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Sephron Manor — the making of a type

Wilke Roux and Roger Fisher,
Faculty of Architecture

This essay attempts to determine the significant architectural elements in the making of a type, that is the 'rural frontier farmstead, in the annals of South African architectural history. It is addressed with a specific time — the 19th, place — the Eastern Cape — and historical episode — the colonial occupation of the Eastern Transvaal. The essay is considered important as it helps isolate and determine those factors, whether through tradition or by design, which influence the evolution of architectural type. In an etymological link between 'kad' and 'cute' type is proposed, a conjectural construction of Sephon Manor presented, and the importance of associations with the type and the changing character of the social and symbolic values is speculated.

Some sources quoted in this article contain a vocabulary which is offensive today, yet is felt, in the interest of the accuracy of the context of the historical episode which we seek to recreate, that they be left unexpurgated.

PRELIMINARY

In 1985 we commemorate the bicentenary of the first British Occupation of the Cape. The buildings forming part of their legacy, fortified farmhouses of the Eastern Frontier, are the most charming because of their origins and the simplicity and tranquility of response to the local circumstances. These were not, however, forms that evolved locally with the passage of time, but rather inventions dependent on the means available to the Settlers in their military tradition, the role of the rcmp, and the period and structures subsequent to self-help, the prefabrication of building materials, and their global distribution throughout the colonies.

LANDSCE — TRADITION AND TRIBULATION

The landscape of the Eastern Cape evoked the British who travelled, or were to settle permanent, a sense of familiarity and approval:

The scenery with which we travelled, so purely [sic] in a state of nature, was beautiful in the extreme, much resembling a gentleman's park in England. The ground was covered by the finest grass, intermixed with single trees and clumps of trees every direction..." 1

The "gentleman's park" would, of course, have the "landscape" style of "Capability" Brown, or his successor, Humphrey Repton, after "nature had leaped the fence and all the world become a garden."

"In 1842, 'Harry Hastings,' 2 writes of his journey into the Albany District in 1820: 'The country being most beautiful to look at, he gives up to the knees, and round patches which, just like a gentleman's park'."

Two years later George Thompson 3 notes the location of the Settler, Mr. Thornhill, that it "lies in the angle formed by the left bank of the river Kowie with the sea, is one of the most beautiful spots in all Albany, with lawns and copsewoods, laid out by the wanton hand of Nature, that far surpass many a gentleman's park in England."

Yet this idyll was soon upset by the paradoxical realities of flood and drought. Philips was later to complain: "We are so dried up that our gardens are perishing...There surely was never such a dry country known."

Zuurveld, as described by Lord Charles Somerset, was a land where a man and his family could be rewarded in "the cultivation of the most fertile soil in the most healthy and temperate climate in the universe, where cold is never so piercing as to congeal water, and where the sun is never so powerful as to render exposure to them injurious or to impede the usual labours of the field." He made no mention of the fact that what the government wanted was a human barrier against the Xhosa. The 1820 settlers, some of whom had arrived at Algoa Bay expecting to find apricots growing wild in the thorn bush, soon discovered how harsh Somerset's words had been.

The country to the north-east in the Fort Beaufort district was also much harsher than that of Albany:

"The dry and desolate country up the Fish River, from Graham's Town to Roode-Wal... seems indeed to be scarcely susceptible to any improvement. The farms, 'few and far between,' are mere vee-plat en, or cattle places, without in general the comfort of a garden, or the means of cultivating a single blade of corn." 4

The hardships wrought by Nature on the Settlers was thereafter to be compounded by the unexpected Xhosa invasion of 1835. This was to have repercussions, both on the physical circumstances of the Settlers and, even more far-reaching, on the politics of the region and of the country even today. The immediate response was to recognize a need for securing property through the provision of defensive structures.

CHARACTERISTICS OF SEPHRON MANOR

In response to an article published in the Graham's Town Journal (to which we shall return), George Gilbert submitted actual proposals for a particular type of fortified homestead whereby frontier farmers could

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Fig. 1: Site plan after measured drawing, 1986, showing walled kraal, house and outbuildings (P. Boshi, delt.)
build or improve their houses.

