

Chapter Six: 'Model Locations and Ghettos': the Construction of Racialised Space in Krugersdorp, 1887–1923

Introduction

This Chapter will analyse the evolution of municipal policy concerning Krugersdorp's black residents in the town over a thirty-six year period, from 1887 to 1923, with a special focus on the period 1910 to 1917. The black residents of the town, defined here as Africans and Coloureds, were not allowed to stay in the 'white areas' of the town proper, that is, the Stand and District Townships and white suburbs like Lewisham and Luipaardsvlei. Instead all black people were forced to live in the locations that were set apart from the town. This created a distinct urban form characterised by racially segmented residential spaces called the 'colonial town'.¹ This Chapter will explore how Krugersdorp's built environment became racialised along these lines but will focus on specific factors unique to the town.

The division of Krugersdorp into racially distinct, bounded spaces, facilitated control over black residents by the white Town Council, government officials and the local police force. There were many reasons why such control was demanded of the local government. For example, white residents feared that they could become victims of black criminal elements while the local mine owners wanted to curb the illicit brewing and sale of liquor to black miners, a practice that caused widespread absenteeism on the mines following weekend binges. The local authorities had to respond to the wishes of their white residents and the industry that sustained the local economy.

The white Town Councillors, furthermore, were elected by white municipal voters and had to comply with the racist prejudices of a white labour aristocracy that feared the loss of white jobs to cheaper black competitors. White middle-class property owners were concerned that the encroachment of black residential areas would cause their

¹ See, for example, A. King, *Colonial Urban Development, Culture, Social Power and Environment*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1976. See also R. Ross and G. Telkamp (eds.), *Colonial Cities, Essays on Urbanism in a Colonial Context*, Martinus Nijhoff, Dordrecht, 1985.

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property values to decline and placed pressure on local government to implement and entrench racial segregation.

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This Chapter will argue that these explanations, while relevant and important to Krugersdorp's municipal policy concerning its black residents, are insufficient as these do not explain sudden shifts in segregationist policy. Nor do these explanations take into account how the black residents resisted local plans and forced many of these changes through their activities. It will be argued that there were other dimensions to the demarcation and use of space by black and white residents that have been neglected by urban and social historians. There is a need for a more dynamic explanatory model that incorporates the specific contemporary cultural values of the English-speaking white middle class that dominated the town during its early years. Such a model also needs to account for both subtle and profound changes in municipal policy towards black residents in the town over a period of time.

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The Edwardian period was awash with a number of ideas that had specific relevance to the development of a racialised urban form, including a complex evolving ideology of 'segregationism' and ideas around 'physicalism' and 'environmentalism'. These ideas dominated the influential circles of municipal Councillors, officials, architects and town planners in Southern Africa around this time. The municipal Councillors and officials that managed Krugersdorp's social and built environment were part of a wider professional English-speaking British expatriate community in the various white dominions of the British Empire and shared many of the same values, beliefs and ideas. These ideas had to be modified and adapted to specific historical conditions in South Africa and the peculiar circumstances of Krugersdorp to give the town its own distinct character.

Black residents, particularly black women, challenged the Municipality's ideas and plans in ways that belied the contemporary sexist notions of female powerlessness and racist notions of Africans and Coloureds as passive, helpless victims. Far from acting out their prescribed role as 'victims' or objects of municipal policy, black residents adopted complex strategies and acted courageously to frustrate, and so fundamentally shape, municipal policy. Indeed, black female resistance was so assertive and effective, that it

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is argued here that it contributed to the development of a nascent settler conception of black women as the 'Amazon', an embryonic social category that delineated an aggressive, malevolent, dangerously masculine identity for black females (see Chapter Seven). This resistance was driven overwhelmingly by the economic conditions in which these women – as well as most other black residents – found themselves, but this desperate struggle for survival also contained within it sophisticated political struggle aimed at frustrating the white Town Council at every turn and evading its control wherever possible.

This Chapter will begin with a brief overview of the development of Krugersdorp's African locations up to 1910 and the development of a strand of thinking around race called 'repressive segregationism' that dominated the Town Council's municipal policy up to the advent of Union. It will be argued that this ideology was influenced by the perceived need to curtail rapidly increasing rates of black crime and violence in the town by imposing strict controls over a spatially isolated and bounded black community.

For various complex reasons that will be analysed in this Chapter, a phase of 'liberal segregationism' followed suddenly in the period 1910–12, leading to an alternative municipal strategy to curb violence among the black residents that I have termed the 'Model Location' approach whose precise features will be delineated in detail in this section. This phase was very brief, lasting only two years, and was followed by a return of the repressive brand of segregationism, but in a harsher form that I have termed the 'ghetto complex'. It will be argued that African residents' resistance against liberal segregationism was a major factor in the failure of the 'Model Location approach' and the adoption of the 'ghetto complex'.

Black location residents also resisted repressive segregation and its accompanying 'ghetto complex'. It will be argued that they were so successful that they forced the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry in 1917 that was instructed to investigate the apparent breakdown of municipal control over the Randfontein Location. This Chapter concludes by briefly considering how the Town Council's location policy was consequently softened as a result of this experience – but not to the extent of revisiting

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the 'Model Location' policy – in the immediate post-war period, culminating in the establishment of the Lewisham Location in 1922.

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This location was not fenced and was placed closer to white residential communities than the Randfontein Location, and so shared features with the 'Model Location' approach. Yet there was no attempt to construct high quality houses or to plant trees in this location. It appears that municipal policy towards black residents took the form of a compromise between the two extremes of the 'Model Location' approach' and the 'ghetto complex'. The Council's policy had turned nearly full-circle, to a 'milder' form of 'repressive segregationism' that characterised Krugersdorp at the start of this period. Each of these changes was forced upon the Krugersdorp Town Council by the relentless and often ingenious resistance offered by local black residents. In many ways, this Chapter is their story.

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Liberal and Repressive Strands of Segregationism

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According to Dubow, the ideology of 'assimilation' was long prevalent in the Cape Colony and conferred significant rights including the franchise for black, adult men who met specific income or education criteria. This 'Cape Liberalism' was an ideology that aspired to 'develop' Africans into 'black Europeans'.² In the Transvaal and Orange Free State Boer Republics, by contrast, an ideology of 'repression' prevailed where black people had no rights at all and which was concerned only with the 'subordination' of blacks.

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By the turn of the century, a new ideology had emerged which took a position between these two extremes. Referred to by Dubow as 'segregationism', this ideology held that blacks could enjoy certain rights but only within their 'own areas' and not in 'white areas'. This ideology was adopted by the Lagden Commission in 1905 and taken up by Botha and Smuts after Union.³ Cultural differences were used to justify this new

² S. Dubow, 'Race, Civilisation and Culture: the Elaboration of Segregationist Discourse in the Inter-war Years' ('Race, Civilisation and Culture'), in S. Marks and S. Trapido (eds.), *The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism in Twentieth Century South Africa*, Longman, London, 1987.

³ T.R.H. Davenport, 'The Beginnings of Urban Segregation in South Africa: the Natives (Urban

ideology and Dubow argues that the 'idea of cultural adaptation' provided segregationists with a tool that offered a 'ready compromise between advocates of racial repression on the one hand, and proponents of old-style liberal assimilation on the other' because 'culture represented a means of insisting on difference'.⁴

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Dubow rejected the argument that segregationism was a 'mere rationalization of capitalist class interests in South Africa's industrializing society'⁵ as suggested by earlier revisionists like Legassick.⁶ Rather, he argued, English-speaking officials of the Native Affairs Department developed an 'independent bureaucratic rationale for segregation in terms of a desire to consolidate the department's control' during a difficult period in the 1920s.⁷ In his book, published in 1989, Dubow argued that 'some English-speaking apologists for segregation' were concerned with 'general issues of social discipline and social control over the African work force'.⁸ They wanted to 'maintain social order as well as social and moral hygiene', which had become a 'powerful metaphorical image in the drive for urban segregation in South Africa in the early twentieth century'.⁹

There were two versions or strands of 'segregationism': 'liberal segregationism' which grew out of the assimilationist Cape liberal tradition and 'repressive segregationism' which had its roots in 'repression' in the Boer Republics. Dubow suggests that, on the one hand, mine owners and their managerial staff generally favoured a 'liberal' approach to segregation policy in the urban areas of the Witwatersrand that, in many

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Areas) Act of 1923 and its Background' ('The Beginnings of Urban Segregation'), Seminar Paper, the Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of Rhodes, Grahamstown, 1971, p. 8.

⁴ S. Dubow, 'Ethnic Euphemisms and Racial Echoes', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 20, 3, 1994, p. 358.

⁵ *ibid.*

⁶ M. Legassick, 'The Making of South African "Native Policy": 1903–1923: The Origins of Segregation', London Institute of Commonwealth Studies (mimeo), 1972. See also M. Legassick, 'British Hegemony and the Origins of Segregation, 1900–1914', London Institute of Commonwealth Studies (mimeo), 1973.

⁷ S. Dubow, 'Holding a Just Balance Between White and Black: The Native Affairs Department in South Africa c.1920–33', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 12, 2, 1986, p. 219. See also P. Rich, 'Race, Science, and the Legitimization of White Supremacy in South Africa, 1902–1940', *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 23, 4, 1990, p. 666.

⁸ S. Dubow, *Racial Segregation and the Origins of Apartheid in South Africa, 1919–36*, MacMillan, Basingstoke, 1989, p. 24.

⁹ Rich, 'Race, Science', p. 666.

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ways, was similar to the older 'assimilationist' ideology. The aim was to win over a potential leadership stratum to moderate constitutionalist politics to act as a counterweight to the growing radicalism of the Rand's black working class and the unemployed black *lumpenproletariat* that, together, constituted the 'dangerous classes'.

Merchants and the white working class, on the other hand, generally favoured a 'repressive' approach and would countenance no concessions to any black person, elite or not, but preferred to impose strict segregation on all black residents and create an environment of harsh authoritarian control. The white middle and working classes drew closely on the older 'Repression' just as mine owners and managerial staff drew on the liberal segregationism of Cape Liberalism. As Dubow points out,

Born out of compromise, segregation was not a new philosophy. It was essentially a synthesis of divergent political traditions of political thought and practice. The discourse of segregation therefore continued to carry within its terms resonances of those very elements which it professed to reject.¹⁰

A close analysis of racial attitudes of white residents in Krugersdorp suggests that while Dubow's categories can be usefully applied to the problem of understanding the development of municipal policy concerning racialised space in Krugersdorp, additional nuances will have to be introduced when examining the ideological position of the various white interest groups over time. For example, all those white groups represented on the Town Council seemed to favour the 'repressive' strand of Dubow's segregationism in the period leading up to Union. The individual mine managers and mine directors that were elected onto the Town Council wanted the municipality to impose strict controls over the black residents and to keep them apart from black miners on the nearby mines.¹¹

¹⁰ Dubow, 'Race, civilisation and culture', p. 74.

¹¹ There are many relevant sources that deal with this issue, see, for example, E. Koch, 'Doornfontein and its African Working Class', MA dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 1983; P. La Hausse, *Brewers, Beerhalls and Boycotts: A History of Liquor in South Africa*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1988; and C. van Onselen, *Studies in the Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand, 1886–1914*, vol. 1, *New Babylon*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1982.

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White shopkeepers and professionals were also generally opposed to any concessions for any black groups that could help them to develop as potential commercial and professional competitors. The white working class and their municipal Councillors, who were gaining influence in the Krugersdorp Town Council prior to Union, were also generally in favour of a 'repressive' policy towards black residents whom they viewed as rivals for scarce jobs. Thus, all key sectors of Krugersdorp's white population - the mine owners, the commercial and professional elite, as well as the white working class - favoured a policy of 'repressive segregationism' towards the town's black residents in the years leading up to Union. For this reason, black residents were forced to live within a clearly demarcated space known as a 'location' almost from the moment Krugersdorp emerged as a town. This, however, was to change over time and the effects and reasons for these changes will be examined in later sections.

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There is some evidence that Africans were living in the town of Krugersdorp from the moment of its establishment in 1887. They were scattered among the white residents probably in the backrooms of shops and private residences. It was reported in 1890 that 'natives are at present squatting in the town amongst the inhabitants' and that plans had been made to establish a location which was a 'very desirable arrangement'.¹²

The local Dutch-speaking officials in the town had also requested that the Transvaal Republic government assist it with the building of a location by pointing out that it was 'very important for the town' ('van groot belang voor dit dorp') but without explaining what they meant by this statement.¹³ The establishment of locations was common to all Boer 'dorps' in the Transvaal Republic¹⁴ and Krugersdorp's segregation was the result of what Dubow called the 'repressive' policy of the Z.A.R. that was characterised by strict segregation and the imposition of harsh controls over black residents.

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¹² *The Star*, 9 December 1890, 'A Native Location'.

¹³ Central Archives Depot (CAD), Archives of the State Secretary (SS) 2077, R9710/89, telegram from the Hoofdmijnwezen to SS, 2 April 1890.

¹⁴ See, for example, Haswell, R. 'Pieter Mauritz Burg: the Genesis of a Voortrekker Hoofdplaats', in J. Laband and R. Haswell (eds.), *Pietermaritzburg, 1838–1988, a New Portrait of an African City*, University of Natal Press/Shuter and Shooter, Pietermaritzburg, pp. 224–32.

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The first location built in Krugersdorp in 1890 was built close to the Stand Township, on its western perimeter and only a small *spruit* separated the location residents from the white residents. This implies that such segregation was not unduly 'repressive' although the location was to be situated 'below the charge office' which suggests that local authorities wanted the police to closely supervise the location's residents.¹⁵ The location was not large as just fifty stands were laid out.

