PIETERMARITZBURG RESIDENTIAL ARCHITECTURE: ITS EVOLUTION THROUGH TIME AND SPACE - A SCOTTSVILLE CASE-STUDY

By

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Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in the Department of Geography, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg.

Pietermaritzburg 1994

Abstract

This thesis explores the development of suburban growth and the related development of architectural styles. It examines the spatial development of the growth of the suburb with reference to the inherited cultural traits. In particular it examines the changing architectural styles as morphological features in the analysis of townscape. The suburb of Scottsville was selected as the case study area for its compact and systematic development, with reference to the architectural periods.

Through means of observation, old maps and aerial photographs, the direction and extent of suburban growth was researched and noted against the emerging built form. Developing architectural trends were studied, in regard to changing societal pressures and the economic, political and cultural trends, both nationally and internationally, impacting on this growth. The result of these emerging trends were researched in relation to their impact on the surrounding streetscape.

Distinct areas of growth relating to architectural period were found, creating particular enclaves of suburban designs. A relationship was seen to exist between the architectural styles of the built environment, the dominant cultural order and the economic and political pressures of the period. It was noted that these morphological features can be used as the ideal tools for the analysis and understanding of residential architecture and suburban development, spatially and temporally. A distinct cultural landscape with an eclectic architectural flavouring symbolises the harmonious streetscape of suburban Scottsville.

Acknowledgements

Although many people have helped and encouraged me with this thesis and there are particular people I would like to acknowledge and thank:

Special thanks to my family, especially my parents, for their continued and unfailing support in my studies.

My thanks to my supervisors: Professor Jeff McCarthy, for his encouragement, support and guidance over the years, and Professor Brian Kearney for his guidance in the final stages.

Helena Margeot (Cartographic Unit) for her continued support, supervision and help in the production of the maps and drawings used in the thesis and Toni Bodington for her help in producing the drawings.

My friends and colleagues in the Geography Department for the light relief and their support over the years. Special thanks to: Peter, for his continued support; Brice, for the loan of his computer in the final stages; and Jess, for her part in the final proof reading.

The Pietermaritzburg Town and Regional Planning (M. Taylor and V. Spearman) and Survey Departments for relevant information and the 1994 1:2000 base map on which suburban growth was shown, and other aerial photographs and information.

The Natal Society Library for all their help regarding old photographs and articles; The Pietermaritzburg Archives and Local History Museum (Durban) for old maps and photographs; and to the residents of Scottsville for inviting me into their homes.

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Preface

"Eye, why do you stare!

At the shadows of ancient times?

Does your happiness live alone,

In departed years?"

(excerpt from *'Jyllandsreje'* by Blicher, cited in Olwig, 1981, p59)

Society, despite its quest for modernism, is continually, albeit unconsciously, looking back for reference. The actions of cultures take place within a setting - the landscape, whether it be rural or urban - each culture imprinting it own characteristic set of symbols upon the landscape. Although these features may constantly be changing, as shifts in cultures occur, the layers left behind when peeled back reveal past times. Should we take the effort to look beyond that which we first see, there is a tide of information concerning our past to be revealed. The past holds the key to the future.

Declaration of Originality

Except where explicitly indicated to the contrary this study is the original work of the author. This thesis has not previously been submitted in any form to any other University.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

That which surrounds us is seldom realised and often taken for granted. The individuality yet cohesiveness in the urban form that surrounds us, can be likened to the pages in a book. Each page telling a different part to the story, yet on completion, through a complexity of images, creating a closed narrative. On reflection each section is part of a whole, and to understand the whole, each part has to be read and character analysed for their role. In regard to the urban form the same can be said to apply. The characters are the social values and desires, the cultures, and the prevalent economic and political issues. It is the interplay of these factors that create the visible urban form, and by the deeper analysis of these factors the invisible townscape appears. The town becomes an historical novel and by reading its fabric its life is uncovered.

The resulting landscape is an expression of the interaction between humans and nature. It is the expression of human beliefs and needs upon the landscape, new technology and aspirations. This form of expression can be related in many different ways, but whichever form it takes, it must be realised that it is usually subjective. It can be expressed through poetry, prose, descriptive writings and art (Wedderburn, 1991). With artistic license, these images of the surrounding environment are captured - each era representing the image seen at the time. By using these past representations the geographer can gain valued insight in to the historic landscapes. The same can be said of architecture. It is the medium through which humans express their needs and dreams. Domestic architecture is more than an 'artistic' assemblage of brick and mortar, it is also the product of social ideals.

These ideals are shared, to a large extent, by the people who initiate these areas - there is a common belief structure, a cultural uniformity within the area. Architecture is part of that culture and it has a unique way of passing on information and experience - therefore architecture imparts that meaning. Thus to understand the house one needs to understand the relationship between the group, their ideals and the resulting architecture and built form. The existence of these relationships also allows us and aids us in the understanding of other relationships that have formed, other than architecture, by the studying of old houses (Neiman, 1986).

Shelter is one of the most basic needs of man. By building shelter, humans imprint upon the landscape a sense of place which is particular to those who created it. Norberg-Schultz (1991), notes that it is upon a barren space that we build. Space is seen as an abstract, artificial construct that merely indicates a bounded emptiness, whereas place is the site of 'presencing'. It is where the link with the universal totality occurs or at least may occur if and when we successfully engage our existential and phenomenological selves. Space is the stage upon which relationships interact between human and human and between human and object (Krampen, 1979); the actions of the actors creating the environment. Buildings are formulated by designers and the architectural method of transferring meaning and signs are used to delineate a sense of territoriality.

Architecture is language, and the meaning that is being conveyed depends on the building type in question. Koenig (1964) observes that "an architectural object such as the house evokes and supports specific behaviour patterns which (in the case of the house) are normally associated with family life. The house is then a specific sphere of special relationships" (Krampen, 1979, p22).

Thus if architecture is a means of communication, by the study of architectural forms one can read the landscape as text. May (1967), held that "the city is in general a language consisting of relationships and opposition of elements, becoming in effect a 'text' inscribed by man (sic)[1] onto the soil" (cited in Krampen, 1979, p32). Thus to understand the meaning of the city it is not just the function of buildings but also the structural configuration and the relationship between its elements, that needs to be grasped. Within this sphere, the role of the designer is that of an interpreter - creating the buildings to fulfill the specific functions required. But it is only meaningful in terms of the town as a whole, for buildings to have meaning they cannot be looked at in isolation. It is therefore important to look dia-chronically at architecture, or the properties thereof, to emphasise the changing process which occur historically (Krampen, 1979).

The premise of this thesis is that a relationship is seen to exist between society, cultural and economic development. This relationship is reflected upon the built environment in different ways to fulfill the needs, at the time, of the people. These needs are passed on to future generations in

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[1]When it has become 'gender' inappropriate to use this term it has been changed in the text, but it must also be taken into consideration, that although there was gender bias in many of the fields, for example architecture, the term 'man/men/craftsmen' is appropriate as it was they who designed and built that which stands today, and it must be recognised for this.

the buildings left behind, to which the future generations modify and prescribe their own needs. The built form, including styles, materials and function, evolves over time identifying with the process of innovation and diffusion. The social values and economic influences of each era underlie the layout and development of the landscape in the past and often present the guidelines for the future.

Pietermaritzburg - Scottsville- was chosen as the case study area to explain the impact of housing styles on the landscape as a reflector of change over time. Scottsville was one of the earliest suburbs to develop in Pietermaritzburg, its development was strongly directed by its situation - being on the direct access route between Durban and Pietermaritzburg and the tram route which was consequently developed. Its topographical situation, the ridge overlooking the town and the splendid views, was another factor which would have been appealing to the new suburban residents. Within the boundaries of Pietermaritzburg, Scottsville was an ideal suburb to use as representative of stylistic periods of growth as it was a popular suburb that was continually growing. It has been established that the designer is the interpreter of changing ideals, and by reading the landscape one can appreciate these changes. Thus by studying and interpreting the changing styles of domestic architecture one can establish distinct patterns of growth on the landscape.

1.1 Chapter outlines

Chapter Two looks at the conceptual and theoretical framework within which the study is based. It discusses both urban theories, regarding the development of (urban) townscapes, and 'academic' theories. This study cannot necessarily be placed within one field of study as it investigates the influence of history, urban development, political and economic factors, socio-cultural factors and architectural styles. All these variables are prevalent in the initiation and continuation of urban landscapes and thus have to be considered. These variables have thus been placed within a cultural and historical/geographical theoretical framework.

Chapter Three investigates the architectural theories that developed in the northern hemisphere, within the last century. The northern hemisphere has been taken to be the United Kingdom, Europe and America, as it is these countries that have provided the general framework from which colonial architecture was generated and influenced. Architecture is not merely the study of building types,

but it is also the study of the society in which the beliefs and theories were conceived. Because architecture and town planning were, in practice, under the same discipline, this chapter briefly looks at the development of town planning and suburban development.

Chapter Four continues (on from Chapter Three) the investigation of styles, but within the confined area of South Africa, particularly Natal and Pietermaritzburg - generally referred to as Colonial Architecture. It discusses the influence of 'home country' architecture and the adaptations that were made with regard to climatic factors and the availability of materials.

Chapters Five and Six are an historical overview of the evolution of Pietermaritzburg. It is not merely a collection of dates and facts, but a composition of historic, economic, social and architectural growth, as is the relationship that exists between these factors that have been created which stands today.

Chapter Seven is the start of the case study, giving a brief overview of early (white) suburban development in Pietermaritzburg.

Chapters Eight and Nine concentrate on Scottsville itself from its conception to the end of the 1950s. The focus is on how the suburb was developed - the primary factors initiating its development - and how the architectural styles can reveal the period of growth in which development occurred. This study investigates the temporal and spatial development of suburban growth and the associated architecture.

Maps, photographs and drawings have been used to illustrate the text where necessary. All the drawings in the thesis (unless elsewise indicated) have been drawn by the author, with the help of photographs and old plans. Information regarding the maps illustrating the direction of growth, has been gathered through aerial photographs, observation and old street directories and which superimposed upon a section of the 1994 1:2000 digital cadastral base map of Pietermaritzburg, supplied by the Pietermaritzburg Municipality (which was amended and added to). It was decided to use the latest boundaries of the suburb that appear to have been set during the seventies, because of the continually changing community boundaries used before. There were a few problems concerning the collection of this data as over time the old aerial photographs have faded and although certain negatives are kept in Mowbray, it was not possible to obtain them for use in this

study. There were no street numbers used in the earlier directories but rather houses were referred to by house names. As new owners took occupation of these houses they often changed the name which became quite confusing in the tracing of older houses. Printing was also a problem as names of roads, houses and occupiers were often mis-spelt.

Finally there was, in some areas, the difficulty of ascertaining if certain house(s) had been there or not due to the old making way for the new 'modern' development.

"...When these wild ecstasies shall be matured

Into a sober pleasure, when thy mind

Shall be a mansion for all lovely forms,

Thy memory be as a dwelling-place..."

(William Wordsworth, Excerpt from *Above Tintern Abbey,* cited in Lefebure, 1987,)

CHAPTER TWO

GEOGRAPHY, SOCIETY AND ARCHITECTURE

2.1 A brief overview of the growth of historical/cultural geography

Geography has become a diverse subject with a number of approaches concerning its applicability. Initially geography dealt with boundaries, rivers, place names and world regions, cultural geography[2] was then an unknown concept (Sauer, 1974). In the early 1900s, there was seen to be a need to place Geography within both an educational context and a disciplinary context (Cloke et al, 1991). Within this setting Environmental Determinism developed as one such approach (Jordan and Rowntree, 1982; Cloke et al, 1991; Wedderburn, 1991). By the 1940s these views began to be criticised on the premise that the environment does not exclusively dictate human behaviour. There were, at this time, also new skills in analysis and mapping that came into being supporting the development of more scientific skills related to the discipline. This saw the beginnings of the Quantitative revolution, but by the 1960s this approach was becoming too constrictive for those who wished to study spatial changes through time (Jakle, 1971; Cloke et al, 1991; Lammas, 1992), related to historical and cultural studies. Due to the confusion as to the nature of the discipline (Johnston, 1978), Wedderburn (1991) notes that there have been a number of theories exploring the true nature of geography. A search for a paradigm allowing for a more interpretative and subjective focus, taking note of the 'experience of place' (Lammas, 1992) has been ongoing, but with the changing landscape, however, the theories change too as old ones become obsolete and new ones are formed to accommodate new ideas.

Pre 1950, regionalism became a popular approach to geographers in the Anglo-American world (Wedderburn, 1991) led by Hartshorne as the main protagonist, greatly influenced by the German theorists. Hartshorne's view was that spatial differentiation of the landscape created a mosaic on

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[2]Sauer, according to Solot (1986), never really distinguished between historical and cultural geography, and often switched between the two terms. Culture was an important concept, for its effect on the landscape, as was history, for its 'time'. It is understood that neither historical nor cultural geography are reliant on the other discipline for its worth, but these two sub-disciplines do in effect have a symbiotic relationship.

the earth's surface (Johnston, 1978; Wedderburn, 1991). Hartshorne (Carter, 1985, p7), writes that "geography is concerned to provide accurate, orderly and rational description and interpretation of the variable character of the earth's surface". From regionalism developed a sub-discipline, historical/cultural geography (Wedderburn, 1991), which has been greatly influenced if not directed by the dominant discourse of North American historical geographers (Crush, 1992), in particular Sauer and the Berkley School.

Guelke (1982) notes that historical geography differs in its development from much of human geography. The 1950s/60s saw a redefining of human geography spatially, and orientating towards a more quantitative and theoretical approach, whilst historical geographers remained interested in the landscape and culture. Historical geography was, however, itself seeking a more interpretative approach rather than the earlier more empirical stance (Guelke, 1982; Johnston, 1978). Cosgrove (Cloke et al, 1991) rejected the cold theoretical structuring of models allied to the quantitative and theoretical approach, and suggested an approach that was more orientated towards the seeking of direct experiences and not abstract reflections.

Cosgrove (1982), argues that historical geography is concerned more with period and place than with time and space. However, as Ben-Arieh (1982), points out, historical geography indicates the involvement of two disciplines, history - the study of time - and geography - the study of space/surface. Together it creates the study of location and how they came into being and how change occurred over time. Specifically it is the visual manifestations of those cultural expressions which create the built environment that we see (Guelke, 1982). Historical geography is the study of the past, in the present, and because of this it can never be purely empirical, but neither can it rely on theory alone (Sauer, 1962; Ben-Arieh, 1982; Guelke, 1982). Meinig (1989), states that historical geography should not be seen as theory and facts, but rather as a perspective, a way of seeing the landscape, and as essential to a healthy geography. The problem of empirical research is that it can become too concerned with the catalogued detail of data without taking into consideration the catalyst for the events. Therefore, in order to reconstruct the past it is important to include conclusive research in both documentary studies and fieldwork. Sauer (1962, p34) notes that the immediate objective of the study is given in the "explanatory description of the data of areal occupation which it accumulates". It must be recognised that the symbols etched in the landscape formed in the present are not necessarily symbolically constituted in the same manner as the past.

"The events of history pass while the shape of the cultural landscape and the processes of its change are vivid, present history. In this sense the heritage of the past is an object of modern geography...We have only to reconstruct and explain landscapes of the past but we have also to make understandable the historical dimensions of the contemporary visible past" (Denecke, 1982, p127).

These changes are reflected upon the landscape and must be recognised as such.

"We underestimate the power alternative symbolic systems to provide rational grounds for action and obviate the very humanistic and subjective hermeneutic we claim" (Cosgrove, 1982, p222).

2.2 Cultural geography

Each culture, unconsciously takes part in symbolic manifestations, and it is the study of these cultural manifestations, imprinted upon the landscape over time, that the historical/cultural geographer is concerned with. It is only through the study of these features over time, it is argued, that the meaning can be understood and the underlying causes revealed (Sestini, 1962).

Sauer believed the landscape to act as a record of human activity, however, this idea is concentrated within the culture as a group, rather than taking into consideration the possibility of individual responses. It was "the search for the origins of an institution or cultural trait rather than an interest in the dynamics of social change" (Jackson, 1989, p15). Only recently has there been a move to the less conventional and traditional methods of interpreting landscape, looking at alternative texts, such as literature, art and architecture, for representation, exploration and interpretation (Cosgrove and Daniels, 1988; Jackson, 1989; Badenhorst, 1992). Jackson (1989) sees cultural geography in a less constrictive manner and as being part of a social process with an historical contingent and geographically specific context. He notes two theoretical debates within cultural geography, firstly that of an interpretive process to study culture and society, and secondly a post-modern approach as an extension of art and architecture into social science with the use of 'thick description'. Grant (1992), suggests that the use of thick description originated from the quantitative interpretive methods, which Cosgrove (Cloke et al, 1991) calls geographical humanism. Lammas (1992), argues that this challenge has been taken up by the emerging regional narrative tradition. Kabayashi suggests that landscape is most useful to the geographer "as a form of

language that structures and is structured by the production of social relations" (Badenhorst, 1992, p53). This idea of using landscapes as text, although useful, should also be recognised to be misleading in some cases, as different layers of meaning may complicate the reading.

By recognising the potential for 'layering' and taking into consideration the problems related to this manner of research, by using these above mentioned methods, one can begin to read urban scapes and understand its development.

2.2.1 Urban landscapes

The study of townscapes has recently become fashionable, where a close relationship between a society's culture and the resultant urban landscape is inextricably linked (Smailes, 1955; Rapoport, 1969; King, 1984; Stelter, 1984; Relph, 1987). Landscapes reveal on investigation a stage on which the play of ideas and ideologies between different interest groups interact - these actions being read as text - this being the manifestation of the relationship between culture and society (Wedderburn, 1991; Grant, 1992). In the 1950s, Smailes (1955) called for greater observations to be made regarding the urban scene as townscape:

> "The significant cultural phases that have contributed to the development of the town and are clearly imprinted in its morphology need to be worked out with some precision, and with the help of knowledge available from the fields of architecture, town planning, and economic and social history...their precise dating varies from area to area and from town to town, as different styles and materials were adopted in different places at varying dates" (p102).

It is important in the study of landscape, to trace back the separate yet interchanging events - architectural, planning, technology, and social conditions - that have occurred (Relph, 1987). Knox (1982), comments on the myopic nature of human-environment studies, in that they do not take into consideration the dynamics of social and economic forces and overplay the role of the builder, architect and planner. Knox calls for a more integrated relationship with urban social theory. The study of landscape considers not only the physical and cultural elements, but also social, aesthetic, personal and cultural contexts (Wedderburn, 1991). The perception of this idea of landscape creates a 'sense of place' within which cultures define themselves and live.

One such manner in which this can be studied is the occurrence of building types and architectural styles. Smailes (1955), in reference to this, notes the importance of the use of special maps depicting the town in its pattern of growth. This can be measured not only in terms of functional use - which is more than often the method used, but also of the building forms and materials that contribute much to both the general appearance of the town and to the distinctiveness of its general parts and the urban region. The architectural style becomes a diagnostic agent in analysis and classification with particular architectural styles giving the urban profile a 'generic association' or flavour of the architectural period in question.

The resulting landscape is dependent on the past and present cultural norms and values of the inhabitants and how people see themselves in a social context and is also contingent upon physical factors (climate, topography, materials), economic and social resources, and the 'authority' at the time. It is seldom that this will remain stagnant and therefore neither will the landscape (Rapoport, 1969; King, 1984; Carter, 1985). Peterson and Dimaggio (Riley, 1980), explain the landscape as having undergone 'massification', as has already occurred in the area of literature, media and buildings. The subculture of popular art and media is responsive to change and can often be short lived. The role of the media in the development of the housing styles has always been a prominent one and it is through journals, magazines and newspapers that styles were passed and popularised (as is noted in Chapters Three, Four, Eight and Nine). The landscape, however, is seen as stable and slow to change, and is one of the last areas to reflect the dominance of mass culture. Aligned to this are economic dynamics. Carter (1985) relates economic development to the movement of people from agricultural communities to larger, non-agricultural communities, this being dependent on the occupations of those involved, within a given space, and other factors such as infrastructure and transport. The dominance of particular trends are also dependant on the development of strong economic trends and stability in the market. It is the changing emphasis between the relationships of these factors discussed above that create particular landscapes, even so far as to the distinction between close neighbourhoods.

2.2.1.1 Social dynamics and zoning

Knox (1991), notes that neighbourhoods were to begin with very structured and ordered in regard to class, race, and so on. This, however, is changing and zones are becoming less discernable upon

the landscape. To begin with there was a delineation between the rural and urban areas, but with the movement of people this line became less marked, as the town expanded to accommodate the influx into the 'rural' area. This border area became known as the suburb - 'sub-town' or 'urban village'. These border areas would invariably develop in times of booms and the results of continuous periods of booms and slumps "are a series of alternating zones characterised by different proportions of institutions and housing" (Carter 1985, p150). The developing suburbs created a marriage between town and country, privacy and nature (Pocock and Hudson, 1978). These characterised zones of development have been theorised and explained by the use of models, such as Burgess [1925] and Hoyt [1939], as having developed in concentric circles from the city out or having developed sectorally, along particular routes, respectively. But, with the constantly changing landscape these previously delineated areas have become blurred. Knox (1991, 1993), takes note of these smudgings and describes the built environment as an ideal place to start in the understanding of the new geographies - new architectural styles, cityscapes - that have been imprinted upon the older urbanised framework, i.e. landscape as 'text' that can be read:

> "to reveal the relationships between the social and spatial dimensions of urbanization, to interpret the ideological content of the socially-created space and to suggest the conflicts, tensions and contradictions involved in the process of urban development" (Knox, 1993, p3).

2.2.2 The built form

Knox (1982), comments on the lack of understanding with regard to the relationship between the designers and the built environment and people's behaviour in the broader context of society and economics. Mumford, (1946, p403), states that "in the state of building at any period one may discover, in legible script, the complicated processes and changes that are taking place within civilization itself". The uniqueness and impulses of the designers and their clients, and the social meaning of the spatial and temporal built environment, means that the development of the built form does, in part, render the emerging landscape with a certain degree of autonomy from the dominant socio-cultural order (Knox 1982).

Conzen was one or the earliest geographers to incorporate the study of town planning and building fabric in the determination of the pattern and character of town growth (Solomon, 1966). Conzen

states that there are three important inter-related aspects constituting the physical fabric of townscapes; firstly our mental maps, which are spatially dependant upon the identity and recognition of localities; secondly the visual experience of the history of the area or historical comparisons; and thirdly the aesthetic values pertaining to that area - the streetscape, churches, and so on (Whitehand, 1987). Whitehand, however, believes that in addition to this, the economic innovations and fluctuations should also be considered in relation to the above statement by Conzen, giving rise to building fluctuations and different developmental phases. "Conzenian tradition is concerned with conceptualizing developments in the urban landscape in terms of an integrated historical context" (Whitehand, 1987, p10), and the application of this understanding to create a theoretical grounding for future townscape management. The urban landscape is a reflection of past and present societies needs and aspirations, it is an accumulation of experiences and to understand the future one has to understand the past. Psychologically the past presents stability and enables individuals to take root and advance to the future.

To understand the evolution and resulting structure of a town, there are various aspects that should be considered and investigated for a holistic approach. Carter (1985), suggests that the study of urban geography is the interplay of various processes - economic, social and political - and it is not systematic. It is the study of these processes which generate the themes within human geography. Urban geography considers, through the description and interpretation of these characters, all these themes within one context - the city (Carter, 1985).

It thus follows that the position of the town was or is reliant on the function, and this in turn determines its future growth. There are three variables (Carter, 1985), that are related to the internal structure of the town, or its morphology. These being the plan or layout, the land-use or function of buildings and the architectural style of the buildings. It is important to study these independently, but also to see the relationship between them within the context of the townscape for it is the relationship between these factors that create distinctive neighbourhoods such as Scottsville. Urban growth can be divided into two categories:

a) primary urbanisation - those initiating the town more or less share a common culture which remains the matrix upon which the urban culture builds; and

b) secondary urbanisation - where society is further urbanised and influenced by the introduction of other cultures, which leads to a weakening and mixing of cultures. Redfield and Singer label such cities as orthogenetic and heterogenetic respectively (Carter, 1985).

The built environment plays a vital role in our lives. It provides protection, an understanding of our past - our origens - and adds meaning to our lives. It is often a symbol of who we, as a culture or group, believe we are.

2.3 Style and shelter

Architecture is seen as an indicator of civilisation, and reveals to those who open its doors, something about past and present living man (Ford, 1964; Reid, 1964; Adams, 1984). By the examination of building styles and urban structures one gains insight into the society that created them. King (1984), states that the built environment is essentially a product of socio-cultural factors. Buildings respond to the needs of society accommodating a variety of functions, therefore buildings have meaning. As fashions and needs become outdated so do the buildings and thus either become modified or obsolete. As needs change so do buildings and although attention has been attuned towards urban, social and economic history, planning, architecture and the history of housing, too little attention has been awarded the sphere of the building in relation to society and the spatial understanding thereof (Relph, 1987). One of the ways humans impose order on the earths surface is through building, each building fulfilling its given function. The house is one of the closest and most important structures to the human race. Tuan (Adams, 1984), states housing to have the following main functions:

a) provides shelter;

b) caters for emotional wants and welfare;

c) social meaning - the house acts as a social stage upon which we act; and

d) creates socio-cultural categories through zoning and by-laws;

Tuan (1977), believes buildings to enhance peoples awareness at different levels of their surrounding environment; the architectural form creating a secure environment for humans:

"The built environment, like language has the power to define and refine sensibility. It can sharpen and enlarge consciousness. Without architecture feelings about space must remain diffuse and fleeting" (107).

Buildings are a form of tradition that have been passed down. The designed environment acts as an educational tool, symbolic of the past - economic or social (Tuan, 1977). Humans impose order

through symbols[3], codes and schemata, it is thus essential to understand these codes to understand the resultant built environment.

The variety of different types of buildings, in an area, explains the different types of functions those buildings fulfill. The contrast between buildings, fulfilling similar functions and others in another area show the influence of culture, social organisations, climate and landscape, available materials and technology, whilst the similarities are evidence of the coinciding of these factors and the basics of human needs (Rapoport, 1969). Tuan (1977, p164/5) states that "art and architecture seek visibility. They are attempts to give sensible form to the moods, feelings, and rhythms of functional life".

The study of geography has developed within a wide range of approaches, but the common core between all these theories is the relationship between people and the environment. Cultural geography concerns itself with the influence of human activity on the landscape over time. Langer writes that the architect/designer expresses the culture's image through the built environment (Tuan, 1977). Cities with colonial origins tend to reflect the aspects of their European heritage in their developing built environment, a past that happened elsewhere. The ideals held place, although often with some adaptations and differences. Regional variations occurred due to the materials and technology available, and thus a vernacular developed. Glassie notes that the further people move away from their place of origin the closer their architectural expressions become (to that of the home country), and it is only through time and with the introduction of other cultures this would begin to dissipate (Stelter, 1984).

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[3]A symbol is representative, analogically and metaphorically, and brings to mind a succession of related events and phenomenon. These symbols have the power of identity and suggestion (Tuan, 1977; Rowntree and Conkey, 1980).

CHAPTER THREE

EUROPEAN ARCHITECTURAL IDEALS AND HISTORY

" ... architecture does instil a national feeling, as powerful in its charms as the wildest or grandest scenery can impart upon the human heart, because it is known to be the handiwork of our own species upon the earth - man's (sic) footprints upon the sands of time - wherein he evinces his innate everlasting love of truth. Here he can at least imitate his Maker, by his accuracy of his work, and love of all things created by his imitations creating forms - as beautiful, because as true, as nature's own" (Architect, W.E Hall, *The Natal Witness*, 1 April, 1864, cited in Labuschagne, 1984, p89).

Nathan Silver writes of the importance of the past to people, the knowledge that immortality is part of their lives. In a manner this is provided by the built environment, by revealing the hidden mysteries of the past, unveiling its layers. The city (town, village) is a place of merging styles, a recorded cultural manifestation of bygone eras (Gowans, 1986). In regard to this Frampton makes note of the interactive relationship between nature and architecture, architecture being highly responsive to climate, topography and light (Thakara, 1988) as discussed in the previous Chapter.

Generally studies have tended to focus on the grander buildings and larger scale architecture, with an architectural rather than a sociological perspective, despite the fact that most of our functions occur in the 'dwelling' (Camesasca, 1971). Considering the importance of the ordinary house Camesasca questions the lack of research within this area and the need for further investigation. What should be added to this is the change or adaptability of the ordinary house to societal fashion, pressure and landscape changes.

The focus of this study lies not wholly on the visual appearance of the architectural designs of the time, nor on the designers who 'created' them, but on the ethos in which these designs became fashionable, and the resulting effect that was imbued on the landscape - in the design and spread of housing. Within the study it is important to view the variable role of the designer in society, and the effect of this on housing and styles. A basic overview (due to the abundance of readily available literature on the subject) of the fashionable architectural periods, under discussion, and the main protagonists will be provided.

3.1 Shelter and style

Housing is a basic fact of human geography, reflecting cultural heritage and fashion and the functional needs, both positively and negatively of a non-cultural environment (Kniffen 1986). The primary function of the house is that of a dwelling place and a refuge for people. This can range from a palace, castle and mansion to a cottage, mud hut and cave (Camesasca, 1971). People reside in these buildings, but as we know 'people' are always changing, as are their ideals and habits, thus it is natural that these changes will be reflected in the environment around them. These shifts will also be affected by modifications occurring elsewhere in science. However, these changes are open to different interpretations (Camesasca, 1971). Invariably each new 'style' believes in the purity of its design, and as being a reflection of the invisible revolution of the human desires. For example with the onset of modernism and the appearance into the architectural world of Le Corbusier (1887-1965), The Bauhaus Group and others, the main thrust of the movement was that the basis of their design was based on functionality and truth to the 'style' and materials: the idea of working with nature. A strong dictum of the modern movement, was the belief that their designs would make up for the untruths and errors of the past (Camesasca, 1971; Broadbent, 1973). It must be said, however, that this was a policy that appears to have been followed by each new emerging 'style', who see themselves as the leaders of a new revolution seeking individuality and functionality in architecture.

The Victorian architects saw themselves as pioneers in architecture striving forth in originality and freedom away from the constraining ties of the classical Georgians. To the Victorians the home was a refuge sanctity, from the changing world around them. Of this Ruskin wrote:

> "'This is the true nature of the home - it is the place of peace, the shelter, not only from injury, but from all terror, doubt and division' should this be invaded it is no longer a home" (Cohen, 1986, p263).

The home allowed for the gradual penetration of technological development. The houses being built reflect in their structure these new innovations and societies needs or desires for betterment. Neiman (1986), writes that details cannot be considered in isolation or they shall be 'as meaningless as the isolated letters in alphabet soup'. Houses should be considered not simply as an object, but understood as being part of the builders and society that created them. The relationship between the builder and the individual is a perceptual one, this consisting of ideas imparted from the past

and those from present experiences, which act together to determine the reaction to the built environment. This relationship becomes evident in the colonial architectural adaptations as discussed in Chapters Four and Eight. Not only is architecture a creation of the present, but is also a mirror to the past - determining the present and expressing the past - an unconscious self-expression (Downing, 1969; Broadbent, 1973; Gowans, 1986; Neiman, 1986). In one view:

"Culture can be conceived as a complexly networked adaptive system whose components, arbitrarily divided under familiar headings like society, economy, religion, and architecture, are linked in such a way that changes in one area will produce adaptive shifts in others. It follows that understanding houses, or anything else for that matter, requires puzzling out the relationships between group's ideas about architecture and their ideas about the rest of the world. In fact the very existence of these relationships can allow us to learn about things other than architecture, by studying old houses" (Neiman, 1986, p294).

3.2 The changing place of the designer

To begin with the designers in pre-Renaissance times were simply craftsmen working with tradition and the vernacular. As industry developed and flourished, so did the need for people to utilise this new knowledge in the field of building and fulfill the growing social demands. Specialised schools were set up to facilitate the training of artisans in methods of improved design and construction. The movement of people into the city increased not only the population, but also the capital gains, which in a manner initiated the demand for better public facilities (Turnor, 1952; Benevolo, 1971a). This new technology meant a decrease in the limitations previously experienced with the creativity of materials and resultant form. Paxton's 1851 Crystal Palace is thought to be one of the greatest innovation and turning points in technology and design (Benevolo, 1971a; Nuttgens, 1983; Curl, 1990; Barrett and Phillips, 1993). With iron greater expanses could be spanned rather than with the limitations previously imposed by wood. The manufacturing of glass had also improved with new ideas and designs being created[4], as can be seen in Chapter Seven. There was, however, a

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[4]Both bricks and glass had been difficult and expensive to obtain. Once the excise duty of bricks had been abolished (1850) and they had become standardised and more freely available (rail), housing improved. In the case of glass, prior to technological improvement, it was a difficult and expensive process. Like bricks excise duties were enforced and only abolished in 1845. Added to this people were charged window taxes for the number of windows in a building, but this was dropped in 1857. With glass being cheaper and more readily available, its use supported by the 1851 exhibition, it became more popular (Marshall and Willox, 1986).

concern that with the mass production of industry and the personal desire for betterment, there had arisen an orientation towards quantity and not quality (Curl, 1990; Barrett and Phillips, 1993).

With the onset of technological innovations, there emerged the need for people who were specialised in particular areas of building rather than the 'jack of all trades' concept. Out of the specialisation of fields arrived the engineer, and the division between the profession of architecture and engineering broadened - construction versus architecture, science versus art. The increasing archaeological discoveries, during the Victorian times meant that studies of the past could be scientific studies rather than basing knowledge on the myth of the past. Traditional rules began to be expanded upon, and science and technology began to open up new avenues (Benevolo, 1971a).

The Industrial Revolution opened the field of architecture to more than the designer. There was a freedom from the past hierarchical structures - new values were introduced; Morris's dictum of 'an art of the people for the people' and Lincoln's definition of democracy being a 'government of the people, by the people for the people' were ideals held at the time (Benevolo, 1971b, p788). For architecture (and designers) to succeed it had to change from a self-orientated profession and begin to make a contribution to this new 'democratic life' - which included town planning, industrial production, urban planning/land use. Architecture became involved with the bigger enterprises tending to leave the erection of the ordinary dwelling house to the speculative builder, with their pattern books - a Mrs Beeton's for builders - terrace after terrace (Turnor, 1952; Marshall and Willox, 1986).

With new construction materials, so came better construction methods. Towns increased in size with the influx of people from the rural to urban centres (Curl, 1990; Barrett and Phillips, 1993). Improvements were therefore necessary for public facilities; an increase in available capital meant the erection of 'correct' buildings to serve particular functions. With the new scientific knowledge, and therefore materials, architects were able to fulfill their desires in design and stretch the use of materials and design to the limits, as can be seen in so many of the buildings of this time (Benevolo, 1971a). Iron meant efficient structures and greater expanses could be attained, eventually almost replacing wood.

In 1949, Gropius[5] spoke out against a ruling that was to be declared to cut the architect off from their previous role in the building contraction. He commented on the role of the architect in periods past, being that of the 'master of crafts' or 'master builder', who played a key role in the production of their time. However, with the introduction of industry this began to change and "he (sic) has remained sitting all alone on his anarchistic brick pile, pathetically unaware of the colossal impact of industrialization" (Benevolo, 1971b, p783). Architects, he argued, should be aware that their position is in the process of being usurped by the engineer, scientist and builder, should they not be aware of meeting the needs of the new situation. The architect should return from the world of the abstract to an original and natural approach that is in unison with the engineer and scientist as one team - "a fusion of art, science and business"(Benevolo, 1971b, p783). Gropius (1927), saw the task of the architect to be that of establishing a plan in response to how people wish to live, based on sociological studies into housing needs. The engineer was to discover new materials, that would be cheap, conserve space and be load-bearing.

Pickering, in response to Gropius's 1949 speech, acknowledges the struggle within the profession to maintain itself in a time where the clients only interest is in the production of the goods (builder) and not in the philosophy behind this production (broadly speaking, the architect). The designer is part of the confusing nature of changing patterns within the political, economic and social spheres. The future of the profession is under the control of others (Benevolo, 1971b). To sustain their profession designers, as a team, have to establish their part in the building process, where they are inseparable to it and to society. Turnor (1952), notes the continuing battle between art and engineering. In the twentieth century people searched for simplicity and mobility after the stylistic oppression of earlier years; the house is to be built to match their new lifestyles - the car - and the architect must realise this need in the new designs.

Knox (1982), reflects on the limited influence of the designer due to the clients, builders, users and framework of codes and legal procedures involved in the whole process. The designer is no longer the controlling factor of the built environment. As discussed in Chapter Two, the influencing role of the media/popular culture plays an important role in influencing the townscape. Dickens concludes that the building industry has become capitalist and independent from patronage and that

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[5]Gropius made a speech in response to this ruling at the 1949 Association of American Architects (AIA) convention in Houston. This speech was published in *Architectural Forum*, 10 May 1952 (Benevolo, 1971b).

the architectural role has become one of mediacy between social relationships and production systems. Changing ideas are seen to be expressed in the superstructure (Knox, 1982).

3.3 Architectural Promise - the Picturesque

The Industrial Revolution set about creating the opening for new creative styles. Despite the quest of the Picturesque being to seek out an anti-industrial architecture reminiscent of the country, it was through the development of industry that the Picturesque flourished. Housing became available to a wider range of society, the Picturesque being 'adaptable' to suit the situation.

3.3.1 Industrial openings

There is a strong relationship between 'modern' architecture and industrialisation, industry having provided the tools and materials to allow all to benefit from these opportunities in a more equitable way than previously (Benevolo, 1971a). Europe, during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, was going through a period of reform - agriculturally, politically and economically. It was the Age of Re-Organisation (Benevolo, 1971a; Nuttgens, 1983; Curl, 1990). Doors began to open up for the architect. The onset of modern architecture had begun.

Modern architecture has often been thought to be associated with the arrival of the twentieth century. However, both Benevolo (1971a),and Haiko (1989), indicate this to be the onset of the modern movement, whilst modern architecture occurred with the onset of industrialisation. Benevolo (1971a), suggests that there are three indicators of modern architecture:

1. With the Industrial Revolution came technical, social and cultural changes. Thus new thoughts on architecture, building and planning were born. Initially these factors were individualistically orientated and remained applicable to particular sectors of social life, due to the culture of the time. It was only later that they began to spread to other sectors of society.

2. When these factors were strong enough on their own they merged into one coherent

thought and policy, and modern architecture was born.

3. The crucial point was not only the integration of these points, but the initiating of the theory into practice. Benevolo puts this point at just prior to the First World War, but more specifically in 1919 with the opening of the Weimar School opened by Gropius and the onset of the 'modern movement'.

With the improving industrial situation and influx of people from the rural areas to the towns came an increase in capitalism, but adjoining this spurt of capitalism are increasingly complicated economic relationships. As people's lives and prosperity became more inter-related with the new set of economic relationships, the more there needed to be some set of regulations governing the general daily conduct of life. Health, for instance, was no longer one person's problem. Due to the burgeoning population and close proximity of dwellings it become the towns problem. Social responsibility thus becomes a town issue (Benevolo, 1971a; Walton, 1989; Marshall and Willox, 1986).

3.3.2 Victorian morality and the Gothic Revival

Within all these changes, past beliefs and actions were being questioned. The onset of the Victorian era and new opportunities, bought about by the revolution, saw the resurgence of new values. The conscience of the Victorian age was led by the 'Clapham Sect'[6]. Within this new beginning, architecturally there developed two conflicting groups - the Ecclesiastics who were more charismatic and decorative in style, and the Evangelicals (the Clapham Sect'), who believed in simplicity and severity[7] (Hersey, 1972; Curl, 1990), a continuation from the Georgian period. A belief which arose out of the Gothic and Victorian dominance was that morals and Christian piety

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[6] The Clapham Sect originated out of the works of a Rector of Clapham - temperance, moderation, good works. It was a pre-Victorian grouping, but led the basis for the Victorian social and moral revolution (Benevolo, 1971a; Curl, 1990).

[7] The Evangelicals saw the Ecclesiasts as damaging to the Protestant way, and community. They disregarded all the expense and paraphinalia of the Gothic Revival, their churches being innocent of artistic attractions. Pugin was in the forefront of the Ecclesiastical revival, believing the Gothic style to be the only true symbolism of the Christian style (Hersey, 1972; Curl, 1990).

were of the highest order and related. It was thought to be the moral responsibility of those who could afford it, to correct the sins of the less fortunate. This was achieved by the erection of churches in the cities, which, with the burgeoning 'industrial' population, was seen to be in need of moral guidance. Those that believed that Gothic and Christianity were in unison believed that architecture was symbolic of the piety and wealth of the church and should be reflected through the use of decorative elements. The ideal here was to revive that architecture which was reflective of a purer age and which Pugin believed to be an English invention (Hersey, 1972; Hillebrand, 1975) the Gothic style - the Gothic influence promoting the Picturesque movement.

The medieval times were held as a successful era to many of the young architects disillusioned with the rigidity of the Georgian era. Ruskin (influenced by Pugin) saw the Middle Ages as a time of beauty and not machines. It was characterised by harmonious relationships and the remedy for the present malaise would be to return back to these times. With the belief that the past was always better (morally, socially) and stable, in comparison with the 'fictitious' classical tradition, a return to styles of past seemed to be appropriate - hence the Gothic Revival (Benevolo, 1971a; Walton, 1989). Ruskin[8] believed that:

> "The work of art was like an iceberg, where the top fragment, the only part visible, moved according to laws which were incomprehensible unless one took into account the submerged, invisible part" (Benevolo, 1971a, p171).

In his book *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, Ruskin writes of the healing, power and pleasure that the edifices raised by man and adorned by art (architecture) give. He also suggested that the ordinary, simple dwelling, with all its differences are expressions of each person's character, being and history. It can be seen as a blank tablet upon which our lives are inscribed, thus the house becomes a monument to humans and their past. It was through this association that the Picturesque was functionally expressed (Benevolo, 1971a; Hersey, 1972; Hillebrand, 1975). The morality of the Middle Ages (Gothic revival style) being visualised in the textures and decorative elements of the Picturesque.

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[8]Ruskin (1819-1900) was a prominent Gothic revivalist, who it was believed that Gothic architecture and Christian architecture were representative of each other (Camesasca, 1971, Hersey, 1972).

With the revival of these new styles an eclecticism[9] was favoured, but within fashionable and stylistic constraints. It was believed that an independence, sense of individuality and freedom of expression reigned in comparison to the earlier conformity of style in the Georgian era (Hersey, 1972). There were, however, contradictions to this belief by some who believed that there was not a creative development of new styles based on the nuances and lessons of the past, but a direct copying of old mistakes.

3.3.2.1 Town life versus country life

Despite the positivity of change and industry, the early 1800s were times of transition, societal disorder (fig. 3.1) and negative reactions to the bleakness of industry. It is therefore understandable, that within such settings, the country image and the attraction of new life and hope in the majestically advertised colonies was attractive to many. Reformers of the city were not helped by writers such as Dickens, who in *Hard Times* wrote, with strong emotive forces of the negative aspects of the industrial city.

