

De Aar

Lines of Architecture in the Making of a South African Town (1902–1977)

Giorgio Miescher

With Afrikaans translations

DE AAR

Inside Nos Represent N
Outside Nos Represent M

STATION
RAILWAY LINE FROM CAPE TOWN
FROM P. ELIZABETH EAST LONDON & PRETORIA

TO WIND

De Aar
Lines of Architecture in the Making of a
South African Town
(1902-1977)

De Aar
Argitekture in die Vorming van 'n
Suid-Afrikaanse Dorp
(1902-1977)

ESI Press

Emerging Scholars Initiative (ESI Press)
University of Pretoria, Lynnwood Road, Hatfield,
Pretoria, South Africa,
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Preface and acknowledgments

It was a hot summer day in February 2012 when I first came to De Aar. I was very curious to visit this former railway town whose history I started to research in the Western Cape Archives during the previous months. I was then a fellow at the Centre for Humanities Research at the University of the Western Cape, which took place within a three-year Marie Curie fellowship granted to me by the European Research Council. My broader interest was in the entangled histories of Namibia and South Africa. De Aar played a very particular role in the two countries' histories, and so did the railways. South African Railways, also operating in Namibia from 1915 to 1990 (that is, the period of South African colonial occupation of Namibia), was indispensable for long distance transport of people and goods for most of the twentieth century. The outstanding importance of De Aar as a railway junction for traffic to and from Namibia stood at the beginning of my motivation to research the town's history as part of a bigger project on the South African Railways and its role in constituting a supposed imperial South African space, a project that I am about to complete with an academic publication. However, the more I learned about the history of De Aar, the more I became convinced that it would be exciting to delve into the history of the town beyond the constraints of my overall project. I wanted to do justice to the rich archival material, but likewise value the many great conversations I had with residents. Therefore, I decided to produce a book that focuses exclusively on De Aar.

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This book recounts the making of De Aar based on the study of a series of plans kept in South African archives. Further archival sources help to reconstruct the planning, development, and infrastructural furnishings of the different neighbourhoods during the years of segregation and apartheid from the establishment of the town in the early twentieth century until the late 1970s. Unlike the two previous histories of De Aar published by the municipality in 1952 and 1977, the book adopts an inclusive perspective. It considers the former Black neighbourhoods and retraces a complex history of black-owned property in the town. This includes histories of dispossession and forced removals as well as histories of resilience and resistance. My narrative of the making of De Aar hence aims to form an alternative to pre-1994 official histories and I have deliberately opted for a time span that coincides with De Aar's official 75th birthday in 1977. I am aware of the limits of a publication mainly based on archival material, but I sincerely hope that this book is of interest to both a readership in and beyond De Aar. Ideally, it has the potential to trigger further

Voorwoord en dankbetuigings

My eerste aankoms op De Aar was op 'n warm somersmiddag in Februarie 2012. My navorsing oor die geskiedenis van De Aar in die Wes-Kaapse argiewe gedurende die voorafgaande maande het my nuuskierigheid oor dié dorp geprikkel. Ek was destyds 'n genoot aan die Centre for Humanities Research aan die Universiteit van die Wes-Kaap en dit het saamgeval met 'n driejaarlange Marie Curie genootskap van die Europese Navorsingsraad. Ek het 'n breë belangstelling in die vervlegte geskiedenis van Namibië en Suid-Afrika. De Aar en die spoorweë het 'n besondere rol in die geskiedenis van hierdie twee lande gespeel. Die Suid-Afrikaanse Spoorweë was gedurende 1915 tot 1990 (die periode van Suid-Afrika se koloniale oorheersing van Namibië) ook in Namibië aan die werk en was vir die grootste deel van die twintigste eeu onontbeerlik vir die langafstand vervoer van mense en goedere. Die besondere belang van De Aar as die knooppunt van spoorweg verkeer na en van Namibië vorm die begin van my onderneming om die dorp se geskiedenis as deel van 'n groter projek na te vors. Hierdie groter projek fokus op die Suid-Afrikaanse Spoorweë en die rol daarvan in 'n imperiale Suid-Afrikaanse omgewing—'n projek wat ek binnekort met 'n akademiese publikasie sal voltooi. Hoe meer ek egter oor die geskiedenis van De Aar te wete gekom het hoe meer het ek oortuig geraak dat dit opwindend sou wees om die dorp se geskiedenis buite die raamwerk van my oorkoepelende projek te ondersoek. Hiermee wou ek reg laat geskied aan beide die rykdom van argiefmateriaal én die diepgaande gesprekke wat ek met inwoners gehad het. Daarom het ek besluit om 'n boek te skryf wat uitsluitlik op De Aar fokus.

Hierdie boek handel oor die ontwikkeling van De Aar, gebaseer op 'n reeks planne in Suid-Afrikaanse argiewe. Addisionele argivale bronne was waardevol vir die rekonstruering van die beplanning, ontwikkeling en infrastruktuur van die verskillende woongebiede gedurende die tydperk van segregasie en apartheid vanaf die vestiging van die dorp in die vroeë twintigste eeu tot die laat 1970's. In teenstelling met die munisipaliteit van De Aar se twee publikasies oor die dorp se geskiedenis in 1952 en 1977, berus hierdie boek op 'n inklusiewe perspektief. Die vorige Swart woongebiede en die komplekse geskiedenis oor Swart mense se eiendomsbesit word nagegaan en ernstig opgeneem. Dit sluit geskiedenis oor onteiening en geforseerde verskuiwings sowel as verhale oor veerkragtigheid en weerstand in. My narratief oor die vorming van De Aar bied derhalwe 'n alternatiewe interpretasie teenoor die amptelike pre-1994 weergawes, en ek het doelbewus gekies vir 'n era wat met De Aar se amptelike 75ste verjaardag in 1977 saamval. Ek is

research on and in De Aar in particular, and on small towns in general.

The book would not have been possible without the generous support of the librarians and archivists in several South African institutions such as the Western Cape Archives, the South African Library Special Collection in Cape Town, the Transnet Heritage Library in Johannesburg, the National Archives in Pretoria, the Sol Plaatje Educational Trust, and the Kimberley Africana Library. I am very grateful for their support and courtesy for using some of their material for this publication. During my several visits to De Aar between 2012 and 2022, I was very openly welcomed, and everybody was extremely helpful. I am very grateful for that. My special thanks go to Charlotte Kloppe and Cindy de Leuu from the Emthanjeni Municipality and Heelna Human from the *De Aar Echo* for helping me with archival work in De Aar and to Noncedo Mirriam Seekoei and Sam Mooi for showing me around their town and sharing their knowledge during my first visits. I also thank Father Alcaster from the St. John's Mission and Madeleine Hattingh from the NGK De Aar for providing me with literature, J.H. Enslin for sharing information on the early days of De Aar, Frankie Isigueros on Portuguese-speaking immigrants, as well as Jetty Murar for showing me the Malay Camp, the old graveyard, and the various new neighbourhoods of De Aar East. I am very grateful to the late Cornelius Manuel who invited me into his house in the Malay Camp twice, telling me about his long struggle for legal recognition of his properties. A very special word of thanks goes to Theresa Thompson, Jumo Murar, Carol Smith, and Tobie van der Westhuizen. Besides sharing their knowledge of the town's history and showing me around and connecting me to people, they also strongly motivated me to publish this book when I brought them a first draft in January 2022. Without their encouragement I might have dropped the idea of publishing.

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While working on this book, I was fortunate enough to be able to count on the support of several people in De Aar, and on friends and colleagues in Cape Town and Basel. Lorena Rizzo, Tina Smith, or the late Paul Grendon regularly accompanied me on my visits to De Aar, and supported my research, thinking, and writing. I owe them deeply. Paul Grendon photographed extensively in De Aar. Copies of some of the photographs were shared with residents of De Aar; others I hope to include in future publications. I also thank Sindi-Leigh McBride for her critical reading of the manuscript and her valuable comments. Sindi-Leigh and my Afrikaans teacher and colleague, Stefan Meyer, motivated me to also publish this book in Afrikaans, which is still the main spoken language in De Aar and many parts of the Northern Cape. A bilingual publication is, I think, a way to pay respect to South Africa's multilingualism. My thanks go to the Language Unit at the

bewus van die beperkings van 'n publikasie wat hoofsaaklik op argivale materiaal berus. Ek hoop egter dat die boek beide die inwoners van De Aar en lesers van elders se belangstelling sal prikkel. Die ideaal is dat die boek as stimulus sal dien vir verdere navorsing, in die besonder oor De Aar en oor ander klein dorpe in die algemeen.

Inligtingkundiges en argivarisse van die volgende instansies het daartoe meegewerk om die boek tot stand te bring: die Wes-Kaapse Argief, die spesiale biblioteekversameling oor Suid-Afrika in Kaapstad, die Transnet Erfenis biblioteek in Johannesburg, die Nasionale Argief in Pretoria, die Sol Plaatje Opleidingstrust en die Kimberley Africana biblioteek. Ek betuig hiermee my diep waardering vir hulle ondersteuning en vriendelike bystand met die gebruik van hulle materiaal in hierdie publikasie. Gedurende verskeie besoeke aan De Aar tussen 2012 en 2022 is ek met openhartigheid ontvang en almal was uiters behulpsaam. Ek is veral baie dank verskuldig aan Charlotte Klopper en Cindy de Leuu van die Emthanjeni Munisipaliteit, Heelna Human van die *De Aar Echo* vir haar hulp met argivale werk en ook aan Noncedo Mirriam Seekoei en Sam Mooi wat tydens my eerste besoeke die dorp aan my gewys en hulle kennis met my gedeel het. My dank gaan ook aan Vader Alcaster van die St. John's Mission en Madeleine Hattingh van die NGK De Aar vir literatuur wat aan my voorsien is, J. H. Enslin vir inligting oor De Aar se vroeë geskiedenis, Frankie Isigueros vir inligting oor Portugeessprekende immigrante, asook Jetty Murar wat die Maleise Kamp, die ou begraafplaas en die verskillende nuwe woongebiede van De Aar-Oos aan my gewys het. Ek is baie dank verskuldig aan Cornelius Manuel wat my by twee geleenthede in sy huis in die Maleise Kamp ingenooi en vertel het van sy langdurige stryd vir wetlike erkenning van sy eiendom. 'n Spesiale woord van dank gaan aan Theresa Thompson, Jumo Murar, Carlo Smith en Tobie van der Westhuizen: hulle het nie net hulle kennis oor die dorp se geskiedenis met my gedeel nie, maar het my ook aangemoedig om die boek te publiseer toe ek die eerste konsep in Januarie 2022 aan hulle gewys het. Sonder hulle aanmoediging sou ek dalk afgesien het van die idee om te publiseer.

Terwyl ek aan die boek gewerk het was ek bevoorreg om op die ondersteuning van verskeie persone in De Aar en vriende en kollegas in Kaapstad en Basel te kon staatmaak. Lorena Rizzo, Tina Smith, of Paul Grendon het my gereeld tydens my besoeke aan De Aar vergesel en my navorsing en skryfwerk ondersteun. Ek is baie dank aan hulle verskuldig. Paul Grendon het talle foto's in De Aar geneem waarvan sommige aan inwoners van De Aar gegee is. Ek hoop om ander foto's in toekomstige publikasies in te sluit. Baie dankie aan Sindi-Leigh McBride vir haar kritiese lees van die

University of Pretoria for the translation and to Sydney McBride for his helpful comments. I extend my gratitude to the Schlettwein family in Basel, Switzerland, who supported my professional career and work as a historian for many years.

manuskrip en haar waardevolle kommentaar. Sindi-Leigh en my Afrikaans onderwyser en kollega, Stefan Meyer, het my gemotiveer om die boek ook in Afrikaans, die oorheersende spreektaal in De Aar en groot dele van die Noord-Kaap, te publiseer. Ek vermoed dat 'n tweetalige publikasie 'n manier is om Suid-Afrika se veeltaligheid te respekteer. Baie dankie aan die Taaleenheid aan die Universiteit van Pretoria vir die vertaling en aan Sydney McBride vir sy waardevolle kommentaar. Ek betuig ook my dank en waardering aan die Schlettwein familie in Basel, Switzerland, vir hulle jarelange ondersteuning van my loopbaan en my werk as historikus.

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Introduction

This book is about De Aar, a town situated in what is today the Northern Cape Province of South Africa. De Aar's existence and development are closely linked to railways. The town was at the heart of the South African Railways' transport geography for almost a century. At De Aar, situated halfway between Cape Town and Johannesburg, four main lines came together and made the town one of the most important railway junctions of the entire network. The De Aar railway station was an important landmark on the itinerary for generations of travellers since all trains stopped there. Specifically, all who travelled to and from Namibia had to change trains at De Aar station. Contemporary cartography also highlighted the pivotal role of De Aar within the South African railway network. An example is the map (Figure 1) published in an official booklet in the late 1960s that promoted the town to investors and potential residents.¹

2 Archival documentation that helps shed light on De Aar's urban history and the complexities of the town's establishment and development is scarce. Information is scattered across institutions, collections, and files produced by various government departments, commercial bodies, and private institutions throughout the twentieth century. Taken together, these sources provide a sketchy image of the making of De Aar against the backdrop of shifting political, economic, and infrastructural terrains on which the contours of the town began to show in the early 1900s. As I will soon show, lines and delineation constituted the physical and representational *dispositif* within which De Aar's architecture and built environment would eventually materialise.²

1 A copy of the pamphlet is kept by the Western Cape Archives (further abbreviated as WCA).

2 *Dispositif* is a French term used by Michel Foucault to describe the links between the various institutional, physical, and administrative mechanisms and knowledge structures that enhance and maintain the exercise of power within the social body. According to Foucault, it is through these links that power relations are structured. See for instance John Ploger (1998).

Inleiding

Hierdie boek vertel die storie van De Aar, 'n dorp geleë in wat vandag die Noord-Kaap Provinsie van Suid-Afrika genoem word. De Aar se ontstaan en ontwikkeling is nou verwant aan spoorweë. Die dorp was vir amper 'n eeu reg in die hart van die Suid-Afrikaanse Spoorweë se vervoergeografie. By De Aar, halfpad tussen Kaapstad en Johannesburg, het vier van die hoofspoorlyne bymekaargekom wat die dorp een van die belangrikste spoorwegknooppunte van die hele netwerk gemaak het. Die De Aar spoorwegstasie was 'n belangrike baken op die reisplan van generasies van reisigers aangesien alle treine daar gestop het, in besonder vir almal wat ná en van Namibië gereis het, aangesien hulle op De Aar treine moes ruil. Kontemporêre kartografie het ook die sleutelrol uitgelig wat De Aar in die Suid-Afrikaanse Spoorweë gespeel het. 'n Voorbeeld hiervan is die kaart (Figuur 1) wat in die laat 1960's in 'n amptelike brosjure gepubliseer is wat die dorp aan beleggers en moontlike inwoners bemark het.¹

Argiefstukke wat meer lig kan werp op De Aar se stedelike geskiedenis en die kompleksiteit van die dorp se vestiging en ontwikkeling is skaars. Inligting lê versprei tussen 'n hele aantal instansies, versamelings en lêers wat deur verskillende regeringsdepartemente, kommersiële liggame en privaat instansies regdeur die twintigste eeu geproduseer is. Hierdie bronne bied 'n sketsmatige beeld van die totstandkoming van De Aar teen die agtergrond van veranderlike politiese, ekonomiese en infrastruktuurterreine waarop die kontoere van die dorp in die vroeë 1900's begin verskyn het. Soos ek binnekort sal aantoon, het lyne en sketstekeninge die fisiese en verteenwoordigende *dispositif* gevorm waarbinne De Aar se argitektuur en bou-omgewing uiteindelik sou materialiseer.²

1 'n Afskrif van die brosjure word deur die Wes-Kaapse Argief (vervolgens afgekort as WKA) gehou.

2 *Dispositif* is 'n Franse term wat gebruik is deur Michel Foucault, wie dit beskryf as die skakels tussen die verskillend institusionele, fisiese en administratiewe meganismes en kennis strukture wat die uitoefening van mag binne die sosiale liggaam versterk en handhaaf. Volgens Foucault word magsverhoudings deur hierdie skakels gestruktureer. Sien byvoorbeeld John Ploger (1998).

Drawing lines, literally and metaphorically, is a crucial part of architectural and urban planning practice. This is so self-evident that it is rarely explicitly addressed. One exception is the critical writing of artist-architect Friedensreich Hundertwasser, who addressed the importance of lines in a well-known pamphlet published in the early 1970s.³ Lines are omnipresent in the process of planning, designing, and constructing buildings. In technical terms, architecture in the pre-digital age is the complex process of producing and translating lines drawn on two-dimensional plans into lines drawn up as three-dimensional walls in space. These lines of architecture provide orientation in space, influencing how people move through, experience, and perceive the built environment. Drawing lines, however, is also at the core of modern town planning which defines the spatial layout and purpose of urban space. Town planners set the spatial, technical, and functional parameters along which a town can develop. On a practical level, the introduction of the blueprint in the late nineteenth century offered new possibilities for the circulation and multiplication of plans. Blueprints soon became crucial for the communication among planners, architects, and builders and enabled a new congruence between the planning and building environments.⁴

3 See Friedensreich Hundertwasser's (1972) short pamphlet, 'Dein Fensterrecht-Deine Baumpflicht' (in English: Window Right and Tree Duty).

4 On the history and technology of the blueprint, see Ian Batterham (2008).

Die trek van lyne, letterlik en metafores, is 'n belangrike deel van argitektuur- en stadsbeplanningpraktyke. Hierdie aangeleentheid is so vanselfsprekend dat dit selde beredeneer word. Een uitsondering is die kritiese geskrifte van die argitek en kunstenaar Friedensreich Hundertwasser wat die belangrikheid van lyne in 'n bekende brosjure, wat vroeg in die 1970's gepubliseer is, bespreek het. Lyne is alomteenwoordig in die beplannings-, ontwerp- en oprigtingsfases van geboue.³ Tegnies gesproke was argitektuur in die pre-digitale era die komplekse proses om lyne wat eerstens op papier as tweedimensionele planne opgetrek is, oor te dra na lyne wat as driedimensionele mure binne 'n ruimte getrek word. Hierdie lyne skep ruimtelike oriëntasie en beïnvloed hoe mense deur die bou-omgewing beweeg, en dit ervaar en waarneem. Die trek van lyne is egter ook die kern van moderne dorpsbeplanning, wat die ruimtelike, tegniese en funksionele parameters daarstel waarvolgens 'n dorp kan ontwikkel. Op 'n praktiese vlak het die bekendstelling van die bloudruk in die laat negentiende eeu nuwe moontlikhede vir die sirkulasie en vermeerdering van planne gebied. Bloudrukke het vinnig noodsaaklik geword vir die kommunikasie tussen beplanners, argitekte en bouers, en het tot nuwe kongruensie tussen die plan en bou-omgewings gelei.⁴

3 Sien Friedensreich Hundertwasser (1972) se kort brosjure 'Dein Fensterrecht-Deine Baumpflicht' (in Engels: 'Window Right and Tree Duty').

4 Met verwysing na die geskiedenis en tegnologie van die bloudruk, sien Ian Batterham (2008).



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Figure 1: *Stad in Wording/City of the Near Future, De Aar*
(the Town Clerk of De Aar, no date, probably late 1960s)

Figuur 1: *Stad in wording/City of the Near Future, De Aar*
(die Stadsklerk van De Aar, geen datum, waarskynlik laat 1960's)

This book traces the lines of architecture in the making of the town and proposes a reading of the town's history along the lines of De Aar's distinct neighbourhoods and built environment. I will concentrate on two-dimensional lines, those on plans and maps, as the precondition for three-dimensional architectural production in a formal framework of urban planning and construction of a South African town in the twentieth century. Reconstructing De Aar's spatial history based on plans as a key methodological device for town planning is especially promising given that the town's formal establishment coincides with the beginning of centralised control of urban development in South Africa after the South African War (1899–1902).⁵

I will introduce a genealogy of town plans from the 1900s onwards: plans that tell De Aar's urban history from a particular vantage point. The story involves competing visions and challenging alliances amongst bureaucrats, institutions, and residents within and across the limits of the colour line. The plans document a slow and complex process stretching decades until De Aar eventually became a unified town in 1940. Later plans attest to an ongoing seesaw concerning the spatial arrangement of the town, culminating in the establishment of entirely new, standardised neighbourhoods in the 1960s and 1970s.

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Until the 1940s, most of the produced plans were so-called blueprints. The blueprint is a relatively simple and cheap reproduction technology invented in the second half of the nineteenth century and mainly used in architecture, town planning, and engineering.⁶ Architects and engineers drew their designs on opaque (completely non-transparent) paper. These were then manually traced onto tracing (transparent) paper using Indian ink (a simple black ink). The transparent paper was then held over a chemically coated paper and exposed to light, resulting in the exposed parts turning into a strong blue, whereas the covered parts remained unchanged. The blueprint copying technology not only allowed for accelerating the multiplication of technical designs but also enabled new communication forms. The plans circulated among the various stakeholders for comments and could easily be changed and adapted.

The blueprint played a particular role in the making of De Aar. The proclamation of a town as well

5 In their seminal contribution on the making of urban planning in the twentieth century, Alain Mabin and Dan Smit (1997) have argued that there were several cycles of reconstructing the South African society through means of urban planning to overcome phases of societal turmoil and extreme stress.

6 On the blueprint as a technology of copying and its role in the bureaucratic processes see Batterham (2008: in particular pp. 4–5 and pp. 71–73). See also Elénore Kissel and Eric Vigneau (1999).

Hierdie boek volg die lyne van die argitektuur in die ontwikkeling van die dorp en bied daarmee 'n vertolking van die dorp se geskiedenis aan die hand van die lyne van De Aar se onmiskenbare woonbuurte en bou-omgewing. Ek sal op tweedimensionele lyne, soos op planne en kaarte, konsentreer as voorvereiste vir driedimensionele argitektoniese produksie in 'n formele raamwerk van stadsbeplanning en oprigting van 'n Suid-Afrikaanse dorp in die twintigste eeu. Die herkonstruering van De Aar se ruimtelike geskiedenis, gegrond op planne as 'n sleutel metodologiese instrument vir stadsbeplanning, is spesifiek belowend gegewe dat die dorp se formele vestiging saamgeval het met die begin van gesentraliseerde beheer van stadsbeplanning in Suid-Afrika na die Suid-Afrikaanse Oorlog (1899–1902).⁵

Eksal 'n genealogie van dorpsplanne vanaf die 1900's voorlê: planne wat De Aar se stadsgeskiedenis vanuit 'n spesifieke oogpunt vertel. Die verhaal sluit uiteenlopende beskouings en delikate vennootskappe in tussen burokrate, instansies en inwoners binne en oor die grense van die kleurlyn. Die planne dokumenteer 'n stadige en ingewikkelde proses wat oor dekades strek totdat De Aar uiteindelik in 1940 'n verenigde dorp geword het. Latere planne getuig van 'n langdurige wipplankryery betreffende die ruimtelike samestelling van die dorp wat in die 1960's en 1970's 'n hoogtepunt bereik het met die totstandkoming van nuwe, gestandaardiseerde woonbuurte.

7

Tot met die 1940's was die meeste van die planne wat opgetrek is sogenoemde bloudrukke. Die bloudruk is 'n relatiewe eenvoudige en goedkoop reproduksietegnologie wat in die tweede helfte van die negentiende eeu uitgevind is en hoofsaaklik in argitektuur, dorpsbeplanning en ingenieurswese gebruik is.⁶ Argitekte en ingenieurs het hulle ontwerpe op ondeursigtige papier opgetrek. Hierdie ontwerpe is dan met die hand op natrekpapier (deursigtige papier) oorgeteken met Indiese ink (eenvoudige swart ink). Die deursigtige papier is dan oor 'n vel papier wat met 'n chemiese laag bedek is gehou en aan lig blootgestel. Die gevolg was dat die dele wat blootgestel is na 'n sterk blou verander het terwyl die bedekte dele onveranderd gebly het. Die bloudruk reproduksietegnologie het nie net die vermenigvuldiging van tegniese ontwerpe moontlik gemaak nie maar ook nuwe kommunikasievorme moontlik gemaak. Die planne is tussen die verskillende rolspelers gesirkuleer vir kommentaar en kon maklik verander en aangepas word.

5 In hulle invloedryke bydrae tot die ontwikkeling van stadsbeplanning in die twintigste eeu, het Alain Mabin en Dan Smit (1997) geargumenteer dat die Suid-Afrikaanse samelewing deur verskeie siklusse van rekonstruksie, by wyse van stadsbeplanning, geleef het om tye van sosiale onrus en uitermatige spanning te oorkom.

6 Met verwysing na die bloudruk as reproduksietegnologie en gevolglike rol in die burokratiese prosesse, sien Batterham (2008: spesifiek bl. 4–5 en bl. 71–73). Sien ook Elénore Kissel en Eric Vigneau (1999).

as any further extension had to be approved by the government, in the case of De Aar by the Cape colonial government and later the provincial government of the Cape. The blueprints found in the Western Cape Archives were an integral part of communication between the authorities in Cape Town and De Aar, which consisted of occasional personal meetings, inspections, and to a great extent, the exchange of documents. For planning and architectural issues, the blueprint enabled all involved to have a common matrix for defining and imagining a specific space. Later, a detailed discussion of some of the plans reveals how the technology of the blueprint copy engendered spatial imagination. I will show how the blueprints of De Aar can be distinguished into three basic types: one used to convey an overview of the town area as a whole, one to convey more detailed information on a limited number of plots, and one depicting the floor plan and or elevation of a building.

8

Tracing the history of De Aar reveals it to be the product of British railway imperialism in the late nineteenth century and the South African War of 1899-1902. Hence, the book also offers a short account of the residential community in the years immediately preceding the formal establishment of the town. The town's spatial history that emerged from the abandoned military camp at De Aar railway station after the South African War reflects the visions and actions of local capitalist entrepreneurs and their ambiguous relationship with the powerful railway company. In particular, though, the town's spatial history is a very early, if not the earliest, example of a South African town consistently planned and developed along the lines of strict racial segregation between Black and White residents at the turn of the century.

This book retraces the making of De Aar's urban space from the early twentieth century to the late 1970s. In other words, this book concentrates on the first 75 years of the town's history. Attention to small towns remains rare in historical studies of South African urbanism which continues to privilege big cities such as Johannesburg, Cape Town, and Durban.⁷ In contrast, I argue that shifting attention away from megacities reveals how racially entangled urban spaces emerged in

⁷ See for instance the empirical examples in Mabin and Smit (1997). There are, though, a few detailed historical studies on small South African towns, for example, the work of Jeffrey Butler on Cradock (1985) and his post-humously published book, edited by Richard Elphick and Jeannette Hopkins (2017). Two more recent research initiatives in South Africa have to be mentioned in this context. First, the NRF SARCHI Chair in History 'Local Histories and Present Realities' at Witwatersrand University with a focus on small towns and rural hinterlands in the former Transvaal Province that resulted in some exiting work on the history of small towns (e.g. Godsell 2011; Bonner and Nieftagodien 2012). Second, the NRF SARCHI Chair 'Cosmopolitan Karoo' at the University of Stellenbosch aims to understand the complex web of social and environmental dynamics of the region, though with a less historical approach.

Die bloudruk het 'n baie spesifieke rol in die totstandkoming van De Aar gespeel. Die proklamasie van 'n dorp, sowel as enige verdere uitbreidings, moes deur die regering goedgekeur word, in De Aar se geval, deur die Kaapse koloniale regering en later die provinsiale regering van die Kaap. Die bloudrukke wat in die Wes-Kaapse Argief gevind is, was 'n integrale deel van die kommunikasie tussen die owerhede in Kaapstad en De Aar, en het bestaan uit ongereelde persoonlike ontmoetings, inspeksies en tot 'n groot mate die uitruil van dokumentasie. Die bloudruk het al die betrokkenes in staat gestel om vir beplannings- en argitektoniese doeleindes binne 'n gemeenskaplike matriks te werk vir die definiëring en voorstelling van 'n spesifieke ruimte. 'n Latere uitvoerige bespreking van sommige van die planne onthul hoe die bloudruktegnologie ruimtelike voorstellings moontlik gemaak het. Ek sal aandui hoe De Aar se bloudrukke in drie basiese tipes ingedeel kan word: een wat gebruik is om 'n oorsig van die dorpsgebied as 'n geheel oor te dra; een wat gebruik is om meer gedetailleerde inligting rakende 'n beperkte aantal erwe oor te dra; en een wat die vloerplan en of elevasie van geboue aandui.

Die naspoor van De Aar se geskiedenis onthul dat die dorp 'n produk is van Britse spoorweg imperialisme in die laat negentiende eeu en die Suid-Afrikaanse Oorlog (1899–1902). Dus sluit hierdie boek ook 'n kort weergawe van die residensiële gemeenskap tydens die jare wat die formele totstandkoming van die dorp onmiddellik voorafgegaan het, in. Die dorp se ruimtelike geskiedenis wat duidelik geword het uit die verlate militêre kamp by die De Aar spoorwegstasie na die Suid-Afrikaanse Oorlog, weerspieël die visies en aksies van plaaslike kapitalistiese entrepreneurs en hulle dubbelsinnige verhouding met die kragtige spoorwegmaatskappy. In die besonder, egter, is die dorp se ruimtelike geskiedenis 'n baie vroeë voorbeeld, indien nie die vroegste nie, van 'n Suid-Afrikaanse dorp wat deurlopend in ooreenstemming met die streng rassese segregasie tussen Swart en Wit inwoners rondom die draai van die eeu beplan en ontwikkel is.

Hierdie boek loop terug op die spore van die totstandkoming van De Aar se stedelike ruimte van die vroeë twintigste eeu tot die laat 1970's. Met ander woorde, hierdie boek konsentreer op die eerste 75 jaar van die dorp se geskiedenis. Aandag aan kleiner dorpe is skaars in historiese studies van Suid-Afrikaanse verstedeliking, wat steeds meer op die groter stede soos Johannesburg, Kaapstad en Durban fokus.⁷ In teenstelling hiermee argumenteer ek dat 'n fokusverskuiwing vanaf

⁷ Verwys byvoorbeeld na die empiriese voorbeelde in Mabin en Smith (1997). Daar is egter 'n paar gedetailleerde studies van Suid-Afrikaanse dorpie, byvoorbeeld die werk van Jeffrey Butler oor Cradock (1985) en sy boek wat postuum gepubliseer is, geredigeer deur Richard Elphick en Jeanette Hopkins (2017). Twee verdere navorsingsinisiatiewe moet ook hier genoem word. Eerstens, die NRF SARChI-leerstool in Geskiedenis, 'Local Histories and Present Realities' aan die Universiteit van die Witwatersrand met 'n fokus op klein dorpe en plattelandse hinterland in die vroeëre Transvaal Provinsie wat aanleiding gegee het tot opwindende werk oor die geskiedenis van klein dorpe (bv. Godsell 2011; Bonner en Nieftagodien 2012). Tweedens, die NRF SARChI-leerstool, 'Cosmopolitan Karoo' van die Universiteit van Stellenbosch poog om die komplekse netwerk van die sosiale- en omgewingsdinamika van die streek te verstaan, alhoewel deur 'n minder historiese benadering.

small-town contexts precisely because they were small.⁸ I provide a detailed account of how the various parts of De Aar emerged, and I am especially interested in understanding the kinds of spatialities that become visible through the micro-perspective, spatialities that would otherwise escape our attention. I contend that a detailed reconstruction of urban development will reveal the complexity and dynamics of property and the limits of and constraints to conditions of life in the pre-apartheid and apartheid period. As we will see, a closer look at De Aar confirms some urban planning and development narratives in the first half of the twentieth century but also challenges others.⁹

As is the case for many small towns across South Africa, received histories of De Aar suffer from an intrinsic racial bias that almost exclusively focuses on the White part of the town and conceals experiences of and voices from Black neighbourhoods.¹⁰ This book is therefore motivated by a need to give voices to interlocutors, Black and White, I encountered in De Aar during on-site research. In agreeing to share their knowledge of the town's diverse pasts, my interlocutors laid the grounds for a historical reconstruction that understands small-town urban development in De Aar due to a specific entanglement of racial segregation and infrastructure.

10

Writing on South African history comes with the challenge of how to deal with racial categories used in archival documents, such as 'Coloured', 'Black', 'European', 'Indian', 'White', or 'Native'.¹¹ Racial categories were at the heart of town planning in De Aar, and they had real consequences for people's lives, given that race determined residence, work, and mobility. However, it would be wrong to assume that racial categories equally informed how people thought about themselves and others. Indeed, there was a strong and important awareness of the artificiality of race. Once we examine the history of town planning in De Aar more closely, racial categories prove complicated, unstable, and always in the making – even if considered from the perspective of state authorities. In the early decades of De Aar's existence the main bureaucratic racial distinction drawn for urban planning was between 'European' on the one hand and 'Natives' and 'Coloureds' on the

8 In his summary of urban history in South Africa, Bill Freund (2005) lists the limitations of race as the primary category of urban studies among the main lacunae in the field.

9 Masterly outlined by Mabin and Smit (1997) or more recently, Wayne Dooling (2018).

10 There are two official histories of De Aar: E.A. Venter (1952) and J.J. Marais (1977).

11 The term 'native' which appears in the text, is used in the historical context, and when possible replaced by the term 'African'. In archival documents from the twentieth century, the term 'native' is commonly used and translates to 'naturelle' in Afrikaans sources. This text uses 'inheems' as an alternative term for 'native' whenever the original archival source is in Afrikaans.

megastede na kleiner dorpe onthul dat ras-geïntegreerde ruimtes in klein dorpe ontstaan het juis omdat die dorpies so klein was.⁸ Ek gee ’n gedetailleerde weergawe van hoe die verskillende dele van De Aar ontstaan het, en is in besonder geïnteresseerd daarin om die ruimtelike tipes wat deur die mikro-perspektief sigbaar word te verstaan, ruimtes wat andersins ons aandag sou ontglip het. Ek voer aan dat ’n gedetailleerde rekonstruksie van stedelike ontwikkeling die kompleksiteit en dinamika van eiendom, en die grense van en beperkinge op lewensomstandighede in die pre-apartheid- en apartheidseras aan die lig sal bring. Dit sal duidelik word dat ’n nadere ondersoek van De Aar sommige stadsbeplannings- en ontwikkelingsnarratiewe in die eerste helfte van die twintigste eeu bevestig, maar ook ander bevraagteken.⁹

Soos die geval is met baie klein dorpe in Suid-Afrika, maak rasvooroordele ’n groot deel van die aanvaarde geskiedenis uit en fokus dit bykans eksklusief op die Wit gedeelte van die dorp en verswyg die ondervindings en stemme van Swart woonbuurte.¹⁰ Hierdie boek is dus gemotiveer deur ’n behoefte om aan almal met wie ek tydens my navorsing in De Aar gesels het ’n stem te gee – Swart en Wit. Deurdat hulle ingestem het om hulle kennis van die dorp se diverse verledes te deel, het my gespreksgenote die fondasie gelê vir ’n historiese rekonstruksie wat kleindorpse stadsontwikkeling verstaan in terme van die vervlegdheid van rassese segregasie en infrastruktuur.

Wanneer oor Suid-Afrikaanse geskiedenis geskryf word, is die uitdaging hoe om die raskategorieë wat in argiefdokumente gebruik is te hanteer, byvoorbeeld ‘Kleurling’, ‘Swart’, ‘Europees’, ‘Indiër’, ‘Wit’ of ‘Inheems’.¹¹ Raskategorieë was die hart van dorpsbeplanning in De Aar en het ingrypende gevolge op mense se lewens gehad, gegewe dat ras mense se woonplek, werkplek en beweegruimtes bepaal het. Dit sal egter verkeerd wees om te aanvaar dat raskategorieë in dieselfde mate bepaal het hoe mense oor hulleself en ander gedink het. Daar was inderdaad ’n sterk en belangrike bewustheid van die kunsmatigheid van ras. Wanneer ons die geskiedenis van dorpsbeplanning in De Aar van nader beskou, blyk dit dat die raskategorieë kompleks en onstabiel was en voortdurend aangepas is – selfs vanuit die perspektief van staatsowerhede. In die vroeë

8 In sy opsomming van die stedelike geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika, lys Bill Freund (2005) die rasbeperkinge as die primêre kategorie van stedelike studies onder die hoofgapings in die veld.

9 Meesterlik geskets deur Mabin and Smith (1997) en meer onlangs, Wayne Dooling (2018).

10 Daar is twee amptelike geskiedenisse van De Aar: E.A. Venter (1952) en J.J. Marais (1977).

11 Die woord ‘inheems’ wat in die teks voorkom, word in die historiese konteks gebruik, en waar dit moontlik was, is dit vervang met die term ‘Swart’. In die twintigste eeu se argiefdokumente word die term ‘native’ gebruik in Engels, en dit vertaal na ‘naturelle’ in Afrikaans. Hierdie teks gebruik die alternatiewe vertaling van ‘native’, ‘inheems’, wanneer daar verwys word na ’n dokument wat in Afrikaans geskryf is.

other hand – whereby ‘Natives’ and ‘Coloureds’ were sometimes classified together, sometimes classified separately.¹² In the period of apartheid urban planning, that is, from 1950 onwards, a generic distinction between ‘White’ and ‘Non-White’ replaced the earlier terminology.¹³ Furthermore, apartheid urban planning rested on the division of the so-called ‘Non-White’ part of town into strictly separated areas allocated to residents according to their racial classification as ‘Coloured’, ‘Native’ or, if deemed necessary, ‘Indian’ or other.¹⁴ In contrast to such terminology and its use in archival sources, this study follows the inclusive tradition of the anti-apartheid and black consciousness struggles. The text uses the term ‘Black’ to cover all the subcategories that were designated with the term ‘non-White’. It thereby reflects the attitude of many former residents of De Aar’s old location who did not distinguish between ‘Coloured’ and ‘African’ before the dissolution of and forced removal from their neighbourhood. Along these lines, I have added the names of former Black property owners in the appendix of this book.

12 See for instance my discussion in the subchapter ‘Private property and segregation in De Aar East’.

13 The Group Areas Act of 1950 distinguished between ‘White’, ‘Native’, and ‘Coloured’ as the main groups, but made provision for further subdivision of the latter two groups. In essence, this implied a generic distinction between ‘white’ as a naturalised, indivisible racial category, and ‘non-white’ as the category open for further subdivision.

14 This conceptual shift was captured in the report by the Urban Area Commissioner from King Williamstown on his visit to De Aar in October 1950. His visit had the explicit goal to help the municipality to develop a settlement structure by which the different ‘non-white’ (‘nie-blanke’) racial groups who now lived together in the same neighbourhoods, could be separated from each other. As different ‘non-white’ racial groups in De Aar, the report listed ‘Kleurlinge, Naturelle en Indiërs’ (‘Coloureds’, ‘Natives’, and ‘Indians’). ‘Inspeksie van nie-blanke aangeleenthede in stadsgebied van De Aar’, 6 October 1950, Urban Area Commissioner Eastern Cape, King Williamstown; WCA: TBK-PAA-E/219-A27/64.

dekades van De Aar se bestaan was die rasverdeling in terme van stadsbeplanning hoofsaaklik tussen 'Europeër' aan die een kant, en 'Swart' en 'Kleurling' aan die ander hand, terwyl 'Swart' en 'Kleurling' soms saam geklassifiseer was en soms apart.¹² Gedurende die apartheids-era, dit wil sê vanaf 1950, het 'n generiese onderskeid tussen 'Blank' en 'nie-Blank' die vroeë terminologie vervang.¹³ Stedelike beplanning tydens apartheid het verder berus op die verdeling van die genoemde 'nie-Blank' gedeelte van die dorp in streng geskeide gebiede wat aan inwoners toegeken is volgens hulle rasseklassifikasie as 'Kleurling', 'Inheems' of, indien dit nodig geag is, 'Indiër' of ander.¹⁴ In teenstelling met sulke terminologie en hoe dit in argiefbronne gebruik word, volg hierdie studie die inklusiewe tradisie van die anti-apartheid en swart bewussyn stryd. Die teks gebruik die term 'Swart' om al die subkategorieë wat deur die term 'nie-Blank' gedek word, in te sluit. Sodanige inklusiewe terminologie weerspieël die houding van baie voormalige inwoners van De Aar se ou woongebiede wat nie tussen 'Kleurling' en 'Swart' onderskei het voor die ontbinding van en gedwonge verwydering uit hul woonbuurte nie. In hierdie verband het ek die name van voormalige Swart eiendomseienaars in die bylae by hierdie boekie bygevoeg.

12 Sien byvoorbeeld my bespreking in die subhoofstuk 'Privaateiendom en segregasie in De Aar-Oos'.

13 Die Groepsgebiedewet van 1950 het tussen hoofgroepe, 'Wit', 'Inheems' en 'Kleurling', onderskei, maar het voorsiening gemaak vir verdere onderverdeling van die twee laasgenoemde groepe. In wese is 'n generiese onderskeid tussen 'Wit' as 'n genaturaliseerde, ondeelbare rassekategorie, en 'nie-blank' as die kategorie wat oop was vir verdere onderverdeling, gemaak.

14 Hierdie konseptuele verskuiwing is vasgevang in die verslag deur die Stedelike Gebiedskommissaris van King Williamstown oor sy besoek aan De Aar in Oktober 1950. Sy besoek het die uitdruklike doel gehad om die munisipaliteit te help om 'n nedersettingstruktuur te ontwikkel, waardeur die verskillende 'nie-blanke' rassegroepe, wat nou saam in dieselfde woonbuurte gewoon het, van mekaar geskei kon word. As verskillende 'nie-blanke' rassegroepe in De Aar, het die berig 'Kleurlinge, Naturelle en Indiërs' gelys. 'Inspeksie van nie-blanke aangeleenthede in stadsgebied van De Aar', 6 Oktober 1950, Stedelike Gebiedskommissaris Oos-Kaap, King Williamstown; WCA: TBK-PAA-E/219-A27/64.

Planning a segregated town in the early twentieth century

De Aar's first lines of architecture were drawn on a rough sketch map in 1903 (Figure 2), kept today at the Western Cape Archives.¹⁵ The map only consists of a few lines marked in red and black ink in combination with a few words. The red lines mark the railway lines and the area of the railway camp, which formed the *raison d'être* of the envisioned town. The black lines represent the borders of the future town and sketch out the town's segregated settlement pattern with the 'New Township Friedlander Bro.' on the west and the 'Native Location' on the east of the railway camp. This sketch map offers an entry into the spatial practice and control regimes that engendered the founding of De Aar in the early 1900s.

Private business initiative was essential in establishing De Aar. In 1902, two brothers, Wulf and Isaac Friedlander, who successfully ran a trading and hotel business at the De Aar railway station for many years, bought the farm De Aar and hired a surveyor from Cape Town to delineate plots for a future town.¹⁶

15 See file 'De Aar. Establishment of Municipality', 1903-1904; WCA: KBA-PAS-2/175.

16 The Friedlanders bought the farm from D.F. Grundligh

Die beplanning van 'n rassegesegreerde dorp in die vroeë twintigste eeu

De Aar se eerste argitektuurslyne is in 1903 op 'n rowwe kaartskets (Figuur 2) getrek – tans in die Wes-Kaapse Argief.¹⁵ Die kaart bestaan slegs uit 'n paar lyne in rooi en swart en 'n paar woorde. Die rooi lyne dui die spoorlyne en die area van die spoorwegkamp aan wat die *raison d'être* van die voorgenome dorp gevorm het. Die swart lyne stel die grense van die voorgenome dorp voor en dui ook die dorp se beplande aparte nedersettings aan met die *New Township Friedlander Bro.* aan die westekant en die *Native Location* (Inheemse Lokasie) aan die oostekant van die spoorwegkamp. Hierdie sketskaart gee 'n blik op die ruimtelike praktyke en beheerstelsels wat aanleiding gegee het tot die totstandkoming van De Aar in die vroeë 1900's.

