CHAPTER TWO

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The initial lifestyle from the time that the Trekkers settled to the north of the Vaal River, namely the pursuit of agricultural activities, enabled them to survive. At the time an economic system was out of the question, yet the agricultural system was replaced by a market-oriented system from the fifties. Potchefstroom and, subsequently, Johannesburg, Krugersdorp and Randfontein were the trade centres for agricultural produce. The establishment of gold mines in the Gatsrand in 1937 gradually gave rise to the progress and prosperity of especially the towns of Carletonville (from 1948), Oberholzer and Welverdiend.

2.1 Agriculture and stockbreeding

Prior to the establishment of gold mines in the northern parts of Gatsrand, the agricultural potential was determined by the availability of water\(^1\) and these (the northern parts) and the eastern parts were regarded as the best agricultural land in the area. The soil/land towards the west was regarded as being poorer than that in the south around Losberg.\(^2\)

Initially, the Trekker Boers practised agriculture for the sole purpose of providing in their own daily needs. Livestock was the basis of their economic activities and the criterion for wealth was land ownership and the number of livestock they owned.\(^3\)

However, farmers who were not in a financial position to buy a farm could do so by means of a government-sponsored loan system.\(^4\) There were farmers even in Gatsrand who availed themselves of this system in order to procure farms.\(^5\) In terms of Section 56 of the 1855 Constitution, farms of approximately 3 000 morgen (2 586 hectares) cost 15 000 rix-dollars (\(\mathbf{\£}3\,000\)). The government’s order to inspectors responsible for surveying and dividing farms was to divide fountains among the farms.\(^6\) Where this was impossible, the owners entered

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2. PU vir CHO., INSTITUUT VIR PEDOLOGIESE NAVORSING, Indeling van die Wonderfontein= vallei in agt substreke vir die bepaling van die landboupotensiaal, pp.8-9.
into mutual contracts. Thus FGA Wolmarans of Welverdiend, in compliance with a contract, paid £200 to JJ Oberholzer of Wonderboom on 28 October 1876 for the use of water from the lower fountainhead.  

Transgressors, however, interfered with the consumption of water of the inhabitants of Welverdiend by digging holes along the Wonderfonteinspruit so that the water could seep away into the ground. Who the transgressors were and for what reason the holes were dug, is not clear. From the complaint lodged by the people of Welverdiend with the Justice Department, it would seem that it may have been those at Wonderfontein who no longer considered the contract of 1876 as being valid still. In 1893, the Volksraad intervened by accepting a resolution that would grant the folks of Welverdiend and the farms to the south thereof to make use of the water from Wonderfontein. Government was also authorised to deal with disputes between the owners of farms until the concession was ratified.  

The government also decided to construct reservoirs in the vicinity of Wonderfontein that could supply water to the Witwatersrand mines. This decision caused dissatisfaction among the inhabitants of the northern parts of Gatsrand. After a petition signed by the inhabitants of the area had been submitted, the decision was recalled since virtually all the inhabitants of the area were dependent on the natural water source.  

Initially, the fountains were not optimised effectively owing to a lack of sales possibilities for agricultural products. It was only around 1850 that agriculture became more popular in the trekker state. In this year, a market was opened in Potchefstroom. Farmers were prompted to produce more fresh produce such as fruit and vegetables and not to merely produce for their own needs only. Some of these products, as well as wool and hides, were often traded with itinerant traders in exchange for coffee, sugar and rice. By 1859, there were, for

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7 Departement Justisie (TAB). verw. LD1268 nr. AG223/07: Akte van ooreenkoms nr. 1294, 28.10.1876. Soos reeds in die inleiding vermeld, is die Wonderfonteinoog ‘n sytak van die Mooirivier.
8 Departement Justisie (TAB), verw. LD1268 nr. AG223/07: Rooth en Wessels/Minister van lande, 5.6.1907.
10 Departement Justisie (TAB), verw. LD1268 nr. AG223/07: Klagtes van die inwoners van Wonderfontein, 2.7.1906.
example, already 2 000 grapevines and 250 fruit trees on the agricultural farm Rietfontein in the Gatsrand.  

As in other wards of the district of Potchefstroom, crops such as potatoes, lucerne, tobacco, wheat, oats, maize and sunflower were also grown in the Gatsrand. There were attempts to grow flax (tow). In 1868, at the time of an agricultural show at Potchefstroom, the first prize for the cultivation of flax was awarded to a widow – JM Pieterse of Blyvooruitzicht. She even pressed linseed oil from the seeds to meet her own and her neighbours’ needs.

Initially, the planting of tobacco was for personal use only. Emigrants from the Cape Colony who tested the crop in the ZAR provided the farmers in the area with guidance and encouraged them to grow tobacco for the market. It is apparent from the prizes awarded to the Pienaars of Elandsfontein number 289 at the tenth agricultural show in Potchefstroom that there were farmers in the area who grew quality tobacco.

Although goats and especially sheep also thrived in the Gatsrand, sheep farming was neglected during these years – that is, according to a correspondent of De Zuid-Afrikaan in 1856. At that stage, however, there was little that farmers could do with wool. The poor price for wool and the long distances to a market where wool could be sold were just two of the reasons for the lack of interest in sheep farming.

By 1860, some of the traders in Potchefstroom had created a channel for wool exports. Initially, wool of especially merinos in the Gatsrand was sent to traders in Potchefstroom. According to past inhabitants of the area, wool was already sent directly to the Durban harbour for export as early as in 1885.

In the formative years, both cattle and sheep were major articles of barter and much easier to market than crops, since they merely needed to be herded to the market. By 1860, farmers in the district did not own large numbers of cattle – as becomes apparent from

\[\text{References}\]

14 *Staats Courant der ZAR*, nr. 61, 28.1.1859, p.1
16 Anon., "Terugblik oor katoenverbouing in die Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek", *Die Potchefstroomer*, 7.2. 1885, p. 5.
17 P. Naudé, *Boerdery in die Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek, 1858-1899*, p.54.
18 *Potchefstroom Herald and Western Gazette*, 22.5.1908, p.3.
20 P. Naudé, *Boerdery in die Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek, 1858-1899*, p.29.
estate auctions in the Government Gazette. As in the rest of the ZAR, farmers owned a number of breeds, among which there were the Friesian, Afrikaner and Nguni or Zulu breeds.

