cultural symbols. The black population of southern Africa is associated with the Iron Age<sup>61</sup>, which had its roots in the expansion of Ntu (formerly Bantu) speakers from western Africa to central, eastern and then to southern Africa. The economy of Iron Age communities was geared to the production of food and the rearing of livestock such as cattle, sheep and goats, although they also hunted to supplement crop production. Iron smelting produced tools that improved farming techniques, allowed an increase in the concentration of people, created the need for more land and ultimately dictated frequent cycles of movement. Crop production rather than foraging led to the establishment of the first settled communities, who could remain in one place for at least as long as it took for the crops to be harvested, or until the land became too impoverished. The artefacts associated with Iron Age culture were all determined by the practice of agriculture. This includes pottery, evidence of iron smelting and stone settlements (see Mason (1969); Maggs (1976) and Hall (1987)).

Settlements today are in ruins but show up on aerial photographs as dense clusters, with a network of linking roads, agricultural terraces, concentric homesteads and livestock enclosures in the centre. This reflects basic elements of Late Iron Age economy: cattle,

<sup>61</sup> South Africa's Early Iron Age lasted from 250 AD until 1100 AD and the later Iron Age began thereafter and lasted until the middle of the nineteenth century.

small stock and African crops that attest to labour intensive agricultural practice (Maggs 2007: 3). The legacy of pre-colonial Iron Age culture is indebted to Archaeology academics Mason (1969), Maggs (1976) and Hall (1987) who reconstructed Iron Age settlements and made it accessible to architectural researchers such as Walton (1956) and Steyn (current). It is the ability to recognise patterns of settlement and the absence of a rigid grid in Iron Age communities that is important to this study.

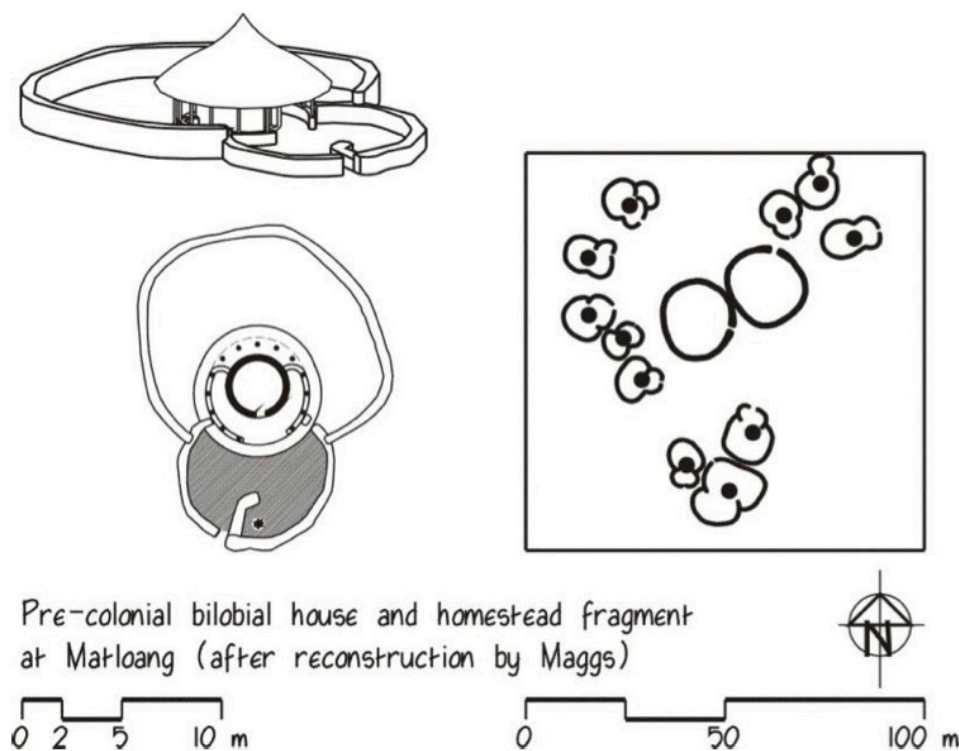
The notion that the lack of a rational construct such as geometric town planning indicates a less civilised culture is not new, but it is uniquely Western. The Greeks copied the grid as design system, probably because they believed that that was what separated their civilisation from barbarism (Haverfield 1913: 6) (see more from the Greeks in 2.5.2.3). When describing Tswana vernacular architecture<sup>62</sup> Steyn (2015: 21) explains that “many rural homesteads traditionally consisted of a collection of cylindrical huts (colloquially known as rondavels in southern Africa), constructed of dagha (a mixture of mud and cow dung) with thatched roofs supported by an encircling pole veranda. Open courtyards (also referred to as *lapas*) were the true living spaces.” These dwellings were traditionally constructed by women. After the Tswana came into contact with European settlers “Western-style houses (called *sekgoa* houses) constructed by means of industrial building materials such as masonry walls and corrugated iron or tiled roofs are becoming increasingly common; they are erected by craftsmen who are typically male.” Steyn further quotes Comaroff & Comaroff (1997: 289-301) who described how missionaries attempted to impose square rooms, with specific functions and privacy and rectangular houses as the “ideal” and “architectural principles of a civilised life”. Although the focus of this study is Pretoria and Church Square, Chapter 6 addresses the resilience of Church Square in the post-apartheid era as part of the decolonising debate and this portion has bearing on the Tswana / Tshwane correlation and informs attempts that have been made to redesign the square.

Recent research in fractals (Eglash 1998; Eglash 2002: 200) has revealed that construction of Iron Age settlements was not completely without regular planning. The term “fractal” was first introduced in 1924 by French-American mathematician, Mandelbrot. The word comes from the Latin *fractus*, which means broken and irregular and was used to describe irregular objects. Mandelbrot used fractional dimensions to

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<sup>62</sup> Vernacular architecture is the making of spaces and buildings in a particular place created by the community using patterns, methods and materials embedded in its culture (Steyn 2015: 14).

quantify and express the roughness and irregularity of an object (Thuan 2006: 107). Fractals imply the segmentation of a shape or geometry into small pieces. In many African settlements an individual land parcel is spatially demarcated and used by its occupant to create private, semi-private, semi-public and public spatial domains configured according to the human scale. Fragments are composed of the horizontal and vertical planes that freeze space into defined, finite perceptions (Nkambule 2015: 44). Where the rigid grid is found in (western) Euclidean geometry, where symmetry means similarity in one scale, like bilateral symmetry (Eglash 1998), fractal geometry is founded on scaling symmetry, which means that the symmetry exists between different scales. Some of the circular African settlements may not have the centralised location, but they do have fractal properties. Eglash (1998) argues that a variety of spatial definitions and a fine-grained settlement fabric are common in African settlements. Small to medium to large fragments are linked by fractal open spaces and transportation networks in these settlements have a fractal structure. In terms of hierarchy, the wide streets usually accommodate the market place, which is fed by medium sized paths, which are in turn fed by smaller routes leading to residential fragments.



**Figure 2.8**  
**Pre-colonial bilobial homestead after Maggs's reconstruction**  
 (Steyn 2015: 18; drawing by Gerald Steyn).



**Figure 2.9**  
**Bokoni settlement plan engraved on rock**  
(Maggs 2007: 3).

### **2.5.2.3 Site planning in the Egyptian and Greek world (Cosmic paradigm)**

The geometrising tendency of thinking humans is present in all urban layouts whether they follow a rigid grid pattern or not. The word geometry means “measure of the earth” and this concept can be traced back to Egyptian cities. It was the crossing of the south to north flowing Nile River, the bringer of water and life, with the daily passage of the sun god Ra from east to west that inspired the creation of the hieroglyph *Niwt*, a cross within a circle (figure 2.10), in replication of the Egyptian view of an idealised cosmic form here on earth (Folkers 2010: 26). *Niwt* is also seen as the earliest symbolic representation of a city (Kraehmer 1978: 68). From the earliest times, the urban plan has thus been symbolically linked to a crossing point. Nekhen, built around 4,000 BCE, contains the oldest known traces of a city laid out orthogonally at this crossing point. The city plan predates by 3,000 years the layout of Miletus by Hippodamus, the father of the orthogonal city plan (Folkers 2010: 26).



**Figure 2.10**

*Niwt*

(Retrieved from the public domain  
<http://capcarbon.blogspot.com/2016/04/le-modele.html>).

Apart from using geometry in the composition of their architectural ensembles, the Egyptians also measured flood lines of the Nile and the change associated with it. The laying of squares upon the earth had, for the Egyptians, a metaphysical dimension and the activity of measuring the earth became the basis of natural law as it embodied the archetypal forms of circle, square and triangle (Lawlor 1989: 6).

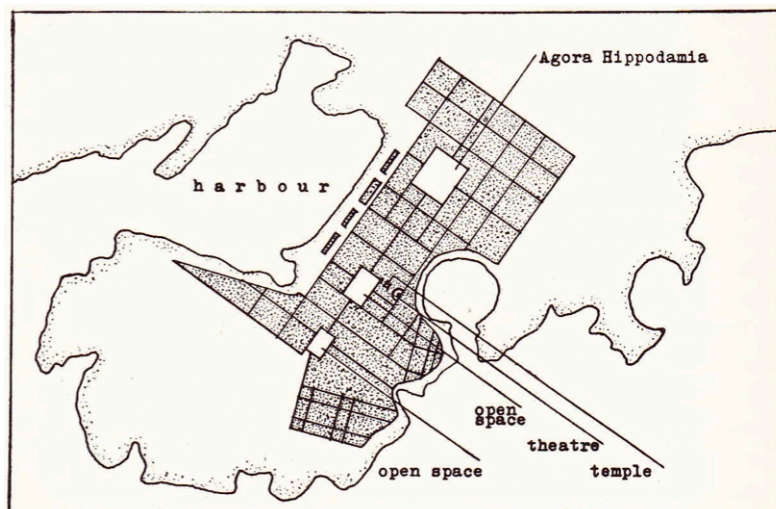
The ancient Greeks inherited the study of geometry from the Egyptians. From Homer to Pythagoras and throughout the works of Plato and Aristotle, later re-affirmed by Plutarch, the ancient Greeks believed in a geometrically ordered cosmos (Doxiades 1972: 16). Anaximander's idea that there is a law governing all events in the universe inspired the legal concept of the polis, the Greek city-state of which every individual was unconditionally a subject (Doxiades 1972: 15). Until the late Hellenistic period Greek philosophy was influenced and sometimes dominated by a mathematical or geometrical concept of the universe.

In the seventh Century BCE site planning did not exist. Anaximander was the first to consciously observe architectural space in the sixth century BCE and the first attempt to organise space, by dividing the space into ten parts, is found in the Ionic order (Priene agora). In this century we also find full application of the twelve-part system in the Doric order (Miletus), which continues into the fifth century BCE (Doxiades 1972: 21). In the fourth and third centuries BCE ten-fold division in the Ionic order and a twelve-fold system in the Doric order are still present and in the third century BCE, there is an unusual eight-fold division in Priene in the precinct of the Egyptian gods. This is an exception, where 45 and 90 degrees were used, which means that division was into eight, probably because it was a foreign cult and not purely Greek. In the second century BCE the twelve-

fold system in the Doric order is still prevalent but in Ionia the first example of axial site planning is found, which leads the historian into the Roman period (Doxiades 1972: 22).

Site planning as progenitor of urban design can be linked to Ancient Greece, but there are no Greek documents on the subject of architecture in existence, although it is known that such books were written by the best architects of the time. Vitruvius's *De Architectura* makes no specific reference to a system of site planning, which by the Roman times was no longer in use. Vitruvius only mentions forms and shapes relating to building construction.

The art of town planning in Greece probably began in Athens but the architect to whom ancient writers ascribe the first step was Hippodamus of Miletus (ca. 407 BCE) who has been dubbed the "Father of City Planning". He seems to have worked in Athens and in connection with Athenian cities, under the auspices of Pericles. Aristotle tells us that Hippodamus planned Piraeus, the port of Athens (figure 2.11). The Hippodamian, or grid plan, was introduced for the first time in Piraeus and became the basis for subsequent Greek and Roman cities (Haverfield 1913: 10). A characteristic of Greek town planning was that the grid was often rigidly imposed over the topography, creating steep streets and steps. The site of the amphitheatre was typically chosen for its position on the slope of a hill so that only the seats had to be carved out.



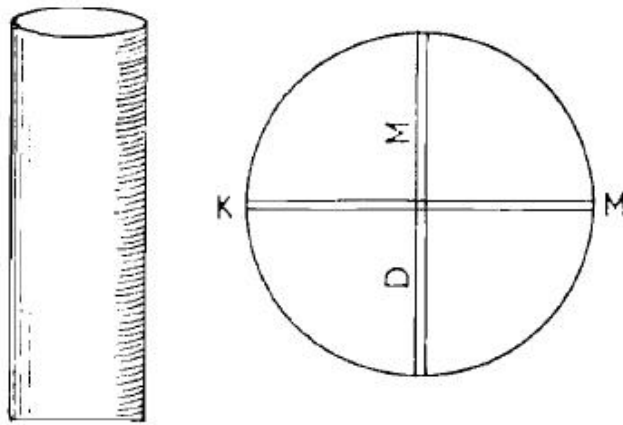
**Figure 2.11**  
**Piraeus after Milchhoefer**  
**(Martienssen 1964: 26).**

Aristotle contrasted the new Hippodamian system or gridiron plan for organising the layout of a city with the traditional system. Prior to the use of the Hippodamian system all cities had been laid out in accordance with the traditional system and they give the impression of having no comprehensive plan (as in Athens). Bergquist (1967: 3-4) confirms this with her findings: early Archaic structures were characterised by a lack of intention, isolated structures lying at the borders of the area with no orthogonal relations either to each other or to the enclosure. Middle Archaic examples were planned and composed by orthogonal means which were not too strictly applied and although late Archaic examples had a clearer composition, it was still not achieved through consistent and systematic relations. The traditional system was devised to bring order into the disposition of buildings in a layout just as Greek philosophy brought order into the cosmos: the ordering of space on the earth would mirror the order of the universe (Doxiades 1972: 20).

It was mentioned in 2.5.4 above that the ancient Greeks viewed the lack of a rational construct such as geometric town planning as less civilised and that they copied the grid as design system, probably because they believed that that was what separated their civilisation from barbarism (Haverfield 1913: 6). But the grid was more than just an ordering system to the Greeks. It referred to their concept of the universe; a concept that they inherited from the Egyptians through the latter's study of geometry (Lawlor 1989: 6).

#### **2.5.2.4 The continuation of the grid in town planning**

The cross axis was embodied in Roman town planning as well. Centuriation refers to a land measuring system used by the Romans in their colonies in which the landscape was divided into four quarters. The *decumanus maximus* was the first line to be sighted with a *groma* (surveying instrument). The *decumanus* was the widest street, forty feet wide (in the case of Augustan colonies for veterans.) The *kardo maximus* was then sighted with a *groma* and laid out at a right angle to the *decumanus*. It was twenty feet wide (in Augustan colonies). A centuriation stone (figure 2.12) marked on top with lines at right angles and the letters KM and DM stood at the centre of the centuriated area, at the crossroad. Jordaan (1989) compares the layout of Pretoria (figure 2.16) to that of a Roman colonial settlement.



**Figure 2.12**  
**Roman Centuriation Stone**  
 (retrieved from the public domain [http://www.fig.net/resources/monthly\\_articles/2012/january\\_2012/fig\\_3.jpg](http://www.fig.net/resources/monthly_articles/2012/january_2012/fig_3.jpg)).

Many traditional urban plans contained the cross axis within an external, often rectangular form defining the outer boundaries of the settlement (Kraehmer 1978: 68). Roman streets have seldom survived continuously to modern days and Roman town planning perished with the western Empire, but it has none-the-less profoundly influenced the towns of mediaeval and modern Europe and America. Early in the thirteenth century classical rectangular planning was being revived, albeit with certain modifications. Frederic *Stupor Mundi* probably copied Roman originals, which he had seen in northern Italy, when he built the Terra Nova in Sicily on a chessboard pattern early in the thirteenth century. In 1231 Barcelonette in south-eastern France was built with twenty square *insulae* and the Bastides and Villes Neuves of southern France and towns like Aigues-Mortes (1240) were built on similar geometric plans (Haverfield 1913).

During the Renaissance Leonardo was a pioneer in the field of cartography, particularly in the production of accurate city maps. His map for the town of Imola, produced during his time in Florence around 1502, is thought to be one of the first geometrically precise town plans. Leonardo came up with a system of proportion whereby city streets had to be at least as wide as the houses were tall.

With colonial expansion, geometric town planning was taken to the New World. In the seventeenth century the Spanish Crown issued an entire body of urban planning laws as part of the Laws of the Indies (*Leyes de Indias*), for its American and Philippine possessions. The laws dictated that principal streets were to be laid out in a grid pattern,

with arcades and plazas designed to provide shade in hot climates. The urban planners of the Spanish government followed these laws and a basic pattern can be observed in most old towns in Spanish colonial Philippines and new towns reflecting these principles were built all through the Americas. The planning and urban design policies of the British colonies followed certain principles, which advocated cutting through and demolishing old city centers to make space for new construction and boulevards.

During the Age of Discovery the Catholic Church, through the colonial powers of Spain, France and Portugal, made a concerted effort to convert the indigenous people of the Americas to Christianity and this evangelical effort was used as justification for military conquests<sup>63</sup>. Where the Spanish Laws of the Indies were influenced by Vitruvius's *Ten Books of Architecture* and Alberti's treatise on the subject<sup>64</sup>, regularity in Portuguese colonial urban settlement in South America was often associated with civil, ecclesiastic and military authorities. Derntl (2014: 148) disagrees with many earlier interpretations of South American Portuguese colonial settlements that deny that precise urban guidelines determined establishment patterns. She claims that similarity in urban features on plans and drawings of urban settlements from that period provide evidence of a planned character. In the mother country the Portuguese Crown's urbanisation policy between 1500 and 1720 led to Dom José I's (1750-1777) urban initiatives, characterised by the application of an organised model that emphasized geometric regularity. When the Baixa district in Lisbon was reconstructed after the November 1755 earthquake, its urban plan was laid out in a regular geometric pattern. Architecture was subordinate to the urban framework and squares punctuate the area as monumental focus points. The first urban settlements built under the regulation derived from the metropolitan government by direct initiative of the Portuguese Crown in its territories in South America date back to the middle of the sixteenth century. Derntl (2014: 148) describes distant settlements as having regular urban layouts, one or two rectangular central squares, straight streets with stipulated width and, in many cases, houses with gardens on erven with standardised dimensions. She adds that military engineers with basic knowledge of urban formation executed the plans under civil and ecclesiastic authorities. "The language of geometric regularity reaffirmed design principles which had been used since the beginning of the

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<sup>63</sup> Retrieved from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Catholic\\_Church\\_and\\_the\\_Age\\_of\\_Discovery](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Catholic_Church_and_the_Age_of_Discovery) on 11 November 2018.

<sup>64</sup> Retrieved from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Laws\\_of\\_the\\_Indies](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Laws_of_the_Indies) on 11 November 2018.

Portuguese expansion and also expressed enlightened ideals of social order and courteous coexistence” (Derntl 2014: 150).

...get the couples to found a church in a dry, pleasant and obstacle-free site, open up a quadrangle square, define the straight streets and lanes with the rope method, shaping wide blocks so that the houses have backyards; place stakes right away and demarcate the first houses on the corners of the streets, so that the land may soon be configured in its straightness to be more pleasant to the dwellings... (Morgado de Mateus 1767a: 104-106).

Urban layouts have been considered agents for imposing social patterns for civilised interaction. When São José dos Campos was granted town status, it was considered necessary “to arrange the streets’ layout with formality of civilian people, rather than the way they have lived so far with the brutality of the gentile” (Moura 1767: 407-411). Over the process of installing new settlements, written documents and drawings emphasised some order and principles of geometric regularity, though imposition of rigid models for urban layouts does not seem to have occurred (Derntl 2014: 160).

#### **2.5.2.5 Pretoria and the Voortrekkers (Symbiotic paradigm)**

The Dutch did not have a settlement code similar to the Spanish or the Portuguese (see 3.16), but the use of a grid pattern is a distinguishing feature of all Boer towns and Pretoria with Church Square in its centre is no exception. The Voortrekker *dorp* (town) was based on a simple standard model, well understood by both planners and users, with its regular design lines of order imprinted on the land and the wild landscape (Holm in Fisher 1998: 59). When Pretoria changed from agricultural settlement to town, its landscape changed forever. Church Square or Market Square as it was called, was the heart of Pretoria, the focal point from which it all grew. Devereaux and Skinner built the first church in the center of a clearing in the bottom of the well-water valley below Elandspoort (Allen 1971: 22) and they set out the Square (*Kerkplaats*) around the church. At the end of 1857 Devereaux and Visagie suspended measuring work with the result that A.F. du Toit and his son were tasked to continue the geometric setting out for the next two years (Pieterse 1947: 23). In the next Chapter the reasons for setting out Pretoria according to a grid pattern are described as both a sign of human dominance over landscape and of water management. The surveying of Church Square and surrounding erven is discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

Jordaan (1989) compared the layout of Pretoria to that of a Roman colonial settlement, Holm (1991) stated that the *urbs quadrata* was the image according to which Voortrekker

towns and Pretoria was laid out and Maré (2006) stated that its development on a grid system was like a Roman *castro*. However the city grid is superimposed over a natural system (Apies River) and this juxtaposition forces the grid to change direction. Kraehmer (1978: 35) indicated that the grid layout of early Pretoria was used as a non-hierarchical ordering system and although the church on Church Square enjoyed prominence as the centre of the town, there was lack of an overall framework that could display symbols of authority and statehood. Public buildings were equal to residential structures. There was also a lack of a programmed pattern for development in keeping with its capital status. Civic buildings and spaces were separated from each other in apparent haphazard fashion (Kraehmer 1978: 1). Holm and Viljoen (1993) confirmed that government buildings were built in the Karoo-style without hierarchy. The capital did not get more attention than an unimportant shack.

#### **2.5.2.6 The grid in modern art, urbanism and politics (Mechanistic paradigm)**

Twentieth century modernism started out in praise of Euclidian geometry. Its champion, Le Corbusier, said that architecture (like art) is in everything, sublime or modest, which contains sufficient geometry to establish a mathematical relationship (Joubert 1998: 89). Le Corbusier identified a primary range of Euclidean geometry as the essence of Purist vocabulary. Purified form therefore referred to the Purists' process of reducing natural or man-made artefacts to Euclidian geometry (Joubert 1998: 93). Ozenfant maintained that humans delight in geometric forms because they find in them confirmation of their abstract geometric concepts (Joubert 1998: 96). Just as Plato's convictions that stereometric configurations constitute absolute beauty, so modernists identified geometry as the basis for artistic composition (Joubert 1998: 97).

However in terms of town planning, the functionalist application of the grid and regularised ground-plane that dominated from the 1920s up unto the 1970s were widely criticised. Trancik (1986: 30-7) stated that a disciplined geometry of flat surfaces intersecting at right angles, thus a geometry of base planes, disregards topography and runs counter to the flowing lines of nature and the human frame. Right-angled buildings are cheaper, faster and easier to construct and although the grid is not inherently bad as an ordering device, it can contribute to a loss of containment, especially when the lines of the grid become superhighways and the spaces between a wasteland. The effectiveness of the

grid as an organising system depends on whether it is used to connect or to separate. Planning should show respect for historic evolution of urban form because the open space configuration is a flowing continuum. Rapoport (1977: 368) argued that the grid has been interpreted as an endless, open-ended framework for expansion.

Goosen (in Duvenage 2016: 228) links the twentieth century modernist project to political geometrising and landscape. Similar to urban centres, areas in Africa and the Middle East were divided by means of artificial grid patterns without considering natural contours, localities, cultures and languages. These areas were placed in the control of centralised governments. The twentieth century was bound to a modernistic logic and political spatialisation in which multiplicity, through geometrising and centre-seeking unity, was prescribed in political thought. The expression of the modernist logic had tragic consequences. Apartheid was written into this logic and the tragic violence that was associated with the Group Areas Act and other apartheid laws supported the modern state's spatialisation ambitions.

Now that a brief history of site planning has revealed that all urban layouts are expressed in geometry, with an overwhelming prevalence of the gridded layout, the processes of the creation of urban space can be explained.

### **2.5.3 The processes of open space creation**

#### **2.5.3.1 Carving out urban space<sup>65</sup>**

Emperor Napoleon III commissioned the renovation of Paris as part of his Public Works Program in the mid nineteenth century. Georges-Eugène Haussmann was Napoleon III's prefect of the area around the River Seine and director of the Program from 1853 to 1870. At the time Paris was overcrowded, unsanitary and still characterised by its medieval town layout. The renovation entailed the demolition of built-up areas and the relocation of tens of thousands of people to make way for the now well-known wide boulevards, parks and urban squares that characterise the centre of Paris's physical appearance today (Trancik 1986: 6).

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<sup>65</sup> Trancik (1986) uses the term "carving out" metaphorically when referring to the creation of urban space. The term will be used with the same metaphoric liberty to denote a process of creating urban space.



**Figure 2.13**  
**Medieval streets before Haussmann’s intervention (left) and**  
**Haussmann’s first Boulevard, Rue de Rivoli in 1855 (right) (retrieved from the public domain**  
**[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Haussmann%27s\\_renovation\\_of\\_Paris](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Haussmann%27s_renovation_of_Paris)).**

New sewer, aqueduct and fountain networks were constructed. Although there was strong opposition to Haussmann’s work, his projects continued until 1927, long after his dismissal in 1870. Haussmann not only carved out large open spaces in the existing urban fabric, but his architecturally regimented façades that faced onto the boulevards and screened the late medieval city form, were controlled by government decree (Kraehmer 1978: 34). The carved out streets also afforded quick military access to disband crowds in times of social unrest (as those that took place in 1789, 1830, and 1848) and allowed light and air into these working class areas (Trancik 1986: 5).

The term “carved out” is less appropriate to describe the creation of Mao Zedong’s Tiananmen Square. The terms “broken out” or “stamped on” is probably more accurate to denote the destruction of *hutongs* or traditional courtyard houses and the forced displacement of entire communities to create this vast open space intended to showcase military power in pre-television China, all of this right next to the historic Forbidden City (Sudjic 2005: 106).

“If too much public space can be a bad thing, then China's Tiananmen Square is the worst offender” (Ford 2014). Wall and Waterman (2010: 115) regard the fourth largest

square in the world paradoxically as “the opposite of a public space. Tiananmen's totalitarian scale dwarfs the individual and forces him to feel subservient to the power of the state. It is a space best suited to parading troops and weaponry, not to active citizen participation in the daily life of a metropolis.”



**Figure 2.14**  
**Tiananmen Square with the Forbidden City in the background, Beijing, China**  
(retrieved from <https://2.bp.blogspot.com/Cu5LpOfzADU/T8zmoKtApQI/AAAAAAAAAAtU/3zO4WCOy7wM/s1600/tiananmen-square-in-beijing-cn.jpg>).

Although Hitler’s Germania would never see the light of day, the colossal neo-classical urban master plan would have meant the demolition of large built-up areas in Berlin. Hitler wanted to build a whole new city over Berlin and was determined to ignore the existing urban fabric. A thirty meter-long model of the new north-south axis (figure 2.15) was on permanent display in Speer’s office. The axis was defined by a six kilometre long open urban space or boulevard, which was a parade ground more than a street, with the Great Hall on the northern end of the axis, a triumphal arch more than twice as tall as Napoleon’s in Paris in the middle and a railway station, a restatement of the city gate, at each end (Sudjic 2005: 34-5). The Great Hall was like a hinge that changed the direction of the axis and shifted the great boulevard to the west as it crossed the Spree. The east-west axis incorporated the Unter den Linden and the Brandenburg Gate which are both slightly to the south of where the Great Hall was to be built.

Hitler was obsessed with the Roman Empire and the cross axes of Germania were inspired by the cross axes of Roman cities. Hitler wanted to build his own Rome and the new Chancellery in Voßstraße, his new palatial headquarters, was designed by Speer to

intimidate foreigners and impress Germans. Hitler's office was moved to the new Chancellery in 1938 and a miniature version of Germania's north-south axis bisected the marble hall looking over Voßstraße, ran through the centre of Hitler's study, sliced the garden at the rear in half and terminated in Hitler's greenhouse. The east-west axis was reflected in the route running from the ceremonial entrance and the Court of Honour to the Chancellery reception room (Sudjic 2005: 36). It reminds of Louis XIV's bedroom at Versailles, which was positioned at the crossing point of two of the most important roads in France. The creation of a replica axis in the Chancellery suggest that Hitler and Speer saw themselves as being a representation of the same authoritarian ideas about power. After the German defeat the Russians finally demolished the remains of the building and used it to quarry stone for their war memorials in Berlin (Sudjic 2005: 45).



**Figure 2.15**  
**Germania, a model of Hitler's plan for Berlin under Speer's direction**  
(retrieved from the public domain  
[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/4/40/Bundesarchiv\\_Bild\\_146III-373%2C\\_Modell\\_der\\_Neugestaltung\\_Berlins\\_%28%22Germania%22%29.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/4/40/Bundesarchiv_Bild_146III-373%2C_Modell_der_Neugestaltung_Berlins_%28%22Germania%22%29.jpg)).

### **2.5.3.2 Creating urban space by enclosure with architectural elements:**

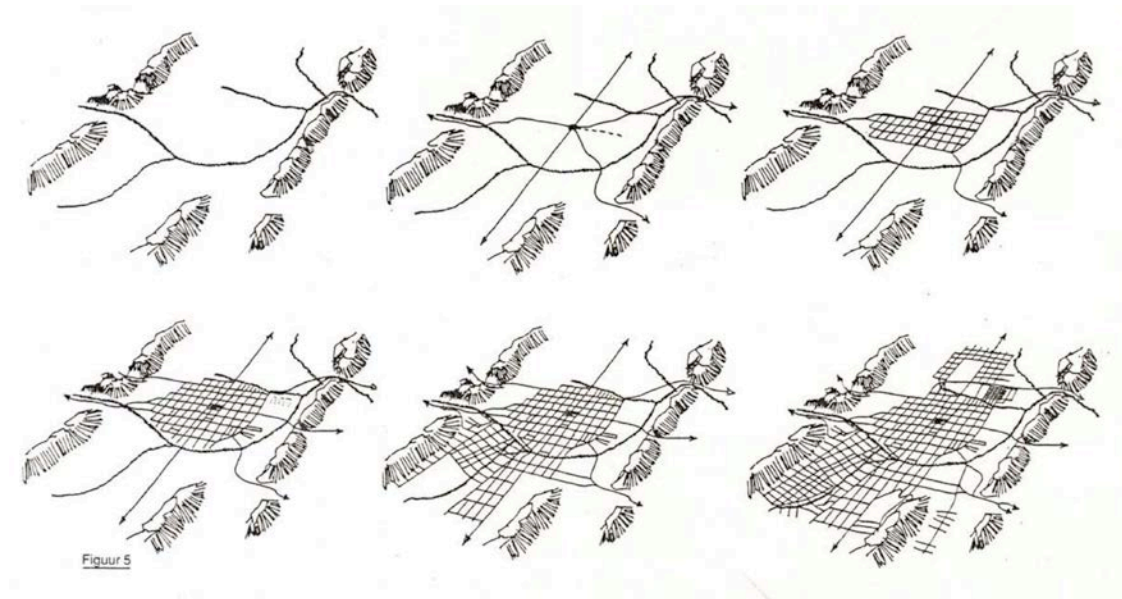
#### **Church Square**

The competition to design the new Capital Brasilia was won by planner Lucio Costa. In describing the origin of his plan he said:

It was born of that initial gesture which anyone would make when pointing to a given place, or taking possession of it; the drawings of two axes crossing each other at right angles, in the sign of the cross. The sign was adapted to the topography, the natural drainage of the land and the best possible orientation; the extremities of one axial line were curved to fit into the outlines of the area to be urbanised (Kraehmer 1978: 68).

In employing a cross axial design Costa was using one of the oldest devices of urban design, which is the second method of creating urban space and also how Pretoria's Church Square was created. Open space making is not the creation of space in the true sense of the word, because the space is already there, but it implies the containment of that space through the planned placement of solids. The creation of urban space out of natural landscape happens with urban settlement when crafted architectural elements that separate inside from outside are placed in an ensemble that can be planned and designed from the outset or can develop through an organic process of changing space-shaping architectural form. The choice of location of an urban settlement may be solely on the basis of the specific local conditions (landscape and geography), which will vary from place to place. Pretoria was settled in a valley formed by two long, parallel ridges. It was the abundance of water from the Fountains Valley and its subsequent flow along the Apies River that generated more permanent settlement in the area by the Boers at the end of their Trek (first image of figure 2.16). The natural features of the landscape and its central geographical location in the middle of the ZAR were directly responsible for the creation of Church Square (see Chapter 3).

After the geographic location is chosen, a level surface is created, because human beings' sensory equipment demands visual stability. From the level ground plane all architectural construction is supported, along with the climatic and other geographical conditions of the site. The topographical character of the level plane affects the form of the building that rises from it and the ground plane can be manipulated to define outdoor space and buffer against undesirable elements (Ching 1979: 36). The plane surface is a deliberate structural means to negate the irregularity of existing topographical conditions.



**Figure 2.16**  
**Pretoria place-making from natural landscape to town**  
 (Jordaan 1989: 27).

In the case of Church Square in Pretoria, M.W. Pretorius himself determined the position of the Square on a terrain that was fairly low-lying and already relatively flat. He did this in conjunction with Erasmus, who was against the establishment of a Capital there but not opposed to the establishment of a *Kerkplaats*. Members of the church council and Devereux, Skinner and Jan Visagie, who was secretary to Pretorius, (Rex 1956: 53) also assisted with the choice of location and helped set out the original Church Square, together with the first erven around it and the streets leading into the Square, namely Church Street and Market Street. This implies that they must have had some knowledge of land surveying (Rex 1956: 61). Pretorius instructed that the terrain should be extensive to make provision for outspan and camping facilities during *nachtmaal* gatherings, when many wagons and tents would stand around the square (figure 4.2). The area around the first church, which was inaugurated on 22 February 1857 by Reverend Van der Hoff, was the natural meeting place of the farming community, not only for *nachtmaal* and religious occasions but also for social and political gatherings and trade. The first houses arose followed by simple trading establishments, a school and thereafter the government building (Kraehmer 1978: 8).

The second image of figure 2.16 shows a cross axis. Its intersection locates the first church in the valley between the ridges but it is not an accurate indication of the streets, because these streets never intersected, but rather provided access to Church Square on the

north, south, east and west sides (figure 3.3). Although the presence of the natural landscape is still overwhelming in figure 2.3, a rigid grid had already been placed over the landscape (third image on figure 2.16 and figure 3.3).

The tendency that humans have to geometrize their surroundings is visible in each example of crafted space discussed above, regardless of whether the space was carved out or enclosed from the sides. It is present in all urban layouts whether they follow a rigid grid pattern or not. Martienssen (1964: 3 and 6) postulated that thinking humans envelop their activities in a framework of visual stability, which is why they have this geometrizing tendency, which they express in known dimensions. This human aspect plays an essential part in the process of open space creation.

#### **2.5.4 Urban space as object with social relationships**

The idea of defining the physical model of exterior space in the built environment is not new and others have compared the object that is urban exterior space to interior architectural space (Grobler and Le Roux 2006: 47). Trancik (1986: 19) metaphorically compares figural volumes of external spaces to outdoor rooms. Ashihara (1970) described a piazza space as an exterior space, surrounded by a frame, that develops within itself a centripetal order positive space brimming with human intentions and functions created inside the frame (also see Maré 1975: 38).

Lefebvre (1991: 88-9) calls for an approach that would analyse not the things in space but space itself. However, he warns that once the concept is grasped that space is a thing or an object to be analysed, space should not be seen as merely a floating medium for the diversity of objects that it contains. Precisely because it has content, it contains and dissimulates social relationships. A space is thus not a simple abstraction but a set of relations between things (objects and products). The dominant tendency under capitalism is to make a thing or object into an absolute commodity. Space is cut up into pieces, which fragments space and enumerates the things or objects in the space. Marx's great achievement was the successful unmasking of things in order to reveal social relationships, because in reality a thing never quite emancipates itself from activity, from use and from need, thus from a social being. Lefebvre argues for an analysis of space with the view to uncovering the social relationships embedded in it (Lefebvre 1991: 81-2).

Each monument or building viewed in its surroundings and context, in the populated area and associated network in which it is set down, is a part of a particular production of that space (Lefebvre 1991: 118). The crafting of a space with objects around it is as important as the crafting of the objects in space.



**Figure 2.17**  
**Church Square, Pretoria in its current urban context**  
**(Google maps, overlay by the author).**

### **2.5.5 The creation of Church Square reveals social and spatial relationships and the powers of church, state and law**

In the first half of this section on space the creation of urban space is described as a homogenous and isotropic space of classical Euclidean or Cartesian mathematics, but in fact social space and especially urban space emerged through far more diverse structures (Lefebvre 1991: 86). Rapoport (1982: 137) argued that a cultural landscape is the result of many artefacts grouped together in particular relationships (figure 2.3 and 2.4) and that this is what gives them a clear character (figure 2.17). Cultural landscapes are the result of decisions of innumerable individuals, which suggests the presence of shared schemata among particular groups and once the schemata are known, such landscapes have meaning in terms of group identity and can be instantaneously read.

Church Square is a product of an activity, which involves the technical and economic

realms and extends beyond these realms, for the Square is also a political product and an a-strategic space. The term “strategy” means a great variety of products and actions. It combines peace with war, and the use of resources from peripheral spaces in the ZAR with the use of riches from Pretoria as an industrial, urban, and state-dominated centre. Space is not produced as other commodities. It is not an aggregate of the places or locations of commodities. It is at once a precondition and a result of social superstructures. We saw from the early history of the town of Pretoria that the Republic and each of its constituents call for spaces but spaces which they can organise according to their specific requirements, so there is no sense in which space can be treated solely as an *a priori* condition of these institutions and the state which presides over them. Space is a social relationship, which is inherent in property relationships (especially ownership of the earth and land) and also closely bound up with the forces of production (which impose a form on that earth or land) (Lefebvre 1991: 84).

Even though Church Square as urban space has not been as clearly defined in the 1857 painting of Marianne Churchill (figure 2.3) when compared to the same space today (figures 2.17), it is already a work or a product as defined by Lefebvre (1991). The landscape still dominates the image representing the urban space in 1857, but there are already signs in the landscape that designate relations of production and property. Lefebvre (1991: 84) states that nature is the raw material from which these spaces are produced. The more a space enters into the social relations of production, the less it partakes of nature. To illustrate this in the context of Church Square one has to consider the dialectic relationship in space between town and country.

The Voortrekkers initially settled on farms and not in towns, but Boer-founded towns developed to serve the farming community and were either government sponsored or church towns (Floyd 1960). The members of the *Nederduitse Hervormde Kerk* (Dutch Reformed Church) were widely dispersed on farms and congregated every quarter for the *nachtmaal* service held over several days. Their quarterly visit to town also gave them the opportunity to trade their wares in town and supply the market that they controlled with agricultural products. The result was a criss-crossing of the ZAR countryside. It was the relationship between town and country that had given birth to the space that is Pretoria’s Church Square. Lefebvre (1991: 78) indicates that historically it was the growth of productive forces of craft, industry and agriculture that created the relationship between

town and country. This new social order was not inscribed in a pre-existing space and the space that was produced was neither rural nor urban, but the result of a newly engendered spatial relationship between the two. Church Square as social space reveals that the networks of exchange and flows of raw materials and energy fashioned the space and were in turn determined by that space (Lefebvre 1991: 85).



**Figure 2.18**  
Church Square during the quarterly *nachtmaal*, circa 1870, photograph  
(Engelbrecht, *et al* 1952: 29).

The photograph in figure 2.18 taken of Church Square during the quarterly *nachtmaal* shows the visiting farmers from the countryside in their ox wagon spanned out around the first church in town. It provides a clearer depiction of the combination of natural, cultural and market space created by the productive forces of craft and agriculture.

Returning to the painting in figure 2.3 the church and the dwellings appear together in the pictorial space as vernacular architecture and similar in scale and importance. Lefebvre (1991: 83) says of the peasant dwelling that it embodies and implies particular social relations. The dwelling shelters a particular family that belongs to a community, region and country and is a component part of a site. The dwelling is a work and a product even though it represents a type and it remains part of nature, so it is an object intermediate between work and product, between nature and labour and between the realm of symbols and the realm of signs.

The mid nineteenth century painting coincides with an important development in Western countries of a new practical reality called “industry”, which was being translated into theoretical thought as “political economy”. Lefebvre (1991: 80) defines political

economy as a combination of industrial practice, history and sociology, which in turn coincided with the emergence of Positivism. The impact of industry only really became apparent on Church Square in 1886 when gold was discovered on the Witwatersrand.

With gold tax flowing into the coffers of the ZAR the once bankrupt Republic could finally erect the Government building, or Second Old *Raadsaal* as it later came to be known, in an imposing Italian Renaissance Revival style to replace the first simple thatch government building, which was completed in 1866 (see 5.1). Dutch immigrant Sytze Wierda designed the new building in 1888 and construction was completed in 1891. The first church burnt down as a result of a lightning strike in 1882 and a new Neo-Gothic church designed by Tom Claridge was built in its place in the centre of the Square in 1885. Wierda also designed the Palace of Justice and construction began in 1896. Figure 2.4 illustrates what Church Square as work or product looked like in 1900 and places the three buildings that represent the powers of state, church and law in their urban context. The residential buildings and vernacular style and the natural landscape, which were so visible in the early painting (figure 2.3), have disappeared and completely new social relationships have begun to visibly dominate the Square.

The new means of production and its influence on Church Square cannot be separated either from the productive forces, including technology and knowledge, or from the social division of labour which shapes it, or from the state and the superstructures of society. The concept of social space sets a dialectic in motion. A unity transpires between levels that are usually kept separate in analysis, namely the forces of production and their component elements (nature, labour, technology, knowledge); structures (property relations); and superstructures (institutions and the state itself) (Lefebvre 1991: 85).

In 1899 Church Square together with the church was sold to the Government of the ZAR, under the condition that the church should be used for educational purposes. The second Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) meant a complete change to the social relationships, use and ownership of Church Square as urban space. The second Neo-Gothic church was demolished in 1904 and the title deed contained a stipulation that no church could be erected on the Square again. A cast-iron fountain donated by Samuel Marks was placed in the centre of the Square. With the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910 the Union Buildings were erected on Meintjieskop in order to replace the function of the Second Old *Raadsaal*. In the same year the ground plane was levelled out further to

accommodate the tramline and the design of Vivien Rees-Poole for the ornamentation of the Square was implemented (see 5.1). The monumental ensemble containing a statue of Paul Kruger and four Boer soldiers was placed in the centre of the Square in 1954, as a final political memorial to the past. Bank buildings and the Post Office established their positions as form-giving entities and remain in force today. The only one of the original symbols of power still in use is that of the law, in the form of the Palace of Justice.

### **2.5.6 Conclusion**

When one considers that plastic art entails the physical manipulation of a plastic medium, one that can be carved or shaped in three dimensions and one considers that space too can be carved or shaped in three dimensions by the people who make our cities and buildings, then the creation of space is placed within the realm of the plastic arts. An investigation of a space aims to reveal how space was made, by whom it was made and what this tells us of the societies that it was made for. Lefebvre argues for an approach where space as an object to be analysed, is not seen as merely a floating medium for the diversity of crafted objects that it contains, but one where it is acknowledged that precisely because space has content, it contains and dissimulates social relationships.

There are two methods by which the physical entity that is urban space is crafted. Firstly urban space can be carved out. This requires the demolition of parts of the existing urban fabric according to a master plan. The second and more conventional method of creating urban space is enclosing three-dimensional open space from the sides using two-dimensional architectural surfaces. The creation of Church Square as urban space followed this second method. In each case both urban space and architectural detail give the area its character. Geometry is a generic element in the creation of urban space. This coincides with Martienssen's (1964: 3, 6) notion that thinking humans' sensory equipment demands visual stability and that they have a geometrising tendency, which they express in known dimensions.

A more specific investigation into this geometrising tendency as applied in urban design commences with Egyptian cities. The hieroglyph *Niwt* is seen as the earliest symbolic representation of a city and it replicates the Egyptian view of an idealised cosmic form here on earth. It took a few centuries for site planning and the conscious observation of architectural space to develop into the organisation of space as practiced by the Greeks.

Hippodamus of Miletus and his grid plan, as introduced for the first time in Piraeus, became the basis for subsequent Greek and Roman cities. The cross axis was embodied in Roman colonial town planning and if Roman town planning perished with the western Empire, it did influence the towns of medieval Europe (rectangular planning was revived early in the thirteenth century) and in the colonies and modern America.

The question of space is approached from two different sides. On the one hand a structural analysis reveals the physical characteristics of urban space and general prevailing ideas in open space making and on the other hand a the non-material characteristics of urban space, which is associated with historical, social, political and cultural meaning is revealed through visual analysis of the space.

Church Square is a work or a product as defined by Lefebvre. It developed over time from natural space but entered into the social relations of production through agriculture and cultural practice. The dialectic relationship in space between town and country is increasingly prevalent from the analyses of visual representations (paintings and photographs) of Church Square over time. The origin of Church Square lies not in the Square itself but in the ZAR countryside. It is also the forces of production in the countryside that caused change in the urban landscape. The vernacular dwellings that appear with the Church in early images disappear with industrialisation to make way for structures of the powers of church, state and law. Finally, only the Palace of Justice remains in use as representative of the power of the law. The Church was demolished in 1904 but the Square still bears its name and although the Second Old *Raadsaal* still claims its once proud space, the functions of state did not remain in that building for long.

### **Chapter 3: Situating landscape and the powers of law, state and church in the dynamic of change that led to the establishment and development of Pretoria (1840 – 1886)**

It was explained in the *Introduction* in the first Chapter that a systematic investigation of historical visual sources such as maps, photographs and paintings reveal that the physical landscape in and around Pretoria's Church Square changed over time and four distinct periods or episodes in its history can be identified. I argued that there were certain seminal moments that caused change and that the physical composition of the space during each episode represented and reflected the powers that were the driving forces behind these changes. The research sub-question that gave rise to this argument is: "Which are the seminal historical moments of change in the development of Pretoria?" The review of the related literature was conducted according to the four time periods in order to answer the first research question. It revealed the limitations of the existing body of literature, the themes required to frame this study theoretically and the need for further research.

This chapter describes the first episode, the establishment history of Pretoria (1840 – 1857), as well as the second episode, the development from agricultural settlement to town (1857 – 1886) and familiarises the reader with the historical context of Pretoria and Church Square. It represents the first part of the main argument and contribution of this thesis. The second research sub-question that gives rise to the objective of this chapter is: "What are the dynamics of change and what are the powers that caused the changes that led to the establishment of Pretoria?" Once it was established that these powers were law, state and church, it could be determined how landscape and these powers caused change, thus addressing the third research sub-question.

#### **3.1 Methodology**

Since the aim of this chapter is to situate Church Square in its wider historical context and to determine the past of this historic space, it requires the historical research method (Leedy 1989: 125-137) and an interpretive-historical research strategy (Groat and Wang 2002: 135-171), which are both consistent with the nature of the research sub-questions. The system of inquiry or the paradigm in which the research is conducted is qualitative because it depends on non-numerical verbal (written) evidence, "mythical" (which includes most of the scholarly work in history) and when considering objectivity:

naturalistic (after Groat and Wang 2002: 25-31), where value-free objectivity is neither possible nor necessarily desirable.

The historical research method is the attempt to solve problems arising out of a historical context. The Problem in this chapter is to analyse the dynamics of landscape and the powers of law, state and church that have caused change during the establishment history of Pretoria and Church Square. Kant's idea that all history was the history of thought and the role of the historian was to re-enact in his mind, the thoughts and intentions of individuals who lived in the past, starts to find application in this chapter (Tosh 2000: 110), but Collingwood's (1956) "historical imagination", derived from Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781) and *Critique of Judgment* (1790) will be applied in the chapters to follow.

A historical account is only valid if it can demonstrate that events occurred in the actual flow of time as part of the coherent interconnectedness of Collingwood's (1956) "one historical world", which implies the continuum of empirical space and time (Groat and Wang 2002: 139). Care is taken not to violate the sequence of that flow during the historical narrative. "All aspects of the historical account must square with the logic of the connections within this empirical space-time continuum" (Groat and Wang 2002: 141).

Historian Marwick (1993) discussed the relationship between History and other disciplines and in this chapter a wide range of disciplines is applied to inform the research relating to the sub-question.

Determinative evidence includes dates, photographs and archaeological evidence that can pinpoint dates. Archaeological evidence relating to the first farmsteads, particularly the house of Lucas Bronkhorst<sup>1</sup> (figure 3.7), proved invaluable in the documentation of the establishment history of Pretoria. Contextual evidence in the form of archival evidence such as the letters that A.F. du Toit wrote to President M.W. Pretorius and acting State Secretary Stiemens assisted in corroborating evidence relating to the setting out of the town (figure 5.49).

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<sup>1</sup> Lucas Cornelius Bronkhorst and his brother Gert (JGS) arrived from the Graaff-Reinet with the Potgieter Trek in 1834 and established the first farms in 1840 in the area that later became Pretoria.

### **3.2 Introduction**

A two-dimensional representation of Pretoria at the middle of the nineteenth century shows that the landscape had been shaped by forces of nature and human dominance. This chapter aims to determine the powers through which Pretoria was established. The first aim is to describe the advent of the philosophy of change, to identify the change from movement to settlement and to determine how the powers of law, state and church formed the Boer worldview. The authority of state through which the beacons of the first Boer farms were erected is determined and the influence of the prevailing geography on primary settlement is explored. The change in landscape from agricultural settlement to town for the purpose of establishing a *Zittingplaats des Volksraads...in het midden des lands* (a permanent seat for the national assembly in the middle of the land) is documented. Finally the reason for setting out Pretoria according to a grid pattern is described as both a sign of human dominance over landscape and of water management. This chapter analyses the historical contexts through archival material, site visits and secondary sources and presents findings from the general to the specific.

### **3.3 Change from natural landscape to human agricultural settlement**

A mid nineteenth century two-dimensional representation of the geographic area that is Pretoria today (figure 3.1) shows the positions of the homesteads of the first Boer farmers relative to Church Square (*Kerkplein*), access roads into the Square and the natural features of Walkerspruit and the Apies River, from its source (*Fontein*) through the hills of Elandspoortrand.

Later images (1859 and 1878) representing the two-dimensional mapping of the street layout of Pretoria by A.F. du Toit (figures 3.2 and 3.3) still contain reference to the original farms and natural features in the margins, but human dominance in the form of a grid superimposed over the topography is what catches the eye. The natural geographical features have been marginalised, but not ignored, both on the maps and in the actual layout of the town. A palimpsest, where twentieth century maps are superimposed over the earlier maps at the correct geographical points (figure 3.4), places the older maps in the context of current Pretoria, in the greater Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality.

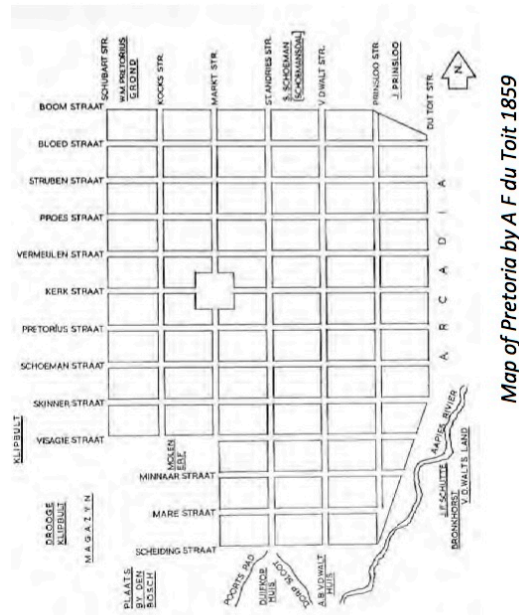
Figure 3.1 depicts the change from natural landscape to human agricultural settlement and figure 3.2 depicts the change from agricultural settlement to town. The second research sub-question: “What are the dynamics of change?” prompts a theoretical line of questioning into the philosophy of change.

### 3.4 The advent of the philosophy of change

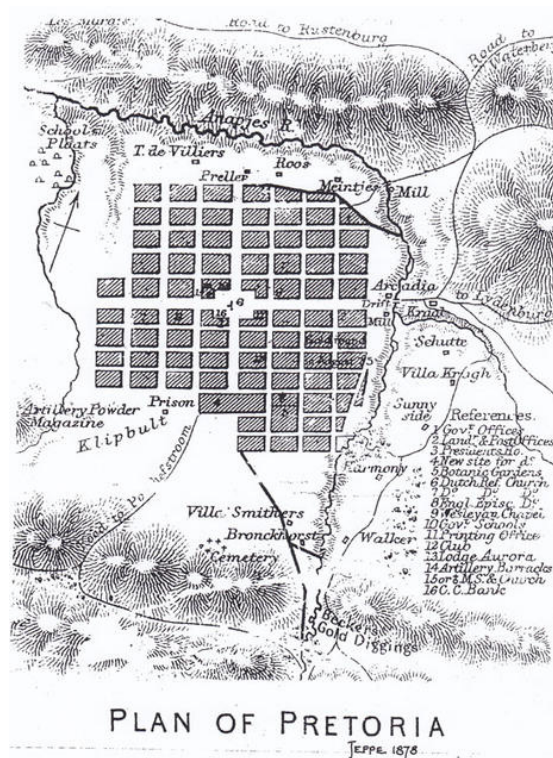
From the earliest times humans tried to determine what caused change. Although still bound by ancient mythological ways of thought, Milesians Thales and Anaximander (sixth to fifth centuries BCE) were the first to discover a new world of natural science and philosophy. The psyches of Thales and the goddess Dike of Anaximander were said to be responsible for change in the world. Anaximenes, the third philosopher from Miletus, broke through this last trace of myth. He discovered that change in nature could be explained mechanically (Brumbaugh 1970: 26).



**Figure 3.1**  
Map showing the farmsteads of both Bronkhorst brothers and Andries van der Walt, ca 1855 (Van der Waal Collection).



**Figure 3.2**  
**Copy of Map of Pretoria by A.F. du Toit, 1859. The position of Van der Walt's house is shown at the bottom of the map (Allen 1971: 9; Van der Waal collection, University of Pretoria).**



**Figure 3.3**  
**Plan of Pretoria, Jeppe 1878 (Van der Waal Collection, University of Pretoria).**



**Figure 3.4**  
**Pretoria Palimpsest**  
**(Overlay by the author)**

Anaximenes thought that all change was the result of changes in density brought about by condensation and rarefaction. This new idea gave scientists experiments, models and physical explanations of change and their cause, which is still our way of thinking. He believed that change and collision kept the system shifting (Brumbaugh 1970: 27). His system of nature needed no souls or deities but only matter in motion. This spinning world remained the key model for astronomy and natural philosophy through the following ten centuries.

Heraclites from Ephesus (born 353 BCE) introduced change and motion as part of an ever-living restless fire, *pyr* that supplies the driving force of a universe in endless change (Brumbaugh 1970: 48). He said the world exists as a conflict and tension of opposites (Pirsig 1974: 372). Heraclites was trying to express both the tensions that led to harmony and the tremendous energy that flows through reality in his fire imagery. It is energy and not matter that is important to him. Today we can recognise as a genuine possibility a process philosophy in which physical reality is not matter, but power (Brumbaugh 1970: 49). When reason becomes enchanted by mechanical models or mathematical maps and forgets the concrete fact of change, the strife and individuality, the stuff of our experienced world, is forgotten. Heraclites, like his predecessors, began by looking for the one stuff

underlying the changing world we observe all around us. Reality for him consists of motion, process, power, strife and flow (Brumbaugh 1970: 43). The Roman stoics thought that they were following Heraclites when they identified logos with God and combined materialism and pantheism, the view that all things are part of God (Brumbaugh 1970: 46). The purchase of the works of these early Greek philosophers on this chapter is their realisation that change is brought about by power. The powers that cause change during this episode in the history of Pretoria will be explored further in the chapter.

Change is generally identified when one can observe difference or non-identity in the features of a thing and when this change occurs over time, it implies temporal change. Change can have a cause and although cause is neither necessary nor sufficient for change in that thing, the research sub-questions in this thesis are to seek, identify and explain the cause of change at the end of each episode. Time, unlike cause, is required and change implies the passing of time, although some have posited that time can pass without any changes in a thing. The Eleatics from the fifth century BCE, particularly Parmenides, appear to have been the first to deny change<sup>2</sup>. Parmenides invented formal logic by applying the Pythagorean's mathematical methods of truth to the philosophical problem of the natures of being and not being. He used this logic to show that being is unchanging and uncreated, but this conclusion denied the possibility of any appearance of variety or change (Brumbaugh 1970: 50). Zeno of Elea was a follower of Parmenides who tried unsuccessfully to prove him right but compelled philosophers to ponder the definition of being and not being. Zeno showed the mathematicians that the Pythagorean Program of building continuous quantities out of finite series of discrete units ran into impossible inconsistencies. The Greek philosophers and scientists after Zeno did not accept the doctrine that reality is a total, unmoved absolute, but instead set about trying to show how formal logic could be valid and reason reliable, while multiplicity and change are possible (Brumbaugh 1970: 60).

The change of landscape over time is observed by viewing the maps in figures 3.1 – 3.4 and although these maps are two-dimensional representations, they imply change of a thing, a physical structure or the appearance of a thing in the real world out there. Change is observable in the difference in the features of the landscape when viewed over time. For instance the change from natural landscape to human agricultural settlement can be

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<sup>2</sup> Retrieved from <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/change/> on 1 August 2018.

deduced from the map in figure 3.1. This change has a cause, which is linked to an event from the past. It is thus historical. The maps provide a form of narrative from a point in time after the events, thus removed from the events themselves. This change implies the passing of time. It is temporal change.

Another form of change, which is also bound up in the notion of temporality, is change in motion. The relationship between change and motion occupied early Greek philosophers Anaximenes and Heraclites and is closely linked to studies of space and time in philosophy. In recent times mathematical logic has made a solid philosophy of space, time and motion possible. Later philosophers can attribute the view that an object in motion does no more than simply occupy different points of space at different times, like a succession of stills in a film only continuously connected, to David Hume (1711 – 1776) and Bertrand Russell (1872 – 1970). Without exploring the mathematical description of change of position by a suitable function of time (motion is the rate of change of position or velocity in m/s), the change from movement to settlement by the Voortrekkers in the nineteenth century and its cause, which enabled the establishment of Pretoria and Church Square, is explored.

### **3.5 Change from movement to settlement**

It was the great agricultural revolution that enabled humans to settle in one area for a longer time. Diamond (1997) probably explains the agricultural revolution the best. It started in the Fertile Crescent<sup>3</sup> when small bands of egalitarian hunter-gatherers were transformed into farmers, who could settle in greater numbers, sustained by subsistence farming and who could diversify and specialise into trades and later professions. Although settlement was often less than permanent, these nomadic farmers moved in search of green pastures and fertile land, often leaving barren ground and abandoned villages behind. The transfer of agricultural knowledge followed the path of least resistance, along the same latitude, where the climate stays relatively constant. From the Fertile Crescent eastwards farming communities established in villages and towns, parts of the bands breaking loose to travel further to establish new communities. Language and culture changed, adapted and

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<sup>3</sup> The Fertile Crescent (also known as the Cradle of Civilisation) is a crescent-shaped region containing the comparatively moist and fertile land of otherwise arid and semi-arid Western Asia, the Nile Valley and Nile Delta of northeast Africa. It includes parts of Asia Minor, also known as Anatolia (retrieved from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fertile\\_Crescent](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fertile_Crescent)).

expanded, leaving the art of writing, technology, the wheel, war and religion in its wake. But the transfer of knowledge along the longitudinal medians was more difficult. The climate changes and so does the landscape. The Sahara, possibly a result of over-grazing and climate change, and pests as the tsetse fly, spurred farming and crops like olives and grapes, so successful in the Mediterranean regions, could not cross the barrier of the desert or the tropical equator (Diamond 1997). Burdett and Sudjic (2007: 6) attribute the establishment of communities based on the division of labour in a large self-contained settlement to the ability to produce a surplus of food, which was made possible by the agricultural revolution. The change from movement to settlement of African communities and the expansion of language, craft and subsistence farming during the Iron Age from northwest to southern Africa followed a similar pattern.

### **3.6 Moving and settling: from the Cape to the interior**

The arrival of the *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* or VOC (Dutch East India Company) in the Cape of Good Hope in 1652 brought Mediterranean crops per ship, bypassing the African desert and disease. Fruit, olives and vineyards flourished in the Cape and the VOC's victualing station successfully provided sustenance to visiting ships. Although the intention of the VOC was not to settle on the continent, nine men were released from Company service early in 1657 and each was granted land along the Liesbeek River. The Company did this to save on salaries. These *Vryburghers* increased in numbers over the years and in 1710 there were more than three thousand settled over a hundred kilometres away from Cape Town (Pearse 1956).

Although the settlement remained, dozens of disillusioned *burghers* left the Cape in the early 1700's for the interior in search of greener pastures and to move away from the jurisdiction of an uncaring Cape bureaucracy. These *Trekboere* lived a simple life in true nomadic fashion, moving and sometimes settling, but with less than permanent abodes. Between 1836 and 1838 thousands of Voortrekkers or *Boere* trekked from the Cape Colony through the open space of the southern African landscape to escape the reality of British colonial power that was working its way through the continent. With their universe contained in the ox wagon, their aim was not a specific geographic point further north, but they were driven by a dream or vision of a "promised land" somewhere, a vision that was taken directly from the Old Testament.

### **3.7 The power of the laws that formed the Boer worldview**

A comprehensive account of the laws that governed the Voortrekkers and their ancestors and shaped their worldview cannot be provided in this chapter, due to the bulk of the documents, but a summary that contributes to the argument is provided. The injection of Dutch descendants and Roman-Dutch Law to the southern tip of Africa happened through the seventeenth century enterprises of the Dutch East India Company (VOC). Their influence began in 1652 and lasted until 1795, when the British occupied the Cape. British rule was a deciding factor in the Voortrekkers's move northward during the Great Trek. There seem to be gaps in the chronological evolution of the law and often the findings are surprising and contradictory. To illustrate the point: even though A was possible, B happened. Although X would have been expected, Y ensued. This follows:

#### **3.7.1 The VOC**

- Although the VOC did not have a mandate to colonise the Cape, the Dutch managed to build up colonial possessions on the basis of indirect state capitalist corporate colonialism via the VOC.
- The VOC had a policy of non-interference in local laws in China and Japan.
- Although the VOC was a corporation (the first corporation to issue shares), it was an arm of the Dutch State, from whom it obtained its power (Gerstell, 2010).

#### **3.7.2 British Occupation(s)**

- The Battle of Muizenberg resulted in the first British occupation of 1795 but the Cape was returned to the Dutch with the Peace of Amiens in 1802. From 1803 to 1806 the Cape was under a French satellite administration called the Batavian Republic, only to be re-occupied by Britain following the Battle of Blaauwberg. After 1806 the British had the fullest right to abolish Roman-Dutch law as they pleased and replace it with English law (the King<sup>4</sup> had power to alter the old and to introduce new laws in a conquered country) but this never happened (du Plessis

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<sup>4</sup> In 1774 the King was Georg III. In the case *Campbell v Hall* (1774) Lord Mansfield explained an important rule of English (constitutional) law: "The laws of a conquered country continue in force until they are altered by the conqueror ...the King has power to alter the old and to introduce new laws in a conquered country."

1999: 50).

- The retention of the Roman-Dutch law meant that *burghers* could enjoy the same rights and privileges.
- Until 1847 territorial expansion of the Cape Colony took place by way of shifting borders and with that the area of validity of the Roman-Dutch law was expanded.
- There was infiltration and reception of English law in certain fields.
- Roman-Dutch law was retained because judges had a “loyalty” to the Roman-Dutch law and kept on applying it. The works of old writers such as De Groot and Van Leeuwen were translated into English in the nineteenth century, which made important Roman-Dutch sources available to English-speaking jurists in the Cape (du Plessis 1999: 51).
- Although Roman-Dutch law was retained, the Boers did not always agree with the British interpretation thereof, which was one of the reasons for the Great Trek.

### **3.7.3 The Great Trek**

- Although the Boers imagined that they were turning their backs on colonial law and order and the Cape judiciary, they were still liable for all crimes committed south of 25° latitude, which falls just below the present-day Bela Bela in Limpopo (previously called Warmbaths), in terms of the Cape of Good Hope Punishment Act (1836).
- Because leaving the British-owned Cape Colony was illegal the Dutch Reformed Church refused to allow ministers to accompany them. Even though breaking the law meant that the Christian Voortrekkers sinned against the Church, they made peace with that contravention, because they felt that British Rule was unfair and that breaking the law was justified.
- They trekked under their own form of governance, with the Bible and their own consciences to guide them.
- The Boers embraced most of the Roman-Dutch laws that were not too different from the laws that prevailed in the Cape.

### 3.8 Determining local law through the power of the state(s)

In 1837 the Voortrekkers congregated for a while in the Winburg area (figure 3.5). The Voortrekker leader, Potgieter selected the site of Winburg. They camped there in the largest gathering of the Great Trek and there they established a state, a government that would maintain law and order, but uniquely this state had no fixed territory. The Voortrekkers could not agree on a territory and after Winburg they dispersed in various directions until they settled in the different Boer Republics. The end of the Great Trek is marked by distinct change from movement to settlement.



Figure 3.5  
Movement of Voortrekkers through the landscape during the Great Trek  
(Retrieved from [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Map\\_of\\_the\\_route\\_of\\_the\\_Great\\_Trek.png](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Map_of_the_route_of_the_Great_Trek.png)).

#### 3.8.1 Natalia

The Voortrekker Republic, *Natalia*, decreed a constitution, *Regulatiën en Instructiën* in October 1838. It determined that a magistrate had to observe the judgements of the court according to “*de Hollandsche regtspleging, zoo civiel als crimineel*” (Van Zyl and Van der Vyver 1982: 215). After a brief existence Natalia was annexed as a British colony in 1843 and incorporated into the Cape Colony in 1844. In 1845 Roman-Dutch law was legally recognised to be the law of Natal. Natal later became a separate colony in 1856, through the *Royal Charter*, but Roman-Dutch law prevailed. Its status was once again confirmed in 1896. Zululand was incorporated into Natal and in 1897 the law of Natal, subject to certain conditions, was also made applicable to that region (Du Plessis 1999: 52). Some Boers

remained in Natal while others moved back over the Drakensberg. A Boer woman famously said that she would rather cross the Drakensberg again barefoot than stand under a British rule.

### **3.8.2 Republic of Winburg-Potchefstroom:**

For a short time until 1840 the towns of Potchefstroom and Winburg, as well as their surrounding territories, were joined in a political entity known as the Republic of Winburg-Potchefstroom. Winburg was the seat of the Adjunct *Volksraad* and was a sub-capital of the Republic of *Natalia* (Floyd 1960). The *Adjunk-Raad* of Potchefstroom was initially subject to the Natal *Volksraad*, but in April 1844 it broke relations with the Natal *Volksraad*, due to the British annexation of Natal in 1843 and at the same occasion set up a decree known as the *Drie-en-dertig Artikels* (Thirty-three Articles). This decree was ratified in May 1849 at a *volksraadvergadering* (national assembly meeting) (Van Zyl and Van der Vyver 1982: 215).

In Article 31 of the Thirty-three Articles, the “*Hollandsche wet*”, was made the basis of administration of justice for matters that were not governed by the articles “*doch op een gematigde stijlform en overeenkomstig van het costuum van Zuid-Afrika tot nut van de maatschappij.*” A constitution was set up after that in 1858 but it did not say anything about the law that had to be applied. The next year in 1859 the *Volksraad* of the ZAR confirmed in a supplement to the constitution of 1858 that Roman-Dutch law would be applicable in the region north of the Vaal River. That supplement was actually a re-enactment of Article 31 of the Thirty-Three Articles of 1849, which confirmed the independence of the new republic after relations with Natal had been broken off. The 1859 regulation accepted the *Wetboek van Van der Linden* that is his *Rechtsgeleerd Practicaal en Koopmans Handboek* in so far as it was not in conflict with the constitution and other laws or decisions of the *Volksraad*, as “*het Wetboek in dezen Staat*”. “*Het Wetboek van Van der Linden blijft (voor soover zulks niet strijdt met den Grondwet, andere wetten of Volksraadbesluiten) het Wetboek in dezen Staat*” (Du Plessis 199: 52).

It was further determined that the *Wetboek van Simon van Leeuwen, Het Roomsche-Hollandsch Recht* and the *Inleidinge* of Hugo de Groot would apply in cases where Van der Linden’s work is unclear or had nothing to say on a particular issue. After the British victory over the ZAR, various of the ZAR decrees were recalled, amongst others those on

which the applications of the Roman-Dutch Law in the ZAR rested. In proclamation 14 of 1902 it was determined that the Roman-Dutch law, except in so far as it is modified by legislative enactments, shall be the law of this colony (Van Zyl and Van der Vyver 1982: 216. See also Du Plessis 1999: 52.) The *Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek* (ZAR) was established after the signing of the Sand River Convention on 17 January 1852.

### **3.8.3 Orange Free State**

When the area between the Orange River and the Vaal, was declared part of the British territory in 1848, it was brought under British Rule by governor Sir Harry Smith's proclamation of the Orange River Sovereignty (ORS), but Roman-Dutch law was made applicable there by proclamation. After the independence of the Boer Republic of the Orange Free State was recognised in 1854 through the Bloemfontein convention, due to the eight defeats suffered by the ORS to Moshoeshoe, Roman-Dutch law was declared to be the "constitution" of the new republic. After the British victory on 1902 it was enacted that the Roman-Dutch law as accepted and applied in South Africa, would be the common law of the new colony (Du Plessis 1999: 52).

### **3.9 Competence to declare a constitution**

The question begs by what power the Voortrekker leaders established the Boer Republics and the answer can be found in the works of the legal minds of the twentieth century. There exists an original competence to create law. This competence is an integral part of the internal structure of a community, set up by God to create law through its organs whether by compliance with the existing positive law<sup>5</sup> (for example in an a well-ordered state) or in the absense of an existing positive law (as in the case of establishment of Voortrekker Republics), or in conflict with the existing positive law, as in the case of a one-sided declaration of independence (Van Zyl and Van der Vyver 1982: 279.) After moving from the Cape the Voortrekkers did not regard themselves as subject to the law of the Cape Colony, thus they were not already established according to a pre-existing legal system (Van Zyl and Van der Vyver 1982: 213). The validity of the first Voortrekker

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<sup>5</sup> Positive law is a body of man-made laws consisting of codes, regulations and statutes enacted or imposed within a political entity such as a state or nation. Positive law contrasts with natural law.

constitutions therefore rests on that original competence to create law. The Voortrekker communities formed new constitutional law on that basis when they founded republics: by virtue of an original competence (Van Zyl and Van der Vyver 1982: 279).

### 3.10 Agricultural settlement - erecting beacons from 1840

The first farms in what later became Pretoria, were established by brothers Lucas and Gert (JGS<sup>6</sup>) Bronkhorst in 1840, the date which also marks the end of the Great Trek. Gert was a man with a more than average education and later played a leading role in the First Anglo-Boer War (1880 – 1881). He was Potgieter's secretary and one of the men who in 1836 took part in the unprecedented exploratory expedition from the Vet River to a point near the Portuguese town of Sofala on the African east coast, covering a distance of 2,000 km through unknown and dangerous tsetse fly-infested country. On their return journey the patrol passed over the terrain where in 1840 the Bronkhorsts were to build the first European homes along the Apies River. Both brothers arrived from Graaff-Reinet with the Potgieter trek in the *Oorvaalse gebied* (see 1.1.16 *Definition of Terms: Transvaal*) in 1834 (Van Vollenhoven 2000: 189).



**Figure 3.6**  
**Sketch by Leyds of Andries van der Walt's house, Elandspoort.**  
**It stood to the south of today's Scheiding Street facing the end of Van der Walt Street,**  
**close to Berea Park Club. The house was already in ruins by 1890**  
**(Rex 1956: 107; Allen 1971: 122)**

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<sup>6</sup> Peacock (1955: 4) provides two of Bronkhorst's full names, Gerhardus Stephanus, but does not indicate what the J stood for. Bronkhorst was known both as JGS or Gert.

Gert (JGS) registered Elandsdoorn (Elandspoort 193) (figure 3.1), which extended from the south to Daspoortrand in the north and from Pretoria West through to Hatfield in the east. His farmhouse was on the east bank of the Apies River (in current Sunnyside) with Andries van der Walt's *hartbeesthuis* on the west bank (figure 3.6). South of Elandspoort his brother, Lucas Cornelius Bronkhorst, erected the beacons of the farm Groenkloof (358 JR), which encompassed the Fountains Valley area. Lucas built his humble frontier house at the source of the Apies River and for years afterwards the Fountains were known as Bronkhorst Fountain. The foundations of Lucas Bronkhorst's home can still be seen in the Groenkloof Nature Reserve (figure 3.7) (Van Vollenhoven 2000: 182).

Preller (1939: 13) quotes a pioneer woman describing house building:

*"... Then when a suitable place had been found, in which we women normally had some considerable say, the men built a hartebeest-house. This took the form of a rectangular oblong, divided into two or three rooms, the walls being also temporarily built of wattle and daub, or of clay only under a thatched roof. The permanent dwelling, which again came into being perhaps a year or more after the hartebeest house had been put up...retained the oblong form, but was built either of stone or brick."*

According to Van Vollenhoven<sup>7</sup> the ruin of Lucas Bronkhorst's house is of great cultural significance. After Bronkhorst's death in 1874 the farm was sold to H.J. Frames for £1,250. Frames then sold the farm to Jesse Jeans and Company in 1878. At this stage it had been realised that this farm and particularly the springs should be public property and in 1883 the Supreme Court ordered Jeans, who had gone bankrupt, to transfer the farm to Government. Jeans was paid only £4,000. Thus the farm Groenkloof became the property of the state. On 25 February 1895 President Paul Kruger signed a proclamation and a portion of the farm Groenkloof, including the Fountains Valley, became the second proclaimed game sanctuary on the African continent<sup>8</sup>, mainly to protect the oribi from hunters (Van Vollenhoven 2005: 19).

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<sup>7</sup> Retrieved from [http://www.sahra.org.za/sites/default/files/heritagereports/Other\\_Groenkloof\\_Nat\\_Res\\_Van\\_Vollenhoven\\_AC\\_Aug08\\_0.pdf](http://www.sahra.org.za/sites/default/files/heritagereports/Other_Groenkloof_Nat_Res_Van_Vollenhoven_AC_Aug08_0.pdf).

<sup>8</sup> The oldest nature reserve in South Africa (and probably in Africa) is the Pongola Reserve, which was proclaimed in 1894 (Van Vollenhoven 2005: 19).

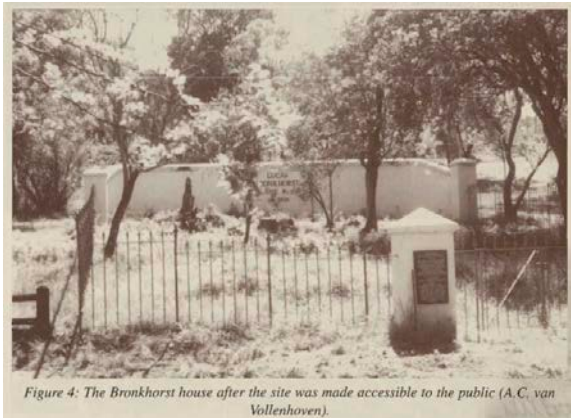


Figure 4: The Bronkhorst house after the site was made accessible to the public (A.C. van Vollenhoven).



Figure 3.7

**The foundations of Lucas Bronkhorst's farmhouse Groenkloof Nature Reserve. The picture on the left shows the memorial plaque at its opening (Van Vollenhoven 1998) and the picture on the right is what it looks like today. The bronze plaques have been removed and the site is overgrown.**

In 1848 a trek led by Andries Pretorius from Ohrigstad, together with a few stragglers from Natal and the Orange River Sovereignty, also settled in the area. The picturesque and fertile Apies River valley soon attracted great numbers of settlers, with the result that Field Cornet Andries van der Walt was continually burdened with the task of erecting beacons for the farms of newcomers.

After the death of Gert Bronkhorst, his farm was divided into six equal parts, three on each side of the Apies River, and Andries van der Walt became the owner of the three western parts. Van Vollenhoven (2000: 188) writes that Van der Walt bought Elandspoor from the estate of the late Gert Bronkhorst on 6 November 1853 but Rex (1956: 105) claims that Van der Walt sold the farm to M.W. Pretorius in 1853, in the same year. Transfer of the sale to Pretorius only took place 6 November 1857. Scheiding (meaning separation) Street formed the border between Pretorius's town land and Van der Walt's garden land.

A popular account of how the first farms were set out is re-iterated in the establishment story of the farm Hartebeespoort, where the original pioneer dwelling and outbuildings were built on the premises of what is today known as the Pioneer Museum (figure 3.8) in Silverton. David Botha was a Cape farmer who migrated first to Natal and then to Ohrigstad in the current Limpopo Province. Botha arrived in Ohrigstad in 1846 with his four children, but the prevalence of malaria and the death of a son made him look elsewhere for land. In April 1848 the family moved to the farm Hartebeespoort. It is told that Botha rode twenty minutes on horseback in a northerly direction and planted the first

beacon, then he rode twenty-two minutes east, twenty-five minutes south and fifteen minutes west to plant the other beacons. The size of the farm was 1,800 morgen.



**Figure 3.8**  
**The Pioneer Museum in Silverton today, being restored**

Marais (1910: 116) described two types of property rights. The first type was given to the Voortrekkers who set out the land and fought against Mzilikazi. He claims that these farms were 14,000 morgen in size, but Grobler (2019)<sup>9</sup> disputes this, because compared to the size of other properties, the farms could not have been so big. These farms were free from tax. Various big cattle farmers were amongst the Voortrekkers who settled near Pretoria and secured farms in this way. The second type of property right was given to stragglers who moved into the area after initial settlement. The laws of the ZAR determined that any man, who settled in the Republic and registered himself with either the *landdrost* or the field cornet, could obtain certain rights and obligations. The rights included the right to vote and the right to own property and the obligations included the duty to serve (conscription) and to help carry the financial burdens of the country. The *landdrost* or the field cornet handed out a *burgerrecht* certificate, which was a claim to a farm. At the onset all land belonged to the government. The authorities regularly sent out three or four inspection commissions that stayed away for four or five months per year to inspect farms, ride them out and erect beacons. Up to a hundred farms were set out each time. A good horse was required, one that could ride down the line. Marais's (1910: 115) account of the setting out of farms differs somewhat from Botha's. According to Marais thirty minutes by horse in a square produced a farm of 3,000 morgen, which was the norm,

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<sup>9</sup> Interview with Jackie Grobler on 22 January 2019.

although he does add that inspection reports included the words 3,000 *morgen groot naar gissing*, which means that the sizes were approximate. Each farm was mentioned separately in the inspection report and received a name. A rough sketch map was produced on site that included an inventory of adjacent farms. The new burgher became the legal owner of the farm. He had to pay a small fee towards the inspection costs and received a letter (*grondbrief*) as proof of ownership (Marais 1910: 115).

The system worked for a while but it soon gave rise to corruption and speculation. The entitlement to a certificate was bought and sold again before inspection could take place and sometimes for a bottle of peach juice. In later years the government of Paul Kruger recognised that the hundreds of certificates still in circulation posed a threat to the vast government land and certificates were therefore changed from entitling the owner to a 3,0000 morgen of farmland, to entitling him to a single *burgerrecht* erf in one of the established towns (*dorpe*) in the Republic. The issue of certificates was finally stopped in the late 1870s and *burgerrecht* erven were set out in most of the towns (Marais 1910: 116).

From the section above, it is clear that agricultural settlement conformed to legal requirements of ownership. Beacons were erected and farms registered, but how and with what authority? The *Zuid Afrikaansche Republic* (ZAR) only came into being in 1852, twelve years after the registration of land.

When the Dutch occupied the Cape in 1652 land became an issue of power. The system of land tenure that was introduced by the Roman-Dutch law in the Cape in 1652 reflected the Romanist concept of individual ownership, in terms of which an owner had the fullest and most comprehensive rights over the property that he or she owned. Modern South African land law developed from the Roman-Dutch law. The Dutch assumed that the land over which they could claim sovereignty was *res nullius* (i.e. property belonging to no one) and that they could own and occupy it. Later the Dutch moved northwards and eastwards to find new farming land. In the process, they deprived the San and the Khoi of their grazing and hunting lands by force of arms in order to take occupation of the land. The Dutch introduced the system of land registration that we still know today. In terms of this system, provision was made for the insertion of certain conditional clauses in deeds of grant of land. These early deeds of land granted in ownership contained a variety of conditions (Van Wyk 2014: 13-31).