Privaat besigheidsinisiatiewe was noodsaaklik om De Aar te vestig. In 1902 het twee broers, Wulf en Isaac Friedlander, wat vir baie jare 'n suksesvolle handels- en hotelbesigheid by die De Aar- spoorwegstasie bedryf het, die plaas De Aar gekoop en 'n landmeter van Kaapstad gehuur om erwe vir 'n toekomstige dorp uit te

15 Sien lêer 'De Aar. Establishment of Municipality', 1903-1904; WCA: KBA-PAS-2/175.

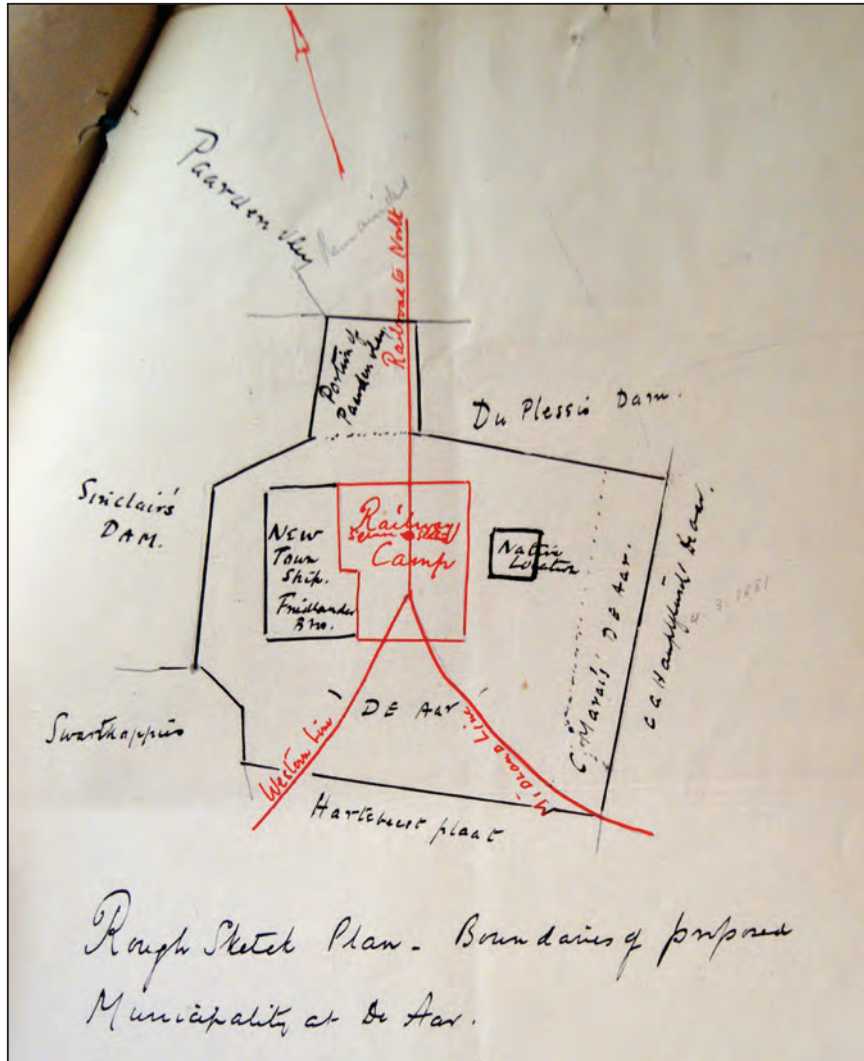


Figure 2: Sketch map of De Aar, 1903
(Western Cape Archives)

Figuur 2: Sketskaart van De Aar, 1903
(Wes-Kaapse Argief)

The envisioned town included two parts separated by the railway camp. The White township in the West was drawn as a grid of identical rectangular blocks crossed by broad avenues (see Figure 7). The sketch map provided generous plots, each measuring 60x120 feet (c. 18x36 metres) for private homes and all kinds of public buildings such as schools, a market, a hospital, sports grounds, a court building, and business blocks.¹⁷ In addition, plots were set aside to be used for the construction and leasing of various churches. East of the railway camp, a Black township was laid out consisting of several hundred small plots, each measuring 40x40 feet (c. 12x12 metres), crossed by narrow streets arranged in rectangular order (see Figure 8).¹⁸ All of these plots were meant for private housing. In late 1902, plot sales started by public auction and were met with huge interest, especially for property located in the Black township. In a flash, the Friedlanders sold 200 plots east and two dozen west of the railway camp.¹⁹

The Western Cape Archives preserve two copies of the terms of sale for land at De Aar, one for purchasing a plot in the West and one for property acquired in the East.²⁰ Although in large parts identical, a closer reading of the two versions reveals the Friedlander's financial rationale and speculation and the business differentials prevailing on the two sides of the railway line. All buyers of plots were compelled to pay an annual tax – 3 pounds for a plot in De Aar West and 1 pound, 10 shillings for one in De Aar East – to the Friedlanders, indefinitely.²¹ A further clause defined the varying conditions of use for the properties acquired. Trade or business activities were completely banned in De Aar East and limited in De Aar West. In particular, the Friedlander brothers secured the sole and exclusive right to run a hotel or club and sell alcohol. As we shall see, these restrictive clauses laid the grounds for the brothers' future prosperity. In return for the payments and concessions, buyers in De Aar West were promised land set aside for sporting activities such as

16

who has been the owner since 1880. (See also footnote 28.) On the Friedlanders' brothers and the layout of the White township, see Venter (1952: 8). There is also an Afrikaans edition of this publication published on occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of De Aar. On the history of the De Aar hotel and the Friedlander brothers, the then hotel manager, J.H. Enslin, provided me with some typed notes on 9 February 2012.

- 17 For the size of single plots in De Aar West see 'Report of Systematic Health Inspection of De Aar', 12 March 1928, E.H. Cluver, Assistant Health Officer, Pretoria; National Archives of South Africa (NASA): SAB-NTS-4309-162/313.
- 18 The size of the individual plots in the Bloemfontein Erven, 40x40 feet (circa 12x12 meter) is given in a report of 1950. (See 'Inspeksie van Nie-Blanke Aangeleentehede in Stadsgebied van De Aar', 6 Oktober 1950; NASA: NTS-6036-162-313N.)
- 19 The figures for the De Aar East are based on a report by the Assistant District Magistrate dated 6 March 1903. The figures for De Aar West are an estimate based on a petition by landowners to the Colonial Secretary signed on 10 March 1903. (See WCA: KBA-PAS-2/175 for both.) The size of a plot in the West was generally 60'x120' (c. 18x36 meter), the size of those in the East is not known to me. ('Report of Public Health Inspector', 9 April 1938, p. 4; NASA: SAB-NTS-4309-162/313.)
- 20 See 'Friedlander Township. Conditions. Town Erven' and 'Friedlander Township. Conditions. Native Erven'; WCA: KBA-PAS-2/175.
- 21 The amount of the rate has to be put in relation to the £11 000 the Friedlanders had paid for the De Aar farm the same year. I am not sure when these rates became part of the municipality property taxes.

meet.¹⁶ Die voorgenome dorp het twee dele ingesluit wat deur die spoorwegkamp geskei is. Die Wit nedersetting in die weste is geteken as 'n rooster van identiese reghoekige blokke deurkruis met breë strate (Figuur 7). Die sketskaart het voorsiening gemaak vir ruim erwe van 60x120 voet (ca. 18x36 meter), vir privaathuise en verskeie publieke geboue soos skole, 'n mark, 'n hospitaal, sportgronde, 'n hofgebou en besigheidsentrums.¹⁷ Erwe is ook geormerk vir die oprigting en uitverhuur van verskeie kerkgeboue. Oos van die spoorwegkamp is 'n Swart dorpsaanleg in 'n reghoekige vorm uitgelê. Dit het uit honderde klein erwe, elkeen 40x40 voet (ca. 12x12 meter), bestaan met nou strate (Figuur 8).¹⁸ Hierdie erwe was slegs vir privaat behuising bedoel. In laat 1902 is die eerste erwe op 'n publieke veiling verkoop en is met groot belangstelling begroet, veral vir eiendom in die Swart dorpsaanleg. Die Friedlanders het blitsig 200 erwe oos en twee dosyn wes van die spoorwegkamp verkoop.¹⁹

Die Wes-Kaapse Argief het twee afskrifte van die verkoopsvoorwaardes vir grond by De Aar in bewaring, een om 'n erf in die weste te koop en een vir eiendom in die ooste.²⁰ Alhoewel dit grootliks dieselfde lees, onthul nadere ondersoek van die twee weergawes die Friedlanders se finansiële motivering en spekulاسie sowel as die besigheidsverskille tussen die twee kante van die spoorweg. Alle kopers was verplig om 'n jaarlikse belasting van 3 pond vir 'n erf in De Aar-Wes en 1 pond tien sjielings vir 'n erf in De Aar-Oos, vir 'n onbepaalde tydperk, te betaal.²¹ 'n Verdere klousule het die gebruiksregte vir die verskillende erwe omskryf. Handel of ander besigheidsaktiwiteite

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- 16 Die Friedlanders het die plaas by D.F. Grundligh gekoop, wat sedert 1880 die eenaar was. (Sien ook voetnota 28.) Rakende die Friedlander broers en die uitleg van die Wit dorpsgebied, sien Venter (1952: 8). Daar is ook 'n Afrikaanse uitgawe van hierdie publikasie gepubliseer ter geleentheid van die vyftigste herdenking van De Aar. Oor die geskiedenis van die De Aar-hotel en die Friedlander broers het die destydse hotelbestuurder, J.H. Enslin, my op 9 Februarie 2012 met enkele getikte notas voorsien.
- 17 Vir die grootte van enkel erwe in De Aar-Wes, sien 'Report of Systematic Health Inspection of De Aar', 12 Maart 1928, E.H. Cluver, Assistent Gesondheidsbeampte, Pretoria; Nasionale Argief van Suid-Afrika (NASA): SAB-NTS-4309-162/313.
- 18 Die grootte van die individuele erwe in die Bloemfontein Erven, 40x40 voet (ca. 12x12 meter) word in 'n verslag van 1950 gegee. (Sien 'Inspeksie van Nie-Blanke Aangeleenthede in Stadsgebied van De Aar', 6 Oktober 1950; NASA: NTS-6036-162-313N.)
- 19 Die syfers vir De Aar-Oos is gebaseer op 'n verslag van die Assistentdistriksmagistraat, gedateer 6 Maart 1903. Die syfers vir De Aar-Wes is 'n beraming gebaseer op 'n petisie deur grondeienaars aan die Koloniale Sekretaris, geteken op 10 Maart 1903. (Sien vir beide; WCA: KBA-PAS-2/175.) Die grootte van 'n erf in die weste was gewoonlik 60'x120' (ca. 18x36 meter); die grootte van die in die ooste is nie aan my bekend nie. ('Report of Public Health Inspector', 9 April 1938, bl. 4; NASA: SAB-NTS-4309-162/313.)
- 20 Sien 'Friedlander Township. Conditions. Town Erven' en 'Friedlander Township. Conditions. Native Erven'; WCA: KBA-PAS-2/175.
- 21 Die bedrag van die heffing moet gesien word in verhouding met die £11 000 wat die Friedlanders betaal het vir die De Aar plaas in dieselfde jaar. Ek is nie seker wanneer hierdie heffings deel geword het van die munisipale eiendomsbelasting nie.

tennis, cricket, football, and racing, and public service facilities like cemeteries and outspans, whereas no such commitment was made to buyers in the East. For future sanitary installations, the terms of sale prohibited the construction of cesspools on both sides and entrenched the provision of land for the deposit of night soil. A further common clause stipulated that the purchasers had to take immediate steps to form a Village Management or Municipal Board – a decision which was, in fact, a state responsibility.

The Friedlander brothers' successful land sales increased pressure to declare De Aar railway station a proper town and establish formal local authority, a proposal supported by the magistrate after an official inquiry commissioned in Cape Town. The reasons that motivated the inquiry were demographic and highlighted the presence of 3 500 dwellers living around the railway station.²² The demand for plots in De Aar East, which sold much better than those in De Aar West, pointed to a widespread desire among Black residents to secure a piece of land where money and employment were available. According to the magistrate's report, around 500 people of different ethnic backgrounds were residing on acquired land bought from the Friedlanders, many of whom were employed by shopkeepers or otherwise.²³ However, the same report painted a sombre picture of housing and sanitation on the very same land: most Black residents were said to live in improvised shacks, an instance which gave cause for concern about control, infrastructure, and public service delivery. The proclamation of De Aar municipality, an area that included the Friedlanders' two settlements but excluded the railway camp, on 20 December 1904 was thus intended as a response to concerns for control.²⁴ In other words, what appeared at first sight as an organic transition from an originally private commercial initiative and an exercise in land speculation to the formalisation of local administrative structures and governance, was, in essence, Cape Town's top-down imposition of a regulatory regime onto an established African residential community of 3 500 members in a rural hinterland.

22 According to a census from 17 April 1903 there were 3 900 people living in De Aar, thereof 1600 listed as 'Europeans' and 2 300 as 'Natives'. Women and children formed the majority of the population. (Acting Assistant Resident Magistrate, De Aar to Colonial Secretary in Cape Town, 17 April 1903; WCA: KBA-PAS-2/175.)

23 'Kafir, Bastards, and Hottentots', Acting Assistant Resident Magistrate, De Aar to Colonial Secretary in Cape Town, 17 April 1903; WCA: KBA-PAS-2/175.

24 Government Proclamation No. 159, 20 May 1904.

was verbied in De Aar-Oos en beperk tot De Aar-Wes. Die Friedlander broers het die eksklusiewe regte om 'n hotel of klub te bedryf en alkohol te verkoop, verkry. Soos ons sal sien het hierdie beperkende klousules die grondslag gelê vir die broers se toekomstige welvaart. In ruil vir die betalings en toegewings is kopers in De Aar-Wes belowe dat grond opsygesit sal word vir sportaktiwiteite soos tennis, krieket, sokker en wedrenne, sowel as openbare diensfasiliteite soos begraafplase en ontspanningsplekke. In teenstelling hiermee is geen sulke ooreenkomste met die kopers in die ooste aangegaan nie. Met die oog op toekomstige sanitêre installasies het die verkoopsvoorwaardes die bou van vuilputte aan beide kante verbied en die voorsiening van land vir die storting van riool verskans. 'n Verdere algemene klousule het gestipuleer dat kopers onmiddellik stappe moes neem om 'n Dorpsbestuur of Munisipale Raad te vorm – 'n besluit wat in werklikheid een van die staat se verantwoordelikhede was.

Die Friedlander broers se suksesvolle grondverkope het druk laat toeneem om De Aar spoorwegstasie as 'n amptelike dorp te verklaar en 'n amptelike plaaslike gesag te vestig – 'n voorstel wat deur die magistraat ondersteun is nadat 'n amptelike ondersoek in opdrag van Kaapstad uitgevoer is. Demografiese redes is as motivering vir hierdie ondersoek aangevoer en het aangetoon dat 3 500 inwoners rondom die spoorwegstasie gewoon het.²² Die vraag na erwe in De Aar-Oos, wat baie beter verkoop het as die erwe in De Aar-Wes, het op 'n wydverspreide behoefte onder Swart inwoners gedui om 'n stukkie grond, naby areas waar geld en werk beskikbaar was, te bekom. Volgens die magistraat se verslag het ongeveer 500 mense van verskillende etniese agtergronde op grond gebly wat by die Friedlanders gekoop is. Baie van hierdie mense is deur winkeleienaars en ander in diens geneem.²³ Maar die verslag het ook 'n donker prentjie van die behuising en sanitasie op hierdie selfde land geskets: die meeste Swart inwoners het klaarblyklik in geïmproviseerde hutte gebly, wat tot kommer rakende beheer, infrastruktuur en publieke dienslewering gelei het. As antwoord op hierdie besorgdhede is die De Aar munisipaliteit op 20 Desember 1904 geproklameer: 'n area wat die Friedlanders se twee woongebiede ingesluit maar die spoorwegstasie uitgesluit het.²⁴ Met ander woorde, wat oorspronklik gelyk het na 'n organiese

22 Volgens 'n sensusopname van 17 April 1903 was daar 3 900 mense woonagtig in De Aar, waarvan 1 600 gelys is as 'Europeërs' en 2 300 as 'Inheems'. Vroue en kinders het die oorgrote meerderheid van die bevolking uitgemaak. (Waarnemende Assistent Inwoner Magistraat, De Aar aan Koloniale Sekretaris in Kaapstad, 17 April 1903; WCA: KBA-PAS-2/175.)

23 'Kafir, Bastards, and Hottentots', Waarnemende Assistent Inwoner Magistraat, De Aar aan Koloniale Sekretaris in Kaapstad, 17 April 1903; WCA: KBA-PAS-2/175.

24 Regering Problemasie No. 159, 20 Mei 1904.

Before the plan: De Aar as a railway junction and military camp

The founding of De Aar as a town brought an existing and predominately Black settlement with several thousands of residents under formal regulation. The presence of the residential community can be traced back to the establishment of the De Aar railway station. Somewhat arbitrarily, the British Cape Government Railways laid out the lines that linked the coastal towns in the south with Kimberley in the north so they would meet on the plains of the farm De Aar. Additionally, a perennial well that provided sufficient water helped identify the exact location of the railway station.²⁵ Thanks to a considerable construction effort that required a massive amount of labour, the railway lines were opened to traffic in early 1884, with Kimberley following in late 1885.²⁶

De Aar's residential community grew significantly during the building phase, and the remote settlement became a remarkably busy centre of rural life.²⁷ Economic prospects attracted many, among them the two Friedlander brothers, who had immigrated from Latvia to Cape Town and first worked as peddlers in the Eastern Cape. The brothers were astute enough to foresee the entrepreneurial possibilities associated with the construction of the railway station, and for a yearly fee of 400 pounds, they secured exclusive trading rights from the owner of the farm De Aar.²⁸ The Friedlanders first opened a general store that immediately prospered and later built the equally thriving De Aar Hotel to accommodate travellers. Business improved with the outbreak of the South African War in 1899, and the railway station consolidated its strategic importance in the area. The British military turned De Aar into one of their major military bases and railway depots, with thousands of Black workers employed by the army.²⁹ According to an official report from 1901, residents in the vicinity of the railway station included families of absent army employees,

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25 See Venter (1952: 1-2) – Farm surveying started in the area in the late 1830 with the farm De Aar occupied by a settler soon after.

26 According to 'General Manager South African Railways & Harbours, Annual Report' (1952/53: 180), the lines to De Aar were opened in March 1884 and the one to Kimberley in November 1885.

27 Well remembered is a huge fight on Christmas 1883 amongst two groups of African workers (around 800) originating from the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu Natal respectively leaving around 60 people dead on the field. See for example, Venter (1952: 4-5) and oral information by Sam Mooi, De Aar, 9 February 2011.

28 The then owner was a D.F. Grundligh, who had bought the farm in 1880. De Aar became a settler farm in around 1839 and its first owner was 'Swart' Jan Vermeulen. After his death, the farm was divided amongst his heirs, with the core area still called farm De Aar. For the various owners of the farm and the beginnings of the Friedlander brothers in De Aar, see Venter (1952: 3-4).

29 See Steve Lunderstedt (2006: 21, 27). According to Lunderstedt (2006: 27) the initial amount of labour employed was 1000 African people but by the end of the war 20 000 were employed by the army.

oorgang vanaf ’n privaat kommersiële inisiatief en oefening in grondspekulاسie na die formalisering van plaaslike administratiewe strukture en regering, was inderwaarheid Kaapstad se bo-na-onder hiërargiese afdwing van ’n beheerstelsel op ’n reeds gevestigde Afrika residensiële gemeenskap van 3 500 lede in ’n plattelandse hinterland.

Voor die plan: De Aar as ’n spoorwegaansluiting en militêre kamp

Die stigting van De Aar as ’n dorp het ’n bestaande, hoofsaaklik Swart nedersetting, met etlike duisende inwoners onder formele regulering geplaas. Die teenwoordigheid van die residensiële komitee kan teruggetrek word na die vestiging van die De Aar spoorwegstasie. Die Brits-Kaapse regeringspoorweë het ietwat na willekeur die spoorweglyne uitgelê wat die kUSDorpie in die suide met Kimberley in die noorde moes verbind sodat hulle op die vlaktes van die plaas De Aar sou ontmoet. Die teenwoordigheid van ’n standhoudende waterput het ook daartoe bygedra om die spoorwegstasie op dié spesifieke plek te vestig.²⁵ Danksy ’n beduidende bou poging wat ’n allemintige arbeidsmag benodig het, is die spoorweglyne vroeg in 1884 vir verkeer geopen, met die lyn na Kimberley wat in laat 1885 gevolg het.²⁶

21

De Aar se residensiële gemeenskap het aansienlik gegroei gedurende die boufase, en die afgeleë nedersetting het ’n verbasende besige middelpunt van plattelandse lewe geword.²⁷ Ekonomiese vooruitsigte het baie mense gelok, onder andere die twee Friedlander broers wat van Latvia na Kaapstad geïmmigreer het en eers as smouse in die Oos-Kaap gewerk het. Die broers was skerpsinnig genoeg om die entrepreneursmoontlikhede wat die bou van die spoorwegstasie sou meebring raak te sien, en vir ’n jaarlikse fooi van 400 pond het hulle die eksklusiewe handelsregte by die eienaar van die plaas De Aar verkry.²⁸ Die Friedlanders het eers ’n algemene handelaarswinkel

25 Sien Venter (1952: 1–2). Die opmeet van plase in die area het in die laat 1830 begin met die plaas De Aar wat kort daarna deur ’n setlaar betrek is.

26 Volgens die ‘General Manager South African Railways & Harbours, Annual Report’ (1952/53: 180), is die spoorweglyne na De Aar in Maart 1884 vir verkeer geopen en die een na Kimberley in November 1885.

27 Wat goed onthou word, is ’n reuse geveg op Kersfees 1883 tussen twee groepe Swart werkers (ongeveer 800) oorspronklik van die Oos-Kaap en KwaZulu-Natal onderskeidelik wat omtrent 60 mense dood agtergelaat het op die veld. Sien byvoorbeeld, Venter (1952: 4–5) en mondelinge inligting deur Sam Mooi, De Aar, 9 Februarie 2011.

28 Die vorige eienaar was ene D.F. Grundligh wat die plaas in 1880 gekoop het. De Aar het rondom 1839 ’n setlaarplaas geword en die eerste eienaar was ‘Swart’ Jan Vermeulen. Na sy dood is die plaas onder die erfgename verdeel met die kerngedeelte steeds plaas De Aar genoem. Vir die verskillende eienaars van die plaas en die Friedlander broers se begin in De Aar, sien Venter (1952: 3–4).

transport drivers, and numerous war refugees.³⁰ The report underscored inadequate sanitary conditions and the lack of control over the growing Black population concentrated around De Aar's railway station.³¹ Anxiety grew after the war ended and the army camp was dissolved. Administrative responsibilities were unclear at this stage since the railway authorities contended that the control of army employees did not fall within their remit.³² Only when Cape Town stepped in did policing and surveillance shift from military to civil administration – a development that also benefitted local businesses.

Archival information able to shed light on De Aar's social fabric at the turn of the twentieth century is scarce. Journals and photographs produced by British soldiers do, however, provide minor clues. Among this corpus is an album most probably compiled after the war that includes photographs taken in the African neighbourhoods in De Aar in 1902.

30 Senior Medical Officer, De Aar, to Commandant, 10 December 1901; WCA: KAB-CGR-2/1/330.

31 The majority of the Black residents lived on the eastern side of the railway line. However, there were also cartographical hints that there were also Black residents living on the western side of the railway line in the late nineteenth century: A map, published in 1907 but based on older information, depicts two African locations, a smaller one on the western side and a bigger one on the eastern side of the railway station. (Cape Colony Reconnaissance Series, 1:250 000, Sheet 128.R 'Britstown', published by War Office, May 1907.) Unfortunately, I was unable to trace further archival material.

32 Engineer in Chief, Cape Town, to General Manager of Railways, 18 January 1902; WCA: KAB-CGR-2/1/330.

oorgemaak wat onmiddellik floreer het en het later die ewe suksesvolle De Aar hotel gebou om reisigers te akkommodeer. Besigheid het steeds verbeter met die uitbreek van die Suid-Afrikaanse Oorlog in 1899, en die spoorwegstasie het sy strategiese belangrikheid in die area bevestig. Die Britse Weermag het De Aar in een van hulle hoof militêre basisse omskep, sowel as een van die hoofspoorwegdepots, en duisende Swart mense is deur die weermag in diens geneem.²⁹ Volgens 'n amptelike verslag van 1901 het inwoners in die omgewing van die spoorwegstasie families van afwesige weermagwerkers, drywers en talle oorlogsvlugtelinge ingesluit.³⁰ Die verslag het die ontoereikende sanitêre geriewe en die gebrek aan beheer oor die groeiende Swart bevolking wat rondom De Aar se spoorwegstasie gekonsentreerd was, uitgelig.³¹ Angstigheid het ontstaan nadat die oorlog geëindig het en die weermagbasis opgebreek is. Administratiewe verantwoordelikhede was nie op hierdie stadium duidelik nie, aangesien die spoorwegowerhede volgehou het dat die beheer van weermagpersoneel nie onder hulle gesag geval het nie.³² Eers toe Kaapstad ingegryp het, het polisiëring en sekuriteit van militêre na siviele administrasie geskuif – 'n verwikkeling waarby die plaaslike besighede ook gebaat het.

Argiefinligting wat lig kan werp op De Aar se sosiale samestelling met die draai van die twintigste eeu is skaars. Joernale en foto's deur Britse soldate gee wel 'n paar leidrade. In hierdie versameling is 'n album wat waarskynlik na die oorlog saamgestel is en wat foto's insluit wat in 1902 in die Swart woonbuurt in De Aar geneem is.

29 Sien Steve Lunderstedt (2006: 21, 27). Volgens Lunderstedt (2006: 27) was die aanvanklike aantal arbeiders deur die weermag in diens geneem 1 000 Swart mense, maar teen die einde van die oorlog was daar 20 000 in diens.

30 Senior Mediese Beampte, De Aar, aan Kommandant, 10 Desember 1901; WCA: KAB-CGR-2/1/330.

31 Die meerderheid van die Swart inwoners het aan die oostekant van die spoorlyn gewoon. Daar was egter kartografiese aanwysings dat daar ook Swart inwoners in die laat negentiende eeu aan die westekant van die spoorlyn gewoon het: 'n kaart, in 1907 gepubliseer, maar gegrond op ouer inligting, toon twee Swart lokasies aan: 'n kleiner een aan die westelike kant en 'n groter een aan die oostelike kant van die spoorweglyn. (Cape Colony Reconnaissance Series, 1:250 000, Sheet 128.R 'Britstown', gepubliseer deur die Oorlogskantoor, Mei 1907.) Ongelukkig kon ek nie verdere argiefmateriaal opspoor nie.

32 Hoofingenieur, Kaapstad, aan Algemene Bestuurder van Spoorweë, 18 Januarie 1902; WCA: KAB-CGR-2/1/330.

This panorama photograph entitled 'De Aar Kaffir Location' (Figure 3) shows the settlement East of the railway line and delineates the built environment at the time. Recognisable in the picture are big rectangular wooden structures with makeshift roofs made of flysheets or big cloths and mud walls. The windowless buildings likely accommodated large groups of people, mostly women, children, and refugees who sought shelter against extreme heat in summer and freezing cold in winter. Scattered metal drums commonly used for cooking and heating appear as faint markers of domesticity, but the photographic scene seems eerily deserted, as if the war had swept away social life.

24

The second image (Figure 4), titled 'De Aar Camp. From Top of Eastern Kopje', was taken in the same year and shows the De Aar junction with buildings in the background and parts of the military camp in the foreground. The photograph is part of a series in the album that depicts the military camps in the vicinity of De Aar station. Visible in this image and in numerous others from this period is a characteristic feature of military spatial practice and the rudimentary demarcation of spatial order. Clearly recognisable in the photograph's lower left-hand corner, and less so in the upper right section, are white stones lined up around the buildings, marking the limits of plots and camp sections.

Hierdie panoramiese foto getitel, '*De Aar Kaffir Location*' ('*De Aar Kaffer-lokasie*') (Figuur 3), wys die nedersetting oos van die spoorweglyn en is 'n afbeelding van die bou-omgewing van daardie tyd. Groot reghoekige houtstrukture, met tydelike dakke gemaak van biljette of groot stukke lap, en moddermure is herkenbaar in die foto. Die vensterlose geboue het waarskynlik groot groepe mense, hoofsaaklik vroue, kinders en vlugteling, wat skuiling gesoek het teen die uitermatige hitte in die somer en vriesende koue in die winter, gehuisves. Verspreide konkas, gewoonlik gebruik om op te kook of om hitte te gee, is sigbaar as vae aanduidings van huislikheid, maar die fotografiese toneel voel op 'n vreemde wyse verlate, asof die oorlog alle sosiale lewe weggevee het.

Die tweede foto (Figuur 4) getitel, '*De Aar Camp. From Top of Eastern Kopje*' ('*De Aar-kamp. Gesien vanaf die oostelike koppie*'), is in dieselfde jaar geneem en wys die De Aar aansluiting met geboue in die agtergrond en dele van die militêre kamp in die voorgrond. Die foto is deel van 'n reeks in die album wat militêre kampe in die nabyheid van die De Aar stasie uitbeeld. Sigbaar in hierdie foto, en vele ander van hierdie tydperk, is 'n karakteristieke kenmerk van militêre ruimtelike praktyke en die basiese afbakening van ruimtelike orde. Duidelik sigbaar links onder in die foto en minder sigbaar regs bo in die boonste



Figure 3: 'De Aar Kaffir Location'

(Photo Album Henry Edward Paston-Bedingfeld; National Library of South Africa: Special Collections, Cape Town, Album 87, INIL 7539)

Figuur 3: *De Aar Kaffer-lokasie*

(Fotoalbum Henry Edward Paston-Bedingfeld; Nasionale Biblioteek van Suid-Afrika: Spesiale Versamelings, Kaapstad, Album 87, INIL 7539)



Figure 4: 'De Aar Camp. From Top of Eastern Kopje'

(Photo Album Henry Edward Paston-Bedingfeld; National Library of South Africa: Special Collections, Cape Town, Album 87, INIL 7536)

Figuur 4: *De Aar-kamp. Gesien vanaf die oostelike koppie*

(Fotoalbum Henry Edward Paston-Bedingfeld; Nasionale Biblioteek van Suid-Afrika: Spesiale Versamelings, Kaapstad, Album 87, INIL 7536)

The practice of demarcation was in line with prescriptions set out in the so-called *Field Service Pocket Book* used by the South African army. The book stipulated the layout of a military camp, providing clearly defined rectangular units arranged in a strict spatial pattern. Once it was created, the ground plan laid the foundation for maintaining the camp's military hierarchy, operation, and labour division.³³

Spatial order of De Aar until the 1930s

The first blueprint discussed is titled 'Overview plan of De Aar indicating spatial order' (Figure 5) and dates back to 1927. In contrast to cartographic convention, the blueprint does not follow the north-south axis (with North at the top and South at the bottom). Instead, and somehow typical for the blueprint as a medium, the blueprint is adapted to the designer's or planner's needs (here, a kind of west-east axis). The blueprint gives an overview of the surveyed and legally defined areas of De Aar, indicated by solid lines. At the top of the blueprint are the 'De Aar Commonage' and the 'De Aar Township'; in the middle is the 'Railway Property' crossed by railway lines. The railway lines come from

³³ Defense Headquarters (1928).

hoek is wit stene wat om die geboue gepak is om die afbakening van die erwe en die kampgedeeltes aan te dui.

Die gebruik van afbakening was in lyn met die voorskrifte wat in die sogenoemde *Field Service Pocket Book* wat deur die Suid-Afrikaanse Weermag gebruik is, uiteengesit is. Die boek het die uitleg van die militêre kamp uiteengesit, en duidelik gedefinieerde reghoekige eenhede wat in 'n streng ruimtelike patroon gerangskik is voorgeskryf. Toe die grondplan uitgelê was, het dit ook die fondasie vir die instandhouding van die kamp se militêre hiërargie, bedryfs- en arbeidsafdeling gelê.³³

Ruimtelike orde van De Aar tot die 1930's

Die eerste bloudruk wat hier bespreek word is getitel, '*Overview plan of De Aar indicating spatial order*' (*Oorsigplan van De Aar wat die ruimtelike orde aandui*) (Figuur 5), en is gedateer 1927. In teenstelling met kartografiese konvensies volg die bloudruk nie die noord-suid aksis nie (met noord bo en suid onder). In plaas daarvan en ietwat tipies vir die bloudruk as 'n medium, is hierdie bloudruk aangepas volgens die ontwerper

³³ Defence Headquarters (Verdedigingshoofkwartier) (1928).

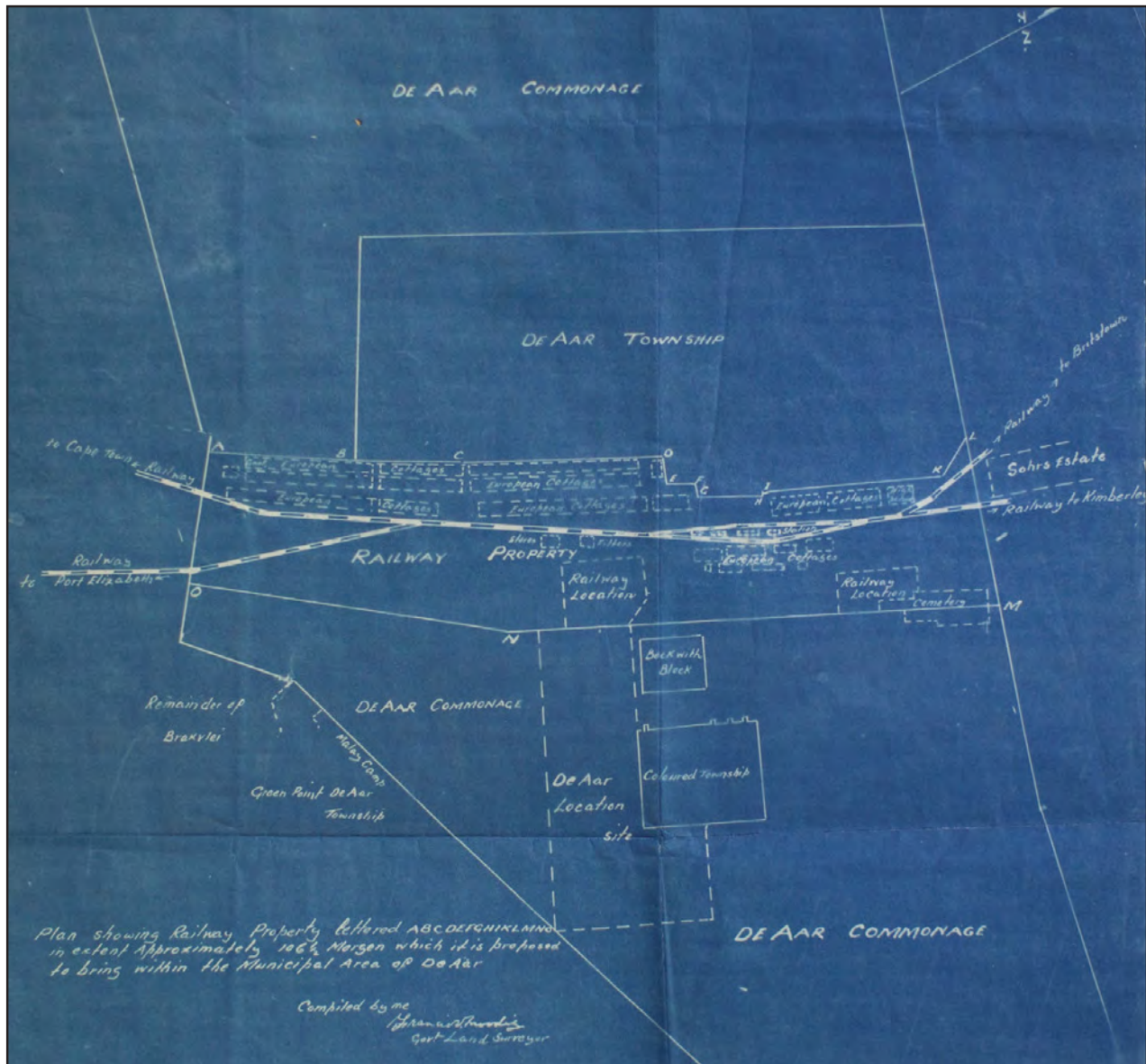


Figure 5: Overview plan of De Aar indicating spatial order, 1927 (WCA: TBK-PAA-E/219-A27/64)

Figuur 5: Oorsigplan van De Aar wat die ruimtelike orde aandui, 1927 (WCA: TBK-PAA-E/219-A27/64)

Cape Town and Port Elizabeth on the left and lead to Prieska/Windhoek and Kimberley on the right. At the bottom of the blueprint is another 'De Aar Commonage', including two plots named 'Coloured Township' and 'Beckwith Block'.

All the names on the blueprint are self-explanatory except the last one, which refers to a privately owned plot with three blocks of houses rented out to Black tenants.³⁴ The text at the bottom on the left, 'Plan showing railway property [...] which it is proposed to bring within the municipal area of De Aar', indicates why this plan was originally drawn. However, this specific blueprint eventually circulated for a different purpose and was used to discuss issues concerning the site and size of the Black location in De Aar, which the survey office in Cape Town indicated as 'De Aar Location' with thin dotted lines on the plan. The Cape Town official then sent the blueprint to the De Aar municipality to check for accuracy and to provide a verbal description of the site of the location needed for its proclamation in the Government Gazette. As this example shows, blueprints could be easily changed and adapted, and their ability to illustrate space formed part of the communication and mediation of geographical knowledge. Before turning to questions of formalising the 'Location' or a possible amalgamation of the various juridical entities in De Aar, I will provide a summary of how the various spatial entities depicted on the plan developed since the foundation of the municipality.

³⁴ On the Beckwith Block see Magistrate, De Aar, to Secretary of Native Affairs, Pretoria, 15 March 1934; NASA: SAB-NTS-4309-162/313.

of beplanner se behoeftes (hier, 'n soort van wes-oos aksis). Dié bloudruk gee 'n oorsig van die opgemete en wettig gedefinieerde areas van De Aar, aangedui deur soliede lyne. Bo-aan die bloudruk is die *De Aar Commonage* (De Aar gemeenskaplike grond) en die *De Aar Township* (De Aar Dorpsgebied); in die middel is die *railway property* (spoorwegeiendom) deurkruis met spoorlyne. Die spoorlyne kom van Kaapstad en Port Elizabeth aan die linkerkant en lei na Prieska/Windhoek en Kimberley aan die regterkant. Onder aan die bloudruk is nog 'n *De Aar Commonage* (De Aar gemeenskaplike grond) wat twee gedeeltes naamlik *Coloured Township* (Kleurling Dorpsgebied) en Beckwith Block (Beckwith Blok) ingesluit het.

Al die name op die bloudruk is selfverduidelikend behalwe die laaste een, wat verwys na 'n erf in privaat besit waarop drie blokke huise is wat aan Swart huurders verhuur word.³⁴ Die teks links onder, '*Plan showing railway property [...] which it is proposed to bring within the municipal area of De Aar*' ('Plan wat spoorwegeiendom aandui [...] wat volgens voorstel by die munisipale area van De Aar ingesluit sal word'), dui aan waarom hierdie plan oorspronklik opgetrek is. Maar hierdie bloudruk is uiteindelik vir 'n ander rede gesirkuleer en is gebruik om kwessies betreffende die terrein en grootte van die Swart-lokasie in De Aar, wat die opmetingskantoor as *De Aar location* (De Aar lokasie) met dun gestippelde lyne op die plan aangedui het, te bespreek. Die Kaapstadse amptenaar het toe die bloudruk aan die De Aar munisipaliteit gestuur om vir akkuraatheid na te gaan en om 'n mondelinge beskrywing van die ligging van die lokasie, benodig vir proklamasie in die Staatskoerant, te voorsien. Soos aangedui in hierdie voorbeeld kon bloudrukke maklik verander en aangepas word; die moontlikheid om ruimtes te illustreer vorm deel van die kommunikasie en mediasie van geografiese kennis. Voordat vroeë rondom die formalisering van die '*Location*' (Lokasie) of 'n moontlike amalgamasie van die onderskeie juridiese eenhede in De Aar bespreek word, sal ek 'n opsomming gee van hoe die onderskeie ruimtelike eenhede soos op die plan aangedui, ontwikkel het sedert die totstandkoming van die munisipaliteit.

34 Rakende die Beckwith Block (Beckwith Blok) sien Magistraat, De Aar, aan Sekretaris van Naturellesake, Pretoria, 15 Maart 1934; NASA: SAB-NTS-4309-162/313.

De Aar Township

Novelist Olive Schreiner, who lived in De Aar between 1907 and 1913, described the town in a letter to a friend in England as a place with only railway men, Black people, and a few hotels and shopkeepers who supplied their wants, but with no so-called 'society'.³⁵ She experienced this town in the making as both rough and, in a particular way, free:

De Aar is a low, drunken cursing swearing place; but anyhow it's free. In other upcountry towns you are prosecuted if you play golf on Sunday & fined, but there they play cricket and foot ball [sic]. The terrible oppressive shadow of the big Dutch church, which rises up as the physical and mental centre of life in all upcountry town and village, is very small and stands quite in the background, and one can breath[e].³⁶

30 Schreiner's ambiguous picture of the town exclusively referred to the De Aar Township, or De Aar West as one would say today, meaning the White part of the town, whereas she completely blends out the Black part of the town on the other side of the railway line. Indeed, the White township developed slowly during the first years, and urban growth only gained momentum with the declaration of a magistrate district in 1908. In Schreiner's time there were only a few public buildings, mainly simple corrugated iron constructions like the Carnarvon Hall, which served as both the town hall and school.³⁷ Residents drilled private boreholes because there was no public water supply system and high numbers of windpumps soon became a unique visual marker of the town.³⁸ However, De Aar's White residents had access to a golf course, a football field, and later a racing course for sporting activities. There was also a cinema for evening entertainment which, according to her husband, Olive Schreiner loved to frequent.³⁹

35 Olive Schreiner to Edward Carpenter, De Aar, 6 February 1908 (SMD 30/32/gii, National English Library Museum, Grahamstown, Olive Schreiner Letters project; accessed through The Olive Schreiner Letters Online).

36 Olive Schreiner to Edward Carpenter, De Aar, 6 February 1908, lines 48–55 (Olive Schreiner: Edward Carpenter SMD 30/32/gii, National English Library Museum, Grahamstown, Olive Schreiner Letters project; accessed through The Olive Schreiner Letters Online). The lack of dominant church buildings in particular of the Dutch Reformed Church, which Olive Schreiner praised, continued to last until 1924 when a huge new church building replaced the modest building of 1908, which was used by both Black and White people (Smit 1963).