It would appear that the First Anglo-Boer War (1880-1881), as well as events preceding the war brought the market in Potchefstroom to a virtual halt during these years. There was also a shortage of fresh products and it was only after farmers returned from service in the commandos that production for marketing purposes could be resumed. This situation probably applied to Gatsrand as well.

In spite of problems associated with beasts of prey, stock theft, locusts, weeds and a shortage of proper implements, farmers nevertheless experienced few problems with supplying in their own needs. In the 1870s, the government had to help with the eradication of the weed Xanthium spinosum (burweed) that had spread from the Cape Colony to the ZAR and had reached alarming proportions. This weed was harmful with regard to the production of wool-bearing sheep since the seeds would attach themselves to the wool, thus damaging the machines used for processing the wool.

In 1892, JCH Pistorius of Losberg informed the magistrate of Potchefstroom that the burweed had proliferated in the Gatsrand – especially on the farm Elandsfontein number 360.

Weeds were also especially troublesome for the cultivation of agricultural crops such as maize. Droughts and locust plagues regularly harassed the maize farmers. In addition to the above, long distances often had to be covered to have the maize and corn ground. There were not many mills, and originally Potchefstroom had been the closest facility for this purpose for those in the Gatsrand area.

Although they were self-supporting, some of the farmers apparently failed to create capital to expand or promote their farming activities. In April 1890, J Martins, J Geldenhuys and 62 other farmers requested government by means of a memorandum drawn up at Buffelsdoorn, to provide farmers with credit. At that stage, the government had not yet seen the need for that and the suggestion was also unusual since this form of enterprise at the time was still

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25 S.J. Eloff, ’n Evaluering van die grondgebruikspatroon van die Vredefortkoepel..., p.9.
26 P. Naudé, Boerdery in die Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek, 1858-1899, p.37.
27 Potchefstroom Landdros (TAB), verw. 19: J.C.H. Pistorius/Landros, 1.3.1892.
28 P. Naudé, Boerdery in die Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek, 1858-1899, pp.4-45.
based on self-maintenance in the ZAR. In 1893, there was nevertheless a decision to start a so-called redemption fund to assist farmers in infested areas in the light of serious natural disasters, plagues and stock diseases.\textsuperscript{29}

Of the stock diseases that hit the Transvaal the major ones were, \textit{inter alia}, pulmonary, scabby and horse disease, as well as rinderpest (cattle plague). The outbreak of rinderpest (cattle plague) in the Gatsrand in 1897, as in fact also in the major part of South Africa, was probably the most severe setback.\textsuperscript{30} From the regular reports that the field cornet of Gatsrand had to provide to the magistrate in Potchefstroom during the epidemic, it is quite apparent that there were large numbers of cattle in the area at the time. In spite of the inoculation of 5 656 head of cattle, 1 516 of them died from the disease.\textsuperscript{31}

The large losses of cattle implied that the number of draught animals had dwindled and this consequently complicated the farmers' sowing activities. In the course of time, the emergency situation reached such proportions that the Volksraad decided to come to the aid of the affected districts by sending veterinary surgeons there at government expense.\textsuperscript{32}

The government also introduced stringent measures in order to prevent the rinderpest (cattle plague) from spreading. This entailed, \textit{inter alia}, that all infected cattle had to be put down and buried immediately without any compensation.\textsuperscript{33} In 1896, PJW Schutte (junior) informed the Executive Council that the rinderpest regulations aggravated the desperate conditions among farmers in the area.\textsuperscript{34} Fodder and draught animals were purchased by the government and distributed among the afflicted farmers. In the Potchefstroom district, 646 donkeys and 83 mules were distributed.\textsuperscript{35}

By the end of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century, there were few farms in the Republic where the
cultivated soil exceeded 47.2 morgen (40.6 hectares). Subdivision of farms gave rise to overgrazing (overstocking).\textsuperscript{36} Some of the Gatsrand farms actually accommodated more than one family, with each using a section of the land in accordance with their needs.\textsuperscript{37}

DAGBREEK NURSERY AT JACHTFONTEIN, 1951
Photo: WJA Wessels (Fochville)

AN ADVERTISEMENT OF DAGBREEK NURSERY, 1952
Illustration: BJV Naudé (ed.), Commemorative Issue: Receipt of Mail Coach

The Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) brought agriculture to a halt and after peace-making most of the farmers were left paupers. The British scorched-earth policy during the war left farms with nothing on them. The British administration appointed commissions to provide impoverished farmers with, inter alia, seed and implements. Agricultural practices were now similar to those of 1840-1850, since they were on the same lines, namely self-preservation.\textsuperscript{38} The self-preservation was changed with the establishment of a cooperative on 4 May 1909. This enabled farmers to market their products collectively.\textsuperscript{39} To boot, farmers were able to avail themselves of the services of entomologists from Pretoria whenever they experienced problems with plagues. In 1911, for instance, J Pistorius of Losberg had to ask for the help of an expert in order to gain control over red scale that had infected 300 orange trees on his farm.\textsuperscript{40}

In spite of the aid of the British administration to farmers, there were those unfortunate farmers who were forced to sell their farms owing to the high cost of living and a lack of cash. The circumstances in which virtually every farmer found himself more or less, was probably one of the reasons why a young farmer, one GP Brits, decided to set about

\textsuperscript{38} Potchefstroom Repatriation Commission (TAB), verw. 8, nr. c11: Commission applications for assistance, 1902.
\textsuperscript{39} Anon., \textit{Vyftig jaar van Koöperasie in Wes-Transvaal, 1909-1959}, p.29.
\textsuperscript{40} Hoof Insektekundige (SAB), verw. 509 nr. E1719: Entomoloog/J. Pistorius, 5.9.1911.
something the right way. In 1912, he started to develop a nursery with fruit trees and flowers on his farm.41

A greater demand for food on the Johannesburg mines – owing to a throng of job-seekers at the end of the war – created a market for grains, and especially for wheat. Farmers were given the opportunity to improve their financial positions by producing more grains and selling these to gold mines at good prices.42

