THE INFLUENCE OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ON CARLETONVILLE, 1948 – 1988: A HISTORICAL STUDY

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Thesis submitted for the degree PHILOSOPHIAE DOCTOR (PhD) in HISTORY in the FACULTY OF HUMANITIES at the POTCHEFSTROOM UNIVERSITY FOR CHRISTIAN HIGHER EDUCATION

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Potchefstroom 1992

(Vol 2: Chapters 5-7 & Bibliography)

** Local history is extremely difficult to do well, involving hundreds of different and sometimes disparate topics from thousands of different sources. It involves ingenious and testing forms of synthesis*

John Marshall (1983)

** The business of the local historian, then, as I see it, is to re-enact in his own mind, and to portray for his readers, the origin, growth, decline and fall of a local community...smaller communities than the nation, local communities have a history which deserves to be studied for its own sake!*

H.P.R. Finberg and V.H.T. Skipp (1973)

Dedicated to Francois, Marié and Annie

PREFACE

I would like to thank the following people and institutions:

My Creator for providing me with the opportunity, energy and ability.

My spouse and children. I dedicate this thesis to them as a modest token of appreciation for their sacrifices, encouragement, patience and love, which made the completion possible.

Parents, in-laws, family, friends and colleagues for their interest.

Dr P.J.J. Prinsloo and Prof. Dr P.F. van der Schyff for their continuous interest and precious guidance.

Staff of archives, libraries, the Carletonville business sector and individuals as mentioned in the study.

Mrs H. Hayes for the neat mapping.

Mrs A. Lotter for the graphs and statistical depictions.

Mrs D. Esterhuizen for developing the photos to bromides.

Mrs C. Postma for her endless patience and neat typing behind the typewriter.

Prof. Dr P.D. van der Walt (previously Dept. Afrikaans, PU for CHE) for the editing.

Prof. Dr A.L. Combrink (Chief, Dept. of English, PU for CHE) for editing the resumé.

Dr J.D. Aucamp (Assistant-Director, Crop Production Highveld region, Potchefstroom) for his contributions and control of the facts in the Chapter on agriculture in Carletonville.

