

The Women at Winburg's Voortrekker Monument

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The Voortrekker Monument at Winburg resulted from an open architectural competition held in 1964. This monument followed the national Voortrekker Monument depicting a shrine surrounded by a literal ox-wagon laager by Gerard Moerdijk at Pretoria, 1938-49, and its procurement, architecture and architect could hardly have been more different.

Entries were to symbolize, the *ordeliewende gemeenskap* as well as *die vrou in die Groot Trek*, and, to everyone's surprise the English-speaking, Durban-based, liberal, young modernist architect, Hans Hallen, won the competition from 36 entries. His was an abstract design that acknowledged each of the five leaders of the trek parties in an orderly assembly of towering, chamfered half-pipes of off-shutter reinforced concrete in a circular arrangement. These were turned to open outward while their backs symbolically defined a laager, and the submission proposed that a statue of a woman be the focus of the enclosed space for which one half-pipe was misaligned and the roof cut back that the figure would bask in natural daylight. But, the statue was never commissioned. This neglect left the monument itself - the body - to communicate the role of the women, the focus of this research.

Key words: Hans Hallen, Voortrekkers, abstract monuments of commemoration.

Die Frauen am Voortrekker-Denkmal in Winburg

Das Voortrekker-Denkmal in Winburg ist auf Grundlage eines offenen Architekturwettbewerbs entstanden, der im Jahre 1964 ausgeschrieben wurde. Dieses Denkmal steht in der Nachfolge des 1938-49 vom Architekten Gerard Moerdijk geschaffenen Schreins in Pretoria, der buchstäblich im Zentrum einer Wagenburg positioniert ist, doch sind seine Beschaffenheit, Gestalt und Architekt kaum unterschiedlicher denkbar.

Aufgabe der Wettbewerbsteilnehmer war es, eine 'ordnungsliebende Gemeinschaft' sowie die 'Rolle der Frauen' im Treck zu versinnbildlichen. Zur allgemeinen Überraschung setzte sich der liberale englischsprachige, junge und modernistische Architekt Hans Hallen aus Durban mit seinem Beitrag unter den 36 Konkurrenten durch.

Sein abstrakter Entwurf zollt allen fünf Anführern der Wagenzüge in einer regelmäßigen kreisförmigen Anordnung turmhoher, oben schräg auslaufender Halbröhren aus Sichtbeton Anerkennung. Die Öffnungen der Betonschalen weisen nach außen, während ihre gerundeten Rücken den Raum eines imaginären Lagers begrenzen, in dessen Zentrum im Entwurf die Aufstellung einer Frauenstatue vorgesehen war. Um diese im natürlichen Tageslicht erstrahlen zu lassen, wurde eine der umgebenden Betonschalen aus dem Kreis gerückt, so daß das Dach hier nicht bündig anschloss.

Die Statue wurde jedoch nie in Auftrag gegeben. Daher muss das Denkmal selbst - also der Baukörper - die Rolle der Frau veranschaulichen. Wie dies gelingen kann, darauf liegt der Schwerpunkt dieser Untersuchung.

Kennwoerte: Hans Hallen, Voortrekker, abstrakte Gedächtnis-Denkmaeler

Those who have visited the Voortrekker Monument at Winburg in the central Free State might be intrigued by the title of this paper. To put everyone's minds at ease, there are no women at the monument, certainly none figuratively, yet an acknowledgement of the role of the women in the Great Trek was a condition of the design competition and this pursuit was adhered to by both entrants and sponsors and forms the basis of the discourse of the article¹. However, before casting light on the visibly missing component, it is necessary to first set the context for the monument.



Figure 1
Voortrekker Monument, Winburg,
(Photograph of January 2012).

Context for Voortrekker monuments

In 1931 the Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Organizations ²(FAK) established the *Sentrale Volksmonumentekomitee* (SVK), a committee delegated with the custodianship of all markers of Voortrekker history and most importantly, the realization of a national Voortrekker monument to coincide with the centenary of the Great Trek (Ferreira 1975: 4-5). This was the migration of thousands of descendants of Dutch settlers, Afrikaners, who in an act of self-determination organized themselves in a number of parties under various leaders, Voortrekkers, and during the decade following 1835 trekked from the eastern Cape northwards into the interior of South Africa in search of freedom and independence from what they saw as oppressive British administration.