Mills at Elandsfontein number 289 and Bank helped farmers a lot with the milling of their wheat prior to its being sold to the mines.43 Farmers in the Gatsrand area even sold fresh fruit – especially peaches – to the mine workers. Peeled dried peaches were sold for a sixpence (six pennies) per pound (approximately 500 g) and unpeeled ones for a tickey (three pennies) per pound to shopkeepers in Potchefstroom.44

That the farmers’ success in the field of agriculture to a large extent still depended on their own experience and expertise is apparent from the correspondence of Howitzer of Elandsfontein (number 289) with De Westelike Stem. He says that “on a crop farm, all of those owning the best fountain heads in the Gatsrand area, is it still iron claws in the soil, or small-scale slavery, yet one cannot make a living or retain one’s farm if one is not prepared to toil…] A farmer must have brains, for he has to be a doctor able to care for (look after) livestock, plants and himself. He also needs to be a barometer since his happiness or unhappiness largely depends on his knowledge of the weather conditions; also a good auditor to take care of the income and expenditure…”45

45 De Westelike Stem, 10.2.1916, p.5. Of Howitzer ’n skuilnaam was, is onseker.
It was soon realised that farmers’ associations were essential for effective agricultural guidance. It would seem that there already was a farmers’ association at Wonderfontein in 1906.46

In 1924, *De Westelike Stem* referred to this association as the *Wonderfontein Saamwerk Boerevereniging* (Wonderfontein Cooperative Farmers’ Association) with JP Nortjé as chairperson.47 Other farmers associations established only subsequently in the 1920s, were Welverdiend, Elandsfontein number 494,48 Leeuwerpoort,49 Klipdrift, Losberg,50 Fochville and Hermia.51

The Dutch settlers that settled at Wonderfontein from 1928 had their own Cooperative Farmers’ Association. The settlers produced products such as maize, black-eyed beans, sugar cane, beetroot and pumpkins mainly for own use, while only potatoes were cultivated (grown) for the market in Johannesburg. Their main objective was to establish a dairy and to produce cheese as well as butter. For this purpose, a number of stud Friesian cows were imported from the Netherlands in order to supplement and improve their local herd. Crops such as lucerne, rye, barley, mangel-wurzel and grass for grazing were planted as fodder. The settlers’ Cooperative Farmers’ Association sold all that was produced on their behalf and the profit was shared in accordance with the quantity contributed by each settler.52

In contrast with large-scale dairy farming in the northern parts, inter alia, at Wonderfontein, Elandsfontein number 494 and Stinkhoutboom, the farmers in the southern areas concentrated more on sheep farming. They did not have sufficient water for cultivating grass for grazing purposes as was the case with farmers to the north. A branch of the National Wool Growers’ Association was established in Fochville in the 1920s and was referred to as the Gatsrand Wool Growers. The chief goal of the branch was to give guidance (counselling) to farmers and to negotiate for better wool prices.53

Apart from the introduction to agricultural information/counselling, the farmers’ associations acted as mouthpiece through which farmers could draw the attention of a particular authority

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46 Hoof Insektekundige (SAB), verw. 63 nr. EE3965: Wonderfontein Farmers Association, 14.6.1906. Wanneer die Boerevereniging gestig is, is onbekend.
47 *De Westelike Stem*, 5.3.1924, p.5.
48 *De Westelike Stem*, 1.7.1920, p.3 en 19.7.1922, p.2.
49 *De Westelike Stem*, 2.2.1923, p.2.
52 *Potchefstroom Herald and Western Gazette*, 17.10.1930, P.10.
organisation to unfavourable local conditions. In 1922, the associations requested Member of Parliament, TFJ Dreyer of the Losberg constituency to approach the Minister of Railways with a view to the erection of a grain silo at any one of the three stations in the Gatsrand (Bank, Welverdiend or Oberholzer) or outside the southern boundaries (Nolte and Klington). However, this was not realised because the amount of grain that the region delivered to the stations was still inadequate. Even the construction of a smaller silo required a minimum of 5 000 to 8 000 tons of grain to be dispatched per annum. Of the three stations in the Gatsrand, Bank dispatched only 1 507 tons of grain in 1921, which was more than the 991 tons of Welverdiend and the 134 tons of Oberholzer. It was recommended that farmers should avail themselves of the silos at Potchefstroom or those at Ventersdorp.54

Furthermore, a representative of the administrator who attended a meeting of the Welverdiend Farmers’ Association in September 1924 listened to farmers’ complaints regarding high railway tariffs on products in the 75 mile (120 km) radius. Owing to the high cost some of the farmers at Wonderfontein and Welverdiend did not make use of the station at Welverdiend, but instead transported their own products to Johannesburg. It was also requested that the railway halt (siding) at Oberholzer at Wonderfontein should be upgraded to a station. The motivation for said request was that the production area would be enlarged in 1925 so that the “station” would be increasingly used in the future.55

The Fochville Farmers’ Association had already, by way of a petition, brought to the attention of the Minister of Transport the area’s inadequate transport facilities in 1922. This partly contributed to the planning of the railways for the opening of the Potchefstroom-Losberg railroad in 1927.56 The representations of the folk of Welverdiend with regard to the Oberholzer siding was realised only in the 1930s, when gold mines were started in the area and regular passenger services were introduced.57

The overarching body for the district of farmers’ associations of Potchefstroom, the Central Farmers’ Union, was organised from this town with representatives in all wards. Inhabitants of Gatsrand, whose names can be identified on the attendance list of the Central Farmers’ Union in 1922, are, inter alia, JB Wolmarans, P Schutte, P Davidtz, B Greyling and E de

54 De Westelike Stem, 28.6.1922, p.3.
56 Ministerie van Vervoer (SAB), verw. 409 nr. 16/44: Potchefstroom-Losberg line petition, 15.3.1922. Vergelyk ook De Westelike Stem, 18.1.1928, p.5.
Beer. On this occasion, too, discussions and arrangements centred on the improvement of
the farmers’ circumstances. In order to combat the locust plague in the respective wards,
locust officers were appointed by the Farmers’ Union in 1922. GH Davidtz, JB Wolmarans,
RG Amm and PJ de V Steyn were appointed for Gatsrand, followed by HS du Preez, J
Greyling, FD Pienaar en DJ Wolmarans. When natural disasters such as drought and
hailstorms struck the farmers and they suffered loss of livestock or crops, the Farmers’
Union and the farmers’ associations strove to offer relief by means of financial support.
As will become apparent later on, farmers’ associations played a major role in further farming
activities of a mainly agrarian area.

