

A NEW TOWN AT UITVLUGT: THE FOUNDING AND DEVELOPMENT OF PINELANDS 1919—1948

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Although the formation of the garden city movement dates back to the end of the nineteenth century, the concept is still comparatively unknown in South Africa. For this reason it is essential to delve into the origin and growth of this movement in order to understand what is meant by a 'garden city'.

EARLY GARDEN CITY MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND

The Industrial Revolution led to appalling living conditions in European cities, but it was not until the publication of works by social reformers like Robert Owen, Charles Fourier, James Buckingham, Edward Bellamy and Henry George, to name but a few, that the idea of creating new towns and controlling their development was envisaged as a possible solution.

Unfortunately these solutions were utopian in concept as well as impracticable in execution. But in 1898 a young visionary, Ebenezer Howard, published *Garden cities of tomorrow* in which he set out lucidly the details for creating a new type of 'city' based upon scientific and economic principles.¹ In his opinion, the remedy for slums and overcrowding lay in the creation of small towns, with populations of about 30 000. Each 'city' would be served by six neighbourhood units and the whole surrounded by permanent agricultural holdings to form a green belt, thus precluding any possible sprawl of one urban area into another, and providing for "a full development of man's moral and spiritual qualities". These towns were to own their own land and develop their own industries. They would come into existence by means of trustees purchasing the land with borrowed capital, on which they would pay the usual interest rates, meanwhile holding the land in trust for the inhabitants.

Howard's scheme included all the essential constants in urban planning: housing density, zoning, open spaces, boulevards, ring roads, architectural standards, etc. The essence of his plan is best provided by Howard's biographer: "There are in reality not only, as is so constantly assumed, two alternatives — town life and country life — but a third alternative, in which all the advantages of the most energetic and active town life, with all the beauty and delight of the country, may be secured in perfect combination".²

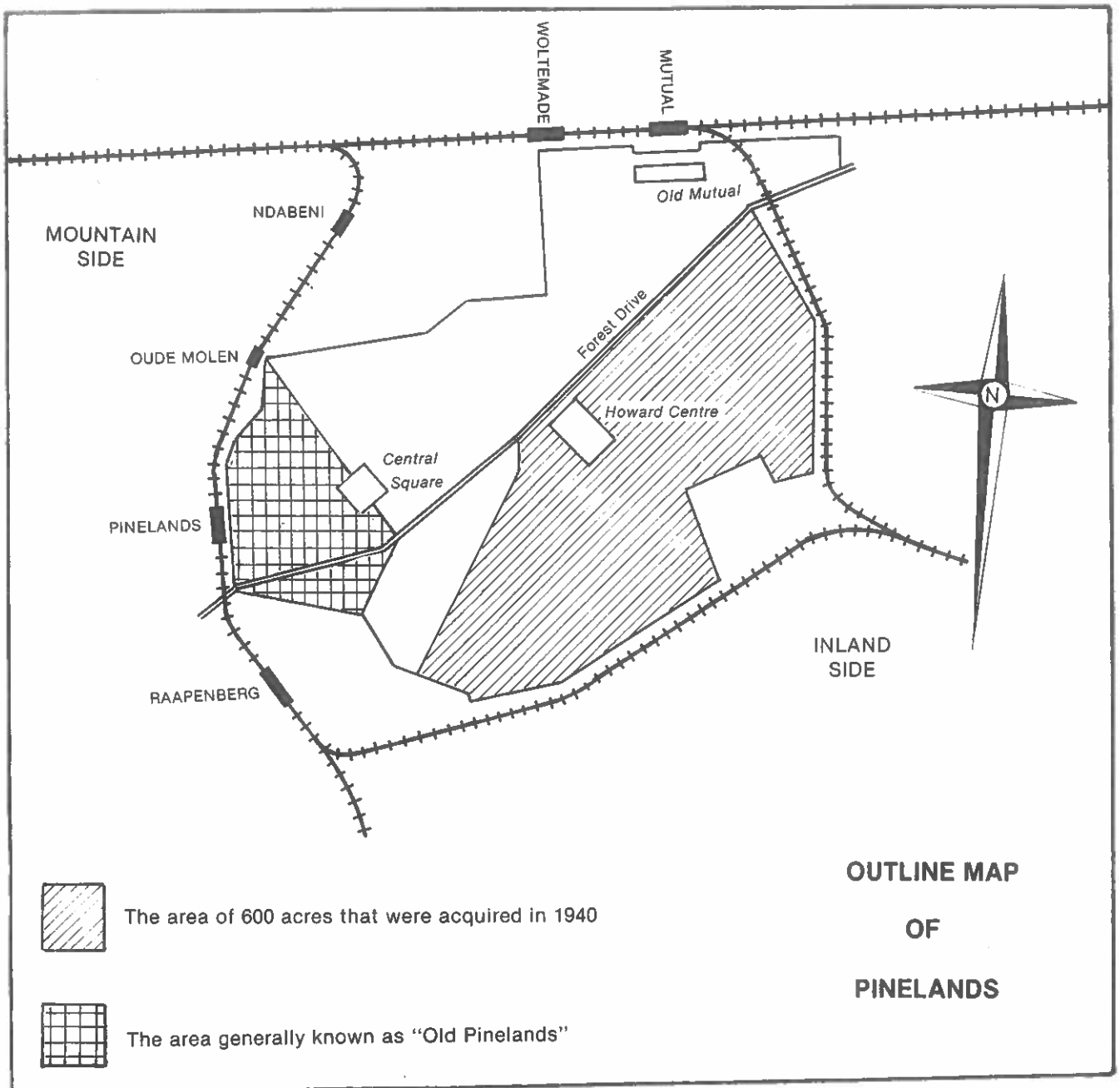
Like other reformers, Howard encountered opposition. George Bernard Shaw, who much admired Howard's ideas, claims that this "amazing man" seemed an "elderly nobody, whom the stock exchange would have dismissed as a negligible crank" because his scheme was considered unprofitable.³ Despite scepticism and opposition the Garden City Association was formed in 1899 to propagate Howard's ideas and ultimately to build a garden city.⁴ To achieve this, a company was registered and in 1903 the first garden city, Letchworth, was established fifty-five kilometres from London.⁵ Letchworth was an unquestionable success and led to the establishment of garden cities in many parts of the world.