Life was moving ahead, too fast for the city to cope with. It was only towards the end of the nineteenth-century that attitudes began to change, and acceptance of the new world and its opportunities began to be seen (Benevolo, 1971a; Marshall and Willox, 1986).

Many of the painters, such as Turner and Constable (and poets), opted to escape the ugliness of the industrial city by romanticising the landscape (fig. 3.2). This projected an idealistic image, uncontaminated by man as it was prior to industrialisation. By the time the Impressionists began to emerge towards the end of the century, a stronger sense of reality began to be seen in the paintings by the depictions of town life and urban settings, where there was a greater acceptance of the life and people (Benevolo, 1971a; Curl, 1990). Benevolo (1971a), continues to note that this was a period where it was accepted that paintings could reflect the world socially and or romanticise its image, but architecture should face reality and set out to change it.

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[9]The word eclectic originates from the Greek word *Eklego*, meaning to pick out, to select (Hillebrand, 1975). With the revival of the styles and the Picturesque, eclecticism suited the architectural philosophy of the time, especially with the fashion of the vernacular and Shaw's Domestic Revival of styles.

Figure 3.1: The Silent Highwayman (Punch 1858) - urban degradation
(Source: Marshall and Willox, 1986, p.78)
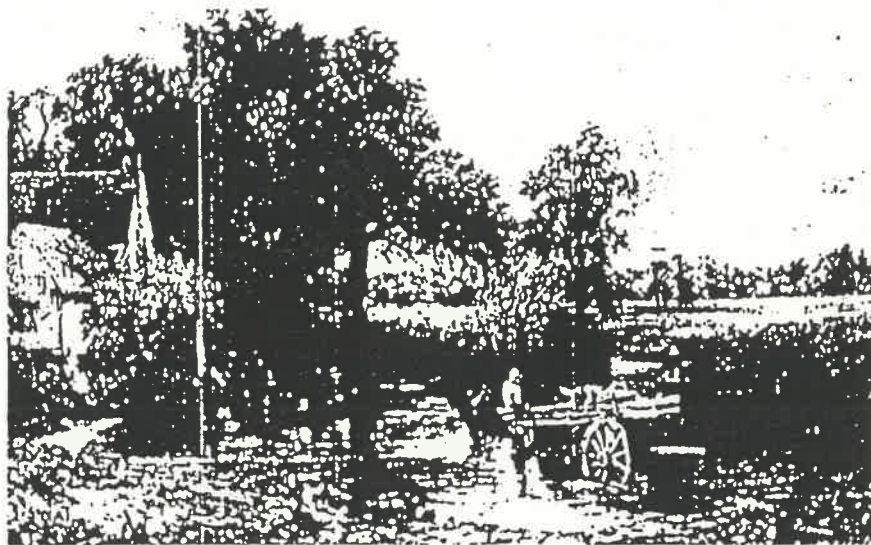
Figure 3.2: The Haywain (Constable, 1821)
(Source: Kearney, 1975, p.11)

To understand the architecture of the time one must look at the general social and political pattern of the time in question, for a symbiotic relationship is seen to exist. The Industrial Revolution was more than mechanical inventions and industrial menaces. It was the introduction of new lifestyles, greater knowledge, understanding and technology. It initiated an increase in the spirit of enterprise, new thoughts and beliefs, changing social systems, a time of understanding and discovery. With the betterment of technology and lifestyles it saw to the increase in population, health and thus a decrease in the death rate (Benevolo, 1971a; Camesasca, 1971; Curl, 1990). Charles Dickens (1859) sums up his views on the Industrial Revolution, in *A Tale of Two cities*, as:

> "It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity, it was the season of light, it was the season of darkness, it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair, we had everything before us, we had nothing before us, we were all going direct to Heaven, we were all going direct the other way..." (cited in Benevolo, 1971a, p.xxi).

The Victorian period[10] was one of exploration, imagination, lofty morality and exploitation of natural resources and people in the interest of profit. It was a time of rapid growth and expansion and thus increases in housing demand. These demands were more than often met by the (small) speculative builder, who tended to build within close proximity to his (sic) present dwelling area (Marshall and Willox, 1986).

3.3.3 Ornament and the Picturesque

Those with money sought to show their wealth through the decoration of the house in an often ostentatious manner. The Georgians had regarded asymmetrical designs as haphazard and badly planned on the part of the architect and builder. The architects of the Picturesque favoured the asymmetrical design for its diversity of design and expression of function. This design style becoming evident in the later Victorian houses built in Pietermaritzburg. Ruskin believed that decoration denoted nobility and utility, it defined function (Hillebrand, 1975). For example form and function could be expressed by the size of room and level of ornamentation; the size and shape of windows were used to denote function and importance of the rooms.

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[10]The Victorian period is taken to be during the reign of Queen Victoria from c:1837 - 1901 (Camesasca, 1971; Marshall and Willox, 1986)

The diversity of the Picturesque was seen to be fitting for the home of a Gentleman, a countryman, and a farmer (aristocrat or peasant) - a labourer or merchant desiring the country life and all its assumed pleasantries and romantic notions. Its size and ornamentation would denote the status level of the occupier. A common example is that of the parsonage. Being the home of the leader of the church, it was felt that the Gothic style was as befitting of it as the church. The Picturesque allowed for the design of a home with a low income, but a high status level in the community (figs. 3.3, 3.4) (Hillebrand, 1975).

The rivalry for supremacy in style was compounded by the publications of pattern books (fig. 3.5), of all styles, for the speculative builder (Hillebrand, 1975). Those with finances (the upper class) could afford the extravagances and proportions of these styles, but the smaller house not being able to afford such decoration, tended to be somewhat simpler in design (Turnor, 1952; Camesasca, 1971; Walton, 1989).

With the Industrial Revolution and increase in capitalism a new class began to emerge - the middle/merchant class, and who required of architecture a fitting reply. A style in mode with the 'ton,' though generally of smaller, affordable proportions. The Gothic Revival allowed for a multitude of opportunities in building adornment aided by the mass production of goods produced by machinery (Turnor, 1952). Benevolo (1971a), notes that the architecture of the time was symbolic of the cultural uncertainty of the time. Not tied to tradition (classical), but open to new thoughts and ideas, and often being inconsistent in design.

It was, however, this industrial mass production and over-ornamentation that was itself to cause a reaction amongst many, towards the end of the century, for a simplification of stylistic designs and ornamentation. Industry and its effect on the landscape promoted the development of the Picturesque - thought to be representative of the country, stability, delicateness, traditional vernacular and ultimately anti-industrial. Ironically though, it was the advancement of industry and technology itself that, to a large extent, aided in the creation of these new styles: domestic housing infused with the aura of the country home.

Figure 3.3: A Gate Lodge
(Source: Downing, 1969, p.101)
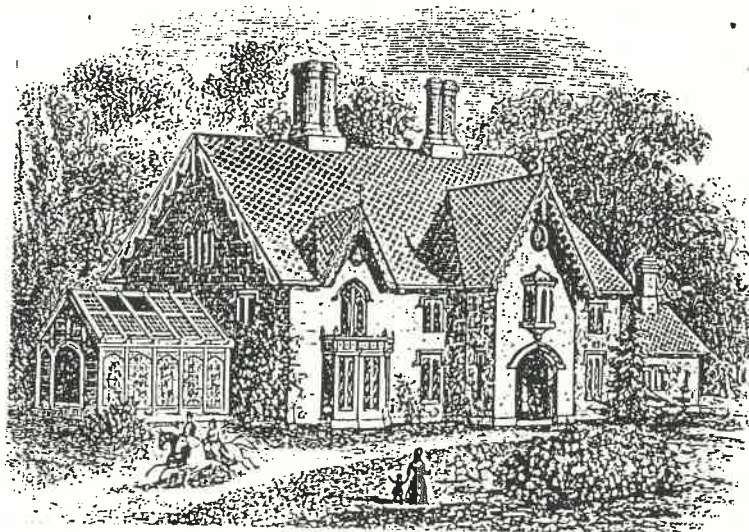
Figure 3.4: A Rural Gothic Villa
(Source: Downing, 1969, p.303)

Figure 3.5: An asymmetrical country villa from
Robinson's *Rural Residences* c 1840
(Source: Kearney, 1977, p.9)

3.4 The rise of Domestic Architecture - a new style emerges

Morris (1834-96), (a contemporary of Ruskin), although not an architect himself, espoused the ideas of craftsmanship as opposed to the mass production of industrial products. He sought (to find) an art (from the Middle Ages) that was apt for the demands of the day, available not to the few, but to all (Mumford, 1966; Camesasca, 1971; Richardson, 1983). Morris commissioned Webb (1831-1915) to build for him a house at Berkley Heath, in a contemporary medieval style, which he called 'Red House' (1859). Shaw (1831-1912), a contemporary of Webb, enhanced the Domestic Revival style with his enthusiastic inclusion of Tudor, Queen Anne and Dutch styles (Camesasca, 1971). It was the revival of medieval crafts and customs and a pot-pourri of styles in harmony with nature, which led to the development of the Arts and Crafts Movement[11] (Nuttgens, 1983; Curl, 1990). Richardson (1983) notes that although many of these architects were individualistic in their design and there were inconsistencies within the 'style', there were basic commonalities between their designs: plans and elevation were used to express utility, materials

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[11]The term Arts and Crafts is said to have originated from a bookbinder, T.J. Cobden-Sanderson. A society called the Arts and Crafts Exhibition society, in 1888, was formed (Richardson, 1983).

were local thus cheaper, with the use of local craftsmen and artisans and details were taken from the vernacular rather than classical pattern books.

For some the arrival of a new style was a refreshing and welcome change. Bing (1897) comments on having seen one generation after the other following the previous generation with no trace of individuality. The arrival of the Arts and Crafts was seen as a welcome relief to the past lack of self expression. Of this Muthesius (1907), speaks:

> "The arts and crafts are called upon to restore an awareness of honesty, integrity and simplicity in contemporary society. If this can be achieved, the whole of our cultural life will be profoundly affected, and the way will have been paved for the most far-reaching effects. The success of our movement will not only alter the appearance of houses and flats but will have direct repercussions on the character of an entire generation...it will ultimately eradicate the pretentious parvenu ambitions that have had such a harmful effect on our surroundings" (p38-39).

Muthesius believed that a new style of living was in the process of creation (fig. 3.6). Domestic architecture, especially that of the small house was being built in context with its environment, replacing the previously 'ornate villa heavily laden with merchandise of the past', available to only the few.

3.4.1 The new European movements

Whilst England was experiencing the taste of craftsmanship, Europe too was undergoing architectural and social changes. Tired of Historicism, Art Nouveau[12] arrived strongly supported by new building techniques, new ideas and critics such as George Gilbert Scott who lamented on the revival of old styles - that each successive style was the simple outcome of its predecessor (Benevolo, 1971a).

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[12]Benevolo (1971a) broadly terms Art Nouveau as of many parts - namely *Avant-Garde*, Modern Style, Liberty, Jugenstil. In the Arts they were seen to be the emerging Cubists, De Blaue Reiters and Picasso.
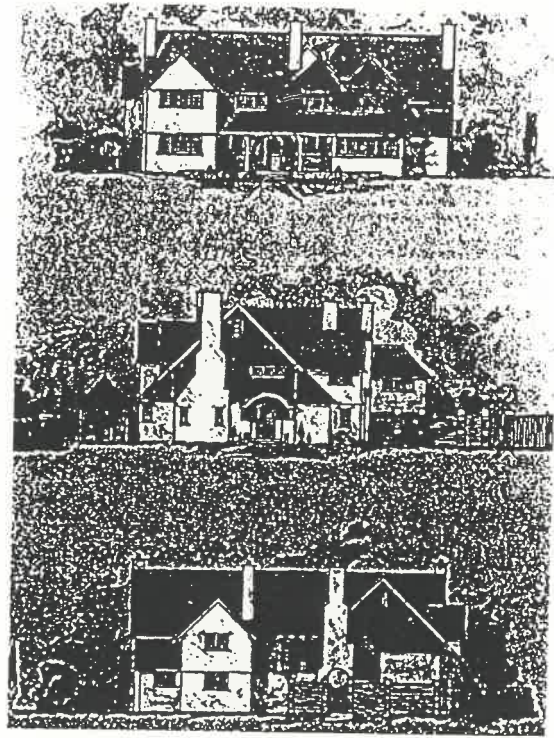
Figure 3.6: An Arts and Crafts style house - Letchworth 1906
(Source: Richardson, 1983, p111)

Avant-garde was the most well known, but did not become popular in England, the English being too conservative in taste for this rather dramatic change in style. Conservative South Africa was also reticent in the acceptance of these styles. In fact the *avant-garde* movement appears to have been merely a transitory period, whilst searching for something new and vibrant. Despite being classified as too self-interested and extravagant for ordinary architecture, *avant-garde* was reflective of current social, economic and political changes, new technical and organisational levels that were being attained, and allowed for escape from the shackles of tradition and set a course for freedom in expression and design (Benevolo, 1971a; 1971b; Camesasca, 1971). The movement of these new ideas were being transported through exhibitions, journals and magazines (Small, 1994).

There was a questioning of the traditional rules of art and architecture. Architecture had always been part of art, but with the new thoughts and ideas that were being formulated, art was becoming part of architecture. In 1914 Antonio Sant'Elia wrote a manifesto to bring the revolutionary spirit of the *avant-garde* to architecture. It was concerned with the raising of new structures which

would be enhanced by innovation of science and technology of new and could not be subjected to laws of historical continuity. It was to reflect the new state of mind, the perfection of new technical methods - modern life (Benevolo, 1971b).

Post World War One saw the generation of the Bauhaus Movement in Germany supporting simple shapes, glass corners, smooth surfaces and solid, but transparent in form. Most of the architects involved with these new designs became refugees in England or America having fled the totalitarian regimes of the Continent boosting the progression of the movement in those countries (Benevolo, 1971b; Nuttgens, 1983).

3.4.2 America's rising architectural prowess

By the turn of the century America was emerging as a new architectural centre. As a colony, America had based its building on traditions of old. But, without the continued presence of historical reminders of England and Europe from which to learn, and the need to adapt the style to suit the climate and life in the colony, a vernacular fast developed. America soon become aware of its strength as an architectural nation on its own (Nuttgens, 1983). With the development of the Chicago School, Chicago became one of the main centres of architectural design. The 1871 fire, that destroyed so much of the town, provided the ideal opportunity to rebuild the city - to dispense with the old and start anew. The birth of the skyscraper (in Chicago) was aided by vast technological and service improvements, it saw the beginnings of new styles and design. One of the architects to emerge from the Chicago School and to have a strong influence on architectural designs to come was Frank Lloyd Wright (1869-1959) (Nuttgens, 1983) who was a strong proponent of form following function (Wright, 1931). This dictum was to become the main proponent of modern architecture, giving new light to architecture in the twentieth century.

The Great War put a halt to many artistic and architectural creations. It bought about complete upheavals in the lives and ideals of nations and a total restructuring of society and their needs. Vast areas were destroyed and at the end of the war there was a remodelling and rebuilding of towns. With the renewed growth in population a housing shortage arose, but due to the economic situation of the time the State had to intervene and fulfill the need. Efficient town planning programmes and State subsidised housing became the primary objective of many countries affected by the war. This

problem resurfaced with the Second World War which once again saw a resurgence in town planning and State paid housing. The architects, who had to review their position in society, now came under the employ of the State as few clients could afford private services. In theory architects saw themselves as revolutionaries in the new order, not with palaces and churches, but with domestic housing for the people (Benevolo, 1971b; Nuttgens, 1983).

3.5 New thoughts and architectural processes - The Modern Movement

Technical knowledge had surpassed all previous limits, but that which had aided in the progress of society and life had also caused its unwitting destruction. Technology is not loyal to one cause, but rather to the persons directing it. New ways of thinking had to be formed to understand these apparently easy shifts. Theory needed to be put into practice and adapted to the circumstances (Benevolo, 1971b). In an explanation of this Gropius wrote:

> "The dominant spirit of the epoch is already recognizable although its form is not yet clearly defined. The old dualistic world-concept which, envisaged the ego in opposition to the universe is rapidly losing ground. In its place is rising the idea of a universal unity in which all opposing forces exist in a state of balance" (cited in Benevolo, 1971b, p421).

Gropius continues to say that architecture was neither a mirror of the ideals of society nor as being capable of regenerating society, but as having a new focus, that of contributing a service to enhance communal life and efficient living (Benevolo, 1971b). Architectural experiments were now being generated from all environments and cultural origins and, although stressing different styles, all had in common a unity of purpose - function and efficiency. The designs of this era became known as the International Style[13]. It was said to be the first truly integrated contemporary style (Turnor, 1952; Nuttgens, 1983). The past styles were based on moral or religious beliefs and ornamentation to express these values. Modern architecture was to start anew, basing its works on the present and not the past (Turnor, 1952). Antonia Sant'Elia (1914) asks for the discarding of unwanted decoration in favour of glass, steel and concrete; of cold calculatedness and simplicity to obtain the most in elasticity and lightness.

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[13]The term International Style was conceived by the organisers of the First International Exhibition of Modern Architecture at the Museum of Modern Art, New York, in 1932 (Nuttgens, 1983).

Moholy-Nagy (1922) remarks on the new sense of reality that was pervading human thinking. Each century, or era, has its own sense of reality. That of this century is technology - invention and construction, the machine - having replaced the spiritual theories of past eras. Technology has no tradition , it equalises, and provides for all. Technology is revolutionary and fights for new forms.

The whole stance of architecture was changing, a strong reaction was being articulated in the form of design. Thoughts were simplistic and economic, a possible indication to changing societal values and structures. The Great War, the subsequent post-war depression and the Great Depression of the Wall Street Crash of 1929 had turned the tables on the stability that the past had provided for the people. A rethinking and reshuffling of society and its future was seen to be needed, values of old could no longer be applied, they had become defunct. The exploration of new thoughts could be seen in many arenas - societal fashions, literature, the arts and of course architecture. Styles that had previously been theorised and often thought of as too extreme, became appealing to those seeking new promise. Such styles were often designed for those wishing to make a statement, or be fashionable. Now, with the search for a new life and economic efficiency (or State aided housing), the modern look became fashionable. The speculative builder (possibly to the horror of the architect) was able to borrow from the pattern books, journals and exhibitions the basics of the style and re-interpret them according to the wishes of the general public, which tended to be a rather conservative image of the real thing. However, modernism for the public began to take form, and commonality in shape and ideals began to take shape in housing. Gropius (1927), saw industrialisation as bringing a standardisation in the building industry which would result in a commonality and true style within towns.

The character of the house became determined by the interior rather than the exterior as it had been previously with the Picturesque. The interior became one singular unit. Quality was determined by neither ornament nor style, but through the relationship of scale, form and proportion. Decoration was in the arrangement and use of materials (Sant'Elia, 1914; Lethaby, 1920). The machine and the house became synonymous with each other. Architecture is no longer concerned with palaces, but with the ordinary house. By looking at this ordinary structure one sees the needs and emotions of everyday life. The house becomes a machine for efficient living, as well as a place of peace and privacy. A new domestic culture was in the seeking (Gräff, 1927).

Le Corbusier (Charles Edouard Jeanneret), in *Vers une architecture*[14], espoused five basic proponents of modern architecture; the free-standing pilotis (support) allowing for useage of space beneath, the roof garden (uniting nature and the house), the free plan, the ribbon window, and the freely composed façade (Nuttgens, 1983).

Steel frames and reinforced concrete became popular building forms with industrial and commercial architecture, but the conservative nature of domestic architecture was slower to accept these new technological innovations. It was only in the late twenties that steel frames and reinforced concrete began to be fully used in domestic architecture (Turnor, 1952), this possibly being attributed to the economic nature of the structure which may well have aided in its acceptance during the post-war years.

Suburban architecture began to take on the simplistic images of this style in the shape of cuboid houses with flat roofs, steel-framed windows, often extending around the corners of the house - the 'suntrap' window - and the recessed or cantilevered porch (Barrett and Phillips, 1993). In response to the more than often badly designed and, according to Frank Lloyd Wright (1931), architecturally misquoted 'modernistic' house, he coined the term 'the cardboard house'. This denoting the box cut house with occasional curved surfaces to add relief, put together in a childlike fashion resembling steamships or locomotives. Turnor (1952), suggests this emulation to be the worshipping of the new engineering feat of transport and the freedom it represented. Although the strength of this style had not yet reached South Africa in its full force, there were a few houses built in this 'machine age' style (fig. 4.9).

By the time the 1950s arrived, there began to surface a dissatisfaction with the ideals as professed by early modernism. The ideals of early housing estates, that had been erected in the spirit of modernism, were seen to be dysfunctional with some of these projects being razed. Design was said to be the expression of modernism and each new period being modern to the predecessor - it therefore was an expression of our changing world (Thakara, 1988). New 'isms' and theories of design were espoused with their social virtues - traditionalism, brutalism, futurism - the most popular being the vernacular (expanses of glass, plain, smooth surfaces and clear cut lines). Nuttgens (1983), relates this to be the period when post-modernism, and its call back to historicism,

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[14]In 1923 this was translated into English - *Towards a New Architecture* (Nuttgens, 1983).

began to show itself as an optional stylistic choice.

Nuttgens (1983), sums up the architectural stylistic quest in the following quote:

> "All architecture reveals the application of human ingenuity to the satisfaction of human needs. And among those needs are not only shelter, warmth and accommodation but also the needs, felt at every moment in every part of the world in endless different ways, for something more profound, evocative and universal, for beauty, for permanence, for immortality" (p280).

3.6 Style in design

Architecture can be seen in two ways - style (aesthetics) and type (function). In contrast to the Victorian belief of style and art being akin to each other, the modernists believed that function was imperative, a natural honest way to build and that style merely followed. This, however, began to fade as certain stylistic 'musts' began to be evident in the modernistic guide - ship windows, pilotis and angular ferro-concrete blocks (Gowans, 1986). Style began to be associated with social values just as the Victorian and Edwardian styles before them, had dictated.

Theories/styles have to be justified, for most, so that change is more readily accepted. For example Gestalt theories. Wolfgang Kohler's experiments led him to deduce that the mind prefers simpler things, that it was for the well balanced and the symmetrical. Certain theorists used this psychology to support their designs, for example; the simple forms of the Bauhaus. Thus designers and styles are influenced by the beliefs of their time - which in turn becomes reflective in their designs (Broadbent, 1973).

> "'Oratio certam regularam non habet; consuetudo illam civitatis, quae numquam in eodem diu stetit, versat', (Style has no fixed laws; it is altered by the image of the citizens and is never the same for any length of time)' (Curl, 1990, p73).

Style periods can be misleading and it is often difficult to know where one style starts and the other ends, this being exacerbated by the often mis-used stylistic terminology. An editor of *Carpentry and Building* (1880) commented on the rather miscellaneous use, by architects especially, of style names without clear idea of their meaning (Gowans, 1986). More than often housing is a mixture

of styles - it is eclectic. A vernacular develops, pleasing to the patrons, rather than an individualistic and passionate interpretation of the architect. Styles are often classified into periods, where in fact, as is the case with Victoriana, the methods and materials were used prior to the beginning of the period and for some time thereafter (Marshall and Willox, 1986). Thus it should be said that there really is no distinct beginning and end to one stylistic period and start to the other, but rather an overlapping and adaptability.

3.7 The Vernacular

Traditions are passed down from generation to generation. In the area of housing, mental images of what a house should be like are inherited - images and crafts, materials and dimensions. A common aura begins to be associated with the area (Smailes, 1955; Gowans, 1986). The term vernacular building was first used as an analogy by Sir George Gilbert Scott, in 1857. Its meaning was flexible according to the situation, but essentially it meant:

> "...an unaffected, unselfconscious, unaccented way of building, comparable to the speech of someone who has never left a given region and speaks the local accent without affection,...In other words, it is the use of architectural style without being conscious of style...As vernacular builders did jobs architects seldom came near anyway, they were only occasional nuisances" (Gowans, 1986, p41).

Upton and Vlach (1986), label the vernacular as non-architecture and non-monumental, mere building. Vernacular architecture is provided with a strong popular and social identity, by the desires of the customers, often to that particular area. Vernacular builders use what is available locally, in both materials and skills, and these change as needs change. The vernacular is regional architecture displaying a mixture of indigenous and broadly distributed academic forms (Greig, 1971), the history of each area determining the shape of its response to the design. The vernacular/folk designer is constrained by tradition, but many of whose problems are solved by this tradition, whereas, the modern designer deals in an infinite world, constantly facing and solving new dilemmas (Hubka, 1986, Upton, 1986). Rapoport (1969), suggests two different areas of architecture. 'Design tradition', based on the notion of impression and power, and 'folk tradition', which is unselfconsciously developed by the needs and values of the cultural majority.

Vernacular architecture generally tends to be site sensitive, having respect for the environment and

the people. Most of the built environment is based on folk tradition, as it tends to reflect the identity of the ordinary person. The importance of the architecture lies in the combination of the elements rather than in each element on its own, each situation calling for a different expression (Rapoport, 1969). Gowans (1986) suggests that the answer lies in the social dynamics of society, and the power and the merit asserted by each new generation. Gertrude Jekyll defines vernacular architecture to be as follows:

> "The local tradition is the crystallisation of local needs, materials and ingenuity. When the result is so perfect, that is to say, when the adaptation of means to ends is so satisfactory that it has held good for a long time, and that no local need or influence can change it for the better; it becomes a style, and remains fixed until other conditions arise to disturb it" (cited in Richardson, 1983, p7).

The Arts and Crafts Movement appears to have created a style out of the vernacular. By 1880/1890, it was desired by architects who were anti-historicist, many having joined guilds and societies, such as the Arts and Crafts Society (Richardson, 1983).

Buildings are more than technical accomplishments. People reveal themselves in what they do. Once buildings can be seen as the products of desire and emotion one can understand them from the inside out rather than outside in. Buildings enhance the landscape, but for many remain a heap of material, until it is analysed and understood (Glassie, 1986).

The general populous, it seems, is reliant on the works of the common builder or speculative builder, who themselves are eclectic in their styles. To some these styles may be seen as degrading to the original thought, but to the conservative house owner, it becomes functional to their needs and fashionable for their image. High fashion for the few is 'watered' down and made appealing for the greater population. Such styles tended to populate growing suburbia, these styles creating enclaves of period patterns. When studying Scottsville, this trend becomes evident. Most of the houses having been built by speculative builders, creating a homogeneous streetscape along many of the streets.

3.8 Suburbia

Tuan (1974), classifies the suburb as an ideal, a suggested way of life. An unequivocal definition of 'suburb' has not really been established (Tuan, 1974), but two factors appear to remain central to its meaning: its separateness from the city, and its degree of dependence upon it for employment and services (Barret and Phillips, 1993). Initially suburban areas (those areas out of the confines of the city wall or boundary) housed the poor (Tuan, 1974). As the city became more congested and the idea of the country villa grew social restructuring of the city occurred, with the poorer people inhabiting the central areas (often becoming slums) and the wealthier people living on the outer edges of town, relying on the carriage, and later trains and tubes, for their transport. For most home and the work place became separated (Broadbent, 1973).

3.8.1. Between town and country

Prior to industrialisation and capitalism, cities were essentially small settlements, with a rigid, hierarchical social order, often based on traditions. In the early nineteenth century it was important to place work and living close together - possibly at these early times it a was paternalistic view of the employers towards their workers. It was obviously also advantageous as far as cost and ease of accessibility. Later the two became separated. As work became noisier and dirtier and slums and rookeries grew, the 'flight' of the elité out to the cleaner, 'better' areas, aided by more efficient transport means, escalated (Broadbent, 1973; Marshall and Willox, 1986). At the same time new social and economic relationships, dictated by industry, developed with the aspiring middle class. Changes in building technology allowed for urban expansion - up and out - and improved infrastructural support (fig. 3.7). Regional patterns developed as land was released with special regulations regarding usage and size of buildings (Broadbent, 1973) suggesting that it was this that possibly initiated the early plans of zoning.

The traditional image of the suburb was that of a country dwelling, a 'dormitory town' (Schnore, 1957). This may have been applicable in the earlier stages of growth and in some present cases. However, there are some of these dormitory towns that have lost the purely residential status and have taken on the character of a small commercial centre. Schnore (1957), using the above evidence argues for the recognition of two types of suburbs, that of the industrial suburb and the

Figure 3.7: Suburban expansion (Cruickshank, 1829)
(Source: Barrett and Phillips, 1993, p.17)

residential suburb. Earlier observers of suburban development, Douglass [1925] and Harris [1943], noted that these two types of suburbs were the most common in these periods of development (Schnore, 1957). Schnore continues this thought to the extrapolation of the idea that the suburb was either an employing (attracting) or residential (dispersing) suburb, reflecting the shifts between day-and-night time populations, and thus to varying extents is dependent on the surrounding areas and commuting power.

With industrialisation and the differentiation of the work and home place, traditional roles within the family began to be re-evaluated during the Victorian period. There was increased mobility, specialisation of professions, and new services: life became far more occupation-specific in work and leisure (more so for men than women). There was the middle-class flight to the suburbs, as the middle/merchant class became upwardly mobile; a temporary rejection of society and the city for privacy (Turnor, 1952; Marshall and Willox, 1986). As with the cities of earlier times, the modern city was also a product of changing economic and social re-organisation, shaped by transport, public policies (or lack thereof), and personal life-styles, stemming from the predominant ethos of the age. It was rather a complex change with the advent of technology introducing mass

production and consumption, a greater degree of personal mobility, generating large areas of low density suburban developments. In the residential sphere periods of growth stemmed from economics linked to emerging capitalism. Technological innovations, building materials, construction and standards, and town planning were all linked to the periodicity of the economy (Whitehand, 1987).

3.8.2 Development of Suburbia

The suburbs have long been a target of vilification, and little regard given to the potential for closer inspection, least of all architecture and design. Yet, it is the most popular form of housing and a distinct way of life is determined influenced by the developing neighbourhood. It is thus important to look at the factors that have shaped suburbia, such as the economic and social aspects. By understanding this in conjunction with the knowledge of the first inhabitants, their occupations and fashions, one gains an insight into why they look as they do (Barrett and Phillips, 1993).

For some the move to the country was a form of escape, for others it was rather a pioneering of new areas. The country has always been associated with agriculture, and with transport it became more accessible, its image changing to one related to general living and recreation. Names of houses and streets are also an indication of the social pretences of the suburban dwellers. During the end of the nineteenth century to the early twentieth century the naming of streets as 'groves', 'parks', 'avenues' and 'ways' became popular - an image of change and suburban dreams. This was greatly enhanced by the advent of the Garden City Movement, creating an aura of the country and town together (Barrett and Phillips, 1993).

The Industrial Revolution could be said to be the initiator of the suburbs we see today, but it was the 1920s that saw the rapid expansion of the suburbs mainly due to the efficient transport systems, the rising availability and use of the automobile and the increasing housing demands. For the rising Victorian middle-class the house became a means of boasting this new status, especially through interior decoration and exterior adornment. Most of the Victorian houses in England were large double stories. They housed not only the immediate families, but often extended family and staff (Gowans, 1986; Barrett and Phillips, 1993). In South Africa (for example Pietermaritzburg), there are few Victorian-styled double stories, because not only were the finances somewhat more strained

than those of their compatriots back home, but the problem of accommodating extended families and staff was not an issue.

The Victorian period housing, especially in the country/suburbs, tended to be based on the Picturesque. The advent and closure of the Great War saw a need other than the clouded images of the romantic notion to be fulfilled. There were changing work structures[15], social upheavals and smaller families. Due to the flux in the economy and the need for housing, the State began to introduce State paid housing. Within the realm of domestic architecture, modernism was being rejected in favour of the more 'secure' styles with the introduction of the 'mock' styles, such as Jacobean and Tudor, the latter tending to be the most popular and an extension of the Arts and Crafts Movement. This could be attributed to the horror of the trench war, the depression and the political bantering, rife in England and Europe - a form of escapism in the safety of the home (Barrett and Phillips, 1993). People, being slow to adapt or to change, were not yet ready in their private life, especially after the war, for the upheaval in the security of their 'old' style home to accept the harshness of modernism. There appeared to be the desire for change and for something new, and although economics dictated it modernism had yet to prove its worth.

By the time suburban house technology had advanced, certain things were standard in the suburban home that were not in previous houses - indoor plumbing, heating, and so on. Luxuries had now became standard features. The more formal lifestyle of the Victorian times had become less so, and the interior of the house began to be designed reflecting this change, i.e. reducing the formal area for the greeting of guests (Gowans, 1986).

Suburbia continued to grow until the Second World War when building in England halted. As with the First World War, there was a post-war housing shortage. With the returning soldiers, new town planning legislation, the number of households increasing (due to the desire for single family units) and greater life expectancy, housing needed to be built. Modernism and its simplicity (in style and reflection of life), and economy were now seen as fashionable and in good taste. Housing was not necessarily regarded as a status symbol any longer and this was being replaced by the car, holidays,

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[15]New services and employment were being offered and many of the Victorian house servants could find better employment and wages in the commercial market. Houses were thus adapting to this social change, becoming smaller, more economical and manageable (Barrett and Phillips, 1993).

and bought goods (Barrett and Phillips, 1993).

Pre-1940s, the speculative builder had always been part of domestic architecture, copying the fashionable and desired styles. Few of the suburban developers were professionals, most of them being carpenters and developers, small investors, with their own residence nearby (Gowans, 1986; Marshall and Willox, 1986). Barret and Phillips (1993) note that they had, however, been represented by a set of small firms, each firm building a few houses in a row or area. With the end of the Second World War and post war depression, a lot of the small firms either had disappeared or sold out in favour of the larger companies building at times entire areas/suburbs in the speculative builder style. To Hindson (1987), suburbia is characterised by roads, houses, gardens, trees and fences, which together create an atmosphere of a country aura in the town, as discussed in Chapter Two. A townscapes develops particular to an area, dependent upon the thinking and events present at the time. The texture of the urban fabric differing from suburb to suburb and housing types dominating areas. The speculative builders played their part in this creation, with little concern for the theories behind the fashionable styles, but an economic drive to provide housing in a popular and acceptable style.

3.8.3 The speculative builder

In Victorian England the speculative builder, with the aid of new transport systems such as rail, fulfilled the needs of the burgeoning population, especially the rising new classes, to escape the congested slums and to acquire better accommodation fit for their new status. To begin with their reputation was a rather dubious one, often being called 'jerry-builders', the name originating from a naval term for temporary structures - 'jury-rig' and 'jury-mast' (Marshall and Willox, 1986). These were often precarious structures and erected in haste. However, as their reputation improved so did the buildings and visa versa. A Victorian speculative builders position was a rather economically unstable one, because if the house was not erected within a certain period (or not bought), the owner of the land required, in payment, both land and dwelling in return and the speculative builder would often face ruin (Marshall and Willox, 1986).

The use of the speculative builder grew, as the architect began to extend themselves, in both the cost of services and their desire for the more abstract form, beyond the reach of patronage by the

general populous. The speculative builders with their general training were able to re-interpret the trend of the architectural world into a simpler, more acceptable and affordable expression. To some the simple, copied styles seen street after street in the suburbs was an uninspiring mass of brick, but to others it represented fashionable stability and freedom from the city (fig. 3.8).

Figure 3.8: Lower middle-class aspirations - Suburban speculative builders at work
(Source: Marshall and Willox, 1986, p29)

In America a system based on mail order catalogues came into being. It was cheap and easy and labour saving, and was one of the ways in which the 'comfortable house was built'. Both vernacular and academically[16] correct styles were being offered. To some architects this idea was deplorable and tarnished their profession; to others, who participated in the scheme, it was seen as the spreading of suburban values with an architectural basis. The Small House Services Bureau, endorsed by the AIA, was formed in the hope of improving the standard of these houses developing in suburbia. It was officially dissolved in 1942, having played an important role in the spread of the suburban house (Harvey, 1981; Gowans, 1986). In South Africa a similar system was the wood

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[16]It is important to note at this point that housing in America was largely built of wood and thus easier to order and build entire houses through catalogue. In England and South Africa (Pietermaritzburg), materials were primarily of brick and stone, and thus it was only the designs and particular decorative fittings that were 'ordered'.

and iron house to order as advertised by H. V. Marsh, Ltd., (fig. 8.32).

Gowans (1986), speaks of the 'comfortable house' in the 'comfortable suburb' as being built during the main spurt of suburban growth in America between 1890 and 1930. The houses projected an aura of solidarity and safety, a picturesque countryside safe from the city - an imitation of American optimism. This was the time of American dreams and power becoming unchallengeable, economically and architecturally manifested in the advent of the skyscraper (Gowans, 1986). Urban expansion was boosted by the introduction of the automobile, as rail and trolley lines no longer dictated the 'routes' of development occurring between town and suburb. The car became a means of escape. With this came the need for garages, and thus the adaption of earlier architectural designs, the wealthier house possibly converting the existing carriage house[17] (Gowans, 1986).

It could be said that with this increase in mobility and the opening up of potential development areas and improvements in infrastructure, the need for town planning became strongly evident.

3.8.4 Suburban planning

The beginning of the nineteenth century saw 20% of the landscape as town, fifty years later about 50% of Victorian Britain was urban in nature. In 1890 London was the largest city in the world, death rates had decreased and birth rates increased and capital accumulation was growing (Curl, 1990).

The period 1830 to 1850 saw the emergence of 'modern' town planning. Towns began to grow with the rural to urban influx and old methods of organisation had to be re-assessed (Benevolo, 1971a). The early form of speculative builders built uncaring of the quality of dwellings, and sanitary conditions (exacerbated by the rural-urban influx) were appalling with rubbish accumulating in towns. In 1845 the Royal Commission published a report on the necessary requirements to improve conditions. The problems were sanitary and health in character, the solution was a complete programme of town planning (Benevolo, 1971a).

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[17] The carriage house/barn had always been associated with smells and fire hazard, and was therefore away from the house. Gowans (1986), suggests this to be the reason for the length of time it took to design the house and carriage as one unit.

Planning had previously been a rather laissez-faire approach primarily concentrating on the public facilities. With the increasing health problems, it was realised that control and order were a high priority. A time of social and town planning reform began (Benevolo, 1971a; Curl, 1990; Barret and Phillips, 1993). At the same time, architecturally, there was the change in attitudes with the move away from the symmetry of classical Georgian to the asymmetry of Gothic and the Picturesque as discussed earlier in the chapter.

Benevolo (1971a) suggests that the move towards town planning was due to the reformers of the city and technicians amidst the inconveniences of urban life and not necessarily the architects, who he suggests were more concerned with discussing the merits of style rather than solving the problems; although the intervention of one could well have paved the way for the other. With the onset of the Industrial Revolution and the series of success and failure throughout the nineteenth century planning, a body of technical and legal experience was built up concerning the planning of cities and buildings of working-class quarters. The old forms were being put to the test and new formulas suited to the times were enduring - new understandings and theoretical models of town planning were being evolved. Some of these theories are still evident in towns of today.

3.8.4.1 Planning ideals

One of the earlier town planning theories was developed by a group called The Utopians (Owen, Fourier, Cabet) who set out to change the environment, reforming town and countryside. It was initially a theoretical movement, although projects were put into practice (albeit not too successfully). The basic concept was the city in the centre (commerce and administration), surrounded by industry and then agricultural lands. Building heights were regulated and other planning laws established to ensure the stability of the environment (Benevolo, 1971a; Curl, 1990; Barrett and Phillips, 1993). The idea was to unite town and country, one could almost say the start to the idea of the Garden City Movement. The architects of the time involved with the creation and development of towns used the ideas of these concepts and adapted them to fit in with their architectural strains: for example, the Applied Arts movement and the Picturesque (post 1850), lead by protagonists Ruskin, Morris and Voysey. Pugin, an earlier protagonist, believed that industry contaminated the landscape and life, it perpetuated quantity and not quality. Ruskin and Morris believed, similarly, that the quality of designs were linked to the moral being and intellectual

attitude of the designer, consumer, and social organization that conditioned their relationships (Benevolo, 1971a; Hersey, 1972). Ruskin (1865) wrote in *Sesame and Lilies*:

> "clean streets...a belt of fine gardens and orchards,...with a few moments walk, one can reach the pure air, the grass and the distant horizon" (cited in Benevolo, 1971a, p351).

From these thoughts developed The Garden City Movement which was to change the face of town planning for years to come taking shape under Ebenenzer Howard (1850-1928). Howard, like the Utopians, believed that the town could be self-sufficient, industry and agriculture together. However, he believed the ideals of the Utopians were too polarised, and suggested rather a merging between town and country (Benevolo, 1971a; Thomas and Cresswell, 1973).

Despite the positive thoughts of the movement this concept can, however, be questioned as with town growth comes encroachment into agricultural lands, thus decreasing the land available for self-sufficiency, the town then becoming just an ordinary town like any other. Howard concentrated on the theory, leaving architectural styles and city planning - width of streets, fences and signs - to others (Benevolo, 1971a; Hall, 1987; Barrett and Phillips, 1993). This was somewhat different to the Utopian Movement which was far more formalised and regulated, including architectural manners. Thus new theories of town planning evolved.

3.8.4.2 The Garden City ideal

Howards basic plan was set out in *Tomorrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform* (1898)[18], inspired by his experiences of industrial and rural life, the social reform currently under way, the writings of Ruskin and Morris, and the ideals of the Art Workers Guild (Thomas and Cresswell, 1973). He proposed a plan of gradually shrinking cities to create a tight urban form, allowing for the full quality of social life and surrounded by a green belt. The idea was to merge the energy of the town with the beauty of the country. The Garden City Association was established in 1899, which became, in 1907, the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association. Unwin and Parker, who followed on the ideals of Howard, put form to the regulations set out by Howard. Again inspired

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[18]This edition was later revised and republished in 1902, possibly as the more well known edition, as *Garden Cities of Tomorrow* (Thomas and Cresswell, 1973).

by the Arts and Crafts Movement and Morris, they designed in relation to the natural site features, attention to contours and roads which were curved, creating a more natural environment on which to develop (Thomas and Cresswell, 1973; Richardson, 1983; Hall, 1987; Relph, 1987; Barrett and Phillips, 1993).

Unwin commented on the cheerless rows of brick boxes and the disregard for the 'amenities of life', and suggested that planning should set out to change this (Relph, 1987). In *Town Planning in Practice* (1909), Unwin wrote:

> "Rarely will it happen that the site will be so level and so devoid of existing roads, rivers, valleys, woods or other features, as not to provide ample reason for the introduction of many irregular lines; and these irregularities, produced in response to natural conditions following accurately the contours or avoiding obstacles, will be likely, being justified by the requirements and natural lines of the site, to be justified also in appearance" (cited in Barrett and Phillips, 1993, p94).

The ideals of town planning the Garden City way were to remain effective in planning for many years to come. Numerous Garden Cities were built on the nuances of the theories rather than the actual theories themselves. Tuan (1974) notes that the idea was to create garden cities and not suburbs, for the suburb was really part of the city if one was to use the true principles of the theory. The true principles, however, became diluted and used as ideas within all aspects of planning. There was the introduction of New Towns (for example: Loughborough Estate and Roehampton Estate) - as decentralised, spatially separate towns were based on modern principles rather than the over-populated, crowded, industrialised metropolisis of the past (Richardson, 1983; Hall, 1987).