In the light of rumours originating from pamphlets and newspapers that gold mining
companies were buying the mineral rights of farmers’ properties with a view to prospecting,
one Ferreira of Losberg proposed at the congress of the Central Farmers’ Union in 1924 that
vigilance committees be established in order to prevent the ruination of farmers. It was
realised that the selling of mineral rights would eventually lead to the expropriation of land.
On another occasion, P Schutte requested that seed should be distributed among needy
farmers in the district.

The drought and the depression years (1929-1933) dealt most farmers a severe blow and
low prices were paid for their products at the Newton Market in Johannesburg and also at
the market in Potchefstroom. In 1931, the Loopspruit Farmers’ Association at Klipdrift
negotiated with the City Council of Potchefstroom regarding the increase of market prices.
This would encourage farmers to rather take their products to Potchefstroom. Consumers
would benefit from this also. However, the city council was not able to do much in this
regard. Total depression and drought countywide led to an increased drop in the prices of
products. In 1931, the government adopted a special emergency relief act that made
provision for loans to farmers. Although the worst of the drought was broken by 1933, its

58 De Westelike Stem, 21.2.1922, p.5.
59 De Westelike Stem, 25.10.1922, p.7 en 3.10.1923, p.3.
60 De Westelike Stem, 11.10.1922, p.5.
61 Sien voetnote 65 en 70.
62 De Westelike Stem, 30.1.1924, p.2. Van hierdie voorstel het niks gekom nie. Van 1937 af het goudmyne
sonder enige probleme in die gebied begin funksioneer.
63 De Westelike Stem, 12.3.1924, p.5.
64 De Westelike Stem, 4.2.1930, p.5.
65 Potchefstroom Herald and Western Gazette, 24.7.1931, p.5.
consequences were so severe that a second emergency relief act that made provision for loans to farmers was adopted in 1935.66

The period from 1929 to 1933 probably was not as severe a blow to farmers in the northern parts of the Gatsrand as it was to those in the rest of the area. They could rely on the local natural springs for water. In the midst of the drought, the Dutch settler F Veldman planned to use a newly produced German product at Wonderfontein. It could be used to irrigate large sections of the cultivated soil. It would in addition be labour-saving.67 Whether Veldman did actually use the product, remains uncertain.

The Venterspost goldmine, which started functioning outside the boundaries of Gatsrand in the early 1930s, employed some of the farmers that had to leave their farms owing to financial need.68 There were also settlers who followed the example of some farmers by opting to find refuge elsewhere.69 Squatting occurred on farms in the vicinity of the mine. In the light of such squatting that was experienced especially at Lawley, the Gatsrand Farmers’ Association requested the Department of Native Affairs to address this problem.70

Little is known about persons who served in agricultural organisations at district and provincial level. JW Grey of Doornfontein and WJA Vermaas of Rhenosterfontein were committee members of the Potchefstroom District Agricultural Union between 1920 and 1935.71

Although the Transvaal Women’s Agricultural Union was established in 1925, branches of this organisation were created in the Gatsrand only after 1948. Women in the area probably joined the branch of the Women’s Agricultural Union at Frederikstad, north-west of Potchefstroom, from 1926. The goal of the organisation was to uplift Afrikaner women by,

67 *Potchefstroom Herald and Western Gazette*, 17.10.1930, p.10.
70 Naturellesake (SAB), verw. nr. 2920 832/323: Gatsrand Boerevereniging/Sekretaris Naturellesake, April 1937. Die stigtingsdatum van die Gatsrand Boerevereniging kon nie opgespoor word nie. Hierdie vereniging is vanaf die plaas Jachtfontein georganiseer. Hulle grense moes verder as die Gatsrand se oostelike grens gestrek het, aangesien Lawley nie deel was van die wyk nie.
inter alia, discourse on topical matters and the practising of manual dexterity at competition level.\textsuperscript{72}

The establishment of gold mines was advantageous for those farmers who were able to retain their farms. Farming became more profitable (lucrative) because consumers were now closer to the producers. The provision of products to Potchefstroom, Krugersdorp, Randfontein and the towns on the reef decreased, while the local mines were serviced increasingly. Initially, farmers supplied only dairy products. The expansion of mining activities was already changing this situation by 1948. Some farmers still despatched cream and butter to Johannesburg. Fruit was also sold to the mine workers of Randfontein.\textsuperscript{73}

Organised agriculture and the establishment of mines gave rise to the promotion of the wellbeing of the farming community in Gatsrand. However, it was mining that resulted in the development of sections of the area. The establishment of gold mines gave rise to the establishment of towns, which in turn resulted in the arrival of traders and the establishment of industries.\textsuperscript{74}

2.2 Trade and mining

After the settlement of Trekkers (1839), Potchefstroom was the central point of economic activities in the district. Auctions were held and, in 1850, a market was created for local products.\textsuperscript{75} During the three occasions that people gathered for Communion ("Nagmaal") was held annually in Potchefstroom, the folk from Gatsrand bought the necessary articles and clothing. Consumer goods such as eggs, vegetables and fruit were also traded for but little compensation.

Money was scarce and transactions mainly occurred on an exchange basis.\textsuperscript{76}

Owing to the serious lack of money among the burgers (citizens), the state coffers were as good as empty and the government itself in dire financial straits.\textsuperscript{77} Wealthy burgers of the ZAR at times lent money to the Volksraad. Burgess of the Gatsrand, who also provided some money to the government, were PJW Schutte and FG Wolmarans. In 1858, Schutte, for

\textsuperscript{73} Carletonville (PU vir CHO), verw. 3: Onderhoud K. Greyling, 11.2.1987.
\textsuperscript{74} J.H. Coetzee, (red.), Voortgeseette streekopname van beheerde gebied nr. 2, verslag nr. 2..., p.93.
\textsuperscript{75} H.M. van Coller, Die burgerlike lewe in Potchefstroom..., p.78.
\textsuperscript{76} Carletonville (PU vir CHO), verw. 3: Bandopname K. du Preez, 6.11.1986. Vergelyk ook H.M. van Coller, Die burgerlike lewe in Potchefstroom..., p.78.
instance, lent 100 pounds to the Volksraad. President MW Pretorius personally took delivery of the money on Schutte's farm, Buffelsdoorn.\textsuperscript{78}