37 On buildings and infrastructure in De Aar West around 1910, see Venter (1952: 10–12).

38 Cronwright-Schreiner (1924: 351).

39 Cronwright-Schreiner (1924: in particular pp. 339–340, 350–353, and 359–360).

De Aar Dorpsgebied

Die skrywer Olive Schreiner, wat van 1907 tot 1913 in De Aar woonagtig was, het die dorp, in 'n brief aan 'n vriend in Engeland, beskryf as 'n plek waar daar slegs spoorwegmense, Swart mense en 'n paar hotelle en winkeliers was wat in hulle behoeftes voorsien het maar daar was geen sogenaamde 'society' (wat sy verstaan het as beskaafde geselskap) nie.³⁵ Sy het hierdie ontwikkelende dorp as gelyktydig ru, en, op 'n sekere manier, vry, beskou:

(De Aar is 'n lae, dronk, skellende en vloekende plek; tog is dit vry. In ander binnelandse dorpe word jy vervolgd en beboet as jy op Sondag gholf speel en beboet, maar hier speel hulle krieket en voetbal. Die verskriklike neerdrukkende skaduwee van die groot Nederlandse kerk, wat as 'n baken van fisiese en geesteslewe in alle binnelandse dorpe uitstaan, is baie klein en staan stil in die agtergrond; mens kan asemhaal.)³⁶

Schreiner se dubbelsinnige beskrywing van die dorp het spesifiek na die De Aar dorpsgebied, of De Aar-Wes soos dit vandag genoem word, verwys. Met ander woorde, sy verwys na die Wit gedeelte van die dorp, terwyl sy die Swart gedeelte van die dorp aan die anderkant van die spoorweglyn heeltemal weglaat. Inderdaad, die Wit dorpsgebied het stadig gedurende die eerste jare ontwikkel en dorpsgroei het eers momentum verkry met die verklaring van 'n magistratsdistrik in 1908. In Schreiner se tyd was daar net 'n paar openbare geboue, hoofsaaklik eenvoudige sinkgeboue soos die Carnarvonsaal wat as beide die stadsaal en skool gedien het.³⁷ Inwoners het privaat boorgate geboor, aangesien daar geen openbare watervoorsieningstelsel was nie en windpompe het vinnig visuele bakens in die dorp geword.³⁸ De Aar se Wit inwoners het egter toegang gehad tot sportaktiwiteite, naamlik 'n gholfbaan, 'n voetbalveld en later 'n resiesbaan. Daar was ook 'n bioskoop vir vermaak in die aande, wat Olive Schreiner, volgens haar man, baie geniet het om by te woon.³⁹

35 Olive Schreiner aan Edward Carpenter, De Aar, 6 Februarie 1908 (SMD 30/32/gii, Die Nasionale Engelse Letterkundige Museum, Grahamstad, Olive Schreiner Letters project; toeganklik deur The Olive Schreiner Letters Online).

36 Olive Schreiner aan Edward Carpenter, De Aar, 6 Februarie 1908, lyne 48-55 (Olive Schreiner: Edward Carpenter SMD 30/32/gii, Nasionale Engelse Letterkundige Museum, Grahamstad, Olive Schreiner Letters project; toegang verkry deur The Olive Schreiner Letters Online). Die gebrek aan oorheersende kerkgeboue, wat deur Olive Schreiner geprys is, het tot 1924 voortgeduur toe 'n groot nuwe kerkgebou die beskeie gebou van 1908, wat deur beide Swart- en Witmense gebruik is, vervang het (Smit 1963).

37 Op geboue en infrastruktuur in De Aar-Wes om en by 1910, sien Venter (1952: 10-12).

38 Cronwright-Schreiner (1924: 351).

39 Cronwright-Schreiner (1924: spesifiek bl. 339-340, 350-353, en 359-360).

Once declared an official municipality, De Aar received a legal framework that regulated life in the town. A small brochure, *Municipality De Aar: Rules and Regulations* from 1909 specified how the local authorities of De Aar imagined their town.⁴⁰ Building regulations and a particular architectural vision feature in the brochure. New buildings were subject to specific construction procedures and had to fulfil certain requirements regarding structure and design. The owner had to submit detailed plans and specifications to the town council for approval before construction could start. These included, for instance, provisions for the building material used for the walls, namely, brick or stone, and their minimum thickness; the construction of the chimney, the ventilation of all spaces under floor, and the drainage of rainwater by proper eaves and gutters. In addition, the building density on a plot was regulated and defined by a minimum open space at the back or side of every building (150 square feet). The municipal regulations of 1909 defined the framework for the rapid development envisioned for the town. The number of people living in the White township west of the railway line doubled to over 2 000 between 1911 and 1921, an increase that reflected the dynamic development of South African Railways after the Union and the growing importance of De Aar as a railway junction.⁴¹ By 1927, De Aar had left behind its early years described by Olive Schreiner. Now an impressive tower of the newly opened Dutch Reformed Church building threw its shadow over the township and brick buildings had replaced the wood and iron constructions of the early days. Olive Schreiner would have had less to complain about as she would have been able to enjoy a variety of amenities for different leisure activities, shopping possibilities, and even the latest news and gossip in the *De Aar Echo*, the town's newspaper established in 1919. In 1928, the residents of the township west of the railway line were almost exclusively White, with only seven of the 349 dwellings owned and inhabited by Black families.⁴²

40 'Municipality De Aar: Rules and Regulations', 1909, Port Elizabeth; WCA: KAB-PAS-2/173 [L25/A/1].

41 A report from 1928 states that according to census there were 785 Europeans in 1911 and 2 149 in 1921. ('Report of Systematic Health Inspections of De Aar', 12 March 1928, E.H. Chluser, Assistant Health Officer, Pretoria; NASA: SAB-NTS-4309-162/313) – the history of De Aar by Venter (1952: 12) gives slightly higher numbers.

42 According to an official report from 1928. The report also states that the seven houses with Black ownership were in the hands of people classified 'Coloured'. (See 'Report of Systematic Health Inspection of De Aar', 12 March 1928, E.H. Cluser, Assistant Health Officer, Pretoria; NASA: SAB-NTS-4309-162/313.)

Met die verklaring van De Aar as 'n amptelike munisipaliteit het De Aar 'n regsraamwerk ontvang wat lewe in die dorp gereguleer het. 'n Dun brosjure, *Municipality De Aar: Rules and Regulations* (1909), het gespesifiseer hoe die plaaslike owerhede in De Aar hulle hul dorp voorgestel het.⁴⁰ Bouregulasies en 'n spesifieke argitektoniese visie is in die brosjure ingesluit. Nuwe geboue was onderhewig aan spesifieke bouprosedures en moes aan sekere vereistes rakende struktuur en ontwerp voldoen. Die eienaars moes gedetailleerde planne en spesifikasies aan die dorpsraad voorlê vir goedkeuring voordat bouwerk kon begin. Voorskrifte vir, onder andere, die boumateriaal vir die mure, naamlik stene of klip, en hulle maksimumdikte; die konstruksie van die skoorsteen; die ventilasie van alle ondervloerse ruimtes en die dreinerings van reënwater deur behoorlike dakoorhange en geute was ook hierin ingesluit. Verder was die konstruksiedigtheid op 'n erf deur 'n minimum oop ruimte aan die agter- of sykant van elke gebou (150 vierkante voet) gereguleer en gedefinieer. Die munisipale regulasies van 1909 het die raamwerk vir die verwagte vinnige groei van die dorp omskryf. Die aantal mense wat in die Wit dorpsgebied was van die spoorlyn gebly het, het verdubbel na meer as 2000 tussen 1911 en 1921, 'n toename wat die dinamiese ontwikkeling van die Suid-Afrikaanse Spoorweë na uniewording, en die groeiende belangrikheid van De Aar as 'n spoorwegaansluiting weerspieël het.⁴¹ Teen 1927 het De Aar die vormingsjare soos deur Olive Schreiner beskryf veragtergelaat. Nou het die indrukwekkende toring van die nuutgestigte Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk sy skaduwee oor die dorp laat val, en steengeboue het die hout- en staalkonstruksies van die vroeë dae vervang. Olive Schreiner sou minder gehad het om oor te kla, aangesien sy 'n verskeidenheid van ontspanningsaktiwiteite, inkopiemoontlikhede en selfs die nuutste nuus en skindernuus in die *De Aar Echo*, die dorpskoerant wat in 1919 gevestig is, sou kon geniet. In 1928 was die inwoners van die dorpsgebied was van die spoorweglyn amper eksklusief Wit, met slegs sewe van die 349 woonplekke wat aan Swart families behoort het.⁴²

40 'Municipality De Aar: Rules and Regulations', 1909, Port Elizabeth; WCA: KAB-PAS-2/173 [L25/A/1].

41 'n Verslag van 1928 verklaar dat daar volgens die sensusopname in 1911, 785 Europeërs en in 1921, 2 149 was. ('Report of Systematic Health Inspection of De Aar', 12 Maart 1928, E.H. Cluver, Assistent Gesondheidsbeampte, Pretoria; NASA: SAB-NTS-4309-162/313) Venter (1952: 12) se geskiedenis van De Aar gee effens hoër syfers.

42 Volgens 'n amptelike verslag van 1928. Die verslag verklaar ook dat die sewe huise met Swart eienaars in besit was van persone wat as 'Kleurling' geklassifiseer is. (Sien 'Report of Systematic Health Inspection of De Aar', 12 Maart 1928, E.H. Cluver, Assistent Gesondheidsbeampte, Pretoria; NASA: SAB-NTS-4309-162/313.)

Bloemfontein Erven and Beckwith Block

Let us cross the railway line and focus on De Aar East. On the blueprint above are two distinct entities indicated with full lines, namely the 'Coloured township', also known as the Bloemfontein Erven and the 'Beckwith Block', both demarcated as privately owned property. Also indicated, but with a dotted line, is an area named 'De Aar Location site', which I discuss in the next paragraph. The racial classifications in the name 'Coloured Township' suggest homogeneity of the residents which did not exist, at least because not all people owning property and living there were classified 'Coloured' by the authorities. As discussed earlier, the properties situated on the East of the railway line forming the Bloemfontein Erven were much more in demand than those on the West when auctioned off in 1902. The plots measured 40x40 feet (c. 12x12 metres) each, and the Black owners enjoyed all the freedom of private property owners except for restrictions defined by the Friedlander brothers with regard to business activities.⁴³ As on the other side of the railway the property owners in Bloemfontein Erven and the Beckwith Block were subjected to the municipality regulations and, for instance, constructing a new building in the Bloemfontein Erven required permission by the town council based on building plans submitted.⁴⁴ The Bloemfontein Erven consisted of ten rows of 20 small, detached houses generally built with brick walls and covered by a flat iron roof.⁴⁵

34

The Beckwith Block owed its name to Reverend Beckwith, formerly an Episcopalian Minister of the Methodist Mission Church in De Aar and official owner since 1906.⁴⁶ The Beckwith Block, later called St. Thomas Mission Block, consisted of three blocks of solid brick houses offering around 40-50 rooms, in which about 200 people, mainly classified as 'Coloureds', lived as tenants.⁴⁷ The

43 The size of the individual plots in the Bloemfontein Erven, 40x40 feet (circa 12x12 meter) is given in a report of 1950. (See 'Inspeksie van Nie-Blanke Aangeleenthede in Stadsgebied van De Aar', 6 Oktober 1950; NASA: SAB-NTS-6036-162-313N.)

44 Municipality of De Aar, Town Clerk, to Provincial Secretary, 7 June 1921; WCA: KAB-PAS-2/10/5.

45 'Report of Systematic Health Inspection of De Aar', 12 March 1928, E.H. Cluver, Assistant Health Officer, Pretoria; NASA: SAB-NTS-4309-162/313.

46 For a description of the Beckwith Block, which had a size of circa 60x70m, see Resident Magistrate De Aar to Acting Under Secretary of Native Affairs, Cape Town, 9 March 1911; NASA: SAB-NTS-4309-162/313. Earlier archival sources indicate that the Beckwith Block was sold to the Methodist Mission Church by the Friedlanders in 1902 (Memo by A.C., 28 March 1903; WCA: KAB-PAS-2/175). According to a document from 1934, the Block was donated by Beckwith to the English Church Mission (Anglican) in 1933. (Mag. De Aar to Secretary Native Affairs, 15 March 1934; NASA: SAB-NTS-4309-162/313).

47 See Municipality of De Aar, Town Clerk, to Provincial Secretary, 7 January 1921; WCA: KAB-PAS-2/10/05, and Mag. De Aar to Secretary Native Affairs, 15 March 1934; NASA: SAB-NTS-4309-162/313.

Bloemfontein Erven en Beckwith Block (Beckwith Blok)

Laat ons nou die spoorlyn oorsteek en op De Aar-Oos fokus. Op die bloudruk hierbo word twee afsonderlike gedeeltes met vol lyne aangedui, naamlik die *Coloured Township* (Kleurling Dorpsgebied), ook bekend as die Bloemfontein Erven en die *Beckwith Block* (Beckwith Blok), beide aangedui as eiendom in privaat besit. Ook aangedui, maar met 'n stippellyn, is 'n area genaamd *De Aar Location site* (De Aar Lokasie terrein) wat ek in die volgende paragraaf sal bespreek. Die rasseklassifikasie in die naam *Coloured Township* (Kleurling Dorpsgebied) mag die indruk skep dat die rassemestelling van die inwoners homogeen was, wat nie die waarheid was nie, tenminste nie omdat al die mense wat hier eiendom besit of gebly het as 'Kleurling' deur die owerhede geklassifiseer is nie. Soos vroeër bespreek, was daar 'n veel groter aanvraag na die eiendomme aan die oostekant van die spoorlyn, wat deel uitgemaak het van die Bloemfontein Erven toe dit in 1902 opgeveil is. Die erwe van 40x40 voet (ca. 12x12 meter) en die Swart eienaars het al die vryheid van privateienaars geniet behalwe vir die handelsbepelings soos deur die Friedlander broers bepaal.⁴³ Soos aan die anderkant van die spoorlyn was die eienaars in Bloemfontein Erven en *Beckwith Block* (Beckwith Blok) onderhewig aan die munisipaliteitsregulasies. Byvoorbeeld, om 'n nuwe gebou in Bloemfontein Erven op te rig het toestemming van die dorpsraad benodig, gegrond op die voorgelegde bouplanne.⁴⁴ Die Bloemfontein Erven het uit tien rye van 20 klein, losstaande huise bestaan, oor die algemeen gebou met steenmure en 'n plat sinkdak.⁴⁵

Die *Beckwith Block* (Beckwith Blok) het sy naam te danke aan Eerwaarde Beckwith, 'n voormalige Episkopale dominee van die Metodiste Sendingkerk in De Aar en die amptelike eienaar sedert 1906.⁴⁶ Die *Beckwith Block* (Beckwith Blok), later genoem die *St. Thomas Mission Block* (St. Thomas Sending Blok) het uit drie blokke van soliede baksteenhuse bestaan wat ongeveer 40-50 kamers

43 Die grootte van die individuele erwe in die Bloemfontein Erven, 40x40 voet (ca. 12x12 meter) is in 'n verslag van 1950 verstrekk. (Sien 'Inspeksie van Nie-Blanke Aangeleenthede in Stadsgebied van De Aar', 6 Oktober 1950; NASA: SAB-NTS-6036-162-313N.)

44 Munisipaliteit van De Aar, Dorpsklerk, aan Provinsiale Sekretaris, 7 Junie 1921; WCA: KAB-PAS-2/10/5.

45 'Report of Systematic Health Inspection of De Aar', 12 Maart 1928, E.H. Cluver, Assistent Gesondheidsbeampte, Pretoria; NASA: SAB-NTS-4309-162/313.

46 Vir 'n beskrywing van die Beckwith Block (Beckwith Blok), wat 'n area van ongeveer 60x70m beslaan het, sien Inwoner Magistraat De Aar aan Waarnemende Ondersekretaris van Naturellesake, Kaapstad, 9 Maart 1911; NASA: SAB-NTS-4309-162/313. Vroeëre argiefdokumente dui aan dat die Friedlanders in 1902 die Beckwith Block (Beckwith Blok) aan die Methodiste Sendingkerk verkoop het (Memo deur A.C., 28 Maart 1903; WCA: KAP-PAS-2/175). Volgens 'n dokument van 1934, is die blok in 1933 deur Beckwith aan die Engelse Kerksending (Anglikaans), geskenk. (Mag. De Aar aan Sekretaris van Naturellesake, 15 Maart 1934; NASA: SAB-NTS-4309-162/313).

rooms were constructed on the back-to-back principle with a door and a single window in the front. Some of the residents erected additional structures in front of their rooms that allowed for more space for living. Furthermore, people added enclosures made of tin or mud walls to keep animals such as goats and fowls. Two rooms shared a bucket toilet whilst the whole Beckwith Block received water from two communal taps served by a windmill pump.⁴⁸ Similar provisions were made for the Bloemfontein Erven as both sites were part of the formal municipality.

⁴⁸ See 'Report on Inspection of Conditions under which Natives are living in the Urban Areas of De Aar', 21 June 1938, Inspector of Urban Location; WCA: TBK-PAA-E/219-A27/64.

gehad het. Hierdie kamers het verblyf aan ongeveer 200 mense verskaf, hoofsaaklik as 'Kleurling' geklassifiseer.⁴⁷ Die kamers is volgens die rug-aan-rugbeginsel gebou met 'n deur en 'n enkele venster aan die voorkant. Sommige van die huurders het addisionele strukture voor hulle kamers opgerig om meer leefruimte te hê. Mense het ook gedeeltes afgekamp met modder of sinkplaatmure om diere soos bokke en hoenders aan te hou. Twee kamers het 'n emmertoeilet gedeel en al die inwoners van die *Beckwith Block* (Beckwith Blok) het water gekry by twee kommunale krane wat deur 'n windpomp bedien is.⁴⁸ Soortgelyke voorsiening is vir die Bloemfontein Erven gemaak, aangesien albei terreine deel gevorm het van die formele munisipaliteit.

47 Sien Munisipaliteit van De Aar, Dorpsklerk, aan Provinsiale Sekretaris, 7 Januarie 1921; WCA: KAB-PAS-2/10/05, en Mag. De Aar aan Sekretaris van Naturellesake, 15 Maart 1934; NASA: SAB-NTS-4309-162/313.

48 Sien 'Report on Inspection of Conditions under which Natives are living in the Urban Areas of De Aar', 21 Junie 1938, Inspekteur van Stedelike Ligging; WCA: TBK-PAA-E/219-A27/64.

De Aar Location

Unlike in the Bloemfontein Erven and the Beckwith Block, there was no private land ownership in the area indicated as 'De Aar Location'. The latter, also known as the municipal location, was a roughly designated but neither surveyed nor proclaimed area where Black people were supposed to live. Erecting a dwelling or a hut in the location required permission from the municipality and residents had to pay a monthly lease. According to the few existing official reports, around ninety percent of all dwellings were round or rectangular hovels, referred to as 'pondokkies', built of paraffin tins or clay with a few unspecified barracks in-between.⁴⁹ The municipal location had a varying population number that increased from around 1 500 in the late 1910s to over 3 000 in the mid-1920s.⁵⁰ Despite the substantial income generated through the taxes paid by the location's residents, the municipality only provided minimal services consisting of a few bucket toilet facilities and water taps. The municipality's disinterest in the state of the location infrastructure even enraged an official inspector who visited the location in 1917. He assessed that sanitation facilities in the location were a disgrace, with only 18 latrines for a population of over 1 300 people, just two small water tanks, no washing facilities for people or clothes, and no isolation ward for people with infectious diseases. The official concluded that the municipality made a profit from the tax income generated in the location.⁵¹

38

In the daily lives of people living East of the railway line, the differentiated legal residential status East of the railway line did not determine people's daily lives, and social interaction transcended structural forms of urban segregation. People shared public spaces and infrastructure and would fetch water at the nearest water point. Church buildings played an important role in social cohesion, among them the former Lutheran Mission Church built at the edge of the Bloemfontein Erven in or around 1914 (and preserved to the present) or the Catholic school and convent established

49 On the discourse around the *pondokkie* architecture in the African location see for example, Gary Minkley (1998). On the various building technics see for instance, Louis Mallett (2006: especially pp. 19–30).

50 The respective figures in the various reports substantially differ. Census data in a report of 1928 suggest that the population in whole area of De Aar East grew from slightly over 2 000 in 1904 to an estimated 5000 in 1926. (See 'Report of Systematic Health Inspection of De Aar', 12 March 1928, E.H. Cluver, Assistant Health Officer, Pretoria; NASA: SAB-NTS-4309-162/313.)

51 SA Police, Sub-inspector, De Aar, to Town Clerk, De Aar, 14 November 1917; WCA: KAB-PAS-2/175. – The African location dwellers subsidising the development of the White part of the town was that exceptional. See for example, Davenport (1969: here p. 99).

De Aar-Lokasie

Anders as in die Bloemfontein Erven en die *Beckwith Block* (Beckwith Blok), was daar geen privaat grondbesit in die area wat as *De Aar Location* (De Aar-Lokasie) aangedui is nie. Hierdie gedeelte was ook bekend as die munisipale lokasie en was 'n rofweg aangewese area, wat nie opgemeet of gepronkameer was nie, waar die Swart mense veronderstel was om te bly. Om 'n woonplek of 'n hut op te rig moes die inwoners 'n maandelikse huur betaal. Volgens die paar bestaande amptelike verslae was ongeveer negentig persent van al die woonplekke ronde of reghoekige krotte, wat pondokkies genoem is en van paraffienblikke of klei gebou is, met 'n paar ongespesifiseerde barakke tussenin.⁴⁹ Die munisipale lokasie het 'n wisselende inwonertal gehad wat van ongeveer 1 500 in die laat 1910's en tot meer as 3 000 in die middel 1920's vermeerder het.⁵⁰ Ondanks die beduidende inkomste danksy die belasting wat deur die lokasie se inwoners betaal is, het die munisipaliteit slegs minimale dienste verskaf bestaande uit 'n paar emmertollette en waterkrane. Die munisipaliteit se belangeloosheid in die toestand van die lokasie se infrastruktuur het selfs 'n amptelike inspekteur wat die lokasie in 1917 besoek het, laat rooi sien. Hy het vasgestel dat die sanitêre geriewe in die omgewing 'n skande was, met net 18 toilette vir 'n bevolking van meer as 1 300 mense, slegs twee klein watertanks, geen wasgeriewe vir mense of hulle klere nie en geen isolasiesaal vir mense met aansteeklike siektes nie. Die amptenaar het tot die gevolgtrekking gekom dat die munisipaliteit wins gemaak het uit die lokasie se belastinginkomste.⁵¹

Die gedifferensieerde, wettige verblyfstatus aan die oostekant van die spoorweg het nie die inwoners se daaglikse lewens bepaal nie, en sosiale interaksie het oor die strukturele vorms van dorpsegregasie heen plaasgevind. Mense het openbare ruimtes en infrastruktuur gedeel en sou by die naaste waterpunt gaan water haal. Kerkgeboue het 'n belangrike rol in sosiale samehörigheid gespeel, onder andere die eertydse Lutherse Sendingkerk wat rondom 1914 op die rand van die Bloemfontein Erven gebou is (en behoue gebly het tot vandag) of die Katolieke skool en klooster

49 Rakende die gesprekvoering oor die *pondokkie*-argitektuur in die Swart lokasie, sien byvoorbeeld Gary Minkley (1998). Rakende die verskillende bouetgnieke, sien byvoorbeeld Louis Mallett (2006: spesifiek bl. 19–30).

50 Die onderskeie syfers in die verskillende verslae verskil aansienlik. Volgens sensusdata in 'n 1928 verslag het die bevolking van die oorkoepelende De Aar-Oos effens vermeerder van net oor die 2 000 in 1904 tot 'n beraamde 5 000 in 1926. (Sien 'Report of Systematic Health Inspection of De Aar' 12 Maart 1928, E.H. Cluver, Assistent Gesondheidsbeampte, Pretoria; NASA: SAB-NTS-4309-162/313.)

51 SA Polisie, Sub-inspekteur, De Aar, aan Dorpsklerk, De Aar, 14 November 1917; WCA: KAB-PAS-2/175. Die Swart lokasie inwoners wat die ontwikkeling van die Wit gedeelte van die dorp gesubsidieer het was hoogs uitsonderlik. Sien byvoorbeeld Davenport (1969: hier bl. 99).

in or around 1926, situated just outside the municipal boundary.⁵² Residents had demarcated two football fields or organised dance parties for leisure activities.⁵³ Likewise, there was no clear divide from the other Black residential areas namely, Greenpoint and the Malay Camp, situated south of the municipal location and officially not part of the De Aar municipality. Notably, racial segregation also existed with regard to the two commonages indicated on the blueprint, with Black residents grazing their livestock on the one in the East and White residents on the one in the West.

Railway Camp

The railway camp, since the founding of the Union in 1910 owned by the newly founded state owned company South African Railways, formed the physical barrier between De Aar West and De Aar East and was beyond the municipality's control. Next to the station building and other technical railway infrastructure, the railway company also maintained different housing types for their workers inside the railway camp, indicated as 'Railway Property' on the blueprint. Although the details are hardly visible, the blueprint of 1927 shows that the layout of the railway camp mirrored De Aar's spatial segregation. Several rows of cottages, subdivided into 178 entities, were built by the railway company in the camp to accommodate workers and their families. Most of these barracks, indicated as 'European Cottages' on the blueprint, housed White workers and stood along the western side of the railway track, whereas a few 'Coloured Cottages' were situated on the other side of the railway line where we can detect two sites demarcated as 'Railway Locations' on the blueprint.⁵⁴ By the mid-1920s the railway authorities had begun to replace the original barracks for the railway workers, made of wood and iron sheets, with more solid brick structures now called cottages. Beneficiaries of such improvement were first the White workers on the western side of the railway line who also lived in much less crowded conditions than their Black colleagues on the eastern side.⁵⁵ In particular, the residents of the two series of six blocks

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52 For the Catholic school and sister convent see Magistrate De Aar to Secretary Native Affairs, 15 March 1934, Pretoria; NASA: SAB-NTS-4309-162/313 – However, there was no mosque in De Aar.

53 For a reference to dance parties in the Bloemfontein Erven see the file, 'Vagrancy at Railway Location De Aar', 1908, Buizenhout, K.; WCA: KAB-AG-1850-17755. For reference to the football fields see 'Report on Inspection of Conditions under which Natives are living in the Urban Areas of De Aar', 21 June 1938, Inspector of Urban Location; WCA: TBK-PAA-E/219-A27/64.

54 For the figure of 178 railway houses in the railway camp see 'Memorandum Mayor: De Aar: Meeting with Councillors and the Railway Camp Management Committee held in the Council Chamber', 22 August 1927; WCA: KAB-SMK-W1/13/23-3.

55 See 'Report of Systematic Health Inspection of De Aar', 12 March 1928, E.H. Cluver, Assistant Health Officer, Pretoria; NASA: SAB-NTS-4309-162/313.

wat rondom 1926, net buite die munisipale grens, gebou is.⁵² Vir ontspanning het inwoners twee voetbalvelde uitgemerk of danse georganiseer.⁵³ Net so was daar ook geen duidelike skeiding van die ander Swart residensiële areas, naamlik Greenpoint en Malay Camp (die Maleierkamp) nie, wat suid van die munisipale lokasie geleë was en nie amptelik onder die De Aar-munisipaliteit geval het nie. Dit was opmerklik dat daar ook rassese segregasie in die twee gemeenskaplike areas aangedui op die bloudruk bestaan het. Die Swart inwoners het hulle vee op die gemeenskaplike area in die suide en Wit mense op die gemeenskaplike area in die weste laat wei.

Spoorwegkamp

Die spoorwegkamp wat sedert die stigting van die Unie in 1910 in die besit van die nuutgevonde staatsbesitmaatskappy Suid-Afrikaanse Spoorweë was, was die fisiese skeiding tussen De Aar-Wes en De Aar-Oos en was buite munisipale beheer. Langs die stasiegebou en ander spoorweginfrastruktuur het die spoorwegmaatskappy ook verskeie tipes behuising vir hulle werkers binne die spoorwegkamp onderhou, aangedui as *Railway Property* (Spoorwegeiendom) op die bloudruk. Alhoewel die besonderhede skaars sigbaar is, dui die bloudruk van 1927 aan dat die uitleg van die spoorwegkamp De Aar se ruimtelike segregasie weerspieël het. Verskeie rye huisies, wat in 178 eenhede onderverdeel is, is deur die spoorwegmaatskappy gebou om werkers en hulle families te huisves. Die meeste van hierdie barakke, op die bloudruk aangedui as *European Cottages* (Europeër-huisies) het Wit werkers gehuisves en het aan die westekant van die spoorweglyn gestaan, terwyl 'n paar *Coloured Cottages* (Kleurlinghuisies) aan die anderkant van die spoorweg geleë was. Hier kan twee terreine, aangedui as *Railway Locations* (Spoorweglokasies), gesien word.⁵⁴ Teen die middel 1920's het die spoorwegowerhede die oorspronklike hout-en-sinkbarakke van die spoorwegwerkers met meer soliede baksteenstrukture, nou huisies genoem, begin vervang. Die eerste persone wat voordeel getrek het uit hierdie verbeterings was die Wit werkers aan die westekant van die spoorlyn wat in minder digte omstandighede as hulle Swart kollegas aan die oostekant gewoon het.⁵⁵ Die inwoners van die twee reekse van ses blokke,

52 Vir die Katolieke skool en susterklooster sien Magistraat De Aar aan Sekretaris van Naturellesake, 15 Maart 1934, Pretoria; NASA: SAB-NTS-4309-162/313. Daar was egter geen moskee in De Aar nie.

53 Vir 'n verwysing na danspartytjies in die Bloemfontein Erven, sien die lêer 'Vagrancy at Railway Location De Aar', 1908, Buizenhout, K; WCA: KAB-AG-1850-17755. Vir 'n verwysing na die voetbalvelde, sien 'Report on Inspection of Conditions under which Natives are living in the Urban Areas of De Aar', 21 Junie 1938, Inspekteur van Stedelike Ligging; WCA: TBK-PAA-E/219-A27/64.

54 Vir die afbeelding van die 178 spoorweghuise in die spoorwegkamp, sien 'Memorandum Mayor: De Aar: Meeting with Councillors and the Railway Camp Management Committee held in the Council Chamber', 22 Augustus 1927; WCA: KAB-SMK-W1/13/23-3.

55 Sien 'Report of Systematic Health Inspection of De Aar', 12 Maart 1928, E.H. Cluver, Assistent Gesondheidsbeampte, Pretoria; NASA: SAB-NTS-4309-162/313.

with back-to-back rooms, built with green bricks and plaster on the sites indicated as 'Railway Locations', often reported that the rooms were unbearably hot in summer.⁵⁶ The railway camp and its more than a thousand residents were under the direct control of the railway authorities, however, once they moved to recreational areas on both sides of the line the municipality was in charge.⁵⁷ Living under two different authorities provided some leeway and enabled residents to circumvent restrictions occasionally. In the late 1910s, for instance, the general control in the municipal location was considered less strict than in the railway location, making the former more attractive as a place of residence.⁵⁸ A decade later, on the other hand, brewing beer had become highly regulated in the municipal location but not in the railway location. As we shall see, navigating the differentiated regulatory regimes across urban locations was a shared strategy by both Black and White workers.⁵⁹

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As stated above, the blueprint was originally drawn as a medium for two distinct bureaucratic conversations: first, the planned integration of the railway camp into the municipality – which ultimately failed – and then the proclamation of a municipal location in 1927.⁶⁰ The De Aar municipal authorities were the driving force behind integration. In a memorandum of 1927, the mayor called the situation in De Aar an absolute exception in South Africa. Ending the anomaly, he argued, would generate additional tax revenue for constructing a town hall, market premises, and abattoirs. Integration was also considered fair in view of sharing investment costs between the municipality and the railways.⁶¹ The economic rationale seemed attractive to the railway administration, though it remained reluctant to support integration fully, especially since there was employee resistance. Railway workers vehemently rejected integration plans, fearing they would face a tax increase under municipality rule but receive lower quality service. Workers

56 'Report on Inspection of Conditions under which Natives are living in the Urban Areas of De Aar', 21 June 1938, Inspector of Urban Location; WCA: TBK-PAA-E/219-A27/64.

57 According to a local newspaper article, the railway camp had 1516 inhabitants in 1921 (*De Aar Echo*, 15 June 1922, No 148, p. 3).

58 The claim that Black workers preferred the municipal location to the neighbouring railway location was, for instance, made by the Town Clerk of De Aar, though not in respect to the less severe control in the location (Town Clerk, De Aar, to Acting Secretary for the Interior, Pretoria, 15 December 1917; WCA: KAB-PAS-2/175).

59 'Memorandum by the Mayor of De Aar (Councillor T.G. Makepeace) regarding the proposed extension of the boundary of the De Aar municipality, by the inclusion of the railway camp', 6 June 1927; WCA: KAB-SMK-W1/13/23-3.

60 Government Notice No. 1690, 30 September 1927.

61 'Memorandum by the Mayor of De Aar (Councillor T.G. Makepeace) regarding the proposed extension of the boundary of the De Aar municipality, by the inclusion of the railway camp.', 6 June 1927; WCA: KAB-SMK-W1/13/23-3 – Note that the land property tax was and still is a crucial income for municipalities in South Africa.

bestaande uit die rug-aan-rug kamers wat met groen stene en sement op die terreine aangedui as *Railway Locations* (Spoorweglokasies) gebou is, het gereeld in die somer gerapporteer dat die kamers ondraaglik warm was.⁵⁶ Die spoorwegkamp en die meer as 'n duisend inwoners was onder die direkte beheer van die spoorwegowerhede, behalwe as hulle na die ontspanningsareas aan beide kante van die lyn beweeg het waar die munisipaliteit in beheer was.⁵⁷ Om onder twee verskillende owerhede te val het 'n bietjie beweegruimte tot gevolg gehad en het die inwoners in staat gestel om somtyds beheermaatreëls te omseil. In die laat 1910's, byvoorbeeld, was die algemene beheer in die munisipale lokasie as minder streng beskou as in die spoorweglokasie, wat die munisipale lokasie as woonplek meer aantreklik laat lyk het.⁵⁸ Aan die ander kant het die brou van bier later hoogs gereguleerd geraak in die munisipale lokasie, maar nie in die spoorweglokasie nie. Soos ons sal sien was die navigering van die verskillende reguleringstelsels 'n gedeelde strategie van beide Swart en Wit werkers.⁵⁹

Soos hierbo genoem, is die bloudruk oorspronklik opgetrek as 'n medium vir twee bepaalde burokratiese gesprekke: eerstens die beplande integrasie van die spoorwegkamp met die munisipaliteit, wat uiteindelik gefaal het, en tweedens die proklamasie van 'n munisipale lokasie in 1927.⁶⁰ Die De Aar-munisipale owerhede was die dryfkrag agter integrasie. In 'n 1927 memorandum het die burgermeester na die situasie in De Aar verwys as 'n absolute uitsondering in Suid-Afrika. Die beëindiging van die afwyking sou volgens hom addisionele belastings tot gevolg gehad het wat aangewend sou kon word om 'n stadsaal, markterrein en slaghuise te bou. Integrasie is ook as regverdig beskou in ag genome dat die beleggingskoste tussen die munisipaliteit en die spoorweë gedeel sou word.⁶¹ Die ekonomiese rasionaal was aantreklik vir die spoorwegadministrasie,

56 'Report on Inspection of Conditions under which Natives are living in the Urban Areas of De Aar', 21 Junie 1938, Inspekteur van Stedelike Ligging; WCA: TBK-PAA-E/219-A27/64.

57 Luidens 'n berig in die plaaslike koerant het die spoorwegkamp in 1921, 1 516 inwoners gehad (*De Aar Echo*, 15 Junie 1922, No 148, bl. 3).

58 Die opmerking dat die Swartmense die munisipale lokasie bo die aangrensende spoorweglokasie verkies het is, byvoorbeeld, deur die Dorpsklerk van De Aar gemaak, alhoewel nie met verwysing na die minder streng beheer in die lokasie nie (Dorpsklerk, De Aar, aan Waarnemende Sekretaris vir die Binneland, Pretoria, 15 Desember 1917; WCA: KAB-PAS-2/175).

59 'Memorandum by the Mayor of De Aar (Councillor T.G. Makepeace) regarding the proposed extension of the boundary of the De Aar municipality, by the inclusion of the railway camp', 6 Junie 1927; WCA: KAB-SMK-W1/13/23-3.

60 Regeringskennisgewing No. 1690, 30 September 1927.

61 'Memorandum by the Mayor of De Aar (Councillor T.G. Makepeace) regarding the proposed extension of the boundary of the De Aar municipality, by the inclusion of the railway camp', 6 Junie 1927; WCA: KAB-SMK-W1/13/23-3. Neem asseblief kennis dat die grondbelasting 'n kritiese bron van inkomste vir die munisipaliteite van Suid-Afrika was, en steeds is.

mobilised successfully in the railway camp, receiving strong support from unions for their demands.⁶² In a poll initiated by the railway administration in August 1928, most workers spoke out against integration and the issue was off the agenda for the next decade.⁶³

Let me end the discussion of the overview plan of 1927 with a photograph (Figure 6) taken from a small hill west of De Aar in the 1910s or early 1920s.⁶⁴ The photograph, kept in the Transnet Heritage Library, is the oldest of the very few historical images we know, which provides a view of the whole town. In the foreground we see De Aar West with numerous plots of land. On the left margin of the image the steam of a locomotive is visible,

62 See National Union Railways & Harbours, De Aar Branch, to Minister of Railways & Harbours, Cape Town, 30 September 1924; 'Memorandum Mayor: De Aar: Meeting with Councillors and the Railway Camp Management Committee held in the Council Chamber: Monday 22 August [1927]' – present at the meeting was a representative of the Camp Management Committee; 'Petition from Railway Servants of all Grades at De Aar in Regard to the Proposed Municipal Control of the Railway Camp De Aar', signed by 274 railway workers and submitted to the Minister of Railway on 1 December 1927; WCA: KAB-SMK-W1/13/23-3.

63 For a summary, see Town Clerk, De Aar, to Provincial Secretary, Cape Town, 9 January 1941; WCA: TBK-PAA-E/219-A27/59.

64 The only clearly visible church building is the modest first church, rather a house of prayer ('bedehuis') of the Dutch Reformed Church, inaugurated in 1907 (Smit 1963: 14–16). The low density of buildings, on both sides of the railway line and the limited extension of the municipal location let me guess that the image was taken in the early 1910s.

alhoewel hulle weerstand van die werknemers beleef het. Spoorwegwerkers het integrasieplanne driftig verwerp, aangesien hulle bevrees was dat die belastings onder munisipale beheer verhoog sou word, maar dat dienslewering sou verswak. Werkers het suksesvol in die spoorwegkamp gemobiliseer en hulle eise is sterk deur die unies ondersteun.⁶² In 'n opname deur die spoorwegadministrasie in Augustus 1928 het die meeste werkers hulle teen integrasie uitgespreek en die kwessie is vir die volgende tien jaar eenkant toe geskuif.⁶³

Laat my die bespreking van die oorsigplan van 1927 afsluit met 'n foto (Figuur 6) geneem vanaf 'n koppie wes van De Aar in die 1910's of vroeë 1920's.⁶⁴ Die foto, gehou in die Transnet

62 Sien Nasionale Unie Spoorweë en Hawens, De Aar Tak, aan Minister van Spoorweë en Hawens, Kaapstad, 30 September 1924; 'Memorandum Mayor: De Aar: Meeting with Councillors and the Railway Camp Management Committee held in the Council Chamber: Monday 22 August [1927]'. Teenwoordig by die vergadering was 'n verteenwoordiger van die Kampbestuurskomitee; 'Petition from Railway Servants of all Grades at De Aar in Regard to the Proposed Municipal Control of the Railway Camp De Aar', deur 274 spoorwegwerkers onderteken en 1 Desember 1927 aan die Minister van Spoorweë voorgelê; WCA: KAB-SMK-W1/13/23-3.

63 Vir 'n opsomming, sien Dorpsklerk, De Aar, aan Provinsiale Sekretaris, Kaapstad, 9 Januarie 1941; WCA: TBK-PAA-E/219-A27/59.

64 Die enigste kerkgebou wat duidelik sigbaar is, is die beskeie eerste kerk, eerder 'n gebedshuis, van die Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, ingewy in 1907 (Smit 1963: 14–16). Die lae digtheid van geboue aan beide kante van die spoorlyn en die beperkte uitbreiding van die munisipale lokasie laat my dink dat die foto in die vroeë 1910's geneem is.



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Figure 6: Photograph of De Aar, circa the 1910s or early 1920s
(Transnet Heritage Library, Album 01 De Aar, crop of photograph 23434)

Figuur 6: Foto van De Aar, circa die 1910's of vroeë 1920's
(Transnet Heritage Library, Album 01 De Aar, geknipte foto 23434)

which indicates the railway line crossing the image and the location of the railway camp. Behind the railway line towards the bare plain, we see the Bloemfontein Erven with its tiny houses on the left, the huts of the municipal location, and the Beckwith Block buildings further to the right. The photograph visualises a segregated town dominated by the White residential area and the railway infrastructure, whilst the Black residential part is relegated to the margin. In other words, the photograph echoes the narrow conception of the town's urban environment sketched out in the blueprint of 1927. In my discussion of the blueprint I draw a more comprehensive picture of the specific history of De Aar's urban development during the first decades after its proclamation as a town in 1904. Paying careful attention to the concerns and policies that informed urban planning and how they materialised in the built environment has allowed for a reconstruction of a special design, which complicates the basic dichotomy of a Black versus White urban division. Various financial investments, property rights, legal statutes, and housing structures shaped the built environment in the Black part of town.

Moving on to two additional blueprints that specify the architectural layout of different parts of De Aar, I will continue an inquiry that shows the municipality's dynamic growth experience, albeit still divided by the railway camp.

Erfenis Biblioteek, is die oudste van die baie min historiese afbeeldings waarvan ons weet, en wat 'n uitsig van die hele dorp gee. In die voorgrond sien ons De Aar-Wes met 'n hele aantal erwe. Aan die linkerkant van die foto is 'n lokomotief se stoom sigbaar wat 'n aanduiding is dat die spoorlyn oor die foto loop, asook die ligging van die spoorwegkamp. Agter die spoorlyn, nader aan die kaal vlakke, sien ons die Bloemfontein Erven met sy klein huise aan die linkerkant, die hutte van die munisipale lokasie en die *Beckwith Block* (Beckwith Blok) verder na regs. Die foto is 'n visuele voorstelling van 'n gesegregeerde dorp wat gedomineer word deur die Wit residensiële area en die spoorweginfrastruktuur, terwyl die Swart residensiële gedeelte na die kantlyn toe geskuif is. Met ander woorde, die foto eggo die eng begrip van die dorp se dorpsomgewing, uitgeskets in die bloudruk van 1927. In my bespreking van die bloudruk het ek 'n meer omvattende prentjie van die spesifieke geskiedenis van De Aar se ontwikkeling gedurende die eerste paar dekades na dorpsproklamasie in 1904 geskets. Deur noukeurige aandag te skenk aan die belange en beleide wat dorpsbeplanning beïnvloed het en hoe dit deur die bou-omgewing gematerialiseer het, is voorsiening gemaak vir 'n rekonstruksie van 'n spesiale ontwerp wat die basiese digotomie (tweeledige verdeling) van 'n Swart versus Wit dorpsverdeling gekompliseer het. Verskeie finansiële beleggings, eiendomsregte, wette en behuisingstrukture het bygedra om die bou-omgewing in die Swart gedeelte van die dorp te vorm.