"I beg leave to enclose plans of a farm-house and stables designed by me to be built on a farm near Fort Beaufort, just before the commencement of the Kaffir Irruption; and which, as soon as circumstances permit, I intend to carry into execution." 8

The house was Septon Manor (fig. 1), known also as "Sephton," or "Sipton," a name possibly derived from the Latin for seven, "septem," the distance in miles of the location of the farm on the road from Fort Beaufort. Built in 1839 after Sephton, one of the leaders of a Settler party, the building was one of the oldest in the area, standing as a monument to the early settlers.

The survey done in 1850 for purposes of formalizing quittance is, however, in the name of William Gilbert, probably a brother. It is possible that more than one family did live there, since a minimum of eight defenders was required to protect the homestead effectively.

To-day the site is in the simple verandahed cottage style of the Victorian era of the latter C19. It has remained unaltered, although still fully furnished, since the death of the older Mr. Adler, the internal ornamentators of the loopholes making for useful wall cabinets. Mr. Morris Adler recalls how his mother stored the objects associated with the celebration of the Passover in the cellar, the previous use of which is unknown. 11 Little by way of the original character as a fortified farmhouse is evident externally since the loopholes of the house itself have been plastered over and a covered verandah added between the house and, now, totally covered off as "stoepkamers." 12 An accretion of rooms have been added to both eastern and western sides thus further camouflaging the once severe lines of the building. Then too the roof, rooftop and gables have all been clamped with time.

In the area where the house stands is the edge of the Karoo, a semi-desert sleepy and scrub landscape, undulating with bushy riverines, variously Auto and desolate. In time neighbours would be separated by vast distances, and the military presence very few.

Yet the tranquillity domesticity of a house landscape can readily be contrasted with the description by a contemporary writer to the Gilbert homestead:

"Mr. Gilbert's house, where we breakfasted, was indeed a curious spectacle. It was not like a fortress or a private dwelling; the acres were enclosed in a strong stone wall and tower had been built in the middle of the house, armed with three feet of wall, not for ornament, as is sometimes done in England, but for use; stands of wood were in the tower; a wooden barricade before the entrance. It was a melancholy, but a very escurialist sight; melancholy for the nullity, sordidness of life; in the woods, which it displayed in him as in several of our frontier farmers, who are determinate, even if their cattle are forced from home, defend their dwellings." 13

It was recorded that:

"The homestead was one of the most defensible in the district, so seven of us volunteers to remain a few days and protect the property until troops arrived to garrison it as a place that should never have been abandoned." 14

Raiders would be fired upon through the loopholes and raking fire delivered along the wall of the tower, located at the wall and house. Alexander 15 had recommended a raised pulpit or sconce box in the naal in the event of the walls being breached.

The last line of defence would have been a redoubt and the homestead itself, with four guns fired through the loopholes beneath and covering fire from the tower. It was impossible that Septon Manor survived the war 16. The War of the Axe, since only in 1857 was Gilbert forced to abandon Septon Manor and flee to the nearby Stoneyfields, also a fortified farmhouse in his possession.

Still Septon Manor must have stood but the Gilberts again forced to flee in 1859, in time to Riefontein:

"We proceed on our way to Riefontein, where we found everything in confusion. Mr. Gilbert and his three who arrived there the evening with but one servant, having left his home Septon Manor and all it contained to the mercy of the rebels." 17

Henneman, the rebel leader, was joined by the "Kat River Hottentots" in the uprising of the Eighth Frontier War, and were joined by many of the servants of the farmers.