The period of the 1920s and 1930s envisioned a new planning atmosphere and the expansion of suburban living. The *Architectural Review* coined the term 'Subtopia' - euphoric suburbia (Benevolo, 1971b). The aura of these new towns was promoted and enhanced by architectural styles, a pleasant mixture of vernacular - rustic domestic architecture (Relph, 1987) and a revival of the security of old styles with modernistic influences.

3.8.5 Architects and the built environment

Although town planning had become a profession on its own, architects still partook in the theoretical planning of communities and towns. Architecture, especially in the modern movement period, was considered to be more than just the unitary functional design of the building, but also the functional placing of the building(s) in the built environment (Benevolo, 1971b). One of the great architects of the time, Le Corbusier[19] believed town planning to be the design and manifestation, individually and collectively, in different settings, of the material, emotional and spiritual life, occurring in both town and country. It was a particular and purposeful creation fulfilling a function and therefore could not be submitted exclusively to the rules of an arbitrary aestheticism, but is essentially functional. As with the architecture, functionality is of primary purpose and aesthetics is formed out of the function. Le Corbusier devised a formula with which designers and town planning should be concerned with: firstly living, secondly working and, thirdly recreation. Its objectives being: (a) the use of land, (b) the organization of transport, and (c) legislation. It was through the designers that these functions could be propagated as the function of the designer was thought to be the promotion and influencing of public opinion in modern architecture (Benevolo, 1971b).

Much of the town planning that developed between the years of 1910 and 1945, became standard procedures for planning thereafter and have had a large influence on the appearance of cities, towns and suburbs today. Other early century planning concepts such as neighbourhood units, round-a-bouts, traffic planning and zoning developed on their own to a greater extent, in response to new technological innovations, especially with the arrival of the automobile (Relph, 1987).

3.9 Colonial conditions

It was with these visions that the colonies developed. To begin with the transmission of ideas and theories, regarding fashion, architecture and town planning to the colonies tended to be somewhat slow. The only method was by means of post (letters, journals, books) or personal communication, but both these were reliant on ships, which even today is a slow means of transport. It was thus

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[19]Le Corbusier was greatly impressed by the 1850/1860 redevelopment of Haussmann's Paris - the avenues, boulevards and strict guidelines (Relph, 1987).

not surprising that the colonies were somewhat behind in fashionable trends, even more so the interior towns and smaller settlements of the colonies far from the ports. In addition to this the colonies tended to be somewhat conservative and slower in their acceptance of design, although fashion conscious the people were more reserved (Small, pers.comm., 1994).

It was not surprising then that the colonies would share similar traits to those of the colonising country and to those experiencing similar climatic conditions. A similarity can be seen between Australia and South Africa, especially as they were on the same sea route and colonised by the same power (Radford, 1984, 1985). Thus when one studies South African architecture it is important to recognise the influences of the English styles as being those brought out by the new settlers. It is also necessary to realise that technology in the young colonies was not as established as that of their counterparts in England, and adaptive measures had to be taken in the erection of dwellings suited not only to these 'backwater' conditions, but also to the different materials and climate. It was thus that a style particular to the country and area, a vernacular, began to develop.

CHAPTER FOUR

SOUTH AFRICAN AND PIETERMARITZBURG ARCHITECTURAL STYLES

Amongst other things Victorian architecture was a reaction against the rigidity of Georgian values and architectural severity (Curl, 1990). Georgian restraint had to be cast out (Hillebrand, 1974). It was with these notions in mind that many of the colonists left England bringing with them the new technologies and ideals that were starting to come to the fore.

There were various reasons as to why people left their home country for the colonies (for example South Africa). Some had religious or social differences, some sought a new life and others had been attracted by the glowing accounts of life in the Colony reported in the advertisements placed in English magazines and papers.

4.1 Colonial styles

4.1.1 Early planning

With South Africa having developed first under the auspices of the Dutch and then the British, there were bound to be strong influences of architectural styles that were carried over. Architecturally this is very evident in the close relationship of styles between the colonising and colonised countries, although there were adaptations due to material, climatic and economic differences. King (1980) delineates three basic phases of 'exported planning'. Firstly the earlier town plans (and architecture) were reliant on the settlers cultural origins, and experiences from their home country (Dutch or British), towns often being laid out to enforce military and political dominance. It was dependent upon the attitudes, social class and abilities of the people, and their attitudes to the original inhabitants (Greig, 1971; Hillebrand, 1974, 1975; Haswell, 1979). Secondly there was the period, in the early twentieth century, coinciding with formalised town planning of the mother country, which would be carried across to the colonised country through the network of established relationships. Thirdly there followed the post or neo-colonial experiences, whereby an indigenous system was firmly established. Although official ties may have been disbanded, political, cultural

and social networks had become firmly established and continued to influence further development. The above argument is equally relevant and applicable to architectural styles and social systems. Each colonised country adapting similar ideals to suit the situation prevalent and cultural ideals within the new country.

Other constraints, such as materials and technology available and climate, played a great part in the influence of the resulting 'style'. The early dwellings were very rudimentary, from temporary shelters of wattle and daub to more permanent structures of local brick and shale (fig. 4.1), reflecting a basic Cape tradition. With the arrival of the British settlers, styles did not immediately change (although it is said that the British declared the Dutch styles to be inferior) nor did the materials change (Kearney, 1973). The British, however, added the veranda and also tended to set the house slightly back from the street rather than the direct street frontage of early settler houses. These houses were still simplistic in design until the influences of the Industrial Revolution and mass production reached the colonies (Kearney, 1973; Hillebrand, 1974; Theron, 1972). Corrugated iron began to replace the thatched roofs which were somewhat hazardous with regard to fire, corrugated iron being cheaper and more practical (Kearney, 1973; Frescura, 1989).
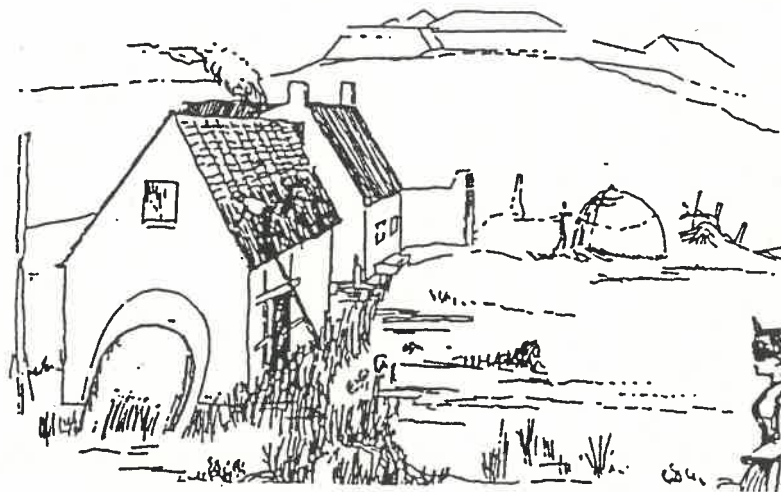
Figure 4.1: A Pietermaritzburg street, 1847, showing the earlier houses
(Source. Kearney, 1989, p.33)

The house plan changed to a squarer plan with a narrow dark central corridor (fig. 5.7), with rooms leading off on either side. It also lent an air of privacy rather than the interleading rooms of the Dutch houses. The corridor was later widened to create a central entrance hall (Kearney, 1973). This could be attributed to the different social structures and economic situations experienced in the colonies as opposed to England. Large houses could only be afforded by a few, most people accepting the smaller 'bungalow' style. With the rise in prosperity, it became important to show off ones success with less 'Colonial' and more Victorian structures - a home from home - which tended to be in the form of ornamentation.

4.1.2 Victoriana in Pietermaritzburg

The most predominant feature of Victorian architecture was the so-called Picturesque. In South Africa, it was the aesthetics of the movement rather than the theory and truth of the movement itself - anti-civic and escapist - that was developed (Hillebrand, 1975, Hindson, 1987). Romantic images, the harmony with the surrounding landscape through shape, materials, textures, and features such as bay windows and a portico or veranda was seen to be a softening between the built environment and the landscape. In South Africa this was obviously manipulated and adapted for the local climate and materials (Radford, 1985).

Despite the quaintness of the term and its association with the countryside, the houses built (in England) were, in most cases, quite large - the free-standing villa. The reasons for this could be twofold, firstly the size of household it was to accommodate and secondly it was a show of wealth as noted in Chapter Three. In the Colonies, however, this became problematic. The household size diminished, due to lack of appropriate staff and finances. There are a few beautiful double-stories in Pietermaritzburg (see Chapter Eight), but on the whole most of the settlers had to adapt to the changes in 'situation' and erect smaller, economically viable dwellings. The influence of the Picturesque did help make the cottage more acceptable - Nash's 'cottage orné' initiating this move (Benevolo, 1971a; Hillebrand, 1974). Ornamentation of the cottages in the Colony was less elaborate (for reasons mentioned above) than the English homes which often had twisting chimneys and extravagant bargeboarded gables (fig. 3.3-3.5).

A hallmark of the Victorian period, and a climatic concession, was the use of ventilators. These

were either placed at the apex of the gable (plain or decorative) or in the roof, allowing for the movement of air through the roof. However, with the onset of improved technology and insulating materials, the use of ventilators became obsolete (see Chapter Nine).

As with the homes in England, the homes in the Colony were decorated with lots of little ornaments brought out with the colonists or ordered via catalogue. As mentioned in Chapter Three, these homes tended to be 'decoratively' cluttered with fans, painted plates and oleographs competing for space on the walls (Hattersley, 1938). But, due to local circumstances, decoration was somewhat sparser than their kin back home. *Belinda's Aid to Colonial Housewives* (c:1890) gives one an indication of the tastes at the time in the line of décor, manners and housekeeping. She suggests a preference for the simpler colonial styles rather than the unwelcoming, uncomfortable, ornamental 'visitors only' rooms. She seems to insinuate that these rooms were to be used for general purposes too (Kearney, 1973).

Many of the craftsmen/builders in the Colony were not particularly versed in the building styles of England and nor were the building materials the same. Thus a modified, simpler, vernacular style evolved. This Lewcock (1963) suggests to be advantageous, ennobling the architecture, rather than debasing it with the intricacies of Victoriana used in England. Another problem that faced the Colonies (Natal, Pietermaritzburg) was the manner in which the early 'styles' were received. Apart from the builders manuals and journals[20], those who brought the styles out to the colonies tended to be the settlers who were invariably somewhat more conventional and conservative in taste, than the *avant-garde* architects attempting to re-organise society. With the length of time it took for the transposing of styles and the adaptation of 'style', it is somewhat difficult to place the style of housing within a period, given the overlap of stylistic periods. As noted in Chapter Three, Frescura (1989) states that style is rather the grouping of buildings to a particular era or region. It is the stereotyping or a generalisation of building types and how they are linked to the values of a particular group that create differing townscapes.

As discussed in Chapter Three, Greig (1971), ascribes the vernacular as a group of buildings, within a particular area, having rules and materials in common. Although the excessive copying and production of various designs may be criticised by many, it did produce a style which is strongly

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[20]Hindson (1987), lists some of these cheap, weekly, imported 'pattern books' to be: *The Builder, The Architect* and *The Illustrated Carpenter and Builder*.

characteristic of Colonial architecture (Lewcock, 1963) and Pietermaritzburg in particular. Daniel (1977) determines these examples of architecture to be:

> "...more than the complex of built and unbuilt spaces that go towards making up an urban landscape or environment. It involves the spirit of unique character of place" (p1).

Many of the residents of Pietermaritzburg believed that being the Capital (social and cultural centre), it was their responsibility to uphold this status. Although the styles were somewhat modified, and economics, materials and climate a constraining variable, a certain amount of grandness was attained. In accordance with this Hillebrand (1974, 1975), notes that the active periods of growth were obviously related to prosperous economic periods, such as the mineral discoveries, during the wars with the financing from the Colonial government, and the post Union jubilation (see Chapters Five, Six and Eight).

One feature of the Picturesque that became predominant in South African style was the emphasis on the asymmetrical form (fig. 4.2). Early houses tended to be based on the Cape Dutch tradition of the symmetrical centred gable, by a often elaborate gable or end gables (fig. 4.1, 4.3). In the case of the smaller dwelling there would be the end gables finishing off the symmetrically simplistic, rustic cottage. Although there are numerous examples of Victorian period symmetrical cottages (fig. 4.4) lining the streets, the asymmetrical design, which Hillebrand (1974) states to be aesthetically suited to the salmon brick used in Pietermaritzburg, began to take shape (Radford, 1984). The rough texture and salmon colour of the brick enhancing the architectural ideals of the Picturesque. As the countrys prosperity grew and imports in decorative fashionable items increased (wood and later cast iron), in addition to the extensive use of the veranda and portico, a South African vernacular developed. The idealistic philosophies of the Victorian architects promoting the Picturesque stance, supporting the harmonious relationship between the house and the environment, began to take shape in an eclectic manner.

The following extract by Mackenzie (1860) regarding Pietermaritzburg appears to embrace in full the romantic ideals of the Picturesque:

"Maritzburg is a pretty town, almost too pretty to be called a town at all. It is like a large summer-garden, the streets being rather lines of detached cottages, divided from one other by hedges of roses, dark tapering gum trees, seringa, acacias, and peach trees, with their delicate willow-like foliage, abounding on every side; the whole overrun with the most magnificent convolvuluses and beauty increased, if possible, by the frame of the picture formed by the surrounding hills" (cited in Wedderburn, 1991, p173).

It appears that the notion of the ideal in landscape was important to the Victorians. With the destruction that industrialisation had indiscriminately cast upon the landscape, the escape to the 'purity' of the country and the romanticisation of the landscape (as seen for example in paintings of the period), was a form of escapism. Although the colonies did not experience the destruction of the landscape by industrialisation first hand, towns and villages were being built by those who had, and who carried with them the anti-industrial ideologies of the time.
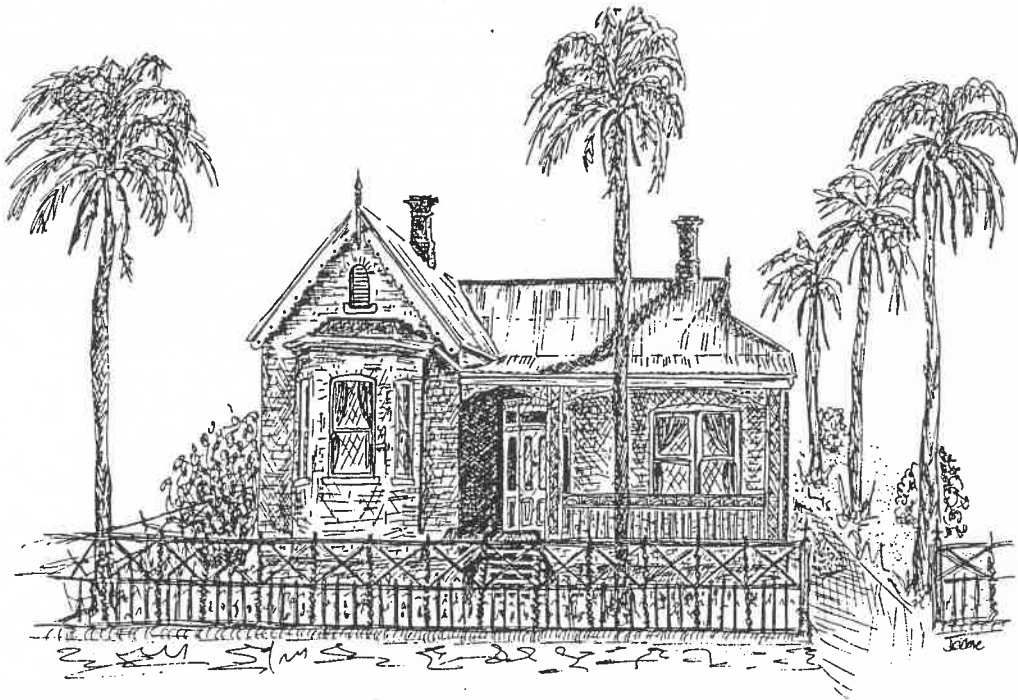
Figure 4.2: A Victorian asymmetrical house
(Source: Fenn, 1988, p.55)

Figure 4.3: The symmetrical tradition of the Cape Dutch house -
Hertsestraat, Stellenbosch
(Source: Walton, 1965, p.45)
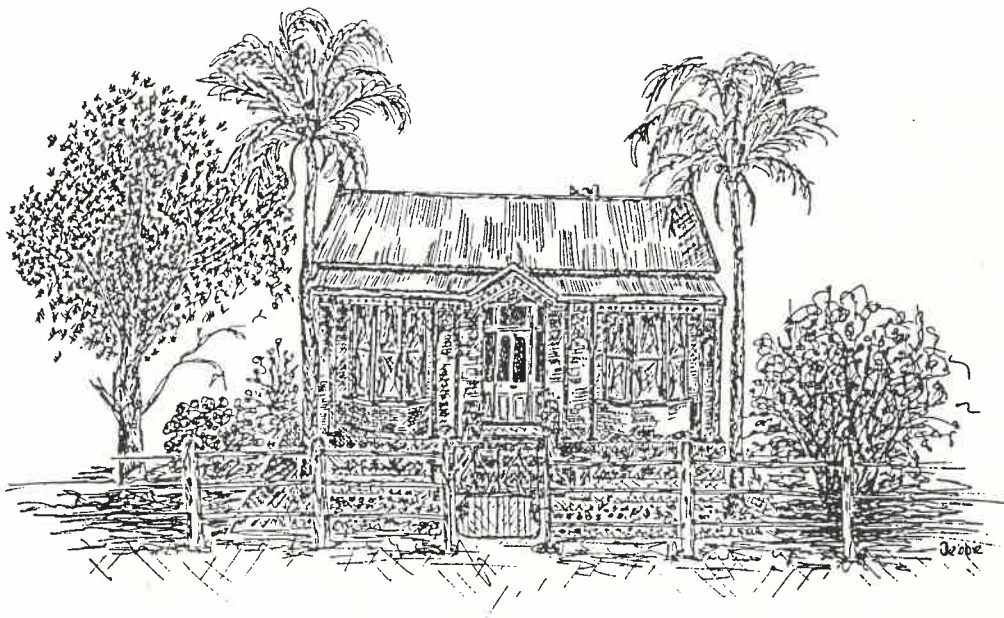
Figure 4.4: A symmetrically designed Victorian veranda home
(Source: Fenn, 1988, p.54)

As mentioned in the above quote, the romantic ideal was one of the features of the picturesque house with latticework, dainty vines interwoven around the delicate pillars supporting a small veranda. The veranda made its appearance during the eighteenth century in England, with the advent of the early forms of the Picturesque. However, because of climatic constraints in England

it did not become high fashion (Downing, 1969; Hillebrand, 1975; Radford, 1982). In the colonies, what was once a fashionable item became a climatic necessity. Kearney (1975), indicates that it is a possibility that the fashion of the verandah was imported to England from the far off tropical lands that were being discovered at the time.

4.1.3 The advent of the veranda

"'Verandah' or 'Veranda', a roofed gallery or portico...", (Todd's edition of *Johnson's Dictionary*, 1827) is a fairly new term in the English dictionary (Lewcock, 1963, p111). In a classical manner, verandas were possibly first used by the Greeks or Romans and later developed along the Mediterranean and Portugal (Lewcock, 1963; Kearney, 1974). Lewcock (1963) infers that the veranda had already made its appearance as a fashionable addition in the early eighteen hundreds. Jane Austin, in *Persuasion*, (published 1818), writes of a "cottage with a verandah, French windows and other prettiness..." (p111). With the early efforts of colonialisation the influence of the veranda and its benefits in hotter climates spread, as can be seen in India, Australia, America and of course in South Africa.

Thus not only did the veranda became a climatic concession, in shading the walls of the house keeping them cool, but it was also aesthetically pleasing and fashionable as well as practical in providing semi-outdoor shady space. The veranda 'smudged' the transition between the house and the garden, bringing the one element into the other as well as relieving the stark simplicity of the house (Kearney, 1973, 1975, 1977). Ironically this starkness was a factor that in the later years of modernism became an architectural feature to be desired. The veranda acted as a strong unifying element that was often being added on to a variety of architectural types of buildings, including the early Voortrekker houses (Radford, 1982; Fransen, 1988). Thus resulting in the adaptation of one cultural style, the Dutch Voortrekkers, to fit the new style of the English settlers.

The early verandas were continuous with the roof, thus necessitating steeply pitched roofs. With the introduction of galvanised iron, the veranda roof could be constructed separately from the roof of the house, as it was when it was merely tacked on as an fashion addition. The veranda roof was supported on single columns, placed either at regular intervals or varied at the position of the entrance door (fig. 4.4; 8.4), creating a noticeable entrance portico (Kearney, 1973; Hillebrand,

1974). Kearney (1984), suggests, as with other elements of the house, that the veranda could be translated from a primitive structure to an ornamental one by the use of materials: brick and slate, or wood-and-iron, and later imported decorative elements[21].

The earlier columns were simple possibly due the difficulty of obtaining materials as well as the communication of designs and the technical knowledge from 'home', which were still in the early stages. During the 'seventies and 'eighties verandas began to develop as decorative items in themselves. The columns were in wood, as were friezes and balustrades. Due to the lack of inexpensive wood and inadequate machinery it became cheaper to import. The advent of cast iron seemed to solve most of these problems, although it was still favourable to import most of the goods (Kearney, 1973). There was a great range of possibilities, but generally the simple patterns preferred by the earlier colonists gave way to the more elaborate and pretentious ones later on in the century as prosperity in the Colony increased (Kearney, 1973; Hillebrand, 1975). New colonists were bringing with them new ideals and designs. There were many manufacturers of decorative elements for the house, MacFarlane's Catalogue of Glasgow was one of the most popular catalogues from which colonists could choose their house plans decorative fittings, for importation (figs. 4.5; 4.6).

Figure 4.5: MacFarlane's Catalogue of Glasgow
(Source: *The Natal Witness*, 1892)

[21]Because of the fine examples of veranda houses in Pietermaritzburg, one of the names attached to the City is that of the 'Veranda City' (Kearney, 1977).

Figure 4.6: MacFarlane's Catalogue for imported decorative features
(Source: *The Natal Witness*, 1895)

Kearney (1973), notes that the zenith was reached by the Edwardian days[22]. There was, however, amongst certain members of society a reaction against this over elaboration of decorative elements, towards a simple style. This response it seems, was in the spirit of the Arts and Crafts Movement occurring in England as discussed in Chapter Three.

4.1.4 The demise of the grand veranda towards patriotism

During the height of Victorian prosperity in Pietermaritzburg and as a show of wealth and status, it was common not only to find 'grand' double storied buildings (some with turrets) but verandas on two or three sides of the house, in some cases encircling the whole house. Edwardian times did not necessarily put a halt to the use of verandas, but rather to the ostentatious decorative designs.

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[22]Although the reign of King Edward was a short one, approximately 9 years, Christopher Hussey regards the Edwardian period as having spanned at least four decades, 1880 - 1920 (Chipkin, 1993). This encompassed the call for a simpler style towards the end of high Victoriana to the call for a new world of modernism.

The Victorian eclecticism did not disappear with the Edwardian period, but it became simplified. In the case of the veranda style, the supporting wooden posts were now simplified and pre-fabricated concrete Doric styled columns became fashionable (Fransen, 1988). The idea and use of the pre-fabricated column was to last well in to the 1930s (Fransen, 1988), and although not a traditional Cape Dutch style feature, became assimilated into the Cape Dutch revival of Pietermaritzburg (figs. 8.39; 8.40).

It was, however, the revival of the Cape Dutch style, greatly influenced by the works of Herbert Baker (1862-1946), and new found patriotism of Union times, that appears to have diminished the use of the great veranda. Kearney (1973), also attributes the demise of the veranda, becoming a small entrance porch, to the later times of depression and economic hardship in the 1930s as can be seen by examples in Chapter Eight. The veranda never really disappeared, but it began to take on the simpler, cleaner lines of modernism, often becoming a mere entrance area as dictated by the economics of building.

Other than an economic necessity, the large encircling Victorian veranda was not suited to the simple clear lines of these new ideals. In a manner this could be attributed to Herbert Baker[23] and the Cape Dutch revival (Greig, 1973; Hillebrand, 1974; Fransen, 1982). Although the Cape Dutch style was not new to South Africa, it had been usurped by the English and their Victorian styles. On his arrival to Cape Town, Baker expressed outrage at the crumbling state of many of the old Cape Dutch buildings and the buildings put together with the "ugly, ready made, imported materials" of Victoriana (Greig, 1973, p56). Baker started practising in the Cape and later moved to the Transvaal (Greig, 1973) and although he was greatly impressed and influenced by this forgotten style, it was not until Union that the style became popularised - akin to a national style. What Baker did appear to re-fashion was the vernacular in the simpler ways of the Arts and Crafts (Greig, 1973; Harbor, pers.comm., 1993). As a style, the Arts and Crafts did not seem to reach high levels of success in Pietermaritzburg, although there are a few good examples to be found (figs. 8.33-8.38). Hillebrand (1988), suggests the conservative manner and loyalty to the Victorian and Edwardian ideals as the reason for this. However, what can be seen in the examples of housing

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[23]Herbert Baker was born and trained in England under the influence of the Arts and Crafts greats (Morris, Shaw and Scott). He found the simple, white-washed, unpretentious style of the Cape Dutch buildings in harmony with the surroundings, built in the vernacular with local materials and craftsmen (sic) to be ideal to the philosophy of the Arts and Crafts (Greig, 1973).

lining the streets is the change to simpler styles. Ornamentation was not through the use of elaborate wood or cast iron work, but through craftsmanship. The simple triangular gabled veranda house, with brick or plastered base (incised with lines to suggest stone or mortar courses (Kearney, 1973)), plastered white-washed walls and tiles replacing the corrugated iron.

4.2 The Cape Dutch Vernacular Revival in Pietermaritzburg

It appears that, without being anti-loyalist, there was a desire during the post-Union era for something new, befitting the change of era[24] (Hillebrand, 1986; Herbert, 1987). Methven in the *South African Master Builder's Federation Journal* (1906), expressed his enthusiasm at the restoration and revival of the Cape Dutch style in the Cape Colony:

> "We appear in this Colony to have nothing to perpetuate in our Domestic Architecture akin to the picturesque old Dutch house such as we see in the Cape Colony. Whether owing to the curly outlines of its gables, its steeply pitched roofs, often thatched, the prominent ornamental chimney stacks, the broad stoeps with their heavy columns...the prevailing tone white, making a most picturesque whole; or whether it be partly due to association; these old Dutch homes certainly have a peculiar charm all of their own, and appear to exactly suit both the climate in the southern parts of the Cape Colony and the romantic scenery which in many cases surrounds them..." (cited in Hillebrand, 1975, p120).

This may well have been true, particularly as the present Gothic vernacular so in mode was simply a perpetuation of a style brought out from the home country (with a few local modifications). It seems to be expressed by the above quote that the Cape Dutch style was one developed in the Colony and a part of the natural environment. However, the factor of boredom, as occurred with the demise of the earlier architectural styles, with the monotonous erection of little English picturesque styled 'cottages' should not be ignored.

The Cape Dutch style, to many, bespoke a South African cultural heritage. The remodelling, by

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[24]This need for something representative of a new era and changing ideals, towards a more Nationalistic front was also experienced by the Australians at the time of the Declaration of the Australian Federation in 1901. A turn away from the colonial influences to a Nationalistic based architecture influenced by the advances of the International Style (Hall, 1987).

Collingwood-Tully[25], of the Church of the Vow in the Cape Dutch revival style appears, in Pietermaritzburg, to have greatly popularised the revival. Kearney (pers.comm., 1994) stated that although Collingwood-Tully may have popularised the style, evidence of Flemish and English Renaissance period gables have been found, pre-Union, in Pietermaritzburg. Many of the local architects adopted this style for domestic housing. Houses in Pietermaritzburg began to be built, enthusiastically, in all manners and form in the Cape Dutch revival style. These were built in a similar style to the asymmetrical Victorian home, but the curved gable replaced the ornamental bargeboard. Alternatively little square houses, with a centrally placed gable above a small veranda or portico were built. The simple triangular gable of some houses were replaced by a more fashionable curly gable in an attempt to be fashionable (fig. 4.7; 4.8). The verandas or porticos (the idea of the 'uncovered' stoep of the earlier Cape Dutch style did not appear to flourish) were supported by pre-fabricated columns in the Doric or Tuscan[26] style (Small, pers.comm., 1994). The strength and solidness of these columns creates a fluid but firm and unified effect. It was a style that was to remain well into the 1930s aided by the exuberant hands of the speculative builders. Hillebrand (1975), remarks on the dubious skills of the speculative builder populating Pietermaritzburg in the 1920's and 30's, with designs of Cape Dutch houses of all descriptions, very few being in any way authentic, but rather accommodating extensive artistic license. This was not taken positively by all. Paton, exasperated, at the profuseness of this style asked:

> "Are we not tired of the curly gable, planted, willy nilly, on the four-roomed villa of our suburbs?...At Morgenster or Stellenberg, at Tokai or Constantia, it is fitting and beautiful behind its open pillared stoep. But what is it doing here? - An excrescence on a roof behind a covered veranda" (cited in Hillebrand, 1988, p50).

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[25]Collingwood-Tully had been greatly influenced by the works of Herbert Baker and had himself lived in Cape Town (Hillebrand, 1975).

[26]Small (1994), notes that the Tuscan column is more prolific in its use in Pietermaritzburg Cape Dutch, having been influenced by Collingwood-Tully. It was also the style cast by one of the main suppliers of this feature in the city.
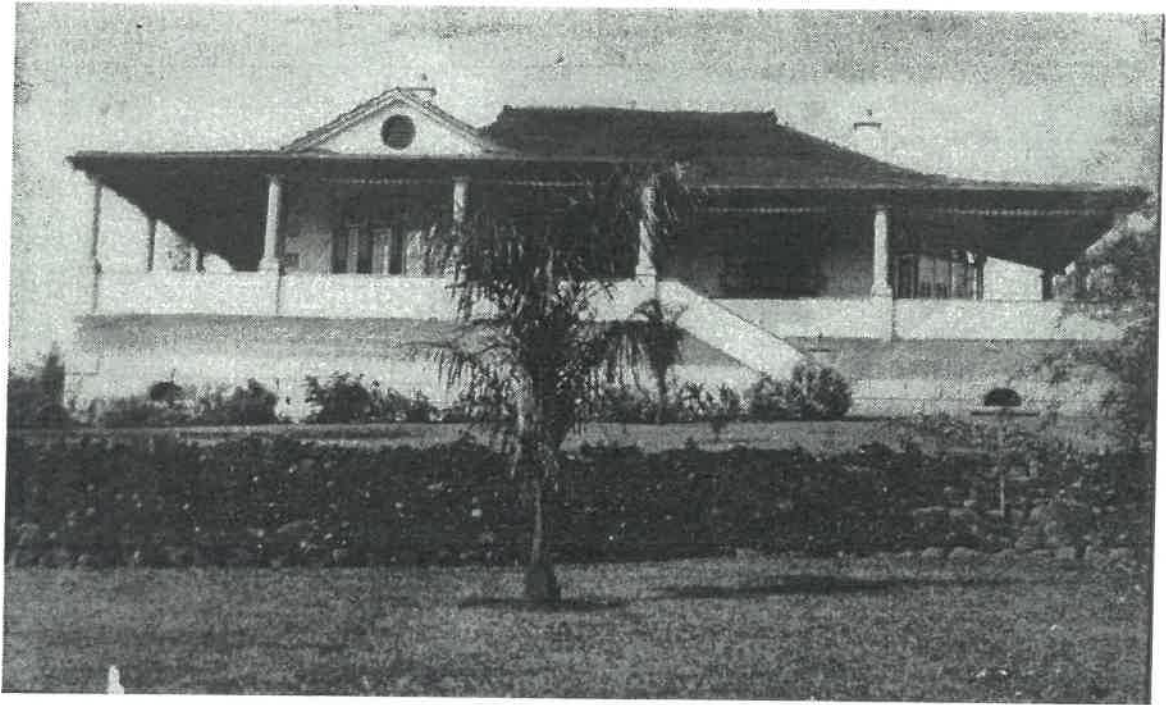
Figure 4.7: 193 King Edward Avenue with an Edwardian triangular pediment gable
(Source: Leslie-Smith, Pers.comm., 1994)

Figure 4.8: The conversion of 193 King Edward Avenue from an Edwardian gable to
the popular Cape Dutch style gable in the early 1930s.

4.2.1 The rise of the architect and speculative builder

The speculative builder has always been a part of domestic architectural development in England (see Chapter Three) and Pietermaritzburg, and affordable by most. The hiring of an architect tended to be a luxury and was thus available only to a few. With the gradual increase in prosperity in the town the number of architects and practices increased. The *Natal Almanac and Directory* shows an the increasing number of architects, builders and craftsmen advertising their services.

Not every architect or firm advertised their businesses in this book, but it does give an indication of the expansion in the profession, which in turn suggests the increase in buildings required. Hillebrand (1975), however, notes that an architect was classified as any person who prepared the design and or supervision and erection of the building. Qualifications were earned under the tutorage of an architectural firm, and a nominal annual fee of £5 was charged. The National Institute of Architects (NIA)[27], was founded in the hope of removing this problem. In 1905, Methven announced that the objectives of the Institute were to promote architecture and art as an honourable practice, to maintain and improve technical knowledge and to repress malpractice on the part of the unqualified persons. Builders and contractors were not admitted to membership (Hillebrand, 1975), and the building/contracting business was not held in any professional status. Despite being the profession one relied upon to fulfill the design process, the fact that the 'profession' was close to the 'coalface' designated it to a lowly occupation in comparison to the uplifted, expressive role of the architect (Butt, 1987). Kearney (1973) suggests that it was with the establishment of a code of conduct that the status of the architect rose to that of an accepted and ethical profession, although still not as acclaimed as in Europe (Small, pers.comm., 1994). There were no formal training schools for the up and coming architects and thus many travelled to Europe and England to learn under the masters, and brought back with them new hopes and ideals (Herbert, 1975; Hillebrand, 1986; Small, pers.comm., 1994). The establishment of the Johannesburg University College in 1920 (to become University of Witwatersrand in 1922) and an architectural course, helped to propagate a South African style. This, in a 1929 survey, was said to be a tiled, hipped roof, a centrally placed porch, classical pillars, white plastered walls and prominent chimneys (Herbert, 1975).

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[27]In 1927, all the architectural bodies united to form the Institute of South African Architects (ISAA) (Herbert, 1975).

From the idealistic values in building design that the architects followed, the speculative builder borrowed. Seldom did the speculator hold in great stead the theory behind the style, and as with their English counterparts they were merely concerned with the building of houses desirable to the average, conservative, but fashion conscious home owner. Although the speculative builder may not have spread the architectural style with great finesse, or in some cases quality, they did aid in the affordable spread of housing. They can also be attributed with the creating a sense of homogeneity to an area - such as the picturesque Victorian cottages and Cape Dutch revival style lining the streets in Pietermaritzburg (especially Scottsville).

4.3 A search for new solutions

Hillebrand (1986), notes that the period between post-Union and the Great War saw little building activity and thus architectural activity, with many firms closing down. The need for housing the returning soldiers from World War One did not aid, to a great extent, in the expansion of the industry either. There was a slight respite in the mid-twenties, but this was soon quelled by the 1930-1932 depression. This is not to say that building stopped altogether during this period. Herbert (1975), suggests that from Union to before the First World War, South African architecture experienced a brief Indian summer of the Cape tradition and nostalgia. The Cape Dutch revival period allowed for the gradual transition from Victorian, Edwardian Colonial architecture to early modernism - the International Style - with its plain white surfaces and flat natural lines. Cape Dutch revival architecture provided the relevant context and the point of departure for modernism (Herbert, 1987). It was also a time for re-evaluating past societal structures and demands. As in architecture, a simpler mode of life was called for, this being aided by the technological advances and the expansion of the automobile industry. With the housing shortage and post-war depression, housing demands had to be fulfilled in an effective and economic manner. Large houses, which could only be afforded by the very few, became uneconomical and were replaced by the smaller, porticoed box-shape house. Decoration adorned houses in a simple organic manner as prescribed by Arts and Crafts and Art Deco styles.

For those who were opposed to the Cape Dutch revival (such as Paton and Sénèque), a style that was also being introduced at this time was the Spanish Colonial/Californian/Mission style. To these two protagonists the Spanish style was more climatically suited to Natal than the Cape Dutch

revival style. It was characterised by low pitched roofs, small windows, large eaves, smooth walls and pergolas (Hillebrand, 1986). It was a style complimentary of Art Deco, but far more effective in the building of flats and mansions, as can be seen along the Esplanade and Berea in Durban. In domestic architecture, the style tended to be far more conservatively represented.

4.3.1 A new architectural centre emerges

Although Cape Town had been the agent of influence regarding the Cape Dutch revival and being the closest Port town to the home country, Johannesburg was fast becoming the fashionable centre for updated architectural styles (Herbert, 1975; Chipkin, 1993) and country leader. South African stylistic fashions spread outwards from Johannesburg where the architectural leaders trained and returned to from training under the architectural masters of Europe, bringing with them the new philosophies. America was beginning to rise up as a strong and influential social and architectural force - the 'honkey-tonk', 'boogie-woogie', 'traffic-jam', 'stream-line', 'skyline' and 'skyscraper' - and influenced South African life. Johannesburg was fast becoming a 'Little New York' (Chipkin, 1993). The International Style had arrived. Theron (1972), notes that although the influences of the Bauhaus architecture and Frank Lloyd Wright was not truly accepted in South Africa, there were certain nuances that became evident in the new styles. This was seen with the use of new technology and materials of steel and concrete. The new ideal of a flat roof (allowing for a roof garden) and larger expanses of glass were elements of such a style (see Chapter Three). The focus had changed from the architecture of the roof, to the architecture of the walls (Kearney, pers.comm., 1994). The styles were a little too radical for the more conservative towns such as Pietermaritzburg as well as not being ideally suited to the climate. Flat roofs did not allow for adequate drainage, causing damp, nor did they allow for insulation through the steeply pitched roof (Herbert, 1975; Theron, 1972 ; Peters, 1987).

By the 1930s, South Africa was beginning to show a fair size body of 'modern architecture' - this including a wide range of stylistic variations of Art Nouveau to the new International style, and those resisting the revolution for merely a simpler style (Karol, 1983; Herbert, 1987). The effects of the 1929 Wall Street Crash was not immediate in South Africa. It was, however, later compounded by the Rinderpest epidemic and drought; 1932 became known as the Black Year (Herbert, 1975; Chipkin, 1993). Very little literature concerning this period seems to have been

written. However, it appears that building continued in some form related to the International Style, boosted by the feeling of hope reinstated by the political (and thus in turn economic) success of Smuts and Hertzog's United South African Nationalist Party (Karol, 1983). The Transvaal area was the main centre for experimentation, setting an example which the rest of the country followed, albeit in a more conservative manner (Herbert, 1987). The modernist dictum of 'less is more', never truly made its mark in this country. In Pietermaritzburg there are few true examples of the modern period (fig. 4.9; 9.11; 4.12), the speculative builder having modified the theories to suit the gentler client, often adding in certain features to alleviate the starkness of true modern buildings. Features that became popular were the low pitched roofs, extended eaves and visible 'rafter ends' (Herbert, 1987). Another feature which became popular was the 'suntrap' (corner) window, fulfilling the ideals of expanses of glass supported in steel frames.
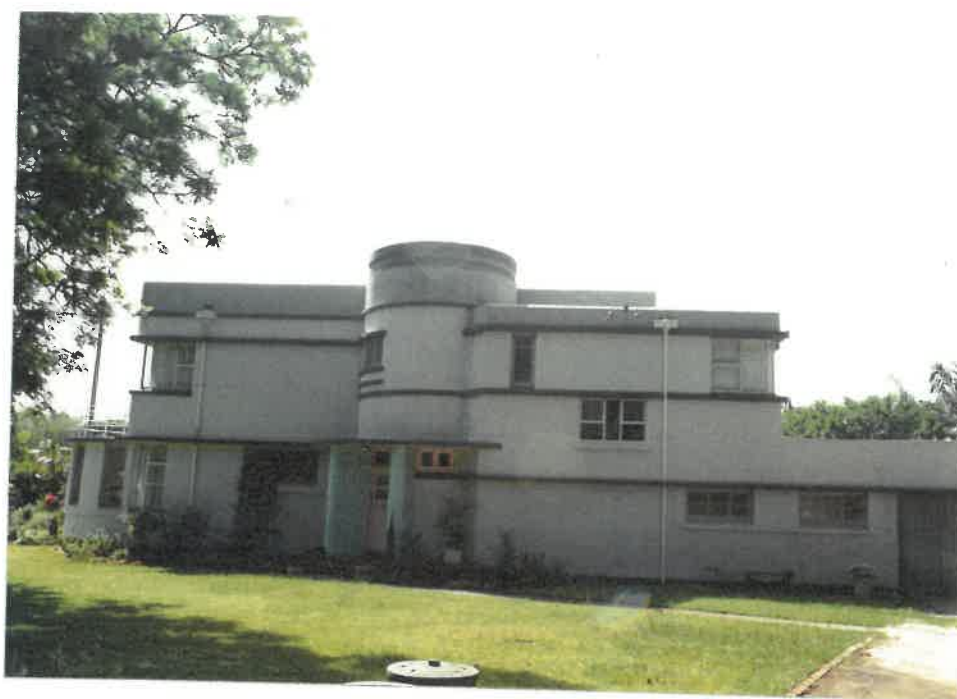
Figure 4.9: The '30s modern home - 59 Old Main Road, Kloof

4.3.2 Post War changes

The severity and length of the Second World War halted building and architectural debates, and the spread of the International Style (Theron, 1972; Herbert, 1975). It also suggested a re-evaluation amongst the modernists concerning their theories. Modernism had set out to change the social

fabric but had been too concerned with the abstract and treated problems cosmetically rather than rationally (Bremner, 1981a, 1981b) and a new direction was needed. At the close of World War Two housing became a serious issue. The uncertainty of the war gave birth to a variety of 'new' styles, serving the purpose of the spread of suburbia with the use of local materials and regional styles (Chipkin, 1993). In whichever manner these styles became imprinted on the landscape, they had in common the need for simpler, economical styles as dictated by the economic difficulties being experienced (Theron, 1972). The internal structure of the home became based on the 'open plan', as proposed by the earlier revolutionaries - Le Corbusier, Mies van der Rohe (1886-1969) and Frank Lloyd Wright - rather than reliant on a central corridor with singular offleading units. True open plan houses as designed by these architects were never really built in Pietermaritzburg. The living space may have, to some extent have been open, but the sleeping area tended to be separate and compartmentalised along a long corridor. The external shape of the house tended to reflect this changing internal structure, becoming more elongated in shape - similar to that of the Californian Bungalow/Ranch style house, but adapted to the South African idiom as seen in Chapter Nine (Theron, 1972; Herbert, 1987).