RICHARD STUTTAFORD AND THE FOUNDING OF PINELANDS

In the closing stages of World War I (1914–1918) the influenza epidemic in the Cape Peninsula led Richard Stuttaford, a city councillor of Cape Town and a leading figure in the Associated Chambers of Commerce of South Africa, to feel that better housing might have saved many lives; in fact, he became convinced that a garden city was the answer. His ideas and approach to the problem at the time are best explained in his own words: "During the final years of the Great War rents increased so much as to create hardship for the poorer and middle classes, and the high level of prices for building materials prevented the erection of houses which could be rented at a reasonable sum. In this crisis the Government passed a Rent Act preventing exploitation of the public but whilst this helped those already in occupation of houses it failed to help those who were homeless. I recognised that the Rent Act was only a palliative and that the only real remedy was the supply of houses sufficient to meet the demand. I also recognised that in the hurry to get houses built, it was only too probable that inferior houses would be run up by speculative builders in ugly blocks and in congested areas which would soon deteriorate and result in an increase of the slum problem, which was then and still is a disgrace to Cape Town, in common with all the large cities of the Empire. I hoped that in the new outlook at the end of the War it might be possible to inaugurate a new policy in providing homes for the people".⁶

The seed of the garden city idea had, however, germinated in Stuttaford's mind as far back as 1907 when he first became aware of the work of Ebenezer Howard and the embryonic Garden City Association. Stuttaford was a strong supporter of the principles outlined in Howard's *Garden cities of tomorrow*, and in 1917 he took the opportunity of visiting the garden city of Letchworth and discussing the project with Howard. His determination to establish a garden city organisation in South Africa reached a crucial point in 1918 when he was a committee member of the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce; that body, however, rejected his practical recommendation

1. E. HOWARD, *Garden Cities of tomorrow* (London, 1898).
2. See D. MACFADYEN, *Sir Ebenezer Howard and the town planning movement* (Manchester, 1933), p.27.
3. HOWARD, *op. cit.*, pp.22–23 (preface by F. Osborn).
4. *Official guide to Letchworth* (London, 1970), p.16.
5. C.B. PURDOM, *The building of satellite towns* (London, 1930), p.58.
6. *Pinelands Garden City Monthly* 3(2), December 1930, p.14.



for alleviating the housing position.⁷ This set-back caused Stuttaford to consult a higher authority and resulted in parliamentary consent for the formation of the Garden Cities Trust in 1919.