The peaceful homestead of Mr. Gilbert might easily have been defended had he served staves loyal. As it was, every wish which could not be taken away was attired to the flames by the enemy." 18

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Fig. 2: Defensive precedents from around the world published in an article by Alexander in the Grahamstown Journal of 20 August 1835 — a: Central fortified church in Canada, b: fortified forches for existing houses, c: Spanish plan, d: Mill tower, Persia, c: Wellington Barrack.
REFERed ARTICLE

SEPHTON MANOR — THE MAKING OF A TYPE

Herman, the Christian zealot preacher who explored the region and was killed at the abandoned homestead in December 1850. He appended his journey as follows:

"The house was sacked and burnt a few days after, not by Kafirs, but by Hottentots."

Cory records that when in October of 1846 Colonel Fordyce's 74th Highlanders passed there (although it is recorded as "torn down homestead at Klu-Klu"), the remains of the Kat on which Septon built they found the farm still a burned-down ruin. At the same time Gilbert re-occupied and used the dwelling is not certain, although it is said in a footnote that: "It is now a military-looking building called Septon House." Cory also mentions that: "This tower was enclosed by a high, stone-capped wall and surrounded by a tower.

The question as to whether there was ever a tower attached to the house, as might be deduced from the annotated copy of the town's Town Journal, is described by Merren, and inferred from Cory remains a problem. There is still a tower built into the knoll a short distance from the house. Is this the original tower to which the various names refer? It is now only from the hand-drawn drawings that one can really get an idea of the layout of the house. All the upper walls are thinner, some of which might be reconstructed as the base of a tower, though not in the "middle", but to one side of the house. Since they are positioned in line with the adjacent wall, a placement for the tower added to the once ancient copy of the printed illustration (drawn later), the walls could well be the remains of such a structure.

The rebuilt Septon Manor according to the plans contained in his letter to the town's Town Journal, and so this building must have been a tower or lookout tower. The walls were too thin to determine the elements which enclose the fortified farmhouse. These are as follows:

- Defensive farmyard wall, loopholed and barred with corner bastions or lookout towers
- Corner bastions with loopholes attached to the dwelling
- loopholed lower-storey walls, shuttered on the inside
- Wall or cistern within the defensive wall

Moore's precedents

Building of fortifications and defensive works as old as European colonization in South Africa. Only those defenses directed and incursion by the native inhabitants can be dealt with here, although there were such as the French Lines (known also Zonnebloem or Munnik Line, or the Zonnebloem Retrenchment) to protect the Cape from the possible overland attack by the British, only the Dutch would have preferred an island as a trading post. Initially St Helena was considered but found unsuitable. The first fantastic plan of Commissioner Rijkhoff van Goens was that the Cape of Good Hope was inhabited by a people "who have not yet been discovered by the sea." ("Van't Vasteland van Afrika zal konnen afgeven worden, daarmee wij van alle queeldigheid van beheersing zijn die noch daegelijkse subject blijven van de heuschatige inwooners te vertragen").

An idea never executed, but which has acted as a cultural lobotomy for the collective psyche of the inhabitants of the Peninsula ever since.

The idea of "fortress" rather than "border" with the associated type of sporadic attack by marauding bands or raiding parties determined the nature of the defences. Since the inhabitants were often dependent on their own resources the defences were often of a domestic scale. The first defensive line to the east, erected by van Riebeeck against the Khoi, begun in 1659, was formed from pickets connected in a crescent by planted hedges and erected fences, known as the "circlken van den Kaapstom omlaag." Immediately the Liesbeek Valley became disputed territory and the "Crommediau" was erected, formed from the brushwood, or creekelbosch, of the cleared 5km section of forest on the southeastern slopes of Table Mountain. The Liesbeek itself formed a natural barrier and the remnant portion on the north to the coastline was protected by a palisade fence. It was however Van Riebeeck's intention to replace all this with a planted almond (Brabeum usitellefolium 1. proteaceae) hedge, a task begun in 1660, yet made rapidly redundant by the eastward spread of the Trekboers and by the eighties of the C17 it had become obsolete.