Registration of the first farms in Pretoria in 1840 was probably with the political entity known as the Republic of Winburg-Potchefstroom, which was subject to the Natal *Volksraad*. Registration was based on the Dutch system of land registration, as we still know it today. The first registrar was established in Natal in 1846. It was Field Cornet, later Commandant Gert (G.J.) Kruger, who took instruction from the *Volksraad* in August 1841 to inspect and survey farms. Both Elandspoor and Groenkloof were surveyed and registered in favour of the Bronkhorst brothers (Du Preez 1978: 5). Van Vollenhoven (2000: 182-3) confirms that the beacons of farms in the Pretoria area were inspected on 9 August 1841 (figure 3.9). The inspection report is the first documentary proof of white settlement in the Pretoria area by the Bronkhorst brothers. L.C. Bronkhorst mentions the inspection report in his 1864 letter to the acting president of the ZAR (W.C. Janse van Rensburg) (NAB, SS, R60/64). Van Vollenhoven (2000: 191) places responsibility for inspecting the farms in Pretoria on the Rustenburg *landdrost* office.

|                      |              |    |   |    |                |
|----------------------|--------------|----|---|----|----------------|
| Botha, W. J.         | G. J. Kruger | 5  | 8 | 41 | Rhenosterpoort |
| Botha, D.            | d.           | 4  | 8 | 41 | Wynshuck       |
| Bronkhorst, Lucas C. | d.           | 9  | 8 | 41 | Groenkloof     |
| Bronkhorst, G.       | d.           | 10 | 8 | 41 | Elandspoor     |

**Figure 3.9**  
Excerpt from RAK 2434: *Inspektieregister 1841-1888* (inspection register)

The *Adjunk-Raad* of Potchefstroom broke relations with the Natal *Volksraad*, due to the British annexation in April 1844 and at the same occasion the inhabitants of the *Oorvaalse gebied* at Potchefstroom drafted the Thirty-three Articles, which was ratified in 1849. The articles allowed ownership according to the “*Hollandsche wet*”, which was made the basis of administration (Van Zyl and Van der Vyver 1982: 215), so earlier registered farms were transferred under the new authority. In 1844 land ownership in the Cape was changed from leasehold to freehold, so it is safe to assume that after 1844 farms in the *Oorvaalse gebied* were also registered as freehold (Van Wyk 2014: 7).

Until 1857 Pretoria resorted under the *landdrost* of Rustenburg and documentary evidence, if any existed, has been lost (Rex 1956: 227). If it was not practical to appoint a *landdrost*, a field cornet could do some of the *landdrost*'s duties. Wherever Voortrekker communities settled they did this in conjunction with the cultural heritage from the days of

Dutch management, which means that a *landdrost* would be appointed, whose duties would be legal as well as administrative. The field cornet was a military officer and had an intimate bond with the *burghers* (Rex 1956:109).

### **3.11 Natural landscape as settlement generator**

From the earliest times, geography was a settlement generator. When choosing a site for a settlement the ancient Greeks considered all the geographical elements of hillside, river, defence, natural hazards and human enemies. Geography affected every step of daily life in ancient Greece. The tides, the stars and the hills were objects of importance that required close attention (Brumbaugh 1970: 9).

According to Crouch (2004) the Greeks chose sites for their colonial towns that resembled the geological context of their native country, confident of their ability to adapt their familiar town-planning and water management practices to suit these conditions. The political organisation was one of city-states, a decentralised pattern that developed naturally and was well suited to the geography of the Greek mainland (Brumbaugh 1970: 9-10).

It was the abundance of water from the Fountains Valley and its subsequent flow along the Apies River that generated more permanent settlement in the area by the Boers at the end of their Trek. It was also the presence of these two strong flowing fountains (figure 3.10) that led to the first settlement of people in the area of Pretoria. The two fountains are completely independent of each other and are separated by a dyke. 25 million litres of clear pure spring water still flow strongly from the two springs in the dolomite formation between Pretoria and Irene every day (Van Vollenhoven 2005: 19). The summer rainfall dominated by subtropical anticyclones cause thunderstorms that produce lightning and brief but torrential downpours, often accompanied by devastating floods.<sup>10</sup>

The soil in the fountains area comprises of chert with fine and granular consistency and quartz, which is hard, fine and gritty. Chert is associated with dolomite, which is not as resistant to erosion as quartz, especially when it comes into contact with water. Dolomite results in sinkholes and allows for the forming of these strong flowing fountains. In pre-

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<sup>10</sup> Retrieved from [http://www.sahra.org.za/sites/default/files/heritagereports/Other\\_Groenkloof\\_Nat\\_Res\\_Van\\_Vollenhoven\\_AC\\_Aug08\\_0.pdf](http://www.sahra.org.za/sites/default/files/heritagereports/Other_Groenkloof_Nat_Res_Van_Vollenhoven_AC_Aug08_0.pdf).

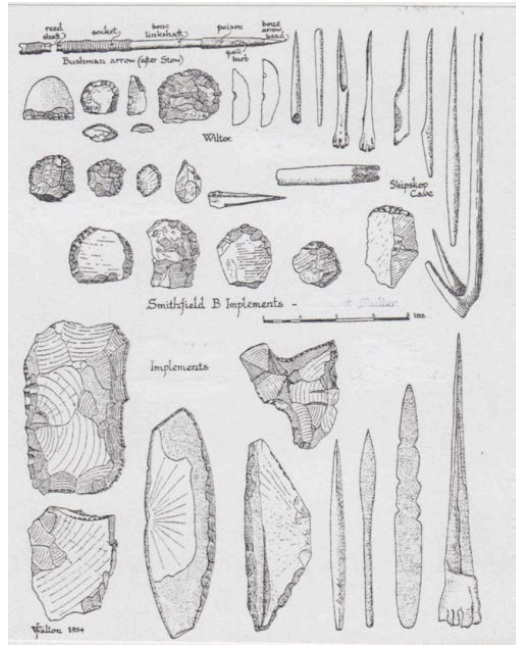
historic times chert was often used as a source material for stone tools. Pretoria has both a Stone Age and an Iron Age past (there is no evidence of a Bronze Age).



**Figure 3.10**  
**The two fountains of Pretoria today. The fountain on the left has its source in the Fountains Resort and the fountain on the right in the Groenkloof Nature Reserve. They join to form a single stream a short distance thereafter.**

Stone Age tools that date back to 2,000 BCE were discovered in the Wonderboom area and along the banks of the Apies River (figure 3.11). Some activity sites (so called because they were classified as workshops where the by-products of tool manufacture including flakes and cores were found) were identified in the Groenkloof Nature reserve on the escarpment overlooking the valley and the river. These activity areas are mostly surface sites located near exposed chert. The Middle Stone Age is well represented although some Later Stone Age artefacts were also found.

In the 1600's a Ndebele tribe, led by a chief called Musi, occupied the area after travelling from Natal. Only one site in the Fountains Valley area has been identified where definite Iron Age occupation is visible (figure 3.12). This site is a cave located in a dolomite outcrop. Caves such as these are normally associated with the Stone Age. This particular cave is not very deep. At the entrance of the cave is a terrace, which was formed in all likelihood by human activity. Iron Age potsherds and some Stone Age tools were found on this terrace. It is assumed that, in times of crises, Iron Age people found refuge in caves such as these. The potsherds that were found at this site are broadly associated with the Moloko tradition. This tradition is an Iron Age pottery style linked to proto Sotho-Tswana speaking peoples<sup>7</sup>.



**Figure 3.11**  
Stone age tools similar to those discovered  
in Wonderboom (Walton 1956: 25).



**Figure 3.12**  
Cave (left) with man-made terrace at the mouth (right), Groenkloof Nature Reserve.

Mzilikazi built two military kraals on the Apies River during the Difaquane (1820-1832). The first was northwest of Pretoria on the road to Hartebeespoort Dam and the other was along the Daspoort hills. Some sources<sup>11</sup> claim that his main residence was on the south slope of Meintjieskop, but no evidence of his kraal could be found. He later moved to the north of the Magaliesberg range. In 1836 it was reported to Mzilikazi that thousands of white people were moving southwards to invade his land. He launched an attack on the

<sup>11</sup> Peacock (1955: 2) estimated this position based on a map by Moffat.

Potgieter Trek. The Voortrekkers managed to ward off their attackers but suffered great loss of life and livestock. Shortly after this, Mzilikazi launched a second attack on the Voortrekkers and this time his men carried off all the livestock owned by the Whites. Potgieter, determined to succeed, launched a counter-attack on the Matabele at Mosega and managed to recover a considerable number of their livestock. In December 1837, Potgieter launched another attack on Mzilikazi and his tribe. This battle, together with the one waged by Dingane a few months earlier, was enough to send Mzilikazi fleeing across the Limpopo. With Mzilikazi out of the way, it was easy for Potgieter to drive the rest of the Matabele stragglers to the north over Silkaatsnek. Although some Tswana tribes returned to the Apies River area after the departure of the Ndebele, there is no evidence of large communities occupying the area that is now Pretoria <sup>12</sup>.

### **3.12 Change from agricultural settlement to town: the first Boer towns Winburg and Potchefstroom**

The Voortrekkers initially settled on farms and not in towns, but the Boer towns developed to serve the farming community and were either government sponsored or church towns (Floyd 1960). Winburg was the first town to be established in the Free State around 1838 and served as its capital (Floyd 1960: 18, 25). The oldest European settlement in the *Oorvaalse gebied* was in the Klerksdorp area, but Potchefstroom was the first to develop into a functional town with an organised community. The Voortrekkers established the town in 1838, on a site on the Mooi River chosen by their leader Potgieter. It served as a sub-capital for the *Oorvaalse* portion of the Republic of *Natalia* and was the seat of the *Adjunct-Volksraad* in the same way as Winburg was for the Free State.

For a short time until 1840 the towns of Potchefstroom and Winburg, as well as their surrounding territories, were joined in a political entity known as the Republic of Winburg-Potchefstroom. Potgieter was elected as chief commandant and in October 1840 it was decided that Potchefstroom would unite with Pieter Mouriets Burg (Pietermaritzburg). In 1848 Potchefstroom became the seat of government and its status as capital of the ZAR was affirmed by Britain on 16 and 17 January 1852, together with the status of the South African Republic (ZAR) when the Sand River Convention treaty was signed on the banks

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<sup>12</sup> Retrieved from [http://www.sahra.org.za/sites/default/files/heritagereports/Other\\_Groenkloof\\_Nat\\_Res\\_Van\\_Vollenhoven\\_AC\\_Aug08\\_0.pdf](http://www.sahra.org.za/sites/default/files/heritagereports/Other_Groenkloof_Nat_Res_Van_Vollenhoven_AC_Aug08_0.pdf).

of the Sand River in a tent (figure 3.13). According to this convention the British Government would allow the emigrant farmers north of the Vaal River to govern according to their own laws, with a policy of non-interference from both sides. This signalled the establishment of the ZAR.



**Figure 3.13**  
**Sand River Convention Monument today, 15km north of Winburg.**  
 (photographs by the author).

### 3.13 The power of the church in establishing Pretoria

The location of the seat of the *Volksraad* of the ZAR was a contentious issue from the establishment of the first Boer Republics, which were often marred by political discord, disbanding of the *Volksraad*, the threat of civil war and political schism (Pieterse 1942: 2). The different towns took turns to host *Volksraad* meetings and at each meeting the location of the next meeting would be determined (Rex 1956). It was not always possible for all members to attend faraway meetings, due to cost and distance. This resulted in meetings without a quorum (*Kommissieraadsittings*), which meant that decisions had to be ratified by the full complement at the next meeting. Progress was severely impeded and often on purpose. Marthinus Wessel Pretorius and Piet Potgieter, the sons of the two Voortrekker leaders, wanted to put an end to this intolerable situation and in August 1853 they submitted a request to the *Kommissieraadsitting* in Rustenburg to determine the

*Zittingplaats des Volksraads in het midden des lands* because it would benefit the whole nation to have a permanent meeting place that was centrally located (Pieterse 1942: 6). See also Rex (1956).

The authorities considered various towns as possible locations for a central government. Potchefstroom was the initial seat, but the *Volksraad* moved away from there when Andries-Ohrigstad was established for the purpose of being the new government seat north of the of 25° latitude. This move was to escape the Cape of Good Hope Punishment Act of 1836, a British colonial law that determined that the Boers would be liable for all crimes committed south of 25° latitude (Peacock 1955: 9). But Ohrigstad was infested with malaria and was far, so Potgieter moved to where he established the town Soutpansberg (later Schoemansdal). Some of his followers moved to Potchefstroom and others settled on both sides of the Magaliesberg. The Magaliesberg population grew with the arrival of Andries Pretorius and his followers from Natal in 1848. Magaliesberg formed the centre from the 1840s and when a *Kerkplaats* was established there in January 1850, more of these meetings of the *Volksraad*, *Kommissieraad* and *Krygsraad* would happen in the area of Magaliesberg (Rustenburg). Rustenburg already had a special building for *Volksraad* meetings and was thus favourably considered.

The decision was made to make the newly established town of Lydenburg the seat of government instead of Ohrigstad. A government building was erected in Lydenburg for *Volksraad* sittings and thus had an advantage over Potchefstroom for the honour of being the central seat, but Lydenburg was not centrally located. In order to retain its position of influence Ohrigstad wanted two of the *Volksraad* meetings to be held in Ohrigstad and one in Derdepoort. Derdepoort was more central. Ohrigstad-Lydenburg remained in a position of influence for a while. The *Volksraad* of the ZAR was established in Derdepoort on 23 May 1849. Subsequent meetings were not held in Ohrigstad as was the case over the previous four years, but in various places until Pretoria became the permanent seat.

Hekpoort was considered for a while because it was convenient for residents from Ohrigstad, Potchefstroom and Derdepoort to attend *Volksraad* meetings there. In the 1850s Potchefstroom came to the foreground again but the 26° latitude was suggested as a required location of the permanent seat. It was the establishment of a postal route (*vaste briewepos*) from Lydenburg to Potchefstroom that added to the idea of making Derdepoort near current Pretoria the centrally located seat, because the transport roads crossed near

there. The Elandspoort area was also strategically central and had natural characteristics and with three main transport routes and the postal routes crossing near there, it became an important possibility to consider (Rex 1956: 40).

The farm Daspoort belonged to Prinsloo and Elandspoort belonged to Andries van der Walt. It was the appointment of Andries van der Walt as field cornet in March 1852 during a *Volksraad* meeting in Rustenburg, after being suggested by Andries Pretorius himself (Rex 1956: 103), which formed an important step towards the establishment of Pretoria as the permanent seat (*zittingplaats*). The house of the field cornet was as a rule centrally located in its ward and often used for church services (Rex 1956:46). The homes of those field cornets located near main roads were suggested as outspans. The same was true for the house of Andries van der Walt. It was the natural central point of the whole Apies River ward and surrounds and from 1852-57 his house was also used as government office (Rex 1956: 103). He was a supporter of M.W. Pretorius. The importance of Elandspoort, Van der Walt's home, thus increased. The closest *Kerkplaats* was Doornkloof in present day Irene.

M.W. Pretorius suggested Elandspoort for the establishment of the new town and went as far as buying up the farms of Prinsloo, van der Walt and Bronkhorst on the banks of the Apies River (figure 3.1), but farmers further down the Apies River objected to the establishment of a town there (Rex 1956: 40), because it threatened the future of their farms. Lydenburgers objected too because they did not want to give up their privileged position as seat of government of the ZAR (Rex 1956: 42). Erasmus was very much against the establishment of a town there, but supported the establishment of a *Kerkplaats*. Pretorius proved to be a good diplomat with a future in politics, because he asked Erasmus to accompany him to the site to help determine the exact location of the church and Church Square (Rex 1956: 53). It was reported that Erasmus was attacked by a tiger next to the Apies River and could not attend the *Volksraad* meetings after August 1853 because he could not travel long distances (Rex 1956: 55). Erasmus later became an Elder in the Church.

Pretorius filed numerous motions with the *Volksraad*, but it was rejected every time, because the *Volksraad* feared that a new town would be too costly (Pieterse 1942: 9), despite Pretorius's plan to divide the farms into erven and sell them in order to pay the first instalments of his loan. The *Volksraad* was also hesitant about declaring a capital where no

town existed (Kraehmer 1978: 7). After numerous of his motions were denied, Pretorius changed his strategy and addressed his request to the Church, which was a softer target (Pieterse 1942: 10).

Reverend Dirk van der Hoff, who had arrived from Holland at the end of May 1853, was the first permanent reverend in the *Oorvaalse gebied*. He travelled through the country and held his first church service in the area, probably in the house of Field Cornet Andries van der Walt (Rex 1956: 47). Van der Hoff recognised the need to establish a *Kerkplaats* at Elandspoort (Rex 1956: 48). Van der Hoff and M.W. Pretorius had a good understanding and realised during the November sitting of the *Volksraad* in Potchefstroom that if the bought farms Elandspoort could be approved as a *Kerkplaats*, then within a short time, just like all the other *Oorvaalse* towns before it, a town would develop (Rex 1956: 49). Pretorius withdrew his application for Elandspoort to be the centrally located seat of the *Volksraad* for tactical reasons (Rex 1956: 70). The development of the *Kerkplaats* was a temporary answer to that need. Van der Hoff influenced the church council in a meeting on 7 June 1854 to vote for the establishment of a new congregation, which was called Pretoria Philadelphia in honour of M.W. Pretorius's father (Voortrekker leader Andries Pretorius, who was instrumental in the creation of the ZAR) and his father's brothers. The notice of the church council to establish a separate congregation on the bought farm Elandspoort (*om een afzonderlike gemeente te stichten op de aangekochte plaats Elandspoort* (Kraehmer 1978: 70), appeared on the *Volksraad* agenda (Pieterse 1942: 11) and on the same day the *Volksraad* ratified the decision with only two votes against it (both from Lydenburg). A church building and a rectory (*pastorie*) had to be erected as soon as possible. M.W. Pretorius thus took a diplomatic route without upsetting the Lydenburgers, so in line with the traditional Dutch-Afrikaans tradition where the *Kerkplaats* was the origin of a town, a church and Church Square the central point of the *Kerkplaats* and the town would develop around it.

It was decided to insist that the *Volksraad* only recognised one church in the ZAR, which would be independent from the Synod of the Cape church. Residents of the ZAR had to contribute to the maintenance of the church (Rex 1956: 47). Money was to be collected by the field cornets every three months. Van der Hoff directed a *beroepsbrief* (professional letter) to Holland for the appointment of a reverend (Rex 1956: 51). Stuart described that the church always came first and then only would the Boers think of a

*Raadhuis*. Pretoria was established as a town via the *Kerkplaats* in pure Dutch-Afrikaans tradition.

### 3.14 The power of law in establishing Pretoria

M.W. Pretorius appeared before the *Volksraad* for the fourth time since 1853 with the suggestion that the *Kerkplaats* Elandspoor be acknowledged as a town (Rex 1956: 74). The official date of establishment was recorded as 16 November 1855, this being the day that the *Volksraad* had given its permission<sup>13</sup>.

A *kommissieraad* was established in September 1855 to design laws and review the Constitution. Field Cornet Andries van der Walt from Elandspoor and Paul Kruger from Waterkloof near Rustenburg were, amongst others, members of this Council (Rex 1956: 71). The Council had to make suggestions to the November sitting of the *Volksraad* in Potchefstroom. Article 18 of the concept Constitution made provision for a centrally located government seat but it did not specify that it would be Pretoria (Rex 1956: 79). At the November sitting, which was not attended by Lydenburg members, it was decided to present the public with the opportunity to comment on the amended Constitution. Kruger and Van der Walt were tasked with familiarising people in the different districts with the new Constitution (Rex 1956: 72). M.W. Pretorius was elected provisional State President on 15 November 1855 based on the assumption of the concept Constitution (Rex 1956: 73).

Potchefstroom had been the seat of government from 1838 to 1845 but lost this seat when many people moved to Andries-Ohrigstad and Lydenburg. In 1857 Potchefstroom again became the seat of government (Rex 1956: 77). In Article 17 of the Constitution of the ZAR of 18 February 1858, which was accepted in Rustenburg, it was stated that Potchefstroom, located on the Mooi River, would be the capital of the Republic and that Pretoria would be the seat of government. M.W. Pretorius lived permanently on his farm Kalkheuvel, near current Broederstroom. Kalkheuvel was the official seat of the commandant-general of the ZAR since 1853 and his secretary, Jan Visagie, also lived there until the end of 1856. With the executive council consisting of Potchefstroom residents, it

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<sup>13</sup> Almost all settlements of the first decade of the OFS were without the approval of the *Volksraad* (Moll 1977: 23-28).

became crucial that M.W. Pretorius move to Potchefstroom at the beginning of 1857 (Rex 1956: 80-1).

*Landdrost* A.F. du Toit was further tasked with erecting a government building and some civil services in Pretoria with urgency in order to compete with Potchefstroom for the ultimate seat of Government (Rex 1956: 85). Finally with the approval of Article 14, it was announced that Pretoria would be the seat of the Government from 1 May 1860 (Rex 1956: 95). In May 1860 Potchefstroom became the “chief city” of the Republic with the capital having moved to Pretoria. M.W. Pretorius still lived in Potchefstroom but stayed with various private civilians when the *Volksraad* sittings and executive council meetings were in Pretoria. He rented a house in Schoeman Street or stayed with Mrs. Skinner in Market Street (Rex 1956: 119).

As mentioned above, Field Cornet Andries van der Walt’s house was not just used for church services by the visiting Reverend van der Hoff, but from 1852-57 his house was also used as government office (Rex 1956: 103). This was probably the first meeting place of the ZAR *Volksraad*; the last would take place a few years later in the second Old *Raadsaal* building on Church Square on 7 May 1900.

### **3.15 The first gabled church**

Construction of the church commenced in the middle of 1854 and after a long delay it was completed in 1857. Preller (1938) tells us that the site that is now Church Square was covered with indigenous trees with a park-like appearance and delectable aromas (Kraehmer 1978: 7) but most of the indigenous bush was chopped down when the Square was laid out. The members of the *Nederduitse Hervormde Kerk* (Dutch Reformed Church) were widely dispersed on farms and congregated every quarter for the *nachtmaal* service held over several days. Pretorius therefore instructed that the terrain should be extensive to make provision for outspan and camping facilities during *nachtmaal* gatherings, when many wagons and tents would stand around the square. The area around the first church, which was inaugurated on 22 February 1857 by van der Hoff, was the natural meeting place of the farming community, not only for *nachtmaal* and religious occasions but also for social and political gatherings and trade. The first houses arose followed by simple trading establishments, a school and thereafter the government building (Kraehmer 1978: 8). Some acquired properties close to the church and built *tuishuise* (farmers’ town-houses

or cottages) for accommodation over the *nachtmaal* weekend. The new *Hervormde* congregation only got its first reverend in 1861.

Lionel and Louis Devereux, and their brother-in-law William Skinner, had been familiar with Pretoria since 1852. They came from Natal together to build a residence for General Andries Pretorius at Grootplaats, which is today covered by the Hartebeespoort Dam. Andries Pretorius probably spoke to Skinner and the Devereux brothers in Pietermaritzburg and convinced them to offer their skills to the Boers in the *Oorvaalse gebied*, who after so many years of roaming the wilderness, were ready to settle in comfortable houses on their farms (Rex 1956: 59). It was thus imported English craftsmen who contributed to the built environment in the interior. Marthinus Wessel Pretorius himself determined the position of Church Square in conjunction with Erasmus, Devereux, Skinner, Visagie, and probably church council members. With the help of Pretorius's secretary, Visagie, Skinner and the brothers Devereux set out the original Church Square, first erven and the streets leading into the Square, namely Church Street and Market Street. This implies that they must have had some knowledge of land surveying (Rex 1956: 61).

The Square was originally a little higher than the surrounds. The original ground plan of the *Kerkplaats* and town was compiled by the Devereux brothers in the house of Marthinus Wessel Pretorius on Kalkheuvel (Rex 1956: 62). (They lived on a farm close by Kalkheuvel). This plan has been lost. Skinner remembered that on the original map the Square was marked as Market Square. He had never heard of a Church Square in those days (Rex 1956: 63). Devereux remembered the Outspan on the eastern part of the town (later Strijdom Square) and the erf with the parsonage. When A.F. du Toit visited Marthinus Wessel Pretorius on his farm Kalkheuvel in 1856 he probably saw the Devereux layout for Pretoria.

They started building the church in 1853 or 1854 and completed it at the end of 1856 (Rex 1956: 58). Apparently the only erf that was inhabited during 1856 was the erf on the northeast corner of Mark and Vermeulen Street (Erf 256) where the first hartebeest house was built. The first *Volksraad* sitting was held there in the house of Hendrik Vermeulen. Du Toit could thus go ahead with his measurement as if there was no previous setting out (Rex 1956: 66). The Vermeulens were another family with a long Voortrekker history. They were original Trekboers and later farmers in the eastern Karoo. They spanned out around the source in the current Burgerspark, with another source in the proximity, across

the later Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA) building in Pretorius Street at Volkstem Lane, previously Fonteinlaan (Fountain Lane) (Du Preez 1978: 5). They called the area *Bontveld* after the dotted appearance of the foliage (Preller 1938: 14).

When du Toit arrived in Pretoria in the middle of April 1855, Andries van der Walt was already busy excavating the water channel. These excavations would have gone past Van der Walt's house and had to reckon with the streets laid out on the Devereux's ground plan. Du Toit found water flowing over the streets that were already there and wrote to Pretorius that it required care.

### **3.16 The search for colonial settlement codes**

The powers that led to the establishment of Pretoria were determined in the previous section. What remains is to determine the reason for the physical appearance of the settlement. A.F. du Toit, the first *Landdrost* of Pretoria, appointed in April and sworn in in May 1857, was responsible for a new and more scientific measuring of Pretoria. He confirmed that it was not him, but that it was Devereux, Skinner and Visagie that laid out the town. He used the existing corner pegs around Church Square that were erected by them (Rex 1956: 65). At the time that A.F. du Toit arrived in Pretoria these pegs were already there. Du Toit's plan was complete in 1859. He changed the erf numbers from the original Devereux ground plan (see figures in Chapter 5 for different numbering systems). Rex (1956: 55) believes that Pretorius in discussion with the Church Council decided the layout of the first erven.

A.F. du Toit was then tasked with setting out the new town Philadelphia Pretoria, which he did according to a rigid grid pattern. Beginning in 1857 with Church Square, he pegged out the city's first blocks orientated east-west and north-south (Kraehmer 1978: 9) (figure 3.1). On his arrival in Pretoria in 1855 there were twelve families in *Hartbeesthuise* near the thatch church (Pieterse 1942: 21). The road layout of Du Toit was not organic, thus not based on actual requirements and lines between different points in the city and the district, but was in a grid-iron pattern unrelated to topography and other natural considerations. This grid system was even imposed on sides of the steep ridges (Kraehmer 1978: 10).

The use of a grid pattern is a distinguishing feature of all Boer towns. Pretoria's layout is similar to that of Graaff-Reinet. According to Kraehmer they unmistakably belong to the

same culture, architectural heritage and period. He puts forward as the reason for this that the Voortrekkers who established Pretoria came from the eastern Cape. Andries Pretorius was born and raised in Graaff-Reinet and, although the town was not the original home of many Voortrekkers, they still regarded it as their commercial and cultural centre (*heimat*). Graaff-Reinet's style and character was an echo of the Boland towns Stellenbosch, Franschhoek, Paarl, Tulbagh and later Swellendam, where their fathers were raised (Kraehmer 1978: 12). The Voortrekkers brought with them the traditional building style and town environment of their forebears. They followed this style for the first forty years of the town's existence reminiscent of the Cape Dutch character of the Boland (Kraehmer 1978: 13).

Holm describes the *Voortrekker dorp* as based on a simple standard model, well understood by both planners and users, with its regular design lines of order imprinted on the land and the wild landscape (Holm in Fisher, *et al* 1998: 59). It is clear that there was a similar settlement strategy but was there a settlement code linked to this standard model? Pretoria is often referred to as a colonial settlement but in the true sense of the word that is not correct. It was settled as a result of probably the first post-colonial movement in Africa, by a group of people that fled the yoke of their colonial powers. However, there is no doubt that the town layout followed western colonial examples.

The Spanish Crown's eighteenth century body of laws, the Laws of the Indies (*Leyes de Indias*), that were influenced by Vitruvius's *Ten Books of Architecture* and Alberti's treatise on the subject, were explained in the *Theoretical Framework* (2.5.6). The laws were manifested in the gridded layout that was visible in all Spain's American and Philippine possessions. The planned, geometric character of Portuguese colonial urban settlement in South America, although not enforced by law, can also be referenced to Vitruvius (Derntl 2014: 159-160). However, the VOC of the seventeenth century would not have had guidelines on how to establish colonial towns because the mandate of the VOC was trade and not colonisation. As for the British, the Cape had been settled for 150 years when the first British occupation took place, so their influence was secondary. In India the focus was usually to separate the English from the indigenous population and development often took place in existing historic areas where British planning demolished city-cores. The planning and urban design policies of the British followed certain principles, one of which was like Haussmann's plan for Paris, so popular in Europe and

which advocated cutting through and demolishing old city centres to make space for new construction and boulevards. The 1820 British Settler frontier towns of Queenstown and Grahamstown followed prescribed layouts created to provide secure, defensive towns as buffers against the Xhosa.

It seems that the search for a clear code or guideline that could have been available to A.F. du Toit in setting out the new town of Pretoria Philadelphia, similar to that contained in the Law of the Indies, will not produce a satisfactory answer. The clues to finding the source of the pattern of the pre-determined urban form and morphology may instead lie in traditive, institutional memory and inherited classical western cultural traditions rather than in law.

### **3.17 The grid as sign of human dominance and water management**

The art of town planning in Greece was explained in 2.5.5. The Hippodamian, or grid plan was the basis for Greek and Roman cities (Haverfield 1913: 10). Although there was a certain ‘civilised’ status attached to the grid layout, which is echoed in the idea of human dominance over the landscape, it was also done for practical reasons, mainly to copy the water management systems used in their motherland. The same is true for the Voortrekker *dorpe*. Peters and Du Preez (2014: 200) describe Boer-founded towns as being:

gridded and laid out on a spur site in such a way that the long streets could take best advantage of the slope for the irrigation of the rectangular erven (allotments), which usually stretched from street to street. Water was obtained from a river or spring, and was led through the settlement by means of leivore (furrows or water leads) resulting in ‘water’ or ‘wet’ erven, as opposed to ‘dry’ erven unconnected to the system. Dry erven would be suitable for tuishuise or commercial use. Wet erven were specifically used for the cultivation of vegetables and fruit. Wherever possible, water leads were in place and trees would line the streets.

They conclude that the basic principle for town layouts is based on water and refer to Haswell’s work on how South African towns were modelled on European plans. Haswell (1988: 24) is also known for his description of the Voortrekker genesis of Pietermaritzburg, which was laid out on sloping ground so that water could be diverted from the *dorpspruit* and led in furrows down the streets. Haswell describes how the distance from the street to the *spruit* determined the length of erven in both Grahamstown and Pietermaritzburg. Access to water is what determined the shape of the erven and their placement in the topography. Similar to the *decumanus* of a Roman town and the cross-

street *cardo*, the street layouts of Boer towns are easily identifiable in their town plans.

Pretoria erven follow a similar pattern. Du Toit was responsible for the provision of a water furrow from the fountains in the Fountains Valley to the north to Scheiding Street, then westwards to Market Street (now Paul Kruger Street) and down the eastern side of this street as far as Church Street. This furrow provided a strong flow of clear water for household and irrigation purposes. Most of the erven had access to the system of water leads and early descriptions of Pretoria include lush orchards and trees. The focus was on the Church and rectangular erven in quartered blocks ran in the wind directions between the two ridges, regardless of internal topography and the water channel (Kraehmer 1978: 9). The setting out and surveying of erven will be discussed further in the next chapter.

### **3.18 Conclusion**

Anaximenes's system of nature needed only matter in motion for change. From the earliest times the movement of humans over the natural landscape left traces of human dominance on the landscape, changing it forever. In the area that is Pretoria today, the earliest two-dimensional representations testify to the change in landscape from the natural geography to agricultural settlement (figure 3.1) and again from agricultural settlement to town (figures 3.2 and 3.3). The people responsible for these changes in the middle of the nineteenth century were the Voortrekkers, when they settled in the area after the Great Trek.

The reason for their initial agricultural settlement in the area was the favourable geography. For centuries before them groups of Stone Age and Iron Age people moved and temporarily settled in the area for the same reason and traces of their occupancy are still visible today. The difference is that the Voortrekkers brought with them a worldview that had been shaped by the powers of law, state and church. They claimed ownership of the land through the power of their law on the basis of *res nullius*, i.e. that the property belonged to no one and they declared constitutions for the Boer Republics (the establishment of which marks the end of the Great Trek) by virtue of an original competence to create law – also new constitutional law – in the absence of an existing positive law. Thus based on their law, they created states/republics.

Boer towns were either government or church sponsored and more often than not they grew around places of worship, but it was the location of Pretoria Philadelphia in the middle of the geographical area that became the ZAR that caused the change from agricultural settlement to town. M.W. Pretorius's motions to the *Volksraad* to establish a *Zittingplaats des Volksraads in het midden des lands* were not successful until he approached the church and persuaded Van der Hoff to sway the *Volksraad* with a church council decision. It was therefore the power of the Church that enabled the establishment of Pretoria rather than the power of the State. When referring back to Heraclites' notion that the world exists as a conflict and tension of opposites, the roles of state and church in the establishment of Pretoria come to mind. For Heraclites, reality consists of motion, process, power, strife and flow, but these tensions led to harmony, the establishment of Pretoria being the resulting "harmony". And as Brumbaugh (1970: 49) concluded, today we can recognise a process philosophy in which physical reality is not matter, but power.

Finally the search for a settlement code available to A.F. du Toit in setting out Pretoria Philadelphia does not produce satisfactory results, despite the rigid grid pattern being prevalent in all Boer towns. It seems that the grid, which was first used by Hippodamus of Miletus, was regarded as civilised by Greek settlers. However the reason for the quartered blocks, as in ancient Greece, is more linked to water management, than to a question of status.

## **Chapter 4: Temporality in the [re]shaping of the landscape of Pretoria's Church Square**

Now that the wider historical context has been established, the focus of the study can be narrowed down to the geographic area in and around Church Square. This chapter elaborates on the second episode, the change from agricultural settlement to town, by focusing on how the landscape in and around Church Square was reshaped. In the *Preface* the importance of conducting research as an architect was stressed and in the *Introduction* in Chapter 1 the aim of this thesis was set as introducing a novel argument from an architectural point of view. One of the first problems was to determine how a practising architect would approach a historical research question and how this would differ from research conducted in any of the other research disciplines. Groat and Wang (2002: 6) found that research in architectural history has over the years moved from an almost exclusively art historical model into a more conceptually expansive terrain that includes design theory and criticism. But approaching a historical research question from the architectural professional's design methodology has not been done before. The fourth research sub-question that gives rise to the objective of this chapter is: "How does the design methodology used in architectural practice determine the reconstruction of the past of the built environment?"

I will argue that any attempt at reconstructing the past of the built environment in context will inevitably refer to land parcels, -ownership and -use, which often provide more insight into the powers that shaped and reshaped the landscape over time, than the buildings themselves. A visual recording of surveyed change over time confirms the notion that landscapes are always temporal, of the moment and in process, that they reflect human agency and action and that they provoke memory and facilitate or impede action.

### **4.1 Methodology**

The aim of this chapter is to collect data from site-specific legal documents, both current and historical, and determine the parameters applied to sites of Church Square and surrounding erven since the establishment of the town. It further aims to place the practice of land surveying in its historical context and to reveal the historicity and spatiality of people's engagement with the world around them. It proposes to reveal both the dimension of historical time and the dimension of historical space, therefore including both meanings

of temporality: as the real physical world and as one being limited by time. It aims to offer a new focus and approach to historiography of the area, which sprouts from the research question “How does the design methodology used in architectural practice determine the reconstruction of the past of the built environment?” It finally aims to reveal the significance that the temporal relationship gives to data gathered in architectural history writing.

Since the aim of this chapter is both historical and scientific, it relies on the use of multiple methods from diverse traditions. The system of inquiry or the paradigm in which the research is conducted is quantitative because it depends on mathematical, thus atomistic evidence that requires a scientific explanation (*logos*) and when considering objectivity: post-positivist (as opposed to positivist) since it presumes that objectivity is a legitimate goal that may be imperfectly realised. Quantitative research assumes an objective reality and a view that the researcher is independent of the subject. It involves deductive processes that seek cause-and-effect explanations (Groat and Wang 2002: 26). However, once mathematical data (spatial relationships and measurements from SG diagrams) is extracted from the evidence, the interpretation of the findings is conducted within the Naturalist paradigm.

The research for this chapter is interdisciplinary and employs strategies and tactics often used by other disciplines (land surveying, law, etc.). Research draws upon evidence derived from primary archival sources, legal documents, such as SG diagrams and title deeds. Primary sources are supplemented by evidence collected from the narrative and findings by others. All aspects of the historical account squares with the logic of the connections within this empirical space-time continuum (Groat and Wang 2002: 141). For instance, in order to create a historical narrative of each block in and around Church Square (see Chapter 5), the SG diagrams had to be deciphered by linking officials and their terms of service with different signatures on the diagrams.

In this chapter, visual research methodology is used to assess the site two-dimensionally. The term “visual assessment” describes a non-linear, systematic, graphical analysis and interpretation of images. Visual analysis is the graphical dissembling of spatial knowledge into parts and the identification of relationships between these parts. Visual communication is done by means of computer-aided drawings that enable visual analysis, interpretation and development in all the stages of visual research. The aim of visual

research is to reach new conclusions that are graphically generated and communicated, and to establish graphically represented facts through a systematic graphic investigation (also see Nkambule 2015: 54). The outcome of this methodology is important in informing the reconstruction of the past of the geographic area that is Church Square and its surrounding erven (see Chapter 5).

## **4.2 Introduction**

The first work stage of the standard service by an architectural professional in South Africa is “Inception” and includes receiving, appraising and reporting on the client’s requirements with regard to the site and its rights and constraints<sup>1</sup>. The SG diagram, obtainable from the Surveyor-General, the title deed, obtainable from the Deeds Office and the Zoning Certificate, obtainable from the local Municipality, are all site-specific legal documents that determine the normative parameters of the site on which the proposed building design and construction will take place. Although data collection from SG diagrams is rarely seen as part of the creative process, it forms an essential part of any architect’s design methodology and the findings from these legal documents finally find a proud, albeit understated place in the visual, architectural design outcome.

## **4.3 Temporality revealed in the SG diagrams of Pretoria’s Church Square and surrounding erven**

The current SG diagram of Pretoria’s Church Square (erf number 3193, Pretoria), as issued by the Geomatics Department of the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality (figure 4.1), is numbered 10406/1899, which means that the diagram has remained unchanged since its first issue in 1899. It still contains the original survey of November 1895 by *Beeedigd Landmeter* Servaas de Kock. The property is described as *Het Kerkplein* and dimensions are still in Cape Feet. The outer perimeter is a right-of-way servitude of 79’. The diagram still contains the original street names, *Markt Straat N* (north), *Markt Straat Z* (south) and (*Kerk Straat O*) (east) and (*Kerk Straat W*) (west) and at their intersecting points the footprint of the second Church (figure 4.2), which was built in 1885 and

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<sup>1</sup> South Africa. 2015. South African Council for the Architectural Profession. Board Notice 12 of 2015. *Government Gazette*, 38863:103, June 12.

demolished in 1904, is still shown in the middle of the Square. The north point correctly shows that the square and surrounding erven did not face true north but were laid out five degrees west of north. All the corners are 90°, which corresponds to the grid layout typical of most Boer towns.

The diagram is updated upon issue by a blue ink stamp and the signature of a Tshwane official and the current date, boundary dimensions in meters and street address are handwritten over the old document. The current physical address is 222 Paul Kruger Street. *Markt Straat* was changed to Paul Kruger Street during the Voortrekker celebrations in 1938 to commemorate State President Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger (1825-1904) who held office from 1883 to 1902.<sup>2</sup> Upon first glance the layering of the present over the past is clearly visible, even if it is just in the use of colour. Upon closer inspection, the SG diagram reveals itself further as a palimpsest rich in historical information and both meanings of temporality are expounded: as the real physical world and as one being limited by time.

The current SG diagrams<sup>3</sup> of the erven surrounding Church Square are different. These current diagrams mostly have new numbers and dates, which means that they do not reflect the original erf numbers or site layouts. In order to trace the history of site development and change of the surrounding erven, the archived SG diagrams (figure 4.4) have to be analysed. It soon becomes apparent that since the first layout of the town of Pretoria in 1857 (figure 4.3) there have been many subdivisions and consolidations, due to changing needs of residents and the introduction of new powers and human agency over the landscape. The landscape has been shaped and reshaped over time by the creation, moving and changing of boundary lines (figure 4.5) and the first humble buildings in and around the Square have all disappeared.

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<sup>2</sup> Retrieved from <http://melvinresidence.blogspot.co.za/2012/08/proposed-street-name-changes-in.html>.

<sup>3</sup> The SG diagram of Church Square was obtained from the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality, but the diagrams of surrounding erven were obtained from a website <http://csg.dla.gov.za/esio/listdocument.jsp> which provides scanned images of archival material. These diagrams were redrawn on CAD to create a site plan of the area of study.

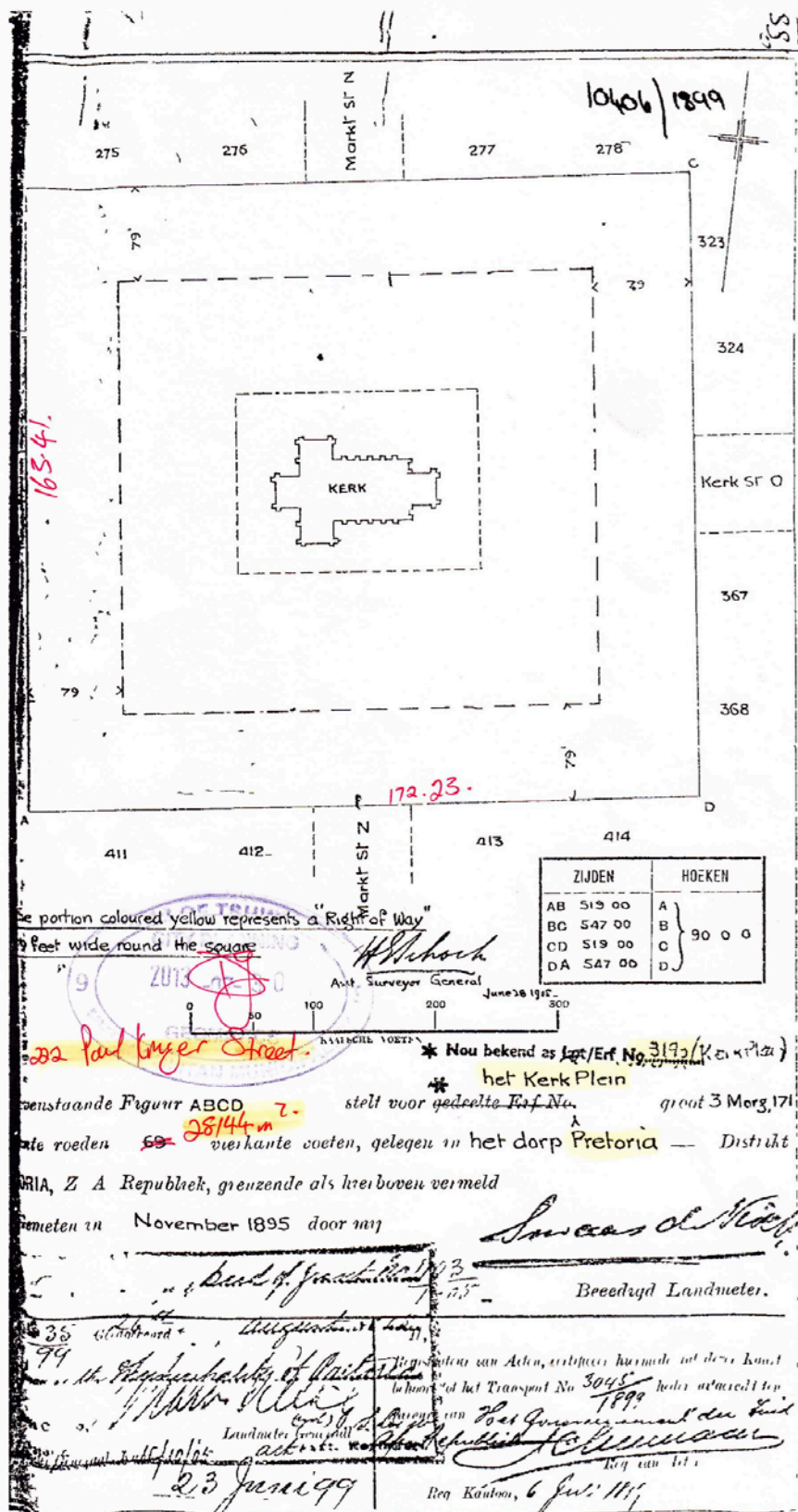


Figure 4.1  
Current SG diagram of Church Square  
(Geomatics Department, City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality).



**Figure 4.2**  
**The Second colonial Neo-Gothic Church during *Nachtmaal*, circa 1889 (retrieved from the public domain <https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10207467339583993&set=pcb.10207467465787148&type=3&theater>).**

Often old written texts on SG diagrams are blurred, have been badly copied or have been written over the printed text. The signatures of land surveyors, the Surveyor-General and the Deeds Registrar usually have to be deciphered, using handwriting analysis or confirming the post held during the time signed. The document *Hoofamptenaren en Hoofden van Departementen*<sup>4</sup> provides a list of all public servants who held office in 1899 and *Names And Terms Of Office Of The Surveyor-General Of The Transvaal (Pretoria Office)*<sup>5</sup> is used to determine the signatories on all SG diagrams. On the Church Square SG diagram the signature of the Surveyor-General [*Landmeter Generaal*] is very faint, but the document listing public servants shows that it had to be Gideon Retief von Wielligh who occupied the post until 5 June 1895. On 28 June 1905 Herman Eugene Schoch signed the diagram as Assistant Surveyor-General. He later became the Surveyor-General in 1913 (see list below).

<sup>4</sup> Retrieved from [http://www.dspace.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/16784/001\\_FrontCover\\_p049.pdf?sequence=9](http://www.dspace.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/16784/001_FrontCover_p049.pdf?sequence=9).

<sup>5</sup> Retrieved from <http://www.ruraldevelopment.gov.za/phocadownload/Deeds-journal/SADJ12.pdf>.

#### 4.4 Names and terms of office of the Surveyors-General of the Transvaal (Pretoria Office) <sup>5</sup>

|   |                         |
|---|-------------------------|
| 1. Magnus Forssman                          | 09/04/1866 – 07/10/1874 |
| 2. Samuel Melvill                           | 08/10/1874 – 08/08/1881 |
| 3. George Pigot Moodie                      | 27/09/1881 – 10/04/1884 |
| 4. Gideon Retief von Wielligh               | 08/08/1884 – 15/06/1895 |
| 5. Johann Frederick Bernhardt Rissik        | 13/06/1895 – 31/05/1902 |
| 6. Hugh Milbourne Jackson                   | 07/03/1903 – 28/04/1905 |
| 7. William Heathcote Gilfillan              | 01/05/1905 – 31/05/1912 |
| 8. Herman Eugene Schoch                     | 01/04/1913 – 10/09/1922 |
| 9. Walter Pears Murray                      | 10/09/1922 – 08/02/1929 |
| 10. William Maxwell Edwards                 | 08/02/1929 – 27/05/1934 |
| 11. Michiel Louw van der Spuy               | 28/05/1934 – 16/12/1937 |
| 12. Nicolaas Snyman                         | 17/12/1937 – 27/07/1942 |
| 13. Cuthbert Sholto Douglas                 | 18/07/1942 – 21/02/1947 |
| 14. Johannes Stephanus Maritz Guldenpfennig | 22/01/1947 – 09/06/1953 |
| 15. Jacobus Johannes Boonzaaier             | 10/06/1953 – 30/09/1953 |
| 16. Martin Willie Wedepohl                  | 01/10/1953 – 31/03/1964 |
| 17. Leonard Wahl Pentz                      | 01/04/1964 – 31/10/1969 |
| 18. Eric van der Spuy                       | 01/11/1969 – 31/10/1972 |
| 19. Daniel Jacobus Grundlingh               | 01/11/1972 – 30/09/1984 |
| 20. Neville Charles O'Shaughnessy           | 01/10/1984 – 30/11/1987 |
| 21. Dennis J. Janse van Rensburg            | 01/12/1987 – 30/06/1993 |
| 22. Jacob Johannes Badenhorst               | 01/09/1993 – 30/09/1995 |
| 23. Abraham Johannes van den Berg           | 01/11/1995 – 31/08/1997 |
| 24. Christiaan van Dyk                      | 01/09/1997 – ca 2008    |

The Rural Development website<sup>5</sup> gives a full account of the circumstances that ultimately led to the appointment of a Surveyor-General and the establishment of a Surveyor-General's office in the Transvaal and the constitutional developments that took place since approximately 1844, subsequent to the initial occupation of the Transvaal by the Voortrekkers during the years 1838 and 1839, when the *Adjunct Raad* was constituted at Potchefstroom. The surveying of Pretoria was executed in the tradition continued from this authority.

#### 4.5 A brief history of land surveying in Pretoria

A.F. du Toit was originally tasked with the layout of Pretoria, which he started in 1857. He placed four corner pegs around the existing church, the *Kerkplaas Elandspoort*, according to the wind directions *rondom de Kerkplein uitgebeeld deur Heeren Louw (Louis) Devereaux en Jan Visagie zonder Compas of eenig instrument, met een ketting van 50 voeten relandsmaat en een verkyker van (in) 1857* (Pieterse 1942: 22). President M.W. Pretorius instructed A.F. du Toit to make the church the centre of town. The reason for the

large open space around the church was for the parking of oxwagon for the *Nachtmaal* (figure 4.2).

A popular account of the setting out of Pretoria was that Du Toit used an *osriem* as measuring tool and that it was so accurate that when the erven were resurveyed by qualified land surveyor A.H. Walker in 1875, the latter could not improve on Du Toit's original layout. Du Toit's son however, later related that his father used a land surveyor's chain and twelve metal corner pegs, six made from steel and six made from copper, supplemented by iron pegs 9" long and 1" thick which were manufactured by Dolf Janse, the town's blacksmith. He also used a cross wood and binoculars with spirit level that came from the Cape. On 30 March 1857 Du Toit reported to the President that 118 erven were measured out under his personal supervision (Pieterse 1942: 23).

It seems there was uncertainty regarding the exact boundaries of erven and A.H. Walker was tasked with the resurvey of the town (Liebenberg 2015: 13). Some owners were still not satisfied with Walker's remeasurement, so in 1875 H. Stiemens, the acting state secretary for Schoeman, wrote to A.F. du Toit, who was then living in Middelburg, to provide details of the setting out of the erven. Without delay Du Toit replied in order to help Walker (Peacock 1955: 135).

*Het dorp Pretoria is opgemeeten, volgens de door my vervaardigde plan, door my begonnen op de hoekpennen rondsom de Kerkplein uitgelegd door de Heeren Louis Devereux en Jan Visagie zonder Compas of eenig instrument met een ketting van 50 voeten zylands maat; en een verrekijker in 1857 en ik vervatte in 58 en 59. Elk Erf is genomber van 1 tot 20 verre het loopt, elk erf eenerlei maat. Elk erf is 75 treden lang of liefs elk 3/225 reilands voeten lang. Elk 40 treden breed of liefs 3/120 reilands voeten breed. De Straten 26 treden en 2 voeten liefs ter 3/80 voeten reilands breed (NASA R558/75).*

The original map of A.F. du Toit (figure 4.3) showed individual erven but the plan is often copied to record street blocks only (figure 3.2). Jeppe's map of 1878 (figure 3.3) does the same, creating the (false) illusion of enormous individual properties.

The SG diagrams of the original erven based on Du Toit's layout (figure 4.3) were compiled during the re-survey of 1875, using a printed template with the words *Stad Pretoria, Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek, Erf no.* on each diagram (figure 4.4). Also printed on the template were a north point, a scale ruler, the unit for area calculation, A.H. Walker's signature and the four wind directions next to which the adjacent erf numbers were handwritten. The diagram of the erf was also hand-drawn in the space provided (figure 4.4).

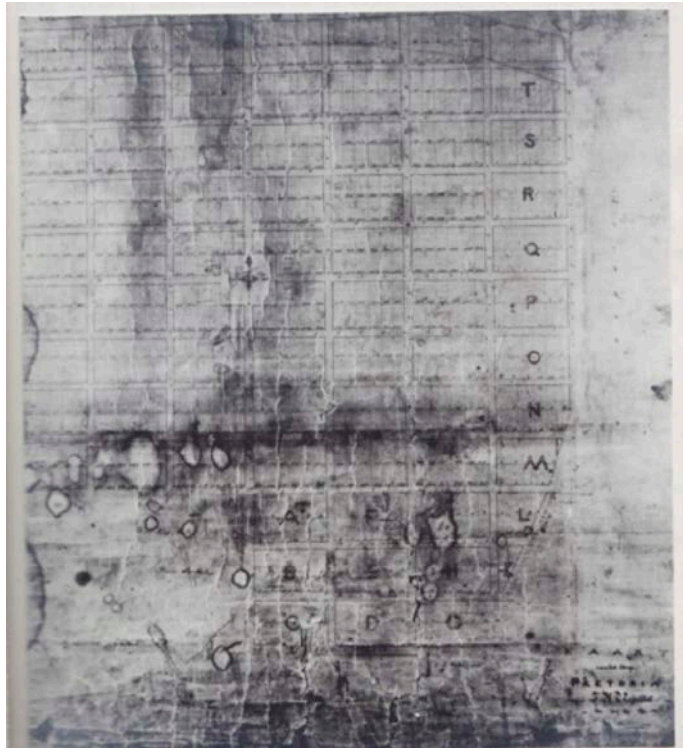


Figure 4.3  
 Original map of Pretoria created by A.F. du Toit 1859  
 [Karta van het dorp Pretoria Z.A.R Republiek] (Kraehmer 1978: 9).

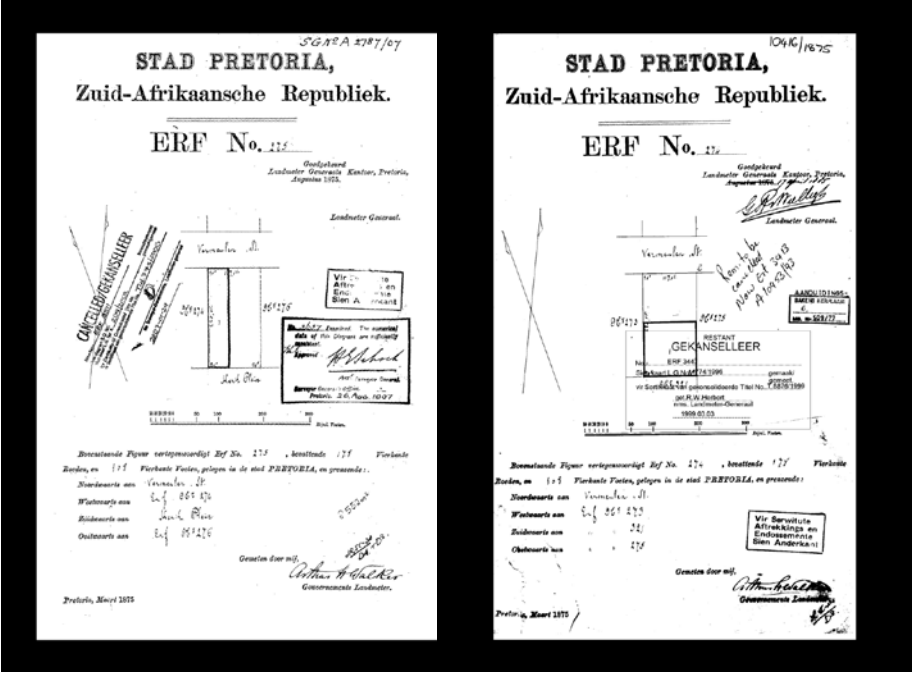


Figure 4.4  
 Archived SG diagrams of two of the erven surrounding Church Square showing template and numerous, subsequent changes to the erven  
 (retrieved from <http://csg.dla.gov.za/esio/listdocument.jsp>).

#### 4.6 The SG diagram as palimpsest

The current SG diagram of Church Square (figure 4.1) and the archived SG diagrams of the surrounding erven<sup>3</sup> (figure 4.4) are palimpsests, which on one document or two-dimensional surface contain layered evidence of past (and present) boundaries, personalities and the powers of authority. These SG diagrams bear witness to subdivision and consolidation and graphically record change over time. For the surrounding erven an original template was used and numbering of SG diagrams and erven followed a sequence, but instead of creating a new SG diagram for each of the initial subdivisions, the land surveyors at the time merely changed boundaries, dimensions and numbers on the original document (figure 4.4). This makes it more difficult to unravel the past but it does reveal the compression of time and the changing impact that human agency has had on the landscape.

A description of a palimpsest, the origin of the word, its relation to intellectual activity, temporality, power and urban space were all included in Chapter 2: *Theoretical framework*. The symbolic meaning of the erasure of texts and methods of deciphering the palimpsest were explained. Just as a city or a text, the SG diagram as palimpsest can be used to read different “editions” of an erf, changing boundaries over time, layers that had been scratched out, configurations of landscape and its unfolding over time, history of the site and its role players and memory extending beyond time and space. Similar to a parchment from which the original text has been scratched off in order to overlay a new text, the original SG diagram of Church Square’s surrounding erven was reused to bring about amendments, although the motivation for keeping the old diagrams and whether it was also for economic reasons is not known.

The methodology used to decipher both text and drawing on the SG diagram palimpsests of Church Square follows modern scholarly tradition of extricating layers. Diagrams are then redrawn on a computer model where each layer on the drawing represents a calendar year during which change took place. The palimpsest can then be easily re-assembled by switching on all layers.

#### 4.7 A visual record[ing] of surveyed change over time

In the interest of legibility the SG diagram palimpsest has to be unpacked to reveal change of the historical landscape chronologically. By redrawing the SG diagrams and presenting change chronologically, the layering of the palimpsests is unravelled and the progression of change is shown graphically. This recording of SG diagrams (figure 4.5) shows that the landscape was shaped and reshaped by the authority of the Surveyor-General's office in Pretoria.

Both quantitative methods (redrawing of SG diagram on CAD) and qualitative methods (thematic content analysis) are employed in the reconstruction of past boundaries. Most of the old plans are in *Rijnland voeten* or Cape feet.<sup>6</sup>

The focus of this study is limited to a rectangular block size of 320 x 302 meters comprising of 24 erven with Church Square in its middle (figure 1.1). The sides of the rectangle are erf boundaries and not street blocks. The graphic reconstruction of the SG diagrams of Church Square and the surrounding erven reveal rapid subdivision and later consolidation from the first survey in 1875 until the present day (figure 4.5). Church Square could originally be entered only from Church or Market Streets but today five other streets give access to the square. Parliament Street, Bank Lane, Mutual Street and Palace Streets were created by subdivision of erven. These diagrams confirm Bender's (2002: 103) notion in *Time and landscape* that:

landscapes are created out of people's understanding and engagement with the world around them. They are always in process of being shaped and reshaped. Being of the moment and in process, they are always temporal. They are not a record but a recording, and this recording is much more than a reflection of human agency and action; it is creative of them. Landscapes provoke memory and facilitate (or impede) action. Nor are they a recording, for they are always polyvalent and multi-vocal. There is a historicity and spatiality to people's engagement with the world around them.

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<sup>6</sup> 1 Cape foot = 0.314858m. The conversion can be done manually, however a table available on the Internet is used to do the conversion ([www.convertunits.com/from/cape+foot/to/meters](http://www.convertunits.com/from/cape+foot/to/meters)). The Cape foot was a unit of measurement used in South Africa since the Dutch occupation of the Cape. The Dutch used several foot-size units (*voeten*) in their motherland. The *Rijnland* foot [*Rijnlandse voet*], which was 31.4cm long, was taken to the Cape by the Dutch working for the VOC in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is the same as a Cape foot. In 1859, by which time the colony had passed into British control, the Cape foot was calibrated against the English foot and defined as 1.033 English feet (0.314858 m). Many lots in the South African colonies were surveyed in terms of the Cape foot, which was the reason this conversion factor was important (retrieved from [units.wikia.com](http://units.wikia.com)).

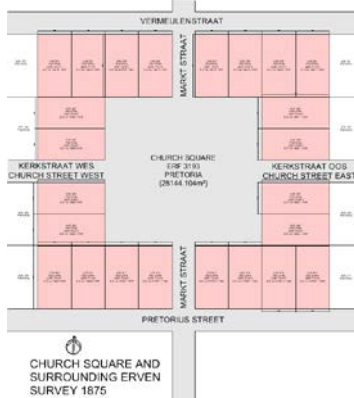
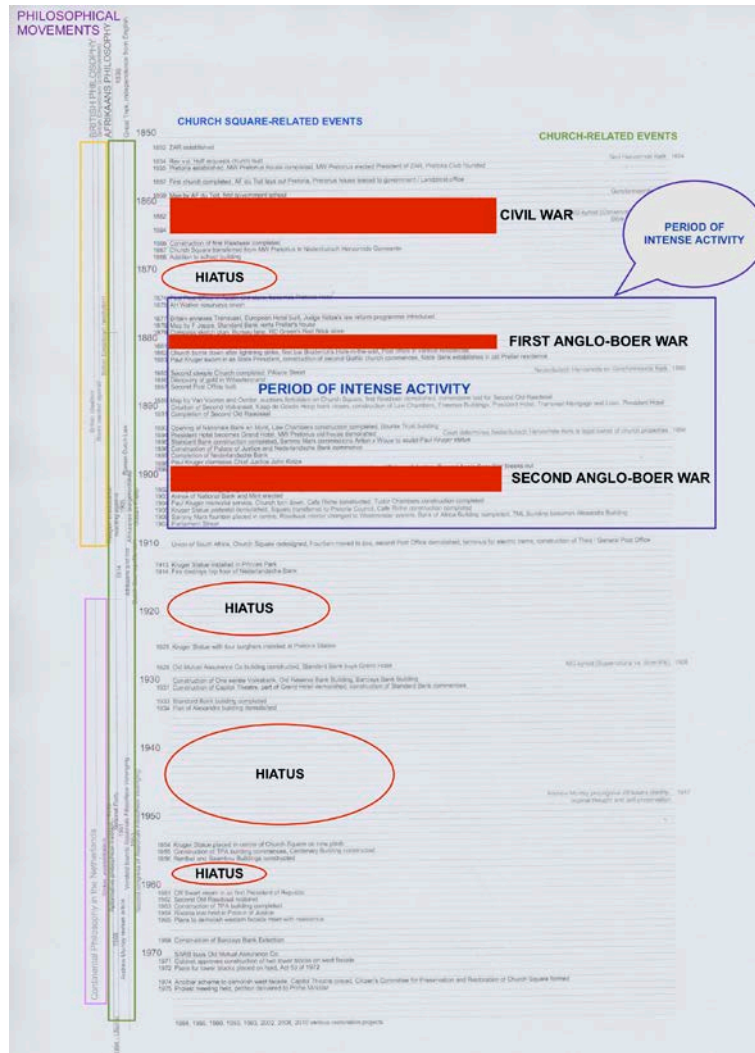




Figure 4.5

Subdivisions and consolidations in red since the original 1875 survey to 1994, read from left to right (drawings by the author after SG diagrams).



**Figure 4.6**  
**Interpretation of graphic illustration of temporality:**  
**Church Square time line from 1850-1980.**

#### 4.8 Measuring time: dates and facts versus timeline

Usually a first attempt at reconstructing the past is to create a list of dates and facts, but the list will not reveal the historicity and spatiality of people's engagement with the world around them, as stated by Bender above. In *Temporality* (2.2) the approach to merely listing dates and events chronologically was criticised because it does not interpret the meaning of these events (Leedy 1989: 127). Figure 4.5 represents change in the landscape in and around Church Square. Each subdivision or consolidation since the original survey of 1875 until 1994 is highlighted in red. The diagrams are placed chronologically from left to right, to be read from top to bottom over two pages. Both the dimensions of historical time and of historical space are illustrated (Leedy 189: 128) and both meanings of

temporality are expounded: as the real physical world and as one being limited by time. Figure 4.6 represents an analysis of the events on the timeline in figure 2.6, where time was measured as distance. This graphic representation of time emphasises the importance of appreciating the significance that the temporal relationship gives to data. Now one can see the time continuum and rhythms, periods of intense change, unproductive years and elapsed time in the series of events and although time appears to be sterile when looking at the built form, history was in fact crowded with events during the hiatus.

#### **4.9 Initial Ownership**

The first erven were probably donated to the members of the Church Council of the Elandspoort *Kerkplaats* or to men who were involved in the setting out of the town or were rented to them for free, because before the formal recognition of *the Kerkplaats* as town on 16 November 1855, the legal right to sell erven and transfer them to the buyers did not exist. If any transactions took place before that date, it could only have been on option or temporary basis. Du Toit requested six erven for himself in 1856. This stumble block stood in the way of buying and selling erven and this could be the reason why so few erven on the Square and vicinity were built up and lived on when A.F. du Toit arrived in the beginning in 1857 (Rex 1956: 66). Only on 6 November 1857, two years after the formal acknowledgement of the *Kerkplaats* as town on 16 November 1855, were certain portions of the farms Elandspoort and Daspoort transferred on to the name of M.W. Pretorius.

It then became possible to transfer the erven, which had already been provided with numbers, but this only happened from January 1859, except for the corner erf 321 (now 322), which was transferred on the same day 19 November 1857 to J.F. Schutte and then to the firm Evans and Churchill (Rex 1956: 222). By the end of 1857 Du Toit had special procuration from M.W. Pretorius to sell erven from his establishment in Pretoria. He would not have been able to act in place of Pretorius before August 1857 (Rex 1956: 231). The plan of 118 laid out erven was only completed on 2 March 1859 and many deeds refer to this plan of Du Toit's. This plan still contained the old erf numbers (Rex 1956: 232). M.W. Pretorius signed a special procuration in Potchefstroom in 1857 giving Du Toit power of attorney to sell erven in Pretoria. The erven around the Square were to be kept, which means that Pretorius has a special intention with the surrounding erven. Pretorius intended on allocating erven to house the three pillars of society, namely church, state and

education (Rex 1956: 234). Erf 383 (later 412) was intended as office erf, where government offices were to be erected (Rex 1956: 234). There were some misunderstandings as to who owned what erven, because at one time the *Nederduitsch Hervormde* Church lay claim to the office erf for their rectory (Rex 1956: 240). All unsold properties and erven north of Church Square were transferred back to M.W. Pretorius on 28 September 1860. By the end of the 1850s, once it became legally possible, approximately a half of the erven around Church Square were either donated or sold to private persons. At the beginning of 1868 the southwestern block of eight erven still belonged to Pretorius. He sold two during that year: on 11 January 1868 the school erf was transferred to the Government and on 12 September H.S. and C.P. Pretorius received Erf 382 as a donation (Rex 1956: 257).

#### **4.10 The title deed as legal document**

The SG diagram is linked to another legal document: the title deed, which determines land ownership and further reveals human agency and action in the landscape. Church Square's SG diagram dated 1899 (figure 4.1) refers to the deed that recorded the transfer of the ground from M.W. Pretorius to the *Nederduitsch Hervormde Gemeente* in 1867. Below the line a stamp completed in English indicates the authority of the Municipality of Pretoria and the date *Gedateerd 26th August*. At the bottom the date *23 Juni '99* is handwritten. The Registrar of Deeds, J.C. (Johannes Christoffel) Minnaar<sup>4</sup> [*Reg. van Acten*], certified that the land belongs to Deed of Transfer no 3045/1899. It was signed at the Deeds Office on *6 Juli 1899* under the authority of *Het Goewernement den Zuid-Afrikaanse Republiek*. Although the deed calls it *Kerkplein* the name *Marktpllein* or Market Square persisted until the 1880s.

The title deed itself contains more historical information. Church Square, known as "*Het Kerk Plein* in the town of Pretoria in the Transvaal Colony", was transferred in 1905 to the Municipality of Pretoria by the authority of King Edward the Seventh of Great Britain under the Crown Land Disposal Ordinance 1903 by the Government of the Transvaal. It was confirmed in title deed 1103/1905 (the new number is also handwritten next to the stamp of the current SG diagram in figure 4.1) which determined that it be "for the perpetual use and enjoyment of the inhabitants of Pretoria subject to the following conditions":

- 1 “No buildings, statues or memorials of any description be erected on, or other improvements effected to the ground without the sanction of the Lieutenant-Governor.”
- 2 That a right of way of 79’ wide as indicated on the SG diagram be maintained around the square for public use.

Mayor Andrew Johnston, his successors or assigns, were granted transfer and an annual tax of one shilling and sixpence (1/6 sterling) was payable. The deed refers to the SG diagram as previously surveyed by Servaas de Kock in November 1895. The land was subject to Town Planning regulations and mineral rights remained with the Crown. Lieutenant-Governor Arthur Lawley and William Heathcote Gilfillan, who was the appointed Surveyor-General between 01/05/1905 and 31/05/1912 (see list above under 4.4) signed the document.

The archived SG diagrams of the surrounding erven (figure 4.4) often provide the title deed number that is linked to the erf. With every change of ownership the SG diagram had to be amended to contain a new title deed number and with every subdivision the SG diagram had to be amended, often because it meant a change of zoning and possibly of ownership. These two legal documents constantly reflected change in one another and build or add layers to the palimpsest.

It has been stressed that the analysis and interpretation of these legal documents form part of the first work stage of the standard service of an architectural professional and thus as part of the architect’s design methodology. Any historical architectural study which attempts to reconstruct the past of the built environment in context, needs to follow a similar methodology, to determine which site specific design parameters were stipulated. Furthermore, any such attempts will inevitably refer to land parcels, -ownership and -use, which often provide more insight into the powers that shaped and reshaped the landscape over time, than the buildings themselves.

The title deed reveals why the church was never rebuilt on Church Square (“no buildings... may be erected”). It will be worth investigating how the statue of Paul Kruger was inserted onto the Square in 1954 despite the stipulation that “no statues may be erected without the sanction of the Lieutenant-Governor.”

Apart from just providing the information required to graphically reconstruct boundary change in the landscape over time and to reveal the past embedded in the landscape, these legal documents begin to provide valuable information on the personalities that were active at the time. Time has passed and many of these personalities have been forgotten, but the

names of the authorities of power in the Surveyor-General's office and the Deeds Office, thus the factor of human agency and action, often found their way into the original street names of Pretoria, which has recently become a contentious issue as part of the "decolonisation" debate (see Chapter 6). The overarching powers, from the *Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek* to the presence of "the Crown of King Edward the Seventh of Great Britain" to the Transvaal Colony begin to hint on the struggles of power between Boer and Brit (see Chapter 5) prevalent before and after the Anglo-Boer War. This methodology also lays the foundation for further research of the actual built form. It sets the stage on which the built form is inserted and it creates a backdrop or historical context upon which social history is narrated. Detail exploration and analyses of personalities, powers and buildings is beyond the scope of this study but Chapter 5 provides a comprehensive narrative of four of the blocks in and around Church Square. Each SG diagram and title deed is deciphered, the transfer of ownership is discussed and the built environment is included as basis for the critical interpretation of the temporal impact that landscape, space and power has had on the built environment of Church Square, Pretoria.

#### **4.11 Changing functional needs and land-use: residential, commercial, institutional**

The reason for the rapid change in erf shapes and boundaries can be attributed to changing functional needs and change in land-use, as well as transfer of ownership. The area around the Church had been an Outspan where farmers from the surrounding areas attending the *nachtmaal* every quarter, could park their ox wagon. When President M.W. Pretorius instructed A.F. du Toit to sell the erven for four pounds sterling each in August 1857 (Pieterse 1942: 22), it gave farmers the opportunity to erect *tuishuise* (farmers' townhouses or cottages) that were humble *hartebeesthuise* (rectangular in plan with thatch roof, veranda in front and *stoepkamers* on each side) reminiscent of the Cape character of the Boland (Pieterse 1942: 78). *Burghers* that settled more permanently cultivated fruit and vegetables on what is known as "wet erven" that had access to the water furrows. Dry erven were suitable for *tuishuise* or commercial use (Peters and Du Preez 2014). None of these structures remain and we only have paintings and sketches to testify to the appearance of the town (figure 2.3).

The fast change in land-use due to changing functional needs is visible on all surrounding erven but it can best be illustrated by looking at the two northwestern erven

where the Palace of Justice stands today (Erven 275 and 276) (figure 4.7).<sup>7</sup> One of the first houses built on the Square was for M.W. Pretorius himself (Allen 1971: 50) on Erf 276, but he never lived in it (Allen 1971: 9). For a year his house was used as a school. From 1857 to 1862 it was re-used as the *landdrost* office and *Volksraad* chamber, from 1862 to 1885 it was the Dutch Reformed Church parsonage and finally government offices until it was pulled down in 1894 (Allen 1971: 50). Next to this house on the west side (Erf 275) was the first government school built in 1859 with stone, grass, reeds and burnt lime. The teacher, Mr Stiemens, lived outside of town on a farm. Some farmers had houses in town just so that their children could go to school (Pieterse 1971: 58). The school building was re-used for government offices and the *landdrost* office between 1964 and 1874. Subsequently it did duty as a town hall and state library. In 1894 the decision was taken to build a new Palace of Justice on the school erf and the site of the *oude pastorie*, so the two erven were consolidated (Allen, 1971: 50). Palace Street was carved out of the school erf to give another access point to the Square.



**Figure 4.7**

**The site of the Palace of Justice around 1890, taken from the tower of the church. The house on the right was built for President M.W. Pretorius. Next to it to the left is the school and on the left thereof is Pretoria's first town hall (Allen 1971: 46).**

Right from the start, while du Toit was still busy setting out erven, the need for commercial accommodation around the Square became clear. A few English shopkeepers and vendors started to settle on some of the erven with their barter wagons. Lys and Austin were the first. Lys took over Prinsloo's erf and Austin took over Bronkhorst's property.

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<sup>7</sup> The reader is also referred to 5.3, which provides a history of the Palace of Justice block.

Musgrove and Broderick followed and both built shops (Pieterse 1942: 39). These buildings were long, had corrugated iron roofs and a veranda in front with a broad parapet on which the name of the business was hung (Pieterse 1942: 79). By the early 1860's there was a mix of houses, shops and offices in the area of the Square and the English residents, whose names also found their way into Pretoria street names, became famous personalities. (See 5.6.1 for more on the early English in Pretoria.)

Commercial activities were not exclusive to English residents, who now settled on the erven around Church Square. The visiting farmers too traded their produce and firewood, animal hides, etc. and the southwest corner of Church Square was used to hold auction sales. The corner was known as The Oaks because of two or three large Oak trees that grew there (Allen 1971: 22). Commercial activities were intrusive upon the rights of the *Nachtmaal*-goers and in August 1861 Preller, also a resident on the Square, requested that government provides more open *outspan* areas, so in September 1882 the market was moved to *Uitspanningsplein* which later became Market Square and later still Strijdom Square. Bartering continued on the Square despite this, until *Landdrost* Smit declared on 7 May 1889 that all auctions and public sales were strictly forbidden on Church Square. Only the outspan of carts or wagons for Church purposes were allowed and dropping off of building material was only allowed on 15 feet of the outside perimeter of the Square (Pieterse 1943: 25).

The *raison d'être* for the establishment of the town Pretoria was M.W. Pretorius's desire to establish a *Zittingplaats des Volksraads...in het midden des lands* (Pieterse 1942: 6). It was the location of Pretoria Philadelphia in the middle of the geographical area that became the ZAR that caused the change from agricultural settlement to town. Kraehmer (1978: 1) remarked that during the setting out of the town there was no spatial provision for institutional buildings or a visually link between them. The Church remained the main focus, and so the first *Raadsaal* was built in September 1866 on one of the erven surrounding Church Square in a scale that did not overshadow the residential<sup>8</sup>. The first meeting of the *Volksraad* was held on 15 May 1867 in a simple, single storey thatch building with a *stoep* running the full length of the side facing the Square and a goal with the stocks outside right behind it. The Post Office stood behind it (Allen 1971: 39) with the

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<sup>8</sup> See 5.2 for a comprehensive history of the Old *Raadsaal* block.

*landdrost* office inside.

When gold was discovered in the Witwatersrand, tax poured into the coffers of the ZAR and it was decided to replace the old *Raadsaal*. Allen (1971: 39) reports that:

Plans were originally for a two-storey building but Kruger discovered that the President Hotel, which was about to be built on the site of Robert Lys's old house next door, was to have three storeys, so the President could not allow his prestigious new *Raadsaal* to be overtopped by a hotel and the plans were amended to allow for three storeys.

Each erf has its own history but the trend was the same. Uniform erven were set out and put up for sale for the purpose of *tuishuise* as accommodation for the farmers from the surrounding areas during the *Nachtmaal*. Some settled in Pretoria permanently and some lived in their houses so that their children could go to school. After the town was accorded official status as the seat of government of the ZAR in 1860, development accelerated. Erven and houses were re-used for commercial purposes and since no special provision was made in the laying out of the town for institutional buildings, the function of government, the judiciary, banks and offices replaced the residential. Amidst this development the farmers still camped out with their ox wagon around the Church (figure 4.2), which had been the focus of Church Square until its demolition in 1904. Nothing remains of the real "Old Pretoria". The story of the city today is one of building, destruction and rebuilding, a picture that accurately reflects the image of the twentieth century throughout the world.

#### **4.12 Time and landscape**

Bender's (2002: 103-8) theoretical grounding of time and landscape is explored under *Temporality* (2.2.13) above and the purchase of her theory on this chapter can be summarised as follows: She attempts to understand how people engage with the world around them and with the past embedded in the landscape. The legal documents refer to land-use which implies human history, intervention, action and movement. When measuring time and duration, one refers to human experience and human memory of place. It is thus the interpreter of this past human experience that reconstructs the past and this interpretation is invariably done from a Western point of view, since both time and space (and thus landscapes in time) are Western concepts. This locates the discourse geographically and it locates the historical sources of power, in this case of ownership. Not even Biblical time fitted in with the Cartesian system of time-space coordinates which

allows scientists to plot uneventful data over neutral time. Linking Bender's notion to Church Square and surrounding erven, these SG diagrams not only aided to establish and monitor properties and boundaries, but they were also a force in the creation of social configurations. Western notions of landscape are politically laden and marked the reorganisation of social and economic relations. She goes further to say that political practice of colonialism and imperialism may look incorporative, but they are founded on distancing and separation. This chapter attempts to provide a digital means of preserving previous text, restore traces on the landscape and document erasures, as was done on the legal documents of the SG diagrams and title deeds, which resulted in what Huysen (2003: 81) calls a "complex web of the historical, that point to the continuing heterogenous, diverse life of a vital city which is as ambivalent to its built past as it is of its urban future."

#### **4.13 Conclusion**

Temporality is revealed in the SG diagram of Pretoria's Church Square and surrounding erven. The SG diagram is a palimpsest which when unpacked, deciphered and represented graphically, gives a visual record[ing] of surveyed change over time and this recording, when placed on a timeline where time is measured as distance, reveals more than just chronology of events but shows time continuum, rhythms and elapsed time. The temporal relationship between data and historical facts are revealed if these are inserted into the timeline. The SG diagram is linked to another legal document, the title deed, which reveals ownership, land-use and further normative parameters. These legal documents form an important part of the first stage of an architectural professional's standard service and thus part of its design methodology, namely receiving, appraising and reporting on the client's requirements with regard to the site and its rights and constraints and in the same way, any attempt to reconstruct the past of the built environment in an architectural historical study, will inevitably have to refer to and include the findings from these documents. The personalities and powers revealed in these documents form a basis for further research and the reconstruction of past boundaries lays the foundation of the actual built form.

## Chapter 5: The [hi]story of Church Square and surrounding erven

This chapter fulfils the second purpose of the study, namely to compile a comprehensive collection and categorisation of visual data that includes photographs, drawings and paintings, maps and original architectural plans. These visual images are woven into a narrative as the [hi]story of Church Square. Where plans were not available the author attempted to reconstruct architectural drawings based on descriptions and bills of quantities. These conjectures were done for both first gabled church and the first old *Raadsaal*. The reviewed literature seldom considered the archived title deeds. In this chapter the valuable primary source material contained in SG diagrams and title deeds were analysed and compiled into a narrative that includes the transfer of ownership and the role that owners and officials played in the unfolding historical power relations. The chapter also attempts to fill those gaps and omissions that were identified in the literature on the history of Church Square and surrounding erven, by presenting undiscovered records and by serving as a baseline for further interpretations and critical discourse. It adds to the existing body of knowledge.

Due to the volume of the body of work compiled on the surrounding erven, this chapter, for the purposes of this thesis, had to be limited to four. Only three blocks on the western side of the Square are included, together with Church Square itself. The motivation for including these four blocks was both spatial and theoretical. In spatial terms, the church (east), the Second Old *Raadsaal* (south), the western façade with commercial functions (west) and the Palace of Justice (north) framed and architecturally defined an almost separate urban “room” (figure 5.6) on the western half of the Square. In theoretical terms the church spire (east), the *Raadsaal* copula (south) and the two Palace of Justice towers (north) announced the triad of the powers of law, state and church that shaped the worldview of the Republic. The pedestal intended for Paul Kruger’s statue, representing the power of the state, punctuated the centre of this secondary western space on Church Square. This formal visual unit disappeared with the demolition of the church.

In this chapter, the following blocks are thus explored: Church Square represents the power of the church; the *Raadsaal* block on the south-south-western side of the Square represents the power of the state and contains the most iconic building on the Square and; the Palace of Justice block on the north-north-western side of the Square represents the power of law and contains a rich political, architectural and legal history. In the space that

is Church Square, the Palace of Justice stands opposite the *Raadsaal* and frames the western spatial room created by the triad of law, state and church. Finally the Post Office block is included because it represents the economic power (of the state) and is by far the most complicated erf when it comes to the various subdivisions, servitudes, changes in ownership and eventual consolidation. The evolution in land-use from residential to industrial, business, commercial and finally to government is best depicted in this block (see figure 5.14).