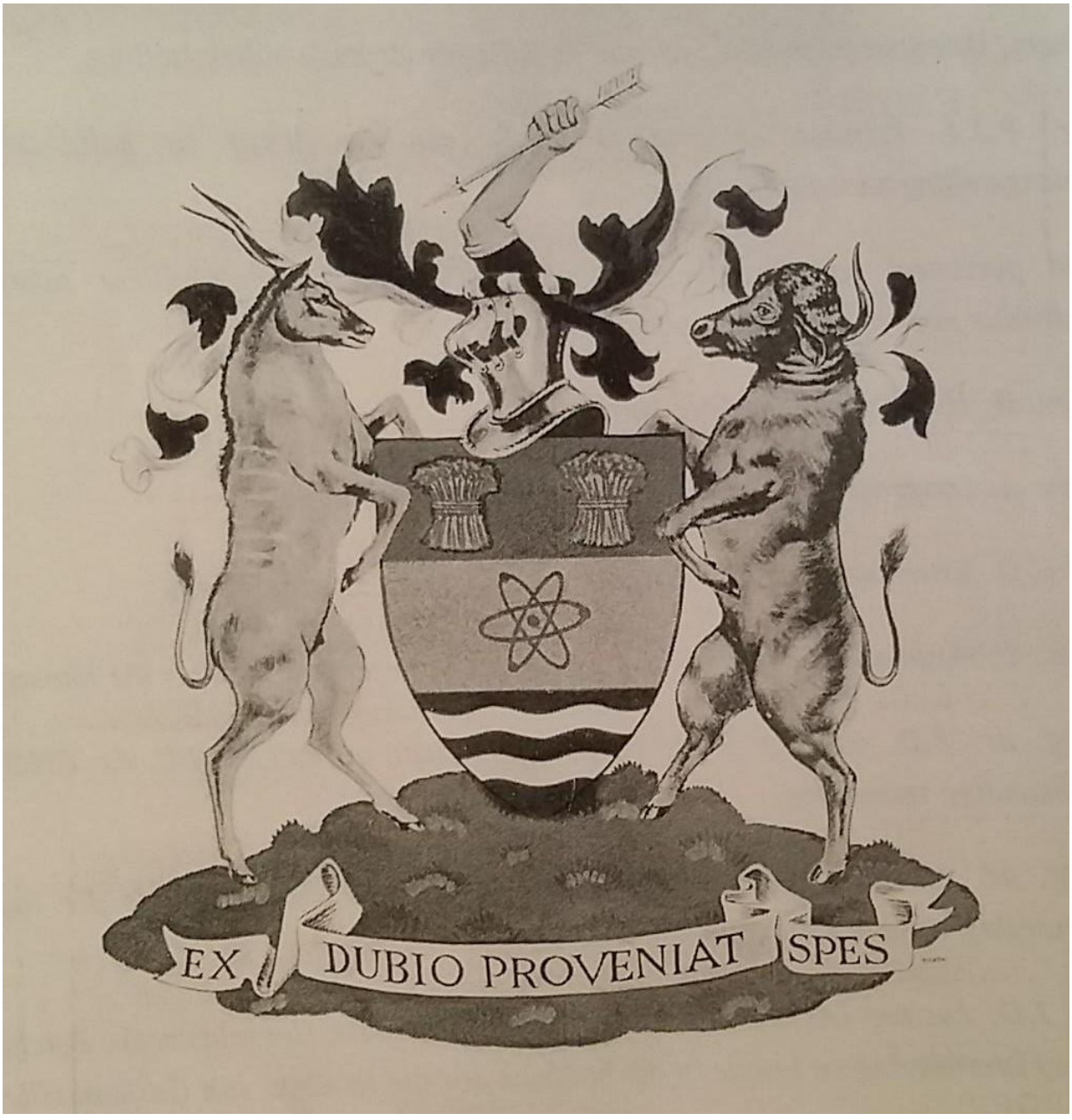
Dr E.J. Stoch (Businessman and farmer, Carletonville) for making his precious collection regarding agricultural issues in the Carletonville region available.

Carletonville Municipality for the financial support.

E.S van Eeden

May 1992

Town Coat of Arms Carletonville



Source: Carletonville Municipality

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RéSUMé

The area in which the local government of Carletonville currently operates was formerly known as the Gatsrand Ward of the Potchefstroom district. As the region developed economically, it spurred the establishment of new towns and the reconfiguration of regional boundaries. In this process, the name Gatsrand faded away. Today, the name Gatsrand features only as a reference to a series of ridges and as a geographical feature in the Western Transvaal.

Economic events and developments in the municipal area of Carletonville form part of, and are supplementary to, the historical development of the broader society of the Far West Rand and of the South African economy.

This is a study of the economic history of the Carletonville municipal area since 1948 and the influence on community activities till 1988.

Since 1937, gold mining development has stimulated definite growth in local development. Up to 1948, six towns were proclaimed for whites, of which Carletonville has become the prime town. In this process, the local agricultural sector lost its economic dominance of nearly 100 years to the mining sector.

After 1948, the rich gold discoveries in the so-called West Wits line area expanded and by 1982 had resulted in the development of seven gold mines within the municipal boundaries of Carletonville, each equipped with an infrastructure for the needs of its own black workers. The gold mines, except for Wes Driefontein, with the financial assistance of the mine group Gold Fields of South Africa, supported the settlement and development of a white mining community in Carletonville.

Gold mining expansion not only resulted in the development of mines and of mining communities, but also led to the establishment of numerous enterprises in the tertiary

economic sector. Most enterprises in the secondary sector, however, have been developed to provide for the needs of the mining sector. The result is that the manufacturing industry has not yet expanded to such an extent as to be an economic substitute capable of preserving the mining community should the mining activities end.