The Trekboers, in settling the hinterland, had adopted their own means of defense of a domestic scale. Lichtenstein, on his travels in the early C19, observes in the Swartberg: "Two farms, where we first saw a specimen of the precautions which had been taken against the inroads of the Caffres. They consisted in high earth walls, run up all around the house at the distance of five or six feet from it; at the four corners were a sort of towers with port holes for guns, resembling bastions, which gave the whole an appearance of a fortification; the opening opposite the house could be barricaded. Many farmers by this kind of fortification saved their houses. In the way from hence to Algoa bay we found almost all the houses put into a like state of defense." It is interesting that this observation, quoted by both Kammeyer and Lewcock, has not led to any further discoveries, either in reports or illustration, or remains of this type of fortified farmhouse, although Lichtenstein does follow his observations with the comment that when the Xhosas: "did get possession of one of these defended houses, their rage was vented more furiously than upon the free-standing ones."

By the second decade of the C19 the Eastern Frontier stretched as far as the Great Fish River. It had been rumoured that a Portuguese fort had been located at the mouth of the Kowie, and Thompson on his travels tried to locate its ruins. He reports: "We could perceive no vestiges of the Portuguese fort said to have been erected here in former times. Other travellers, who possessed no means of crossing the river, may possibly have been deceived by some rocks on the left bank, which at a distance certainly have a striking resemblance to the ruins of a fort."

By 1816, three years prior to the 5th Frontier War, pickets had been erected along the Great Fish River northwards from the coast in order to consolidate the defences of the Frontier. The second line of defences were the military posts, farms and river crossings. The securing of kraals was considered of particular importance in the Eastern Frontier:

"Throughout the whole Colony it is highly necessary to secure the herds and flocks at night, in folds; and kraals fenced round..."
generally with a strong hedge of mimosa or other thorny bushes. 33

Alexander himself refers to the native techniques of the defences of the kraals: 34

"They keep one or more bundles of dry mountain grass near their kraals, and when danger is supposed to be near, the bundle is lighted; it burns for considerable time, throwing a brilliant light for many yards round, and discovers the enemy." 34

Other defences of cattle had been noted by travellers through the district. Thompson, 35 speaking of Theophilus, the mission to the "Hottentots" near the mouth of the Kasouga, noted:

"This place had been repeatedly attacked during the late war, but had been successfully defended by the vigilance and intrepidity of its Hottentot inhabitants; who, for the security of their numerous cattle, (the principal object of Caffer audacity), had indusiously fenced the common kraal of their village with a very strong lofty palisade. The stakes of this fence, consisting chiefly of Caffer boom (Erythrina caffra) which grows abundantly struck root, and thrown out flourishing branches, which gave the palisade an uncommon and agreeable effect." 35

Campbell 36 notes that at Theophilus, additional to the palisade of coral trees which had each post planted fifty to seventy-five millimeters apart so that fire could be delivered from between them "they have form [sic] a projection from the middle of each side from which they can fire upon such as may advance up to the fortification."

If we may indulge in the liberty of a botanical and etymological digression, let us consider why the name Erythrina caffra? Linnaeus arbitrarily formed erythrina, a noun, from the Greek adjective erythrinos, "red", a bending of his own rules of nomenclature. Caffra refers to the fact that the tree is "shrouded in superstition and many Africans will not burn the wood for fear of attracting lightning." 37 Why the alternative common name "coral tree"? When it is understood that the timber was used by the Khoi to make "kraals."

"kraal 2. an enclosure for livestock in Southern Africa — [Afrikaans, "enclosure for cattle," from Portuguese corral, perhaps of Hottentot origin. See also corral]." 38

"corral 1. an enclosure for confining livestock, against attack during encampment. [Spanish, probably of Hottentot origin. See also kraal]." 39

And the etymological link discovered, then the alternative name "coral tree" may well derive from the name used for the tree in the Khoi tongue. 39

The Settlers then developed their own improvements of the native defences by adding bastions to the kraals.