Quantitative methodology is applied in collecting and reproducing numerical archived historic data, but the interpretation of data informs the qualitative and is analysed and judged in terms of social and political history. The history of each erf is concluded with a one-page tabled summary of the building(s) currently on the property.

It was explained in Chapter 3 that the brothers Devereux, assisted by Visagie, were responsible for the first plan of Pretoria (Rex 1956: 232). A.F. du Toit continued with the setting out of the erven according to their original plan. Du Toit laid out the first 118 erven and the layout with the original erf numbers, was indicated on the map of 2 March 1859 (figure 5.1). The lots around the square were realigned to have an equal width, tangentially fronting the perimeter, which was undoubtedly a deliberate aesthetic consideration. The first title deeds still refer to this map and the original erf numbers. With Arthur H. Walker's re-measurement of A.F. du Toit's original layout in 1875, the new erven were renumbered (Peacock 1955).

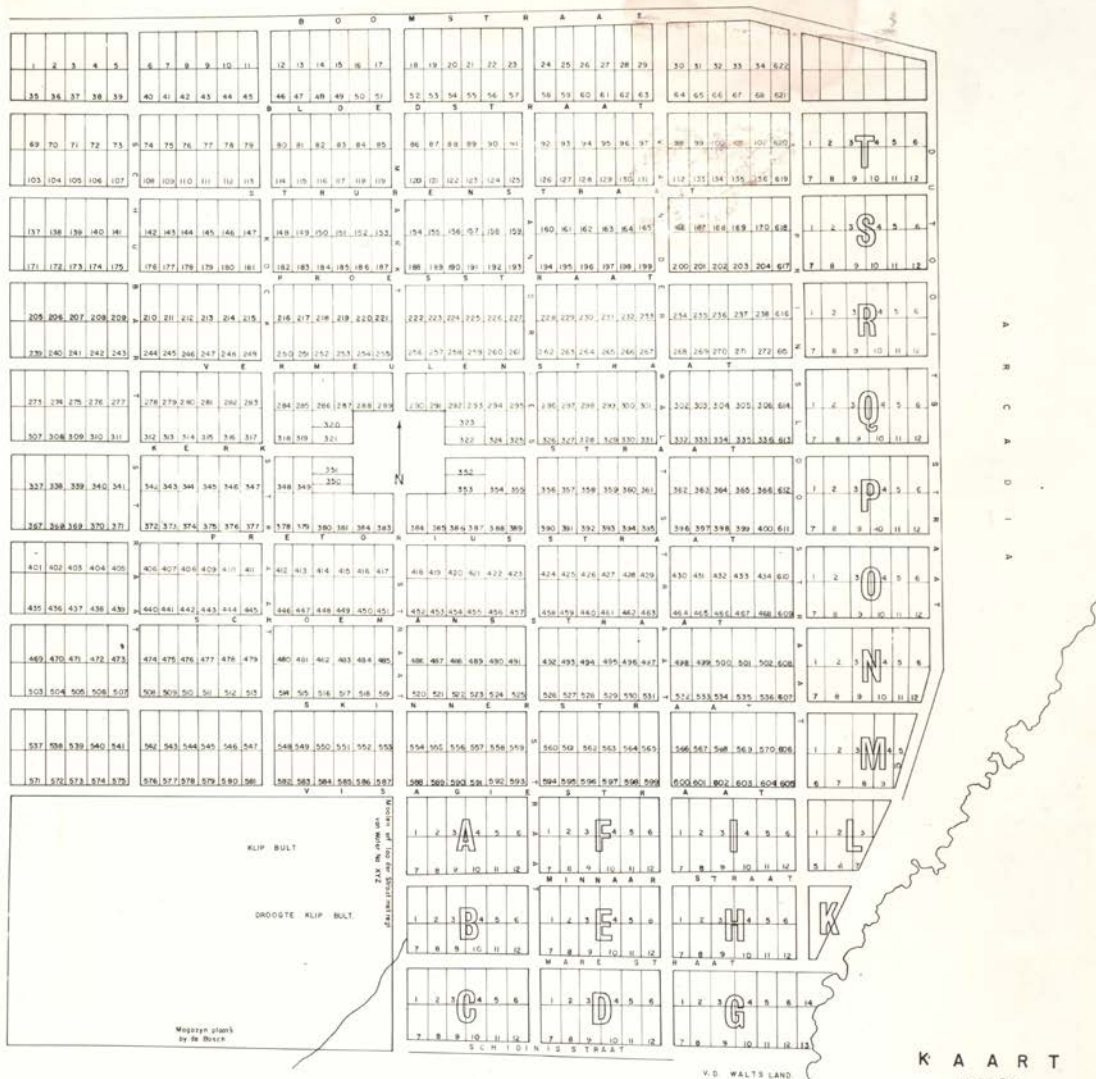
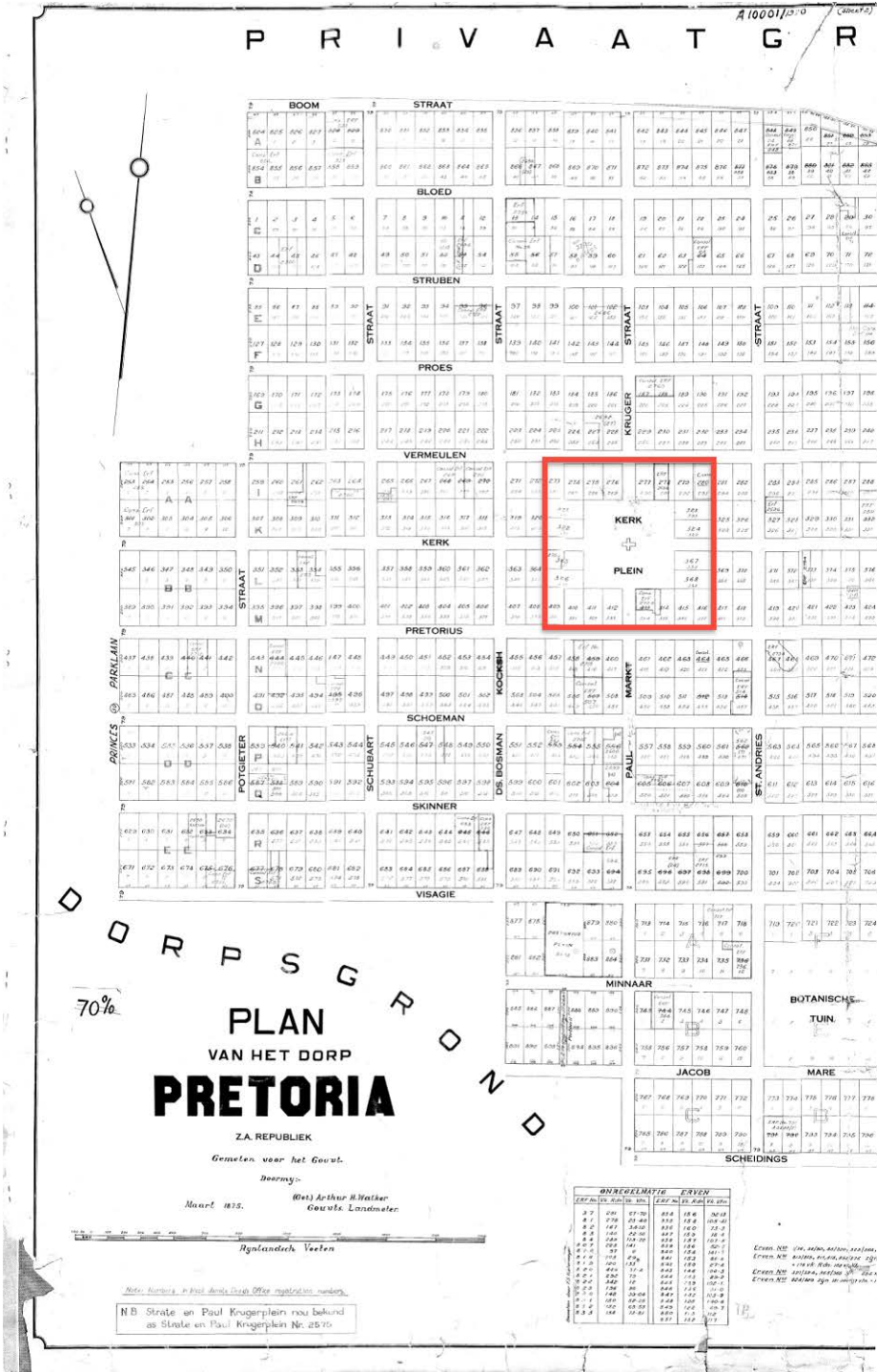
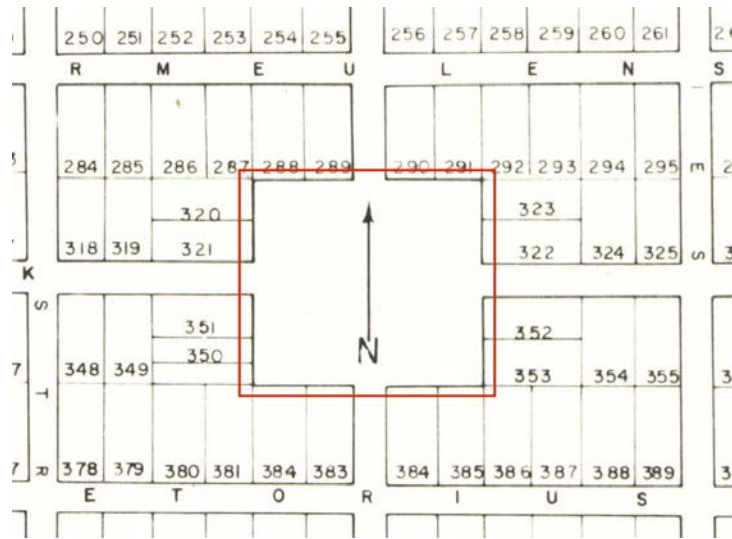


Figure 5.1  
 Kaart van Het Dorp Pretoria Z.A. Republiek 2 Maart 1859  
 (Van der Waal Collection, University of Pretoria).

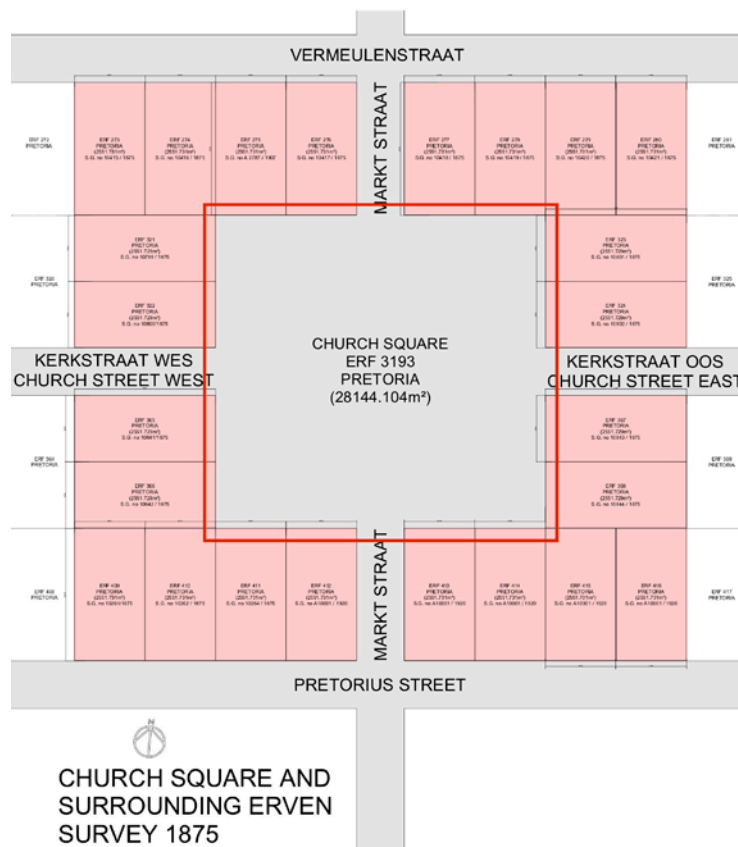


**Figure 5.2**  
*Plan van Het Dorp Pretoria Z.A. Republiek by land surveyor Arthur H. Walker, 1875*  
(Van der Waal Collection, University of Pretoria).

## 5.1 Church Square, representing the power of the church



**Figure 5.3**  
**Position of Church Square with old erf numbers,**  
**portion of *Kaart van Het Dorp Pretoria Z.A. Republiek 2 Maart 1859***  
**(Van der Waal Collection, University of Pretoria).**



**Figure 5.4**  
**Church Square with surrounding erven**  
**(drawing by the author based on 1875 SG diagrams).**

### 5.1.1 Erf 3193: Church Square

M.W. Pretorius bought up the farms of Prinsloo, van der Walt and Bronkhorst on the banks of the Apies River and remained the owner of the land where upon the first church was built until it was transferred to the church congregation in 1867. That means that for thirteen years Pretorius was the legal owner of the church and square.

### 5.1.2 First gabled church (1854 – 1882)

Building of the first church commenced in the middle of 1854 and after a long delay it was completed in 1857. The date, 1855, was depicted on the gable, together with the initials D.D.S. for Devereux, Devereux and Skinner, who designed and constructed the church (Rex 1956: 98). The earliest depiction of the first church was in the 1857 painting by Marianne Churchill (figure 5.5). It shows a rectangular thatched building orientated east-west in line with Church Street with entrances visible in the middle of the south and east façades. Swanepoel<sup>9</sup> adds that the building was mud-walled and could seat 700-800 people, but that it already proved to be too small during the church's inauguration in 1857, because congregants were forced to sit on the beams of the roof structure.



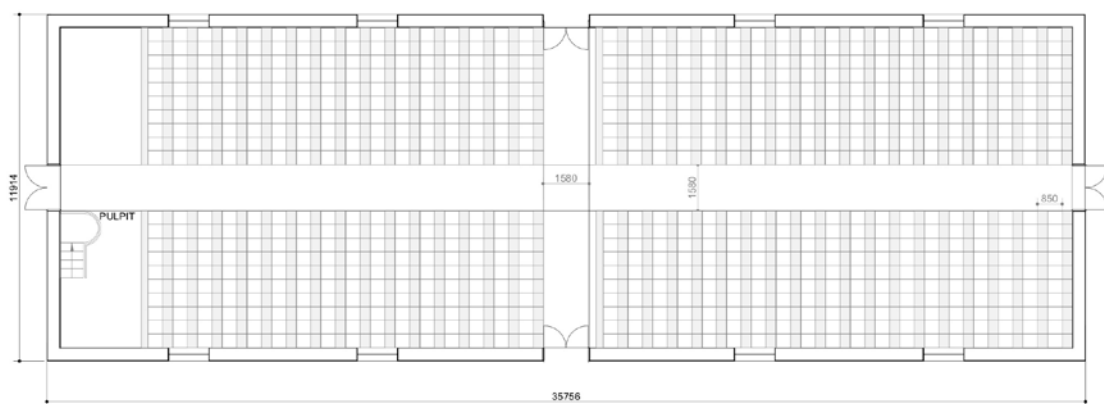
**Figure 5.5**  
**South façade of the first gabled church on Church Square,**  
**an extract of Marianne Churchill's painting of 1857**  
**(Bolsmann 2001: 15; Engelbrecht 1955: 13).**

Churchill's painting does not provide many clues that can assist in determining the dimensions of the building, because it is placed as a singular object in the surrounding landscape, but if Swanepoel is correct that the church could accommodate 700-800

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<sup>9</sup> Retrieved from [https://repository.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/45799/Kerkplein\\_5-6-005.pdf?sequence=1](https://repository.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/45799/Kerkplein_5-6-005.pdf?sequence=1) on 19 December 2018.

congregants, certain assumptions can be made as to its dimensions. Neufert (1970: 334) indicates that Protestant church buildings<sup>10</sup> require 0.4-0.5m<sup>2</sup> per person. 850mm is required between church benches, which means that the width required per person is 471mm. In order to seat more than 700 people the dimensions of the building had to be around 11m x 33m (figure 5.6). This is based on Neufert's requirements for places of worship, both in terms of seating and of passage width and position and assuming that each row could seat twenty people with a central passage. The external doors on the painting are centred in the two visible façades. It is thus assumed that there were two central passages that crossed in the middle of the rectangle.



**Figure 5.6**  
**Possible ground floor plan of first gabled church (1855)**  
**if it accommodated over 700 people**  
**(conjectural drawing by the author)**

A wooden beam length of 11m is however not in line with the building materials available at the time, when comparing the church's construction method to that of the first old *Raadsaal* (see 5.2). The first old *Raadsaal* was constructed across from the church on the south-south-western side of the square, nine years later by the same contractors: "the builders of Pretoria" as they called themselves with pride (Rex 1956: 288). The tender specifications for the *Raadsaal* were published and are known, but because one firm was responsible for both the design and construction of the church, its building specifications were never published. The shortage of building materials would have been just as dire during the 1860s as it was during the 1850s and limited beam lengths would have been a determining factor in the widths of both buildings. It is therefore assumed that the width of

<sup>10</sup> Protestant churches do not require kneeling hassocks as do Anglican and Catholic churches (Neufert 1970: 334).

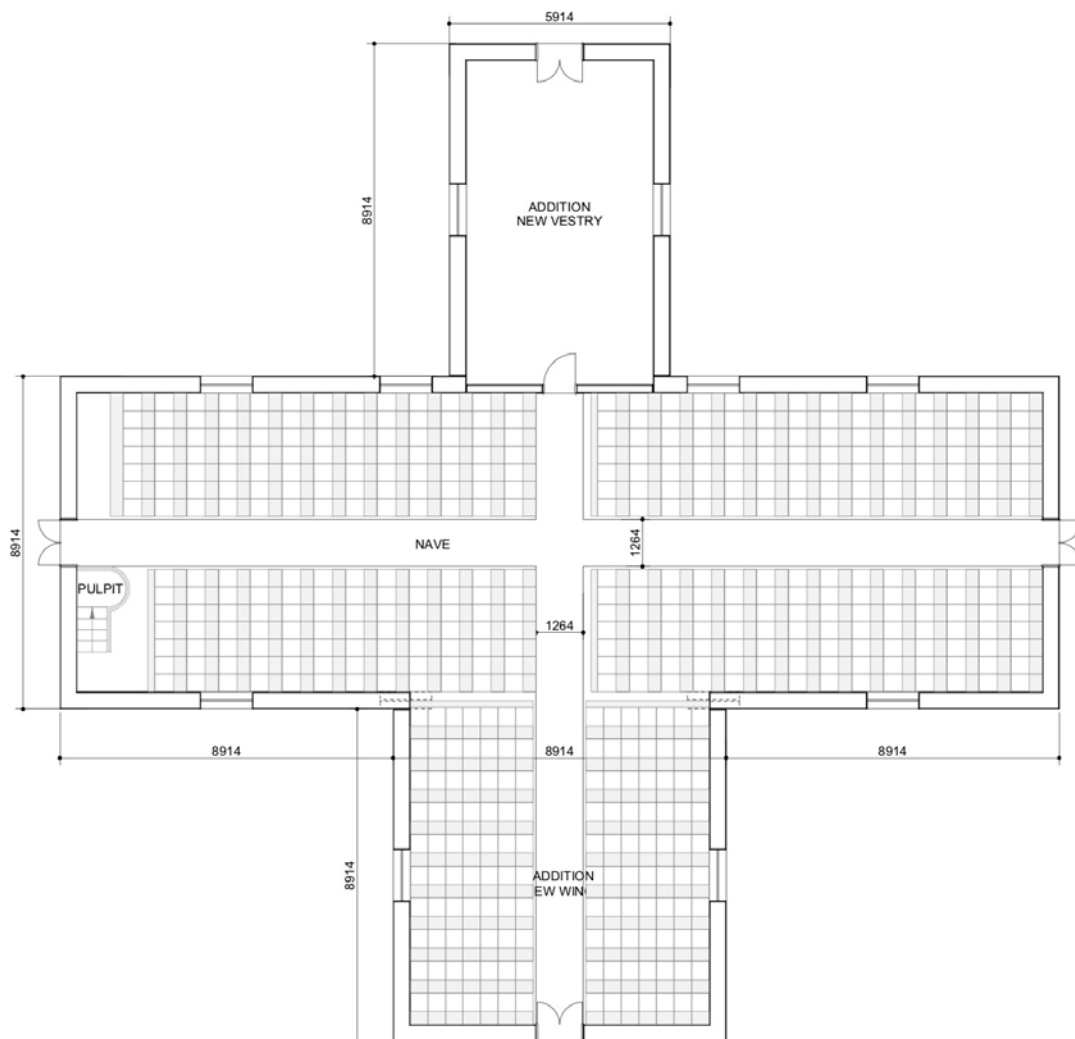
the first gabled church was closer to the *Raadsaal's* 24' (7.315m). Though no buttresses can be seen on any of the representations, walls of 37m length could not have been built without some stiffening/rigidity. While not visible, it is likely that some structural support could have been concealed inside the building.



**Figure 5.7**  
**Photograph of Church Square during the *nachtmaal*, taken around 1868 from the west.**  
**The first stepped gabled church is on the right.**  
**(Behrens 1962: 24).**



**Figure 5.8**  
**Photograph of Church Square during the *nachtmaal*, taken around 1870 from the south.**  
**The first stepped gabled church is on the right and M.W. Pretorius's house is in the background on the left (Allen 1971: 24; Kraehmer 1978: 8; Engelbrecht 1952: 18).**



**Figure 5.9**  
**Ground floor plan of first gabled church after the 1867 additions (525 people)**  
**(conjectural drawing by the author)**

The church was expanded in 1867 into a cruciform plan. Another wing was added to the south of the main church and a narrower vestry with lower ridge height was added to the north. The 1868 (figure 5.7) and 1870 (figure 5.8) photographs of the church assist in confirming the width of the façades by comparing it to the height of the ox-wagons parked next to it. Marais (1910: 78) described the first church as thatched, with spacious cruciform plan and high stepped gables with points and Dunston (1975:14) described the stepped gables as having finials on each step. There was a bell on the south-eastern side on two poles that also served as fire alarm. Figure 5.9 is a reconstruction of what the ground floor plan could have looked like after the additions of 1867, bearing timber beam lengths in mind and using proportions taken from early photographs (figures 5.7 and 5.8).

The plan reveals that, based on modern ergonomic standards according to Neufert (1970: 334), the church could probably only accommodate 525 people. It is possible, though, that these standards were not applicable in the 1850s.

Before the Civil War (1860 – 1864) Stiemens was the government teacher, but when the War broke out the school was closed. The first reverend that settled in Pretoria was A.J. Begemann, who arrived in 1861 and lived in the house of M.W. Pretorius (figure 5.8). After the war Stiemens resumed his duties as government teacher after a hiatus of more than three years, but the school was now conducted in the church as a temporary measure. The *Hervormde* church council and Reverend Begemann made the church building available to the school commission (Rex 1956: 171) but members of the congregation did not want the church to be used as a school. They also refused to make a financial contribution to the building of a new schoolroom. Church members were not happy with Begemann and Reverend H.S. Bosman replaced him in 1867 (Botha 2005: 6).

The Church wanted to lay claim to Church Square and both Skinner and Devereux signed affidavits declaring that it was a public space and that the congregation had no claim on the Square, except for the fact that the church building may have stood there (Rex 1956: 332-3). President M.W. Pretorius, who was still the owner of the Church and Church Square, only transferred the property to the *Nederduitsch Hervormde Gemeente* on 8 April 1867<sup>11</sup>. The deed did not provide any dimensions and the property description merely stipulated that it was a “*stuk grond in het midden van het dorp Pretoria gelegen*” (a piece of ground situated in the middle of the town Pretoria).

Church Square was more than just the outspan for farmers from the surrounding countryside during their quarterly *nachtmaal*. It was the stage where many historic events played out. When Chief Sekhukhune was transported to the goal in Pretoria by British authorities in 1879, two different artists captured the scene. Anderson’s watercolour (figure 5.10) provides an accurate depiction of the first step-gabled church and other prominent buildings around the Square but the buildings in the drawing in figure 5.11 are not realistic. The church, European Hotel and first Old *Raadsaal* have all been exaggerated in size and height and cannot be used to scale a graphic recreation of the Square.

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<sup>11</sup> Botha (2005: 6) denies that there was ever an ownership issue and claims that Church Square had belonged to the Church since 1854, but this has been proved to be incorrect.

In 1877 Britain annexed the Transvaal and Reverend Bosman and Judge Kotzé oversaw the inauguration of Sir Theophilus Shepstone in the church. In September 1882 the roof of the southern wing collapsed when the building was hit by a severe storm. Then later in the month a fire destroyed the church completely. Only the pulpit stair and one communion table could be saved. Some thought that arson was the cause of the fire and others believed that it was God's punishment for allowing Shepstone<sup>12</sup> to be sworn in in the church<sup>1</sup>. A temporary church was erected on a vacant site adjacent to Church Square and plans to erect the new church were immediately made.



**Figure 5.10**  
Watercolour by Andrew A. Anderson, *Chief Sekhukhune being brought to Pretoria in 1879* (Bolsmann 2001: 30).



**Figure 5.11**  
*Chief Sekhukhune being brought to Pretoria in 1879*, Unknown artist (Cartwright and Cowan 1978: 69).

<sup>12</sup> The Boers called Shepstone *die duiwel se slypsteen* (the devil's whetstone).

### 5.1.3 The Second Neo-Gothic Church (1883 – 1904)

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries it was the trend to build Reformed churches in a Neo-Gothic style. This was before the arrival of Dutch immigrant architects and the establishment of the ZAR Department of Public Works. Later in the twentieth century the Gothic style was purposefully rejected due to, on the one hand the local climate and living conditions and, on the other hand, its development around Roman-Catholic liturgy. The development of the Gothic style is associated with the growth and development of the Roman church in West-Europe and the persecution of Protestants, which partly contributed to immigration to southern Africa (Le Roux 2008: 22-4). The second church on Church Square was therefore one of the last Dutch Reformed churches to be built with an overwhelming Gothic influence.

Tom Claridge planned the new church and Marinus Franken<sup>13</sup> built it for £16,000. Franken was the same person that built Paul Kruger's house. Acting State President P.J. Joubert laid the cornerstone on 6 October 1883 and the church was used for first time on 23 January 1885. It could accommodate 1000 people and was 140' x 80' in size, with a 150' high tower, the first church with a tower north of Vaal River. It had a Latin cross plan form and a built-in pipe organ (figure 5.12).

The end of 1885 saw the unification of the *Nederduitsch Hervormde* and the *Nederduitsch Gereformeerde* churches. Reverend Bosman joined the unified church together with the biggest part of his congregation. The *Konsulentsgemeente* of Pretoria remained outside of the union and came to be known as the *Nederduitsch Hervormde Gemeente Pretoria*. A large number of members of the original *Hervormde Gemeente* left the unified church in 1890 under the leadership of the *Prokurasiekommissie*. Three parties thus claimed ownership of Church Square: the unified congregation of Reverend Bosman, the original *Konsulentsgemeente* and the *Prokurasiekommissiegemeente*. The Supreme Court decided in 1894 that the unification of the two churches was *ultra vires* and therefore invalid and the members of the *Nederduitsch Hervormde gemeente* who did not unify remained the owners of the church properties. The parties decided to sell Church Square and the church building to the ZAR government. A commission of church council members consisting of elders and deacons provided transfer to the government on 6 July

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<sup>13</sup> The church is sometimes called the Franken church, named for the building contractor (see Bolsmann 2001: 76).

1899. £35,500 was given to the unified congregation and £12,500 to the *Nederduitsch Hervormde Gemeente*, together with a block of four erven (between Church and Du Toit Streets), which the unified congregation had to part with (Botha 2005: 6).



**Figure 5.12**  
**The Second Neo-Gothic Church during *Nachtmaal*, in 1887. The second post office is in the background on the left and M.W. Pretorius’s house is in the background on the right (Engelbrecht 1952: 40)**

#### **5.1.4 SG diagram erf 3193**

*Beeedigd Landmeter* (registered land surveyor) Servaas de Kock surveyed Church Square in November 1895 and the SG diagram 10406/1899 (figure 5.13) was linked to the deed of transfer that recorded the sale from the church to the government in 1899. “*Het Kerklplein*” (Church Square) is defined as a rectangle (90° angles), sized 547 x 519 Cape feet<sup>14</sup> with a 79’ right of way on the inside perimeter of the erf. The plan of the church is at the centre of the diagram. Market Street North and South and Church Street East and West led away from the central square. The area is given as *3 Morg 171 roeden 69 vierkante voeten*. The SG diagram was later converted to the metric system and measures 172.23m x 163.41m (area 28 144m<sup>2</sup>). The physical address is given as 222 Paul Kruger Street, erf number 3193. This SG diagram is still the current diagram issued by the City of Tshwane.

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<sup>14</sup> 1 Cape foot = 0.314858m

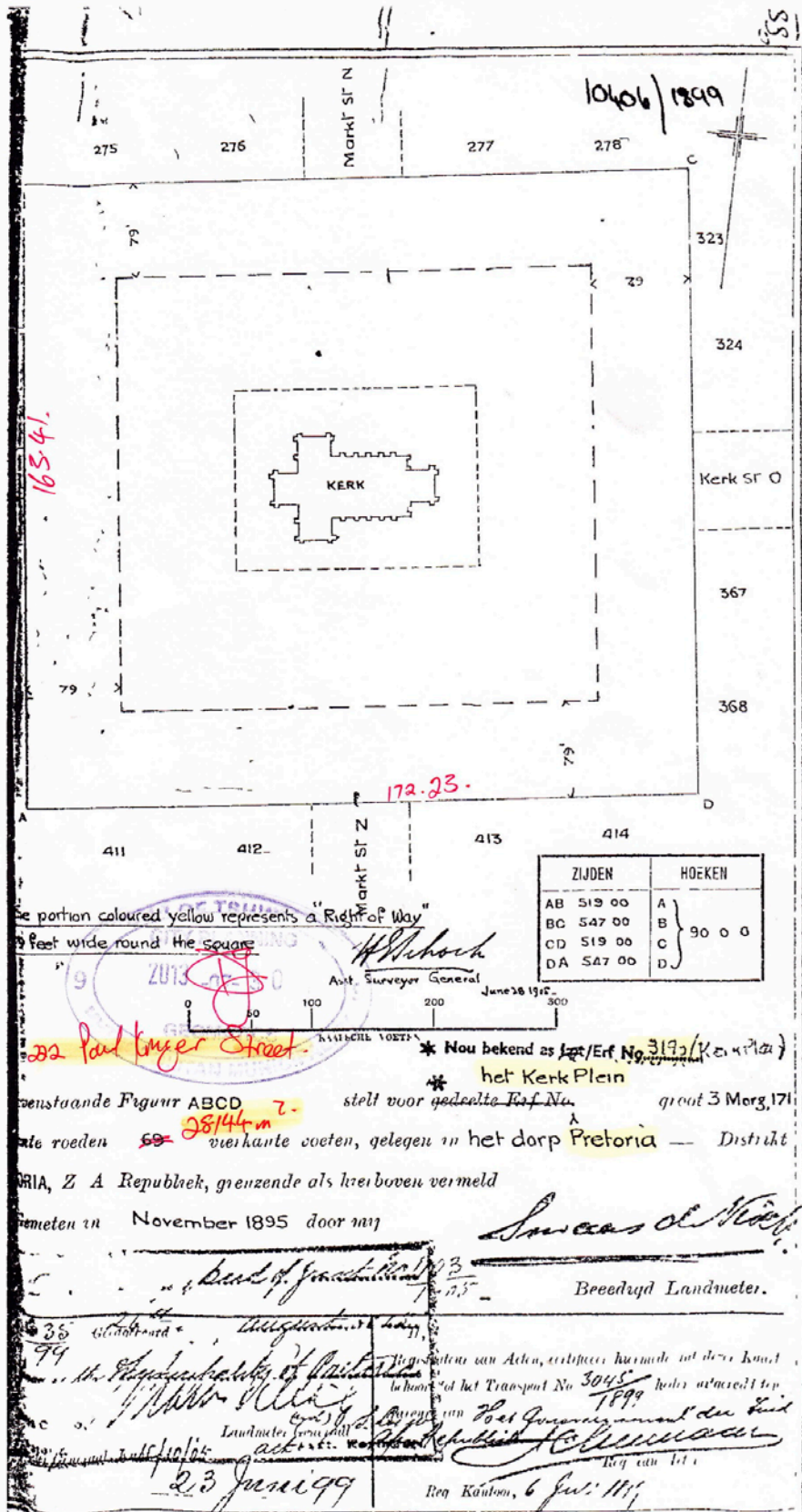


Figure 5.13  
Current SG diagram Church Square, Erf 3193  
(City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality).

### 5.1.5 Kruger statue pedestal

Industrialist Samuel Marks<sup>15</sup> donated ten thousand pounds sterling in 1895 for a marble statue of President Paul Kruger. Anton van Wouw was commissioned to complete the work (Engelbrecht 1952: 98) and decided on a bronze statue, which he created and cast in Italy (Van Bart 2009). Paul Kruger chose Burgers Park as location for the statue, but Marks suggested a position west of the church on Church Square. In June 1899 the Executive Council approved the suggestion and a pedestal for the statue was built on Church Square on the axis between the Second Old *Raadsaal* and the Palace of Justice, west of the church (figure 5.14). The outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War prevented the erection of the statue (Engelbrecht 1952: 98). When it arrived in Delagoa Bay by ship, it remained in storage (Van Bart 2009) and by the end of the war in May 1902 Pretoria had fallen under British rule, which would not allow the erection of the Kruger statue.



Figure 5.14

The pedestal built to receive the statue of Paul Kruger with the Palace of Justice in the background on the right and the National Bank and Mint on the left, Church Square 1905 (retrieved from the public domain [https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Statue\\_de\\_Paul\\_Kruger\\_\(Pretoria\)](https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Statue_de_Paul_Kruger_(Pretoria))).

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<sup>15</sup> Sammy Marks was born in Lithuania in 1843 and immigrated to England when he was sixteen, where he finished knives in Sheffield. He married his mentor's daughter who paid for their passage to Cape Town. He reached the Cape in 1868 where he was a pedlar of knives. With his cousin Isaac Lewis, who followed him to South Africa, he attained early success in Kimberley and set up the firm Lewis & Marks in Barberton before they moved to Pretoria. Many others moved to the Transvaal after the discovery of gold in 1886. His headquarters was in his Zwartkopjes Estates. He forged a lasting friendship with President Paul Kruger, set up manufacturing in Eerste Fabrieken and was instrumental in the establishment of the town of Vereeniging. After the Union in 1910 Marks was appointed senator and worked closely with Generals Botha, Smuts and De la Rey. He was married to Bertha Guttmann. They had nine children, but only six survived infancy. He died on 18 February 1920 and was buried in Pretoria (retrieved from [http://repository.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/16059/002\\_p021-040.pdf?sequence=3](http://repository.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/16059/002_p021-040.pdf?sequence=3)).

### 5.1.6 After the Anglo-Boer War

The church on Church Square continued to be used until 1904 and when the new Bosman Street church was complete, most of the fittings from Church Square were moved there. Paul Kruger died in exile in Switzerland on 14 July 1904. He was temporarily interred in The Hague but his body was brought back per ship from Rotterdam to Cape Town, to be laid to final rest in Pretoria at the Heroes' Acre<sup>16</sup>. He was to lie in state in the second Neo-Gothic church on 16 December 1904. An edifice was erected on the south side of the church, facing the *Raadsaal* (figure 5.16). However, a Public Works official reported that the steeple was unstable and had to be removed. On the day, steel cables were placed around the tower but only the weather vane was dismantled (figure 5.15). A large crowd gathered and cheered as the traction engines battled to pull down the steeple that had only been standing for twenty years. They had to return the next day when finally the tower fell the wrong way, through the roof and into the nave, smashing the organ. The lying in state of Paul Kruger's body had to be moved to the Suzanna Hall in Vermeulen Street (Beanes 1960: 46-7).



**Figure 5.15**  
Traction engines attempted to pull down the tower of the second church in 1905  
(Allen 1971: 34).

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<sup>16</sup> Retrieved from <http://www.tokencoins.com/oompaul.htm> on 22 December 2018.



**Figure 5.16**

**Church Square during Paul Kruger's memorial service, 16 December 1904. The Church steeple has been demolished but the church and the pedestal for Kruger's statue to the west of the church remain. The hearse designed by Anton van Wouw can be seen in the centre of the photograph and the edifice erected on the south side of the church is on the right (Rosa Swanepoel collection).**



**Figure 5.17**

**The Church on Church Square is being demolished, 1905. The pedestal for Paul Kruger's statue to the west of the church is still there. (Rosa Swanepoel collection).**

Church Square was finally transferred to the Municipal Council of Pretoria in 1905 by Crown Grant (through the Crown Land Disposal Ordinance of 1903), after which the church was demolished (figure 5.17). The title deed stipulated that the Square was for the “perpetual use and enjoyment of the inhabitants of Pretoria”. The pedestal that was to receive Paul Kruger’s statue was demolished after that in 1906 and for a year Church Square was host to ceremonial military parades, torchlight tattoos and other events. Re-usable timber staging with openings to building entrances was erected on the pavement for spectators (Beanes 1960: 47).

### 5.1.7 The Marks Fountain

After the war Sammy Marks<sup>7</sup> forged a relationship with the new regime. He ordered a fountain to be manufactured by “Walter MacFarlane & Co, architectural, sanitary and artistic ironfounders, Saracen Foundry, Glasgow” in Scotland and donated it to the city in 1905. The fountain was erected in the middle of Church Square in 1906 (figure 5.18). Many authors stated that the fountain was placed where the Kruger Statue was supposed to have been erected (Clarke and Kuipers 2015: 69; Haarhoff 2012: 115) as a consolation to the city (Meiring 1980: 43), but this is not correct, since the pedestal built for that purpose was to the west of the church, central to the western half of the Square.



**Figure 5.18**  
**The Marks fountain in the centre of Church Square, 1906**  
**(Rosa Swanepoel collection).**

The fountain is a fairly large structure, about 12m tall, in the centre of a pond. The diameter of the basin is 12.8m, thus more or less the same as the height. Water spouts from entwined dolphins at the top and from a ring of spouts closer to the ground. There are four figures, one at each corner, that represent Commerce, Science, Art and Literature, with a ring above their heads showing the twelve signs of the zodiac (Haarhoff 2012: 112). The fountain was both a water supply point for the citizens of Pretoria and an ornamental feature. Water was fed from the Fountains a few kilometres away through a series of canals and pipelines and drained through a newly constructed system of storm water pipes to the nearby Apies River. The water to the fountain was turned on on 19 April 1906. In 1910 the fountain was moved to the National Zoological Gardens, where it still stands today. The wasting of water was a constant issue in the history of the fountain, both when it was on Church Square and at the Zoo. It was refurbished in 1970 and again extensively renovated in 1989. One of the difficulties during restoration was to determine the original colours of the structure. This led to the discovery that the Marks fountain is one of three similar fountains in the world (Haarhoff 2012: 115) and was probably ordered from the MacFarlane catalogue from which it was cast.

### **5.1.8 Church Square redesigned**

During 1910 electric trams replaced the horse-driven trams and an east-west tramline was planned through Church Square, as well as one from the Square to the station. Plans for the tramlines to cross the Square were met with opposition. Architect De Zwaan and *Die Volkstem* editor Engelenburg argued that the Square's dimensions are similar to that of Trafalgar Square and suggested that it be laid out architecturally (Beanes 1960: 49). A competition for the Ornamentation of Church Square was staged in 1910 and three entries: the first prize (figure 5.19), second prize (figure 5.20) and an unplaced entry (figure 5.21), were published in *The Pretoria News* as supplement on 7 October 1910. Vivian Rees-Poole and William Barbour won the competition for the redesign of the then still gently sloping site (figure 5.19). The proposal separated traffic and pedestrians and created the current layout, generated by the ideal inclines for trams at the time. This created the terraced layout the square still has, with traffic circling a formal central park planted with lawn (Clarke and Kuipers 2015: 69).

## Ornamentation of Church Square.

Some of the Competitive Designs Submitted.



FIRST PRIZE.—Design by Messrs. Rees Poole and William Barbour of Pretoria.

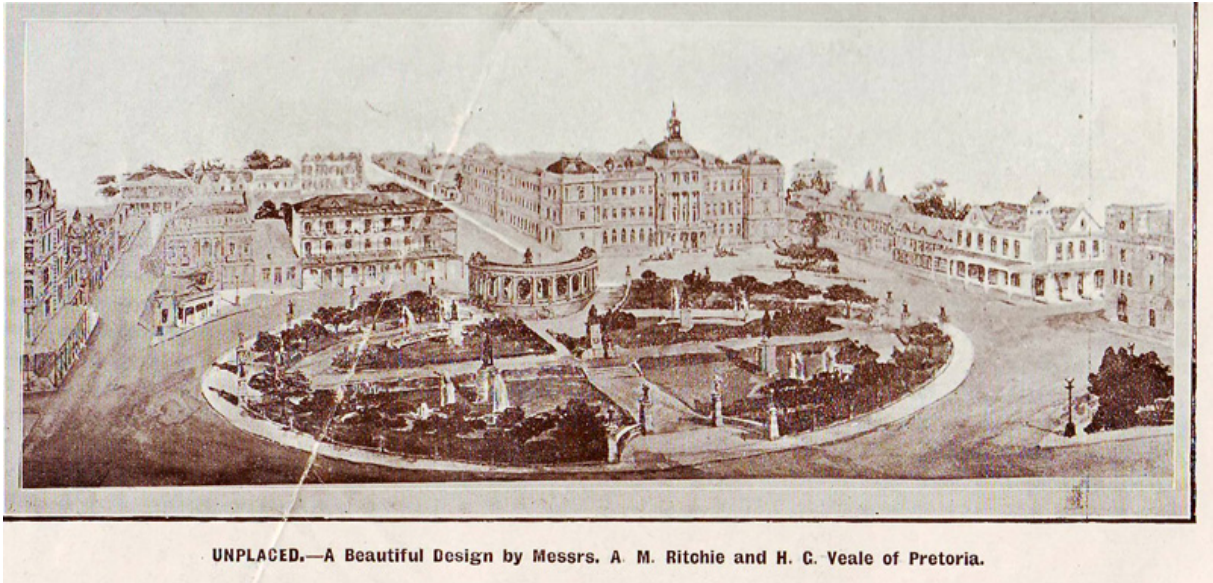
Figure 5.19

First prize for redesign of Church Square, by Rees-Poole and Barbour  
(retrieved from [www.artefacts.co.za](http://www.artefacts.co.za))



Figure 5.20

Second prize for redesign of Church Square, by Leith and Filtess  
(retrieved from [www.artefacts.co.za](http://www.artefacts.co.za)).



**Figure 5.21**  
**Unplaced entry for redesign of Church Square, by Ritchie and Veale**  
**(retrieved from [www.artefacts.co.za](http://www.artefacts.co.za)).**

Citizens of Pretoria were concerned about the cost of this grand scheme. The use of granite as opposed to freestone in the ornamentation was debated. Granite was more expensive, but longer lasting and low-maintenance, whereas freestone was unsuitable because the pyrites in the soil adversely affected its quality. Jacob Epstein (later Sir) never arrived to carve the lions for the southern entrance and the granite blocks remained empty for many years (figure 5.23). The eight lampposts on granite bases at ground level on each side of the four paths were to receive statues of eight prominent South Africans, but no agreement could be reached as to which eight should be chosen. It was suggested to Rees-Poole to place statues of Generals Botha and Smuts on the south pylons but this did not fit in with his views. The two granite south pylons contain both the Union coat of arms and the Pretoria coat of arms, but the order is reversed on each pylon, so that one can see both coats of arms from the front and both from the back (Beanes 1960: 50). Beanes (1960: 50) believed that the granite work on Church Square surpassed others in the world and could be compared with the bank entrance in London.

A smaller fountain was built in the centre of Church Square (Figure 5.23). There are also two fountains on each side of the southern steps midway along the retaining walls (figure 5.24). The semi-domed fountain with a projecting carved head emits a stream into the pool on the ground. It intercepts the balustrade, which is recessed for a seat above on the pavement level (Beanes 1960: 50). The northern boundary of the Square was planted

with pruned and lollipop-shaped privet trees (figure 5.22) soon after the construction work of the formal layout was completed (Naudé 2002: 15).



**Figure 5.22**  
**Church Square around 1920**  
**(Rosa Swanepoel collection)**



**Figure 5.23**  
**The second fountain in the centre of Church Square around 1929, with the southern entrance to the right in the background. The granite blocks without the lions are below the entrance pylons. The 1895 Old Standard Bank building is in the background on the left and to its right is the 1890 Grand Hotel, previously the President Hotel (Engelbrecht 1952: 45).**



**Figure 5.24**

**There are two fountains in the southern retaining wall midway between access points (Engelbrecht 1952: 106).**

Rees-Poole's design incorporated a criss-cross of pathways leading to destinations other than the Square itself (Maré 1975: 40). Meiring (1980: 11) stated that the layout of Church Square as it is today is the work of Herbert Baker and Kraehmer (1978: 21) clarifies that it was Baker's pupils and followers that were responsible for the layout of Church Square as we know it today.

### **5.1.9 The stage for royal visits and celebrations**

The second central fountain was frequently covered by temporary structures that paid tribute to royal events and visitors. In April 1925 the Prince of Wales visited Pretoria and his heraldic badge, his ostrich feathers, surmounted the pylon (figure 5.25). Prince George visited in 1934 (figure 5.27) and in May 1937 the coronation of George VI and Elizabeth as King and Queen of the United Kingdom and the Dominions of the British Commonwealth took place in Westminster Abbey. The pylon on Church Square was erected to commemorate the coronation (figure 5.26).



**Figure 5.25**  
**Pylon over fountain in the centre of Church Square to welcome Prince of Wales, 1925**  
 (Engelbrecht 1952: 113).



**Figure 5.26**  
**Pylon over fountain to commemorate coronation of George VI and Elizabeth, 1937**  
 (Engelbrecht 1952: 113).

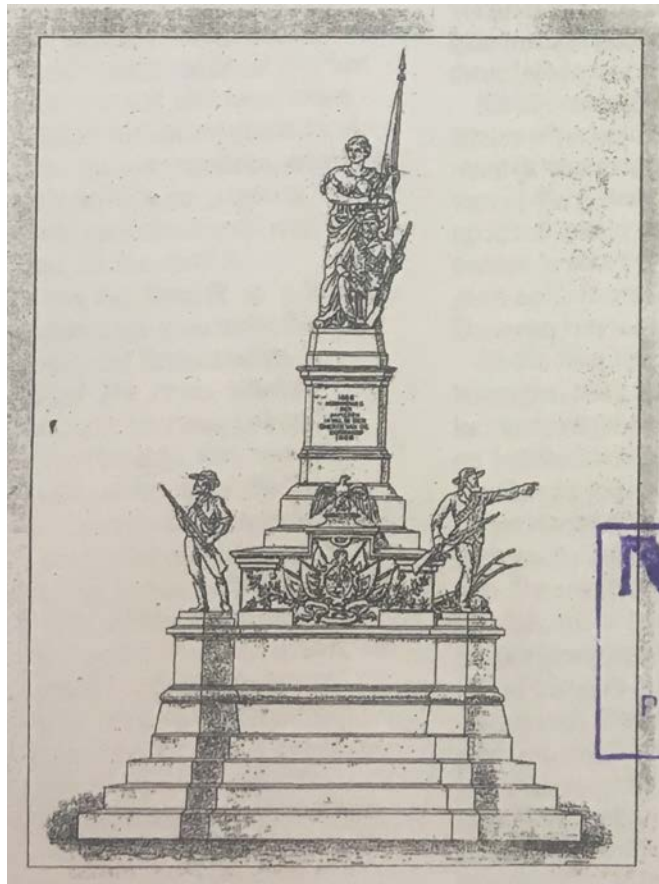


**Figure 5.27**  
**Pylon over fountain in the centre of Church Square to welcome Prince George, 1934**  
 (Engelbrecht 1952: 113).

#### **5.1.10 The Doornkop heroes' memorial as the possible precursor of the Kruger monumental ensemble**

Nothing came of it, but there were plans in 1898 to erect a monument on the Doornkop battlefield in memory of the five burgers that fell during the Jameson invasion on 2 January 1896. A sketch of the proposed monument was published in *The Press Weekly* (figure 5.28). The British government did erect a small obelisk of granite in 1913

containing the names of the twenty British mercenaries under the command of Dr. Leander Starr Jameson and the four Boers who died in the battle.



**Figure 5.28**  
**Sketch of proposed Doornkop monument, 1898**  
**(Van Bart 2009).**

The design of the Doornkop heroes' memorial is typical of nineteenth century European design. The pedestal consists of five steps. There are statues of two *burghers* on the landing, each armed with a rifle, with a bandolier hung from one shoulder across the chest. One *burgher* points to the oncoming enemy. Behind him is a plough, which was the symbol of agriculture in the ZAR. The Transvaal coat of arms "*Eendragt maakt magt*" (unity is strength) is depicted between the two *burghers* on a panel, topped by an eagle, the symbol of noble power. A virginal figure tops the statue as symbol of moral purity. She holds a banner of freedom in her left hand and a laurel wreath in her right hand, which she extends over the head of the kneeling *burgher*. The use of a female figure to symbolise freedom is not foreign to age-old European monumental tradition. Since the French Revolution in 1789 heroines like Joan of Arc were elevated as national symbols of freedom and victory. Wierda's 1888 design of the second Old *Raadsaal* included a clock

tower with copula crowned by a female figure holding a banner. This figure symbolises the Afrikaner's struggle with Britain since 1795 that culminated in the long-awaited victory, freedom and independence from Britain (see 4.2).

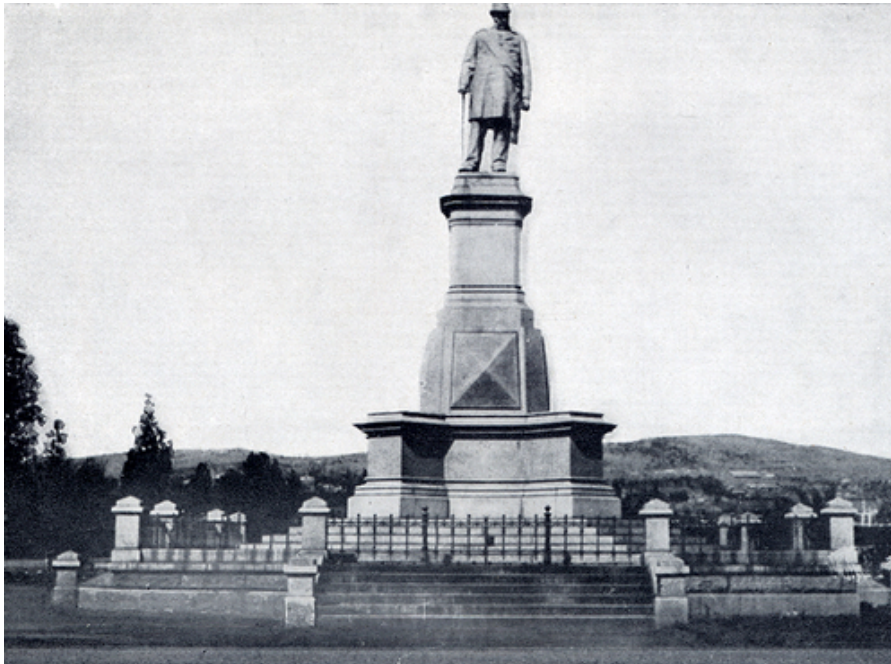
Although the drawing for the Doornkop heroes' memorial is not signed, Van Bart (2009) believes that Anton van Wouw was responsible for the design, due to its similarities with Van Wouw's original design for the Kruger monument (figure 5.29). Both have a monumental pedestal and instead of accommodating the lady of freedom, Paul Kruger stands there in his official attire, surrounded by four *burghers* depicted as sentinels (*brandwagte*). The *burghers* in both designs look alike and the panels are similar. The current monument on Church Square differs somewhat from Van Wouw's original monumental ensemble. The editor of *The Press Weekly* and *The Press Annual*, Leo Weintal, used Van Wouw to draw cartoons in his newspaper. It is therefore likely that Van Wouw did the drawing that appeared in the newspaper (figure 5.28), even though he was not in the ZAR at the time of publication in 1898. It is possible that he completed the design before he left or that he sent the drawing to Weintal from Rome.



**Figure 5.29**  
**Anton van Wouw, original sketch model of Kruger statue, 1898**  
(retrieved from <https://af.wikipedia.org/wiki/Krugerstandbeeld> on 18 January 2019).

### 5.1.11 The Kruger statue and monumental ensemble

After being stored in a warehouse in Lourenco Marques in Mozambique for years the statue of Paul Kruger was erected in Prince's Park in 1913 (figure 5.30) on a pedestal with the exact same design as the one that had been on Church Square (figure 5.14). The pedestal was clad in the original Scottish granite panels from the demolished pedestal on Church Square.



**Figure 5.30**  
**Anton van Wouw, Kruger statue in Princes Park, 1914**  
(retrieved from <https://af.wikipedia.org/wiki/Krugerstandbeeld> on 18 January 2019).

In 1921 General Jan Smuts succeeded in arranging the return of the four *brandwagte* and on the hundredth birthday of Paul Kruger on 10 October 1925 the complete monument was erected at the Pretoria Station (Van Bart 2009) (figures 5.31 and 5.32). In 1939 the City Council authorised the transfer of the statue to Church Square but it was only moved there in 1954 (Engelbrecht 1952: 98). The assemblage of monument and statues was influenced by Gordon Leith and Vivien Reese-Poole and not completed according to Van Wouw's original design (5.29).



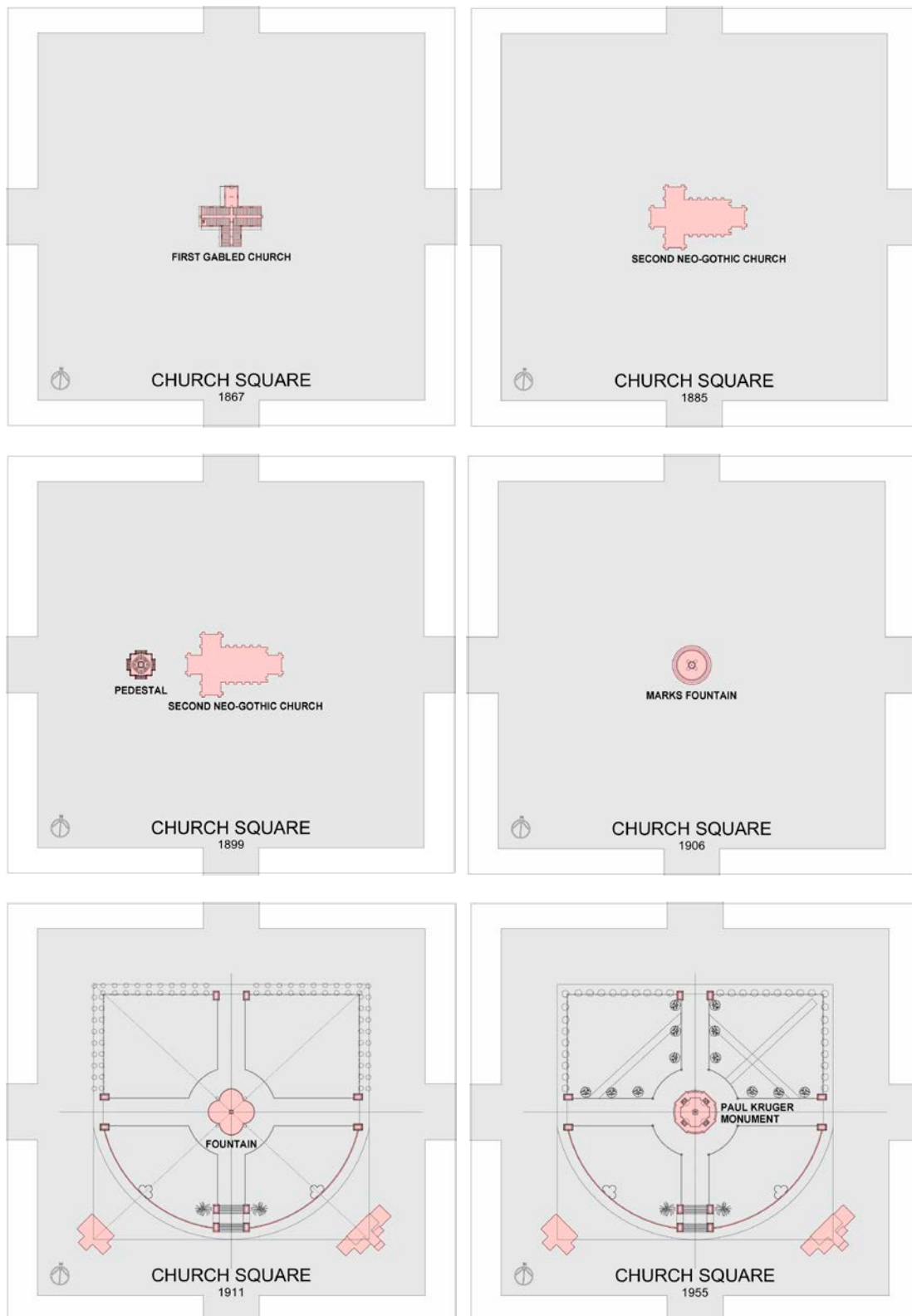
**Figure 5.31**

**Anton van Wouw, Kruger statue with four Boer sentinels in front of the Pretoria Station, 1926**  
(retrieved <https://www.flickr.com/photos/hilton-t/4005739913> Kruger by stasie on 18 January 2019).



**Figure 5.32**

**Anton van Wouw, Kruger statue with four Boer sentinels in front of the Pretoria Station, 1948.**  
An Italian garden was laid out for the Royal family's visit in 1947.  
(retrieved from <https://af.wikipedia.org/wiki/Krugerstandbeeld> on 18 January 2019).



**Figure 5.33**  
**Two-dimensional reconstruction of development and change over time in the**  
**built environment of Church Square (erf 3193).**

The central sculptural ensemble that was inserted in 1954 (figure 5.34) is what still occupies the central space of Church Square. Anton van Wouw sculpted and Franciscus Bruno cast the bronze statue of Paul Kruger in Rome. Kruger stands in the formal attire that he wore as the ZAR's head of state high on top of the pedestal looking north. On the four corners of the foot of the pedestal, placed lower than the statue of Paul Kruger, are four statues of unknown Boer soldiers, also cast in bronze. These soldiers are sitting on a ground plane guarding the President looking outward and between them the important events in Paul Kruger's life were depicted in bronze carvings, which are embedded in the pedestal walls. The pedestal is placed on top of an octagonal platform, with four sets of stairs leading up to the statues.

The plans in figure 5.33 show the various changes that Church Square underwent. The first image depicts the first gabled church after it was expanded in 1867. The second image is of the second Neo-Gothic church in 1885, which is also depicted on the SG diagram of 1899. On the third image of Church Square in 1899, the pedestal for Paul Kruger's statue to the west of the church had been added. The fourth image shows the Samuel Marks fountain in the middle of the Square. This was in 1906, when the church and the pedestal had been demolished. The fifth image shows Church Square in 1911, after the redesign by Vivian Rees-Poole had been implemented. A smaller fountain now occupied the centre of the Square and there are two small buildings at 45 degrees with toilets and a waiting area for tram and later bus passengers. In the last image of 1954 the monumental ensemble of Paul Kruger had been inserted into the middle. The outside row of pruned, lollipop-shaped privet trees had been removed and a few new trees had been planted next to the walkways leading to the centre. The last image also represents what the Square looks like today, except for a fence that was recently erected around the monumental ensemble to protect it from further vandalism.

It is interesting to note that the Marks fountain, the Doornkop heroes' memorial, the original pedestal for the Kruger statue and the final monumental ensemble all have four square pedestals near ground level at 45 degrees to the main axes. In the Marks fountain these four pedestals are the bases for the four seated figures that represent Commerce, Science, Art and Literature and the designs attributed to Van Wouw are topped with Boer sentinels or *brandwagte*, also either seated or crouching.



**Figure 5.34**

**Anton van Wouw, *Monumental Ensemble of Statue of Paul Kruger and Four Boer Krygers*, Photograph taken in 1970, bronze statues on sandstone plinth, Pretoria, Church Square (Allen 1971: 36).**

5.2 The *Raadsaal* Block, representing the power of the state (south-south-west of Church Square)

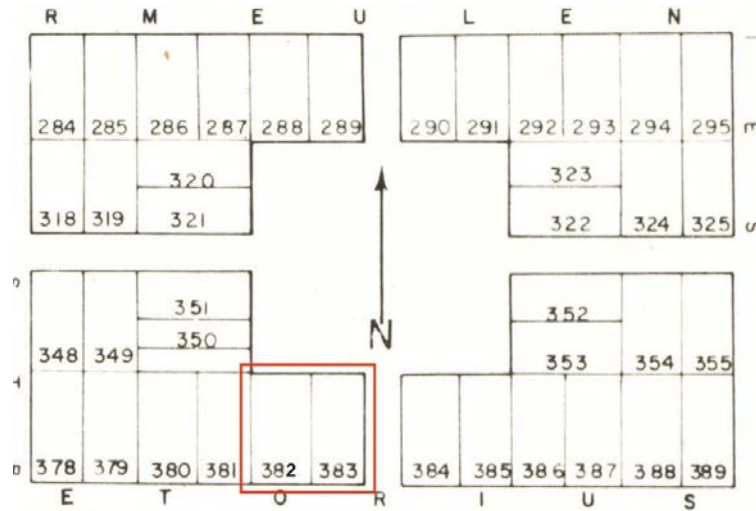


Figure 5.35  
Position of *Raadsaal* block relative to Church Square with old erf numbers, portion of *Kaart van Het Dorp Pretoria Z.A. Republiek 2 Maart 1859* (Van der Waal Collection, University of Pretoria).

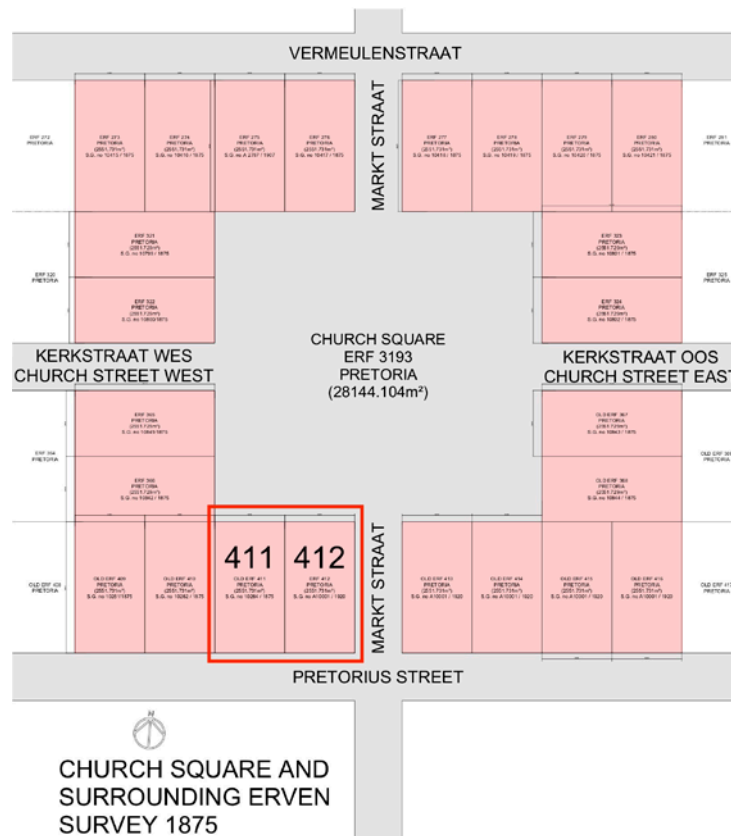
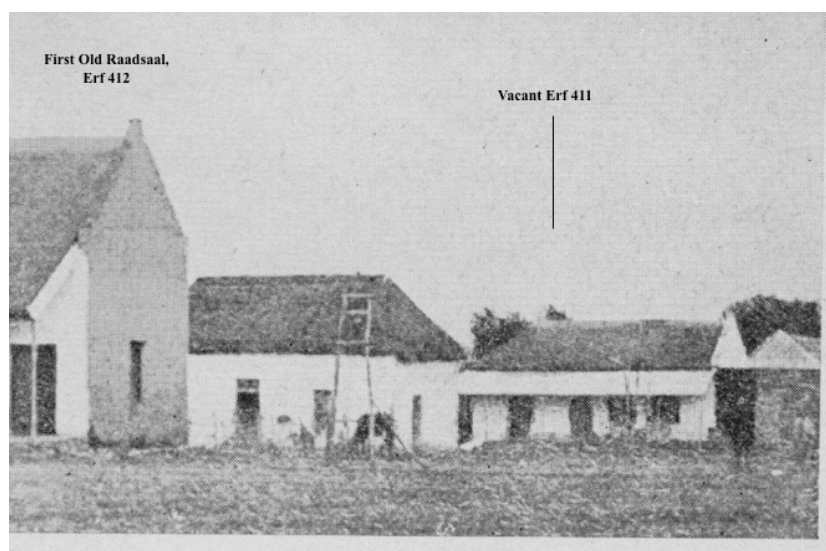


Figure 5.36  
*Raadsaal* block on southwest corner of Church Square and Market Street South with new erf numbers (411 and 412) (drawing by the author based on 1875 SG diagrams).

### 5.2.1 Erf 411 (Old number 382)

Erf 411 belonged to M.W. Pretorius for some time and Pretorius probably intended for this erf, together with Erf 412, to have a civil purpose. Although not indicated in the early maps (figures 5.35 and 5.36) this erf seems to have been in two parts, because in September 1860, Pretorius transferred the western portion to Hendrik Stefanus Pretorius and the eastern portion to Christiaan Petrus Pretorius as a gift (Rex 1956: 254). In 1873 Hendrik Stefanus Pretorius gave Johannes Christoffel Minnaar special procuration to appear before Registrar of Deeds Jacobus Johannes Meintjes to transfer the western half of the property to William Leathern. Title deed T811/1873 refers to a town plan dated 1839. Rex (1953: 17) claims that this western portion was subject to speculation, because Leathern, who had bought the property for £35, sold it to J.A. de Villiers on the same day for £160, who in turn sold it a few months later to Bras Piedade Pereira for £300, who sold it in 1878 to Woodbine Cloete for £300, who sold it a year later to Robert Cottle Green for £550, who ended up selling it to the Government for the purpose of a public street for £9,500.

With Arthur H. Walker's re-measurement of A.F. du Toit's original layout in 1875, the SG diagram was numbered 10264/1875 (figure 5.38), Sam Melvill signed it and the erf number was changed to 411. The western and eastern portions of the erf are indicated on the SG diagram. A photograph, taken between 1866 and 1876 (figure 5.37), shows that the erf was still vacant. The first old *Raadsaal*, which was completed in 1866, can be seen on the adjacent erf 412.



**Figure 5.37**  
**Erf 411 around 1870**  
**(Engelbrecht 1952: 25).**

10264/1875

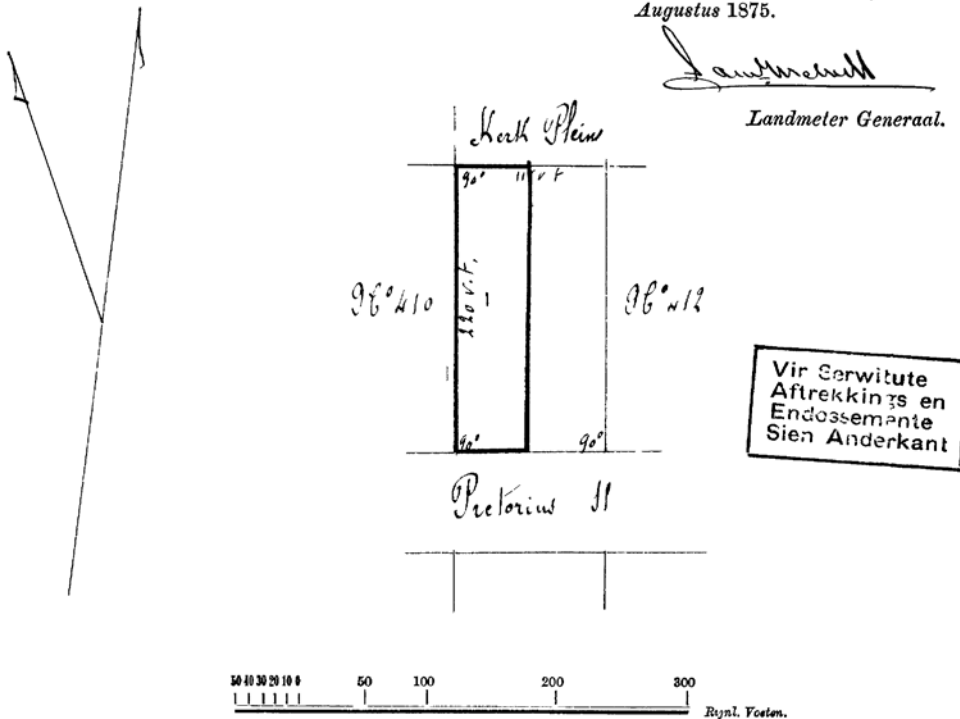
# STAD PRETORIA, Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek.

ERF No. 411

Goedgekeurd  
Landmeter Generaals Kantoor, Pretoria,  
Augustus 1875.

*Landmeter*

Landmeter Generaal.



Bovenstaande Figuur vertegenwoordigt Erf No. 411, bevattende 178 Vierkante Roeden, en 108 Vierkante Voeten, gelegen in de stad PRETORIA, en grenzende:

- Noordwaarts aan Kerk Plein
- Westwaarts aan op 96° 41'
- Zuidwaarts aan Pretorius St
- Oostwaarts aan op 96° 42'

Gemeten door mij, JRSE-24  
*Arthur A. Walker*  
Gouvernements Landmeter.

Pretoria, Maart 1875

Figure 5.38  
SG diagram 1875  
(retrieved from <http://csg.dla.gov.za/esio/listdocument.jsp>).

The European Hotel is the oldest hotel in Pretoria and was erected on the eastern portion around 1877. Carter and Co. placed an advertisement in *De Volksstem* in 1878 for their newly opened restaurant, The Gridiron, which served chops and steak prepared by chef Canile. The dining room of 50 x 20' was available for functions and receptions. Two weeks later they announced that The Gridiron would henceforth be known as The European Hotel.<sup>17</sup> It was a small building with corrugated iron roof and verandah, as can be seen in a photograph taken after the British occupation of 1877 (figure 5.39). Judge Kotzé (1934: 591) reported that the European Hotel provided food for the welcoming function that was held in the first Old *Raadsaal* in 1879 in honour of Sir Bartle Frere<sup>18</sup>.



**Figure 5.39**  
European hotel on Erf 411 during British occupation in 1877, Photograph by H.F. Gros  
(Cartwright and Cowan 1978: 83).

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<sup>17</sup> Retrieved from [https://repository.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/45513/Kerkplein\\_5-1-015.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y](https://repository.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/45513/Kerkplein_5-1-015.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y).

<sup>18</sup> Retrieved from <https://repository.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/11296/Pta%2009-09.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>.

R.A. Colquhoun became the owner of the hotel in 1879 (Allen 1971: 86). He added a second storey, pediment and balcony (figure 5.40). Building work was complete in 1880, according to *De Volksstem*. The ground floor verandah was covered in creepers (figure 5.40) that later reached the first floor balcony (figure 5.60). The hotel now consisted of a dining room, bar, reading rooms, billiard room, nineteen bedrooms and stables for sixteen horses. Colquhoun decided to return to England due to his wife's health and sold the European Hotel, without the property on which it stood (which still belonged to C.P. Pretorius) on auction to Vorstman and Co.

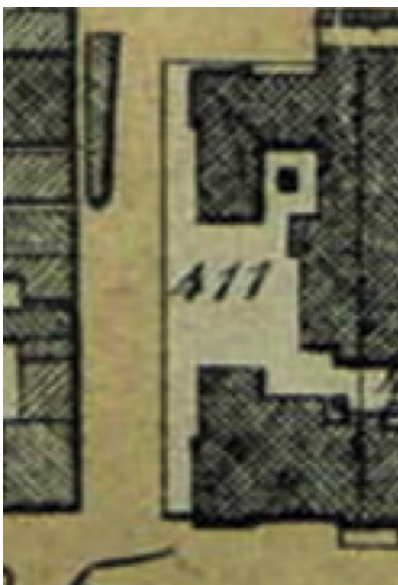


**Figure 5.40**  
**European hotel after it was rebuilt in 1880**  
(retrieved from the public domain: <https://web.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10210960482870392&set=pb.1303334893.-2207520000.1522136213.&type=3&theater>).

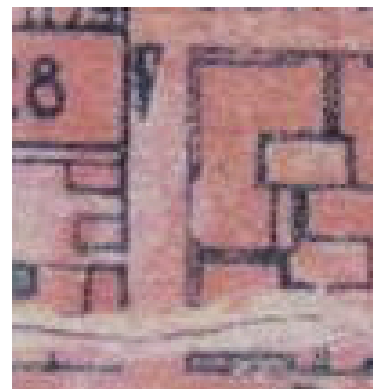
Although the western half was transferred to Leathern in 1873, the subdivision was only recorded in 1878. The erf was subdivided into the western portion (Lot A) and the eastern portion (Lot B). The SG diagram was numbered 0023/1878 and was signed by Sam Melvill (figures 5.38 and B9). The western half now belonged to Robert Cottle Green who agreed to make a road through his erf for perpetual use by the owner of Erf 410. Erf 411 lies between Church Square and Pretorius Street but Erf 410 only fronts on Pretorius

Street, which means that Erf 410 was cut off from Church Square. The owners of Erf 410 (the Koch brothers) and R.C. Green signed an agreement on 1 October 1878 wherein the owner of Erf 411 granted the owners of Erf 410 perpetual access to Church Square via this western portion for an annual fee of £54.

In 1887 the Government bought the eastern half of the property from Christiaan Petrus Pretorius for the purpose of owning one-and-a-half erf, which was necessary for the construction of the Government building (Rex: 1956: 254; Peacock 1955: 190). The European Hotel now belonged to L.G. Vorstman who leased the property from C.P. Pretorius. His rental contract extended to 1898, but he sold the lease to the Government for £8,000 (Rex 1953: 16). In 1888 Vorstman & Co. placed an advertisement in *De Volksstem* announcing that hotel furniture and appliances would be auctioned off in front of the hotel. The hotel was demolished shortly thereafter.



**Figure 5.41**  
Portion of map for the ZAR  
Department of Mines by  
J. van Vooren and J.H. Oerder c.1889.  
(source: Rosa Swanepoel Collection  
No. 5.0.2.).



**Figure 5.42**  
Erf 411 on Donaldson & Hill's  
map of 1904 by D. Seccadanari  
Engineer and Cartographer.  
(source: Rosa Swanepoel Collection).

(1) Hierdeze kaart wordt afgetekend  
na afgeideellik gemerkt  
D. E. F. G. bevallende 6 velden  
en 50 steden; overlalende  
als restieering gedeelle  
gedelle 83 velden en 4  
steden

*Stam Riet S.*  
Aest Raymond Jent  
L. J. Kerkloot 3de Jan 1889

|    | Zyden | Hoeken     |
|----|-------|------------|
| DE | 20 25 | D 90 0.0   |
| EF | 74.46 | E 78.3.0   |
| FG | 4 83  | F 101.57 0 |
| GD | 72.65 | G 90.0.0   |

(2) Deducted portion C = 71.5 A 138.5 ft (264/17)  
Leuving remainder = 11 " 10 "

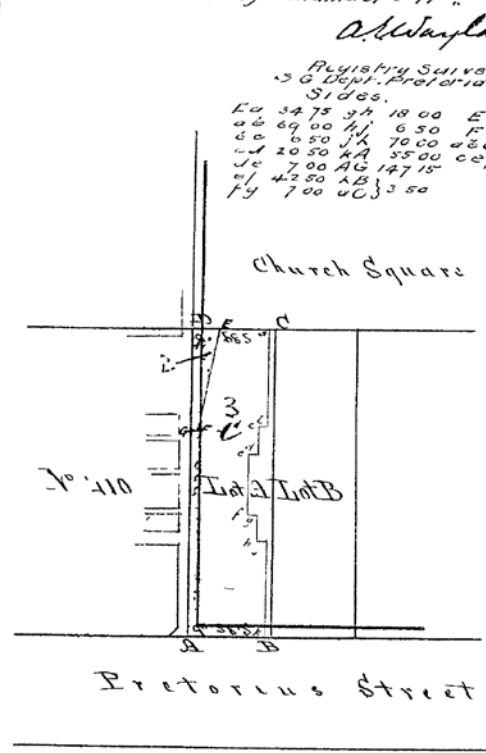
*A. W. Wainland*

Registry Surveyor,  
36 Dept. Pretoria 6 11.07  
Sides.

|    |       |    |        |   |          |
|----|-------|----|--------|---|----------|
| Eu | 34 75 | 34 | 18 00  | E | 101 57 0 |
| u  | 69 00 | 41 | 6 50   | F | 258 3 0  |
| u  | 6 50  | 44 | 70 00  | u | 264 17 0 |
| u  | 20 50 | 47 | 55 00  | u | 270      |
| u  | 7 00  | AG | 127 15 |   |          |
| u  | 42 50 | AB | 3 50   |   |          |
| u  | 7 00  | u  | 3 50   |   |          |

*N.O.*  
No 20 Certified  
Surveyor General's Office  
March 15th 1898  
*A. W. Wainland*  
Surveyor General

*copy of plan, with, for reference  
by the 1898 Act of Parliament  
from 1898 to 1899*



The above figure, ABCD, represents Lot A, containing  
89 square rods 54 2/3 feet of ground, being the half of Ref. 17417  
in the town of Pretoria, bounded North by Church Square  
West by Ref. 17410, South by Pretorius Street, and East by Lot B.

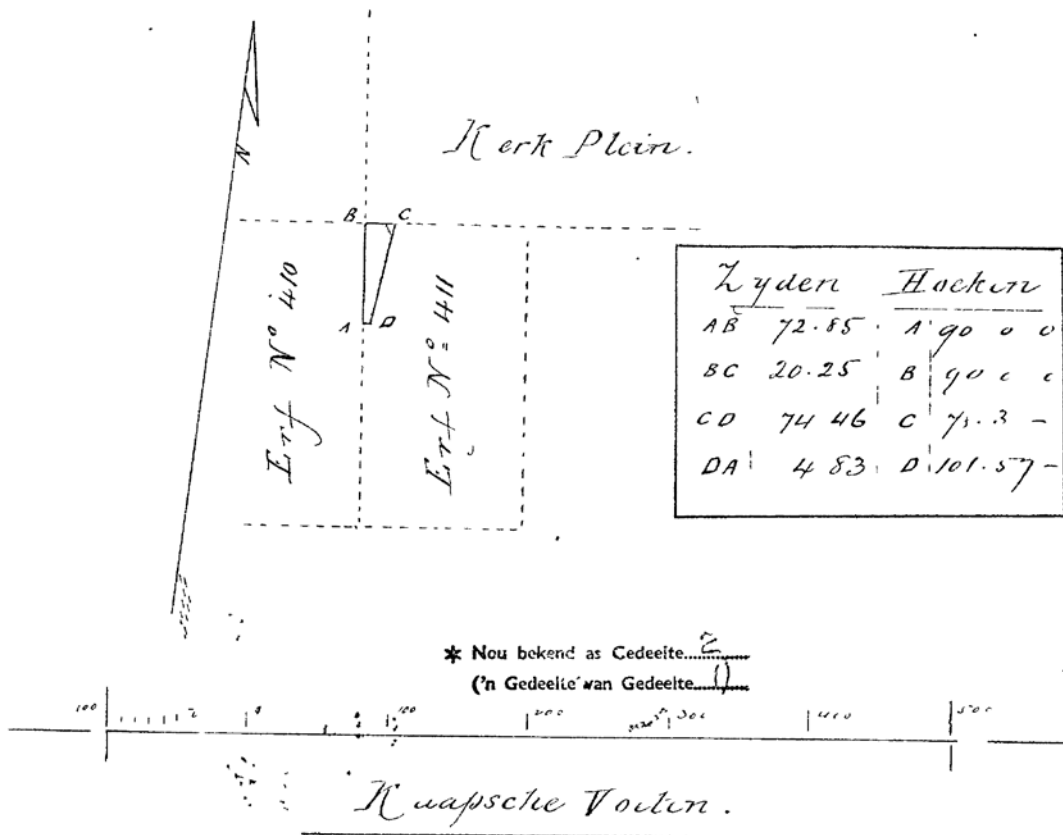
March 15 1898.

Surveyed by me  
*A. W. Wainland*  
Surveyor Genl.

Figure 5.43  
SG diagram 1878

(retrieved from <http://csg.dla.gov.za/esio/listdocument.jsp>).

10/10/1889



Bovenstaande figuur A tot D stelt voor <sup>\*</sup> het noordweselyke gedeelte van Erf N° 411, groot 6 vierk. roeden en 50 vierk. voeten, gelegen in de Stad Pretoria, distrikt van Pretoria, en grenzende als hierboven vermeld.

Gemeten in December 1888.

529. ~~Van der Merwe~~  
 Johann Rieck.  
 Assistent Landm. Genl.  
 17. Kantone 3<sup>de</sup> D. 1889

door mij  
 H. J. Huttyg  
 Landmeter.

Figure 5.44  
 SG diagram 1889  
 (retrieved from <http://csg.dla.gov.za/esio/listdocument.jsp>).