The introduction of Brazilian styled architecture, in the 1940s was influential in domestic architecture - adapted to the South African style and exotic plants (Chipkin, 1993; Harbor, pers.comm., 1993) with patterned tile wall surfaces, mosaic murals, perforated screens and patio vegetation. It inspired the use of stone fireplaces, transparent window walls and shaped end-walls (Chipkin, 1993).

A prominent feature of 1940s housing in Pietermaritzburg was the introduction of mock styles; the Domestic Revival of Shaw and the Arts and Crafts, but with a more modern flavour. Hillebrand (1986), suggests that with the building of the Durban Playhouse in 1935, the style began to take off in domestic architecture. The Englishness of the style may well be related to the Britishness of Pietermaritzburg re-affirming its cultural ties to England. It was a very pronounced style with the continued use of leaded windows (diamond or rectangular panes), wooden frames in place of steel framed windows, a low brick base and sometimes bricks oddly placed in the white plastered walls and Tudor styled decorative 'beams' (often pre-fabricated) or horizontal strips of weatherboarding in the apex of the front gable (figs. 9.6; 9.7).

By the time the 1950s arrived a new form of domestic architecture had evolved. The economic,

low profile, simply designed ranch style house had been extended, with large (sometimes glazed) sliding doors uniting the exterior with the interior of the house (fig. 9.21). Theron (1972) suggests that the simplicity of the design was in fact a complex restructuring of past forms and societal ideals and the reflection to a greater degree of the sophistication on the part of the owner. He remarks on the liberation of the rigidity of the open plan to one allowing for greater margins of individuality. The large sliding windows led onto roofed/unroofed patio rooms invariably with the fashionable pool feature. Large tropical type plants and shrubs surrounding the house and bordering the property suggested an increasing demand for privacy (fig. 9.21). If plots were large enough the house would often be situated further back on the property than previously creating a private enclave away from the eyes of others.

South African architects tried to keep apace with the architectural fashion as bespoken by the 'leading' architectural powers of Europe and America, but were also directed by changing societal, economical and political pressures and the local climate. In the commercial world the strength of these designs, even when adapted to suit the regional factors (climate, site and materials), were acceptable. In the area of domestic architecture, however, the blatancy of the style is less apparent. Rather there is a 'fudging' and a more eclectic fashion. The speculative builder was greatly responsible for not only the spreading of styles, but also the continued and adapted use of styles. In their personal lives people tend to be less adventurous and susceptible to change. Comfort and monotony is often analogous to stability and the rehashing of styles ensures this.

Chapters Five and Six give a brief overview of the development of Pietermaritzburg in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, respectively. This helps in the understanding of the architectural styles that were adopted and the development of the surrounding suburban areas, as will be discussed in later chapters.

Blea Tarn'

"We scaled without a track to ease our steps,
A steep ascent; and reached a dreary plain,
With a tumultuous waste of huge hill tops
Before us; savage region! which I paced
Dispirited: when all at once, behold!
Beneath our feet a little lowly vale,
A lowly vale, and yet uplifted high
Among the mountains; even as if the spot
Had been from the eldest time by wish of theirs
So placed, to be shut out from the world!"

(William Wordsworth, Excerpt from *The Excursion*, Book II, cited in Lefebure, 1987)

CHAPTER FIVE

PIETERMARITZBURG - ITS NINETEENTH CENTURY DEVELOPMENT

Pietermaritzburg (fig.5.1) has had a rich and tumultuous journey from a simple lager settlement to a small capital town, to an urban city of today. The architectural history of Pietermaritzburg is culturally rich and varied. It is the interplay of historical, economic and socio-cultural forces that have created the urban scene as we see today. Hillebrand (1988), notes, as with any developing area, that the economics prevalent at the time effect the extent of growth in the town, as noted in Chapters Two and Three. Through the study of these periods of extension, within the context of history, one can interpret the development of the region.
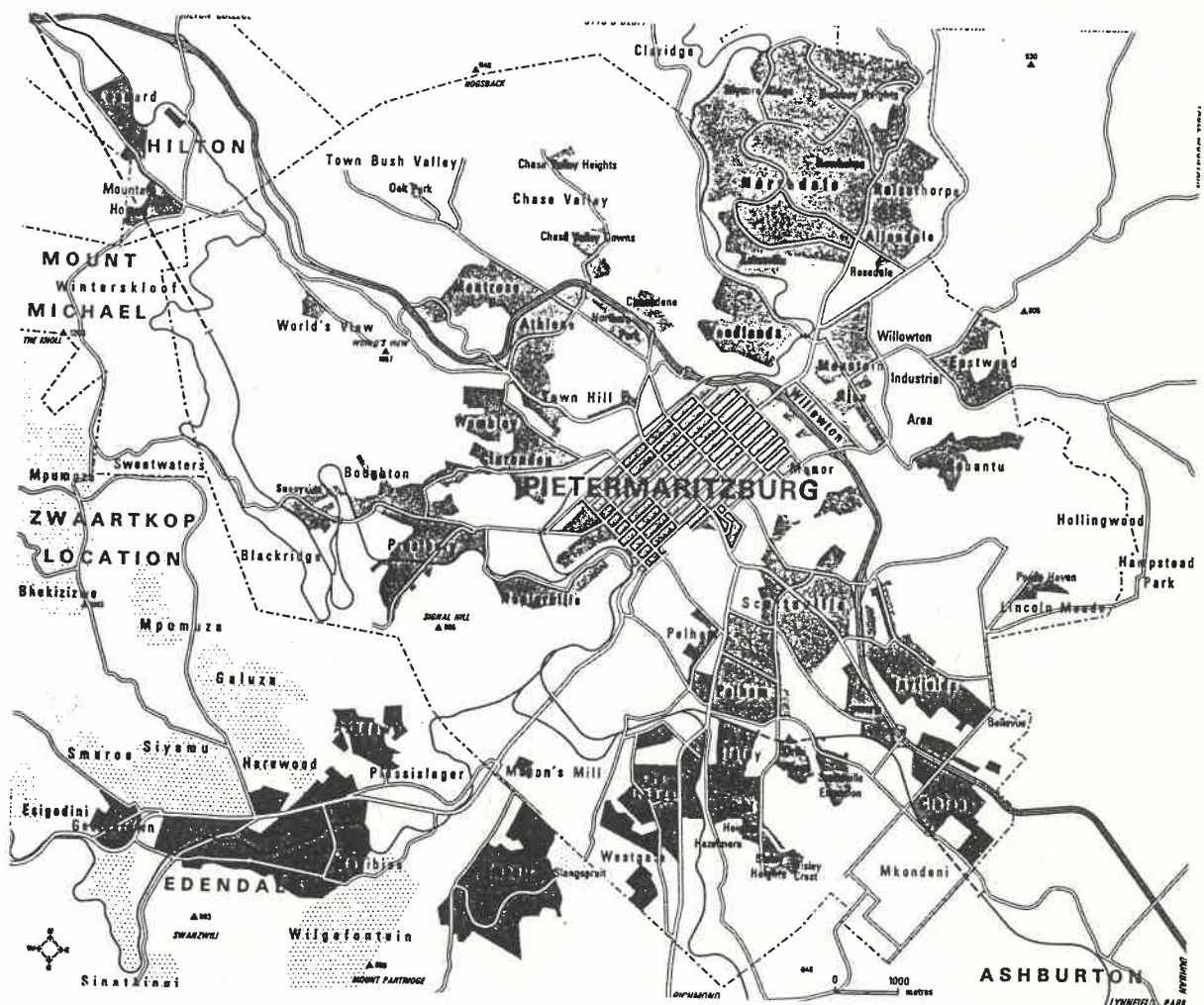
Figure 5.1: Pietermaritzburg and its environs

(Source: Wills, 1988, p.37)

5.1 Early historical overview

Pietermaritzburg was noted by Archbell, in September 1841, to be "bare, if not ugly" (Hattersley, 1938, p2). Adulphe Delegorgue, a French naturalist, in 1839, described the new settlement as "no more than a camp, ill-constructed of palisades and simply a heap of ill-formed huts made of wood and rushes and plastered with the manure of cattle" (Delagorgue, 1847 cited in Hattersley, 1938, p21). This is quite the opposite to an article in the *Ware Afrikaner* (1840), describing Pietermaritzburg as "a large, pleasant, well watered town..." (Wedderburn, 1991, p126).

Pietermaritzburg was a frontier town, an Afrikaner dorp born during Dutch Rule (Haswell, 1983). The town was established by Piet Retief and Gert Maritz in 1837 who had come down from the Drakensberg into "the grassy uplands of Natal" (Gordon, 1981), to establish contacts with the British settlers and merchants at the coast (Chadwick, 1974). It was a days ride from the coast and an ideal site at the base of the hills between two water ways, the Dorpspruit and the Little Bushmans River/ Umsinduzi[28] River. A Cape Town publication, *Het Zuid Afrikaner* (1839) reports that Piet Retief selected the site in 1837 and a year later 1838 and 1839, the town was planned and laid out by Piet Greyling, Reliefs' son-in-law (Gordon, 1981, Labuschagne, 1984).

Haswell (1986, pvii), describes the chosen site as "...a ridge of sloping land, which could be irrigated from the appropriately named Dorpspruit within a bowl-like setting". The settlement was initially a lager, but with the growing local population there arose a need to establish some form of order and planning (fig. 5.2). The newly established Volksraad entrusted Greyling to plan the town, guided by the traditional Dutch planning regulations resulting in the grid regularity of the Capital (fig. 5.3) (Hattersley, 1938; Haswell, 1986, Wedderburn, 1991).

Greyling took advantage of the topography and setting of the area, a sloping ridge and two rivers on either side of the settlement, to lead streams of water down furrows to irrigate the properties and supply the houses with fresh water (Gordon, 1981; Labuschagne, 1984). Basic town planning regulations were introduced to organise the efficient use of available facilities. The following extracts highlight the Representative Boards regulations and instructions concerning the regularity

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[28]It has been noted that there are variations on the spelling of this River - The Msunduze, Umsindusi, Umsundusi and Umsinduzi. For consistency the spelling Umsinduzi shall be used, unless otherwise quoted.

of the town, dated 15 February, 1839, and signed by J. S. Maritz:

1 "Article 4 stated that every proprietor of an elf shall be bound to sow and plant the elf within the term of two months, with the best grain and plants, and also to properly secure the same damage within a period, namely, to surround it by a turf wall (sod wall) or by means of a palisade, but in a proper manner, while after the expiration of the said period, all right for indemnification or damage will cease, according to Ordinance dated 11th February, 1839, and those neglecting will be liable to fines and punishment as will be expressly fixed for that purpose" (Preller, 1938, cited in Wedderburn 1991, p126)

2 " Article 5 stated that the dwelling house shall be built in front in a right line, as will be regulated and pointed out by a qualified person to be appointed for the purpose" (Bird, 1888, cited in Wedderburn, 1991, p126)

Figure 5.2: An artistic impression of the early layout of Pietermaritzburg
(Source: Laband and Haswell, 1988, p.23)

Pietermaritzburg was becoming an established town, with "150 huts and about 15 substantial houses" (Kearney, 1973, p6). Most of the permanent residents in the town were farmers, rather than townsfolk, earning their living by cultivating their allotments and through pasturage of their cattle on the surrounding Townlands (Hattersley, 1938).
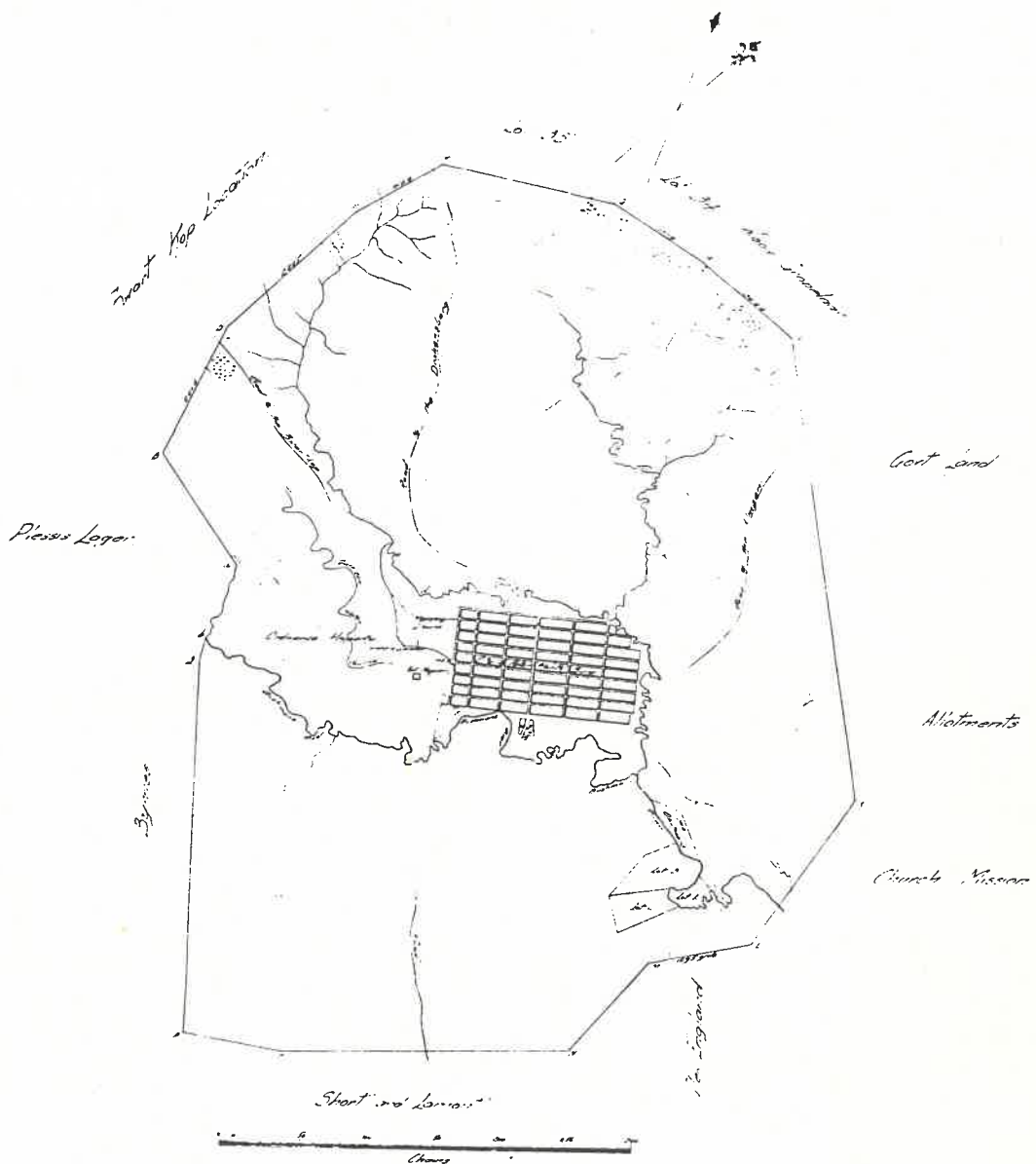
The above Diagram a B.D....2b reduced from the original Plans of Messrs Cloete and Piers situate in the County of Petermaritzburg, District of Natal.(Extends Northwards to Lot 35. Lot 34 the widow Grobelaar, Gout. land and Allotments sold by Gout. S. to PlessisLager and Byrnes, E. to the Church Mission Grant, New England and Short and Lamont, and W. to the Zwaartkop Location) represents 28980 Acres of land from which I certify that the following portions have been deducted. Namely.

		Acres	R	P	yds.
Erven in City of Petermaritzburg		824	1	16	
Allotments as follows					
G.J.Rudolf	No.15			16	22.687
A.Z.Visagie	No.14			17	24.5
J.C.Boshof	No. 8	2	3	15	
T.Shepstone	No. 2	102	3	2	
T.Shepstone	No. 3	153	3	35	2
P.Ferreira	No. 1	91	0	38	
Wesleyan Burial Ground	No.10	3	0	16	28
Church of England do.	No. 9	2	2	32	24
Roman Catholic do.	No.11	1	0	30	
Dutch do.	No.12	4	1	13	24.5
C.Ohrtmans	No. 4	59	3	35	
Kritzinger	No.16			13	
Pistorius	No.13	15	1	29	1.18
		1202	0	31	5.838
Ordinance a,b,c,d,e		1689	3	8	
Total		2891	3	39	5.838
Diagram a.B.D....2.b		28980	0	0	
Alienated in favour of Corporation		26088	0	0	24.422

Plan No. 63 × 89

Leaving as a remainder 26088 Acres 0 roods 0 perches 24.422 yards of land being the extent of the Borough lands of the City of Petermaritzburg which includes the Market place and streets.
Reduced Decr. 1854

(Sgd) Thomas Okes. Govt Surveyor.

Figure 5.3: Early layout of Pietermaritzburg (1854)

(Source: Ellis, 1988, p.30)

As the town began to grow the need to establish more permanent dwellings became necessary for those residing permanently in the town and those needing dwellings over the period of Nagmaal (Nachtmaal). To accommodate this, building works began to establish themselves. A brick and tile works was established to the east of the town, thus enabling the building of permanent brick houses (Kearney, 1973) - and possibly the start of a Pietermaritzburg theme. Hillebrand (1974), classifies Pietermaritzburg as having been ".. essentially a market town serving the farms of the Natal Midlands, the market square forming a communication centre around which most of the important buildings were grouped" (p26).

With the second British Occupation of Natal, in 1842, the Republic of Natalia flag was taken down and the Union Jack hoisted (Kearney, 1973) initiating the start of a new era in Natal. By 31 August 1843, the British garrison had moved to Pietermaritzburg, where they formed a camp to the west of town and started building Fort Napier. In 1843 Natal was annexed to Britain and in 1845 direct colonial rule was established. The Dutch had left the Cape to escape British rule and once again British impositions led to another mass exodus of trekkers from Natal (Leverton, 1970; Christopher, 1971; Kearney, 1973; Haswell, 1979, Gordon, 1981). Pietermaritzburg had been initiated and laid out by Voortrekkers and their influence was thus indelibly stamped on the town, and despite the arrival of the British with their own ideals, the principle of trekker (Dutch) town planning is still evident today.

The Dutch carried in their minds a set of mental images, of what a town should be like, these images were thus supplanted on the foreign landscape as can be seen in Figure 5.3 illustrating the grid pattern within the confines of the two rivers. Lewcock, (1963), says the following:

> "Here we have the typical pattern of nineteenth century town planning, which repeated itself wherever organised development was thought of in hundreds of later towns throughout the Colonies and the Republics" (p411).

Studies of the patterns of early Voortrekker towns and the architectural styles/vernacular that developed has been well researched. All these studies set out to show the influence of 'home country' philosophies and traditional 'lores' on the evolution of planning and architecture within the 'new country' as settled by the colonists.

"The dorps established in the Cape during the Dutch rule, and in the interior by the Voortrekkers, formed a close-knit family of very similar places. A clear image of what a dorp should look like was evidently part of the cultural baggage borne by the Voortrekkers" (Haswell, 1986, pxi).

"The common mythological features of the Dutch dorps were large irrigated erven; rows of small houses built close to the street line; furrow- and tree-lined streets, with names which include, Kerk, Mark, Loop, Lang and Boom; a prominent Dutch Reformed Church set in a Kerkplein; and a cemetery located on the outskirts of the settlement" (Haswell, 1979).

A distinctive sense of place is created within these towns, the cultural images of early Dutch towns supplanted on the African landscape. Small Cape Dutch and later Victorian styled houses, furrow-lined streets irrigating small plots appeared. As noted in Chapter Two, a cultural landscape develops.

The above characteristics are still very prominent when looking at the Pietermaritzburg townscape. Each new colonising group inherited the landscape as created by the previous culture and then themselves build upon that landscape and implanted their own ideals. Thus with the arrival of the British the inherited landscape of the grid plan, long streets, long thin erven, furrow-lined streets, a central market and Dutch Reformed Church remained. Upon this they added their cultural mark.

Wills (1988, p33), mentions the following 'ingredients' for a colonial town; a military cantonment (Fort Napier), the 'civilian elite' (gathered around Government House), a market square and "surrounding commercial enterprise" and administrative precinct, and a population of tradesmen, artisans and craftsmen. Haswell (1979), notes that the towns laid out by the English in South Africa "have grid street plans, the variable location of both house and businesses within lots, and the greater variety of land usage, results in a townscape which is considerably less uniform and regulated than the Afrikaner 'dorpface'" (p69).

On February 14th 1854, Pietermaritzburg was gazetted as a City (Hattersley, 1951) and in 1856, Natal was separated from the Cape Colony by Charter and soon after there was a further spate of enthusiastic immigration (Hillebrand, 1974) of new settlers enticed by the rumours of a rich and wonderful new colony.

5.2 Growth of the Town

A municipal Board of Commission was appointed in 1848 and was replaced soon after by a Town Council once borough status had been granted to Pietermaritzburg in 1854. With this new status the town inherited the approximately 460 erven as well as receiving 26 000 acres of Townlands which was comprised of the commonage, and all unoccupied erven in the town layout itself. It was common in most Voortrekker settlements that the Townlands surrounding the town were used for grazing purposes (Wills, 1988).

5.2.1 The arrival of immigrants

"Between 1 January 1849 and 25 June 1852 almost five thousand British immigrants arrived in Natal..." (Kearney, 1973, p13).

There were various emigration schemes (Leverton, 1970; Christopher, 1971; Gordon, 1988), the Byrne settlers being the most spoken of in the Pietermaritzburg area. The economic depression in England at the time, and the effects of the Industrial Revolution, as discussed in Chapter Three (machinery taking over the jobs of the people) created unemployment for many. The agricultural sector incurred losses of its own; bad harvests, the potato blight and the repeal of the corn laws as well as other political/economic/social/religious constraints (Kearney, 1973; Ballard, 1989). These factors played a large part in the emigration of people to the Colonies, seeking to start life anew. When one reads the adverts written at the time, such as the following extract published in an 1840 Dutch Newspaper, *Ware Afrikaan*, one cannot fail to see the attraction of these new lands to potential settlers:

"Pietermaritzburg, a large, pleasant, and well watered town, begins daily to rise its head above the surrounding hillocks. 300 beautiful erven have already been given out, surveyed, and partly planted. This town is situated on the lower part of the Stinkhout Berg, distant about fifty miles from the Bay; has a picturesque site, and combines all the advantages of nature as well as of the local situation, making so fine a prospect that I know of nothing similar, to it in the colony. The growth of plants is so rapid...can be harvested in abundance throughout the year, and I have no doubt that garden seeds will thrive equally well here..." (Pretorious, 1839, Bird Papers, 1888, vol.9, cited in Wedderburn, 1991, p126).

These advertising promotions painted a rosy picture of settled colonies:

"The Natal Colony, amongst many other advantages, possesses a most salubrious climate, unsurpassed by any other colony, great capabilities for cattle farming and agriculture, as well as for he production of cotton, indigo, coffee, sugar, all of which, it is known may be produced with success, as well as the different varieties of European grain. The passage is less expensive out, and it has a more accessible market for the produce than all the other southern colonies. It is also a settled colony, has its own government and laws, enjoys the advantage of good and sufficient religious provision, and is not a penal colony" (Methley, 1849, cited in Kearney, 1973, p13).

The image painted was one of prosperity and growth. It portrayed a fairly large town, but with an agrarian feel about it (such as would have been back in England) although 300 erven is somewhat larger than in an English settlement. But, this in itself could possibly denote a well settled and growing area that was financially secure. Diverse agriculture, luscious flora and a healthy climate are highly attractive to people caught in the grips of despair and in a country that could offer nothing but the opposite. With promise of such a life and good lands, emigration could only have been believed to be a movement forward. With them, the settlers bought the present Victorian values, thoughts and hopes and the knowledge gained by the Industrial Revolution, new 'modern' architectural styles and methods of building.

Few of those attracted by the prosperity of land were farmers, many were tradesmen and artisans. Thus it was not at all surprising that not all the new settlers were successful as farmers and so they moved into the towns nearby, setting up commercial enterprises (Hattersley, 1938; Gordon, 1981). The Victorian sense of morality was quite strong, but it was possibly this that led them through the tough conditions and lifestyle they had to face, giving them meaning and motive to their daily life. The African environment was somewhat harsher than the English countryside. The advertisements had stressed great pastoral and agricultural lands, easy access to markets, a settled colony (and not a penal colony at that) with an excellent climate (Sellers, 1984).

The European population of Pietermaritzburg, in 1852, was approxiametly 1408. There were an estimated 443 dwellings with thatched, and corrugated iron roofs[29] (Gordon, 1981). Kearney (pers.comm., 1994) questions this statement with regard to his research suggesting that corrugated iron only began to be used around the 1860s. Pietermaritzburg was a growing community:

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[29]Corrugated iron being a popular and safer material, brought to the attention of the public, after the 1851 British, Great Exhibition.

"...the large market square which the hopeful eye might easily picture thronged with a busy and industrious population, and teeming with the produce of well-cultivated farms. The happy slope of the ground, by which drainage is facilitated and health secured; the commanding position of the camp, which overlooks the whole extent of the plain, form a combination of advantages not always to be found in large and populous cities, and we could not but confess that should the Colony increase in propensity and importance even so as to equal the expectations of its most ardent admirers, Pietermaritzburg was in no respect unworthy to be its capital" (Barter, 1852, cited in Wedderburn, 1991, p128).

Even at this stage of Pietermaritzburg's development there was speculation as to the extending of the town into the Townlands held by the municipality. It was thought that the sales of these lands would bring in revenue to the town. For some it was seen as a relief to financial strains, but others predicted that the revenue created would be less than that spent in the layout of the infrastructure of water and streets (Labuschagne, 1984) .

The town had a pleasant and scenic setting to many of the residents and visitors. One such person, enamoured by the pleasantness of Pietermaritzburg, wrote:

"Private homesteads might be humble, but 'green hedges of Quinze or pomegranate inclosed the nicely kept garden, verandahs around whose posts were trained beautiful and luxuriant creepers, relieved the uniformity of white wall, roses abounded, and the weeping willow had been planted by the side of the little sluits, or water-courses, and flourished amazingly, as did the seringaboom or lilac tree'" (*The Dorp and Veld*, Barter, 1852, cited in Hattersley, 1938, p31).

This was an English setting oddly misplaced in an African landscape seemingly oblivious to the constant fear of 'impi' attack; a Victorian idyllic landscape painted over a reality of hardships. As noted in Chapter Three (fig. 3.2), images of a gentle country life were depicted despite its real hardships. The picturesque, with its decorative elements and country images, shrouded the harshness of the landscape with idyllic images.

5.2.2. Agrarian community to commercial and social centre

The social life of the early settlers leaned towards the market square - a meeting area and cultural centre (fig. 5.4). The square was adjacent to the Dutch Reformed Church, where people could outspan their oxen, sell their produce and set up 'camp' during the period of Nagmaal.

Figure 5.4: The Market Square and social centre during Nagmaal
(Source: Darby and Maxwell, 1988, p.175)

On the arrival of the British, further functions were added to those of before, such as a sports arena for cricket and more economically based activities which were operative all week, except for Sundays and public holidays (Labuschagne, 1984). Trees were planted to enhance the area and provide shade. There was an early attempt at planning to put order to the square, imbuing a more commercial atmosphere by making it more recreational, aesthetically pleasing, and allocating areas for the outspanning of wagons while still maintaining its multi-purpose usage.

The town began to be more than just an agricultural centre as it became commercially orientated. Pietermaritzburg had grown from a small agrarian community, sustaining the surrounding larger farming community, to one that was becoming commercially viable and interacting on a larger scale. In 1855, Mason noted that there were some hundred houses, and running a healthy trade with the interior, plus exporting annually produce worth many thousand pounds (Labuschagne, 1984). Apart from the growth of commercial enterprise, Guest (1988) writes that:

"Pietermaritzburg's emergence during the second half of the nineteenth century as a major legal and educational centre further enlarged its residential population and generated additional demands on goods and services which gave even more impetus to the growth of its commercial sector" (p123).

The English habits and Victorian patterns were easily integrated into every-day life, the civic and

social affairs being of great importance to those with community status (Gordon, 1981). This increase of commerce had a decidedly British inflection. In 1850, the editor of *The Natal Witness* wrote, regarding the features of society, that the settlement was every day assuming "...more of the appearance of an English town" (12 April, 1850 cited in Labuschagne, 1984, p75). One writer wrote into *The Natal Witness*, June 1851:

> "If the number of houses in course of erection are any indication of prosperity, then we have as good a share of that commodity as circumstances could warrant us in expecting. At almost every turn, half-a-dozen new buildings may be seen rapidly progressing. Bricks and mortar, beams and planks, thatch and tiles, with carpenters, are in great demand. The season is favourable, not a shower falling to interrupt the out-door labour. The style of building is improving, and the sub-division of many of the two acre erven is entirely altering the appearance of the town" (cited in Labuschagne, 1984, p77).

This prosperity and growth could also have been attributed to the increasing number of banks and building societies opening in Pietermaritzburg - the promise of comfort and owner-occupied homes highly attractive to many of the local artisans wishing to make Pietermaritzburg their permanent home (Labuschagne, 1984; Guest, 1989).

5.3 Life in the young colonial town

Pietermaritzburg is recognised as having its beginnings as a Voortrekker dorp. These origins are reflected in town layout and building styles using different building techniques, and other long standing traditions. Such styles are so rigidly set that they can be recognised in other early towns with Trekker beginnings - for example Piquetberg, Tulbach, Stellenbosch and Weenen (fig. 5.5) - a distinctive townscape is evident. The typical architecture of the period is as follows: elongated houses, plastered brick and thatch and simple gables, a front stoep with direct street frontage (a legal requirement). With the arrival of the British, things were bound to change as they bought with them their own ideals, values and knowledge from 'home', where they were presently revolutionising their industry. Gradually the change occurred as new buildings were erected in the spaces in between the old Trekker homes (Lewcock, 1963; Kearney, 1973). The housing styles chosen by the Boers originated from the inherited traditional architectural features from the Cape. The ubiquitous Cape Dutch style home with its thick white-washed walls, one room wide design and small front stoep, allowing for cross and through ventilation.
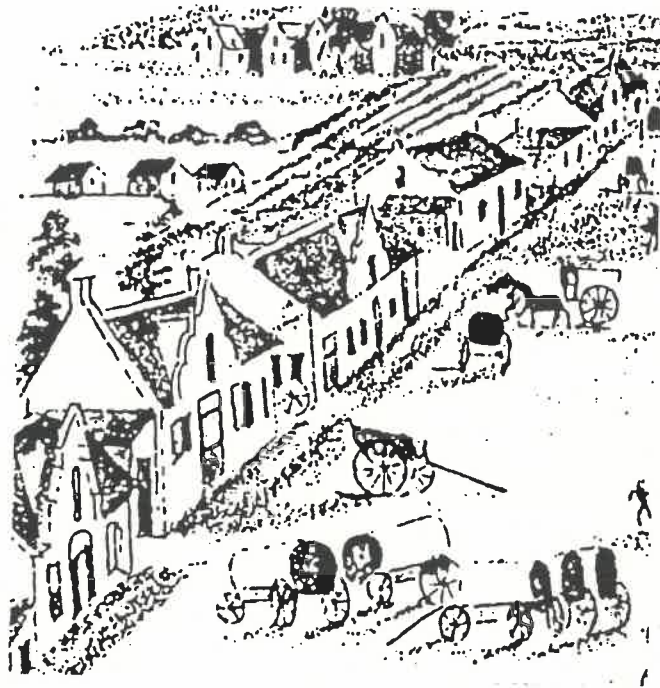
Figure 5.5: An early settler town - Piquetberg, c:1857
(Source: Frescura, 1989, p15)

5.3.1 Victorian town life

Despite the rough conditions, arduous lifestyle and intense summer heat Pietermaritzburg still presented a pleasant outlook to some. A lady visitor to Pietermaritzburg in August 1860, wrote:

"In the street your eyes are dazzled by the heat in the air and stung by the sharp red dust that is whirled in sudden clouds along the unpaved roadways... Rising early I walked up to the camp hill and looked down on the Capital. A very pretty site is presented with its long straight streets, red-tiled roofs and tall gum trees. One or two church spires pierce the air, and the building being of different materials - shale, hewn stone and brick - there is more architectural variety than in Durban." ('Life at Natal by a Lady', *Cape Monthly Magazine*, no.iv, 1872 cited in Gordon, 1981, p31).

Robinson (1863) writes of the pleasant changes that occurred in the settlers style of living:

"Town houses are almost invariably furnished and fitted up in English fashion; and in the country, the rude expedient of earlier years, mere shells of houses, comprising little more than four bare walls, and a bare roof, are being superseded by an era of paint, wallpaper and general upholstery" (cited in Kearney, 1973, p26).

The centre of the town was characterised by smaller, subdivided sites and the close relationship of these buildings to each other created a sense of unity along the street. However, with the arrival of new cultural ideals and Victorian philosophies, not only did building styles change, but a variety of 'styles' were introduced. Kearney (1973), notes that with few exceptions each building retains its own identity shouting out its purposeful difference to those around it. The only unifying aspect that could be gathered between the buildings/houses was the addition of the veranda, creating for Pietermaritzburg a name on its own - The Veranda City.

5.3.1.1 The emerging English house

One building type that was frequently used was the veranda style (see Chapter Four). Fitting in with the idea of the 'Picturesque', the veranda provided the ideal means of attaining the romantic feel. The early forms of the veranda house were rather simplistic in comparison to those built at a later stage, when the want for fashion could be sustained by improved building technology and available materials. The financial status of the resident often being referenced by the number of sides of the house covered by verandas (fig. 5.6). Gables became a fashionable item towards the end of the 'eighties, creating for the designer/builder new and wonderful opportunities for the more elaborate façade designs (Kearney, 1973).

Many of the Voortrekker homes were pavement bound whereas the English settlers homes were slightly set back from the street, often fronted by delightful gardens, reflecting the English desire for the picturesque 'rambling' garden. The relationship of the house to its setting on the plot fulfilled the idea of uniting the house and nature: a gentle transition aided by the veranda (fig. 8.14).

Figure 5.6: An early veranda house - Macrorie House, 11 Loop Street

Initially the walls were plastered but this soon gave way to the bare brick, as seen today. New qualities of brick and colour emerged due to clay contents, soon to become particular to Pietermaritzburg, this continuing until the exhaustion of the quarries in the 'twenties and 'thirties (Fransen, 1988). As the quality of local brick and craftsmanship diminished, its use "was often restricted to the lower plinth walls, the rest being plastered, until the deposits ran out and the red-brick style ceased, in the 1930s, to characterise local architecture" (Fransen, 1988, p56).

The emerging Pietermaritzburg English design style of the house was more of a central passage with rooms leading off (fig. 5.7). In the South African climate this allowed for air to flow through the house and to cool the rooms in the hot climate.

The veranda was thus used not only as a remnant of styles introduced from the home country, but also as a climatic controller. Kearney (1973), however, adds that:

"Design and erection were limited not only in their conceptual and physical sense
but also by a shortage of building materials and building elements" (p15)

Figure 5.7: Turn of the century home with rooms leading off central
passage - 15 Chapman Road, Scottsville

Roofing materials and 'wattles' were easily obtainable along the coastal areas, but brick and stone were difficult and expensive to obtain. The opposite was true of Pietermaritzburg where stone and brick were easier to obtain and timber expensive. Kearney (1973) suggests that these early veranda style buildings were possibly the first sensible architectural statements in their adaption to a new and unfamiliar environment. Age-old traditions of building had been applied, but with the limited means available to them in their immediate environment, developing a functional 'colonial style' (Kearney, 1973).

These unpretentious, simple buildings with delightful gardens, set back from the tree-lined streets created harmonious impressions on those visiting Pietermaritzburg. Pietermaritzburg was a conservative colonial settlement, entrenched in the Victorian and Edwardian ideals, being intolerant to styles other than their own (Hillebrand, 1988). Although many of the residents of the town were concerned with maintaining a fashionable status, this conservatism often led to the 'watering down' of styles. The introduction of the newer designs, to Pietermaritzburg, may therefore not have been those patroned by the social and architectural elite of England and Europe, but they definitely

showed certain ideals of the new styles in the simpler designs. With the advent to 'modernism' and the British Arts and Crafts Movement, the moderate nature of the residents meant a mild acceptance and following of these new innovative ideas.

5.3.1.2 Settler social life

Societies, clubs, drama groups, and so on, were initiated by the colonists in order to recreate some semblance of the social life they had back in Britain. The Pietermaritzburg shopkeepers and tradesmen were said to be of a better standing with their grander homes, finer horses and fashionably dressed wives, and being themselves some of the finest gentlemen in the Colony (Kearney, 1973). Commodities were imported from England to fulfill some of these wishes.

Even at this early stage in the development of Pietermaritzburg it was believed that the town was burgeoning and areas (open spaces) needed to be allocated for recreational and leisurely purposes before it was too late. It was decided that a few sites were to be set aside for recreation.

Mayor Leathern proposed that land to the south of town be set aside for such purposes. The area would become known as Alexandra Park. The park was founded in 1863, and named such in commemoration of the marriage of Princess Alexandra of Denmark to King Edward VIII of England (Hattersley, 1938; Labuschagne, 1984). Buchanan remarked that these open spots would form lungs enabling the city to breathe (Labuschagne, 1984).

> "Now is the best time to secure these advantages when the population and growth of the city is yet in its infancy, the accomplishment of which will bring blessing, comfort and happiness to generations yet unborn..." (cited in Labuschagne, 1984, p141).

The park (fig. 5.8) was believed to be one of the best investments by the Corporation and its success was proved by the continuous stream of visitors who frequently expressed their delight at being able to avail themselves of a healthy walk or drive in their hansoms (Labuschagne, 1984).
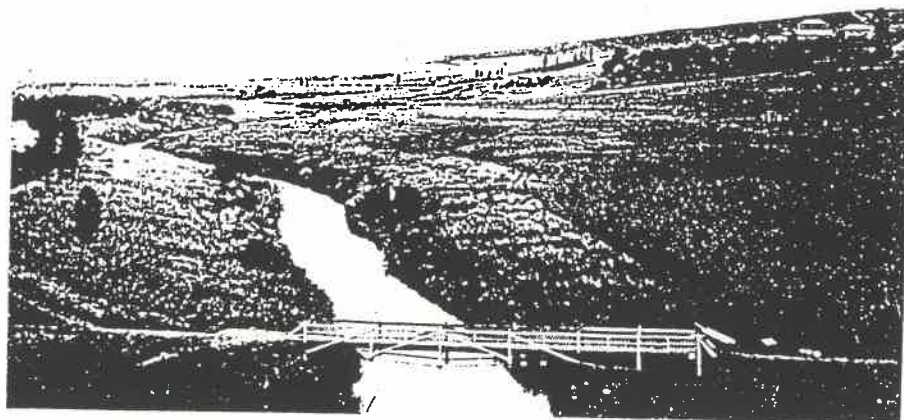
Figure 5.8: Alexandra Park, 1860s
(Source: Pietermaritzburg Archives)

"The river Umsunduzi (sic), its banks enriched with willow trees, which were originally bought from England, and flourished luxuriantly, flows through it, and gives animation to the scene...A handsome new bridge spans the river at the entrance to the town" (Lucas 1878, cited in Labuschagne, 1984, p93).

The lack of a permanent bridge spanning the river (the Umsinduzi) between town and 'The Ridge', became a problem in that it hampered the ease of communication and commercial interdependence between the town, and Durban (see Chapter Eight). Ease of transport was an important facet in the lives of the early settlers. Initially the trek down to Durban, or to the interior was an arduous and sometimes dangerous one. As technology improved so too did transport, opening up previously alien areas.

5.4 Victorian Pietermaritzburg sets off

1860 saw the initiation of the first railway line in the southern Africa from the Point to the centre of Durban. It was hoped that the line would advance to the interior at a fine pace and thus hopes for greater communications and development into the interior arose (Fenn, 1991). However, the mid-'sixties saw a severe depression grip Natal. Hattersley (1951) attributes this to the Zulu War disrupting the overberg trade, the depression overseas and the over speculation in real property.

There was much retrenchment, unemployment and the abandonment of projects. The first signs of the depression lifting came with the discovery of diamonds in Kimberley, 1871, and gold in 1885 (fig. 5.9) with many local inhabitants setting off to find their wealth on the Reef. However, with the migration of many of the inhabitants to the mineral fields, it was thought that the town would stagnate, with an attendant loss of manpower and related economic problems (Gordon, 1981).

"The vacant house give vacant streets, and empty streets made empty towns" (*The Natal Witness*, 1 September 1871 cited in Labuschagne, 1984, p197)

Figure 5.9: Hopeful prospectors bound for the gold fields of Barberton
(Source: Verbeek and Verbeek, 1982, p.58)

During the first half of the 1870's many did return back wealthier than when they had left, resulting in a further spate of growth. The opening of the Kimberley diamond mines coincided with a few good agricultural seasons creating an aura of content and hope for the future. Following the success of the mines came an increase in trade, thus giving a fresh start to commercial enterprise in the mid-eighteen seventies. It was a time for social functions in Pietermaritzburg, with many grand gatherings at the Government house. An exclusive residential area soon developed at the western end of the town centred around Government House and Fort Napier where the social and cultural life of the town was most evident (Hattersley, 1938; Kearney, 1973; Gordon, 1981, Labuschagne, 1984).

By 1872 houses were springing up filling in the open erven, keeping apace with the development of Durban. Pietermaritzburg, like Durban, was laid out on a large scale, with future growth in mind. Properties were quite large, and beautiful English gardens could be propagated (Labuschagne, 1984). The city was projected as an oasis, a picturesque 'Garden City'[30] surrounded by large areas of wild bush. Many of the buildings were being erected in the 'suburbs'[31], and styles were improving. A sense of prosperity pervaded the town.

"Maritzburg when first seen from the hills surrounding it looks very pretty: it is so green and having so many trees in the gardens there is a luxuriance about it that is all the more striking from the contrast with the bare hills around (Sir Garnet Wolsley, 1875, cited in Labuschagne, 1984, p93).

As the town grew during the 1870s it was realised that the open sluits were creating a hygiene problem[32]. The Corporation became aware that the old sluit system needed repairing, added to this was the increasing general decay of the town, where water was allowed to collect in the streets and vegetation was growing unwittingly in the streets. Church Street was described as " a horrid sea of almost impassable quagmire" (Labuschagne, 1984, p134). Laws were introduced to improve these conditions, such as "a system of night soil removal and surface drainage be carried out as early a date as possible; and that steps should be taken as soon as possible for the carrying out of plans for the supply of water by means of pipes on the high pressure system" (Labuschagne, 1984, p134).

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[30]This has been a name long associated with Pietermaritzburg, a scenic city. *The Natal Witness*, 20 November 1903, refers to 'Maritzburg as the 'Garden Colony'

[31]These 'suburbs' were initially those residential areas out of the centre of town, but still within the bounds of the two rivers.