Due to the above-mentioned economic expansion since 1948, more towns have been proclaimed, communication channels developed, parishes formed, and housing, medical facilities, and roads expanded to accommodate the needs of the growing number of white inhabitants. The number of schools and pupils also increased. Furthermore, service organisations, cultural, recreational, and sporting activities have been organised, especially by the mining companies, to help ensure a vital and balanced society. This also concerns the community of Khutsong outside the northwestern boundary of the Carletonville municipal district, established in 1958, to accommodate blacks, who mainly offered their services to the business sector in the surrounding white communities.

The only outstanding negative event that affected the economy, emotions, family life, and future of the society in the Carletonville area was the appearance of several frightening sinkholes, especially during the period 1962 to 1970. As a result of the continuation of gold production and the determination of the local and central government to ensure the survival of the area, this unforgettable traumatic setback has been overcome with distinction.

INTRODUCTION

The subject of this thesis is the economic development within the municipal region of Carletonville between 1948 and 1988, from a historical perspective, and attempts to indicate its influence on the development of the society.[1] The study is part of a broader project undertaken by the Department of History, Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education, at the request of the Carletonville City Council.

Economic history investigates economic events in a historical context, including, as a point of departure, the interaction among institutional, social, and cultural processes, to focus on industrial development.[2]

The Industrial Revolution in the eighteenth century in England, as well as Karl Marx's economic-philosophical approach to history, are regarded as the most influential factors in economic historiography.[3] A typical example is Frederic Seebohm's publication *English Village Community: An Essay in economic history* (1883), one of the systematic attempts that provides a historical dimension to the practice of economic history in regional regard.[4] Economic historiography was further encouraged under the leadership of Gustav Schmoller of the Historical School in Germany and of March Bloch and Lucien Febre, founders of the French journal *Annales d' Histoire Economiques et Sociale* (1929).[5]

By the 1980s, studies in social and economic history were current internationally. According to B.H. Slicher from Bath, American historians involved in this were *niet bang voor experimenten; er zijn vergissingen gebaan, maar in het algemeen is ere en belangrijke voortgang gemaak door de frisse aanpak en door het nauwe*

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[1] An introduction to the further development of this subject can be found on p. xxv.
[2] H. Ritter, *Dictionary of concepts in history,* pp.126, 140, and Anon., "What is economic history?" *History Today,* 35, February 1985, pp.35-43, in which some historians each provide their views on economic history.
[3] A.L. Müller, "Gedagtes oor die aard, inhoud en betekenis van ekonomiese geskiedenis", *Tydskrif vir Studies in Ekonomie en Ekonometrie,* 12(3), November 1988, pp.41, 42.
[4] P.W. Klein, "Economische geschiedenis: over theorie en historie in de economische wetenskap", P.A.M. Geurts and F.A.M. Messing, *Theuretische en methodolgische aspecten van de economische en sociale geschiedenis,* vol I, p.237 and H. Ritter, *Dictionary of concepts in history,* p.126.
[5] H. Ritter, *Dictionary of concepts in history*, pp.127, 410.

contact met de andere sociale wetenschappen.[6] Although this genre of history has lost its lustre, the United States of America, Britain and the Netherlands, the contrary is true regarding Germany, Italy, Sweden and South Africa.[7]

Contrary to their European counterparts, South African historians never really debated the different shades of the field or history's methodology in the past.[8] Although the works of W.M. Macmillan, *The South African agrarian problem and its historical background* (1919), and of C.W. de Kiewiet, *A history of South Africa: social and economic* (1957), were pioneering works regarding South African economic historiography, interest in this field only really gained momentum in the 1960s.[9]