As far as could be determined, there were no established traders or hotel owners at Gatsrand prior to 1868. Until 1900, but a few shops and hotels had been built, some of which were run by the owners of farms. Applications were either approved or rejected by the Potchefstroom trade licence committee in collaboration with the field cornet of the ward and the magistrate of Potchefstroom.\textsuperscript{79}

For travellers’ convenience, hotels and shops were built mainly along the main routes between Potchefstroom and Pretoria and Johannesburg. Inhabitants were equally advantaged, since they were no longer obliged to do all purchases and sales in Potchefstroom.\textsuperscript{80} In the last three decades of the 19th century, at least 13 shops and hotels were erected in the area:

**TABLE 4 Shops and hotels in the Gatsrand, 1868-1900**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FARM</th>
<th>ENTERPRISE</th>
<th>OWNER</th>
<th>Year established</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lapdoorns</td>
<td>Blythe &amp; Co shop/store</td>
<td>J Biesler</td>
<td>1868</td>
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<tr>
<td>Klipkop</td>
<td>Retail shop</td>
<td>CL Dreyer</td>
<td>1879</td>
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<tr>
<td>✦ Kraalkop</td>
<td>Hotel</td>
<td>Vince</td>
<td>(1886)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>“Kantien en losies voor rijzigers” (Canteen and accommodation for travellers)</td>
<td>JP Brand</td>
<td>1888</td>
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<tr>
<td>Blyvooruitzicht</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Hotel langs den weg” (Hotel along the way)</td>
<td>Hompes and Seehoff</td>
<td>1889</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kaalfontein</td>
<td>Store/shop</td>
<td>S Grass</td>
<td>1888</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elandsfontein number</td>
<td>“Hotel langs den weg” (Hotel along the way)</td>
<td>S Rosenthal</td>
<td>1893</td>
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<td>289</td>
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<td>Flacks and Rutenberg</td>
<td>1896</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Traders of Potchefstroom regularly hired transport drivers (itinerant traders) to send articles of commerce (commodities) into the various wards. Ox waggons trekked from one farm to the next in order to sell its articles. The Jewish trader, Japie Kliwanski, who used to sell a medley of articles of commerce or commodities during his travels, is still fondly remembered.\(^8^1\)

The conscription of farmers at the outbreak of the War in 1899 inevitably caused the closure of some of the Afrikaners’ stores and hotels in the Gatsrand. Jewish traders such as Vince, Rosenthal, Flacks and Rutenberg were apparently not conscripted and they could therefore continue with their enterprises.\(^{82}\) It would appear that their loyalty during the war lay with the farmers. Some of the women received free food from the traders – especially from Rosenthal.\(^{83}\) With the ending of the war in 1902, the stores of S and C Geldenhuys and Bosman resumed their activities. Other businesses that opened in the Gatsrand were those of J Sylvcot (Wildebeestfontein), MS Rubenstein (Rietfontein number 503), A Israel (Kraalkop), JS Smook (Wildebeestfontein), JCF Wolter (Kaalfontein) and W Binks (Rietfontein nr. 503).\(^{84}\)

In 1922, a trader known as Solomon Brothers opened a store at Losberg.\(^{85}\) At that stage, the young town of Fochvillle also had a few traders.\(^{86}\) Welverdiend still had its hotel and store, as well as butchery and three sheds in which products could be sold by travelling merchants.\(^{87}\)

The settling of Dutch farmers at Wonderfontein from 1928 contributed to the expansion of the trading sector in the Gatsrand. Some of the Dutch immigrants relied on their artisan qualifications in order to establish businesses at Wonderfontein.\(^{88}\) Akker and Mensinga established a cheese factory known as Adorp. Folkerts was the butcher and baker, Boersma the blacksmith and J Aukema the shopkeeper. The Oranje Hotel, which was established by F Veldman in approximately 1930, was up to and including 1948 the only hotel in the immediate vicinity of the mine.\(^{89}\) After the establishment of the mines in the area in 1937, the cheese factory was managed by the Wonderfontein commission. At the time, JA Domisse en AP Brugman attended to (managed) the dairy farming of the Commission.\(^{90}\)

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\(^{82}\) *Potchefstroom Herald and Western Gazette*, 4.2.1944, p.4.


\(^{84}\) Carletonville versameling (PU vir CHO), verw. 3: Bandopname K. du Preez, 6.11.1986. Vergelyk ook TAB, (ongekatalogiseer): Kieserslys van wyk nr. 5: Gatsrand, 1905 asook Justisie (SAB), verw. 142 nr. 3/475/12: Landdros/Potchefstroom/Sekretaris van Justisie. 3.4.1912.

\(^{85}\) *De Westelike Stem*, 2.2.1922, p.5.

\(^{86}\) B.J.V. Naudé (red.), *Gedenkuitgawe: Ontvangs van poskoets te Oberholzer*..., p.31.

\(^{87}\) Justisie (SAB), verw. 395 nr. 3/251/25: Sekretaris van Polisie/ Sekretaris van Justisie, 4.11.1924.

\(^{88}\) Carletonville (PU vir CHO), verw. 2: Kol. Dr. J. Ploeger/ E.S. van Eeden, 20.9.1986.


\(^{90}\) Bewaarder van Vyandseindom (SAB), verw. 104 nr. H3/12: Commissie vir Wonderfontein, 6.6.1940-4.7.1940
land by mining companies and a throng of traders from other areas were contributing factors that caused some of the settlement’s original traders to be supplanted.91

From 1937, goldmine activities in the area were preceded by prospecting that commenced in approximately 1880. That there was no doubt whatsoever about the presence of gold, is clear from the buying up of land between 1883 and 1884 by gold mining companies such as African Gold Recovery Proprietary Limited, Bertha Estate Gold mines and Company, Battery Reef Gold mines Company Limited, Moddervlei Prospecting Syndicate, Randfontein Estate Gold mines Company, Witwatersrand Limited, GM Sutton Gold Mines Company and West Battery Reef Gold Mines Company Limited.92