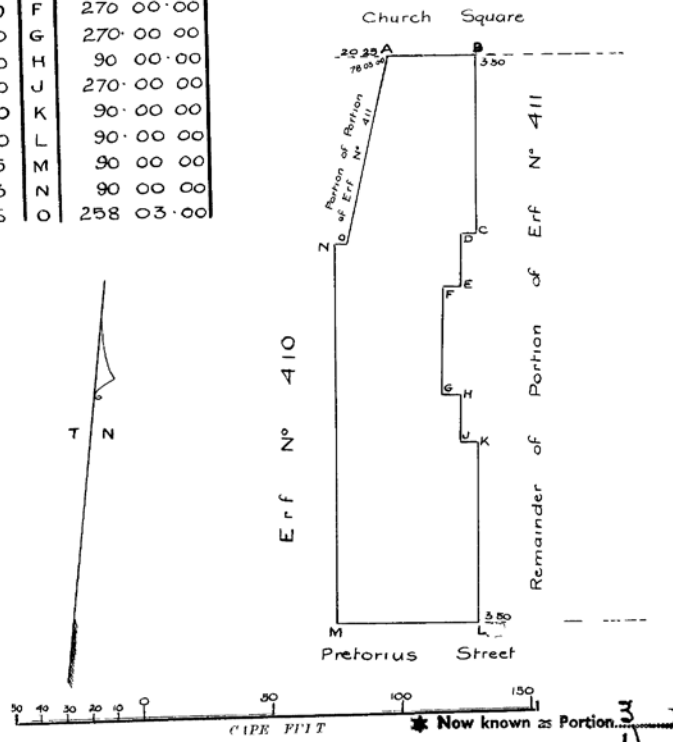


**Figure 5.45**  
**The old two-storey Cape of Good Hope Bank building**  
**between the Raadsaal and the Oaks (1891)**  
**(Allen 1971: 56; Engelbrecht 1952: 68)**



**Figure 5.46**  
**The old Cape of Good Hope Bank building,**  
**now a single storey and part of His Majesty's theatre (1912)**  
**(Engelbrecht 1952: 68).**

| SIDES |        | ANGLES |           |
|-------|--------|--------|-----------|
| AB    | 34.75  | A      | 101.57.00 |
| BC    | 69.00  | B      | 90.00.00  |
| CD    | 6.50   | C      | 90.00.00  |
| DE    | 20.50  | D      | 270.00.00 |
| EF    | 7.00   | E      | 90.00.00  |
| FG    | 42.50  | F      | 270.00.00 |
| GH    | 7.00   | G      | 270.00.00 |
| HJ    | 18.00  | H      | 90.00.00  |
| JK    | 6.50   | J      | 270.00.00 |
| KL    | 70.00  | K      | 90.00.00  |
| LM    | 55.00  | L      | 90.00.00  |
| MN    | 147.15 | M      | 90.00.00  |
| NO    | 4.83   | N      | 90.00.00  |
| OA    | 74.46  | O      | 258.03.00 |



The above Diagram lettered { ABCDEFG HJKLMNO } represents 71 Square Rods  
138 Square Feet of land, being a portion of the Western half of Erf No. 411 situate in the Township of PRETORIA Transvaal Colony as appears on the Diagram framed by Surveyor S McVill in March 1878 relating to Deed of Transfer No. 811/1873 made in favour of W Leathern on the 10 day of June 1873 bounded as indicated above.

The Beacons have been properly defined on the ground according to Law.  
Surveyed in May 1907 for the purpose of a Street to be known as Parliament Street by me *W.R. Laubsan* Government Land Surveyor.

No 3974 Examined The numerical data of this diagram are sufficiently consistent  
Approved *[Signature]* Surveyor General  
Surveyor General's Office, Pretoria 1907

This Diagram refers to Deed of Transfer No. 233/07 issued this day in favour of  
RSC-24 Registrar of Deeds  
Deeds Office, Pretoria  
W.E. Barnette & Co

Figure 5.47  
SG diagram 1907  
(retrieved from <http://csg.dla.gov.za/esio/listdocument.jsp>).

In 1889 the "Triangle" was deducted from the western portion and became Portion 2 of Erf 411. SG diagram 10110/1889 was signed by Assistant Surveyor-General Johann Rissik and land surveyor H.J. Luttig (figure 5.44). The change was also made on SG diagram 0023/1878 by Johann Rissik (figure 5.43). R.C. Green sold this portion to *Die Kaap de Goede Hoop Bank (Beperk)*, The Cape of Good Hope Bank [Pty] Ltd., who erected a two-storey building (figure 5.45) on this small "triangular" erf. The bank building came to be known as the "Coffin" due to its shape on plan (figure 5.41). Although a narrow passage of three feet wide separated the Bank from the then Alhambra hall on Erf 410, the Bank effectively blocked the street frontage of the Alhambra. The Cape of Good Hope Bank did not last long and on 20 September 1890 it ceased its activities in Pretoria. The building later became unstable and the second floor was demolished<sup>19</sup>. The building was later incorporated into His Majesty's Theatre (figure 5.46) and finally demolished when the government bought the property.

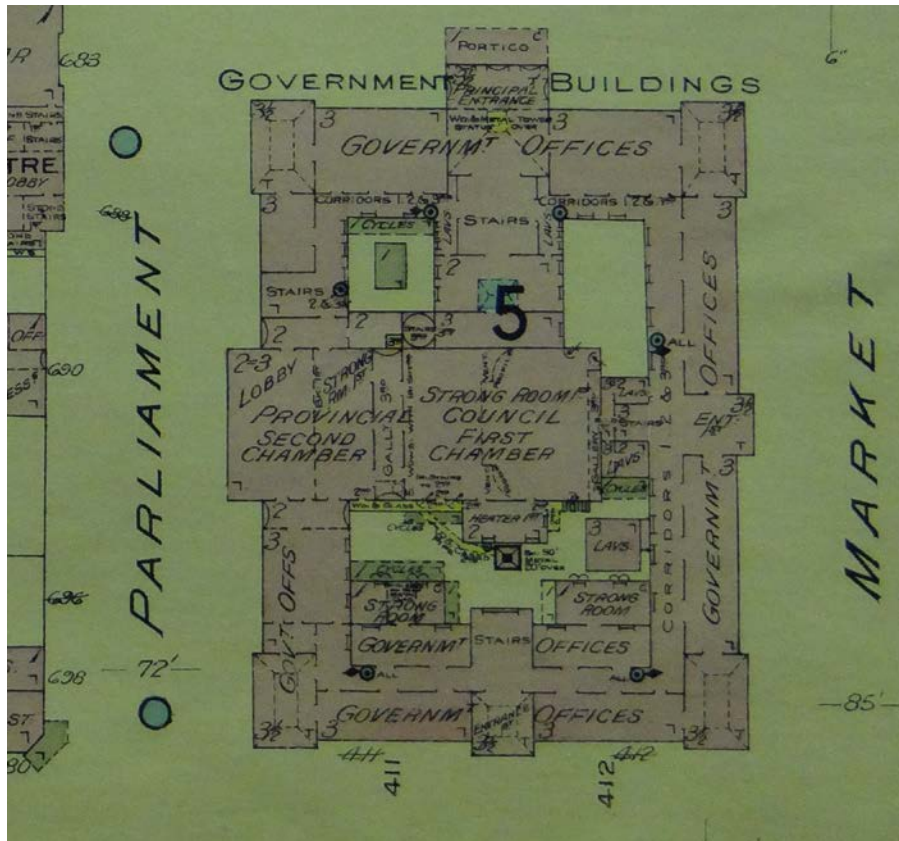
In 1907 Portion 3 was subdivided from the western portion. This portion was cut out in a polygon (figure 5.47) around the *Raadsaal* for the purpose of a street to be known as Parliament Street. The SG diagram was numbered A.2619/07 and was signed by W.R. Lanham and Herman Eugene Schoch. The change was also made on SG diagram 0023/1878 by A. Wayland (figure 5.43). The SG diagram refers to the earlier title deed T811/1873, which linked the western portion to William Leathern and it refers to Crown Grant (GR) 233/1907, which granted the Municipality of Pretoria the right to use the western portion as a municipal street. It refers to W.E. Burmeister & Co as Registrar of Deeds.

The municipality bought the "triangle" in 1921 for £1,500 and the "coffin" was demolished. The portion could be incorporated into Parliament Street. It is interesting to note that Parliament Street started out as a right of way agreement between the owners of two erven and this portion gave access to Church Square. Some older documents referred to the small street as Koch Street, Koch Lane or Theatre Lane<sup>3</sup>. The street is visible in the 1877 photograph (figure 5.39) to the right of the European hotel. The European Hotel was demolished to construct the second Old *Raadsaal* (Labuschagne 1981: 5).

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<sup>19</sup> Source: Swanepoel, Rosa. 2007. *Pretoria 150 lesing*, retrieved from <https://repository.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/3487/Pta%20150%20Lesing1.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>.

The first Goad insurance maps were compiled in 1925 (figure 5.48) by which time Parliament Street was established and the second Old *Raadsaal* building was already constructed. The maps do not provide any further information on this portion of the Parliamentary Complex.



**Figure 5.48**  
Extract of Goad insurance map 1925

### 5.2.2 Erf 412 (Old number 383)

Marthinus Wessel Pretorius received transfer of all the erven on 6 November 1857 (Rex 1956: 253) and this erf remained in his possession until its transfer to the Government on 28 September 1860. It seems that no new SG diagram was issued with Arthur H. Walker's re-measurement of A.F. du Toit's original layout in 1875 and the only one available diagram forms part of the general plan of Pretoria A10001/1920. From the setting out of the erven, this erf was intended for the Government office. No private buildings had been erected on it and no one ever lived there. From the earliest days the erf was thus marked for the erection of a Government building. Pretorius was convinced that in time, the

*Raadsaal* would be built once the *Kerkplaats* was accepted as a town, this despite the *Volksraad*'s refusal to establish the central seat of the *Volksraad* in Pretoria (Rex 1956: 64).

The need for erecting civil buildings arose as soon as the town was established, but there was no money for this project and it would be quite some time before the *Raadsaal* would be built. In the mean time, government functions were housed in various structures in and around Church Square. *Landdrost* A.F. du Toit attempted to construct a government building on this corner erf in 1858, but because early transfer did not take place, the Church Council of the *Nederduitsch Hervormde* Church laid claim to the property, believing that it was originally allocated to the Church and intended for the erection of a parsonage<sup>20</sup>. This was a misunderstanding and M.W. Pretorius had to come to Pretoria to clear up the issue surrounding ownership. The Church Council was not sure which erf was intended to be the parsonage erf, probably because the government offices were already established in existing structures on other erven (Rex 1956: 131; Pieterse 1942: 36-7). Furthermore, since transfer of this property to the government only occurred on 28 September 1860, the Government would have been hesitant to construct a government building on the property of a private burgher, albeit M.W. Pretorius (Rex 1956: 226).

### **5.2.3 The first Old *Raadsaal***

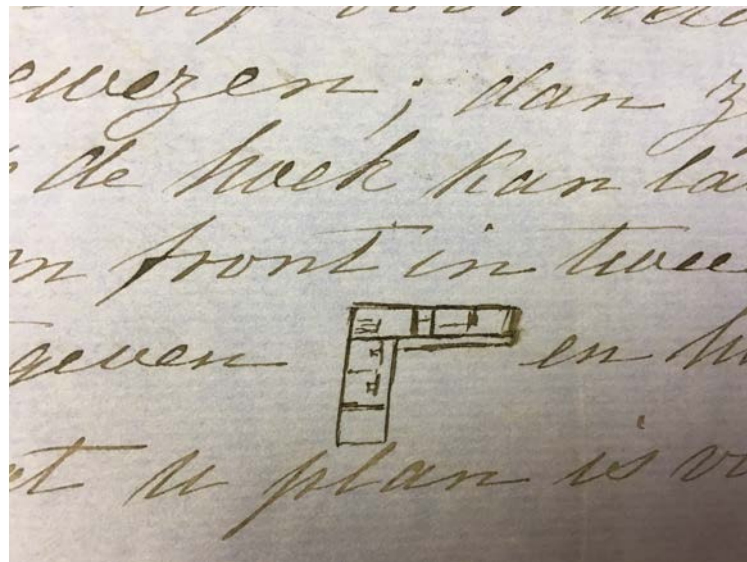
#### **5.2.3.1 Design**

*Landdrost* A.F. du Toit wrote a letter to President M.W. Pretorius (excerpt in footnote 3), addressing the issue of intended use and including a rough sketch of his proposed floor plan for the first Old Government building (figure 5.49). The plan was in an L-shape, which was to be placed on this corner erf, fronting on Church Square and Market Street (NASA R1969/58; see also Rex 1956: 301). The goal was to be built on the same erf. There is a similarity between Du Toit's drawing and how the building eventually turned out. Rex (1956: 302) believes that the first Old *Raadsaal* building can be compared to Andries Pretorius's house on Welverdiend, near Pietermaritzburg (figure 5.50) and the residence that William Skinner built for himself in the 1860s in Market Street, which was

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<sup>20</sup> *Ik heb slechts een tender ontfangen voor de klippen en een voor de steenen voor de kantoor. Schreift my waar de kantoor erf legt; terwyl de ouderling my betwist het erf door U Ed my aan gewezen; dan zegt of ik het op de hoek kan laten maken om front in twee straten te geven en hoe groot of wat u plan is voor dezelve en of ik het voor een ronde zom kan laten maken; door het aan een pesoon op te dragen* (NASA R1969/58).

demolished in 1955. Rex believes that there is a possibility that these three buildings influenced each other and that the first old Government building was probably the result of communal planning between Du Toit, Pretorius and Skinner, because these three individuals had constant contact with one another.



**Figure 5.49**  
Part of A.F. du Toit's letter to President M.W. Pretorius showing proposed floor plan of the first Old *Raadsaal* on Church Square, NASA, SS R1969/58



**Figure 5.50**  
Andries Pretorius's house on Welverdiend, near Pietermaritzburg was rebuilt 11km from its original location (retrieved from [http://boereafrikana.com/Mense/Groot\\_Trek\\_Leiers/Andries%20Pretorius/apretorius\\_huis.jpg](http://boereafrikana.com/Mense/Groot_Trek_Leiers/Andries%20Pretorius/apretorius_huis.jpg)).

Du Toit only received one tender to provide stone and bricks for the building<sup>4</sup>. Further tenders for stone were only requested in October 1860 (Rex 1956: 226; Peacock 1955: 68) and stone for the foundations were delivered in December 1860 (Rex 1956: 274). Du Toit, with his children, broke these building stones themselves (Rex 1956: 234; Pieterse 1942: 37). Although the design of the first Old Government building had been completed in 1860, tenders for the construction of the building were only requested on 21 June 1864. The firm of William Skinner and Louis Devereux, “The builders of Pretoria” as they called themselves with pride, won the tender<sup>21</sup>. They constructed the building for £680 (Rex 1956: 288; Pieterse 1942: 38; Peacock 1955: 71). It took them nine months. Building work commenced in 1866 and the first *Volksraad* meeting was held in this building on 15 May 1867 (Rex 1956: 288). At completion of the building, the Government did not have funds to pay Skinner and Devereux and *Landdrost* C. Moll loaned them the money (Peacock 1955: 71). The original elongated thatch cottage with end gables and front verandah facing the Square (figure 5.51) could only accommodate the *Volksraadsaal* and the office of the president’s Executive Council (figure 5.56). The state departments had to be housed in other private or government buildings (Rex 1956: 188). A big storm ripped the roof of the front *stoep* off and threw it down on the Executive Council’s office in 1868. Termites and woodworms usually caused damage to the woodwork and thatch roof of the building.



**Figure 5.51**  
**First Old Raadsaal on Erf 412 around 1867**  
**with goal on the same erf in the background**  
**(Engelbrecht 1952: 25).**

In 1866 new state departments were created and the need for more state offices increased (Rex 1956: 190), thus the extension on Market Street was planned. The building was to have an L-shape as A.F. du Toit proposed (figure 5.49). The back offices would not be of thatch due to fire hazard and a corrugated iron roof was used (Rex 1956: 311). 130 corrugated iron sheets of 8 feet each were ordered from Natal with enough washers and

<sup>21</sup> Rex (1956: 306) refers to a tender received by Vuyk.

screws to cover the roof. The metal sheets were already ordered in 1867 but building of the offices could not take place due to financial constraints and for three years these sheets were loaned to residents of Pretoria. In 1870 Skinner added three offices with a passage in the middle on the Market Street side. According to Rex (1956: 298) one office was for the President and two for two Deputies, the Auditor General and the Registrar of Deeds, but Engelbrecht (1952: 45) claims that the two deputies were the Surveyor-General and the Registrar of Deeds. These deputies only arrived in December 1870.

The extension had a parapet wall on the Market Street side with a quarter round moulding and was covered with a mono pitch corrugated iron roof that fell away from the street (figure 5.52). Although the offices were completed in 1870, the Compass Sketchplan of 1879, compiled by the Royal Engineers Office in Pretoria, still only indicated a rectangular building and not an L-shaped one.



**Figure 5.52**

**First Old *Raadsaal* on the Corner of Church Square and Market Street with extension on Market Street side and the goal on the same erf in the background, 1870s**

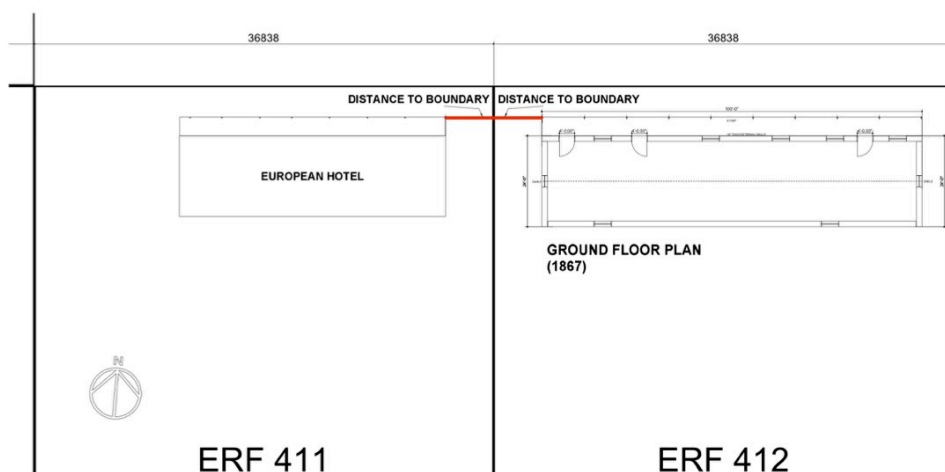
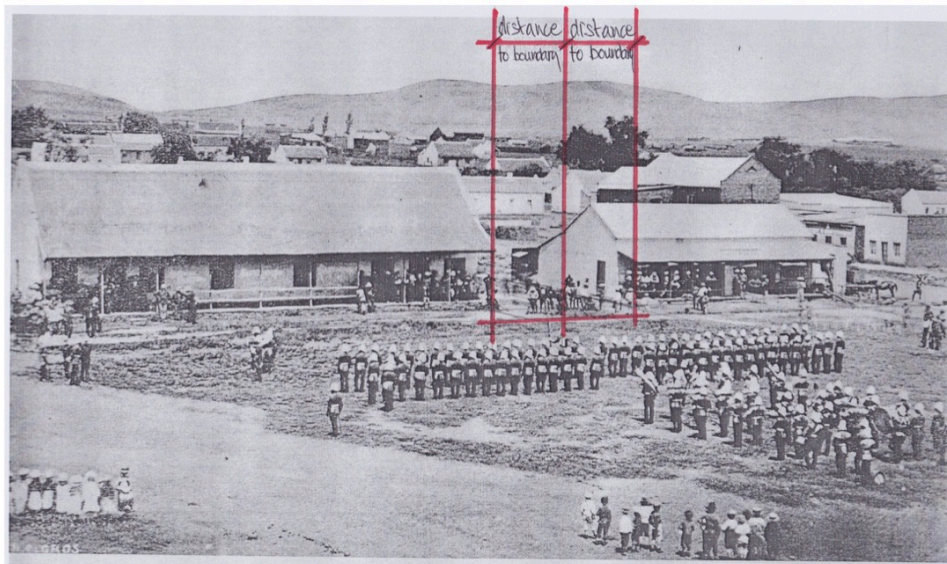
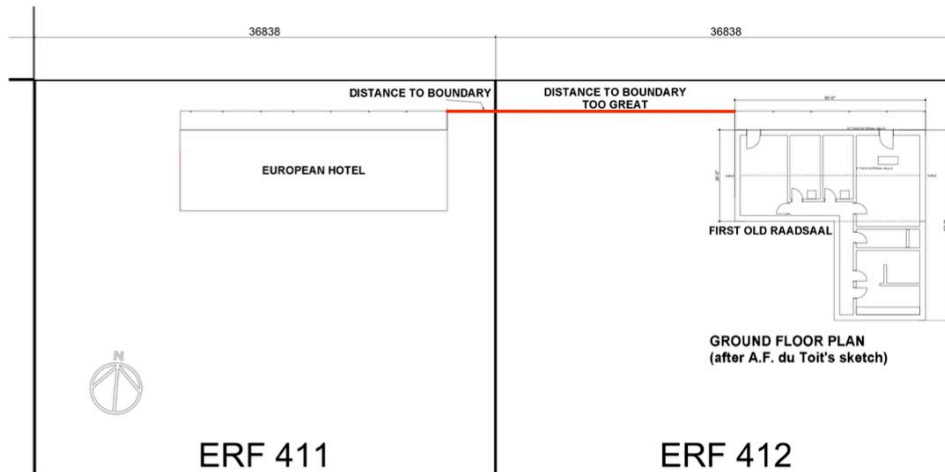
(retrieved from the public domain <https://web.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10207535481207491&set=pb.1303334893.-2207520000.1522136755.&type=3&theater>).

### 5.2.3.2 Methodology: Reconstruction based on building description and photographs

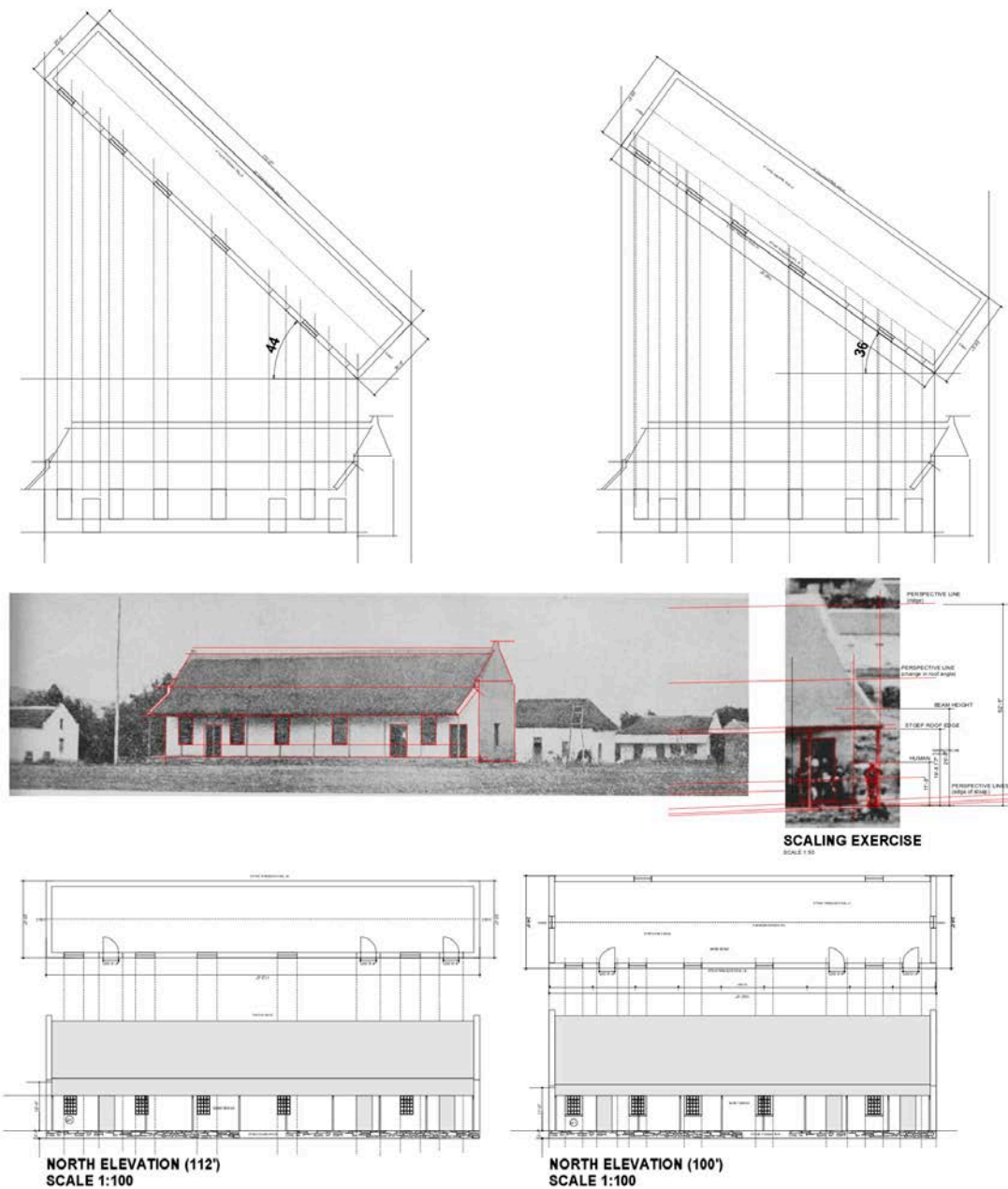
More than one tender specification exists and in order to compile building plans for the first Old *Raadsaal*, these specifications have to be analysed to determine which are the closest to reflecting how the building was eventually constructed. The first building specification indicated that the building was to be fifty feet (50') plus fifty feet (50'), thus hundred feet (100') long and twenty-four feet (24') wide. When considering A.F. du Toit's first drawing (figure 5.49) the description "50' plus 50'" was at first interpreted to be the length of each leg of the L, but this assumption proved to be incorrect. By redrawing A.F. du Toit's initial plan to those dimensions and comparing the outcome to the historic photographs of the first old *Raadsaal* and by placing the building on its site plan (figure 5.53), it became apparent that the first specification referred to a total length of 100'. An analysis of the objects in the frame of the photograph reveals their spatial relationships. With the L-shaped building, the distance to the boundary remains too great.

In July 1864 the Executive Council, who presumably had good knowledge of building, wanted to make certain amendments to the plans. They changed the ground floor dimensions to 112' long and 20' wide (Rex 1956: 307). These specifications were also included in Vuyk's tender. In order to determine whether these changes were applied, the amended 112' x 20' floor plan and the initial 100' x 24' floor plan were angled to line up with the historical photograph in figure 5.51 (figure 5.54).

The photograph in figure 5.54 was taken from the ground (eye level), with the building at an angle of between 35 and 45 degrees. The positions of windows and doors were projected onto the north elevation, and after allowing for corrections due to the effect of perspective, (where the spatial relation of objects as they appear to the eye or lens are represented on a plane surface in order to give the illusion of depth and distance), the two options were compared to determine which floor plan was more likely built. The outcome of this scaling exercise is that the initial tender specification was probably used and that the changes made by the Executive Council were not applied. Marais (1910: 78) confirms that the building was 100' long and also fronted on Market Street at 100'.



**Figure 5.53**  
 Reconstruction of First Old *Raadsaal* plan, incorporating initial tender specifications into A.F. du Toit's proposal of 1858 and comparing building dimensions (two options) on actual site plan with historic photograph by H.F. Gros (1881) taken from Church Square.  
 (conjunctural drawings by the author, photograph: Cartwright and Cowan 1978: 83).



**Figure 5.54**  
**Scaling exercise, comparing two plan options**  
**(conjectural drawing by the author).**

The initial request for tenders was for an elongated cottage with seven rooms (Rex 1956: 188; Pieterse 1942: 38), namely government office, *Volksraadsaal*, offices of the *landdrost* and attorney-general, *weeskamer*, printer and post office (Peacock 1955: 67). The initial specification included seven internal doors (Rex 1956: 279), which also

corresponds with A.F. du Toit's initial L-shaped proposal (figure 5.49, top of figure 5.50). However, when the Executive Council revised the plan, the building contained only the *Volksraadsaal* and one office for the Executive, thus two rooms. This explains why the door specifications had to change.

The initial specification described two (2) external doors with seven (7) internal doors (Rex 1956: 279; Pieterse 1942: 38) (figure 5.53, top drawing). The two external doors were to be 1.5" thick double panel doors and the two external doorframes were to have top lights with internal measurement of 3.5'. The tender specified that the Government could decide whether it wanted Yellow Wood or *Boekenhout* (Rex 1956: 306). The width of the internal doors was specified as 2'9". The internal frames were to be made of planks. With the Executive Council's amendments the amount of external doors changed to three front doors and door sizes increased to 9' feet high and 4' wide with top lights. Each door had to have four panels with good hinges, locks and bolts (*grendels*) (Rex 1956: 308). There is no reference to internal doors. Although both door specifications describe top lights, the historical photographs show that no top lights were installed. Rex (1956: 306) mentions that top lights would have remained closed to ensure privacy in the Government building, but when comparing the height of the three external doors that were built in without top lights (figure 5.51) with the heights determined in the scaling exercise (figure 5.54), it seems that door heights were reduced from 9' to 8' with the omission of top lights.

We further learn from the specifications published in the *Staats Courant*<sup>22</sup> that the stone foundations were two feet (2') above the ground at the lowest place and walls of burnt bricks were eighteen inches (18") thick (Pieterse 1942: 38; Peacock 1955: 71), eleven feet (11') high under the beam<sup>23</sup>. Interior walls were nine inches (9") thick and plastered with clay. Plaster on the outside was a mixture of lime and sand and on the inside it was mixed with cow dung and sand. The whole building was to be whitewashed.

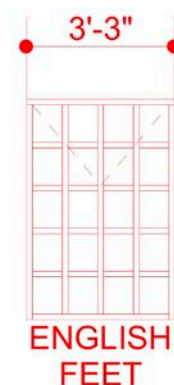
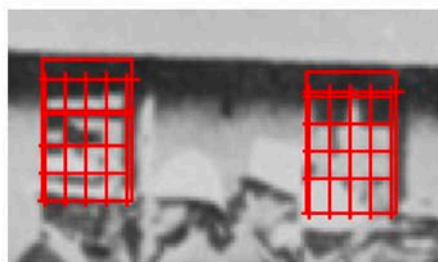
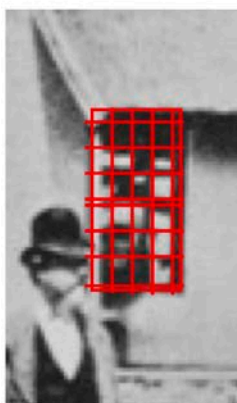
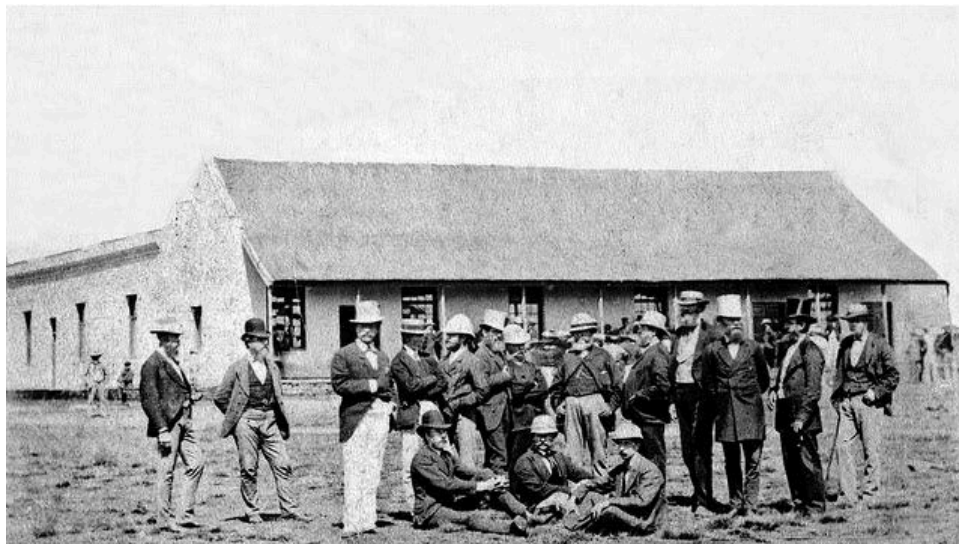
The initial specification described eleven (11) windows with twenty (20) windowpanes of eight by ten inches (8 x 10") each (Rex 1956: 279; Pieterse 1942: 38; Peacock 1955: 71) but with the amended specifications provision was made for six windows in the front of the

---

<sup>22</sup> *Staats Courant* No. 54- 21 June 1864.

<sup>23</sup> The Executive Council's amendment to change the height of the external walls to 12.5' under the beam (Rex 1956: 308), also included in Vuyk's tender, was probably not applied.

building and two windows at the back, each sized 8 x 10" with 12 panes in each (Rex 1956: 308). According to Vuyk's tender, each window was to have two panes, the top part being an opening section. When comparing the amended tender specification with the windows that were finally built in, it seems that the initial window specification was used (five windows in front, each with twenty windowpanes of 8 x 10" (figure 5.55) and that the changes made by the Executive Council were not applied. Window frames were made of 1.5" thick *Boekenhout* and windowsills were 1" thick. The windows in the painting in figure 5.57 have eight window panes each with the top two panes being an opening section. The windows are also closer together than on the historic photographs and it can therefore be deduced that these were south-facing windows of which no photographic evidence exists.



**Figure 5.55**  
**Reconstruction of First Old Raadsaal window elevation, comparing**  
**different window specifications with windows on historic photograph 1875**  
**(Engelbrecht 1952: 24, drawing by the author).**

The intention was that the roofs were to be covered with *dekriet* (thatch) and not with corrugated iron due to its scarcity and high price. The offices were to be thatch. *Fluitjiesriet* and grass were specified (Rex 1956: 306), but they could not find *fluitjiesriet*. With the revised plan the truss had to be covered with *hanen balken riet* but in the end a reed ceiling was added which was presumably more suited to the *Raadsaal*. In redrawing the building it was assumed that the roof pitch was 50° because with a full gable end water is shed more efficiently at 50° (figure 5.59) and the angle corresponds with the photographs.

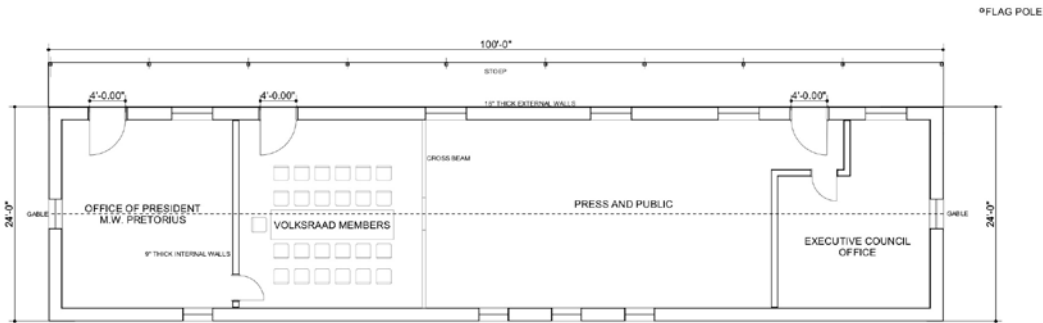
A government clock was placed in the gable of the Executive Council Office on the Market Street side, which later became the Treasury Office (Rex 1956: 324), but vandals broke the clock (Rex 1956: 325). The scaffolding-like wooden structure to the right of the building in figure 5.51 housed a lamp. The flagpole on the corner can be seen in figures 5.51 and 5.52.

The historic photographs were only ever taken from Church Square to show the north or Square elevation and the east or Market Street elevation. There is thus no way of knowing what the other elevations looked like and the reconstruction relies on the author's architectural assumptions.

The goal was constructed at the same time as the first Old *Raadsaal* (figure 5.51). It started off as a simple, rectangular, thatched building, 30' long and 11' wide with four rooms. Walls were built with stone and brick and were 10' high under the beam. The thatch roof was hipped, there was one external door and small windows with iron bars (Peacock 1955: 72; Pieterse 1942: 39). After five years the building had become so dilapidated that *Landdrost* Skinner recommended the construction of a new building, which could only be completed in 1873. In the 1870s a corrugated iron lean-to roof was added to the north side and a lean-to addition was added to the western side (figure 5.52). A chimney is visible on the northern side and by then, the building was probably not used as a goal anymore. When work started on the construction of the new Post Office in 1886, it was reported that the small building behind the old *Raasaal* (the former goal) was used as Post Office (Dunston 1971: 20). The building was demolished in 1888 to make way for the second Old *Raadsaal*.

### 5.2.3.3 Interior

Although the *Volksraad* consisted of forty members the layout before 1870 only had twenty to twenty-five chairs commonplace around a simple wooden table with an everyday cloth of green bay.



**GROUND FLOOR PLAN (100' x 24')  
BEFORE 1870  
SCALE 1:100**

**Figure 5.56  
Reconstruction of First Old Raadsaal floorplan before 1870 (30.48 x 7.315m)  
(conjectural drawing by the author).**

President M.W. Pretorius sat on a rough *riempies* mat chair and some members had to bring their own tables and chairs, as well as their own *reisdekens* to place on the hard seats (Rex 1956: 316). Members sat in two rows around a table, so the back row had no access to the table to place papers or stationary on. A cross beam was installed to separate the public from *Volksraad* members (Rex 1956: 318). President M.W. Pretorius added a middle wall in the *Volksraadsaal* for his office in 1866. In the same year Spruyt, the Government Secretary, and *Landdrost* Moll asked if they could demolish the middle wall (Rex 1956: 309; Pieterse 1942: 38, Peacock 1955: 72) but a beam rested on the wall and the room was kept in tact (figure 5.56).

In April 1871, after the Market Street addition had been complete, the *Landdrost* of Pretoria received instruction from the Government Secretary to make certain changes to the *Volksraadsaal*. He had to extend the platform by 10' and a table with a desk and chair for the Chairman had to be placed on a movable platform of 9" high (Rex 1956: 319). Four benches with writing desks of 9" wide had to be provided for the Council members in the back of the *Volksraadsaal* and a 2' x 5' table had to be provided for the Secretary of the *Volksraad* (Rex 1956: 319). The press constantly asked for better amenities. Rex does not believe that these betterments took place, but the illustration in figure 5.57 contests to the

fact that these changes were implemented. It seems that President M.W. Pretorius's office later became the *Weeskamer*, because once again it was suggested to break out the wall between the *Volksraadsaal* and the *Weeskamer* to make it one big hall and in order to extend the platform. The legal library was moved to the house of Judge Burgers where the Supreme Court in the mean time started to meet in 1885 so more space was created (Rex 1956: 324).

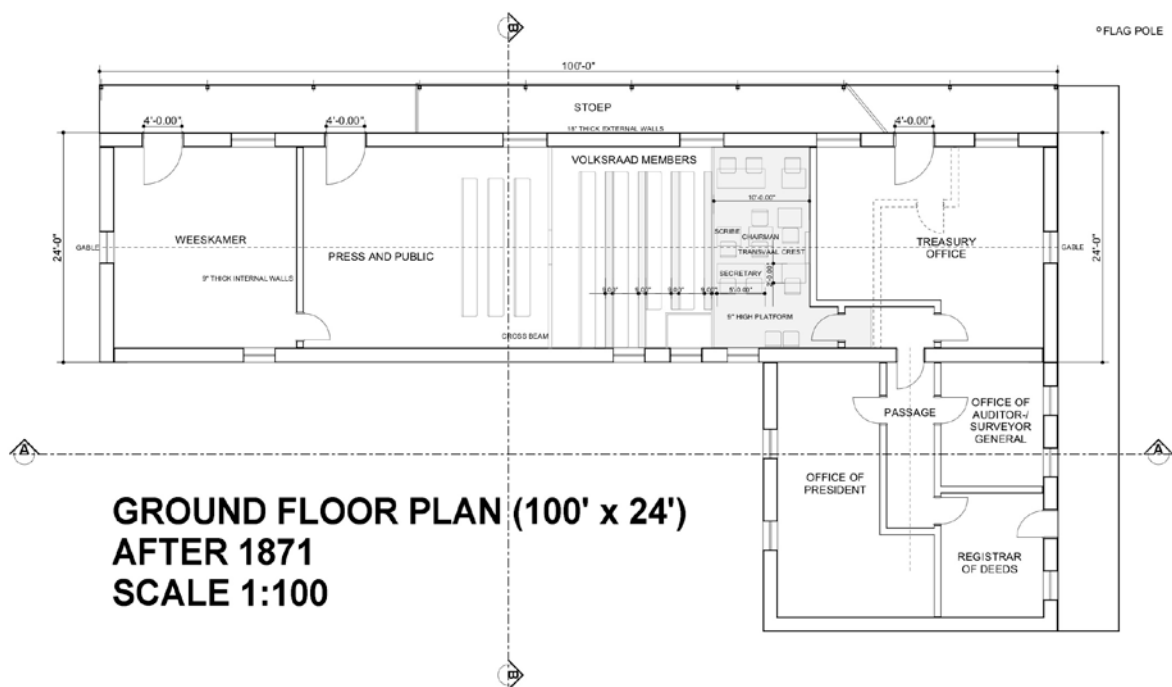


**Figure 5.57**  
*Charles Joseph Staniland, 1895, Meeting of the Volksraad in Pretoria*  
(Holm and Viljoen 1993: 12 and Rosa Swanepoel collection, retrieved from [https://repository.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/45804/Kerkplein\\_Kp-1-035.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y](https://repository.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/45804/Kerkplein_Kp-1-035.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y)).

Tender specifications included cornices of 3.5" thick and 5" wide and except for the Transvaal Crest (figure 5.57, on the back wall of the platform) and the hanging lamps there was no other decoration in the *Volksraadsaal* (Rex 1956: 325).

The drawing of the inside of the *Volksraadsaal* by C.J. Staniland (figure 5.57) is dated 1895, but by then the building had already been demolished, so Staniland either made a sketch at an earlier date and only completed the painting in 1895, or, as Swanepoel<sup>7</sup> suggests, someone else sketched the scene and Staniland completed the painting in England in 1895, because it is not known whether Staniland ever visited Pretoria personally. The drawing

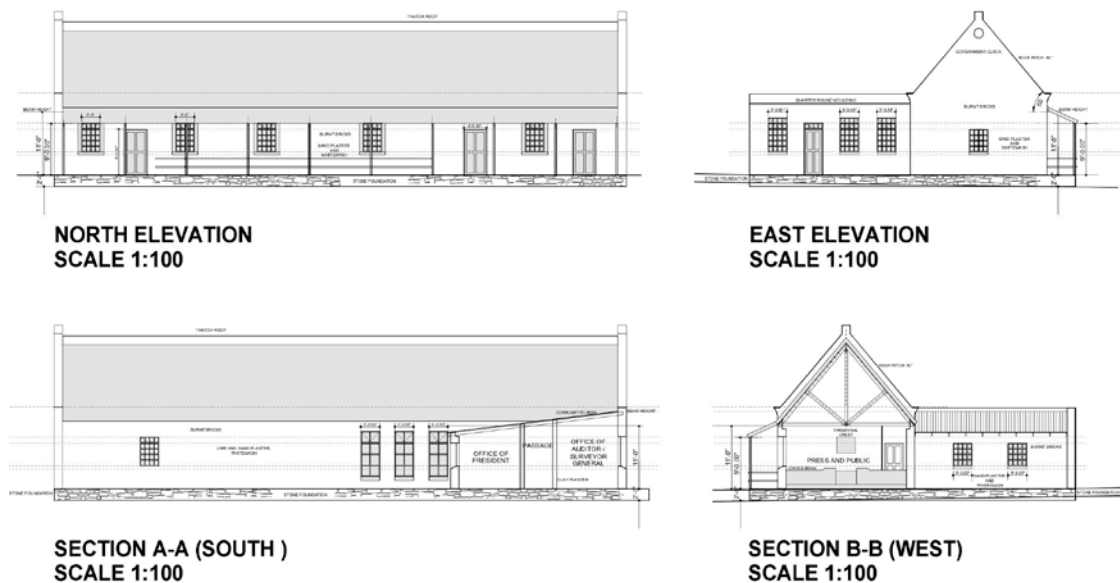
reflects the interior changes that were made in 1871. President Paul Kruger and his Executive Council are seated behind draped tables on the platform or stage and all seem to face to one side. The Transvaal Crest is visible on the wall behind the platform. The scribe writing is recording the minutes of the meeting. There are forty-four members of the *Volksraad* seated in the four parallel wooden benches with writing tables facing the platform. The cross beam or room divider that separates the *Volksraad* members from the press and public can be seen behind the four rows of benches. The men seated in the row behind the cross beam furthest to the right in the painting are thus members of the press and public (Holm and Viljoen 1993: 12). Staniland was a press illustrator and the position from where the sketch was made is behind the room divider where the press and public sat. The painting shows the cornice and beam bolts, as well as the Thonet-designed No. 14 Bentwood chairs that were fashionable in the nineteenth century. Albert Broderick imported these Bentwood chairs from Vienna in 1877<sup>24</sup>.



**Figure 5.58**  
**Reconstruction of First Old Raadsaal floorplan after 1870 (30.48 x 7.315m)**  
 (conjectural drawing by the author).

<sup>24</sup> Retrieved from [https://repository.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/45804/Kerkplein\\_Kp-1-035.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y](https://repository.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/45804/Kerkplein_Kp-1-035.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y).

The windows in the painting are different from the window specifications in the tender document and historic photographs taken from Church Square. It is possible that the Staniland painting did not accurately depict window detail or spatial relations between wall and window, but since there is no known photographic record of the southwest of the building, the author deduces that these windows could have been south facing. The floor plan in figure 5.58 was constructed to reflect the details in the painting.



**Figure 5.59**  
**Reconstruction of First Old *Raadsaal* sections and elevations (after 1870)**  
**(conjectural drawing by the author).**

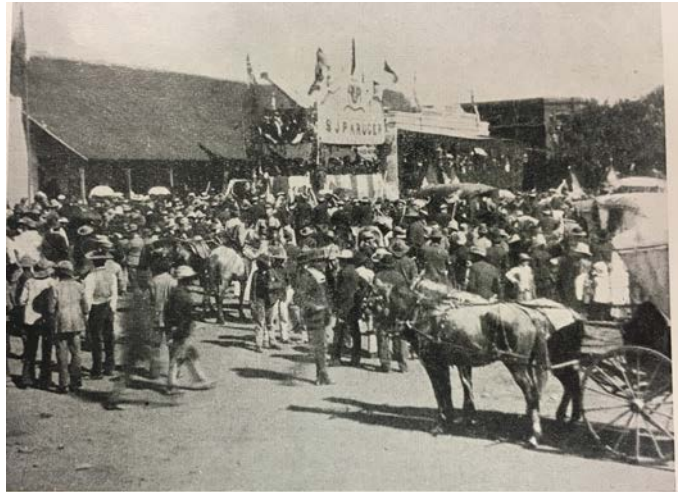
#### 5.2.3.4 The donkeys on the *stoep*

Before gold was discovered in the Transvaal, the Republic had limited financial means to construct government buildings and the first Old *Raadsaal* is testimony to the scarcity of funds. Even though the building looked good in the beginning many visitors, especially English-speaking visitors and the press, made snide remarks. When McComrey, the editor of the *Lantern* visited Pretoria in 1888 he referred to the parish donkeys that left “visible and odorous testimony to their habitual presence on the *stoep* and doors in front of the dirty thatched barn” (Rex 1956: 315). He also referred to the dreary interior of the miserable barn. Marais (1910: 78) states that the donkeys were sketched in on the *stoep* by a visitor who wanted to humiliate that young Republic, but explains that the rebuke came “*Bij óns staan die esels tog nog buite!*” With us the donkeys remain outside ..

The Supreme Court also sat in the *Volksraadsaal* in the 1870s. The *Landdroste* sat where the *Volksraad* members usually sat. There were no benches for the witnesses or the accused, who usually sat next to their lawyers on a bench arranged in a semi-circle below the judge (Rex 1956: 321).

With the British annexation of the ZAR in 1877, Commissioner Theophilus Shepstone, read the annexation-proclamation from the government building and hoisted the British flag, but he moved the British authorities and management into Jella Labat Villas on Visagie Street and the First Old *Raadsaal* fell into disuse. After the English *Interregnum* the ZAR was re-established in 1881 and the *Vierkleur* once again flew from the *Volksraadsaal* (Engelbrecht 1952: 4). By now the building had a foul atmosphere and squalid appearance. Walls were bare and whitewashed and benches were uncomfortable. *De Volksstem* complained and softer chairs were provided but the public had to stand on windowsills and excluded any breath of fresh air (Rex 1956: 322). The furniture in the Old *Raadsaal* could not be used any more and the members had to supply their own tables and chairs for some time (Rex 1956: 320). The Market Street offices probably had dirt floors (Rex 1956: 316), but in 1884 the passage floor was changed to stone and wooden floors were installed in the offices (Rex 1956: 311). A *landdrost* was eventually appointed to look after the Government building (Rex 1956: 168).

Kruger was sworn in in front of the first Old *Raadsaal* on 9 May 1883 (figure 5.60) and again in 1888 (figure 5.61). Both times the humble building received simple decorations. When Kruger was re-elected in 1893 and 1898, his inauguration ceremonies took place in front of the new Second *Raadsaal* with considerably more pomp (see below). The First Old *Raadsaal* remained in use from the beginning of 1867 until 1889 when it was demolished to make way for the new *Raadsaal* building around 1890 (Rex 1956: 3). When Paul Kruger made his speech at the laying of the cornerstone of the new building on 6 May 1889, he reminded the spectators that the humble first Old *Raadsaal* must never be forgotten. “We are erecting new buildings, but let us not forget the old buildings that stood on the same place because there we experienced sorrow and difficult times and let us not, while we enter into a time of prosperity where we can erect new buildings, let us not forget to think of the old times”. This is one of the many reasons why Rex regarded this progenitor of the Old *Raadsaal* as being of great cultural and historical significance (Rex 1956: 4).



**Figure 5.60**

**The first swearing in of Paul Kruger as State President in front of the First Old Raadsaal in 1883.  
The European hotel with creepers on the balcony can be seen in the background.  
(Dunston 1975: 38).**



**Figure 5.61**

**Paul Kruger is sworn in for the second time in 1888  
(retrieved from the public domain <https://web.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10207535481887508&set=pb.1303334893.-2207520000.1522136755.&type=3&theater>).**

### **5.2.3.5 First Old Raadsaal Timeline**

|          |   |
|----------|---|
| 1858     | <i>Landdrost</i> A.F. du Toit's proposed plan, request for tenders to provide stone, only one tender received |
| 1860     | Design completed  |
| Oct 1860 | Second request for tenders for stone  |
| Dec 1860 | Stone delivered   |
| 1864     | Executive Council changes plans and specifications, request for tenders for construction                      |
| 1866     | Construction started, middle wall added   |
| 1867     | First <i>Volksraad</i> meeting, metal sheets ordered  |

|      |  |
|------|--|
| 1868 | Roof blew off  |
| 1870 | Building completed, three offices added with passage in the middle |
| 1871 | Change to interior and platform                                    |
| 1883 | Paul Kruger takes oath of office as State President                |
| 1884 | Stone floor to passage, timber floors in offices                   |
| 1888 | Paul Kruger re-elected as State President                          |
| 1889 | Building demolished  |

## 5.2.4 The second Old *Raadsaal*

### 5.2.4.1 Competition

In January 1887 a competition for the plans and specifications for a new *Raadsaal* was launched. This was standard practice in the ZAR before there was a state architect. A tender for the construction of the building was advertised in the Government Gazette (*Staats-Courant*). Leslie Simmonds usually partook in the government competitions. His design for the new *Gouvernementsgebouw*<sup>25</sup> was accepted and he was tasked with presenting contract drawings and specifications. Then abruptly in August that year the Government Gazette announced that the intended project had been postponed. The *Volksraad* decided on 24 June 1887 to appoint a state architect and the position was offered to Wierda who was on his way from Amsterdam. Klaas van Rijssen was Wierda's ex-apprentice in Holland. He was on the committee in Pretoria that had to scrutinise Simmonds's specifications and he apparently found so many mistakes that the specifications were rejected (Holm and Viljoen 1993: 20; See also Abrahamse and Clarke 2014: 44). Van Rijssen knew that Wierda would be able to design a better building and delayed the process until Wierda could arrive in Pretoria (Holm and Viljoen 1993: 20). Van Rijssen in the mean time, held the position of acting state architect, and drafted his own plans. When Wierda arrived, Van Rijssen became his chief assistant and together they built up the Department of Public Works. The *Raadsaal* design was completed with relative speed in 1888.

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<sup>25</sup> *Gouvernementsgebouw* is the Dutch for government building. From 1910 onwards it was referred to as the Old *Raadsaal* because the parliamentary function had moved to the Union Buildings.

#### 5.2.4.2 Design change

Plans were originally for a two-storey building (figure 5.62), but it was decided at the first *Volksraad* meeting in the Council Chamber on 5 May 1890 to add a third storey, which was completed in 1891. Bakker (2014: 80) ascribed the need to enlarge the building to the rapid expansion of government, but (Allen 1971: 39) claims that Kruger discovered that the President Hotel, which was about to be built on the site of Robert Lys's old house next door, was to have three storeys, so the President could not allow his prestigious new *Raadsaal* to be overtopped by a hotel and the plans were amended to allow for three storeys.

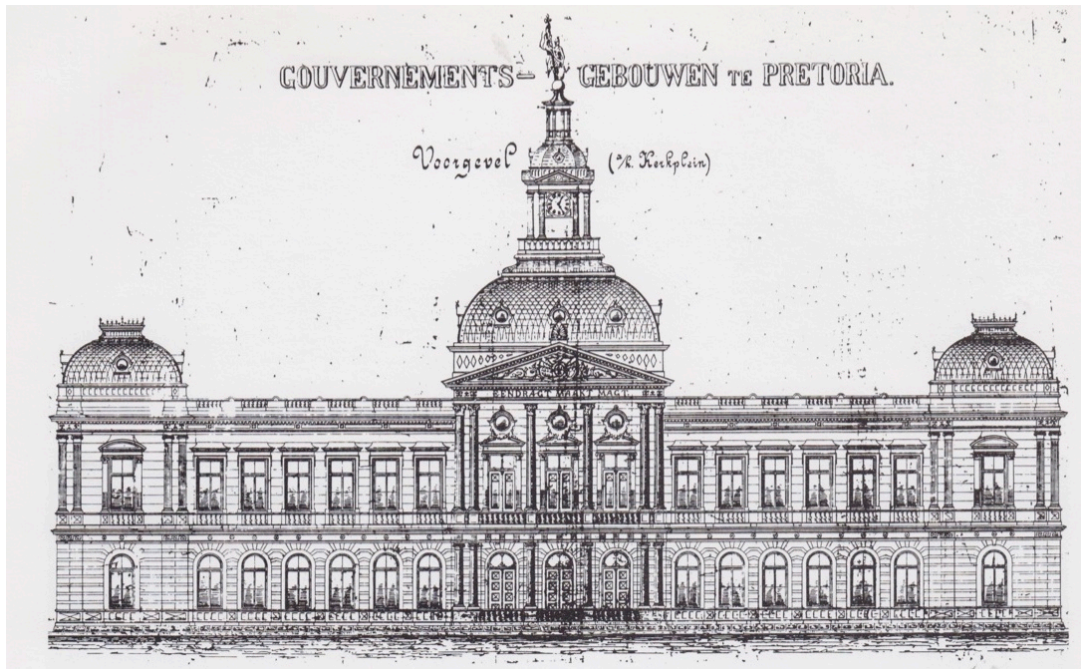
According to Holm and Viljoen (1993: 97) Kruger justified the height increase by insisting on the addition of a chamber for a second *Volksraad*. Wierda initially designed the building to have only one domed *Volksraadsaal*<sup>26</sup> (figure 5.63) in the middle of the building surrounded by courtyards on all sides except the north where it links to the main entrance on the northern front façade on Church Square. The western side of the building was to be open towards Parliament Street, which gave access to the internal courtyards. This western portal would have been just a courtyard with wrought iron gates, which would lead visitors through the spiral staircase to the galleries, but due to the changes of 1890, the Second *Volksraadsaal*<sup>27</sup> was built in that space.

Kruger saw the need for a second *Volksraad*, which he created in 1890 to alleviate the political pressure placed on him by the *uitlanders*. Before 1890 immigrants could naturalise and vote after residing in the ZAR for five years. After the discovery of gold, *uitlanders* streamed into the Republic and Kruger feared that these new citizens would elect a regime sympathetic to the British. New voting rights determined that *uitlanders* could vote for the second, subservient *Volksraad* after four years, but could only vote for the first *Volksraad* after ten years (Holm and Viljoen 1993: 26). The first *Volksraad* represented matters such as agriculture, defence, railways, mint and banking, tax and foreign affairs. The second *Volksraad* consisted of businessmen and naturalised *uitlanders*. It represented mining, the post office and economic matters, but all its decisions had to be ratified by the first *Volksraad*.

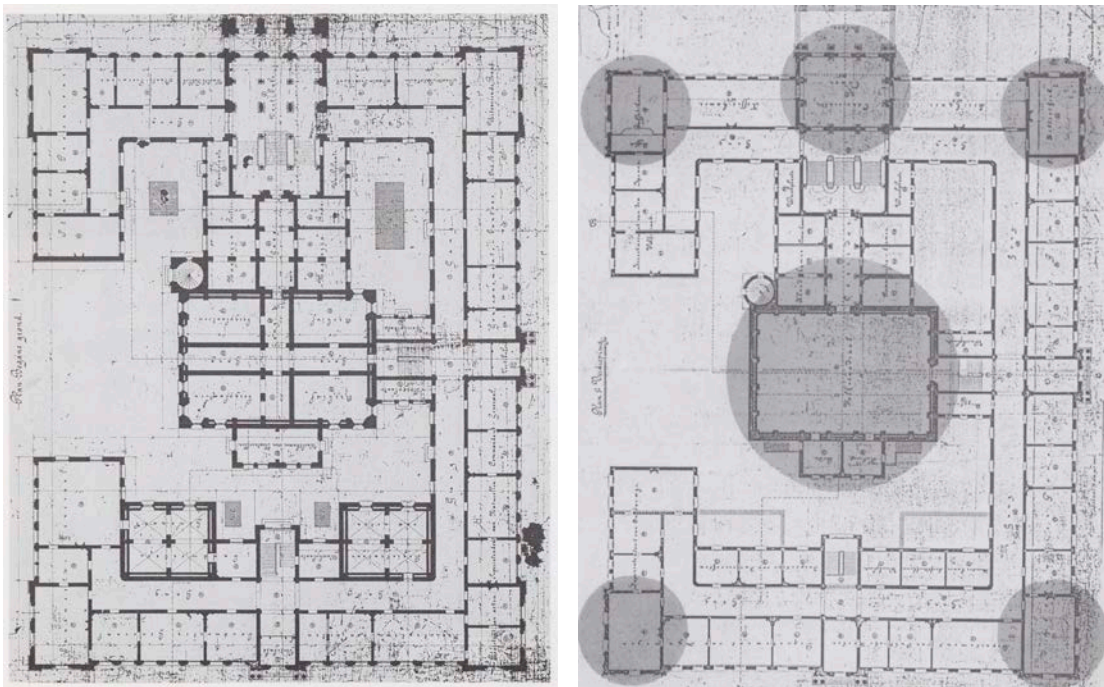
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<sup>26</sup> The first *Volksraadsaal* is a spacious hall 64' (19.51m) wide and 42' (12.8m) high (Maré 1975: 34).

<sup>27</sup> The second *Volksraadsaal* was 44'x44' (13.41m).

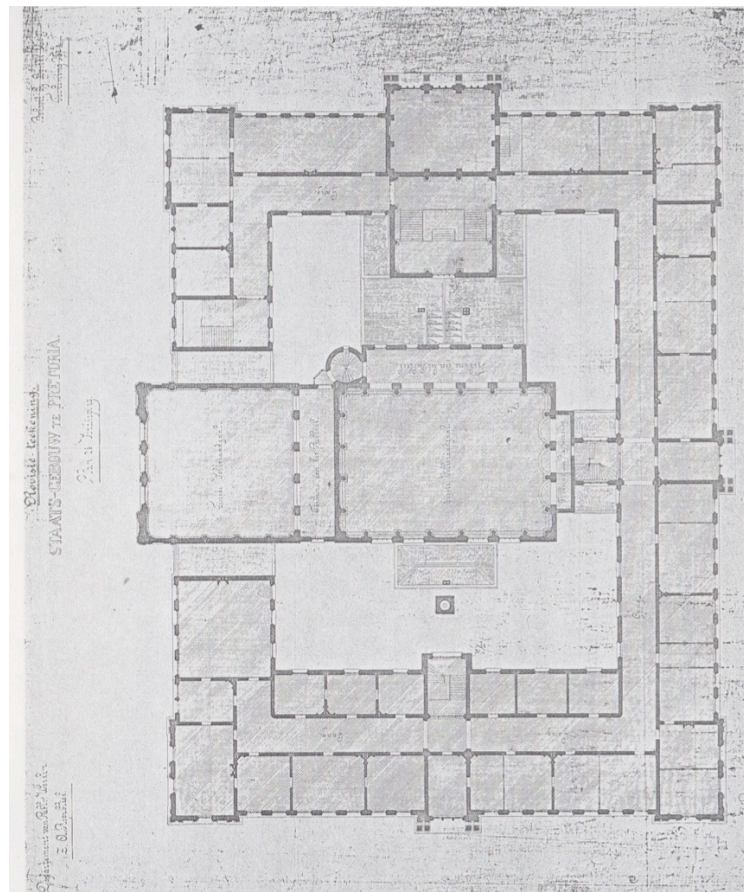


**Figure 5.62**  
**Second Old Raadsaal Sytze Wierda, initial elevation from Church Square with only two storeys (Holm and Viljoen 1993: 22).**



**Figure 5.63**  
**Initial ground floor plan (left) and first floor plan (right) of the second Old Raadsaal by Sytze Wierda. The drawings are upside down in order for north to be at the top of page. The circles were added by Holm to indicate positions of domes (Holm and Viljoen 1993: 24).**

The second *Volksraadsaal* was inserted in the opening on the western side without a dome (figure 5.64). Its subservience is seen in the building only by the absence of a domed roof and it is a fraction smaller. The finishes and furniture in the two halls were identical. The chairmen of the two halls were connected with a small passage. The two *Volksrade* sat together when important matters had to be decided.



**Figure 5.64**  
**Amended first floor plan of the second Old Raadsaal by Sytze Wierda,**  
**showing the first Volksraadsaal in the middle and the second Volksraadsaal to the west thereof.**  
**The drawing has been rotated in order for north to be at the top of page.**  
**(Holm and Viljoen 1993: 33).**

According to classic tradition, there is a hierarchy in which columns are to be applied on a façade: from the heavy and strong Doric order on the ground, to the lighter Ionic columns on the second level and if there is a third level, to Corinthian capitols above that. The orders, Doric Ionic and Corinthian, are associated with anthropomorphic ideas. The Doric is masculine, the Ionic matronly, the Corinthian maidenly. These are essential factors for their appeal and durability because they associate the physical forms with issues

of character and human identity (Groat and Wang 2002: 323). Wierda initially designed the façade on two levels, with an Ionic order on the ground floor and a Corinthian order on the first floor (figure 5.62), but with the addition of a third level, he could not apply the heavy Doric order on the third level nor could he replace the already built in Ionic columns on the ground floor. He thus settled for a second level of Corinthian columns on the third floor (Holm and Viljoen 1993: 28) (figure 5.65).



**Figure 5.65**

**The second Old Raadsaal, Sytze Wierda, 1900.**

(retrieved from the public domain:

<https://web.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10207426189155258&set=pb.1303334893.-2207520000.1522137433.&type=3&theater>).

Wierda had a tradition of designing domes on the corners of his buildings, over the entrance and over the central main part to accentuate important parts of his buildings (figure 5.63) (see his design for a competition for the stock exchange in Amsterdam, Holm and Viljoen 1993: 28; Abrahamse and Clarke 2014: 26). Rapoport (1969) writes that a central tower over the middle entrance stresses verticality, which is a symbol of masculinity and Holm and Viljoen (1993: 43) concur that the building has masculine characteristics. In his original design the *Volksraadsaal* was elevated above the ground so that the dome over this central area was visible from the Square. With the increased height

he also increased the height of the dome so that it would still be visible from outside, since the Auditorium floor had already been constructed. The second *Volksraadsaal* did not get a dome and the top floor had a limited head height, thus Wierda restored the original balance of mass (Holm and Viljoen 1993: 32).

### 5.2.4.3 Architectural influence

Abrahamse and Clarke (2014: 44) state that the *Raadsaal*, just like Cuypers's *Rijksmuseum*, had its antecedent in the Amsterdam's City Hall on Dam Square (1655), which was built during the Dutch Golden Age and changed into a Royal Palace in the early nineteenth century<sup>28</sup>. Both Wierda and Van Rijse had drawn the plan of the Palace on the Dam (*Paleis op de Dam*) many times in their proposals for the stock exchange from 1880 to 1886 (Holm and Viljoen 1993: 28; Abrahamse and Clarke 2014: 26).

Bakker (2014: 75) supports Minnaar's (2000: 78-81) theory that Wierda, while seeking an appropriate nationalistic expression for the formal architecture of the Republic, relied heavily on Prussian influence. Wierda emulated Schinkel, who was also the head of the Public Works Department and probably applied Schinkel's vision for the capital Berlin to his vision for Pretoria. Although Bakker stated that the Reichstag should be seen as model for the *Raadsaal*, Picton-Seymour (1977: 276) believed it was the other way around. She called the *Raadsaal* the prototype of many buildings of its epoch, particularly the Reichstag in Berlin (figure 5.66), which was designed by Paul Wallot (1841-1912) in 1894 after the *Raadsaal* had been completed. Picton-Seymour (1977: 276) stressed that the *Raadsaal* has a particular fascination because it was in the middle of nowhere.

Bakker (2014: 81) elaborates that Wierda's newly-formed ZAR-style was not too specifically Dutch but a free mix of Neo-Classical elements with other European architectural elements, that would reflect the sober Protestant Republican values that would be suitably impressive and have the stature of a house of Parliament, as directed by the President himself. Holm and Viljoen (1993: 23) describe Wierda's point of departure as a harmonious whole rather than the composition of different detail elements, thereby following the examples of the Dutch Golden Age rather than that of Victorian architecture typical of that time.

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<sup>28</sup> Retrieved from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Royal\\_Palace\\_of\\_Amsterdam](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Royal_Palace_of_Amsterdam)



**Figure 5.66**  
The Reichstag in Berlin, before the war with original dome  
(retrieved from the public domain [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reichstag\\_dome](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reichstag_dome)).

As mentioned in the literature review in Chapter 1, Wierda and Van Rijsse's contribution to the architecture of the ZAR has been given three different names by different authors. Picton-Seymour (1977) called it the Transvaal Republican Style and made a clear distinction between this style and Victorian Architecture, which was more orientated towards the Neo-Gothic and Neo-Renaissance and Holm and Viljoen (1993) calls it the ZAR– style. More recently the term 'ZA Wilhelmiens' has been coined by a group affiliated with the University of Pretoria, to express the Dutch link of the period that roughly coincides with the life of the Dutch queen Wilhelmina (1880–1962) (Clarke and Kuipers 2015: 2).

On the interior, the office of the president was placed near the entrance on the Ground Floor leading off the entrance foyer. It shows that the president is accessible to all the citizens of the country. This concept could be connected to the layout of the Amsterdam City Hall famous for its entrance through seven small, unadorned arched gates on the Dam Square, which symbolised the accessibility of the *burgermeester* of Amsterdam (Abrahamse and Clarke 2014: 46).

#### **5.2.4.4 Materials**

Wierda brought the Dutch tradition of brick architecture with him. Walls are lime-plastered brick, painted to imitate sandstone. Clay bricks were fired at Kirkness's brickyard in

Groenkloof (Bakker 2014: 80). Light yellow sandstone was excavated near Pyramid Station north of Pretoria (Labuschagne 1981: 5). All ornamental parts of the Ionic order of the portico, cornices and balusters for balustrades and windows are of *ciment-fondu*, which could only have come from the *Cementsteenfabriek Vrijenban* at Delft (established in 1863) or Waning & Co at Rotterdam (established in 1888). Wood for all the doors and windows for this building were imported from Norway and sent to Kirkwall, Orkney Islands, where doors and windows were made by Samuel Baikie & Company, owned by the father-in-law to Kirkness, the contractor, shipped from there to Durban, railed to Charlesto(w)n, the rail terminus at that time, and transported by wagon to Pretoria (Labuschagne 1981: 5). Slate for the foundation was quarried near Hammanskraal (Boshoff 1990: 8). The dome is covered with metal scales. The carpentry work was executed by Kirkness's father-in-law on the Orkney Islands and was made from wood that was imported from Norway. The fire doors for the strong rooms under the *Volksraadsaal* were made locally by the Pretoria Engineering Foundry and Wagon Works Company Ltd. to save time and money. Roof sheeting, fish-tiled roof (scales), locks etc. were imported from Britain and the bells, clockwork, telephones and electric wiring were made by German firms.

Anton van Wouw and his entire team of stone masons moved into the basement of the half completed building to work on the sandstone coat of arms that was to be placed in the pediment on the front gable in 1891 (Viljoen 1991: 31; Holm and Viljoen 1993; Rex 1955: 7). Anton van Wouw attracted the attention of John J. Kirkness (1857-1939) while he was building the *Raadsaal* and at the time Kirkness needed an architectural sculptor to create the old Republican coat of arms for the pediment over the entrance of his building (Duffey 2008: 83; Bakker 2014: 810). See Duffey for a detailed description of the coat of arms (figure 5.70).

#### **5.2.4.5 Symbolism and archetypes**

Holm and Viljoen (1993) explore symbolism in the design and link it to archetypes found throughout the history of architecture. They start by comparing the design of the second Old *Raadsaal* with an archetypal castle with four corner towers that protrude slightly from the walls, with a portal and a main tower in the middle of the front façade (figure 5.65). The same archetype is visible in the Reichstag (figure 5.66). Kruger was happy with the

images of power contained in the façade and he mentioned it in his speech during the laying of the corner stone (Holm and Viljoen 1993: 26). The Voortrekkers had a tradition in their *laagers* to set up a formal front. Similarly, the Raadsaal has an archetypal front elevation (facing Church Square). The façade depicts the State (in the middle) and its delegated powers (arms to the left and right). The Dome in the middle represents the *Volksraad*, linked to the front façade representing the President and his executive council (Holm and Viljoen 1993: 32). The façade is divided into five with the middle tower, two corner towers and the two connecting wings.

A gabled pediment supported by columns defines the building's main entrance on Church Square. This represents another archetype namely the Greek *megaron*. In classic Greek architecture the entrance to the temple was always from the gabled side. The portico with balcony over is derived from medieval European imperial palaces. Wierda placed a carving in white stone of the ZAR coat of arms with the national motto *Eendragt Maakt Magt*<sup>29</sup> above the portico in the pediment (Holm and Viljoen 1993: 25).

The main tower above the front entrance is capped with a lantern in which the clock is situated. The four bells that were installed on the tower of the main dome have Dutch inscriptions. The biggest bell says *Staatspresident Paul Kruger*, the second one *Het recht der volkeren is aan onze zijde en hoe zwak wij zijn onze God is een rechtvaardige God*. The third bell says: *Onze leus is de leus onzer vaders: Eendracht maakt macht* and the fourth bell: *Wij herhalen plegtig, onze leuse is: Eendracht en verzoening, onze vrijheid is orde en wet* (Bakker 2014: 81). Holm and Viljoen (1993: 45) believe that these statements referred to the Civil War of 1864 and the First Freedom War of 1881.

Above the tower over the entrance is the statue of a woman. Some believe her to be Minerva, the Roman Goddess of war, or a statue representing freedom and liberty, or even the Virgin Mary, but since freedom was a concept that was very dear to the Boers (Holm and Viljoen 1993: 39), the statue is associated with freedom. She initially did not wear a hat, which upset the residents of Pretoria and the President. A helmet was fashioned and fixed with large nails and rivets on the female figure, which tops the central tower because Kruger said that: "A lady cannot stand there in public with nothing on her head. She must have a hat" (Allen 1971: 40). The dome reminds Holm of Keiser Wilhelm's helmet (Holm

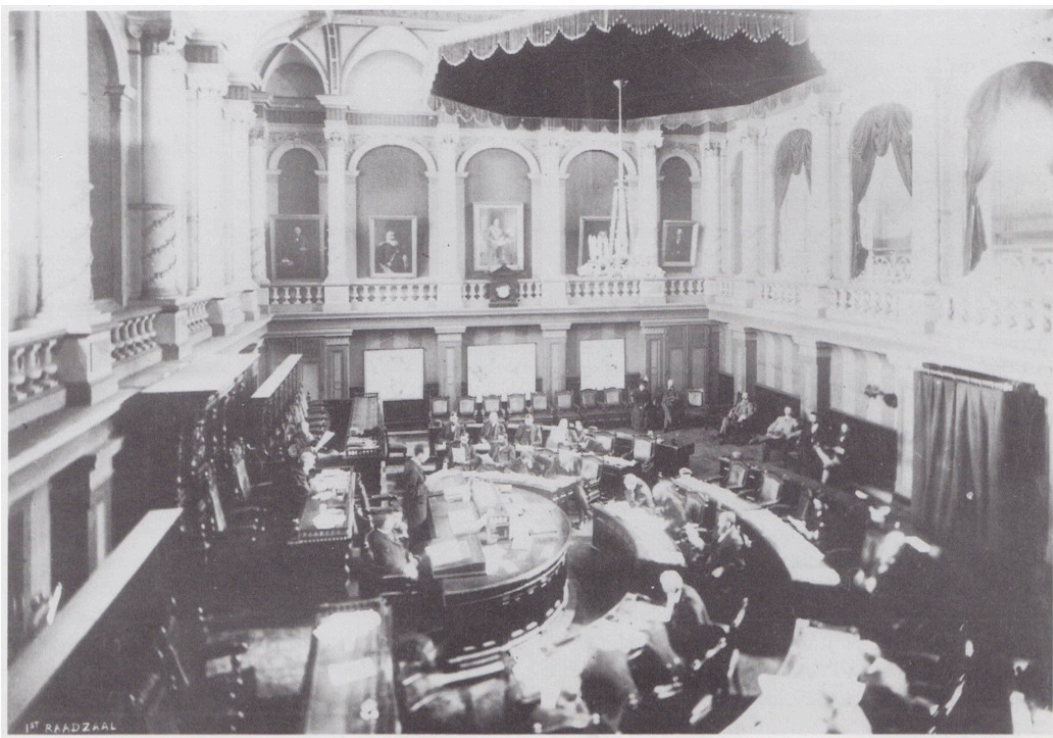
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<sup>29</sup> The Dutch spelling *Eendracht maakt macht* had been changed to *Eendragt maakt magt*, which hinted at the start of Afrikaans.

and Viljoen (1993: 42). Finally Holm and Viljoen (1993: 25) refer to the *Raadsaal*'s architecture as masculine, in contrast with Victorian architecture, which they describe as feminine, due to the frills and lace (author's own comment).

#### 5.2.4.6 Interior

The division of the façade into five is repeated inside the assembly, where five niches formally and symmetrically house portraits of leaders of the ZAR with Paul Kruger in the middle (Holm and Viljoen 1993: 32). A magnificent chandelier hangs in the first *Volksraadsaal*, which Ryk Tulbagh brought to the Cape (Viljoen 1991: 32). Finely carved walnut furniture was ordered from Maple and Co. of London and shipped to Durban (figure 5.67).



**Figure 5.67**  
**The first *Volksraadsaal* with rounded tables in concentric circles, May 1890**  
**(Holm and Viljoen 1993: 57).**

In one of the corridors metal pegs were nailed to the floor for standardising the surveyors' chains and pegs to which the horses were hitched can be seen on the façade on the Church Square side (Labuschagne 1981: 6). Maré (1975) gives further details of the building. The *conversatie kamer* was a room just behind the balcony under the main tower

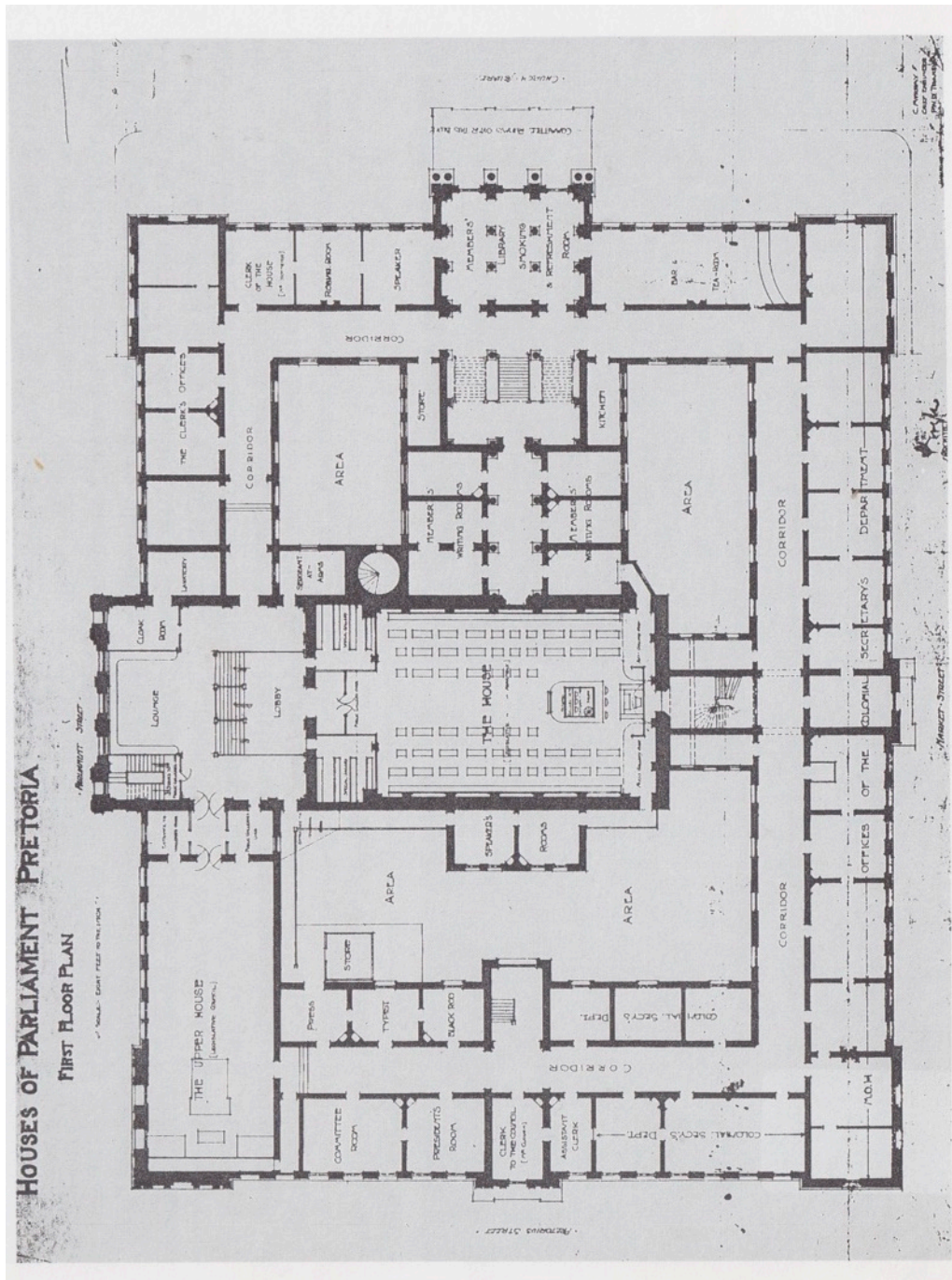
over the entrance. It has four freestanding columns with a cross vault in the form of a light and elegant ceiling (Holm and Viljoen 1993: 59). The building had water reticulation, a fire alarm, central heating, natural ventilation shafts in the walls, an intercom in the form of voice tubes, a telephone system and artworks integrated in the architecture (Bakker 2014: 81).

#### **5.2.4.7 Interior change after Anglo-Boer War**

The layout of the first *Volksraadsaal* consisted of rounded tables organised in concentric circles in a half moon shape around the chairman's chair (figure 5.67) (Holm and Viljoen 1993: 59). There was no division for political parties because, since the Civil War, Paul Kruger feared any political division. The layout embraced the concept of *Eendragt maak Magt* and it depicted unity through symbolic *laertrek*, closing and fortifying. The layout of the second *Volksraadsaal* was arranged in identical seating. The chair of the president was initially to the right of the chairman, but Paul Kruger wanted to sit in the middle with the chairman to the left of him.

After the Anglo-Boer War the Old *Raadsaal* was seen as an important war spoils and the Imperial administration adjusted the interior to suit the Westminster system (figure 5.68). The first *Volksraadsaal*'s chairman's chair had been on the southern wall. It was moved to the eastern wall and the spectators' gallery on the northern wall was closed up and a new one was broken open on the western side. The curved tables where members of the *Volksraad* sat in concentric circles were sold to municipalities and straight short desks were erected on the south and north wall. On the eastern side of the first *Volksraadsaal* there were three small balconies. The middle was known as *Tant Gesi se balkon* because Paul Kruger's wife, Gesina, used to sit there. This balcony was preserved but the two on each side were changed into shell-like balconies for the press (figure 5.69). The floor of the second *Volksraadsaal* was broken out and the caretaker's flat as well as police offices under it were changed into a big impressive staircase of Burmese teak. From this staircase an opening in the previous first *Volksraadsaal* was broken open. It became known as *The House* or the *Legislative Assembly*. On the southern side of the large stair lobby, two double doors lead to another big hall, which was created by breaking out two storeys of offices. This hall was named *The Legislative Council* or *The Upper House*. It had a new

vault ceiling and a gallery for spectators. It was painted in the simple Edwardian colours with Burmese teak panelling (Holm and Viljoen 1993: 72).