The SVK appointed a sub-committee with architect Gerard Moerdijk (1890-1958) as advisor, to inspect all sites with a claim to Voortrekker commemoration³ of which all but four were discarded because of their inaccessibility (Ferreira 1975: 26). While the map of the Trek clearly shows that five parties traversed the Free State up to Winburg, by 14 votes to 12 the choice of site for the national Voortrekker monument fell to Pretoria, which only the Potgieter party had passed through, , and the government as patron confirmed this as the most appropriate location (Ferreira 1975: 46).



Figure 2
The routes of all seven Voortrekker leaders
 [Aldbridge,B (1973) *Die Geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika in Beeld*. Cape Town: Struik: p105].

The design of the Pretoria monument resulted from a public invitation for proposals following which the SVK chose the submission of a laager, a circular formation of wagons arranged by trekkers as a shelter while invading and conquering the land and virtually impossible to

penetrate, which Moerdijk was then briefed to combine with his own, a building. The foundation stone was laid at the termination of the re-enacted Great Trek (*Eeufees*) from Cape Town on 16 December 1938, the centenary of the Battle of Blood River, a conflict in (KwaZulu-) Natal between trekkers and Zulus, which in overcoming the numerical odds had confirmed for the former the justness of their cause. Eleven years later the 40m cubic shrine which owes much to the *Völkerschlachtsdenkmal* at Leipzig, Germany, 1896-1913, was inaugurated when at noon on the same date in 1949 in a sense of immanence the sun shone through the oculus in the vaulted roof of the great hall and a ray of light illuminated the inscription *Ons vir jou, Suid-Afrika* carved upon the sarcophagus in the basement symbolizing the Voortrekker heroes (Picton-Seymour 1989: 162).

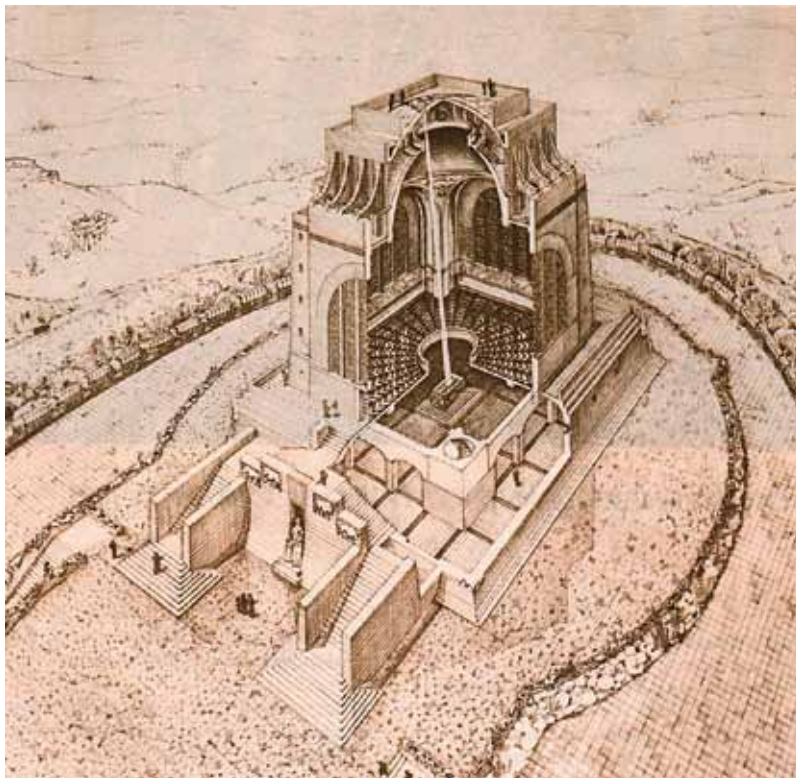


Figure 3
Cut-away section of the national Voortrekker monument, Pretoria, by Gerhard Moerdijk, 1938-49. Note the statue of mother and child on the axis of arrival and the oculus in the dome with the ray of sunlight falling on the sarcophagus in the basement.
(Heymans, R *The Voortrekker Monument, Pretoria*. Voortrekker Monument Board of Control, 1986: p7)

During the realization of the Pretoria monument, the SVK oversaw the second by sculptor Coert Steynberg at Blood River, inaugurated 1947. This monument depicted a kakebeenwa, the wagon the trekkers set out in, literally a jawbone wagon, because of the crescent-tilted shape to its side elevations which resembled the jawbone of an animal. Architect Paul le Roux of Stellenbosch erected the third monument in the form of a modern commemorative church within the precinct of the Church of the Vow (believed to have been made before the Battle of Blood River) in Pietermaritzburg which had long assumed the use of a museum. What remained was the realization of the promise of a minor (kleiner) Voortrekker monument at Winburg upon which completion the SVK disbanded in November 1968 (Ferreira, 1975: 265).