SHAFT NUMBER ONE AT BLYVOORUITZICHT

FIRST MINING HOUSES AT BLYVOORUITZICHT

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92 Potchefstroom Landdros (TAB), verw. 90: Indeks op belastingregister Gatsrand, 1883-1884.
The area south-west of Randfontein was characterised by a considerable number of mining activities from 1899 to 1911. The Western Rand Estates sunk nine shafts, three of which in the Gatsrand, namely Twyfelvlakte in 1902, Driefontein number 591 in 1903 and Doornkloof in 1910. The company Goertz & Company was responsible for the drilling. Owing to an inability to drill through the dolomite, activities were halted for the time being until New Consolidated Gold Fields Limited started prospecting in the area in 1930. A German geophysicist, Dr R Krahmann managed to detect gold in the northern parts of the Gatsrand with the help of the magnetometric method. The remark of Reverend TF Burgers, the subsequent state president of the ZAR, who stopped over for a day at Wonderfontein during his journey through the Transvaal in 1871 came true indeed: “Wie weet welke schatten van goud hier nog gevonden zullen worden ... dit laat ik echter aan deskundige beoordeling

93 R.A. Pelletier, "Contributions to the geology of the Far West Rand", Transactions of the geological society of South Africa XL, Julie 1937, pp.130, 139.
over” (Who knows what treasures of gold are still to be found here … however, I'll rather leave that in the hands of the experts.”)\textsuperscript{95}

The West Witwatersrand Areas Limited that was registered as a company in November 1932 continued prospecting in the area.\textsuperscript{96} In 1932, a research base was established at Oberholzer under veld superintendent TW Bruyns. The local research team included geologists, surveyors and mechanics and they were responsible for local services such as transport, water supplies, repairs, carpentry and road construction.\textsuperscript{97}

The so-called West Wits Line was opened when a start was made at Venterspost, north of the current Westonaria, with the sinking of a shaft and the use of cementation process that sealed water-bearing crevices in the dolomite in the vicinity of the shaft. This gave rise to the sinking of shafts at Blyvooruitzicht, West Driefontein and Doornfontein. The continuous (uninterrupted) gold reef from Venterspost as far as Doornfontein became known as the

\textsuperscript{95} T.F. Burgers, \textit{Schetsen uit de Transvaal}, p.7.
\textsuperscript{97} R.A. Pelletier, "Contributions to the geology.,” \textit{Transactions of the geological society of South Africa} XL, Julie 1937, p.159.
West Wits Line. The name was probably derived from the company West Witwatersrand Are\textsuperscript{98}

Development was started at Blyvooruitzicht by the Corner House group on 11 January 1937. The mining company was known as the Blyvooruitzicht General Mining Company with RSG Stokes as chairman and BAD Kinahan as manager.\textsuperscript{99} The first tunnels were blasted open on 14 November 1937 and production of ore commenced in 1942.\textsuperscript{100} The first gold bar was cast in 1942.\textsuperscript{101} By 1948, this mine showed a total profit of £2 486 519 and it was regarded as the South African mine with the most promising growth potential.\textsuperscript{102}

Mining activities at Blyvooruitzicht gradually increased. In 1938, 73 whites were employed and this figure increased to 585 in 1948. On the other hand 478 blacks were employed in 1938 and this figure increased to 3 915 in 1948.\textsuperscript{103}

West Driefontein Mine was started one year after the one at Blyvooruitzicht. This mine was planned in 1938 after a contract of lease was obtained from the government. By the end of 1945, a start was made with the sinking of the shafts.\textsuperscript{104} In 1948, production had not yet started, but at that stage the number of white miners employed was 100 and that of black ones 595.\textsuperscript{105}

A third mine in the Gatsrand, known as the Doornfontein mine, was opened in January 1947 and the Annan shaft was sunk on 21 March. Robert Annan, after whom the shaft was named, was the chairperson of Consolidated Gold Fields since 1941. As mining engineer, he was also involved with the early mining activities in the area.\textsuperscript{106} In this instance too, production had not yet begun by 1948 and only 65 whites and 306 blacks were employed.\textsuperscript{107}

\textsuperscript{101} W. Hagan-Watson, “Down memory lane...”, pp.1-2.
\textsuperscript{102} \textit{Potchefstroom Herald and Western Gazette}, 19.1.1945, p.4. Vergelyk ook J.H. Coetzee (red.), Voortgesette streekopname van beheerde gebied nr. 2, verslag nr. 3..., tabel nr. 3.
\textsuperscript{103} J.H. Coetzee (red.), Voortgesette streekopname van beheerde gebied nr. 2, verslag nr.3..., p.126.
\textsuperscript{104} R. Macnab, \textit{Gold their touchstone...}, p.75.
\textsuperscript{105} J.H. Coetzee (red.), Voortgesette streekopname van beheerde gebied nr. 2, verslag nr.3..., p. 126.
\textsuperscript{106} R. Macnab, \textit{Gold their touchstone...}, p.161.
In the 1940s, the West Witwatersrand Areas Limited continued to obtain mineral rights to sections of farms such as, inter alia, Elandsfontein number 289,108 Kraalkop and Buffelsdoorn.109 In 1948, the Gatsrand was still part of the Potchefstroom district and mines in the area were advantageous to the town. At the time when the boundaries of Randfontein were determined, the town laid claim to part of the district of Potchefstroom, namely the area in the vicinity of the mines. Potchefstroom contested this claim. However, in 1947, the Department of Justice determined that the borders of Randfontein had not yet been finalised and that the area would still remain part of Potchefstroom.110

At the start of the gold mining activities in the Gatsrand, there were not enough traders to meet all the needs of the mines. By August 1938, three traders of Randfontein, a baker (J Celine), a grocer (one Fedler) and an unknown fruiterer delivered ordered goods at Blyvooruitzicht mine.111 The Knight contractors of Potchefstroom provided the Blyvooruitzicht mine with meat. Orders were sent by rail to Welverdiend Station and were collected there. Inhabitants of that area also availed themselves of these contractors' services.112

The establishment of mines and towns served as an incentive for the arrival of merchants – especially from Potchefstroom.113 General dealers such as M Mia, JA Leukema and T Lewitton came to settle at Oberholzer. Local butchers (JJ Nieuhuis and JP Holtzhausen) eliminated the slow meat deliveries from Potchefstroom.114 The blacksmith, H Boersma, who initially serviced only the inhabitants of the Dutch settlement, moved his blacksmith's shop to Oberholzer. Since 1939, this town also had its own liquor store.115 With the arrival of gold mines, the service industries such as garages, transport businesses and lime factories were established in order to meet the needs of the mines. Fourie, Calderbank as well as Snyman and Roux each opened a garage at Oberholzer.116 In 1941, J L and JP van der Berg