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As ons aanbeweeg na die twee addisionele bloudrukke wat die argitektoniese uitleg van die verskillende gedeeltes van De Aar aanwys, sal ek voortgaan om die munisipaliteit se dinamiese groei na te vors nieteenstaande dat dit steeds deur die spoorwegkamp verdeel was.

Extension of De Aar West Township since the 1930s

The blueprint 'De Aar' (Figure 7) from 1938 is a very detailed representation of space, sophisticatedly drawn and signed by an Albertus A. Van Wyk. The blueprint depicts the architectural structure of De Aar West, that is, all the individual plots and streets of the 'European' part of the town. We see lines forming a symmetrical grid of streets with over six hundred standardised plots of the same rectangular size and shape, only interrupted by some mergers of single standardised plots into bigger plots. All plots are numbered, and named streets structure their layout. A careful look allows for identifying the plots on which houses had been built because in these cases, the house numbers were also indicated. Through its structural clarity, the blueprint transmits a particular aesthetic of almost artistic quality, visualising what I have described in words. The plan's notion of a strict geometrical order of urban space, though, was more than a simple vision, but corresponded with the regulative framework of the built environment for this part of the town, which determined or at least influenced how urban space was perceived and experienced by its inhabitants. As we have seen before, the *Rules and Regulations* (1909) defined the density of buildings and

Uitbreiding van die De Aar-Wes Dorpsgebied sedert die 1930's

Die bloudruk *De Aar* (Figuur 7), gedateer 1938, is 'n ongelooflik gedetailleerde voorstelling van ruimte, gesofistikeerd geskets en onderteken deur ene Albertus A. van Wyk. Hierdie bloudruk beeld die argitektoniese struktuur van De Aar-Wes uit, met ander woorde, al die individuele erwe en strate van die 'Europese' gedeelte van die dorp. Lyne wat 'n simmetriese rooster van strate vorm, met meer as seshonderd gestandaardiseerde erwe van dieselfde reghoekige grootte en vorm, is sigbaar, hier en daar onderbreek deur 'n paar groter erwe wat 'n samesmelting van die kleiner gestandaardiseerde erwe was. Alle erwe is genommer, en die strate het die uitleg gestruktureer. As noukeurig gekyk word kan die erwe waarop huise gebou is geïdentifiseer word, aangesien, in hierdie geval, die huisnommers ook aangedui is. Deur die bloudruk se strukturele duidelikheid weerspieël die bloudruk 'n spesifieke estetika van bykans artistieke gehalte, wat visueel uitbeeld wat ek in woorde uitgedruk het. Die plan se idee van 'n streng geometriese orde van die dorpsruimte was meer as net 'n visie, maar het ooreengestem met die gereguleerde raamwerk van die bou-omgewing vir hierdie gedeelte van die dorp, wat bepaal, of tenminste beïnvloed

DE AAR

SCALE: 200 FEET = 1 INCH.

ALBERTUS A. VAN WYK.
AUGUST 1938

Inside Nos represent No of Exp
Outside Nos represent No of Street

STOCK
SHALE
FRANKS.

SPON GROUND.



RAILWAY PROPERTY.

RAILWAY

RAILWAY

RAILWAY

RAILWAY

RAILWAY

RAILWAY

RAILWAY

RAILWAY

TO WINDHOEK.

STATION

RAILWAY LINE FROM CAPE TOWN.
FROM RHEINERF EAST LONDON & PRETORIA.

TO RIMBURY.

their quality and shape.⁶⁵ The regulations went so far as to prohibit the use of barbed wire along a public road, resulting in low walls generally marking the boundary between the private and the public in the town of De Aar. The municipality's ambition to create and maintain the notion of a proper 'White town', as I would call it, did not limit itself to regulating construction. It also concerned the general use of urban space, that is, by those classified as 'Native' or 'non-White' and banned them by a curfew between 21:00 and 04:00 since at least 1909. Explicitly exempted from the curfew were those who owned immovable property in De Aar, including the property owners' family members.⁶⁶ This was, notably, a very small number in De Aar.⁶⁷ Over the years the building regulations for this part of De Aar became stricter as did property ownership regulations. The politics of further 'whitening' the De Aar West residential area was an invisible incentive to the production and circulation of the plan, which had to be achieved by extending this part of the town.

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Despite the failed integration of the railway camp in 1928, the municipality of De Aar continued to prosper. Many infrastructural projects were realised in the following years, most importantly the water scheme in Burgerville, a village 34 kilometres east of De Aar, supplying the town and the railways with sufficient water from 1936 onwards.⁶⁸ The first application for a substantial extension of De Aar reached the Township Board in Cape Town in the same year.⁶⁹ This centralised provincial planning body had to decide whether the owner of the farm Paarde Vlei, bordering the surveyed area of the town in the north, would be allowed to subdivide part of her land into 66 plots meant to become the De Aar North Township. It took two years of written correspondence and the exchange of blueprints between the De Aar municipality, the Township Board in Cape Town, and the applicant's legal representative until permission was finally granted in 1938. In the process,

65 'Municipality De Aar: Rules and Regulations', 1909, Port Elizabeth; WCA: KAB-PAS-2/173 [L25/A/1].

66 The curfew did not apply to people exempted by Parliament decision or to people owning immobile property in the Municipality of De Aar including any member the family of such an owner. (See 'Municipality De Aar: Rules and Regulations', 1909, Port Elizabeth; WCA: KAB-PAS-2/173 [L25/A/1]).

67 In 1928, just seven properties were owned by people not classified as 'White' but as 'Coloured'. ('Report of Systematic Health Inspection of De Aar', 12 March 1928, E.H. Cluver, Assistant Health Officer, Pretoria; NASA: SAB-NTS-4309-162/313.)

68 The Burgerville water scheme consisted of exploiting the huge ground water resources of the rich regional aquifer and pumping the water through a pipeline to De Aar. To realise the scheme the municipality of De Aar had to buy the whole village of Burgerville, which subsequently was deserted (Venter 1952: 15-17).

69 The applicant, here Amelia Cornelia Marais, had to submit her application through the municipality, here the Town Clerk of De Aar, by completing a standardised multi-page form. ('Application for Permission to Layout a Township' submitted by Town Clerk De Aar, 28 February 1936; WCA: KAB-PAA-163 [F27/1/5]). A first smaller extension was submitted to the Township Board in 1930 and approved two years later in 1932. (See correspondence in file 'De Aar Extension'; WCA: KAB-PAA-162-T.P. 23/A/2/3.)

het, hoe die inwoners die dorpspasia beskou en beleef het. Soos vantevore gesien het die *Rules and Regulations* (1909) (Reëls en Regulasies, 1909) die digtheid, gehalte en vorm van die geboue omskryf.⁶⁵ Die regulasies het so ver gegaan as om die gebruik van doringdraad langs 'n openbare pad te verbied, wat lae mure tot gevolg gehad het om die grens tussen privaat en publiek in De Aar te merk. Die munisipaliteit se ambisie om 'n behoorlike 'Wit dorp', soos ek dit sou genoem het, te skep en te onderhou was nie beperk tot die regulering van slegs bouwerk nie. Dit het ook die algemene gebruik van dorpsruimte deur diegene wat as 'Inheems' of 'nie-Blank' geklassifiseer is ingesluit, en hulle is hierdie spasies tussen 21:00 en 04:00 verbied deur die instelling van 'n aandklokkeël wat tot ten minste 1909 gegeld het. Diegene wat vaste eiendom in De Aar besit het en hulle familieledede, was vrygestel van die aandklokkeël.⁶⁶ 'n Opmerklike klein aantal inwoners in De Aar het aan hierdie groep behoort.⁶⁷ Die bou- en eienaarsregulasies in hierdie deel van De Aar het oor die jare strenger geword. Die politiek betreffende die vermeerdering van 'Wit' eienaars in De Aar se residensiële gebied was 'n onsigbare motivering vir die produksie en sirkulasie van die plan, en sou bereik word deur hierdie gedeelte van die dorp uit te brei.

Ondanks die mislukte integrasie van die spoorwegkamp in 1928, het die munisipaliteit van De Aar aanhou floreer. Baie infrastruktuurprojekte is in die jare wat volg voltooi, waarvan die belangrikste die waterskema in Burgerville was, 'n dorpie 34 kilometer oos van De Aar. Hierdeur is die dorp en die spoorweë vanaf 1936 van voldoende water voorsien.⁶⁸ Die eerste aansoek vir 'n beduidende uitbreiding van De Aar het die Dorpsgebiederaad in Kaapstad dieselfde jaar bereik.⁶⁹ Hierdie gesentraliseerde provinsiale beplanningsliggaam moes besluit of die eenaar

65 'Municipality De Aar: Rules and Regulations', 1909, Port Elizabeth; WCA: KAB-PAS-2/173 [L25/A/1].

66 Die aandklokkeël het nie vir die volgende persone gegeld nie: persone wat deur Parlementêre beslissing uitgesluit is daarvan, of persone wat onbeweegbare eiendom in die Munisipaliteit van De Aar besit het, insluitend enige familielid van sodanige eenaar. (Sien 'Municipality De Aar: Rules and Regulations', 1909, Port Elizabeth; WCA: KAB-PAS-2/173 [L25/A/1].)

67 In 1928 is slegs sewe eiendomme besit deur persone wat nie as 'Wit' geklassifiseer is nie, maar as 'Kleurling'. ('Report of Systematic Health Inspection of De Aar', 12 Maart 1928, E.H. Cluver, Assistent Gesondheidsbeampte, Pretoria; NASA: SAB-NTS-4309-162/313.)

68 Die Burgerville waterskema het die ontginning van die enorme groot grondwaterbronne van die ryk streekswaterakwifer behels. Die water is deur 'n pyplyn na De Aar gepomp. Om die skema te verwesenlik moes die munisipaliteit van De Aar die hele dorpie van Burgerville koop wat gevolglik in verlatenheid verval het (Venter 1952: 15-17).

69 Die aansoeker in hierdie geval, Amelia Cornelia Marais, moes haar aansoek deur die munisipaliteit indien, hier die Dorpsklerk van De Aar, deur 'n gestandaardiseerde vorm bestaande uit veelvuldige bladsye te voltooi. ('Application for Permission to Layout a Township', De Aar-dorpsklerk, 28 Februarie 1936; WCA: KAB-PAA-163 [F27/1/5].) 'n Aansoek vir 'n vroeëre kleiner uitbreiding is in 1930 by die Dorpsgebiedsraad ingedien en twee jaar later, in 1932, goedgekeur. (Sien korrespondensie in lêer 'De Aar Extension'; WCA: KAB-PAA-162-T.P. 23/A/2/3.)

the various parties discussed the conditions of sale, which the Board had to approve.⁷⁰ These conditions comprised not only building regulations, construction density, service provision, and similar technicalities, but also that the properties could be used for residential purposes only. The Township Board further explicitly agreed with the applicant's wish:

That no Native, Asiatic, or Coloured person shall be allowed to obtain transfer of any erf or allowed to reside on the property save and except a bona fide servant of a European owner personally resident on the property.⁷¹

This explicit racialised limitation of the right to own property and legal residence underlined and cemented the segregated architectural layout of De Aar long before the Group Areas Act. The Township Board approved the same conditions of racial exclusion when the White residential part of De Aar was further extended in a northern direction after the Second World War.⁷² The White residential area also grew in a western direction. However, this proved to be a complicated process. The heirs of the Friedlander brothers, who refused to grant the required permission, blocked the first attempts by the town council to survey 200 new residential areas in the late 1930s.⁷³ After a long legal battle forcing the council to pay financial compensation, the planning of a new township in the west, now with over 300 new plots, went ahead and was eventually approved by the Township Board in 1947.⁷⁴

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The sophisticated blueprint of 1938 depicts the layout of De Aar immediately before the town's rapid expansion commenced. It is an extraordinary example of the visual representations used in the bureaucratic process of centralised provincial town planning established in South Africa at the time.⁷⁵ Let us now turn to a blueprint of the other side of the railway line reflecting a similar, though different, bureaucratic process of town planning.

70 For the correspondence and the conditions see the file 'De Aar North Township'; WCA: KAB-PAA-163 [F27/1/5].

71 Secretary Township Board to Provincial Secretary, Cape Town, 12 June 1937; WCA: KAB-PAA-163 [F27/1/5].

72 See Secretary Township Board to Provincial Secretary, 7 December 1945, in particular Annex B. The extension was eventually proclaimed in 1946. ('De Aar North Township Extension I'; WCA: KAB-PAA-163 [F27/1/6].)

73 The Friedlander brothers had reserved certain right when they transferred the land forming the De Aar West Commonage to the municipality in 1907. See on the complex legal setting and court decisions, Venter (1952: 19–20).

74 See file 'De Aar West Extension I'; WCA: KAB-PAA-162 [F27/1/1].

75 See Mabin and Smit (1997: here especially 196–200).

van die plaas Paarde Vlei, aangrensend aan die opgemete gebied in die noorde, toegelaat sou word om haar land in 66 erwe op te deel ten einde die De Aar-Noord dorpsgebied te word. Dit het twee jaar van gekrewe kommunikasie en die uitruil van bloudrukke tussen die De Aar-munisipaliteit, die Dorpsgebiederaad in Kaapstad en die aansoeker se regsverteenvoerders geneem voordat toestemming uiteindelik in 1938 verkry is. In die proses het die verskeie partye die verkoopsvoorwaardes, wat deur die Raad goedgekeur moes word, bespreek.⁷⁰ Hierdie voorwaardes het nie net bouregulasies, gebouedigtheid, diensverskaffing en soortgelyke tegniese sake ingesluit nie, maar ook dat die eiendomme slegs vir residensiële doeleindes gebruik mag word. Die Dorpsgebiederaad het verder spesifiek met die onderstaande versoek van die aansoeker saamgestem:

(Dat geen inheemse persoon, Asiaat, of Kleurling toegelaat sou word om enige erf te koop of toegelaat sou word om op 'n eiendom te bly nie, behalwe 'n bona fide bediende van 'n permanente Europese inwoner op die eiendom.)⁷¹

Hierdie eksplisiete rasbeperking op die reg van eiendomsbesit sowel as wettige verblyf het die gesegregeerde argitektoniese uitleg van De Aar lank voor die Groepsgebiedewet onderstreep en bevestig. Die Dorpsgebiederaad het dieselfde voorwaardes van rassesekeiding goedgekeur toe die Wit residensiële gebied van De Aar na die Tweede Wêreldoorlog in 'n noordelike rigting uitgebrei is.⁷² Die Wit residensiële gebied het ook in 'n westelike rigting uitgebrei. Dit het egter geblyk om 'n ingewikkelde proses te wees. Die erfgename van die Friedlander broers het geweier om die nodige toestemming te verleen en het die eerste pogings van die dorpsraad in die laat 1930's, om 200 nuwe residensiële gebiede uit te meet, teëgestaan.⁷³ Na 'n lang regstryd wat die raad gedwing het om finansiële vergoeding aan die familie te betaal, het die beplanning van 'n nuwe dorpsgebied in die weste, met meer as 300 nuwe erwe, voortgegaan en is uiteindelik deur die Dorpsgebiederaad in 1947 goedgekeur.⁷⁴

70 Vir die korrespondensie en die voorwaardes, sien lêer 'De Aar North Township'; WCA: KAB-PAA-163 [F27/1/5].

71 Sekretaris van Dorpsraad aan Provinsiale Sekretaris, Kaapstad, 12 Junie 1937; WCA: KAB-PAA-163 [F27/1/5].

72 Sien Sekretaris van Dorpsraad aan Provinsiale Sekretaris, 7 Desember 1945, spesifiek Bylaag B. Hierdie uitbreiding is uiteindelik in 1946 geproklameer. ('De Aar North Township Extension I'; WCA: KAB-PAA-163 [F27/1/6].)

73 Die Friedlander broers het sekere regte uitgehou toe hulle die grond wat die De Aar West Commonage (De Aar gemeenskaplike grond) gevorm het in 1907 aan die munisipaliteit oorgedra het. Verwys na Venter (1952: 19–20) vir die ingewikkelde regsraamwerk en hofbeslissings.

74 Sien lêer 'De Aar-West Extension I'; WCA: KAB-PAA-162 [F27/1/1].

Planning of extension of De Aar East, 1939

This blueprint of 1939 (Figure 8), drafted at the same scale as the previous one, shows the Eastern part of the town of De Aar, although in a different north-south orientation with north roughly on top. The blueprint has two spatiotemporal layers, one that depicts the actual situation and one that imagines a possible future layout. The former layer, the one depicting the actual situation, indicates the existing surveyed plots and, at least in some cases, their current use and ownership. Right in the centre lie the above discussed ten rows of plots forming the Bloemfontein Erven, here labelled as 'Existing Coloured Township', and left of it the Beckwith Block, labelled as 'Eng. Church Mission Block'.⁷⁶ Below the Bloemfontein Erven (that is, the 'Existing Coloured Township'), two rows of houses are indicated, labelled as 'Municipality Housing Scheme', built by the municipality with a loan from the national government in around 1928.⁷⁷ This housing scheme, later called Wit-Location, comprised 15 blocks containing four rooms each, constructed with brick walls, open ceilings, earth floors, and a fireplace in the inner corner of each room. The houses were rented out as single and sometimes double rooms to families residing in the location. On the right-hand side of the municipality housing scheme in the area labelled as 'Existing Native Location', approximately 90 tiny white rectangular dots are indicated, most probably representing self-built brick houses of location residents.

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76 According to a document from 1934, the Block was donated by Beckwith to the English (Anglican) Church Mission in 1933. (Mag. De Aar to Secretary Native Affairs, 15 March 1934; NASA: SAB-NTS-4309-162/313.)

77 On the municipality housing scheme see 'Report of Systematic Inspection of Local Authority Area of De Aar', Assistant Health Inspector, 7 April 1938; NASA: SAB-NTS-4309-162/313, and 'Report on Inspection of Conditions under which Natives are living in the Urban Areas of De Aar', 21 June 1938, Inspector of Urban Location; WCA: TBK-PAA-E/219-A27/64.

Die gesofistikeerde bloudruk van 1938 beeld De Aar se uitleg net voor die begin van die dorp se vinnige uitbreiding uit. Dit is 'n buitengewone voorbeeld van die gebruik van visuele voorstellings in die burokratiese proses van gesentraliseerde provinsiale dorpsbeplanning wat teen daardie tyd gevestig was.⁷⁵ Laat ons nou kyk na 'n bloudruk van die anderkant van die spoorlyn wat 'n soortgelyke, dog ander, burokratiese dorpsbeplanningsproses weerspieël.

Beplanning van De Aar-Oos-uitbreiding, 1939

Die bloudruk van 1939 (Figuur 8), opgetrek volgens dieselfde skaal as die vorige een, dui die oostelike gedeelte van De Aar aan, alhoewel in 'n noord-suid oriëntasie met noord rofweg bo. Die bloudruk het twee tydruimtelike vlakke, een wat die werklike situasie voorstel en een wat 'n moontlike toekomstige uitleg voorstel. Die eersgenoemde vlak, wat die werklike situasie voorstel, dui die bestaande opgemete erwe aan, en, tenminste in sommige gevalle, hulle huidige gebruik en eienaarskap. Reg in die middel lê die tien rye erwe, vroeër bespreek, wat die Bloemfontein Erven gevorm het en hier aangedui as die *Existing Coloured Township* (Bestaande Kleurling Dorpsgebied), en links daarvan die *Beckwith Block* (Beckwith Blok), aangedui as *Eng. Church Mission Block* (Engelse Kerk Sending Blok).⁷⁶ Onder die Bloemfontein Erven (met ander woorde die *Existing Coloured Township* [Bestaande Kleurling Dorpsgebied]) word twee rye huise aangedui, die *Municipality Housing Scheme* (Munisipale Behuisingskema), wat rondom 1928 deur die munisipaliteit gebou is met 'n lening van die nasionale regering.⁷⁷ Hierdie behuisingskema, later genoem *Wit Location* (Wit Lokasie), het uit 15 blokke met vier kamers elk bestaan, gebou met baksteenmure, oop plafonne, grondvloere en 'n vuurmaakplek in die binneste hoek van elke kamer. Hierdie huise is as enkel-, en soms as dubbelkamers aan families wat in die lokasie gewoon het uitverhuur. Aan die regterkant van die munisipale behuisingskema in die area getitel *Existing Native Location* (Bestaande Inheemse Lokasie), word ongeveer 90 klein, wit reghoekige kolletjies aangedui; die mees waarskynlike verduideliking is dat dit selfgeboude baksteenhuise van lokasie inwoners voorstel.

75 Sien Mabin en Smit (1997: hier spesifiek bl. 196–200).

76 Volgens 'n 1934-dokument is die blok in 1933 deur Beckwith aan die Engelse (Anglikaanse) kerksending geskenk. (Mag. De Aar aan Sekretaris van Naturellesake, 15 Maart 1934; NASA: SAB-NTS-4309-162/313.)

77 Met verwys na die munisipale behuisingskema sien 'Report of Systematic Inspection of Local Authority Area of De Aar', Assistent Gesondheidsbeampte, 7 April 1938; NASA: SAB-NTS-4309-162/313, en 'Report on Inspection of Conditions under which Natives are living in the Urban Areas of De Aar', 21 Junie 1938, Inspekteur van Stedelike Ligging; WCA: TBK-PAA-E/219-A27/64.

In accordance with the title, the 'De Aar Municipality. Plan of Layout of proposed New Native Location', the blueprint is visually dominated by the second spatio-temporal layer, the one imagining a future situation. This layer consists of strictly rectangular grids of plots on the top (north) and right-hand side (east) of the Bloemfontein Erven and indicates a future housing scheme consisting of 458 houses for the town's Black population. The De Aar municipality sent this visualisation of a future development to the Department of Native Affairs in Pretoria in 1939 in response to increased pressure from the central government on the municipalities to solve the acute shortage of proper housing in the Black neighbourhoods. Indeed, De Aar's Black population experienced continuous growth in the 1930s.⁷⁸ However, it was not before the end of the Second World War that the envisioned two new neighbourhoods in De Aar East, namely New Bright in the east and Sunrise in the north of the Bloemfontein Erven, were eventually, at least in part, built and formally integrated into the municipal location soon after.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ According to Venter (1952: 23-24) the numbers of White and Black residents were almost equal in 1934. However, the Black population soon after started to outgrow the White one until an approximate ratio of 2 to 1 was reached in 1951, with 8 467 people classified as Black and 4 546 as White.

⁷⁹ It was only after New Bright and Sunrise were built that these new neighbourhoods formally became part of the De Aar municipal location, which was legally extended on 1 February 1946; NASA: SAB-NTS-6036-162/313N.

In ooreenstemming met die titel *De Aar Municipality. Plan of Layout of proposed New Native Location (De Aar-Oos met beplande uitbreiding, 1939)* word die bloudruk visueel gedomineer deur die tweede tydruimtelike vlak, die vlak wat die toekomstige situasie voorstel. Hierdie laag bestaan uit streng reghoekige netwerke van erwe aan die bokant (noord) en regterkant (oos) van die Bloemfontein Erven en dui 'n toekomstige behuisingskema, bestaande uit 458 huise vir die dorp se Swart inwoners, aan. Die De Aar-munisipaliteit het hierdie voorstelling van 'n toekomstige ontwikkeling in 1939 aan die Departement van Naturellesake in Pretoria gestuur onder groeiende druk van die sentrale regering op munisipaliteite om die tekort aan behoorlike behuising in Swart woonbuurte op te los. De Aar se Swart bevolking het inderdaad in die 1930's voortdurende groei beleef.⁷⁸ Dit was egter nie voor die einde van die Tweede Wêreldoorlog dat die twee voorgestelde nuwe woonbuurte in De Aar-Oos, naamlik New Bright in die ooste en Sunrise in die noorde van die Bloemfontein Erven, tenminste gedeeltelik gebou en kort daarna formeel by die munisipale lokasie ingelyf is nie.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Volgens Venter (1952: 23-24) was die aantal Swart en Wit inwoners bykans dieselfde in 1934. Die Swart bevolking het kort hierna die Wit bevolking verbygesteek totdat 'n verhouding van ongeveer 2 tot 1 in 1951 bereik is, met 8 467 persone as 'Swart' geklassifiseer en 4 546 as 'Wit'.

⁷⁹ Dit was slegs nadat New Bright en Sunrise gebou is dat hierdie nuwe woonbuurte amptelik deel geword het van die De Aar munisipale lokasie wat op 1 Februarie 1946 wettig uitgebrei is; NASA: SAB-NTS-6036-162/313N.

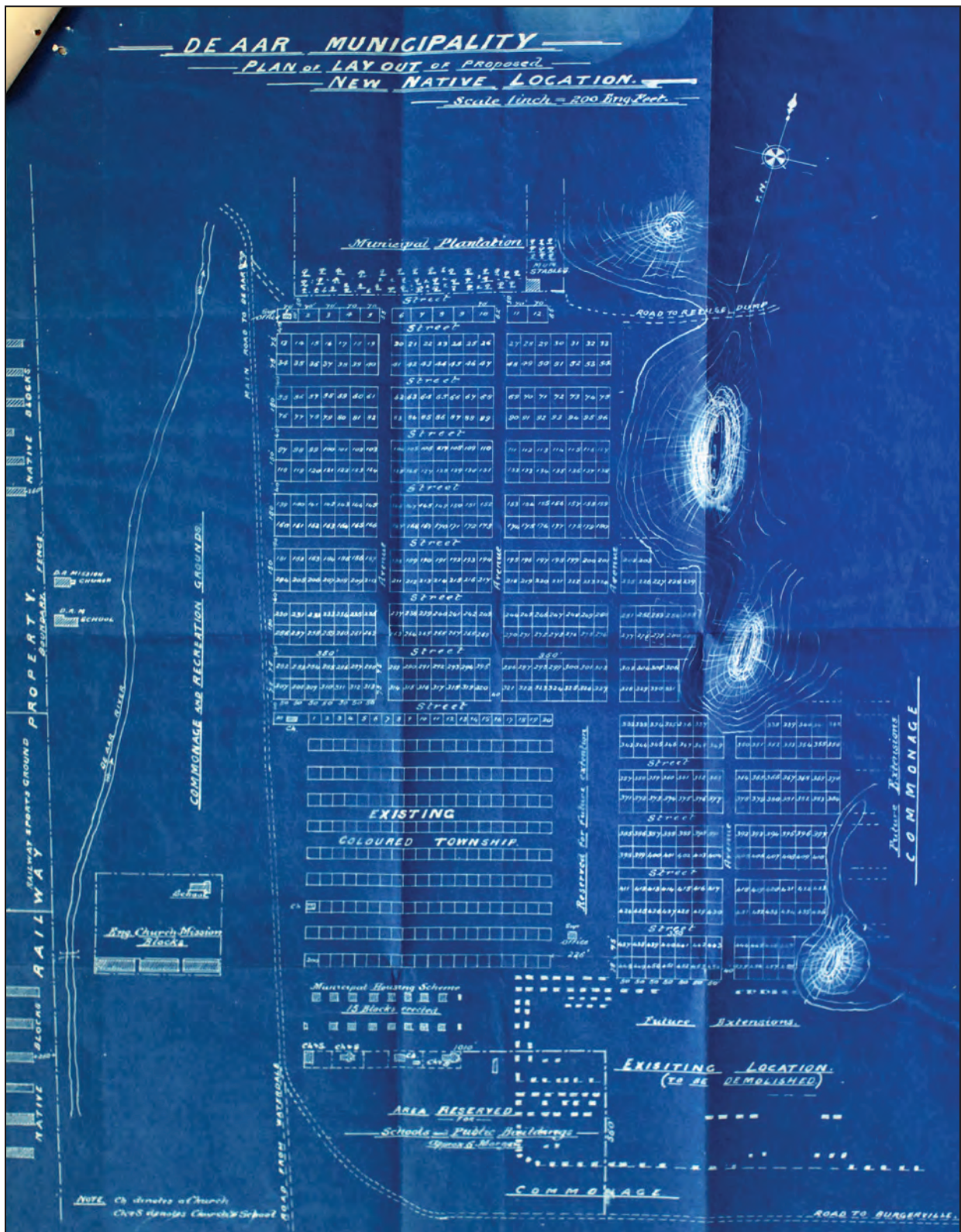


Figure 8: De Aar East with planned extension, 1939 (WCA: TBK-PAA-E/219-A27/64)

Figuur 8: De Aar-Oos met beplande uitbreiding, 1939 (WCA: TBK-PAA-E/219-A27/64)

After introducing the two blueprints of 1938 and 1939 individually and in their specific context of production and use, let us now consider their common characteristics. Both plans convey a detailed and true-to-scale representation of an urban landscape with individual surveyed plots which can be ascribed to a particular owner, real or imagined, streets, and a series of additional infrastructural and functional inscriptions combined with very limited verbal or numerical information. The blueprints portray urban space as a structured set of rectangular entities marked as white lines which put everything in its carefully defined place. As in all maps, there are many silences in this kind of spatial representation, mostly attributed to the designer's intention but to some extent also to the limits of the medium. Let me address some of these silences:

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The first one is caused by the chosen frame or crop out for the plan. Both blueprints only show a particular area of the town and visually confirm and reinforce De Aar's inherent segregated layout. The two parts of the town were only connected by a bridge over and a subway under the railway camp, and they were conceived, planned, and designed as two separate entities right from the beginning. Furthermore, applications for extensions of the existing town had to be approved by different state authorities. Whilst it was up to the provincial Township Board, here the one of the Cape Province, to decide upon town extensions of white residential areas, it was in the hands of the central state's Department of Native Affairs in Pretoria to decide on matters concerning the Black residential areas if proclaimed as a municipal location.⁸⁰ However, even if there were an intention to produce a plan that depicted the entire town as an assemblage of individual plots, it would not have been possible based on blueprints. The blueprint copies never exceed a certain size (generally A1, 60x85cm) and the manual tracing of the original design onto tracing (transparent) paper by using Indian ink enabled much less accuracy than lithography used, for instance, for map printing. Hence, designing a blueprint of all individual plots on both sides of the railway line was beyond the technical possibilities.

The second silence is caused by the fact that only surveyed (or otherwise clearly defined) entities were depicted. As a result, a huge part of the dwellings in De Aar remained invisible on the blueprints discussed, namely, all the informally built structures in the designated location in the eastern part of town. A government official described the built environment of the location in 1927 accordingly: 'ninety per cent of the dwellings are of the pondokkie type and built of paraffin

⁸⁰ Municipal locations under the Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 had to be approved and proclaimed by the Central Government. (Davenport 1969: especially pp. 100-102; Maylam 1990: in particular pp. 66-67)

Na die bespreking van die twee bloudrukke van 1938 en 1939 – individueel en in hulle spesifieke produksiekonteks en -gebruik – laat ons nou die karaktereenskappe wat hulle in gemeen het oorweeg. Beide planne verteenwoordig ’n gedetailleerde en skaalgetroue voorstelling van ’n dorpslandskap met erwe wat individueel opgemeet is en toegeskryf kan word aan ’n spesifieke eienaar (werklik of denkbeeldig), strate en ’n reeks addisionele infrastrukturele en funksionele inskrywings gekombineer met baie beperkte woordelike of numeriese inligting. Die bloudrukke het dorpspasia as ’n gestruktureerde stel reghoekige, wit omlynde eenhede voorgestel, wat alles op noukeurige, gedefinieerde plekke geplaas het. Soos op alle kaarte is daar baie stiltes in hierdie tipe ruimtelike voorstelling, hoofsaaklik toegeskryf aan die ontwerper se intensie, maar tot ’n mate ook as gevolg van die medium se beperkings. Laat ek sommige van daardie stiltes bespreek:

Die eerste stilte is veroorsaak deur die gekose raam (crop out) van die plan. Beide bloudrukke wys slegs ’n spesifieke area van die dorp en bevestig en versterk dus visueel De Aar se gesegregeerde uitleg. Die twee gedeeltes van die dorp was slegs verbind met ’n brug oor, en ’n tunnel onderdeur, die spoorwegkamp en is vanuit die staanspoor as twee aparte entiteite bedink, beplan en ontwerp. Verder moes aansoeke vir die uitbreidings van die bestaande dorp deur verskillende staatsowerhede goedgekeur word. Terwyl die provinsiale Dorpsraad in Kaapstad besluit het oor dorpsuitbreidings van Wit residensiële gebiede, was dit in die hande van die Departement van Naturelle Aangeleenthede van die sentrale regering in Pretoria wat besluite geneem het rakende die Swart residensiële gebiede indien dit as ’n munisipale lokasie verklaar is.⁸⁰ Maar selfs al het daar ’n plan bestaan wat die hele dorp voorgestel het as ’n versameling individuele erwe sou dit nie moontlik gewees het om dit op bloudrukke te doen nie. Die bloudrukafskrifte was nooit groot genoeg nie (gewoonlik A1, 60x85cm) en die oortrek met die hand vanaf die oorspronklike ontwerp op oortrekpapier (deurskynende papier) deur Indiese ink te gebruik, was minder akkuraat as om litografie te gebruik, byvoorbeeld vir die druk van kaarte. Met ander woorde, om ’n bloudruk van al die enkelopende erwe aan beide kante van die spoorweg te ontwerp was onmoontlik weens die tegnologie van daardie tyd.

Die tweede stilte is veroorsaak deur die feit dat slegs opgemete (of andersins duidelik gedefinieerde) entiteite voorgestel is. Vervolgens het ’n groot gedeelte van die huise in De Aar,

⁸⁰ Munisipale lokasies moes onder die Naturelle Stadsgebiedewet van 1923 deur die Sentrale Regering goedgekeur en geproklameer word. (Davenport 1969: spesifiek bl. 100-102; Maylam 1990: spesifiek bl. 66-67)

tins or clay'.⁸¹ In other words, the only building structures that featured on the plan were those based on the surveyed rectangular unit made out of straight lines, with construction in equally straight lines, and built out of brick, regardless of how tiny these plots and houses might have been. Excluded from the plan were those buildings whose design followed, or at least borrowed, from local African architectural and building traditions, here dismissively referenced as 'pondokkie type'.⁸² In short: only architecture based on the modern icon of the straight line was represented on the plan.

The third silence concerns the built environment that physically linked the two parts of the town separated by the railway infrastructure. The railway camp was fenced off, and moving between the two parts of the town was only possible via a footbridge spanning the railway tracks (Figure 9) and a subway for traffic at the northern end of De Aar.⁸³ For pedestrians, the bridge was the

81 Magistrate De Aar to Provincial Secretary, Cape Town, 12 August 1927; WCA: TBK-PAA-E/219-A27/64.

82 On the discourse around the *pondokkie* architecture in the African location see, for example, Minkley (1998).

83 The footbridge over the railway tracks is already depicted on very early photographs of the railway station kept in the Transnet Heritage Library whereas the earliest mentioning of the subway I could trace is in a document of the late 1930s. ('Report on Inspection of Conditions under which Natives are living in the Urban Areas of De Aar', 21 June 1938, Inspector of Urban Location; WCA: TBK-PAA-E/219-A27/64.)

naamlik alle informele boustrukture in die aangewese lokasie aan die oostelike kant van die dorp, onsigbaar gebly op die bloudrukke onder bespreking. 'n Regeringsamptenaar het die bou-omgewing van die lokasie in 1927 soos volg beskryf: 'ninty per cent of the dwellings are of the pondokkie type and built of paraffin tins or clay' (negentig present van die wonings is pondokkies en gebou uit paraffienblikke of klei).⁸¹ Met ander woorde, die enigste boustrukture wat op die plan aangedui word is die wat gebaseer was op die opgemete reghoekige eenheid wat met reguit lyne aangedui word. Hierdie strukture is in ewe reguit lyne van bakstene gebou, ongeag hoe klein die huise en erwe was. Alle geboue wat volgens plaaslike Afrika argitektuur en boutradisies gebou is, of elemente daarvan ingesluit het, is nie by die plan ingesluit nie; daar neerhalend daarna verwys as 'pondokkies'.⁸² In kort, slegs argitektuur gebaseer op die moderne ikoon van die reguit lyn is op die plan verteenwoordig.

Die derde stilte is die bou-omgewing wat fisies die twee gedeeltes van die dorp wat deur die spoorweginfrastruktuur verdeel is, verbind het. Die spoorwegkamp was afgebaken, en om tussen die twee gedeeltes

81 Magistraat De Aaraan Provinsiale Sekretaris, Kaapstad, 12 Augustus 1927; WCA: TBK-PAA-E/219-A27/64.

82 Rakende die gesprekvoering rondom die *pondokkie*-argitektuur in die Swart-lokasie, sien byvoorbeeld Minkley (1998).



61

Figure 9: Metal bridge over railway station connecting the two parts of the town
(Transnet Heritage Library, File 491)

Figuur 9: Metaalbrug oor die spoorwegstasie wat die twee gedeeltes van die dorp verbind het
(Transnet Heritage Library, Lêer 491)

preferred option, since the walking distance between the location and the town hall via the subway increased to five kilometres.

Black residents predominantly used the bridge when going to work, shopping, or simply enjoying leisure time beyond the railway line. However, their presence was only tolerated during the day. Since the town's early days, a strict curfew banned all persons classified as 'Native', including those classified as 'Coloured', between 21:00 and 04:00. Exempted from the curfew were the few who owned property, those with a pass provided by their employers or the municipality, and those otherwise exempted by state law.⁸⁴ Similarly, since 1903 staying on the railway platforms without a valid ticket was strictly banned after 21:00, and people suspected of loitering on railway premises were chased away by the railway police.⁸⁵ Hence, hearing the curfew bell every evening and morning became an embodied experience of urban life for Black residents of De Aar, and so was crossing the metal bridge over the railway station. An electric siren on top of the town hall eventually replaced the curfew bell in the early 1950s to remind the Black residents in an even more penetrating way when it was time to cross the bridge.⁸⁶ Today, people still remember the railway bridges and tunnels connecting the two parts of De Aar as dangerous in-between spaces. Once on a bridge or in a tunnel situated outside the residential areas, there was no way to evade suspicious people or call for help. Women were especially careful when crossing these inevitable passages between the two parts of the town alone or at night, and the memory of ruthless gangs, like the Balaclava gang, is still very much alive.⁸⁷

62

84 'Municipality De Aar: Rules and Regulations', 1909, Port Elizabeth; WCA: KAB-PAS-2/173 [L25/A/1]. The curfew regulations were repeated in Proclamation No. 143 in 1931 'Urban Area of De Aar: Curfew'; NASA: SAB-NTS-4732-162/313B.

85 See file Chief Traffic Manager, Cape Town, to General Manager, Cape Town, 6 July 1903; WCA: KAB-CGR-2/1/332.

86 Town Clerk, De Aar, to Secretary Native Affairs, Pretoria, 9 February 1953; NASA: SAB-NTS-4732-162/313B.

87 Theresa Thompson and Jumo Murar remembering their youth in the 1950s and 1960s, De Aar, 21 June 2018.

van die dorp te beweeg was slegs moontlik via 'n voetbrug wat oor die spoorweg (Figuur 9) gestrek het en 'n tunnel vir verkeer aan die noordekant van De Aar.⁸³ Voetgangers het die brug verkies, aangesien die loopafstand tussen die lokasie en die dorpsaal deur die tunnel vyf kilometer lank was.

Swart inwoners het die brug hoofsaaklik gebruik om werk toe te gaan, inkopies te gaan doen, of sommer net om anderkant die spoorlyn te ontspan. Hulle teenwoordigheid is egter net gedurende die dag geduld. Sedert die dorp se vroeë dae het 'n streng aandklokkeël alle persone wat as 'Inheems' geklassifiseer is, insluitend diegene wat as 'Kleurling' geklassifiseer is, tussen 21:00 en 04:00 verbied. Slegs die paar mense wat eiendomme besit het, die wat met 'n pas voorsien is deur hulle werkgewers of die munisipaliteit en diegene vrygestel deur wetgewing is van die aandklokkeël vrygestel.⁸⁴ Net so was dit sedert 1903 streng verbode om op die stasieplatform te wees na 21:00 sonder 'n geldige kaartjie en alle persone wat vermoedelik op spoorwegeiendom rondgehang het is deur die spoorwegpolisie verjaag.⁸⁵ Om elke aand die aandklok te hoor lui, het dus 'n beliggaaamde ervaring van dorpslewe vir die Swart inwoners van De Aar geword, asook om oor die metaalbrug by die spoorwegstasie te loop. 'n Elektriese sirene bo-op die dorpsaal het uiteindelik in die vroeë 1950's die klok vervang om die Swart inwoners op 'n selfs meer deurdringende wyse te herinner wanneer dit tyd was om die brug oor te steek.⁸⁶ Vandag onthou mense steeds die spoorwegbrug en tunnels wat die twee gedeeltes van De Aar verbind het as gevaarlike tussenin ruimtes. Eens op 'n brug of in 'n tunnel buite die residensiële gebied was daar geen manier om suspisieuse mense te vermy of om hulp te roep nie. Vroue was veral versigtig wanneer hulle hierdie onvermydelike deurgange tussen die twee gedeeltes van die dorp alleen of gedurende die nag moes gebruik en die herinnering aan gewetenlose bendes, soos die Balaklava-bende, bestaan nog vandag.⁸⁷

83 Alhoewel die voetbrug oor die spoorweglyne alreeds op baie vroeë foto's wat in die Transnet Erfenis Biblioteek gehou word, verskyn, is die eerste melding wat daarvan gemaak word, en wat ek kon naspoor, in 'n dokument in die laat 1930's. ('Report on Inspection of Conditions under which Natives are living in the Urban Areas of De Aar', 21 Junie 1938, Inspekteur van Stedelike Ligging; WCA: TBK-PAA-E/219-A27/64.)

84 'Municipality De Aar: Rules and Regulations', 1909, Port Elizabeth; WCA: KAB-PAS-2/173 [L25/A/1]. Die aandklokkeëls is herhaal in Proklamasie No. 143 in 1931, 'Urban Area of De Aar: Curfew'; NASA: SAB-NTS-4732-162/313B.

85 Sien lêer Hoofverkeersbestuurder, Kaapstad, aan Algemenebestuurder, Kaapstad, 6 Julie 1903; WCA: KAB-CGR-2/1/332.

86 Dorpsklerk, De Aar, aan Sekretaris van Naturellesake, Pretoria, 9 Februarie 1953; NASA: SAB-NTS-4732-162/313B.

87 Theresa Thompson en Jumo Murar wat terugdink aan hulle jeug in die De Aar van die 1950's en 1960's, De Aar, 21 Junie 2018.

Competing urban vision: Waterdale Village

As shown before, White railway workers successfully prevented the railway camp's integration into the town of De Aar in 1928, arguing that they would have to pay more taxes for lower-quality services. The railway workers were not alone in their distrust of the ambitions of the municipality. On De Aar's southern border, a group of land speculators and settlers aimed to create an independent village called Waterdale in the mid-1920s which was driven by tax evasion. To achieve their goal, they joined forces with Black property owners on the eastern side of the railways. The establishment of Waterdale is of special interest since it provides rare glimpses of Black freehold land ownership.