Figure 4

Monument at Blood River in the form of a *kakebeenwa*, the wagon the trekkers set out in, literally a jawbone wagon, because of the crescent-tilted shape to its side elevation which resembled the jawbone of an animal, by sculptor Coert Steynberg, 1947

(Afrikanerbakens, 2006: 119. Photographer: Hendrik Oosthuysen).

The site at Winburg

Following an approach by the SVK, the Provincial Administration of the (Orange) Free State accepted the responsibility for the realization of the monument and established a dedicated committee, the *Vrystaat Voortrekker Monument Kommittee* (VVMK) under the chairmanship of the Administrator of the province, the honorable JWSL (Sand) du Plessis⁴ (Ferreira 1975: 241-2).

Winburg was the first town to be established in the Free State in 1835 and served as its capital (Floyd, 1960: 18, 25). It also commemorates the Voortrekkers who in 1837 camped there in the largest gathering of the Great Trek, constitutionally and ecclesiastically united (Ferreira, 1975: 244), before dispersing in various directions. As the map shows, Piet Retief lead a party across the Drakensberg eastward into (KwaZulu-) Natal, to which destination the parties of Gert Maritz and Piet Uys Retief later followed, while Hendrik Potgieter trekked northwards and Louis Trichardt north-eastward.

However, what sealed the choice of site on the farm Rietfontein, 2.5 km south of Winburg, east of the N1 national road then in the planning stages, was the survival of a cottage, interesting for historical and architectural reasons. MT Steyn, the last President of the Orange Free State Republic was born in the cottage on the farm of his uncle in 1857 (*SESA*), a stone building replete with *brakdak* and peach-pip floors which had been declared a National Monument, and was now restored and accessible to the public. This heritage cottage resulted in the 85 ha site bordering on the Rietfontein Dam, which supplied Winburg, being donated to the Province by the Winburg municipality (Ferreira 1975:245).



Figure 5
Cottage in which MT Steyn, last President of the OFS Republic, was born in 1857
(Afrikanerbakens, 2006: 96. Photographer: Hendrik Oosthuysen).

Brief for the design and its procurement

The VVMK meeting held in Bloemfontein in September 1963 set the ground rules, namely that the monument would be non-utilitarian; should express the Voortrekker striving for freedom; and be located in the Winburg area (VVMK Minutes of 20 Sept 1963). Subsequent meetings noted that as far as was known, no other monument had yet honoured the “gigantic contribution” (*reuse-aandeel*) of the Voortrekker women to the settlement of the interior of South Africa [VVMK Minutes 28.10.63 8(a)] and resolved that designs would be procured in competition for the monument, sculpture with appurtenances, and the planning of the site and the immediate surrounds (VVMK Minutes of 21 April 1964). In deference to the public invitation extended for the design of the Pretoria monument, approval for the Winburg competition was sought from the Institute of South African Architects (ISAA) and participation was thus restricted to members.

As is known, a competition is a good means to gather designs from which to make a choice, but everything stands and falls with the jury. Consequently, the choice of the design is, in effect, already made when the jury is selected (De Haan & Haagsma 1988: 13). For that the VVMK sought the advice of the Orange Free State Provincial Institute of Architects (OFSPIA), which nominated Dr Barrie Biermann (1924-1991), lecturer in Architecture at the University of Natal in Durban, and Professor George Quine-Lay, inaugural head of the Department of Architecture at the University of the Orange Free State (UOFS) (VVMK Minutes of 3rd June 1964), who on declining was substituted by architect Leon Roodt (1924-1995) then practising in Welkom. Biermann was the first Afrikaner architectural scholar and Roodt the incumbent OFSPIA-President, 1964-6, and would succeed Quine Lay at UOFS in 1970. The Commission for the Preservation of National and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiques nominated Prof J.J. Oberholster, historian, academic at UOFS, and Free State Commission member. After inspecting the site, and confirming its appropriateness, the three-man-jury attended the VVMK meeting at which the committee resolved to place its full confidence in the jury for the preparation

of the conditions for the competition, on its adjudication of entries and selection of the winning design, points insisted upon by Roodt (VVMK Minutes of 23.6.1964, Point 4.6).