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While corresponding to a 'repressive' policy of segregation in these ways, the Krugersdorp location was not placed far from white areas and near undesirable sites such as rubbish tips or sewerage plants, which was the norm for Boer *dorps* and Rand towns, alike. This relatively 'milder' version of 'repressive segregationism' may have been influenced by pressure applied on the Republican state by the British authorities under the London Convention, as argued in Chapter Five, which forced the Boer authorities to soften the harsher aspects of Boer policies to black residents.

By 1894 six hundred whites lived in Krugersdorp¹⁶ and extrapolating what is known about the ratio of black to white residents shortly after the South African War to an earlier period, then probably several hundred black residents lived in the town at this time. Most of these black residents of both the town and the location were male adults¹⁷ who worked as domestic servants or 'houseboys' for local whites.¹⁸ A few developed independent careers as self-employed cab-drivers, transport-riders, ministers, contractors, builders, hawkers and eating-house keepers. Some black residents worked in local white shops as assistants to white artisans and craftsmen while others found jobs as municipal workers, particularly the so-called 'bucket boys' who emptied the sanitary pails of the town's residents in the days before sewerage pipes were laid.

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¹⁵ CAD, Archives of the Transvaal Local Government Department (TPB) 542, TA1408, 'Report of the Krugersdorp Asiatic Location Committee of Inquiry' ('Asiatics Committee'), April 1910, evidence of J.A. Burger', p. 63.

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¹⁶ *The Star*, 29 August 1894, untitled.

¹⁷ There is no reason to believe that Krugersdorp was any different to towns like Johannesburg which were overwhelmingly male. See Van Onselen, *New Babylon*, p. 5.

¹⁸ For more on this group see C. van Onselen, *Studies in the Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand, 1887–1914*, vol. 2, *New Nineveh*, (New Nineveh) Ravan, Johannesburg, 1982, Chapter two.

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Most of the Africans living in Krugersdorp in the 1890s appear to have been 'Shangaans' and 'Zulus'.¹⁹ There were some women working as domestic servants or as illicit liquor brewers who lived in the location in the 1890s.²⁰ Some of the residents were 'Coloureds', that is, people who were the descendants of so-called 'mixed-race' couples.

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Krugersdorp's black residents carved out a life for themselves, living in small backrooms in the white areas or in their little self-constructed houses in the location²¹. Those living in the location barely had time to settle down when it became clear, in 1895, that plans were afoot to move the location to a new site further from the town. One reason put forward for this proposal was that the location was only a mile away from the *Feesterrein*²² around the Paardekraal Monument and its position was thus regarded as 'undesirable'.²³ The monument was considered as 'sacred' ground by Afrikaners and the proximity of a rapidly growing African location near this site may have been an issue for the increasingly chauvinistic Dutch-speaking officials of the town, particularly after the Jameson Raid (see Chapter Three). It also seems possible that the 'white areas' of the town may have encroached on the location as the white residents doubled in number between 1896 and 1898, requiring the establishment of two new white residential areas at Luipaardsvlei to the south of the town and Burghershooop to its west in 1897 (see Chapters One and Three).

Several sites were proposed for the new location. One plan was to establish a location about six to seven hundred yards to the west of the town where it was to be divided up into 'Kaffer' (African) and 'Koelie' (Indian) sections.²⁴ Another plan was to place the 'Kleurlingen Locatie' (possibly 'Coloured Location' – the word 'Kleurlingen' could also

¹⁹ 'Zulus' were mentioned in an article on Krugersdorp in *The Star*, 23 May 1888, untitled and 'Shangaans' were referred to in *The Star*, 9 January 1893, untitled. There are many similar references in the local newspaper, *The Standard, Krugersdorp* that are too numerous to record here.

²⁰ A few scattered references are made about black women in Krugersdorp, for example, in *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 4 February 1899 untitled, when twelve black women were arrested for illicit liquor selling.

²¹ *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 8 July 1899, untitled.

²² CAD, SS5391, SPR 9050/95, letter from the Speciale Landdrost, Krugersdorp to the Mijn Commissaris, Krugersdorp, 12 November 1895.

²³ CAD, TPB 542, TA1408, 1910 Asiatics Committee, evidence of J.A. Burger, p. 63.

²⁴ CAD, SS 5391, R5315/96, Letter, Mining Commissioner to State Secretary, 10 July 1896.

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mean African) to the north of the town.²⁵ The plan that was finally adopted in 1897 split up the location residents into a 'Kaffer Locatie' which was set up one mile north-west of Krugersdorp's pass office²⁶ and a thousand yards from the Stand Township; and a 'Koelie Locatie' laid out next to Burghershoop (see Chapter Four), to the west of the town (see Map Fourteen).²⁷

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Map Fourteen: Position of the 1897 'Kaffer Locatie', Later Referred to as the 'Old Location'.

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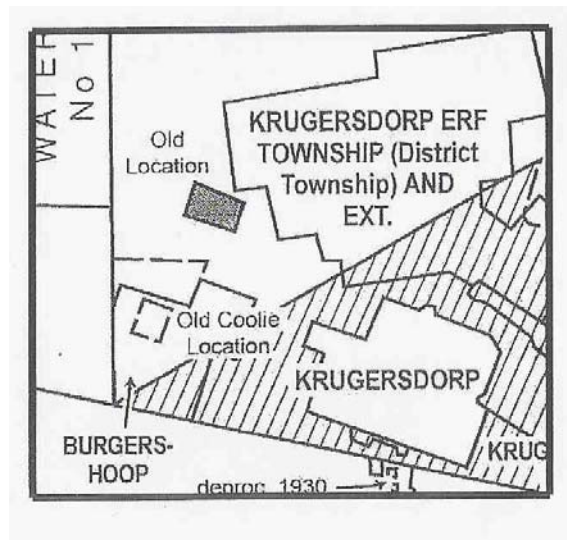
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The division of Krugersdorp's location residents into Indians, on the one hand, and Africans (and Coloureds) on the other hand, was unusual when compared to other

²⁵ *ibid.*, R9050/95, Special Landdrost, Krugersdorp, to Mine Commissioner, 19 August 1895.

²⁶ CAD, Archives of the Government Native Labour Bureau (GNLB), 169, 647/14/02, letter, Native Sub-Commissioner (NSC) to the Director of Native Labour (DNL), 9 May 1894.

²⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 279, 375, letter from the Pass Officer (PO), Krugersdorp, to the Acting DNL, 5 October 1917. See also Archives of the Colonial Secretary (CS) 217, Inspector of Beacons Report, attached to a letter from the Assistant Secretary to the Mines Department to the Under Secretary, Colonial Secretary's Office, 10 August 1903.

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locations on the Reef. Even where such ethnically distinct locations were set up, as in the case of Johannesburg where locations were built for Africans in 1889 and a separate location for Coloureds in the form of the Malay Location in 1894, these

locations quickly became multiracial²⁸ working-class residential areas.²⁹ The same pattern can be seen in Springs where the Asiatic Bazaar and an African location were situated alongside one another so they formed a contiguous and integrated whole.³⁰ The coastal towns of Cape Town³¹ and Durban³² were also more multiracial at the turn of the century than was Krugersdorp's location. For example, in Port Elizabeth's location Chinese, Malays, Indians, Africans and Coloureds all lived together in the same residential areas.³³

The 'inexperience' of Johannesburg's municipal officials and the 'rapid growth' of the town were given as reasons for the growth of multiracial locations, suburbs and slums in

²⁸ See E. Koch, 'Without Visible Means of Subsistence: Slumyard Culture in Johannesburg, 1918–1940' ('Without Visible Means'), History Workshop Paper, University of the Witwatersrand, 1981. See also H. Dugmore, 'The Malay Location in the Development of Urban Segregation in Johannesburg, 1901–1922' ('Malay') History MA Seminar Paper, University of the Witwatersrand, 1988. See also N. Kagan, 'African Settlements in the Johannesburg Area, 1903–1923' ('African Settlements'), MA dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 1983.

²⁹ See E. Koch, 'Without Visible Means of Subsistence: slumyard culture in Johannesburg, 1918–1940' ('Without Visible Means'), History Workshop Paper, University of the Witwatersrand, 1981.

³⁰ D. Gilfoyle, 'An Urban Crisis: The Town Council, Industry and the Black Working Class in Springs, 1948–

1958' ('An Urban Crisis'), BA Honours dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 1981.

³¹ M. Swanson, 'The Sanitation Syndrome: Bubonic Plague and Urban Native Policy in the Cape Colony, 1900–1909', *Journal of African History*, 18, 3, 1977, pp. 397–410.

³² *ibid.*, pp. 390–1. See also P. Maylam, 'The Local Evolution of Urban Apartheid: Influx Control and Segregation in Durban, c.1900–1951' ('The Local Evolution of Apartheid'), History Workshop Paper, University of the Witwatersrand, Braamfontein, 1990, pp. 1–3.

³³ See A.J. Christopher, 'Race and Residence in Colonial Port Elizabeth', *South African Geographical Journal*, 69, 1, 1987, pp. 1–20.

³⁴ Dugmore, 'Malay', pp. 8 and 13.

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³⁹ *Mayor's Minute*, 1906–7, MOH, p. 42.¶

⁴⁰ *The Standard*, Krugersdorp, 28 January, 1911, 'The Mayor's Minute'. ¶

⁴¹ *Mayor's Minute*, 1907–8, Report of the Chief Sanitary Inspector (CSI), p. 75.

⁴² *ibid.*, 1908–9, CSI, p. 85.¶

⁴³ Krugersdorp Public Lib [3]

³⁵ *ibid.*, p. 53.

³⁶ See, for example A. Lemon (ed.), *Homes Apart: South Africa's Segregated Cities*, David Philip, Cape Town, 1991.

³⁷ Krugersdorp Public Library (KPL), *Mayor's Minute*, (*Mayor's Minute*), 1906–7, Report of the Medical Officer of Health (MOH), p. 42.

³⁸*The Standard*, Krugersdorp, 29 July 1905, untitled.

39 *ibid.*

The town's population of all races grew from about a thousand in 1894 to three thousand in 1903 to over seven thousand in 1907³⁷ a seven-fold increase in just eleven years. To accommodate these massive increases³⁸ in the town's population³⁹, a new working-class area of West Krugersdorp was laid out in 1905, and the middle-class area of Lewisham in 1906 (see Map **Fifteen**).⁴⁰

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The difficulty of finding suitable land for white residential development and the steady encroachment of white suburbs onto the African location, led to a growing demand for the 'disestablishment' of the Location by 1911.⁴¹ The location had 756 occupants in 1907–8,⁴² a figure that increased to 785 in 1908–9,⁴³ 1 280 in 1909–10⁴⁴ and 1 542 in 1911.⁴⁵ The location reached capacity in 1909 and the Medical Officer of Health warned that 'it will be necessary in the future to make provision for additional stands'.⁴⁶ The Mayor pointed out in 1910 that the location could only expand in one direction and for 'quite a limited distance', requiring the selection of a new site and the removal of the

⁴⁰ *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 28 January, 1911, 'The Mayor's Minute'.

⁴¹ *Mayor's Minute*, 1907–8, Report of the Chief Sanitary Inspector (CSI), p. 75.

⁴² *ibid.*, 1908–9, CSI, p. 85.

⁴³ Krugersdorp Public Library (KPL), *Mayor's Minute, (Mayor's Minute), 1906–7*, Report of the Medical Officer of Health (MOH), p. 42.

⁴⁴ *ibid*

⁴⁵ *ibid.*, 1909–10, CSI, p. 93.

⁴⁶ *ibid.*, 1910–11, CSI, p. 104.

⁴⁷ *ibid.*, 1910–11, CSI, p. 104. There was a complaint by the CSI about the 'congested state of the buildings' in the location.

⁴⁸ *ibid.*, 1905–6, MOH, p. 32.

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⁴⁵ *ibid.*, 1909–10, CSI, p. 93.¶

⁴⁶ *ibid.*, 1910–11, CSI, p. 104.¶

⁴⁷ *ibid.*, 1908–9, MOH, p. 85.¶

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'whole of the existing location...at some future date'.⁴⁷

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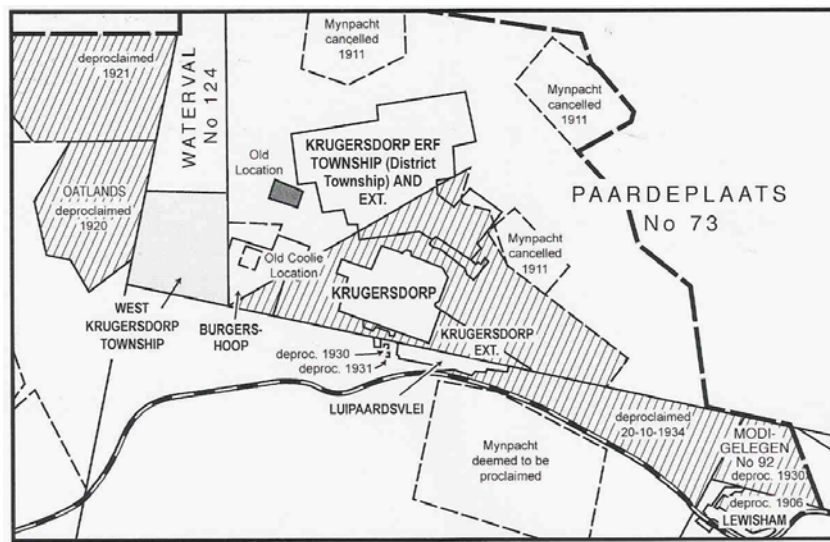
Thus, the location's population doubled in just four years from 1907 and 1911, and its two hundred stands were becoming seriously overcrowded by 1911, at an average of nearly eight Africans per stand.⁴⁸ There was also pressure to move black residents living in backrooms and backyards of white-owned shops and private houses in the town itself whose numbers grew from 6 500 in 1906⁴⁹ to over 15 000 by 1911.⁵⁰ Overcrowding contributed to rising tensions between black and white residents in Krugersdorp.

