

# **SOCIAL SPACE AND RACIAL IDENTITY IN COLONIAL PIETERSBURG (1886-1910)**

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## **Sosiale ruimte en rasidentiteit in koloniale Pietersburg (1886-1910)**

In die konteks van sosio-ruimtelike onregverdigedede in Suid-Afrikaanse stede, word geskeide ruimtes beskou as manifestasies van rasidentiteit. Die identiteit van Pietersburg as 'n kulturele bestaansplek vir wit mense het sy oorsprong met die proklamasie van die dorp in 1886. Daaropvolgende identiteit van rasse-voordeel is gevoed nog lank voordat dit deur wetgewing gemanipuleer is gedurende die apartheid era. Hierdie artikel ondersoek die ontstaan van Pietersburg gedurende die pre-Uniale periode (1886-1910), en vra ten slotte die vraag of die pleknaam moet verander in post-apartheid Suid Afrika.

In the context of socio-spatial injustice in South African cities, divided spaces are viewed as manifestations of racial identity. Pietersburg's identity as a cultural place for whites originates in its proclamation as a town in 1886. Its subsequent racial identity was fostered by means of pure prejudice long before it was manipulated by legislation during the apartheid era. This article assesses the creation of Pietersburg during the pre-Union period (1886 to 1910) and asks whether the place name should now change in the post-apartheid era to restore its original identity.

## **Introduction: Place names and race identity**

Place name changes have after the first non-racial election in South Africa in 1994 not been addressed in the same manner as in other post-colonial nations such as the former Rhodesia,

*Historia* 43(1), May/Mei 1998

Mozambique, and South West Africa.<sup>1</sup> Explaining questions of how groups of people or communities would behave if their town's name changes is suggested to be answered in "the relation between innovation, the extension of knowledge and change", and this innovation process comprises of four stages: "the making of decisions; management of innovation both by initiating and the receiving party; the marketing of the new concept; and the innovation as a means to acquire as well as maintain power".<sup>2</sup> Another point of view has been voiced for public participation in the decision-making process in changing of names.<sup>3</sup> On the contrary, of late, historical studies have emerged as an important instrument for redressing the imbalances of the past. The restitution of land, as an example, uses 1913 as its point of departure for investigating historical deficiencies created through racist laws, and furthermore recognizes that the "seizures of the colonial era could not be reversed".<sup>4</sup>

Can certain criteria and a specific date in history be used as evidence for validating the changing of place names? The country's name, South Africa, is associated with the injustice of colonialism and apartheid, and yet it will not, according to the constitution, change. How then would those keen on changing the names of cities validate their stance? What theoretical guidelines and/or empirical evidence can be used to formulate policy and validate the changing of public names such as street, city, town, and building names? Which level of governance should be responsible for handling such issues? Most of these issues need to be addressed in the near future. Given the complexity of the situation many urban areas found themselves in, it is not suggested here that a specific date should be used as a criteria for decision-making.

The aim in this article is to illustrate that certain concepts within a given period, for example the period of origin, could be used to form the basis for an argument for the changing of a place name. It was decided to investigate the creation of Pietersburg by specifically looking at racial identities attached to place in the pre-Union era, often referred to as the colonial period, 1886-1910. This period was chosen because at that time the complete political entity of South Africa (as a Union or Republic) did not exist. Also because if a sovereign identity based on racism and not as such on cultural existence can be found in the pre-South Africa era, then the objection of ardent supporters to the removal of the name can be substantiated in that context. The arguments and empirical evidence will revolve around the following concepts: place, identity, colonial city, social space and segregation.

Social scientists who are interested in the ways in which people are organised in spatio-political terms, such as geographers use as a primary tool of investigation data and information from maps. In this instance the first maps of Pietersburg were used. This information will be backed up by material collected at the Transvaal Archives Depot in Pretoria which includes official letters from authorities, attorneys, members of the

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See for example D. Simon, *Cities, capital and development - African cities in the world development* (London, 1992).

2. B. Meiring, "Toponymic innovation and social change", *Nomina Africana* 8(1), 1994, p. 66.
3. E. Jenkins, "Public participation in recent and future place name changes", *Nomina Africana* 8(2), 1994, pp. 13-25.
4. A.J. Christopher, "Land restitution in South Africa 1991-1994", *Land Use Policy* 12, 1995, pp. 267-279. See also J.S. Bergh, "Grondregte in Suid-Afrika: 'n 19de-eeuse Transvaalse perspektief", *Historia* 40(2), 1995, pp. 39-47, and H.M. Feinberg, "Pre-apartheid African land ownership and the implication for the current restitution debate", *Historia* 40(2), 1995, pp. 48-63.

community, and also minutes from the Municipality's various committees.<sup>5</sup>