**Figure 5.68**  
**Amended first floor plan of the second Old Raadsaal by Sytze Wierda,**  
**showing how the first Volksraadsaal in the middle was re-arranged according to the Westminster**  
**system. The second Volksraadsaal to the west thereof has been converted into a lobby.**  
**The drawing has been rotated in order for north to be at the top of page.**  
**(Holm and Viljoen 1993: 74).**

Smaller changes were made: walls were demolished and others were built to make offices either smaller or bigger. The whole orientation moved towards the west portal and the main entrance and the entrance tower on Church Square basically lost their meaning. The *conversatiekamer* with the four pylons and the cross vault ceiling was changed to the members' library, smoking and refreshment room. The original murals were damaged. The Edwardian fashion was to paint walls two shades of green, which was also the colour of the British House of Commons (lower house of parliament). Robert Wolff painted murals in shades of grey depicting landscapes and the streetscape of Pretoria and surrounds directly on the plaster.

The small spiral staircase led to the tribune *voor het publiek* of both *Volksraadsale*. In 1906 this gallery was closed up on its western side and opened up on its eastern side to look out over *The House*, which was according to the Westminster system. A small winding passage led from the gallery to *The Upper House* of 1906.



**Figure 5.69**  
**The first *Volksraadsaal* (“The House”) arranged according to the Westminster system, with transformed balconies. The public gallery on the left has been blocked up, circa 1906. (Holm and Viljoen 1993: 75).**

#### 5.2.4.8 Events and change of use

Apart from the two chambers for the *Volksraad*, the building contained offices of the president and all the public officials of the state. These included the offices of the Surveyor-General, superintendent of education, commandant-general, the department of mining and public works, the treasury general, the auditor general and the registrar of deeds, the inspector general of import rights, the post master general, inspector of prisons, the chief of police, the *weesheer* (orphan-master / later master of the supreme court), council of executors, examiners and the curators of the insane asylum (Holm and Viljoen 1993). There are fireproof rooms on the ground floor, where the state archives and land registers were deposited (Maré 1975: 34).

Paul Kruger was inaugurated there twice. He was the only ZAR President to take up his place in the building. Kruger declared war against Great Britain from the building in October 1899 (Viljoen 1991: 31). The last sitting of the ZAR *Volksraad* was held on 7 May 1900. The British troops under Lord Roberts had already taken Johannesburg and were marching towards Pretoria. On several seats wreaths of mourning were placed to denote where those members who had died fighting at the front were wont to sit (Holm and Viljoen 1993: 62). On 5 June 1900 the British troops marched into the city and paraded before the building where Lord Roberts took the salute. The Union Jack flew from the *Raadsaal*. On 8 June 1902 a large crowd assembled for celebrations in honour of the Peace Treaty signed on 31 May in Melrose House.

Exactly a year after the British occupied Pretoria in June 1900, the executive council of the Transvaal Colony asked Van Wouw to change the old ZAR coat of arms into the British Royal coat of arms but he refused, because the Boers had not yet capitulated (Rex 1955: 13). The council then found someone else to make the change and Van Wouw's original sculpture, probably his only work made of sandstone, was removed and replaced with one of the British Empire. The old ZAR coat of arms was destroyed in the process and only the beak and head of the large eagle which surmounted the ZAR coat of arms still survives today in the collection of the National Cultural History Museum in Pretoria. In 1954 Willem Nicol, the Provincial Administrator, instructed architect Hansie Botha to remove the British coat of arms, which can be seen in the TPA museum services (Labuschagne 1981: 6). Botha commissioned the sculptor Willem de Sanderes Hendrikz to restore the old ZAR coat of arms. He made an exact replica of Van Wouw's coat of arms,

which can still be seen in the gable of the old *Raadsaal* today (figure 5.70) (*Pretoria News* 8.9.1954; Duffey 2008: 84).



**Figure 5.70**  
**Replica of the ZAR coat of arms, Willem de Sanderes Hendrikz,**  
**based on original by Anton van Wouw**  
**(photograph by N.J. Clarke)**

After the War the building was used as parliament for the Transvaal Colony and when the Union Buildings were complete, the Old *Raadsaal* became the seat of the Transvaal Provincial Council, which remained there until the abolishment of the Provincial Councils at the end of June 1986, thus even after the Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA) moved to its new building in 1963. Some changes were made but these were mainly utilitarian. In 1914 the building was connected to the municipal water and sewer system, the *privaatput* could be covered. In 1935 *The House* was changed into a tearoom and in 1954 an automatic sprinkler system was installed. When the Provincial Councils were abolished the Old *Raadsaal* was transferred to the newly established Administration *Volksraad* on 14 November 1986. After that date the chairman of the Minister's Council of the *Volksraad* and his Council, as well as other state departments, were housed there (Holm and Viljoen 1993: 77). It also contained the archive and historical library (Engelbrecht 1987: 31).

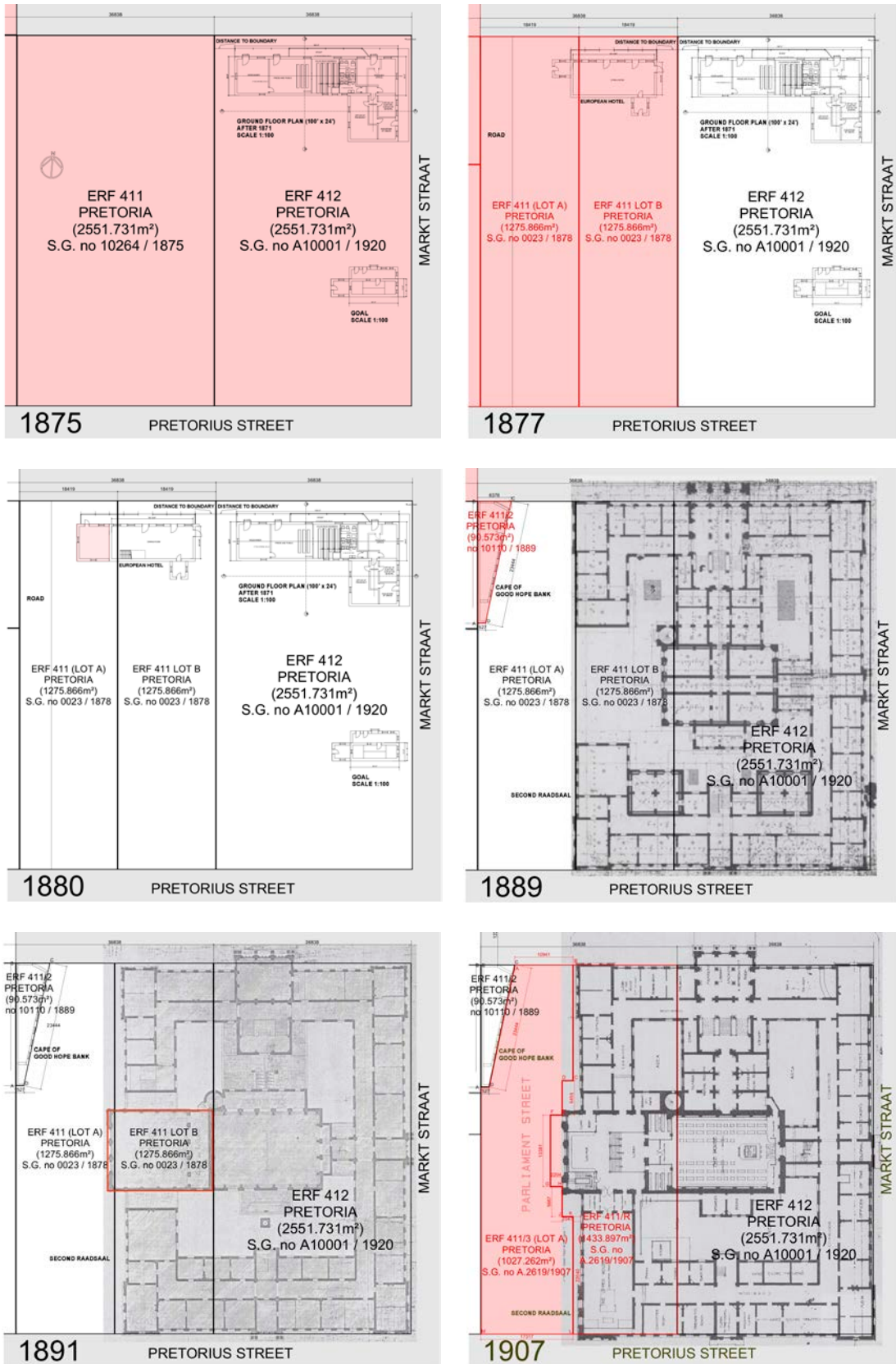
Apart from functional changes to the physical construction, there have also been a number of cultural shifts and South Africans have changed their attitudes towards the building (Viljoen 1991: 31). From initial indifference to critical analysis, aesthetic judgement and ultimately romantic appreciation, the building has witnessed the change in *zeitgeist* as so aptly described by Hegel (see Methodology).

#### **5.2.4.9 Restoration**

The building was restored to its full glory in 1962 and again in 1989. The 1962 restoration was mostly concentrated in the *Volksraadsaal*. The chairman's position was returned to the southern wall, the western gallery was enclosed again and the original north visitors' gallery was opened again. Access to the visitors' gallery from the spiral staircase with its tower was closed and became the air conditioning machine room. It could now only be used as an emergency escape route. Thus a new entrance to the public gallery was built from the northern side. The short desks of the Legislative Assembly were placed in concentric circles around the chairman's chair. This was a compromise between the original layout and the Westminster system. The building was painted white (Holm and Viljoen 1993: 80).

The building was declared a national monument in 1968 (Labuschagne 1981: 6). Holm, Jordaan, Holm and Meiring, Van der Lecq, Thomas and Ronga were appointed in 1986 under the leadership of Albrecht Holm, to restore the building for its centenary. Usually after initial research one has to decide on a "restoration date", in other words to what time period the building would be restored (Holm and Viljoen 1993: 82). With the *Raadsaal* the restoration policy that was followed was one of protecting the character of the building and preserving and depicting the changes over time.

Today the gallery, the *tribune voor het publiek*, is bricked up on both sides because the second *Volksraadsaal* was not restored to its original condition and *The House* was restored to the shape of the first *Volksraadsaal*. The western portal is still as per the 1906 changes, with broad stairs. All ceilings of the areas that were changed in 1906 were decorated pressed steel ceilings that do not occur anywhere else in the building. A painting in the west lobby depicts the first *Volksraad* when it was known as *The House*. The original Glasgow fish-tiled roofs on the three domes were damaged by hail and had to be replaced with local replicas (Viljoen 1991: 32).



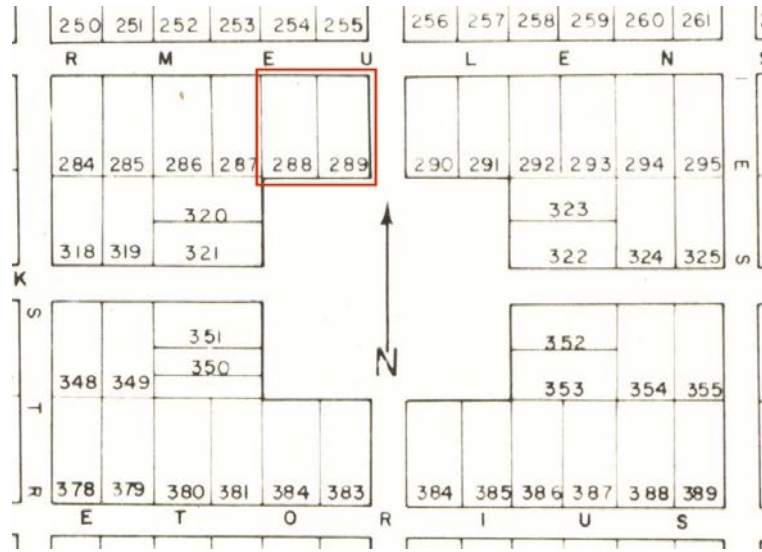
**Figure 5.71**  
**Two-dimensional reconstruction of development and change over time in the**  
**built environment of the Raadsaal block (erfen 411 and 412)**  
**(drawings by the author).**

## 5.2.5 Datasheet: Second Old Raadsaal

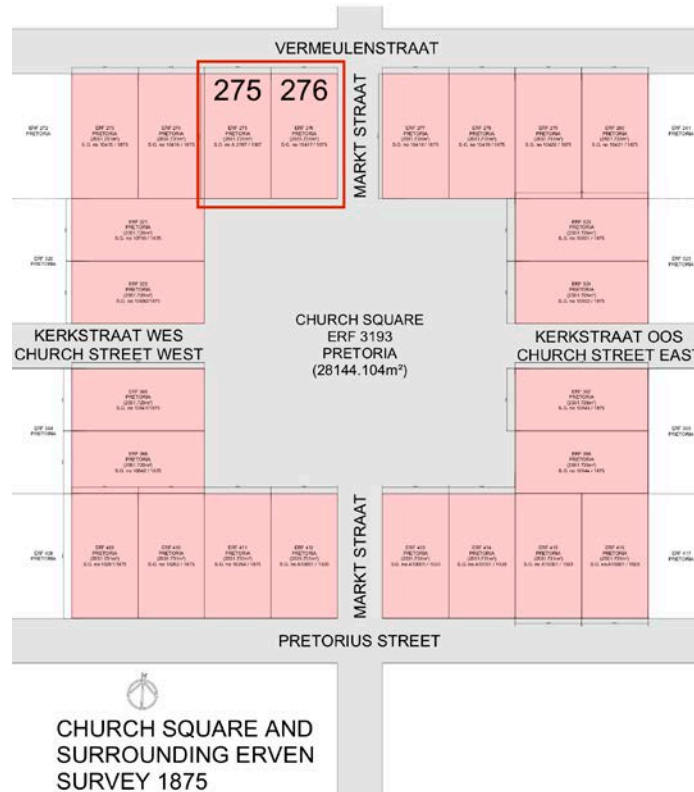


|                      |   |
|----------------------|---|
| Location:            | Southwest side of the Square  |
| Competition:         | Leslie Simmonds's design was accepted but the project was postponed until it could be given to the new state architect.   |
| Architect:           | Sytze Wierda (1887-8) in collaboration with Klaas van Rijsse  |
| Style:               | Italian Renaissance Revival Architecture, neo-Baroque (Viljoen 1991: 30) with Beaux-Arts layout (Abrahamse and Clarke 2014: 44).  |
| Builder:             | John Johnstone Kirkness. Riekert and two Wolmarans's signed surety.   |
| Construction period: | 1889 to 1891. The <i>Volksraadsaal</i> could be used in May 1890.   |
| Materials:           | Slate foundations, plastered burnt bricks, painted to imitate sandstone, light yellow sandstone for friezes and decorative work, timber- window and door frames, metal fish-tiled roof  |
| Erf number(s):       | 411/R & 412   |
| Original erf no(s):  | 411 & 412   |
| Previous site uses:  | Erf 411 (previous 382): European Hotel<br>Erf 412 (previous 383): First Old <i>Raadsaal</i>   |
| Cornerstone:         | State President Paul Kruger laid the cornerstone on 6 May 1889  |
| Cost:                | The initial cost of £82,500 increased to a final cost of £155 000 when the third floor was added. Picton-Seymour (1977: 276) states it was £138 000; Maré (1975: 34) claims it was £250 000.  |
| Description:         | See Above   |
| Previous uses:       | ZAR Council Chambers and government offices (until 1900), Transvaal Colony Parliament (until 1910), Transvaal Provincial Council (until 1963), Transvaal Provincial Administration (until 1986), Chairman of the Minister's Council of the <i>Volksraad</i> and other state departments |
| Current use:         | Municipal offices   |
| Restoration:         | 1962 and 1989   |

**5.3 The Palace of Justice Block, representing the power of law (North-north-west of Church Square)**



**Figure 5.72**  
**Position of *Palace of Justice* block relative to Church Square with old erf numbers, portion of *Kaart van Het Dorp Pretoria Z.A. Republiek 2 Maart 1859* (Van der Waal Collection, University of Pretoria).**



**Figure 5.73**  
***Palace of Justice* block on northwest corner of Church Square and Market Street North with new erf numbers (275 and 276) (drawing by the author based on 1875 SG diagrams).**

### 5.3.1 Erf 275 (Old number 288)

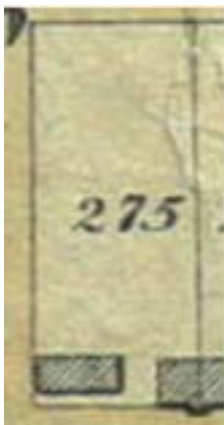
This property belonged to M.W. Pretorius until the end of January 1860 when he donated it to the government for the school. The earliest deed registered was in favour of the government. It is possible that this erf was always earmarked to become the school erf from the time of its setting out (Rex 1956: 146). The original SG diagram framed by Arthur. H. Walker in 1875 does not contain the number any more. The first government school was built in 1859, (half on Erf 275 and the other half on Erf 276). The building was referred to as the *Gouvernement School Gebouw* (Rex 1956: 155). Parents made financial contributions and donated bricks. The shortfall of bricks was made on site. The beams were 20' long and were bought from Lys's shop by Du Toit. Invoices to the Pretoria School Building Committee issued by Skinner and the Devereux brothers indicate that they built the school (Rex 1956: 148). It was a small cottage with thatch roof containing three rooms: one big room and two smaller rooms (figure 4.7).

The Civil War, which lasted from 1860 to the beginning of 1864, halted construction of the Government building so from 1860 until 1862 the *Volksraad* held its meetings in the school building. The *Volksraad* sat in the big room and the Executive Council in the two smaller rooms. In the absence of the *Volksraad* the *Landdrost* used the big room (Rex 1956: 156). When schoolmaster Stiemens became the Government Secretary in November 1860 the school was closed (Rex 1956: 152). All government offices were transferred to this building. In April 1862 the doors of the school building had to be broken down to take it back by force from Schoeman who had been occupying the Executive Council offices that were housed in the building (Rex 1956: 158). Schoeman had been fired as acting President. An inventory of the contents was conducted (Rex 1956: 160). The school building was used to store gunpowder (Rex 1956: 161). Some of the protestors for Schoeman were arrested and the front hall was used as a goal (Rex 1956: 165). In 1864 Schoeman again succeeded in annexing this state office (Rex 1956: 169). Many state documents went missing with the chaos.

After the end of the Civil War in beginning of 1864 M.W. Pretorius was re-elected as state president. It marked the end of the battle for possession of this small government office. (Rex 1956: 171) Stiemens continued as government teacher and from 1 July 1864, after a break of almost four years, the government school could continue its activities, but it was now temporarily housed in the church. The school became too small to house the

court of the *Landdrost and Heemrade* so in 1867 this function was moved to the First *Raadsaal* that was completed in 1866. An addition to the school building was built in 1868 (Rex 1956: 149) and in 1872 *Landdrost* Skinner asked for permission from the Executive Council to add another room to the building, but this permission was refused (Rex 1956: 174).

Pretoria's first town hall was built next to the little school to the west. Between 1864 and 1874 the school was again used for government offices and the *landdrost* office when Pretorius's old house was converted into a parsonage for the Reverend Begemann. The Wesleyan congregation also had church services in that building. Subsequently the school building did duty as a town hall and state library. Since the *Landdrost* office was still housed in the school building in 1874, the school commission felt that it was high time that the *landdrost* office moved out, so that the school children could learn in peace and quiet without being in constant contact with the police and court proceedings. It was not conducive to a peaceful setting for school children's education. A school and a court did not belong together (Rex 1956: 175). The Government bought the Austen building in 1874 and renovated it for the *landdrost* office. After being used for various purposes for fourteen years, the school building could now be used exclusively as a school (Rex 1956: 176). In 1894 (or 1896?) the decision was taken to build a new Palace of Justice on the "*school erf*" and the site of the "*oude pastorie*" (Erf 276). The western part of the erf was donated to the Executive Council of the ZAR in 1885 for the purpose of a Street, Palace Street.



**Figure 5.74**  
**Portion of map for the ZAR**  
**Department of Mines by**  
**J. van Vooren and J.H. Oerder c.1889.**  
 (source: Rosa Swanepoel Collection  
 No. 5.0.2.)



**Figure 5.75**  
**Erf 411 on Donaldson & Hill's**  
**map of 1904 by D. Seccadanari**  
**Engineer and Cartographer.**  
 (source: Rosa Swanepoel Collection).

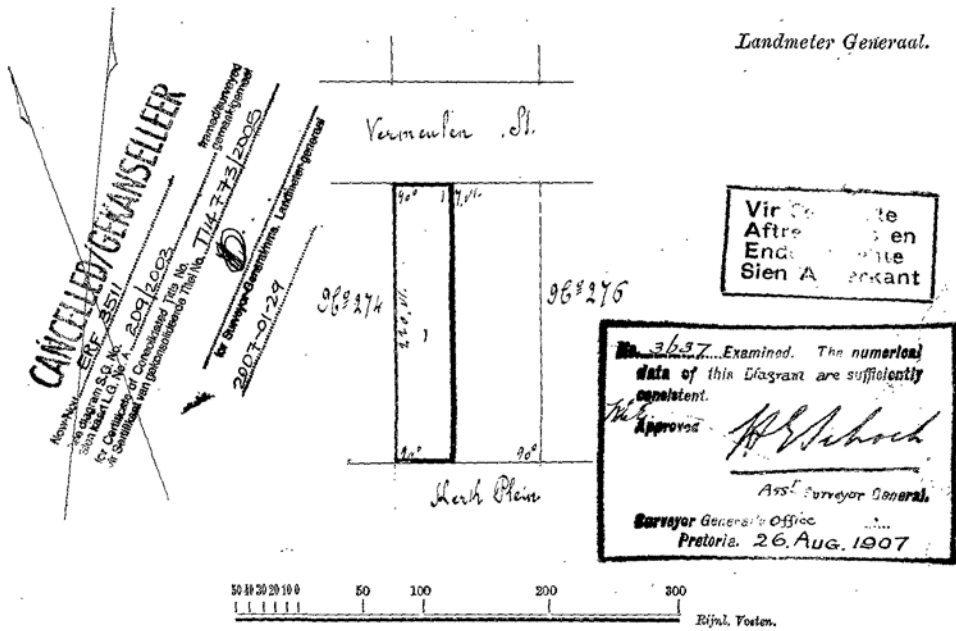
SG No A 2787/07

# STAD PRETORIA, Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek.

## ERF No. 275

Goedgekeurd  
Landmeter Generaals Kantoor, Pretoria,  
Augustus 1875.

Landmeter Generaal.



Bovenstaande Figuur vertegenwoordigt Erf No. 275, bevattende 179 Vierkante Roeden, en 109 Vierkante Voeten, gelegen in de stad PRETORIA, en grenzende:

- Noordswaarts aan Vermeulen St.
- Westwaarts aan Erf 96274
- Zuidwaarts aan Herk Plain
- Oostwaarts aan Erf 96276

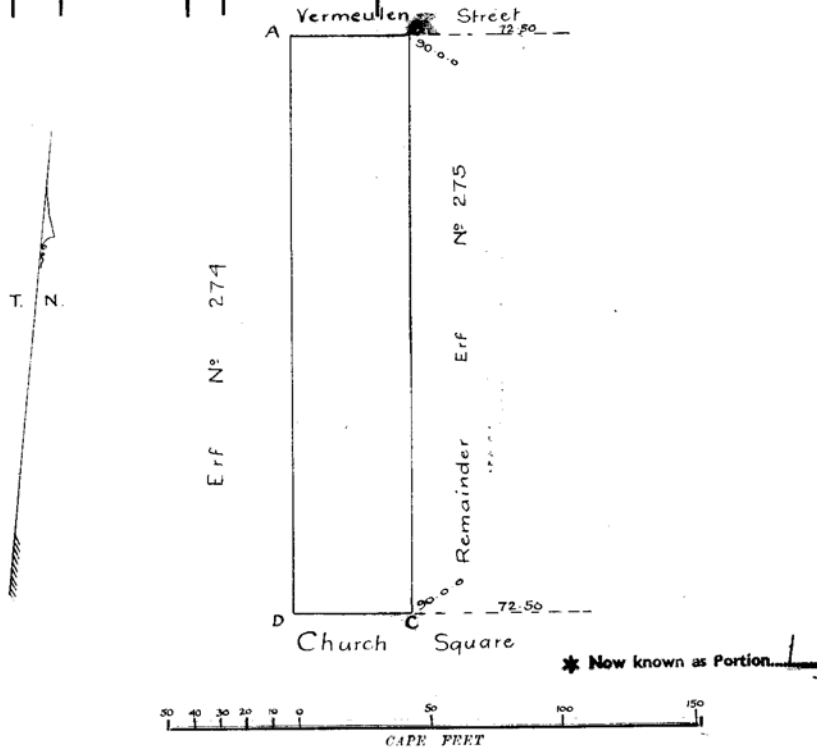
Gemeten door mij,

*Arthur H. Walker*  
DA. 1875  
Gouvernements Landmeter.

Pretoria, Maart 1875

Figure 5.76  
SG diagram 1875 – re-issued in 1907  
(retrieved from <http://csg.dla.gov.za/esio/listdocument.jsp>).

| SIDES |        | ANGLES |          |
|-------|--------|--------|----------|
| AB    | 44.50  | A      | 90.00.00 |
| BC    | 220.00 | B      | 90.00.00 |
| CD    | 44.50  | C      | 90.00.00 |
| DA    | 220.00 | D      | 90.00.00 |



The above Diagram lettered ABCD represents 67 Square Rods  
142 Square Feet of land, being \* Western portion of Erf No.  
275 situate in the Township of PRETORIA Transvaal Colony.  
as appears on the Diagram framed by Surveyor A.H. Walker  
in March 1875 relating to Deed of Transfer No. made in  
favour of Government on the 11<sup>th</sup> day of Jany 1860  
Bounded as indicated above.

The Beacons have been properly defined on the ground according to Law.

Surveyed in May 1907 by me  
for the purpose of a street to be known as Palace Street  
*W. R. Louw*  
Government Land Surveyor.

No. 3444 Examined. The numerical data  
of this diagram are sufficiently consistent.

Approved.  
*W. R. Schrick*  
Asst. Surveyor-General.  
Surveyor-General's Office,  
Pretoria, 26 AUG. 1907

This Diagram belongs to Deed of Transfer  
No. issued this day in favour of

Deeds Office,  
Pretoria.

Registrar of Deeds

*R 50-24*  
*D.H.P.*  
W. E. Bismarck & Co.

Figure 5.77  
SG diagram 1907  
(retrieved from <http://csg.dla.gov.za/esio/listdocument.jsp>).

### 5.3.2 Erf 276 (Old number 289)

One of the first houses on the Square was built on this site for Marthinus Wessel Pretorius. Pretorius had good knowledge of building and was probably the contractor of his own house. He also built Elder J.F. Schutte's house (Rex 1956: 117). The house was completed by October 1856. It was opposite Hendrik Vermeulen's house, which was the first to be built in the 'town' Pretoria. Pretorius was still Commandant-General of the ZAR but after it was completed, he had become the first President of the ZAR and had to live in Potchefstroom, where the members of the Executive Council resided. He never lived in the house. Reverend Dirk van der Hoff was supposed to stay in the house during the Church's inauguration in February 1857. But apparently Henri Austen, the shop owner who was married to a daughter of Struben, without the knowledge of the owner, had moved into the house. When the Reverend Van der Hoff arrived in Pretoria it was not possible for him to stay in the house and he felt insulted (Rex 1956: 120). Elder Schutte probably gave the Austens permission to live in the house temporarily and organised that Reverend Van der Hoff stay with him during the Church inauguration. The Austens did not live there long because by April 1857 the house was empty again.

Field cornet Andries van der Walt and *Landdrost* A.F. du Toit asked the President if they could use his house for their *landdrost* office (Rex 1956: 121). Struben may have heard of this request because he asked Pretorius if he could buy or rent the house from Pretorius. Struben was the teacher but the school was not running at the time. Pretorius rejected Struben's request and rented the house to *Landdrost* A.F. du Toit, who was established there from May 1857 (Rex 1956: 122). Pretorius's house thus became the second government building in Pretoria and was referred to as the *Gouvernement Gebouw*. The house of Field cornet Andries van der Walt was the first. Andries van der Walt handled postal pieces and acted as the postal agent from his house. When A.F. du Toit was sworn in as *landdrost*, he fulfilled the duty as Postmaster from Pretorius's house. It further served as the meeting place of the Executive Council, the *Volksraad* the *Krygsraad*, the Supreme Court as well as the court of *landdroste en heemrade* (Rex 1956: 123).

For a year the house was used as a school. Up to now the school was in an outbuilding in J. Prinsloo's house, but Prinsloo needed that room for his children. The church building was not far enough yet to be used as a school, so Struben asked Pretorius in a letter if they

could use one of the rooms in his house for a school (Rex 1956: 118). After February 1857 Pretoria was once again without a school, because there was not enough support.

In February 1858 Pretorius urged him to make haste with the building of a new *landdrost* office, so that he could use his own residence upon his arrival in Pretoria (Rex 1956: 99). But for quite some time nothing came of the building of the new *landdrost* office and as a result Pretorius could not live in his house. It seems that there was a five-year contract that allowed the Government to use the house as the *landdrost* office and the *Volksraad* chamber from May 1857 to March 1862. The power struggle during the Civil War was reflected in the struggle to take possession of the Government Office and the Flag. Schoeman took over the Government office, handed over reluctantly by Struben, which was still in M.W. Pretorius's house at the time.

Before the first Old Government building was completed on Erf 412 in 1866, the *Volksraad* had to use the shade under trees, tents, various residences, the *Landdrost* office and the school building for their meetings (Rex 1956: 99).

The rectory was also not built immediately. There were five church buildings spread out across the Transvaal but only one Reverend. The Church Council tried to buy the house of Pretorius but the sale did not go through (Rex 1956: 133). When Reverend A.J. Begemann, the first reverend that settled in Pretoria arrived in 1861, he had to live in another house. Although the *Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk* (Dutch Reformed Church) obtained the property in 1860, it only became the Dutch Reformed Church *pastorie* from April 1862 to 1885, probably due to the five-year lease to the Government. Pretorius was still receiving rent from the Government. Reverend A.J. Begeman and after him of Reverend H.S. Bosman lived in the house (Rex 1956: 99). The church refurbished the house (changed, repaired and added to) for a parsonage for the Reverend Begemann and owed some money (Rex 1956: 141).

With Arthur H. Walker's re-measurement of the erf, the SG diagram was numbered 10417/1875. It was signed by August Bechtle in 1889.

In June 1887 the Church sold the property to Marinus Franken T2546/1887. Hermanus Stephanus Bosman, who was still living in the house, was the chairman of the Church Council (*Kerkraad*). He granted power of attorney to Paul Maré from the firm Cooper and Maré to appear before Jacobus Johannes Meintjes, Registrar of Deeds. In December of the same year Marinus Franken sold the property to the *Gouvernement der Zuid-Afrikaansche*

*Republiek* (T2547/1887). The state gymnasium also found it temporary home there and for a time it was also the offices of the Auditor General and the chief of mining also had an office in the house.

The house of Marthinus Wessel Pretorius was finally used for government offices until it was pulled down in 1894 (1896 according to Rex 1956: 99) when the decision was taken to build a new Palace of Justice on the “*school erf*” (Erf 275) and the site of the “*oude pastorie*”. See description of Palace of Justice under Erf 275 above.

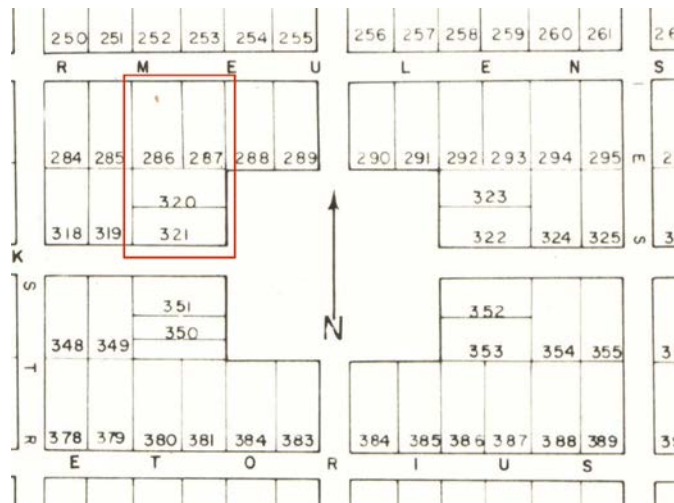
In 2003 the two erven on which the Palace of Justice was built, were consolidated into Erf 3511. The SG diagram is numbered 209/2003, State Land. Land surveyor J.J.J. Buys signed the diagram. The deed number is T114773/2005.

### 5.3.3 Data sheet: Palace of Justice

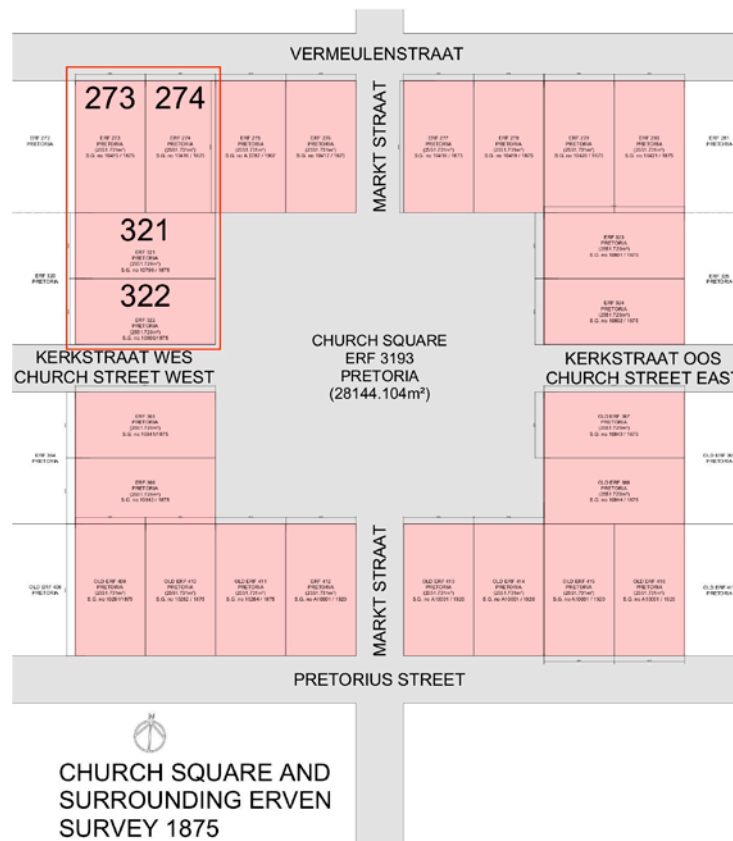


|                      |   |
|----------------------|---|
| Location:            | Northwest side of the Square  |
| Architect:           | Sytze Wierda (1895)   |
| Style:               | Italian Renaissance (palazzo) style (Picton-Seymour 1977: 6)  |
| Builder:             | John Munro  |
| Construction period: | 1896 to 1899  |
| Materials:           | Hand-chiselled sandstone was used for construction, together with red brick executed by stonemasons imported from Scotland and Germany. Benches etc from Philippine mahogany and Floors of Oregon Pine (Ackerman 1992: 109).  |
| Erf number:          | 3511  |
| Original erf no(s):  | 275 & 276   |
| Previous site uses:  | Erf 275: first government school, government offices and the <i>landdrost</i> office, town hall and state library.<br>Erf 276: house for MW Pretorius, used as a school, <i>landdrost</i> office and <i>Volksraad</i> chamber, Dutch Reformed Church parsonage of Rev A.J. Begeman and finally government offices until it was pulled down in 1894. |
| Cornerstone:         | 8 June 1897 by the then State President Paul Kruger. Copies of the ZAR constitution and newspapers at the time became part of the masonry (Ackermann, 2002: 108).   |
| Cost:                | Around £115,260 (Ackermann, 2002: 108).   |

**6.8 The Post Office Block, representing economic power and the (economic) power of the state (north-west of Church Square)**



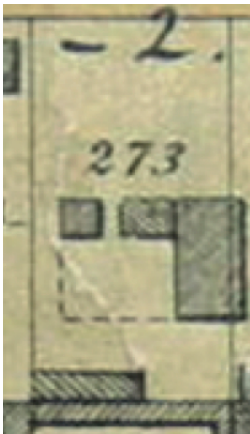
**Figure 5.78**  
**Position of Post Office block relative to Church Square with old erf numbers, portion of *Kaart van Het Dorp Pretoria Z.A. Republiek 2 Maart 1859* (Van der Waal Collection, University of Pretoria).**



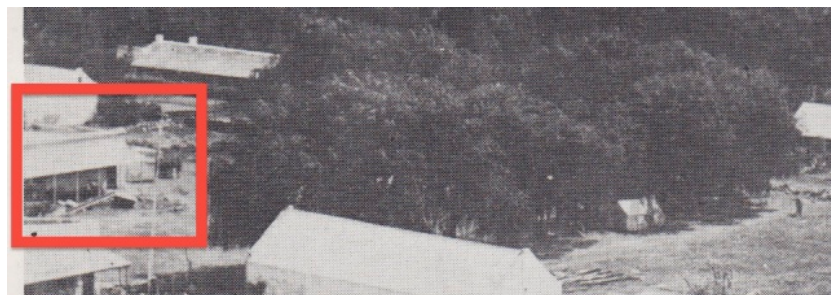
**Figure 5.79**  
**Post office block on northwest corner of Church Square and Church Street West with new erf numbers (drawing by the author based on 1875 SG diagrams).**

#### 5.4.1 Erf 273 (Old number 286)

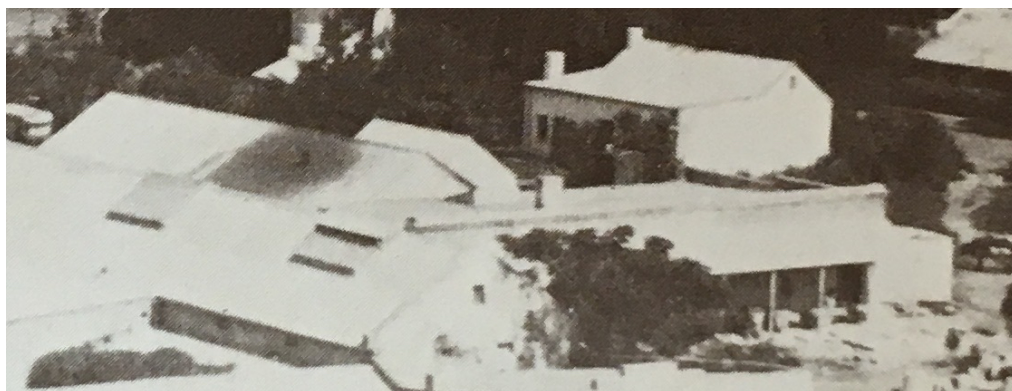
Captain Johan Herman Marinus (J.H.M.) Struben bought erven (old numbers) 286 and 287 from M.W. Pretorius in 1859, before his estate was sequestrated (Rex 1956: 244). The earliest title deed for Erf 273 dates back to 6 July 1866 when the property was transferred to William Munro. Munro also bought Struben's farm Kaalfontein, around 40km from Church Square (Louw 1979: 35). With Arthur H. Walker's re-measurement of A.F. du Toit's original layout in 1875, the SG diagram was numbered 10415/1875 (figure 5.83) and the erf number changed to 273. A town plan from 1879 shows a loose building in the southern half of the erf and J. van Vooren and J.H. Oerder's 1889 map for the ZAR Department of Mines (figure 5.80) shows four loose structures on the southern part of the erf.



**Figure 5.80**  
Portion of map by  
J. van Vooren and  
J.H. Oerder c.1889  
(Rosa Swanepoel Collection. No. 5.0.2.).



**Figure 5.81**  
Shed-like warehouse visible from the Church Steeple, 1890  
(Allen 1971: 46).



**Figure 5.82**  
The shed-like warehouse visible from the Church Steeple  
(Dunston 1975: 41).

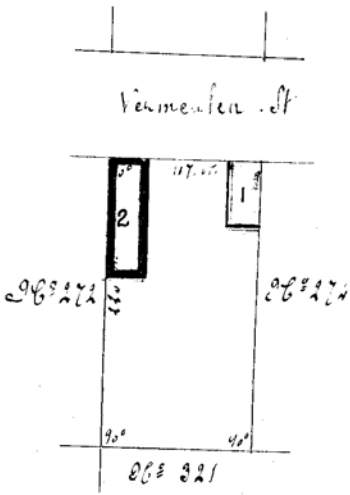
10415/1875

# STAD PRETORIA, Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek.

## ERF No. 273

*NB Reserved for Public purposes.  
vide file SOG/12089/58.*

Goedgekeurd  
Landmeter Generaals Kantoor, Pretoria  
Augustus 1875. 17 April 1885  
*G. P. M. J. J. J.*  
Landmeter Generaal.



**Vir Serwitute  
Aftre . . . . . en  
End . . . . .  
Sien Anderkan**

AANDUIDINGS -  
BAKENS HERPLAAS:  
.....  
MS. Nr. 509/77.....



Bovenstaande Figuur vertegenwoordigt Erf No. 273, bevattende 178 Vierkante  
Roeden, en 108 Vierkante Voeten, gelegen in de stad PRETORIA, en grenzende:  
Noordwaarts aan Viermeulen . St  
Westwaarts aan Erf 86° 21' 2''  
Zuidwaarts aan 321  
Oostwaarts aan 274

Restant  
**CANCELLED/GERANSELLEER**  
Now/Now ERF 3447  
Sardis/... 4774/1996  
Vf Serwitute . . . . . I. 8876/1999

Gemeten door mij,  
*Arthur A. Wal Ker*  
Gouvernements Landmeter.

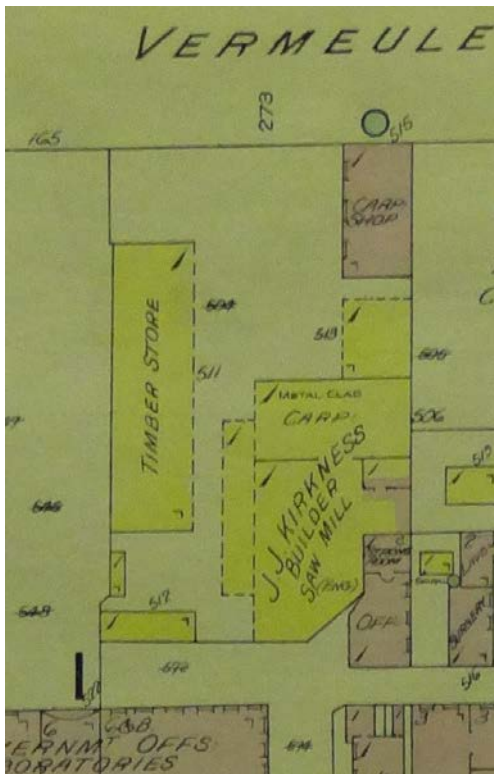
Pretoria, Maart 1875

Figure 5.83  
Erf 273 SG diagram 1875  
(retrieved from <http://csg.dla.gov.za/esio/listdocument.jsp>).

Gideon Retief von Wielligh issued a subsequent SG diagram in 1885. Munro must have sold the erf to the Transvaal Consolidated Land and Exploration Company Ltd. Two 1890 photographs of the same area, which were taken from the Church steeple indicate a shed-like structure with corrugated roofing, steel columns over an eastern portico and industrial material lying around (figures 5.81 and 5.82). The 1904 Map (figure 5.84) contains a big structure on the property, another building in the northeastern corner and another on the western boundary.



**Figure 5.84**  
**Erf 273 on Donaldson & Hill's 1904 map**  
 Compiled by D. Seccadanari Engineer and Cartographer  
 (source: Rosa Swanepoel Collection).



**Figure 5.85**  
 Extract of Goad insurance map 1925



**Figure 5.86**  
 Extract of Goad insurance map 1931

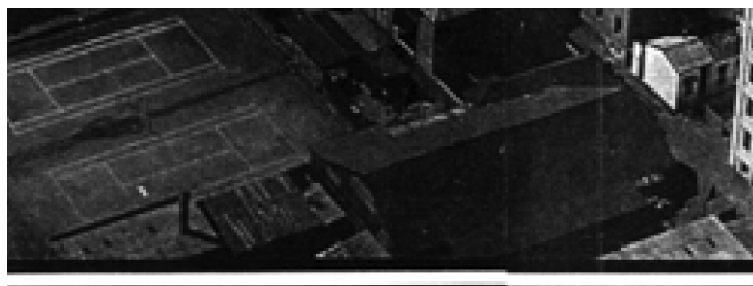
In 1907 John Johnston Kirkness bought the property from the Transvaal Consolidated Land and Exploration Company Ltd. (title deed numbered T7574/1907). Evelyn Ashley Wallers acted as trustee of the Company.

According to the 1925 Goad insurance map (figure 5.85) the site contained a timber store, carpentry shop, the J.J. Kirkness Builder's Saw Mill with office and strong room, as well as various other single storey sheds. The Carpentry Shop in the northeast corner and the office and strong room were the only structures built of brick (pink). The rest were all timber structures (yellow) with metal cladding. In 1931 two timber sheds were added (figure 5.86).

A 1927 aerial photograph taken from the east (figure 5.87) shows the J.J. Kirkness Builders' Sawmill, office and part of the sheds and a 1931 photograph (figure 5.88) taken from the west shows the same building but from the other side.



**Figure 5.87**  
**Photograph of Erf 273, 1927**  
(retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10207535456006861&set=pb.1303334893.-2207520000.1520854266.&type=3&theater>).



**Figure 5.88**  
**Portion of photograph, 1931**  
(photograph by South African Air Force, Van der Waal Collection).

S.G. No. A 5093 / 40

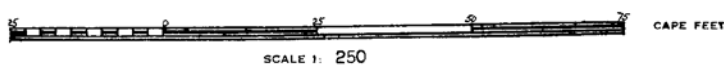
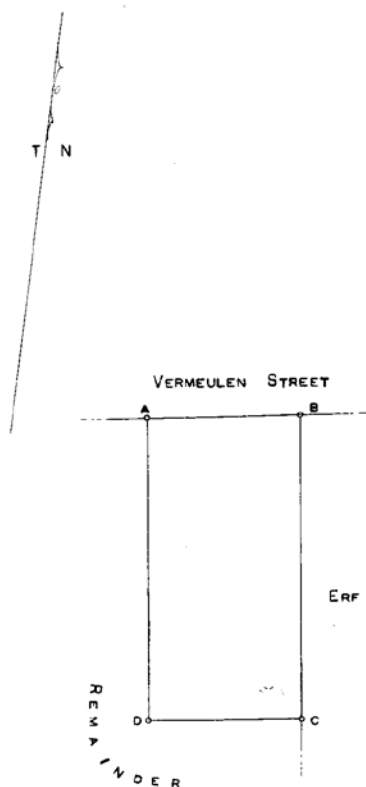
Approved

*J. A. Schuur*  
Asst. Surveyor General

13-1-1941

| SIDES<br>CAPE FEET |       | ANGLES |          |
|--------------------|-------|--------|----------|
| A B                | 25.00 | A      | 90. 0. 0 |
| B C                | 49.54 | B      | 90. 0. 0 |
| C D                | 25.00 | C      | 90. 0. 0 |
| D A                | 49.54 | D      | 90. 0. 0 |

A B : MARK ON SLATE  
C D : 18" x 1/2" IRON PEGS



The figure A B C D A represents 1238 square feet of land being \*PORTION 1 OF ERF No. 273, TOWNSHIP OF

**PRETORIA**

situate in the District of PRETORIA

Province of Transvaal

Surveyed in DECEMBER 1940 by me

*J. A. Schuur*  
Land Surveyor.

This diagram is annexed to Transfer Deed No. dated in favour of

The original diagram is No. annexed to deed of ~~Grant~~ Transfer No. dated 6-7-1866

File 809/2140/40  
General Plan No.  
Survey Records 152040

REGISTRAR OF DEEDS

MINERVA, PRETORIA

*J. A. Schuur*  
13-1-41

Figure 5.89  
SG diagram of Portion 1, Erf 273, 1940  
(retrieved from <http://csg.dla.gov.za/esio/listdocument.jsp>).

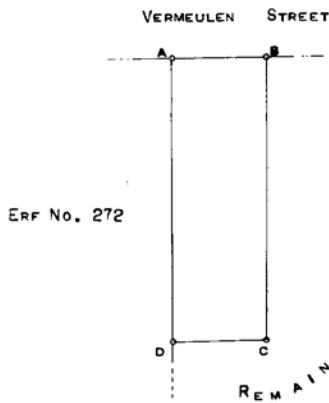
S.G. No. A 5094/40

Approved

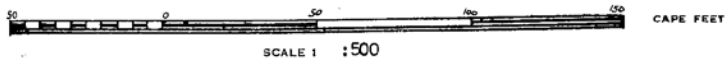
*[Signature]*  
 Ass. Surveyor General  
 13-1-1941

| SIDES<br>CAPE FEET |       | ANGLES |        |
|--------------------|-------|--------|--------|
| A B                | 30.48 | A      | 90.0.0 |
| B C                | 92.72 | B      | 90.0.0 |
| C D                | 30.48 | C      | 90.0.0 |
| D A                | 92.72 | D      | 90.0.0 |

A B C D : 18" x 1/2" IRON PEGS



AANDUNINGSBANKENS  
 CAPLAS BY BANKENS  
 A.....  
 M.S. No. 509/77



The figure A B C D A  
 represents 2826 square feet of land being  
 PORTION 2 OF ERF No. 273, TOWNSHIP OF

**PRETORIA**

situate in the District of PRETORIA Province of Transvaal  
 Surveyed in DECEMBER 1940 by me

*[Signature]*  
 Land Surveyor.

This diagram is annexed to  
 Transfer Deed No.  
 dated  
 in favour of

The original diagram is  
 No.       
 annexed to deed of Transfer  
Grant  
 No. dated 6-7-1866

File 509/12140/40  
 General Plan No.  
 Survey Records : 530-40

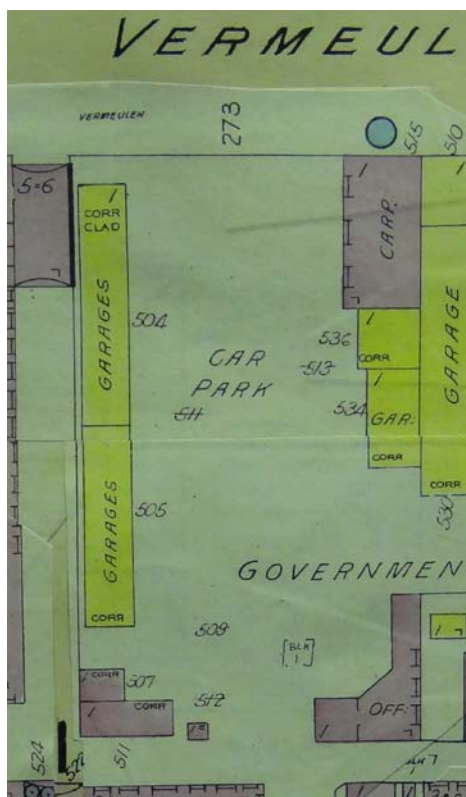
*[Handwritten initials]*

REGISTRAR OF DEEDS

Figure 5.90  
 SG diagram of Portion 2, Erf 273, 1940  
 (retrieved from <http://csg.dla.gov.za/esio/listdocument.jsp>).

Although the deeds office recorded the transaction of the sale to J.J. Kirkness in 1907, there is also a document that stipulates that upon the death of Mary Ann Kirkness, her surviving spouse to whom she was married in community of property, John Johnston Kirkness, inherited the property. In 1938 he sold it to the Government of the Union of South Africa (Transfer no T7946/1938 and SG diagram no 12089/1938.) The property was reserved for public purposes and in 1940 it was subdivided into Portions 1, 2 and Remainder as indicated on SG diagram no 5094/1940 (figures 5.89 and 5.90). The brick Carpentry Shop in the northeast corner was on Portion 1.

The Goad insurance map of 1949 indicates that the timber stores had been replaced with corrugated cladded longitudinal garages and the whole property was being used as a car park. The J.J. Kirkness Builders' Sawmill had been demolished but the brick building that also contained the Strong Room was still there, although slightly changed. It is not sure why Portion 2 was cut out. The 1956 Goad insurance map shows little change except that a timber constructed garage had been added to the little brick Office building. The site remained unchanged until the 1970s, as the photograph in figure 5.93 attests to.

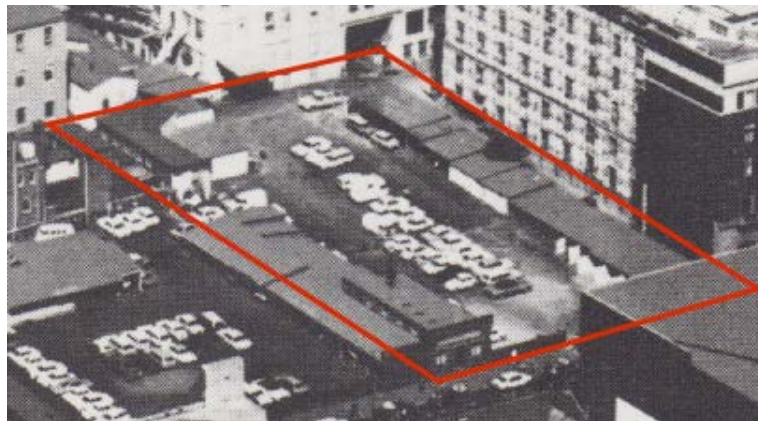


**Figure 5.91**  
Extract of Goad insurance map 1949



**Figure 5.92**  
Extract of Goad insurance map 1956

In 1993 Portions 1 and R were included in the consolidated Erf 3413, SG diagram A10953/1993 by Snyman and H.W.P. Britz and transferred through T8874 to the Post Office. A red brick, four-storey office block with metal fold over roof, designed by Burg, Doherty and Bryant, was erected for the Post Office in 1987. Portion 2 became the entrance to the building from Vermeulen Street, the northern part of the consolidated erf was excavated for basement parking and the new Post Office offices were built on the southern part of the consolidated erf (figure 5.94). In 1996 Erf 273/2 was added to this consolidated erf, which now formed the new and current Erf, number 3447 (SG diagram 4774/1996, T8876/1999 by R.W. Herbert) (figure 5.109). Today it houses structures of the Post Office.



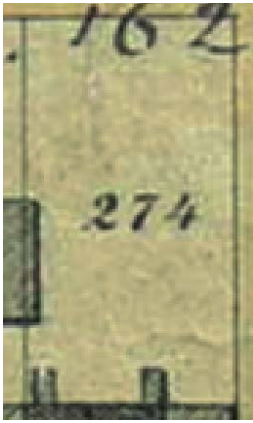
**Figure 5.93**  
**Erf 273 in the 1970s**  
 (Allen 1971: 255, edited by the author).



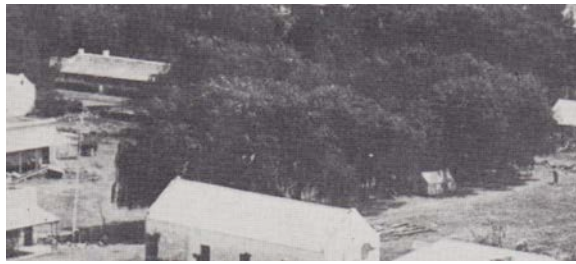
**Figure 5.94**  
**Current view of Erf 3447 from Vermeulen Street with extensions to Post Office, architects Burg, Doherty and Bryant, 1987 (Google Earth).**

#### 5.4.2 Erf 274 (Old number 287)

Captain Johan Herman Marinus (J.H.M.) Struben bought erven old numbers 286 and 287 from M.W. Pretorius in 1859. The earliest title deed dates back to 6 July 1866 when the erf was transferred to William Munro. Munro also bought the farm Kaalfontein, around 40km from Church Square from Struben (Louw 1979: 35). With Arthur H. Walker's re-measurement of A.F. du Toit's original layout in 1875, the SG diagram was numbered 10416/1875 (figure 5.99) and Gideon Retief von Wielligh issued a subsequent SG diagram in 1885. The erf was still vacant on Van Vooren and J.H. Oerder's 1889 map (Figure 5.95). Munro sold the erf to the Transvaal Consolidated Land and Exploration Company Ltd.



**Figure 5.95**  
Portion of 1889 map  
by Van Vooren and  
J.H. Oerder



**Figure 5.96**  
Portion of photograph from church steeple  
(Allen 1971: 46).



**Figure 5.97**  
Portion of 1904 map  
(source: Rosa  
Swanepoel Collection).



**Figure 5.98**  
Portion of photograph from church steeple showing vacant erf used to  
store building material (Dunston 1975: 41).

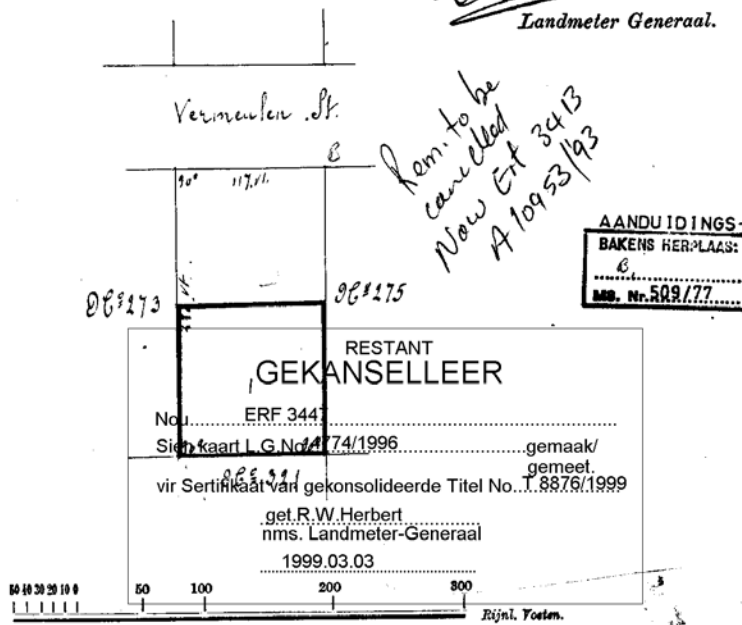
10416/1875

# STAD PRETORIA, Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek.

## ERF No. 274

Goedgekeurd  
Landmeter Generaals Kantoor, Pretoria,  
Augustus 1875. 17 April 1875

*E. P. Muller*  
Landmeter Generaal.



Bovenstaande Figuur vertegenwoordigt Erf No. 274, bevattende 178 Vierkante Roeden, en 108 Vierkante Voeten, gelegen in de stad PRETORIA, en grenzende:

- Noordoorts aan Vermeulen St.
- Westoorts aan Erf DE 273
- Zuidoorts aan " " 271
- Oostoorts aan " " 275

Vir Serwitute  
Aftrekkings en  
Endossemente  
Sien Anderkant

Gemeten door mij,

*E. P. Muller*  
Gouvernements Landmeter

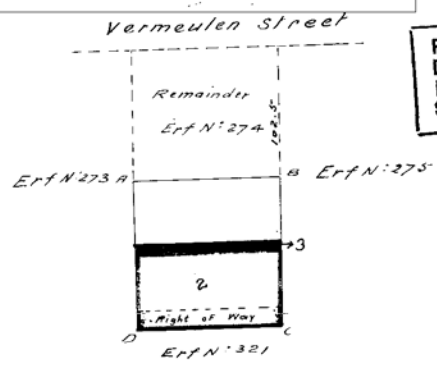
Pretoria, Maart 1875

Figure 5.99  
Erf 274 SG diagram 1875  
(retrieved from <http://csg.dla.gov.za/esio/listdocument.jsp>).

| SIDES |        | ANGLES |       |
|-------|--------|--------|-------|
| AB    | 117 00 | A      | } 90° |
| BC    | 117 50 | B      |       |
| CD    | 117 00 | C      |       |
| DA    | 117 50 | D      |       |

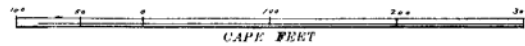
**RESTANT CANCELLED**  
 Now...ERF 3447.....  
 See diagram S.G.No. 4774/1996.....framed/surveyed  
 for Certificate of Consolidated Title No. T 8876/1999  
 ....sgd.R.W.Herbert.....  
 for SURVEYOR - GENERAL  
 ....1999.03.03.....

For Servitudes  
 Deductions and  
 Endorsements  
 See Over.



AANDUIDINGS-  
 BEACONS REPLACED:  
 S.  
 SR. No. 509/77.....

\* Now known as Portion 1



The above Diagram lettered *ABCD* represents 95 Square  
 Rods 67 Square Feet of land, being \* portion of Erf No. 274  
 situate in the Township of Pretoria Transvaal  
 Colony, as appears on the diagram framed by Surveyor *A.H. Walker*  
 in March 1878 relating to Deed of Transfer No. made in  
 favour of *William Munro* on the 6<sup>th</sup> day of July 1866  
 Bounded as indicated above.

The beacons have been properly defined on the ground according to law.  
 Surveyed in *AUG 1905* by me *H.W. Herbert*  
 Government Land Surveyor.

No. 5024 Examined. The numerical data of  
 this diagram are sufficiently consistent.  
 Approved: *H.W. Herbert*  
 Assistant Surveyor-General.  
 Surveyor-General's Office,  
 Pretoria.

This diagram belongs to Deed of Transfer  
 No. 9658/05 issued this day in favour of  
 Registrar of Deeds.  
 Deeds Office,  
 Pretoria.

*H.W. Herbert*  
*D.B.*

**Figure 5.100**  
**Erf 274 Portion 1 SG diagram 1905 subdivision**  
 (retrieved from <http://csg.dla.gov.za/esio/listdocument.jsp>).

A photograph (figure 5.96) taken from the church steeple around 1890 shows a line of (willow) trees running north-south on the eastern side of the erf. The subsequent 1904 map (figure 5.97) shows that the property was still vacant. Builders' material in the photograph in figure 5.98 indicates that the erf was used for storage.

In 1905 the erf was subdivided into a northern part (Remainder) and a southern part (Portion 1) as shown on SG diagram A4634/1905 (figure 5.100), signed by H.M. Andersen and approved by Herman Eugene Schoch. The title deed T9658/1905 linked to this SG diagram tells that Henry Crawford Boyd, Trustee of the Transvaal Consolidated Land and Exploration Company Ltd, sold the property to the Bank of Africa Ltd. Lunnon was the Registrar of Deeds.



**Figure 5.101**  
**Bank of Africa building, 1906, architects T.A. and R. Sladdin**  
**(photograph by Pretoria News, December 1975).**

The small two-storey building of the Bank of Africa (figure 5.101), also known as the Kirkness Building (Picton-Seymour 1977: 167), was completed in 1906. British Born brothers T.A. and R. Sladdin were the architects and the contractor was J.J. Kirkness, who later became the mayor of Pretoria. Kirkness also used offices in the building. Meiring (1980: 71) feels that Kirkness gave a Scottish character to the building and calls the style Revivalist, whereas Artefacts<sup>1</sup> calls it a classical styled building reminiscent of English

---

<sup>1</sup> Retrieved from <http://www.artefacts.co.za/main/Buildings/bldgframes.php?bldgid=2479>.

Palladian architecture. The roof is hidden behind a parapet wall and the main façade has a neo-classical pediment on columns which projects towards Palace Street. Although the Palace of Justice mostly conceals the Palace Street façade (Meiring 1980: 71), the architects made the building a part of Church Square by placing its entrance on the corner that faces the Square and by accentuating the entrance with a scaled down pediment (Le Roux 1990: 59; Offringa 1991: 55).

The ground floor comprises of rough-hewn, pitched-faced sandstone ashlar and the first floor is plastered. There is quoining on the corners (*kalfstandwerk*) and pediments, columns and mouldings are of smooth worked sandstone (Le Roux 1990: 59). The solid wood sash windows have cast iron railings in front and the front doors are from Burmese teak. The letters B.A.L. are on the cast iron balustrade and gable (Offringa 1991: 55).

The Bank of Africa became part of the National Bank in the year 1912 (Dunston 1975: 40) and in 1914 the now National Bank of South Africa Ltd. sold the erf to the South African Mutual Life Assurance Society (deed number T7858/1914). Portion 1, a 15' servitude for light and access, was registered in favour of adjacent Erf 321. Herman Eugene Schoch approved SG diagram A3244/14 (figure 5.102).

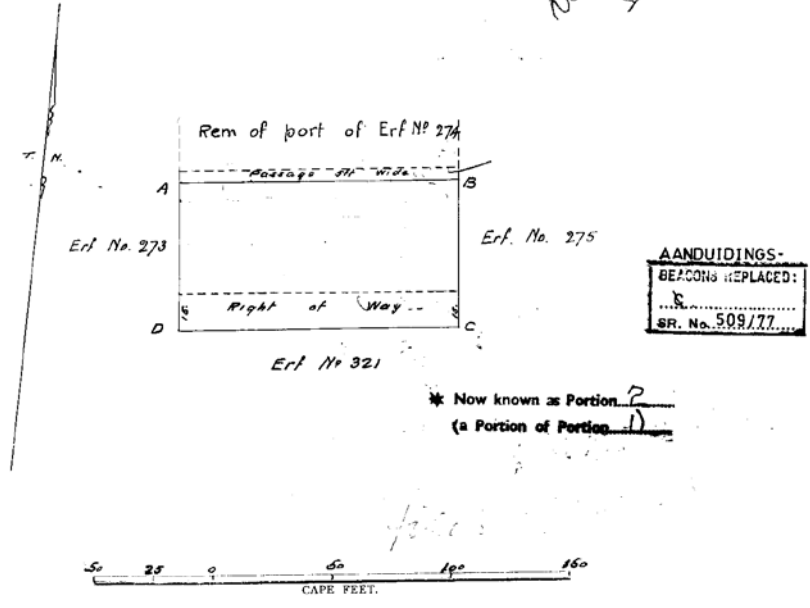
In 1927 the erf was further subdivided to provide a passage between the two portions. The SG diagram was numbered A821/1927, signed Chas McGregor and linked to title deed T7361/1927 (figure 5.104).

A 1931 photograph (figure 5.104) shows that there were two tennis courts on the northern portion next to the Bank of Africa Building. The Goad insurance maps of 1925 and 1931 (figure 5.105) show the tennis courts on the northern portion, a few timber cycle sheds to the south of the courts and the Old Bank of Africa building on the southern portion, which by then was used as offices for the South African Mutual Life Assurance Society. By 1937 the tennis courts were gone and the area was used as a car park (figure 5.106).

In the 1940s two timber garages with corrugated iron roofs were added, which are visible on the Goad Insurance maps of 1949 and 1956 (figure 5.107). These structures can still be seen on a 1970 photograph (figure 5.108).

| SIDES. |            | ANGLES. |          |
|--------|------------|---------|----------|
|        | Cape Feet. |         |          |
| AB     | 117.00     | A       | 90. 0. 0 |
| BC     | 61.50      | B       | 90. 0. 0 |
| CD     | 117.00     | C       | 90. 0. 0 |
| DA     | 61.50      | D       | 90. 0. 0 |

*To be cancelled  
Now Erf 3413  
See A 10953/14*



The above Figure lettered **A B C D** represents **49 Square Rods 139.5 Square Feet of land, being portion of portion of Erf No. 274** in the Township of Pretoria.

Province of Transvaal, as appears on the diagram S. G. No A 4634/1905 framed by Surveyor H.M. Anderson in August 1905 relating to Deed of Transfer No. 9658/1903 made in favour of **Bank of Africa Ltd.** and dated 21st Nov. 1905 Bounded as indicated above.

The angular points have been properly defined on the ground according to Law. Surveyed in **Sept 1914** by me *Suzanne de Kock* Land Surveyor.

|  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>No. <b>A 3244</b> Examined. The numerical data of this diagram are sufficiently consistent.</p> <p>Approved. <u><i>[Signature]</i></u><br/>Surveyor General.</p> <p>Surveyor General's Office.<br/>Pretoria. <b>29 SEP 1914</b></p> | <p>This diagram belongs to Deed of Transfer No. <b>7858/14</b> made this day in favour of</p> <p>Registrar of Deeds.<br/>Deeds Office,<br/>Pretoria.</p> <p><i>[Signature]</i><br/>DB</p> |
|--|---|

Figure 5.102  
SG diagram 1914 subdivision  
(retrieved from <http://csg.dla.gov.za/esio/listdocument.jsp>).

S.G. OFFICE COPY

FORM G.—Diagram Form for a portion of an Erf or Lot in a Township

A. No. 821

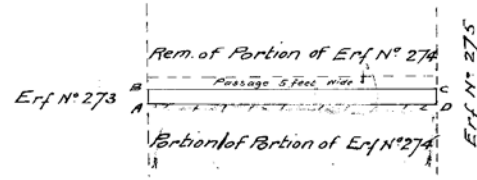
27

Exam. No. 1827/1927

| Sides.    |        | Angles. |        |
|-----------|--------|---------|--------|
| Cape Feet |        |         |        |
| A B       | 6.00   | A       | 90.0.0 |
| B C       | 117.00 | B       | 90.0.0 |
| C D       | 6.00   | C       | 90.0.0 |
| D A       | 117.00 | D       | 90.0.0 |

CANCELLED

Now...ERF.3447.....  
 See diagram S.G.No..4774/1996.....framed/surveyed  
 for Certificate of Consolidated Title No. T.8676/1999  
 ....sgd.R.W.Herbert.....  
 for SURVEYOR - GENERAL  
 ....1999.03.03.....



\* Now known as Portion 3  
 (a Portion of Portion 1)



The above figure lettered *A B C D* represents  
*4* square rods *126* square feet of land, being portion 2 of parts of  
 Erf No. *274* in the Township of *PRETORIA*

Province of the Transvaal, as appears on Diagram A No. *4634/1905* relating to Deed of  
 Transfer No. *9658/1903* made in favour of *Bank of Africa Ltd.*  
 and dated *21.11.1905*. Bounded as indicated above.

The angular points have been properly defined on the ground according to law.  
 Surveyed in *September 1914* by me *Suzanna Mork*  
 Land Surveyor.

Approved  
*Chas. M. Meqr*  
 14 MAR 1927  
 Surveyor-General's Office  
 Pretoria

This Diagram belongs to Deed of Transfer  
 No. *7361/27* made this day in favour of  
 Registrar of Deeds.  
 Deeds Office,  
 Pretoria

Published by authority—Grocott & Stryer, Johannesburg—234-25.

Figure 5.103  
 SG diagram 1927 subdivision  
 (retrieved from <http://csg.dla.gov.za/esio/listdocument.jsp>).

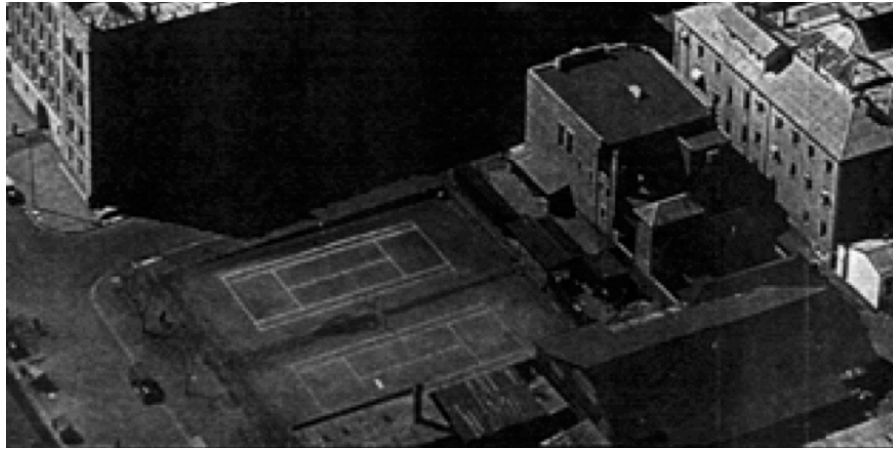


Figure 5.104  
 Portion of Photograph 1931  
 (photograph by South African Air Force, Van der Waal Collection)

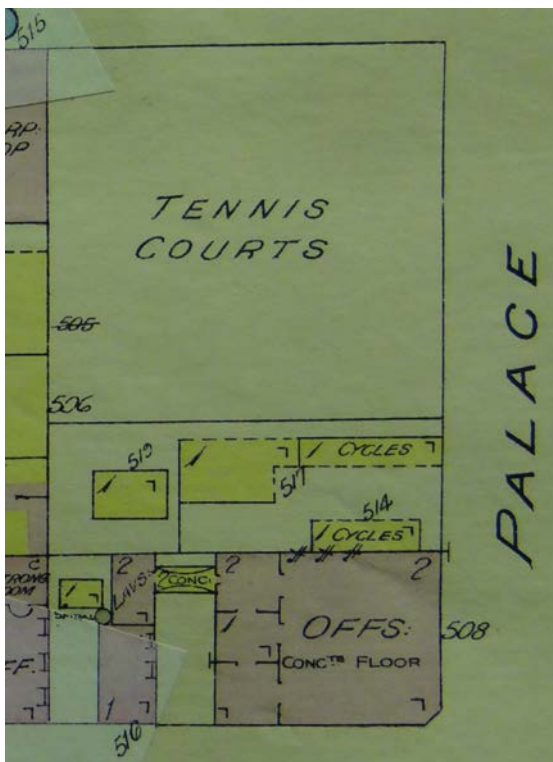


Figure 5.105  
 Extract of Goad insurance maps 1925 and 1931

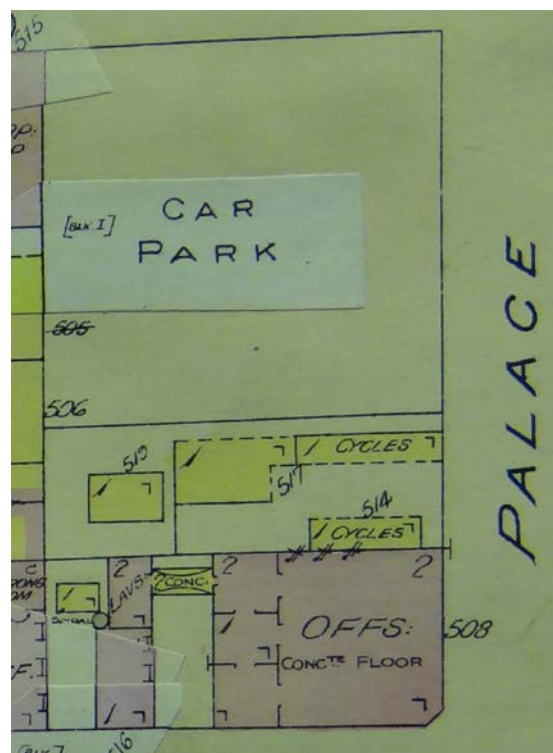
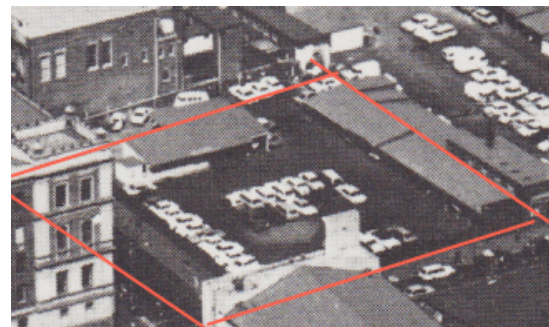


Figure 5.106  
 Extract of Goad insurance map 1937



**Figure 5.107**  
Extract of Goad insurance map 1949 and 1956



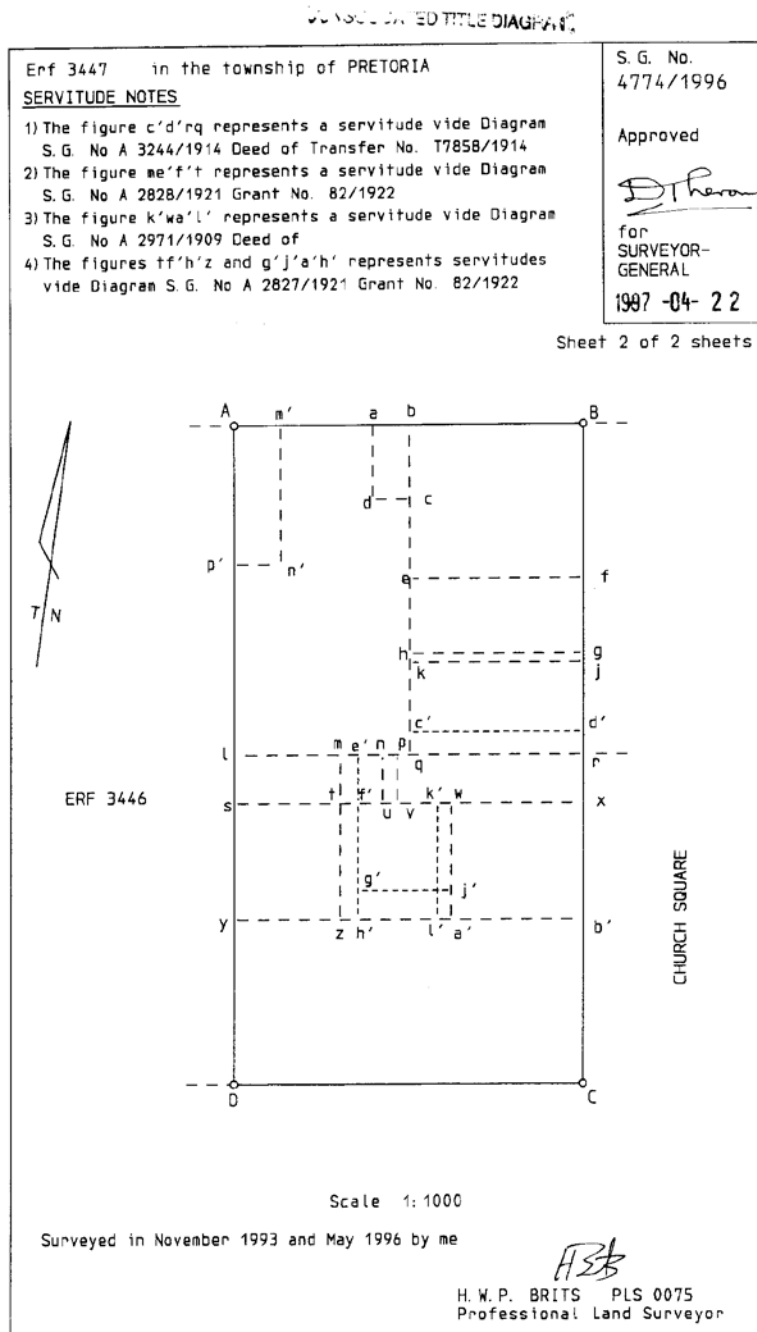
**Figure 5.108**  
Portion of Photograph 1970  
(Allen 1971: 255)

The old Bank of Africa building was to be demolished with the rest of the west façade and conservationists and concerned citizens fought from 1971 for the preservation of the west façade until Church Square was declared a National Monument in 1980 (See *Saving the West Façade* Chapter 6).

With the first restoration of the Old African Bank building that started in 1980, the original interior walls were replaced with plastered face brick. On the roof edge the parapet detailing was removed when the original roofing material was removed. The podium was in threatened condition and had to be restored. The restoration work consisted of sandstone repair, sandstone replacement, water penetration prevention on ledges, repair of painting and window and steelwork finishes.

The extensions to the post office were designed by the firm Burg, Doherty and Bryant and constructed behind the buildings of the west façade in 1987 (figure 5.94) (Le Roux 1990: 65). Only the façade of the Old African Bank building was retained after the construction of the Post Sorting Facility. The open area on the northwestern point of Palace Street is known as “Commissariat Square” because British soldiers’ barracks stood there during the First Anglo-Boer War 1880-1881 (Offringa 1991: 55; Boshoff 1990: 11).

In 1993 all the portions were included in the consolidated Erf 3413, SG diagram A10953/1993 by Snyman and H.W.P. Britz, transferred through T8874 to the Post Office. In 1996 Erf 273/2 was added to this consolidated erf, which now formed the new and current Erf, number 3447 (SG diagram 4774/1996, T8876/1999 by R.W. Herbert). It currently houses structures of the Post Office.