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Map Fifteen: Map of West Krugersdorp and Lewisham (white suburbs), c. 1906.



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⁴⁸ *ibid.*, 1905–6, MOH, p. 32.

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Source: U.G. 50, 1935, Report of the Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Act Commission, 1935, Appendix.

⁴⁹ *Mayor's Minute*, 1906–7, MOH, p. 42.

⁵⁰ *ibid.*, 1910–11, MOH, p. 81.

White ~~Anxieties~~ and black 'Threats'

Already by 1903 Krugersdorp's rapidly growing population was making its presence felt on its sidewalks and in public spaces as these became more crowded which led to accusations that black pedestrians were 'jostling' whites on the sidewalks, at the market tables in Market Square and at the Railway office. A 'sidewalk' regulation had been passed in 1894 on the Rand which prohibited black pedestrians from walking on pavements.⁵¹ but in 1903 a white resident complained that the law did not seem to be applied as black men congregated on street corners and white males and females had to '...elbow their way through these louts or walk in the mud'⁵²

When police tried to enforce the law, they were challenged at times by black pedestrians who refused to move off the sidewalk.⁵³ This led to 'a crusade against natives who consistently break the municipal regulations by walking on the footpath' that had a 'salutary effect' in reducing the numbers of Africans who were 'molesting pedestrians'.⁵⁴ An amendment of the regulations followed to include Coloureds as well as Africans.⁵⁵ Proposals were also made to include Coloureds in the curfew and to prevent Africans from riding in cabs.⁵⁶

White residents requested that police crack down on natives loitering or gathering together in groups as they felt threatened by such 'mobs'. In 1903, concern was

⁵¹ The Star, 13 February 1894, untitled.

⁵² ibid.

⁵³ See *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 24 January 1903, 'Walking on the Footpath'. See also *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 12 March 1904, 'Off the Sidepath'.

⁵⁴ *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 30 January 1904, untitled.

⁵⁵ *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 27 February 1904, 'Natives on the Sidewalk'. See also *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 15 October 1904 'Natives on the Sidewalks' and *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 13 August 1904, 'Natives on the Footpaths'.

⁵⁶ *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 14 April 1904, 'The Curfew and the Footpath'.

⁵⁷ *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 9 May 1903, 'Street Whispers'.

⁵⁸ *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 5 March 1904, untitled.

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expressed about Ockerse Street where a 'location in the heart of the town' had sprung up creating a 'black pandemonium' that made it 'impossible to perform business' in the vicinity.⁵⁷ A sense of growing anarchy and latent violence was underscored by reports of 'unauthorised race meetings' held also in Ockerse street near the magistrate's residence where the 'riders are natives'. A newspaper article pointed out that the riders had no bridles or saddles yet 'go for all they are worth, and, in fact, have no control over their mounts...' and concluded by asking 'where are the police?'⁵⁸

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Krugersdorp's white residents made demands for separate queues for whites and blacks at the Railway Ticket Office,⁵⁹ the Post Office⁶⁰ and the Market Square⁶¹ to avoid such physical contact and 'jostling' in public spaces. Of course, in none of the cases mentioned above was violence actually perpetrated by black residents against white 'victims' and, indeed, there was little physical contact at all. It seems plausible to argue that white anxiety was an expression of general anxiety over unpredictable economic conditions as the period 1903–4 was one of rapid population growth in a context of uncertain economic recovery.⁶²

By 1905, however, the white residents of Krugersdorp increasingly became victims of actual violence perpetrated by black criminal elements and 'jostling' incidents were replaced by cases of assault. A spate of black burglaries on white shopkeepers occurred in the first four months of 1905, for example,⁶³ perhaps linked to organised gangs such as the Ninevites.⁶⁴ Black attacks on white victims appear to have increased during 1906,⁶⁵ heightening the anxiety that white residents already felt over the Bambatha Rebellion in Natal.⁶⁶ Furthermore, there was at least one serious alleged

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⁵⁹ *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 29 November 1903, untitled.

⁶⁰ *The Standard, Krugersdorp* 7 March 1903, 'Correspondence', 'Oh how it whiffs!'

⁶¹ *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 17 September 1904, untitled.

⁶² Van Onselen, *New Babylon*, p. 24.

⁶³ See, for example, *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 7th January 1905, untitled. See also *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 11 February, 1905, untitled, *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 28 February, 1905, untitled and *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 15 April 1905, untitled.

⁶⁴ Van Onselen, *New Nineveh*, pp. 185–7.

⁶⁵ See, for example, *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 27 January 1906, untitled. See also *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 28 April, 1906, untitled; *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 21 June 1906, untitled.

⁶⁶ *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 7 July 1906, untitled.

sexual attack on a white woman by a black man in Krugersdorp each year from 1905 to 1908⁶⁷ in so-called 'Black Peril' incidents (see Chapter Seven). Police certainly tried to crack down on black crime and apparently achieved impressive results: in 1904 of the 1 539 cases of all crimes reported, 1 200 cases were tried leading to 1 104 convictions.⁶⁸ Police also recovered about half of the stolen property, despite serious shortages of policemen requiring police to perform 'double duty' in the form of unpaid overtime.⁶⁹

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The Legislative Assembly passed laws in 1905 prohibiting blacks from possessing 'dangerous weapons', including 'swords, daggers, knives with blades longer than ten inches in length, spears, loaded or spiked sticks, knuckle dusters, jumpers, crowbars, hammers exceeding 3 pounds in weight, axes, pick handles and sandbags'.⁷⁰ Black offenders faced a stiff fine of 25 pounds or three months in jail, while whites caught selling these items faced the same penalties. A local white shopkeeper was fined 15 pounds for selling butchers' knives to Chinese miners in April 1906, and the local newspaper condemned the sentence as 'too light' and insisted that his trade licence should have been withdrawn as well.⁷¹

By the time of Union, a new threat appeared in the form of an organised gang that superseded the Ninevites and who seemed to specialise in assaults and muggings of white men. In one incident five 'Amalaita' set upon two white men in Krugersdorp, one was a Town Councillor and the other was a member of the Provincial Council for Krugersdorp. Despite being 'knocked about' quite seriously, they claimed to have put their attackers to flight.⁷²

Later that month, probably in response to pressure by these eminent local notables, a clash took place that shocked Krugersdorp's white residents. A raid was made by a small number of policemen on a mine married location at the West Rand Consolidated

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⁶⁷ See, for example, *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 25 March 1905, untitled, 13 October 1906, untitled, 26 January 1907, untitled and 9 May 1908, untitled.
⁶⁸ *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 11 February 1905, untitled.
⁶⁹ *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 25 February 1905, untitled.
⁷⁰ *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 28 October 1905, untitled.
⁷¹ *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 7 April 1906, untitled.
⁷² *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 1 January 1911, untitled.

mine on a Saturday night, in search of 'a certain *Amalaita* who had been defying the police and terrorising the inhabitants of West Krugersdorp'. A number of arrests were made as they chanced upon a drinking party.

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At this point the 'whole location' rose up against them shouting 'Bulala umlango' (properly 'umlungu') which meant 'kill the white man' and as they were being attacked the police had to release those they had arrested. The police retreated to the mine hospital with many men wounded; there they were rescued by the Compound Manager and his 'Police Boys'. The police shot dead a 'notorious Amalaita ring leader' during the mêlée. The following Monday the police returned in force with twenty white men armed with rifles, twelve mounted and armed white policemen and a number of black policemen on foot and arrested another 'Amalaita ringleader'.⁷³

The local newspaper commented that 'this sort of attack' pointed to the necessity for policemen to be armed when entering, '...dangerous locations where the scum of the reef seek a hiding place'.⁷⁴ White correspondents endorsed this view in letters they wrote to the newspaper in the wake of the attack.⁷⁵ The state cracked down with Indeterminate sentences on criminals who had a number of previous convictions and the Amalaita, whose members were heavily represented by ex-convicts, went into decline.⁷⁶

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Krugersdorp's Municipal and Mine Locations

Although the location as an urban form was often planned with streets in the typical colonial grid-like structure, black residents were usually allowed to build their own houses and this introduced a haphazard, disorderly element into the organised space of the location. Different sized houses, for example, meant that large houses obscured smaller houses situated behind them. This aided the commission of crime because shebeens, for example, could be conducted out of view from police approaching from

⁷³ *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 31 January 1911, untitled.

⁷⁴ *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 4 February 1911, untitled.

⁷⁵ *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 21 January 1911, untitled.

⁷⁶ Van Onselen, *New Nineveh*, pp. 191 and 194.

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the end of a street. Young boys could warn shebeen owners of police approaching and illicit liquor could be quickly hidden or disposed of before the police arrived. The irregular sides of houses, the ragged fences and scattered shrubbery made it easier for suspects to flee the police and lose themselves in the maze-like structure of the location.⁷⁷ Overcrowding exacerbated this effect and even relatively well-controlled black residential spaces like Krugersdorp's municipal location, began to experience problems with illicit liquor brewing.⁷⁸ The local authorities responded to these pressures by imposing a curfew that prevented black residents from being out on the streets after nine p.m. at night.⁷⁹ This crackdown seems to have been successful and the Chief Sanitary Inspector reported that black residents in the municipal location 'conduct[ed] themselves exceptionally well' with 'no serious difficulty to the police....'⁸⁰

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Ironically, it was the development of unofficial 'mine locations' that posed the greatest problem for the Krugersdorp municipality and the local mining industry. The failure of the mine management to provide the means of collective consumption⁸¹ for its mine workers led to the formation of a number of 'unauthorised locations' in the Krugersdorp region, particularly during the 1906–8 recession. The Mining Commissioner, sensitive to the 'evils' of such squatter camps and working in close consultation with the local mine managers, urged the Town Council to act against these 'squatters', pointing out that,

...the brewing and selling of intoxicants leading to the commission of crime and to the inefficient execution of their duties by native mine employees, can almost invariably be traced to these places.⁸²

The Town Council was urged at several points during the rapid expansion of the mining population between 1903 and 1914 to build 'proper' locations for such 'independent'

⁷⁷ Koch, 'Without Visible Means', p. 14. Koch describes how young children who played at street corners would give the cry 'Araa!' when police arrived in order to warn illicit liquor sellers.

⁷⁸ *Mayor's Minute, 1911–2, Report of the Chief Sanitary Inspector, p. 97.*

⁷⁹ KPL, 'Munsieville File', 'Krugersdorp Municipal Location By-laws' ('Location By-Laws'), 1912, p.2. There is evidence that such a curfew dated from the Republican period, see the remark, 'What is the matter with Africa's Waterbury? The hamba kaya bell is rung anytime between 8.45 and 9.20.', *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 8 July, 1899, untitled.

⁸⁰ *Mayor's Minute, 1907–8, Report of the Chief Sanitary Inspector, p. 75.*

⁸¹ See M. Castells, *City, Class and Power*, MacMillan, London, 1978, p. 42.

⁸² CAD, Archives of the Krugersdorp Town Council (MKR), 28, file 12, Mining Commissioner (MC) to the

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blacks, those who worked as domestic servants for miners housed on the miners, or as self-employed contractors.⁸³ The local mine managers were reluctant to incur expenses in this regard, and expected the Town Council to foot the bill. At the same time they refused to make land available for sale to the municipality for this purpose.⁸⁴ These contradictions made it difficult for the Krugersdorp Town Council successfully to pursue the segregationist policy that local mine managers supported.

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By the advent of Union in 1910, the Town Council began to change tack and instead of adopting ever more draconian by-laws to constrain the black residents living in the town and locations, Krugersdorp's Town Council increasingly shifted towards a more liberal approach when dealing with the black residents of the town. This new municipal policy needs to be investigated in some detail to examine how it developed, starting with an account of how the local authorities planned to build a new 'Model' location for its black residents.

The 'Model Location'

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By 1910, the Krugersdorp Town Council overcame [the](#) problems it had earlier experienced in its plans to build a new location for black residents. The obstacles included a shortage of appropriate land and the reluctance of the local mining industry, which owned most of the land surrounding the town, to sell or lease a site to the Town Council. Krugersdorp also faced the same kinds of trouble that the Johannesburg Town Council experienced with white residents over plans to build locations close to their residential areas.⁸⁵ The Town Council overcame these difficulties by obtaining a site two miles north-west of the town, that had been owned by the government but which, after a lengthy tussle, had been transferred to the municipality as 'Town Lands'.⁸⁶ The site was

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Town Clerk (TC), Krugersdorp, 23 June 1909.

⁸³ See, for example, *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 10 August 1907, untitled. See also S. Moroney, 'Mine Married Quarters: the differential stabilisation of the Witwatersrand's Workforce, 1900–1920' in S. Marks

and R. Rathbone (eds.), *Industrialisation and Social Change in South Africa: African Class Formation, Culture and Consciousness, 1870–1930* ([Industrialisation](#)), [Longman](#), Harlow, 1982, pp. 260–1.

⁸⁴ See Kagan, 'African Settlements', p. 67.

⁸⁵ Kagan, 'African Settlements', p. 136.

⁸⁶ [Mayor's Minute, Mayor's Report, p. 6.](#)

higher than most adjacent white suburbs, a most unusual feature for a black residential space at the time (See Map **Sixteen**).