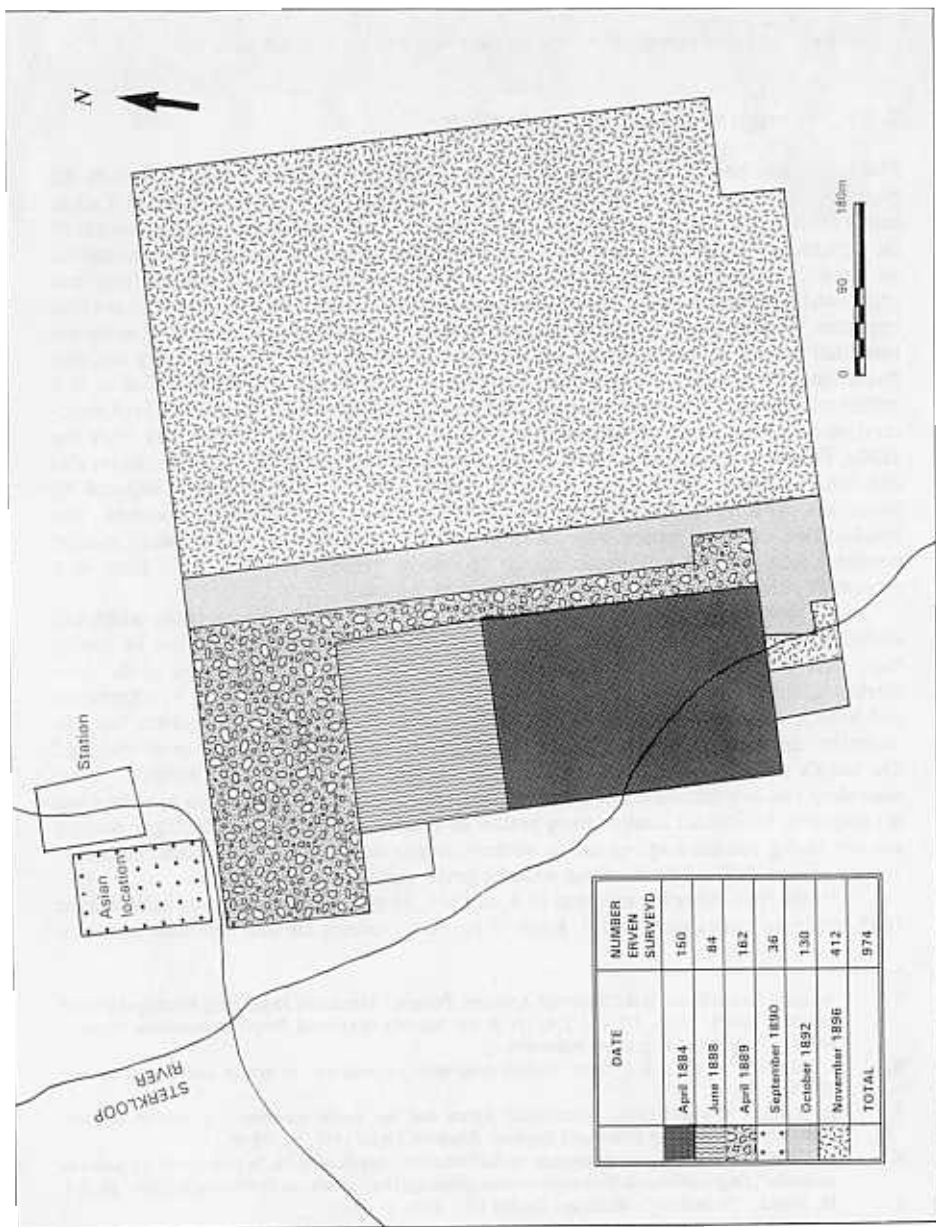
## 2. The origin of Pietersburg as colonial city

Pietersburg has been synonymous with segregation and an apartheid administration in the Northern Transvaal since its inception in 1886. This perception of Pietersburg as a white conservative town which always epitomised apartheid should be placed within a context of the definition of awareness. According to Fellmann *et al.* place perception is "the awareness we have ... and the beliefs we hold about them", which "involves our feelings and understandings, reasoned or irrational, about its opportunity structure". Perceptions are thus important, "for the decisions people make about their lives or about their actions in space are based not necessarily on reality but on their perceptions of reality".<sup>6</sup> Pietersburg can also furthermore be classified as a colonial city because it has been "created or added to in a culture contact situation, where the colonizers and colonized possess different levels of socio-economic, political and technical organization and development".<sup>7</sup> Especially after the 1880s, European powers such as the British and Dutch mediated their respective ideologies and cultural values through town planning codes whereby segregation was imposed by legislation. This is evident throughout southern Africa and Pietersburg is no exception. The proclamation of place names was included in such powers. Renaming places usually emanates from a rapid and drastic change in culture through, for example, a coup or a process of cultural transformation such as in South Africa.<sup>8</sup>