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108 Elandsfontein nr. 289 se mineraleregte is vir 38 000 pond verkry. Kyk Potchefstroom Herald and Western Gazette, 7.3.1947, p.7.
110 Potchefstroom Herald and Western Gazette, 9.5.1947, p.3.
113 Carletonville (PU vir CHO), verw. 3: Onderhoud T. Nosarka, 22.5.1987.
established a lime factory\textsuperscript{117} and, in 1947, Lutterveld started a brickyard in order to meet the needs of building contractors.\textsuperscript{118}

In 1947, JE Hommes already delivered milk daily to 400 clients. In 1948, he started to deliver milk to the Blyvooruitzicht mine as well. At that stage, this diary at Oberholzer produced as much as 2 000 gallons (9 000 litres) per day.\textsuperscript{119} In 1948, a grocery store (Waks en Judelsohn), a diary (Phibbs) and a pharmacy (J Grolman) opened in the town.\textsuperscript{120}

Most of the shops/stores at Bank were built close to the station. The KO Bazaars and Blybank Supply Stores were run by the Nosarka family.\textsuperscript{121} Other general traders were HA Hai, NF Stores and PK Petel. Geldenhuys opened a butcher’s shop and EJ Carney and Swanies each opened a garage.\textsuperscript{122} In 1947, a Standard Bank agency was opened in response to a request by the inhabitants of the town, probably because the number of inhabitants there exceeded that of Oberholzer, Blybank and West Wits and thus justified the location of the banking facility. The West-Wits Transport Service was run by the Kennedys and the West Wits Hotel by S Fine.\textsuperscript{123} On account of a shortage of traders in the towns West Wits and Blybank, the inhabitants of these two towns bought their necessities at Bank until 1948.

\textbf{WEST WITS HOTEL}

\textsuperscript{117} United Transvaal Directory Company Limited, \textit{United Transvaal directory for 1941-1942}, p.1557.
\textsuperscript{118} Hommes (TAB), verw. WHA 90: J.E. Hommes/Outers, 24.2.1947.
\textsuperscript{121} Carletonville (PU vir CHO), verw. 3: Onderhoud T. Nosarka, 22.5.1987. T. Nosarka se vader, I. Nosarka, het in 1939 die perseel van ene Blomberg as smous beset na Blomberg se onderneming gesekevesteer is. Nosarka het die onderneming, wat sedert 1927 bekend was as Bank station store en onder verskeie persone se bestuur was voor Blomberg dit oorgeneem het, na Blybank Supply Stores verander.
\textsuperscript{122} United Transvaal Directory Company Limited, \textit{United Transvaal directory for 1941-1942}, p.487.
Prior to the proclamation of Welverdiend in 1942, general dealers such as JE Metharen and Rosenthal & Flacks were already active in the area.\textsuperscript{125} By 1948, D Gerson, the Jews Pantanowitz and Katz and an unknown dealer trading by the name of Atlas Basaar joined the ranks of existing traders. Apparently the business of Peck Brothers was the only transport business at Welverdiend at the time.\textsuperscript{126}

The last town to be proclaimed in the mining area was Carletonville, which by 1948 had one fresh produce trader and a liquor store (owner DA van Aardt). At that stage, itinerant traders provided necessities to folks who had already settled in the town. There was a dairy at Blyvooruitzicht and a general dealer, as well as a butcher’s shop, on the grounds of the West Driefontein Mine. The inhabitants of Oberholzer and Carletonville possibly also made use of these amenities.\textsuperscript{127}

Construction of a complex with 12 shops with flats on the first floor commenced in Carletonville as early as 1947. This building, known as Flint, was completed in 1952. Ingot House, the construction of which was commenced in 1948 and completed in 1949, was one of the first shopping centres.\textsuperscript{128} A hotel of £80 000 was envisaged in 1947.\textsuperscript{129} Planning was initially halted when the owner of the hotel at West Wits objected. It was held that another hotel was redundant since there were already two hotels, namely West Wits at Bank and that of D Gerson at Welverdiend in close proximity to the location of the mines. A court case with regard to the validity of the erection of yet another hotel followed in the magistrate’s court of Potchefstroom. FT Hindle, the applicant for the new hotel representing South African Breweries, convinced the magistrate that the potential for expansion of the town of Carletonville exceeded that of its neighbours. He also held that there was a major demand for hotel facilities in Carletonville and its environs.\textsuperscript{130}

In 1948, two ladies outfitters, namely Moolmans and Chic, opened their doors in the town. The owner of the Chic fashion store (A van der Westhuizen) and her family bought ice-
cream from a wholesale merchant in Johannesburg, selling it to the residents of Carletonville.131

By 1948, there were also service industries and traders/merchants in other parts of the Gatsrand. There were lime works at Rooipoort, a transport contractor (JB Wolmarans) at Losberg, a blacksmith (AM Nolan) at Vlakfontein number 364, a garage (owner CS Jeffrey) at Kraalkop and three nurseries at Jachtfontein, namely Doornpoort (owner RC Anderson), at Dagbreek (owner GP Brits and Son) and Jachtfontein Nursery (owner HP Lindeque).132 Furthermore, general dealers traded at Taaboschspruit (JI Mia and ML Methar and Sons), Loopspruit (MJ Orelowitz), Vlakfontein number 364 (JM Schoonara, Silliman and Hoosan), Hermina (FJ Buitendach, Aurbelowitz and SW Vorster) and Cardoville (SA Bosman and WF Pretorius).133

By 1948 it was clear that Carletonville and Oberholzer – as the towns closest to the three gold mines – were developing faster than Welverdiend, Bank, West Wits and Blybank.134

2.3 The role of blacks in the labour market

The destructive campaign of Mzilikazi and the Ndebele to the north of the Vaal River eliminated and scattered large numbers of the black tribes of the area. After the trekker settlement of 1838, fleeing Tswanas offered whites their services in exchange for their protection.135