An invitation to compete was advertised in the journal of the ISAA (*SAAR*, Sept 1964: 27). The competition documentation could not be found but according to Ferreira, the role of the women in the trek was to be acknowledged, the possibility of a symbolic representation of the five trekker parties by streams of water explored, and explanatory notes were to accompany each submission (1975: 247).

Competition outcome

The competition closed in Bloemfontein on 4th December 1964 by which time it had attracted 36 entries. It is clear from the jury report (*SAAR*, Aug 1965: 29-30) that only a design free of overt historic references would be acceptable. The report mentions that few entries had used the topography of the site to inform their designs, most had reshaped it and that the biggest challenge was the representation of the necessary symbolism. The jury looked for designs which distilled the essential in the monumental, incorporated water without being reliant on it, had a strong visual appearance and evocative character and concluded that the successful entries were designed in the spirit of the time and rebuked, perhaps in reference to the Pretoria monument, that any recreation of a monument of the past would be anachronistic and lack the vitality of the original. These are the ideals of modernism which saw the first prize being awarded to Hallen & Dibb, a practice based in Durban.

Winning architect

Hans Heyerdahl Hallen was born in Durban in 1930 to Norwegian parents. Once his considerable artistic talents had been revealed, his art teacher advised on Architecture as a career whereupon Hallen enrolled at the University of Natal in the inaugural cohort, 1949-53. The Department was headed by Professor Paul Connell who in 1952 attracted two UCT PhD-graduates to the staff, Barrie Biermann in August 1952 and who would later serve on the Winburg competition jury, followed by Ron Lewcock. This complement laid the foundations for Hallen's ascendancy as an architect.

On graduating, Hallen spent 1956 in the employ of the Architects' Department of the London County Council. The department had absorbed and modified ideas imported from the Continent e.g. Roehampton in which it made credible reinterpretations of Le Corbusier's Unité (Curtis, 1996: 153) and, it was at this time that Hallen gained experience in working with off-shutter concrete (e-mail, 26 Jan 2012).

Once in private practice in Durban with Maurice Dibb from 1959, Hallen's architecture followed the London trajectory and he distinguished himself with a series of medium-rise apartment blocks on Durban's Berea e.g. Stellenberg (1962), Drostdy and Musgrave Mews (1963) and Riebeeck and Bellevue (1964). The last mentioned made extensive use of reinforced concrete and was contemporaneous with the Winburg competition which Hallen entered because it was ISAA-approved and he believed the jury was capable of judging a modern design (e-mail, 26 Jan 2012).



Figure 6
Voortrekker Monument, Winburg,
location and site plan of winning entry by Hallen & Dibb, 1964 (BBAL).