"This way of building customary here is used because every corner of the kraal can be reached with a gun if they should be raided by Bushmen, and so that wolves and other beasts of prey cannot reach the sheep at night and they are able to protect their animals without endangering their lives." 40

After the expulsion of the Xhosa from the Zuurveld, Graham set out with a view to establishing such a system of defence as shall prevent a recurrence of the innumerable murders and thefts... His plan was to erect a network of fortified positions all along the frontier, with constant patrols, and to have it decided on thirty posts where troops were to be permanently stationed... deep into the newly-won territory, groups of as few as ten men... were shown a spot in the bare veld to tell to construct a fort, either with time-palisades or a breastwork of earth. Any post was described as a collection of huts "surrounded by a mud wall and a ditch. The wall had loopholes, and small bastions, at angles, sufficient to resist any attack..." 41

All underground in the vicinity of posts so to be cleared away. 41

The Xhosa were readily repulsed when attacking properly fortified posts, so that their most successful offensives were not directed against the troops garrisoned there but against the isolated homesteads. 42 The settler was therefore drawn into this system merely by being the target of attack, at once the requirements of having to fortify farmsteads. With the outbreak of the hostilities of 1835 the nature of these defences had to be more conventionally military size, the indigenous tribes had also acquired firearms, and had used them in their attacks. 42

Did the experiences of the recent napoleonic wars, and specifically in the provision of defensive structures, influence the meetings of the Cape? 43

Military traditions

Captain (later Sir) JE Alexander, the author of the article published in the Graham's Town Journal, epitomizes the breadth of experience upon which a professional soldier could draw and on which the injunctions in his articles are founded. It is interesting to note that Alexander himself was a Scotman, of Clackmannanshire, 44 which is some one hundred and fifty kilometers from the English border. The similarities in the history of the two regions, namely the border region of England and Scotland and that of the Eastern Frontier of Cape, had not escaped the notice of Collett. 45

"Numerous frontier forays were continually taking place, very much resembling in character the border forays which figure conspicuously in the annals of Scotland on the north of England."

And so the aside, "like one of the ancient peel houses on the borders of England and Scotland" in Alexander's article. 45

Alexander, on his arrival at the Frontier was already widely travelled through previous postings, which explains the precedent to which he refers in his article. He had seen active service in the Burman War (1824) — "in India, hedges of aloes and prickly pear might be introduced here...", in the Persian army in the war against Russia (1826) — "A Persia Wall of Defence..." and the Russian-Turkish war in the Balkans (1829) — "The Cossack look-out houses of..."

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Fig. 4: James Walton's drawing after print in the Grahamstown Journal.
of the Colony, individuals of this party are now to be found, carrying on considerable business as tradesmen, or occupying thriving farms.”

Thompson also addresses the issue of the “lower ranks, consisting of common mechanics and labourers” who had arrived as 1820 Settlers:

“The great demand for labour, and the high wages given by the Government contractors, and others, who were erecting buildings in Graham’s Town, attracted ideather great numbers of this class; and all of them who were industrious earned a competent livelihood, and many saved money and built houses for themselves...

Thus while the majority of the labourers and mechanics had improved their situation, and were receiving high wages, and rising to independence, their former masters were generally involved in difficulties, and rapidly sinking into indigence.”

A ready availability of skilled craftsmen and labourers would be a requisite component in building secure fortified homesteads. One must also assume that there would have been literate labour skilled in the reading of plans. Because the plans were printed they could be followed by others wishing to build similar defences. There is much similarity between the examples, even though remote from each other. It is recorded that Gilbert was an architect, perhaps not in the sense it has to-day, but certainly as a builder of merit. The buildings existing prior to the Christmas Day attack by the Xhosa invaders were in the humble yet sturdy idiom of the Georgian vernacular current in England. Besides the dwellings there were the associated utilitarian outbuildings necessary to the farmer. All these had to be upgraded against fire since some four hundred and fifty farmsteads had been torched in August 1805.
the attack Tarred canvas or thatch roofing had to be replaced by wooden shingles or slate.

The popular press could also advertise the materials of mass-production, exported to the colonies as ballast in the holds of the ships, for example ‘zinc sheeting’. This would have aimed the changed needed in construction to secure the defences of the farmhouses.