Economic studies with regard to South Africa have been undertaken within the scope of the most important philosophical movements such as liberalism, revisionism and Marxism.[10] Liberalism, as the oldest and most established movement in South Africa, paid attention to the economic terrain, to capitalism and the advantages of industrialisation for the upliftment of all social classes.[11] Revisionists investigated the connection between the development of the South African economy and the development of the system of race domination, as well as researched the history of the industrialisation process.[12]

Marxism, the more radical school of thought, with a Neo-Marxist paradigm, has developed in South Africa since the 1970s. On the economic terrain, the solution

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[6] B.H. Slicher van Bath, "Nieuwe wegen in die Amerikaanse economische en sociale geschiedenis', P.A.M. Geurts and F.A.M. Messing, *Theoretische en methodologische aspecten…,* vol.II*,* p.315.
[7] C.C. Eloff, *"History from below…"*, (thirteenth bi-annual conference of the South African Historical Association, UNISA, Pretoria, 22-25 January, 1991), p.19.
[8] F.A. van Jaarsveld, "South Africa as an industrial society", *Historia,* 34(1), May 1989, p.95.
[9] C. Saunders, *The making of the South African past. Major historians in race and class*, pp.71-75, 112- 113, 117, 167.
[10] H.M. Wright, *The burden of the present, liberal-radical controversy over Southern African history,* pp.6, 34 and M.L. Truu, "Approaches to the South African economy', *Tydskrif vir Studies in Ekonomie en Ekonometrie,* 12(1), March 1988, pp.6-7.
[11] C. Saunders, *The making of the South African past…,* p.66, 170. Compare with M. Morris, "The development of capitalism in South Africa", *Journal of Development Studies,* 12(3), April 1976, p.281.
[12] C. Saunders, *The making of the South African past*…, p.171.

for South Africa, neutralising the exploitation of the capitalist system.[13] Additionally, the followers of this school developed an increasing tendency to methodically follow a *history from below* approach, also known as the *people's history* approach in economic and social history. Accordingly, the total society and the broad social processes were used as a point of departure.[14] C. van Onselen's work entitled *Studies in the social and economic history of the Witwatersrand 1886-1914, vol. I, New Babylon* and *vol. II, New Nineveh* (1982) are seen as the most original text regarding the economic and social history *from below,* with gold,[15] as the economic impetus – as is also indicated in the study of Carletonville. Currently, historiography, according to the *from below* approach, is regarded as very controversial.[16]

When the focus is pertinently on regional economic history, no South African work along any school of thought, as well as any recently completed postgraduate studies, presents a satisfactory method for approaching regional economic history.[17] This is also relevant to works regarding the broader South African economic history, from D.M. Goodfellow, *A modern economic history of South Africa* (1931) to the more recent works such as those by M. Kooy (ed.), *Studies in economics and economic history* (1972) and F.L. Coleman (ed.), *Economic history of South Africa* (1983).

An older text than Coleman's, which approached the economic history of South Africa in a more historic than a pure economic manner, is the work that appeared in 1979 under the editorship of A.L. Müller, i.e., *Die ekonomiese ontwikkeling van Suid-Afrika*. No improvements have appeared since. Even the later product by J. Nattrass, *The*

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[13] C. Saunders, *The making of the South African past…,* p.176. C.C. Eloff, *"History from below…",* (thirteenth bi-annual conference of the South African Historical Society, UNISA, Pretoria, 22-25 January, 1991), p.10; H.M. Wright, *The burden of the present, liberal-radical controversy over Southern African history,* p.22 and S. Marks and A. Atmore, *Economy and society in pre-industrial South Africa,* pp.2, 25-26.

[14] C.C. Eloff, *"History from below…",* (thirteenth bi-annual conference of the South African Historical Society, UNISA, Pretoria, 22-25 January, 1991), p.11.

[15] K. Smith, *The changing past,* p.185; C.C. Eloff, *"History from below…",* (thirteenth bi-annual conference of the South African Historical Society, UNISA, Pretoria, 22-25 January, 1991), p.12; L. Vail, [Review C. van Onselen], *African Economic History,* 13, 1984, pp.194-195 and R. Gray, "The industrialisation of South Africa: A review article", *Comparative Studies in Society and History,* 29(1), January 1987, p.402.