In 1867 repeated threats of attack by Africans caused the Boer community which had settled in Schoemansdal to relocate. The ZAR offered to compensate these Boers by buying them land to form a settlement. A popular choice was the eastern portion of the farm Sterkloop, which was subsequently bought for 1500 pounds from the owners, Van Emmenes and Venter, on 11 November 1884. The main reasons for favouring this location were its centrality, its sufficiency of water, and the ample supply of African labour in its vicinity.<sup>9</sup> The town's name recognizes the key founding role played by General Piet Joubert: "Naar aanleiding van de bijzonderheden in het rapport (van P. Joubert R5239/83) ten opzichten van het dorp voor het district Zoutpansberg besloot de Raad eenparig zijn goedkeuring te hechten aan den aanleg van het dorp, en aan de verdere stappen door de Regering in deze genomen. Tevens besloot de Raad dit dorp den naam te geven van Pietersburg."<sup>10</sup>

Of the first 150 erven surveyed in April 1884, 94 were handed out gratis in September 1885, while the others were sold.<sup>11</sup> Some of the Boer pioneers are still honoured in streets

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5. Archival data collected at the Transvaal Archives, Pretoria. Minutes of Pietersburg Municipal Council Meetings (MPB 1/1/1 - 1/1/4; 1/1/4; 1/1/6) and Minutes of General Purpose Committee Meetings MPB 1/2/1 are used as primary references.
  6. J. Fellmann, A. Getis & J. Getis, *Human geography. Landscapes of human activities* (Dubuque, 1992), p. 78.
  7. D. Simon, "Colonial cities, postcolonial Africa and the world economy: a reinterpretation", *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 13(1), 1989, pp. 68-69.
  8. H. Cronje, "Straat- en woonbuurtname in Stellenbosch: Implikasies vir 'n post-apartheid stedelike struktuur", Ongepubliseerde Honneursnavorsingsverslag (Universiteit van Stellenbosch, 1994), pp. 5-6.
  9. M. Heyns, "Pietersburg", *Historiese Studies* 1(1), 1939, p. 45.
  10. L. Changuion, *Pietersburg 1886-1986* (Pietersburg, 1986), p. 29.
  11. P. Aucamp, "Die stigting, opmeting en ontwikkeling van die dorpe in Noord Transvaal - met spesiale verwysing na Pietersburg (Deel 2)", *The South African Survey Journal*, April 1976, pp. 44-55.



**Figure 1: Phases in land surveying 1884-1896**

named after them (e.g. Schoeman, Maré and Burger). When the Magistrates court opened on 31 July 1886, the town of Pietersburg was officially born and named after General Piet Joubert who had initiated its development at Sterkspruit.<sup>12</sup> The first phase of surveying, covering a total of 974 erven, was completed by 1896 (Fig. 1).<sup>13</sup> The first land-use plan of Pietersburg made no provision for a non-European section because stands were allotted only to residents fleeing from Schoemansdal. Segregational planning, as a precursor to later apartheid planning, was therefore already evident in the pre-Union period.

### 3. Asian segregation

In September 1890, provision was made for an Asian location and erven numbers 397 to 432 were surveyed to the northwest of the town. These 36 erven were consequently utilised as 261 erven.<sup>14</sup> An ethnographic "border", as a functional buffer between the location and the town, was carefully planned for, involving a physical barrier, the railway line, which separated white and Asian areas from each other.

This location in the next few years was artificially sub-divided into adjoining Asian and African locations.<sup>15</sup> But by 1903 it was indicated in a letter (dated 5 October 1903) from M.K. Ghandi to the Colonial Office (in Pretoria) that the African location "... is entirely inhabited by British Indians".<sup>16</sup> The first Asians settled and traded in Pietersburg before the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) and were required to voluntarily segregate themselves from the town by residing and trading in the said location (twenty Asian trading and 61 accommodated).<sup>17</sup> In a letter to the Assistant Colonial Secretary for Asiatic Affairs, dated 16 June 1903, the Mayor of Pietersburg indicated that plans were "under consideration as to alterations so as to separate" the Asian and African locations.<sup>18</sup> This separation stemmed from the "Appointments of Bazaars for Asiatics" which had been proclaimed under the provisions of Section 2(d) of Law No. 3 of 1885, as amended in 1886. This proclamation provided that "... the areas described in the plans ... [are] to be specially reserved at the towns mentioned ... for the residence and trade of Asiatics residing or carrying on businesses".<sup>19</sup> This land was furthermore reserved under Section 12 of the Crown Lands Ordinance, 1903 by Government Notice No. 102 of 1904.<sup>20</sup>