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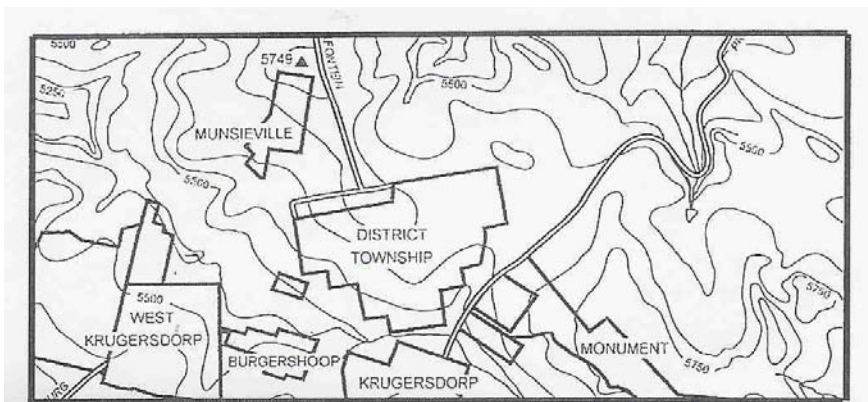
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By this time, the Rand was entering a boom phase that started tentatively in 1909 and reached its peak in 1910 and 1911, so more money was available and optimism was higher amongst the commercial elite and professionals who dominated the Town Council. It was against this background that the Town Council decided it could afford to build a 'Model Location'. Their plans included provision that houses be built according to municipal by-laws, that 'the whole of the frontages... be kept in alignment',⁸⁷ that 'innumerable trees' be planted, that all roofs be painted red,⁸⁸ and that roads and 'broad sanitary passages' be erected.⁸⁹

Map Sixteen: A Topographical Map of the New Location (later called 'Munsieville').

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Source: J. Henning, 'The Evolution, Land Use and Land Use Patterns of Krugersdorp', BA Honours dissertation, University of

⁸⁷ *ibid.*, 1909–10, CSI, p.93.

⁸⁸ *ibid.*, 1910–11, CSI, p. 104.

⁸⁹ *ibid.*, 1909–10, CSI, p. 93.

⁹⁰ See Kagan, 'African Settlements'.

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the Witwatersrand, 1963, p. 3

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The site was elevated and to some extent overlooked the main town lying further down to the southeast. These provisions were exceptional as earlier black residential spaces were almost always placed near unattractive spaces (Johannesburg's Klipspruit Location⁹⁰, for example, was situated near a sewerage farm). It was rare for the municipality to stipulate how the houses should be built and what colour the roofs should be painted. It is difficult to find examples that require that a location should have any kind of greenery at all, never mind 'innumerable trees', so the Town Council's remarkable plans present a conundrum that needs to be explained.

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It seems possible that some of the elements described may have been aimed at curbing black criminal activity because one of the obvious advantages of such a 'Model Location' was that policing would be greatly eased by its broad grid-like structure.

Symmetrical houses perfectly lined up in a row, would enable police to see clearly whether illicit liquor was being brewed or whether illegal gambling, for example, was taking place. It seems likely, then, that these features of the 'New Location' were partly designed to deter crime especially as the Town Council also discussed the possibility of the fencing of the location.⁹¹

Control was nevertheless not the sole consideration and cannot explain the recommendation to paint roofs red or to plant 'innumerable' trees. In a report dated 31 October 1911, the Chief Sanitary Inspector, James Munsie, described the location, which had, in that year been 'thrown open' for black residents to rent stands, in the following glowing terms,

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This is an ideal site, healthily situated and a proper supply of town

⁹¹ *Mayor's Minute*, 1909–10, CSI, p. 93.

⁹² *Mayor's Minute*, 1910–11, 'Report of the Chief Sanitary Inspector', p. 104.

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water is being laid on. The streets are 40 Cape feet wide, which will ensure a proper and effective sanitary service being maintained.... It has been decided to insist on all buildings being erected in accordance with approved Municipal plans and proper alignment maintained, and all buildings to be painted, walls stone colour and roofs red, which should ensure the establishment of a model Location.⁹²

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These features must have been included to make the location more attractive in appearance. What is also striking is that when the location was finally built, no fence was erected around it although plans were originally made to do so. It seems possible that this was in accordance with a decision to design the location in such a way as to attract black location residents to the more distant 'New Location' away from the 'Old Location', and so reduce the degree of coercion such a removal would entail. The Town Council, after all, found that brute force itself was not always successful as was the case when it called in police to arrest Indian 'ringleaders' protesting against plans to remove the Indian Location in 1904 (see Chapter Five). The Town Council is likely to have wanted to avoid such a confrontation with Africans by tempting them with incentives to leave the overcrowded Old Location. Another explanation – a more complex one – is that this change in policy indicated that a 'liberal' form of 'segregationism' was in the ascendancy in the Town Council and among its key officials. This explanation needs to be considered in more detail.

'Liberal Segregationism'

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Dubow has pointed out that 'liberal segregationism' was supported by the mining industry in the period after World War One so it seems possible that an earlier version of this ideology may have been tentatively under development six years earlier in a small part of the Witwatersrand, in Krugersdorp. Mine managers and directors held at least 20 per cent of the Town Council's seats during the period 1903–1912, and there is some evidence of increasingly liberal views being expressed by these particular Town Councillors, during the period after the South African War to the years shortly after Union.

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This may seem surprising in the light of the harsh, intolerant behaviour of some of Krugersdorp's mining magnates like J.B. Robinson (see Chapter One) and the 'repressive' segregationism adopted in the early years. However, the period shortly before Union were boom times and this may have softened the views of the mine owners and managers on the West Rand. Individual members of the white professional and commercial elite also enacted what appear to have been liberal municipal policies over the same period.

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It seems plausible to speculate that liberal Town Councillors may have planned to win over the black elite stratum as allies against the 'dangerous classes' whose illicit beer brewing and other criminal activities threatened their creation of a relatively stable and content black working class, as has been argued for Johannesburg in the early 1920s.⁹³ Some members of the white commercial elite and the professionals could also have been attracted to these ideals because exclusively repressive policies had limited success, and the boom conditions that the town experienced between 1909 and 1912 may have created a more tolerant mood as economic prosperity increased. A rapidly increasing population also meant that there was less pressure on white-owned business from Indian and African traders and professionals. The white middle class may thus have had the breathing space necessary to reflect upon the value of creating a limited alliance with the black middle class to impose more effective controls over the black 'dangerous' classes.

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There is some evidence that certain members of the white ruling elite in Krugersdorp had, for some time, considered that it was desirable that the leisure activities of the local black residents needed to be 'channelled' away from illicit drinking and gambling, and towards more wholesome forms of entertainment along European lines. The mouthpiece of the white ruling elite, for example, warmly supported the appearance of a 'native cricket team'⁹⁴ and 'native choir' in Krugersdorp's location during an earlier period.⁹⁵

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⁹³ Rich, 'Ministering to the White Man's Needs', p. 182.

⁹⁴ *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 8 July, 1899, untitled.

⁹⁵ *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 12 September, 1908, untitled.

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Gilfoyle has noted a similar process, albeit during a much later period, for the 'Model Location' of Kwa-Thema in Springs where a sport stadium was built.⁹⁶ Maylam's study of Durban in the 1930s noted that the municipality introduced bioscopes and sports galas in black residential areas to prevent 'superfluous energy' from being channelled into 'vice'.⁹⁷ Krugersdorp Town Council may have had similar aims when, for example, it approved a proposal to build a roller skating rink for Africans in 1909.⁹⁸ The 'Model Location' policy fitted comfortably with this more 'liberal' ideology, combining segregation with concessions to a black elite in the form of an aesthetic built environment.

The motive behind this 'liberal segregationism', then, was to win over a segment of the more educated and wealthier black residents to the side of white administration and capitalist interests and so create a 'buffer class' between these interests and the black working class. It was anticipated that this black elite would act as a moderating influence on the increasingly radical working class, and divert their attentions away from activities that threatened the state and capitalism. The Town Council certainly did seem to take some members of the black elite seriously as early as 1903 and engaged with them in ways that suggest that they were looking for alliances. For example, the Town Council responded with considerable respect towards Paul Makoko, the secretary of the 'Native's Cemetery Committee' when he proposed a policy where by each location resident would pay a shilling a month for the upkeep of the local black cemetery.⁹⁹

Coloureds, especially if they were educated and lived in the location, may also have been seen as potential collaborators for the white Town Council. The Krugersdorp Town Council, for example, seriously evaluated a proposal for a West Rand Coloured Cricket Club to play on the grounds s in Krugersdorp adjoining the current (white) cricket

⁹⁶ Gilfoyle, 'An Urban Crisis', pp. 52–8.

⁹⁷ P. Maylam, 'Aspects of African Urbanisation in the Durban Area before 1940', in R. Haines and G. Buijs (eds.), *The Struggle for Social and Economic Space: Urbanisation in the Twentieth Century*, University of Durban-Westville Press, Durban, 1985, p. 56.

⁹⁸ *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 28 January 1909, untitled. See also *Mayor's Minute*, 1908–9, 'Mayor's Report', p. 13. A 'Syndicate of local gentlemen' planned to erect a rink on a 'piece of ground well out of the town'.

⁹⁹ *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 6 June 1903, 'The Native Cemetery'.

¹⁰⁰ *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 5 December 1903, untitled.

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club in 1903.¹⁰⁰ Its members were likely to have been middle class in their occupations and aspirations.

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There seem to have been sufficient numbers of middle-class African and Coloured residents to make a strategy of co-option worthwhile. For example, petitions were drawn up and signed by a substantial number of location residents on numerous occasions, suggesting a surprisingly high level of literacy.¹⁰¹ Many location residents wrote letters to the local white-owned newspaper and some of these suggest a high level of education, for example, B.R. Mahambehala wrote a letter in 1905 which contained a number of Latin phrases and classical allusions.¹⁰²

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If the Town Council failed to reach out to this educated black elite, there was a danger that they could become aggrieved, radical leaders of a local political movement among location residents and could whip up considerable resistance to the municipality's plans. The radical potential of the black elite is illustrated by Ernest Majura, a local black preacher who incited location residents to resist a police raid by declaring that he was going to show '...our oppressed natives that he at least would resist these infernal policemen'.¹⁰³ His arrest led to a 'general disturbance' in the location and met with strong criticism by the local newspaper which warned that,

unless we are to have a kaffir terror superadded to the Chinese, a very radical change needs to take place in our dealing with the natives and the Pass Laws must be carried out with far greater stringency than they are presently in lawful and business-like manner and not by raids of locations.¹⁰⁴

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Deleted: ¹⁰² *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 23 September 1905, 'Native Conduct'. Unfortunately the letter made no

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Deleted: ¹⁰⁴ *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 7 July 1906, untitled. See also the 'Report of the Chief Commissioner of ¶ Police', 1911, p. 90 which reports that in 1911, 6 363 blacks were charged with 'statutory offences' in ¶ Krugersdorp, including the violation of pass laws, liquor laws and town regulations.

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The reference to the 'Chinese' concerns the problem that the Rand faced by 1906, when a large number of Chinese indentured miners began to desert from mines and rampage through surrounding farms and the fringes of towns. Several incidents of this

¹⁰¹ See, for example, KPL, 'Old Location' file, petition dated 24 October 1902, pp. 35–40.

¹⁰² *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 23 September 1905, 'Native Conduct'.

¹⁰³ *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 21 January 1905, untitled.

¹⁰⁴ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 7 July 1906, untitled.

sort occurred in Krugersdorp about this time, causing considerable anxiety among white residents. This context may explain why increasing care was taken not to alienate black residents during this period. For example, shortly after the Majura incident, a local Magistrate felt it necessary to warn police about the effects of pass raids in a separate case that came before him. Here he noted that, '... a kafir has the same rights as any British subject, and his home is his castle and sacred even from the police'.¹⁰⁵

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There are other examples of elite location residents standing up to the Town Council in some form or another in a way that would have made the Town Council anxious to placate this group and co-opt them. For example, in 1902 a 'Location Committee' led by Harry Koko and Micheal [sic] Bowen submitted a petition complaining about an Indian who set up a shop in the location pointing out that 'we also pay the Government licences about the Businesses we have got here'. This black elite had enough influence and organisational skill to obtain fifty-two additional signatures including nineteen that appear to have been those of Coloured residents.¹⁰⁶

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Some of the Town Councillors and officials were sympathetic to the black elite and embraced some of the elements of 'liberal segregationism' as early as the turn of the century and wanted to offer concessions to some of the better educated and influential members of the local black elite. These proposals sometimes led to serious divisions in the Town Council. For example, in 1904, some of the Councillors took a harsh line against Coloureds living in the town, arguing that it was 'very desirable to get these people out of the town altogether'.¹⁰⁷ A Councillor representing the Mines Ward, returned to this issue in another Council debate and described such attitudes as short-sighted,

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You can go into one of the principal streets of Krugersdorp and pick out a coloured person who keeps a respectable business. Are you going to thrust him in a location? If so, you are treading on very dangerous ground.¹⁰⁸

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¹⁰⁶ KPL, 'Old Location' file, petition dated 24 October 1902, pages 35–40.

¹⁰⁷ *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 9 November 1904, untitled.

It was precisely those Coloureds who kept a 'respectable business' to whom the white professionals and commercial men objected as potential competitors. During the period 1905 to 1910, the white merchants and professionals frequently tried to extend controls on Africans to Coloureds, as is illustrated above in the case of the 'sidewalk' regulations.¹⁰⁹ In this case, however, a mine manager on the Town Council, defended the rights of 'respectable' Coloureds, warning that if this group was alienated it could lead to 'dangerous' repercussions.