Stuttaford placed his scheme before the acting Prime Minister, F.S. Malan, in January 1919.⁸ His proposal to a Select Committee of the House of Assembly was that he would donate to a trust £10 000 and that the government should vest in that trust an area of five hundred morgen at Uitvlugt, a forest reserve adjoining the farm Oude Molen.⁹ This sum would be used to develop the estate on lines similar to those of garden cities in Europe. Subsequent to the planning of the estate the trust would invite public bodies and public utility companies to build houses subject to the conditions laid down. The Garden Cities Trust was to be a non-profit organisation.¹⁰ Stuttaford's generosity was praised in the House of Assembly, though some members would have preferred the scheme to be carried out by the government. The House, in terms of section 6 of Act 15 of 1887 of the Cape of Good Hope, adopted a resolution, on 13 June 1919, in favour of Stut-

taford and the trustees of Garden Cities Trust Company to establish a garden city at Uitvlugt.¹¹

Stringent conditions were laid down to prevent speculation, and in terms of the Trust Deed inhabitants were to be represented on the board of trustees. In 1928, the Trust became a non-profit utility company and changed its name to Garden Cities Trust – the incumbent trustees becoming its first directors.¹²

7. R.F.M. IMMELMAN, *Men of Good Hope: The romantic story of the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce 1854–1954* (Cape Town, 1955), p.319.
8. GARDEN CITIES LIMITED (PINELANDS, CAPE), Garden Cities Records (GCR); R. Stuttaford – F.S. Malan, 28.1.1919.
9. UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY, *Select Committee report on Crown Lands (No. 3)*, 13.6.1919.
10. GCR: Notes re housing suggestion handed to F.S. Malan by R. Stuttaford, 29.6.1919.
11. UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY, *Votes and proceedings (No. 102)*, 11.6.1919, p.882; *Cape Times*, 14.6.1919; UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, SENATE, *Fourth session of the Senate (minute LX)*, 16.6.1919.
12. UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, *Statutes, 1926* (Act 46/1926).

THE SITE: UITVLUGT

On 26 August 1875 the farm Uitvlugt was acquired by the British authorities as the place of confinement (following their removal from Robben Island) for Langalibalele, one of the leaders of the rebellion in Natal in the early 1870's, and his son Malambule.¹³ Langalibalele and Malambule were to be located at the farm residence and neighbouring government grounds at Uitvlugt under the surveillance and supervision of the superintendent of the plantation, and constables serving under his orders, who would be held responsible for their detention.¹⁴

The limits of the farm were clearly defined: "On the north by the Wellington railway, following the line from the fourth mile to the sand hills at the eighth, on the south by the farms 'Fygge Kraal' and 'Jakalls Vley'. On the east by the sand hills from the Wellington railway at the eighth mile to the high ground near 'Jakalls Vley'. On the west by the farms 'Nieuwe Molen', 'Oude Molen' and 'Rapen Berg' comprising altogether an area of upwards of 1 650 acres".¹⁵

Langalibalele remained at Uitvlugt for nearly twelve years. It was during this time that the English writer and traveller, Anthony Trollope, visited the captive chieftain at Uitvlugt, having obtained an order to that effect from the office of the Secretary of Native Affairs.¹⁶

In 1887 the Cape Colonial Government earmarked several thousand acres, which included part of Uitvlugt, as a forestry estate,¹⁷ and tens of thousands of pine trees were planted. The forestry department experimented with trees and shrubs able to grow in the drift sand of the Cape flats and stabilise it. At one stage in the negotiations for the grant of land for the establishment of Pinelands, the forestry department contemplated removing the trees before handing over the land. This decision was, however, successfully opposed by Stuttaford.¹⁸

During the Second Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902) the Uitvlugt area was used as a remount camp by the British army, and in 1901 on the northern part of the estate, adjacent to the N'dabeni African location, wood and iron hospital huts were erected by the Cape Government to accommodate bubonic plague patients. Rudyard Kipling, who visited Cape Town at that time as the guest of C.J. Rhodes, wrote a poem entitled, 'They who died at Uitvlugt', which records the death of two British army nurses named Kayser.¹⁹

EARLY PROGRESS

Once the site for Pinelands had been found and the trust deed drawn up, it became necessary to settle the question of who was to design the garden city. P. Stuart-Horne, the secretary of Garden Cities Trust, arranged a competition for its design.²⁰ It is interesting to note that the competition rules specified, for the first time in South African town-planning, the areas which were to be apportioned for housing, roads, open spaces, and that provision be made for schools, markets, churches, shops, a town hall, museum and post-office. Competitors were required "to plan the northern area (at the Woltemade end of the estate) of land for housing the non-European population".²¹ This part of the plan, however, was not implemented.



No. 3 Meadway, the first house occupied in Pinelands, 1922.