[32]An editorial in *The Natal Witness*, 1880, requested for the removal of a local resident - possibly to the mental asylum - as she tended to bathe her 'unpleasant feet' in the sluits and the frequent use of unacceptable language to passers by.

4.4.1 A time of economic swings

The fourteen years between the Zulu War of 1879 and the establishment of Responsible Government in Natal in 1893 was interrupted firstly by the first Anglo-Boer War of 1881 and secondly by a severe economic depression during the years 1885 - 1887 (Kearney, 1973). These were hard years for the colonists as not only were they discouraged by wars, economic depression and severe drought, but also the loss of livestock through disease, such as the Rinderpest epidemic (Hattersley, 1951, Gordon, 1981; Ballard, 1989). Despite these bad periods there were periods where prosperity prevailed.

"Everywhere around us we see new institutions, improvements, and enterprises starting into being, in course of formation, or already in full swing" (*The Natal Witness*, 10 June 1880, cited in Labuschagne, 1984, p153).

Growth still occurred in spite of increasing building costs. In 1880 an auction was held in the Market square to auction off land beyond a certain area surrounding the market, "a depth not encroaching on the square beyond the inner line of trees" (Labuschagne, 1984, p150). Because of the proximity to the square it was natural that these pieces of land would develop into commercial establishments, especially considering the commercial nature of the colonists themselves, and much building occurred in 1880. Pietermaritzburg had already been ascribed the "opprobrious epithet" of the 'Sleepy Hollow', but with the continuous flow of development one would have assumed this would surely die away (Labuschagne, 1984, p150).

In many respects, Pietermaritzburg remained a town in the shadows of the surrounding hills, a meeting place for farmers and locals to sell and buy produce, to exchange ideas and news from outerlying areas under the safeguard of the garrison. The permanence of the garrison provided economic stability, uplifting social functions and dampened fears of 'Impi' attack (and later Boer advances). The arrival of further Imperial Troops in Pietermaritzburg strengthened these factors.

5.4.2 Culture and Fashion

The predominant Natal culture during this 'age of improvement' was a replica of the mother country which is not altogether surprising considering the emotional bond they maintained with England. In 1883 William Pearce said that:

"In their social life the colonists have naturally reproduced the habits of the people of England. Thus we find that among them are many flourishing institutions..." (Kearney, 1973, p52).

These were not just the religious buildings, but libraries, debating societies, theatres, musical groups, clubs and so on (fig. 5.10).
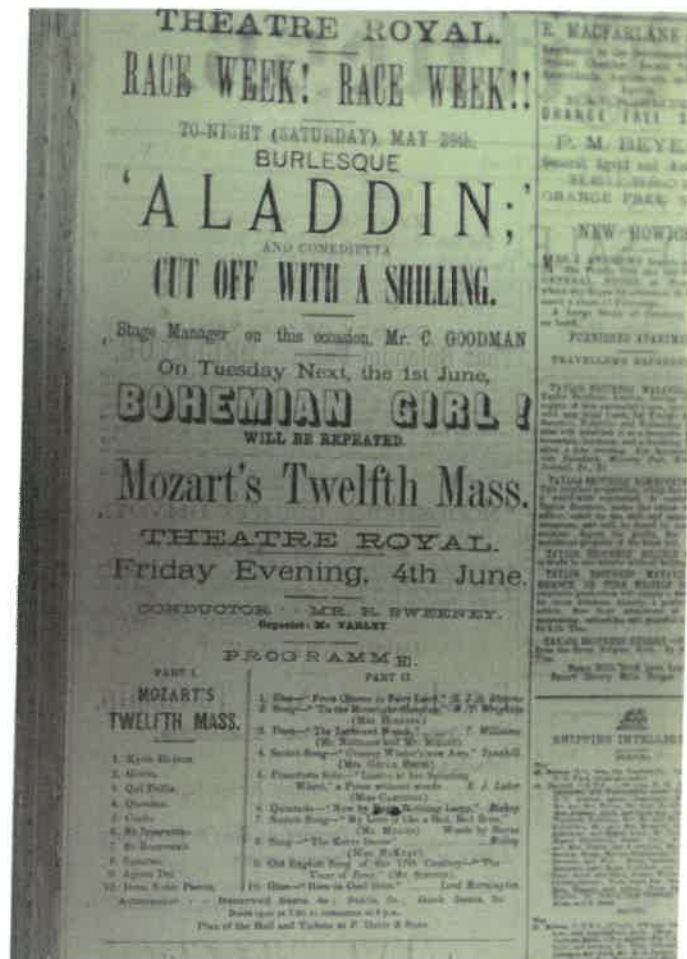
Figure 5.10: Some social events
(Source: The Natal Witness, 29 May 1880, p2)

Social life was less rigid than the structures of Europe, simpler. Behrens in 1841 describes his stay in Pietermaritzburg:

"Life is simple here ... Polished boots would be the silliest things. The women wear stockings and in the house no shoes. One may go freely into any house, if I may call it so, sit down and if there is no tea or coffee on the table ask for it, though the hostess usually anticipates this..." (cited in Woods, 1974, p38).

It appears to be described as similar to a friendly English country town, but more practical in its

existence. Yet, one only has to read of the upkeep of the fashion and the importing of goods to maintain these ideals to realise that practicality was often sidelined for the importance of appearances. The ladies fashions, prior to the 'nineties, were designed out of fragile materials - brocaded fabrics, crinoline and light tulle dresses covering steel hoops - flimsy shawls and evening dresses with broad sleeves, dangling precariously over oil lamps and candles. While these fashions were still being imported and closely followed by the Natal women, they were steadily going out of fashion in England from 1867 (Hattersley, 1938; Gordon, 1981). The following of fashion was taken seriously, despite the intense summer heat and conditions of dusty roads, which became mud-baths in the summer.

The following extract, of a Fancy Dress Ball, from *The Natal Witness*, (31 January 1880), gives an idea of the style of the time. It was followed by a list of all those who attended and their attire.

> "Our first Fancy Dress - for there was little calico about it was a complete and unqualified success...brightness, vivacity, and the greatest good humour, reigned supreme...The walls were hung, indeed completely draped, with huge Union Jacks...and the band of the 3.60th Regiment performed the following programme in good style..."

Pietermaritzburg was a gay society, with many dances, balls, and social gatherings being the order of the day. Most of the entertainments were accompanied by the garrisons' band and were attended by the elite of the town. The garrison provided not only protection, but also musical entertainment and other sociable moments (fig. 5.11).

The residents of Pietermaritzburg felt threatened by the black nation on two fronts; the one (political) which was subjugated by presence of the garrison stationed at Fort Napier, the other was a threat of a subtle kind based on social and economic factors. In regard to the former, the residents of the town suggested that each area should initiate their own defence structure. For example during the Zulu War of 1879, the local residents, in preparation for the worst, formed a lager in case of attack (Gordon, 1981; Labuschagne, 1984; Guest, 1988). The latter 'threat', however, was of a continuous nature and was dealt with by the introduction of laws that were later to become a legacy for South Africa, and affect the development and layout of towns and cities.
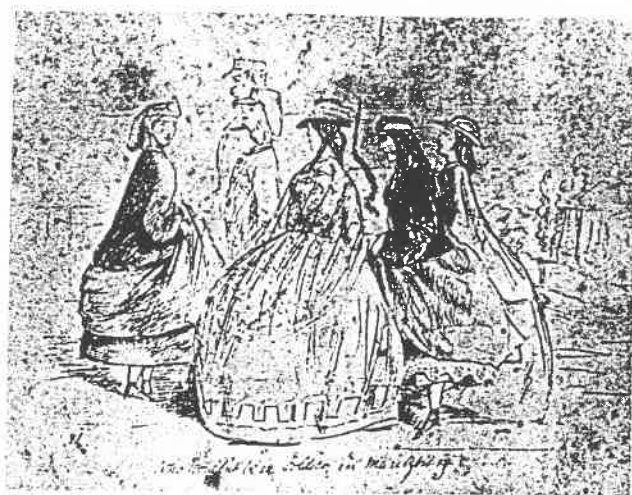
Figure 5.11: 'Who wouldn't be a soldier in Pietermaritzburg'
(Source: Child, 1979, p57)

5.4.3 Early forms of Apartheid in Pietermaritzburg

The idea of apartheid had its beginnings very early in Pietermaritzburg. The colonists believed that the black people should live separately, away from areas inhabited by the whites, and this was included into the philosophy of their planning.

Labuschagne (1984, p147), mentions that the blacks "created an awkward social contextual situation". It was suggested by Surveyor Stanger "that each township should have a portion of its Town Lands appropriated to the use of the blacks engaged in the service of the inhabitants as daily labourers". Many of the "natives settled down wherever they liked, or wherever a farmer allowed them to build a hut..." (Bergtheil, 1843 cited in Labuschagne, 1984, p147). It was suggested that a village be set up in Town Bush valley, with the necessary requirements of water and accessibility to town to alleviate this sensitive issue (Special meeting of Town Council, 23 August 1875, cited in Labuschagne, p149). It appears as if this suggestion was not followed up and it was only some decades later that a plan came to fruition.

To the west of town a village called Edendale was already in existence. Set up under the auspices of a missionary, James Allison, 100 families bought a farm 10km from town, called Welverdiend, in 1851. Later changing its name to Edendale, the little village was laid out in the grid pattern of

a Voortrekker town and houses, built in a 'European style' (Meintjes, 1988). In 1904 an Act was passed by the Parliament of Natal, The Native Location Act, which enabled Durban and Pietermaritzburg to build locations where chosen, and to compel Africans to live there. In 1925 two probable sites were chosen to the east and west of town, Bishopstowe Road and Mason's Mill respectively. Such a village was built, in 1927, on the outskirts to the south-east of town, called Sobantu[33]. 100 houses were ready for 'voluntary' occupation in 1928. However, due to the lack of support, people were ordered in. In 1931, Pietermaritzburg set up a proclamation that only 'servants' and those with special permission, were allowed to legally reside in the city (Peel, 1988).

The Africans were considered as 'temporary sojourners' to the city, and were not considered to share urban life with the European population (Grant, pers.comm.,1994). Single men were housed in temporary barracks, or 'Togt Barracks' (set up to the south-east of town) (fig. 5.12), often away from white residential areas. Unless women were employed as servants in town, their presence as residents in town was not encouraged, because it was believed they would create a family atmosphere and thus an influx of Africans into the town (Peel, 1988).

The Asians posed a different problem for the colonists, one of economics. Tulloch (1885) writes the following:

> "The tide of Indian (Coolie) immigration and the so called Arab traders is also a veritable point noire, of which the colonists hardly yet see the danger. Many of the coolies, after their five years of indenture to the planters is ended, set up for themselves a market gardeners, tobacco growers and such like, easily underselling Europeans, who cannot live in the same frugal way..." (cited in Labuschagne, 1984, p153).

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[33]Sobantu was built as a 'model' village and until 1947 was called 'Pietermaritzburg Native Village' (Peel, 1988).
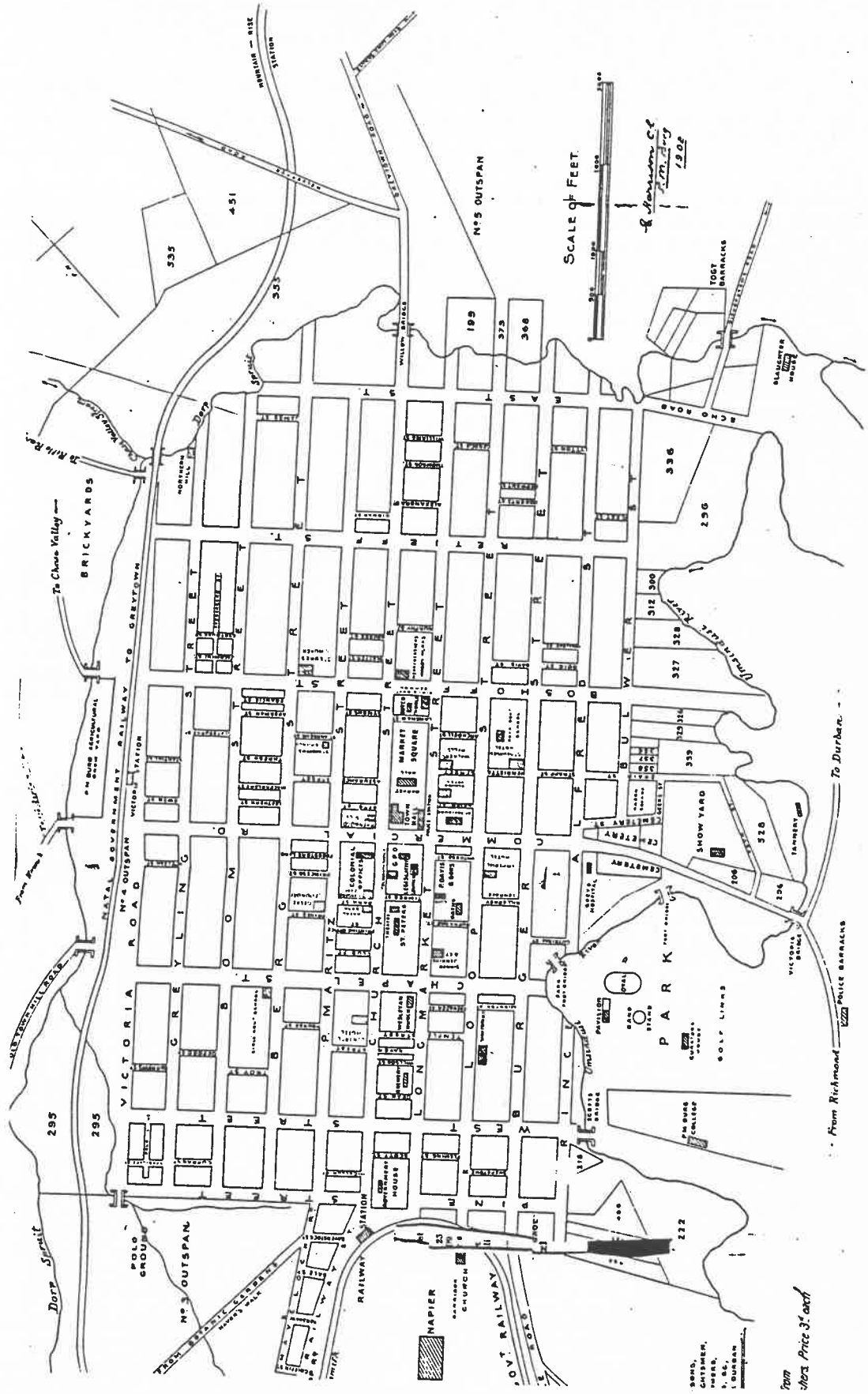
Figure 5.12: 1899 map of the town, showing Togt Barracks

(Source: Pietermaritzburg Archives)

Tulloch continues to associate them with people of low moral tones because they were usurping the role of the English shopkeepers, taking over the black trade from the Europeans. The Indians were also beginning to acquire property which they would then rent out to Europeans, which was considered a total reversal of social hierarchy. He also warns of "...the equally energetic Chinese artisans, who will in time swarm into Natal, as they do in Mauritius." He continues by mentioning that the:

> "...Boers of the Transvaal and Free State, who have not to refer to matters to the Colonial Office, are passing severe laws to keep out Arab traders and Coolies.
>
> With our veneration for free trade, we shall probably do nothing till it is too late. But unless some great and unforseen changes take place, Natal will before long be almost entirely a black Colony; the Europeans being represented by Government Officials, a few large store-keepers, sugar planters, and grassing farmers; a very poor return for all the British blood and treasure so freely lavished on the little Colony" (p153, p155).

The Victorians tended to view themselves as a nation of discoverers, whether it be through technology - the Industrial Revolution - to the colonising of 'new' lands. The proposal that they 'lavished their blood' so freely upon the colony is questionable as it was the blood of many others that was shed in the endeavour to create a colony.

The English were not going to relinquish the commercial security that they had created for themselves. The English settlers came from a very class structured environment, each member having a particular role to play. It was not acceptable to try 'climb out' of the position inherited. Challenge to their affected superiority, socially or commercially, by a group which was considered to be racially/culturally inferior, was not to be considered (Ballard, 1989). The mixing of classes, and in this case races was socially unacceptable. The growth of the Asiatic community and their success in business was becoming a problem to many of the local white traders (Labuschagne, 1984). With the arrival of the railway line to Pietermaritzburg in 1880, communications to the interior were boosted as was trading (Fenn 1991), attracting many new entrepreneurs, many being Asians (Labuschagne, 1984).

5.4.4 The conflict to the interior

Before the opening of the interior by rail it had previously been cheaper to import luxuries, materials and goods from England or America than across the Berg. With the opening of the lines to Pietermaritzburg, new overberg transport companies had opened. (Labuschagne, 1984). The arrival of the train was greatly celebrated by all in Pietermaritzburg (Bizley, 1988). The concept of the train meant ease of communications between areas previously difficult to access. It also meant that travel was easier especially between Durban and Pietermaritzburg - little stations and halts developing along the line. With the growth of the line so followed the growth of suburban areas, as it was now easier for people to reside in the 'country' and travel to work in the 'city' and other areas (fig. 5.13) (Fenn, 1991).

Figure 5.13: Travelling opportunities
(Source: *The Natal Witness*, 2 October 1895, p1)

Once the line had reached Pietermaritzburg there were great hopes for the extension of the line northwards so bettering overberg trade and communications. This was, however, delayed with the advent of the First Anglo Boer War and communications and building had to be put on hold. With the end of hostilities, the building of the line could continue. Now, with the lines running to the interior Pietermaritzburg was no longer the last stop for overberg trade, and thus no longer the focal point of Natal. The overberg trade became a primary incentive to speed the progress of the building of the lines. With the line between Durban and Johannesburg in the stages of completion,

Durban was now able to compete for trade having the advantage of a port. The monies gained from this increase in trade and importance enabled Durban to improve its harbour facilities to handle greater loads (Guest, 1988, 1989). Durban began to surpass Pietermaritzburg in economic importance, and Pietermaritzburg began to rely on other features, such as being an educational centre, its importance to the Midlands farming community, a spiritual centre and, primarily, its Capital status (Hattersley, 1938).

With the onset of the second Anglo Boer War, trade between Transvaal and Natal dwindled, but with the arrival of troops and later refugees, trade burgeoned within the area. Once again Pietermaritzburg was the focal point around which everything appeared to revolve. The total population for Pietermaritzburg, in 1902, was counted at 34 676, of which military personal accounted for 3 886 persons (*Natal Almanac and Directory*, 1903). Guest (1988, p128) recounts that "property sales soared as the inflow of immigrants and capital continued". This boost of trade did not last long before once again Pietermaritzburg was faced with difficulties. In Natal there was the decline in wartime expenditure and the cessation of funds to pay for the repatriation of refugees. There was little money available in the Colony (Guest, 1988) . It was also a case, for many of the shopkeepers, of goods without a ready market, many having overstocked on supplies because of the wartime demands. The whole of South Africa suffered under the effects of the recession between 1903 and 1909. This seemed to be attributed, mainly, to the wartime closure of the gold industry in the Transvaal and the length of time it took to restart (Guest, 1988; Raybould, 1988a; Dominy and Guest, 1989). These were difficult years with epidemics of Smallpox, the 1904 outbreak of East Coast Fever, and the 1906 Bambatha 'Rebellion' (Hattersley, 1951; Dominy and Guest, 1989).

5.5 The end of the nineteenth century

The last decade or so of the century saw unprecedented growth in industry (a woollen manufacturer, a tanning company), commerce (the growth of shops along Church Street, a stock exchange, and banks), and population (housing, infrastructural improvements). Hattersley (1938, p103) describes this period as one of "expanding trade and buoyant revenue".

"The low shanties of unbaked brick and galvanised iron had gradually been displaced by handsome stores, with imposing frontages, and by pretty residences surrounded by luxuriant gardens" (Thomson, 1906, cited in Labuschagne, 1984, p157).

By the late 1890's the effects of modernisation were seen in Pietermaritzburg, with the main thoroughfares being macadamized and electric lamps began to replace the dim oil lamps, which were lit by the public (Hattersley, 1951; Barron 1961; Gordon, 1981; Guest, 1988). Some of these lamp types are still evident as part of the streetscape today (fig. 5.14).
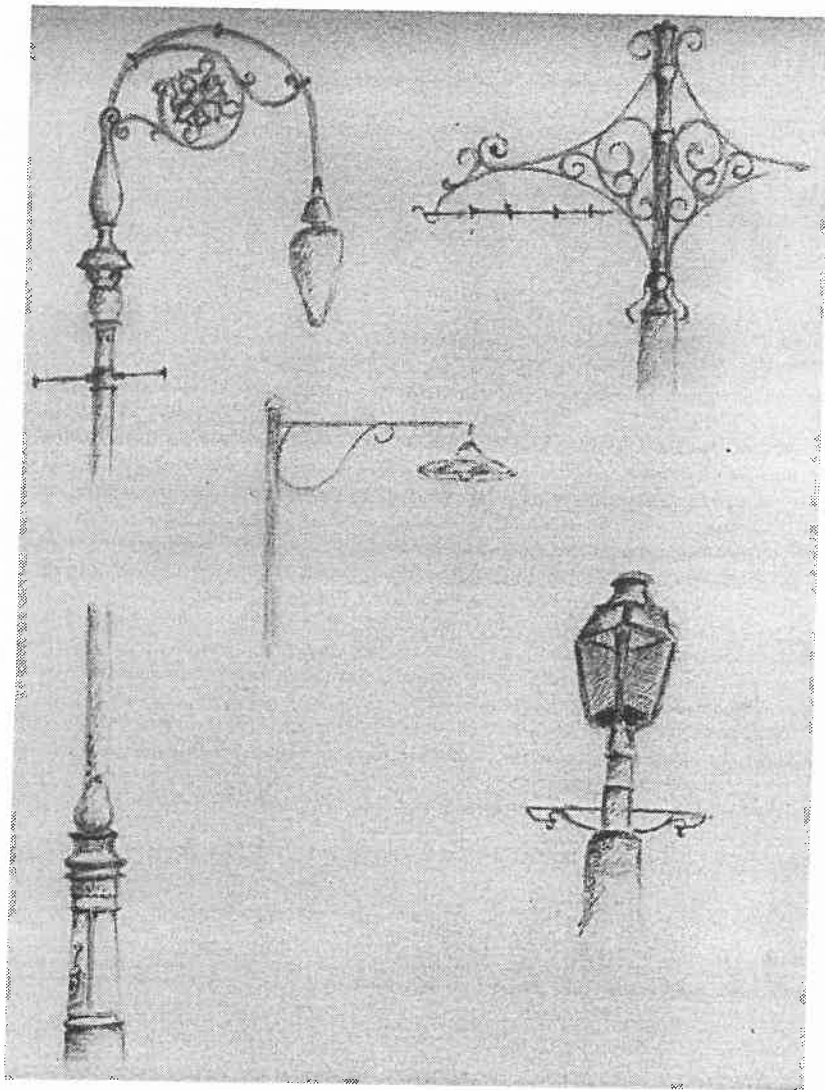
Figure 5.14: Various lamp types found on the streets of Pietermaritzburg

In reflection the nineteenth century had seen a time of continuing change and upheaval. With the arrival of the British a new cultural landscape began to develop reflective of their values - a military garrison, changing architectural styles reminiscent of 'home', and new social structures and a city hall replacing the Dutch Reformed Church and market as a focal point. From a city of Voortrekker origins a new shape began to take place under the influences of the British. The closure of the nineteenth century saw the arrival of new technological improvements and a developing 'modern' city - a picturesque urban setting awaiting with anticipation the dawning of a new century.

CHAPTER SIX

PIETERMARITZBURG IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

With the onset of the twentieth century improvements in technology had begun to make their mark on the urban scape. Although Pietermaritzburg was still set in the ways of the Victorian values of the past century, new ideals began to slowly emerge and impress themselves upon the landscape. The process of macadamising the streets of the town was progressing well, electricity was being introduced and the town was expanding. Despite the war, strong links were developing between Natal and the Transvaal, especially with the completion of the railway line. Suburban living was beginning to be a fashionable life and the introduction of the tram boosted this development. Motorised vehicles were soon to be introduced, the car impacting on the further growth of the suburbs.

6.1 A new century dawns

In 1904, the initiation of the first inland tram service, was believed not only to improve the transport in the town but also that it would encourage the opening up of undeveloped Town lands - Scottsville and Prestbury (once the lines to the Botanical Gardens were opened, see Chapters Seven to Nine). The growth between Town and Prestbury occurred rapidly when the Natal Government Railways extended their workshops and built homes for their employees along Mayors Walk - previously known as Pepworth Walk (Hattersley, 1951; Raybould, 1988a). With the depression after the second Anglo Boer War, one of the ways to gather lost finances was through the sale of Townlands. With the sale of the portions of Townlands surrounding the town came the development of the suburbs. There were a few farmhouses dotting the surrounding landscape, but with this initial impetus, the increasing mobility of the townspeople and the new technology of 'modernism', suburbanism began.

> "By the end of 1904 the central streets were also being served by an electric tram system which was extended to Scottsville and to Prestbury in order to promote the sale of town lands in those suburbs" (Guest, 1988, p128).

Transport technology had developed by leaps and bounds and the motor car was introduced soon replacing the older forms of transport - Spiders, Hansoms and wagons. The earlier speed limitations of six miles per hour were relaxed to twelve miles per hour in 1909 (Hattersley, 1951).

Pietermaritzburg was developing as quite a cosmopolitan town, but for the sheer fact that it held the position as the seat of Government, Pietermaritzburg could well have evolved as just another small town (as many others did). This position of immediate primacy aided in the many facets of its development.

"From the beginning, the political, legal, social, spiritual and even - to a lesser extent - economic life in this remote corner of the Empire came thus to resolve around Pietermaritzburg" (Benyon, 1988, p86).

With the prestige of housing the Imperial Government, Pietermaritzburg enjoyed all the activities that accompanied it, including the Royal visits (Gordon, 1981, 1988). Pietermaritzburg was also given financial aid in support of its position, which the loss of, at Union, caused great consternation. Agreements had to be set for the new Government to pay a certain amount for municipal debts incurred as the Capital. The money from the settlement was used to boost various civic projects, such as the electric tram service and other public works (Raybould, 1988a, 1988b).

Modernisation and urban growth became strong features in Pietermaritzburg; telephones were introduced, increasing communications were established within and out of the city, and an aerodrome was built at Oribi Flats (Hattersley, 1951; Guest, 1988). Planning and health were becoming issues to consider in the growing town - the Seringas lining the streets were cut down as a Dr Allen feared them to be a health risk to children, and these were later replaced by Jacarandas (Hattersley 1938, 1951; Gordon, 1981). A Water Works scheme was built at Henley Dam to supply water for the increasing population and pipes were laid down from Alexandra Road to the new suburb of Scottsville. A reservoir was built at Oribi to supply the growing suburb of Scottsville (Gordon, 1981). Economically and socially, Pietermaritzburg was beginning to once more find its feet on sturdier ground. The same could not be said politically, as the town became divided over the issue of the Union.

6.2 The change to Union

The advent towards Union was not a smooth one, with fears of loss of individuality and 'culture' (Britishness) under the auspices of one central government. There was great concern to the loss of Capital status, and all that accompanied it, once Union occurred (*The Natal Witness*). To many, Union in 1910, signified the end to the Imperial/Colonial days of Pietermaritzburg (Gordon, 1981; Dominy and Guest, 1989). Although the Union of South Africa was officially the beginning of a new era, and a sense of Nationalism began to develop, as was seen by the emergence of 'Cape Dutch' housing styles, the 'colonialisms' were not to leave the people for a long while (see Chapter Eight).

With Union in 1910, Pietermaritzburg lost a lot of its social prestige, with many people transferring to Durban, where there was the harbour and a growing industry, or to Pretoria - the new Administrative capital. Durban was fast surpassing Pietermaritzburg as becoming the social centre and was taking the lead economically and architecturally (Hillebrand, 1988). Yet, despite this, the spirited atmosphere of the Pietermaritzburg residents lived on (Benyon, 1988). In 1912, with acceptance of Union, and the prosperity that accompanied it, life in general started to brighten up; foot pavements were added, some of the best in the Union, and waterborne sewerage was initiated in town and suburb. Wattle was introduced to the town lands, and revenue derived from this helped relieve the rates (Raybould, 1988b).

Whilst Pietermaritzburg may have lost commercial growth to Durban, it was still very popular for the educational facilities, the sporting and cultural facilities, the pleasant architecture and a healthy climate - the general environs of the city.

6.2.1 Housing and a National style

With the advent of Union in 1910, Hillebrand (1988), suggests that it was the newness of political unity and the desire to support it, that inspired architects nationwide to adopt the local rather than the imported styles. It is ironic that it was the Cape Dutch style that was chosen, when previously on the arrival of the English it was the style that they had set out to change, in favour of English ideals. Hillebrand (1988) dates the arrival of the Cape Dutch style to Pietermaritzburg in 1910,

when Collingwood-Tully was invited to restore the Church of the Vow, although as noted in Chapter Four, Kearney (pers.comm., 1994) suggests that this was not necessarily the case. Rather than restore it to its original design, Collingwood-Tully promptly set about changing it by adding a gable, amongst other additions on to the front.

"The Cape Dutch style was the last architectural innovation in Pietermaritzburg before the universal adoption of contemporary modes... Emerging from the depression of the 1930s, Natal, as a whole, was ready to accept modernism as an expression of optimism and progress. The forlorn lack of development before the Second World War was more than compensated for during the 1950s when much redevelopment of an unexpectedly sensitive quality took place in town and in the suburbs" (Hillebrand, 1988, p50).

The advent of these new modern styles saw the loss of some fine examples of Victorian architecture, creating in effect a rather haphazard gathering of buildings. This can, however, be argued as a natural phenomenon within building cycles and is part of urban growth. This growth often occurs, rather sadly, at the expense of the beauteous and the old.

"A heterogenous collection of shops and dwellings - one style conflicting with another, and anon varied by no style at all - the coup d'aevil bearing a striking resemblance to the straggling lines of booths at a county fair. Two storied wholesale stores hobnob with diminutive shanties; verandahs of all kinds and sizes jut out well-preserved irregularity...As regards the contour of the line, there is no lack of variety, but the result is anything but pleasing" (Labuschagne, 1984, p159, p161)

Hillebrand (1988, p48) looks at those cities criticised of having piecemeal architecture and explains it as follows:

"And the piecemeal architecture of 1924 looks with envy at other cities of the Empire. Ambition and homesickness led to the attempted reproduction of familiar environments and structures...Pietermaritzburg was no exception, but was the victim of a series of economic booms and slumps which resulted in the piecemeal collection of these assets".

Hillebrand (1988) notes that the buildings were usually conceived in the boom, but often ended up being built during the slumps due to the time period of building and the continuous succession of booms and slumps endured by the city, also illustrated in Chapters Eight and Nine.

"The relationship between economy and architectural progress can be seen most clearly when the contribution of the private sector is examined" (Hillebrand, 1988, p49).

However, despite the varied course of architecture found in the city, urban unity is not only to be found in the framework of the town but also in the buildings and the history that gave birth to them. In Pietermaritzburg it can be said to be the unifying colour of the brick and the extensive Victorian architecture, because within the rigidity of the rectangular grid system of the town layout system, the diversity and style of the buildings attains a richness without destroying that which lies around them.

Once Union had been accomplished, residents reconciled themselves with the changes and the city's diminishing importance - a new positivism took over. It would still maintain Capital status, but of Natal, and although Administrative responsibility had been removed to Pretoria, Pietermaritzburg was to become the Educational centre[34].

6.3 A new focus develops for Pietermaritzburg

Pietermaritzburg was steadily developing its image of being the educational precinct. The schooling system had been in operation for some while, Pietermaritzburg having a long standing tradition of educational activity (Vietzen, 1988). Advertisements were placed in *The Natal Witness* and the *Natal Almanac and Directory*, noting dates that school reopened, and attracting new scholars with promises of 'English trained men'. Figure 6.1 illustrates one of these earlier such advertisements.

Pietermaritzburg was also developing as a tertiary education centre, when previously all who wished to attain such levels of education would usually have to travel overseas. A Teacher's Training College, a Technical Institution and the recently opened University College (Fig. 6.2) were now being offered to the residents of the town and surrounding countryside (Raybould, 1988a, 1988b; Vietzen, 1988).

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[34]This having already been established in the number of schools in the area, teachers college and grounds set aside (in Scottsville) for the building of a University College.

Figure 6.1: Hilton College

(Source: *Natal Almanac and Directory*, 1900)

Figure 6.2: The proposed plan for the University College

(Source: *The Natal Witness*, 19 March 1910, p4)

Accompanying this post-Union jubilation and beliefs of prosperity, there was a spate of building and growth (Raybould, 1988a, 1988b). A new, modern world was to be explored.

6.4 A darkening horizon

By 1914 rumours of war began, articles appearing in *The Natal Witness*, reporting on European political instabilities[35]. The issue of war became more realistic as young men signed up to join the forces. This was finally 'brought home' by the publication, in *The Natal Witness*, of the names of those eager young men from Pietermaritzburg who had been wounded in killed in action.

Mining activity decreased as there was a shortage of labour with the men having joined the forces. South Africa had to begin to rely on its own manufacturing and industrial expertise. Economically, the war meant a hold on imports, prices becoming unaffordable and few ships willing to cross the seas for fear of attack. South Africans had to begin to accept and improve their own industrial abilities rather than rely on the 'superior' imports.

The early years of the twentieth century were years of unrest and change within the country. There were general stoppages and industrial troubles. The railway workers downed tools, in 1909, in protest to piece work and a Women's Suffrage League was formed in sympathy with the League in England (Hattersley, 1951). A sense of restlessness prevailed, a questioning of the past and tentative movements forward into the new modern future that was slowly unveiling itself, were taken. A sense of disquiet prevailed, and a questioning of past Victorian and Edwardian values began. The Great War (First World War) set much in motion, new ideals and societal needs began to emerge. The past could no longer be newer horizons had to be sought.

The situation worsened after the First World War, with very few public commissions and designers and builders in the city struggled to keep going. Many men of working age went off to war creating a shortage of 'acceptable' labour. This meant that, to 'fill the gap', Indians and Africans were trained in the finer methods of labour as in the case of building, bricklaying (Small, pers.comm., 1994).

A further loss was experienced in Pietermaritzburg with the end of the garrison, and all that it was to the city when it departed on 12 August 1914 (Hattersley, 1938; Gordon, 1981). The troops, on their arrival had mingled with the trekkers, to show them the benefits of British rule (see Chapter

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[35]*The Natal Witness* was to disburse a large portion of the paper to the war reports, throughout the war, and even after peace had been declared.

Five). The Imperial garrison also acted as a strong link between the City and the rest of the Empire - militarily and socially.

"Not only did the garrison provide labour for the building of Pietermaritzburg, but it also provided an important market for the farmers' produce and a very important source of custom to the local shop-and innkeepers" (Dominy and Patterson, 1988, p103).

The garrison had provided a stable market and societal setting. Its presence in Fort Napier at the top end of town had aided in the creation of a Kensington or Belgravia around the Government House (Hattersley, 1938, 1951; Gordon, 1981; Dominy and Patterson, 1988). With the opening up of the suburbs, Union, the advent of the Great War and the disbanding of the garrison, this was soon to change and other areas of exclusivity began to emerge. The suburbs became attractive residential areas, Wembley became the said area to live in. Scottsville was not as affluent, but it was still attractive to many of the town dwellers, looking to move into the freshness of the country out of the congestion of the city (see Chapter Eight).

Towards the end of hostilities, *The Natal Witness* began printing articles drumming up support for the employment of returning soldiers. Funds were initiated on the knowledge that there would be an employment and housing shortage once the soldiers had returned, and it was realised that these issues had to be addressed.

As discussed in Chapter Three , this period was one of facing new challenges set in motion by the First World War - architecturally this was seen through the emerging of new styles. By the 1930s signs of change were undeniably evident on the cultural landscape:

"Electric light had replaced the home made candle, the motor car has superseded the lumbering ox wagon; asphalt roads have taken the place of the muddy grass...and rose-boarded streets of early Maritzburg and the sand swept wastes of Durban. The sluits along the streets and the wells of brackish water have retreated before water pipes and reservoirs. Hundreds of commodious houses rise on the site of the score or so small thatched cottages and wattle and daub huts." ('The Roaring Forties' no.3 'What Durban and Pietermaritzburg looked like', *Dawes Collection*, file E, 9 October 1937 cited in Labuschagne, 1984, p289).

Despite these new scenes and the onset of industry and modernisation there were still remnants of the Voortrekker beginnings in the street layout (Hattersley, 1938, 1951). New moods become

evident as could be seen by the changing fashion of dress and housing styles, but the legacy of old Voortrekker and Colonial times were still evident on the landscape. The atmosphere of Colonial Pietermaritzburg lived on unshadowed by the new modern era.

6.4.1 New growth

This surge of change was soon to be halted with the Wall Street Crash of 1929. Pietermaritzburg only started feeling its effects of the Great Depression in the early 1930s. Various groups were formed to aid those suffering under unemployment, but these were only for the white families. Many black workers were retrenched, or given reduced salaries, to give those unemployed whites the opportunity to work and earn. This was not always accepted gratefully by the whites as they felt they were doing degrading work. With the abandonment of the Gold Standard, economic relief was evident. This, with the Governments policy to stop relief work and provide more permanent work for the whites, such as with the Roads and Railways Departments, helped alleviate the problem of white unemployment (Owen and Sellers, 1988).

It was for some time that the problem of unemployment was to remain. An article in *The Natal Witness* (19 January, 1935) reported on the 50% decrease in unemployment in South Africa. Natal was quoted as not having been as severely affected and had thus only had a 30 - 40% reduction. The peak month of unemployment was October 1933, this having been alleviated by the increase in mining activity and general economic improvements and business conditions. The increase in employment saw an increase in money available and an increase in building activity in all centres. Flats became a popular form of building, strengthened by improved building technology - flats were even being built in the smaller towns (*The Natal Witness*, 1 February, 1935). With the growing available finances, home loans and bonds were being offered in support of this growth. Figure 6.3 shows such a scheme. It also shows what by now had come to resemble a truly South African scene of a Cape Dutch home set in a country garden safely enclosed by the mountain behind.

Figure 6.3: A model South African Home
(Source: *The Natal Witness*, 5 January 1935, p8)

6.4.2 The Second World War in Pietermaritzburg

Within a short while of the resurgence of new growth, the threatening presence of war approached the horizon. *The Natal Witness*, once again concentrated its efforts on reporting the war to the people. As early as 19 February 1935, *The Natal Witness* was printing articles regarding the issue as to whether the Union should send men to join the forces or not. It was decided that such decisions would be made by the people themselves. Many men ended up enlisting in the forces and being sent off to Europe or North Africa, many never to return. South Africa once again had to rely on its own industrial and economic strength to see it through these difficult years. Building did not necessarily halt, but it did dwindle.

The period post World War Two saw a sudden increase in building activity and new styles as it became realised that there would be a need for housing with the returning of soldiers. Many of these soldiers and their families were placed, temporarily, in the old Army Barracks at Oribi.

6.4.2.1 The military effort in Pietermaritzburg

In 1901 the Colonial Government had bought land near the Commercial Road cemetery. This land which had originally been bought to use as the Agricultural Show Grounds (which was later moved to the northern side of town) became the Drill Hall. When the garrison left Pietermaritzburg this was the only military establishment, in Pietermaritzburg, until the Second World War. Three camps were built on the outskirts of the city which were to serve as internment camps for soldiers on their way to and from the war, as Prisoner of War camps, and as a Medical camp. They were the Hay Paddock Transit Camp (presently known as the suburb of Hayfields), Durban Road P.O.W Camp on the outer perimeters of Scottsville, and Oribi Military Hospital and Camp (now Oribi Village) (Gordon, 1981; Deane, 1988). With the end of war large scale building activity occurred in the suburbs filling in the open spaces with modern style homes, many if not most built by speculative builders and extending beyond the initial boundaries into open alien veld, in response to the housing shortage (see Chapter Nine).

The land and temporary buildings of Hay Paddock were purchased by the City Council, at the end of the war, and let out to ex-soldiers and immigrants to be used for housing and for small businesses. The temporary conversion of the old barracks into residential flats was a means of alleviating part of the housing problem (Torino, 1988). Oribi Camp was later used to house male students from the University of Natal (while the Mens' Residence was being built on University grounds) and was then later to become Oribi Village when the need for a low income housing area arose. The P.O.W camp was eventually taken over by suburban growth of Scottsville and all that remains to commemorate it is the Italian style stone church built by the Italian P.O.Ws who resided there (Deane, 1988; Kearney, 1973; Labuschagne, 1984). Although the city had grown outwards, "and the open veld of the 1940s and '50s has been covered by residential suburbs and industrial estates, the general location of each of these camps is still easily discerned today" (Deane, 1988, p110).

6.4.3 Industrial development

Pietermaritzburg has never been a strong industrial centre in comparison to Durban, but various industries have been in operation from the beginning such as the early wagon works and brick works. Various schemes were introduced to encourage industry, for example, post First World War inducements of water and electricity concessions, and land at nominal rates, was offered to new industries setting up, for their first five years (Torino, 1988). However, this was for many a conflict of interest with the setting up of Pietermaritzburg's image as an education centre. Sadly this was a rather short-sighted vision for Pietermaritzburg and rather limiting for the further development and expansion of the town and surrounding areas. In 1948 it was feared that "without greater ranges of commercial and industrial development local economy would stagnate" (Torino, 1988, p147). In the 'sixties, negotiations started to declare Pietermaritzburg a Border Area providing new industries moving into the area with certain concessions. This scheme reached its peak during the years 1969-1970, with the prices and shortage of land in Durban inducing companies to move to the Border Areas, where incentives would be offered to such interested industry (Torino, 1988).

6.5 The changing structures

The years preceding 1948 had been a period of social engineering (Wills, 1991). Laws enforcing the separation of races were introduced at a provincial level, but with the rise to power of the Nationalist Government in 1948, these laws were becoming national. By 1951 the Group Areas Act had been introduced ensuring economic security for whites and the beginnings of enforced social restructuring. Not only did this law create economic and social divisions between the races, but it began to imprint upon the landscape particular 'political' or zoning patterns (fig. 6.4). This racial divisioning (although not new), set about the unequal development of areas. Distinct areas to the north east and south west remained white enclaves, whilst pockets within the east end of town (where the Indian CBD and cultural area was strongly imprinted upon the townscape) and townships out of city boundaries were developed for the blacks.