64 In the early 1920s, the De Aar Suburban Land Company Limited surveyed a new township with over nine hundred plots of land in an area called Sarelstadt, immediately south of De Aar, and prepared the adjoining farm Alsace for surveying (Figure 10).⁸⁸ At the same time, the company surveyed around two hundred much smaller plots northeast of Sarelstadt in an area called Greenpoint, situated beyond the railway line to Port Elizabeth.⁸⁹ Following the Friedlander brothers' model of segregated land ownership, the land company offered the plots in Sarelstadt to White and those in Greenpoint to Black buyers. The opportunity to buy land in the immediate vicinity of De Aar was met with great demand. By 1925, 68 purchasers had acquired properties in Sarelstadt and Alsace, the majority more than one single standard plot of 75x150 feet (c. 23x46m), and 61 purchasers had bought plots in Greenpoint, usually one single standard plot of 50x120 feet (c. 15x37m).⁹⁰ Under the leadership of the representative of De Aar Suburban Land Company Limited, the new land owners from both sides of the railway line mobilised for the establishment of a new independent local authority.⁹¹ Despite the explicit objection from the De Aar municipality, the lobbying was successful, and the Waterdale Village Manage Board was proclaimed in January 1926, with an area including Sarelstadt and Alsace on the one hand and Greenpoint and the so-called Malay Camp

88 This land was registered under the name of a Sarelstadt Syndicate in 1921. (Government Notice No. 17, 1926)

89 Also registered under the name of a Sarelstadt Syndicate since 1921. (Government Notice No. 17, 1926)

90 See detailed lists of landowners and their properties in file 'Waterdale V.M.B. Proposed Establishment of'; WCA: KBA-PAS-5/174-L26B/C/2. – See also appendix.

91 There were two identical petitions to the Administrator in Cape Town, one with by landowners in Greenpoint and the Malay Camp with 23 signatures, and one by landowners in Sarelstadt with 17 signatures, both signed on 29 May 1925, and an additional one signed by 15 landowners in Alsace. (All in file 'Waterdale V.M.B. Proposed Establishment of'; WCA: KBA-PAS-5/174-L26B/C/2.)

Wedywerende stedelike visie: Waterdale Dorp

Soos aangedui het Wit spoorwegwerkers die integrasie van die spoorwegkamp met die dorp van De Aar in 1928 suksesvol teëgestaan en aangevoer dat hulle dan meer belasting sal moet betaal vir laer-gehalte dienste. Die spoorwegwerkers was nie die enigstes wat die ambisie van die munisipaliteit gewantrou het nie. In die middel 1920's het 'n groep grondspekulante en setlaars op De Aar se suidelike grens beoog om 'n onafhanklike dorpsgebied, Waterdale, te stig wat deur belastingontduiking aangevuur is. Om hulle doel te bereik het hulle kragte saamgesnoer met Swart eienaars aan die oostekant van die spoorweë. Die stigting van Waterdale is van spesiale belang, aangesien dit 'n skaars blik op Swart grondbesit bied.

In die vroeë 1920's het die De Aar Voorstedelike Grondmaatskappy 'n nuwe dorpsgebied met meer as negehoonderd erwe opgemeet in 'n area genaamd Sarelstad, net suid van De Aar, en die aangrensende plaas Alsace voorberei om opgemeet te word (Figuur 10).⁸⁸ Terselfdertyd het die maatskappy tweehonderd baie kleiner erwe noordoos van Sarelstadt opgemeet in 'n area genaamd Greenpoint, geleë anderkant die spoorweglyn na Port Elizabeth.⁸⁹ Die landmaatskappy het die Friedlander broers se model van gesegregeerde grondbesit gevolg en erwe in Sarelstadt vir Wit mense te koop aangebied en dié in Greenpoint vir Swart kopers. Die geleentheid om grond in die onmiddellike nabyheid van De Aar te koop is met 'n groot aanvraag begroet. Teen 1925 het 68 kopers eiendomme in Sarelstadt en Alsace bekom: die meerderheid meer as een enkel standaard erf van 75x150 voet (ca. 23x46m); en 61 kopers het erwe in Greenpoint gekoop: gewoonlik een standaard erf van 50x120 voet (ca. 15x37m).⁹⁰ Onder leiding van die verteenwoordiger van Suburban Land Company Limited het die grondeienaars aan beide kante van die spoorweg gereedgemaak vir die vestiging van 'n nuwe onafhanklike plaaslike owerheid.⁹¹ Ondanks die uitgesproke beswaar van die De Aar munisipaliteit was die stemwerwery suksesvol en die Waterdale Dorpsbestuursraad is in Januarie 1926 uitgeroep, met 'n area wat Sarelstad en Alsace ingesluit het aan die een kant, en

88 Hierdie grond is in 1921 registreer onder die naam van 'n Sarelstadt Syndicate. (Regeringskennisgewing No. 17, 1926)

89 Ook onder die naam van 'n Sarelstadt Syndicate geregistreer sedert 1921. (Regeringskennisgewing No. 17, 1926)

90 Sien gedetailleerde lysie van grondeienaars en hulle eiendomme in lêer 'Waterdale V.M.B. Proposed Establishment of'; WCA: KBA-PAS-5/174-L26B/C/2. Sien ook die bylae.

91 Daar is twee identiese petisies aan die Administrateur in Kaapstad gestuur: een deur die grondeienaars in Greenpoint en die Maleierkamp (Malay Camp) met 23 handtekeninge, en een deur grondeienaars in Sarelstadt met 17 handtekeninge, beide geteken op 29 Mei 1925, en 'n addisionele petisie onderteken deur 15 grondeienaars in Alsace. (Alles in lêer 'Waterdale V.M.B. Proposed Establishment of'; WCA: KBA-PAS-5/174-L26B/C/2.)

on the other hand.⁹² The Malay Camp, also called Sadan Avenue (Figure 11), was a small stretch of land (c. 40x400m) registered in the name of Gamiet Sadan and was surveyed and divided into small plots with houses in 1925.⁹³ The origin of the Malay Camp is sketchy.⁹⁴ Oral information suggests that the first houses were built as early as the late nineteenth century when the Appavoo family from Mauritius moved to the site that would become De Aar.⁹⁵

Although united in their wish for an independent local authority, the buyers' motivations differed. Most White buyers in Sarelstadt and Alsace had speculative reasons to invest in land, whereas Black buyers in Greenpoint and the Malay Camp primarily seized the rare opportunity of securing urban private property.⁹⁶ (I provide a transcription of the complete list of landowners and their property in Greenpoint and the Malay Camp in 1925 in the appendix.) Land sales in Sarelstadt and Alsace had been fuelled by the availability of good ground, groundwater resources, and rumours of a big factory being transferred from Port Elizabeth. When Waterdale was proclaimed, 16 houses were erected in these two areas, occupied by the owners and their families. In addition, a couple of plots were used for agricultural purposes with the rest of the 68 purchased plots still laying bare. What seemed at first sight to be the beginning of a dynamic development was already at its peak. The water quality was poor, and no factory moved to Sarelstadt. The expected boom did not materialise, and the number of houses remained very small.⁹⁷ The dynamics were different in Greenpoint and the Malay Camp. In 1925 there were 12 newly constructed houses, mostly raw brick structures with galvanised iron roofs on the 61 plots sold by the land company. A few years later a government official counted many dozens of houses: the area had become a new Black

92 Government Notice No. 17, 1926.

93 See D.J. Michan, Attorney, Cape Town to Superintendent-General of Education, Cape Town, 22 September 1926; WCA: KBA-PAW-73-SBB 26/6.

94 On the origin of the much better-known Malay Camp in Kimberley, E.J. Africa (1993: in particular pp. 44–46 and pp. 50–54) writes that the name was informally used for a neighbourhood started by transport drivers from Cape Town with a predominantly Moslem background in the very early days of diamond mining (starting in 1866). – With time, the inhabitants became more diverse but the name remained and became official in 1939. – It might well be that the Malay Camp in De Aar emerged as a way stop on the route from the coast to the diamond fields in Kimberley.

95 Oral information by Jenty Murar, De Aar, 22 June 2018. On the old graveyard, Mr Murar showed me a gravestone for a Vai Ivelloo Appavoo, who was born in Mauritius in c. 1878 and died in De Aar in 1935.

96 Magistrate De Aar to Provincial Secretary Cape Town, 18 July 1925; WCA: KAB-PAS-5/174-L26B/C/2.

97 According to an official report, there were only 18 houses in Sarelstadt and Alsace in 1928. I could not trace a higher number for the following years. ('Report on a systematic inspection of health and sanitary conditions in the area of the local authority of the Village Management Board of Waterdale', Gordon D. Laing, 6 June 1928; WCA: KBA-PAS-5/174-L26B/C/5.)

Greenpoint en die sogenaamde Malay Camp (Maleierkamp) aan die ander kant.⁹² Malay Camp (Maleierkamp), ook genoem Sadanstraat (Figuur 11), was 'n klein stuk grond (ca. 40x400m) wat in die naam van Gamiet Sadan geregistreer was en in 1925 opgemeet en in klein erwe met huise daarop verdeel is.⁹³ Die oorsprong van Malay Camp (Maleierkamp) is onduidelik.⁹⁴ Volgens oorlewering is die eerste huise al so vroeg as die laat negentiende eeu gebou toe die Appavoo familie van Mauritius na die area wat De Aar sou word, getrek het.⁹⁵

Alhoewel die kopers oor 'n onafhanklike plaaslike owerheid saamgestem het, het hulle redes verskil. Die meeste Wit kopers in Sarelstadt en Alsace wou in grond belê om te spekulêr, waarteenoor Swart kopers in Greenpoint en Malay Camp (Maleierkamp) van die geleentheid gebruik gemaak het om privaat eiendom in die dorp te bekom.⁹⁶ (Ek verskaf 'n volledige lys van grondeienaars en hulle eiendomme in Greenpoint en die Maleierkamp (Malay Camp) in 1925 as aanhangsel.) Grondverkope in Sarelstadt en Alsace is aangevuur deur die beskikbaarheid van goeie grond, grondwaterbronne en gerugte van 'n groot fabriek wat vanaf Port Elizabeth daarheen sou verskuif. Toe Waterdale geproklameer is, is 16 huise in die twee areas gebou waarin die eienaars en hulle families gebly het. Verder is 'n paar erwe vir landboudoeleindes gebruik met die res van die 68 erwe wat verkoop is nog leeg. Wat met die eerste oogopslag as die begin van 'n dinamiese ontwikkeling gesien het, het alreeds sy toppunt bereik. Die watergehalte was sleg, en geen fabriek het na Sarelstadt verskuif nie. Die verwagte opbloeit het nie gematerialiseer nie en die aantal huise het baie klein gebly.⁹⁷ Die dinamika was anders in die Greenpoint- en Maleierskamp (Malay Camp) area. In 1925 was daar 12 nuutgeboude huise op die 61 erwe deur die grondmaatskappy verkoop: meestal

92 Regeringskennisgewing No. 17, 1926.

93 Sien D.J. Michan, Prokureur, Kaapstad aan Superintendent-generaal van Onderwys Kaapstad, 22 September 1926; WCA: KBA-PAW-73-SBB 26/6.

94 Rakende die oorsprong van die meer bekende Maleierkamp (Malay Camp) in Kimberley, skryf E.J. Africa (1993: spesifiek bl. 44-46 en bl. 50-54) dat die naam informeel gebruik is vir 'n woonbuurt wat begin is deur transportryers van Kaapstad met 'n oorwegende Moslem agtergrond, in die baie vroeë dae van die diamantmyne (beginne in 1866). Mettertyd het die inwoners meer gediversifiseer, maar die naam het gebly en is amptelik in 1939 in gebruik geneem. Dit mag waarskynlik wees dat die Maleierkamp (Malay Camp) in De Aar ontstaan het as 'n rusplek op die roete van die kus na die diamantvelde in Kimberley.

95 Mondelinge inligting deur Jenty Murar, De Aar, 22 Junie 2018. In die ou begraafplaas het Mnr. Murar vir my 'n grafsteen van ene Vai Ivelloo Appavoo gewys wat in Mauritius gebore is, ca. 1878 en in 1935 in De Aar oorlede is.

96 Magistraat De Aar aan Provinsiale Sekretaris Kaapstad, 18 Julie 1925; WCA: KAB-PAS-5/174-L26B/C/2.

97 Volgens 'n amptelike verslag was daar net 18 huise in Sarelstadt en Alsace in 1928. Ek kon nie meer naspoor vir die daaropvolgende jare nie. ('Report on a systematic inspection of health and sanitary conditions in the area of the local authority of the Village Management Board of Waterdale', Gordon D. Laing, 6 Junie 1928; WCA: KBA-PAS-5/174-L26B/C/5.)

neighbourhood of considerable size on the outskirts of De Aar.⁹⁸

In sum, prospective Black buyers of urban land benefitted the most from the establishment of Waterdale, and some buyers' families in 1925, such as the Manuel family, continue to live and own property in the area until today. Official documents provide ambiguous descriptions of Black buyers. In a memo produced for the Administrator in Cape Town, for instance, they were described as 'very respectable Native and Coloured registered voters employed on the Railways' at De Aar, who were anxious to buy their own plot.⁹⁹ On the other hand, the Town Council of De Aar did not want a second Bloemfontein Erven, that is, an urban area with Black-owned property that was more difficult to control than the municipal location. They based their scepticism on public health issues and substantiated their reluctance with a recent epidemic in the Malay

98 'Report on a systematic inspection of health and sanitary conditions in the area of the local authority of the Village Management Board of Waterdale', Gordon D. Laing, 6 June 1928; WCA: KBA-PAS-5/174-L26B/C/5. - Interestingly, some of the houses were owned by the representative of the De Aar Suburban Land Company, a Mr Radunsky, who also owned a shop and a butchery in Greenpoint. Mr Radunsky seemed to be the only person the author of the health inspection report, Mr Gordon, had spoken to in Greenpoint and the Malay Camp.

99 'Memorandum by A. Weisbecker to the Administrator for the Executive Committee re proposed Village Management Board,' 26 January 1926; WCA: KBA-PAS-5/174-L26B/C/5.

roubaksteenstrukture met sinkplaatdakke. 'n Paar jaar later het 'n regeringsamptenaar dosyne huise getel. Die area het in 'n aansienlike nuwe Swart woongebied op die rand van De Aar ontwikkel.⁹⁸

Om saam te vat: voornemende Swart kopers van dorpsgrond het die meeste voordeel getrek uit Waterdale se stigting. Sommige kopers in 1925, soos die Manuel familie, se familie het aangebly en besit steeds, tot vandag toe, eiendom in die area. Amptelike dokumente verskaf dubbelsinnige beskrywings van Swart kopers. In 'n memo voorberei vir die Administrateur van Kaapstad is hulle byvoorbeeld beskryf as 'very respectable Native and Coloured registered voters employed on the Railways' (baie respektvolle Inheems en Kleurling geregistreerde kiesers in diens van die De Aar spoorweë), gretig om hulle eie erwe te koop.⁹⁹ Die dorpsraad van De Aar aan die ander kant, wou egter nie 'n tweede Bloemfontein

98 'Report on a systematic inspection of health and sanitary conditions in the area of the local authority of the Village Management Board of Waterdale', Gordon D. Laing, 6 Junie 1928; WCA: KBA-PAS-5/174-L26B/C/5. Dit is interessant dat sommige van die huise besit is deur die verteenwoordiger van die De Aar Suburban Land Company, ene Mnr. Radunsky, wat ook 'n winkel en 'n slaghuis in Greenpoint besit het. Mnr. Radunsky blyk die enigste persoon te wees waarmee die skrywer van die gesondheidsinspeksieverslag, Mnr. Gordon, gepraat het in Greenpoint en die Maleierkamp (Malay Camp).

99 'Memorandum by A. Weisbecker to the Administrator for the Executive Committee re proposed Village Management Board', 26 Januarie 1926; WCA: KBA-PAS-5/174-L26B/C/5.



Figure 10: Crop of overview plan of the territories of the municipality of De Aar and the Village Management Board of Waterdale, 1926 (WCA: KBA-PAW-73-SBB26/6)

Figuur 10: Geknipte oorsigplan van die grondgebiede van die munisipaliteit van De Aar en die Dorpsbestuursraad van Waterdale, 1926 (WCA: KBA-PAW-73-SBB26/6)

Camp.¹⁰⁰ The association of private Black residential areas with unhygienic conditions and their perception as potential sources of disease was a consistent *topos* in reports from De Aar in the first half of the twentieth century. It is hard to assess whether health officials expressed their sincere concern about an ongoing housing crisis, crowded living conditions, and lack of sanitation or nurtured racial stereotypes of social decay among 'Coloured people'.¹⁰¹ Whatever way, public health-related anxiety did not stop the approval of the Waterdale Village Management Board nor the establishment of a new Black neighbourhood near De Aar. As we will see, Black urban property would remain a continuous concern for the authorities in De Aar.

¹⁰⁰ Magistrate De Aar to Provincial Secretary, Cape Town, 18 July 1925; WCA: KBA-PAS-5/174-L26B/C/2.

¹⁰¹ For a debate on the discourse on social decay amongst urban 'Coloured' communities and state welfare directed towards 'Coloured' people see, for example, Nur-Mohammed Azeem Badroodien (2001) and Azeem Badroodien and Steffen Jensen (2004). Dooling (2018: 1060) argues for taking medical reports of the interwar period serious and rather take them as an expression of the medical professionals being often 'sympathetic commentators on the wretched conditions the poor lived' than as an expression of their ideology. In his paper on the housing crisis in Cape Town, he also gives detailed examples on the crowded and desperate living conditions of the urban poor.

Erven hê nie, met ander woorde, 'n dorpsgebied met Swart eiedomsbesit wat moeiliker was om te beheer as die munisipale lokasie. Hulle het hulle voorbehoude en oortuiging oor openbare gesondheidskwessies op die uitbraak van 'n epidemie in die Maleierkamp (Malay Camp) geskoei.¹⁰⁰ Die verband tussen Swart woonbuurte en onhigiëniese omstandighede en die persepsie dat hierdie woonbuurte die moontlike oorsaak van siektes kon wees, was 'n deurlopende besprekingspunt in verslae oor De Aar in die eerste helfte van die twintigste eeu. Dit is moeilik om vas te stel of gesondheidsamptenare werklik besorgd was oor 'n deurlopende behuisingekrisis, beknopte lewensomstandighede en gebrek aan sanitêre geriewe en of hulle rasstereotipes aangaande sosiale verval onder 'Kleurlingmense' vertroetel het.¹⁰¹ Hoe dit ook al sy, angs oor gesondheid het nie die goedkeuring van die Waterdale Dorpsbestuursraad of die vestiging van 'n nuwe Swart woonbuurt naby De Aar gestop nie. Soos ons sal sien, sou Swart stedelike eiendome 'n voortdurende bekommernis vir die owerhede in De Aar bly.

¹⁰⁰ Magistraat De Aar aan Provinsiale Sekretaris, Kaapstad, 18 Julie 1925; WCA: KBA-PAS-5/174-L26B/C/2.

¹⁰¹ Vir 'n bespreking van die redevoering aangaande sosiale verval onder 'Kleurling' dorpsbewoners en staatswelsyn gerig op 'Kleurling' mense, sien byvoorbeeld Nur-Mohammed Azeem Badroodien (2001) en Azeem Badroodien en Steffen Jensen (2004). Dooling (2018: 1060) argumenteer dat mediese verslae van die tusseoorlogtydperk ernstig opgeneem moet word en eerder as 'n uitdrukking van die mediese personeel se simpatie met die slegte lewensomstandighede van die armes beskou moet word as 'n uitdrukking van hulle ideologie. In sy artikel oor die behuisingekrisis in Kaapstad, gee hy ook gedetailleerde voorbeelde van die beknopte en desperate lewensomstandighede van die stedelike armes.

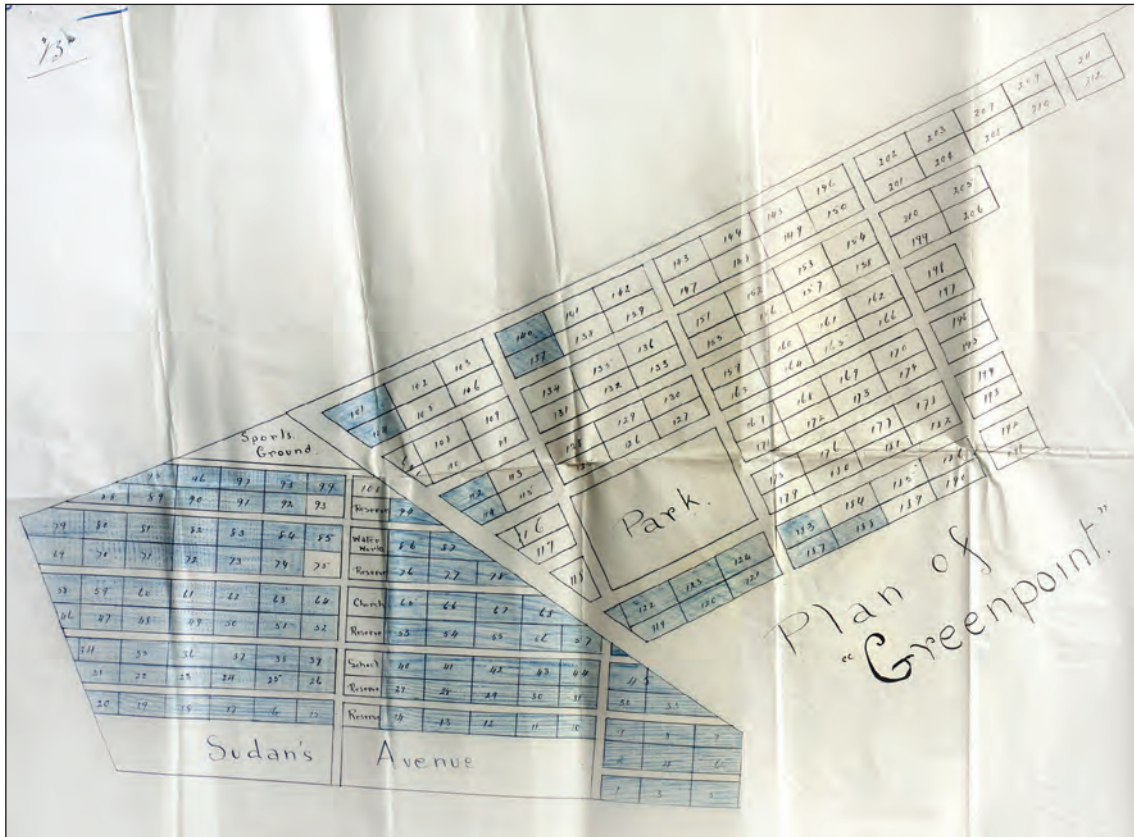


Figure 11: Plan of surveyed plots in Greenpoint with those sold marked in blue, 1925
(WCA: KBA-PAS-5/174-L26B/C/2)

Figuur 11: Plan van opgemete erwe in Greenpoint met die wat verkoop is in blou aangedui, 1925
(WCA: KBA-PAS-5/174-L26B/C/2)

The amalgamation of De Aar with Waterdale and the Railway Camp

In the late 1930s, the Town Council of De Aar launched a new attempt to incorporate the railway camp and the Waterdale Village Management Board area into the municipality. Unlike in the 1920s, this time the Town Council did not meet any resistance from the White population. The railway workers no longer rejected incorporation, partly because the municipality had extended its services and partly because newly initiated housing schemes for White railway workers had offered new housing options in town.¹⁰² As a result, by 1939, most White railway workers no longer lived in the railway camp but were scattered across town as ordinary residents.¹⁰³ There was also no serious resistance among the White population to the dissolution of the Waterdale Village Management Board. Those who had speculated on a housing boom had lost interest and the few residents of Sarelstadt and Alsace were not in a position to perform the duties of an independent local authority. There is no evidence for consultation of Black residents in Greenpoint and the Malay Camp on their neighbourhoods' amalgamation with De Aar. It is clear that official government reports systematically undermined their reputation and respectability. In June 1938, two central government officials, a member of the Central Housing Board, and an inspector of the Department for Native Affairs jointly reported on living conditions in Greenpoint and the Malay Camp.¹⁰⁴ Their report denounced the area as 'being thoroughly insanitary and a menace to public health' where 'a mixed Native and Coloured Community is housed under the most sordid conditions in the Malay Camp' consisting 'of 100 rooms the great majority of which are built on the back-to-back principle', each of them occupied by one family.¹⁰⁵ Although the officials also mentioned higher quality houses in Greenpoint, some with their own closets, owned by a similar 'mixed population', this was intended to present the neighbourhood in the worst possible light. In addition to their criticism of the state of buildings and infrastructure, the officials were

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102 In 1937, the Municipality of De Aar received from South African Railways 24 plots land the railway company owned in the town (lots 635–658). On these plots, the municipality built at 30 houses financed with a sub-economic housing loan provided by the government through the Central Housing Board. Lower-paid railway workers could rent the houses on favourable conditions. The houses were planned as brick-houses consisting of three rooms, kitchen, pantry and bathroom and the usual outside conveniences. (See file 'De Aar-Municipality. Acquisition of land from South African Railways for the erection of houses for Railway Servants', 1937; WCA: KAB-PAS-5/173-L26/C/41) – At least some of these houses of this first railway housing scheme in De Aar are still standing, such as those on Kort Street.

103 Venter (1952: 18).

104 'Report on Inspection of Conditions under which Natives are living in the Urban Area of Waterdale', 22 June 1938, Walter Jameson, Technical Member of the Central Housing Board and P.G. Gaudwell, Inspector of Native Urban Locations; WCA: KAB-PAS-5/175.K26B/C/5.

105 According to the report of 1938, the whole land of the Malay Camp was owned by an unnamed European, who was supposedly leasing the plots to the residents to build their own houses. This statement seems rather speculative as it contradicts earlier and later reports. However, it seems correct that Europeans owned some of the plots and houses in Greenpoint as I will discuss later.

Die samesmelting van De Aar met Waterdale en die Spoorwegkamp

In die laat 1930's het die De Aar dorpsraad 'n nuwe poging aangewend om die spoorwegkamp en die Waterdale Dorpsbestuursraad by die munisipaliteit in te lyf. Anders as in die 1920's het die Wit bevolking dit nie hierdie keer teëgestaan nie. Die spoorwegwerkers het nie meer die inlywing verwerp nie, gedeeltelik omdat die munisipaliteit hulle dienste uitgebrei het en gedeeltelik omdat nuwe behuisingskemas vir Wit spoorwegwerkers meer behuisingsmoontlikhede in die dorp gebied het.¹⁰² Vervolgens het die meeste Wit spoorwegwerkers teen 1939 nie meer in die spoorwegkamp gebly nie maar oor die dorp versprei as gewone inwoners.¹⁰³ Die Wit bevolking het ook nie die ontbinding van die Waterdale Dorpsbestuursraad ernstig teëgestaan nie. Die wat 'n behuisingsontploffing ver wag het, het belang verloor, en die paar inwoners van Sarelstadt en Alsace was in geen posisie om die pligte van 'n onafhanklike plaaslike gesag te vervul nie. Daar is geen bewys dat die Swart inwoners van Greenpoint en die Maleierkamp (Malay Camp) geraadpleeg is rakende die woonbuurt se inlywing by De Aar nie. Dit is duidelik dat amptelike regeringsverslae hul reputasie en kredietwaardigheid stelselmatig ondermyn het. In Junie 1938 het twee sentrale regeringsamptenare, 'n lid van die Sentrale Behuisingsraad en 'n inspekteur van die Departement van Naturellesake, 'n gesamentlike verslag betreffende die lewensomstandighede in Greenpoint en die Maleierkamp (Malay Camp) ingedien.¹⁰⁴ Hulle verslag het die area uitgemaak as 'n onhigiëniese gebied wat gevaar ingehou het vir openbare gesondheid waar 'n gemengde 'Inheemse' en 'Kleurling' gemeenskap onder ongure omstandighede in 'n honderd kamers gehuisves word, waarvan die meerderheid volgens die rug-aan-rug beginsel gebou is en wat elkeen 'n familie huisves.¹⁰⁵ Hoewel die amptenare ook melding gemaak het van beter gehalte huise in Greenpoint, sommige met hulle eie badkamergeriewe, wat deur dieselfde 'gemengde bevolking' bewoon is, het hulle probeer om hierdie woonbuurt in die slegste moontlike lig te stel.

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102 In 1937 het die Suid-Afrikaanse Spoorweë 24 dorpsere (erwe 635-658) wat aan hulle behoort het aan die munisipaliteit van De Aar geskenk. Op hierdie erwe het die munisipaliteit 30 woonhuise gebou wat gefinansier was deur 'n huislening van die regering, deur die Sentrale Behuisingsraad verkry. Laer besoldigde spoorwegwerkers kon die huise onder gunstige voorwaardes huur. Die huise is as baksteenhuise met drie kamers beplan, kombuis, spens en badkamer met die gebruikelike buitegeriewe. (Sien lêer 'De Aar-Municipality. Acquisition of land from South African Railways for the erection of houses for Railway Servants', 1937; WCA: KAB-PAS-5/173-L26/C/41) - Ten minste 'n paar van hierdie eerste spoorwegbehuisingkema in De Aar se huise staan nog, byvoorbeeld die in Kortstraat.

103 Venter (1952: 18).

104 'Report on Inspection of Conditions under which Natives are living in the Urban Area of Waterdale', 22 Junie 1938, Walter Jameson, Tegnieuse Lid van die Sentrale Behuisingsraad en P.G. Gaudwell, Inspekteur van Naturelle Residensiële Ligging; WCA: KAB-PAS-5/175.K26B/C/5.

105 Volgens die verslag van 1938 was die hele grondgebied van die Maleierkamp (Malay Camp) die eiendom van 'n onbekende Europeër wat vermoedelik die erwe aan die inwoners verhuur het om hulle eie woonhuise te bou. Hierdie stelling lyk na blote bespiegeling aangesien dit vroeëre en latere verslae weerspreek. Dit blyk egter korrek te wees dat Europeërs 'n paar van die erwe en woonhuise in Greenpoint besit het, soos ek later sal bespreek.

particularly outraged by the 'mixed population', Black (here 'Native') land ownership, and lack of control in an area immediately adjacent to the De Aar location. For the future, the report strongly recommended the destruction of the Malay Camp houses, the resettlement of its residents, the ban of urban land sales to 'Natives', and the incorporation of the area into the De Aar municipality to strengthen the control over the Black residents of Waterdale. The official reports echoed a tightened national policy against 'Native' free-hold land ownership in urban areas, a right that was taken away in 1937.¹⁰⁶ In other words, unlike in the 1920s, the central government no longer favoured an independent local authority in the immediate vicinity of De Aar. There was no opposition on a local level by White residents or on a national level by the railway company or the central state, and there were no more obstacles to an amalgamation of De Aar with the railway camp and Waterdale, eventually proclaimed in 1940.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ Davenport (1969: here p. 98).

¹⁰⁷ Proclamation No. 204, 13 December 1940.

Buiten hulle kritiek op die toestand van die geboue en infrastruktuur, was die amptenare meer spesifiek ontstoke oor die 'gemengde bevolking', Swart (hier 'Inheems') grondbesit en gebrek aan beheer in 'n area onmiddellik aangrensend aan die De Aar lokasie. Die verslag het sterk aanbeveel dat die huise in die Maleierkamp (Malay Camp) met die oog op die toekoms afgebreek en hulle inwoners hervestig moes word, grondeienaarskap deur 'Inheemses' verbied moes word en die area by die De Aar munisipaliteit ingelyf moes word om beheer oor die Swart inwoners van Waterdale te versterk. Die amptelike verslae het 'n verskerpte nasionale beleid teen 'Inheemse' voltitel eienaarskap in stadsgebiede ge-eggo, 'n reg wat in 1937 weggeneem is.¹⁰⁶ Met ander woorde, anders as in die 1920's was die sentrale regering nie meer ten gunste van 'n onafhanklike plaaslike gesag in die onmiddellike omgewing van De Aar nie. Daar was op 'n plaaslike vlak geen teenkanting deur Wit inwoners nie, ook nie op nasionale vlak deur die spoorwegmaatskappy of die sentrale regering nie en daar was geen hindernisse vir die samesmelting van De Aar met die spoorwegkamp en Waterdale, wat uiteindelik in 1940 geproklameer is, nie.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ Davenport (1969: hier bl. 98).

¹⁰⁷ Proklamasie No. 204, 13 Desember 1940.

De Aar in the 1940s and 1950s

Driven by the flourishing South African Railways, the consolidated municipality experienced considerable growth in the 1940s and 1950s. The expansion of the town followed its own segregated spatial logic. On the White side of the railway line, new generously designed residential areas emerged in the west and north of the town. The railway company's presence was no longer limited to the area around the station. The company's architectural imprint expanded over different parts of town by constructing standardised railway houses and an attractive recreation centre for social, cultural, and sports activities.¹⁰⁸ De Aar West flourished and offered social services and leisure activities to its White residents, whose number grew to 4 000 in 1950. On the other side of the railway line the number of residents grew even faster, and 5 500 people of all sexes and ages lived in De Aar East by 1950.¹⁰⁹ However, the architectural layout of the Black side of the railway line, including the Greenpoint and Malay Camp areas, took a different shape.

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The residential areas to the east of the railway line lacked spacious streets lined with big trees and pretty houses with green gardens. Instead, small houses, often self-built constructions, some with tiny yards and gardens crossed by dirty roads, dominated the living environment of the economy's indispensable workforce. Housing and land ownership remained complex.¹¹⁰ There were self-built single houses on tiny privately owned plots in the Bloemfontein Erven (193 plots) with 789 inhabitants, and in the Malay Camp and Greenpoint (76 plots) where around 410 people lived. Since the early twentieth century big state and religious corporates such as South African Railways and the Anglican Mission Church owned land in De Aar East on which they built their own housing schemes for rental accommodation. These schemes consisted of rows of small back-to-back rooms, namely the six rows of back-to-back rooms in the railway location where 430 people lived, and the three rows in the Beckwith Block, now called St. Thomas Mission Block,

108 On several tours through De Aar (in 2012 and 2018) Tobie van der Westhuizen pointed out several types of railway houses such as the two-bedrooms houses in Railway Street built in the 1940s, the single-quarters in the same street built in the 1950s as well as the houses built in the 1960s.

109 For the population number in 1950 see 'Vraelys ten opsigte van De Aar munisipaliteit', Town Clerk De Aar, 6 October 1950; WCA: TBK-PAA-E/219-A27/64. – Since the late 1930s, the majority of the people living in De Aar were Black. (E.A. Venter, *De Aar: Town of the Future (1902–1952)*, De Aar: De Aar Municipality, 1952: 22–23.)

110 For the following information on the number of houses and privately owned property, see 'Inspeksie van nie-blanke aangeleenthede in stadsgebeebied van De Aar', 6 October 1950, Urban Area Commissioner Eastern Cape, King Williamstown; WCA: TBK-PAA-E/219-A27/64. For the population numbers in the different areas see 'Vraelys ten opsigte van De Aar munisipaliteit', Town Clerk De Aar, 6 October 1950; WCA: TBK-PAA-E/219-A27/64.

De Aar in die 1940's en 1950's

Gedryf deur die welvarende Suid-Afrikaanse Spoorweë het die gekonsolideerde munisipaliteit aansienlike groei in die 1940's en 1950's beleef. Die uitbreiding van die dorpsgebied se gesegregeerde ruimtelike logika gevolg. Aan die Wit kant van die spoorweglyn het nuwe, ruim ontwerpte residensiële gebiede aan die weste en noorde van die dorpsgebied ontwikkel. Die spoorwegmaatskappy se teenwoordigheid was nie meer net tot die area rondom die stasie beperk nie. Die maatskappy se argitektoniese afdruk het deur die bou van gestandaardiseerde spoorweghuise en 'n aantreklike ontspanningsentrum vir sosiale, kulturele en sportaktiwiteite na verskillende gedeeltes van die dorpsgebied uitgebrei.¹⁰⁸ De Aar-Wes het floreer en sosiale dienste en ontspanningsaktiwiteite aan die Wit inwoners, wat in 1950 tot 4 000 vermeerder het, gebied. Aan die anderkant van die spoorlyn het die aantal inwoners nog vinniger gegroei en teen 1950 het daar 5 500 mense van alle geslagte en ouderdomme in De Aar-Oos gewoon.¹⁰⁹ Die argitektoniese uitleg aan die Swart kant van die spoorlyn, insluitende die Greenpoint en Maleierkamp (Malay Camp) areas, het egter 'n ander vorm aangeneem.

Die residensiële gebiede aan die ooste van die spoorlyn het nie ruim strate met groen bome en mooi huise met groen tuine gehad nie. In plaas daarvan het klein woonhuise, dikwels selfgebooue konstruksies, sommige daarvan met klein erwe en tuine, deurkruis met stofpaaie, die omgewing waarin die dorpsgebied se onmisbare arbeidsmag geleef het, oorheers. Behuising en grondeienaarskap het ingewikkeld gebly.¹¹⁰ Daar was selfgebooue enkelhuise op klein erwe wat in privaat besit was in die Bloemfontein Erven (193 erwe) met 789 inwoners, die Maleierkamp (Malay Camp) en Greenpoint (76 erwe) waar ongeveer 410 mense gebly het. Sedert die vroeë twintigste eeu het groot staatsinstansies en kerkgenootskappe soos die Suid-Afrikaanse Spoorweë en die Anglikaanse Sendingkerk grond in De Aar-Oos besit, waar hulle hul eie behuisingkemas om verblyf uit te huur,

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108 Tobie van der Westhuizen het tydens verskeie toere deur De Aar (in 2012 en 2018) verskillende tipes spoorweghuise uitgewys, onder andere die tweeslaapkamerhuise in Spoorwegstraat wat in die 1940's gebou is, die enkelkwartiere in dieselfde straat wat in die 1950's gebou is, sowel as die huise wat in die 1960's gebou is.

109 Vir die bevolkingsyfer in 1950, sien 'Vraelys ten opsigte van De Aar munisipaliteit', De Aar-dorpsklerk, 6 Oktober 1950; WCA: TBK-PAA-E/219-A27/64. Sedert die laat 1930's, was die meerderheid van die mense wat in De Aar gebly het Swart. (E.A. Venter, De Aar: Stad van die toekoms (1902-1952), De Aar: De Aar Munisipaliteit, 1952: 22-23.)

110 Vir die volgende inligting rakende die aantal huise en eiendom in privaatbesit, sien 'Inspeksie van nie-blanke aangeleenthede in stadsgebied van De Aar op 6 Oktober 1950', Stedelike Gebiedskommisaris Oos-Kaap, King Williamstown; WCA: TBK-PAA-E/219-A27/64. Vir die bevolkingsyfer in die verskillende areas sien 'Vraelys ten opsigte van De Aar munisipaliteit', De Aar-dorpsklerk, 6 Oktober 1950; WCA: TBK-PAA-E/219-A27/64.

accommodating around 320 people. The municipal location comprised the biggest part of De Aar East's urban area, consisting of two historically distinct parts. On the one hand, there was the area of the first official municipal location proclaimed in 1927, later known as the old location. In this area, the officials counted 320 self-built dwellings that accommodated slightly over 2 000 people in 1950. Also situated in the old location was the very first small housing scheme of the municipality, built in the late 1920s, the so-called Wit Location, where 246 people lived. It consisted of 15 houses containing four rooms each, generally rented out as single or sometimes as double rooms to families. These rooms were, similar to the back-to-back houses in the railway location or the St. Thomas Block, badly ventilated and incredibly hot in summer. The other part of the municipal location consisted of two new housing schemes, Sunrise and New Bright, initiated as mentioned earlier by the municipality in the late 1930s and early 1940s (Figure 8). They included freestanding serial houses with better ventilation. However, the two- to three-roomed houses had no ceilings and the asbestos roofs provided no isolation against the summer heat or winter cold.¹¹¹ Of the planned 458 houses, only 180 were completed in Sunrise and 120 in New Bright by 1950, now inhabited by 717 and 443 people respectively.

78 If one compares the official population figures of at least 5 500 residents to the number of houses (and their size), one can easily imagine the cramped living conditions of families residing east of the railway line.¹¹² However, the housing crisis in the Black part of town was not a priority for the municipality. In fact, the housing schemes of the late 1920s and early 1940s resulted from pressure by the central authorities and less from a municipal initiative.¹¹³ The Town Council focused on developing the White part of town, while doing a minimum to improve living conditions on the other side of the railway line.¹¹⁴ It was only in the 1940s that local and central government officials implemented large-scale housing and social engineering projects in De Aar East. The question of racialised ownership became even more prominent.

111 Information by Father Alcaster, De Aar, 10 February 2012. – For the correspondence on this sub-economic housing scheme, including blue-print drawings of possible types of houses, between the Town Council De Aar and the Central Housing Board of the Department for Natives Affairs, Pretoria, between 1940 and 1945 see 'De Aar. Establishment of Location'; NASA: SAB-NTS-6036.162/313N.

112 The actual number of residents in De Aar East might have been higher than the 5 500 indicated before for 1950 as according to another official document there were 6 834 people living in De Aar East in 1951. ('Instelling van groepsgebiede: De Aar', Inquiry Committee, Pretoria, 13 February 1963; WCA: KAB-KUS-1/38.)

113 This confirms the argument Dooling (2018) has made with regard to the local authority's inactivity to combat the prevalent housing crisis in the interwar in Cape Town.

114 For instance, there was no state school operating in De Aar East in 1950, the only existing schools were run by churches. (See 'Inspeksie van nie-blanke aangeleenthede in stadsgebeebied van De Aar', 6 October 1950, Urban Area Commissioner Eastern Cape, King Williamstown; WCA: TBK-PAA-E/219-A27/64.)

gebou het. Hierdie skemas het bestaan uit rye klein rug-aan-rug kamers, naamlik die ses rye rug-aan-rug kamers in die spoorweglokasie waar 430 mense gebly het, en die drie rye in die Beckwith Block (Beckwith Blok), teen daardie tyd die St. Thomas Mission Block (St. Thomas Sending Blok) genoem, wat ongeveer 320 mense geakkommodeer het. Die munisipale lokasie het die grootste deel van De Aar-Oos se dorpsgebied beslaan, bestaande uit twee afsonderlike geskiedkundige gedeeltes. Aan die een kant was daar die area van die eerste amptelike munisipale lokasie wat in 1927 geproklameer is en wat later as die ou lokasie bekend gestaan het. Hier het die amptenare 320 selfgeboorde wonings wat in 1950 net meer as 2 000 mense geakkommodeer het, getel. Die sogenaamde Wit lokasie, die munisipaliteit se eerste klein behuisingskema wat in die laat 1920's gebou is en waar 246 mense gebly het, was ook in die ou lokasie geleë. Dit het uit 15 woonhuise met vier kamers elk bestaan, gewoonlik as enkelkamers maar soms as dubbelkamers, en is aan families uitgehuur. Hierdie kamers was soortgelyk aan die rug-aan-rug huise in die spoorweglokasie of die St. Thomas Block met slegte ventilasie en ongelooflik warm in die somer. Die ander deel van die munisipale lokasie het uit twee nuwe behuisingskemas, Sunrise en New Bright, bestaan, wat soos reeds genoem in die laat 1930's en vroeë 1940's deur die munisipaliteit onderneem is (Figuur 8). Hulle het losstaande reekshuise met beter ventilasie ingesluit. Die twee-tot-driekamer huise het geen plafonne gehad nie en die asbesdakke het geen isolasie teen somerhitte of winterkoue gebied nie.¹¹¹ Van die beplande 458 huise was slegs 180 in Sunrise en 120 in New Bright teen 1950 voltooi, nou deur 717 en 443 mense onderskeidelik bewoon.