PHOTOGRAPH: THE GARDEN CITY OF PINELANDS

The designs for the layout which had been accepted locally were rejected after they had been referred to Sir Raymond Unwin, the planner of the first garden city of Letchworth. At the time Stuttaford visited and interviewed many of the planners involved in the development of Welwyn (1920), the second garden city to be established in England. South Africa had had little experience in the science of urban planning and, as the Trust was anxious to initiate the scheme on the most modern lines possible, Stuttaford, on the recommendation of Unwin, instructed the firm of Thompson, Hennel and James of Victoria Street, London, to prepare plans for the establishment of the new garden city at Uitvlugt.²²

In terms of an agreement signed in October 1920 Albert J. Thompson of Lincoln was employed by Garden Cities Trust as architect and surveyor to develop the housing project at Uitvlugt.²³ Thompson, an internationally-known urban planner, submitted South Africa's first full-scale town planning report. The plan followed the broad lines delineated by Ebenezer Howard.

A very high degree of wisdom was displayed in the early ideas covering the development and subsequent management of the garden city. It was originally intended — and this was made clear by the Trust Deed — that Garden Cities would assume all the responsibilities of a 'local authority' and would continue to administer the town even after the land had been sold. Another impor-

13. GREAT BRITAIN, *British Parliamentary (Command) Papers*: C. 1119, C. 1121, C. 1141, C. 1158, C. 1187, and C. 1342 (Correspondence relating to colonies and states of South Africa, 1875).

14. *Ibid.*, (C. 1342: Correspondence relating to colonies and states of South Africa, 1875, enclosure 2, No. 30, p.34).

15. *Ibid.*

16. A. TROLLOPE, *South Africa* (reprint of 1878 edition, Cape Town, 1973), p.244.

17. *Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette*, 29.7.1887 (Act 15/1887).

18. Croxford Papers, MSS. in the custody of Mrs. H. McMurtric, Rondebosch, Cape: Reflections on Pinelands (by J.W.P. Logan).

19. *Ibid.*

20. GARDEN CITIES LIMITED (PINELANDS, CAPE), *Garden Cities Minutes (GCM)*, volume I (1919–1931), p.13.

21. *Ibid.*, 22.4.1920, p.22.

22. MUNICIPALITY PINELANDS, *Pinelands Municipal Records (PMR)*: Report of town engineer P. Derham to Pinelands Rate-payers Association, February 1962, p.14.

23. GCM, volume I, 22.8.1920, p.32.

tant departure from normal South African town-planning practice was the adoption of the principle that land for commercial purposes should not be sold to any private individual, but should be retained by Garden Cities and leased to persons wishing to engage in commercial activities.²⁴ This followed the British garden city practice, whereby appreciation of land values on commercial sites, owing to the development of the town, should revert to the people of the town, and not benefit solely private entrepreneurs. Garden Cities also assumed responsibility for approving building plans to ensure an architectural and aesthetic standard, while the Pinelands Local Board concerned itself with the structural requirements of houses and adherence to all the building regulations.

At the beginning of 1921 the layout of the first section of Pinelands, sixty acres in extent, was completed and in August of that year the trustees applied for a government housing loan of £200 000 to cover the cost of the first group of houses.²⁵ Unfortunately this application encountered an unexpected setback. The trustees had been under the impression that Garden Cities Trust would function as a local authority. However, in terms of the Housing Act gazetted in 1920, housing loans could be granted to local authorities only, and the Trust was thus precluded from obtaining funds directly.²⁶

The Divisional Council of the Cape refused to ad-

minister individual housing loans and it was evident that some form of local authority would have to be formed to meet this situation. In July 1921 a special ordinance, called the Local Boards Ordinance, was promulgated by the administrator of the Cape, Sir Frederick de Waal; into this was written a clause designed to meet the peculiar circumstances obtaining in Pinelands, whereby all members of the Board were nominated, two by the Administrator and one by Garden Cities.²⁷ This clause was subsequently amended to bring Pinelands into line with all the other local boards by making provision for one elected member.²⁸ It was not a very democratic body, but all indications proved that it operated efficiently.

After the initial acclamation and enthusiasm, considerable doubts were expressed about the prospects of Pinelands. The development was begun in the second half of 1921, and in the early stages it progressed very slowly. The land chosen was isolated, and apart from Raapenberg station there was no access to public transport, and the area was bounded on two sides by N'dabeni African location and Valkenberg asylum respectively. The Administrator had little faith in the project and would not sponsor a single loan under the Central Housing Board loan scheme for property to be developed in Pinelands. Stuttaford, in addition to the £10 000 which he had given to Garden Cities in 1919, had to deposit

The Prime Minister of South Africa, the Hon. J.C. Smuts, laying the foundation stone to commemorate the founding of Pinelands, 5 May 1923.