After deliberations on two proposals for the intended location of the bazaar — the one to the north (by the Government) the other to the south of the town (by the local authorities) — the site was ultimately proclaimed in Government Notice 1013 of September 1903. It

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2. See Heyns (1939) for a discussion on the possible misunderstanding as to whom the town is named after, p. 46.
  13. Compiled by the authors from Aucamp (1976) and Changuion (1986).
  14. F.G. van Asten, *De geschiedenis van Pietersburg en omgeving 1867-1899*, M.A. Thesis (University of Pretoria, 1939).
  15. Because documents at the Transvaal Archives are incomplete, the division could not be determined.
  16. Transvaal Archives Depot (TAD), Asiatic Bazaar, Pietersburg. Correspondence re establishment of Asian Township transferred to ACT 2/3/23, 1903-1947, CIA H 23(2), Vol. 2.
  17. TAD, CIA H 23(2).
  18. TAD, CIA H 23(2), 1903.
  19. TAD, CIA H 23(2), Government Notice No. 1013 of 1903.
  20. TAD, CIA H 23(2), Letter from the Commissioner for Immigration and Asiatic Affairs, 14 October 1930.

appears that it was only registered at the Deeds Office in 1907.<sup>21</sup> The Key Plan place map of Pietersburg drawn in 1904 included this new Asian Bazaar (Fig. 1). This proclamation was received with great discontent by the Asians because they were now subjected to compulsory segregation and had to relocate all their existing businesses to the newly-identified area. The Town Council, however, under the umbrella of the Public Health Department, remained adamant in its decision to relocate them, and reiterated that "it affords good facilities for trade as it is within a few yards of the main road from two of the largest (African) locations and there is more traffic on that road than on any other. Further it is only 1,000 yards from the Railway station".<sup>22</sup> The British Indian Association, on the other hand, responded by arguing that there "seems to be no occasion for removing the present location".<sup>23</sup>

The concerned Asians, however, refused to have this area developed because of the distance factor in relation to business. The Town Council subsequently tried to manipulate and indirectly force them to develop the Bazaar. It was argued that they should only be issued licences to trade and reside outside white and African areas — i.e. in the Bazaar area. During this time, some Asians were already trading within the town (excluding the Location). However, at the beginning of the century the Pietersburg Municipality was adamant in its attitude towards Asian traders. It was strongly "opposed to issuing Licences to Asiatics & Colored Races of Africa to trade outside Locations, on the ground of public interest and public health".<sup>24</sup>

On the other hand, during this pre-Union period, contradictory municipal bye-laws forbade the issuing of licences to Asians because they were not allowed to trade or live in African locations, though applications would be entertained for trading in the designated Asian Bazaar. The conclusion drawn from this action is that the Town Council delimited the location originally surveyed for an Asian Location (Plan 1) from that of an African Location (Key Plan 1904) so that the Asians had to relocate to the designated Bazaar area (because bye-laws prohibited them from trading in African locations). However, despite these bye-laws the Asians managed to stay both in town and in the African location, and the surveyed Asian Bazaar never took shape. In fact, it was recorded that in 1905, of the twelve wholesale merchants in town (Fig. 2)<sup>25</sup> seven were Asian, while 23 of the 29 Business Premises Class 1 were also registered in Asian names.<sup>26</sup> White businesses predominated in Business Classes 2 and 3. Although businesses were concentrated in proximity to the Market Square, dispersal is also evident. The Provincial Gazettes of August to December 1910 indicate a dramatic increase in registered businesses, especially under Asian names. Their location is unknown, but during the above period 37% (62 out of 169) of businesses registered in Pietersburg were Asian.

Until the 1940s, when a letter from the Pietersburg Town Clerk was sent to the Secretary for the Interior in 1946 requesting that the Bazaar be cancelled, its appearance on the 1904 map was merely fictional.<sup>27</sup> No municipal documentation at the State Archives was traced to show that action had been taken by the Council to forcibly remove Asians from

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21. TAD, MPB 1/2/4, Letter from Land Department to Pietersburg Town Clerk, 3 October 1907
  22. TAD, CIA H 23(2), 1903.
  23. TAD, CIA H 23(2), Letter from Chairperson, British Indian Association, 19 November 1903
  24. TAD, MPB 1/2/1, 25 February 1904.
  25. Map compiled from TAD, MPB 1/2/2, 15 August 1905.
  26. TAD, MPB 1/2/2.
  27. TAD, CIA H 23(2).