**Figure 5.109**  
**SG diagram Erf 3477**  
 (retrieved from <http://csg.dla.gov.za/esio/listdocument.jsp>).

### 5.4.3 Data sheet: Bank of Africa



|                      |   |
|----------------------|---|
| Location:            | Northwest side of the Square  |
| Architects:          | Thomas Arthur (T.A.) and F.T.R. Sladdin   |
| Style:               | Revivalist with Scottish character (Meiring 1980: 71), classical reminiscent of English Palladian architecture (Artefacts).   |
| Builder:             | John Johnstone Kirkness   |
| Construction period: | 1906  |
| Materials:           | Rough-hewn, pitched-faced sandstone ashlar on Ground Floor, quoining on corners ( <i>kalfstandwerk</i> ), smooth worked sandstone for pediments, columns and mouldings (Le Roux 1990: 65). First floor is plastered. Sash windows from solid wood. Cast iron railings and Burmese teak doors. |
| Erf number(s):       | 3447  |
| Original Erf no(s):  | Erf 274 (Old number 287)  |
| Previous site uses:  | Tennis courts, Car Park   |
| Cornerstone:         | The foundation stone records the architects' names <sup>1</sup> .   |
| Cost:                | Unknown   |
| Description:         | Small double storey building with parapet wall, neo-classical pediment on columns on western façade (Meiring 1980: 71), entrance on the corner accentuated with a scaled down pediment (Le Roux 1990: 65; Offringa 1991: 55).   |
| Previous uses:       | Old Bank of Africa, South African Mutual Life Assurance Society. Investment Building (artefacts)  |
| Current use:         | Post Office Museum  |
| Restoration:         | 1980  |

#### 5.4.4 Erf 321 (Old Erf 320)

According to Preller Jan Francois Schutte stayed on this erf and it is possible that his house was there and that he sold it to Captain J.H.M. Struben, but it is relatively certain that Captain Struben lived in a big house on this erf, which he bought in 1857. Marianne Churchill's painting of 1857 (figure 5.110) had a pointer to Captain Struben's house (Rex 1956: 243). Rex also claimed that Struben's shop was on this erf (Rex 1956: 157).



Captain Struben's house

First Church

**Figure 5.110**  
**Part of Marianne Churchill's painting of 1857**  
**(Bolsmann 2001: 13).**

*'n Fraai en gerieflike woonhuis van agt vertrekke met 'n sinkdak met 'n winkel langsaa. Het huis onlangs bewoon deur J.H. Struben aan Kerkplein. Bezonder geskik vir 'n hotel of woonhuis (Rex 1956: 245).*

This could be after Struben's estate was declared insolvent. William Munro bought the property in 1866. Munro also bought Struben's farm Kaalfontein, around 40km from Church Square (Louw 1979: 35). In 1874 Munro granted power of attorney to Johan Carel Preller from the firm Preller, De Villiers to appear before Registrar of Deeds Jacobus Johannes Meintjes in the transfer to Pieter Johannes Marais, who bought the erf on public auction (deed number T1195/1874). The SG diagram was numbered 10799/1875 with Arthur H. Walker's re-measurement of A.F. du Toit's original layout (figure 5.111). Sam Melvill signed the SG diagram.

In 1889 Hermann Ludwig Eckstein bought the property from Pieter Johannes Marais (deed number T3311/1889).

**STAD PRETORIA,** 10799/1875.  
**Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek.**

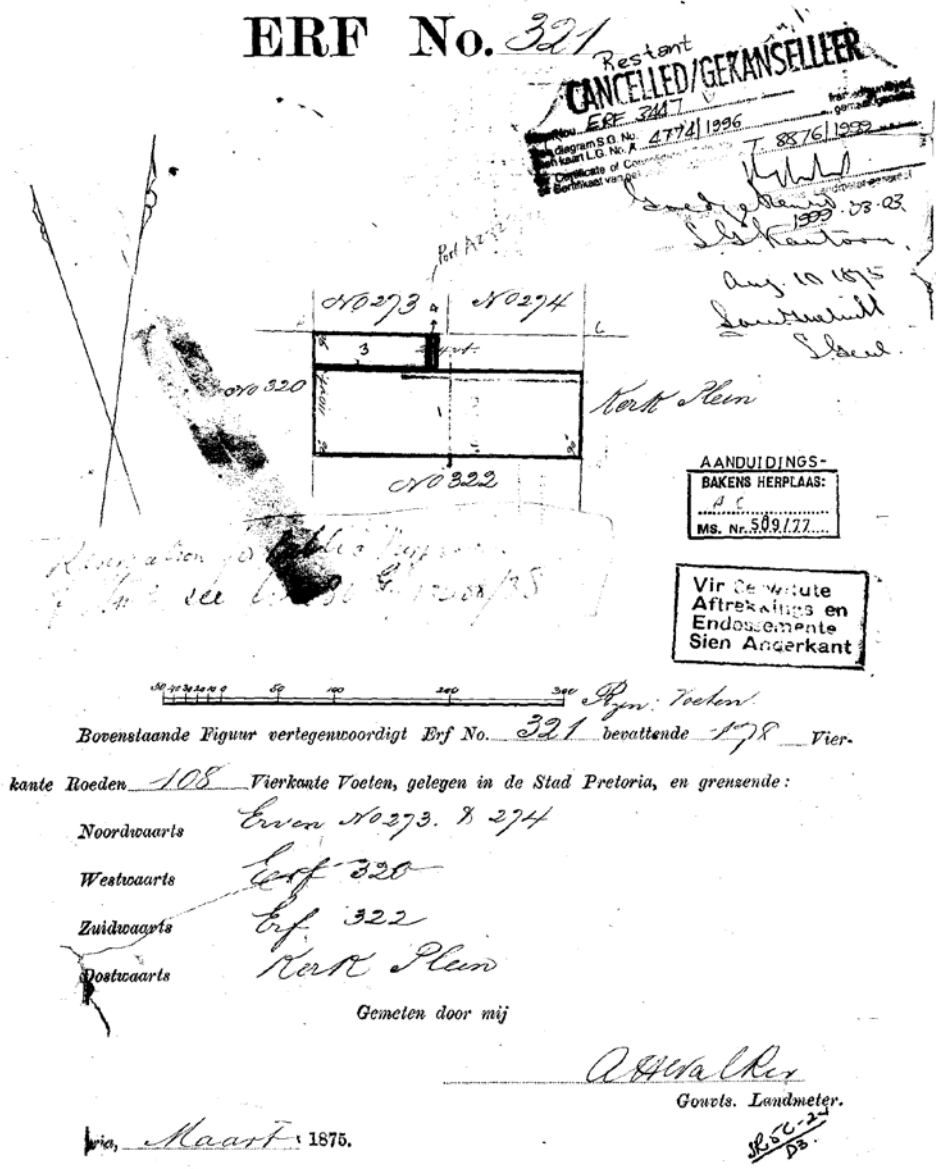
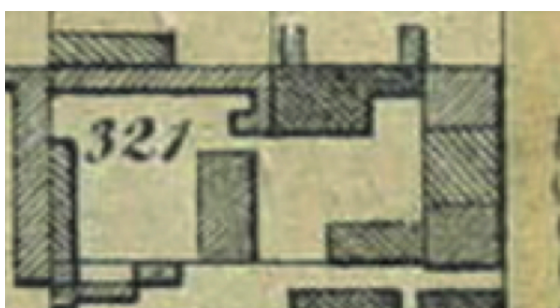


Figure 5.111  
 SG diagram 1875  
 (retrieved from <http://csg.dla.gov.za/esio/listdocument.jsp>).

Van Vooren and J.H. Oerder's 1889 map (figure 5.112) indicates structures on the erf and a photograph from the same year (figure 5.113) shows the end of a single storey building with stoep, sheet metal roof and parapet wall. The photograph in figure 5.114 provides a complete picture of the three buildings shown on the map. On the left is the Produce Stores, the Commercial Chambers are in the middle and the Kimberley Hotel with the Town Hall behind it on the right (Dunston 1975: 7). Although there are no records on the management of the hotel, Eckstein who also owned mine fields in Kimberley, probably named the hotel.



**Figure 5.112**  
**Portion of 1889 map**  
 by Van Vooren and J.H. Oerder.



**Figure 5.113**  
**Portion of photograph**  
 from church steeple  
 (Allen 1971: 46).



**Figure 5.114**  
**Photograph taken from Church steeple showing three separate buildings**  
 (Dunston 1975: 41).

# STAD PRETORIA.

10369/1891.

Gedeelte Erf No. 321

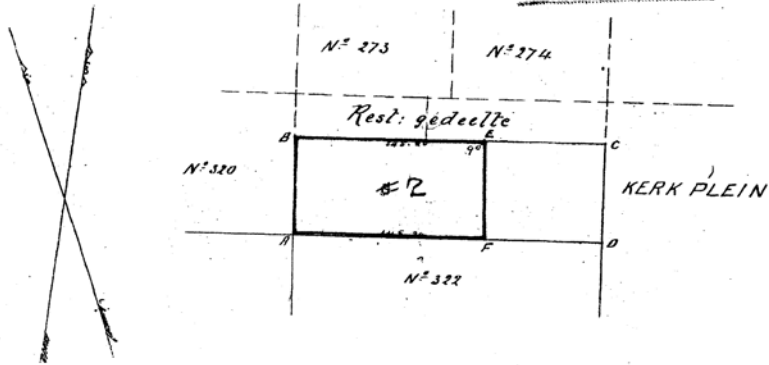
Van deze kaart wordt afgetrokken  
gedeelte gemerkt ABCE  
Groot 78 vierkante Roeden 15.74 velden  
Overlatende als Rest. gedeelte  
47 Roeden opsvelden.

*Gammallif*  
Landm. Generaal  
L. 4. Kantoor 21 Sept. 1893

Restant  
**CANCELLED/GERANSELLEER**

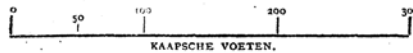
ERF 3217  
S.G. No. 474/1896  
L.G. No. 474/1896  
Certificate of Consolidation No. 6876/1899  
for Certificate of Consolidation No. 6876/1899

for Surveyor-General/Ins. Landmeter-generaal



\* Nou bekend as Gedeelte

| ZIJDEN.   | HOEKEN.  |
|-----------|----------|
| AB 77.45  | A 90.0.0 |
| BC 234.00 | B 90.0.0 |
| CD 77.45  | C 90.0.0 |
| DA 234.00 | D 90.0.0 |



De bovenstaande Figuur A tot D stelt voor Gedeelte Erf No. 321 groot 45 vierkante  
Roeden 15.3 vierkante voeten, gelegen in de stad PRETORIA, Z. A. Republiek,  
grenzende als hierboven vermeld.

Gemeten in Juli 1891 door mij

*Swaas de Noels*

Beëdigd Landmeter.

No. 1329 Goedgekeurd

Landmeter-Generaals Kantoor

21 Juli 1891

*J. C. Minnaar*  
Landmeter-Generaal

Ik, J. C. MINNAAR, Registrateur van Acten, certificeer

hiermede dat deze kaart behoort tot het Transport heien uit-

gereikt ten faveure van *De Nationale Bank*

van Zuid Afrik Republiek. Reg. Kantoor,

30 Juli 1891

Reg. van Acten.

Figure 5.115  
SG diagram 1891

(retrieved from <http://csg.dla.gov.za/esio/listdocument.jsp>).

In 1891 Portion 1 was subdivided from the Erf 321. SG diagram no 10369/1891 was signed by Servaas de Kock and approved by Johann Rissik (figure 5.115). It recorded the transfer of this southern portion from Hermann Ludwig Eckstein to *De Nationale Bank du Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek Bpkt.* deed number T1515/1891. Power of attorney to conduct this transaction was given to James Ashford Batty.

*De Nationale Bank en Munt der Zuid-Afrikaanse Republiek* was established on 20 April 1891 as bankers to the State. The Mint was the first in the southern hemisphere and was temporarily housed in the rebuilt Kimberley Hotel on the same premises on Church Square (Meiring 1980: 69). It became a matter of pride for the Government that there should be a State bank (Allen 1971: 69).

In June 1891 architects were invited to submit drawings for the new bank and mint. “The Press” newspaper ran the competition. The designs had to be submitted before 10 July 1891. In September it was reported that Frank Emley & Frank Scott of Pretoria won the first prize of £100. At one end of the façade about three feet above pavement level is the foundation stone, which was laid by President Kruger on 6 July 1892 and John Kirkness, to whom the building contract was awarded, presented a silver trowel, specially made by jeweller L. Röhlin (Rex 1975: 70), to President Kruger, who checked the stone with spirit levels (Allen 1971: 69; Meiring 1980: 69). A leaden casket was placed within the stone and contained all public documents connected with the bank, specimens of The Press of Pretoria, the coins of the Republic issued to date and a *Staatscourant* of that day (Steyn 1993: 34-5). Hermann Miltz, one of the bank managers, also made a speech. He was a German and the early years of the bank was characterised by a strong German influence. The personnel were all German speaking, machinery for the mint was imported from Germany and the first director, Gustav Munscheid, was the former inspector of the *Reichsmüntzamt* in Berlin (Rex 1975: 229). The premises were opened in 1893. Prior to this the ZAR had its gold minted overseas and re-imported the coins. The first gold sovereigns were minted on the three imported German coining presses.

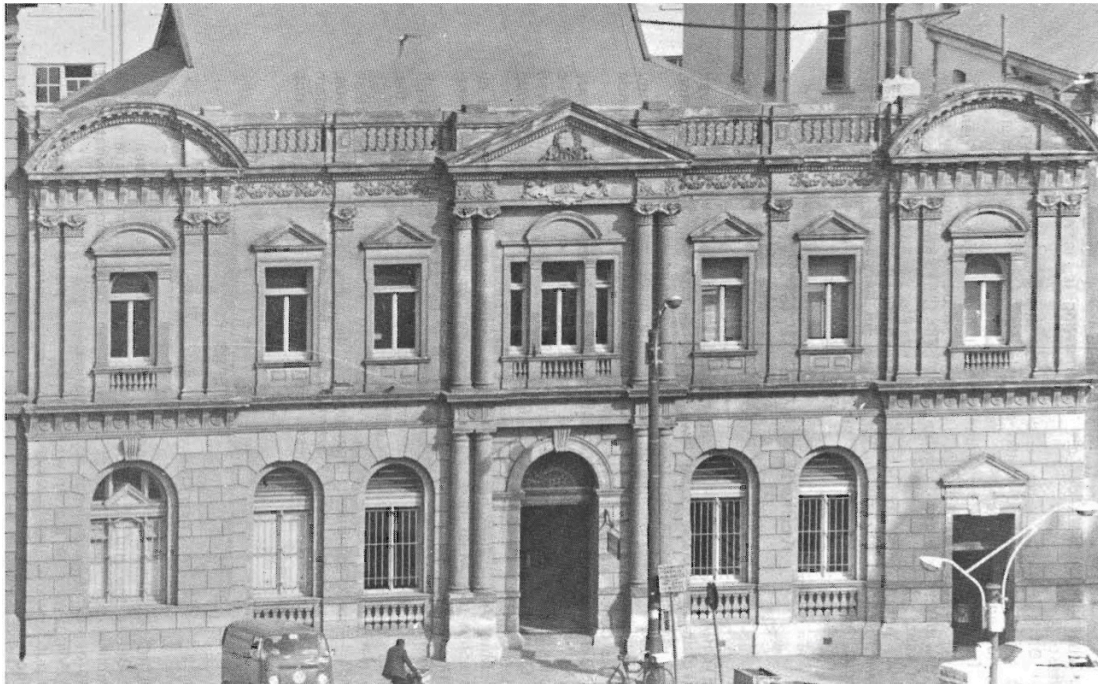
Allen (1971: 69) describes the façade of the National Bank and Mint building (figures 5.116 and 5.117) as “small and beautifully proportioned, built of meadow red stone, with restrained new classicism, unmarred by over-ornamentation and bulbous copulas”. The double storey façade with classical fivefold division from hewn sandstone continues the sandstone edge of the western façade and lends a human scale to it. On the ground floor

broad sandstone bands fold in to a single keystone over the arched windows and the main entrance. There is a smoother finish to the first floor. On the first floor the middle section (*corps avant*) has a triangular or pointed pediment on coupled Corinthian columns and windows under a curved (segmented) pediment. The corner pavilions have curved pediments on coupled Corinthian pilasters with curved pediments over the windows. The two sections in between have triangular pediments over the windows. The roofline is richly articulated. The corrugated iron roof is hidden behind the parapet wall (Le Roux 1990: 57-58). The coining press required a high roof (figure 5.117) (Pretoriana 1975: 22). The banking hall was on the ground floor and on the first floor there was accommodation for mint officials and bank clerks.



**Figure 5.116**  
**The National Bank and Mint with Kimberley Hotel to the right and Post Office to the left,**  
**photograph taken during Nachtmaal around 1897**  
**(Dunston 1975: 33).**

The university of Pretoria's website [able.wiki.up.ac.za](http://able.wiki.up.ac.za)<sup>2</sup> describes the building as follows: "Cavetto mouldings have been used in various places on the façade and chamfered stonework has been used in the sand stonework. The façade also has details such as arches, urns, lunettes, logia, pediments, tympanum, keystone, *voussoir*, architrave, bays, podium, ionic columns, resillits and architraves."



**Figure 5.117**  
**The National Bank and Mint Building in 1975**  
(Pretoriana 1975: 22, photograph by The Pretoria News).

Although no published evidence exists that Van Wouw made the designs for the architectural decorations of the building, Duffey (2008: 84-5) believes that Van Wouw was responsible for the sculpted decorative friezes and capitals for the façade based on an old photograph of Van Wouw and Frans Oerder, working in Van Wouw's studio in 1895, that shows some of these designs hanging on the wall behind Oerder.

The Remainder of Erf 321, thus the northern portion, still belonged to Hermann Ludwig Eckstein (German-born British mining magnate and banker who played a large part in establishing the National Bank of South Africa). Upon his death in January 1893 his brother Frederich August Jonathan Eckstein became the executor of Hermann's estate and

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<sup>2</sup> Retrieved from [http://able.wiki.up.ac.za/index.php/National\\_Bank\\_of\\_South\\_Africa,\\_65\\_Palace\\_Street,\\_Pretoria\\_City\\_Centre,\\_Tshwane](http://able.wiki.up.ac.za/index.php/National_Bank_of_South_Africa,_65_Palace_Street,_Pretoria_City_Centre,_Tshwane)

Alois Hugo Nellmapius became agent to the estate. Frederich gave Jacobus Cornelis Haarhoff procuration to appear before the Registrar of Deeds in the sale of this northern portion to *De Nationale Bank der Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek Beperkt*. The title deed was numbered T1567/1893.

In 1891 Portion 2 was deducted from Portion 1. Land surveyor Servaas de Kock and Surveyor-General Johann Rissik signed SG diagram numbered 10370/1891 (figure 5.118). The *Nationale Bank du Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek Bpkt.* sold the property to *Het Gouvernement du Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek* (deed number T2194/1893). Dr. Wilhelm Knappe and Hermann Militz<sup>3</sup>, the joint managers of the Bank gave power of attorney to Jacobus Cornelis Haarhoff for the transfer. The Registrar of Deeds was J.C. Minnaar.

In 1897 Portion 3 (6) (SG diagram no 11814/1896) (figure 5.119) was deducted from the Remainder and transferred from the *Nationale Bank du Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek Bpkt.* to *Het Gouvernement du Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek*. The SG diagram was signed by land surveyor Servaas de Kock and approved by Surveyor-General Johann Rissik. Registrar of Deeds J.C. Steyn signed the title deed numbered T788/1897. Thomas Hugo was the general manager of the Bank. He granted power of attorney to Edward Rooth for the sale to the Government.

In 1899 Sammy Marks was given permission by Paul Kruger to use the mint for a day, in gratitude of presenting the city with the statue. He minted 215 gold tickets. 75 years later one of these reached R500 at an auction and in the 1980s one was worth between R3,000 and R4,000 (Meiring 1980: 69). Within ten years the old building had become too small (Allen 1971: 69).

The Kimberley Hotel remained on the northern Portion (321/R) until the turn of the century and is visible next to the National Bank and Mint on photographs in figures 5.116, 5.120 and 5.121. In 1898 it apparently housed the Railway and Works Co. Ltd. and R.W. Wright, contractors of Pretoria-Pietersburg Railway line and in 1903 the offices of the Pretoria Municipality were there (Dunston 1971: 3). It was demolished to make way for the Annex to the Bank.

The tall, narrow, three-storey annex of the National Bank and Mint (figure 5.122) was erected on the Remainder of Erf 321 towards 1903 with symmetrical Jugendstil aspects

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<sup>3</sup> See <https://archive.org/details/briefhistoryoftr00heyeiala>.

(1905 according to Offringa 1991: 54). It provided additional offices for the Bank and Mint, had a separate entrance and was known as the National Bank Chambers. The roof window in middle gable is pushed out high above the roofline. The façade, despite the shallowness of Jugendstil decoration, remains a strong mix of pilasters, arches, stepped cornices, arched, rectangular and paired windows. It is treated almost as deep relief rather as building front (Le Roux 1990: 58).

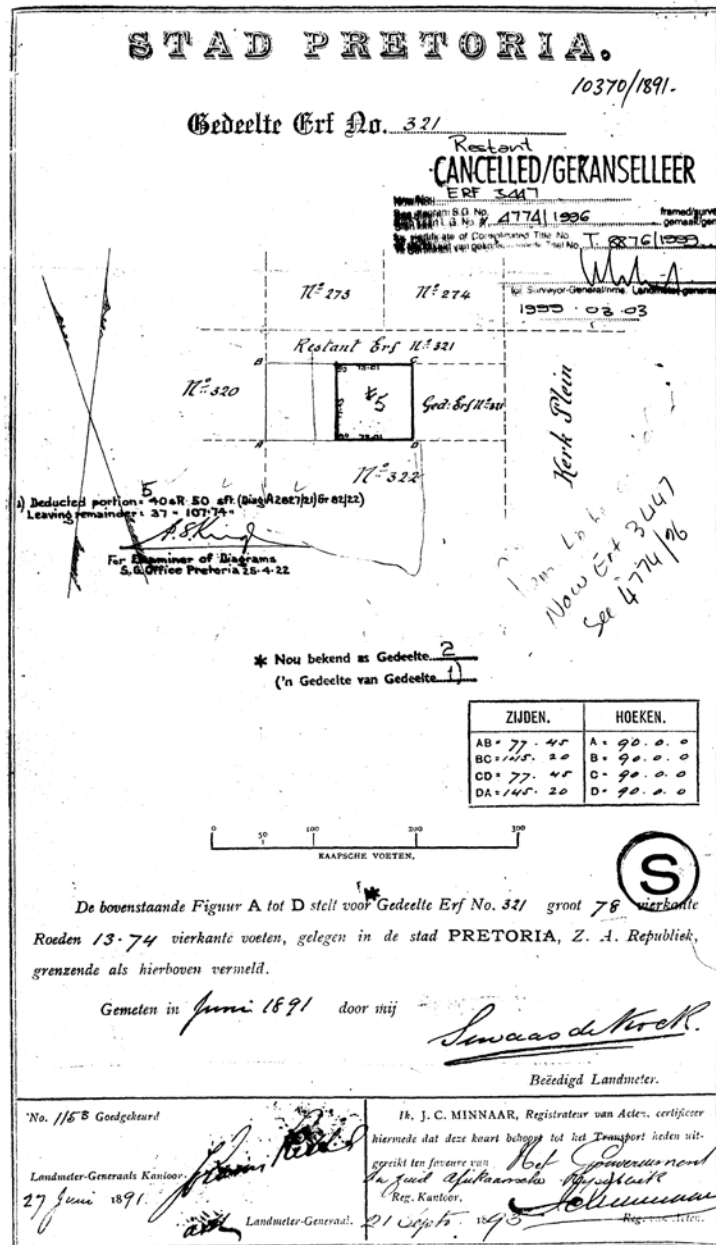


Figure 5.118  
SG diagram 1891  
(retrieved from <http://csg.dla.gov.za/esio/listdocument.jsp>).

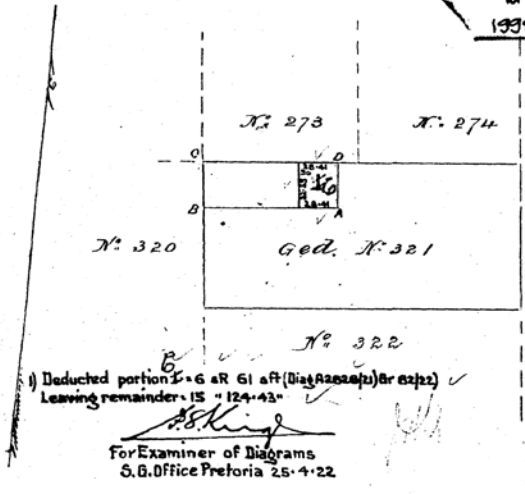
# STAD PRETORIA.

11814/1896.

*Restart*  
**CANCELLED/GERANSELLEER**

Now/Now ERF 3447  
See diagram S.G. No. 4774/1896 framed/geranselleer  
Sien kaart L.G. No. 4774/1896 generaal/generaal  
for Certificate of Consolidated Title No. 7.8876/1896  
vir Verklaring van gekonsolideerde Titel No. 7.8876/1896

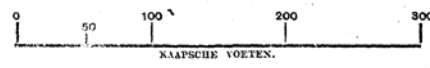
*[Signature]*  
for Surveyor-General/oms. Landmeter-generaal  
1939 03.03



**AANVINDINGS-  
BAKENS HERPLAAS:**  
C.....  
No. Nr. 509/77

| Zijden. | afmeten       |
|---------|---------------|
| AB      | 98.60 A 00.00 |
| BC      | 32.58 B 90.00 |
| CD      | 98.60 C 00.00 |
| DE      | 32.58 D 00.00 |

\* Nou bekend as Gedeelte 3



De Bovenstaande Figuur **A B C D** stelt voor gedeelte Erf No. 321 groot 22 vierkante roeden 41.43 vierkante voeten, gelegen in de Stad **PRETORIA**, Republiek, grenzende als hierboven vermeld.

Gemeten in *November* door mij

*[Signature]*  
**Beëdigd Landmeter**

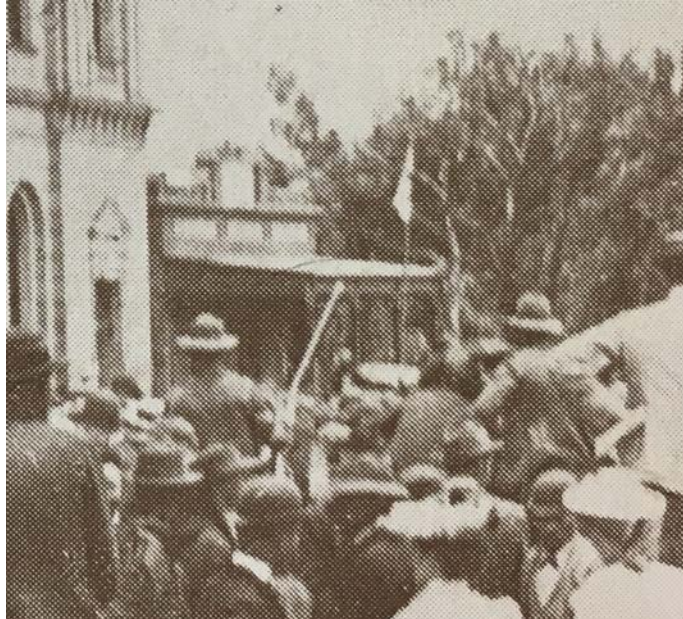
No. 5247 Goedgekeurd.  
*[Signature]*  
Landmeter-Generaal.  
Landmeter-Generaals Kantoor, 18 Nov. 1896

Ik *[Signature]*  
Registrateur van Acten, eertifiseer hiermede dat de Erf No. 321 behoort tot het Transport No. 124.43 van de Reg. van Acten, *[Signature]* No. Reg. van Acten, Reg. Kantoor, 29 Jan

Figure 5.119  
SG diagram 1896  
(retrieved from <http://csg.dla.gov.za/esio/listdocument.jsp>).



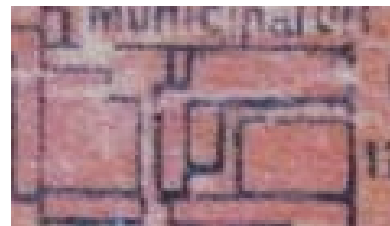
**Figure 5.120**  
**Kimberley Hotel (right), 1898**  
 (Allen 1971: 66).



**Figure 5.121**  
**Two of Jamesson's men arrive at the *landdrost* court**  
**around 1896 with Kimberley Hotel (right) at the back**  
 (Dunston 1975: 38)



**Figure 5.122**  
**Annex of the National Bank and Mint**  
 (photograph by Pretoria News, December 1975).



**Figure 5.123**  
**Erf 321 on a portion of 1904 map.**  
 (source: Rosa Swanepoel Collection).

The Mint's machine room was at the back of the bank building and not visible from Church Square. There is a beautiful wrought iron gate between the annex and the bank building on the inside, the first item to be officially declared a national monument (Meiring 1980: 69).

During the Anglo-Boer War the bank battled to stay liquid and lost contact with its branches in other colonies (Steyn 1993: 35). After the occupation of Pretoria in 1900, the State Mint was closed down and it was fully controlled by the British Barclays Bank building on the eastern side of the square. In 1902 after the Anglo-Boer War, the bank changed its name to the National Bank of South Africa Ltd.

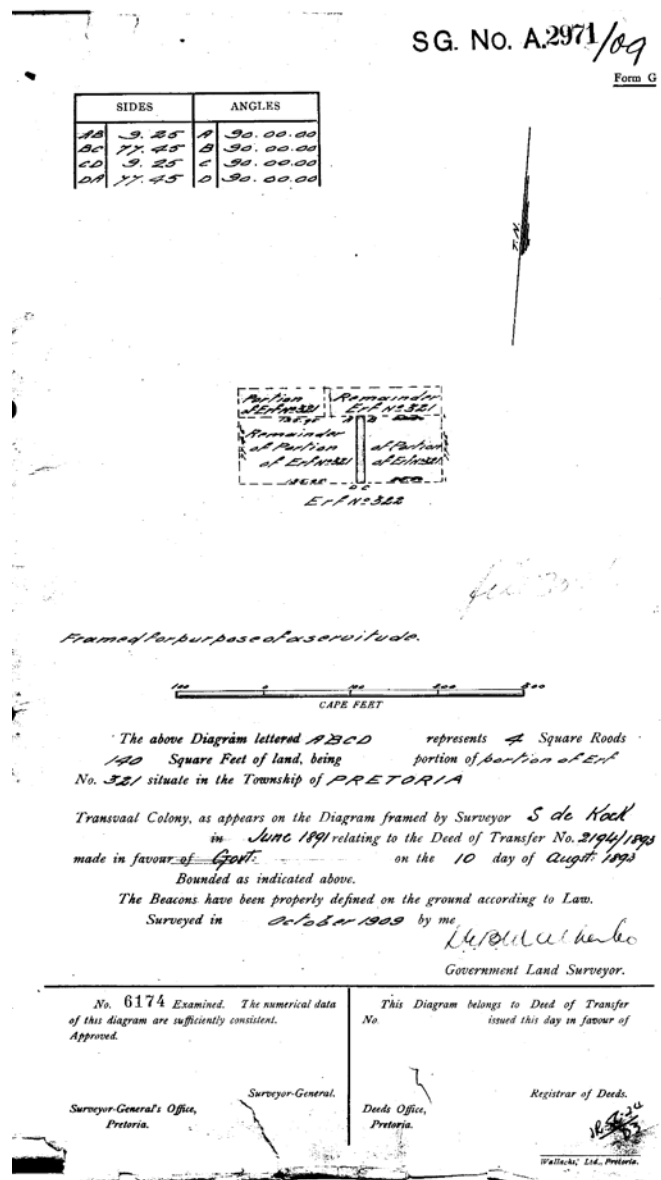
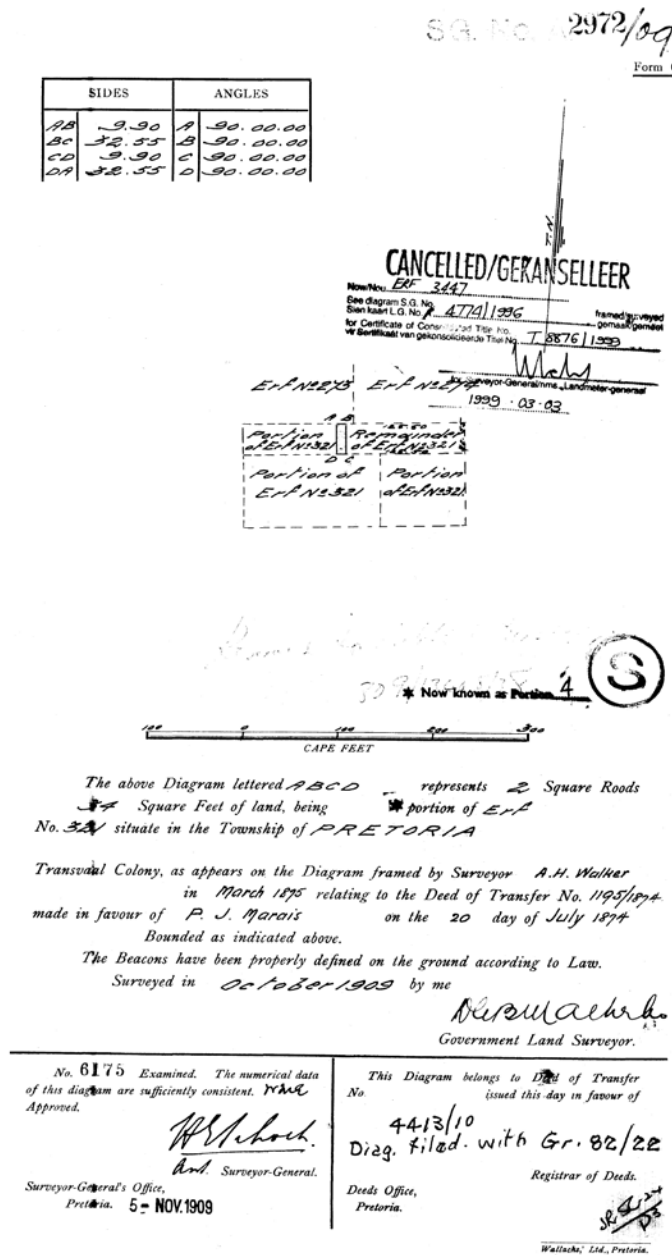


Figure 5.124  
SG diagram 1909  
(retrieved from <http://csg.dla.gov.za/esio/listdocument.jsp>).

In 1910 Portion 4 was transferred from the *Nationale Bank du Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek Bpkt.* (National Bank of South Africa Ltd.) to the Government of the Union of South Africa (Title deed T4413/1910). SG diagram A2971/1909 (figure 5.124) was framed for the purposes of servitudes and was signed by Government land surveyor Malherbe. Malherbe also signed the SG diagram no A2972/1909 (figure 5.125) and Herman Eugene Schoch approved it. Benjamin Robert Duff was granted power of Attorney by Edward Charles Reynolds as General Manager of the National Bank.



**Figure 5.125**  
**SG diagram 1909**  
 (retrieved from <http://csg.dla.gov.za/esio/listdocument.jsp>).

By 1914 the National Bank had taken over the National Bank of the Free State, the Bank of Africa and the Natal Bank. The premises on Church Square continued to house the head office of the enlarged National Bank. In 1914 the building was renovated and in 1921 the old mint premises were converted to accommodate the Accounting Department and part of the Pretoria branch (Steyn 1993: 36).

In 1921 two further portions were deducted. Portion 5 was deducted from Portion 2 (SG diagram A2827/1921 figure 5.127) and Portion 6 was deducted from Portion 3 (SG diagram A2828/1921). Both were signed by land surveyor Servaas de Kock and approved by Surveyor-General Herman Eugene Schoch. Grant no 82/1922 registered a 12' servitude of light by the National Bank of South Africa Ltd. on the western portion of Erf 321/R, belonging to the Government of the Union of South Africa and determined that no building of greater height than 9'5.5" above floor level of the Post Office on Erf 322 may be erected. The servitudes were also reserved for entrance and exit and for passage of a drainpipe with the full and free use of this portion.

The Goad Insurance map of 1925 (figure 5.126) provides a plan of the original interior of the National Bank, which remained relatively unchanged until the 1930's when wooden sheds were erected for cycles in the back courtyard (figure 5.128).

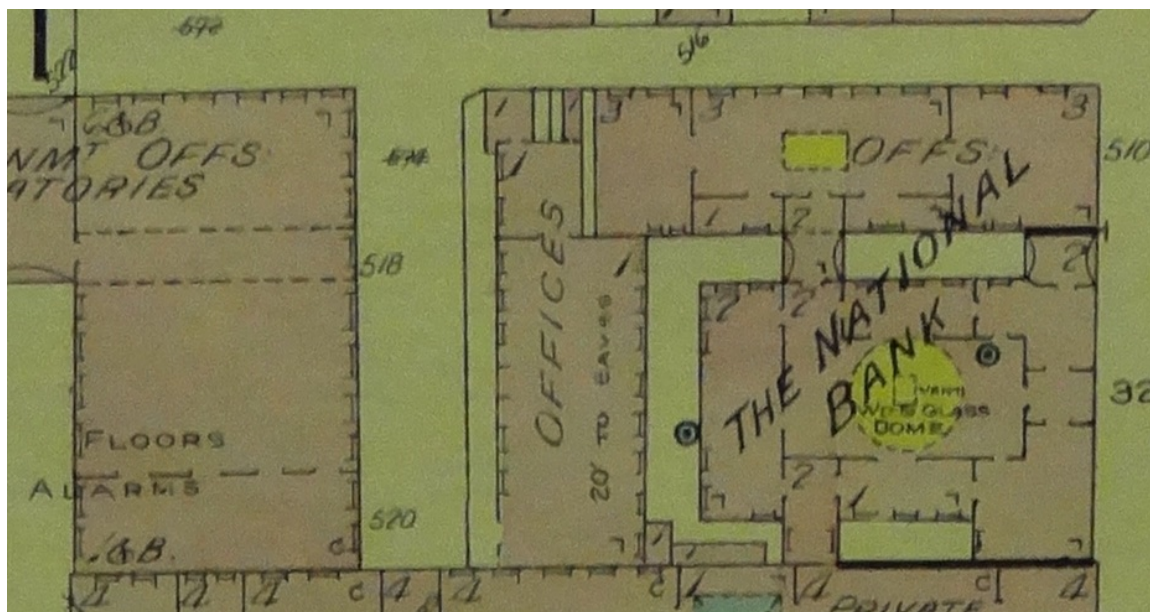


Figure 5.126  
Extract of Goad insurance map 1925

S.G. No. A. 2827/21

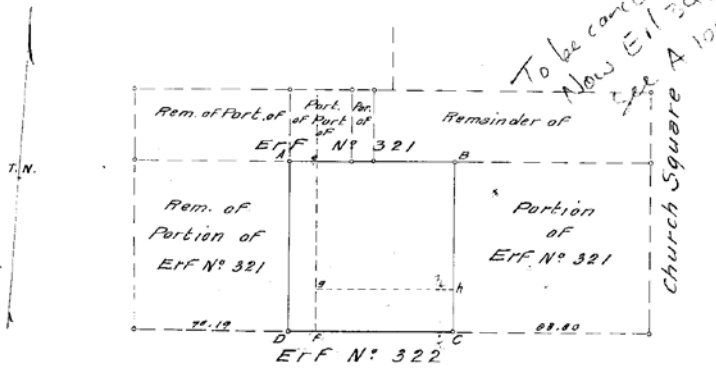
Form G.—Diagram Form for a portion of an Erf or Lot in a Township.

| Sides.     |       | Angles. |        |
|------------|-------|---------|--------|
| Cape Feet. |       |         |        |
| A B        | 75.01 | A       | 90.0.0 |
| B C        | 77.45 | B       | 90.0.0 |
| C D        | 75.01 | C       | 90.0.0 |
| D A        | 77.45 | D       | 90.0.0 |

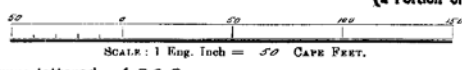
CANCELLED

Now... ERF 3447.  
 See diagram S.G. No. 4774/1996 framed/surveyed  
 for Certificate of Consolidated Title No. T. 8876/1999  
 ...sgd. R.W. Herbert  
 for SURVEYOR - GENERAL  
 Portions of Erf 321 and Erf 322 are Servitudes  
 1999.03.03

AD = dF = 77.45 C.F.    Ae = FD = 12.1 C.F.    90°  
 gh = C.F. 62.91    AC = Fg = 19.36    90°



\* Now known as Portion 5  
 (a Portion of Portion 2)



The above figure lettered **ABCD** represents  
 40 square rods 50 square feet of land, being portion 1 of Portion of  
 Erf No. 321 in the Township of

**PRETORIA**

Province of the Transvaal, as appears on Diagram S.G. No. A. 2006/91 framed by Surveyor  
*S. de Kock* in June 1891 relating to Deed of Transfer  
 No. 2194/93 made in favour of *The Government of the S.A.R.*  
 and dated 10. 0. 1893. Bounded as indicated above.  
 The angular points have been properly defined on the ground according to law.  
 Surveyed in September 1921 by me *S. de Kock*  
 Land Surveyor.

No. **A. 2827** Examined. The numerical data of this Diagram are sufficiently consistent.

*True* Approved *S. de Kock*  
 Surveyor-General.  
 Surveyor-General's Office, Pretoria. 0812-1921

This Diagram belongs to Deed of Transfer No. Gr 82/22 made this day in favour of \_\_\_\_\_

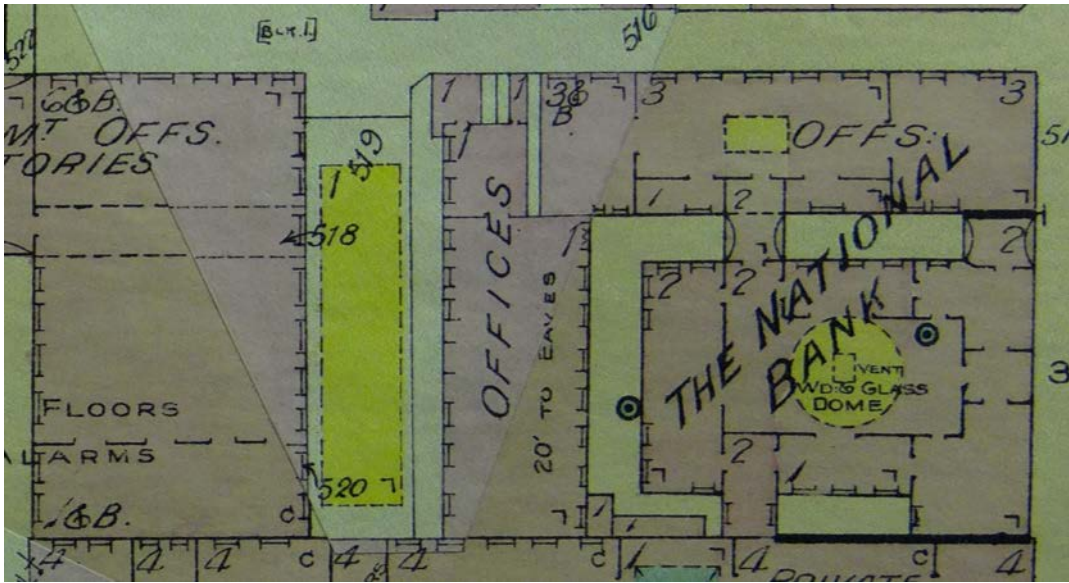
Deeds Office, Pretoria. Registrar of Deeds.

Published by authority—Gardner & Sherry, Johannesburg—111 50

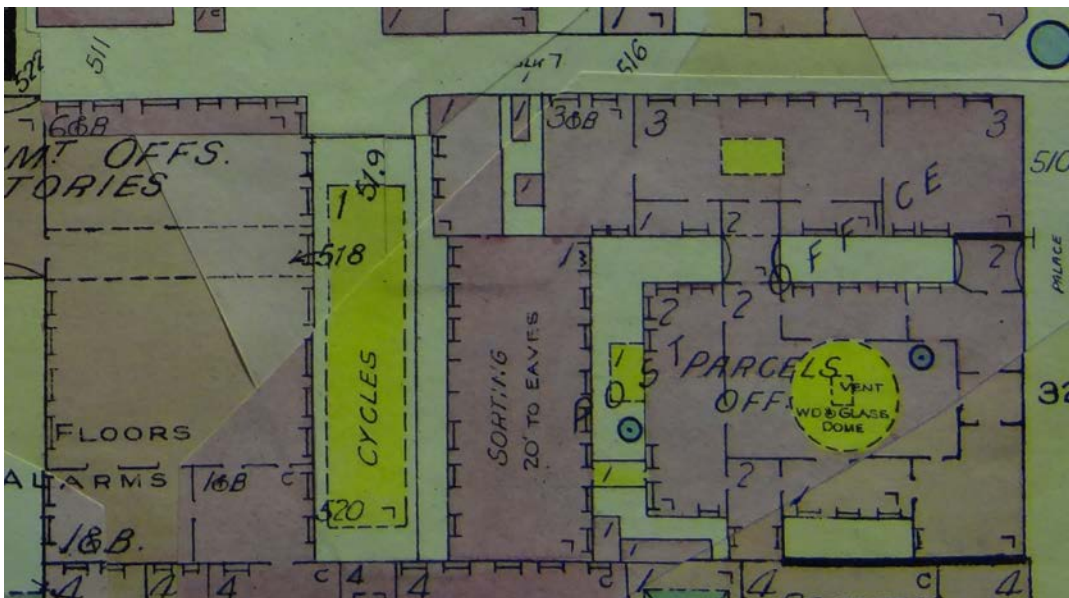
Figure 5.127  
 SG diagram 1921  
 (retrieved from <http://csg.dla.gov.za/esio/listdocument.jsp>).

In 1926 the Barclays Bank Dominion, Colonial and Overseas (D.C. and O.) head office London UK, amalgamated with the National Bank of South Africa; the shareholders of the late Bank exchanged their shares in shares of Barclays Bank D.C. and O. which maintained

the name of National Bank of South Africa as the second name of the South African institution, until it changed its name again to First National Bank of Southern Africa (Steyn 1993: 36; see also *Pretoriana* 1994). The title deeds after 1926 stipulate that “all assets of the National Bank of South Africa Ltd. have been acquired by Barclays Bank (Dominion Colonial and Overseas). The properties were thus transferred to Barclays.



**Figure 5.128**  
Extract of Goad insurance map 1931-37.



**Figure 5.129**  
Extract of Goad insurance map 1949.



skylights. The restoration work consisted of sandstone repair, sandstone replacement, water penetration prevention on ledges, repair of painting and window and steelwork finishes. Additions were built in red face brick.

In 1993 all the portions were included in the consolidated Erf 3413, SG diagram A10953/1993 by Snyman and H.W.P. Britz, transferred through T8874 to the Post Office. In 1996 Erf 273/2 was added to this consolidated erf, which now formed the new and current erf, number 3447. R.W. Herbert signed off SG diagram 4774/1996 (figure 5.109). The deed numbered T8876/1999 was linked to the diagram. Today the erf houses structures of the Post Office.

### 5.4.5 Data sheet: Old National Bank and Mint



|                      |  |
|----------------------|--|
| Location:            | Northwest side of the Square   |
| Architect:           | Frank Emley & Frank Scott  |
| Style:               | Classical Neo-Renaissance  |
| Builder:             | John Johnstone Kirkness  |
| Construction period: | 1892   |
| Materials:           | Red-coloured sandstone   |
| Erf number(s):       | 3447   |
| Original Erf no(s):  | 321  |
| Previous site uses:  | Captain Struben's house, Produce Store and Commercial Chambers   |
| Cornerstone:         | The foundation stone was laid by President Kruger on 6 July 1892.  |
| Cost:                | Paul Kruger announced that the Republic had secured a loan of £2.5 million from London, but that was for operational cost as well. The first concession had a £500,000 budget.   |
| Description:         | Double storey with classical fivefold division, human scale, arched windows on Ground Floor. On the First Floor the middle section ( <i>corps avant</i> ) has a triangular or pointed pediment on coupled Corinthian columns and windows under a curved (segmented) pediment. The corner pavilions have curved pediments on coupled Corinthian pilasters with curved pediments over the windows. The two sections in between have triangular pediments over the windows. The roofline is richly articulated. The corrugated iron roof is hidden behind the parapet wall. (See also Maré 1975: 37). |
| Previous uses:       | <i>De Nationale Bank en Munt der Zuid-Afrikaanse Republiek</i>   |
| Current use:         | Post Office Museum and Parcel's office   |
| Restoration:         | First restoration started in 1980.   |

#### 5.4.6 Data sheet: Annex of Old National Bank and Mint



|                      |  |
|----------------------|--|
| Location:            | Northwest side of the Square   |
| Architect:           | Unknown  |
| Style:               | Jugendstil   |
| Builder:             | Unknown  |
| Construction period: | 1903 / 1905  |
| Materials:           | Red and white coloured sandstone   |
| Erf number(s):       | 3447   |
| Original Erf no(s):  | 321  |
| Previous site uses:  | Kimberley Hotel  |
| Cornerstone:         | Unknown  |
| Cost:                | Unknown  |
| Description:         | The roof window in middle gable is pushed out high above the roofline. The façade, despite the shallowness of Jugendstil decoration, remains a strong mix of pilasters, arches, stepped cornices, arched, rectangular and paired windows. It is treated almost as deep relief rather as building front (Le Roux 1990: 58). |
| Previous uses:       | <i>De Nationale Bank en Munt der Zuid-Afrikaanse Republiek</i>   |
| Current use:         | Post Office Museum and Parcel's office   |
| Restoration:         | First restoration started in 1980.   |

#### 5.4.7 Erf 322 (Old Erf 321)

This erf was donated to Deacon (or elder) Jan Francois (J.F.) Schutte Senior by M.W. Pretorius when Pretoria was set out and Pretorius, who had good knowledge of building, built a house for Deacon Frans Schutte on this erf in 1856 while he was building his own house on Erf 276 and while the first church was being constructed. Schutte's house can be seen on Marianne Churchill's 1857 painting of Pretoria (figure 5.131)<sup>4</sup>. It is the biggest house left in the middle that fronted on the Square. Although Schutte had occupied the erf and house since the setting out of Pretoria, the erf was only transferred to him on 19 November 1857 and on the same day Schutte sold it to the firm Evans & Churchill, a Durban firm that opened a branch of their business in this house. J. Fleetwood Churchill visited Pretoria at the end of July 1856 on his way to northern Transvaal and stayed in the house of Henry Austen (Rex 1956: 230), which can be seen completely on the left, probably on Erf 319 next to Erf 321 (Rex 1956: 242). Marais (1910: 77) confirms this, but he claims that Austen was a Portuguese trader and adds that he saw a pile of selected white ostrich feathers stacked 4' deep in a room onto his shop, 15 x 20' in size. It seems that Evans sold the old Schutte house to Henry Austen, who used it as a store, in 1861, this erf being diagonally across from Austen's own house. However the transfer to Austen was not recorded until 1873, which was after the death of Austen.



**Figure 5.131**

**Marianne Churchill's painting of 1857 showing Henry Austen's house on the far left, Frans Schutte's big house in the middle and the first Church on Church Square on the right (Bolsmann 2001: 13).**

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<sup>4</sup> Rex (1956: 241) points out that Preller erroneously stated that Philip Bronkhorst lived in this house before it was taken over by Willy (?) Austen. Rex (1956: 229) also considers whether Schutte's house was not on Erf 321 or 324 (new numbers) but concludes that there is enough evidence to the contrary.

The earliest title deed dates back to August 1873 when Registrar of Deeds Jacobus Johannes Meintjes transferred the erf from the firm Evans & Churchill (from Durban) to the estate of the late Henry Austen (deed number T1171/1873). Alfred Winter Evans was a partner in the firm. He granted power of attorney to John Robert Lys to make the transfer. Apparently Austen's estate contained proof that the erf had already been sold to him by Evans in 1861. Rex (1956: 156) also refers to this erf as the one on which Austen's store was situated.



**Figure 5.132**  
**Detail of Marianne Churchill's painting of 1857 showing Frans Schutte's big house on the left on Erf 322 and the first Church on Church Square on the right (Bolsmann 2001: 13).**

On the same day in August 1873 the property was transferred to the *Weesheer* in his capacity as administrator of the estate of the late Henry Austen. The *Weesheer* sold it to N.J.R. Swart (Rex 1956: 242) who sold it to the Government a few months later on 14 May 1874. Deed number T767/1874 recorded the transfer from Swart to the Government. The significance of this building in the development of Church Square becomes apparent after this transaction.

Up to now the *Landdrost* offices were housed in various residences and although the first old Government building was completed in 1866, the Court of the *Landdrost* and *Heemrade* only started using the first old *Raadsaal* from 1857 onwards (Rex 1956: 174). The Government thus bought the Austen building with the aim of installing the *Landdrost* offices there (Rex 1956: 175). The building was also known as the *Oude Club Building*. There was a spacious shop on the corner and a comfortable residence with outbuildings on the erf behind it.

10800/1875.

# STAD PRETORIA,

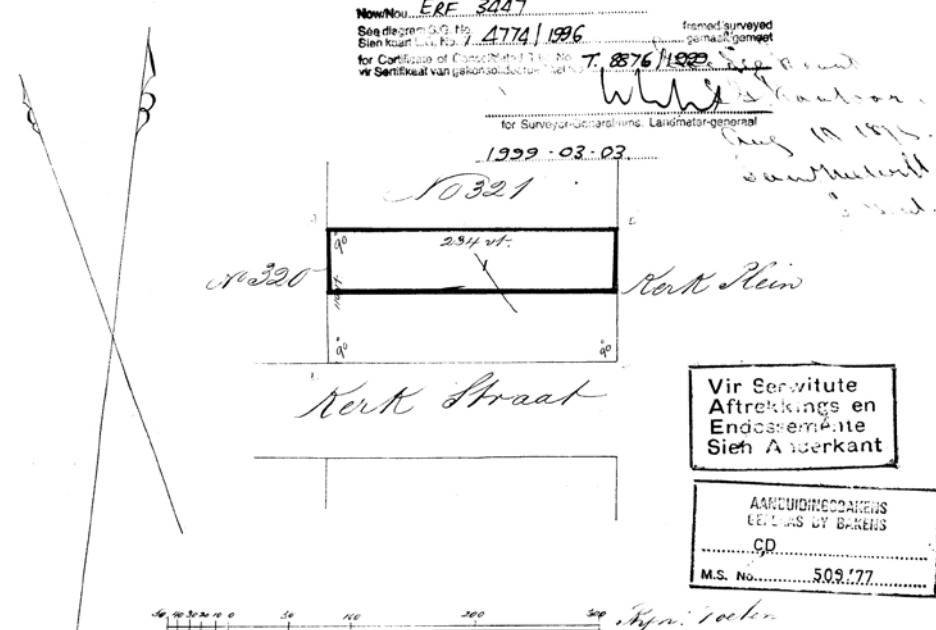
## Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek.

ERF No. 322

CANCELLED/GEKANSELLEER

Now/NOU... ERF 322  
 See diagram S.G. No. 4774/1896 framed/surveyed  
 Sien kaart S.G. No. 4774/1896 gemaak/gemaak  
 for Certificate of Cancelled Title No. 7. 876/1899  
 vir Sertifikaat van gekanselleerde titel No. 7. 876/1899

*W. H. S. ...*  
 Aug 17 1875.  
*... ..*



Bovenstaande Figuur vertegenwoordigt Erf No. 322 bevattende 178 Vierkante Roeden 108 Vierkante Voeten, gelegen in de Stad Pretoria, en grenzende:

- Noordwaarts *Erf No 321*
- Westwaarts *Erf No 320*
- Zuidwaarts *Kerk Straat*
- Oostwaarts *Kerk Plein*

Gemeten door mij

*W. H. S.*  
 Gouvs. Landm.

Pretoria, Maart, 1875.

*JK 4/3*

Figure 5.133  
 SG diagram 1875  
 (retrieved from <http://csg.dla.gov.za/esio/listdocument.jsp>).

The whole property was walled. A building commission, consisting of a state lawyer and a state secretary, was appointed to oversee the refurbishment of the old Austen building (Rex 1956: 175). The front building was refurbished and the walls of the building behind it were made higher. It was reroofed with a metal sheet roof, a *brandzolder* was installed and the building converted to a printing press, although the Government Press was never installed in the Austen building. It was also never installed in the first old Government building (Rex 1956: 196). By 1874 President Burgers and his Executive Council were already finished with renovations and the *Landdrost* office moved into the old Austen shop building (Rex 1956: 197) where it remained until 1886 when the building was demolished to make way for a big Post and Telegraph Office building (Rex 1956: 198). The First Post Office was also moved into the old Austen store buildings in 1874 (Dunston 1975: 20).

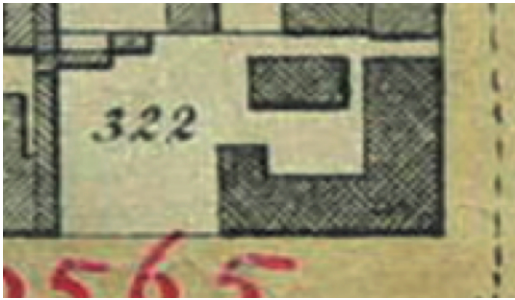
With Arthur H. Walker's re-measurement of A.F. du Toit's original layout the SG diagram was numbered 10800/1875 and Sam Melvill signed it. A subdivision line was added to the original SG diagram, but there seems to be no evidence of further subdivision (figure 5.133).

The Post and Telegraph Office building, or the Second Post Office, was constructed during 1887. It was a long, single storey building with a sandstone façade (figure 5.134) and was designed by J.W.L. (Leslie) Simmonds in the late Renaissance style.

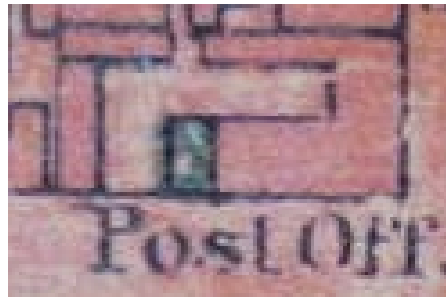


**Figure 5.134**  
**The Second Old Post Office with mail coach, view of filleted corner from the Square**  
(retrieved from: <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.za/sites/default/files/tab%204845.jpg>).

It housed the *Landdrost* Office and the Post Office (Rex 1956: 242). The postal coach of George Heys's (of Melrose House) Express Saloon Coaches brought mail to the coach service office behind the post office in Church Street West (Offringa 1991: 54). The Second Old Post Office was drawn on both the 1889 map of Van Vooren and Oerder and the 1904 map of Pretoria but the filleted corner to the Square was not indicated.



**Figure 5.135**  
Portion of 1889 map by Van Vooren  
and J.H. Oerder.



**Figure 5.136**  
Erf 322 with Post Office on 1904 map.  
(source: Rosa Swanepoel Collection).

After a few years the parapet around the roof of the building began to crumble and was removed. The building was demolished in 1910 and the four-storey Post Office that is currently on the site was erected in its place. During the demolition and rebuilding, the post office was temporarily moved to the Mint.

William Hawke designed the Third / General Post Office (figure 5.137) and William Nottingham constructed it from 1909 to 1910. It is a four-storey sandstone building with protruding 'corner pavilions' that together with the ground floor (as a base plinth) is strongly expressed through the use of deep horizontal grooves / recessed joints in the sandstone façade that bend inwards when they reach the arched windows and entranceways. Floor levels line up with older National Bank and Mint next door. These grooves then start to form a radial like pattern around the arches and eventually come together to form what looks like a key stone at the very top of the arch. The recessed balcony facing Church Square (on the western side of the building) is situated behind two storey-high paired Ionic columns and accentuates the main entrance below it. The entrance that faces Church Street (and is currently not being used as a entranceway) is accentuated through the use of an arch that rests on identical Doric columns. The other floors facing Church Street, except for the protruding ledge above the third floor, are more simple in appearance and consist mainly of paired rectangular windows that are deeply recessed into

the façade and are comprised of transparent glazing in steel window frames that are dark brown in colour. There are intricately detailed wrought iron gates in the main entrance archways. As one progresses through the archways one arrives at a passage whose ceiling consists of double barrel vaults painted white.



**Figure 5.137**  
**Third General Post office from Church Square**  
(retrieved from: <http://www.travelcities.net/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/asc054.jpg>).

On the sidewall of this passage above a side entrance door is a bronze sculpture of a nude couple attributed to the sculptor Anton Van Wouw, it had previously framed a clock (Offringa 1991: 54), which is no longer there. The interior ceiling is a pressed / moulded ceiling also painted white. The arches and column that frame the windows are painted a brown colour and the main desk / counter stretches along the entire length of the room and consists almost entirely of polished copper.

The Goad insurance maps remained unchanged between 1925 and 1937 (figure 5.138) but according to the 1949 and 1956 maps (figure 5.139) the courtyard had been filled in.

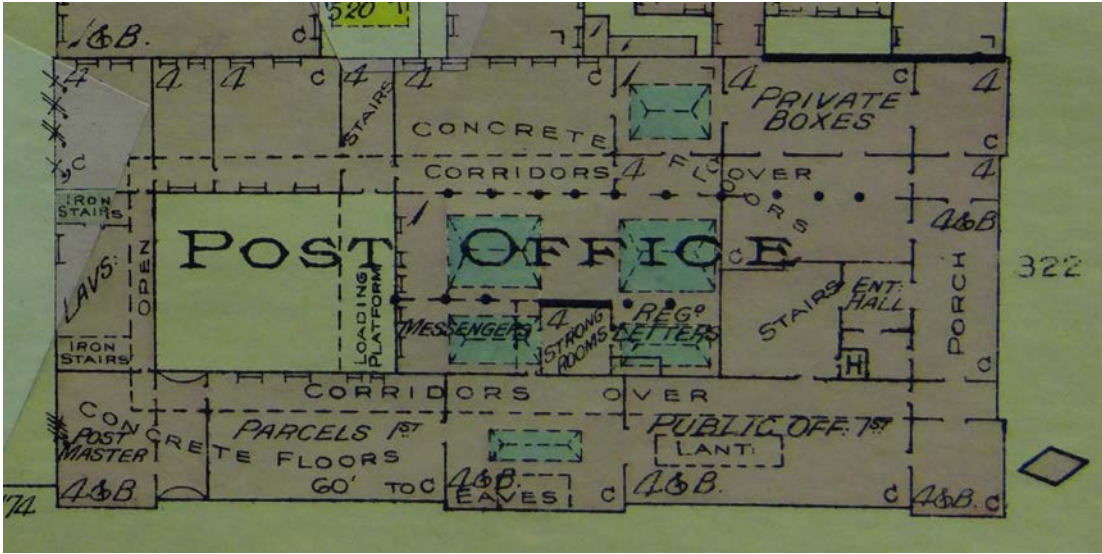


Figure 5.138  
Extract of Goad insurance map 1925 - 1937.

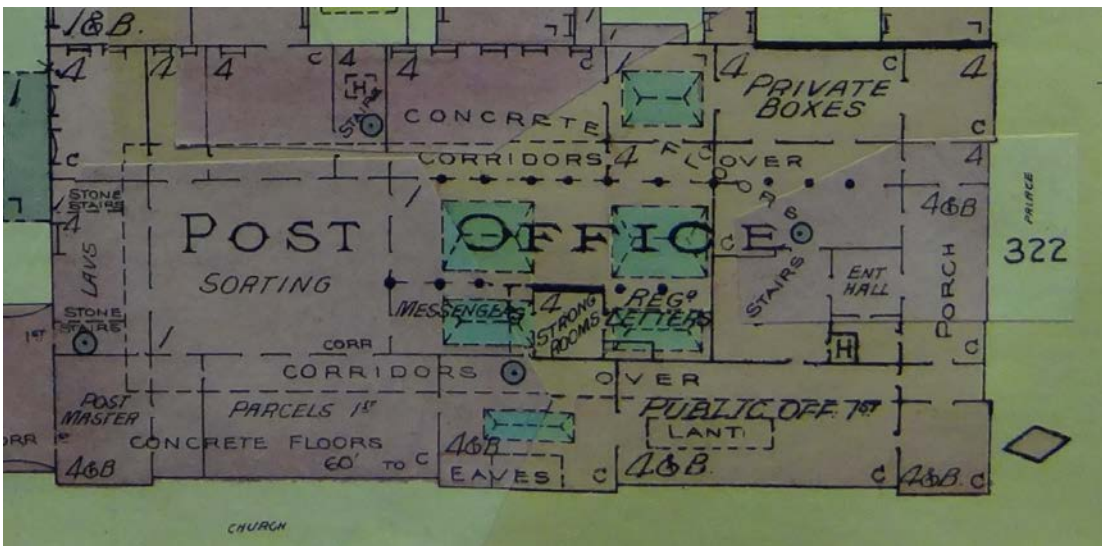
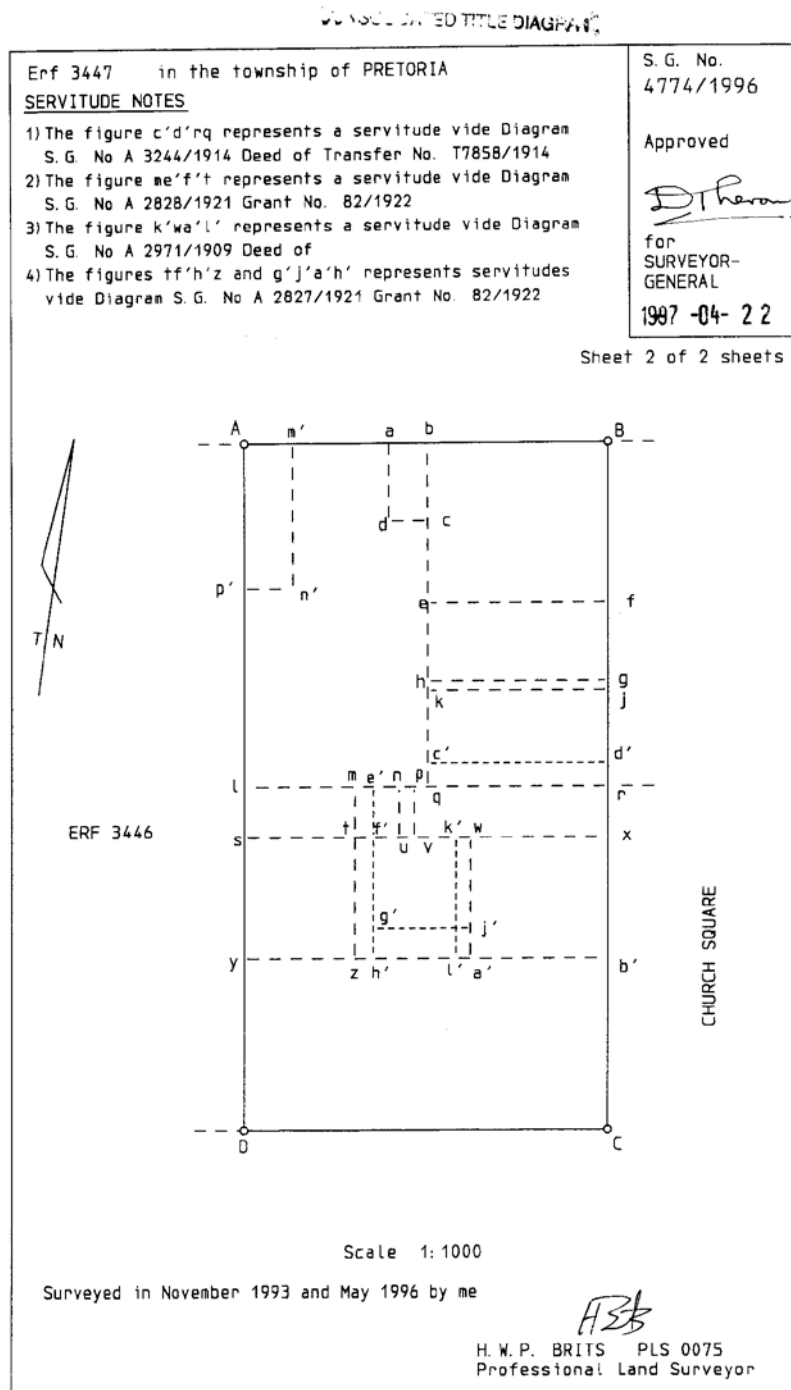


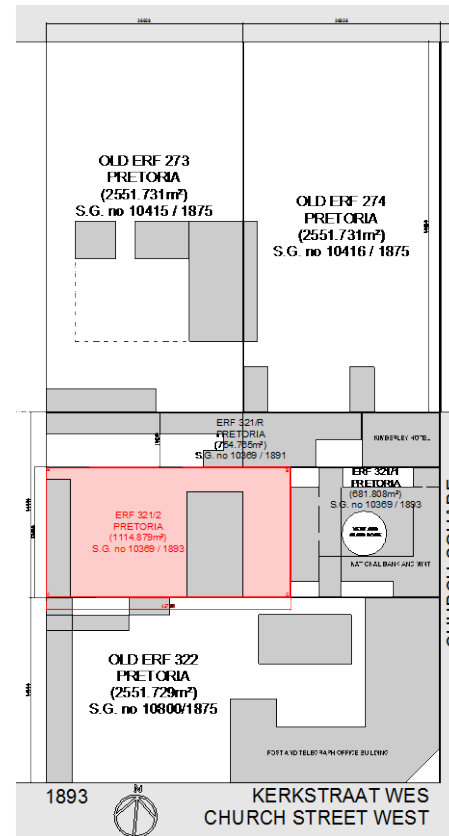
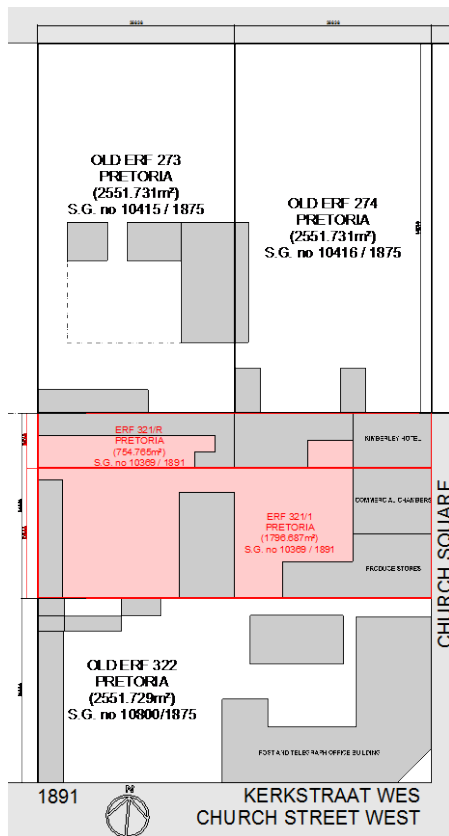
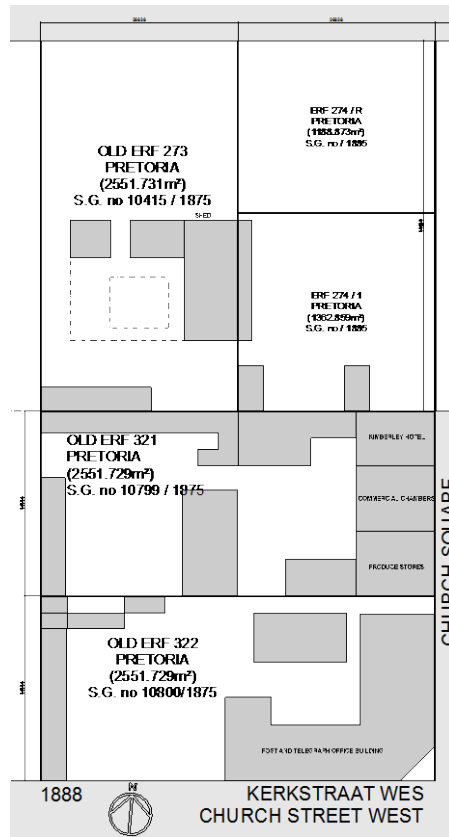
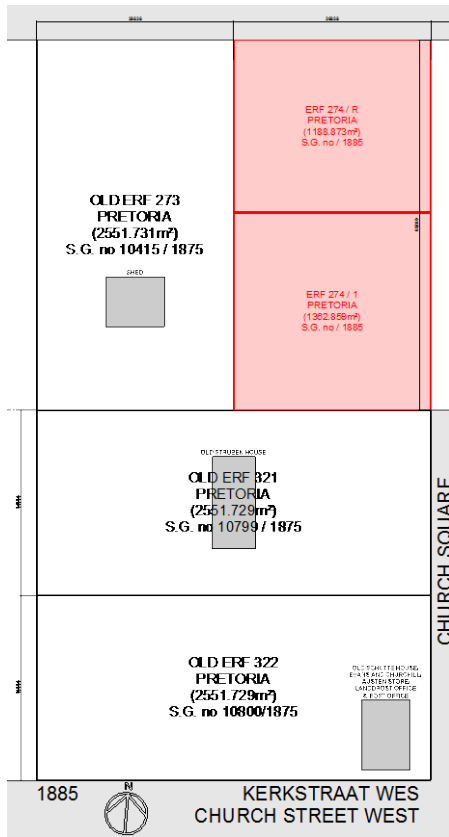
Figure 5.139  
Extract of Goad insurance map 1949 - 1956

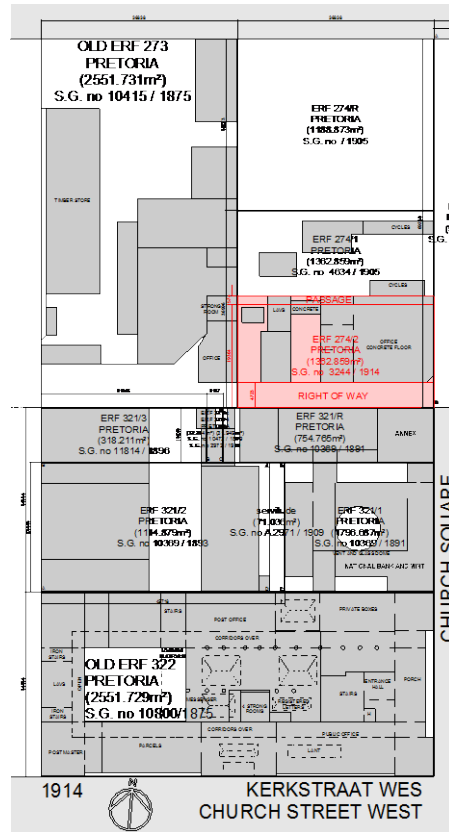
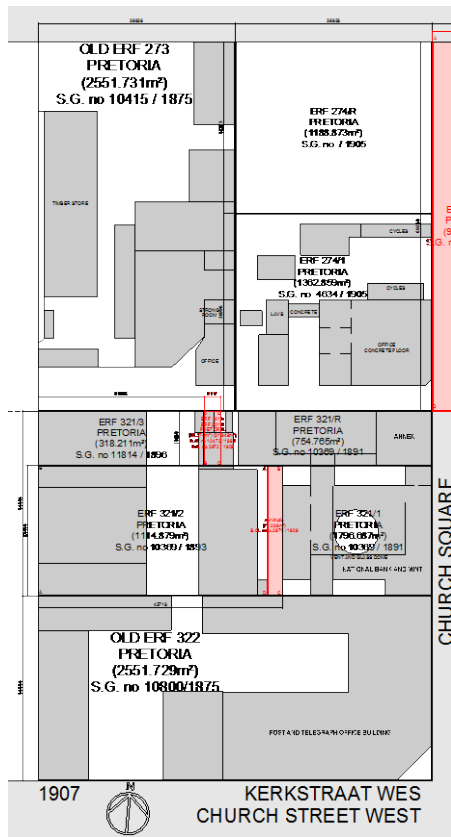
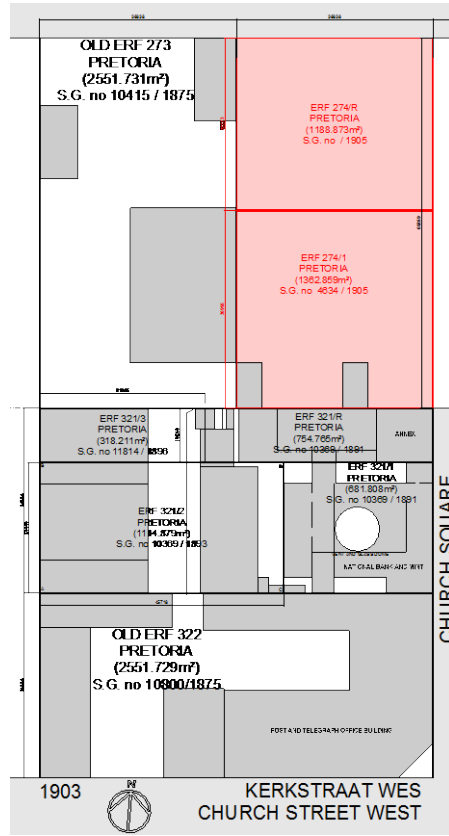
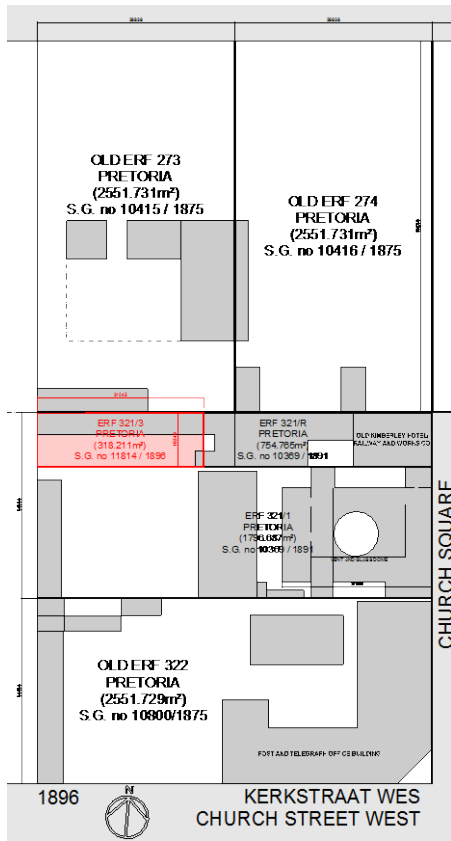
In 1993 all the portions were included in the consolidated Erf 3413, SG diagram A10953/1993 by Snyman and H.W.P. Britz, transferred through T8874 to the Post Office. There is no record of this title deed in the Deeds Office in Pretoria. In 1996 Erf 273/2 was added to this consolidated erf, which now formed the new and current Erf, number 3447 (SG diagram 4774/1996 by R.W. Herbert) (figure 5.140). Title deed T8876/1999 contains the Certificate of Consolidated Title. Christiaan Ludolf Muller who was the Administration Official of the South African Post Office Ltd. had general power of attorney to apply for

the consolidated title of all fifteen erven into one Erf 3447. The existing servitudes were cancelled. Today the erf still houses the Post Office and associated functions.



**Figure 5.140**  
**SG diagram Erf 3477**  
(retrieved from <http://csg.dla.gov.za/esio/listdocument.jsp>).





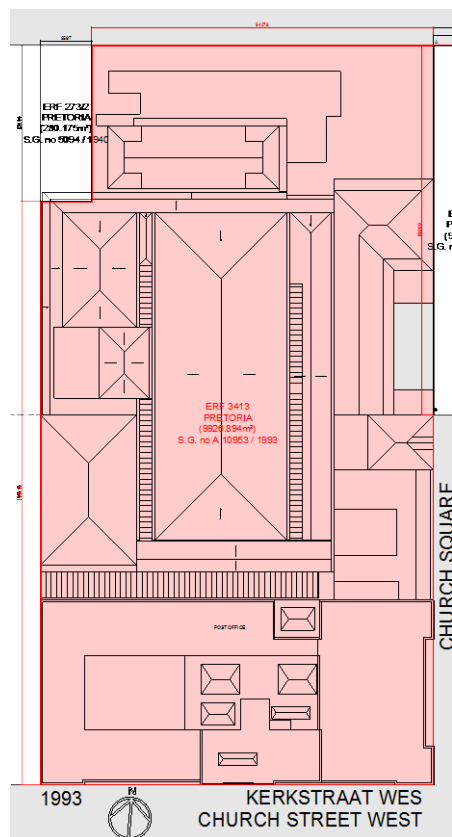
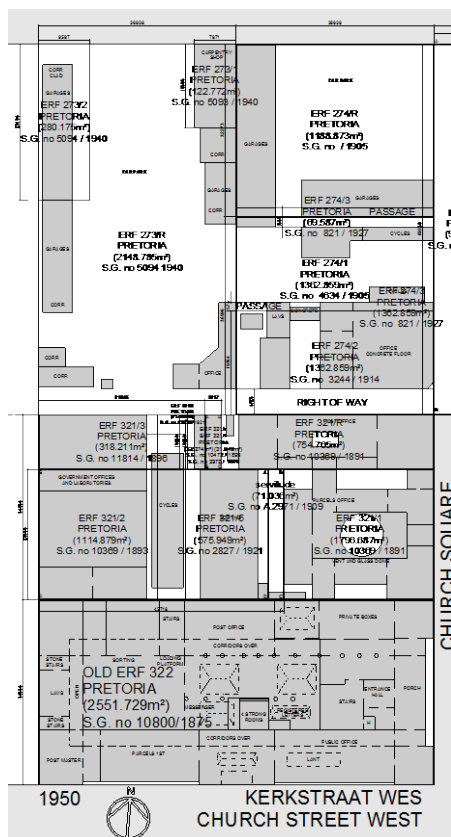
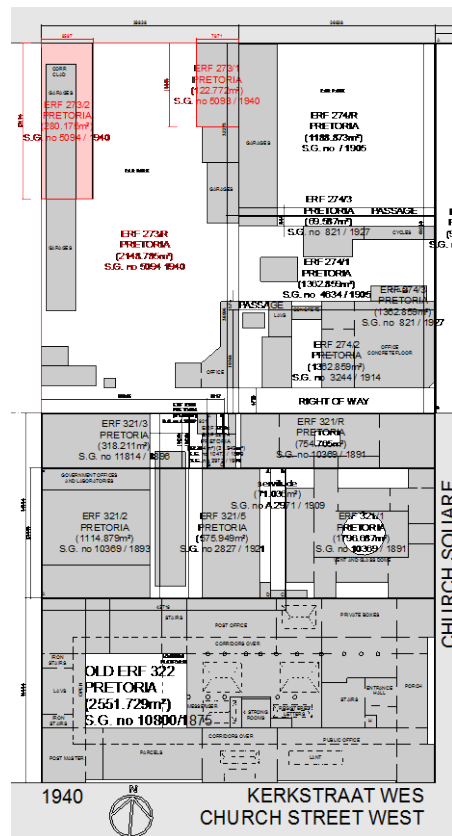
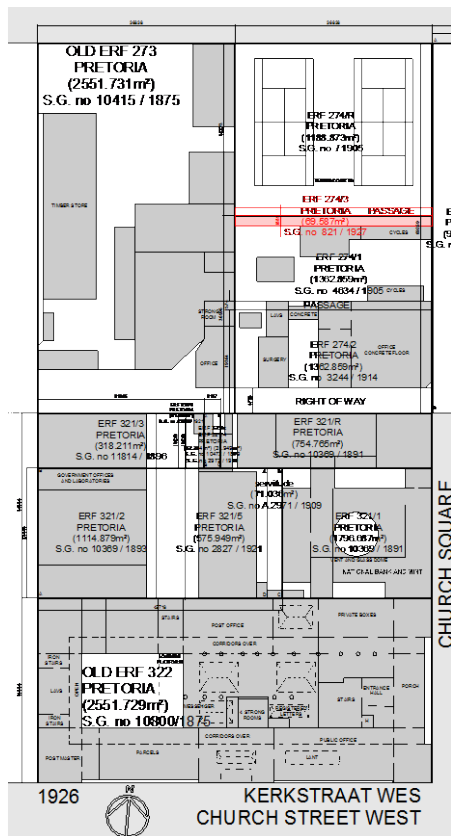


Figure 5.141  
Two-dimensional reconstruction of development and change over time in the built environment of the Post Office block (erven 273, 274, 321 and 322).