PHOTOGRAPH: GARDEN CITIES LIMITED, PINELANDS

24. GCR: Garden Cities trust deed, 16.6.1919.

25. GCM, volume I, 9.6.1921, p.52.

26. UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, *Statutes, 1920* (Act 35/1920).

27. UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (Province of the Cape of Good Hope), *Ordinances, 1921* (Ordinance 11/1921).

28. GCM, volume I, p.59.



with the Administrator his own personal securities for each loan which was approved.²⁹ The early development of Pinelands can be attributed to a small but enthusiastic group of men like E.R. Syfret, a prominent Cape Town city councillor and businessman, J.W.P. Logan, the first estate manager of Pinelands, P. Stuart Horne, secretary of Garden Cities and R.J. Lonsdale, secretary of the Pinelands Local Board from 1922 to 1937.³⁰

'A piano comes to Pinelands' was the picturesque headline published in *The Cape Argus* on 11 February 1922, reporting the occupation of the first houses. Each of the houses cost £1 050 and No. 3 Meadway was the first to be occupied by its owner, Gurth Cox.³¹ By the end of 1922 twenty-four houses had been completed and the population totalled sixty.³² Garden Cities Trust was joined by the new township authority, the Pinelands Local Board. The functions of these bodies were clearly defined: Garden Cities Trust was responsible for the construction of roads, the provision of storm-water drainage, the levelling of plots, fencing, the establishment of playgrounds, sports facilities, the provision of school sites and scrutiny of all building plans. The Pinelands Local Board had to install water reticulation, sewerage, undertake the removal of garden and household refuse, and deal with street lighting and the maintenance of roads.

In the early days conditions were primitive in Pinelands. Electricity was installed only in 1923.³³ Nevertheless on May 5 that year the Prime Minister, J.C. Smuts, laid the foundation stone in Central Square "to commemorate the founding of Pinelands, the first garden city to be established under the trust formed by the Union Government and Richard Stuttaford of Cape Town".³⁴

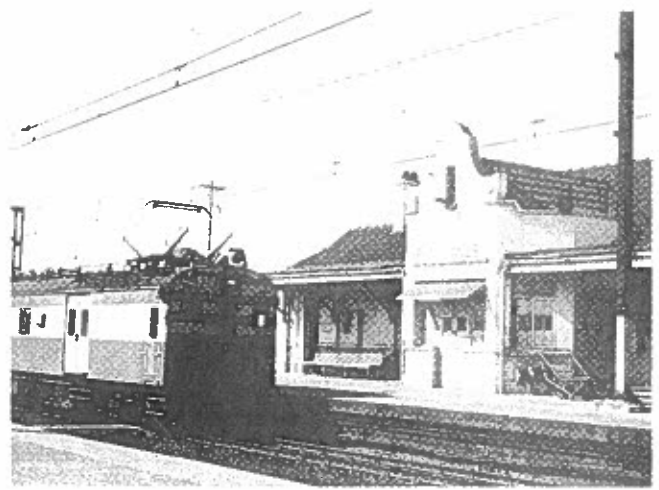
The Pinelands housing project was the subject of many attacks by Stuttaford's political opponent in the general election of 1924 for the Newlands seat in the House of Assembly; it even assumed the proportions of a local election issue. P. Lagesen, the Constitutional Democratic Party candidate, attacked Stuttaford's donation for the establishment of Pinelands as being "for the middle-class and wealthy whites", without a comparable contribution to Coloured housing.³⁵ Stuttaford was elected to Parliament notwithstanding.

This paper so far relates the origin of Garden Cities Trust and housing progress in its first creative venture. But it was the considerable social and cultural achievements of Garden Cities that transformed the Trust from traditional builder to community developer.

BIRTH AND GROWTH OF A COMMUNITY

What were the underlying reasons for the success of Pinelands as a 'town within a town'? Economic factors were certainly of paramount importance, but the opportunity to acquire a house or building-site at cost, in an era when profit and speculation formed the order of the day, was only one of many reasons. The physical environment created by Garden Cities (through its management and stringent controls embodied in the deed of sale) was perhaps the most important contributory factor.³⁶ Moreover, the Trust maintained a policy of helping social, cultural and sporting bodies financially.

With a strong civic sense among the residents of Pinelands it was not long before a Civic Association was formed under the chairmanship of F.J. Rose Innes, head of the legal firm of Rose Innes and Jordan Ltd., and chairman of the Pinelands Local Board until his death in



Pinelands railway station, established in 1925.