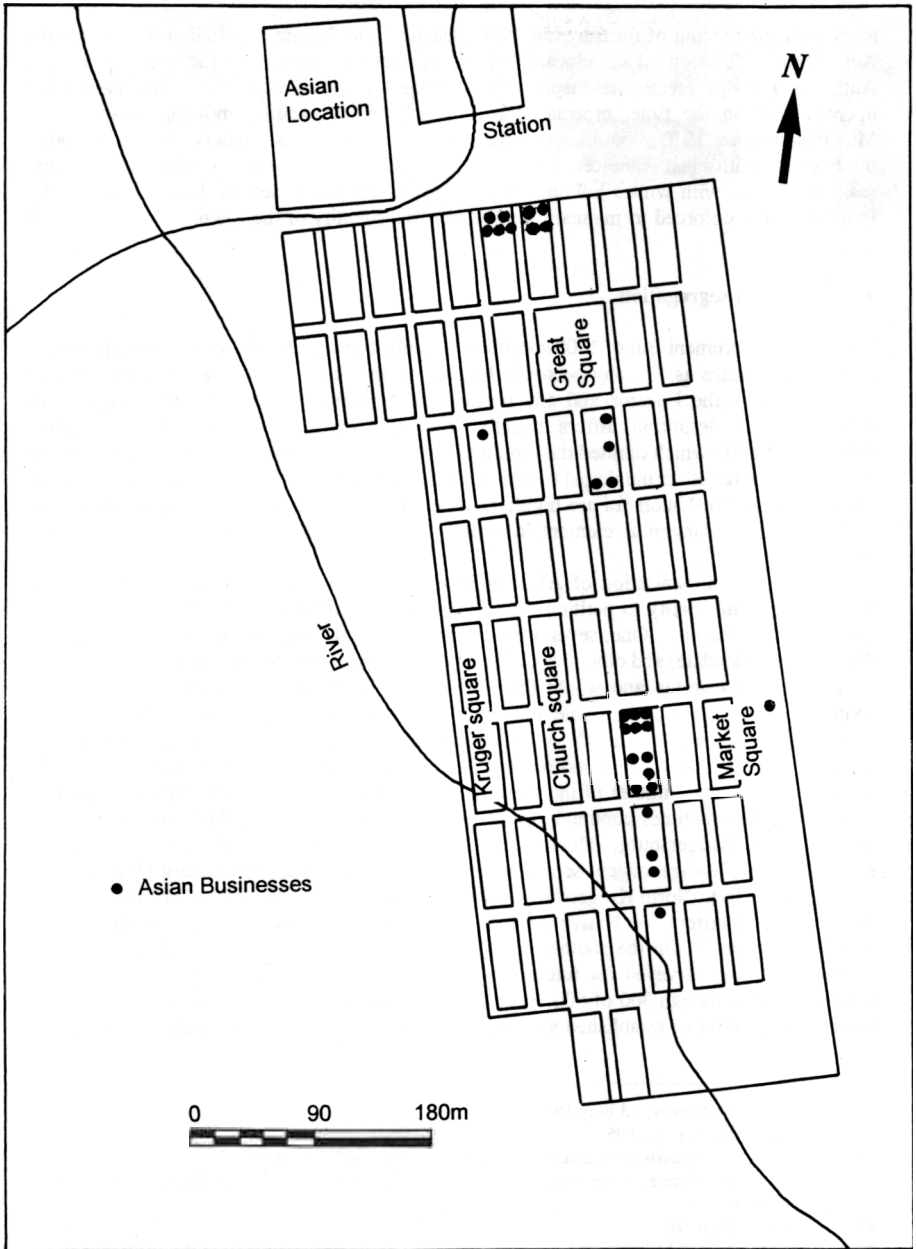


Figure 2: Location of Asian businesses in Pietersburg Central Area, 1905

town until the passing of measures in 1946 (Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representative Act, 1946). This refusal to relocate and the subsequent inaction by the white Municipal Authority perhaps create the suspicion that monetary structural forces might have been operative during the time, especially in view of the numerous complaints made to the Municipality after 1910 about the ever-increasing number of Asian traders. Up to that point the town's identity had embraced a strong Asian Business sector and a predominantly white residential town with whites holding all positions in the public sector, Town Council, etc. Bye-laws were enforced to maintain the above racial identity of the town.

#### 4. African segregation

The Local Government Bill of 1908 specifically identified people by different cultural criteria. It defined Africans as "... any person belonging to any of the aboriginal races or tribes of Africa south of the Equator and any person whose parents belongs to any such race or tribe".<sup>28</sup> This definition differs slightly from the Transvaal Municipal Association's definition of 1908 which omitted the "south of the Equator" demarcation. Racial identity had also been entrenched in municipal bye-laws. Four examples of racial discrimination against Africans in the pre-Union era are highlighted below: (1) residential segregation; (2) a view of Africans as a dangerous element in society; (3) segregated amenities; and (4) personal space.