[16] W.J. Alberts and A.G. van der Steur, *Handleiding voor de beoefening van locale en regionale geschiedenis,* p.12; V. Skipp, "Local history: a new definition", *The Local Historian,* 14(6), 1981, p.328 and C.C. Eloff, *"History from below…",* (thirteenth bi-annual conference of the South African Historical Society, UNISA, Pretoria, 22-25 January, 1991), p.11-12.

[17] This statement is made based on the findings of P.H.R. Snyman. See P.H.R. Snyman, "Die stand van stedelike en streeksgeskiedenis in die RSA", *Contree*, 16 Julie 1984, pp.30-31.

South African economy, its growth and change (printed in 1981, updated in 1988), does not provide a satisfactory, worthy of emulation method for the writing of economic history. This is mainly because people such as Natrass, who focused on economic history in the past, did so as economists and not as historians. Consequently, pure economic aspects such as capital, labour and the state of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) enjoyed prominence. M.L. Truu's remark in 1988, i.e., that *the story of the South African economy has been told by many authors, belonging to different schools of thought…*and *…more light has been shed on the South African economy by research conducted in terms of relative costs and prices than by studies which rely in the unfolding of assumed historical laws,*[18] confirms all the prior findings.

In 1989, F.A. van Jaarsveld found that regional research in South Africa regarding community activities such as self-sustainability and town and urban development was rather meagre.[19] The small number of completed theses and dissertations in the form of regional studies, with the focus on the development of certain economic infrastructure and its impact on the community, confirms Van Jaarsveld's assumption. Only two studies were identified that focus on a specific town or region, but without any proper description of all economic sectors and the influence of the economy on the community and are also incomplete. They are studies by E.A. Krause, *Die Lichtenburgse alluviale diamantdelwerye, 1926-1945: 'n sosio-ekonomiese geskiedenis* (1986), and J.E. Wilson, *A changing rural economy and its implications for the Overberg, 1838-1872* (1991). Notably, both works only appeared recently, which is a good indication of how barren the field of research and methodology in regional economic history is. In other related subject fields, especially sociology, economy and geography, only 42 master's and doctoral studies were identified that were completed between 1919 and 1991, and are more historical than regionally socio-economic in essence. This tendency is, nevertheless, an indication of inter-disciplinary liaison, which appears on the regional level and can be very useful for the economic regional historian to obtain a holistic view of a community.

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[18] M.L. Truu, "Approaches to the South African economy", *Tydskrif vir Studies in Ekonomie en Ekonometrie,* 12(1), March 1988, p.1.
[19] F.A. van Jaarsveld, "South Africa as an industrial society", *Historia*, 34(1), May 1989, p.98.

In 1981, V. Skipp introduced his so-called ostensive model as a method for studying regional or local history. According to this model, the factual is investigated, followed by a story and descriptive method, in which the eventual rounding off must be strictly analytical regarding micro-history and comparative studies.[20] Skipp's model supposes that the historical course of all aspects in a region, i.e., the political, the economic, the cultural, etc., can be dissected equally or independently. It would appear that no specific preference is necessary regarding the sequence of themes described. Skipp also does not present any further framework for each of these tendencies, should they indeed be discussed as separate entities. The individuality of regions is certainly a challenging factor, of which the expansive possibilities are discussed in the ostensive model.

In this study, *The impact of economic development on Carletonville,*[21] *1948-1988: A historical study,* one of the themes, i.e., the economy, is discussed according to Skipp's model. In addition to the historical layout, the development of the local primary, secondary and tertiary sectors, including the communication network, an overview of the development of all the social facets of the Carletonville community and the development of the economy, is provided. The position and role of each sector in the South African economy are also discussed in broad terms. In the presentation, quantitative data were analysed heuristically and applied with great success.