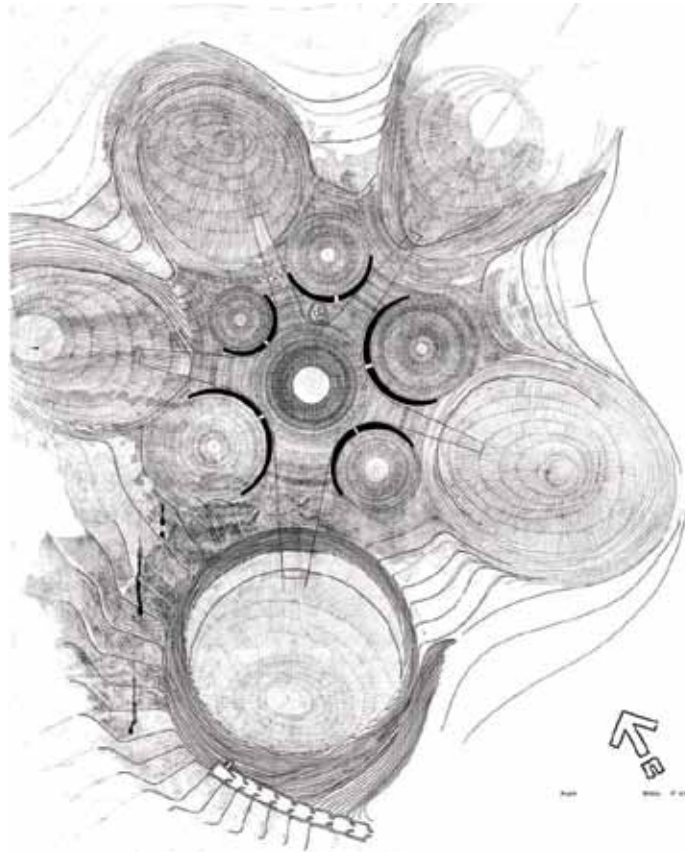


Figure 7
Hallen's plan of crescents defining a laager surrounded by bowls into which the spouts of the roof would discharge. Note the water chain aside the access path at bottom of image (BBAL).

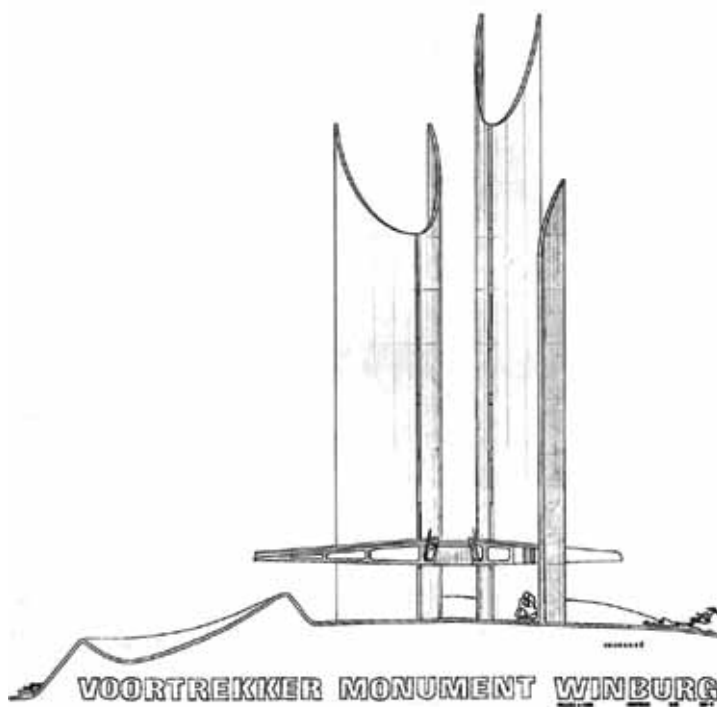


Figure 8
SW-NE Section showing from left: water chain at foot of the largest bowl; spout discharging from the roof with oculus over the bronze tableau on floor and the cut back at right with vertical baffles to angle daylight to fall directly on the statue below (BBAL).



Figure 9
Spouts emerging like cannons through the intercolumniations to discharge into the surrounding rubble-lined bowls.



Figure 10
View up through the oculus into the shafts and the heavens above.

Winning concept

Hallen located his monument on the knoll on the 4525m contour which would allow it to be the natural focus of the site while its stature should allow for easy visibility from the N1 in the position then proposed. Visitors would enter from the west and park in a lot at the foot of the monument before ascending the knoll by way of a meandering pathway.

The monument was conceived as a sculpture in off-shutter reinforced concrete to be experienced in the round. As there were five main parties, Hallen literally circled five wagons. However, these were not drawn as rectangles as their plan-form would dictate, but as crescents opening outward, a form which had its origins in the side elevations of the *kakebeenwa*, and these were tightly assembled around a central space symbolic of a laager. Hallen cut a slit in the centre of each crescent as a virtual loop hole to emphasize the defensive role of the laager. These crescents were then projected vertically as shafts, the heights of which were determined with reference to the largest tall objects nearby, grain silos (e-mail, 7 Feb 2012), and their terminations were chamfered, unusually, upward from the curved inside of the half-round shafts to the cusps of the crescents to evoke the horns of trekker draught oxen.

The five shafts were bonded by a low roof designed to harvest rainwater and thus conceived as a cistern from which five spouts cantilever and decant into large oval, rubble-lined bowls surrounding the group at the foot of each intercolumniation. The water would reticulate to the largest bowl and cascade along a water chain on the inside of the meandering ascent before being re-circulated by a pump embedded in the southern slope of the knoll, with supplementary water from the Rietfontein Dam.