Increased urbanisation of Africans in the early years of the century prompted the Pietersburg Municipality to petition the Government to extend its jurisdiction, and this for three principal reasons. One, several townships had already been surveyed (Annadale, New Pietersburg, Edendale) and others would follow. Two, squatting by Africans was in principle regarded as undesirable and would therefore not be permitted within areas scheduled for control. Three, "it was desirable for the Municipality to have control ... of all matters relating to public health, etc."<sup>29</sup> A Pietersburg Boundaries Commission was instructed to investigate into the recommended altering of the boundaries of jurisdiction of the Municipality.<sup>30</sup> The minutes of the Pietersburg Municipal Boundaries Commission provide useful, though sometimes contradictory, evidence of the presence of Africans on the seven farms (North Krugersburg, Doornkraal, South Krugersburg, Weltevreden, Sterkloop, Koppiesfontein, Myngenoegen) scheduled to be incorporated into Pietersburg (Fig. 3).<sup>31</sup>

On the farm North Krugersburg, an African compound was located and was surveyed (10 acres) as quarters for Native Affairs. Its proximity to the hospital was raised as a possible problem.<sup>32</sup> On the southernmost portion of the farm Doornkraal three townships were laid out and surveyed for future development: (1) New Pietersburg. There were no houses by 1904, though 300 of 600 erven had already been sold off. It was also argued that this township could be established as a separate Municipality.<sup>33</sup> (2) Annadale. No squatters

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28. *Government Gazette*, 13 May 1908.

29. TAD, C 25, Vol. 1, 1905.

30. TAD, C 25, Pietersburg Boundaries Commission, 1904-1905, Inventory.

31. TAD, C 25, Minutes of the Pietersburg Boundaries Commission held in the Court House (Friday 8 July 1904).

32. TAD, C 25, p. 26.

33. New Pietersburg had become a grey area (Africans, Asians and Coloureds) in the 1930s, but all the residents had been removed by 1975.



were said to live here. It was put bluntly that "no (Africans) will be allowed" to buy erven there.<sup>34</sup> (3) Edendale. Nothing specific was mentioned. The owner acknowledged that he would allow only one or two Africans to live there because Africans "are a nuisance".<sup>35</sup> Of these three, New Pietersburg was later in the 1930s developed as a "grey" area while Annadale and Edendale were developed for white occupancy.

On a third farm, South Krugersburg approximately one hundred Africans were said to live there, while a few Africans (approximately 150 families) were living in a kraal near the water at two or three places on the farm Weltevreden. A long-standing dispute between the Weltevreden Africans and the Municipality developed over the years which eventually ended in 1928 with notice being given to all squatters.<sup>36</sup>

The farm Sterkloop had a very anti-African stance. The question was pertinently put by the Boundary Commission: "Are there any houses on Sterkloop for (Africans)?" "No, none that I know of" was the reply by the owner of the farm.<sup>37</sup> But evidence was recorded that Africans resided on the Koppiesfontein portion of Sterkloop No. 91 and that they were paying rent to live there.<sup>38</sup> It was also minuted that there were two compounds on Sterkloop. One adjoined the town, and Africans apparently used the river as a latrine because one compound was a mere 20 yards from the river and the other 100 yards.<sup>39</sup> One compound was put up on the farm Koppiesfontein only temporarily for Africans en route to work in the gold mines on the Rapd. This compound also belonged to the "Witwatersrand Native Labour Association".<sup>40</sup> Apparently no regulations were followed to control the compound, and the question whether an African "passing through would make less dirt than a man living permanently" was responded to negatively.<sup>41</sup> The location of this compound in relation to the hospital again surfaced — it was located 100 yards away.

Lastly, on Myngenoegen there were only a few kraals. It was, however, asked whether the distance to town was short enough for (Africans) to reside there and to come into town to work.<sup>42</sup> It would have been impossible for Africans to travel to town on a daily basis from here. It was, therefore, the intention of the Municipality not to have control over Africans who would not be of any use.

Apparently the owners of these farms did not enforce any regulations for the proper management of the compounds. It was also noted that Africans had left the "Government Native Locations" in the district to stay on farms bordering the town so that "they are close enough to do their work in town".<sup>43</sup> A question was raised as to whether it was "necessary to have control over (Africans) squatting on these farms?". The answer was: "Yes, it is imperative for the health of the town" and furthermore that "it was possible to inspect (African) locations and compounds".<sup>44</sup> In response to the three-man Commission's report, the Inspector of Lands' Minority Report subsequently recommended that all the farms be

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34. TAD, C 25, p. 34.