The 1960s saw a new era dawning for South Africa - Independence. In 1961, South Africa attained self governing status, free from British 'interference'. The Republic of South Africa emerged.
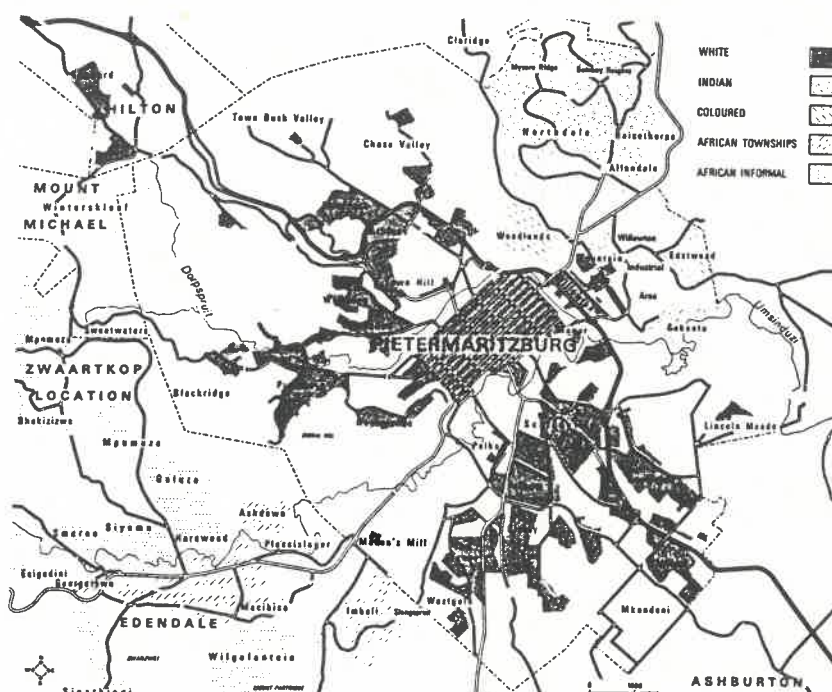
Figure 6.4: The racial geography of metropolitan Pietermaritzburg, 1990
(Source: Wills, 1991, p.91)

(Dominy, 1988) and new hopes and beliefs in the strengths in the new government set in motion a positive mood. There was a corresponding increase in building activity and suburban expansion supporting these new hopes with the suburban nature of Pietermaritzburg defining its status.

Suburban development in Pietermaritzburg has been dependant on the economic stability of the town. Hillebrand (1988) speaks of the relationship between the economy and architectural progress. With regard to the development of suburbs this is evident when one studies the periods of growth in the town and the relating economics of the time. Another factor which can be attached to this relationship, and acting as a morphological feature, is the predominant style of the housing in the area. The direction, profuseness, and grandness of the style indicates the level of building activity in the particular suburb under question.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUBURBAN GROWTH

7.1 Pietermaritzburg suburban development

The development of towns or villages tends to occur around a central or focal point. For growth to extend further beyond this central area, there needs to be either a further focal point situated on the outskirts or access and communication routes from the settlement outwards. Transport routes are one of the strongest factors enabling this development from the settled area (the central point) to the area to be settled (often suburbs).

Pietermaritzburg was the Capital, and socially it was a status symbol to reside within the area, especially near the Government House. To begin with Durban was less socially acceptable and was slower in its early stages of growth. However, with the improvements to the Port and the opening up of the railway line to the interior it experienced prosperity and growth, as noted in Chapters Five and Six. The rapid suburbanisation of Durban was a very British feature (Davies, 1963). Even before pressures of land shortage and high prices forced builders away from the centre of town it was thought to be fashionable to live in the suburbs on the Berea hills overlooking the town (Kearney, 1973). The rail link which had progressed up to Pietermaritzburg enabled people to live further from the city and commute daily into town. It also allowed for the opening up of areas for development of warehousing and industry related to the port around the periphery of the Durban Central Business District. The newly developed railway line with the smaller stations and halts created further points of development. This therefore further encouraging people to move up into the more splendid, scenic areas surrounding the town, such as Bellair, Pinetown and Kloof (Fenn, 1991), which became dormitory or satellite towns.

In Pietermaritzburg, the areas surrounding the town were taken up by Townlands and areas designated as Park and Garden areas - such as Alexandra Park on the south side (see Chapter Five). Wills (1972), notes that most if not all of suburban growth was initiated along the transport routes radiating out from the city. Rising up from the two rivers on either side of the town were the hills, up which travellers departing the town had to climb. To the north was Town Hill and to the south,

was The Ridge, which was initially an open area of veld, sparsely dotted by a few farmhouses, passed through by travellers on the long haul between Durban and Pietermaritzburg (Hopwood, 1972; Ducasse, 1976). The hills were an extension of the Townlands, known as Outspans 1 to 8. The original plan as laid out by the Voortrekkers was in some ways itself inhibiting the growth of suburbs across the rivers as there were large areas of the central area still unoccupied.

7.1.1 Across the rivers and up the hills

It was only later, towards the end of the nineteenth century, with further development and growth within the city that the original rectilinear town plans were outgrown and movement to the 'suburbs' developed as well as extending across the rivers. The building of stable bridges, more reliable and livelier transport - in the form of carriages and spiders - would have helped initiate this process. The later development of the tramway system accelerating this process.

> "In Pietermaritzburg the extensive area of the original town plan and its slower development discouraged the creation of suburbs until the 'nineties. In the residential parts of the original town centre, however, one senses a semi-suburban atmosphere and an essentially English one, with the intermittent public-house set amongst the houses"(Kearney, 1973, p61).

Wills (1972), comments on the earlier lack of enthusiasm of local residents moving out of the town area to the 'suburban areas'. This he attributes to various factors such as:

1. The poor conditions of the roads and bad lighting bound people to a close proximity to work;

2. Many of the professionals and artisans were bound to the city, due to the nature of their jobs;

3. Difficulty in easy access across the rivers with the continuous loss of bridges due to flooding;

4. Large areas of the Townlands surrounding the central area were initially used as grazing lands; and

5. The remaining lands were owned by farmers who saw little profit in the subdivision of their lands.

Another factor which could have aided in the initiation of the growth of the town and the

movement of people out into the Townlands was the flight, into Pietermaritzburg, of immigrants and refugees from the second Anglo-Boer War. To avoid the congestion many residents may have chosen to move further out of the central area of town (Hopwood, 1972; Ducasse, 1976). At a later stage (1920s/1930s) the out flight may also be attributed to the changing land use - zoning - of the central area and the expansion of the trade/business area.

The idea of developing a suburban area across the Umsinduzi River was surely aided by Alexandra Park being so close to town, with shady scenic walks, the river running through and superb views of the surrounding countryside. A very picturesque setting seemingly to fit in with the English ideals of the time being somewhat anti-'industrial'. By 1887, Wills (1972), notes that there were some fifty suburban dwellings. Thirty of these being located on the south-eastern side of the city. Of these thirty, thirteen were to be found along Alexandra Road. Alexandra Road was initially a 'suburb' of its own, only later with the changing of borough boundaries (c: 1970s) did it become part of Scottsville. An advert in *The Natal Witness*, 27 June 1889, describes the area as:

> "Those everlasting rich alluvial plots of the Townlands...extending for a considerable distance up the Park of the Umsinduzi River. Grand views of the Park and surrounding country".

Land sale and auction adverts were placed in *The Natal Witness* to encourage development of the Townlands (fig. 7.1). Catchy headings such as 'The Berea of Pietermaritzburg', 'The chance of a life time - 6 Building sites - situated on Town Hill' (Commercial Road extension), were used to draw attention to these new developments and opportunities. Suggestions of proximity to town and country surroundings were inferred as selling agents, such as '15 Minutes walk from the Town Business area, near proposed new station and Greytown Railway' and 'Views embracing the whole of Town as well as Table mountain and Umsinduzi' were added to attract the client wishing for a more suburban home but close to work. One such advertising ploy placed in *The Natal Witness* (1 August, 1882), noted that;

> "...the air here is cool, pure, and invigorating, an invaluable advantage to the business men who spend the greater portion of the day in the heat of the City...the most picturesque sites for healthy, pleasant and enjoyable Villa Residences to be found among the many nooks and corners surrounding the ever pretty Vale of the City of Pietermaritzburg...".

RITZBURG, SATURDAY, MAY 1, 1880.

Chance for Capitalists & Investors.

T. J. E. SCOONES'
NEXT LAND SALE

Will be held at his MART,

ON WEDNESDAY, 12TH MAY, 1880,
AT NOON,

When the following Valuable Properties will be disposed of:

1st.—The Erf No. 1, Block M, in the Village of Albert, containing 1 Acre 1 Rood, more or less, with the right of commonage over 104 Acres of Land.

2nd.—The Lot No. 63 of the Siang Spruit Estate, containing 3 Acres, adjoining the Town Lands of Pietermaritzburg, with an extensive frontage to Pietermaritzburg Road. Suitable for a Roadside House or Store.

3rd.—The Lot Nos. 2, 3, 4, 6, 14 and 15, of the Farm " waart Kop." Lot No. 2 contains 6a. 1r. 33½p.; Lot 3 contains 3a. 3r. 10½p.; Lot 4 contains 7a. 3r. 29¼p.; Lot 9 contains 3a. 0r. 24½p.; Lot 14 contains 3a. 3r. 14½p.; Lot 15 contains 6a. 3r. 9p. All abutting on the Zwaartkop Valley Road.

4th.—The Lot A of the Erf No. 13, Greyling Street, in the City of Pietermaritzburg, containing 1 Rood 22·93 Perches, with a frontage to Greyling Street of 73ft. 6in., and 223ft. 6in. deep.

5th.—The Erf No. 49, Church Street, in the City of Pietermaritzburg, containing 1a. 1r. 27p. This Erf will be divided in two equal portions extending throughout the entire length.

6th.—The Lot A of Erf No. 92, Burger Street, in the City of Pietermaritzburg, containing 7·64 Perches, with the Buildings thereon in first-class condition, commanding a present rental of 30s. per month, but worth much more at the termination of the present Tenantry.

7th.—The Erf No. 46, Prince Alfred Street, in the City of Pietermaritzburg, in subdivisions of about 150ft. x 50ft. See plan at the Mart. This is a Corner Erf with three frontages, viz., to Prince Alfred Street, Retief Street, and Bishopstowe Road.

Lot 15 contains 6a. 3r. 9p.

4th.—The Lot A of the Erf No. 13, Greyling Street, in the City of Pietermaritzburg, containing 1 Rood 22·93 Perches, with a frontage to Greyling Street of 73ft. 6in., and 223ft. 6in. deep.

5th.—The Erf No. 49, Church Street, in the City of Pietermaritzburg, containing 1a. 2r. 27p. This Erf will be divided in two equal portions extending throughout the entire length.

6th.—The Lot A of Erf No. 92, Burger Street, in the City of Pietermaritzburg, containing 7·64 Perches, with the Buildings thereon in first-class condition, commanding a present rental of 30s. per month, but worth much more at the termination of the present Tenantry.

7th.—The Erf No. 46, Prince Alfred Street, in the City of Pietermaritzburg, in subdivisions of about 150ft. x 50ft. See plan at the Mart. This is a Corner Erf with three frontages, viz., to Prince Alfred Street, Retief Street, and Bishopstowe Road.

8th.—These centrally situated portions of Erf 40, Longmarket Street, with a frontage to Church Street of 70ft. 6in., and a frontage to Murphy Street of 114ft. To suit Purchasers, the above will be sold in lots, and then as a whole.

9th.—Zwaartkop Valley. That very desirable Property, containing 4 Acres situate and being Lot B of 55, Town Lands, Pietermaritzburg. This lot is well enclosed and planted with Trees. This is a beautiful site for a Suburban Residence commanding a fine view in front, with Table Mountain as a back, adjoins the Properties of Mrs. Grey and Mr. Smith, with the road frontage being the property of W. Francis, Esq. Sketch Plan may be seen at the Mart.

Figure 7.1: Land Sales in Pietermaritzburg

(Source: *The Natal Witness*, 1 May, 1880, p.1)

Many of the plots of land advertised were sold by auction and the most prevalent auctioning company in Town appeared to be Messrs Halliday and Co, as can be seen by the numerous adverts of land sales placed in *The Natal Witness*.

7.1.2 Organised development

The beginning of the twentieth century saw a more organised systematic development of suburban growth in Pietermaritzburg. With the development of the electric tramway system, the City Council needed more funds and the selling off of Townlands became a source of revenue. One of these areas was known as Outspan 6, "situated just beyond the Foxhill stream, straddling one of the routes to Durban" (Wills, 1988, p39). The success of this schemes proved so popular that Scottsville grew out of its original 1903 boundary, to that which we see today. The City Council had also anticipated that growth would occur to the northern sides of the town (Wills, 1988), which was to become the Berea of Pietermaritzburg, with wonderful views over the town and a cooler climate. However, this tended to be somewhat slower and less systematic than the development of Scottsville, and generally occurred from the subdivisions of larger properties. This could also be attributed to the assumed exclusivity of the area. The suburbs of Wembley, Athlone and later Clarendon seemed to experience boom development post World War Two (Wills, 1988), with the problems of housing shortages being adequately fulled by speculative housing.

A few of the early, large impressive suburban residences (fig. 7.2) are still to be seen along the main routes. The *Natal Almanac and Directory* provided a brief overview of the environs of Pietermaritzburg in each issue. Further information concerning the growth of Pietermaritzburg continues adding:

> "During recent years, and even in war time, building operations have been actively prosecuted in all parts of the City. On the outskirts, handsome streets of family residences have been erected, more especially in the direction of the Botanic Gardens...The suburbs around the city have been greatly improved, and the installation of an electric tram system, which it is hoped will be completed this year, will lead to a vast increase of the suburban population." (*Natal Almanac and Directory*, 1903 , p131).

Figure 7.2: An early suburban residence. 141 Alexandra Road

A further reference to this new suburban growth notes the following :

"Not only has the town remained the Capital of the Colony, but it has always been the Head Military Camp in times of peace. The City situated some 55 miles from Durban by road, 47 by telegraph line, and 70¾ by rail. Pietermaritzburg lies partly in a hollow, surrounded by hills and undulating grass and bush country. These are gradually being occupied by suburban villa residences, forming the nucleus of the future Colonial Cheltenham or Lemington...Inclusive of the Townlands which are gradually being disposed of for building purposes, or being planted with wattle and timber trees" (*Natal Almanac and Directory*[36],1903, p130).

The 1905 *Natal Almanac and Directory* in the opening pages of the Pietermaritzburg section, comments on the development of the new suburbs:

"The latest addition to the suburbs, Scottsville, is already assuming reasonable proportions, and the progress of the settlement will be materially accelerated by the completion of the tramways from the centre of the City" (p614).

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[36]The *Natal Almanac and Register* was also printed as The *Natal Almanac and Directory*, and later as *Braby's Natal Directory including Zululand, East Griqualand and Pondoland*. The Almanacs were always printed the year preceding the year dated and initially included general Colonial information, advertisements, addresses and a diary. The diary section was later dropped.

The tram service (see Chapter Eight) encouraged growth to the south east and north west. Prestbury also developed due to the extension of the tram service, and the building of houses for the Railways along Mayors Walk (Ducasse, 1976; Sidey, 1980). The average size of plots along Mayors Walk being 1 rood[37], whilst those in Scottsville were 3 roods (Ducasse, 1976). The growth of these earlier suburban areas - Town Hill, Old Howick Road, Prestbury, Botanical Gardens and Scottsville area - were largely due to the tramway system.

7.2 Suburban growth

Pre-1904 the suburbs were not listed in the Directory and it was only in the 1904 edition that the suburbs were listed as Wards 1 - 8: Alexandra Road and District (ward 1); Mayor's Walk, Prestbury, Zwartkop and District (ward 2); Alexandra Road, Scottsville and District (ward 3); Town Hill and District (ward 4); Scottsville and District (wards 5 and 6); Chase Valley, Mountain Rise, Royston's Rise and District (wards 7 and 8). Most, if not all of the properties registered within these areas were only registered either under the residents name or as a farm/house name. The following year (1905), the Suburban directory section of the Directory divides the wards up into smaller sections. The Scottsville area consisting of Scottsville, Phipson's Ridge (Upper Scottsville), and part of the Racecourse and New England District. It was only in 1910 that the names of streets within the suburbs were registered and later the street numbers.

Between 1884 and 1934, the European population increased by approximately 3.26%/annum (Ducasse, 1976). By 1914, 12.3% of all residential dwellings were suburban, enough so to set a suburban settlement pattern, related it seems to relief and slope around the central area (Wills, 1972). Between 1915 and 1925, development was already established along Mayor's Walk, Howick Road, Lower Roberts Road (Chapel Street Extension), Alexandra Road and Scottsville (Ducasse, 1976).

In 1905, suburban expansion accounted for 4.6% of all residential development out of the central area and by 1914 this had risen to 12.3%. Prestbury and Scottsville showing the greatest areas of expansion. Between 1908 and 1914, 120 suburban dwellings were built in Scottsville (Wills, 1972).

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[37]4 roods = 1 acre (Ducasse, 1976).

By 1914, 101 suburban dwellings were evident in Prestbury and around the Botanical Gardens, and 69 railway cottages along Mayors Wall. Between the period 1914 and 1925 the white population had increased by 24,8% and suburban dwellings had increased 37.3%, but the percentage of the total number of residences only rose from 12.3% (1914) to 13.6% (1925) (Wills, 1972). This possibly being due to the still more prevalent building activity within the central areas (Wills, 1972).

European suburban growth in Pietermaritzburg was closely linked to the economic development of the city. Wills (1972) suggests Rostows model on the stages of economic development being representative of Pietermaritzburg's growth. The development moving from the 'traditional stage', where development was in the central areas and various pre-conditions for development were being established. These pre-conditions being the rail link, sail of Townlands, and improving communication across the rivers. A take-off period then follows such as the sudden suburban growth out of the initial central area. Following this is the stage of mass-consumption, which according to Wills had not yet been reached, but rather "the stage of a high degree of suburbanisation (63% in 1970)" had been attained (1972, p8). Upon this theory one should add a further layer, that of housing. Housing is related to the economy in that 'building booms' usually follow economic 'ups'. In conjunction with this is the style of housing. By observing the built landscape one can see a particular pattern emerging in relation to the style of house - whether it be Victorian, Edwardian, modern or post-modern, and the area of growth. The suburb, block or street tends to reflect the era in which it was built by the strength of styles, designs and materials used. By observing the changes of these factors one can generally assess the pattern of growth within areas. Thus housing styles can be used as diagnostic agents in the analysis of the changing landscape within a region, as noted in Chapter Two. Scottsville, being one of the earlier suburbs to develop, is an ideal example of the link between changing architectural styles and suburban growth.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SCOTTSVILLE

Suburban architecture is so much a part of our lives that we seldom stop to question how it came to be and the 'symbolism' behind the style/dwelling. Scottsville was chosen as the case study area because of the close relationship between the style of dwelling and the area of development. A distinct but varied landscape becomes visible as one passes through the suburb from the earlier Victorian homes, with decorative elements, to the simpler Union and Cape Dutch revival period homes, to the later growth areas of the 1940s Tudor revival homes, and finally to the outer areas of the suburb where the houses of the sixties stretch out along the street.

8.1 Early Scottsville

The area that was to later become known as Scottsville was previously recorded as Outspan 6, an area of some 200 acres and 3 roods (Fynes-Clinton, 1987). In its early days it was just a wasteland covered by tall grasses growing on shale covered with thin soils, hence the fact that many of the first old houses were built with shale.

The Ridge, as the area was known as, became a popular area for hunting. When the British arrived the idea of hunting became a sport, as it was back 'home'. 'The Hunt' was originally started to entertain the bored troops and the local farmers joined in. The best area for the hunt was apparently Rushmore Hill - now known as Lincoln Mead (Bartlett, 1984). But, unlike the Boers, the British had little concern for game preservation during the first twenty years or so of their reign. It seemed to only be inferred when the game dwindled, not for aesthetic reasons but rather because the sport was being put in jeopardy due to a lack of easy game (Ellis, 1988). At one stage certain breeds of hunting dogs were being imported from England and particular farms in Scottsville were used for hunting during the hunt season, where the sounds of dogs baying across the fields was often heard. The Hunt came to an end with the building up of Scottsville and the disbanding of the Garrison (Bartlett, 1984). Figure 8.1 illustrates the surrounding areas by an early map of the environs of Pietermaritzburg.

Figure 8.1: An 1897 map of the country around Pietermaritzburg,

from a sketch by Capt. Fitz Henry, 7th Hussars.

(Source: Pietermaritzburg Archives)

8.2 Pre-'official' suburban development

The Ridge had once been an expansive veld with a homestead or two dotted on the landscape and merely passed through on the road between Pietermaritzburg and Durban. Early photographs taken from the City Hall looking southwards (fig. 8.2) across town show a barren landscape beyond the edge of town (Umsinduzi). The one or two farmhouses appear insignificant in comparison to the expansiveness of the surrounding countryside.

Figure 8.2: View from the City Hall looking southwards towards Scottsville. c: 1895
(Source: Natal History Museum. Durban)

Few of the early farmhouses still stand today, having been 'removed' in the name of progress and development. One of the earliest farmhouses remaining on one of the two main farms on the Ridge is 'The Quarry'[38] (fig. 8.3), which is an excellent example of early building out of available materials - shale. Although the central gable appears symmetrically placed it is in fact an asymmetrically designed home. Now hidden behind a row of townhouses, this simple Victorian styled farmhouse stands alone in its natural beauty. Decorative elements were very simple in the form of quoining, an air vent on top of the roof, filials and a moderatively simple bargeboard. The masonry veranda

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[38]It is thought that this farm was owned by the Milborrow's (Bartlett, 1984).

columns were added at a later stage possibly replacing the earlier wooden supports. The fact that 'The Quarry' was a farmhouse, may explain the less ornate design in comparison to town dwellings of the same period and it is possible that building out of town was more expensive, although many of the earlier houses in this area were built on foundations of the local shale .

Figure 8.3: The Quarry - 23 Ridge Road

As country living became more popular homes began to be built along the main routes - Durban Road and Alexander Road (see Chapter Six). As country estates or farms the properties were quite large, but most have since been subdivided to accommodate the expanding development and desire for suburban living. Figure 8.4[39], is a small corrugated-iron roofed, symmetrically designed late Victorian veranda home, the centrally placed portico entrance emphasising this symmetry. This is further emphasised by the square bay windows on either side and the two brick and plaster chimneys. Once again the decorative elements are very simple which could either be due to the economics (there being a war on), the occupation of the resident or a reaction against the Victorian love of over embellishment. The wooden fascia boards are straight and clean, filials adorning the apex of the gables and pre-fabricated columns having replaced the earlier wooden columns. As was typical of Victorian 'salmon-bricked' homes, a bonding type was used, in this case English bond.

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[39]This property was originally registered as 100 Durban Road, but the present owners repositioned the entrance of the driveway. It is now registered as 15 Chapman Road. It was built by a Dr Baxter at the turn of the century, c: 1900.

Figure 8.4: A late Victorian veranda house - 15 Chapman Road

A beautiful example of the Victorian country villa ideal is Figure 8.9. A symmetrical salmon-bricked double-storied, hipped corrugated-iron roofed veranda house. This home is a fine example of decorative Victorian tastes - moulded chimneys, English bond brick style, bay windows with sliding sash windows, centrally placed glassed panelled doors, timber balustrading, decorative timber frieze, brackets and chamfered columns. Decorative Victorian features adapted to the local climate.

Regulations concerning where development could occur seemed lax, it appears to have simply been a matter of farmlands being made available in accessible areas. The only sign of urbanity was the dirt road 'track' used by travellers between Pietermaritzburg and Durban.

8.3 A suburb is planned

> "The suburb of Scottsville ... had been settled in the 'nineties, though its leap forward in development came only ten years later with the inauguration of an electric tram service", in 1904 (Hattersley, 1951, p100).

The suburb of Scottsville, initially referred to as 'The Ridge', in the area of Outspan 6, was initiated

by Councillor C.B. Scott[40] (from whom the name Scottsville originated). Scott suggested that land be put up for sale as suburban lots (Hattersley, 1938, 1951; Bartlett, 1984). *The Natal Witness*, 1 July 1895, reports on the City Council pre-election interviews where Scott talks of city service improvements such as street lighting, streets, parks, and so on. He also speaks of the past inadequate policy of the Corporations selling off of Townlands and then supplying the services. Scott felt that it should rather be that they lay the roads and water lines to the portion of the Townlands to be sold first, and the sale of the plots of land thereafter would more than adequately recompense the Corporation. Vincent (1983), suggests that the need was seen to provide "a well planned housing area" to accommodate the foreseen increase in the population, resulting from the economic boom. This great economic boom being related to the discovery of minerals and mining in the interior, and the extension of the railway line to the interior (see Chapter Five).

Scotts plans to develop The Ridge were, however, delayed due to the second Anglo Boer War (Hattersley, 1951; Vincent, 1983; Bartlett, 1984). Until the plans were resumed after the war, The Ridge, was described as "...a large slope of veld stretching from the racecourse to Mr W.H Griffen's property" Hattersley (1951, p100).

With the Second Anglo Boer War finally reaching an end, Councillor Scott persuaded the Corporation to buy the Victoria Bridge from the Government and build an auxiliary bridge next to the present bridge to accommodate the electric tram (Bartlett, 1984), which he hoped would be passing along that way soon. The Mayors Report, in the *Corporation Year Book* ending July 1903, says the following on the development of Scottsville:

> "The most important suggestion that has been made for some considerable time regarding the development of the Townlands is the laying out of the district known as Scottsville, and in this matter I am pleased to report that a most successful sale of the first instalment of the lands, which are to form this township, was held by the Corporation on the 23 ultimo kindly conducted by Mr. Councillor Holliday, of course, gratuitously. Our special thanks are due to Mr. Councillor Scott for the immense amount of thought, time and labour, which he has so generously given to the public in practically originating and carrying this project to a completion, and I think the Councillor is to be congratulated on the number of lots already disposed of and the buildings in immediate contemplation" (cited in Bartlett, 1984, p12).

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[40]Councillor Scott was a attorney in the Pietermaritzburg district and started Municipal life in 1895 (Bartlett, 1984).

The Ridge was divided into two sections. An upper section known as Phipson's Ridge (in some cases Upper Scottsville), which extended from Ridge Road southwards into the Townlands. Initially this was farming area and developed only later after the lower section of Scottsville was fairly well settled. The lower section, called Scottsville, was the first part of the ridge to develop. These lots later formed the nucleus of Scottsville as we see it today.

As with most new settlements, roads and streets were named after prominent people - local or international - and of importance to the people occupying those areas. Roads of Scottsville were therefore named after particular people or farms. Phipson Road, and Lane, were named after the Phipson family who had a farm in the area. At one stage The Ridge was called Phipson's Ridge (Upper Scottsville) up to the 1920s, but by 1925 it was regarded as part of Scottsville (*Natal Almanac and Directory*, 1904-1925). Rutland Road was named after the farm 'Rutland'[41] owned by Mr Griffen[42], who owned a substantial part of the ridge. Milborrow Road was named after the owners of the farm of 'The Quarry', which had previously been named Education Road (possibly due to its proximity to the local school on the corner of King Edward and Education Roads).

As with the development of most areas the main criteria is communication and access. One of the main problems with the development of Scottsville was the problem of the bridge crossing the Umsinduzi River.

8.3.1 The Victoria Bridge

The first bridge built across the Umsinduzi River was Jargal's Bridge (1847). This was soon washed away by floods and the Town Bridge was built of rudimentary stone on stone piers (1850s). Once again this was flooded, in 1856, and a temporary bridge moored with a chain was erected. The Town realised the problems associated with the absence of a bridge, and its importance in

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[41]Named after the Estate of the Duke in Rutland, visited by Griffen senior on his visit to England, who was rather taken by the beauty of the Estate (Bartlett, 1984).

[42]Mr Griffen was responsible for the planting of many Pepper trees in the Scottsville area, but these were taken down when it became feared that the Pepper trees were largely responsible for the spread of Poliomyelitis (Bartlett, 1984). They were later replaced with the ever present Jacaranda trees dotted along the Scottsville landscape.

enhancing communications, not to mention the image of the Capital. An iron bridge was imported and built in 1858, but by 1866 it was already unstable and succumbed to the vibrations of a crossing herd of oxen. The remains of the bridge were gathered up and re-erected in Alexandra Park. The second Victoria bridge was then constructed. It was initially one span and later strengthened by an additional pier in the middle. The introduction of the tram meant the building of a separate bridge and these bridges remained standing serving the town, Scottsville and surrounds until in 1963, when it was felt that something more substantial was needed to cater for the growing traffic. It was a time of other major road improvements as well as the improving of the Fox Hill Bridge. A bridge had been built at the end of Boshoff street, joining up with Surrey Road, in 1962, because of just this problem (Bartlett, 1984).

The concept of living on the other side of the Umsinduzi thus no longer presented the problem previously encountered, that of fording the river - when often there was no bridge. With the erection of the Victoria Bridge, communication, per se, between Town and Scottsville was made easier. Residents of Scottsville would either catch the tram, use the horse and buggy or, if lucky, use their car, or 'hire' a rickshaw[43] to collect them or on the return trip from town (Bartlett, 1984). The development of the tram service to the suburb(s) being a turning point in the development of these areas.

8.3.2 The development of the tram in Scottsville

It was the introduction of the tram service really initiated development and enhanced the speed of growth along the main routes. The tram schemes were initially mooted in 1897, and were to remain a bone of contention between the Ratepayers and the City Council for the next six years (*The Natal Witness*). With the Armistice (second Anglo Boer War) being signed in 1902, Scott and his supporters won their battle. In 1904, the current Mayor, William O' Brien, reported in the *Corporation Year Book* of his pleasure of laying the first tram rail - 23 September 1903 - on the corner of Commercial and Victoria Roads. Mayor O' Brien believed that the trams would make possible the sure sale of the Townlands (Ducasse, 1976). Advertisements were placed in *The Natal*

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[43] In pre-tram times there were 900 rickshaws on the street, by 1903 there were approximately 8,800 men as licensed drivers adhering to regulated rules and prices (Almanac and Directory, 1903).

Witness (12 June 1903), inviting tenders for the transporting of tram rails between the corner of Prince Alfred and Commercial Roads and the Racecourse[44] and for the construction of the Fox Hill Stream Bridge Abutments (15 December 1903). Bartlett (1984), paints C.B. Scott in a rather glorious light as the creator of Scottsville. There appeared, however, to be some contention by the Ratepayers Association regarding this statement as can be read in the reports of the meetings as recorded in *The Natal Witness*. Some ratepayers believed that Scott was using the tramway system for his pocket rather than for the benefit of the city and residents.

There was some disagreement concerning the route of the tram as many of the Ratepayers had bought land along Mayor's walk and the Botanical Gardens area on the premise that this was to be the first phase of the extension of the tram route. There was also some consternation at the improving of services to the suburbs when those in town and 'outer-lying' areas of town were being ignored, especially with all the development in the Scottsville area and the promoting of the growth by Councillor Scott. Several meetings (open to all ratepayers) were held, for the airing of grievances. Two such reports in *The Natal Witness* (11 October 1902), discuss the issue of the line to the Botanical Gardens prior to Scottsville and a later report (17 October 1902) continues this debate regarding the line stopping at the Victoria Bridge and should remain so until the 'town' community has been served before progressing on to the Fox Hill Scheme and Scottsville Racecourse. Certain irate ratepayers retorted that the allocation of a line to the Racecourse (and the monthly meetings) would not be enough to grease their palms. The 18 October 1902 edition of *The Natal Witness* laments on the four or five existing suburbs, those within the bounds of the rivers, requiring attention and facilities, yet the Corporation Engineers wanted to create new suburbs, especially Fox Hill (Scottsville):

> "Apparently the sole value of the Fox Hill route was the increased price the Corporation would be able to realise for their land, which they would be able to sell readily and at high rates. The object they had in hand was to devote the money realised to pay off the electric trams debt...".

It should rather run as promised in the Botanical Gardens area, as people had bought land on this

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[44]The Racecourse was a very important part of Pietermaritzburg society. The British Army introduced racing to Pietermaritzburg and by 1864 there was regulated racing under Jockey Rules. At first there was no definite venue until a site was selected in 1886, by the newly established City Sporting Club. The final site chosen was the present position on New England Road.

promise.

An article published in *The Natal Witness*, 7 November 1902, stated the route the line was to take - from the Victoria Bridge onward to the racecourse and then branch off through the middle of the Townlands known as Outspan 6. It was feared (said the City Council) that the route to Botanical Gardens would interfere with the water supply, and a new water supply had thus to be first laid. It was also noted by a councillor - supporting the Scottsville plan - that other than the tram enhancing the value of the land, Scottsville was attractive to many of the newly married couples who could not afford land in town. The lower prices of Scottsville and The Ridge were further enhanced by the knowledge of easy transport and access to town soon being made available. This was somewhat similar, it could be argued, to the situation along Mayor's Walk. It appears from this statement that a particular group of people were being encouraged to develop the growth of the ridge - young, up and coming professionals.

This debate concerning the improving of town versus the development of the suburbs continued for some years. *The Natal Witness*, 13 December 1904, questioned the decision of extending the development of suburbs before that of the town, especially the macadamising of streets. Mr John Hardy at a Ratepayers Association meeting considered the Scottsville route a mistake, when it should rather have gone up Alexandra Road, as it seems this area was developing quite rapidly.

Finally, the rails were laid on granite blocks, imported from Scotland, in the Town section. By 1905 the trams had reached Scottsville where the rails were laid on wooden blocks, ending with a tram terminus at the driveway area of the proposed University grounds. Figure (8.5) is a view looking south towards Scottsville from the City Hall. The figure shows the tram lines running down Commercial Road and houses dotting the distant horizon of the suburb. A time table was set up with a thirty minute interval between each run to Scottsville, with a ten minute wait at the terminus. There was a loop section by the racecourse, allowing trams to by pass, but this was also useful come raceday when extra trams were laid on. A speed restriction was imposed of 8ml/hr in the City and 10ml/hr in the suburbs (Bartlett, 1984).

The Victorian period may, by the twentieth century, have officially ended, but the ideals of country living, especially with the growth of the Town, were bound to become a cultural ideal that had developed beyond the architectural principles of the Picturesque. It had become a fashion in its

own right. The idea of living in the country with all the romantic pleasantries it supplied must have appealed to the people who bought the land and started building their 'suburban villas'. They had the country, yet were close enough to the 'city' to enjoy the theatre, balls, socials, and other entertainment. Living in Scottsville provided a relaxed, friendly atmosphere. It had a strong village community air, yet was still close enough to town to participate and enjoy in the festivities offered in town (Barron, 1961; Bush, pers.comm., 1994; Leslie-Smith, pers.comm., 1994). Added to this there was also Alexandra Park at the base of the suburb with avenues of trees and seats below shady spots to rest upon as well as offering pleasurable recreational sports of boating, swimming, cricket and other sports (fig. 8.6) (*Natal Almanac and Register*, 1903).

Figure 8.5: 'View from the Town Hall, looking towards the Fox Hill Range. Pietermaritzburg'
(Source: Natal History Museum. c: 1905/6)

Figure 8.6: Boating on the Umsinduzi
(Source: Bush, pers.comm., 1994)

8.3.3 The early plan of Scottsville

The initial 1903 sale plan layout of Scottsville (fig. 8.7) shows not only the intended route of the tram[45], but also the initial road system and the subdivision of Townlands into stands. What is interesting to note is that the 1903 plan appears to be as it is laid out presently. However, on closer inspection, one sees that there are certain roads evident in the plan that are now obsolete (fig. 8.21). Arbuckle Street (between Leinster and Coronation Streets) acted as a 'back-end' street (ideal for 'night soil' removal) rather than an access street, and on the growth of the town and the building of dwellings or later subdivisions the road became incorporated into the properties. The fact that there is a clear line, following that of the street, separating the properties appears to support this theory. The area to the south of Ridge Road was known as the Townlands with one or two farmsteads. The situation becomes somewhat confusing when one studies the area to the east of Durban Road. Escombe Road which supposedly ran parallel to Ridge Road has since become obsolete and the small section of Chamberlain Road to the east of Education Road[46] has become Escombe Road.

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[45]As one can see from a later maps of Scottsville (1908), the 1903 tram line route along Woodhouse Road was merely a proposal and the actual route was in fact taken up New England Toad.

[46]A few of the roads in Scottsville changed names over the years. Lathom Road became Connaught Road, Education Road became Milborrow Road.
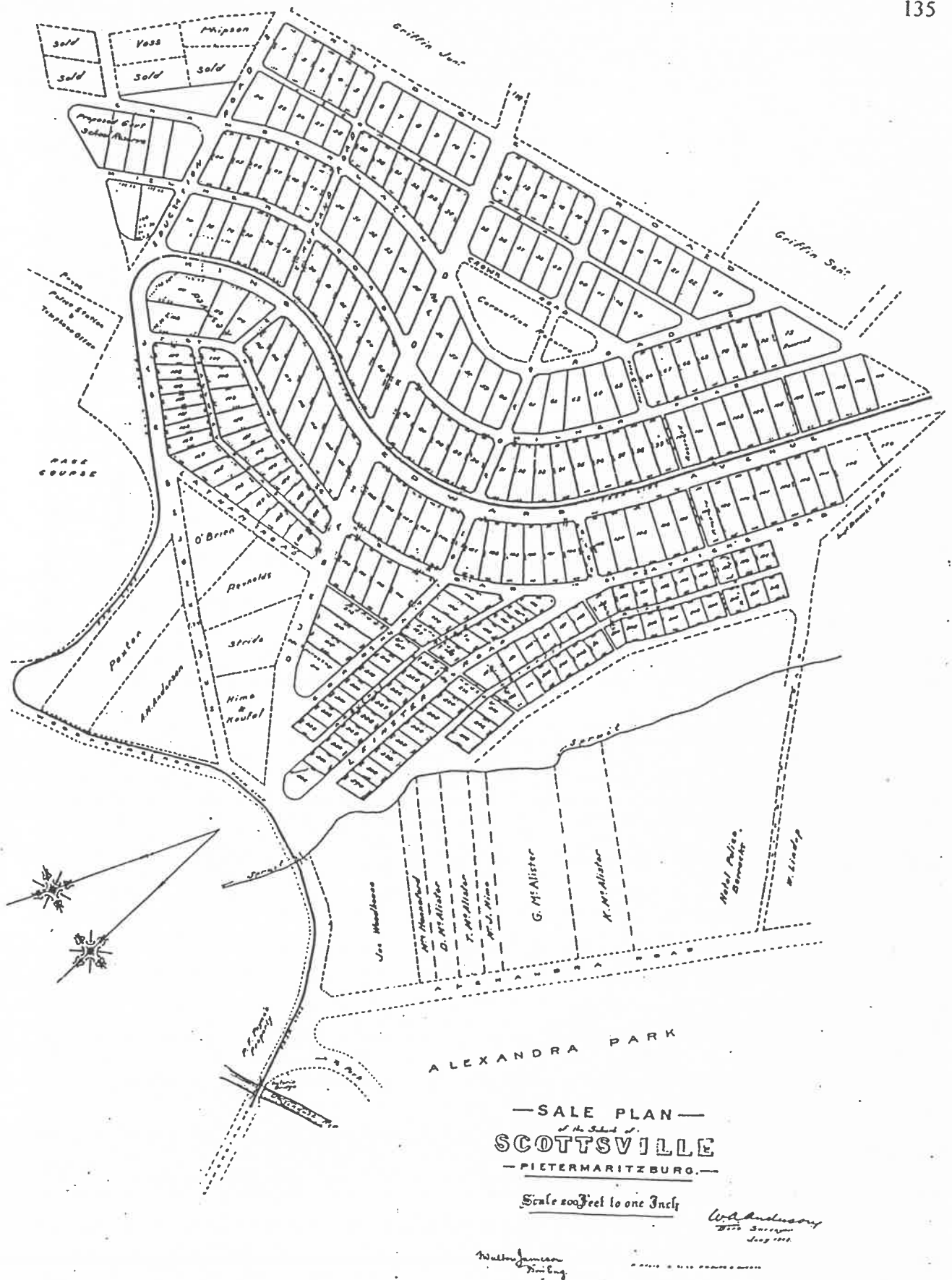
Figure 8.7: 1903 Sale Plan of Scottsville

(Source: Pietermaritzburg archives)

The flowing 'free' plan of Scottsville is quite a contrast to the rectilinear plan of the city. This could be attributed to A. M. Anderson who was the surveyor for Scottsville. Anderson owned a large piece of property just south of the Umsinduzi along New England Road where he had built a beautiful Victorian double-storied veranda house called 'Aberfeldy'. Of English heritage, Anderson could possibly have been influenced by the new ideals in English town planning as espoused by Howard and the Garden City Movement.

Although it was to be a few more years before the movement became an official organisation in South Africa, the ideals associated with the Picturesque, filtered through via journals, and so on. A planned suburban development, in a naturalistc flowing plan was created, centred around the main southern entrance/exit route from the town. The roads (from east to west), in most instances, followed the contours of the ridge, intercepted at almost equal intervals by the roads radiating out (north to south), from a central point at the base of the suburb. The main roads within the suburb, those roads with property access, are considerably wider than the average street of today. This would most likely be due to the mode of transport used (the automobile had yet to make its appearance). The most common use of transport as mentioned previously was the ox-wagon or horse-drawn cart/carriage, needing a wider space for turning around. Red brick gutters were laid either side of the street and decorative street lights were placed intermittently along the pavement. Low brick and plaster walls with moulded brick or plastered pillars, separated the street from the properties. The plots were equally divided into two sizes. The smaller, possibly cheaper properties on the lower parts, while those properties with splendid views towards the city were somewhat larger. Some of these larger plots were subdivided at later stages. From the deeds that have been possible to obtain, the contract of sale stipulated that a building was to be erected within two years of sale/purchase, and to the value of at least three hundred pounds sterling (£300). This was not necessarily adhered to as the land may have passed hands, before the two years were through, and thus buildings were often erected sometime after the initial sale (Wedderburn, 1987). Dwellings in other areas of Scottsville had a minimum value of £500 attached to the dwelling to be erected, enforcing a certain 'standard' to the area. This increase in the minimum value of the house could be because of its position (at the top of the ridge with superb views), and it being on larger plots of land, or the increase in building costs since the 1903/4 deeds were written. Another stipulation in the deeds of sale was that the houses were not to be built of iron or wood, nor may the land be

sold, let or occupied, by any persons other than a European[47].

8.3.4 Victorian and Edwardian architectural influences

With the opening up of the suburb adverts were placed in *The Natal Witness* advertising the sale of sites for building (fig. 8.8). Houses began to be built ranging from small, quaint picturesque cottages to country type villas. The size and position of the house was often indicative of the wealth and possibly class of the family.

Speculators may have bought up portions of land along the street and built a few small cottages to sell to those who would rather buy a home than land. These houses were built in the vernacular that had become renowned to Pietermaritzburg or borrowed styles from pattern books. There is often difficulty in distinguishing the exact beginning and end of the Victorian and Edwardian periods as regards the housing styles. This can be attributed to the time it took for styles to become fashionable in the Colony and the intermingling of styles - the development of a vernacular. Adding to this slight confusion, is the borrowing of styles as was often the case of the speculator, much to the consternation of the architects, thus there was often a merging of styles. Despite this eclectic borrowing of styles, the houses lining the streets created a streetscape particular to this period. Just as the white walls and curly gabled Cape Dutch style home of the Cape creates a particular quality and atmosphere, so the picturesque styled 'red brick' veranda homes, set slightly back in a decorative garden, created a quaint English streetscape in an African setting of Pietermaritzburg. With the growing suburbs this Victorian Pietermaritzburg streetscape was transferred out to the suburbs set in a slightly more spacious setting overlooking the town.