PHOTOGRAPH: THE GARDEN CITY OF PINELANDS

1944. The aims of the Association were to foster interest in the affairs of Pinelands, to co-operate with Garden Cities Trust and Pinelands Local Board in any projects that might be to the advantage of members, to consider civic needs and propagate reliable information in this regard, to promote social and sporting amenities and to further the establishment of educational facilities.³⁷

The role of the Civic Association was unique in urban management in South Africa: it actively assisted, almost on a partnership basis, in the early development of Pinelands, and acted jointly with Garden Cities on a number of specific ventures of communal benefit while retaining its complete independence and maintaining the closest consultation with the residents. The undemocratic nature of the dual administration of Pinelands was countered by this strong Civic Association which was brought fully into the counsels of the two administrative bodies. Liaison between people and town government was safeguarded and no important question was decided without reference to the Civic Association executive.

Amenities, services and communications

The Association campaigned for the erection of the railway station in 1925³⁸ and the establishment of a local police force in 1932.³⁹ It also played an important role in initiating sporting bodies in Pinelands.⁴⁰ Garden Cities

29. GCR: Indemnity agreement and agreement of pledge between Pinelands Garden City Local Board, the Administrator of the Province of the Cape of Good Hope, and Richard Stuttaford, 16.1.1923.

30. See *The Cape Argus*, 26.6.1939.

31. *Ibid.*, 11.2.1922.

32.

	September 1922	April 1928
Houses completed and occupied:	19	197
Total building value:	£ 2 8 0 0 0	£250 000

(See GCM, volume I)

33. *The Province of Cape of Good Hope Gazette*, 27.2.1923 (Notice No. 42).

34. *Cape Times*, 7.5.1923.

35. *Ibid.*, 10.6.1924.

36. GCR: Deed of sale and memorandum of agreement, 5.5.1922.

37. Croxford Papers: Copy of Pinelands Civic Association constitution, 1924.

38. GCR: Progress report by A.J. Thompson, 14.2.1924; *The Garden City of Pinelands* (Rotapress, Cape Town, 1970), p.43.

39. GCM, volume II (1932-1940), 31.3.1932, p.3.

40. *Garden Cities Outlook* 3(1), 1961; GCR: Report by estate manager, November 1929; Croxford Papers: Historical review of Pinelands Bowling Club (article by T. Wilson, 1973).

Trust allocated ground, advanced loans, and provided facilities for levelling sports fields, but required the Civic Association to assume all responsibility for loan, lease and other agreements. No assistance was given to any sporting club without the consent and approval of the Association. The list of sports clubs was most impressive.⁴¹

Gardening was the universal hobby of Pinelands and the Pinelands Horticultural Society was the most active organisation in the new community. It was formed in 1922 and the journal *Pinelands Garden City Monthly* was initially a gardening handbook only. It was first published in 1928. In 1929 the Civic Association news was included in this magazine.⁴²

On 25 January 1926 the first school was opened in a private house in Central Avenue, but it was not until 1931 that a school building was erected in Central Square. This was the Pinelands Primary School, and Miss M.J. Mylne, her two assistant teachers, and 102 pupils moved into the new premises in 1932. This was the only school in Pinelands until 1948. Another educational facility was the Pinelands Library which was built in July 1924.⁴³

St Stephen's Church of the Province of South Africa was built in 1926 and the foundation stone was laid by the Earl of Athlone, Governor-General of South Africa, on 17 April.⁴⁴ In 1931 the Methodists were granted a site for a church, which was completed the following year. The foundation stone of the Presbyterian Church was laid in 1938 and the N.G. Church building was opened in 1942.⁴⁵ The Brown and Annie Lawrence Home for the Aged was built in 1929.⁴⁶ This was the first of some six homes for elderly citizens to be established in Pinelands. In 1933 sites were set aside for the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides associations.⁴⁷

Between 1924 and 1945 there were vociferous arguments against the establishment of shops or flats in the Garden City.⁴⁸ It was not until 1946 that the Pinelands Co-operative Society was formed. Only shareholders were permitted to buy goods.⁴⁹

In 1929 the Triangle Omnibus Company began a transport service from Pinelands to Cape Town via Mowbray which resulted in less isolation for Pinelands residents. Macadamisation of access roads began in 1930. Postal services were inaugurated in 1926 and in 1932 the 'Cape Dutch' post office building was built in Central Avenue. Applications for permission to establish garage filling stations in Pinelands in 1929 resulted in three sites being suggested by the trustees for such amenities, but it

St Stephen's Church of the Province, the oldest church in Pinelands, was built in 1926.