35. TAD, C 25, p. 40.

36. TAD, MPB 1/1/31 (24 January 1928).

37. TAD, C 25, p. 13.

38. TAD, MPB 1/2/3 (20 November 1906).

39. TAD, C 25, p. 20.

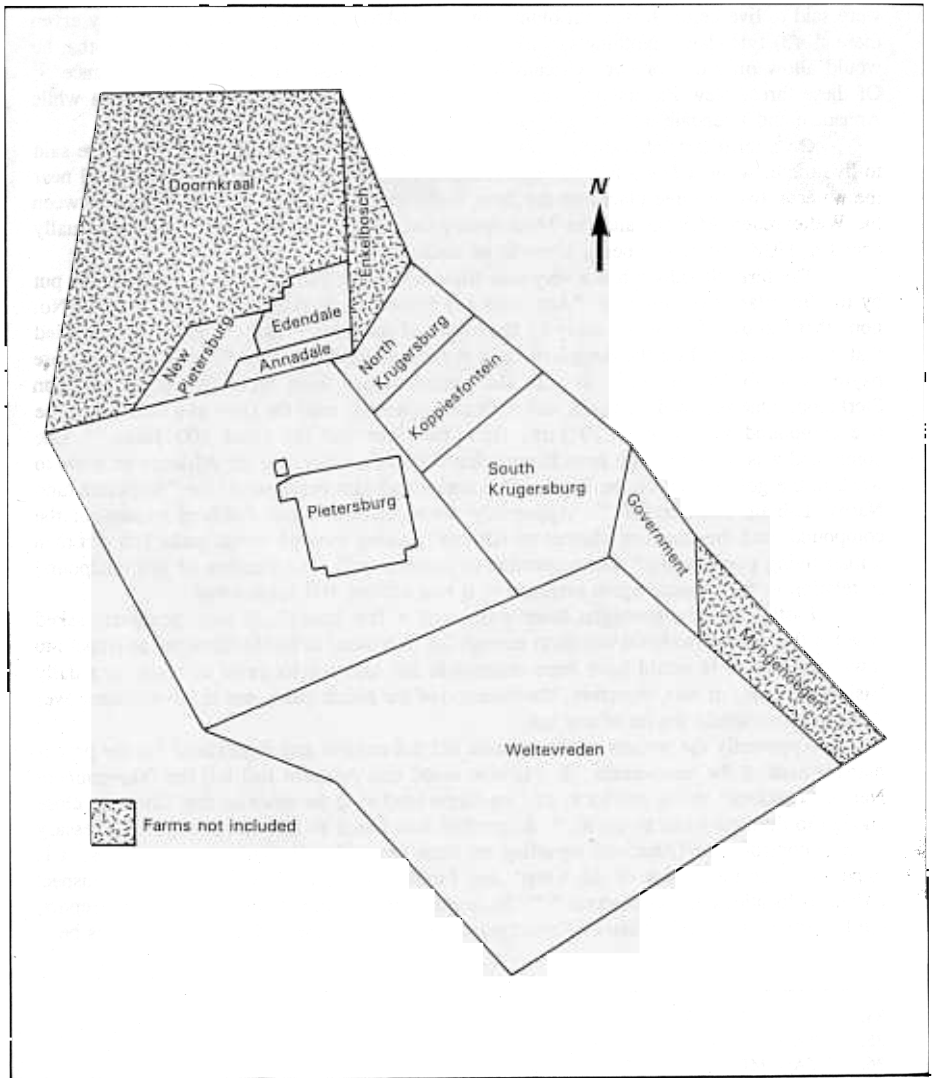
40. TAD, C 25, p. 28.

41. TAD, C 25, p. 28.

42. TAD, C 25, p. 30.

43. TAD, C 25, p. 22.

44. TAD, C 25, p. 13.



**Figure 3: Farms not scheduled for inclusion under Pietersburg's Municipal jurisdiction**

included under Pietersburg's Municipal jurisdiction, with the exception of the northern portion of Enkelbosch No. 1980, Myngenoegen Numbers 1908, 623; and Doornkraal No. 77 (Fig. 3).<sup>45</sup>

Soon afterwards the Native Location Commission was appointed, on 19 August 1905 to, *inter alia*, inquire into and "make recommendations as to the boundaries, where undefined, of existing Locations granted to Native Tribes ..." <sup>46</sup> A key map was drawn to illustrate the location of Africans. In the sub-district of Pietersburg there were in total seven Government Locations and 55 Undefined Locations on private farms.<sup>47</sup> The Executive Committee of the Transvaal Municipal Association also requested information from Town Councils pertaining to the number of stands, erven, lots or land registered in the names of Africans by 1906. Pietersburg reported no registered properties.<sup>48</sup>

However, Africans were permitted, with certain provisos, to reside in town (for example: Chapter 11, Section 6, Sub-section 8:8 of the public Health Bye-Laws of Pietersburg Municipality amended 8 May 1906). The regulation of Africans staying in town stated that "Any person who without permission in writing from the council, establishes or maintains any compound or other place for the housing of Natives or coloured persons not being "his" or "her" domestic or household servants shall be guilty of a breach of the Bye-law".<sup>49</sup> Nearly all applications were lodged by Asians and in many cases permission was granted to house only one male on the premises of Asian businessmen. A certain Indian, Tayob, reapplied (the only existing evidence of such an application until then) to house two workers; but the council again only granted one and also resolved "that all future applications for the housing of natives be dealt with finally in committee after being reported on by the MOH (Medical Officer of Health)".<sup>50</sup>