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As mens die amptelike bevolkingsyfer van ten minste 5 500 inwoners in verhouding met die aantal huise (en hulle grootte) plaas, kan mens jouself maklik die beknopte lewensomstandighede van die families wat oos van die spoorlyn gebly het, voorstel.¹¹² Dog, die behuisingskrisis van die Swart gedeelte van die dorp was nie 'n prioriteit vir die munisipaliteit nie. Inderwaarheid was die behuisingskemas van die laat 1920's en vroeë 1940's eerder 'n gevolg van die druk toegepas deur die sentrale owerhede as wat dit 'n munisipale inisiatief was.¹¹³ Die dorpsraad het op die ontwikkeling

111 Inligting verskaf deur Vader Alcaster, De Aar, 10 Oktober 2012. Vir die korrespondensie aangaande hierdie sub-ekonomiese behuisingskema, insluitend bloudruk sketse van moontlike tipes huise, tussen die De Aar Dorpsraad en die Sentrale Behuisingsraad van die Departement van Naturellesake, Pretoria, tussen 1940 en 1945 sien 'De Aar. Vestiging van Lokasie'; NASA: SAB-NTS-6036.162/313N.

112 Die werklike aantal inwoners van De Aar-Oos mag in 1950 meer gewees het as die 5 500 vantevore aangedui aangesien daar volgens 'n ander amptelike dokument in 1951, 6 843 mense in De Aar-Oos gewoon het. ('Instelling van groepsgebiede: De Aar', Ondersoekkomitee, Pretoria, 13 Februarie 1963, WCA: KAB-KUS-1/38.)

113 Dit bevestig Dooling (2018) se argument betreffende die plaaslike owerheid se gebrek aan optrede om die heersende behuisingskrisis in die tussenoorlogse tyd in Kaapstad aan te spreek.

Private property and segregation in De Aar East

Official reporting had, although not systematically, long distinguished between 'Native' and 'Coloured' residents in De Aar East; it was only in the late 1940s that mixed residential areas became a matter of serious official concern. Plans for separate residential areas for people classified as 'Coloureds' and 'Natives' took shape. Moreover, authorities claimed local support for their scheme, for example, from the Coloured Vigilance Association in De Aar.¹¹⁵ How can we explain the shift towards demands for segregated residential areas in the Black part of town when the legal implementation of urban apartheid had yet to come and given the long history of cohabitation in De Aar?¹¹⁶

The history of De Aar is a history of immigration. The railway construction and the railway's importance during the South African war drew many residents from neighbouring regions and more distant places in and beyond South Africa to De Aar. The railway offered work and a living. When the first plots were sold in what became the Bloemfontein Erven in 1902, buyers included a majority of people of mixed slave and Khoi heritage later classified as 'Coloured' and 'African' migrants from the Eastern Cape or other regions across South Africa and classified as 'Native'.¹¹⁷ Most of De Aar's Black population did not own land and lived in the municipal location officially proclaimed only in 1927. In contrast to the Bloemfontein Erven, most municipal location residents were classified as 'Natives'.¹¹⁸ In short, De Aar's Black urban population was divided along two lines, namely, land ownership and racial classification, with those classified as 'Coloured' forming the majority of landowners. What did this double division mean in the lives of the inhabitants of De Aar East? What was its significance, and to what extent can it be reconstructed at all based

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115 In the document, the association is called Kleurlingswaaksaamheidvereniging. ('Inspeksie van nie-blanke aangeleenthede in stadsgebied van De Aar', 6 October 1950, Urban Area Commissioner Eastern Cape, King Williamstown; WCA: TBK-PAA-E/219-A27/64) – I could not find any further information on such an association existing in the 1940s. However, R.E. Van der Ross (1986: 44-45) mentions a Coloured Peoples' Vigilance Committee active in Cape Town in the early 1900s with little further information, except that a P.J. Eksteen was president of the Vigilance Committee. According to another publication by the same author (Van der Ross 1975: here p. 14) P.J. Eksteen was first secretary of the African Political Organisation in 1903.

116 On the population registration project of the apartheid government in the 1950s and 1960s see, for example, Lorena Rizzo (2020: 80-109).

117 For a discussion of Coloured identities and political representations see, for example, Mohamed Adhikari (2005). See also the contribution by Patric Tariq Mellet (2020) who promotes the term 'Camissa Africans', to catch the many backgrounds of the colonised people at the Cape.

118 Before the population registration project of the apartheid government, such official classification was made along appearance and social context (e.g. language).

van die Wit dorpsgebied gefokus en die minimum gedoen om die lewensomstandighede aan die anderkant van die spoorlyn te verbeter.¹¹⁴ Slegs in die 1940's het plaaslike en sentrale regeringsamptenare grootskaalse behuisings- en sosiale ingenieursprojekte in De Aar-Oos geïmplementeer. Die vraag aangaande rasgebaseerde eienaarskap het al hoe sterker na vore gekom.

Privaat eiendom en segregasie in De Aar-Oos

Amptelike verslaggewing het vir lank, alhoewel nie sistematies nie, onderskeid gemaak tussen 'Inheemse' en 'Kleurling' inwoners in De Aar-Oos; dit was slegs in die laat 1940's dat gemengde residensiële gebiede 'n saak van ernstige amptelike kommer geword het. Planne vir afsonderlike residensiële gebiede vir persone geklassifiseer as 'Kleurlinge' en 'Inheems' het vorm aangeneem. Verder het owerhede aangevoer dat hulle plaaslike ondersteuning gehad het vir hulle skema, byvoorbeeld van die Kleurling Waaksaamheidskomitee van De Aar.¹¹⁵ Hoe kan die verskuiwing na die aandrag op gesegregeerde residensiële areas in die Swart gedeeltes van die dorp verduidelik word as die wetlike implementering van stedelike apartheid nog moes plaasvind, en inaggenome die lang geskiedenis van die verskillende rasse se saam leef?¹¹⁶

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De Aar se geskiedenis is 'n geskiedenis van migrasie. Die bou van die spoorweg en die belangrikheid van die spoorweg gedurende die Suid-Afrikaanse oorlog het baie inwoners van naburige streke, en meer afgeleë plekke buite Suid-Afrika se grense, na De Aar gelok. Die spoorweg het werk en 'n lewe gebied. Met die verkoop van die eerste erwe in die area wat die Bloemfontein Erven geword het in 1902, was die meerderheid van die kopers van gemengde slawe- en Khoi-afkoms, later as 'Kleurling' geklassifiseer, en 'Swart' migrante van die Oos-Kaap of ander streke regoor Suid-Afrika

114 Byvoorbeeld, daar was in 1950 geen staatsskool in De Aar-Oos nie. Die enigste bestaande skole was skole wat deur kerke bedryf is. (Sien 'Inspeksie van nie-blanke aangeleenthede in stadsgebeebied van De Aar', 6 Oktober 1950, Stedelike Gebiedskommissaris Oos-Kaap, King Williamstown; WCA: TBK-PAA-E/219-A27/64.)

115 In die dokument word die komitee die Kleurlingswaaksaamheidsvereniging genoem. ('Inspeksie van nie-blanke aangeleenthede in stadsgebeebied van De Aar', 6 Oktober 1950, Stedelike Gebiedskommissaris Oos-Kaap, King Williamstown; WCA: TBK-PAA-E/219-A27/64). Ek kon geen verdere verwysing vind na sodanige komitee wat in die 1940's bestaan het nie. R.E. Van der Ross (1986: 44-45) het egter melding gemaak van 'n Kleurling Waaksaamheidskomitee, aktief in Kaapstad in die vroeë 1900's, met min verdere inligting behalwe dat 'n sekere P.J. Eksteen president was van die Waaksaamheidskomitee. Volgens 'n ander publikasie deur dieselfde skrywer (Van der Ross 1975: hier bl. 14) was P.J. Eksteen eers die sekretaris van die African Political Organisation (Afrika Politieke Organisasie) in 1903.

116 Rakende die bevolkingsregistrasieprojek van die apartheidsregering in die 1950's en 1960's, sien byvoorbeeld Lorena Rizzo (2020: 80-109).

on archival sources? Owning freehold land in the Bloemfontein Erven, Greenpoint, or the Malay Camp certainly made a difference. First, the rules governing the location did not apply, and, for instance, people living here on freehold land had statutory rights to municipal services or the freedom to sell or let their property. Furthermore, property ownership was a central condition for political franchise in the Cape Province.¹¹⁹ Second, landownership was an expression of permanence and created a sense of belonging, especially for De Aar's migrant population. Archival sources and local memory suggest that racial segregation in De Aar East was less relevant during the first half of the twentieth century, unlike landownership. Reports of the early days of De Aar used ethnical and racial labels but gave no numbers for residential patterns.¹²⁰ The first census that organized Black residential numbers along racial lines appeared in 1921.¹²¹ Then, in 1936, 1 149 'Natives' and 1 680 'Coloureds' were said to live in De Aar.¹²² Henceforth, all censuses were based on racial categories, and they tell us that the Black population of De Aar almost doubled until 1946, with nearly half classified as 'Native'.¹²³ Nevertheless, people who grew up in De Aar in the 1940s and 1950s do not remember racial segregation in De Aar East at the time.¹²⁴ They recall a trans-regional, cosmopolitan community where intermarriage between people of diverse backgrounds was very common.¹²⁵ Children went to the same mission schools, regardless of their

119 See Hermann Giliomee (1995).

120 Reports of the early days of De Aar either label the Black population summarily as 'Native' or differ between 'Kafir, Bastards, and Hottentots', more often though simply as 'Coloured and Native' but they do not systematically give any numbers. For the first two quotes see e.g. Acting Assistant Magistrate, De Aar to Colonial Secretary in Cape Town, 17 April 1903; WCA: KBA-PAS-2/175, for the third Magistrate De Aar to Provincial Secretary, Cape Town, 12 August 1927; WCA: TBK-PAA-E/219-A27/64 and lists of landowner and their properties in file 'Waterdale V.M.B. Proposed Establishment of.'; WCA: KBA-PAS-5/174-L26B/C/2.

121 For the census of the years 1904, 1911, and 1926 the 'Coloured' and 'Native' inhabitants are put together in the category 'Non-European' or 'Coloured and Natives' and counted against the category 'European': For all the census figures see 'Report of Systematic Health Inspection of De Aar', 12 March 1928, E.H. Cluver, Assistant Health Officer, Pretoria; NASA: SAB-NTS-4309-162/313.

122 See 'Report on Inspection of Conditions under which Natives are living in the Urban Areas of De Aar', 21 June 1938, Inspector of Urban Location; WCA: TBK-PAA-E/219-A27/64.

123 According to the census of 1946, there were 2 528 'Natives' and 2 648 'Coloureds' living in De Aar. ('Survey Report on the Office of Receiver of Revenue, De Aar, Department of Justice', 22 - 23 September 1948; NASA: SAB-JUS-854-21/87.)

124 Theresa Thompson and Jumo Murar, De Aar, 21 June 2018.

125 References to the different places and regions of origin of Black residents of De Aar can be found in file 'Bantu Labour. Foreign Bantu. Urban Areas. De Aar. 1945-1975', which documents cases of attempted or realized deportations; WCA: KAB-2/OBS-3/1/48. Documented for instance are an unspecified migration from people from Nyasaland (Malawi) in 1953, the case of Elias Habanyama from Rhodesia who applied unsuccessfully for South African citizenship in 1946, the case of Thomas Peet who came as a boy from Owambo in northern Namibia with his parents to the Transvaal. After Peet's parents had passed away when he was still a boy, he came to De Aar in the late 1940s, married a woman classified 'Coloured' and applied for staying in De Aar in 1958. Another case is Adam Juba, who came from Mozambique to De Aar in 1941, where he married a woman classified 'Coloured' and had four children and was threatened by deportation

as 'Inheems' geklassifiseer.¹¹⁷ Die meeste van De Aar se Swart bevolking het nie grond besit nie en het in die munisipale lokasie wat eers in 1927 amptelik geproklameer is, gewoon. In teenstelling met die Bloemfontein Erven is die meeste inwoners van die munisipale lokasie as 'Inheems' geklassifiseer.¹¹⁸ Kortliks, De Aar se Swart dorpsbevolking was volgens twee lyne verdeel, naamlik grondeienaarskap en rasseklassifikasie met diegene wat as 'Kleurling' geklassifiseer was wat die meerderheid van die grondeienaars uitgemaak het. Wat het hierdie dubbele verdeling in die lewens van die inwoners van De Aar-Oos tot gevolg gehad? Wat was die belangrikheid hiervan en tot watter mate kan dit hoegenaamd op grond van argiefbronne gerekonstrueer word? Die besit van voltitel eiendomme in die Bloemfontein Erven, Greenpoint, of die Maleierkamp (Malay Camp) het definitief 'n verskil gemaak. Eerstens het die beheermaatreëls wat in die lokasie gegeld het nie hier gegeld nie en die mense wat hier op voltitel eiendomme gebly het, het statutêre regte gehad op munisipale dienste of die vryheid om hulle eiendom te verhuur of te verkoop. Verder was eienaarskap van 'n eiendom 'n kernvoorwaarde vir stemreg in die Kaapprovinsie.¹¹⁹ Tweedens, grondeienaarskap is beskou as 'n uitdrukking van permanensie en het 'n gevoel van aanvaarding, in besonder vir De Aar se migrante bevolking, geskep. Argiefbronne en plaaslike oorlewering dui aan dat rassesegregasie in De Aar minder relevant was gedurende die eerste helfte van die twintigste eeu, anders as grondeienaarskap. Verslae oor De Aar se vroeë dae het etniese- en rasbenamings gebruik maar geen syfers vir residensiële patrone gegee nie.¹²⁰ Die eerste sensusopname wat Swart inwonergetalle volgens ras georganiseer het, het in 1921 verskyn.¹²¹ Daarna, in 1936, is aangedui dat 1 149 'Inheemse' en 1 680 'Kleurlinge' in De Aar gebly het.¹²² Van hier af aan is alle sensusopnames

117 Vir 'n bespreking van Kleurling identiteite en politieke verteenwoordiging, sien byvoorbeeld Mohamed Adhikari (2005). Sien ook Patric Tariq Mellet (2020) se bydra wat die gebruik van die term 'Camissa-Africans' voorstaan om die verskillende agtergronde van die gekolonialiseerde mense aan die Kaap in te sluit.

118 Voor die bevolkingsregistrasieprojek van die apartheidsregering is amptelike klassifikasie volgens voorkoms en sosiale konteks (d.w.s. taal) gedoen.

119 Sien Herman Giliomee (1995).

120 Verslae oor die vroeë dae van De Aar het óf die Swart bevolking saamgegroeper as 'Inheems' óf onderskei tussen 'Kaffer, Baster, en Hottentot', maar meer gereeld net 'Kleurling en Inheems', maar hulle gee nie sistematies enige syfers nie. Vir die eerste twee aanhalings, sien byvoorbeeld Waarnemende Assistent Magistraat, De Aar aan Koloniale Sekretaris in Kaapstad, 17 April 1903; WCA: KBA-PAS-2/175; vir die derde, sien Magistraat De Aar aan Provinsiale Sekretaris, Kaapstad, 12 Augustus 1927; WCA: TBK-PAA-E/219-A27/64; en vir lyste van landeienaars en hulle eiendomme, sien die lêer 'Waterdale V.M.B. Proposed Establishment of.'; WCA: KBA-PAS-5/174-L26B/C/2.

121 Vir die sensusopname van die jare 1904, 1911 en 1926 is die 'Kleurling' en 'Inheems' bewoners saamgegroeper in die kategorie 'Nie-Europeër' of 'Kleurling en Inheemse' en as geheel getel teenoor die kategorie 'Europeër': vir al die sensussyfers, sien 'Report of Systematic Health Inspection of De Aar', 12 Maart 1928, E.H. Cluver, Assistent Gesondheidsbeampte, Pretoria; NASA: SAB-NTS-4309-162/313.

122 Sien 'Report on Inspection of Conditions under which Natives are living in the Urban Areas of De Aar', 21 Junie 1938, Inspekteur van Stedelike Ligging; WCA: TBK-PAA-E/219-A27/64.

parents being Christian, Hindu, or Muslim.¹²⁶ Residents experienced the area of De Aar East as a single entity, easily moving between adjoining Black neighbourhoods whose boundaries were neither demarcated nor fenced.¹²⁷ The only division that really mattered was the railway line, which separated the White and Black parts of the town. Against this backdrop, alleged Coloured support for racial segregation in the 1940s demands an explanation. Housing and economic aspiration might have played a role.

The growing number of Black residents in De Aar since the late 1930s reflected South Africa's economic recovery after the Great Depression and the subsequent economic booms during and after the Second World War. During these years, South African Railways heavily invested and enlarged its infrastructure in De Aar and needed an additional workforce.¹²⁸ As we have seen, the municipality responded to the housing shortage and built a few hundred houses in the two new neighbourhoods, New Bright and Sunrise. In New Bright, the municipality allocated houses along racial lines for the first time and only accepted tenants classified as 'Native'. No such criteria were applied in Sunrise where members of both classificatory groups moved into the new houses.¹²⁹ However, what probably mattered more was that both New Bright and Sunrise were integrated into the municipal location, which meant that residents could not buy land, even if they had built their houses themselves.¹³⁰ In some cases, the booming war economy had evidently equipped Black residents with the means to acquire land and build their own homes. However, opportunities were limited. Inside the municipal location, all freehold land ownership was prohibited under the Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923, in force in De Aar since 1927.¹³¹ Outside the location, those

in 1961. Often the archival document does not reveal whether a person was actually deported or not. However, this is confirmed in the case of John English, who was born most probably born in Ruanda in around 1877 and after having worked in various parts of Southern Africa came from Namibia to De Aar in around 1950, when he was already over 70 years. In De Aar, he worked for another ten years before he was eventually deported to Luanda in Angola in his mid-eighties in 1964, notably as a frail old man of bad health.

126 Jumo Murar, who came as a baby to De Aar, for instance, became Catholic by attending the St. John's Catholic Mission School whereas her parents, originating from Gujarat in India, who run a shop in the Bloemfontein Erven and later in the Malay Camp remained Hindu.

127 Official reports regularly deplored the free movement in and out of the location and the lack of any boundaries.

128 Annual Report, 1945, District of De Aar; NASA: SAB-JUS-854-21/87.

129 See 'Report on Inspection of Conditions under which Natives are living in the Urban Areas of De Aar', 21 June 1938, Inspector of Urban Location; WCA: TBK-PAA-E/219-A27/64.

130 Personal information, Father Alcaster, De Aar, 10 October 2012.

131 On the Natives Urban Areas Act of 1923 and the following amendments, see Davenport (1969). De Aar's municipal location was proclaimed for years after in 1927 as discussed above.

op raskategorieë geskoei en die opnames het gewys dat die Swart bevolking van De Aar tot 1946 bykans verdubbel het, waarvan amper die helfte as 'Inheems' geklassifiseer is.¹²³ Nietemin, mense wat in die 1940's en 1950's in De Aar grootgeword het, onthou nie rassese segregasie gedurende daardie tyd nie.¹²⁴ Hulle onthou 'n oorstreekse, kosmopolitaanse gemeenskap waar ondertrouery tussen mense van diverse agtergronde baie algemeen was.¹²⁵ Kinders het na dieselfde sendingskole gegaan ongeag of hulle ouers Christene, Hindoes of Moslems was.¹²⁶ Inwoners het die De Aar-area as 'n enkele entiteit beleef en gemaklik tussen die aangrensende Swart woonbuurtes beweeg waarvan die grense nie aangedui of omhein was nie.¹²⁷ Die enigste verdeling wat regtig saak gemaak het was die spoorlyn wat die Wit en Swart gedeeltes van die dorp van mekaar geskei het. Teen hierdie agtergrond het beweerde Kleurling-ondersteuning vir rassese segregasie in die 1940's 'n verduideliking nodig. Behuising en ekonomiese aspirasies kon 'n rol gespeel het.

Die groeiende aantal Swart inwoners in De Aar sedert die laat 1930's het Suid-Afrika se ekonomiese herstel na die Groot Depressie sowel as die gevolglike ekonomiese ontplofings gedurende en na die Tweede Wêreldoorlog weerspieël. Gedurende dié tydperk het die Suid-Afrikaanse Spoorweë swaar belê in onder andere die uitbreiding van De Aar se infrastruktuur en het dus 'n addisionele werksmag nodig gehad.¹²⁸ Soos ons gesien het, het die munisipaliteit op

123 Volgens die 1946 sensusopname het daar 2 528 'Inheemse' en 2 648 'Kleurlinge' in De Aar gebly. ('Survey Report on the Office of Receiver of Revenue, De Aar, Department of Justice', 22 – 23 September 1948; NASA: SAB-JUS-854-21/87)

124 Theresa Thompson en Jumo Murar, De Aar, 21 Junie 2018.

125 Verwysings na die verskillende plekke en streke van die herkoms van die Swart inwoners van De Aar kan in die lêer 'Bantu Labour. Foreign Bantu. Urban Areas. De Aar. 1945–1975', wat sake van pogings tot deportasie of suksesvolle deportasies dokumenteer; WCA: KAB-2/OBS-3/1/48. Gedokumenteer, byvoorbeeld, is 'n ongespesifiseerde migrasie van mense van Nyasaland (Malawi) in 1953, die saak van Elias Habanyama van Rhodesië wat in 1953 onsuksesvol aansoek gedoen het vir Suid-Afrikaanse burgerskap, die saak van Thomas Peet wat as 'n seun saam met sy ouers van Owambo in Noord-Namibië na die Transvaal toe gekom het. Nadat sy ouers oorlede is terwyl hy nog 'n seun was, het hy in die laat 1940's na De Aar gekom, met 'n vrou getrou wat as 'n 'Kleurling' geklassifiseer is en in 1958 vir verblyfsreg in De Aar aansoek gedoen. Nog 'n saak is die van Adam Juba, wat in 1941 van Mosambiek na De Aar toe gekom het waar hy 'n met 'n vrou getrou het wat as 'n 'Kleurling' geklassifiseer is, vier kinders gehad het en in 1961 met deportasie gedreig is. Die argiefdokument dui nie aan of die persone uiteindelik gedeporteer is of nie. Hoe dit ook al sy, dit is wel bevestig in die geval van John English, wat waarskynlik in 1877 in Ruanda gebore is en nadat hy in verskillende dele van Suidelike-Afrika gewerk het, rondom 1950 van Namibië na De Aar gekom het toe hy al ouer as 70 jaar was. Hy het vir nog tien jaar in De Aar gewerk voordat hy uiteindelik in 1964, in sy middel tagtigerjare, na Luanda in Angola gedeporteer is — duidelik 'n ou man in slegte gesondheid.

126 Jumo Murar, wat as 'n babatjie na De Aar gekom het, het byvoorbeeld Katoliek geword deur St. John's Catholic Mission School by te woon terwyl haar ouers, oorspronklik van Gujarat in Indië, wat 'n winkel in die Bloemfontein Erven en later in die Maleierkamp (Malay Camp) bedryf het, Hindoe gebly het.

127 Amptelike verslae het gereeld die vrye beweging in en uit die lokasie, en die gebrek aan enige grense, bekla.

128 Jaarlikse Verslag, 1945, Distrik van De Aar; NASA: SAB-JUS-854-21/87.

classified as Coloured could buy land, whereas those classified as 'Native' could not since 1937.¹³² In short, land ownership depended on racial classification and was a function of urban geography. This rationale informed the Coloured Vigilance Association's demand for segregation.

Both the municipality and the central government were very much in favour of segregating De Aar East into two distinct parts. Two options were under discussion: the municipality proposed to relocate all persons classified as 'Coloureds' to Greenpoint, whereas the central government representative wanted 'Natives' to be moved to Greenpoint.¹³³ Both options were met with strong resistance from Black property owners in De Aar East and were not implemented at this stage.

According to a 1950 census, people classified as 'Coloureds' owned 231, 'Natives' 35, and 'Indians' 3 freehold land titles in the combined areas of Bloemfontein Erven, Greenpoint, and the Malay Camp.¹³⁴ Leaving the accuracy of such figures aside for the moment, the figures confirm the substantial amount of private property owned by Black residents in De Aar East. The existence of private property challenged the municipality's ambitions to restructure the architectural and residential layout of the Black part of the town. Cases of failed property transfers in the 1940s and 1950s exemplify the municipality's ignorance of Black property and Black owners' possibilities to insist on their rights. In 1945, for instance, the De Aar municipality bought all surveyed plots in Greenpoint from a land agent named L.B. Marx, with the prospect of selling them to prospective Coloured buyers or erecting municipal houses for rent.¹³⁵ Part of the deal was that the municipality would transfer back those 43 erven already sold beforehand. However, the municipality did not fulfil its obligation, and it took the intervention of a De Aar law firm to enforce the rights of property owners in 1950.¹³⁶ Most likely, the property owners in Greenpoint caused the law firm's action, and the intended sale was halted. Reluctantly, the municipality was obliged to respect land rights.¹³⁷ In

132 Davenport (1969: here p. 99).

133 'Inspeksie van nie-blanke aangeleenthede in stadsgebeebied van De Aar', 6 October 1950, Urban Area Commissioner Eastern Cape, King Williamstown; WCA: TBK-PAA-E/219-A27/64.

134 In the Bloemfontein Erven 177 plots were owned by 'Coloureds', 13 by 'Natives', and three by 'Indians' whereas in Greenpoint and the Malay Camp 54 plots were owned by 'Coloureds' and 22 by 'Natives'. ('Inspeksie van nie-blanke aangeleenthede in stadsgebeebied van De Aar', 6 October 1950, Urban Area Commissioner Eastern Cape, King Williamstown; WCA: TBK-PAA-E/219-A27/64.)

135 See correspondence between Town Clerk De Aar and Provincial Secretary, 4 and 17 April 1945; WCA: KAB-PAS-5/173-LC26/C/54. - The deal did not include the properties in the Malay Camp.

136 Paul & Blomerus, Attorneys De Aar to Administrator, Cape Town, 20 October 1950; WCA: KAB-PAS-5/173-LC26/C/54.

137 In the first week of July 1949, the *De Aar Echo* announced that the municipality decided to sell residential land in Greenpoint to 'Coloured' at £10 per plot. The municipality had also prepared the conditions of sale, which it sent for approval to Cape Town; WCA: KAB-PAS-5/173-LC26/C/54. However, it seemed that the sale never took place or only in a very limited way.

die behuisingstekort gereageer deur 'n paar honderd huise in die twee nuwe woonbuurte, New Bright en Sunrise, te bou. In New Bright het die munisipaliteit vir die eerste keer huise volgens ras toegeken en slegs huurders wat as 'Inheems' geklassifiseer is, toegelaat. Geen sodanige kriteria is in Sunrise waar lede van beide geklassifiseerde groepe in die nuwe huise ingetrek het, toegepas nie.¹²⁹ Ewenwel, wat seker meer saak gemaak het was dat beide New Bright en Sunrise by die munisipale lokasie ingelyf is, wat beteken het dat inwoners nie grond kon koop nie al het hulle self hul huise gebou.¹³⁰ In sommige gevalle het die bloeiende oorlogseconomie duidelik Swart inwoners van die middele voorsien om grond te koop en hulle eie huise te bou. Geleenthede was egter skaars. Binne die munisipale lokasie was alle voltitel grondeienaarskap verbied onder die Naturelle Stadsgebiede Wet van 1923 wat sedert 1927 in De Aar in gebruik was.¹³¹ Buite die lokasie kon diegene wat as 'Kleurling' geklassifiseer is grond koop. Hierteenoor kon diegene wat as 'Inheems' geklassifiseer is vanaf 1937 nie meer grond koop nie.¹³² Kortliks, grondeienaarskap het van rasseklassifikasie afgehang en was 'n funksie van stadsgeografie. Hierdie beredenering het die Kleurling Waaksaamheidskomitee se eis vir segregasie onderskryf.

Beide die munisipaliteit en die sentrale regering was ten gunste daarvan om De Aar-Oos in twee afsonderlike gedeeltes te verdeel. Twee moontlikhede was onder bespreking. Die munisipaliteit het voorgestel om alle persone geklassifiseer as 'Kleurling' in Greenpoint te hervestig, terwyl die verteenwoordiger van die sentrale regering wou hê dat die 'Inheemses' na Greenpoint verskuif moes word.¹³³ Beide opsies het streng teenkanting van Swart eienaars in De Aar-Oos ervaar en is nie op daardie stadium geïmplementeer nie.

Volgens 'n 1950-sensusopname het persone geklassifiseer as 'Kleurlinge' 231, 'Inheems' 35 en 'Indiër' 3 voltitel eiendomme in die gekombineerde area van Bloemfontein Erven, Greenpoint en die Maleierkamp (Malay Camp) besit.¹³⁴ Die akkuraatheid van sodanige syfers vir die oomblik ter

129 Sien 'Report on Inspection of Conditions under which Natives are living in the Urban Areas of De Aar', 21 Junie 1938, Inspekteur van Stedelike Ligging; WCA: TBK-PAA-E/219-A27/64.

130 Persoonlike inligting, Vader Alcaster, De Aar, 10 Oktober 2012.

131 Aangaande die Naturelle Stadsgebiede Wet van 1923 en die daaropvolgende wysings, sien Davenport (1969). De Aar se munisipale lokasie is jare later eers, in 1927 geproklameer, soos hierbo bespreek.

132 Davenport (1969: hier bl. 99).

133 'Inspeksie van nie-blanke aangeleenthede in stadsgebied van De Aar', 6 Oktober 1950, Stedelike Gebiedskommissaris Oos-Kaap, King Williamstown; WCA: TBK-PAA-E/219-A27/64.

134 In die Bloemfontein Erven is 177 erwe deur 'Kleurlinge' besit, 13 deur 'Inheemse' en drie deur Indiërs waar daar in Greenpoint en die Maleierkamp (Malay Camp) 54 erwe deur 'Kleurlinge' en 22 deur 'Inheemse' besit is. ('Inspeksie van nie-blanke aangeleenthede in stadsgebied van De Aar', 6 Oktober 1950, Stedelike Gebiedskommissaris Oos-Kaap, King Williamstown; WCA: TBK-PAA-E/219-A27/64.)

the following years, the municipality dropped the idea of turning Greenpoint into a Coloured-only township and instead offered Coloured landowners the opportunity to exchange their property for land in a future new township situated further north. At the same time, Black landowners received an offer to sell their plots to the municipality. A few accepted the offer, but others asked for more money, which the municipality was not willing to pay.¹³⁸ Securing legal support and demanding excessive compensation were successful forms of resistance by the Greenpoint and Malay Camp residents against losing their freehold property. In fact, Black resistance proved to be a serious obstacle to the municipality's plans of restructuring the neighbourhood in De Aar East for decades to come.

Archival property records remain unspecific, and oral information indeed suggests that many property transactions in De Aar's Black neighbourhoods took place without official documentation. For instance, when somebody moved away and sold the land, the buyer normally paid in cash without demanding a receipt. In addition, land sales were hardly registered with the deed's office, making it very difficult to prove that a transaction had occurred.¹³⁹ Official discussion of segregated neighbourhoods in De Aar East had no material implications for the Black neighbourhoods throughout the 1950s. This changed with the implementation of the Group Areas Act in the 1960s.

138 A certain P. Msimanga asked for £600 for his plot, whereas his neighbour only wanted £30. Even considering that there was most likely a house on Msimanga plot, the price was still prohibitive high. (Town Clerk De Aar to Provincial Secretary, Cape Town, 26 October 1955; WCA: KAB-PAS-5/173-LC26/C/54.)

139 Oral information Cornelius Manuel, De Aar, 9 February 2012 and 21 June 2018. The information was confirmed by Theresa Thompson, De Aar, 21 June 2018.

syde gestel, bevestig die beduidende aantal eiendomme in De Aar-Oos wat in privaat besit van Swart inwoners was. Die bestaan van privaat eiendomme het die munisipaliteit se ambisies om die argitektoniese en residensiële uitleg van die Swart gedeelte van die dorp te herstruktureer, uitgedaag. Gevalle van onsuksesvolle eiendomsoordragte in die 1940's en 1950's het die munisipaliteit se onkunde aangaande Swart eiendomme en die moontlikheid van Swart eienaars om op hulle regte aanspraak te maak, toegelig. Byvoorbeeld, in 1945 het die De Aar munisipaliteit al die opgemete erwe in Greenpoint by 'n grondagent genaamd L.B. Marx gekoop, met die gedagte om hulle aan voornemende Kleurling kopers te verkoop of om munisipale woonhuise wat uitverhuur kon word te bou.¹³⁵ Deel van die ooreenkoms was dat die munisipaliteit die 43 erwe wat reeds voor die tyd verkoop is, sou terughandig. Die munisipaliteit het egter nie sy plig nagekom nie, en dit het die toetrede van 'n De Aar-regsfirma geneem om in 1950 die regte van die grondeienaars af te dwing.¹³⁶ Die grondeienaars in Greenpoint het heel waarskynlik die regsfirma opdrag gegee, en die voorgenome koop is verhinder. Die munisipaliteit was onwillig verplig om eienaarsregte te respekteer.¹³⁷ In die daaropvolgende jare het die munisipaliteit die idee om Greenpoint in 'n alleenlik Kleurling dorpsgebied te verander laat vaar en in stede daarvan Kleurling grondeienaars die geleentheid gebied om hulle eiendomme vir grond in 'n toekomstige nuwe dorpsgebied verder noord te verruil. Terselfdertyd het Swart grondeienaars 'n aanbod ontvang om hulle erwe aan die munisipaliteit te verkoop. 'n Paar het aanvaar; ander het vir hoër pryse gevra as wat aangebied is, wat die munisipaliteit geweier het om te betaal.¹³⁸ Deur regsadvies in te wen en buitensporige pryse vir hulle eiendomme te vra het die Greenpoint en Maleierkamp (Malay Camp) inwoners suksesvol weerstand gebied teen die verlies van hulle voltitel eiendomme. Inderwaarheid het Swart weerstand vir dekades 'n ernstige struikelblok vir die munisipaliteit se planne om die woonbuurte in De Aar-Oos te herstruktureer, gebly.

Geargiveerde eiendomsdokumente bly ongespesifiseerd en mondelinge uitsprake dui daarop dat baie eiendomstransaksies in die Swart woonbuurte van De Aar plaasgevind het sonder amptelike dokumentasie. Byvoorbeeld, as iemand getrek het en die grond verkoop het, het die koper gewoonlik kontant betaal en nie op 'n kwitansie aangedring nie. Verder is grondverkope selde

135 Sien korrespondensie tussen die De Aar-dorpsklerk en die Provinsiale Sekretaris, 4 en 17 April 1945; WCA: KAB-PAS-5/173-LC26/C/54. - Die ooreenkoms het nie die eiendomme in die Maleierkamp (Malay Camp) ingesluit nie.

136 Paul & Blomerus, Prokureurs De Aar tot Administrateur, Kaapstad, 20 Oktober 1950; WCA: KAB-PAS-5/173-LC26/C/54.

137 Die *De Aar Echo* het in die eerste week van Julie 1949 aangekondig dat die munisipaliteit besluit het om residensiële grond in Greenpoint aan 'Kleurlinge' te verkoop teen £10 per erf. Die munisipaliteit het ook die verkoopsvoorwaardes voorberei en dit vir goedkeuring na Kaapstad gestuur; WCA: KAB-PAS-5/173-LC26/C/54. Dit wil egter voorkom of die verkope nooit gebeur het nie of in 'n baie beperkte manier.

138 Ene P. Msimanga het £600 vir sy erf gevra, waar sy buurman slegs £30 wou gehad het. Selfs met inagneming van die waarskynlikheid dat daar 'n huis op die Msimanga-erf was, was die prys steeds skrikwekkend hoog. (De Aar-dorpsklerk aan Provinsiale Sekretaris, Kaapstad, 26 Oktober 1955; WCA: KAB-PAS-5/173-LC26/C/54.)

The implementation of the Group Areas Act

The infamous Group Areas Act of 1950 created the legal basis for establishing racially segregated neighbourhoods in all South African towns and cities. Let me thus first consider the Group Areas Act as a national project that transformed South African urban space before discussing its specific implications for De Aar.

Apartheid urban planning

90 The implementation of the Group Areas Act profoundly changed settlement patterns in South Africa's urban landscape.¹⁴⁰ It was made possible by 'two powerful strands of thought', namely, the political will to enforce strict spatial segregation and a generation of young, self-confident, and presumptuous architects trained to, erroneously, I would say, believe in the power of architecture to solve social problems on a large scale.¹⁴¹ When the National Party came to power in 1948, these professionals helped materialise a built environment that homogeneously reflected each group's place and status. The state was their desired patron, ready to fully engage in developing and realising a comprehensive plan for rebuilding South Africa on a national scale. Under the new government and from the 1950s onwards, the development and control of housing became a national issue, with a centralised bureaucracy supervising the process from plan to implementation. The main focus was providing housing for the Black working class according to national standards and at minimum costs. The National Housing and Planning Commission and the National Building Research Institute first defined basic minimum standards for planning neighbourhoods and single houses in 1949 and 1951. Eventually, they developed the NE 51 series houses complying with these minimum standards at the lowest costs possible.¹⁴² A set of detailed manuals and plans were published to facilitate and guarantee the construction of identical and homogeneous townships. These manuals and plans successfully synthesized years of theoretical academic thinking in South African architecture, the aspirations of local architects and town planners for real intervention, and the political will to re-order South Africa's urban landscape along racial lines for good.

140 See Derek Japha (1998).

141 Susann Parnell and Alan Mabin (1995: here p. 55).

142 Interim Reports were published by the National Building Research Institute in 1949. Based on these reports the standards were racialised (originally not intended but also not opposed) and further optimised, meaning reduced and eventually published as 'Minimum Standards of Accommodation for Non-Europeans' in 1951. On this topic see in particular Japha (1998: especially pp. 430–435).

by die aktekantoor geregistreer wat dit baie moeilik gemaak het om te bewys dat 'n transaksie wel plaasgevind het.¹³⁹ Die amptelike besprekings rondom gesegregeerde woonbuurte in De Aar-Oos het in die 1950's geen wesenlike gevolge vir die Swart woonbuurte ingehou nie. Dit het met die instelling van die Groepsgebiedewet in die 1960's verander.

Die implementering van die Groepsgebiedewet

Die berugte Groepsgebiedewet van 1950 het die regsbasis geskep vir die vestiging van rassegesegregeerde woonbuurte in alle Suid-Afrikaanse dorpe en stede. Laat my dus eers na die Groepsgebiedewet kyk as 'n nasionale projek wat Suid-Afrikaanse stedelike ruimtes getransformeer het voordat ek die spesifieke implikasies daarvan op De Aar bespreek.

Apartheidstadsbeplanning

Die implementering van die Groepsgebiedewet het nedersettingpatrone in Suid-Afrika se stedelike landskap deur en deur verander.¹⁴⁰ Dit is moontlik gemaak deur twee kragtige gedagteganges, naamlik die politieke wil om streng ruimtelike segregasie af te dwing, en 'n geslag jong, selfversekerde en aanmatigende argitekte wat opgelei is om, verkeerdelik na my mening, te glo in die krag van argitektuur om sosiale uitdagings op groot skaal die hoof te bied.¹⁴¹ Met die bewindsoorname van die Nasionale Party in 1948 het hierdie professionele argitekte gehelp om 'n bou-omgewing te laat materialiseer wat homogeen elke groep se plek en status weerspieël het. Die staat was hulle beskermheer, gereed om betrokke te raak in die beplanning en uitvoering van 'n omvattende plan om Suid-Afrika op nasionale skaal te herbou. Onder die nuwe regering, vanaf die 1950's, het die ontwikkeling en beheer van behuising 'n nasionale fokuspunt geword, met 'n gesentraliseerde burokrasie wat vanaf beplanning tot implementering oor die proses toesig gehou het. Die hooffokus was die verskaffing van verblyf aan die Swart werkersklas, wat voldoen het aan die nasionale standaard maar teen die minimum koste. Die Nasionale Behuisings- en Beplanningskommissie en die Nasionale Bounavorsingsinstituut het in 1949 en 1951 die eerste keer basiese minimumstandaarde vir die beplanning van woonbuurte en enkel huise, omskryf. Hulle

139 Mondelinge inligting van Cornelius Manuel, De Aar, 9 Februarie 2012 en 21 Junie 2018. Hierdie inligting is deur Theresa Thompson bevestig, De Aar, 21 Junie 2018.

140 Sien Derek Japha (1998).

141 Susann Parnell en Alan Mabin (1995: hier bl. 55).

By the mid-1950s the decision to plan and build new and segregated neighbourhoods was no longer left to the municipalities but was moved to a national bureaucracy.¹⁴³ At this stage, urban space reconstruction was no longer limited to addressing the housing crisis in large cities.¹⁴⁴ Instead, it aimed to create a strictly homogeneous urban landscape in every town in what was considered to be South Africa. The central authorities in Pretoria were now also targeting smaller towns in South Africa and occupied Namibia to enforce the implementation of apartheid planning and the establishment of new, strictly segregated townships.¹⁴⁵

143 Since the mid-1950s, municipalities' housing of Africans was fully regulated and controlled by the Department of Native Affairs in Pretoria. See Evans (1997: 63–69, 125–130).

144 As argued by Parnell and Mabin (1995).

145 For a detailed study of a small town in South Africa, see, for example, Butler (2017: here in particular pp. 142–183). For a detailed study on a small town in Namibia see Giorgio Miescher (2015).

het uiteindelik die NE 51-reeks huise, wat aan hierdie minimumstandaarde voldoen het en teen die laagste moontlike koste, ontwikkel.¹⁴² 'n Stel gedetailleerde handleidings en planne is gepubliseer om die bou van identiese en homogene dorpsgebiede te fasiliteer. Hierdie handleidings en planne het die van teoretiese akademiese denke in Suid-Afrikaanse argitektuur, die aspirasies van plaaslike argitekte en stadsbeplanners vir daadwerklike ingryping en die politieke wil om Suid-Afrika se stedelike landskap vir goed volgens rasselyne te herrangskik, suksesvol bymekaargebring.

Teen die middel 1950's is die besluit om nuwe en gesegregeerde woonbuurte te beplan en te bou nie meer aan die munisipale oorgelaat nie, maar na 'n nasionale burokrasie verskuif.¹⁴³ Teen hierdie tyd was die rekonstruksie van stedelike ruimtes nie meer tot die aanspreek van die behuisingskrisis in groot stede beperk nie.¹⁴⁴ In plaas daarvan was die rekonstruksie daarop gemik om 'n streng homogene stedelike landskap in elke dorp wat as Suid-Afrikaans beskou is, te vestig. Die sentrale owerhede in Pretoria het nou ook kleiner dorpieë in Suid-Afrika en geokkupeerde Namibië geteiken om die implementering van apartheidsbeplanning en die vestiging van nuwe, streng gesegregeerde dorpsgebiede af te dwing.¹⁴⁵

142 Tussentydse verslae is deur die Nasionale Bounavorsingsraad gepubliseer in 1949. Gegrand op daardie verslae was die standaard volgens ras aangepas (oorspronklik nie so bedoel nie maar ook nie teëgestaan nie) en verder geoptimeer, met ander woorde, verlaag en uiteindelik in 1951 gepubliseer as 'Minimum Standards of Accommodation for Non-Europeans'. Rakende hierdie onderwerp sien spesifiek Jahpa (1998: spesifiek bl. 430–435).

143 Sedert die middel 1950's is munisipale behuising vir Swart mense ten volle gereguleer en beheer deur die Departement van Naturellesake in Pretoria. Sien Evans (1997: 63–69, 125–130).