In the study, prominence is given to the white population, as they are the most important, authoritative group in the local economic setup of the Carletonville municipal region. The closest black township (Khutsong) is situated outside the municipal area of Carletonville. To obtain a clearer and complete picture of the economy, it was necessary to focus on black's position and presence in the gold mining industry as the dominant sector in the local economy. However, it cannot be regarded as a complete version of their involvement, and for the rest, only a superficial image is presented.

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[20] V. Skipp, "Local history: a new definition", *The Local Historian,* 14(6), 1981, p.329.
[21] The words "Carletonville" and "municipal region Carletonville" are used as synonyms in the text.

It appears that the methods followed in writing the history of Carletonville are unique or very meagre in the South African regional history. Apart from the fact that the study on *The influence of economic development on Carletonville…* claims to be the first regional economic study of its kind in South Africa, it is also the first, more contemporary study. That is exactly why endless problems were encountered in obtaining research material.

Primary research information was obtained in the Transvaal Archive Depot (TAD) and the Central Archive Depot (CAD). As a result of the mentioned contemporary nature of the study, numerous documents regarding Carletonville in the Intermediate Repository (IR) were also consulted. Permission to use the documents in the three institutions was obtained in an onerous manner. First, permission had to be obtained from the Director of Archives for each document, which was a time-consuming administrative process for all involved. Second, not one of the documents for which permission was granted could be photocopied, which caused a delay in the collection of research data.

Information on aspects of the Carletonville region was also traced in the Nedbank Archives, but no worthwhile information could be found in the Standard Bank Archives. Furthermore, documentation was also found at the Department of Roads and the Department of Agriculture in the Highveld region, both in Potchefstroom. The manner in which the Department of Agriculture approaches agricultural regions resulted in the expansion of the study to a much larger terrain, i.e., the Oberholzer district, for the purpose of studying Carletonville's agricultural history, as information was not always focused on the Carletonville municipal region.

Valuable information was also obtained from private collections. For the periods between 1948 and 1959, and 1959 to 1989, the minutes of, respectively, the West Wits Local Regional Committee and the City Council of Carletonville[22] were consulted. To add to this,

[22] The development of the Carletonville local authority and service delivery by this institution, as a direct result of local economic development, is only referred to in broad terms in the study. The founding history and the role of the City Council of Carletonville within its municipal borders justify a separate investigation.

documents in the possession of the municipality, dating mainly from 1983 to 1968, were consulted.

Apart from the fact that valuable documents of the administration term of the West Wits Region could not be found, problems were also encountered regarding the collection of authentic data on the local gold mines. In a large-scale search, very little archival material was retrieved. The *Cory Library for Historical Research* at the University of Rhodes, which conserves documents of Consolidated Gold Fields, dates only to 1920. Data for the post-1920 period is incomplete, according to the archivist, while that available is not organised for research purposes. Attempts to gain access to these records were in vain.

Barlow Rand, the authority on the Blyvooruitzicht Gold Mine in Carletonville, could only assist with photographs and annual reports. Bits of information could be obtained from local gold mines as well as gold mines attached to the Anglo-American Group. The Chamber of Mines and Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa's headquarters in Johannesburg were visited, and valuable statistics from annual reports were obtained.

Research also exposed voids in the available information on the communication industry. Institutions such as the South African Railways and Harbours, as well as the Post Office Museum, do not possess any authentic documents on the various communication structures in Carletonville. The TAD, as a repository for the Postmaster General Archive, could hardly provide any information. An inventory of post office matters was found, containing a few inscriptions identifying Carletonville. The TAD, however, had no finding tools to access this information.

Census data[23] and Government Gazettes of the Union of South Africa, and later of the Republic of South Africa, as well as information from various national and local newspapers, were used. Valuable information from scientific and popular journals and magazines was also obtained. Together with the oral testimonies and memoirs, as obtained from the Carletonville Archival group at the PU for CHE and indicated in this study as the "Carletonville (PU for CHE)", all the mentioned information sources contributed to supplementing archival voids regarding the gold mines in particular. To place Carletonville in regional and national perspective, various government publications, as well as theses, dissertations and journal articles were used.