A second view of Africans was that they were a potential danger to vulnerable sections of society. An application to house two native males on erf 53 (owned by an Indian) was not approved by the Council because "these premise are already thickly occupied with Indian women and children".<sup>51</sup> Although Africans were not permitted to stay in town they were, however, allowed to eat at numerous so-called African eating houses. Segregated eating areas were thus evident, but these were located at places in town which would not affect the hygiene of whites. For example, an application was submitted for the zoning of erf 163 as an African eating house. The acting Medical Officer of Health recommended rejection of the application because of the following: "... the house is old ... and dirty canvas ceilings, insecure wooden flooring, the erf is not fenced, there is scanty supply of doubtful water, and lastly the erf is situated in Market Street, one of the two principal streets of the town".<sup>52</sup> The first reason is surely spurious because the house could not have been older than twenty years. The main reason was, however, the protection of the identity of Market Street. Furthermore, in an attempt to contain the number of eating house trade licences, fees per annum were amongst the highest levied.<sup>53</sup> The familiar definition of personal space portrays

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45. TAD, C 25, Vol. 1(iii), Key plan of Pietersburg area.

46. TAD, C 27, The Native Location Commission (1904-1908).

47. TAD, C 27, Vol. No. 7, Maps.

48. TAD, MPB 1/2/3 (13 December 1906).

49. TAB, MPB 1/1/1 — MPB 1/1/3.

50. TAD, MPB 1/1/6 (5 July 1912).

51. TAD, MPB 1/1/4 (23 February 1912).

52. TAD, MPB 1/1/1 - 1/1/3, Reports from the Medical Officer of Health (1906).

53. See *Provincial Gazette*, Vol. XXXV, No. 563, 22 September 1920.

it as "an invisible, usually irregular area around a person into which he or she does not willingly admit others. The sense (and extent) of personal space is a situational and cultural variable".<sup>54</sup> Personal walking space on sidewalks was ingrained by the Transvaal Town Regulations of 1899, with race, or culture, as a variable for identity. These regulations that "prohibited coloured persons from walking on sidewalks of the streets, or on any stoep serving as a sidewalk, and from residing in any place abutting on the public street in any town or village"<sup>55</sup> were strengthened by a municipal ordinance of 1903 which "authorised town councils to lay out locations, regulate the 'housing of natives by their employers', and license casual labour".<sup>56</sup> This was accomplished by 1905 — see Section 72(2) of Ordinance 58 of 1903.

## 5. Conclusion

As has been shown here, many dimensions are ascribed to place during the origin period of Pietersburg: some cultural (Boer settlers), some symbolic (separate locations), and some political (legislation and bye-laws). But "when the fundamental values associated with any of these levels of experiences are threatened, then protest about the meaning of place may erupt".<sup>57</sup> In this article it has been argued that criteria such as a cut-off date other than the apartheid era could be used for changing names: if necessary. To follow the restitution of land's application of 1913 as a measurement is not advisable. The reason being that if the era of the segregation and apartheid cities (1910-1990) is used, then most names should change, including, black townships, black homeland towns developed under separate development policies and so on. Public participation in the decision making process on whether a name should change is an essential starting point. Public hearings whereby interested parties, individuals, cultural and ethnic groups can put their case forward and use historical evidence on social space, segregation, and identity which appear in this article as a basis for augmenting their stance, is suggested here. Other non-historical viewpoints not covered in this paper, that need scrutiny and which may be used, are practical reasons why names might remain unchanged, such as costs involved in reproducing signs, maps, documentation, etc.

In conclusion, the argument put forward here rather suggests that if the values of place during its origin reflect an identity of racism then the significance of such a place name has limited right of existence. If found to be true, the moral support of a change of name for Pietersburg has substance. The town developed as an cultural location for settlers and is also named after one. During this time segregation was evident to some degree with the artificial development of a separate location for Africans from the area originally zoned for Asian occupancy. Some degree of racial integration occurred between settlers and Asians. Blatant racism and cultural superiority of the settler community was also evident, especially through the evidence provided to the Boundaries Commission, portrayal of personal space and bye-laws governing public amenities.

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54. Fellmann *et al.*, Human geography, p. 509.

55. TAD, MPB 1/2/5 (15 March 1909).

56. R. Davenport, "Historical background of the apartheid city to 1948", in M. Swilling *et al.* (eds.), *Apartheid city in transition* (Oxford, 1991), p. 2.

57. Seamon & A. Buttimer (1980), p. 167.