The space defined by the five backing crescent-shafts would contain a central bronze plaque set in the floor upon which natural daylight would fall through the oculus in the roof, and this position would intensify the spatial character of the space less compactly closed in. Like its Pretoria counterpart the oculus and ray of light could provide for a sense of immanence, but in addition, at Winburg it would allow for a view up into the cluster of shafts and the heavens above.

Symbolism of the winning design

The language for the notes of explanation was not prescribed but Hallen chose Afrikaans ably assisted by his Afrikaner wife. These stated that the symbolism was “complex” and cannot be described exactly, but resulted essentially from the following: the shafts were symbolic of the five main treks, each of which was identified at the base by the surname of a leader; the cluster was symbolic of the orderly community united in faith, which like the spouts would spiritually water the land; the striving of the pioneers was expressed in the cusped terminations to the shafts while the roofed, protective space (*beskutte ruimte*), at the heart of the composition changed the scale from the massive to the intimate to speak of the role of the women in the trek. To this Hallen added that the design should not only succeed in its symbolism but also in its intrinsic architectural values (*SAAR*, August 1965: 30).

The women in the winning submission

Besides the symbolism of the protected space, Hallen’s entry proposed the inclusion of a figurative statue of a seated woman embracing a child, visible on both the plan and section. In the laager, the whole family was drawn into military defence and attack, and accustomed to facing danger and privation.



Figure 11
Artist’s rendering of the inside of the laager during the Battle of Vegkop, south of Heilbron, Free State, 1836. As can be seen, the women were as active as the men in defence and attack [B. Aldbridge. 1973. *Die Geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika in Beeld*. Cape Town: Struik].

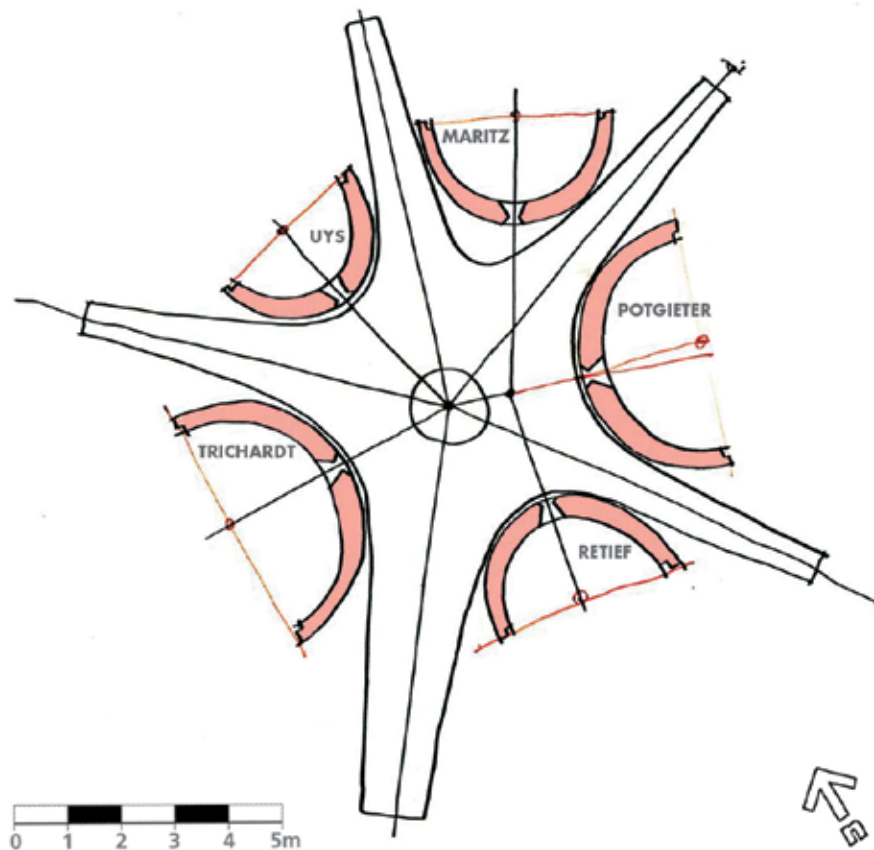


Figure 12
Tracing of plan showing shafts and pentagonal star-shaped roof by Hallen. Note the layout with the radii of three half-round shafts concurrent with the oculus and plaque on the floor, the northern and southern shafts radiating from a point eastward, the wider aperture on the south beneath the most pronounced gargoyle, and the distance in spacing between the outline of the roof and the northern half-round shaft (BBAL).