It was the task of the field cornet in reaction to the requests of those living on farms in his ward, to find labourers and to have them employed.136 By 1855, the number of labourers in the Gatsrand did not meet the demand and the field cornet constantly had to listen to the farmers' complaints. Thus, for instance, in 1856, field cornet TP Pretorius of ward Gatsrand, in despair asked the magistrate of Potchefstroom to send a number of labourers thence since he was unsuccessful in his attempts to get hold of labourers.137

134 Plaaslike ontwikkeling word breedvoerig in hoofstuk sewe bespreek.
135 W.A. Stals, Die kwessie van Naturelle eiendomsreg op grond in Transvaal, 1838-1884, p.1.
137 Potchefstroom Landdros (TAB), verw. 1: T.P. Pretorius/Landdros, 25.8.1856.
From 1859, employment of labourers occurred by means of legal contracts that were dealt with by the magistrate of Potchefstroom. According to JA Grimbeeck’s contract, provision was made that an owner had to undertake to employ a labourer for a fixed period, to provide him or her with the necessities of life and not to maltreat him or her. Apart from details regarding contracts of employment, little information was found that referred to the weal and woe of the labourers. It would, however, seem that some farmers allowed the people and their families to live on the farms where they were able to also have cattle to meet their own needs. As far as numbers are concerned, only one census, namely that of 1894 could be traced. This census gave an indication of the distribution of the labourers in the Gatsrand as far as accommodation was concerned.

TABLE 5 Number of black labourers with wives and children on farms in the ward Gatsrand in 1894

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FARM</th>
<th>OWNER(S)</th>
<th>LABOURERS (MALE)</th>
<th>WOMEN AND CHILDREN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wonderfontein</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modderfontein</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwaggafontein</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Houtkop</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Klipkop</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rietfontein number 503</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blyvooruitzicht</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buffelsdoorn</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doornfontein</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Driefontein</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhenosterfontein</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elandsfontein number 289</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doornspoort</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elandsfontein number 493</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cardoville</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Driefontein</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weltevreden</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doornkloof</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vlakfontein</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaalplaats</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boschhoek</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rietspruit</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Driefontein</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rietfontein number 144</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elandslei</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

138 Potchefstroom Landdros (TAB), verw. 133: Diverse inkomende stukke van Naturelle= sake, 1859-1899.
139 Potchefstroom Landdros (TAB), verw. 81: J.A. Grimbeeck/Landdros, 20.4.1874.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Homestead</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>Kaffir</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leeuwspruit</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leeuwpoort</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rietfontein number 659</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poortje</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wildebeestfontein</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rietfontein number 636</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loopspruit</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kraalkop</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rietfontein number 274</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doornfontein</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elandsfontein number 494</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brandvlei</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blaauwbank</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wildebeestenkui</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elandsfontein number 79</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deelkraal</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jachtfontein</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elandsfontein number 360</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hartebeesfontein</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rietfontein number 162</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalbasfontein</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaalfontein</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>555</td>
<td>2 472</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the returning Boer families at the end of the war, there was virtually nothing left of their farms to enable them to make a new start. Homesteads burnt to the ground, desolate ruins of buildings, no livestock, as well as a shortage or total absence of farm labourers were but some of the major obstacles preventing the reconstruction process in the wake of the Anglo-Boer War.

TEMPORARY KAMPONGS AT THE WEST DRIEFONTEIN MINE, 1946

Black labourers mainly offered their services to the railways, mines and British administration. Owing to the labour shortage, farmers had to use their children to help

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cultivate their fields. The city council of Potchefstroom regularly received complaints from farmers that blacks would stay absent from farms for too long without permission – in many instances never to return again.

The establishment of mines in the area subsequent to 1937 gave rise to an influx of black labourers of which some came from neighbouring countries like the current Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Botswana. Some of the wives and children of the labourers were also employed on farms in the vicinity of the mines, while it is presumed that some were employed by the trading sector of the developing area. By 1945, accommodation for black mine workers became an urgent need owing to the increased numbers at the Blyvooruitzicht mine and the opening of the West Driefontein Mine. After a kampong was established at Blyvooruitzicht in 1937, 1 000 black mine labourers could be accommodated. However, from 1946 onwards, accommodation was needed for about 5 900 mine workers. West Driefontein Mine erected a temporary kampong on the land of the mine in order to meet their demands. However, this was inadequate by 1947 and approximately 30 squatters’ homes were noticed in the vicinity of the mine. An increase in labourers and a housing shortage also gave rise to squatting outside the boundaries of Blyvooruitzicht mine. On the farms Kraalkop and Wonderfontein and especially next to the station, instances of squatting were reported to the Department of Native Affairs.

The Department of Native Affairs had already started with the planning of a regional location in the 1930s. Land earmarked and bought for this purpose was at Stinkhoutboom, to the north of the Potchefstroom-Welverdiend-Johannesburg railroad. Approximately 10 000 people could be accommodated there. Business offices for the Department of Native Affairs started in

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144 Potchefstroom Stadsklerk (TAB), verw. 1974 nr. 237: Control of Natives in municipal and urban areas, March 1946. Die Stadsraad was nie in staat om die probleem van die plaasbewoners op te los nie en het voorgestel dat daar beter faciliteite op die plase opgerig moes word as ‘n sterk arbeidsmag behou wou word.
146 A. Nieuwoudt, *Die beplanning van die ontwikkelende verspreide stad in die gebied van Carletonville, Fochville en Westonaria*, p.316.
148 Carletonville (Munisipaliteit), verw. JB 3/T nr. 3: Mediese beampte vir die Raad vir Buitestedelike gebiede/Landdros Johannesburg, 8.7.1947.
150 J.H. Coetzee (red.), *Voortgesette streekopname van beheerde gebied nr. 2, verslag nr. 2...*, pp.68, 71.
Affairs were purchased at Welverdiend. It was intended to manage the envisaged location from there.¹⁵¹

Planning of the location took a while, since it was difficult to create proper and adequate room for habitation and homes. The Health Board for Peri-urban Areas managed the blacks in the area until 1948. A location was erected only in the 1950s headed by the Health Board and the Department of Native Affairs.¹⁵²

¹⁵¹ Naturellesake (SAB), verw. 3874 nr. 57/309: Township Welverdiend: reservation of land, 27.11.1936.