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The Town Councillor may have wished for the co-option of Coloureds and their separation from black location residents as a means to prevent them from identifying themselves 'downwards' with the 'dangerous classes'. If this was the case, then by the time of Union, this strategy seems to have had the desired effect on some of the Coloured residents in Krugersdorp who attempted to distance themselves from black location residents. Seventy Coloured location residents declared in a petition that they would like their own location separate from Africans as,

[we want to] live up to the civilisation of your white forefathers and it pains us to see our children mixed-up with people who are not yet civilised...as is the case in the present location....¹¹⁰

The apparent success of this strategy may have belatedly convinced the white commercial and professional elite that controlled the Town Council that such a policy could promote division amongst blacks that could facilitate easier control and could promote allies from like-minded members of the black elite. This, in turn, meant that the black elite could serve as a 'buffer' in the Council's dealings with the location residents, that is, the 'dangerous classes'. Such a realisation could have persuaded increasing numbers of Town Councillors to think in terms of 'liberal segregationism' until they formed a majority by the period 1910-12. A number of Councillors may have also adopted this approach because they had become increasingly influenced by Edwardian

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¹⁰⁸ [ibid.](#)

¹⁰⁹ Earlier on in this decade, Milner and Lagden thrashed out the position of Coloureds and came down in favour of a policy where Coloureds [virtually](#) had no more rights than Africans in the Transvaal, see Dugmore, 'Malay'. See also G. Lewis, *Between the Wire and the Wall: a History of South African Coloured Politics*, David Philip, Cape Town, 1987.

¹¹⁰ CAD, MKR 28, 163, File 186, 'Coloured Petition', 1910.

ideas of environmentalism and the Garden City movement that dominated this period. While evidence is fragmentary, this explanation deserves a brief consideration.

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Environmentalism and the Garden City Movement

In 1898 Ebenezer Howard first published his book *To-Morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform* in which he laid out his utopian vision of human-scale cities surrounded by ample open space and various recreation facilities. The emphasis was placed on spaciousness combined with greenery. Howard was influenced by the 'social gospel' reformers who held that London and Britain's industrial cities were crowded, polluted and morally corrupting places and that the countryside represented health, both physically and morally, in a sense that went beyond mere rural sentimentality.

Howard's ideas received the powerful support of enlightened magnates like Edward and George Cadbury, Alfred Harmsworth, W.L. Lever and T.W. Idris and this made his movement respectable in the eyes of the middle class in Britain and its colonies. Both Lever and Cadbury built [the](#) 'model' company towns of Port Sunlight and Bourneville, while Letchworth was built in 1903 exactly according to Howard's plans. These developments were given wide publicity and were part of the common currency of ideas wherever the British middle class gathered.

The urban elite at Krugersdorp and particularly the local mine owners were likely to [have been](#) familiar with Howard's ideas as these were topical during the period leading up to Union. Distance did not pose a serious barrier to the transmission of ideas from the metropole to the periphery. The Garden City Association, which included Edward Cadbury as a director, aimed explicitly to spread its principles to the widest possible audience around the British Empire (and to Europe and the United States).¹¹¹ Australia, notably, took an active interest in the Garden City movement and it seems at least

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¹¹¹ D. Hardy, 'The Garden City Campaign: An Overview', in S. Ward (ed.), *The Garden City: Past, Present and Future*, Spon, London, 1992, p. 188. See also S. Dubow, *Illicit Union: Scientific Racism in Modern South Africa*, Cambridge University Press/Wits University Press, Cambridge and Johannesburg, 1995, who deals perceptively with the linkages between environmentalism and racist discourse.

¹¹² R. Freestone, 'The Australian Garden City', in Ward, *The Garden City*, p. 107.

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plausible that some of the large numbers of Australians that immigrated to the Rand around the turn of the century could have brought with them similar ideas, suitably modified for colonial conditions.¹¹²

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The Garden City movement was closely linked to ideas around environmentalism, that is the '...physicalist idea that poor surroundings *per se* were the root of ill-health, immorality, and discontent...' ¹¹³ Environmentalism held that an improvement in a community's surroundings could morally 'uplift' the members of this area, resulting in social contentment, reduced crime levels, greater stability and improved moral behaviour.

There seem to be hints and suggestions that such ideas had penetrated through to Krugersdorp during the period leading up to Union, particularly in relation to trees and other greenery. For example, in 1906, the Chief Sanitary Inspector arranged for the improvement of the Krugersdorp Cemetery by having the graves cleaned and by planting flowers and 'ornamental trees'. ¹¹⁴ The same official noted with pleasure that the following year the Cemetery had been 'considerably beautified'. ¹¹⁵ The Mayor reported in 1911 that 437 'Street Trees' had been planted and that 640 trees were provided for the Whippet racecourse. In addition a portion of the Town Lands had been planted with 1 935 trees and fenced off as a plantation. ¹¹⁶

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Plans were also made to create 'Children's Sports and Playgrounds' near a school in Commissioner Street as well as in other 'large tracts of open land in all part of the Municipality'. ¹¹⁷ The Coronation Park, a major greenbelt to the southeast of the town had a maze planted in 1909, and 1074 trees were added in 1911. In that same year the exterior of the buildings in the park were repainted. ¹¹⁸

The Medical Officer of Health, Dr W. Gem, repeatedly stressed the importance of the

¹¹³ *ibid.*, p. 109.

¹¹⁴ *Mayor's Minute*, 1905-6, 'Report of the Chief Sanitary Inspector', p. 36.

¹¹⁵ *Mayor's Minute*, 1906-7, 'Report of the Chief Sanitary Inspector', p. 52.

¹¹⁶ *Mayor's Minute*, 1910-11, 'Report of the Mayor', sub-heading 'Street Trees', p. 17.

¹¹⁷ *ibid.*, p. 20.

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environment for the health of the residents, particularly, it should be noted, for black residents. In 1905, when the Mayor reported that the state of the locations, 'native' and 'Indian' had 'very materially improved',¹¹⁹ Dr Gem agreed and noted that the '...health of the town is very good, and compares very favourably with any other in the Transvaal, in fact it undoubtedly ranks as one of the healthiest'.¹²⁰ In 1906, this official observed that the conditions in the locations were 'most satisfactory' and that while the locations in 'almost every municipality' were 'hotbeds of infection', this was not the case for Krugersdorp where no infectious cases at all had occurred during that year.¹²¹

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These observations about black residents should be read in conjunction with broader observations made by the same official for white residential spaces, particularly Burghershoop, which the official considered to be a serious problem. In 1909, the Medical Officer of Health noted that while the number of deaths among whites was relatively low for the Rand, a 'great majority of the deaths which have occurred in Burghershoop', especially among the children of the poor, and this constituted a 'social problem'.¹²²

In 1909, Dr. Gem wrote at length about the poor state of the dwellings of most white residents where he noted that these were often too small, there was a failure to adapt to the 'environment'.¹²³ The building materials were of 'unsuitable or bad quality' and the design was 'but slightly modified from that of a cheap English suburban villa' with the sanitary convenience 'often primitive' and situated too close to the kitchen window.¹²⁴ This, he thought, was totally unacceptable as Krugersdorp has a 'vast area and a small population'. He felt that each dwelling needed 'liberal ground' around it and the sanitary convenience should be at least 25 feet away.¹²⁵

Obviously a Medical Officer of Health wanted to ensure that the health conditions of the

¹¹⁸ *ibid.*, p. 17.

¹¹⁹ *Mayor's Minute*, 1904–5, 'Mayor's Report', p. 12.

¹²⁰ *ibid.*, 'Report of the Medical Officer of Health', p. 31.

¹²¹ *Mayor's Minute*, 1905–6, 'Report of the Medical Officer of Health', p. 33.

¹²² *Mayor's Minute*, 1908–9, 'Report of the Medical Officer of Health', p. 72.

¹²³ *ibid.*, p. 72.

¹²⁴ *ibid.*

¹²⁵ *ibid.*

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inhabitants were optimised but Dr. Gem's recommendations go well beyond concern for the individual body and are heavily focused on the environment. His emphasis on large houses situated in ample space, adapted to the climate and using high quality materials echoed much of Howard's recommendations built into his vision of the 'Garden City'. Dr. Gem also noted that the high mortality rates among children in Burghershoop was a 'social problem' requiring social and not merely a medical solution, again, linking to Howard's 'environmentalism'.

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With these ideas likely to be swirling around, the building of the New Location as a 'Model Location' becomes easier to understand. What is difficult to explain and understand is why the black residents of Krugersdorp overwhelmingly failed to be attracted to the 'Model Location'. The following section will trace this further and explore possible reasons for this development, which was unanticipated by the Town Council and its local officials.

The **R**ejection of the New Location

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In 1912, the 'New Location', which was referred to on a number of occasions as a 'Model Location', was opened and forty stands were made available for immediate occupation. The Councillors may have confidently anticipated that the black elite would move into the New Location bringing with them the rest of the Old Location's 'respectable' residents in a relatively short space of time. They were to be sorely disappointed. As an added inducement aimed at attracting elite black residents, the Town Council allowed residents to take out trading licences on their stands in the Location, but this, too, appears to have made little difference.

The 'Model Location' did not attract any significant numbers of the black elite despite the presence of groves of trees, freshly painted roofs and the availability of trading licences in the location itself. The Old Location remained crowded and the New Location remained relatively empty by 1914. Crime rates among black residents remained high and any attempt to create a stable black middle class that could keep the black 'dangerous classes' in line, if that were the intention, did not seem to materialise.

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The Town Council was still left with the prospect of having to use force to remove the black residents out of the Old Location and into the New Location.

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In order to explain the failure of the 'Model Location' policy, it should, firstly, be noted that the New Location was established for the express purpose of segregating blacks from whites and placing them far away from white residential areas under strict control of the municipality. The Old Location was closer to the town's white business and residential areas and for many of the location's residents, this proximity was important. Most of the residents were domestic servants or self-employed in some way and did not want to travel far to work in the town. There was no bus or train service to the New Location, only a dirt road.¹²⁶ Any public transport service would have been expensive, cutting into the meagre incomes of the residents.¹²⁷

Thus, The 'Model Location' may have appeared to be 'liberal' but it was not enlightened in the sense of the Cape liberal assimilationist ideology but essentially 'segregationist' and so harmful to the interests of African and coloured residents while benefiting white interest groups. The location's position was problematical and suggests that the white Town Councillors were completely out of touch with the black location residents.

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The Mayor of Krugersdorp agreed that the isolation of the New Location was a problem and admitted that the additional distances that black residents had to travel, dissuaded many of the residents in the Old Location from moving. The Mayor expressed frustration over the difficulty that the Town Council had experienced in obtaining land in more favourable positions but whose owners were reluctant to sell these tracts to the Town Council. The Mayor admitted that,

... there was little doubt that the additional distance to be traversed is somewhat of a drawback and yet it is not possible to select land for this purpose any nearer to an established Township.¹²⁸

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¹²⁶ *Mayor's Minute*, 1911–2, 'Mayor's Report', p. 23.

¹²⁷ For more on the effects of distance on black working-class struggles see A. Stadler, 'A Long Way to Walk: Bus Boycotts in Alexandra, 1940–45' in P. Bonner (ed.), *Working Papers in Southern African Studies*, vol. 2, Ravan, Johannesburg, 1981.

High transport costs particularly affected black women who made up slightly less than half of the black residents in the location¹²⁹ and who worked for local whites as domestic servants and 'washerwomen' for meagre incomes. Black women also needed to be close to the large numbers of 'houseboys' that lived in the backyards of white homes in the town because these men were important customers for their illicitly brewed wares and also provided a market for female hawkers and prostitutes.¹³⁰

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Black women who earned a living from providing these services, also needed to live close to the town with its mineral water factories, foundries, shops and eating houses, where blacks and whites tended to congregate in large numbers. Many black women also took in the washing of single white men,¹³¹ and if they had to incur additional costs by paying for bus fares, then they would not be able to compete with the West Rand Steam Laundry, established in the town in 1905.¹³²

Efforts to close the Old Location began in the same year and it seems reasonable to surmise a connection between these events especially since a number of Councillors held shares in the local steam laundry.¹³³ Black women needed regular and cheap access to white residents at a low transport prices and moving to the New Location would mean that their economic survival would be at risk. Not surprisingly, few black women moved into the 'Model Location'.

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Another important factor that kept the Old Location residents away from the New Location was the high cost of erecting a house in the New Location. In keeping with what seem to be Garden City principles of the aesthetically pleasing environment, the

¹²⁸ *Mayor's Minute*, 1911–2, p. 23. See also *Mayor's Minute*, 1913–4, 'Mayor's Report', p. 9.

¹²⁹ *Mayor's Minute*, 1912–3, p. 114. There were 444 females and 494 males in the Old Location by 1912.

¹³⁰ See K. Eales, 'Gender Politics and the Administration of African Women in Johannesburg, 1903–1939', MA dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 1991, p. 32.

¹³¹ Van Onselen, *New Nineveh*, p. 12. About 59% of all white miners were still single by 1912.

¹³² *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 24 February 1906, untitled.

¹³³ *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 13 May 1922, 'Local and General'. The directors included Tanner owner of 'Harper and Tanner' men's outfitters, Richardson, hotel proprietor and Town Councillor, and Stammers, editor of *The Standard, Krugersdorp*.

Deleted: MA dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 1991, p. 32. Eales points out that black women had ¶ enormous difficulties obtaining employment except in the service sector that was deemed 'feminine'.

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Town Council passed a building by-law that prohibited building with 'old iron'.¹³⁴ This presumably meant rusty corrugated iron sheets, the cheapest and most abundant material available.