#### 5.4.8 Data sheet: Third / General Post Office



|                      |   |
|----------------------|---|
| Location:            | Northwest side of the Square  |
| Competition:         | Countrywide, elevation of Cook and Mackenzie of Bloemfontein was chosen and ground floor plan of Tully, Waters and Cleland of Cape Town (Boshoff 1990: 11).   |
| Architect:           | William Hawke (1910) of Hawke and McKinlay. Offringa says the architect was John Stockwin Cleland.  |
| Style:               | Edwardian 'Grand Manner'. The design represents formal aspects of Art Nouveau and Art Deco, but there is a more classical aura represented by the Doric and Ionic columns and ornamental relief work on the façade. |
| Builder:             | William Nottingham  |
| Construction period: | 1909 to 1910  |
| Materials:           | Sandstone   |
| Site number(s):      | 3447  |
| Original Site no(s): | 322   |
| Previous site uses:  | Schutte house, Durban firm of Evans and Churchill, Henry Austen's store, Landdrost office and Post Office.  |
| Cornerstone:         | The British High Commissioner Lord Selborne laid the corner stone in 1910. First governor general of Union  |
| Cost:                | £112,000  |
| Description:         | See Above   |
| Previous uses:       | Post Office. The <i>landdrost</i> had his office in the Post Office building from 1887 up to 1900.  |
| Current use:         | Post Office   |
| Restoration:         | In 1971 there was a plan to demolish the old Post Office complex. The building was restored in 1986 by Holm Jordaan Group. In 2008 to 2010 another restoration, focusing on the façade, took place.                 |

## Chapter 6: Boer and Brit<sup>5</sup> (1795 – 1947)

The previous chapters described the establishment and development history of Pretoria and Church Square and hinted at the frequent change in dynamic between Boer and Brit. This chapter aims to elaborate on this dynamic. It attempts to determine how the built environment in and around Pretoria's Church Square reflected change. It identifies four distinct periods or episodes in the history of the town that can be linked directly to the changed dynamic between Boer and Brit. It proposes to describe the seminal moments that caused change and to determine the powers that were the driving forces behind the change that was made visible in the physical composition of Church Square during each episode. The research sub-question that gave rise to this argument is: "How did the meeting between Boer and Brit change the built environment and what were the powers that gave rise to these changes?"

Although the Boer-Brit dynamic visibly influenced the built environment of Pretoria right at its establishment in 1855, the strife between Boer and Brit can be traced back to the first conflict of 1795, when the British occupied the Dutch-owned Cape of Good Hope. This chapter commences with a summary of the historical context and then describes the run-up to the tragic Anglo-Boer Wars that were fought at the end of the nineteenth century in the ZAR. The aftermath of the War is investigated and the opposing worldviews of the two cultures are presented. The aim of this chapter is to critically interpret the impact that the changed Boer-Brit dynamic had on the built environment in and around Church Square. This chapter follows from Chapter 5: 5.1 Church Square, 5.2 The *Raadsaal* block, 5.3 The Palace of Justice block and 5.4 The Post Office block.

### 6.1 Methodology

Since the aim of this chapter is to situate Church Square in its wider historical context and to determine the past of this historic space, it requires the historical research method (Leedy 1989: 125-137) and an interpretive-historical research strategy (Groat and Wang 2002: 135-171), which are both consistent with the nature of the research sub-question. The system of inquiry or the paradigm in which the research is conducted is qualitative

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<sup>5</sup> The alliterating title "Boer and Brit" is indebted to General C.R. de Wet's book titled: *De Strijd tussen Boer en Brit*, the manuscript he wrote after the Second Anglo-Boer War aboard the Saxon on his way to Europe with Generals Smuts and Botha to raise funds for the women and children of South Africa.

because it depends on non-numerical verbal (written) evidence, “mythical” (which includes most of the scholarly work in history) and when considering objectivity: naturalistic (after Groat and Wang 2002: 25-31), where value-free objectivity is neither possible nor necessarily desirable.

The problem in this chapter is to determine the powers that gave rise to the changes in the built environment as a result of the meeting between Boer and Brit. Historical research for this chapter requires the collection and organisation of evidence derived from archival, artefactual and written sources. It further requires qualitative tactics to gather and interpret the evidence. The written sources relate to the social-physical phenomenon of the past and include works by social historians such as Allen, Dunston, Peacock, Pieterse and Rex and rely heavily upon works by architectural historians such as Abrahamse, Bakker, Clarke, Du Preez, Holm, Kuipers, Meiring, Pearse, Peters, Picton-Seymour and Viljoen. Journalist, Van Bart, legal academics, Du Plessis, Van der Vyver and Van Zyl and philosophical theorist, Duvenage, complete the list. Relevant data that relates to the narrative and findings by others is gathered and examined and the nature of the historical narrative by others is addressed. I report on their findings by arranging it in an own narrative. The historic phenomenon of the encounter between Boer and Brit in Pretoria and Church Square is investigated within the complex contexts of landscape and the powers of law, state and church with a view toward explaining this phenomenon in narrative form and in a holistic and believable way. Events are reconstructed to provide an account of that phenomenon, as part of the larger critical interpretation of the temporal impact of landscape, space and power on the built environment of Church Square, Pretoria.

Once again the storyteller providing the narrative, is in the privileged position in a point in time after the events. There is a separation in time between the occurrence of the events and the account of the events. Although this temporal condition means that the narrative is removed from the events, it is still connected to the literature and to Pretoria’s “story” (see Gallie 1964: 66), or to the account of what actually happened in the natural and social processes surrounding the changes on Church Square. The events in the historical account of the interaction between Boer and Brit occurred in the actual flow of time as part of the coherent interconnectedness of Collingwood’s (1956) “one historical world”, which implies the continuum of empirical space and time (Groat and Wang 2002: 139).

This chapter considers communal consciousness, worldview or *zeitgeist* as the causes of

historical change, as postulated by Hegel and places the Boer worldview in opposition to that of Britain. It discusses how British Idealism, which was initially influenced by Hegel's dialectic take on history as the movement of an absolute spirit, fuelled Britain's colonial ambitions in nineteenth century southern Africa. The perceived self-appointed task to lead other nations and individuals to the highest, absolute spirit, which in turn justified and legitimised colonialism (Duvenage 2016: 4), was felt in both the communal spirit (the people of the Crown) and in special individuals (such as Rhodes, Milner, McCombie, etc.). Hegel's belief that history was the movement of an absolute spirit included the role of special individuals as agents that brought about change. Although the communal spirit tends to devalue individual lives, the progress of the communal spirit is dependent on the activity of individuals (Groat and Wang 2002: 145).

The research design further includes the poststructuralist view that architecture as a material product of culture is part of a larger forthcoming discourse, so a historical assessment of architecture in this strategy is also an assessment of social and cultural discourse (Groat and Wang 2002: 151).

The research is informed by applying a range of disciplines relating to the sub-question. These include cartography, law, philosophy and town planning and the different fields of history include historiography and social, political and cultural history. Determinative evidence includes dates, and photographs that can pinpoint dates. For instance, historic photographs were used to confirm the demolition date of the podium that was to receive Paul Kruger's statue on the western half of Church Square. The complete podium was still visible at Paul Kruger's memorial service in 1904, despite the claim by some sources<sup>6</sup> that the podium was half-built at the end of the War and demolished in 1902. It was found that the podium was ultimately demolished after the church around 1905.

## **6.2 The Boer and Brit dynamic before the ZAR (1795 – 1852)**

The history of European settlement in southern Africa has been marred by the strife between Boer and Brit. The Boer's are from Dutch descent and arrived in the Cape of Good Hope in 1652 with the *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, or VOC (Dutch East India Company) to establish a victualing station that could provide sustenance to primarily

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<sup>6</sup> Haarhoff (2012: 115), etc.

Dutch ships and thereafter to visiting ships. The fiscal system at the Cape was based on the Company's right to satisfy its own requirements of farm produce at a very low rate, and the *burghers'* right to sell any surplus to passing ships of other nationalities at the highest price they could obtain. The outbreak of the Seven Years War in 1756 was a serious setback to the Colony. There was a considerable decline in shipping and as a result many of the farmers went bankrupt. In 1758, the French in Mauritius prepared for war with England. The British East India Company, owing its successes over the French in Indian waters, had obtained a large measure of control in Eastern trade both with India and China and as a consequence, large numbers of ships put into Cape Town and Simons Town. Both sides continued to use the Cape until the peace of 1763. Holland was declining as Maritime power and foreign ships at the Cape outnumbered the Dutch three to one. The Dutch East India Company was entering upon its final decline.

The Cape came under British rule for the first time in 1795 when the British occupied the Cape upon request from the Dutch East India Company (VOC). In 1803 the Colony was handed over to the Batavian Republic in terms of the Treaty of Amiens, but to protect it from the French, it was again occupied by the British in 1806 and under the general peace settlement of 1814, was finally ceded to Great Britain.

The British settlers who arrived in Algoa Bay in 1820 experienced various difficulties on their frontier farms. Their smallholdings were uncomfortable and there was a shortage of labour and a high demand for land. The Xhosa and the Boers were dependent for their survival on sufficient grazing and by the 1830s it was clear that the eastern frontier region was becoming overpopulated. Boers in the eastern Cape usually did not have a contract of employment with their workers. Farming was based on a form of exchange. The worker was given goods and perhaps a small piece of land instead of wages. What emerged was a patriarchal community headed by a patron and his family (Van Onselen 1993). The introduction of money by the British upset this system, requiring farmers to produce a surplus, which they could sell for cash, a system completely foreign to the traditional subsistence farming methods of the Boers. Boers married young and spawned large families. The result was a rapid increase in the white population of the region with little or no increase in the amount of land available for settlement, which was one of the reasons for the Great Trek.

There were also political problems arising from British administration of the eastern Cape. The disputes, which had once been settled by informal discussion and negotiation, were now debated in court. The Boers felt that the British interfered in the way they treated their workers. There was an attempt to anglicise the local white population. English was encouraged in schools and made compulsory in courts. An attempt to introduce the language in church congregations was made by recruiting Scottish ministers, but many of them married local women and quickly learned to speak Dutch.

As a stronger British Government made its military and political authority felt in the region, the role of the Boer commandos – a military system developed by the farmers – was drastically curtailed. The British frontier policy (or apparent lack of it) resulted in general dissatisfaction and a feeling of insecurity among Afrikaans farmers, who suffered heavy losses in the Sixth Frontier War. They were required to use their own horses and equipment during punitive expeditions and expected the British government to compensate them for their losses, but no money was forthcoming and they still had to pay their normal taxes to the authorities even while they faced ruin.

The farmers also feared that they were losing their identity. At first they managed to keep their activities and plan for the Trek secret, at least from the British. As a result, historians find it difficult to reconstruct the exact course of events. They would go beyond British control and believed that the vast expanses of territory north of the Orange and east of the Drakensberg had been depopulated by recent wars. Adequate labour resources and good soil would be there in abundance. Vital to this theory was the importance attached to opening up trade links with Europe without having to deal through Imperial middlemen. Relying on swift horses and firearms they would ensure the safety they lacked under colonial control.

British rule was thus a deciding factor in the Voortrekkers' move northward during the Great Trek. Between 1836 and 1838 thousands of Dutch descendants, now called Voortrekkers or *Boere*, trekked from the Cape Colony through the open space of the South African landscape to escape the reality of British colonial power that was working its way through the continent. Various Boer settlements ensued in the interior and the Boer Republics were formed (see Chapter 3).

The British annexed Natal in 1844 and although some Boers remained in Natal, others moved back over the Drakensberg. As a result the *Adjunk-Raad* of Potchefstroom broke

relations with the Natal *Volksraad*. The Orange River Sovereignty (ORS) was declared part of the British territory in 1848. The independence of the Republic of Winburg-Potchefstroom was confirmed in 1849 after relations with Natal had been broken off. Pretorius already started to negotiate with the British authorities to receive recognition of the independence for the ZAR in 1852. The independence of the Free State was recognised in 1854, through the Bloemfontein convention.

### 6.3 The ZAR (1852-1877; 1881–1902)

The *Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek*<sup>7</sup> (ZAR) was established after the signing of the Sand River Convention on the banks of the Sand River in a tent on 17 January 1852. According to the Sand River Convention the British Government would allow the emigrant farmers north of the Vaal River to govern according to their own laws, with a policy of non-interference from both sides. Although Potchefstroom had been the capital of the ZAR since 1848, its status as capital was affirmed by Britain on 16 and 17 January 1852.

But Britain annexed the Transvaal in 1877. Sir Theophilus Shepstone with 25 policemen read the proclamation of the Annexation of the Transvaal by the British Crown on 12 April 1877 and hoisted the Union Jack in May 1877 when the military contingent arrived. President Burgers left the Transvaal (Allen 1971: 192). The annexation, which lasted from 1877 – 1881, led to the First Anglo-Boer War (First Freedom War) that was fought from 1880 – 1881. After the English *Interregnum* the ZAR was re-established in 1881 and the *Vierkleur* once again flew from the *Volksraadsaal* (Engelbrecht 1952: 4).

After gold was discovered on the Witwatersrand in 1886, the economic power of the ZAR increased. The discovery of gold meant the growth of capitalism and the influx of capital changed the dynamic between Boer and Brit. Only men<sup>8</sup> that were *burghers* (citizens) of the Republic were allowed to vote. Any immigrant was allowed to naturalise and vote after residing in the ZAR for five years, but the discovery of gold brought many

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<sup>7</sup> The South African Republic, Boer Republic or Transvaal Republic lasted from 1852 to 1877 and then again from 1881 to 1902. The British annexed the Transvaal in 1877, which led to the First Freedom War of 1881 and the Second Anglo-Boer War was fought from 1899 to 1902.

<sup>8</sup> Although women could not vote Holm and Viljoen (1993: 26) acknowledge women's responsibility to exert their influence on their husbands to vote right.

*uitlanders*<sup>9</sup> to settle in an around Johannesburg and President Paul Kruger feared that these new citizens would elect a regime sympathetic to the British. Kruger thus created a second *Volksraad*<sup>10</sup> in 1890 to alleviate the political pressure placed on him by the *uitlanders*. New voting rights determined that *uitlanders* could vote for the second, subservient *Volksraad* after four years, but could only vote for the first *Volksraad* after ten years (Holm and Viljoen 1993: 26). The first *Volksraad* represented matters such as agriculture, defence, railways, mint and banking, tax and foreign affairs. The second *Volksraad* consisted of businessmen and naturalised *uitlanders* and represented mining, the post office and economic matters, but all its decisions had to be ratified by the first *Volksraad*.

The mining magnates insisted on immediate voting rights and were not happy with regulations established by the ZAR. These regulations included a minimum wage for black mine workers, which they felt was too high, and a concession system that was a type of income tax. Explosive manufacturers had the sole mandate to produce dynamite and the mine bosses complained that this negatively impacted on their profit. NZASM<sup>11</sup> monopolised coal, which influenced mining profits as well (Holm and Viljoen 1993: 59). Political change in 1890 had an enormous impact on the built environment, specifically on the design of the Second Old *Raadsaal*, which was under construction at the time (see section below). (For a full account of the history of the *Raadsaal* block, see 5.2).

The *uitlander* question led directly to the Jameson Raid of 1895–96. Over the New Year’s weekend of 1895–96 British colonial Statesman Leander Starr Jameson attempted to overthrow President Paul Kruger’s Republic, with the help of Cecil John Rhodes, who was the prime minister of the Cape Colony at the time and whose ambition it was to fly the Union Jack from the Cape to Cairo. Rhodes planned for Jameson to invade the ZAR from Bechuanaland in the west, with his company troops and policemen from Bechuanaland. He was to unite the *uitlanders* in Johannesburg and invade Pretoria. The Jameson Raid, as it came to be known, was unsuccessful mainly because the *uitlanders* were hesitant to take up arms. Jameson was forced to surrender on 2 January 1896 at Doornkop near Krugersdorp. The ZAR forces captured the Jameson invaders and the leaders of the

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<sup>9</sup> An *uitlander* was a British immigrant living in the Transvaal who was denied citizenship by the Boers for cultural and economic reasons (retrieved from: <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/uitlander>).

<sup>10</sup> *Volksraad* means “people’s council” and refers to the parliament of the ZAR. Members of the *Volksraad* had to be members of the Dutch Reformed Church.

<sup>11</sup> The *Nederlandsche Zuid-Afrikaansche Spoorwegmaatschappij* or Netherlands-South African Railway Company.

*uitlanders*, the Reform Committee. They arrived at the *Landdrost* Court (figure 6.1) and were tried in the Second *Volksraadsaal*, convicted and sentenced to death, but Paul Kruger, in an act of diplomacy, reduced their death sentences to fines and delivered them to Britain to be heard there (Holm and Viljoen 1993: 61).



**Figure 6.1**  
**Arrival of two of Jamesons' men at the Landdrost's court,**  
**then housed in the old Post Office on Church Square**  
**(Dunston 1975: 38).**

Although nothing came of it, there were plans in 1898 to erect a monument on the Doornkop battlefield in memory of the five burgers that fell during the Jameson Raid. (See *Monumentality* under *Theory* for a description of the Doornkop heroes' memorial as possible predecessor of the Paul Kruger monumental ensemble.) The female figure holding a banner was to symbolise the Afrikaners' struggle with Britain since 1795 that culminated in the long-awaited victory, freedom and independence from Britain (Van Bart 2009), a theme that was already visible in the form of the female statue on the *Raadsaal* copula.

As a result of the failed Jameson Raid Cecil John Rhodes was forced to resign as prime minister of the Cape Colony and Alfred Lord Milner arrived in the Cape in 1897. He immediately engaged with Paul Kruger on the status of the *uitlanders*, including many Englishmen who flocked to the ZAR after the discovery of gold in 1886. The ZAR was

becoming a powerful force in the region and threatened the power of the Cape Colony and hindered Rhodes's ideals to bring everything from the "Cape to Cairo" under the rule of the British Empire. Milner believed that the British were superior to every other race and that everyone would become more 'civilised' under British Rule. Milner further believed that British supremacy in South Africa was crucial to the British Empire. Germany was on the rise and had friendly relations with the Boers and Paul Kruger. Milner was keenly aware of the global significance of the Transvaal gold-mining industry and was determined to diminish the power of the Afrikaners. Milner implemented a policy of Anglicisation in the Cape and downgraded Afrikaans and Dutch. Milner demanded that the *uitlanders* receive the same rights as the Boers and that English language received the same status as Dutch / Afrikaans in the ZAR schools. Kruger was uncompromising in the face of what he saw as crippling demands. In March 1898 Milner sent an *uitlander* petition to the Queen, asking for Imperial intervention in the Transvaal because of the condition in which British subjects suffered, their lack of political rights and other accusations, which would lead Britain into waging a "just" war against Kruger's "un-progressive" regime. On 31 May 1899 Milner met with Kruger in Bloemfontein and over a few days, no agreement could be reached. Milner used the failure of the Bloemfontein Conference to convince the British Government and public of the need of intervention. The British cabinet approved the deployment of 10,000 troops to the Natal-Transvaal border<sup>12</sup>.

Pretoria fell to the British on 5 June 1900 when British troops marched into Church Square and paraded before the *Raadsaal* where Lord Roberts took the salute. The Treaty of Vereeniging was signed on 31 May 1902 in Melrose House. The Treaty ended the Second Anglo-Boer War and both the Transvaal Republic and the Orange Free State Republic became British colonies. On 8 June 1902 a large crowd assembled on Church Square before the *Raadsaal* to celebrate the Peace Treaty (Allen 1971: 43). The ZAR had come to an end.

#### **6.4 Boer, Brit and the power of law, state and church**

In Chapter 3 the powers of law, state and church were situated in the dynamic of change that led to the historic establishment and development of Pretoria and the British influence

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<sup>12</sup> Retrieved from <http://www.sahistory.org.za/people/alfred-milner>.

was briefly mentioned. This section provides a summary of the impact that British influence had on law, state and church.

#### 6.4.1 Law

The Cape came under British rule for the first time in 1795 and then again finally in 1806, when the British occupied the Cape by force. The British had the fullest right to abolish Roman-Dutch law as they pleased and replace it with English law, because the King<sup>13</sup> had power to alter the old and to introduce new laws in a conquered country, but this never happened, even though it was considered at some stages. In the capitulation conditions of 10 and 18 January 1806, the new British rulers guaranteed the “*burghers* and inhabitants” of the Cape that they would retain the “rights and privileges which they have enjoyed hitherto” (Du Plessis 1999: 50). This did not ensure that the British government would never repeal or amend any of the Roman-Dutch rules (Van Zyl and Van der Vyver 1982: 212) and there was infiltration and reception of English law in certain fields. The works of old Dutch writers such as De Groot and Van Leeuwen were translated into English in the nineteenth century, which made important Roman-Dutch sources available to English-speaking jurists in the Cape (du Plessis 1999: 51).

In Cartography, the use of the Cape foot remained and many erven in the South African colonies were surveyed in terms of the Cape foot. In 1859, by which time the colony had passed into British control, the Cape foot was calibrated against the English foot and legally defined as 1.033 English feet (0.314858 m)<sup>14</sup>.

When the Voortrekkers left the Cape Colony, it was to escape the yoke of an unsympathetic British colonial power. Although leaving the British-owned Cape Colony was illegal, they felt that British Rule was unfair and that breaking the law was justified. After moving from the Cape the Voortrekkers did not regard themselves as subject to the law of the Cape Colony, thus they were not already established according to a pre-existing legal system (Van Zyl and Van der Vyver 1982: 213).

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<sup>13</sup> In 1774 the King was Georg III. In the case *Campbell v Hall* (1774) Lord Mansfield explained an important rule of English (constitutional) law: “The laws of a conquered country continue in force until they are altered by the conqueror ...the King has power to alter the old and to introduce new laws in a conquered country.”

<sup>14</sup> Retrieved from [units.wikia.com](http://units.wikia.com).

When the OFS, the area between the Orange River and the Vaal, was declared part of the British territory in 1848, it was brought under British Rule by commander Sir Harry Smith's proclamation of the Orange River Sovereignty (ORS), but Roman-Dutch law was made applicable there by proclamation. After the independence of the Free State was recognised in 1854 through the Bloemfontein convention, Roman-Dutch law was declared to be the "constitution" of the new republic. After the British victory in 1902 it was enacted that the Roman-Dutch law as accepted and applied in South Africa, would be the common law of the new colony "except in as far as it is modified by legislative enactments" (Du Plessis 1999: 52).

#### 6.4.2 State

In 1906 it was decided that the Transvaal could manage itself but it had to occur on the Westminster system (Holm and Viljoen 1993). English statesman John Bright announced during his speech in the House of Commons in 1855: "England is the mother of parliaments". In the Westminster system the seating pattern comprises of two banks of seats positioned in opposition. This seating pattern derives from a religious structure, more specifically St. Stephen's Chapel<sup>15</sup>, inside the Palace of Westminster, which was the debating chamber of the House of Commons from 1547 to 1834. The former Chapel's layout and functionality influenced the positioning of furniture and the seating of Members of Parliament in the Commons. The Speaker's chair was placed on the altar steps – arguably the origin of the tradition of Members bowing to the Speaker, as they would formerly have done to the altar. Where the lectern had once been, the Table of the House was installed. The Members sat facing one another in the medieval choir stalls, creating the adversarial seating plan that persists in the chamber of the Commons to this day. This arrangement encouraged two parties in strong opposition. This became characteristic of the Westminster political system. The British Parliament adhered to an *ancien regime*. Architects did not try to develop a building type suitable for parliament because they looked towards the past for appropriate stylistic associations and not to the future of an institutional organisation (De Klerk 1995: 23-24). The origin of state architecture in church architecture needs to be noted here.

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<sup>15</sup> Retrieved from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/St\\_Stephen%27s\\_Chapel](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/St_Stephen%27s_Chapel).

### **6.4.3 Church**

We find that the Dutch Reformed churches strived for independence from the British since the first contact between these two cultures. The roots of the Dutch Reformed churches come from a continental European theological and philosophical debate and were not influenced by Britain (Duvenage 2016: 12). Even before the Great Trek the Cape Church insisted on its independence from English authorities. When setting up the governments for their newly formed Republics, the Boers took their experience and theories of local government from their experience with church management rather than from the example of state management that came from the Castle and environs. This intimate relationship between church management and state management was further strengthened by the independence of the northern Boer Republics and the continuation of the *Nederduitsch Hervormde* (1854) and the *Gereformeerde* (1859) churches there. The *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* (NGK), which remained in the Cape Colony, had clear theological and philosophical differences with the other two churches in the Boer Republics (Duvenage 2016: 8). When the Voortrekkers moved away from British colonial authority in the Cape, Dutch church management was later applied to local government. The influence that church management had on state management needs to be noted here. A specific theological and ecclesiastic debate led to an indigenous Afrikaans philosophical attitude and -approach.

## **6.5 British influence on the built environment**

### **6.5.1 English-founded towns in South Africa**

The Cape had been settled for 150 years when the first British occupation took place, so British influence in terms of settlement and architecture was secondary. The search for settlement codes in Chapter 3 revealed that the focus in other British colonies was usually to separate the English from the indigenous population. The planning and urban design policies of the British followed certain principles, one policy being like Haussmann's plan for Paris, so popular in Europe in the nineteenth century, which advocated cutting through and demolishing old city centres to make space for new construction and boulevards. In India, for example, city-cores were thus demolished since development often took place in existing historic areas. In South Africa, the arrival in Algoa Bay of the 1820 British Settlers meant British influenced settlements and architecture, but the frontier towns of

Queenstown and Grahamstown had to follow prescribed layouts that were created to provide secure, defensive towns as buffers against the Xhosa. Later towns in the interior saw the British approach to town planning in South Africa (see Haswell: 1979 and 1984), which similar to Boer founded towns were set out according to a gridiron pattern, but without a dedicated site for a church building, church square or market square (see also Peters and Du Preez 2014: 202).

The Dutch did not have a similar settlement code but the use of a grid pattern is a distinguishing feature of all Boer towns and Pretoria with Church Square in its centre is no exception.

## **6.6 The episodes in the Boer-Brit dynamic, reflected in the built environment of Church Square and surrounding erven**

The literature review revealed that there were four parts to the dynamic between Boer and Brit. Each part was characterised by a change in this dynamic and each part had a distinct impact on the built environment of Pretoria and Church Square. There were certain seminal moments that caused change. These episodes are discussed forthwith:

### **6.6.1 The early English in Pretoria**

With the discovery of gold in the Eastern Transvaal in 1873 numbers of English and people of other nations flocked to the Transvaal (Allen 1971: 88). Some eventually found their way to Pretoria. Since the setting out of Church Square and the surrounding erven, we find a strong presence of English personalities in the historical account of the development of the town. Lionel and Louis Devereux and his brother-in-law William Skinner were imported English craftsmen, who contributed to the built environment in the interior<sup>16</sup>. They had some knowledge of land surveying because with the help of Visagie, Skinner and the brothers Devereux set out the original Church Square, the first erven and the streets leading into the Square, namely Church Street and Market Street (Rex 1956: 61). The firm of William Skinner and Louis Devereux, “The builders of Pretoria” as they called themselves with pride, also won the tender for construction of the First Old *Raadsaal* (Rex

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<sup>16</sup> They build a residence for General Andries Pretorius at Grootplaats, which is today covered by the Hartebeespoort Dam (Rex 1956: 59).

1956: 288; Pieterse 1942: 38; Peacock 1955: 71).

The earliest title deeds reveal that some of the first owners of erven around Church Square were English. Pieterse (1942: 39) names Lys and Austin as some of the first English shopkeepers and vendors that started to settle on the erven with their barter wagons. Musgrove and Broderick followed and both built shops. Broderick published a book of verse in the back of his store (Allen 1971: 25). He also owned the first bar in the Transvaal called the Hole-in-the-Wall and the Royal Hotel, both on Church Square. Lys became *Landdrost* in the 1870s and was a member of the *Volksraad*. The first library was started in his house (Allen 1971: 29). Struben was born in Holland but he was a naturalised Brit (Allen 1971: 35) (see 5.4 The Post Office block, as well as the Literature Review, for a full historical account of Captain Johan Herman Marinus (J.H.M.) Struben). It is interesting to note that Allen, being an Englishwoman, refers to Captain Struben as a naturalised Englishman with an English wife, although he was born in Holland and his wife was from Scottish descent, whereas Pieterse (1942: 82), being an Afrikaner, calls him a Hollander that arrived from Natal with cart and *skimmelperde* (dapple grey horse) and fails to mention that he was a British citizen.

Struben's properties that were located where the Post Office stands today (erven 273, 274 and 321) were transferred to Scotsman William Munro in 1866. Munro also bought Struben's farm Kaalfontein, around 40km from Church Square (Louw 1979: 35). This could be after Struben's estate was declared insolvent. The Government Gazette of April 1868 advertised the application for a liquor license for the pack house of William Munro behind Church Square<sup>17</sup>. Munro must have sold the erf to the Transvaal Consolidated Land and Exploration Company Ltd., a mining company listed in Johannesburg and London, because in 1907 John Johnston Kirkness (another Scotsman) bought erf 273 from the Transvaal Consolidated Land and Exploration Company Ltd. In 1938 he sold it to the Government of the Union of South Africa.

The Transvaal Consolidated Land and Exploration Company Ltd. sold Erf 274 to the Bank of Africa Ltd. in 1905 and the small two-storey building of the Bank of Africa (see 5.4 The Post Office block), also known as the Kirkness Building (Picton-Seymour 1977: 167), was completed in 1906. British Born brothers T.A. and R. Sladdin were the architects

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<sup>17</sup> Retrieved from <https://repository.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/18890/Pta%2008-01.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y> on 14 October 2018.

and the contractor was J.J. Kirkness, who later became the mayor of Pretoria. Kirkness also used offices in the building. Meiring (1980: 71) feels that Kirkness gave a Scottish character to the building and calls the style Revivalist, whereas Artefacts<sup>18</sup> calls it a classical styled building reminiscent of English Palladian architecture. Transfer to the mining company and the bank marks the beginning of the presence of both corporate and financial economic power on the Square.

Rex (1953: 17) claims that some of the properties were subject to speculation. For instance, the western half of Erf 411, which later became Parliament Street, west of the Second Old *Raadsaal*, was sold to William Leathern<sup>19</sup> in 1873 for £35. Leathern sold the property on the same day for £160, a few months later it was sold for £300 and then a year later to Robert Cottle Green<sup>20</sup> for £550, who ended up selling it to the Government for the purpose of a public street for £9,500.

The report of a young British (Irish) immigrant, Thomas McCombie, caused a stir in Pretoria and probably inflamed the desire of Kruger to create a built environment around Church Square that would, as Holm and Viljoen (1993: 15) put it, emanate dignity and prestige. McCombie, an Imperialist, was the editor of the weekly English-language Cape Town newspaper, the *Lantern* (circa 1869 - 1888). McCombie replaced initial owner and editor E. Geary in both positions in 1881. Concerned with sanitation, McCombie propagated sanitary reforms in Cape Town, joining other journalists in a sanitation rhetoric that echoed similar campaigns in England (Bickford-Smith 1995: 46). He moved to the Transvaal in 1889 and started the *Transvaal Truth* there, but he was no businessman and the newspaper failed soon thereafter<sup>21</sup>. McCombie<sup>22</sup> visited Pretoria in 1888 and remarked on the unsanitary conditions at the First Old *Raadsaal*. He referred to the parish donkeys that left “visible and odorous testimony to their habitual presence on the *stoep* and doors in front of the dirty thatched barn” (Rex 1956: 315). He also referred to the dreary interior of the miserable barn. Pretoria residents claimed that the snide remarks from many visitors,

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<sup>18</sup> Retrieved from <http://www.artefacts.co.za/main/Buildings/bldgframes.php?bldgid=2479>.

<sup>19</sup> William Leathern was a transport driver from Natal. The first transport service to Pilgrims Rest was William Leathern's wagon that travelled to Lydenburg every weekend.

<sup>20</sup> Robert Cottle Green was the chairman / secretary of the Pretoria Club in 1871-73 and partnered in 1878 with Nellmapius to distil brandy (Retrieved from <https://repository.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/18892/Pta-07-12.pdf?sequence=1> and <https://repository.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/11074/Pta%2009-08.pdf?sequence=1>).

<sup>21</sup> Retrieved from <http://themediainline.co.za/2011/05/when-the-presses-ran-green/>.

<sup>22</sup> Rex (1956: 315) incorrectly calls him McComrey.

especially English-speaking visitors and the press, were aimed at humiliating the young Republic and insisted that the building looked good in the beginning. Marais (1910: 78) states that the donkeys were actually sketched in on the stoep and explains that the rebuke came “*Bij óns staan die esels tog nog buite!*” (“here with us at least the donkeys remain outside”), a remark probably aimed at the Cape Colony where the “donkeys” were the ones inside of parliament.

Although the property on which the European Hotel stood, was owned by Dutch/Afrikaans C.P. Pretorius, who received transferred of the western portion of Erf 411 from M.W. Pretorius as a gift in 1860 (Rex 1956: 254), the hotel itself was owned by Englishman R.A. Colquhoun. The European Hotel started off as a restaurant called the Gridiron and Colquhoun became the owner of the hotel in 1879 (Allen 1971: 86). Colquhoun decided to return to England due to his wife’s health and sold the European Hotel, without the property on which it stood on auction to Vorstman and Co. (See 5.2 for a full history of European hotel).

The seemingly peaceful interaction between Boer and Brit was sometimes characterised by societal conflicts. The quarterly *nachtmaal* “invasion” of the Square by farmers and their families who camped around the Church was welcome to the traders around the Square, because the farmers’ wives stocked up on necessities for the next three months, but the fact that the Square (then still known as Market Square) was the only flat open space for cricket, meant that there was a certain amount of friction between the farmers and the lads of the town (Allen 1971: 35). Carl Jeppe describes that the cricket pitch, which was Church Square was ruined for weeks or months after the farmers and their oxen and wagons left.

Jeppe relates that they often crept down to the farmers’ tents to sever their supporting tent ropes with their pocket blades as an act of revenge. They also deviated the watercourse into the Square, which made the tented camp resemble “a lake covered with boats in full sail the next morning” (Allen 1971: 36).

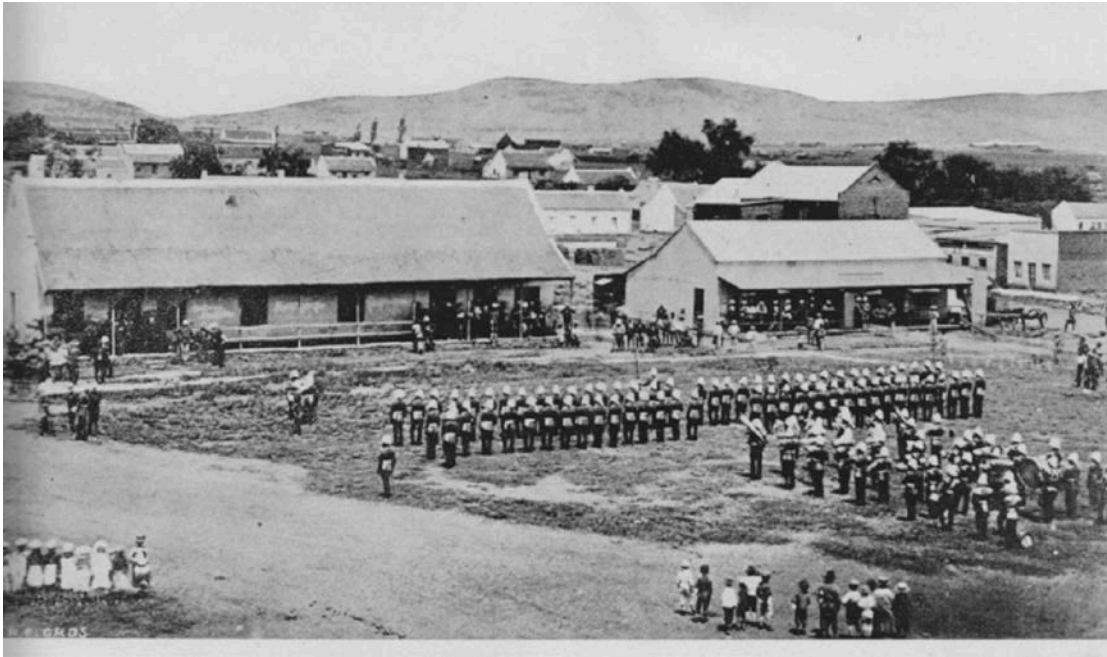
Despite these societal conflicts, the English felt part of Pretoria and the Republic. Broderick for instance strongly disapproved of the 1877 annexation and his sympathy was with the Boers (Allen 1971: 29). Commercial activities were not exclusive to English residents, who now settled on the erven around Church Square. The visiting farmers too traded their produce and firewood, animal hides, etc. and the southwest corner of Church Square was used to hold auction sales.

### 6.6.1.1 The 1877 British annexation of the Transvaal and the First Anglo-Boer War (1880-1881)

The British annexation of 1877 led to the First Anglo-Boer War (first Freedom War), which was fought from 1880-1881. Church Square was the backdrop of important events during this strife between Boer and Brit. At the time the ZAR government was run from the First Old *Raadsaal*, also called the Barn parliament by foreigners (figure 6.2) (see 5.2 for a full history of the *Raadsaal* Block). Commissioner Sir Theophilus Shepstone arrived at the government building with 25 policemen on 12 April 1877, announced the annexation of the Transvaal by the British Crown, read the annexation-proclamation and hoisted the Union Jack (Allen 1971: 192). The *Vierkleur*, designed by Van der Hoff (Pieterse 1942: 19) and recognised as the official ZAR flag since 1858, was lowered. Shepstone, or as the Boers called him, *die duiwel se slypsteen* (the devil's whetstone), was inaugurated in the first church on Church Square by Justice John Kotzé and the Reverend H.S. Bosman. The original church building was damaged in a storm in 1882 and when a bolt of lightning sent the church up in flames shortly thereafter, the Boers called it God's judgement (Meiring 1980: 59). Tom Claridge planned the new Church and the same contractor that built Kruger's house, Marinus Franken, built the new church. P.J. Joubert, the acting State President, laid the cornerstone on 6 October 1883. The Neo-Gothic church was used for the first time on 23 January 1885.

Shepstone did not govern from the First Old *Raadsaal*, but moved his British authorities and management into Jella Labat Villas on Visagie Street, which meant that the First Old *Raadsaal* fell into disuse (Engelbrecht 1952: 4). The government of Shepstone established a municipal body and had to, amongst other things, address the dirty water in Pretoria. It is said that waste from residents and animals polluted the already muddy *sloets*. Pieterse (1942: 32) contributes this neglect to the fact that Pretoria residents lost interest in the prosperity of the town, because it was in foreign hands.

The European Hotel was directly next to the first old government building (figure 6.2). In 1879 a welcoming function was held in the first Old *Raadsaal* in honour of Sir Bartle Frere, who was appointed High Commissioner of South Africa during the British occupation of 1877. Judge Kotzé (1934: 591) reported that the European Hotel provided food for the occasion.



**Figure 6.2**  
**The First Old Raadsaal (left) and the European hotel (right) during British occupation of 1877,**  
**Photograph by H.F. Gros**  
**(Cartwright and Cowan 1978: 83).**

As mentioned above most of the English-speaking Pretoria residents, like Broderick, were sympathetic towards the Boers and strongly disapproved of the 1877 annexation (Allen 1971: 29). The first shots were fired in Potchefstroom and the Boers besieged British forts around the Transvaal. The British were ill prepared for the farmers' skill as horsemen and marksmen and their khaki farming clothes provided camouflage in the African bush whereas British soldiers' infantry uniforms comprised of red jackets that made easy targets for the expert Boer marksmen. The Boers furthermore knew the terrain very well and this placed the British troops at a disadvantage.

With the annexation of the Transvaal the British military started to produce maps of the area and before the Anglo-Boer War there were intensive efforts by Britain to collect as much intelligence on the Transvaal as possible. The Intelligence Department of the War Office (IDWO) mapped all overseas areas and colonies and maps included military features (Liebenberg 2015: 15). The Compass Sketch Plan by the Royal Engineers dated 1879 (figure 6.3) is one of the examples that provide valuable information on the structures in and around Church Square and Pretoria.



**Figure 6.3**  
**Black and white copy of Compass Sketch Plan of Pretoria, Transvaal (north is at the bottom)**  
**(Van der Waal Collection, University of Pretoria).**

A large number of troops were in Pretoria and Commandant-General Piet Joubert was content to merely blockade Pretoria to keep them there and stop them from interfering with his actions elsewhere. The open area on the northwest of Palace Street, next to where the Post Office is today, is known as “Commissariat Square” because British soldiers’ barracks stood there during the First Anglo-Boer War (Offringa 1991: 55; Boshoff 1990: 11). The war resulted in the defeat of the British with the signing of the Pretoria Convention on 3 August 1881. After the English *Interregnum* the ZAR was re-established in 1881 and the *Vierkleur* once again fluttered in freedom from the First Old *Raadsaal* (Engelbrect 1952: 4; Meiring 1980: 59). Paul Kruger served as part of the triumvirate and was elected president of the Republic in 1883.

It is important to note the difference between the early English-speaking residents in Pretoria, who felt a part of the Republic, and the British occupying forces, that were

professional soldiers during the annexation and First Anglo-Boer War. The conflict between Boer and Brit between 1877 and 1881 certainly changed the previously peaceful interaction between the two cultures and it strengthened the Boers' resolve to govern themselves. Paul Kruger, in his speech during the laying of the Second Old *Raadsaal's* cornerstone later in 1889, said that many believed that the Boers did not deserve to own the land, but that when they lost it due to the Annexation, the residents mourned and prayed to God to save them, and God gave them the land back (Holm and Viljoen 1993). The first episode in the Boer-Brit dynamic is characterised by the influence that English craftsmen, residents, contractors and tradesmen had on the built environment in around Church Square and the seminal moment of change was Annexation and War.

#### **6.6.2 After the discovery of Gold (1886-1899): the Dutch emigrant architects of the ZAR Public Works Program**

Church Square at the end of the nineteenth century is characterised by the construction of government buildings designed by imported Dutch immigrant architects as part of the ZAR's new Public Works Program. The discovery of gold in 1886 meant an influx of capital from the minefields and increased wealth in the Republic. Although this second episode represents a change in the built environment in and around Church Square as developed by Dutch immigrant architects, the style was aimed at expressing the ZAR's independence from British authority and an own identity through its Program of civil works. It therefore serves as illustration of the reaction to/against British power. Much has been written about the shared heritage between the Dutch and Pretoria<sup>23</sup>, but the underlying changing dynamic between Boer and Brit during the same period remains to be investigated. This part is thus characterised by the ZAR's search for an own identity and its desire to establish an aesthetic that was different from the British and that would reflect its independence from Britain (Abrahamse and Clarke 2014: 3). During this episode the powers of state and church once again played significant roles in the development of this architectural style at the end of the nineteenth century.

Before the discovery of gold in the Transvaal the execution of government projects

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<sup>23</sup> *Eclectic ZA Wilhelmiens: A Shared Dutch Built Heritage in South Africa*, edited by K.A. Bakker, N.J. Clarke and R.C. Fisher. Pretoria: Visual Books. See also Meiring 1980;

were marred by the constant and extreme lack of financial means (Rex 1956: 264). The State was dependant on the contributions of the local community and the *burghers* were expected to contribute to any government project (Rex 1956: 266). With the discovery of diamonds and gold in the second half of the nineteenth century capitalism grew and southern Africa was linked with the global economy (Duvenage 2016: 5). After the Witwatersrand goldfields were discovered in 1886 wealth poured into the coffers of the ZAR (Allen 1971) and the face of Church Square started to change. With prosperity and a government that favoured disciplined management and administration came the search for an own identity. Up to now government buildings were built in the same way as utilitarian buildings. They were simple whitewashed thatched buildings or Karoo-style, flat roofed buildings that the government commissioned and that Leslie Simmonds and Tom Claridge, Paul Kruger's "tame Englishmen", erected. But this style was not worthy of the new dignity and prestige that Paul Kruger wanted to emanate. Church Square did not compare well to European squares and did not impress Victorian British businessmen and mine magnates (Holm and Viljoen 1993: 15). The ZAR was in search of a strong statement of Republican authority through the Program of civil works that would reflect identity and independence (Abrahamse and Clarke 2014: 3). The government could now commission the construction of grand designs that symbolised the Afrikaners' struggle with Britain since 1795 and culminated in the long-awaited victory, freedom and independence from Britain.

Paul Kruger felt that local draughtsmen were not competent enough and did not possess the architectural vocabulary required for a new ZAR-style of architecture. He brought in knowledgeable, Calvinist, Dutch immigrants who could strengthen the Dutch / Afrikaans language (Holm and Viljoen 1993). The training of the professional architect and engineer in the nineteenth century in the Netherlands was determined by social and religious circumstances, namely the divide between Protestantism and Catholicism. The ZAR had express constitutional requirements that those in civil service belong to the Dutch Reformed Church, so the Dutch immigrants that came to do service were probably drawn by these very circumstances. Sytze Wierda and his ex-apprentice and assistant Klaas van Rijse, as members of the Dutch Reformed Church, applied for their respective positions in the civil service of the ZAR (Abrahamse 2014: 15; Meiring 1980: 11).

The late nineteenth century brought a spectacular typological diversification. Until about 1840, character was expressed through the use of the classical orders. From then on ever more diverse historical styles were employed in attempting to lend the right character to buildings. The umbrella term Renaissance encompassed a variety of sub-styles: Greek, Hellenic, Classic, Dutch, Flemish, German, French, Italian and Viennese Renaissance all influenced the revival styles. The Renaissance style was appropriate for government buildings as it exuded dignity and authority (Abrahamse 2014: 16-17). In considering the work of the Dutch architect emigrants to southern Africa, these trends and influences are important. Wierda and Van Rijsse were both influenced by nineteenth century Dutch architectural design practice (Abrahamse 2014: 8). Wierda, assisted by Van Rijsse, designed both the *Raadsaal* and the Palace of Justice on Church Square. The building production of the ZAR Department of Public Works between 1887 and the outbreak of the Second Anglo Boer War in 1899 showed a clear distinction between representational and utilitarian architecture (Abrahamse 2014: 17). Picton-Seymour (1977: 6) claimed that the Second Old *Raadsaal* and the Palace of Justice were built in the Italian Renaissance Revival or palazzo style, but Wierda's design, although influenced by contemporary Flemish and French Renaissance designs, was a uniquely South African Republican style, a style opposed to the Victorian architecture of the British.

The contribution that Dutch-born architects and engineers have made to the architecture of the *Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek* (ZAR) (1854–1902) through its Public Works Department (*Departement Publieke Werken*) (1887–1901) has been given three different names by different authors. Picton-Seymour (1977) called it the Transvaal Republican Style and made a clear distinction between this style and Victorian Architecture, which was more orientated towards the Neo-Gothic and Neo-Renaissance and Holm (1993) calls it the ZAR– style. More recently the term 'ZA Wilhelmiens' has been coined by a group of architect-researchers affiliated with the University of Pretoria, to express the Dutch link of the period that roughly coincides with the life of the Dutch queen Wilhelmina (1880–1962) (Clarke and Kuipers 2015: 2). This group includes therein the subsequent Union of South Africa (1910–1961) and explores the shared heritage of Eclectic ZA Wilhelmiens' architecture.

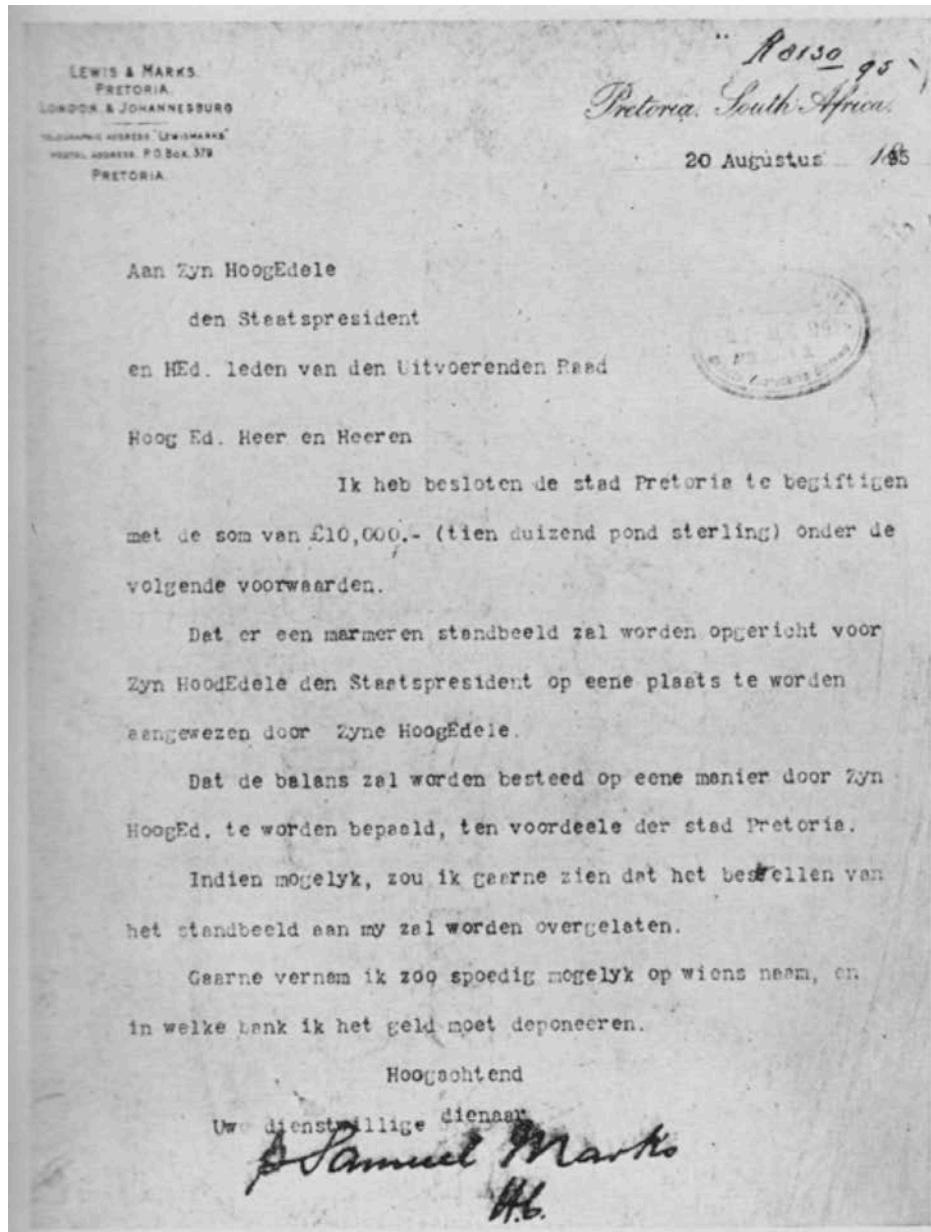
The Dutch landscape tradition of the late nineteenth century was influenced by the English picturesque landscape tradition and this influenced the provisioning of public

spaces and the planning of urban centres in the ZAR (Clarke 2014: 157-173). However, Wierda found it important to place state buildings frontal and strictly axial in prominent places on the Square or at the end of a street vista. He did not follow the British approach to buildings in the park but designed against Victorian architecture and placed his government buildings on Church Square, in the city context. Holm and Viljoen (1993) contrast this approach with President Brand Street in Bloemfontein that did follow the British approach and where the official building style and town layout was typical Victorian. Buildings in the ZAR were mostly symmetrical while Victorian buildings were asymmetrical (Holm and Viljoen 1993). The Raadsaal, which is representative of parliamentary power, and the Palace of Justice, representing judicial power were placed one opposed to the other.

With increased wealth it was decided to demolish and replace other buildings around the Square. The old Post Office was replaced and the Netherlands Bank Building by Willem J. de Zwaan was erected as a symbol of this prosperity (Meiring 1980: 51, 65). Both the *Raadsaal* and the Palace of Justice were built with the intention to intimidate and impress. The design of both buildings is the embodiment of power and the later shift in power was made visible in the plan layout.

As mentioned above, Kruger saw the need for a second *Volksraad*, which he created in 1890 to alleviate the political pressure placed on him by the *uitlanders*. Wierda initially designed the Second Old *Raadsaal* to have only one domed *Volksraadsaal* in the middle of the building surrounded by courtyards on all sides except the north where it links to the main entrance on the northern front façade on Church Square. The western side of the building was to be open towards Parliament Street, which gave access to the internal courtyards. This western portal would have been just a courtyard with wrought iron gates, which would lead visitors through the spiral staircase to the galleries, but due to the changes of 1890, the Second *Volksraadsaal* was built in that space. For a detailed description of the history of the *Raadsaal* Block, see 5.2 and for the Palace of Justice Block, see 5.3.

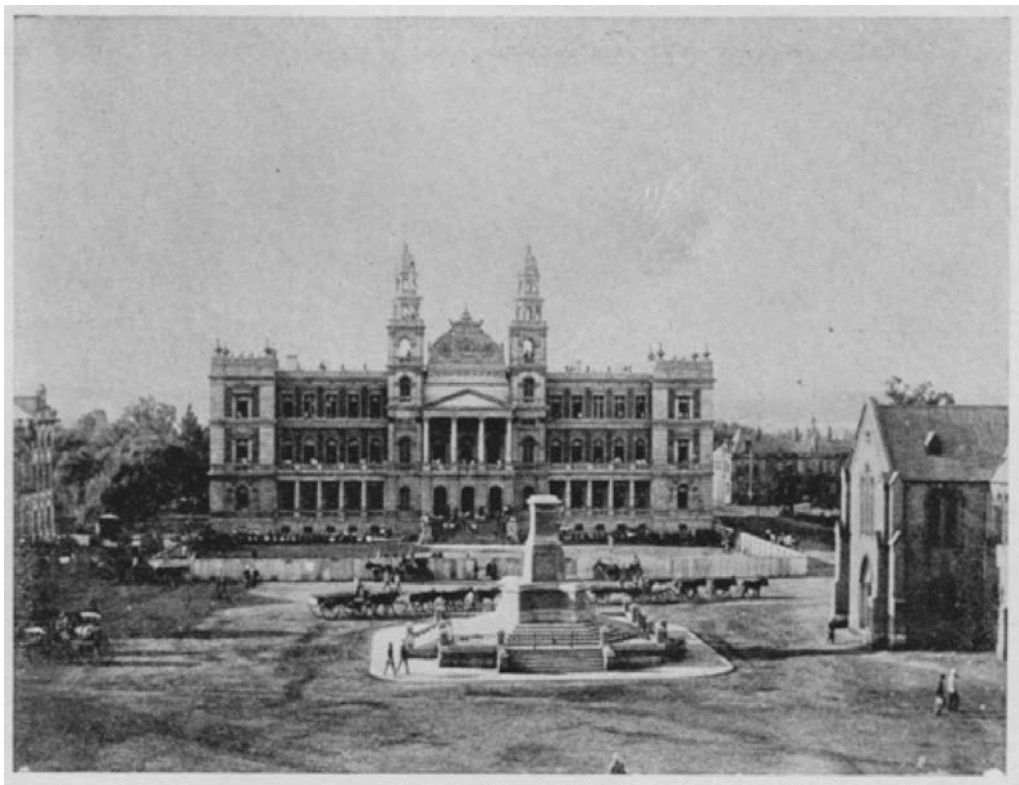
President M.W. Pretorius, who was the initial owner of the church and Church Square, transferred the property on 8 April 1867 to the Church Council of the *Nederduitsch Hervormde* congregation of Pretoria. It remained the property of the church until 6 July 1899 when the members of the congregation decided to sell it to the ZAR government.



**Figure 6.4**  
Letter from Sammy Marks dated 20 August 1895 wherein he offers to donate money for the erection of the Kruger statue (Engelbrecht 1952: 98).

In 1895 Samuel Marks donated ten thousand pounds sterling for the erection of a marble statue of the President in a location that was to be decided by the President (figure 6.4). Anton van Wouw was commissioned to execute the work (Engelbrecht 1952: 98). Van Wouw decided on a bronze statue, which he designed and manufactured in Italy. Franciscus Bruno was the bronze caster in Rome (Van Bart 2009). The president decided that the statue was to be erected in Burgers Park and that the balance of the money be used

for a zoo, but Marks suggested that the statue should be erected west of the church then standing on Church Square. In June 1899 the Executive Council approved the suggestion and a pedestal for the statue was built on Church Square on the axis between the Second Old *Raadsaal* and the Palace of Justice, west of the church (figure 6.5). The outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War, however, prevented the erection of the statue (Engelbrecht 1952: 98). When the statue arrived in Delagoa Bay by ship the War had already broken out and it remained in storage until the end of the War (Van Bart 2009).



**Figure 6.5**  
**The pedestal built to receive the statue of Paul Kruger with the Palace of Justice in the background**  
**and the Neo-Gothic church to the right, 1900**  
(Engelbrecht 1952 :61)

The increased economic power of the state was further made visible on Church Square with construction of *De Nationale Bank en Munt der Zuid-Afrikaanse Republiek* on the northwest side. The bank was established on 20 April 1891 as bankers to the state and the premises were opened in 1893. The joint managers of the bank were Dr. Wilhelm Knappe and Hermann Miltz, both from German origin. The early years of the bank was characterised by a strong German influence. The personnel were all German speaking,

machinery for the mint was imported from Germany and the first director, Gustav Munscheid, was the former inspector of the *Reichsmüntzamt* in Berlin (Rex 1975: 229). The British feared a German foothold in the Transvaal. Germany was on the rise and had friendly relations with the Boers and Paul Kruger.

Another bank, *Die Kaap de Goede Hoop Bank (Beperk)* (The Cape of Good Hope Bank [Pty] Ltd) existed for a short while on Church Square in a building known as “The Coffin” where Parliament Street is today. (See the 5.2 for a detailed description of this triangular erf). The bank did not last long however and on 20 September 1890 it ceased its activities in Pretoria. The building was later incorporated into His Majesty’s Theatre and finally demolished when the government bought the property to build Parliament Street next to the Second Old *Raadsaal*.

#### **6.6.2.1 The Second Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902)**

The second episode in the dynamic between Boer and Brit, characterised by prosperity after the discovery of gold, came to an end with the outbreak of Second Anglo-Boer War in 1899. The War was characterised by traumatic conflict between Boer and Brit. Church Square and surrounding erven saw an interruption in development and both the Second Old *Raadsaal* and the Palace of Justice experienced functional change brought about by new role players.

Kruger declared war against Great Britain from the Second Old *Raadsaal* in October 1899 (Viljoen 1991: 31). The last sitting of the ZAR *Volksraad* was held on 7 May 1900. The British troops under Lord Roberts had already taken Johannesburg and were marching towards Pretoria. On several seats wreaths of mourning were placed to denote where those members who had died fighting at the front were wont to sit (Holm and Viljoen 1993: 62).

The Palace of Justice was still being constructed and when the War broke out in 1899, construction stopped. The main structure was complete but the building was still devoid of internal ornaments, fittings and decorations. The palace stood empty until June 1900 when the British forces took over Pretoria (Ackerman 2002: 108-112). Along with all the other public buildings in Pretoria it was commandeered and a military hospital was set up for the care of fever-ridden and wounded British soldiers (Allen 1971: 49). It was known as the “Irish Hospital” (Rex 1956: 100). The advocates’ robing room was used as a mortuary.

Once again the British troops were at a disadvantage because they lacked military maps, but the early maps drawn up by Jeppe assisted the Boers.<sup>24</sup>

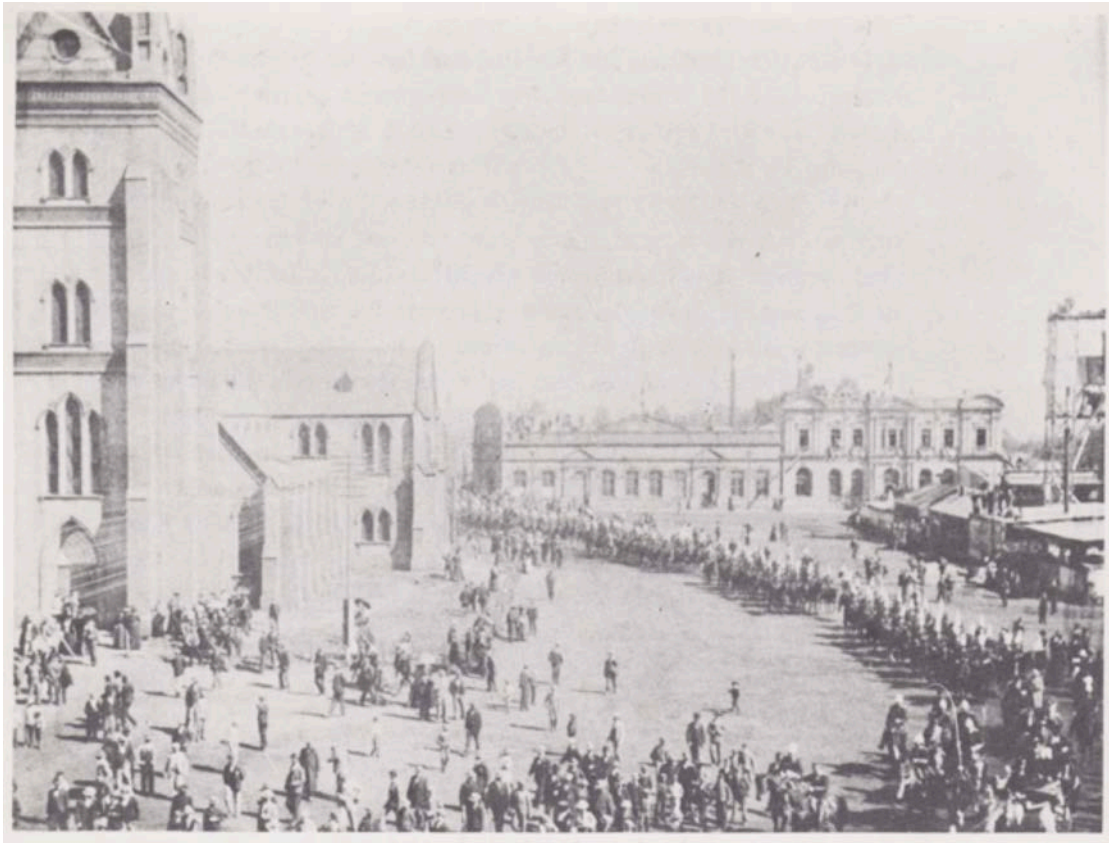
On 5 June 1900 the British troops marched into the city (figure 6.6) and paraded before the Old *Raadsaal* building where Lord Roberts took the salute. The *Vierkleur*, flying from the *Raadsaal*, had to make way for the Union Jack again. Pretoria had fallen under British rule, but the Second Anglo-Boer War was to last for another two years. The Kruger statue was kept in a warehouse in Lourenco Marques in Mozambique for years (Haarhoff 2012: 115) and the pedestal was also eventually demolished after the church. Sammy Marks gave Kitchener the four *brandwagte* (sentinels), which he took to England. He placed two on each side of the entrance gate to his estate and the other two were placed at the School of Military Engineering in Chatham, England (figure 6.7). Kitchener did not want the statue of Paul Kruger (Van Bart 2009).

During the Anglo-Boer War the National Bank and Mint battled to stay liquid and lost contact with its branches in other colonies (Steyn 1993: 35). After the occupation of Pretoria in 1900, the State Mint was closed down and it was fully controlled by the British Barclays Bank building on the eastern side of the square. In 1902 after the Anglo-Boer War, the bank changed its name to the National Bank of South Africa Ltd. Ludwig Eckstein was a German-born British mining magnate and banker who played a large part in establishing the National Bank of South Africa.

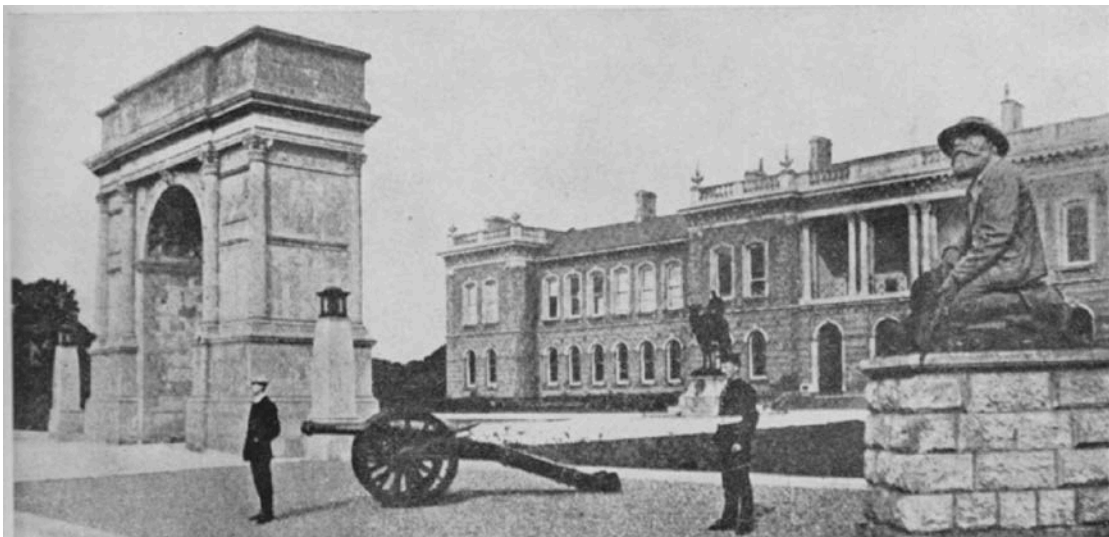
On 8 June 1902 a large crowd assembled for celebrations in honour of the Peace Treaty signed on 31 May in Melrose House. The Square had seen the ever-changing face of history in victory parades and freedom celebrations, triumph and defeat (Meiring 1980: 59). After the hiatus of the Anglo-Boer war the Palace of Justice became the home of the Supreme Court of the Transvaal (Allen 1971: 49) and the interior of the Second Old *Raadsaal* was changed to accommodate the new British colonial power.

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<sup>24</sup> Retrieved from: <http://samilitaryhistory.org/vol113jp.html>.



**Figure 6.6**  
**British troops ride into Church Square on 5 June 1900.**  
**The Palace of Justice on the right is still unfinished.**  
**(Allen 1971: 70).**



**Figure 6.7**  
**One of the two *brandwagte* by Anton van Wouw,**  
**placed at the Royal School of Military Engineering in Chatham, England**  
**(Engelbrecht 1952: 98).**

### 6.6.3 The Transvaal Colony (1902-1910)

The signing of the Treaty of Vereeniging in 1902 signalled the end of the Second Anglo-Boer War. The ZAR was dissolved, the Boer Republics had to acknowledge British sovereignty and the Transvaal became known as the Transvaal Colony. This period represents the third episode in the Boer-Brit dynamic, made visible in the changes that were brought about in the built environment in and around Church Square. After the war most Dutch immigrants were deported. The Dutch who had become citizens and were captured during the War were sent to distant prisoner of war camps with their Boer compatriots (Bakker 2014: 5).

British Queen Victoria died in 1901 and was succeeded by her son, King Edward VII. He was crowned in England in 1902. Holm and Viljoen (1993: 71) describe the spirit of reconciliation under King Edward as opposed to direct aggression under Queen Victoria. They claim that the change in power in England was felt on different levels that included the built environment in Pretoria. Church Square and surrounding buildings underwent functional and stylistic changes.

This spirit of reconciliation was reflected in the lighter interiors of the Edwardian style as opposed to the sombre darkness of Queen Victoria's reign and preference was given to male architecture as opposed to the female characteristics of Victorian architecture. Holm and Viljoen (1993: 71) clarify the male and female aspects of architecture by comparing the Old *Raadsaal* on Church Square (male) with the Palace of Justice (female). To celebrate the crowning of the new King, the *Raadsaal* and other buildings in Pretoria were decorated. A portrait of the King was placed on the *Raadsaal* and a portrait of the Queen was placed on the Palace of Justice. Holm believes that the occupiers too saw the gender of these two buildings (Holm and Viljoen 1993: 71).

During the Anglo-Boer War the Public Works Department was composed of Royal Military Engineers, but this was soon changed to civilian management after the signing of the Treaty (Clarke and Kuipers 2015: 8). Wierda's service was suddenly terminated after twelve years working in the ZAR. He practiced in Johannesburg for a while and retired in Cape Town in 1906 (Holm and Viljoen 1993: 62). He died in 1911 at the age of 72 in Sea Point, Cape Town. Between 1902 and 1910, which is the period after the Anglo-Boer War (1899 – 1902) and before the founding of the Union of South Africa (1910 – 1961) a group of Britons who served in the South African Civil Service under High Commissioner

Alfred, Lord Milner, actively promoted the British Empire. They were called Milner's Kindergarten (Clarke and Kuipers 2015: 7). Architect Herbert Baker hosted and regularly met with Milner's Kindergarten during their time in the civil service of the Transvaal Colony. He endorsed their ambitions of promoting the British Empire.

After the Anglo-Boer War the Old *Raadsaal* was used as parliament for the Transvaal Colony. The building was seen as an important war spoils and the Imperial administration adjusted the interior to suit the Westminster system, characterised by rows of desks opposing each other where ruling parties are seated facing each other in an adversarial arrangement (Holm and Viljoen 1993). The first *Volksraadsaal*'s chairman's chair had been on the southern wall. It was moved to the eastern wall and the spectators' gallery on the northern wall was closed up and a new one was broken open on the western side. The curved tables where members of the *Volksraad* sat in concentric circles were sold to municipalities and straight short desks were erected on the south and north wall.

On the eastern side of the first *Volksraadsaal* there were three small balconies. The middle was known as *Tant Gesi se balkon* because Paul Kruger's wife, Gesina, used to sit there. This balcony was preserved but the two on each side were changed into shell-like balconies for the press. The floor of the second *Volksraadsaal* was broken out and the caretaker's flat as well as police offices under it were changed into a big impressive staircase of Burmese teak. From this staircase an opening in the previous first *Volksraadsaal* was broken open. It became known as *The House* or the *Legislative Assembly*. On the southern side of the large stair lobby, two double doors lead to another big hall, which was created by breaking out two storeys of offices. This hall was named *The Legislative Council* or *The Upper House*. It had a new vault ceiling and a gallery for spectators. It was painted in the simple Edwardian colours with Burmese teak panelling (Holm and Viljoen 1993: 72).

Exactly a year after the British occupied Pretoria in June 1900, the Executive council of the Transvaal Colony asked Van Wouw to change the old ZAR coat of arms into the British Royal coat of arms but he refused, because the Boers had not yet capitulated (Rex 1955: 13). The council then found someone else to make the change and Van Wouw's original sculpture, probably his only work made of sandstone, was removed and replaced with one of the British Empire. The old ZAR coat of arms was destroyed in the process and only the beak and head of the large eagle that surmounted the ZAR coat of arms

survived. Labuschagne (1981: 6) claimed that these parts are kept in the collection of the National Cultural History Museum in Pretoria but this could not be confirmed.

The Edwardian fashion was to paint walls two shades of green, which was also the colour of the British House of Commons (lower house of parliament). The small spiral staircase led to the tribune *voor het publiek* of both *Volksraadsale*. In 1906 this gallery was closed up on its western side and opened up on its eastern side to look out over *The House*, which was according to the Westminster system. A small winding passage led from the gallery to *The Upper House* of 1906. (For a full account with illustrations of the changes that the Second Old *Raadsaal* underwent during the Transvaal Colony, refer to 5.2.) After the war in 1902 the Palace of Justice became the home of the Supreme Court of the Transvaal.

It was decided to demolish the church steeple because it was deemed structurally unsound (see 5.1 and figure 5.15). Paul Kruger's body was returned to the Transvaal and his memorial service was conducted on 16 December 1904 on Church Square, where Kruger had taken the oath as head of state four times, the first being in 1883. The church steeple was gone but the church building and the pedestal for Paul Kruger's statue on the west side of the Church were still there (see 5.1 and figure 5.16). 30,000 people attended the service (Meiring 1980: 61).

In 1905 Church Square, described on its title deed as "*Het Kerk Plein* in the town of Pretoria in the Transvaal Colony", was transferred to the Municipality of Pretoria by the authority of "King Edward the Seventh of Great Britain under the Crown Land Disposal Ordinance 1903" by the government of the Transvaal. Mineral rights remained with the Crown.

The church was demolished in 1905 (see 5.1 and figure 5.17). Meiring describes how the British struggled to pull down the old church with steam engines, believing that the British were conscious of its symbolic power. Industrialist Sammy Marks donated a large cast-iron fountain to the city, which was placed in the centre of the Square in 1906 where it stood until 1910. Water was led in a furrow from the fountains valley along Market Street and around the square. Meiring (1980: 43) sees the fountain as providing some consolation to the residents (See also Clarke and Kuipers 2015: 69; Haarhoff 2012: 115).

General Louis Botha became the Prime Minister of the Transvaal in 1906. When the Transvaal changed from a Republic to a Colony, Pretoria became its capital (Holm and

Viljoen 1993). In 1906 it was decided that the Transvaal could manage itself, but it had to occur on the Westminster system.

When the Transvaal Colony came to an end, the three most important symbols of the ZAR had been removed. These were the coat of arms on the gable of the *Raadsaal*, the pedestal intended for Paul Kruger's statue and the Church in the middle. The Government Building or the *Raadsaal* remained. This third episode reveals that the strife between Boer and Brit was once again determined by the powers of law, state and church; from the ZAR to the presence of "the Crown of King Edward the Seventh of Great Britain" to the Transvaal Colony.

#### **6.6.4 The Union of South Africa (1910-1948)**

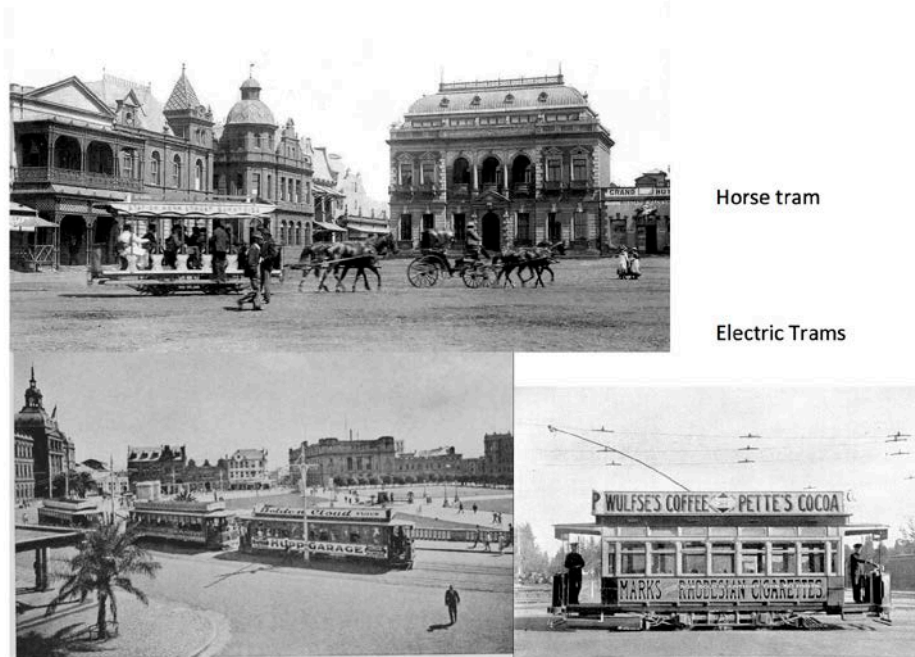
The Union of South Africa was proclaimed on 31 May 1910. It introduced an episode where Boer and Brit were united and the strife between them subdued. Colonisation officially ended with the Union of South Africa in 1910 (Le Roux 2015: 86). The service of Milner's Kindergarten came to an end but the tradition continued despite ideological change (Clarke and Kuipers 2015: 7). Architect Herbert Baker was a friend and favourite of Cecil John Rhodes and later also of Alfred, Lord Milner and as the Union of South Africa was being formed, Baker was already busy with plans for the new government building, the Union Buildings, on Meintjeskop in 1910 (Holm and Viljoen 1993: 76). When the Union Buildings were complete, the *Raadsaal* became the seat of the Transvaal Provincial Council (Holm and Viljoen 1993: 80). This meant that the Old *Raadsaal*, as it was now called, was not a part of the future. Church Square had lost its status as political centre of the capital.

The Union Buildings as new official seat of the government was in clear contrast with the Second Old *Raadsaal* in terms of its location in the urban landscape and its design. The Union buildings were built on Meintjeskop at a level elevated from the rest of the city, like an ancient citadel and while it is well sited relative to the topography, Kraehmer (1978: 36) feels that it does not relate to any other component in the cityscape and as a result it does not help to establish the overall form of the capital city. In ancient times the citadel was reserved for the gods (Vale 1992: 51) and today, any post-colonial capitol complex that is located in the privileged position of urban height, creates an isolated refuge for the rulers rather than a vehicle for the sharing of political power. Vale (1992: 160) sees

the modern citadel at an urban height as a way of demonstrating the power of the supporting regime and as the image of political impregnability.

The *Raadsaal* on the other hand was built on one of the erven (southwest) surrounding Church Square. The church was built in the middle of the Square where the north-south and the east-west axes intersect. The Square formed the heart of the city, which for a long time was the central focus point for everyone from civil servants to the farmers from the district (Meiring 1980: 61). President Paul Kruger's office was famously accessible to all the citizens of the country, placed near the entrance on the Ground Floor leading off the entrance foyer. Church Square is on a level plane situated in the valley below the ridges. The church (east), the Second Old *Raadsaal* (south), the western façade with commercial functions (west) and the Palace of Justice (north) framed an almost separate urban room (figure 6.5) on the western half of the Square and the church spire (east), the *Raadsaal* cupola (south) and the two Palace of Justice towers (north) announced the triad of the powers of law, state and church that shaped the world view of the Republic. The government building thus related to the other components of the city, in contrast with the Union Buildings. The podium intended for Paul Kruger's statue punctuated the centre of this secondary western space on Church Square. This formal visual unit disappeared with the demolition of the church.

In 1910, on instruction of the Municipality of Pretoria, Vivien Rees-Poole laid out the open space of Church Square as a tram terminal (figure 6.8) with a circle-forming formal garden in the middle surrounded by a fence of granite. His design was the result of a 1910 competition for the redesign of the then still gently sloping site. It separated traffic and pedestrians and created the current layout, generated by the ideal inclines for trams at the time. This created the terraced layout the square still has, with traffic circling a formal a central park planted with lawn (Clarke and Kuipers 2015: 69). Rees-Poole's design incorporated a criss-cross of pathways leading to destinations other than the Square itself (Maré 1975: 40). Meiring (1980: 11) states that the layout of Church Square as it is today is the work of Baker and Kraehmer (1978: 21) clarifies that it was Herbert Baker's pupils and followers that were responsible for the layout of Church Square. Vivian Rees-Poole's layout created the opportunity to locate a monument at the very centre<sup>SEP</sup> of the city, a position first occupied by an ornamental fountain, later to be taken up by the statue of Paul Kruger in 1954 (Clarke and Kuipers 2015: 69).



**Figure 6.8**  
**Horse-drawn tram and later electric tram**  
 (retrieved from: <https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10207467339583993&set=pcb.10207467465787148&type=3&theater>).

As for the financial institutions on Church Square, by 1914 the National Bank had taken over the National Bank of the Free State, the Bank of Africa and the Natal Bank. In 1926 the Barclays Bank Dominion, Colonial and Overseas (D.C. and O.) head office London UK, amalgamated with the National Bank of South Africa; the shareholders of the late Bank exchanged their shares in shares of Barclays Bank D.C. and O. which maintained the name of National Bank of South Africa as the second name of the South African institution, until it changed its name again to First National Bank of Southern Africa (Steyn 1993: 36; see also *Pretoriana* 1994). The title deeds after 1926 stipulate that, “all assets of the National Bank of South Africa Ltd. have been acquired by Barclays Bank (Dominion Colonial and Overseas)”. The properties were thus transferred to Barclays.