To give cognizance to the indispensable back-up, the statue was to be formally positioned and illuminated in the following way. The plans of the crescent-shaped shafts were arranged externally tangential to an egg-shaped interior, the symbolic laager, and the axis is aligned roughly south-north, the direction of the trek through the Free State. In detail, three crescents were set radially concurrent with the oculus and plaque (Potgieter, Uys and Trichardt), while the north-eastern (Maritz) and southern (Retief) crescents were set out from a point on the axis of the eastern (Potgieter) crescent, some 1250mm from the centre of construction where the two rays meet at an obtuse angle of 165°. This shift in points of geometric ignition allowed for a wider opening in the south-east under the most pronounced spout which became the main access from the car park, while providing a solid backdrop for the proposed statue on the north-eastern (Maritz) crescent because the slit was not aligned with the geometry of the oculus and plaque. However, while the pentagonal star shape of the roof with spouts is scribed to the plan forms of the half-round shafts, and supported on a set of brackets off each with shims like bridge construction, the roof is cut short from the northern (Maritz) shaft, to create an aperture for daylight to fall on the statue. Excepting for the baffles shown on the section of the sketch design this was how the monument was realised.



Figure 13

Detail of the space which the statue of the Voortrekker woman and child would have occupied against the solid wall space left of the slit and symmetrical beneath the brackets. The roof otherwise scribed to the shafts is here cut back to allow for daylight to penetrate (Photograph by Chris Jooste).



Figure 14

Detail of aperture for daylight to fall on the space reserved for the proposed statue.

An uncomfortable statue

Following a press release, the Oranje Vrouevereniging wrote to the Administrator to compliment the VVMK on its decision that the monument would acknowledge the contribution of the *Voortrekkervrou* and requested to be consulted on the details but the reply while friendly was deferring (FSPA letters of 21 and 22 November 1963 respectively). At the first meeting with the VVMK, Biermann advised that competing architects would approach artists with whom they were in contact but Oberholster explained that artistic considerations would be secondary to the architectural design (VVMK Minutes of 23 June 1964). Hallen denies having taken up discussions with any sculptor, the brief did not call for a statue (e-mail 28 Feb 2012), and it appears the statue shown in his drawings was more indicative of a possibility rather than a firm

proposal. While the jury did not comment on the statue, strangely, it deemed Hallen's placing of one "arbitrary unless it could be brought into a sensible association with the plaque" (SAAR Aug 1965 p300). Yet the technical development for the realization of the monument proceeded as per the competition drawings, without amendment.

At the VVMK meeting of 22 August 1967 at which the tender for construction was accepted, the committee resolved that Hallen was to put forward proposals with a budget covering a "*maquette*, artist's fees etc". However, while it was again emphasized that the statue was to symbolize the contribution of the women in the trek, it was resolved that the matter be kept in abeyance until completion of construction including paving (Minutes of the VVMK, 22 August 1967).

The *Souvenir Programme* issued at the inauguration of the Monument on 10th October 1968 includes a page headed "The Woman (sic) in the Great Trek" written by Oberholster. It opens with the statement "Without the woman the Great Trek is unthinkable", sings her praises and concludes by informing that a place has been set aside in the 'courtyard' for a work of sculpture of a Voortrekker woman. According to Oberholster, "the profound symbolism of the monument (would thereby once again be) enhanced" as the woman was (the) "central, sheltered, unassuming source of power that turned the wheels of the Great Trek".

However, in February 1969, a few months after the inauguration, the VVMK disbanded (*Die Volksblad*, 6 Feb 1969). Whether the question of a statue to commemorate the role of the Voortrekker women ever resurfaced could not be established. According to Hallen the item was "endlessly deferred until it was generally agreed that the statue was not needed" (e-mail, 26 March 2012). The climax of a visit is thus not a shrine like the Pretoria monument, but the "intimate and protected space" which Hallen had conceived to speak of the "*Vrouens in die Trek*" (SAAR, August 1966, p30) and Ferreira qualifies as the "... *pretensielose bron van krag waarom die groot Trek gewentel het*" (the unpretentious source of strength around which the Trek revolved) (1975: 252).