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Two designs for wood-and-iron houses were put forward by the Town Engineer. The first was a two-roomed house costing forty-two pounds and the second was a three-roomed house costing fifty-eight pounds.¹³⁵ Domestic servants were paid only three pounds a month¹³⁶ and studies made of black incomes during this time show that few families earned more than five pounds a month.¹³⁷ The Town Council realised this and one Councillor pointed out that this was,

... a rather high price to call upon a certain class of people [to pay] who are not well vested with money.¹³⁸

The designs were sent back for revision but the new designs remained so expensive that the Town Council abandoned their initial plan that involved the Council building the houses and then renting them to African tenants, in favour of a scheme where the stands would be leased to tenants who could then erect their own houses.¹³⁹ The residents of the New Location would simply pay rent to the Town Council and had no such land rights, leasehold or freehold. The Town Council did not change their buildings by-laws and this made these houses too expensive for prospective black residents to build. As a result, the Town Council had to report, shortly after opening the location, that although they were,

...desirous of transferring the natives from the Old Location to the New Location ... as rapidly as possible... with few exceptions [the black residents]] show no desire to remove from their present residences.¹⁴⁰

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¹³⁴ *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 18 February 1911, untitled.

¹³⁵ *ibid.*

¹³⁶ Van Onselen, *New Nineveh*, p. 20.

¹³⁷ P. Bonner, 'The Transvaal Native Congress, 1917–20, the Radicalisation of the Black Petty Bourgeoisie

on the Rand', in Marks, and Rathbone (eds.), *Industrialisation*, p. 273, Table 1.

¹³⁸ *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 18th February 1911, untitled.

¹³⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁴⁰ *Mayor's Minute*, 1912, CSI, p. 98.

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Another factor that can explain why Africans stayed away from the New Location was the authoritarian manner in which the location was administered. The New Location was, after all, designed as a segregated residential area for blacks and its grid-like structure was meant to facilitate effective policing. This made the location unattractive to Old Location residents who relished the more informal and sprawling spaces of the more crowded and friendly Old Location. Furthermore the freshly built houses with 'aligned frontages' and grid-like streets, would probably make it harder for black residents to escape surveillance from police. Old Location residents had also developed a sophisticated knowledge of the nooks and crannies of their overcrowded living spaces that made surveillance less effective.

Crucial to the success of the Town Council's policy of tight control over the locations was the appointment of an official, paid by the Town Council, called the Location Superintendent, who was, in turn, supported by the black municipal policemen known as 'Police Boys'.¹⁴¹ One of the first such superintendents appointed by the Town Council was Mr Sharry, whose jurisdiction covered both the Old and New Locations. He was an enthusiastic supporter of strict control and he would accompany Government police on liquor and pass raids.¹⁴²

The Location Superintendent could expel any stand holder if he or she became 'undesirable' which usually meant someone who committed a criminal offence, although the Location Superintendent had the power to define anyone as 'undesirable' if they crossed him in any way.¹⁴³ While Sharry made residents miserable in both locations, there was no incentive for the Old Location residents to leave for the New Location.

Rather the old family and neighbourhood networks that had been built up in the Old Location probably made the new authoritarianism more bearable for Old Location residents who would then be reluctant to leave for the New Location where such a

¹⁴¹ *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 15 July 1911, untitled. See also *Mayor's Minute*, 1912-3, 'Mayor's Report', p. 26.

¹⁴² CAD, TPB 550, 1917 Locations Committee of Inquiry, evidence of Sergeant Nicholas, p. 9.

¹⁴³ *ibid.*, evidence of Simon Kekan, p. 25. For more on the Location Superintendent as a powerful figure of white authority see H. Sapire, 'African Urbanisation and Struggles against Municipal Control in Brakpan, 1920-1958', PhD thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1990.

¹⁴⁴ *Mayor's Minute*, CSI, p. 75.

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social safety net did not exist.

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Another factor that discouraged black residents from moving to the New Location was the policy of the Location Superintendent ~~of~~ evicting those residents who failed to pay municipal charges, including stand rent and sanitary fees.¹⁴⁴ Regardless of their personal circumstances, whether rendered unemployed, sick or too old to work, blacks were unceremoniously removed from the New Location when they owed rent. The Town Council would often buy up such houses and rent them out together with the stands, making substantial profits in the process.¹⁴⁵ The same policy applied to the Old Location,¹⁴⁶ but given the much higher cost of these houses in ~~the~~ 'Model Location', this policy must have been a major disincentive for black residents to move to the New Location.

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The Location Superintendent also ensured that the location by-laws concerning building, the disposal of rubbish and many other minor matters, were strictly adhered to. Contraventions of these by-laws was punished by a maximum fine of ten pounds or three months' hard labour.¹⁴⁷ Criminal statistics mentioned earlier, demonstrate that a large percentage of convictions arose from these technical violations, adding to the hardships already experienced by blacks in Krugersdorp. Enforcement of such petty location regulations would have undermined the 'attractive' aspects of the New Location and attempts to co-opt the black middle class as allies. If anything, such aesthetically related regulations around rubbish disposal would have been more likely to have applied in the New Location in conformity with what appears to be the 'Garden City' principles of a pleasant living space. This acted as a further disincentive for Old Location residents, dissuading them from moving to the New Location.

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Deleted: ¹⁴⁵ *ibid.*, 1912–3, CSI, p. 164. The Council made a profit of 136 pounds in 1913.

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This refusal of black residents to move to the New Location may be seen as part of a general strategy of resistance against the increasingly authoritarian policy of the Krugersdorp Town Council. Rather than give in and build another location closer by or

¹⁴⁵ *ibid.*, 1912–3, CSI, p. 164. The Council made a profit in this way of 136 pounds in 1913.

¹⁴⁶ See, for example, *Mayor's Minute*, 1905–6, 'Report of the Mayor', p. 13.

¹⁴⁷ KPL, 'Munsieville' File, Location By-Laws, 1912, no. 59, p. 11.

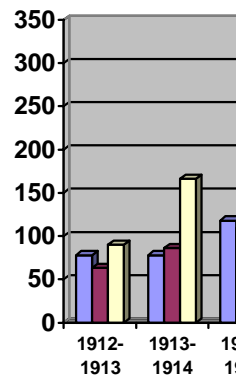
expand the existing Old Location, the Town Council dug in its heels and the result was a stalemate. This meant that the Old Location became increasingly overcrowded, its population growing from 1 280 in 1910¹⁴⁸ to 1 541 in 1913¹⁴⁹ without any additional houses or space being acquired. Even under this extraordinary pressure, the New Location had a population of just 231 residents by 1913, living on 51 stands¹⁵⁰ with little increase thereafter. By 1914, the New Location had only three shops, indicating the limited presence of the African elite, while the Old Location retained fifteen shops.¹⁵¹

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In the face of the clear failure of their 'Model Location' policy to attract specifically the black elite and to ease the overcrowding of the Old Location, the Town Council adopted an increasingly authoritarian stance. For instance it prohibited Africans from making any improvements to their houses in the Old Location. Black residents were not allowed to make even basic and urgent repairs to their houses. Residents could not mend leaky roofs or even replace broken windows.¹⁵² The Town Council was clearly determined to drive black residents out of the Old Location by making conditions there increasingly unpleasant.

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Graph Three: Population of the New Location, Krugersdorp, 1912–3 to 1916–7.¶



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Source: Krugersdorp Municipal Library, *Mayor's Minute*, 1912–13, 1914–15 and 1916–17, various pages.¶

How far the Councillors were prepared to go is illustrated by a proposal to extend the water mains to the Old Location residents who obtained most of their water from the local *spruit*¹⁵³ and a few shallow wells that were 'considerably contaminated'.¹⁵⁴ A number of councillors flatly opposed the plan and it took a Mine Manager on the Town Council to bring them back to their senses, by rebuking these councillors by saying that '... while he was in favour of closing the old location down... he was not in favour of killing the natives off by refusing them a proper water supply'.¹⁵⁵

This cruel treatment of the Old Location residents heralded a return to the harsher, 'repressive' brand of segregationism that dominated the Town Council prior to Union. In

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¹⁴⁸ *Mayor's Minute*, CSI, p. 93.

¹⁴⁹ *ibid.*, 1912–3, CSI, p. 114.

¹⁵⁰ *ibid.*

¹⁵¹ *ibid.*, 1913–4, CSI, p. 105.

¹⁵² *ibid.*, 1912–3, 'Mayor's Report', p. 25.

¹⁵³ *ibid.*, 1907–8, 'CSI's Report', p. 75.

¹⁵⁴ *ibid.*, 1908–9, 'Mayor's Report', p. 85.

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many ways the Town Council's approach grew more vicious than ever before and it seemed determined to create another kind of 'Model Location' that can be seen as the epitome of repression, that is, the 'ghetto'. This ideology resulted in the laying out of the Randfontein Location in 1914 in probably one of the harshest places on the Rand. This shift of policy that took place between 1912 and 1914, was just as rapid as the adoption of liberal segregation over the period 1910–12, and needs to be investigated further.

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The Rise of 'Repressive Segregationism' and the 'ghetto complex'

The Randfontein location was fenced in with barbed wire and was closely supervised by location 'police' who guarded the only entrance point.¹⁵⁶ It was built on proclaimed land so that no trading licences could be given to those Africans wealthy enough to pay for these.¹⁵⁷ There had, apparently, been a complete reversal in municipal segregation policy that had swung around from 'liberalism' to 'repression' in the space of just two years.

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In exploring the reasons for this change in policy it should be stressed that individuals in the fifteen-person Town Council, apart from the mine managers, were not strongly wedded to 'liberal segregationism', and probably constituted a bare majority in the Council. Thus, a 'change' in policy may have required little more than one or two Councillors to shift their thinking in a more conservative direction. Both the 'liberal' and 'repressive' versions of this ideology required physical segregation for the majority of blacks and they differed only in the way these ideologies dealt with a small African elite. The 'liberal' policy offered exemptions and concessions to this elite while the 'repressive' policy denied these. Thus, a 'change' in policy was not as dramatic as it might, at first, appear.

A number of professionals and members of the white commercial elite, hovered on the

¹⁵⁵ *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 29 February 1914, untitled.

¹⁵⁶ CAD, TPB 550, 1917 Locations Inquiry, evidence of Sergeant Nicholas, p. 9.

¹⁵⁷ *ibid.*, evidence of N. Gabashane, pp. 30–1.

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knife edge between the two approaches and it would not take much to tip them one way or another. This ambiguity is clear in the local newspaper owned by members of the local commercial elite that would, at times, carry articles that appeared to support a 'liberal segregationism', while elsewhere the same newspaper clearly expressed 'repressive' sentiments. Rather than dismissing these frequent contradictions as careless journalism or as confused editorial policy, it seems more reasonable to explain these contradictory views as a reflection of the divisions within the white commercial elite over these two approaches to segregation. While it would not require much to shift Councillors' thinking towards a harsh version of 'repressive segregationism', this shift still needs to be explained.

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Deleted: and the contradictory impulses that existed in the minds of even individual members of the white middle class.

One possible explanation for the decline of liberal segregationism was the loss of influence of the mine managers and directors on the Town Council who went into political decline after 1912, as the white miners in the Mines Ward became increasingly disenchanted with them. The miners began to vote for an alternative in the form of the Labour Party that had begun to make inroads into the Town Councils on the Rand (see [Chapter Eight](#)).¹⁵⁸

These working-class candidates were openly racist and intolerant of any concessions to blacks, especially to educated, skilled blacks who threatened their privileged positions as a 'labour aristocracy'. The introduction of the Proportional Representation system in 1914 increased the number of working class representatives, particularly Labour Party candidates, that were elected onto the Krugersdorp Town Council. This shift in the composition of the Town Council may have been sufficient to tilt municipal policy towards 'repressive segregationism' by 1914.

It also seems likely that the extension of municipal voting rights to white women in 1914 could also have been responsible for this shift in municipal policy (see Chapter Seven). During the period immediately before and after the advent of Union, there had been an apparent increase in the number of sexual attacks by black men on white women that

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¹⁵⁸ See E.N. Katz, 'The Origins and Early Development of Trade Unionism in the Transvaal, 1902-3', MA thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1978.

¹⁵⁹ [The Standard, Krugersdorp, 30 October 1915, untitled.](#)

produced an atmosphere of racist hysteria which contemporaries referred to as the 'Black Peril'. Both men and women fell victim to this hysteria and it seems likely that some Councillors were driven to supporting 'repressive segregationism' as a result.

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The extension of the municipal franchise to white females meant that harsher measures against black location residents were demanded by this large new group of voters and that political survival dictated that Councillors fall into line and support 'repressive' segregation as well. When white women candidates began campaigning in the 1915 municipal elections and called for, amongst other demands, the fencing off and lighting of the locations, the incumbent male Councillors had no choice but to abandon any 'liberal' sentiments they may have had and to adopt a harsher approach to black location residents.¹⁵⁹

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Most significant of all, and closely linked to the points made above, the Rand was slipping into recession in 1913 and 1914, and two well-known local mines, the York and the Lancaster, closed during this period. White shopkeepers, doctors and lawyers who were willing to offer concessions to educated Africans in the boom, were inclined to look to their declining incomes in the emerging recession. They began to consider the extent to which these educated Africans might supplant them in commerce and various professions in the future and the result was a shift towards 'repressive segregationism'.

A final factor that would have prompted a shift towards this harsh approach towards black residents was their apparently irrational migration, in large numbers, to the Randfontein Location. This will be considered in detail in the next section.