PHOTOGRAPH: THE GARDEN CITY OF PINELANDS



was not until the 1940's that the first service station was built.⁵⁰

Generally speaking, the Civic Association worked to ensure that services and amenities kept pace with the township's physical expansion. A water-borne sewerage system was promoted⁵¹ in 1938 and in 1939 Pinelands became eligible for the services of the Metropolitan Fire Brigade.⁵² All these amenities transformed Pinelands from an isolated and remote settlement into a viable housing scheme.

Housing schemes and the Pinelands Development Company

The N'dabeni location, on the northern border of Pinelands, was a constant source of discontent among residents of Pinelands and was the subject of many debates at Garden Cities board meetings. The secretary of Garden Cities Trust had written to the Minister of Lands in November 1924 requesting that the government either allocate N'dabeni to the Trust, or grant some measure of protection to Pinelands by stipulating that the area be developed on garden city lines.⁵³ This, it was hoped, would enable Garden Cities Trust to exercise control over the planning and administration of N'dabeni and also safeguard the character of Pinelands. The Trust would thereby be fulfilling its intention of developing a 'Non-European area'.

In this regard, the report by a sub-committee on the advisability of developing a Non-European area of February 1924 had been negative. The conclusion was briefly "that under the circumstances the expense is prohibitive and it is not considered that the present is an opportune time..."⁵⁴ The reason for this was the lack of interest shown by building contractors. In fact, there had been only one genuine enquiry for land for building dwellings suitable for Africans. The question of Non-European housing was discussed again at the end of 1926 and in 1928. In April 1929 the trustees initiated the Non-European housing scheme when they agreed to the building of five houses on the northern fringe of the estate.⁵⁵ These were subsequently absorbed into the N'dabeni industrial zone.

The establishment of the Pinelands Development Company in 1930 — at a time of prevailing economic depression — was a significant milestone in the provision of housing in Pinelands. This company was a financing agent and its main function was to bridge the deposit gap by lending prospective buyers a further 15% of the total cost of a house by means of a second mortgage bond; this

41. *Garden Cities Outlook* 2(2), 1960; *Pinelands Garden City Monthly* 3(2), December 1930, p.19.
42. See *Cape Times*, 9.2.1929.
43. *The Garden City of Pinelands*, p.29.
44. GCM, volume I, 20.12.1926.
45. E. ROSENTHAL, *Pinelands, South Africa's first Garden City* (Cape Town, 1949), p.21.
46. GCR: Report by J.W.P. Logan, 8.7.1929.
47. GCM, volume II, 6.7.1933, p.19.
48. GCM, volume I, 9.4.1929, p.272; see also *Pinelands Garden City Monthly* 1(4), February 1929, p.77.
49. *Pinelands News*, 8.2.1946.
50. GCM, volume I—II and volume III (1941—1946).
51. PMR: Paper presented to Ratepayers Association by P. Derham, February 1962, p.6.
52. *Pinelands News*, 8.3.1946.
53. GCM, volume I, 24.11.1924, p.160.
54. *Ibid.*, February 1924, p.140.
55. *Ibid.*, 12.4.1929, p.256.

was at a considerably lower rate of interest than could be obtained anywhere else.⁵⁶ The company engaged private contractors to build several houses each year which were sold to future residents at cost. At first, the company's small issued capital limited activities, but later it was able to raise loans which, together with interest received from second bonds, enabled it to assist many people to acquire or improve houses.

Under the stimulus provided by the Pinelands Development Company, the township's rate of growth increased. By 1940 the number of houses in Pinelands had risen to 800 compared with 150 in 1926. Stuttaford approached the government for a further portion of the adjoining Uitvlugt forest reserve in November 1939,⁵⁷ by which time he was Minister of Commerce and Industries in Smuts's war cabinet. The transfer of the additional 243 morgen was registered in 1942.

In 1945 accommodation was at a premium and the Pinelands Development Company erected 224 houses between the end of the war and 1947. A revised residential layout of Pinelands was also prepared in 1947.