It would also be useful to know more of Gilbert’s origins, and discover something of the artisans working in the Eastern Cape at the time of the building of domestic scale fortifications.

The National Monuments Council with the Human Sciences Research Council have created a database of South African architects and builders before 1940. This should become available in electronic form before the end of the year and so enable a collating of data concerning those involved in design and building at the Eastern Frontier of the Cape at the time.

The archaeology of drawings

Alexander’s article, as supplement to the Graham’s Town Journal of 20 August 1835, alerts us to the role of the popular press in disseminating information.

An issue which can be indirectly related to the making available of military information by means of a popular press is that of ownership of such information and right of access to it.

It is interesting to note that this very right was an issue from the onset of the British occupation. Thibault, who had in his possession his drawings of the defenses of the Cape when the British invaded in September of 1795, refused to relinquish these or swear allegiance to the Crown, himself being in employ as Captain-Engineer to De Meuron’s mercenary Swiss regiment, they in turn being in the hired employ to the Dutch East India Company. He was not alone in his reluctance. The populace of a distant Graaff-Reinet also needed some coaxing through ‘the good advice of the traitor Breker who is bailiff there’.

Thibault relates how part of the terms of capitulation were the handing over of all plans relative to the Cape:

‘Twelve years of observation and work had enabled me to build up a collection of military plans, General Craig sent Engineer Bridges to ask me whether I could give him the details he needed to send to the English Court... As the colony had been occupied for two months by the British and the area was no longer a secret, I thought myself justified in giving him details without compromising either myself or the authorities whom I had recently served.’

The further intrigue of bartering and acquisition of these can be discovered in de Puyfontein.

What interests us is who, in time of turbulence, transition and change is the legitimate owner of such documents, — the architect as author, the client, or the authority wherein, through succession, the powers of the predecessor resorts? And what if it is suspected that such powers are transitional and in the longer term one might incriminate or prejudice one’s situation?

The other question which can be raised is which is integral to the history of British colonization of the Cape and that is the question of the suitability of evidence another immigrant, also of Swiss-French origins although first through immigration of the family to England, also enters the picture. Louis Meurant established the Graham’s Town Journal in 1831, the first newspaper outside of Cape Town in South Africa, after the freedom of the press was announced. He, a 20 year-old, was printer, compositor, proof-reader, reporter, editor and manager until joined by the printer Robert Godlonton, from whom he purchased the press in Graaff-Reinet, in partnership. Also interesting to note is that Godlonton himself lived in the fortified farmhouse ‘Hammonds’, situated two kilometres south-east of Sephton Manor and 10km outside Fort Beaufort, and was thus Gilbert’s immediate neighbour at the time of the outbreak of hostilities in 1835. Meurant acted as Dutch translator to D’Urban at the time of the Sixth Frontier War and it is probably also he who translated Piet Reitz’s manifesto into flawless English for publication. He was captain in the Grahamstown Volunteers during hostilities at the time and had thus more than passing interest in matters military when Alexander and Gilbert’s contribution were published in the Graham’s Town Journal.

Sephton Manor has been seminal in providing a legacy of drawings. Historians and commentators have used the illustrations, embellished, altered or illuminated, as this essay demonstrates.

What is interesting of Alexander’s article is that it is probably the first published illustrations in South Africa (fig. 2) and of Gilbert’s, the first printed architectural illustrations in South Africa (fig. 3). Coincidentally, Meurant’s stepfather and posthumous father-in-law (Meurant having marrying his eldest daughter, Charlotte), Maarten Johannes Simons, was an architect builder in Cape Town. Thus his, as editor of the Graham’s Town Journal, would, in all likelihood, have been able to read architectural drawings, and have understood the significance of Gilbert’s contribution. It would thus be interesting to know to what extent these illustrations determined the character that the domestic defences were to take, particularly since it was the H-form plan with square bastions which was to become the type, rather, than the embrasured bastions as illustrated by Gilbert. Was this deviation just through lack of practicality or was the contribution by the press in the making of a type insignificant?