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The Influx of Black Residents into the Randfontein Location, 1914–1917

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The Town Council had abandoned its apparent garden city principles when it began building a location at Randfontein in 1914. It constructed, instead, a fenced-in, patrolled 'ghetto', situated in an unattractive, isolated area far from Krugersdorp. Yet – and this seems most unexpected – some of the residents of the Old Location began to move to the Randfontein Location in large numbers while avoiding the New Location at all costs.

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The Town Councillors must have been surprised initially by these actions by black residents and this would have destroyed any lingering sentimental attachment to the 'Garden City' principles of environmentalism. Indeed, the white Town Councillors may have concluded that African residents were irrational and that these principles could therefore not be applied.

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But why did black residents behave in this way? What was attractive about the Randfontein Location and what was so unappealing about the New Location? Were African residents really 'irrational' in their behaviour, and what effects did their movements have on municipal policy concerning black residents? This section will attempt to answer these questions as well as to explore how black residents adapted to life in the Randfontein Location in ways that eventually threatened municipal control over black residents living there.

Instead of discussing the colour of roofs, the Town Council now spent part of a meeting debating the merits of barbed wire fencing compared to corrugated iron fencing for the perimeter of the location, as a means of containing the residents,¹⁶⁰ apparently the only location on the Rand to be fenced in this way. As was mentioned earlier, barbed wire became the barrier of choice and the location was suitably fenced with only one entrance that opened in the direction of the village.¹⁶¹ Rather than planting 'innumerable trees' to prettify the location and attract the black elite, the Town Council decided to plant a row of trees between the location and the village to 'screen the location' from the view of the white residents,¹⁶² in conformity with the classic 'apartheid city'.

The site finally used for the Randfontein Location was, however, only 500 yards from the white Randfontein Village. The position of the location so close to a white residential area needs to be explained given that a repressive brand of 'segregationism' would

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¹⁶⁰ *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 30 January 1915, untitled. Barbed wire was much cheaper than galvanised iron.

¹⁶¹ *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 26 December 1914, untitled. It was remarked that the position of the entrance should face the village as this 'would serve the interests of the ratepayers of Randfontein best'.

¹⁶² *Mayor's Minute*, 1913-4, CSI, p. 104.

propose the isolation of black residents to an unattractive site far from white residential areas. As will be seen below, this decision had nothing to do with philanthropy or a concern by white residents that their servants should not be too far away should the need for their services arise at inopportune times. The explanation lies rather in the contradictory interests within local mining capitalism that drove it to demand closely supervised locations yet led it also to refuse to sell the Town Council suitable land on which locations could be built.

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As was pointed out earlier, most of the land around Krugersdorp was mine-owned land. While the Old and New Locations were established on municipal or government-owned land, there was no such land in proximity to the various mines near the Randfontein Village. The Randfontein Estates and G.M. Co. Ltd. and the West Rand Consolidated G.M. Co. Ltd. mines owned most of the land in the vicinity and the Town Council had to negotiate with the mine managers and mine owners of these mining companies to obtain land for a location.

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It took the Krugersdorp Town Council a year to persuade the latter mining company to provide it with some land, despite the benefits that the mine stood to gain from such a location. The mine management then changed its mind as it felt that '...the ground in question may possibly be used for mining purposes...' ¹⁶³ The difficulties that the Town Council experienced forced them to complain to the Provincial Secretary in 1914 that,

... the only reason the [Randfontein] location has not been established long ere this was the difficulty experienced in obtaining land, as practically all the suitable land in the neighbourhood is sited on proclaimed land and the objections have lodged in the past to the Council obtaining a surface right to the alleged interference in mining operations. ¹⁶⁴

The Town Council then decided to use land that it had bought from the Randfontein Estates mine for a rubbish tip as the site for the Randfontein Location — which was certainly in keeping with 'repressive segregationist' principles — because a 'Native

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¹⁶³ *ibid.*, 1908—9, 'Mayor's Report', p.10. See also CSI, p. 95 and *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 19 June 1909, untitled.

¹⁶⁴ CAD, TPB 550, 2/1439, Town Clerk, Krugersdorp to Provincial Secretary, 14 April 1914.

Location [was] more urgently required'.¹⁶⁵ The reasons for this urgency are not all that clear but it may be significant that the Labour Party was making inroads into the Randfontein and Mines Wards at this time and that the Randfontein residents were complaining about a 'rookery' of poorly built houses 'behind' the village housing Indians, Coloureds and Africans (see Chapter Eight).¹⁶⁶ The 'Independents' may have felt that any further delays would have lost them at least another Council seat from the Randfontein Ward.

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The Town Council was frustrated at the obstacles placed in its way, however. Just four months after agreeing to the depositing site as the most suitable site for the Randfontein Location, the Randfontein Estate's management announced that it needed the site for a large explosives magazine, in order to comply with a newly passed Provincial Ordinance.¹⁶⁷ This forced the Town Council to start afresh the lengthy and tiresome process of finding a new site for the planned location.

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When the Town Council finally looked like they might be able to use a site 500 yards from the Randfontein village to build a location, it, understandably, was no longer all that concerned about the proximity of the site to the white residential areas. In 1914, the Town Council snapped up the site and pressed hard to have it legally transferred to them even though the site's proximity to white residents did not quite mesh with segregationist ideology dominant in the Town Council at the time. Pragmatism seems to have superseded ideology in policy-making process, in this case.

The Town Council's problems were still not over, however, and in some senses their difficulties really only began once they had secured the new site and built the new location. Firstly, the Councillors were caught unawares when a section of the white residents objected to 'the removal of the natives' from the Randfontein Village. These 'natives', presumably lived in backrooms and in the backyards of shops. Councillors expressed their bitter disappointment at this protest '...after all they had done to assist

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¹⁶⁵ CAD, TPB 550, 2/1439, Town Clerk to Public Health Committee, 8 March 1909.

¹⁶⁶ *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 12 August 1905, untitled. See also *Mayor's Minute*, 1912-3, 'Mayor's Report', p. 26.

¹⁶⁷ *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 27 December 1913, untitled.

the Ratepayers in this District....¹⁶⁸

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Unfortunately it is not clear why these whites objected to the removal of black residents but it seems likely that they enjoyed the convenience of having their servants and shop assistants near at hand. It is also not entirely implausible that some of these residents charged rent to these black residents and would lose revenue should they leave. All the records say is that the Town Council threatened to use the police to secure '... a complete exodus... at an early date',¹⁶⁹ a threat that, remarkably enough, may have been aimed at the white Village residents as much as the black residents themselves.

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The Randfontein Location was starting to fill up in contrast to the New Location and the Town Council must have been initially content with the progress of the 'ghetto complex' on this score. On closer inspection, however, a local official discovered that a significant number of black people were taking up stands in the location were not from Randfontein Village nor from the local mines, but came instead from the Old Location. The cramped conditions and the prohibition against making repairs to their houses had succeeded in driving out some of the Old Location residents but they did not go to the New Location as expected but to the distant Randfontein Location.

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One possible reason for this was, as pointed earlier, the proximity of the Randfontein location to the Randfontein Railway Station which offered a cheap, regular and efficient means of transport that linked this location to white areas.¹⁷⁰ The location was also close to white residential and business areas of the rapidly-growing Randfontein Village and so was more desirable for those who made a living from the provision of services to white residents. It may have been the case that members of the black elite who went to the location were not aware that they could not take out trading licences since the location was built on proclaimed land. Certainly members of the black elite later objected strenuously to this aspect when presenting evidence to a Commission of

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¹⁶⁸ *Mayor's Minute*, CSI, 1913-4, p. 105.

¹⁶⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ *ibid.*, CSI, 1912-3, p. 105.

¹⁷¹ CAD, TPB 550 1917 Locations Inquiry Committee, evidence of N. Gābāshānē, p. 30.

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Inquiry held in 1917.¹⁷¹

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It, nonetheless, surprised the Town Council that Old Location residents moved to what was supposed to be a model of repression while refusing to move to the New Location which was supposed to be a model of attractive, pleasant living conditions for black people. This development reveals, if nothing else, how wrong the Council's white 'experts' could be when it came to assessing what the local black population wanted and what served to attract or repel black location residents. It also demonstrates how utterly out of touch these white Councillors were and how segregation could lead to serious misunderstanding between the white and black elites.

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The frustrations that the Krugersdorp Council experienced make it clear that while the Town Council could formulate policy and so meet the interests of a wide number of influential groups, it could not fine-tune such policy to achieve predictable results. The actions of the Old Location residents demonstrates that despite their lack of municipal representation and political or economic clout, they could act in ways that could seriously frustrate municipal policy and force the Town Council to alter its plans.

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A Milder Form of 'Repressive Segregationism', 1917–1922

During the years that followed the foundation of the Randfontein Location, the Krugersdorp Town Council persisted in its policy of 'authoritarianism' by placing the residents of the Old Location under steadily increasing pressure to move while simultaneously ignoring the demands of the residents of the Randfontein Location for trading rights. Growing neglect of all three locations created squalor while, simultaneously, war-induced inflation and unemployment drove many of the location residents to desperation. Black location residents resisted the Town Council's 'repressive segregationism' in every way that they could, and the period during the First World War was characterised by a noticeable increase in hostility and tension between the Town Council and the black location residents.

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~~This is evident w~~hen the West Rand ~~Consolidated G.M. Co. Ltd.~~ closed down in 1916 ~~and most~~ of the residents of the mine married quarters ~~relocated~~ to the overcrowded Old Location which was earmarked for removal, ~~suddenly~~ boosting its population by 525 people. The New Location by contrast grew by a relatively paltry ~~sixty~~ residents.¹⁷² In that same year, the Town Council experienced legal problems as ~~some~~ of its by-laws were declared invalid. The effect was temporarily to nullify the Town Council's segregation policy leading to the New Location being 'partially emptied' as Africans 'scattered' throughout the town in a glorious if short-lived celebration of their 'victory' over segregation.¹⁷³ Black ~~people~~ clearly rejected segregation and any attempts to win over the elite or any other part of the black residents in war-devastated economic times of the mid-teens would probably have had little success in Krugersdorp.

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The 'liberal' policy attempted in patches since the turn of the century and culminating in the 'Model Location' of 1912 was clearly defunct by 1914. It had been replaced by a 'repressive' policy that barely tolerated the presence of blacks in white towns and which grew harsher by the year. In response to this, the African elite linked up with the poor in the locations and helped them to resist municipal policy and to stand up for basic rights. When the government set up a Committee to investigate municipal control over the Randfontein location in 1917, the location residents, who were mostly women, elected the most articulate and wealthy of the residents to represent their grievances to the Committee. These were black middle-class men, precisely the 'allies' sought by 'liberal segregationists'.¹⁷⁴

Members of the elite spoke out strongly against the strict by-laws that led to a shortage of vegetables in the location because only a single hawker was allowed to visit the location once a week.¹⁷⁵ They objected also to the black 'police boys' searching the

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¹⁷² ~~Mayor's Minute~~, 'Report of the Krugersdorp Location Superintendent', 1915–6, p. 110.

¹⁷³ ~~Mayor's Minute~~, 1914–5, CSI, p. 100.

¹⁷⁴ CAD, TPB 550, 1917 Locations Inquiry Committee, evidence of N. Gabashane, p. 30. Gabashane, speaking on behalf of those Africans who offered evidence to the Committee pointed out that 'some of the women were afraid to come and give evidence...They were afraid they would be chased out of the location by the Superintendent...They chose us to represent them.'

¹⁷⁵ ~~ibid.~~, evidence of Johannes Malepa, p. 33.

¹⁷⁶ CAD, GNLB 59, 1917–8, 'Re: Treatment of Natives on the Railways', letter from Inspector of Natives, Krugersdorp to Director of Native Labour, 14 July 1918.

black women at the gates for bottles of liquor hidden under petticoats, and complained that supervision was so strict that it was impossible to brew sorghum beer.¹⁷⁶ This public association of the African elite with shebeen owners was a clear indication of their identification 'downwards' with the working class rather than 'upwards' with the white petty bourgeoisie as the 'liberal segregationist' policy intended before it had been abandoned by the Krugersdorp Town Council. The new repressive segregationist approach backfired on the Town Council as black access to liquor increased and the black elite politicised the location residents to protest against location by-laws.

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War-induced inflation meant that even the relatively wealthy African elite struggled to feed and clothe itself and became increasingly politicised. For example, in 1918 a series of letters were sent by articulate members of the black elite such as Stephen Sikosana, an interpreter, complaining about mistreatment by white staff¹⁷⁷ at the Krugersdorp railway station. By 1919 Krugersdorp's black elite and working class also took part in the Anti-Pass protests that spread across the Rand.¹⁷⁸ Members of the Town Council, however, grimly persisted with the 'ghetto complex' and 'repressive segregationism' in the face of these protests.

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The 1920 black mineworkers' strike then convulsed the towns of the Rand. It began in the East Rand and then spread as far as Randfontein where mineworkers came out for the longest period on any mine.¹⁷⁹ The Smuts government and the Chamber of Commerce responded by favouring a range of policies that Dubow described as a 'liberal segregationist' solution. These initiatives included the Joint Councils system, the Pathfinders Association, the Gamma Sigma Debating Clubs and the launch of the

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¹⁷⁷ *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 22 March 1919, 'Night Passes'.

¹⁷⁸ P. Bonner, 'The 1920 Black Mineworkers' Strike', History Workshop Paper, University of the Witwatersrand, 1978, pp. 1–3.

¹⁷⁹ Koch, 'Without Visible Means', pp. 20–1.

¹⁸⁰ *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 1 September, 1917, 'Municipal Council'.

¹⁸¹ *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 30 June 1917, untitled.

¹⁸² *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 4 October, 1919, untitled.

¹⁸³ *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 21 August 1920, untitled.