Communicating the heart

A granite tablet affixed to the right of the space designated for a statue explains the symbolism of the monument. Interestingly, it is silent on both the women and the significance of the interior space. All it tells is that the light from the oculus which falls on the bronze plaque in the courtyard is symbolic of divine light. This begs the question, while the depiction of the role of the women appears genuine, was the committee ever serious about the inclusion of a statue?

In the New South Africa, the 16th of December remains a public holiday, no longer as "Day of the Vow" but as the 'Day of Reconciliation'. Regardless of name, it is long since the site has seen any celebration of *Gelofdefees*. Custodianship remains in the hands of the provincial authorities and the site is inaccessible as the gates are kept locked without any note of explanation. The water chain lies unused, the pump room accommodated in the banks of the knoll abandoned, and the outdoor theatre, also by Hallen, overgrown. To the uninitiated the sight of open trenches must look weird but as these were dug to facilitate the theft of the cables, the absence of the floodlights affixed the sides of the bowls is thus of little consequence. But the theft of the central bronze plaque is unconscionable and deeply lamentable. Faced with such disregard, one can only imagine what a statue might have suffered.



Figure 15
The abandoned water chain
of precast elements.



Figure 16
The deserted open-air theatre of low parallel seating walls
east of the monument, also designed by Hallen.



Figure 17
Stolen: the outer brass ring
marked the commencement
of the project in 1967
and the inner disc the
inauguration in 1968
(*Afrikanerbakens*, 2006: 119.
Photographer: Hendrik
Oosthuysen).



Figure 19
Current day photograph of the *beskutte ruimte* at the heart of the
monument designed to acknowledge the role of the women as "the
unpretentious source of strength around which the Trek revolved"
(Ferreira 1975:252).



Figure 18

Barefoot Voortrekker Woman on a farm in the Harrismith district looking back to (KwaZulu-) Natal. On accepting the capitulation of the short-lived trekker-founded Republic of Natalia, the women let the British officer know in no uncertain terms: “We would rather walk back over the Drakensberg barefoot than bend (again) under the British yoke” (Afrikanerbakens, 2006: 256-7. Photographer: Hendrik Oosthuysen).

Besides Van Wouw’s statue at the Pretoria monument, another exists on farm astride Retief Pass in the Harrismith district, unveiled 1977. This woman looks eastward, back to (KwaZulu-) Natal in which much blood was shed. [figure 18] She is known as the ‘barefoot woman’ who after the short-lived Boer Republic of Natalia, 1840-2, realized that the British annexation of Natal had concluded to the eastward Trek. The Voortrekker women then privately conferred with Henry Cloete, the British officer-in-command, surprisingly Afrikaner-born. They informed him of the tribulations endured, and that as co-trekkers they had earned the right of representation before startling him with their determination: “We will rather walk back over the Drakensberg barefoot than bend (again) under the British yoke” (*Afrikanerbakens*, 256-8). A good number of trekkers retreated in that direction, but probably shod.

Whatever statue might have been envisaged, was the location in the body of the monument the right place? What insults might the statue have had to suffer before being relocated, for example into the refuge and surveillance of a museum, either indoor or outdoor like the National Women’s monument in Bloemfontein, opened 1913. To boot, as proposed for Winburg, adult visitors would have looked down on the statue where woman and child would have been crouched on the floor bereft of even a pedestal.

However, if the place of the women is represented by the intimate and secluded heart of the monument, one can only hope that once a sizable circle of friends is rekindled, it will give priority to the appropriate communication of this space.

Notes

- 1 Bunn makes no mention of this condition.
- 2 In 1929 the *Afrikaner Broederbond*, a secret organization founded in 1918, spawned a public 'front', the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniging, an umbrella body to coordinate and guide the work of Afrikaner cultural groups (Worden, N. 1998. *A Concise Dictionary of SA History*. Cape Town: Francolin).
- 3 Pietermaritzburg, Weenen, Danskraal at Ladysmith, Blood River, Blijdevoornuitzicht at Harrismith, Thaba Nchu, Winburg, Vegkop at Heilbron, Potchefstroom, Pretoria and Ohrigstad (Ferreira 1975: 27-28).
- 4 After serving as mayor of Bloemfontein, 1949-50, and rising up the ranks of the provincial National Party, sand merchant JWJC (Sand) Du Plessis was appointed Administrator of the Orange Free State in 1959, a position he held for a further term until 1969.

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