144 Soos geargumenteer deur Parnell en Mabin (1995).

145 Vir 'n gedetailleerde studie van 'n klein dorp in Suid-Afrika, sien byvoorbeeld Butler (2017: hier spesifiek bl. 142–183). Vir 'n gedetailleerde studie van 'n klein dorp in Namibië, sien Giorgio Miescher (2015).

Racial zoning in De Aar

As we have seen, the first discussions about segregated neighbourhoods in De Aar East for people classified as 'Coloured' and 'Native' did not lead to a tangible result due to the resistance of Black property owners. However, by 1954 the municipality of De Aar delivered new ideas for racial zoning which the National Housing Planning Commission in Pretoria processed into a plan (Figure 12). The plan is a powerful visual representation of the apartheid town. The distinct zones highlighted on the plan in different colours suggested a spatial order of racially defined residential areas for 'Europeans' in red, 'Coloureds' in grey, and 'Natives' in dark blue, and areas of work (the South African Railways) in pink and unspecified industrial areas also in a dark blue. In parts, the plan reflected a historically grown spatial order, namely, with regard to the old White township De Aar West (indicated as 'old town') and Sarelstad, the White township of the former Waterdale Village (indicated as 'new township'), the railway yard of SAR (South African Railways), and the industrial area at the northern end of the town. The zoning of the residential areas for 'Coloureds' and 'Natives', though, stood in sharp contrast to the settlement pattern in De Aar East where no segregation between Black residents existed.

Sonering volgens ras in De Aar

Soos ons gesien het, het die eerste besprekings oor gesegregeerde woonbuurte in De Aar-Oos vir mense wat as 'Kleurling' en 'Inheems' geklassifiseer is nie tasbare gevolge gehad nie weens die weerstand van die Swart grondeienaars. Maar, teen 1954 het die munisipaliteit van De Aar met nuwe idees vir rassesonering vorendag gekom, wat Die Nasionale Behuisings- en Beplanningskommissie in 'n plan verpak het (Figuur 12). Hierdie plan is 'n kragtige visuele verteenwoordiging van die apartheidsdorp. Die afsonderlike sones wat op die plan met verskillende kleure aangedui is, het 'n ruimtelike orde van residensiële gebiede wat volgens ras gespesifiseer is, aangedui: areas vir 'Europeërs' in rooi, 'Kleurlinge' in grys, 'Inheemses' in donkerblou, werksareas (die Suid-Afrikaanse Spoorweë) in pienk en ongespesifiseerde industriële areas ook in donkerblou. Die plan het gedeeltelik 'n geskiedkundige ruimtelike orde weerspieël, naamlik met verwysing na die ou Wit dorpsgebied De Aar-Wes (aangedui as 'old town') en Sarelstad, die Wit dorpsgebied van die voormalige Waterdale Village (aangedui as 'new township'), die spoorwegwerf van die SAS (Suid-Afrikaanse Spoorweë) en die industriële area aan die noordelike grens van die dorp. Die sonering van die residensiële areas vir 'Kleurlinge' en 'Inheemses' was

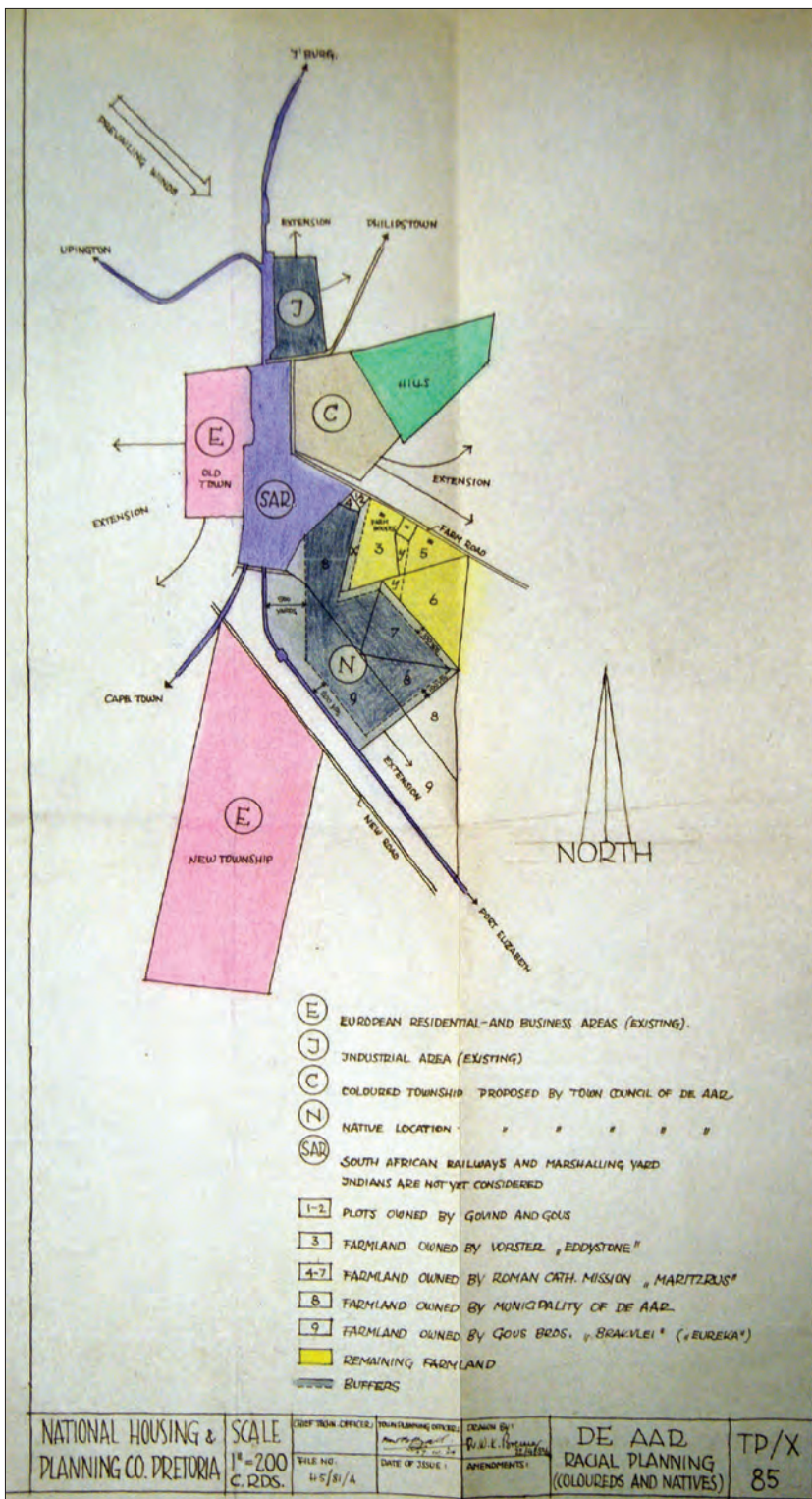


Figure 12:
 Map 'De Aar Racial Planning' by National Housing and Planning Commission showing planned racial zoning, 1954
 (NAP: NTS-6036-162/313N)

Figuur 12:
 Kaart De Aar Racial Planning deur Die Nasionale Behuisings-en Beplanningskommissie wat die beplande rassesonering aandui, 1954
 (NAP: NTS-6036-162/313N)

The proposed racial segregation implied massive resettlement and the expropriation of many Black property owners. The correspondence on the racial zoning plan revealed that the implementation of the Group Areas Act in De Aar East required the establishment of a new 'Native location' conceived as the sole residential area for people classified as 'Native'. Thus, these residents of De Aar East were first threatened with forced removal and expropriation

Planning and constructing the new standardised township Nonzwakazi

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In 1955, the Department of Native Affairs urged reluctant municipalities like De Aar to move forward with the implementation of the Group Areas Act and provided them with the necessary planning instructions such as *A Guide to the Planning of Non-European Townships*.¹⁴⁶ The instructions made clear that simply dividing De Aar East into two distinct neighbourhoods was insufficient, as establishing a new township for those classified as 'Native' required the establishment of a wide buffer strip toward other neighbourhoods. The following year, a surveyor drew the first plan for a future new location in De Aar (Figure 13). The plan showed the contours of the new location (in red), situated in the open field southeast of De Aar and east of the railway line to Port Elizabeth. The adjoining buffer strip (in green) was planned to encircle the location and included the southern part of Greenpoint. However, although surveyed, the plots in this part of Greenpoint had never been sold nor built upon. In other words, privately owned parts of the Malay Camp and Greenpoint remained outside the envisioned new location and buffer zone.

The Minister for Native Affairs approved the new location, provided that the municipality of De Aar would buy all the properties in Greenpoint and the Malay Camp, dissolve the existing location, and resettle the inhabitants to racially segregated new locations. In addition, he urged South African Railways to construct a bridge over the railway line as a direct link between the new location and the economic centre of town, thus making sure that racial segregation would channel mobility in town as well.¹⁴⁷ Once Pretoria agreed, the construction of houses and infrastructure began.

¹⁴⁶ Published by the National Housing Office, Pretoria, in June 1951 and re-published in July 1955.

¹⁴⁷ Secretary Native Affairs to Chief Native Commissioner, King-William's Town, 3 March 1956, report re 'Naturellelokasie: De Aar'; WCA: TBK-PAA-E/219-A27/64.

egter in skerp kontras teenoor die patroon in De Aar-Oos waar daar geen segregasie tussen Swart inwoners bestaan het nie. Die voorgestelde rassesegregasie het grootskaalse hervestiging en die onteining van baie Swart grondeienaars se grond beteken. Die korrespondensie oor die rassesoneringsplan het onthul dat die implementering van die Groepsgebiedewet in De Aar die vestiging van 'n nuwe 'Inheemse lokasie' genoodsaak het. Hierdie gebied sou die enigste residensiële area wees vir mense wat as 'Inheems' geklassifiseer is. Die inwoners van De Aar-Oos was dus die eerstes wat met gedwonge hervestiging en grondonteining gedreig is.

Die beplanning en oprigting van die nuwe gestandaardiseerde dorpsgebied Nonzwakazi

In 1955 het die Departement van Naturellesake onwillige munisipaliteite soos De Aar versoek om voort te gaan met die implementering van die groepsgebiedewet en hulle met die nodige beplanningsinstruksies, soos *A Guide to the Planning of Non-European Townships* ('n Gids vir die beplanning van Non-Europese Dorpsgebiede), voorsien.¹⁴⁶ Die instruksies het dit duidelik gemaak dat om De Aar-Oos bloot net in twee afsonderlike woonbuurte te verdeel, onvoldoende was, aangesien die vestiging van 'n nuwe dorpsgebied vir diegene geklassifiseer as 'Inheems' die vestiging van 'n wye bufferstrook tussen ander woonbuurte vereis het. Die daaropvolgende jaar het 'n landmeter die eerste plan vir 'n toekomstige nuwe lokasie in De Aar opgetrek (Figuur 13). Die plan het die buitelyne vertoon van die nuwe lokasie (in rooi) wat in die oop veld suidoos van De Aar en oos van die spoorlyn na Port Elizabeth geleë was. Die aangrensende bufferstrook (in groen) is beplan om reg rondom die lokasie te loop en het die suidelike gedeelte van Greenpoint ingesluit. Maar alhoewel die erwe in hierdie gedeelte van Greenpoint opgemeet is, is dit nog nooit verkoop of op gebou nie. Met ander woorde, gedeeltes in privaatbesit in die Maleierkamp (Malay Camp) en Greenpoint het buite die voorgestelde nuwe lokasie en buffersone geval.

Die Minister van Naturellesake het die nuwe lokasie goedgekeur, op voorwaarde dat die munisipaliteit van De Aar al die eiendomme in Greenpoint en die Maleierkamp (Malay Camp) sou koop, die bestaande lokasie opbreek en die inwoners in nuwe, rassegesegregerde lokasies hervestig. Hy het ook die Suid-Afrikaanse Spoorweë ernstig versoek om 'n brug oor die spoorlyn

¹⁴⁶ Gepubliseer deur die Nasionale Behuisingskantoor, Pretoria, in Junie 1951 en geherpubliseer in Julie 1955.

By early 1958, the National Housing Office had drawn a detailed layout plan for the new location designed for approximately 8 000 people.¹⁴⁸ The layout of the streets, residential sites, commercial and administrative sites, public services sites, and parks adhered to the specifications defined in the before mentioned *Guide to the Planning of Non-European Townships*. The 1 622 residential plots, for instance, all measured 40x70 feet (c. 12x21 metres), a figure that corresponded with the defined minimum plot size for semi-detached houses. Equally, the housing density of 50% of the available space correlated with the figures in the aforementioned planning guide. As it was standard in apartheid urban planning, the national bureaucracy, that is, the National Housing Office, closely monitored all the parameters before approving layout plans. It was only at this stage that the municipal authorities applied for a loan for the actual construction of the new township. Again, the local authority could not decide on the design and quality of the houses freely but had to choose from a series of standard houses developed by the National Building Research Institute, the so-called NE 51 series houses. The abbreviation NE stands for non-European, and the number 51, for the year

¹⁴⁸ For the plan see 'De Aar Naturellelokasie – Aanlegplan', February 1958; NASA: SAB-NTS-6037-162/313N. Unfortunately, the quality of the copy of the plan I consulted is not sufficient for reproduction here.

te bou wat as 'n direkte skakel tussen die nuwe lokasie en die ekonomiese kern van die dorp kon dien om sodoende te verseker dat rassesegregasie ook beweegbaarheid in die dorp sou reguleer.¹⁴⁷ Met Pretoria se instemming het die oprigting van huise en infrastruktuur begin.

Teen vroeg 1958 het die Nasionale Behuisingskantoor 'n gedetailleerde uitlegplan vir die nuwe lokasie, beplan vir ongeveer 8 000 mense, opgetrek.¹⁴⁸ Die uitleg van die strate, residensiële areas, kommersiële en administratiewe terreine, terreine vir openbare dienste en parke het voldoen aan die spesifikasies soos uiteengesit in die reeds genoemde *A Guide to the Planning of Non-European Townships* (n Gids vir die beplanning van nie-Europese Dorpsgebiede). Die 1 622 residensiële erwe, byvoorbeeld, was almal 40x70 voet (ca. 12x21 meter), 'n syfer wat met die voorgeskrewe minimum erf grootte vir semi-losstaande huise ooreenstem. Net so het die behuisingsdigtheid van 50% van die beskikbare ruimte ooreengestem met die syfers in die reeds genoemde

¹⁴⁷ Sekretaris van Naturellesake aan Hoof Naturelle Kommissaris, King-William's Town, 3 Maart 1956, verslag 'Naturellelokasie: De Aar'; WCA: TBK-PAA-E/219-A27/64.

¹⁴⁸ Vir die plan, sien 'De Aar Naturellelokasie – Aanlegplan', Februarie 1958, NASA: SAB-NTS-6037-162/313N. Ongelukkig is die gehalte van die plan wat ek geraadpleeg het te swak om hier gereproduseer te word.

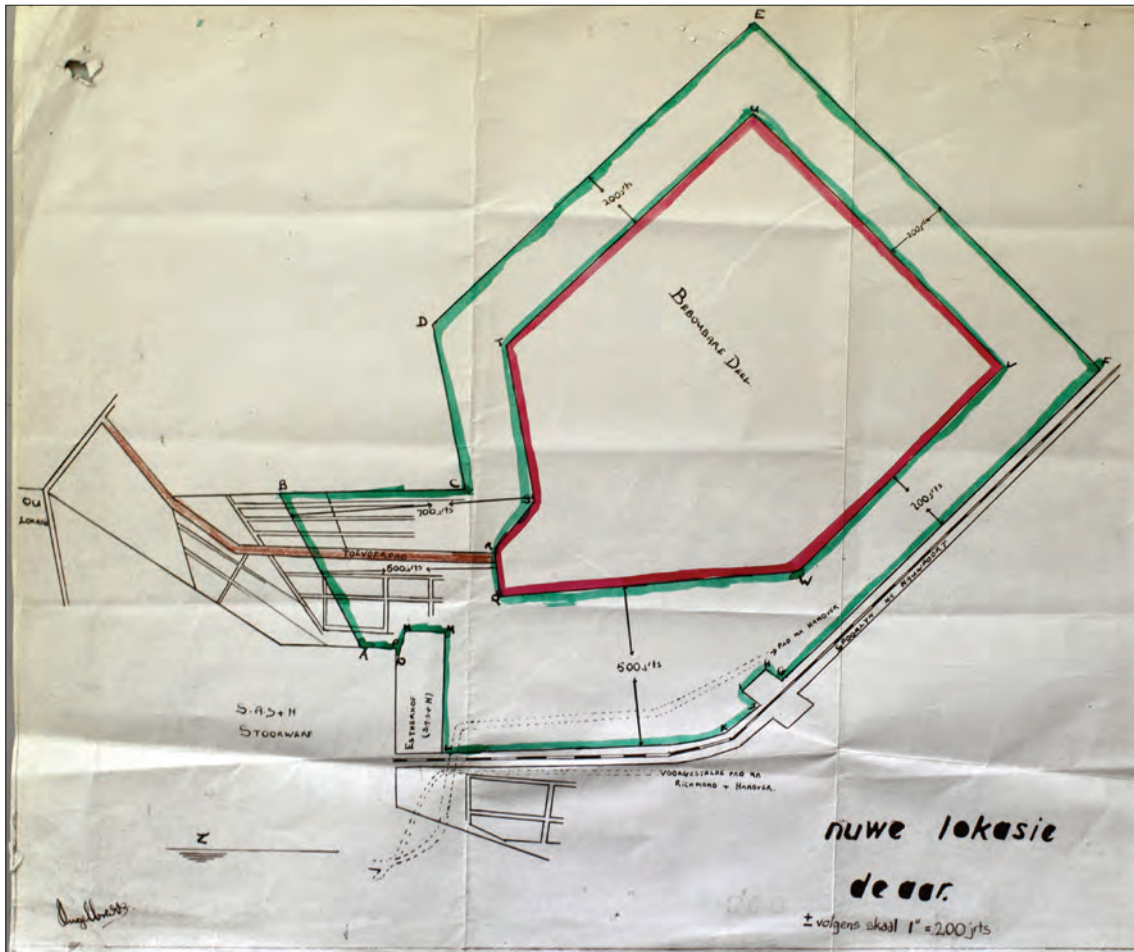


Figure 13: Plan of new location De Aar, 1956 (WCA: TBK-PAA-E/219-A27/64) – note the plan’s orientation with north being to the left as indicated with a small arrow.

Figuur 13: Plan van die nuwe lokasie De Aar, 1956 (WCA: TBK-PAA-E/219-A27/64) – let op die plan se oriëntasie met noord wat aan die linkerkant is soos deur die pyltjie aangedui.

1951, that is, the year in which the series was approved. A subsequent number, from NE 51/6 to NE 51/20, distinguished the different types of houses in the series, indicating the types' differences in construction (detached, semi-detached, etc.), number of rooms, and sanitary standard (indoor or outdoor toilet.)¹⁴⁹

In search of funds, the De Aar municipality applied to the National Housing Commission for a housing loan in January 1960. The Commission eventually granted R357 000 for the construction of the new township in late 1962.¹⁵⁰ The new township was to consist of 450 standardised two-room semi-detached houses (one bedroom and one living room) and 305 standardised four-room detached houses (two bedrooms, one living room, and one kitchen).¹⁵¹ The houses had no bath but an outside toilet. The loan further covered the costs for fencing off the plots, constructing an administrative building and providing basic infrastructure such as streets and a water network. Private contractors were commissioned with the actual construction work of the new location, later known as Nonzwakazi. The completion of these first 755 houses left space for additions since Nonzwakazi was designed for a maximum of 1 622 residential plots.

149 See, for example, D.M. Calderwood (1953) who was one of the creators of the NE 51 Series houses.

150 See, for example, Confidential Report by Secretary of Housing to The Executive Committee (Bantoe Behuisingsraad), Pretoria, 3 July 1962, and other correspondence in the file 'De Aar Municipality: Loans: Housing and Slum Clearance 1957-1970'; WCA: TBK-PAA-B/190-A27/12/7. The grant was eventually approved in November 1962.

151 The houses were part of the NE 52/ 9A type and had no internal bathroom, in contrast to the original NE 51/9 type, which were equipped with a bathroom.

beplanningsgids. Soos die gebruik was in die apartheidstadsbeplanning, het die nasionale burokrasie, dit wil sê die Nasionale Behuisingskantoor, noukeurig al die parameters nagegaan voordat uitlegplanne goedgekeur is. Dit was slegs in hierdie stadium dat die munisipale owerhede aansoek gedoen het vir 'n lening vir die oprigting van die nuwe dorpsgebied. Weer kon die plaaslike owerhede nie vrylik oor die ontwerp en gehalte van die huise besluit nie, maar moes hulle kies uit 'n reeks gestandaardiseerde huise wat deur die Nasionale Bounavorsingsinstituut ontwikkel is, die sogenaamde NE51-reeks huise. Die afkorting NE staan vir Non-European (nie-Europees), en die nommer 51 vir die jaar 1951, naamlik die jaar waarin die reeks goedgekeur is. 'n Volgende nommer, van NE51/6 tot NE51/20, het die verskillende tipes huise in die reeks aangedui. Die tipes het verskil in terme van oprigting (losstaande, semi-losstaande, ens.) aantal kamers en sanitêre standaard (binneshuise of buitenshuise toilet.)¹⁴⁹

Weens 'n tekort aan fondse het die De Aar munisipaliteit in Januarie 1960 by die Nasionale Behuisingskommissie aansoek gedoen vir 'n behuisingslening. Die kommissie het uiteindelik in laat 1962 'n lening van R357 000 vir die oprigting van die nuwe dorpsgebied toegestaan.¹⁵⁰ Die nuwe dorpsgebied sou uit 450 gestandaardiseerde twee kamer semi-losstaande huise (een slaapkamer en een woonkamer) en 305 gestandaardiseerde vier kamer losstaande huise (twee slaapkamers, een woonkamer, een kombuis), bestaan.¹⁵¹ Die huise het nie 'n bad gehad nie maar 'n buite toilet. Die lening het ook die koste om die erwe toe te span, die bou van 'n administratiewe gebou en die voorsiening van basiese infrastruktuur soos strate en 'n waternetwerk gedek. Privaatkontraakteurs is opdrag gegee om die nuwe lokasie, later bekend as Nonzwakazi, te bou. Die voltooiing van hierdie eerste 755 huise het ruimte gelos vir uitbreiding, aangesien Nonzwakazi ontwerp is vir 'n maksimum van 1 622 residensiële erwe.

149 Sien byvoorbeeld D.M. Calderwood (1953) wat een van die skeppers van die NE 51-reeks huise was.

150 Sien byvoorbeeld Vertroulike Verslag deur die Sekretaris van Behuising aan die Uitvoerende Komitee (Bantoe Behuisingsraad), Pretoria, 3 Julie 1962, en ander korrespondensie in die lêer 'De Aar Municipality: Loans: Housing and Slum Clearance 1957-1970'; WCA: TBK-PAA-B/190-A27/12/7. Die subsidie is uiteindelik in November 1962 toegestaan.

151 Die huise het deel uitgemaak van die NE 52/9A-tipe en het nie 'n badkamer in die huis gehad nie in teenstelling met die oorspronklike NE 51/9-tipe, wat wel 'n badkamer in die huis gehad het.

Forced removals

The approval of Nonzwakazi had dramatic consequences for Black neighbourhoods in De Aar East. The first target of large-scale dispossession and forced removal were Black residents, classified 'Natives', of the Municipal Location, the Bloemfontein Erven, Greenpoint, and the Malay Camp. There are no records in the state archives on the total number of people affected by forced removals in De Aar, let alone the names of individuals and families. Some records exist for those who owned property – either houses or land – and whom the state had to expropriate. In 1962, the municipality of De Aar, for instance, drew up a detailed list of the inhabitants of the Municipal Location who were to be dispossessed of their self-built houses. The list contains 251 residents' names, the numbers of their houses, its assessed value, and the amount of compensation the municipality was willing to pay.¹⁵² A transcription of the list containing the names of owners, plot numbers, and the estimated value of the property is added in the appendix. In the following years these residents had to accept the compensation and lost their homes. The municipality destroyed the expropriated houses, forcing people to move to Nonzwakazi. There they could no longer build their own houses but were forced to rent one of the standard houses on terms prescribed by the municipality. Forced removals broke up neighbourhoods and social networks. Residents of de Aar who experienced forced removals when they were young continue to remember the implementation of strict apartheid as a traumatic rupture in their lives. It meant losing their homes, separating from their peers, moving to another neighbourhood, or even leaving the town because they could not continue with school. The experience of the community, the loss of people they grew up with, and suddenly having their neighbours and friends divided into distinct racialised entities was particularly traumatising.

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The municipality of De Aar also aimed to expropriate all freehold land owned by people classified 'Native' in De Aar East, consisting of 34 plots in the Bloemfontein Erven, Greenpoint, and the Malay Camp. The South African legal system guaranteed freehold land titles, and expropriation required a complicated legal process. However, the Slums Act No. 53 of 1934 allowed for declaring properties or whole neighbourhoods as dilapidated and uninhabitable slums, which the municipality could acquire by consent or expropriation. The Act provided a legal framework

¹⁵² Figures based on a list, compiled in 1955, stating both the owner's name and the estimated value of the property. See file 'De Aar Municipality: Loans: Housing and Slum Clearance 1957-1970'; WCA: TBK-PAA-B/190-AA27/12/7. – See appendix.

Gedwonge verskuiwings

Die goedkeuring van Nonzwakazi het verreikende gevolge vir Swart woonbuurte in De Aar-Oos gehad. Die eerste teiken van grootskaalse onteiening en gedwonge verskuiwings was Swart inwoners geklassifiseer as 'Inheems' van die munisipale lokasie, die Bloemfontein Erven, Greenpoint en die Maleierkamp (Malay Camp). Daar is geen rekords in die staatsargief van die aantal mense wat deur die gedwonge verskuiwings geraak is nie, wat nog te sê name van individue en families. 'n Paar rekords het bestaan van diegene wat enige eiendom – huise of grond – besit het en wat die staat moes onteien. In 1962 het die munisipaliteit van De Aar byvoorbeeld 'n volledige lys opgestel van die inwoners van die munisipale lokasie wat onteien sou word van die huise wat hulle self gebou het. Die lys het 251 inwoners, die huisnommers, die geassesseerde waarde en die kompensatiebedrag wat die munisipaliteit bereid was om te betaal, bevat.¹⁵² 'n Transkripsie van die lys met die name van eienaars, erfnummers en die beraamde waarde van die huise is by die bylae ingesluit. In die daaropvolgende jare moes hierdie inwoners die vergoeding aanvaar en het hulle hul huise verloor. Die munisipaliteit het die onteiene huise vernietig en sodoende die mense gedwing om na Nonzwakazi te trek. Daar kon hulle nie meer hulle eie huise bou nie maar is gedwing om een van die standaard huise, op die munisipaliteit se voorwaardes, te huur. Gedwonge verskuiwings het woonbuurte en sosiale netwerke opgebreek. Inwoners van de Aar wat die gedwonge verskuiwings in hulle jeug beleef het onthou steeds die implementering van streng apartheid as 'n uiters traumatiese gebeurtenis in hulle lewens. Dit het beteken dat hulle hul huise verloor het, van hulle vriende geskei is, na 'n ander woonbuurt moes trek of selfs die dorp moes verlaat omdat hulle nie langer kon skool bywoon nie. Die gemeenskap het die verlies aan die mense saam met wie hulle grootgeword het en die belewenis om hulle bure en vriende skielik in verskillende raskategorieë ingedeel te sien word as besonder traumaties ervaar.

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Die munisipaliteit van De Aar het ook beoog om al die voltitel eiendomme besit deur persone wat as 'Inheems' geklassifiseer was, wat uit 34 erwe in Bloemfontein Erven, Greenpoint en die Maleierkamp (Malay Camp) bestaan het, te onteien. Die Suid-Afrikaanse regstelsel het voltitel eiendomme beskerm, en onteiening het 'n ingewikkelde regsproses behels. Die *Slumswet* No.53 van 1934 het egter voorsiening gemaak daarvoor dat eiendomme of woonbuurte as 'n geheel

¹⁵² Syfers gegrond op die lys wat in 1955 opgestel is, wat beide die eienaar se naam en die beraamde waarde van die eiendom bevat het. Sien lêer 'De Aar Municipality: Loans: Housing and Slum Clearance 1957-1970'; WCA: TBK-PAA-B/190-AA27/12/7. Sien bylae.

for bigger municipalities like Johannesburg and Cape Town to reconstruct their inner cities by demolishing old housing structures and evicting Black residents.¹⁵³ In 1964, the De Aar municipality requested the provincial government for permission to apply the Slums Act No. 53 of 1934 in order to expropriate 'Native' landowners in De Aar East. The municipality described the properties as 'sinkkrotte wat op grootskaal oorbewoon word' (largely overcrowded zinc shacks), which had to be expropriated and demolished for health reasons.¹⁵⁴ Soon thereafter, the provincial government granted permission to apply the Slums Act to De Aar's municipal territory.¹⁵⁵ While archival sources are missing, oral information confirmed the eviction of residents from the Bloemfontein Erven.¹⁵⁶ On the other hand, Greenpoint and the Malay Camp remained areas of mixed settlement of Black families.¹⁵⁷ It remains unclear why the Groups Areas Act had no immediate impact on those two neighbourhoods until the late 1970s. Private land titles predating the area's integration into the De Aar municipality might have been one reason. A second one could be that the neighbourhoods occupied a very specific geographical position in the new racial urban order of De Aar East, as they were situated in a non-designated zone between the new township for Africans, classified as 'Native', in the south, named Nonzwakazi, and the new Coloured residential area in the north. Still, this situation was about to change.

153 For an overview of the various laws, see, for example, Margot Strauss (2019). For two cases studies on the application of the Slum Act see Susan Parnell (1988) and Naomi Barnett (1993).

154 Town Clerk De Aar to Housing Department Kimberley, 18 June 1964; WCA: TPK-PAA-A/69-A/27/68.

155 Provincial Secretary to Town Clerk De Aar, 21 August 1964; WCA: TPK-PAA-A/69-A/27/68.

156 Jumo Murar's family, for instance, had to leave on just 24 hours' notice and move to the Malay Camp. The family, though, had acquired their property in the Bloemfontein Erven without legal documentation and not registered as official property owner.

157 Figures compiled from various reports found in file 'De Aar. Woongebiede Afbakening en Beplanning 1969-1980'; WCA: KBA-Kus-2/226.

as gehawend en onbewoonbare krotbuurte verklaar kon word, wat die munisipaliteit dan deur instemming of onteiening kon bekom. Hierdie wet het groter munisipaliteite, soos Johannesburg en Kaapstad, van 'n regsraamwerk voorsien waarbinne hulle hul stadskerns kon herbou deur ou behuisingstrukture af te breek en Swart inwoners uit te sit.¹⁵³ In 1964 het die De Aar munisipaliteit die provinsiale regering versoek vir toestemming om die *Slumswet* No.53 van 1934 toe te pas om 'Inheemse' grondeienaars in De Aar-Oos te kon onteien. Die munisipaliteit het die eiendomme as 'sinkkrotte wat op grootskaal oorbewoon word', beskryf, wat om gesondheidsredes onteien en platgestoot moes word.¹⁵⁴ Die provinsiale regering het kort hierna toestemming verleen om die *Slumswet* no 53. van 1934 op De Aar se munisipale gebied toe te pas.¹⁵⁵ Alhoewel daar nie argiefbronne bestaan nie, het mondelinge getuienis die uitsetting van inwoners van die Bloemfontein Erven, bevestig.¹⁵⁶ Aan die ander kant het Greenpoint en die Maleierkamp (Malay Camp) gemengde nedersettings van Swart families gebly.¹⁵⁷ Dit bly onduidelik waarom die Groepsgebiedewet geen onmiddellike uitwerking, tot die laat 1970's, op hierdie woonbuurte gehad het nie. Privaateiendomstitels gedateer vir die tydperk voordat die areas by die De Aar munisipaliteit ingelyf is, mag een rede gewees het. 'n Tweede een kon gewees het dat die woonbuurte op 'n baie spesifieke geografiese posisie in die nuwe rassegebaseerde stadsorde van De Aar geleë was, naamlik in 'n onaangewysde sone tussen die nuwe dorpsgebied vir Swart mense, geklassifiseer as 'Inheems', in die suide, Nonzwakazi, en die nuwe Kleurling residensiële area in die noorde. Maar hierdie situasie was ook op die punt om te verander.

153 Vir 'n oorsig van die verskillende wette, sien byvoorbeeld Margot Strauss (2019). Vir twee gevallestudies in die toepassing van die *Slumswet* sien Susan Parnell (1988) en Naomi Barnett (1993).

154 De Aar dorpsklerk aan die Departement van Behuising Kimberley, 18 Junie 1964; WCA: TPK-PAA-A/69-A/27/68.

155 Provinsiale Sekretaris aan De Aar dorpsklerk, 21 Augustus 1964; WCA: TPK-PAA-A/69-A/27/68.

156 Jumo Murar se familie, byvoorbeeld, het slegs 24 uur kennis gekry om na die Maleierkamp (Malay Camp) te trek. Die familie het egter hulle eiendom in die Bloemfontein Erven verkry sonder wettige dokumentasie en was nie as die amptelike eienaar geregistreer nie.

157 Syfers saamgestel uit verskeie verslae gevind in lêer 'De Aar. Woongebiede Afbakening en Beplanning 1969-1980'; WCA: KBA-Kus-2/226.

Proclaiming a Coloured Residential Area

Forced removals destroyed most mixed neighbourhoods in De Aar. The constitution of Nonzwakazi was, however, just the first step. Those classified as 'White' or 'Coloured' had to be allocated their particular residential areas too. De Aar's White residential area comprising De Aar West and Sarelstad was proclaimed in 1965, as was the Coloured residential area in De Aar East.¹⁵⁸ The latter comprised the Bloemfontein Erven, the former old location, the 1940s/50s housing schemes of Sunrise and New Bright, and land east of them but neither Greenpoint nor the Malay Camp. (See Figure 12 indicating the racial zoning of De Aar.) In light of De Aar's specific history of spatial segregation, the proclamation of a White residential area did not change much, as the number of Black residents in De Aar West (the historically White part of the town), was always very small. Although few, Black residents had to move to the other side of the railway line. The family of Willy Krull, for example, was among them.¹⁵⁹ De Aar East remained economically weak and a precarious neighbourhood in terms of housing. The municipal housing schemes of Sunrise and New Bright had made little difference. Forced removal of people classified 'Native' to Nonzwakazi in the early 1960s marginally improved pressure on De Aar East's increasing population. In other words, the Coloured residential area remained what it had been before the Group Areas Act.

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According to an official survey from 1970, the designated Coloured residential area consisted of 838 housing units.¹⁶⁰ These were located in the Bloemfontein Erven (85 privately owned houses, some abandoned, Sunrise and New Bright (300 rental houses), the old location (69 municipality houses and 93 privately owned self-built houses), Olive Schreiner (26 self-built houses), and Happy Valley (265 self-built wooden-metal sheet structures). The survey concluded that only 326 houses in Sunrise, New Bright, and Olive Schreiner were of good quality, whereas all other housing units were very poor. Infrastructure and services were insufficient as well. Only the houses in Olive Schreiner had electricity and were connected to a pump sewerage system, whereas in all the other parts the bucket removal system continued to be operated by the municipality. There was no direct water supply but communal taps. There were some sports fields, though also in a poor state but no cinema, library, or public swimming pool. In short: the standard of public service had not changed since De Aar's early days.

158 Proclamation No. 164 of 9 July 1965.

159 Personal communication, De Aar, 22 June 2018.

160 Report 'Aanvullende Memorandum ten opsigte van besonderhede verlang deur die direkteur van plaaslike bestuur vir gebruik deur interdepartementele komitee van ondersoek na versnelde ontwikkeling van kleurlinggemeenskappe tot plaaslike selfbestuur', Town Clerk, De Aar, 18 May 1970; WCA: KPA-KUS-2/226.

Die proklamasie van 'n Kleurling Residensiële Area

Gedwonge verskuiwings het die meeste van die gemengde woonbuurte van De Aar vernietig. Die oprigting van Nonzwakazi was egter net die eerste stap. Diegene wat as 'Wit' of 'Kleurling' geklassifiseer is se bepaalde woonbuurte moes nog aan hulle toegewys word. De Aar se Wit residensiële area wat De Aar-Wes en Sarelstadt ingesluit het, is in 1965 geproklameer, asook die Kleurling woongebied in De Aar-Oos.¹⁵⁸ Laasgenoemde het die Bloemfontein Erven, die vorige ou lokasie, die 1940's/1950's behuisingskemas van Sunrise en New Bright en die land oos daarvan ingesluit, maar nie Greenpoint of die Maleierkamp (Malay Camp) nie. (Sien Figuur 12 wat die rassesonering van De Aar aantoon.) In die lig van De Aar se bepaalde geskiedenis van ruimtelike segregasie het die proklamasie van 'n Wit residensiële area nie veel aan die situasie verander nie, aangesien die aantal Swart inwoners in De Aar-Wes (die historiese Wit gedeelte van die dorp), baie klein was. Alhoewel min, moes die Swart inwoners na die anderkant van die spoorlyn trek. Die familie van Willy Krul, byvoorbeeld, was onder hulle.¹⁵⁹ De Aar-Oos het 'n ekonomiese swak en wisselvallige woonbuurt gebly in terme van behuising. Die munisipale behuisingskemas van Sunrise en New Bright het min verskil gemaak. Gedwonge verskuiwings van persone geklassifiseer as 'Inheems' na Nonzwakazi in die vroeë 1960's het die druk op De Aar-Oos se groeiende inwonerstal effens verlig. Met ander woorde, die Kleurling woonbuurt het gebly soos wat dit voor die Groepsgebiedewet was.

Volgens 'n amptelike opname van 1970 het die aangewese Kleurling woongebiede uit 838 behuisingseenhede bestaan.¹⁶⁰ Hierdie eenhede was in die Bloemfontein Erven (85 woonhuise in privaatbesit; 'n paar verlaat), Sunrise en New Bright (300 huurhuise), die ou lokasie (69 munisipale huise en 93 selfgebooue huise in privaatbesit), Olive Schreiner (26 selfgebooue huise) en Happy Valley (265 selfgebooue hout- en sinkstrukture). Die verslag het tot die slotsom gekom dat slegs 326 huise in Sunrise, New Bright en Olive Schreiner van goeie gehalte was terwyl al die ander behuisingseenhede baie swak was. Infrastruktuur en dienste was ook onvoldoende. Slegs die huise in Olive Schreiner het elektrisiteit gehad en was aan 'n pomprioolstelsel gekoppel, terwyl die munisipaliteit se emmerverwyderingstelsel steeds in al die ouer gedeeltes gebruik is. Daar was

¹⁵⁸ Proklamasie No. 164 van 9 Julie 1965.

¹⁵⁹ Persoonlike kommunikasie, De Aar, 22 Junie 2018.

¹⁶⁰ Verslag 'Aanvullende Memorandum ten opsigte van besonderhede verlang deur die direkteur van plaaslike bestuur vir gebruik deur interdepartementele komitee van ondersoek na versnelde ontwikkeling van kleurlinggemeenskappe tot plaaslike selfbestuur', Dorpsklerk, De Aar, 18 Mei 1970; WCA: KPA-KUS-2/226.

This changed in the 1970s that saw substantial state investment into the Coloured area. New housing schemes and public buildings took shape. Five hundred housing units were built, most of them semi-detached two- or three-room standard houses of the NE 51 series, financed through loans granted by the central state, either on sub-economic or economic terms.¹⁶¹ New neighbourhoods emerged like Happy Valley, Kareeville, and Leeuwenhof. The new public buildings comprised most notably a new high school, the Orion Senior Secondary School opened in 1979, accommodating 800 pupils and including a 200-bed hostel, as well as a large community building with offices and a library, and a big hall with 529 seats which opened in 1974.¹⁶² In the 1970s, De Aar was an area of Coloured preferential labour and attracted many newcomers classified as 'Coloured' from surrounding rural towns and villages. Moving to De Aar seemed to promise a better future for many, although not all newcomers found a job there and unemployment was common. By the end of 1979 there were 10 500 people classified as 'Coloured' in De Aar compared to 6 400 classified as 'Native' and around 5 000 as 'White'.¹⁶³ The new housing schemes proved insufficient for the growing numbers of residents. A detailed report on the Coloured Group Area compiled by the head of the Group Areas Board (Groepsgebiederaad) gave a rather detailed account of the housing situation in De Aar East in 1979. It includes a list of the housing units, their building type, and location in the Coloured Group Area (Figure 14), and information on social stratification.

161 For the details of a first scheme consisting of 356 housing units approved by the National Housing Committee in 1970, see the respective letter to the Town Clerk of De Aar, 31 March 1970; WCA: KBA-KUS-2/226.

162 On the opening of the Orion Senior Secondary School see *Diamond Field Advertiser*, Kimberley, 20 March 1979. On the opening of the community hall see J.J. Marais (1977: 41).

163 For the figures see Report 'De Aar: Uitbreiding van die gekleurde groepsgebied', Head of Group Areas Committee, G.N.H. Morkel,, 11 September 1979; WCA: KBA-KUS-2/226.

geen direkte watervoorsiening nie, maar gemeenskaplike krane. Daar was wel 'n paar sportvelde, alhoewel hulle nie onderhou is nie, maar geen bioskoop, biblioteek of openbare swembad nie. Kortliks, die standaard van openbare dienslewering het nie verander vanaf De Aar se vroeë dae nie.

Dit het eers in die 1970's verander met 'n aansienlike staatsbelegging in die Kleurling gebied. Nuwe behuisingskemas en openbare geboue is opgerig. Vyfhonderd wooneenhede is gebou, die meeste van hulle semi-losstaande twee- of driekamer standaardhuise van die NE 51-reeks, gefinansier deur die lenings wat deur die sentrale regering teen sub-ekonomiese of ekonomiese terme toegestaan is.¹⁶¹ Nuwe woonbuurte soos Happy Valley, Kareeville en Leeuwenhof het verrys. Die nuwe openbare geboue het vernaamlik 'n nuwe hoërskool, die Orion Senior Secondary School wat in 1979 geopen het, wat 800 studente kon akkommodeer en het oor 'n 200-bed koshuis beskik, as ook 'n groot gemeenskapsgebou met kantore, 'n biblioteek, sowel as 'n ruim saal met 529 sitplekke is vyf jaar vroeër, in 1974, geopen.¹⁶² In die 1970's was De Aar 'n gebied wat Kleurling arbeiders verkies het, en het baie nuutkommers, geklassifiseer as 'Kleurling', van die omliggende plattelandse dorpe en dorpies getrek. Om na De Aar te trek het gelyk na 'n beter toekoms vir vele, hoewel nie alle nuwe aankomelinge werk gevind het nie en werkloosheid aan die orde van die dag was. Teen die einde van 1979 was daar 10 500 persone as 'Kleurling' geklassifiseer in De Aar teenoor 6 400 geklassifiseer as 'Inheems' en ongeveer 5 000 as 'Wit'.¹⁶³ Die nuwe behuisingskemas het geblyk onvoldoende te wees vir die groeiende aantal inwoners. 'n Uitvoerige verslag oor die Kleurling groepsgebied opgestel deur die hoof van die Groepsgebiederaad het 'n redelike gedetailleerde beskrywing gegee van die behuisingsituasie in 1979 in De Aar-Oos. Dit sluit 'n lys van die behuisingseenhede, hulle boutipe en ligging in die Kleurling groepsgebied (Figuur 14), asook inligting oor sosiale hiërargieë, in.