¹⁸⁴ CAD, GNLB 59, Re: Treatment of Natives of Railways, letter from Inspector, Krugersdorp to Director of Native Labour, 9 August 1920.

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Umteteli Wa Bantu newspaper.¹⁸⁰

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The strike does seem to have finally persuaded the Town Council to abandon its 'repressive segregationism' as liberal elements in Krugersdorp's Town Council re-emerged and began to reach out again to the black elite in an effort to build up a 'buffer class'. There were earlier indications of liberal influence in 1917, 1919 and early 1920 in Krugersdorp as the Town Council permitted a private initiative to operate a 'bioscope for natives'¹⁸¹ and there were calls by the Randfontein Ratepayers Association to have electric lights placed in the Randfontein location.¹⁸² A decision was also made to plant more trees between the 'new native location' and the depositing site.¹⁸³ A number of improvements were made to the Krugersdorp railway station e.g. each platform was provided with a shelter and benches 'for the exclusive use of Natives'.¹⁸⁴ While the lights in Randfontein were justified as a means to improve control there and the trees were planted near the new location for commercial purposes, it is plausible to detect a pattern of growing amelioration of the harshest features of the 'ghetto complex'. It was against this background that the Lewisham Location was established in 1920.¹⁸⁵

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In 1920, the Krugersdorp Town Council also granted permission for a mobile bioscope to be shown in a canvas tent around several of the local mines.¹⁸⁴

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Very little material is available on this location but it seemed to have been sited relatively close to the white suburb of Lewisham and close to surrounding mines.¹⁸⁶ The location was not fenced and there seems to have been no attempt to isolate and subject its residents to the degrees of surveillance suggested for the Randfontein Location. The Lewisham location's site was not ideal as it required some drainage and

¹⁸⁵ CAD, MKR 28, File I2, 'Town Clerk, Krugersdorp, to the Provincial Secretary', 24 October 1918, and letter Provincial Secretary to Town Clerk, Krugersdorp, 12 April 1920. See also *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 1 May 1920, 'Local and General'.

¹⁸⁶ *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 1 May 1920, 'Local and General'.

¹⁸⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁸⁸ See CAD, MKR 28 File I2, letter from District Surgeon, Krugersdorp to Resident Magistrate, Krugersdorp, 25 August 1919.

the District Surgeon recommended that the main water supply be extended to black residents who would live there.¹⁸⁷

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At the same time, there seems to have been no attempt to make the location especially attractive. There were no proposals to paint the roofs red or the walls 'stone colour' as was the case for the New Location. Nor were there any proposals to plant 'innumerable trees' or in any way to make the location aesthetically attractive. The location seems to have been a compromise between the 'repressive' and 'liberal' versions of segregationism, that is, between the 'model location' approach and the 'ghetto complex'.

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This compromise was replicated in the municipality's approach towards the Old Location in 1921 where, due to its financial difficulties, the Town Council decided not to remove the location. While this can be explained away as a purely financial decision, the Council's Health Committee also recommended that the 'present stand holders be allowed to alter, improve or enlarge their buildings'.¹⁸⁸ Even more remarkable was a proposal to build a municipal wash house, together with an ironing room near the Old Location, at a cost of 700 pounds.¹⁸⁹ Again this can be explained in more prosaic terms as an initiative aimed at the 'benefit of the health of the town' as it would stop location residents from using nearby *spruits* to wash clothes. The washhouse would, however, also benefit the residents of the Old Location, particularly black women who washed clothes for a living. The West Rand Steam Laundry objected strenuously to the scheme as it feared it would lose its customers to the cheaper washer-women of the location.¹⁹⁰ Notwithstanding this apparently liberal measure, the Town Council still seemed anxious to hang on to aspects of repressive segregationism and simultaneously launched a crackdown on black women who did not have a valid

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¹⁸⁹ *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 14 October 1922, untitled.

¹⁹⁰ See, for example, *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 21 October 1922, 'The Laundry and the Council'.

¹⁹¹ *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 4 March 1922, 'Location Washing'.

¹⁹² *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 31 March 1923, untitled.

¹⁹³ *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 23 June 1923, 'A Model Municipality'.

¹⁹⁴ *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 24 December 1920, untitled.

municipal laundry licence.¹⁹¹

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In 1923, the Town Council turned its attention to the building of a 'Cape Coloured Location', south of the Krugersdorp and below the railway line.¹⁹² This would have placed the site in the heartland of Krugersdorp mining industry. This was a remarkable step and is indicative of a shift in policy towards a more liberal segregationism. However, upon closer inspection, the site was located 'in the vicinity of the old Lancaster hospital',¹⁹³ meaning that it was placed on derelict land and its position appears to be less desirable than it appeared initially. The comment that it was to be placed 'south of the Gaol'¹⁹⁴ suggests that elements of 'repressive segregationism' and concerns with control lingered. Yet again, the features of both repressive and liberal segregationism appear to have been blended together in the early 1920s.

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Accounting for a 'Milder' Version of 'Repressive Segregationism'

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Black municipal policy seems to have come nearly full circle from a 'mild' form of repressive segregationism in the form of the original location and the Old Location in 1897, to liberal segregationism in the case of the New Location in 1912, to a harsh form of repressive segregationism in the form of the Randfontein Location in 1914 and, finally, a reversion to a mild form of repressive segregation for the Lewisham Location in 1922.

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Why would the Town Council tone down its 'repressive segregationism' in the post-war period? There seem to be several plausible reasons for this. Firstly, there was not much difference between the 'harsh' and 'mild' versions of repressive segregationism – the only differences between the Randfontein and the Lewisham locations seems to be the absence of a fence and, with it, a regimen of tight, authoritarian control by 'police boys'. Thus, it did not require a substantial shift in municipal policy to account for the features

found in the Lewisham Location.

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Secondly, the 'Independent' Town Councillors appear to have staged something of a comeback during the First World War as the Labour candidates suffered setbacks due to the neutralism of the leftist 'war-on-war' faction in the Labour Party that antagonised large sections of the English-speaking white working class (see Chapter Eight).¹⁹⁵ The Labourites also performed relatively poorly in the Transvaal Provincial Council where it paralysed the body in a constitutional stalemate.¹⁹⁶ It arguably also lost support for its costly and inefficient adherence to municipal socialism.¹⁹⁷ The retreat of the strongly segregationist Labour Party would have allowed the Town Council more space to introduce a less ideologically-charged form of bounded space in the form of the Lewisham Location.

The Independents' hands may also have been strengthened by the failure of female municipal candidates to be elected onto the Krugersdorp Town Council. As pointed out earlier, women candidates had called for harsh measures against black residents in the town to head off the 'Black Peril' scare that had raged in the period 1912–4. White female activism reached its peak on the Witwatersrand but thereafter declined (see Chapter Seven) as more and more women got behind the 'War Effort' to support 'their boys' on the front. The male 'independent' Town Councillors thus saw off two sets of challengers, Labourites and nascent feminists, whose policies advocated strict control over black municipal residents. This allowed greater space for more tolerant municipal policies towards black residents.

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Furthermore, Krugersdorp had been hard hit by war-time inflation, a rapidly disintegrating local mining economy where many low-grade mines closed down in 1920–1, and a series of droughts, floods and other natural disasters. These developments had simply drained municipal coffers. A repressive 'ghetto' location that

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¹⁹⁵ *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 18 November 1916, 'Our Elections, Through Nationalist Eyes'.

¹⁹⁶ *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 16 June 1917, 'Mr. W.H. Robinson's Candidature'.

¹⁹⁷ *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 23 June 1917, 'Elections Results'. See also *The Standard, Krugersdorp* 29 December 1917, 'Central Power Station' and *The Standard, Krugersdorp* 12 May 1917 'Relief Works'.

was fenced and guarded by 'police boys' was expensive, so sheer pragmatism may have also been behind an apparent ideological retreat in municipal policy.

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Furthermore, the experiences at the Randfontein Location had indicated that even such draconian control failed to prevent the brewing and smuggling of illicit liquor to such an extent that the Krugersdorp Town Council was humiliated in press reports for its alleged failure to impose effective controls over this location. The Town Councillors were likely to have reasoned that additional expenditure did not lead to an actual increase in municipal control and that it was not worth the trouble and expense. Thus, the reason for the failure of the 'harsh' version of 'repressive segregationism' and the adoption of a 'milder' form in the case of the Lewisham Location may well be as prosaic an explanation as simply that the Town Council could not be bothered to go to any additional trouble and nor could it afford any additional expense.

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Conclusion

Liberal analyses of South African urban 'Native' policy in the early decades of this century have tended to view the 'segregationist' features of this policy as the product of irrational racism that ran counter to the logic of 'colour blind' capitalism. Revisionist writers approached this class/race problematic from a different angle, declaring that capitalism benefited from racist policies, particularly mining capitalism. More complex and sensitive studies have followed in the 1980s and 1990s with the publication of Saul Dubow's thesis in a variety of articles and books that have applied his ideas around an evolving and complex segregationist ideology in sensitive and detailed studies of how locations were established and administered.

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This Chapter has used Dubow's concept of 'segregationism', divided into 'repressive' and 'liberal' strands, to account for otherwise enigmatic changes in municipal policy directed at Krugersdorp's location residents, but has added finer gradations of 'mildness' and 'harshness' to these categories. It has been contended that Krugersdorp Town Council adopted different 'strands' of this ideology for each of its successive locations, built from 1912 to 1920 by looking carefully at what happened in each case.

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The rapidity of these changes have been linked to changing economic conditions, in the best traditions of revisionist writing, without reducing policy to a mere register of economic forces. At the same time ideological and local factors have been carefully considered when explaining these changes.

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Also relevant to this Chapter's account of these policy changes is the changing composition of the Town Council as mine managers were replaced by working-class candidates and then the 'independent' middle-class Town Councillors emerged once more to the fore in the post-World War One period. These changes, together with the extension of the municipal franchise to women, had an important impact on policy as well. In this way, this Chapter has taken a leaf out of the 'liberal' analysis, that political developments can influence policy-making in a way that sets up the political as an 'independent' factor in historical causality.

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In the course of analysing segregation policy in Krugersdorp, this Chapter has also disaggregated 'whites' and 'blacks' into more meaningful sub-categories while retaining the broad categorisation along racial lines that remained important in shaping that policy. Whites have been subdivided into a white commercial and professional business group who controlled the Town Council, the white mine managers and directors who composed an influential minority both inside and outside the Town Council and white workers who wielded considerable influence as municipal voters and, after 1912, as municipal candidates. White female candidates, it is argued here, had a key role to play in ushering in 'repressive segregation', thus demonstrating the salience of gender.

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Finally, regionalism was also an important factor as regionally-defined white groups like the residents of Randfontein Village, also played a role in shaping segregation policy.

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Distinctions have also been made here between Africans and Coloureds and between an educated black petty bourgeoisie and the black working class who made up the bulk of the location, the mine compounds and 'unauthorised locations', together with a *lumpenproletarian* criminal element. This Chapter has also noted the crucial role played by black women in shaping municipal policy concerning segregation, in certain important ways, again demonstrating the relevance of gender. By disaggregating

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Krugersdorp's black and white residents in this way – in the best traditions of the Marxist Humanist approach – a more sensitive and accurate account of changes in municipal policy was obtained than could have been achieved through the relatively blunt techniques of either liberal or revisionist analysis.

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Finally, this Chapter has explored how ideas emanating from the metropole, such as the 'Garden City' movement and environmentalism may have influenced local municipal policy concerning black urban residential segregation many thousands of kilometres away in a small mining town on the western periphery of the Rand. There is a tendency to see the Rand's towns as isolated from one another and from the wider world at large.

Recent studies by Hyslop¹⁹⁸ had made it clear how mistaken this viewpoint is.

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Expatriate British officials and the English-speaking merchants, mine managers and professionals who made up the Town Council were likely to be quite familiar with

Howard's 'Garden City' and the 'environmentalism' movement and this may have influenced the adoption of the 'Model Location' during the period 1912-1914.

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In all these ways, new approaches to the urban past have been proposed that are needed to fully understand otherwise puzzling changes that occurred in Krugersdorp's built environment between 1887 and 1923. Rather than privilege economic over ideological factors, or the role of black pressure groups over white interest groups, this Chapter has demonstrated that it is possible to reconstruct a complex model of intersecting and competing forces and interest groups that react to one another and to specific local conditions to produce a dynamic, evolving picture of the making of Krugersdorp, particularly of its 'white' and 'black' spaces.

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¹⁹⁸ J. Hyslop, *The Notorious Syndicalist: JT Bain – A Scottish Rebel in Colonial South Africa*, Jacana, Johannesburg, 2004.

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¹ See A.J. Christopher, 'Race and Residence in Colonial Port Elizabeth', *South African Geographical Journal*, 69, 1, 1987, pp. 1–20.

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³⁸ *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 29 July 1905, untitled.
³⁹ *Mayor's Minute*, 1906–7, MOH, p. 42.
⁴⁰ *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 28 January, 1911, 'The Mayor's Minute'.
⁴¹ *Mayor's Minute*, 1907–8, Report of the Chief Sanitary Inspector (CSI), p. 75.
⁴² *ibid.*, 1908–9, CSI, p. 85.
⁴³ Krugersdorp Public Library (KPL), *Mayor's Minute*, (*Mayor's Minute*), 1906–7, Report of the Medical Officer of Health (MOH), p. 42.

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¹ CAD, MKR 28, File I2, 'Town Clerk, Krugersdorp, to the Provincial Secretary', 24 October 1918, and letter Provincial Secretary to Town Clerk, Krugersdorp, 12 April 1920. See also *The Standard, Krugersdorp*, 1 May 1920, 'Local and General'.

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