Apart from the few homes scattered on Phipson's Ridge, early development tended to follow the route of the tram and expand along the lower part of Scottsville - Woodhouse Road, New England Road, Connaught Road, Chamberlain Road, St Patricks Road, Leinster Road, Birkett Road, Coronation Road and part of King Edward Avenue. When looking at the chosen styles for the houses during this period, one sees an eclectic mixing of styles between Victorian and Edwardian. Although people have criticised the lack of homogeneity in these earlier styles, the use of the

[47]Segregation being was evident at an early stage. There were already villages being formed to house the non-Europeans out of town (see Chapter Five).

in the Hilton Road Estate

The remainder of Lot 1, Hilton Road Estate, in extent about 88 acres.

This valuable block of ground is most convenient to the Railway Station, and lies between Sir Henry Bale's Estate and the Town Lands, and to speculators in search of a really gilt-edged proposition, or anyone desiring a most magnificent Suburban Residential Estate, with splendid train service, and outside the rate-paying radius, this item is specially worth attention. It is bounded by the Railway and runs down to the main streams of the Town Bush Valley. There are other streams running through it, and it has on it some beautiful natural bush. Terms:—EASY.

New Residence in May Street

Containing Four Large Airy Rooms, Kitchen, Pantry, and Bathroom, situate near Boom Street, just below Commercial Road, and very handy to the Trams.

The Land has a frontage of 50 feet, and a depth of 105 feet.

This Up-to-date Little Residence is specially worth attention.

Lot 167 Scottsville,

Having frontages of 140 feet to Latham Road, and 100 feet to Gallwey Road, with an average depth of 140 feet. Easy Terms.

Eight First-Rate Building Sites,

Each having a frontage to the Durban Road just beyond the Star and Garter Hotel.

A fine Hotel, is now in course of construction in this healthy neighbourhood.

These sites are well adapted for the erection of a Store or Suburban Residence, situate as they are right alongside the Main Road to Durban close to Town, and commanding magnificent views.

4 Well-Situated Lots, Edendale Road,

These Lots are quite close to the Railway Crossing, and are in extent from one to one-and-a-half acres.

One of these Lots faces the Main Road, and is a specially good site for a store.

Four Rooms and Kitchens, which can be let at a remunerative rental. The Outbuildings include two Stables, Kafir House, and Bathrooms. TERMS: Half cash, the balance on bond at 7 per cent.

Also, at the same time and place, the Valuable Business Property,

Nos. 129 & 131, Chapel Street,

at present occupied by Messrs. Newman and Searle, at a rental of £11 10s. per month, and including the Comfortable Residence 129a, Chapel Street, let at £5 per month. The land has 40 feet frontage to Chapel Street, and a depth of 99 feet 8 inches.

TERMS: 25 per cent. cash, 25 per cent. in six months and the remainder on mortgage for three years at 7 per cent.

Two Sites on Phipson's Ridge.

MESSRS. HOLLIDAY AND COMPANY, duly instructed, will offer for Sale at the Colonial Mart, on THURSDAY, 22nd DECEMBER 1904, at 11 a.m., the Sub-divisions 5 and 7 of Lot 554, Town Lands, each in extent 1 rood 18.16 perches, with frontages of 115 feet and depths of 131 feet.

TERMS EASY.   NO BUILDING CLAUSE.

Several Scottsville Sites.

Lots 179, 129, 140, and 141 will be offered for sale on easy terms. These Lots are exceptionally well situated.

Plans and titles of all these properties can be inspected on application at the offices of the Auctioneers, who will gladly furnish all information with respect to any of the properties.

A Brand New Cottage.

MESSRS. HOLLIDAY AND COMPANY, duly favoured with instructions, will offer for Sale after the foregoing, the Pine Street Cottage, near Victoria Road, containing Four Rooms, Kitchen, Pantry, and Bathroom. The Land has a frontage to Pine Street of 40ft., and a depth of 82ft. The House is substantially built.

The Auctioneers wish to draw the attention of RAILWAY MEN to this property, on account of its proximity to the Railway Workshops.

Terms can be arranged.

To HOTELKEEPERS, HAIRDRESSERS, TOBACCONISTS, ETC.

MESSRS. HOLLIDAY & Co., favoured with instructions, will Sell at the Hairdressing Saloon, No. 133, Chapel Street (near Church Street), at 7.30 o'clock on FRIDAY EVENING NEXT, DECEMBER

Figure 8.8: Sale of sites in Scottsville

Source: The Natal Witness (Oct - Dec, 1904)

veranda and salmon brick tended to create a harmonious theme along the streets of Scottsville.

There are few double-stories in Scottsville, but they are all beautiful examples of characteristics of the period. The house illustrated by Figure 8.9 is a house known as Aberfeldy, built at the turn of the century. This house used to stand on a large piece of property along New England Road owned by A. M. Anderson. It is asymmetrically designed veranda house with a further projecting central veranda area and steps leading up to the front door. Sash windows and a large etched glass panelled front door with side lights strengthen the symmetry. The veranda is decorated with timber balustrading and columns, ornate brackets and a frieze. It would have been a magnificent home perched on the hill overlooking town.

Figure 8.9: 'Aberfeldy' - 5 New England Road

Figures (8.10; 8.11) show two double-stories of a simpler design, built later in a more Edwardian style. The one property (Kintyre) (fig. 8.10) is positioned opposite Aberfeldy, on New England Road, whilst the other property sits behind it fronting Durban Road. These two homes are purported to have be built by two siblings in the early 1900s. These asymmetrically designed houses were both originally roofed with corrugated iron, and with ventilators and roof brackets. The house in Figure 8.10 has a turret to the one side and a cantilered balcony, alleviating a rather

bland façade as do the horizontal plastered bands on both houses. Both houses have sash windows and plastered sills, square bay windows and a porticoed entrance.

Figure 8.10: 8 New England Road

Figure 8.11: 33 Durban Road

Moving further up the hill to Connaught Road is a beautiful double-storied Victorian veranda (double-sided) house (fig. 8.12). The cast iron balustrade and columns, decorative Victorian frieze and brackets have replaced the earlier timber ones. The gable to the one side of the house sets off the asymmetrical design with a decorative bargeboard and circular central ventilator. A galvanised-iron roof protects the bay window with sash windows, bracketed wooden sills and a decorative brick cornice. Palm trees[48], a decorative garden and wall create a picturesque country image adapted to a local setting. This double storey is the only one in the road, the other house being small cottages, mostly speculative built.

Figure 8.12: 'Comrades House' Connaught Road, illustrating a decorative double-sided veranda

These early houses, along Connaught Road, are typical of those built on other roads of the same period. The economics of speculative building often suggested a scaling down of the decorative elements used. Slightly set back from the road, bordered by brick walls and moulded pillars are single storied asymmetrical gabled veranda houses with (fig. 8.13) or without bay windows (fig.

[48]Palm trees appear to be synonymous with Victorian/Edwardian development and housing and are often seen lining streets for example Durban road.

8.14). These salmon bricked houses used different bonding types, but most often the English Garden Bond (see Chapter Five). Common features of these houses were corrugated iron roofs and moulded brick chimneys, decorative timber bargeboards, ventilators in the apex of the gable, filials, plaster sills and sash windows. Decorative brickwork was also known to be in the apex of the gable to accentuate the feature, this would however, generally be found on a side gable. The veranda was supported by wooden posts and simple brackets, these posts in many cases later being replaced by brick columns. Figure 8.14 presents a quaint example of a Victorian styled garden - rambling roses, foxgloves and irises.

Figure 8.13: A Victorian bay windowed home - 1 Chamberlain Road

As mentioned earlier in the chapter some houses were built to pattern book styles. Figure 8.15 is a representation of two such houses. Sitting side by side, showing similar characteristics to that of Figure 3.5, common of pattern book styles. Although these two houses resemble a Victorian styled home, as presented in the pattern book, they appear to have been adapted to a more Edwardian style, with the mock half timberwork on the gables, casement windows, pre-fabricated Doric columns and walled veranda balustrade. It should however be noted that although these

features were primarily found to be used in the Edwardian period, they were also found in some of the Victorian homes.

Figure 8.14: A picturesque cottage - 11 Connaught Road

Figure 8.15: Pattern book Victorian/Edwardian homes - 20, 22 Connaught Road

8.3.4.1 Later Edwardian homes

There are some features of these earlier houses, found in Scottsville, that tend to be more characteristically Edwardian. This is not surprising as Scottsville was founded, primarily, during the Edwardian period. The fact that there are flavourings of Victoriana in the suburb is testament to the perpetual use of favoured styles and Victorian convictions amongst the residents of the Town. Figure 8.16 shows an elegant Edwardian styled double-storied veranda home. The upper veranda is supported by simple veranda posts, brackets and balustrade, whilst the lower floor is supported by pre-fabricated concrete columns, casement windows and French doors. Initially this property was approached by a driveway sweeping in a semi-circle in front. This has since been lost through subsequent sub-divisions.

Figure 8.16: An Edwardian double-storied veranda home - 48 Ridge Road

The Edwardian builders began to use pre-fabricated columns and balustrade walls (often replacing timber balustrades). The veranda friezes, if used, were much simpler (figs. 8.17;8.18). An architectural element that was used to a large extent during the Edwardian period was the

introduction of the mock half timberwork in the gables can be seen in both these illustrations. This could well have been an influence from Shaw's Domestic Revival (as noted in Chapter Three). The presence of the late Victorian style, with delicate but ornate trimmings and the simpler Edwardian style and mock Tudor style, within close vicinity to the tram route, can be seen as indicative of the time period in which growth occurred.

Figure 8.17: An Edwardian Veranda Home with 'Tudor' gables - 21 King Edward Avenue

Figure 8.18: 106, 104 St Patricks Road

Towards Union and during the Union period a new style began to emerge continuing the Edwardian influence of a simple veranda styled house - the Natal veranda house - with casement windows, Doric columns, expressed rafters and stained glass infills and portholes. Stained glass tended to be painted and coloured glass factory produced, but the common usage of the term stained glass has come to incorporate both products.

8.4 Union to the thirties

By the 1920s suburban living had become a popular lifestyle in Pietermaritzburg. The occupations of those living in the suburbs tended to be along the lines of civil servants, accountants/book keepers, merchants and general dealers, the legal and medical profession, builders, and then especially in Scottsville those involved in education. Houses were being built further up the Town Hill and along Prestbury, Botanical Gardens way. The Anglo-Boer War was over and hopes of the post-war depression lifting were running high with talks of the new political movement of Union.

Natal had been a loyal British Colony and, architecturally, was not very receptive of 'foreign' styles - the American skyscraper and the steel framed technique. Although these new innovations were introduced to Durban, Pietermaritzburg, despite its conservatism and slow acceptance, was bound to be influenced in some manner by the new construction techniques and materials sooner or later. Civic architecture became the primary focus of these new methods, although in domestic architecture there were influences in the more modern methods such as the steel framed windows, and tiles which became favoured in place of corrugated iron.

The Cape Dutch style, with its curly gables, was another style that was soon to be seen adorning the streets of Pietermaritzburg, but as discussed in Chapter Four it only became fashionable after Union when it became popular as representative of a Nationalistic style. The period spanning from Union to the 1930s (and even the 1940s) was really a mixture of architectural influences - those from the 'old' home country, a Natal vernacular and those representing a more national style. Figure 8.19 is an artistic recreation of the suburban atmosphere during this period showing the stylistic variations and the competing tram and motor vehicle. The houses are all on the south side
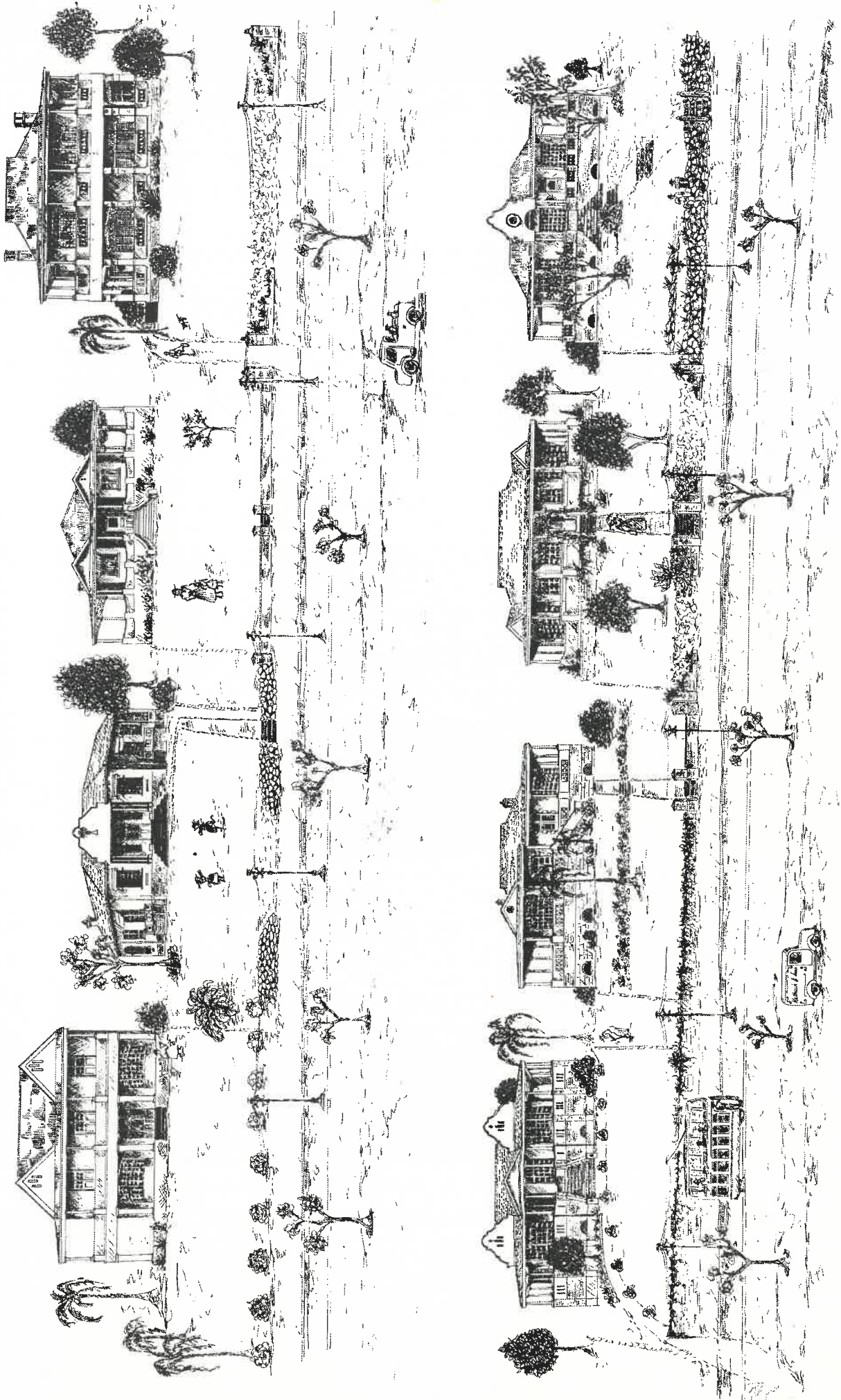
Figure 8.19: Suburban styles - King Edward Avenue (south side)

of King Edward Avenue, below the University, between Coronation and Golf Roads, commanding majestical views over town. Although the properties are larger than most of the Scottsville houses, they still represent the architectural atmosphere of the time creating a typical streetscape of eclectic suburban styles. The houses positioned along King Edward Avenue, being a popular road with its commanding vista and proximity to the University, could explain for the relative opulence of the homes.

8.4.1 Planning growth

Planning within the suburb had begun, by the 1920s, to extend past the original 1903 sale plan further up 'The Ridge' and Durban Road into what was previously known as the Townlands. Plots were demarcated and built on close to two respectable private schools - St Charles (1925) and St Johns (1915) - and bordering the ever popular social meeting place, the Racecourse (fig. 8.20).

Figure 8.20: Scottsville Racecourse with new homes in the background

(Source: *The Natal Witness*, 12 April 1926, p1)

The Garden City ideals had by this time began to popularise planning in the Western world, which could explain the quirk of the crescent or circus (fig. 8.21)[49] of part of this growing area of the suburb. This figure illustrates the planned layout of Scottsville and the extent of growth within the suburb prior to 1930. Most of the development was simply the filling in of the empty plots in between the little Victorian cottages within the original bounds and still within close vicinity of the tram.

Despite growing popularity of the suburb there were unpleasant disadvantages to be accommodated. Thomas Barron (1961), a resident in Connaught Road, wrote that even as late as 1920, Scottsville was prone to dust clouds. Durban Road, in the summer was a quagmire and in winter inches deep in dust. The roads had gravel thrown over in summer to bind the mud together and wetted to keep the dust down in winter.

That development which did occur further out appears to have concentrated around the schools and the area of The Ridge surrounding Phipson's farm and as the University developed along King Edward Avenue and St Patricks Road, within close proximity to the tram but also to the University (fig. 6.3). These houses were very popular with the University staff and young students requiring boarding close to the University rather than the travelling in and out of town by tram. Figure 8.22 is an example of the adverts placed in The Natal Witness, promoting development in 'Sunny Scottsville', a 'highly desirable neighbourhood', 'convenient to Town' and the tram.

What is interesting to note, with regard to this development, is that the street plan of Scottsville is mapped, whilst the suburban development along Mayors Walk, Prestbury and Roberts and Howick Roads, which was also thriving, was not recorded. (Fig. 8.23). This could be attributed to the organised suburban development of Scottsville, having been a planned suburb, whilst that of the others were merely a 'self-governed'/ad hoc development along exit/entrance routes to the city. Whatever the nature of development, it was occurring at a steady rate, in spite of the depressed years. Figure 8.24 shows the steady rise in the number of dwellings in Scottsville as recorded in the *Natal Almanac and Directory*. The continued growth and rise in building activity post 1925

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[49]These figures were created using the registered addresses in the *Natal Almanac and Directory*, and later by aerial photographs, explaining the dates. A clear map earlier than the 1930 map was not possible as the houses were not registered with street numbers but surnames and in some cases house names which, depending on the present owners, were often changed.
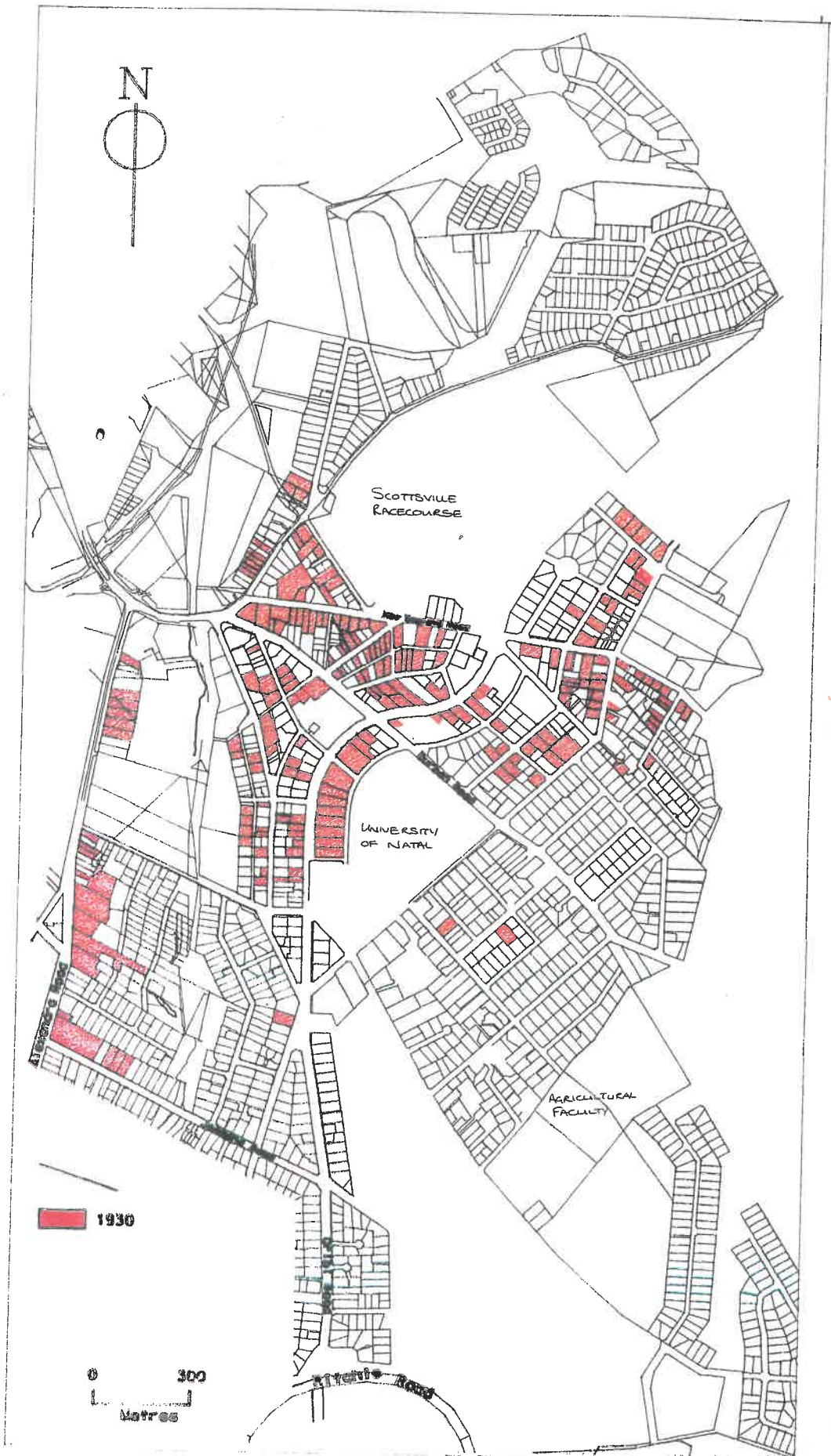
Figure 8.21: Suburban growth in Scottsville up to the 1930s

PROPOSITIONS

FOR ALL

CLASSES

CITY PROPERTIES

Specially Selected

Scottsville Sites

Sunny Scottsville

Figure 8.22: Advertisements for sites in Scottsville

(Source: *The Natal Witness*, February/March, 1920)
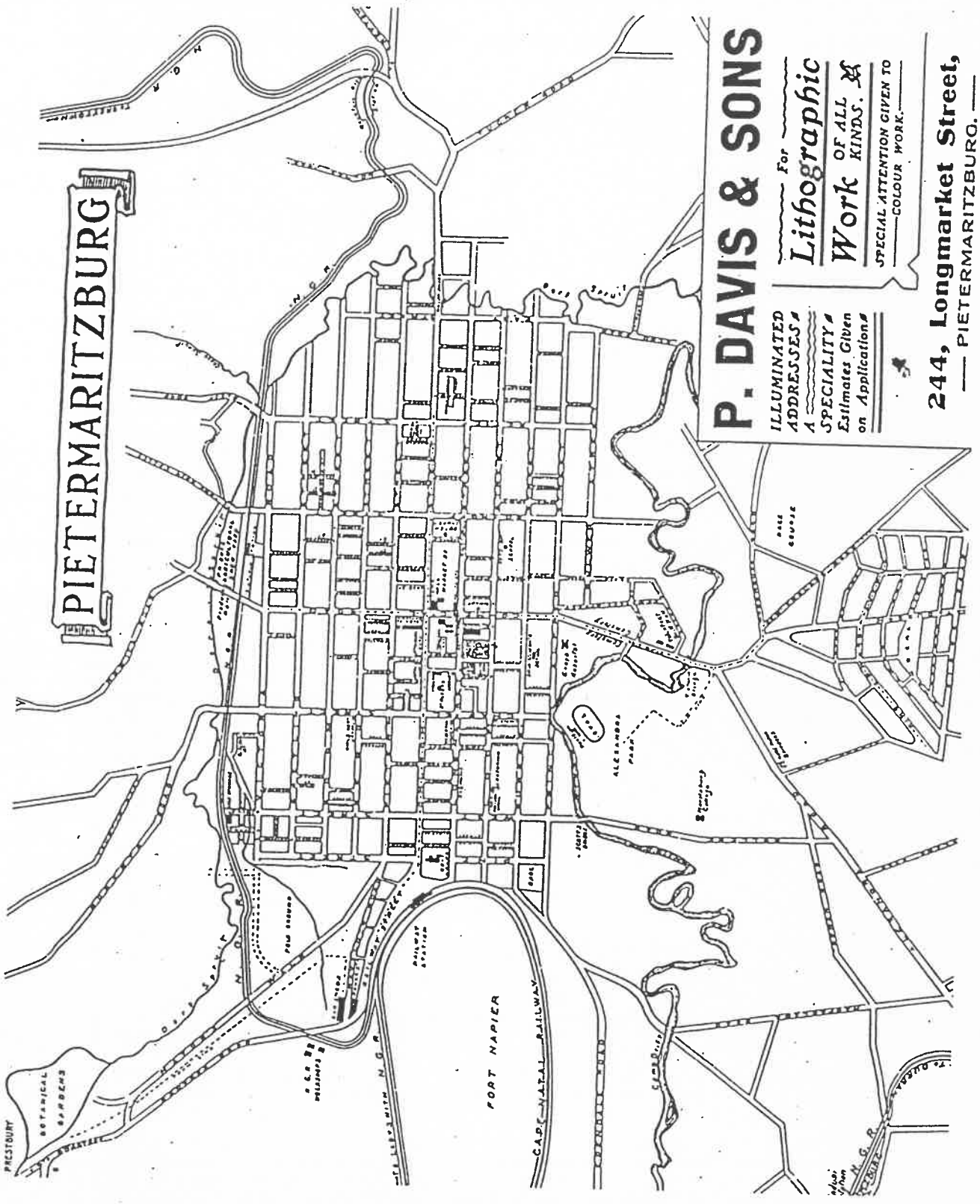
Figure 8.23: A 1908 plan of Pietermaritzburg showing Scottsville as the only laid out suburb

(Source: Natal Almanac and Directory, 1908)

supports Wills (1988) argument that it was during the years 1918 to 1938, and those years pre-World War One "that Pietermaritzburg was transformed by suburban developments" (p38). Wills' comment was in response to Hattersley's (1938) statement that little could be said of the period between 1918 to 1938, the post war years. This growth was possibly not rapid, but enough so to be questioned as important in the history of Pietermaritzburg. Figure 8.25 is further evidence of the continued growth after the depression and black years of the early thirties. Each colour representing a different epoch, illustrating the extent and direction of growth during each period. Building began filling in the empty lots in between as well as beyond the original boundaries extending along New England and Durban Roads, King Edward Avenue into Oribi Road and new development that was beginning to occur to the east of the suburb along Riverton Road.
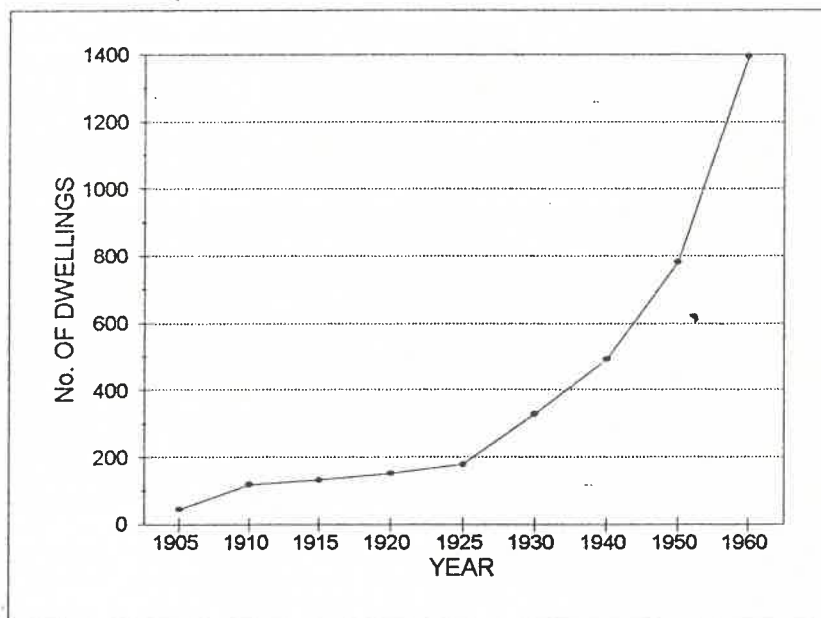
Figure 8.24: The increase of dwellings in Scottsville, 1904 -1960

A strong suburban atmosphere was beginning to develop to the south of Town. Enterprising residents began to see the need for services in the suburb, soon to set up this stretch of Durban Road as the 'commercial' core of the suburb. The decision to build the University was to boost this ambience, enhancing the desirable image of the growing suburb.
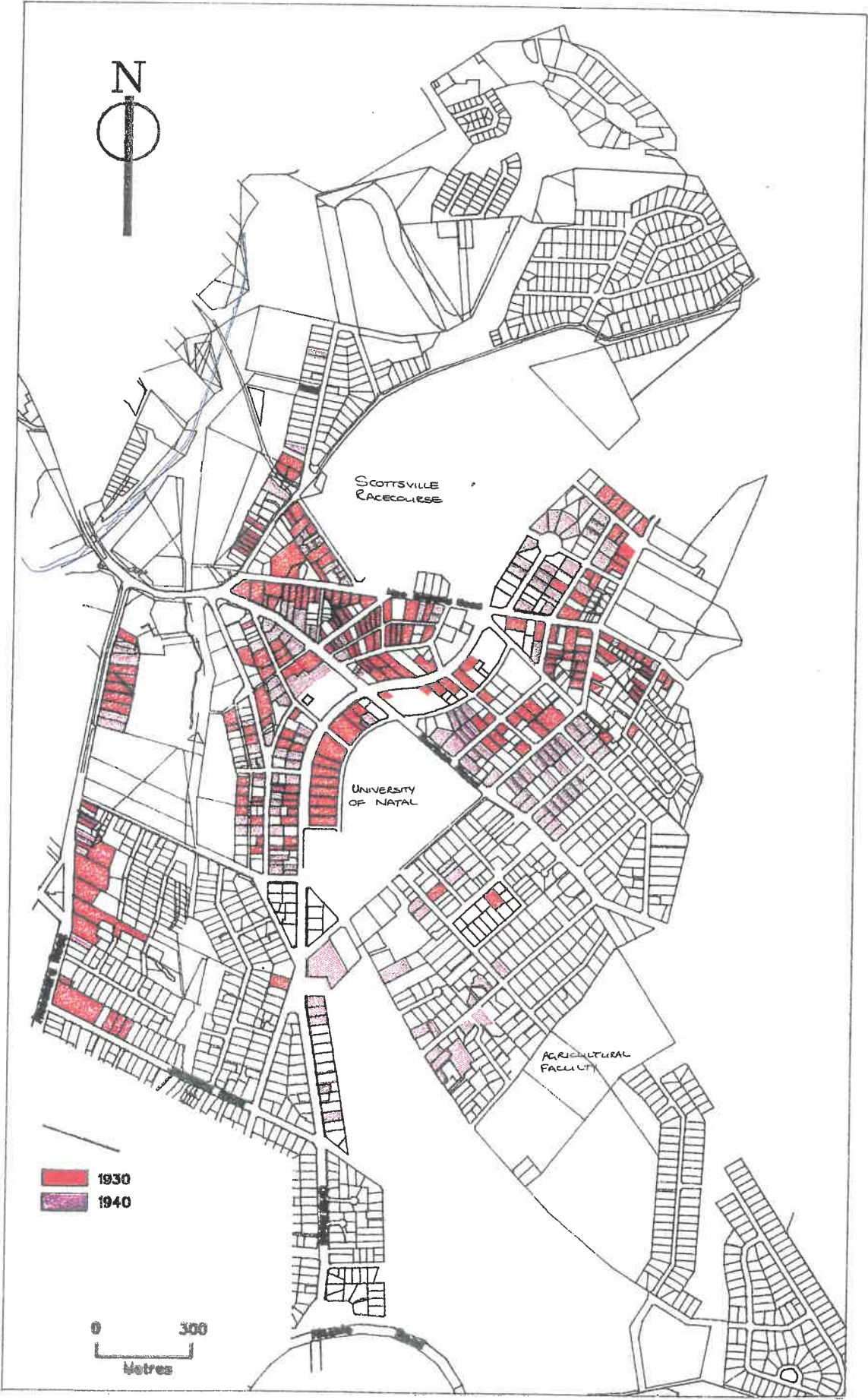
Figure 8.25: Suburban growth in Scottsville up to the 1940s

8.4.2 The University College

Within the boundaries of this ordered suburb a portion of lands had been set aside for the proposed University - Coronation Reserve (fig. 8.7). In 1909 an Act was promulgated to establish a University in Pietermaritzburg. The City Council, subsequently, granted 40 acres of land on 'The Ridge' in Scottsville. The foundation stone for the first building, the Old Main Hall, was laid in 1910, by the Duke of Connaught (Sellers, 1988). Despite the onset of Union the citizens of Pietermaritzburg were still strongly tied to their cultural heartland and were to remain so for many years. Since its completion in 1912, the University College Building (Old Main Hall) dominated the skyline of The Ridge for many years, enhancing the suburban image of this quiet little suburb. The existing tramway which ran along King Edward Avenue, with a pedestrian terminus at the junction of King Edward Avenue and Golf Road (next to the University entrance), helped determine its location. In 1918, the Natal University College became integrated with the University of South Africa which had become established as a Federal University (Sellers, 1988).

With the end of the First World War the student population grew rapidly. With the return of university going students/soldiers, two university residences had to be built to accommodate the rising student population - University Hall (1921) for women and Lodge (1929) for men. The students had previously to reside in town, catching the tram up to the University or local lodgings with nearby residents (Bartlett, 1984; Bush, pers.comm., 1994).

8.4.3 A Union style develops

In the meantime the houses surrounded by beautiful verandas were, for many, becoming too uneconomical to build with the post war difficulties. These houses were also indicative of the new modern, simplistic style that was beginning to replace the previously decorative preferences. This is not to say that the larger homes, some with verandas, were to disappear. Rather, the more modern simpler styles and materials were to become more acceptable to the people. Smaller pyramidal, 'box-shaped' houses began to be built, with small side verandas and, or entrance

fabricated columns, plastered walls above a base of facebrick. It was not uncommon that these small plain houses would alleviate a dull façade with a bay window, the casement windows sometimes decorated with stained glass.

Figure 8.26: Union period bungalows - 26, 24 Chamberlain Road

8.4.3.1 'Painted' windows - light and privacy

Stained glass windows have always been associated with churches and, as discussed in Chapter Three, with the Industrial Revolution the manufacturing of glass had improved. This fact, in unison with the Gothic Revival and the desire for ornamentation, led to the art of glass crafting being revived and stained glass windows soon found a place in architecture other than that related to Ecclesiastical architecture. As noted in earlier chapters, the Victorians were concerned with morality and virtuousness, which in some way was seen to be showed through ornamentation. The use of stained glass windows was then an ideal way of allowing in light, but maintaining privacy,

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[50] Kearney (1984), suggests this style to be representative of a Union period bungalow in Indian vernacular style.

and at the same time was a show of wealth and good taste. It was obviously expensive to import to the colonies as well as being expensive to produce in South Africa and was thus only used in moderation and by those who could afford it. There are some beautiful examples to be seen in the houses of Pietermaritzburg of stained glass windows and 'patterned glass' that had been used during the late Victorian and Edwardian eras, especially as fanlights and in doors. With the rising popularity of the English Arts and Crafts and European Art Nouveau Movements, stained glass features became very fashionable and glass was more accessible to the general public. Motifs used tended to be more organic, stylised foliage and other simpler themes (fig. 8.27). For some the small porthole window filled with stained glass was to become quite popular during the twenties and thirties, possibly as a small token to the acceptance of the Arts and Crafts stylistic fashion.
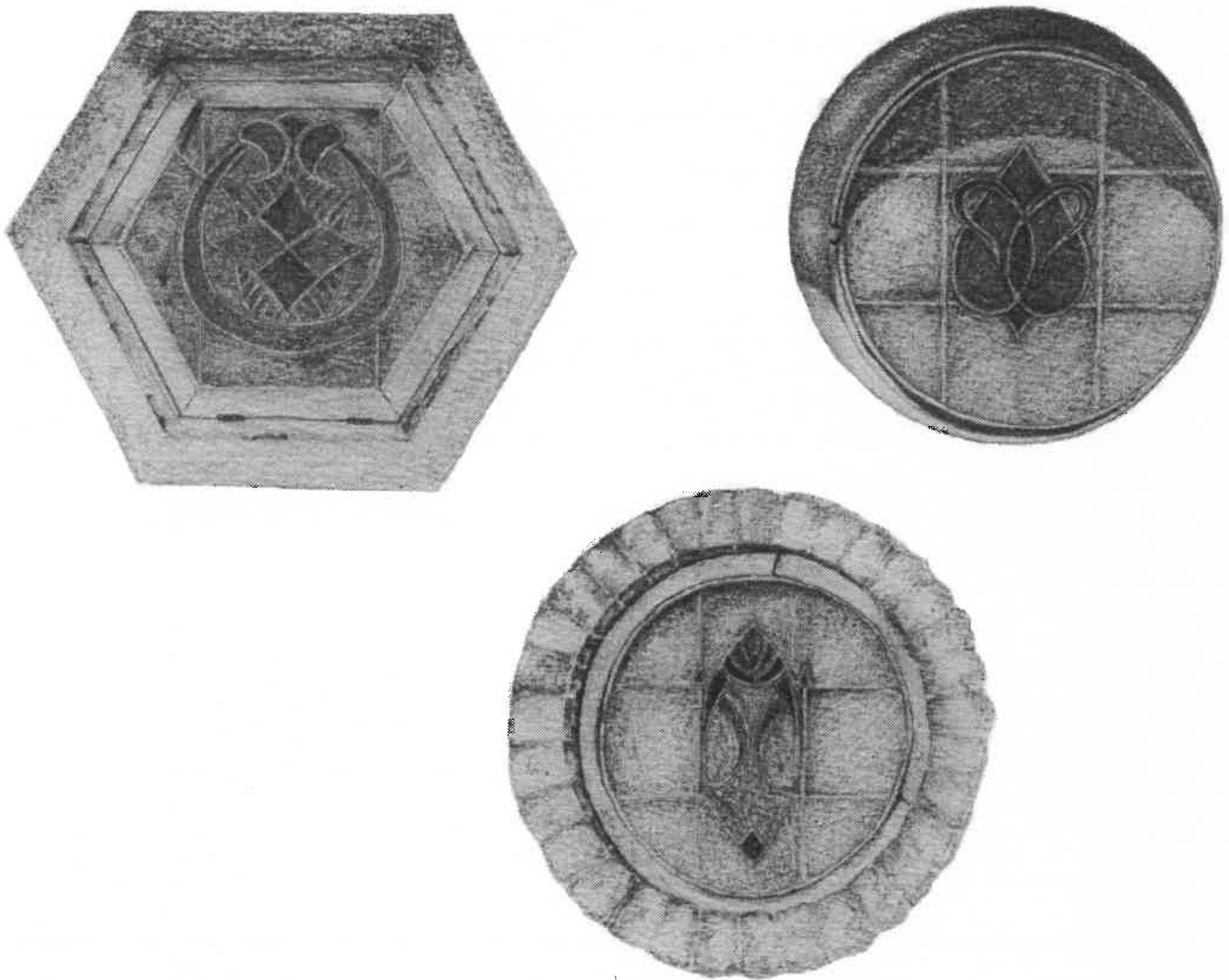
Figure 8.27:. Stained glass portholes in Scottsville

8.4.3.2 Architectural variations on the Union styles

Figure 8.28 illustrates a house close to the University, built in the Union period (with the Georgian revival influence), almost echoing the stone and brick exterior of the University College building. Symmetrically designed with bay windows in the gables either side of a projecting porch supported by Tuscan Doric columns, beneath a simple curved central gable.

Figure 8.28: 80 Durban Road

Some rather rare examples of a more modern influence in Scottsville are found in Figure 8.29 and Figure 8.30. Although less stylised than those examples found in England and Europe, these houses stand out as being somewhat foreign in the surrounding built environment of Edwardian influences predominantly built in this area. Figure 8.29 shows a dwelling built by a Master Builder following stricter architectural guidelines, as the house was to be built for himself. It is a beautiful example of 'suntrap' casement windows influenced by the flowing lines of the Arts and Crafts[51] and other

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[51]Within this period there is rather a mixing of stylistic influences. Although Art Nouveau was a European turn of the century style and Arts and Crafts English orientated style, whilst Art Deco appears to have been predominantly American based, one could place them all within the

organically influenced styles. The influence of the Cape Dutch gable can be seen in the portico entrance curly gable. Figure 8.30 shows the speculative houses built by the same person along similar lines, but with less architectural frivolity. An interesting feature on these houses are the gutter ends - acroteria. These were practical elements - preventing rain waters from spilling over when gutters were full and down pipes were not placed at these corners - that became decorative features. These decorative gutter corners were popular housing features during the twenties and thirties and are even seen to be used on houses built during the forties.

For those who desired and were able to afford the larger home, placed majestically on the hills overlooking the town, simple, but beautiful veranda homes were built (figs. 8.31;8.32). Kearney (1984) labels these houses as Union period houses in the vernacular style, in the Natal veranda form. These were commonly constructed with hipped tiled roofs, lean-to roofs over verandas supported by Tuscan Doric columns, which shaded casement windows. Figure 8.32 is an advert from *The Natal Witness* promoting the above style of home, but in a more affordable manner - wood and iron. This would not have been found in Scottsville as wood and iron buildings were prohibited from being erected in the suburb (Appendix 1).

Figure 8.29: A unique home built by a Master builder - 11 Leinster Road

International experience in South Africa. It should also be remembered, as seen in Chapter Three, that there was a period of lapse before the influences of the style reached South Africa and even more so before it reached the 'hands' of the lesser architecturally forward societies.