What is true is that the illustration of Gilbert has remained tantalizing to the historians researching this period ever since. No source
the plan in print than a copy of the town Journal was annotated and tower added in pencil, as noted and illus-
trated by Lewcock. When attempting to date this copy, the librarians of the Cory
ty, found the pencil addition erased!

The only copy of this, other than the very poorly printed version in Lewcock, is photograph as part of the manuscript of the

architects' "Nineteenth Century
tecture", lodged in the archives.

then what of the tower, not illustrated
reduced, if the once annotated copy was not a corrected proof? One certainly
towers as defensive element associated
to any of the domestic scale fortifications, although not illustrated by Alexander,

however by way of example. Walton used "original" illustrations as part of his
method and Villages, the drawing

plan A", does the "measured drawing" of the original by way of comparison (Fig
Boosn) has offered (slightly inac-
technique to correct a reconstruction of Septon

Fig 6), to which we now add a com-

Fig 7), derived from measured drawings (Figs.

since the drawing has also acquired

then the intention of the author.

...new" and justify the use of all the

discussion of English built precedent, see Fisher, R.

Boosn, J. 1984. Fortified frontier farmhouses: English

precedent for the Eastern Cape. South African Journal of

Cultural History. Vol. 8, No. 1: 1-12


49. Jooste, s.a.: 39

50. Thompson, 1962: 372

51. Puyfondere, H. 1962. Louis Michel Thibault (1750-

1815). His official life at the Cape of Good Hope. Cape Town: 

Tafelberg: 15

52. de Puyfontaine, J. 1972: 16


Pretoria: J. L. van Schaik


56. Done after 1996 documentation of the fortified houses of 

the Eastern Cape by Pretoria School of Architecture, U.P. 

published in Fisher & Boosn, 1994: 5

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Fig. 8: Septon Manor after measured drawings by J. Boosn, P Boshoff, J. Liebenberg, E. Marinovcovitz, H Pogotier, A Thijsse & P van der Walt, Pretoria School of Architecture, 1986 (D Coetzee, delt.)

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Notes


3. Longman has disputed the authorship in "The attrib-
uted" by Lewcock to the Rev. John Ayllon; the

is well argued by L.M. Lewcock, "John Ayllon and the Diary of Harry Hastings", Journal of the Methodist Historical Society of


5. E.G. 1910. The Perception of the agricultural en-

6. By the 1820s Settlers of the Eastern Cape, as the


8. In 1998, the title was changed to "The Eastern Cape Frontier Towns. Johannesburr: 25


10. General communication, Mr. Adler, owner (1996)

11. General communication, Mr. Adler (1986)


14. The journal of the Architectural and Historical Society of Cape Town, Bakema: 17

15. General communication, Mr. Adler (1986)

16. The journal of the Architectural and Historical Society of Cape Town, Bakema: 17


21. Sipton, M. 1976. 50


23. Longmans, Green & Co: 332


27. Cory, 1930: Vol. V, 460-461


31. Oochoo, 1972: 49


33. Liebenstein, H. 1929. Travels in South Africa in the years 1600, 1805 and 1806. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society: 253

34. Kammeyer, 1955: 262

35. Lewcock, 1963: 168

36. Thompson, 1962: 22

37. Thompson, 1962: 28

38. GTJ. 20 August 1835. Supplement

39. Campbell, Diary manuscript copy African Library Johan-


41. This was discussed with Prof Johannes van der Walt, eminent Professor at the University of the Free State and leading muckraking taxonomist, who finds it not improbable. He cites quan處 (Afr. ghwanere, i.e. Euclis; umbudisa) as being another of the common names derived from the Khoi, as is dagga (either the indigenous Leonurus leonurus, or the exotic Cannabis sativa [Jac. Pous]. S. Vormgezind wordt invloede op die ontwikkeling van massee-kultuur en die hedige sirkel aan die KAAP tot 1950 Pretoria: Ongepublisieerde PhD (Arch): teste: 64)