161 Vir die besonderhede aangaande 'n eerste skema bestaande uit 356 behuisingseenhede goedgekeur deur die Nasionale Behuisingskomitee in 1970, sien die spesifieke brief aan die Dorpsklerk van De Aar, 31 Maart 1970; WCA: KBA-KUS-2/226.

162 Rakende die opening van die Orion Senior Secondary School, sien Diamond Field Advertiser, Kimberley, 20 Maart 1979. Rakende die opening van die gemeenskapsaal, sien J.J. Marais (1977: 41).

163 Vir die syfers, sien die verslag 'De Aar: Uitbreiding van die gekleurde groepsgebied', Hoof van Groepsgebiederaad, G.N.H. Morkel, 11 September 1979; WCA: KBA-KUS-2/226.

According to this list (Figure 14), there were 1 586 housing units in the Coloured Group Area located in seven distinct neighbourhoods: Sunrise and New Bright, Happy Valley, Leeuwenhof, Kareeville, Bloemfontein Erven, Greenpoint and the Malay Camp, and Olive Schreiner. Notably, the list included Greenpoint and the Malay Camp that were integrated into the Coloured Group Area in 1978.¹⁶⁴ The list confirmed the intense housing programmes of the 1970s, and most of the houses were now assessed to be of good quality except the old housing structures in the Bloemfontein Erven, Greenpoint, and the Malay Camp. The number of *pondokkies*, once the dominant housing type in De Aar East, had substantially decreased. The report further specified the average number of inhabitants per housing type: eight per *pondokkie* at the highest, and five for a self-built or economic house at the lowest. Not surprisingly, the occupation correlated with average household income. According to the report, household income ranged from R50 per month for a household in a *pondokkie*, to R100 for a household in a sub-economic house, to R200 for a household in an economic house, and up to R500 for a household in a self-built house in Olive Schreiner. Despite progress in housing construction during the 1970s, the report

¹⁶⁴ By Proclamation of 6 January 1978.

Volgens hierdie lys (Figuur 14) was daar 1 586 behuisingseenhede in die Kleurling groepsgebied wat in sewe afsonderlike woonbuurte geleë was: Sunrise en New Bright, Happy Valley, Leeuwenhof, Kareeville, Bloemfontein Erven, Greenpoint en die Maleierkamp (Malay Camp), en Olive Schreiner. Dit is opmerklik dat hierdie lys Greenpoint en die Maleierkamp (Malay Camp) ingesluit het wat in 1978 by die Kleurling groepsgebied ingelyf is.¹⁶⁴ Die lys het die geweldige behuissingsprogramme van die 1970's bevestig, en die meeste van die huise is toe gevind om van goeie gehalte te wees, behalwe die ou behuisingstrukture in die Bloemfontein Erven, Greenpoint en die Maleierkamp (Malay Camp). Die aantal *pondokkies*, eens die oorheersende behuisingstipe in De Aar-Oos, het merkbaar verminder. Die verslag het verder die gemiddelde aantal inwoners per behuisingstipe gespesifiseer: op die meeste agt per *pondokkie* en tenminste vyf vir 'n selfgeboude huis of ekonomiese huis. Dit is nie verrassend dat die besetting met die gemiddelde inkomste per huishouding ooreengestem het nie. Volgens die verslag het die inkomste per huishouding gewissel van R50 per maand vir 'n huishouding in 'n *pondokkie*, tot R100 vir 'n huishouding in 'n sub-ekonomiese huis, tot R200 vir 'n huishouding

¹⁶⁴ Proklamasie van 6 Januarie 1978.

Naam van gebied	Pondokke	Aantal Behuisingseenhede				Totaal
		Sub-ekonomies	Ekonomies	Selfbou	Vakante self-bou erwe	
Sunrise en New Bright	-	300	-	-	-	300
Happy Valley	80	165	-	-	-	245
Leeuwenhof	-	191	-	-	-	191
Kareeville	-	292	96	20	-	408
Bloemfontein Erwe	74	-	-	83	-	157
Groenpunt en Malay Kamp	125	-	-	98	-	223
Olive Schreiner	-	-	-	62	-	62
Totaal	279	948	96	263	-	1 586

Figure 14: List of existing housing units in Coloured Group Area, De Aar, 1979 (Excerpt from report, 'De Aar: Uitbreiding van die gekleurde groepsgebied', Head of Groups Area Committee, G.N.H. Morkel, 11 September 1979; WCA: KBA-KUS-2/226)

Figuur 14: Lys van bestaande behuisingseenhede in die Kleurlinggroepsgebied, De Aar, 1979 (Uittreksel uit die verslag, 'De Aar: Uitbreiding van die gekleurde groepsgebied', Hoof van Groepsgebiederaad, G.N.H. Morkel, 11 September 1979; WCA: KBA-KUS-2/226.)

identified 500 people on the waiting list for housing and expected further residential growth in De Aar. Thus, an extension of the Coloured residential area eastwards was suggested, and additional municipal housing schemes were anticipated.

Freehold property in Greenpoint and the Malay Camp remained a thorn in the flesh of apartheid urban planning. Until 1978, these neighbourhoods were neither part of the Coloured nor the African group area and continued to house a mixed population, with 132 families classified as 'African' and 149 as 'Coloured'.¹⁶⁵ When proclaimed a Coloured residential area, the African families were supposed to move to Nonzwakazi. However, forced removal was delayed partly because there was insufficient accommodation in Nonzwakazi and partly because expropriation proved difficult. Many owners could not be traced, nor were their heirs identified. The common practice of informal land sale added to the complexity. While some of the informal buildings in Greenpoint and the Malay Camp were destroyed over the years, the old brick houses remain until today. In the Bloemfontein Erven, plans for constructing 200 new houses did not materialise and the old houses and property structures from the early days of De Aar survived the apartheid era. Ironically, it was only in democratic South Africa that this neighbourhood was destroyed, except for the Lutheran Church of 1914. Overall, however, the Group Areas Act and the subsequent residential transformation of the 1960s and 1970s created an entirely new urban landscape in De Aar East.

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A plan of land use in De Aar (Figure 15), which I received from the municipality in 2012, reveals that De Aar's history of segregation and apartheid continues to shape the town's spatial layout today. The continued division into a western and an eastern part with the huge railway yard as the dividing element in the centre is easily recognisable. A more careful look helps us discern the former White township with its rectangular grid of streets surveyed at the beginning of the twentieth century as well as its gradual extension to the North and West since the 1930s. In the South, the huge area of Sarelstadt is clearly visible, and its generously designed plots surveyed in 1925 exist until today. On the other side of the railway line, the former Black area, the peculiar shape of Nonzwakazi, surveyed in the 1950s, catches the viewer's attention immediately. The surveyed plots of Greenpoint and the Malay Camp as well as other neighbourhoods in De Aar East including neighbours only surveyed after 1994 come to the fore. The land use plan of De Aar is also

¹⁶⁵ See appendix to circular 'Investigation: Additional Coloured Group Areas at De Aar', Secretary for Planning and Environment, Bloemfontein, 14 April 1976; WCA: KBA-KUS-2/226.

in 'n ekonomiese huis en tot R500 vir 'n huishouding in 'n self-geboude huis in Olive Schreiner. Ondanks vooruitgang in boukonstruksie gedurende die 1970's, het die verslag 500 mense op die waglys vir behuising geïdentifiseer en verdere residensiële groei in De Aar verwag. 'n Uitbreiding van die Kleurling woonbuurt ooswaarts is voorgestel en addisionele munisipale behuisingskemas is verwag.

Voltitel eiendomme in Greenpoint en die Maleierkamp (Malay Camp) het 'n doring in die vlees van die apartheidstadsbeplanning gebly. Tot 1978 was hierdie woonbuurtes nie deel van die Kleurling of die Swart groepsgebied nie en is 'n gemengde bevolking, met 132 families geklassifiseer as 'Swart' en 149 as 'Kleurling', daar gehuisves.¹⁶⁵ Toe dit as 'n Kleurling woonbuurt verklaar is was die Swart families veronderstel om na Nonzwakazi te trek. Maar, gedwonge verskuiwings is vertraag, deels aangesien daar onvoldoende verblyf in Nonzwakazi was en deels omdat onteiening moeilik geblyk te wees het. Baie eienaars kon nie opgespoor word nie en hulle erfname was nie bekend nie. Die algemene gebruik van informele grondtransaksies het tot die kompleksiteit bygedra. Alhoewel sommige van die informele geboue in Greenpoint en die Maleierkamp (Malay Camp) oor die jare afgebreek is, staan die ou baksteenuise nog. In die Bloemfontein Erven het planne om 200 nuwe woonhuise te bou nie gerealiseer nie, en die ou huise en eiendomstrukture van De Aar se eerste dae het die apartheidsera oorleef. Ironies genoeg is hierdie woonbuurt eers in die nuwe demokratiese Suid-Afrika gesloop, behalwe vir die Lutherse Kerk van 1914. Die Groepsgebiedewet en die gevolglike residensiële transformasie van die 1960's en 1970's het egter 'n hele nuwe stedelike landskap in De Aar-Oos geskep.

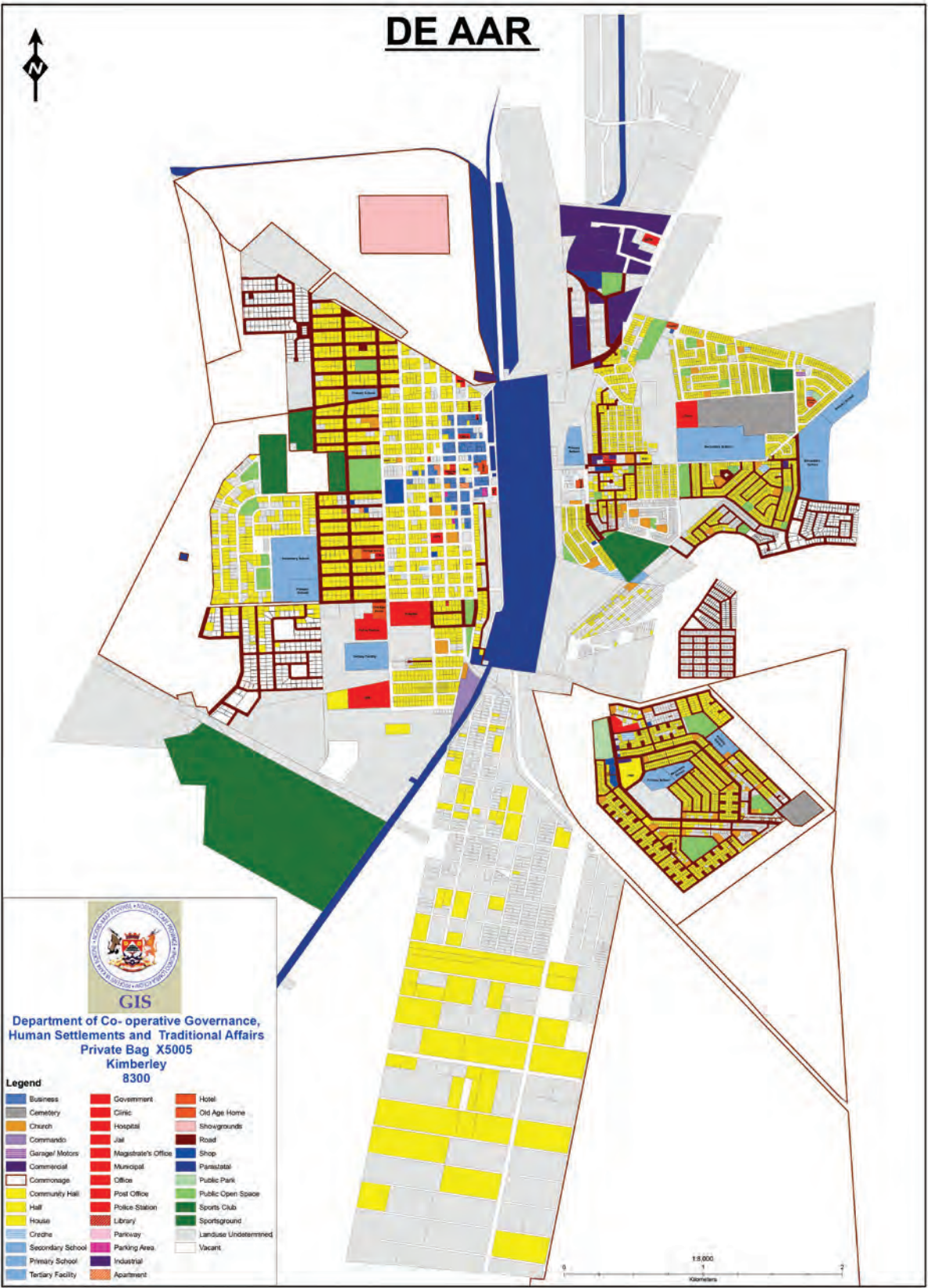
'n Plan van die grondgebruik in De Aar wat ek in 2012 van die munisipaliteit ontvang het, onthul dat De Aar se geskiedenis van segregasie en apartheid steeds vandag die dorp se ruimtelike uitleg vorm. Die voortgesette verdeling in 'n westelike en oostelike gedeelte met die geweldige groot spoorwegwerfas die verdelende element in die middel is maklik herkenbaar. Met nadere ondersoek kan ons die ou Wit dorpsgebied met sy reghoekige netwerk van strate, wat aan die begin van die twintigste eeu opgemeet is, uitmaak, sowel as die geleidelike uitbreiding na die noorde en weste sedert die 1930's. In die suide is die groot area van Sarelstadt duidelik sigbaar, en die gulhartige erwe wat in 1925 opgemeet is bestaan vandag nog. Aan die anderkant van die spoorlyn, die ou Swart gebied, trek die ongewone vorm van Nonzwakazi, in die 1950's opgemeet, onmiddellik

¹⁶⁵ Sien aanhangsel by omsendbrief 'Investigation: Additional Coloured Group Areas at De Aar', Sekretaris van Beplanning en Omgewing, Bloemfontein, 14 April 1976; WCA: KBA-KUS-2/226.

evidence of new technological instruments available to town planners. This is particularly true with regard to scale, the use of colour, and the digitalisation of plans. In contrast to the days of the blueprint, town planners can today produce a digital and print plan of the whole town showing every single surveyed plot. Using various colours further allows for differentiating a detailed variety of land use forms that were impossible in the pre-digital age. However, the core information of the plan, namely, the location and size of surveyed land, has remained the same. Thus, there is a continuity between the twentieth century blueprints and the twenty-first century plans of De Aar and realities on the ground. The single plot size remains considerably bigger in the former White part of the town than in the former Black part. This is relevant information because the different sizes of the plots refer to a continuous division in the settlement pattern of De Aar's neighbourhoods, albeit now based on class and inherited property. Nevertheless, here the land use plan of De Aar remains silent.

die kyker se aandag. Die opgemete erwe van Greenpoint en die Maleierkamp (Malay Camp), sowel as ander woonbuurte in De Aar-Oos, ingesluit woonbuurte wat eers na 1994 opgemeet is, is sigbaar in die voorgrond. Die grondgebruikplan van De Aar is ook getuie van nuwe tegnologiese instrumente wat tot dorpsbeplanners se beskikking is. Dit geld spesifiek met betrekking tot die skaal van die plan, die gebruik van kleur en die digitalisering van planne. In teenstelling met die dae van die bloudruk kan dorpsbeplanners vandag 'n digitale sowel as 'n gedrukte plan van die hele dorp wat elke enkele opgemete erf aandui, produseer. Deur verskillende kleure te gebruik kan tussen 'n gedetailleerde verskeidenheid van vorme van grondgebruik onderskei word wat onmoontlik was om te doen in die pre-digitale era. Die kerninligting van die plan, naamlik die ligging en grootte van die opgemete grond, het dieselfde gebly. Derhalwe is daar 'n kontinuïteit tussen die twintigste eeuse bloudruk en die een-en-twintigste eeuse planne van De Aar en wat werklik op die grond gebeur het. Die enkel erf bly aansienlik groter in die vorige Wit gedeelte van die dorp as in die vorige Swart gedeelte. Hierdie is relevante inligting, aangesien die verskillende groottes van die erwe verwys na 'n voortgesette verdeling in die nedersettingspatroon van De Aar se woonbuurte, al is dit nou gebaseer op sosiale stand en geërfde eiendom. Desnieteenstaande rep die grondgebruikplan van De Aar nie 'n woord hieroor nie.

DE AAR



GIS

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Human Settlements and Traditional Affairs
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Kimberley
8300

Legend

- | | | |
|-------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| Business | Government | Hotel |
| Cemetery | Clinic | Old Age Home |
| Czesteh | Hospital | Showgrounds |
| Commons | Jail | Road |
| Garage/ Motors | Magistrate's Office | Shop |
| Commercial | Municipal | Parastatal |
| Commonage | Office | Public Park |
| Community Hall | Post Office | Public Open Space |
| Hall | Police Station | Sports Club |
| House | Library | Sportsground |
| Creche | Parkway | Landuse Undetermined |
| Secondary School | Parking Area | Vacant |
| Primary School | Industrial | |
| Tertiary Facility | Apartment | |



Conclusion

I have traced the lines of architecture in making the town of De Aar. From the simple sketch plan to the sophisticated blueprint, the two-dimensional lines were crucial to officials, politicians, and planners who imagined, conceptualised, ordered, and regulated the town. The original layout based on two distinct symmetrically arranged rectangular plots is an extraordinary early example of modern and segregated town planning. Until the late 1930s urban segregation in De Aar simply distinguished between Black and White, that is, between the one and the other side of the railway line. The municipality was primarily concerned with developing a functioning, proper White town based on building regulations in force since 1909. It did not bother with areas beyond the railway line in the early decades. The railway line and infrastructure separated the two parts of the town, functioning like a wall that kept Black and White apart. For Black residents, the bridge (or tunnel) constituted an embodied experience of border transgression and territorial crossing monitored under curfew regulation.

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The detailed reconstruction of the making of De Aar based on the analysis of three blueprints and other archival documents helps us understand the layout of the town's Black neighbourhoods and the variety of systems of tenure, property rights, and differential access to housing. Many Black residents owned freehold land in De Aar East, which placed them in a much stronger position towards the municipality than those who did not. However, oral history made clear that regardless of these differences, Black residents of De Aar understood themselves to be part of a single community whose members shared histories of immigration. The town's small size and the closeness of segregated neighbourhoods might have favoured the emergence of a broader social identity.

Establishing a neighbouring local authority, the Waterdale Village Management Board and the failed integration of the railway camp showed that making De Aar was contested and in no way a linear process. Railway workers and an alliance of Black and White investors successfully challenged the municipality's claim to exclusive control. Prospective Black property owners joined forces with White speculators to secure urban freehold property rights in the 1920s. These landowners, classified as 'Native' and 'Coloured', successfully defended their rights against the municipality twenty years later.

Ten slotte

Ek het die argitektuurslyne in die totstandkoming van die dorp De Aar nagespoor. Van die mees eenvoudige sketsplan tot die gesofistikeerde bloudruk was die tweedimensionele lyne van uiterste belang vir die amptenare, politici en beplanners wat die dorp bedink, gekonseptualiseer, georden en gereguleer het. Die oorspronklike uitleg gegrond op twee afsonderlike simmetries geplaasde vierkantige persele is 'n buitengewone vroeë voorbeeld van moderne en gesegregeerde stadsbeplanning. Tot die laat 1930's het stedelike segregasie slegs tussen Swart en Wit onderskei, met ander woorde, tussen twee areas weerskante van die spoorlyn. Die munisipaliteit het hoofsaaklik belang gehad daarby om 'n funksionerende, egte Wit dorp geskoei op boueregulasies wat sedert 1909 in gebruik was, te ontwikkel. Dit het gedurende die eerste dekades nie bemoeienis gemaak met gebiede aan die ander kant van die spoorlyn nie. Die spoorlyn en infrastruktuur het die twee dele van die dorp van mekaar geskei, en was soos 'n muur wat Swart en Wit uitmekaar gehou het. Vir Swart inwoners het die brug (of tunnel) 'n beliggaaamde ervaring van die oorsteek van grense en oorgang van een gebied na 'n ander gebied, onder die wakende oog van die aanklokreël, voorgestel.

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Die gedetailleerde rekonstruksie van die totstandkoming van De Aar, gebaseer op die ontleding van drie bloudrukke en ander argiefdokumente help ons om die uitleg van die dorp se Swart woonbuurte, die verskeidenheid van voorwaardes waarop eiendom besit kon word, eiendomsregte en differensiële toegang tot behuising te verstaan. Baie Swart inwoners het voltitel eiendomme in De Aar-Oos besit, wat hulle in 'n baie sterker posisie teenoor die munisipaliteit geplaas het as diegene wat geen eiendom besit het nie. Mondelinge geskiedenis maak dit egter duidelik dat, afgesien van hierdie verskille Swart inwoners van De Aar hulself gesien het as deel van 'n gemeenskap waarvan die lede 'n geskiedenis van migrasie gedeel het. Die dorp wat nog in sy kinderskoene was en die nabyheid van die gesegregeerde woonbuurte kon die ontstaan van 'n oorkoepelende sosiale identiteit begunstig het.

Die vestiging van 'n naburige plaaslike gesag, die Waterdale Dorpsbestuursraad, en die mislukte inlywing van die spoorwegkamp het gewys dat die vestiging van De Aar 'n omstrede proses was en geensins linieër nie. Spoorwegwerkers en 'n alliansie van Swart en Wit beleggers het die munisipaliteit se poging tot alleenbestuur suksesvol teengestaan. Voornemende Swart eienaars het hande gevat met Wit spekulante om in die 1920's stedelike voltitel eiendomsregte te verseker.

Until the 1920s the authorities at De Aar did not systematically differentiate between residents classified as 'Coloured' and 'Native', nor did these categories coincide with urban freehold land and municipal location residence.

The Group Areas Act of 1950 initiated a centralised reconstruction of South Africa's urban space resulting in the construction of uniform new and segregated neighbourhoods all over the country. The implementation of the Group Areas Act in De Aar dramatically changed the urban landscape of De Aar East and led to traumatic forced removals of thousands of residents. Those classified as African ('Native') had to move to the new township of Nonzwakazi in the early 1960s. Later, the designated Coloured Group Area was upgraded, the *pondokkie* and self-built houses were demolished, and people resettled. Black freehold land became a major challenge to the reconstruction of De Aar East. Black owners' insistence on their rights undermined municipal plans. Overall, however, De Aar's design and urban landscape, as it was built in the 1960s and 1970s, exists until this day.

Hierdie grondeienaars, geklassifiseer as 'Inheems' en 'Kleurling', het hulle regte twintig jaar later suksesvol teen die munisipaliteit verdedig.

Tot met die 1920's het die owerhede van De Aar nie stelselmatig onderskeid getref tussen inwoners geklassifiseer as 'Kleurling' en 'Inheems' nie; daar was ook geen verband tussen hierdie kategorieë en stedelike voltitel eiendomme en verblyf in die munisipale lokasie nie.

Die Groepsgebiedewet van 1950 het 'n gesentraliseerde rekonstruksie van Suid-Afrika se stedelike ruimte ingelei, wat die oprigting van nuwe en gesegregeerde woonbuurte deur die land tot gevolg gehad het. Die implementering van die Groepsgebiedewet in De Aar het die stedelike landskap van De Aar-Oos dramaties verander en gelei tot die traumatiese gedwonge verskuiwings van duisende inwoners. Diegene geklassifiseer as Swart ('Inheems') moes in die vroeë 1960's na die nuwe Nonzwakazi dorpsgebied trek. Later is die Kleurling groepsgebied opgegradeer, die pondokkies en selfgeboude huise plat gestoot en die mense hervestig. Swart voltitel eienaars het 'n groot uitdaging vir die rekonstruksie van De Aar-Oos geword. Swart eienaars se aandrang op hulle regte het munisipale planne ondermyn. Oorkoepelend staan De Aar se ontwerps- en stedelike landskap vandag net soos dit in die 1960's en 1970's gebou is.

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Appendices / Bylae

Appendix 1: Freehold landowners in Greenpoint and Malay Camp (1925)

Bylaag 1: Grondeienaars in Greenpoint en Malay Camp (1925)

Simplified Copy of Valuation Roll / Schattingslist Greenpoint & Malay Camp, 1925
(Western Cape Archives, KBA-PAS-5/174-L26B/C/2)

Name of Owner	Post Address	Name of Occupier	Situation of Property	Description of Property
Appavoo, C.	De Aar	owner	Annex Blackvlei	sloie + gardens
Albany, W.	De Aar	nil	Erf 84, 94 - Greenpoint	bare
Akemma, SP.	De Aar	owner	Erf 14 - Malay Camp	dwelling
Africa, J.	De Aar	owner	Erf 38 - Malay Camp	dwelling
Africa, J.	De Aar		Erf 36 - Malay Camp	dwelling
Beukes, J.	De Aar	owner	Erf 6 - Malay Camp	dwelling
Buffel, John	De Aar	owner	Erf 12 - Malay Camp	dwelling
Baker, Dora	De Aar	owner	Erf 17 - Malay Camp	dwelling
Bester, J.J.H.	De Aar	nil	Erf 90, 91 - Greenpoint	bare
Bester, A.	De Aar	nil	Erf 97, 98 - Greenpoint	bare
Baqus, K.	De Aar	nil	Erf 96 - Greenpoint	bare
Brown, G.	De Aar	nil	Erf 63 - Greenpoint	bare
Baker, M.	De Aar	nil	Erf 18 - Greenpoint	bare
Basgain, B.	De Aar	nil	Erf 50 - Greenpoint	bare
Baeela, A.	De Aar	nil	Erf 52 - Greenpoint	bare
Braut, P.	De Aar	nil	Erf 147 - Greenpoint	bare
Comango, P	De Aar	owner	Erf 20 - Malay Camp	dwelling
Esau, H.	De Aar	owner	Erf 25 - Malay Camp	dwelling
Fisher, J.W.	De Aar	owner	Erf 10 - Greenpoint	dwelling
Fillies, G.	De Aar	nil	Erf 49 - Greenpoint	bare
Goeding, H.	De Aar	owner	Erf 40 - [Malay Camp]	dwelling
Helmore, W.	De Aar	nil	Erf 1, 2, 3 - Greenpoint	dwelling

Area of land (feet)	Value of Property			Rateable Value
	Site	Buildings	Improvement	
200 morgen	500	400	100	1000
100x120	30			
50x60	15	35		50
50x60	15	35		50
50x60	15	30		45
50x60	15	15		30
50x50	15	30		45
50x60	15	35		50
100x120	30			30
100x120	30			30
50x120	15			15
50x120	15			15
50x120	15			15
50x120	15			15
50x120	15			15
50x120	15			15
50x60	15	10		25
50x60	15	20		35
50x120	15	35		50
50x120	15			15
50x60	15	15		30
160x60	40	25		65

Name of Owner	Post Address	Name of Occupier	Situation of Property	Description of Property
Johnstone, J.	De Aar	owner	Erf 3 - Malay Camp	dwelling
Johnstone, G.	De Aar	nil	Erf 30 - Greenpoint	bare
Joubert, J.M.	De Aar	nil	Erf 13 - Malay Camp	dwelling
Jonas, J.	De Aar	nil	Erf 100 - Greenpoint	bare
Jama, W.	De Aar	nil	Erf 102, 105 - Greenpoint	bare
Kanzi, Koos	De Aar	nil	Erf 98 - Greenpoint	bare
Kamies, Jan	De Aar	nil	Erf 54 - Greenpoint	bare
Kraai, H.	De Aar	nil	Erf 151 - Greenpoint	bare
Louw, Saul	De Aar	nil	Erf 7-8 - Greenpoint	bare
Louw, P.	De Aar	nil	Erf 14 - Greenpoint	bare
Louw, Tom	De Aar	nil	Erf 66 - Greenpoint	bare
Lester, J.	De Aar	nil	Erf 87 - Greenpoint	bare
Lutoyi, G.	De Aar	nil	Erf 103 - Greenpoint	bare
Ludidi, A.	De Aar	nil	Erf 29 - Greenpoint	bare
Madgo, W.	De Aar	owner	Erf 13 - Greenpoint	dwelling
Maclean, P.	De Aar	nil	Erf 48 - Greenpoint	bare
Maku, E.	De Aar	nil	Erf 17 - Greenpoint	bare
Metearf, H.	De Aar	nil	Erf 82 - Greenpoint	bare
Magothi, L.L. Du Lake	De Aar	owner	Erf 55,56,68 - Greenpoint	dwelling
Macdonald, J.	De Aar	nil	Erf 86 - Greenpoint	bare
Manuel, W.	De Aar	nil	Erf 22-23 - Greenpoint	bare
Minnie, Heinz	De Aar	nil	Erf 93 - Greenpoint	bare
Mondele, A.	De Aar	nil	Erf 85 - Greenpoint	bare
Mattiewes, J.	De Aar	nil	Erf 120,121, 123,124 G.p.	bare
Monrose, J.	De Aar	nil	Erf 64 - Greenpoint	bare
Mokas, G.	De Aar	nil	Erf 182,187,188 - G.point	bare
Ntangne, Issac	De Aar	owner	Erf 11 - Greenpoint	dwelling
Ntangane, Issac	De Aar	empty	Erf 11 - Greenpoint	dwelling
Ntamo	De Aar	nil	Erf 75 - Greenpoint	bare

Area of land (feet)	Value of Property			Rateable Value
	Site	Buildings	Improvement	
50x60	15	25		40
50x120	15			15
50x60	15	20		35
50x120	15			15
100x120	30			30
50x120	15			15
50x120	15			15
50x120	15			15
100x120	30			30
50x120	15			15
50-120	15			15
50x120	15			15
50x120	15			15
50x120	15			15
50x120	15	10		25
50x120	15			15
50x120	15			15
50x120	15			15
190x120	45	55		100
50x120	15			15
100x120	30			30
50x120	15			15
50x120	15			15
100x240	60			60
50x120	15			15
100x180	45			45
50x120	15	15		30
50x120	15	25		40
50x120	15			15

Name of Owner	Post Address	Name of Occupier	Situation of Property	Description of Property
Natalie, Ben	De Aar	nil	Erf 15 - Greenpoint	bare
Rodi, Daniel	De Aar	nil	Erf 28, 41 - Greenpoint	bare
Reed, N.B.E.	De Aar	nil	Erf 44, 31 - Greenpoint	bare
Rezaut, Joseph	De Aar	nil	Erf 61 - Greenpoint	bare
Riehard, Elias	De Aar	nil	Erf 104, 107 - Greenpoint	bare
Sadan			Erf 11 - Malay Camp	dwelling
Stemberg, J.	De Aar	nil	Erf 21 - Malay Camp	dwelling
Stöffels, Solomon	De Aar	nil	Erf 40, 27 - Greenpoint	bare
Soloman, Edw.	De Aar	nil	Erf 63, 55 - Greenpoint	bare
Steauer J.	De Aar		Erf 51 - Greenpoint	bare
Temane, J.	De Aar	nil	Erf 38, 39, 26 - Greenpoint	bare
Turan, L.	De Aar		Erf [38, 39] - Greenpoint	bare
Wyk van, April	De Aar	nil	Erf 9 - Greenpoint	bare
Wiehains, W.	De Aar		Erf 6, 60 - Greenpoint	bare
Xabendlini, Edw.	De Aar	nil	Erf 91, 98 - Greenpoint	bare

Area of land (feet)	Value of Property			Rateable Value
	Site	Buildings	Improvement	
50x120	15			15
100x120	30			30
100x120	30			30
50x120	15			15
100x120	30			30
50x120	15	10		25
50x120	15	15		30
100x120	30			30
100x120	30			30
50x120	15			15
100x120	45			45
	30			30
	15			15
	30			30
	30			30
approximately 80 unsold plots owned by the company; valued at £10 each				800

Appendix 2: List of house owners and valuation of their property in the old location (1962)

Bylaag 2: Lys van huiseienaars en waardasie van hul eiendom in die ou ligging (1962)

Property in the old location in De Aar. Compiled by the municipality in 1962.

(based on file TBK-PAA-B/190-AA27/12/7 in the Western Cape Archives)

Note: The names are written as they appear in the document. The original document does not list the names in alphabetical order. The estimated value of the houses should be taken with caution, but indicates differences in quality and size between the houses in the old location and a social stratification of the residents.

Plot Number	Name	Estimated value in ZAR	Value in ZAR offered for expropriation
155	Albanie, Annie	133	160
118	Albany, Paulus	83	100
50	Andreas, Mieta	42	50
284	April, John	50	60
240	April, Philip	75	90
41	Baartman, Sophie	67	80
207	Bagala, Fytjie	50	60
101	Bangani, Mimie	75	90
229	Bantoekekerk (Mayguma, J.)	380	456
192	Bay, Samson	42	50
28	Bebeza, Liza	8	10
301	Ben, Kelien	133	160
224	Bodlani, Siena	217	260

Plot Number	Name	Estimated value in ZAR	Value in ZAR offered for expropriation
172	Bokland, Tos	50	60
308	Booyesen, Paul	167	200
66	Booyesen, Sam	30	36
241	Bosman, Stephen	25	30
54	Charlie, Poney	75	90
248	Cofa, Abel	83	100
249	Cofa, Dina	117	140
281	Cofa, Frans	67	80
91	Cofa, Fytjie	75	90
55	Cofa, Kolonie	100	120
46	Cofa, Poney	50	60
135	Damoyi, Evelyn	33	40
92	Davids, Piet	17	20
193	de Pulla, Willem	33	40
306	Dendolo, Boy	167	200
252	Diamond, Ellen	50	60
63	Dingile, John	167	200
84	Dingile, Thompson	200	240
5	Dlomo, Alfred	67	80
157	Domela, Enie	83	100
280	Dondolo, Esther	92	110
231	Douw, Paul	67	80
274	Dube, Blom	108	130
147	Duma, Piet	57	68

Plot Number	Name	Estimated value in ZAR	Value in ZAR offered for expropriation
178	Dyosi, Berend	33	40
179	Dyosi, Elizabeth	83	100
107	Ethel, Klaas	150	180
127	Francis, Maartens	83	100
265	Frans, John	347	416
39	Frans, Johnson	83	100
122	Fraser, Dorothy	42	50
184	Gami, Alfred	42	50
210	Gaula, Emmely	25	30
37	Goba, Geelbooi	42	50
43	Goba, Hendrik	38	45
71	Goba, Jackson	217	260
310	Goza, June	67	80
20	Gqoze, Stephen	100	120
275	Handile, Mina	100	120
297	Handile, Mina	125	150
311	Helani, Elizabeth	42	50
259	Hiza, Elizabeth	42	50
243	Jack, John	33	40
313	Jack, Kleinbooi	50	60
176	Jacobs, Ben	200	240
106	Jacobs, Henry	58	70
129	Jacobs, Johannes	133	160
189	Jacobs, John	300	360

Plot Number	Name	Estimated value in ZAR	Value in ZAR offered for expropriation
206	Jacobs, Maggie	250	300
312	Jacobs, Mina	125	150
263	Jafta, Ennie	83	100
264	Jafta, Ennie	117	140
69	Jantjies, Elizabeth	17	20
317	Jantjies, Sofie	33	40
22	Japhta, Thomas	17	20
107 B	Jella, John	117	140
203	Josani, Joseph	67	80
190	Julies, Jim	83	100
126	Kakula, Mirriam	40	48
172	Kama, Ida	17	20
204	Kana, Emma	333	400
295	Kapel, Elsie	167	200
49	Kapel, George	67	80
302	Kapel, George	167	200
150	Kerk, Torpea	57	68
173	Khabo, Elizabeth	25	30
163	Khabo, Mathews	75	90
45	Khanzi, Jantjie	167	200
289	Khanzi, Violet	23	28
116	Kidd, Jersey	83	100
253	Kiewiet, Violet	75	90
97	Klaas, Lena	23	28

Plot Number	Name	Estimated value in ZAR	Value in ZAR offered for expropriation
307	Klaas, Noko	100	120
276	Kommando, Booï	42	50
213	Kondile, Jojina	25	30
215	Kondile, Noumigh	33	40
296	Kula, John	133	160
30	Langa, Kolbooï	40	48
267	Lapie, Geelbooï	167	200
72	Lehleen, May	100	120
134	Lekway, Geelbooï	100	120
278	Lendi, Elsie	122	146
114	Lobbie, James	667	800
78	Lobbie, Violet	500	600
98	Lolo, Chrissie	50	60
313	Lukas, Piet	75	90
239	Lwakwari, Skay	67	80
56	Maboza, Dorra	33	40
205	Madikane, Mimie	350	420
250	Maduna, Jan	33	40
291	Magazi, Willie	50	60
170	Makata, Jane	33	40
143	Makay, Emma	29	35
116	Makay, Frank	33	40
300	Makhandula, Karel	83	100
42	Makhele, Jack	83	100

Plot Number	Name	Estimated value in ZAR	Value in ZAR offered for expropriation
109	Makhele, Richard	17	20
124	Malawana, Josia	17	20
187	Manteta, Ennie	25	30
315	Maphingana, Mabel	83	100
120	Mariazee, Thomas	37	44
35	Maseti, James	35	42
285	Maseti, Pkanien	167	200
293	Matshoba, Abednego	100	120
177	Matshoni, Cornelius	83	100
109	Matsoloane, Lettie	17	20
65	Matuwane, Samson	58	70
195	Matuza, Lotly	67	80
230	Matxoba, Elizabeth	58	70
228	Matyosi, Ben	58	70
14	Maxama, Johannes	42	50
141	Mazanti, Ennie	67	80
182	Mbekushe, Alfred	133	166
31	Mbekushe, Sofie	33	40
208	Mbemba, Petrus	100	120
174	Mbontsi, Dickmore	33	40
18	Mboxo, Wentsha	33	40
105	Mdalana, Martha	67	80
180	Mdalana, Sam	75	90
165	Mdamane, Lizzie	83	100

Plot Number	Name	Estimated value in ZAR	Value in ZAR offered for expropriation
172	Mdombo, Mackson	50	60
216	Mgxali, Macommick	233	280
88	Mlozana, Piet	100	120
64	Mngxali, Leiya	117	140
314	Mnxali, Macommick	117	140
188	Mogetla, Helena	25	30
256	Mogothla, John	67	80
67	Mondile, Eveline	42	50
68	Mondile, Evelyn	25	30
186	Morabie, Andries	75	90
316	Moss, Emma	117	140
40	Moss, James	167	200
246	Moss, Michael	283	340
247	Moyi, Nina	33	40
268	Mpaipeli, Geelbooi	133	160
218	Mpambani, Ennie	267	320
286	Mpambani, Jack	133	160
90	Mrola, July	183	220
163	Msolwana, Sieta	55	66
76	Mutsumi, Edward	25	30
36	Mvandaba, Willem	67	80
200	Mvenya, Elsie	67	80
201	Mwenya, Elsie	83	100
209	Mxanda, Mabel	100	120

Plot Number	Name	Estimated value in ZAR	Value in ZAR offered for expropriation
121	Myaya, Anna	75	90
104	Nanga, Richard	42	50
1	Ndzeku, Rosina	167	200
314	Ngakayi, Fannie	117	140
196	Ngcongco, Booï	42	50
158	Ngcongco, Joubert	100	120
232	Ngcongco, Kleinbooï	67	80
130	Ngcongco, Maggie	100	120
131	Ngube, Lena	217	260
202	Ngubo, Lena	58	70
294	Ngwenya, Joseph	167	200
217	Ngxukuma, April	108	130
226	Nikani, Lizzy	60	72
124	Nkamunu, Wilson	100	120
82	Nkehe, Willie	25	30
43	Nkomana, Ennie	83	100
237	Nkumbi, Selvia	117	140
137	Nondlaza, Hendrik	83	100
218	Nougala, William	93	110
139	Nqubo, Lena	83	100
140	Nqubo, Lena	67	80
198	Nqwomosha, Elsie	83	100
93	Ntloke, Leiya	167	200
95	Ntloko, Verie	27	32

Plot Number	Name	Estimated value in ZAR	Value in ZAR offered for expropriation
245	Ntshamba, Jack	50	60
89	Ntsowe, Angelina	58	70
244	Ntwazi, Keke	83	100
71	Nyangintaka, Joseph	58	70
116	Nyangintaka, Joseph	92	110
123	Nyatyhowa, Moses	33	40
138	Nyedimane, Moses	83	100
273	Persent, Simon	50	60
183	Pezi, Albert	458	550
219	Pezi, Philemon	367	440
195	Pezi, Rosie	83	100
84	Plomela, Thys	117	140
82	Potquani, John	17	20
251	Qabo, Alfred	117	140
214	Qabo, Kleinbooi	133	160
313	Qomoye, Tom	108	130
37	Ranele, Tom	50	60
287	Ranele, Tom	117	140
144	Raqa, Alfred	67	80
160	Sambani, Ellen	50	60
271	Samela, Regina	117	140
283	Schall, John	150	180
254	Sehali, Alfred	33	40
73	Shdingi, Samson	125	150

Plot Number	Name	Estimated value in ZAR	Value in ZAR offered for expropriation
83	Sheveni, Jim	150	180
122	Silwana, Elsie	33	40
142	Simanga, Ernest	117	140
146	Simanga, Ernest	35	42
142	Simanga, Jim	117	140
238	Siqana, Stephen	83	100
51	Sitlaya, Aam	33	40
298	Skall, Ennie	75	90
223	Skosana, Piet	83	100
277	Sofadie, Januarie	50	60
57	Sofadie, Klaas	42	50
19	Sojesi, Bicylce	317	380
128	Sojesi, Bicylce	42	50
82	Solanie, Piet	58	70
212	Sommie, Rosie	133	160
242	Songela, Julius	117	140
169	Songela, Selina	92	110
304	Soul, Willem	58	70
16	Soya, Jantjie	42	50
279	Stok, Stal	50	60
77	Stormberg, Annie	67	80
303	Stulo, German	150	180
125	Tantsi, Ben	117	140
266	Tantsi, John	133	160

Plot Number	Name	Estimated value in ZAR	Value in ZAR offered for expropriation
166	Tarna, James	333	400
305	Taute, John	94	113
211	Teza, Mankie	33	40
304	Thomas, Dorra	117	140
244	Thompson, Sophie	83	100
185	Tjekise, John	33	40
10	Tokwana, Klaas	75	90
244	Tom, Anna	100	120
75	Tsantse, Kleinbooi	67	80
181	Tukani, Lizzie	120	144
258	Tumedi, Margaret	133	160
112	Tuthla, Martha	22	26
208	Twani, Elliek	108	130
103	Tyutyu, Jacob	44	53
128	Voko, Rulf	117	140
145	Vumazonke, Lizzie	133	160
25	Wambi, Charlie	83	100
109	Wana, Mina	50	60
77	Wana, Sam	247	296
112	Wandaba, Swartbooi	67	80
270	Watermeyer, Sameul	50	60
197	White, Sanna	50	60
133	Williams, Anna	100	120
171	Williams, David	25	30

Plot Number	Name	Estimated value in ZAR	Value in ZAR offered for expropriation
246	Williams, Liza	18	22
255	Xabela, Philemon	208	250
111	Xube, Jim	108	130
299	Yanta, Sydney	125	150
272	Zizani, James	67	80
168	Zukiso, Stanford	362	434