Figure 8.30: Speculative built homes in a more conservative style -
12,10 Coronation Road

Figure 8.31: A Union period veranda home - 11 Chamberlain Road
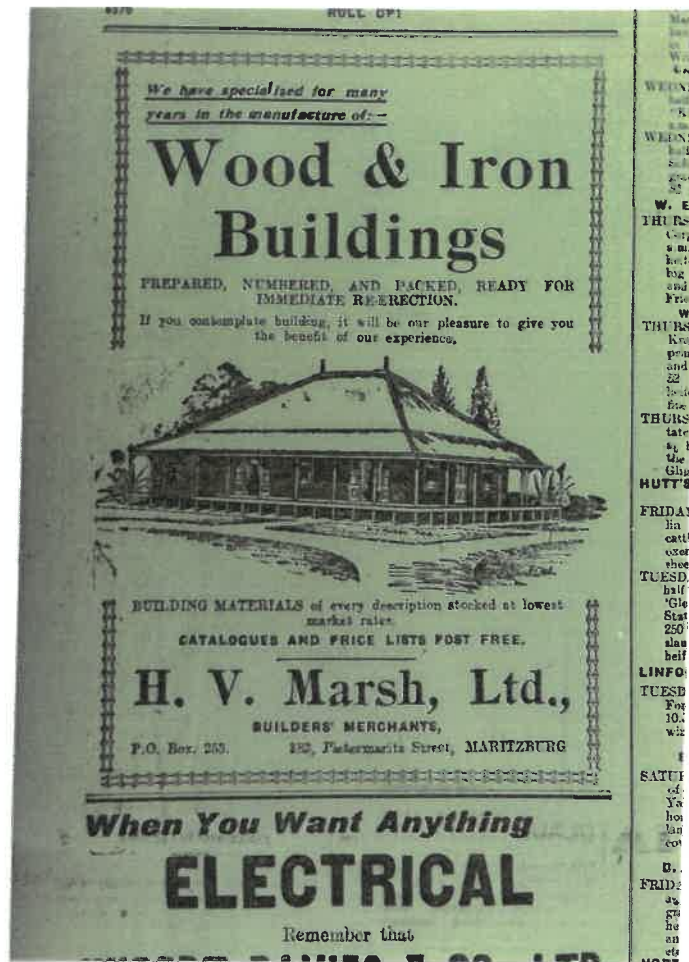
Figure 8.32: Wood and Iron Union period house, by catalogue
(Source: The Natal Witness, 8 March 1920, p2)

8.4.3.2.1 The Arts and Crafts influence

There are few houses in Pietermaritzburg designed, at liberty, by architects, possibly due to not only the expenses, but also the extremity of the design for the conservative tastes of most of the residents, Figure 8.33 illustrates one such rare example. This house was originally designed in 1911, however it was only built in the late 1920s. The similarities between this house and that seen in Chapter Three of the same style (fig. 3.6) are very close. Figures 8.34 and 8.35 show the buttress style chimney at the rear and the stained glass window design in the front entrance so typical of this style. One of the interesting features of this house is the moulded concave sill above the casement windows. These windows are flush with the wall and the sills protect the window area from water running down the walls. Another expressive feature is the decorative fence (fig. 8.36) set in a English brick bonded wall along the front of the property.

Figure 8.33: An excellent example of a Pietermaritburg (Scottsville)
Arts and Crafts style home - 1 Riverton Road

Figure 8.34: The rear of the house illustrating the shaped chimneys
and styled windows - 1 Riverton Road

Figure 8.35: Painted glass entrance - 1 Riverton Road

Figure 8.36   Arts and Crafts style fence - 1 Riverton Road

Figures 8.37 and 8.38 illustrate two other examples of the Arts and Crafts influence in Scottsville. The gate at the entrance to the property in Figure 8.38 is still the original one, showing an Arts and Crafts influence in the design.

Figure 8.37: 14 Surrey Road

Figure 8.38: 2 New England Road

8.4.3.2.2 A stylised Cape Dutch Revival

As discussed in Chapter Four, the period surrounding Union saw a spurt of the Cape Dutch revival. Figure 8.39 is apparently one of the houses that are said to have been designed by Collingwood-Tully, with the Cape Dutch influence being very evident in the gable front. There is some discrepancy concerning the date on the gable (1909), the deeds having been destroyed in a fire, and the owner having speculated the date the house was built. A hint of the Arts and Crafts influence can be seen in the expressed rafters, the chimney and the window sills. There are numerous examples of this stylistic influence to be found in Pietermaritzburg during this period, especially Scottsville. In fact it was a style that was to remain influential even into the forties. Figures 8.40 and 8.41 are two examples of the different manners in which this style manifested itself. Many of the Cape Dutch revival gables had bay windows with casement windows and a hint of the Arts and Crafts style in the decorative windowpane separation design.

Figure 8.39: A Cape Dutch revival home designed by Collingwood-Tully
- 28 Coronation Road

Figure 8.40: A Cape Dutch revival stylistic variation - 17 Connaught Road

Figure 8.41: Another Cape Dutch revival home - 103 St Patrick Road

The Cape Dutch and the Arts and Crafts influences were to be seen in new homes that were being erected for some time in Scottsville. The increase in building activity during the thirties and the number of curly gables seen adorning homes in Scottsville is testament to this. Figure 6.4 is an example of the advertising used for a secure, safe home and the style of home that is used to represent this image. For some, as mentioned in Chapter Four, this meant the altering of the past Edwardian styled simple gable to that of the preferred Cape Dutch gable (Figs. 4.7; 4.8).

Figure 8.42 illustrates a house in Milner Road as an interesting mixture of stylistic choices - the vernacular to the extreme. A Union style house with cantilevered bay windows supported by brackets and a projecting front porch supported by Tuscan Doric columns. These features seemingly to add character to an otherwise dull façade. The decorative brickwork surrounding the arched portico entrance has a slight Arts and Crafts inflection as does the brickwork decorating the ventilator on the central gable. This rendition of a Cape Dutch gable being a somewhat odd and misplaced inclusion to the front façade.

Figure 8.42: A Union period house with Cape Dutch revival gable
-19 Milner Road

Towards the end of the 1930s one sees the demise of the ventilator. These were invariably placed in the top of the gable, allowing for air to circulate through the house and the roofing area or they were positioned within the roofing structure. Ventilators were, during the Victorian times usually decorative, becoming simpler with Edwardian tastes. Examples of these can be seen in most of the figures included in the Chapter to this point. With more modern techniques of construction and insulation methods becoming available to builders in South Africa, the use for ventilators soon became obsolete - it was not possible to build a ventilator in the roof if Marseilles tiles were used, as was becoming fashionable. With these new construction techniques and materials came new architectural designs. New ideals and social structures were also to influence architectural thought.

By the end of the 1930s Scottsville had become an established suburb and despite the war and economic depressions had maintained a steady rate of growth. Improved technology had begun to transform the dirt roads to solid macadamised streets, new modern forms of street lighting were replacing the old decorated streetlamps, leaving behind the Victorian scape. Houses were steadily filling in the gaps between older properties creating, albeit somewhat eclectic, an harmonious streetscape. A gentle merging of styles from Victorian and Edwardian influences to one that was rather more South African in its appearance as can be seen by the Cape Dutch Revival and the Union veranda style house. The International experience played a subtle role in the emerging housing styles in Pietermaritzburg, with the introduction of new materials and simpler building styles. It was, however, only during the 'forties and 'fifties that a greater degree of International modernism began to appear in Pietermaritzburg.

CHAPTER NINE

THE 'FORTIES AND THE 'FIFTIES

9.1 Post War growth

The 1940s saw the start of the rapid growth of Scottsville. The tram had been stopped and motorised vehicles had usurped all other forms of transport. Roads were becoming passable, the deeply rutted dirt roads being covered with tar. These improvements and that of the more widely available car, meant that living in the suburbs was not only desirable, but also more accommodating.

9.1.1 Planning progress

With the close of hostilities in Europe many South African soldiers returned home causing, as with the First World War, a need for housing. In response to this shortage the Mayor at the time E.E.M Russell said (in 1944):

> "...as the City Council has been criticized for not doing more to alleviate the acute housing shortage which at present exists in Pietermaritzburg, it is only fair to point out that building materials are unavailable to owners of numerous vacant building sites" (Ducasse, 1976, p32).

This sudden market of soldiers and their families needing housing provided ideal opportunities for speculative builders and the erection of smaller economical houses. This was, however, still dependant on the availability of materials, the war having halted the importing trade and South Africa had to rely on its own endeavours to produce its own industrial goods and housing materials as discussed in Chapter Five. While these needs were being fulfilled soldiers and their families were temporarily housed in the old army barracks as mentioned in Chapter Five.

Figure 9.1 shows the slight growth in housing and its direction, in comparison to the earlier 1940 Figure of suburban growth (fig. 8.25). This growth can be attributed to general suburban growth
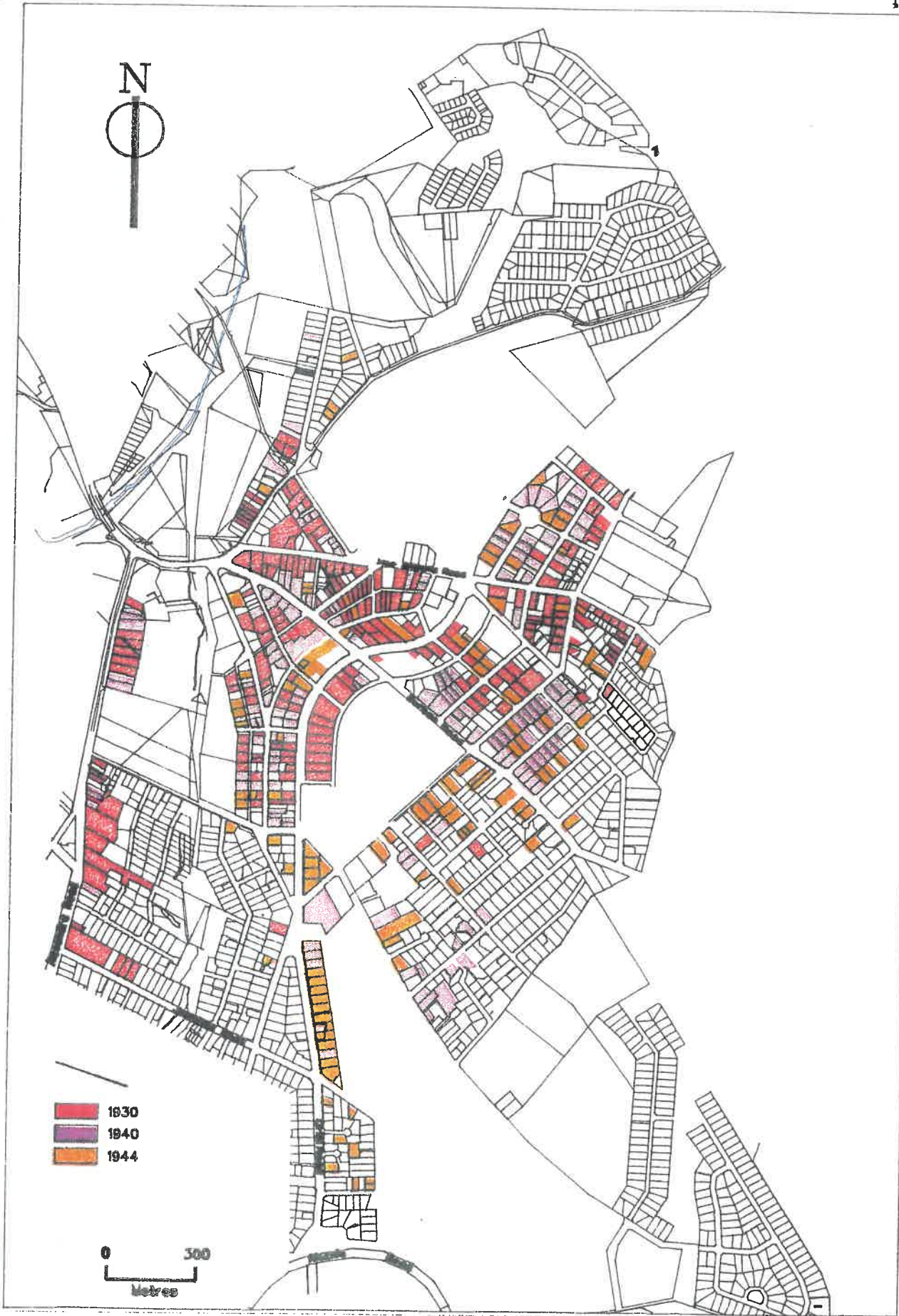
Figure 9.1: Suburban growth in Scottsville up to 1944

and the building of new homes in Scottsville for those soldiers who were returning from war and wished to reside near the University. The main area of growth was to the south of Ridge Road, either side of Durban Road and along Oribi Road towards the army camp.

With the influx of returning soldiers, the University had begun to outgrow its residences and required more accommodation. After the war the male students were housed at the Oribi camp, until a residence was finally built in 1969 (William O'Brien). During the 1940s and thereafter Collins (building contractors) built homes which became synonymous with strong, solid, well constructed suburban homes (Bush, pers.comm., 1994; Small, pers.comm., 1994). Many of these homes are still standing proudly along the roads of Scottsville - for example along Ridge Road.

The suburban style that developed during the forties was still reminiscent of that during the earlier years, but there was also a vernacular revival style, somewhat reminiscent of the mock Tudor and Jacobean revival of the Arts and Crafts period. This could be attributed to the South African sympathies with Britain and the desire to return to the safety of the past. As discussed in Chapter Three, the past has always seemed to hold a sense of security for people, both emotionally and architecturally.

9.1.2 The 'forties home

With the war having effected the economy in South Africa and the building trade having been affected by the shortages, the houses built during the early forties were somewhat simple - modern - and functional. Figure 9.1 shows that in Scottsville, despite the war, houses continued to be built.

Figure 9.2 illustrates a set of houses built in a cul-de-sac during the early forties. The cul-de-sac is part of the subdivision of part of one of the first houses in the area set on a large property. This Garden city planning ideal was an excellent way of utilising a small piece of land to its potential in the building of economical homes, yet at the same time placing the homes in a pleasant setting. A cul-de-sac provided a quaint suburban setting within a larger suburban area. In this case the design of the houses are rather bland and characterless, but it is the setting that gives the cul-de-sac some character.

Figure 9.2: Economic 1940s war housing - 3-5 Oban Place

However, not all of Scottsville suffered under the hands of the present economic situation and the unimaginative speculative builder. As mentioned earlier the Cape Dutch revival style was still seen as a pleasant suburban creation. Figures 9.3 and 9.4 are examples of the tenacity of this style, although to many architects, Paton and Sénèque (as seen in Chapter Five), the propagation of this style was not to be celebrated.

Figure 9.3: A stylised Cape Dutch revival home - 79 Durban Road

Figure 9.4: 99 Durban Road

A strong architectural design that became evident in Scottsville with the post war housing boom was the mock Tudor and Jacobean vernacular revival. This style took form in a variety of ways, but there are certain features which tend to be common in all. The leaded diamond or rectangular shaped panes in the casement windows were almost always used, and often a cantilevered bay window. Figure 9.5 is an example of a house using these design features as well as the mock Tudor half timbering in the low sweeping gables. The different shaped windows and the angular chimney suggest an influence of the Arts and Crafts. The buttressed walls appear to be common features of a few of the other houses found within this period which suggests a more modern, but acceptable outlook to add character to the façade.

Another feature was the use of horizontal strips of weatherboarding placed at the apex of the gables (figs. 9.6; 9.7) as well as the use of brick for decorative purposes. In some cases brickwork was used as a feature wall as is the case in Figure 9.6. This house is a clear example of a modern 1940s double-storied suburban home. Large modern steel framed windows, horizontal strips of weatherboarding, a brick base and plastered walls, with a section of the wall creating a feature alleviating the otherwise stark character of the walls. Decorative brickwork with a more Tudor Jacobean stylistic influence can be seen in Figures 9.7; 9,8 where the base of the house would be
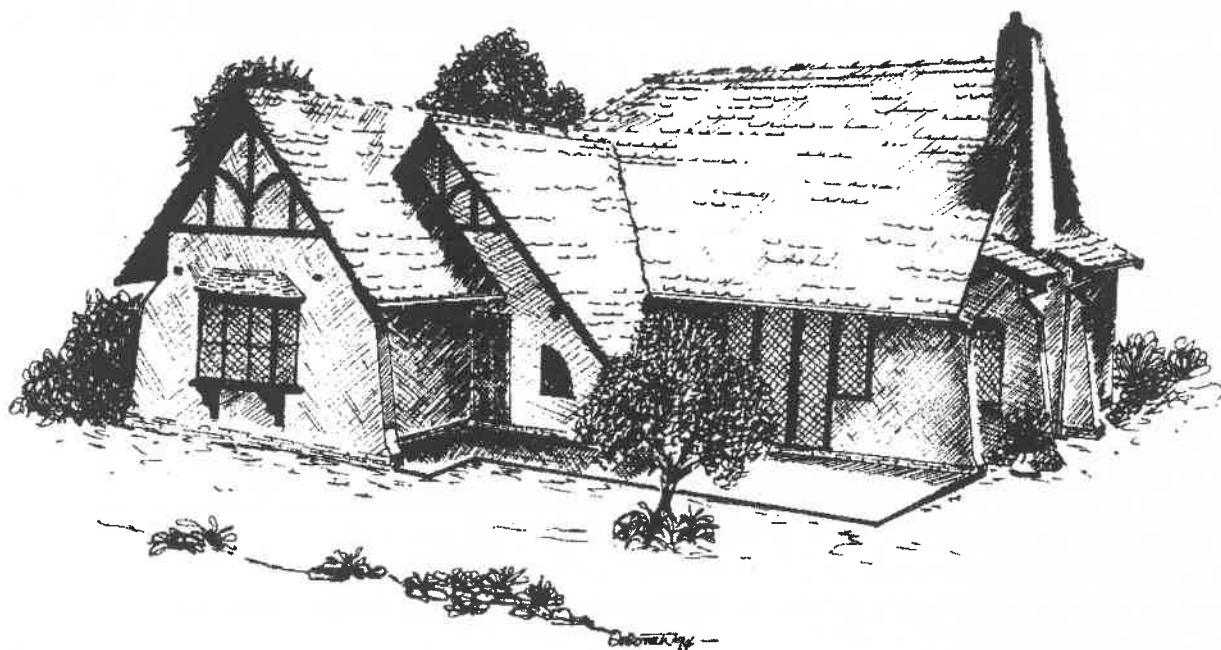
Figure 9.5: A 1940s Tudor revival home - 42 Maud Road

in brick whilst the rest of the house would be plastered or pebble-dashed[52]. In many instances patches of brick would be placed up the corners of the walls or positioned 'decoratively' on the surface of the plastered walls. Figure 9.7 suggests a more English influence, whilst Figure 9.8 tends more towards remnants of the Union veranda style home.

These examples, although speculative built, appear to be more individualistic in their design, and possibly catering for a more affluent market. The following examples (figs. 9.9; 9.10) are more economical and less stylistic variations on the above themes. Many of these older houses have since been altered or added on to, thus altering the original stylistic purpose, but the essence of the style is still visible.

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[52]Pebble-dashing was quite commonly used during the inter-war period in England as part of this revival style. Although it was used later in South Africa, it does not seem to have been as popular as the decorative brickwork was to become.

Figure 9.6: A 'modern' 1940s home with horizontal strips of
weatherboarding and a feature wall - 47 Woodhouse Road

Figure 9.7: An English styled 1940 s home - 3 New England Road

Figure 9.8: 43 Ridge Road

Figure 9.9: an economic speculative built 1940s home

- 17 Pepworth Road

Figure 9.10: 200 King Edward Avenue

9.1.2.1 Rare Modernity

True modernity as espoused by the architectural followers is rather rare in suburbia, due to the desire for homogeneity in the suburbs. A sense of individuality was desired, but still without being too different from the neighbours. In Chapters Three and Four the rise of modernism was discussed and the influence of the International Style. Although this may have occurred in Europe at an earlier stage there was a time lapse before it became popular in South Africa. Pietermaritzburg, being a conservative town, tended to either 'miss the boat' or find few individualistic patrons to break out of the conservative mould. Figures 9.11 and 9.12 are testament to those who tentatively experimented with true suburban modernity and Le Corbusier's belief that the house was simply a machine for living in - styles reminiscent of ocean liners, aeroplanes and other 'machine age' symbols (fig. 4.9). This was characterised by flattened roofs, cuboid shapes, steel windows and cantilevered porches.

Figure 9.11: One of a pair of speculative built 'modern' homes cuboid
in shape with a flat roof - 57 Durban Road

Figure 9.12: A 'modern' suburban home with a cantilevered porch
and steel windows - 17 Golf Road

9.2 The 'fifties

The 1950s saw a sudden growth in suburban development in Scottsville (fig. 9.13). This could be attributed to the growing industrial promise of the Town (Chapter Six), the rezoning of areas within Town for commercial and industrial purposes and the Group Areas Act which played a major role in the controlled segregation of people. Town Planning regulations, which had been introduced in the early fifties (Wills, 1972), were effective in the controlled and regulated development of suburban areas. New suburbs developed - for example Hayfields and Pelham[53] - and within the suburb of Scottsville, and new areas were being laid out to accommodate the suburban boom. The area between Alexandra, Lindup and Jesmond Roads, which had previously been veld, had been laid out and houses were being built. Leslie Smith (pers.comm., 1994) remembers cycling to his grandparents home in Alexandra Road during the thirties and forties, via Lindup or Jesmond Roads and it being nothing but an expanse of open veld with one or two houses. By the 1950s this expanse of veld was becoming quite built up with suburban homes.

9.2.1 Transitional styles

The houses built in the fifties were rather transitional. They were simple variations of earlier styles (fig. 9.14), largely under the auspices of the speculative builders. Some were influenced by the Spanish style discussed in Chapter Four (figs. 9.15; 9.16), and others were products of the advancing American influences. Architectural journals advocating the American Ranch style home were becoming popular with builders in South Africa, America representing the strong modern western nation and the leaders in technological innovation. The elongated plan home that were to develop from these ideals, and those of machine age modernism, were to become very popular during the 'sixties, but started to make their appearance in the late 'fifties. These earlier styles still maintained the architectural themes of the 'forties with the brick or stone feature walls, but tending more now towards a long elongated plan (figs. 9.17; 9.18). A new feature was also beginning to make its appearance as an integral part of the new houses - the garage. Previously this had always been separated from the house, but with the increasing use of the automobile and its primary role in the suburban life, the garage was to became part of the house.

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[53]At one stage Pelham was considered as part of Scottsville, but with the growing residential population and changing municipal boundaries, it became a suburb in its own right.
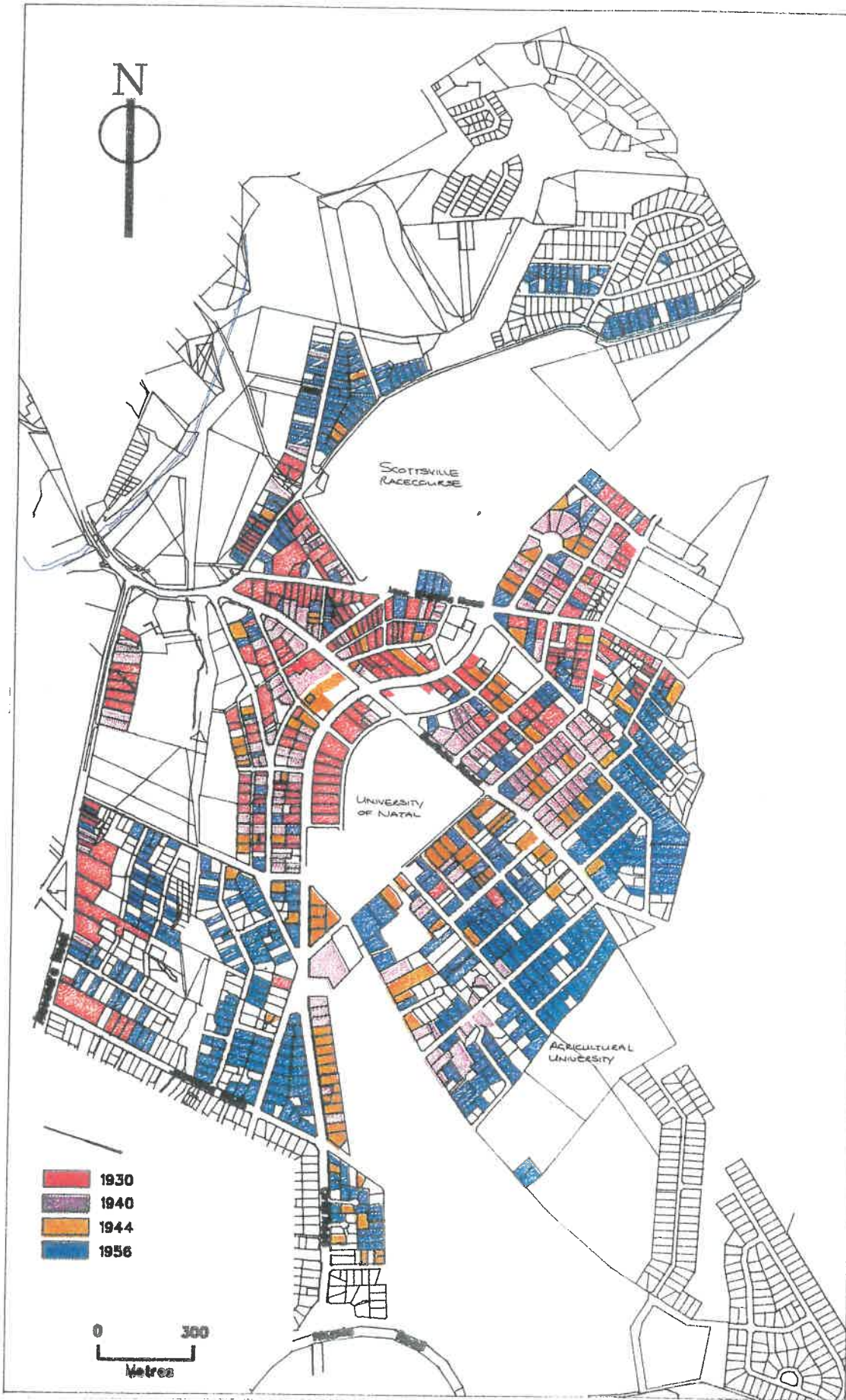
Figure 9.13: Suburban growth in Scottsville up to 1956

Figure 9.14: A transitional, non-descript 1950s home - 51 Maud Road

Figure 9.15: A Spanish/Arts and Crafts style home - 67 St Patricks Road
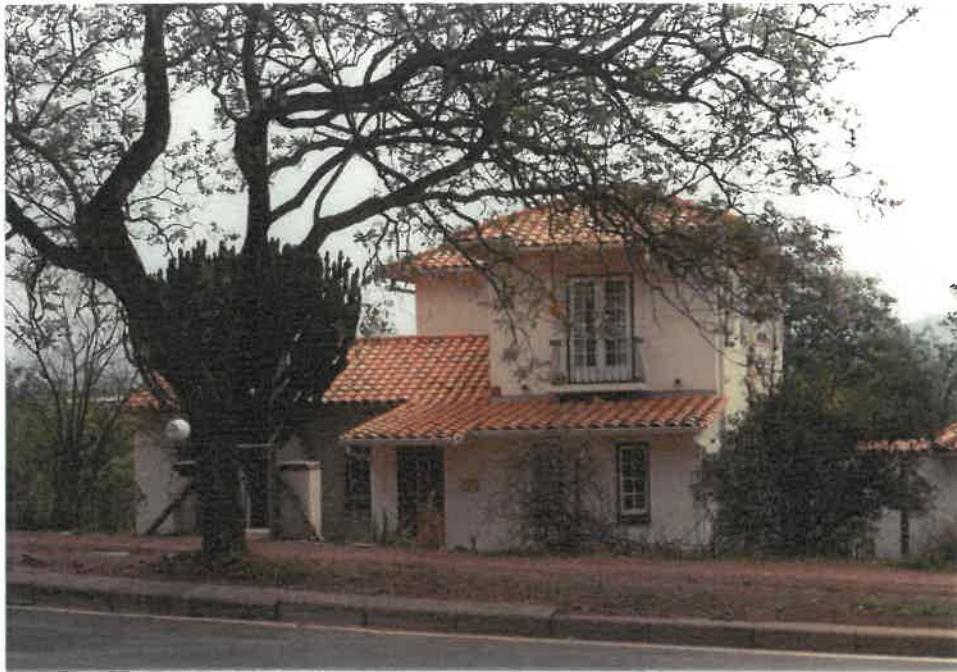
Figure 9.16: A Spanish style home - 254 King Edward Avenue

Figure 9.17: An American Ranch styled home - 3 Lamond Road

Figure 9.18: 149 Woodhouse Road

9.3 Setting the scene for the 1960s - a new style of life

The 1950s, although a period of suburban growth, cannot be said to be greatly architecturally inspired. It appears to have been a period that set the scene for the arrival of newer architectural styles as seen in the 1960s.

The 1960s saw continued suburban expansion within Scottsville (fig. 9.20). The University had begun to acquire property around its original setting to accommodate the expanding student population. The Agricultural Faculty had been built on the outskirts of the suburb during the mid-fifties, but with increasing building activity, housing was now being built beyond this area. Depending on the potential and size of the plots of land, houses tended to be built further back from the street line and somewhat more enclosed than the earlier homes which allowed for a more exposed setting. Large exotic plants and foliage were planted, screening the house from the street. Modernity and all its mechanical entrapping had finally been accepted, long open-planned homes were in demand. Furnishings and décor became simplified and functional. The life that was being

searched tended to orientate itself to economics and simplicity, one could almost say characterless. Figures 9.19 and 9.21 are examples of the style of housing that began to appear along the streets of Scottsville - large steel framed windows, glass sliding doors and horizontal bands of plaster or brick accentuating the length of the house. Modern technology may well have set the scene for the future and created styles that represented the new era. However it also sounded the death knell for the artistry that was seen in so many of the earlier houses.

Figure 9.19: The elongated plan 1960s house - 2, 4 Dorset Place
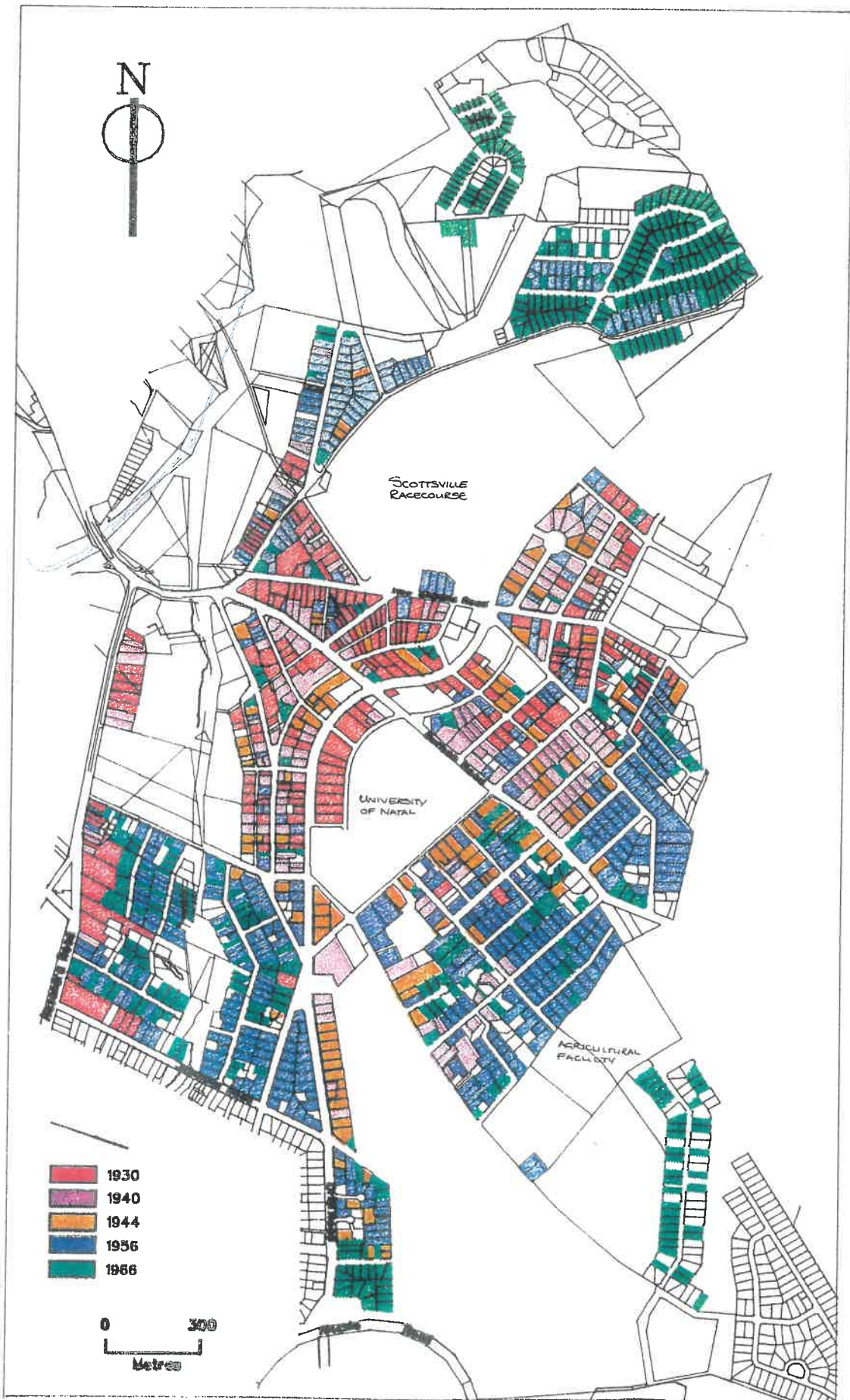
Figure 9.20: Suburban growth in Scottsville up to 1966

Figure 9.21: Low roofs and expanses of glass - 16 Protea Place

9.4 Conclusion: Victoriana to Modernity - decoration to simplicity

As discussed earlier, the Victorian period was considered to be one of frivolity in design, architecture was art, incomparable to the ideals of modernism which states less is best. Hattersley (1951) and Labuschagne (1984), note the changing townscapes within the city as not always being welcome signs of transition. Old homes with deep stoeps were being demolished to make way for more 'impressive' up to date buildings. Here the old was making way for the new, but not necessarily the better. Scottsville as yet has not been inflicted with such extensive changes, although the landscape is changing from a purely residential one to one where flats and suburban shopping complexes are becoming the norm.

The suburbs are, however, generally less effected by this act of demolishing and rebuilding or renewal. Just as a gravestone is an epitaph to the person (and their life), so a house reflects the cultural group who created and lived within it. Scottsville was initially just an open expanse of veld dotted with a few farm houses and country villas. It had grown in to an expansive, established and

desirable suburb over a period of fifty years. Figure 9.19 provides a period by period representation of this growth, clearly showing the extent and direction of growth. Within these spheres of growth one notices a strong correlation between the period of establishment of the area and the architectural design of the houses. There will obviously be certain properties or parts of streets where housing does not conform to the standard, this being attributed to later infill development. This is very evident in Scottsville where areas of Victorian styled picturesque cottages and decorative verandas line the streets, creating a quaint informal country atmosphere, yet within a regulated system. The less decorative Edwardian houses intersperse the delicate cottage style houses, both styles having developed in the suburb at its initiation. Because development was initially concentrated within the original 1903 boundary, the arrival of the Union period style and the Cape Dutch gable is seen to be expressed in some cases within whole streets, but generally mixed in between the previous styles. With the arrival of the 1940s and 1950s, and the prolific spread of housing, distinct areas are seen to have developed as supported by the architectural designs common to those eras. A distinct suburban atmosphere typified by particular architectural styles had become evident in Scottsville.

CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSION

People attempt to create order within which they can develop. One such way is through planning and architecture, their ideals adapting over time in accordance with new influences and changing beliefs structures. The home is representative of security and comfort, it is a cultural and ideological representation of what has been. Buildings are thus visual manifestations of changing cultural structures. Just as writers and poets express the ideologies of their times through language, architects use design and materials. Shelter is one of the most basic needs of humans. Space is the abstract area, the stage, upon which people or cultures impose their order. It is the merging of these two factors and the superimposition of our existential selves that create the desired townscape.

Smailes (1955), Solomon (1966) and Relph (1987) all stress the importance of observation in the study of townscapes and the contribution from other fields of study - architecture, town planning and economic and social history - in the analysis of these townscapes. Other factors which are necessary to add to the understanding and study of the resulting landscapes are climatic factors, the availability of materials and in some instances the topography of the area (Rapoport, 1969; King, 1984; Carter, 1985).

By observing the built environment, a dialectical relationship between the growth of the built structure and the architectural styles becomes visible. With deeper investigations of the landscape and those visible and invisible variables which formulate it, one is able to follow the course of the changing landscape and cultural growth.

10.1 The architectural environment

In Chapters Three and Four, the architectural styles in England and South Africa were discussed. Architecture was greatly affected by the Industrial Revolution, firstly by new technologies that were being introduced and secondly the changing social structures that were precipitated by these

revolutionising ideas and the creation of a new level of services. These new social structures saw the rising up, economically, of a new class - the middle class. Not as wealthy as the upper class, but as fashion conscious (if not more), the new middle class desired to emulate the life of the upper class. Socially this was difficult due to the strong class barriers, but through architecture it was possible. Concurrent with this was the reaction, in part, against the rigidity and severity of design of Georgian architecture and the solidness of Industrial architecture (enabled by new technology). The resulting architecture - the Picturesque -was thought to be light and frivolous, reminiscent of an age of purity and morality, the church being an ideal model of Gothic morality.

Domestic architecture was becoming popular with the rising middle class' desire for housing symbolic of their status. It was a style that was adaptable to the situation - to the large country estate or to the parishioner's cottage in the village. What seems to be ironic is that the Picturesque was a reaction against the destruction caused by the Industrial Revolution, yet it was the Industrial Revolution which initiated mass production which allowed for the spread of the common features of the Picturesque (ornamentation). Quaint country styled houses were being built out of the urban centres, away from the sights of industrialisation, this largely made possible by the introduction of machine made transport. The desire to live out of town, but within reach of the new amenities of town, was becoming possible with the geniuses of the small time speculative builder, making affordable to more people popular housing. Suburban systems began to develop.

The Victorian age, in which this movement was primarily set, was an age of industry and exploration - the setting up of an Empire. Despite the great new advances in technologies and general living standards for many, during the earlier years of the Victorian era, it was also a period of political, economic and cultural insecurities. Due to these reasons many emigrated to the new colonies which were being spoken about in such a favourable light. South Africa was one such Colony. Promises of superb farmlands, rich soils and salubrious climates were being made by promoters of the colonial emigration schemes. Unfortunately, many of those beguiled by these schemes were not farmers and had little knowledge of how to work the lands offered to them. A majority of these people thus moved into the nearby towns and invariably looked for employment in those occupations they had held before - craftsmen, artisans, and so on.

With the arrival of these colonists followed the ideals of the lands they left behind. The colonists

bought with them the knowledge and benefits of the Industrial Revolution in the form of technology and architectural styles. Few accepted the style of the adopted country, believing that anything not of English origin was of inferior quality. Unfortunately, however, there was the problem of the unavailability of materials, a different climate and the lack of skilled craftsmen adept at building replicas of 'home'. Another difficulty was the economical hardships that the colonists endured, meaning that many could not live in the desired style of residence. As towns and people became prosperous. houses began to be built reflecting this increase in wealth; the Victorian belief that architecture was the manner in which this wealth could be shown became evident in the decoration that began to adorn the houses.

Victorian picturesque styled cottages (and villas for those who could afford it) began to line the streets, replacing the early settler cottages. But because of the difficulties of materials, climate and skill, adaptations were made - the most known being the addition of the veranda. What had been a short lived, decorative, but impractical feature of the Picturesque in England had become a standard, functional and ornamental feature seen adorning almost every home in those parts of the Colony settled by the British. Those features that could not be acquired in the colony, or were not up to the standard desired, were imported from the 'home' country. This link to England being a very important link to the colonists lives. In fact not only was it an emotional link, but an economic one too. As a Colony, South Africa was dependant upon the economic stability of England and any upsets in their economy was soon to be felt by the Colony itself. These economic booms and slumps experienced due to external events (from England) or from internal events (wars and mineral discoveries) became evident in the amount/extent of building and the appearance of building. The focus has generally tended to be on civic architecture, but domestic architecture was as effected by these changes and as expressive in the result.

Pietermaritzburg was one of those towns seen to have been strongly influenced by the British. This is very true, however, one should not ignore the influence of the Voortrekker origins on the landscape. Pietermaritzburg's development was initiated by the Voortrekkers who laid the town out according to their cultural ideals and regulations. The houses that were built were reflective, although somewhat simpler, of those from the Cape. With the arrival of the British the basic layout of the town was not changed, but additions were made. Side streets and lanes (common in British towns were added), street names, although not all were changed, became anglicised. The British settlers brought with them their cultural ideals, which they began to imprint upon the townscape -

this being very visible in the houses that were being erected, especially with the increasing prosperity of the town. Various events - the railway, discovery of materials and wars - aided in the spurts of growth and economic prosperity experienced in Pietermaritzburg. The fact that the town had been declared the Capital added further importance to its position which was to be taken seriously by the residents and the upholding of this prestigious social position.

With all this growth and development the town began to expand beyond the original street boundaries. People had already begun to live in the suburbs, this however, was still within the bounds of the two rivers on either side of the town.

10.2 Suburban styles - Scottsville

Houses beyond the bounds of the rivers tended to be farmsteads or a country villa for the few wealthy citizens of the town. With the turn of the century came new technological innovations and updated methods of transport, which aided in the initiation of the development of suburbs such as Scottsville. The suburb of Scottsville was an interesting case study area as it appears to have been the only officially planned suburb of Pietermaritzburg as illustrated by Figures 8. and 8. . The period in which the suburb was laid out was one influenced by Howard's Garden City ideals and those he influenced, such as Unwin and Parker. The flowing almost contouring roads, wide access streets to accommodate animal drawn vehicles and narrow back streets. Gabled veranda houses in the vernacular style, occasionally interspersed by the larger villas began to line the streets, the private and the public pleasingly separated by a pretty garden and decorative fence or small wall.

Although Scottsville had developed during the Edwardian era, the influences of the Victorian period were still evident albeit less ornate. This simplification of detail was a reaction against the High Victorian period of decorative ornamentation on buildings. It was also a period of questioning as the new century brought with it new social issues and pressures. The mixing of these two stylistic periods, as reflected in the houses erected during this period, can be seen to be indicative of the blending of architectural periods. The idea of architecture being a mirror or indicative of economic, political and social issues can be seen in the revival of particular styles, such as the Cape Dutch revival after Union and its Nationalistic suggestions and the later 'Tudor' Revival with its sense of British patriotism.

The turn of the twentieth century saw improved building materials and new innovations in housing design, but this occurred somewhat later in the Colonies. Due to the architectural isolation of the country and the conservative nature of the population, especially the residents of Pietermaritzburg, the *avant garde* nature of the new fashions were somewhat delayed in their arrival and muted in their design. Another factor which influenced the degree of style were the post war and depression periods and the depressed economic situation meant that many houses tended to be cheap and basic in design. The influences, however, still being evident on the developing streets/areas of the suburb. Each new stylistic period imprinting its mark on the landscape. Although it has been mentioned in the previous chapters that a style cannot necessarily be placed within set time frames, because of the overlapping and 'borrowing'/historicism of styles, these styles can be used as morphological features to ascertain the development of areas.

Suburban architecture is a unique collection of fashionable thoughts and ideals superimposed upon a changing landscape. It is a collection of changing stylistic images and cultural symbols representative of peoples need for change and creativity, social and economic situation. The study of suburban styles can be used as geographical referencing to peoples architectural, technical and 'urban' growth and the manner in which it has been expressed upon the landscape.

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