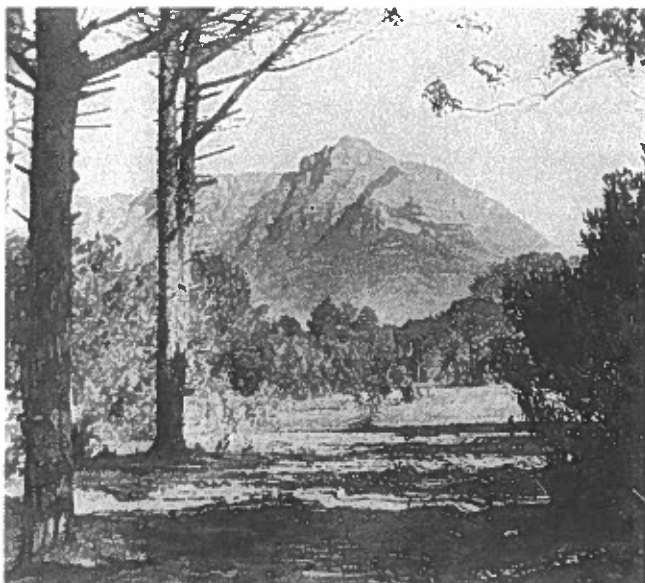
Municipal status

A notable development in Pinelands, and one that was decisive in determining the future of the garden city, was the debate of 1946 – the question of the future of the Pinelands Local Board.⁵⁸ Many residents were in favour of Pinelands becoming a municipality. Municipal status, it was argued, would make it impossible for the Administrator of the Cape to absorb Pinelands into the city of Cape Town by means of a proclamation.⁵⁹ Press reports at the time had suggested that Cape Town hoped to expand to embrace most of the Peninsula. The majority of residents were opposed to absorption. There were of course other advantages to be gained by municipal status, particularly with regard to revenue and financial contracts.⁶⁰

Probably the initial move towards a change in the status of Pinelands, despite popular belief, came from the Provincial Administration. There was a desire from this quarter that all local boards, which had exceeded a certain limiting valuation, should assume the full powers

View of Devil's Peak from Pinelands about the late 1920's.

PHOTOGRAPH CROXFORD PAPERS, BY COURTESY OF MRS. H. McMURTRIE, RONDEBOSCH, CAPE.



and responsibilities of a municipality. By remaining a local board certain responsibilities and requirements were evaded, among which contributions to hospitals, main road construction and maintenance, and deficits were the most important. In addition, the powers of a local board were more controlled and restricted in that ratepayers did not have full management of their town.

A change in status was almost inevitable, however, because of the size and increasing growth of Pinelands by 1948. But the change to a municipality did mean a considerable curtailment in the influence of the Civic Association. Consequently, when Pinelands became a separate municipality in 1948,⁶¹ there was a breakdown in the close liaison and joint control which had existed between Garden Cities Trust, Pinelands Local Board and the Civic Association.

This marked the end of an era during which a unique set of conditions had existed in town management in South Africa. But, by becoming a municipality, Pinelands had avoided incorporation into the city of Cape Town and thus retained its identity.

CONCLUSION

The closer one examines the housing problems of South Africa and other countries, the more convinced one becomes of the wisdom and foresight of Ebenezer Howard. His plan for the establishment of garden cities answered two great needs simultaneously: it gave ideal housing conditions in the most economical way and it halted distressing and haphazard encroachment on the countryside. A garden city, because it is controlled and developed from within, can avoid sporadic, unplanned growth.

It is apparent from this research that Pinelands is not, in the strict sense of the definition laid down by Howard, a true garden city. It does not have the surrounding agricultural belt which was to supply the needs of the town as well as maintain a rural portion of the community. Nor did Pinelands develop an industrial zone. In fact, in 1947 a resolution was adopted requesting the Administrator to receive a deputation from the Pinelands Civic Association to hear their protests against the zoning of a section of Pinelands for industrial purposes. Garden Cities board, however, decided not to proceed with the establishment of the industrial area on the land to the north of Pinelands which was reserved for this purpose.

Irrespective of the correct definition of Pinelands, there is no doubt about the success of this experiment in creating a new town; that which has been achieved on a small scale in what was a remote part of the Cape Peninsula could be improved and repeated throughout South Africa. ■

56. GCR: Pinelands Development Company (file).
57. UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, *Parliamentary Papers*: C. 10271/4 ('Proposed withdrawal of land from Uitvlugt. Demarcated Forest Reserve, adjoining Pinelands, Cape Division, Province of Cape of Good Hope, and the subsequent sale thereof to Garden Cities').
58. See *inter alia* MUNICIPALITY PINELANDS, Pinelands Garden City Local Board: Minute Book (No. 5, annexure), 19.7.1946, p.848, and *Pinelands News*, 9.7.1946.
59. UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (Province of the Cape of Good Hope), *Ordinances, 1921* (Ordinance 11/1921).
60. UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (Province of the Cape Colony), *Ordinances, 1938* (Cape Municipal Ordinance 8/1938).
61. *Cape of Good Hope Official Gazette*, 12.3.1948.