## 6.7 Opposing worldviews of Boer and Brit

As mentioned under Methodology above, this chapter considers, as part of the research strategy or research design, that communal consciousness, worldview or *zeitgeist* are the causes of historical change. Hegel postulated that history was the movement of an absolute

spirit. British Idealism was initially influenced by Hegel's dialectic take on history (Duvenage 2016: 4). Imperialists like Rhodes and Milner believed that the British were superior to the Dutch/Afrikaans people, who would be more 'civilised' under British Rule. They believed that it was crucial to the British Empire if Britain was to rule supreme in southern Africa. They were aware of the global significance of the Transvaal gold-mining industry and were determined to diminish the power of the Afrikaners. Rhodes's colonial and economical ambition for Africa included flying the Union Jack from the Cape to Cairo, a goal that was influenced by Oxford-idealism (Duvenage 2016: 5). British Idealism postulated that progress eventually leads to the highest, absolute spirit, which justifies and legitimises colonialism through Britain's self-appointed task of leading other nations and individuals to said absolute spirit. This ideology fuelled Britain's colonial ambitions in nineteenth century southern Africa. British Idealism also influenced the institutionalisation of philosophy in the nineteenth century (Duvenage 2016: 4).

It is important to consider the relationship between power and knowledge in the context of British colonial academic institutionalising. The colony is removed from the centre of colonial power, but it has a relationship with the centre in terms of thoughts and knowledge. In the case of British colonialism, the centre is London. English thoughts move or migrate to the colony and sprout roots there and so Philosophy as a discipline gets a position in a particular power constellation with London as the centre. Duvenage (2016: 4) asks what happens to thoughts in a colonial or post-colonial situation if the social and material circumstances change, as was the case in South Africa. He discovers the relationship between the power of the state of the colonial ruler and knowledge, as well as between the thinking subject and the powers wherein he or she stands.

The Boer worldview can be placed in opposition to that of British Idealism. Although this ideal only really came to the fore in the middle of the twentieth century amongst Afrikaners, the Boers were already looking for an own identity in the second half of the nineteenth century, as a reaction against British Idealism. The Boer Republics did not establish universities, so tertiary education was only available in English and was influenced by British Idealism.

The Boer worldview was determined by religion and with the NG-synod of 1862 the supernatural nature of religion<sup>25</sup> was placed against the nineteenth century life view of positivism. This resulted in a long debate in the public sphere of opposing theological viewpoints that lasted years. The debate was between a conservative, orthodox group on the one hand and a liberal, freethinking group on the other. It was not limited to religious experts, but touched all areas of life and found expression in letters in journals and newspapers. It even made a turn in court, which placed the relationship between church and state in the foreground (Murray 1947). This debate accentuated the importance of dealing with values in a systemic or logical way. People realised that there was a reciprocal relationship between theory and practice and that concrete action always rests on a specific principle (Duvenage 2016: 8-9).

With the early twentieth century came change. Apart from British Idealism there were also two other streams namely utilitarianism and evolution, which were closer to British empiricism (Duvenage 2016: 26). Although utilitarianism advocates that the morally right action produces the most good for everyone, which is compatible with Christian religion, utilitarianism does not require God as the source of normativity<sup>26</sup>, which means that in principle, it goes against the Dutch Reformed Calvinist belief. Evolution as a form of naturalism once again diminishes God's creative powers and Afrikaans ideology reacted against this viewpoint too.

Then in the 1920s and 1930s, Britain saw a decline in British Imperialism that ran parallel to the demise of the British Empire and colonialism. It made way for analytical philosophy, where logic and an analysis of everyday language played a role. It was criticised, however, as being unhistorical and apolitical (Duvenage 2016: 6). The Afrikaner too, explored the relationship between language and thought. The theological debate in South Africa in the 1920s and 1930s culminated in the 1928 NG church-synod. Once again the nature of religion and the supernatural was discussed and the application of the scientific method in Biblical exegesis, the relationship between church and state and the rightful difference between faith and critical investigation were explored (Duvenage 2016: 9).

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<sup>25</sup> Throughout the middle ages the relation between faith and reason attracted the attention of philosophers from the Christian, Muslim and Jewish faith traditions

(<https://www.utm.edu/staff/jfieser/class/110/5-medieval.htm> on 14 November 2018).

<sup>26</sup> Retrieved from <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/utilitarianism-history/> on 25 October 2018.

In 1947 Andrew Murray hoped for an own Afrikaans identity, original principle thought and self-preservation amidst the spiritual need to become self-conscious. He warned against being lead by unpractical and unnatural overseas theories or even worse, a decline in blind destination-less empiricism and naturalism (Duvenage 2016: 7), all this despite the fact that he was influenced by British Idealism. As a result of its reaction to British schools of thought, Afrikaans philosophy became strongly influenced by continental-phenomenological thought. It was not merely a one-way influence from Europe but also took root in Afrikaans and South Africa. Continental thought that became influential in South Africa was Husserl's phenomenology and branches in the twentieth century namely Heidegger's ontological thought, existentialism, hermeneutic, critical theory and post-structuralism. This choice of broad continental-aimed thought can be linked to a certain openness that had always existed for religious, historical, ethical and aesthetical issues in Afrikaans philosophy (Duvenage 2016: 15). Versfeld indicated that Afrikaans-speaking South Africans accept philosophy as "existential philosophy" (*lewensbepalend*) whereas their English counterparts saw it as mainly a critical exercise without content (British idealism) (Duvenage 2016: 12)

## **Chapter 7: Apartheid and post-apartheid (1948 – present)**

The *Preface* starts to hint at the struggle between the desire to preserve memories and the desire to suppress them. The twentieth century German obsession with commemoration and memory<sup>1</sup> as opposed to the Chinese government's suppression of memories<sup>2</sup> are mentioned as examples. On Church Square the presence and absence of memories can best be illustrated in the name of the Square. Even though the physical structure of the central church on Church Square has been absent for over 114 years, its memory has prevailed in the name: "Church" Square. The *Preface* further acknowledges that recent political protests proved that the Square is still loaded with political meaning and the trauma associated with colonialism and apartheid. As some oppose the offensive idea of Church Square and attempt to destroy the images of past powers, others try to protect their cultural heritage and memory.

The *Introduction* in Chapter 1 mentions that four distinct periods or episodes can be identified in the history of Pretoria's Church Square and that certain seminal moments caused the change from one episode to another. During each episode the physical composition of the space represented and reflected the powers that were the driving forces behind change. This chapter represents the last episode, which is different from the previous episodes in that the change was less in the physical composition of the space and more in the ideology of the powers behind change. Church Square saw one significant change to its physical structure in this time, namely the insertion during apartheid of Paul Kruger's monumental ensemble in the centre of the Square in 1954, where it remained through the transition into democracy in 1994, up until the present. The activities in and around the Square during this time were thus not manifested in the physical, but in the rhetorical. Change was not structural but ideological and the debates surrounding the Square reflected the turbulence of the discourse. This chapter confirms that even if the built environment does not change significantly, its landscape is always temporal, of the moment and in process. The urban landscape still reflects human agency and action and provokes memory and facilitates or impedes action (Bender 2002: 103).

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<sup>1</sup> An example is how the memory of the original and now demolished course of the Berlin Wall was made visible in the paving lines (see Huyssen 2003: 16).

<sup>2</sup> The Chinese government famously suppressed the memories of the 1989 student uprising and attempted to control the narrative of what happened.

Although apartheid and post-apartheid seem on the surface to be two very distinct political and social systems they are inextricably intertwined. The ambiguous term post-apartheid is used to denote the current South African period as a definitive break from apartheid, but it remains a sub-category of apartheid, littered with psychosocial repetitions of the past social and political formation of apartheid (Hook 2013: 15). Apartheid and post-apartheid and the different and opposing discourses on Church Square during this time are thus combined in one chapter.

This chapter identifies and chronologically discusses historical instances that were significant to Church Square and appeared as discursive headings or topical foci as the subjects of discourse during that time. These include the Afrikaner worldview that led up to apartheid, commemoration of traumatic events during apartheid, the Rivonia trial, modernisation and development proposals and the ambiguity of post-apartheid.

## **7.1 Methodology**

The research question that gives rise to this chapter is “How did the changing worldviews of apartheid and post-apartheid shape the social and cultural discourse surrounding Church Square and how was the built environment affected by this change?” The nature of this question is mainly historical and relates to the historic changes in ideology and in the built environment as activated by, amongst other things, the discourses on demolition (erasure) and preservation (commemoration). An investigation is conducted into the social-physical phenomena within two complex political contexts, with a view toward explaining those phenomena in narrative form and in a holistic fashion. It is thus interpretive research. Since these phenomena are a past condition, relative to the researcher, the historical research method (Leedy 1989: 125-137) and an interpretive-historical research strategy, as described by Wang (in Groat and Wang 2002: 135-171) are required. Historical research is part of the larger interpretive system of inquiry. The philosophical possibilities behind the interpretation of either past or present social situations are rooted in assumptions of a coherent world (Groat and Wang 2002: 88).

The historical method provides a means through which a researcher may deal with problems that arise from events that happened in the past. The data gathered through the historical method relates to the narrative and findings by others on the past and present phenomenon that is Church Square. For heuristic purposes, the strategy of this study is to

address the nature of the historical narrative by others and to report on their findings by arranging it in an own narrative. Regarding narrative and analysis in interpretive-historical research, Wang (in Groat and Wang 2002: 139) explains that the validity of an historical account starts with a demonstration that the events occurred in the actual flow of time.

This chapter considers the communal consciousness, worldview or *zeitgeist* as the causes of historical change, as postulated by Hegel, who believed that history was the movement of an absolute spirit. In post-structuralism, architecture as a material product of culture is part of a larger forthcoming discourse, so a historical assessment of architecture in this strategy is also an assessment of social and cultural discourse (Groat and Wang 2002: 151). Foucault postulated that historical periods come and go and that each period is understood as a web of discourses and that “reality” is just a by-product of these discourses, distributed into various topical foci that are maintained by tacitly agreed upon ways of seeing that define that era. Topical foci appear as discursive headings and ways of seeing are often made real into expressions of institutional power, such as political and economical structures, a moral code, the ecclesiastical class and so on. The controversy of debates through apartheid, democracy and post-apartheid is investigated, based on the worldview of the powers behind the discourse.

This chapter relies on written texts and images from a range of primary and secondary documentary material. Written texts include published articles, unpublished theses, conference proceedings, newspaper clippings, academic books, reports from university studies, a compilation of letters and speeches and historical and ethno-historical records. Images are retrieved from the public domain and the University of Pretoria’s archival collection of mid-twentieth century proposals for Church Square.

## **7.2 Theoretical framework**

### **7.2.1 Change**

Apartheid and post-apartheid are political and social systems but the terms also define two distinct time periods in the history of South Africa. An analysis of Church Square as an urban space during the periods of apartheid (1948 – 1994) and post-apartheid (1994 – 2018) reveals certain changes in the same space. These changes were in the features of the Square (the substitution of one item for another) and occurred over time. The change was

thus temporal and the concepts of temporality and spatiality find application in this chapter. Although cause is neither necessary nor sufficient for change in a thing, the research questions in this thesis are to seek, identify and explain the cause of change at the end of each episode. It is once again important to note that the change in the physical object and space that is Church Square can be attributed to factors of change outside the space.

Apart from physical change, this chapter investigates the change in discourses surrounding the Square and the Heraclitian notion that change is brought about by power, applies. We can recognise today a process philosophy in which physical reality is not matter, but power. The seminal moments of change were on 26 May 1948 when the National Party won the elections and introduced the system of apartheid and again on 27 April 1994 when the first democratic elections introduced a new dispensation that gave the power to the people.

Early philosophers were also concerned with resilience to change, a theme that applies to Church Square today and one that relates to questions about the future of this public space. Aristotle identified “matter” as that which persists over time and through change and believed that it was the form of that matter that changed. Form was either acquired or lost. His theory of causes was linked to essence that he distinguished from accident, which some have seen as a solution to the problem of persistent identity through change<sup>3</sup>. Later eighteenth century philosopher Kant stated in 1781 that things change in relation to time and recognised that this gives rise to the problem that some things can persist through change.

## 7.2.2 Temporality

Apart from temporal change mentioned in 6.2.1 above, temporality is also expressed through the sculptures in the monumental ensemble on Church Square. Sculptures and friezes are three-dimensional art forms that are completely or partially removed from their context or background, with just a pedestal as part of the display. The statue of Paul Kruger and the four *burghers* (figures 2.2 and 5.34) are life-like, realistic representations

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<sup>3</sup> Retrieved from <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/change/>.

of the (temporal) world out there but in terms of scale these representations are bigger than life-size, thus creating a monumental effect.

Alexander's (1965: 2) theory that *A city is not a tree* distinguishes between fixed elements (Kruger's monumental ensemble and surrounding buildings) and changing parts (people, horses, horse-drawn trams, electric trams, buses, cars, etc.) that all work together in an urban setting. The physically unchanging part of this system is the receptacle in which the changing parts of the system can work together. In Church Square the fixed elements have had a longer duration in the urban space than elements from the changing part. When measuring time and duration, one refers to human experience and human memory of place. It is thus the interpreter of this past human experience that reconstructs the past and this interpretation is invariably done from a Western point of view (Bender 2002: 103-8).

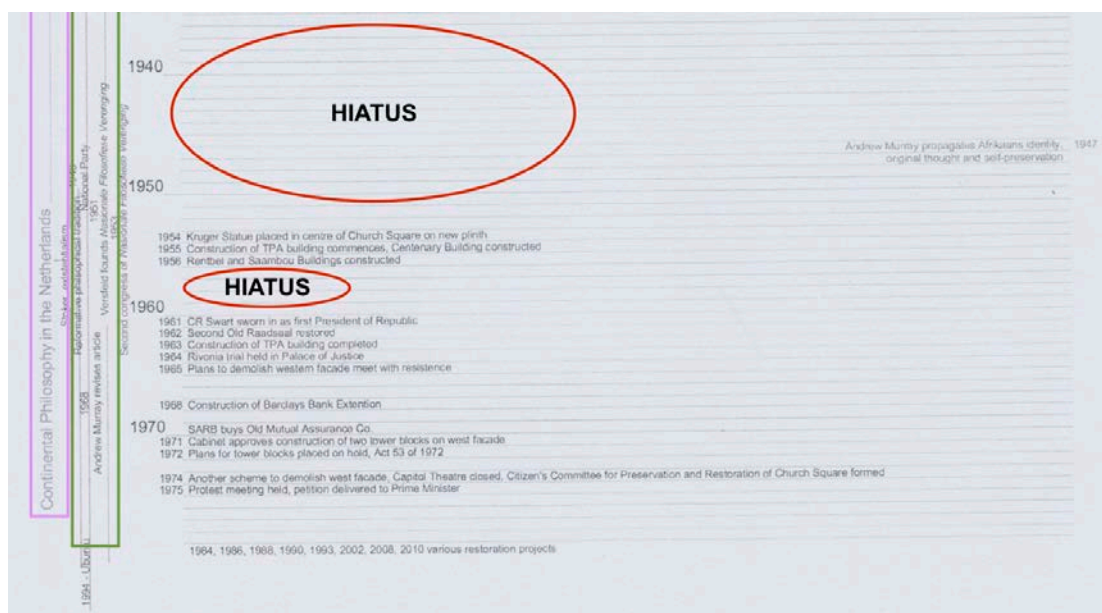
The chronological list below includes important events in and around Church Square after 1948 with their corresponding dates. This list does not however interpret the meaning of these events (Leedy 1989: 127) (compare with the complete list in 2.2.8), but when they are placed on a timeline where time is measured as distance and where events are placed on a ruler divided into years and decades (figure 7.1, see also figure 2.6), the significance that the temporal relationship gives to the data becomes visible. Now it is a series of events and one can see the time continuum and rhythms, sterile years and elapsed time. The table tries to convey periods of intense change and periods of hiatus. Figure 4.6 interpreted the graphic illustration of temporality on the Church Square timeline since 1850 and when compared to figure 7.1, one can see that the physical changes on Church Square were minimal during apartheid and post-apartheid. This confirms the hypothesis that there was more intense activity in the discourses surrounding Church Square during that time.

- 1954 – Paul Kruger statue placed in centre on new pedestal.
- 1955 – Construction of addition to Reserve Bank, designed by Gordon Leith, TPA building constructed, designed by Meiring & Naudé, Moerdyk & Watson; Centenary Building
- 1956 – Construction of Rentbel and Saambou Buildings
- 1961 – CR Swart sworn in as first president of Republic
- 1962 – *Raadsaal* restoration
- 1963 – TPA building completed
- 1964 – Rivonia trial held in Palace of Justice
- 1965 – Plans to demolish western façade for 50-storey International Style high-rise meet with resistance
- 1968 – Extension to Barclays National Bank, designed by Daneel Smit & Partners
- 1970 – SARB buys Old Mutual Assurance Co.
- 1971 – Cabinet approves construction of two tower blocks on west façade

- 1972 – Plans for tower blocks placed on hold, Act 53 of 1972 places power to approve demolition of existing historical buildings with Minister of Public Works.
- 1974 – Another scheme to demolish western façade presented by government, Capitol Theatre closed, Citizens’ Committee for the Preservation and Restoration of Church Square formed
- 1975 – Protest meeting held, petition signed by thousands delivered to Prime Minister

1986, 2008, 2010 – Third / General post office restored, new Post office built, 1986 *Raadsaal* restored, 1993 and 2002 Palace of Justice restored, Netherlands bank restored 1988, 1984 restoration of Law Chambers, 1990 Café Riche

A graphic representation of temporality in the form of a timeline (figure 7.1) gives more insight into the relationship between ideas and events than a mere chronological listing. It is only through investigating the temporality of ideas that one can write a true history of place. Ideas have a longer duration or repose in intellectual space than events and philosophical movements prevalent at the time stretched across decades. Philosophical movements take time to develop, mature and finally to decline, but events occur and take up an instance on a timeline. Although time appears to be sterile when looking at the built form, history was in fact crowded with rhetoric during the hiatus.



**Figure 7.1**  
**Temporality illustrated graphically, showing two periods of hiatus,**  
**Church Square timeline after 1948.**

Despite the compression of time and space that is characteristic of high modernity in the West, for the physical structures on Church Square time has stood relatively still since apartheid. But recent calls for apartheid symbols to step down from their pedestals as part of the “Statues must fall” debate have evoked emotional reactions from mainly white

Afrikaans South Africans who attempt to secure some continuity in time for their cultural symbols. These attempts are not unique in the world. Space and time are fundamental categories of human experience and perception and because they are subject to historical change, humans attempt to secure some continuity within time and they attempt to create some extension of lived space within which they can breathe and move. In the late twentieth century humans have become more time conscious and have been trying to secure the future and to take responsibility for the past (Huysen 2003: 16). To this end Huysen (2003: 6-7) sees memory discourses as essential to imagine the future and to regain a strong temporal and spatial grounding. “Whether cultural memory practices are political or not, they do express a society’s need for temporal anchoring when in the wake of the information revolution and an ever-increasing time-space compression” (Huysen 2003: 28). Huysen (2003: 26) presents the archive, a site of temporal and spatial preservation, as counterweight to the ever-increasing pace of change.

### **7.2.3 Memory, trauma and monumentality**

The architectural ensemble in and around Church Square is an important externalisation of human memory. Together with the lost or demolished built environment that we can only recall through archival images, the built environment materialises and preserves the course of time and makes it visible. These structures are mnemonic devices that concretise remembrance by containing and projecting memories. According to Pallasmaa 2007: 189-90) “We cannot conceive or remember time as a mere physical dimension; we can only grasp time through its actualisations; the traces, places and events of temporal occurrence” (Pallasmaa 2007: 189-90).

The monumental ensemble of Paul Kruger’s statue on a pedestal surrounded by four Boer *krygers* was inserted in the centre of Church Square in 1954 during the height of apartheid, but the conception and creation of this monument (see 5.1) should be seen in the context of the nineteenth century search for the monumental. If one understands the European desire to create and monumentalise a deep national past that discerns the West from its non-European counterpart and a desire to legitimise or give meaning to the present in order to envision a cultural, political and social future during the nineteenth century, then the search for national monuments is better understood. The planning of the Doornkop heroes’ memorial (5.1) in 1898 should also be seen in this light.

The insertion during apartheid of the monument of Paul Kruger echoed nineteenth century global desires to strengthen people's perception of the depth of time (Pallasmaa 2007: 190), which was inextricably linked to their desire to know their origins (Grobler 2008: 164). After the Anglo-Boer War and the Depression of the 1930s the Afrikaner's security of an earlier age was stripped away and the monument was a way to culturally legitimise and to mythically ground the origins of the Afrikaner.

The countless memorials, monuments and museums that mushroomed across South Africa in the twentieth century commemorated the Great Trek and the Second Anglo-Boer War, the two events that are seen by Afrikaners to be key in the foundation of their nation and important aspects of their "struggle history". The Great Trek represents the struggle to achieve freedom from the British and the Anglo-Boer War represents the struggle to secure that freedom. When combined, both events claimed thousands of lives. The Voortrekker Monument in Pretoria represents the Afrikaner's foundation myth the best but Church Square was believed to have been the only place where the ideals of the Great Trek were given visible form in an urban environment (Muller in Meiring 1980: 12). "It stands as reminder of people who trekked into the wilderness, not to abandon themselves to lawlessness, but to found a new civilisation based on order and justice." Paul Kruger was a part of the Potgieter trek as a child and the key figure during the Second Anglo-Boer War<sup>4</sup>. He is thus a crucial part of the Afrikaner's foundation myth and a survivor of both traumatic events.

These events impacted on the rigid Afrikaner nationalist<sup>5</sup> identity during the twentieth century (Grobler 2008: 173) and both the Kruger monumental ensemble and Church Square as historic site were used to express the government's political agenda and to politicise the cultural memory of the Afrikaner's grief and loss.

### **7.3 The Afrikaans worldview leading up to apartheid**

The theoretical exploration above reveals that the Afrikaners' security of an earlier age was stripped away after the Second Anglo-Boer War and the Depression of the 1930s and that their need to culturally legitimise and mythically ground their origins found expression in

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<sup>4</sup> Paul Kruger declared war against Great Britain from the Second Old Raadsaal in October 1899 (Viljoen 1991: 31).

<sup>5</sup> For an explanation of the significance of the desire to establish a national identity, see Vale (1992: 45).

the commemoration of the Great Trek (see 2.3.3) and the Anglo-Boer War, the two events that are seen by them to be key in the foundation of their nation and important aspects of their “struggle history”. The section above gives insight into the communal consciousness, worldview or *zeitgeist* of the Afrikaners and their nationalist ambitions. With the rise of Afrikaner nationalism came a national movement to promote Afrikaans as language<sup>6</sup>. Traditions like *Volksang* and *Volkspeler*<sup>7</sup> (folk songs and games) were invented and align with Huysse’s (2003: 1) notion that the traditions are often invented or constructed based on selections and exclusions but that it gives shape to cultural and social life.

Murray (1947) described four instances that contributed to an indigenous Afrikaans philosophy: the NG-synod of 1862, the 1928 synod (see Chapter 5), educational debates of the first few decades of the twentieth century and finally political and constitutional thought through Roman-Dutch law, the contribution of the church to state, the battle for freedom of press, Trek manifestoes and constitutional plans made in Boer Republics. He further concluded that the four moments he identified in theological, educational and state-philosophical fields showed that Afrikaans philosophical thought was characterised by a strong anti-naturalism and thus stood in a conservative contrast to the prevailing thought of the Western world. Murray’s serious shortcoming is the narrow dialectic that he applies to the past through his idealistic approach. A second critical point is that Murray’s idealistic argument did not consider the roles that materialism and power played in his research field (Duvenage 2016: 8-11).

Attempts were made to map South African philosophy. In many ways the status of Afrikaans philosophy was a function of the state and the structure that was presented for it by Afrikaans universities (Duvenage 2016: 248). Versfeld identified the influence of British idealism on all South African universities, the influence of continental thinkers since the 1940s, modern logic and positivism in the 1950s and conscious Calvinist and Catholic philosophies as different philosophical movements. He indicated that Afrikaans-speaking South Africans accept philosophy as “existential philosophy” (*lewensbepalend*)

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<sup>6</sup> After 1910 Afrikaans was widely used. Afrikaans was taught at primary school level from 1914 and by 1918 it was a university-level subject. Publishing Afrikaans text and Afrikaans schoolbooks became a lucrative business (Le Roux 2015: 93). Many theology professors were against introducing Afrikaans and preferred a simplified Dutch, although most were against English by 1908 (Duvenage 2016: 19).

<sup>7</sup> During a visit to Sweden in 1912 S.H. Pellissier witnessed how, after a day’s work, young people would entertain themselves with folk song and dance, dressed in colourful traditional attire. This was lacking in Afrikaans society and upon his return he introduced the *Afrikaanse Volksang- en Volkspelerbeweging* (AVVB), based on the European model that he saw in Sweden.

whereas their English counterparts saw British idealism as mainly a critical exercise without content (Duvenage 2016: 12).

The first Afrikaans philosophers studied in continental Europe rather than at Oxford or Cambridge, because they felt that colonial thought was always in an unfavourable contentious position and its power relations were askew. Danish existentialist Kierkegaard placed the theme of existential questions of the individual in the foreground. The Afrikaner's interest in existentialism could be due to his search for identity in a social context honed and polished by the Anglo-Boer War, Unification in 1910, rebellion, two world wars and urbanisation. The Christian Reformatie philosophy (*Reformatories-wysgerige*) tradition of Stoker in Potchefstroom developed through a strong link with the Netherlands, the *Nederlandse Gereformeerde Kerk* and the *Vrije Universiteit* in Amsterdam. It is a continental philosophy, which through Dooyeweerd and Van Vollenhoven found resonance with religiously influenced Afrikaans thinkers (Duvenage 2016: 14). Since the 1930s the schools of thought in the Afrikaans world was continental philosophy, the Reformatie Philosophical tradition, analytical philosophy and since 1994 a fourth movement has been introduced, namely an African philosophy in the form of Ubuntu.

To sum up, Afrikaans philosophy was a reaction against British idealism and was strongly influenced by continental-phenomenological thought. It was not merely a one-way influence from Europe but also took root in Afrikaans and South Africa. Continental thought that became influential in South Africa was Husserl's phenomenology and branches in the twentieth century namely Heidegger's ontological thought, existentialism, hermeneutic, critical theory and post structuralism. This choice of broad continental-aimed thought can be linked to a certain openness that had always existed for religious, historical, ethical and aesthetical issues in Afrikaans philosophy (Duvenage 2016: 15).

Although British policies made the Afrikaner feel uncomfortable in his own country at first (Mostert 1939: 210), the centuries-long strife between Boer and Brit that was explored in the previous chapter, seems to have been subdued with Unification in 1910. With the commemoration of the Great Trek in 1938 the battle between Boer and Brit was stated as something of the past<sup>8</sup>. Afrikaans and English speakers stood together as self-governing

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<sup>8</sup> "Leaving our motherland brought us enormous damage but despite all of that we will not, from our side, harbour any animosity towards the British nation. We want to be recognised as a free and independent nation"

nation with sovereign independence, but foreign influence was viewed with suspicion (Mostert 1939: 202). Some Afrikaners wanted to be good citizens of the British Empire without becoming English and thus boasted of their Dutch relation without wanting to maim their Afrikanerdom (Duvenage 2016: 21), but the tension between local patriotism and superficial Dutch cosmopolitanism led to a call for a healthy medium: powerful nationalism but retaining an own identity (Duvenage 2016: 19).

#### **7.4 Apartheid (1948 – 1994)**

Although Church Square did not show significant structural change between 1948 and 1994, except for the arrival of the Paul Kruger monumental ensemble and some additions and restorations, apartheid had a distinct impact on the social, cultural and historical contexts of the Square. The Square contained particular political meaning that was manipulated by the regime and it enjoyed considerable prestige as an important symbol in Afrikaans-speaking circles (Tempelhoff 1998: 120).

Apartheid sprouted from colonial racism and power constellations that formed after the Second World War (Snyman in Duvenage 2016: 214). The seminal moment that caused the change to apartheid was when the National Party gained power in South Africa in 1948. Its all-white government immediately began enforcing existing policies of racial segregation under a system of legislation that institutionalised racism and discrimination. Non-whites were notoriously brutalised. With the power shift in 1948 the Afrikaner lost the political innocence that it obtained by being the victim of the Anglo-Boer War (Snyman in Duvenage 2016: 215).

The Afrikaners were driven to what Adorno and Horkheimer called a triple domination: domination of nature by humans, domination of nature in humans and domination of humans by humans. They believed that the desire of so-called enlightened societies (such as Nazi Germany and apartheid South Africa) to dominate during the twentieth century was driven by an irrational fear of the unknown. The Afrikaner's progress came at a cost to the "other" which was marginalised, exploited and sometimes destroyed. This was done through the sophisticated methods of the apartheid laws.

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(translated by the author from Mostert 1939: 183).

Duvenage (2016: 16) discusses the relationship between apartheid and Afrikaans philosophy. With the Nationalist Party takeover in 1948, the Afrikaans Universities and continental thought which was adept at historical Afrikaans universities, was bound by the nationalist project. The majority of Afrikaans philosophers in 1948 and two decades thereafter stood very close to the National Party order, but there were exceptions where some philosophers distanced themselves from apartheid. Duvenage asks whether Afrikaans philosophers stood by the apartheid regime through pragmatism or opportunism.

Chapter 5 can be consulted for the changes that took place on individual erven. Worth a mention is the removal of the British coat of arms on the Second Old *Raadsaal* pediment in 1954 and its replacement with an exact replica of Van Wouw's ZAR coat of arms (Labuschagne 1981: 6) which can still be seen in the gable of the old *Raadsaal* today (Duffey 2008: 84). Also the chairman's position in the *Raadsaal* was returned to the southern wall with restoration in 1962, which was a compromise between the original layout and the Westminster system (Holm and Viljoen 1993: 80).

Church Square was the host to various protests to save the West Façade, anti-apartheid demonstrations and pro-white conservative political meetings<sup>9</sup>.

## **7.5 The Paul Kruger monumental ensemble (1954)**

Vivian Rees-Poole submitted the winning entry in a 1910 competition for the "Ornamentation of Church Square" (figure 5.19). The second Neo-Gothic church had been demolished six years earlier and the Marks fountain (figure 5.18) had just been moved to the National Zoological Gardens. Although Rees-Poole's design layout created the opportunity to locate a monument at the very centre<sup>[11]</sup><sub>SEP</sub> of the city (Clarke and Kuipers 2015: 69), a second smaller fountain (figure 5.23) occupied the central spot on Church Square for many years, until Paul Kruger's statue was finally inserted there in 1954 (figure 5.34) (Tempelhoff 1998: 121). The statue was originally intended for the Square, but the proposed geographic location was further to the west, between the Palace of Justice and the second Old *Raadsaal*, west of the church.

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<sup>9</sup> See Du Pisani, Broodryk and Coetzer (1990: 573-602.) for a survey of protest marches in South Africa, which included Church Square and Tempelhoff (1990: 124 –130) for a description of racial clashes on the Square.

In 5.1, it was explained that Samuel Marks donated money for a marble statue of the President in 1895, that sculptor Anton van Wouw decided on a bronze statue that he created in Italy, that Paul Kruger's first choice for the location of the statue was Burgers Park and that Marks suggested the position west of the central church on Church Square where a pedestal (figure 5.14) was erected after it was approved by the Executive Council in 1899.

In 6.2.3 above the conception and creation of the monument was linked to the search for the monumental during the nineteenth century. This search went hand in hand with the West's desire to know its origins and to create a national past that would temporally anchor it and that would strengthen its perception of the depth of time. However, at the time of its conception, Paul Kruger would not have been comfortable with the idea of being the subject of adulation. He was a simple and humble statesman with *Gereformeerde*, Calvinist values that frowned upon the humanist tradition of human adulation associated with the statue. He recommended Burgers Park, probably because it was a less prominent position for the statue, away from the church on Church Square. The outbreak of the second Anglo-Boer War and Pretoria's fall to British rule on 5 June 1900 prevented the erection of the statue (Engelbrecht 1952: 98) and when it arrived in Delagoa Bay by ship, it was placed in storage (Van Bart 2009). Kruger therefore never saw the statue of himself. He went into exile in September 1900, never to return to the Transvaal again.

The statue was erected in Princes' Park in 1913 where it stayed until it was moved to the Pretoria Station on the 100<sup>th</sup> birthday of Paul Kruger on 10 October 1925. In 1939 the City Council authorised the transfer of the statue to Church Square but it was only moved there in 1954 (Engelbrecht 1952: 98). It now formed part of a monumental ensemble that included four Boer soldiers, also by Van Wouw, on a sandstone pedestal.

Elleh (2002: xviii - xiv) explained that monuments that grab back to ancient civilisations are alien to traditional African culture, but despite being self-contradictory, post independence African states often embrace western-type monumental objects, especially to express and exercise political power. Although this concept applies in a lesser way to the Kruger statue, there are certain similarities. The ZAR was a post-colonial African state that prided itself on its freedom from British Imperial rule. The statue of Paul Kruger was self-contradictory because it did not fit in with the cultural and religious values of the nation and of the man himself. The erection of the statue on Church Square, fifty

years after the death of Paul Kruger, was executed in the spirit of nineteenth century monumentalisation, where the Afrikaner foundation myth was applied to strengthen the regime's nationalist political agenda.

### **7.6 The Republic of South Africa (1961)**

On 31 May 1961 South Africa became a Republic and festivities took place on Church Square in front of the second Old *Raadsaal*. Meiring (1980: 61), Holm and Viljoen (1993: 80) and Tempelhoff (1998: 122) described the political significance of the fact that C.R. Swart, the first state president of the Republic of South Africa, was inaugurated on Church Square on 31 May 1961.

### **7.7 The Rivonia trial in the Palace of Justice (1963-4)**

The Rivonia trial was held in the Palace of Justice on Church Square from 30 October 1963 to 12 June 1964. Ten opponents of apartheid were charged with sabotage after being arrested at Lilliesleaf Farm in Rivonia, Johannesburg. Nelson Mandela made a famous speech in the dock wherein he condemned the very court in which he was appearing, calling the court illegitimate and claiming that defiance of apartheid's draconian laws was justified. The court became a site of struggle. The accused argued that: "the law was drawn up without the consent of the majority; it was enforced to ensure the perpetuation of an unjust system, and therefore the struggle would be waged to establish a new system, including a legal system that would embody the values of a non-racial constitution that protected human rights."<sup>10</sup>

The question that arises is why the trial was held in Pretoria if the parties were arrested in Johannesburg and none of the accused or their legal council were from Pretoria. The prosecutor for the state and all the security police involved in the raid were also stationed in Johannesburg. Before the Rivonia trial, the Treason trial that also involved Mandela was held in the Old Synagogue in Paul Kruger Street between March 1958 and August 1961. The two most prominent trials of the apartheid era thus took place in Pretoria's inner city. Van Marle (2015: 142-16) claims that moving both trials from Johannesburg to Pretoria was the ultimate political statement.

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<sup>10</sup> Retrieved from <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/rivonia-trial-1963-1964> on 24 December 2018.

Joel Joffe was the instructing attorney on the defense team. He wrote in 2009 (Joffe 2009: 21-2) that Pretoria was a civil servant's town with a strong pro-government, pro-Verwoerd sentiment where Afrikaner nationalism was rife. Pretoria residents would not be supporters of the accused, nor would they stage anti-government demonstrations outside the Court as was expected from Johannesburg residents. Transferring the prisoners to Pretoria every day was demoralising to the accused and an inconvenience, also to the state, since the prosecutor and all the security police involved in the Rivonia raid were stationed in Johannesburg. Van Marle further remarks that none of the Pretoria journals of the 1960s that focused on the architecture, buildings and public spaces of Pretoria, mentioned that the Rivonia trial was taking place in the Palace of Justice, as if the narrative surrounding Mandela in Pretoria was controlled. "These silences could be seen to reflect something about Pretoria and those living in Pretoria and the extent to which they were unaware – whether deliberately or not – of the political significance of the city they live in." The Rivonia trial resulted in Mandela's 27 years' imprisonment. Van Marle addressed the struggle or pull between memory suppression by means of controlled political narrative on the one hand and the attempts to preserve memory on the other.

## **7.8 Saving the West Façade**

In 1955 the Transvaal Administrator, despite pleas from most of the interested parties, decided against the location of the headquarters of the Transvaal Provincial Administration (hereafter TPA) on Struben Street but favoured instead a relatively restricted site next to the Second Old *Raadsaal* to the southwest of Church Square. The TPA building was completed in 1963 (figure 7.2) and the opportunity to give the Struben Street scheme the impetus it demanded was lost (Kraehmer 1978: 175).

When the TPA required larger premises with more space soon thereafter the government started to discuss plans to erect two tower blocks on each side of Church Street West that would require the demolition of the historic West Façade (Meiring Naudé 1979: 5). One tower block would accommodate the TPA south of Church Street West and the other one would house the new post office north of Church Street West. Church Square itself was declared a historical monument in 1964 but the buildings surrounding the Square were not protected yet.



**Figure 7.2**

**Church Square after 1963, photographed from the northeast. The TPA building is the tallest building in the background, a Modernist block visible between the Second Old *Raadsaal* on its left and the three smaller buildings that form the southern part of the West Façade on its right. (University of Pretoria Architectural Archives).**

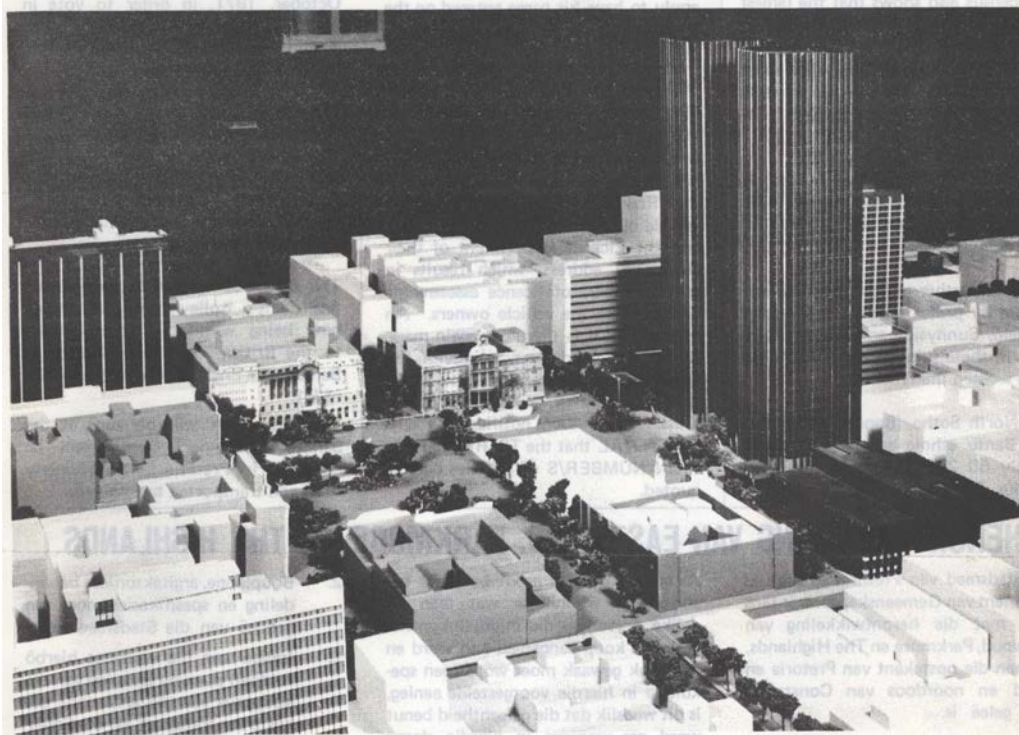
Protests from the public compelled the government to appointed a committee to investigate and report on the function that Church Square, as historical and geographical centre of the capital, should fulfil in the lives of Pretoria residents. The Church Square Committee held its first meeting on 1 April 1971 and it recommended thereafter that the Old Mutual (Bank of Africa) building, the Old National Bank and Mint Building, the Post Office (see 5.4 for a history of these three buildings), Café Riche, the Law Chambers and the Capitol Theatre be demolished since they had no historical value and that the architectural and aesthetic value was so little that it did not justify preservation. Architect Hannes Meiring did not agree with the opinion of the Church Square Committee. He stated that each building on the West Façade had value and that: “Although the three buildings<sup>11</sup> on the south have different heights, styles and character, they form a unit that should not be disturbed. The historical and architectural value of the buildings on the west side of Church Square increases constantly. The buildings cannot be replaced and if they were to be demolished, generations after us will not understand. The Transvaal does not have as many historic buildings as the Boland. Demolition will touch the heart of the capital” (Meiring Naudé 1979: 5). On 8 September 1971 Cabinet approved the demolition of all the buildings on the West Façade, but decided to retain the *Nederlandsche Bank* on the south and the old National Bank and Mint building on the north of Church Street West. Cabinet simultaneously approved the erection of the two identical tower blocks.

The Minister of Public Works invited stakeholders, including the Church Square Committee and Simon van der Stel Foundation to view the architect’s model (figure 7.3)

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<sup>11</sup> The Netherlands Bank, The Law Chambers and Café Riche form the southern part of the historic West Façade.

and elevations and to submit objections and comments. Various organisations<sup>12</sup> objected to the development and pleaded that the West Façade be retained but other stakeholders did not object<sup>13</sup>. The Simon van der Stel Foundation expressed shock and stated that the development was unacceptable. They claimed that the Prime Minister B.J. Vorster assured members de Waal, Punt and Meiring Naudé the year before in Libertas, Pretoria, that the West Façade would remain unchanged for at least another ten years. Their motivation for the conservation of the West Façade was that it stemmed from the time of Paul Kruger, that it was an inspiration to the youth, that the new modern development would not fit in with the two remaining buildings and that the heavy, clumsy appearance of the proposed buildings would destroy the ornate elegance of the Italian Renaissance style of the *Raadsaal* and the Palace of Justice (Meiring Naudé 1979: 7).



**Figure 7.3**  
**Model of proposed two tower blocks to replace the West Façade**  
**(City Council of Pretoria News Letter 1971).**

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<sup>12</sup> The Old Pretoria Society (*Genootskap Oud-Pretoria*), a study group of Pretoria architects, the *Rapportryers* Wapadrang and the Action Committee of the *Juniorrapportryerskorps* of Pretoria and Verwoerdburg (now Centurion), as well as the Simon van der Stel Foundation objected.

<sup>13</sup> The South African Academy for Science and Art did not object to the demolition of the Post Office, Café Riche or the Old Law Chambers, but pleaded for the preservation of the old State Mint part of the National Bank. Neither the *Afrikaanse Sakekamer* (Afrikaans Business Forum), the Chamber of Commerce, or the *Krugergenootskap* objected to the proposed development (Meiring Naudé 1979: 7).

Clarke and Kuipers (2015: 9) believe that the two tower blocks, was an attempt by the apartheid regime to once again appropriate Church Square as centre of power and Maré (1975: 40) reported that the two tower blocks were to symbolise Afrikaans and English unity in the South African white population. The proposal was in true Modernist planning tradition, with its contempt of the past that saw the erasure of cultural landmarks in favour of characterless buildings (Richie 1999: 860).

The proclamation of the Church Square Development Act, Act 53 of 1972, followed as a result of protests by concerned citizens. It is the only act of its kind in South Africa because it protects only Church Square in Pretoria (Naudé 2002: 4) and requires that any planning or development around the Square shall be subject to the approval of the Minister of Public Works. However the Minister of Public Works is not necessarily always sympathetic to the conservation cause, as was the case with A.H. du Plessis<sup>14</sup> in 1974, when the Minister himself did not think that even the old Netherlands and National Bank Buildings should be retained. He referred the matter to the Cabinet on 22 February 1974 in a memorandum accompanied by a photo album that was submitted by the Simon van der Stel Foundation. Apparently accommodation required for the Post Office could only be fulfilled if the whole site between Church and Vermeulen Streets were used, apart from the old National Bank Building and the Executive Committee of the TPA indicated on 27 February 1974 that it would under no circumstances retain the Law Chambers, Café Riche or the Capitol Theatre. The Committee stated that: “if government decided to give in to the motions to retain the buildings, it should also take ownership of these buildings from the TPA at market related prices, so that the TPA could acquire other properties to erect additional accommodation.” The Simon van der Stel Foundation suggested that the new buildings could be erected behind the historic ones and that if the façades were retained, internal changes and adaptations could fulfill the TPA’s modern requirements. However the TPA indicated that they would only fulfill 20% of their existing accommodation requirements if they had to build behind the existing buildings. Despite stakeholders’ efforts, the government decided on 13 June 1974 that all buildings on the West Façade would be demolished because retaining the old buildings would not fit in with the new modern buildings and from an architectural viewpoint, the two styles would not harmonise.

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<sup>14</sup> Abraham Hermanus du Plessis was Minister of Public Works between 1972-1975 (retrieved from <https://www.ufs.ac.za/supportservices/departments/archive-for-contemporary-affairs-home/collections/political-collection> on 12 January 2019.)

Meiring Naudé reported that he was completely dumb struck by the Prime Minister's announcement from the Union Buildings. He told the Prime Minister and the Ministers of Post and Telecommunications and Public Works that South Africa would never develop historical buildings if they were not allowed to age past 75 years.

The public kept on objecting to the demolition and held a protest meeting on 26 July 1975 with thousands signing a petition that was delivered to the office of the Prime Minister. On 11 July 1978 the Church Square Committee announced that the Post Office decided not to go ahead with the R40 million development, which included demolition and that they could create enough accommodation behind these buildings for R9 million. The postmaster-general, Mr Rive, valued cultural treasures and during 1978 the Post Office decided to transfer, as a permanent solution, to a French electronic telephone system that required less space. The Simon van der Stel Foundation hoped that the same would be true for the west façade south of Church Street. A meeting was set up with all the Ministers and Meiring Naudé argued that the conservation of the southern part was more critical, now that the northern part would be retained. After protracted meetings and arguments for saving the three buildings, it was announced that the decision to demolish had already been granted.

The Save Church Square Movement decided to proceed with their petitions and contribution lists. They were convinced that the government and the Province would have to take note of the feelings expressed by the citizens of South Africa. They wanted to see Church Square preserved for posterity (Meiring Naudé 1979: 8). On 26 July 1975 10,000 inhabitants of Pretoria (Citizen's Committee for the Preservation and Restoration of Church Square) turned up at Church Square to plead for the buildings to be retained (Meiring 1980: 11). This action totally contradicts Kraehmer's (1978: 2) comments about the public's apathy<sup>15</sup>. In 1980 the West Façade of Church Square was declared a National Monument after the announcement by then Provincial Administrator Willem Cruywagen that the West Façade would be retained (Meiring 1980: 59).

The discourse surrounding demolition vs. preservation of Church Square's West Façade was not driven by socio-political factors of change or by the desire to erase any memory of

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<sup>15</sup> "The public was not drawn into the struggle to attain a visually stimulating environment, probably because citizens felt inadequate, without formal instruction and were muted in the face of aesthetically unacceptable conditions. Similarly the man in the street has not supported campaigns to save historically, culturally and aesthetically significant buildings or public areas, leaving decision-making up to "those who know". Unfortunately decision makers are seldom experts, but politicians (Kraehmer 1978: 2).

a past regime as part of a new leader's memory reformulation ritual. The threat to the historic West Façade came from within the nationalist apartheid government in the name of economic progress. It was not aimed at undoing the legacy of its predecessors or imposing its own identity and authority on the landscape. Ironically the TPA building has been standing empty since 2015.

## **7.9 Post-Apartheid as more than a temporal condition**

1989 was a turning point in history. It was the year that marked international pro-democracy or freedom protests<sup>16</sup> and Church Square became the centre of racially motivated clashes. The Square became the barometer of political sentiment in a fast-changing South Africa (Tempelhoff 1998: 123). Just before the first democratic elections in 1994, mock elections were held on Church Square, aimed at providing information to illiterate workers who had never voted before. This was followed by a right-wing display of power by the Conservative Party, who refused to take part in the non-racial elections. Conservative members ended up burning the transition flag on Church Square and claimed that the Square was an exclusive (white) Afrikaans symbol (Tempelhoff 1998: 127). Despite protests by conservatives, the elections of 27 April 1994 were peaceful and resulted in an overwhelming victory for the African National Congress (ANC) led by Nelson Mandela. It marked the end of apartheid and the period thereafter became known as post-apartheid.

Since 1994 right-wing demonstrations on Church Square have diminished, but the Square has played host to various modern-day concerns regarding the environment, housing, employment equity, human rights, high prices, crime, etc. (Tempelhoff 1998: 128-9). The "Zuma must fall" march of 7 April 2017, organised by Save South Africa, was notable because around 100,000 people of all races, representing various parties in opposition to the ruling ANC, gathered on Church Square and marched to the Union Buildings, where they peacefully expressed their dissatisfaction with the then President Jacob Zuma, state capture by the Indian Gupta family and economic decline.

The Square has also seen its fair share of non-political and multi-cultural music and dance festivals and religious, gatherings organised by various churches, have been marked

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<sup>16</sup> 1989 saw the student uprising on Tiananmen Square in Beijing, revolutions in East Block countries with experiments in power sharing and the fall of the Berlin Wall.

by the coming together of people of different races who strive for reconciliation and peace (Tempelhoff 1989: 132-3). The human chain that formed in prayer in September 1994 reminded of the early days on Church Square when residents held hands and sang Auld Lang Syne<sup>17</sup> in celebration of the New Year.

In the early years of post-apartheid, Church Square thus seemed truly part of the rainbow nation<sup>18</sup>, transformed in terms of social and cultural activities. The stipulation in the 1905 title deed, namely that the Square was for the “perpetual use and enjoyment of (all) the inhabitants of Pretoria” (see 5.1), seemed to finally apply. The physical structure remained unchanged as a mnemonic device through which the depth of time could be grasped, as a reminder of the past and of how far the nation has come. This perception, however, was not to last and when the decolonising debate spread to Church Square in 2015 (see 2.3.8), the voices of those who want the remaining presence of colonial and apartheid symbols to be removed, became increasingly loud. The vandalism on Church Square coincided with other shows of public violence across the country, all roughly twenty years after the end of apartheid. Hook (2013: 1-6) points out the significance of the time when these upheavals occurred.

Twenty years after the end of apartheid South Africa experienced a resurgence of violence<sup>19</sup> that appears to be pathological repetitions of the past social and political formation of apartheid and the endemic suffering and violence that it gave rise to. These symptoms of post-apartheid often reflect the social contradiction of an unequal society. Hook (2013: 1-6) explains that psychosocial time plays a role in post-apartheid temporality. The South African experience is characterised by historical dissonance and the juxtaposition of forward- and backward looking temporalities. Post-apartheid temporality simultaneously pulls in two directions: towards the utopic future of what post-apartheid South Africa could be and back towards where structural change has stalled or sometimes regressed.

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<sup>17</sup> In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Pretoria residents gathered on Church Square on New Years' eve, sang Auld Lang Syne and toasted with a glass of Scotch. This tradition was no doubt introduced by residents from Scottish decent, but English and Dutch residents alike, called the *Pantoffelparade*, (the slipper brigade), joined in, held hands and welcomed the New Year with song. This tradition fizzled out in the middle of the twentieth century (Beanes 1960: 51) but Church Square is still a popular New Years' eve spot for the youth of Pretoria (Tempelhoff 1989: 132).

<sup>18</sup> Archbishop Desmond Tutu coined the phrase “the rainbow nation” to describe the dream of post-apartheid South Africa, where all races live in harmony and thrive in a climate of reconciliation and multi-culturalism.

<sup>19</sup> Hook (2013: 2) names xenophobic attacks and the Marikana massacre.

Although post-apartheid is defined as a definite break from apartheid, it remains inextricably intertwined with the legacy of apartheid. Hook (2013: 1-6) states that the (post)apartheid condition is haunted by the dull historical echoes of apartheid. He uses the ambiguous term (post)apartheid to indicate that apartheid and post-apartheid are more than just temporal conditions: they are social formations, where psychological time and the societal are indivisible. The term thus has a double temporality. Exactly like change in the psychoanalytical process, political transition implies a temporal condition.

History is usually present in psychological and psychoanalytical research but it is often just applied to provide historical contextualisation, which remains divorced from historical comparison. But if the underlying temporalities are considered, temporality becomes the quality of time, in contrast to history, which is an amassed series of past and on-going events. The psychosocial cannot be isolated from the historical (Hook 2013: 4).

#### **7.10 The future of the threatened past**

The term “resilience” has recently been attached to the concept of change. It indicates a tolerance for change and in an urban setting resilience denotes “the capacity of a city to adapt to change brought about by slow pressures or rapid pulse disturbances” (Clarke and Kuipers 2015: 58). The ability of a structure to be reprogrammed increases its resilience. The Second Old *Raadsaal* on Church Square is an example of a resilient building that has been reprogrammed various times (5.2). Functional change does not however contend with human sentiment and the greatest challenge lies in addressing change while maintaining and augmenting the dignity of place (Clarke and Kuipers 2015: 58).

In the words of Duvenage (2018: personal communication)<sup>20</sup> retaining statues in post-apartheid South Africa would certainly help a spirit of reconciliation, co-operation, mutual recognition, "inclusivity", and "diversity". If the statue has to be removed, then it has to be done with dignity. Those responsible must know that they have not acted in the name of social justice, inclusivity and diversity. They must know that they have broken down stone by stone the dream of a diverse, creative, and democratic South Africa.

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<sup>20</sup> In September 2018 the rector of the University of the Free State asked a few senior academics about their positions with regard to the possible removal of the statue of President MT Steyn. This is a brief version of Duvenage's position.

Hook (2013: 7) explains that the South African landscape is littered with different temporalities and multiple timelines in its on-going history of transition. Each area in South Africa is a product of various pasts and there is a multiplicity of discourses that are particular to each social-historic site. The post-apartheid condition of Church Square, in other words its future, has not been written yet.

Attempts have been made to appropriate Church Square for all the inhabitants of Pretoria but the statue of Paul Kruger cannot be reprogrammed or adapted for another use. It only serves as mnemonic device to remind visitors of a specific cultural past. With the increase in tourism after 1994, cultural memory sites across South Africa became tourist attractions (Grobler 2008: 163) and the government saw the opportunity to control the way that heritage and culture of South Africa is presented to tourists. Church Square is a memory site that does not reflect the post-apartheid rhetoric of the “black struggle” for freedom from white domination and apartheid, the search for a new African-based foundation myth and the restoration of dignity to black South Africans.

The municipal elections in 2016 resulted in the ANC’s loss of three metropolitan municipalities, including the City of Tshwane where Pretoria is situated. The municipal coalition led by the Democratic Alliance (DA) has managed to secure the position of the statue on Church Square for the time being, but the demands from the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) for the statue to be removed completely is continuously gaining momentum. Earlier suggestions included moving the statue to one side of the Square<sup>21</sup>, but the EFF believe that replacing the statue of Paul Kruger with one of struggle hero Winnie Madikizela-Mandela will be step towards total transformation<sup>22</sup>. Anti-monumentalists add to the debate by arguing that another statue will only imitate Western commemorative

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<sup>21</sup> On 8 August 2003 an article appeared in *Beeld* claiming that the assistant-director of the Provincial Heritage Resources Association Gauteng (PHRAG) received an informal request to move the Kruger statue from the middle of the Square to one of the corners. The heritage foundation stated that plans for the Tshwane metro council’s Lalela project, which included a freedom-of-speech platform in the northwest of the Square, were progressing. The foundation was against the environmental impact of the project on Church Square and was concerned that tourists and businesses would be negatively impacted (Williamson 2003: 3). These allegations were denied the next day in *Die Volksblad* by the Tshwane metro council’s spokesperson. He claimed that the Lalela platform was to be erected near the Old *Raadsaal* and was intended for use by entertainment groups or speakers with something on the heart. It was to be a speakers’ corner similar to the one in London. The aim was to expand democracy and bring life to the CBD (Slabbert 2003: 2).

<sup>22</sup> Retrieved from <https://citizen.co.za/news/south-africa/1928007/the-eff-want-a-statue-of-winnie-madikizela-mandela-to-replace-paul-kruger-in-tshwane/> on 7 January 2019.

conventions and might be questioned in the post-apartheid context that aims to create an African Renaissance (Grobler 2008: 177).

The cultures of memory are intimately linked to processes of democratisation and struggles for human rights. In order to strengthen the public spheres of civil society, the nature of public debate needs to be expanded in an attempt to heal the wounds inflicted in the past. Memory can be no substitute for justice and justice will be entangled in the unreliability of memory (Huysen 2003: 27).

## **Chapter 8: Conclusion**

### **8.1 The role of the powers of law, state and church in the establishment and development of Pretoria**

A systematic investigation of historical visual sources such as maps, photographs and paintings reveal that the physical landscape in and around Pretoria's Church Square changed over time and four distinct periods or episodes in its history could be identified. There were certain seminal moments that caused change and the physical composition of the space during each episode represented and reflected the powers that were the driving forces behind these changes. The first research sub-question was aimed at determining the seminal historical moments of change in the development of Pretoria. In order to answer this question, the review of the related literature was conducted according to the four time periods. The literature review also revealed the limitations of the existing body of literature, the themes required to frame this study theoretically and the need for further research.

The first episode concerns the establishment history of Pretoria (1840 – 1857). The seminal moment of change was when the Voortrekkers, at the end of their Trek, settled in the area. The change implied a change from movement to settlement. It was the favourable geography, the abundance of water in the Fountains Valley from two strong fountains and their subsequent flow along the Apies River that generated this more permanent agricultural settlement.

The second episode covers the development from agricultural settlement to town (1857 – 1886). Mid nineteenth century two-dimensional representations of the geographic area of Pretoria provide evidence of the progression from natural landscape to human agricultural settlement and then again from agricultural settlement to town. Initially the maps still contained reference to the original farms and natural features in the margins, but human dominance in the form of a grid superimposed over the topography is what catches the eye. The natural geographical features have been marginalised, but not ignored, both on the maps and in the actual layout of the town. The first part of the second research sub-question was “What are the dynamics of change?” This line of questioning prompted in investigation into the advent of the philosophy of change, which revealed the possibility of recognising a process philosophy in which change in physical reality is driven not by matter, but by power. The second part of the second research sub-question was “what are

the powers that caused the changes that led to the establishment of Pretoria?” Once it was established that the powers of law, state and church shaped the worldview of the Voortrekkers, it could be determined how geography and these powers caused change, thus addressing the third research sub-question.

The Voortrekkers were Dutch descendants who brought the Roman-Dutch Law to the southern tip of Africa through the seventeenth century enterprises of the *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* or VOC (Dutch East India Company). Despite being occupied by the British in 1795 and again in 1803, the Cape retained Roman-Dutch law and the Voortrekkers brought most of these laws with them when they trekked northward.

In 1837 they gathered in the Winburg area where they established a state. It is the only time in history when a state was established without a fixed territory over which to govern. Since they could not agree on a territory they dispersed from Winburg in various directions until they settled in the different Boer Republics. The Republics each decreed a constitution and accepted the laws of the seventeenth century Dutch masters De Groot, Van Leeuwen and Van der Linden. They based the validity of their constitutions on an original competence to create law. This competence is an integral part of the internal structure of a community, set up by God to create law in the absence of an existing positive law. Since the Voortrekkers did not regard themselves as subject to the law of the Cape Colony, they were not already established according to a pre-existing legal system which meant that their communities could form new constitutional law on that basis when they founded the Republics: by virtue of an original competence (Van Zyl and Van der Vyver 1982: 279). They claimed ownership of the land through the power of the law on the basis of *res nullius*, i.e. that the property belonged to no one.

The *Volksraad* was established in 1849 and finding a central location for the seat of the *Volksraad* was a contentious issue from the establishment of the first Boer Republics. It was often marred by political discord, the threat of civil war and political schism. The different towns took turns to host meetings but it was not always possible for all members to attend faraway meetings, due to cost and distance. This resulted in meetings without a quorum and decisions had to be ratified by the full complement at the next meeting. Progress was severely impeded and often on purpose.

Boer towns were either government or church sponsored and more often than not they grew around places of worship, but it was the location of Pretoria in the middle of the

geographical area that became the ZAR that caused the change from agricultural settlement to town. M.W. Pretorius suggested the area for the establishment of the new town and went as far as buying up the farms on the banks of the Apies River. He filed various motions to the *Volksraad* to establish a *Zittingplaats des Volksraads in het midden des lands* (a permanent seat for the national assembly in the middle of the land) but these were not successful. He then decided to approach the church and persuaded the Reverend Van der Hoff to sway the *Volksraad* with a church council decision. It was therefore the power of the church that enabled the establishment of Pretoria rather than the power of the state. When referring back to Heraclites' notion that the world exists as a conflict and tension of opposites, the roles of state and church in the establishment of Pretoria come to mind. For Heraclites, reality consisted of motion, process, power, strife and flow, but these tensions led to harmony, the establishment of Pretoria being the resulting "harmony".

Finally the reason for setting out Pretoria according to a grid pattern is described as both a sign of human dominance over landscape and of water management. The search for a settlement code available to A.F. du Toit in setting out Pretoria Philadelphia did not produce satisfactory results, despite the rigid grid pattern being prevalent in all Boer towns. It seems that the grid, which was first used by Hippodamus of Miletus, was regarded as civilised by Greek settlers. However the reason for the quartered blocks, as in ancient Greece, is more linked to water management, than to a question of status.

The first two historical episodes were discussed in Chapter 3. The reader was familiarised with the historical context of Pretoria and Church Square and a historical account of the development of each of the powers of law, state and church revealed their different roles in the establishment history of Pretoria. The theoretical themes that applied to this chapter included the philosophy of change (2.1) and grid theory (2.5.2).

After the wider historical context was established, the focus of the study was narrowed down to the geographic area in and around Church Square. Chapter 4 elaborated on the second episode, the change from agricultural settlement to town, by focusing on how the landscape in and around Church Square was shaped and reshaped. The importance of conducting research as an architect was stressed in the *Preface* and one of the aims of the thesis was to introduce a novel argument from an architectural point of view. The fourth research sub-question that gave rise to the objective of this chapter was thus: "How does the design methodology used in architectural practice determine the reconstruction of the

past of the built environment?” The conclusion is that any attempt at reconstructing the past of the built environment in context will inevitably refer to land parcels, -ownership and -use, which often provide more insight into the powers that shaped and reshaped the landscape over time, than the buildings themselves. A visual recording of surveyed change over time confirmed the notion that landscapes are always temporal, of the moment and in process, that they reflect human agency and action and that they provoke memory and facilitate or impede action. The collection of data from site-specific legal documents, both current and historical, determined the parameters applied to sites of Church Square and surrounding erven since the establishment of the town.

The SG diagrams of Pretoria’s Church Square and surrounding erven revealed themselves to be palimpsests rich in historical information. They bear witness to the rapid subdivision and consolidation and graphically record change over time. The different layers could be extracted and once the diagrams were redrawn, the progression of change could be shown graphically. Palimpsest theory and methods of deciphering the palimpsest were explained in 2.4. Temporality was revealed in the SG diagram palimpsests which when unpacked, deciphered and represented graphically, gave a visual record[ing] of surveyed change over time and this recording, when placed on a timeline where time is measured as distance, revealed more than just the chronology of events but showed time continuum, rhythms and elapsed time. The temporal relationship between data and historical facts are revealed if these are inserted into the timeline. The SG diagram is linked to another legal document, the title deed, which reveals ownership, land-use and further normative parameters. These legal documents form an important part of the first stage of an architectural professional’s standard service and thus part of its design methodology, namely receiving, appraising and reporting on the client’s requirements with regard to the site and its rights and constraints and in the same way, any attempt to reconstruct the past of the built environment in an architectural historical study, will inevitably have to refer to and include the findings from these documents. The personalities and powers revealed in these documents form a basis for further research and the reconstruction of past boundaries lays the foundation of the actual built form.

A study of the shaping and re-shaping of the land around Church Square revealed the temporality of the landscape, as well as the fast change in land-use. This was due to changing functional needs. The need for commercial accommodation around the Square

became clear from the beginning. The story of the city today is one of building, destruction and rebuilding, a picture that accurately reflects the image of the twentieth century throughout the world.

## **8.2 Boer and Brit historical summary**

The sixth sub-question was “How did the meeting between Boer and Brit change the built environment and what were the powers that gave rise to these changes?” This research question gave rise to an historical investigation and a summary of the historical events that were characterised by the contact between Boer and Brit before and during the ZAR can be summarised as follows:

The British occupied the Cape of Good Hope in 1795 and then took the Cape by force in 1806. The Cape was a VOC possession at the time. The VOC was an arm of the Dutch state. The British had the fullest right to abolish Roman-Dutch law as they pleased and replace it with English law, but this never happened, even though there was infiltration and reception of English law in certain fields. The 1820 British Settlers increased the competition for land and contributed to the Boers’ motivation to leave the eastern Cape. Another reason for the Great Trek was British rule. The Voortrekkers moved northward to escape the reality of British colonial power. They felt that breaking the law when leaving the British-owned Cape Colony was justified, because British Rule was unfair. After their Trek they did not regard themselves as subject to the law of the Cape Colony, but they were still liable for all crimes committed south of 25° latitude according to The Cape of Good Hope Punishment Act of 1836. The British systematically annexed the Boer Republics south of the Vaal River. British-founded towns in the interior were similar to Boer founded towns, because they too were set out according to a gridiron pattern, but there was no dedicated site for a church building, church square or market square as was typical of Voortrekker towns.

With the signing of the Sand River Convention in 1852, the British Government agreed to allow the Boers north of the Vaal River to govern themselves according to their own laws, with a policy of non-interference from both sides. The British annexed the ZAR in 1877. This led to the first Anglo-Boer War (First Freedom War) after which the ZAR was re-established in 1881. The discovery of gold in 1886 meant the influx of *uitlanders*. The naturalisation period and the right to vote became a contentious issue and the Jameson

Raid was a direct result of this strife. Jameson attempted to unite the *uitlanders* in Johannesburg and invade Pretoria but his Raid was unsuccessful. They were tried in the Second *Volksraadsaal*. The Jameson Raid was in the run-up to the second Anglo-Boer War.

After Rhodes was fired as Cape colony Prime Minister, Milner arrived and tried to negotiate the status of the *uitlanders* with Kruger, who was uncompromising in the face of what he saw as crippling demands. On 31 May 1899 Milner met with Kruger in Bloemfontein but no agreement could be reached and Milner convinced the British cabinet to deploy 10,000 troupes to the Natal-Transvaal border. The Boers saw this as an act of war and Kruger declared war against Great Britain from the old *Raadsaal* in October 1899. The Second Anglo-Boer War had begun. Pretoria fell to the British on 5 June 1900 and the Second Anglo-Boer War came to an end with the signing of the Treaty of Vereeniging on 31 May 1902 in Melrose House. Both the Transvaal Republic and the Orange Free State Republic became British colonies. Despite the change in power from British Rule to Independence to British victory once again, Roman-Dutch law was accepted and applied in South Africa as the common law.

The literature review revealed that there were four parts to the dynamic between Boer and Brit. Each part was characterised by a change in this dynamic and each part had a distinct impact on the built environment around Church Square.

The four episodes are:

1. The early English in Pretoria

Allen (1971: 88) ascribed the influx of English and people of other nations into the Transvaal to the discovery of gold in the Eastern Transvaal in 1873, but for whatever reason, some found their way to Pretoria and we find a strong British presence in the historical account of Church Square and surrounding erven. British craftsmen contributed to the built environment in the interior and in Pretoria and were the first land surveyors in the area<sup>1</sup>. Some of the first owners of erven around Church Square were British. They were

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<sup>1</sup> English brothers Devereux and their brother-in-law Skinner were responsible for the lay out of Church Square, the first streets and surrounding erven, as well as for the construction of the first Old *Raadsaal*. The contractor of the Kirkness building was Scotsman J.J. Kirkness, Another Scotsman John Munro later constructed the Palace of Justice.

shopkeepers, service providers, manufacturers, bar-, restaurant- and hotel owners and vendors that started to settle on the erven with their barter wagons<sup>2</sup>. The British influence could be seen in the architecture<sup>3</sup>. The British residents of Pretoria also had political ambitions<sup>4</sup>. The seemingly peaceful interaction between Boer and Brit was sometimes characterised by societal conflicts and there was a certain amount of friction between the farmers from the surrounds and the British lads of the town, but the English felt part of Pretoria and the Republic<sup>5</sup>. It was partly due to the negative sanitary report of the First Old *Raadsaal* by a young British (Irish) immigrant, Thomas McCombie that inflamed the desire of Kruger to create a built environment around Church Square that would emanate dignity and prestige. It has to be added that McCombie was not a Pretoria resident but an Imperialist who previously owned a Cape Town newspaper. The first episode comes to an end with the *Interregnum* of the 1877 British annexation of the Transvaal and the First Anglo-Boer War of 1877-1881. The power behind the change in the built environment is mainly landscape (geology: gold), and economic power. Transfer to the mining company and the bank marks the beginning of the presence of corporate and financial economic power on the Square.

## 2. After the discovery of Gold (1886-1899): the Dutch emigrant architects of the ZAR Public Works Program

The discovery of gold in 1886 meant the influx of capital from the minefields and the growth of capitalism at the end of the nineteenth century. This changed the dynamic between Boer and Brit and found expression in the built environment of Church Square and surrounding erven. This second episode is characterised by the ZAR's search for an own identity, which found expression in the construction of government buildings under the ZAR Public Works Programme, most notably the Second Old *Raadsaal* (representing the power of the state) and the Palace of Justice (representing the power of law), designed

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<sup>2</sup> William Leathern ran the first transport service to Pilgrims Rest and Robert Cottle Green partnered with Nellmapius to distil brandy. Broderick owned the first bar in the Transvaal called the Hole-in-the-Wall and the Royal Hotel, both on Church Square. Englishman R.A. Colquhoun owned the European hotel.

<sup>3</sup> The architects of the Kirkness building were British Born brothers T.A. and R. Sladdin and it was constructed by Scotsman J.J. Kirkness. A Scottish character was lent to the building in a Revivalist, classical style reminiscent of English Palladian architecture.

<sup>4</sup> Lys became the *Landdrost* in the 1870s and was a member of the *Volksraad*. J.J. Kirkness later became the mayor of Pretoria.

<sup>5</sup> Broderick for instance strongly disapproved of the 1877 annexation and his sympathy was with the Boers.

by the immigrant Dutch Calvinist architects Wierda and Van Rijse, imported by Paul Kruger to strengthen the Dutch / Afrikaans language and Protestantism<sup>6</sup>. Their architectural training and practice in the Netherlands at the end of the nineteenth century was determined by social and religious circumstances (the divide between Protestantism and Catholicism) and typological diversification, where diverse historical styles were used to lend the right character to a building. The Renaissance revival was seen in the Netherlands as fitting for government buildings and although Wierda's buildings were influenced by contemporary Flemish and French Renaissance designs, they were executed in a uniquely South African Republican style. The Dutch architects' designs showed a distinct move against British Victorianism and a different aesthetic aimed at expressing the ZAR's independence from Britain. The reaction to British design practice can also be seen in the urban setting (buildings were placed on an axis and not in a park) and symmetry (ZAR style was symmetrical whereas Victorian architecture was asymmetrical). The changes made by Paul Kruger during the construction of the new government building to curb the influence of *uitlanders*<sup>7</sup> reflect the impact that the power of the state had on the built environment. The second episode came to an end with the *Interregnum* of the Second Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902. Construction and the erection of Paul Kruger's statue were stopped. The driving forces behind the changes in the built environment were the powers of law, state and church, with economic power as enabler.

### 3. The Transvaal Colony (1902-1910)

In the third episode the ZAR was dissolved and the Boer Republics had to acknowledge British sovereignty. The distinct shift in state power from Boer to Brit changed the built environment in and around Church Square. The Public Works Department was initially changed to civilian management after the War, but with the birth of the Transvaal Colony, civil servants under Milner, called Milner's Kindergarten, continued to actively promote the British Empire. Architect Herbert Baker was on good terms with them. The *Raadsaal* became the parliament of the Transvaal Colony. The interior was adjusted to suit the

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<sup>6</sup> The ZAR had express constitutional requirements that those in civil service belong to the Dutch Reformed Church.

<sup>7</sup> Paul Kruger added a Second *Volksraadsaal*.

Westminster system and decorated to reflect the new fashion under British King Edward VII, who succeeded his mother Queen Victoria. The old ZAR coat of arms was removed and replaced with one of the British Empire. The church steeple, the church in the middle of Church Square and the podium intended for Paul Kruger's statue were demolished. Sammy Marks donated a large cast-iron fountain to the city, which was placed in the centre of the Square in 1906. This third episode reveals that the strife between Boer and Brit was once again determined by the powers of law, state and church. The seminal moment that led to the end of this episode was the decision to unite the four British colonies into the 1910 Union of South Africa.

#### 4. The Union of South Africa (1910-1947)

The Union of South Africa was a self-governing autonomous dominion of the British Empire. This fourth episode was marked by the unification of Boer and Brit, the smoothing out of the strife between them and the official end of colonisation in South Africa. The service of Milner's Kindergarten came to an end, but architect Herbert Baker was chosen to design the Union Buildings on Meintjeskop. The decision to move the new government buildings to the hill overlooking the city meant the end of the *Raadsaal* as the seat of government and the end of Church Square's status as political centre of the capital. The Second Old *Raadsaal* became the seat of the Transvaal Provincial Council. Vivien Rees-Poole won the competition to redesign Church Square as a tram terminal in 1910. Traffic and pedestrians were separated and the Square was terraced.

### **8.3 Theoretical conclusions relating to the contact between Boer: Change, power and temporality**

Once again the Heraclitean notion that change is brought about by power, finds application in this chapter. The changing power between Boer and Brit caused the features of Church Square and the surrounding built environment to change and structural differences were observed over time. Both types of change were observed on the Square. Firstly there was a continuous set of alterations in the same thing (for example internal changes made to the *Raadsaal*) and secondly one building or sculptural object was substituted for another (for example the objects that occupied the centre of the Square). Although cause is neither

necessary nor sufficient for the change that was observed in Church Square during each episode, the research sub-question is to seek, identify and explain the cause of change. Time, unlike cause, is required and the change in Church Square could be observed with the passing of time. It was possible to divide the Boer-Brit dynamic into episodes, which means that change was temporal. Kant stated in 1781 that things change in relation to time but this gives rise to the problem that some things can persist through change.

We saw that religion greatly determined the Boer worldview in the nineteenth century and that the NG-synod of 1862 placed the supernatural nature of religion against the nineteenth century life view of positivism. The positivist attempts at explaining change according to rational, scientific principles were rejected by the majority of the Boers in favour of a belief that God determined change.

The section on *Theory* in Chapter 2 describes Kuhn's (1962) episodic model that identified change through the history of science and mentions Fisher's application of the paradigmatic approach to historic episodes in architecture and the author's identification of episodes in the architectural history of Pretoria (Van der Vyver 2001: 117-124). The episodes introduced in this chapter do follow an analogous, cyclical pattern of identification of a normal science (the golden age of the ZAR) with its accepted theories (search for own identity), interrupted by a period of crisis (*uitlander* question), which led to revolution (the *interregnum* of the Second Anglo-Boer war) which led to a new normal science (peace and the Transvaal Colony), etc.

In the middle of the twentieth century Foucault postulated that historical periods come and go and that each period is understood as a web of discourses and that "reality" is just as by-product of these discourses, distributed into various topical foci that are maintained by tacitly agreed upon ways of seeing that define that era. Topical foci appear as discursive headings and ways of seeing are often made real into expressions of institutional power, such as political and economical structures, a moral code, the ecclesiastical class and so on. Tosh (2000: 135) asks whether the main changes in history have certain characteristics in common and whether there was a motor driving historical change. He also discussed the rejection by certain scholars of historical theory.

In the twenty-first century the theme of "resilience" has come to be attached to the concept of change. It indicates a tolerance for change and determines an object's structural and functional persistence through change. On Church Square, studies by the University of

Pretoria in collaboration with TU Delft (2014) have investigated the resilience of structures and it was found that buildings like the Palace of Justice and the Second Old *Raadsaal* showed resilience to change. It has to be added that these buildings were not, however, resilient in terms of function. They have been reprogrammed, but are still in current use. Resilience as an urban quality can be described as “the capacity of a city to adapt to change, brought about by slow pressures or rapid pulse disturbances” (Clarke and Kuipers 2015: 58). The church on Church Square was not resilient to either function or structure.

The site plans in figure 5.10 illustrate the chronologic growth of economic power since the establishment of Pretoria until the introduction of apartheid, divided into the four different episodes discussed in this chapter. The built form is highlighted. The plans begin to identify what Deleuze and Guattari (1987: 474) call “striated space”, space that was shaped by the organised structures of, in this case, corporate and financial economic power. To that can be added spaces that exhibit the marks of “territorialisation” by agencies of power other than corporations, namely the powers of law, state and church (figure 5.15). For Deleuze and Guattari this mode of spatiality contrasts with “smooth space”, space that has not yet been “territorialised” or organised by asymmetrical power relations. It is important to note, as they do, that these two qualitatively distinct varieties of space exist nowhere in pure form, but are always in an admixture of sorts. Although theory in this chapter starts to allude to the contrast between striated and smooth space, disciplined and controlled space on the one hand and the spaces of nomadic subversion on the other, it will be applied in more detail in the next chapter.

The new contribution of this study to the literature on the built environment, is that it interprets and analyses style change, determines the distribution of power and the change in power relations, deciphers the presence, erasure and subsequent absence of built form and open space and finally places building typology in context. Although recent studies investigated the shared heritage between the Dutch and South Africa, the underlying changing dynamic between Boer and Brit during the same period remains to be investigated. Determining the driving forces behind change is an on-going theme in this thesis and once again the roles of law, state and church are further explored. Another factor is added to the argument, namely the role that economic power played in the changing dynamic between Boer and Brit.

## 8.4 Apartheid and post-apartheid

Apartheid and post-apartheid are two very distinct political and social systems, yet they are inextricably intertwined. The current South African period known by the ambiguous term “post-apartheid” denotes a definitive break from apartheid, but still remains a sub-category thereof. Church Square saw one significant change to its physical structure during this time, namely the insertion during apartheid of Paul Kruger’s monumental ensemble in its centre in 1954, where it remained through the transition into democracy in 1994, up until the present. Despite minimal structural change, there was significant ideological change and the turbulent debates or the web of discourses surrounding the Square prove that the landscape is always temporal, of the moment and in process. These discourses are discussed under various topical foci that include the Afrikaner worldview that led up to apartheid, commemoration of trauma through the monumental, the Rivonia trial, saving the West Façade and the (post)apartheid condition. Each of these discursive headings considers the worldview or *zeitgeist* of different groups, their debates on demolition (erasure) and preservation (commemoration), as well as their desires to either preserve memories or to suppress them. The research question<sup>8</sup> concerns the changing social and cultural discourse surrounding Church Square and its effect on the built environment, where architecture is a material product of culture. The overarching problem of critically interpreting the temporal impact of landscape, space and power on the built environment reveals that once again the powers of law, state and church are prevalent in the rhetoric. But to this can be added the power of the people and its role during both apartheid, with the movement to save the West Façade, and post-apartheid, with the decolonising debate. Eventually economic power is what sways the state, rather than the people’s power.

## 8.5 The future

Church Square and surrounding erven today is a palimpsest, made up of both the underlying and now invisible boundaries, and the current and demolished buildings that have imprinted on these sites. The city text has been written, scratched out and rewritten a

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<sup>8</sup> How did the changing worldviews of apartheid and post-apartheid shape the social and cultural discourse surrounding Church Square and how was the built environment effected by this change?

few times and currently there is an attempt to scratch out the past completely as described in the decolonisation debate.

Although Modernist phantasies of *creatio ex nihilo*, the purity of new beginnings, has waned, it seems that the current movement of decolonisation of urban space is a fresh attempt to erase the past and rewrite the present over the city text. One wonders to what extent the original city text will remain part of the palimpsest.

Resilience studies have found that the palimpsest that is Church Square, i.e. the physical symbol of its contested past, is the most vulnerable component on site, whereas the location of the site and its usefulness as a public space proves to be the most resilient component, persisting despite the current contestation.

But Huyssen (2003: 6-7) and others warn that memory discourses are essential to imagine the future and to regain a strong temporal and spatial grounding of life. This becomes more important since it is now possible for the media and our consumer society to void temporality and to collapse space. We need to read cities and buildings as palimpsests of space. Whether cultural memory practices are political or not, they do express a society's need for temporal anchoring when in the wake of the information revolution and an ever-increasing time-space compression (Huyssen 2003: 28).

This study attempts to provide a digital means of preserving previous text, restore traces on the landscape and document erasures, as was done on the legal documents of the SG diagrams and title deeds, which resulted in what Huyssen (2003: 81) calls a "complex web of the historical, that point to the continuing heterogenous, diverse life of a vital city which is as ambivalent to its built past as it is of its urban future."

The EFF's demand that Paul Kruger's Statue be removed from Church Square, has met with opposition from heritage stakeholders. The threat of erasure has so far just been against the physical statue only and no demands against the built fabric or space has been made yet. A re-writing of the city text is inevitable. The deciphering of the palimpsests that are the SG diagrams of Church Square and the surrounding erven is now a digital record[ing] of the past that narrate these types of events more subtly. The threat of scratching out more than a 150 years of history of the urban fabric and re-writing it with an urban text that is more relevant to the current identity politics, makes the preservation of the original palimpsest essential for the preservation of the past.

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