The author did not purposefully attempt to follow a certain theoretical approach in the study. As mentioned earlier, the current period observed among theoreticians is not well defined. Consequently, a hypothetical approach was taken regarding the theoretical historiography, as well as the text data.

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[23] Nearly all the census data captured in the text only dates up to 1985, as the latest figures were not available at the time and would probably have appeared by July 1992

CHAPTER ONE

TENDENCIES IN SOUTH AFRICA'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: A BROAD BACKGROUND

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The exploration of new sea routes during the fifteenth century to transport products from the Far East to Europe led to the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope by the Portuguese, Bartholomeus Dias in 1488.[1] Dias's discovery illustrates the primary role of communication towards economic prosperity during those times. It also underlines the overwhelming position countries took towards activities outside their national borders to enhance their economic objectives.

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are seen as a period in which the economic world order, including colonial empires and a network of trade connections, arose.[2] During this so-called Mercantilist World order,[3] and the activities of the mercantilists and sailors, Europeans from Western Europe moved and established themselves as colonists on other continents.[4] This world order first took on the character of commercial colonialism, and later, during the industrial revolution, development of industrial display. This was a driving force behind land expansion.[5]

It was during this economic world order that the *Vereenighde g'Octroijeerde Oost Indische Comp.e* (VOC) in the Netherlands, following from L. Jansz and N. Proot's *Remonstrantie*, in 1649, decided to acquire the Cape of Good Hope to use as a refreshment station for passing ships from the Netherlands.[6] The ideal to make *proffijt* out of this decision was the chief goal.[7]

Jan van Riebeeck received a brief in 1652 from the VOC to start a refreshment station in the Cape, to build a fort and to plant a fruit and vegetable farm. This modest beginning circled

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[1] H.J. van Aswegen (e.a.), *Die verhaal van die mensdom*, pp.283-284; R. Ravan-Hart, *Before Van Riebeeck: callers at South Africa from 1488 to 1652*, pp.1-2 and F.A. van Jaarsveld, *Van Van Riebeeck tot Vorster, 1652-1974,* p. 1.
[2] F.A. van Jaarsveld, *Van Van Riebeeck tot Vorster*, 1652-1974, p.3.
[3] S.J. Terreblanche, *Die wording van die Westerse ekonomie: 'n strukturele analise met 'n toepassing op die Suid-Afrikaanse situasie,* p.35.
[4] F.A. van Jaarsveld, *Van Van Riebeeck tot Vorster, 1652-1974*, p. 3. and S.J. Terreblanche, *Die wording van die Westerse ekonomie*…, pp. 35-37.
[5] S.J. Terreblanche, *Die wording van die Westerse ekonomie*…, p. 36.
[6] F.A. van Jaarsveld (ed.), *Honderd basiese dokumente by die studie van Suid-Afrikaanse geskiedenis, 1648-1961*, p.1 and G. Lauts, *Geschiedenis van de Cape de Goede Hoop, Nederlandsche volkplanting, 1652-1806,* pp.18-23.
[7] F.A. van Jaarsveld (ed.), *Honderd basiese dokumente…,* pp.1, 4 and S.J. Terreblanche, *Die wording van die Westerse ekonomie…,* pp. 261 – 262.

wider in 1657 when free citizens[8] were established on small holdings.[9] Over time, the Cape developed a heterogeneous character. Immigrants from European countries such as France and the Netherlands established themselves in the Cape and surroundings. Each brought their own national culture to South Africa and spontaneous economic elements, which contributed towards the progress of the country.[10]

The VOC managed the Cape settlement and, for the larger part of 150 years of their authority, with the least possible input cost and highest profitability. The colony's character changed gradually after British authority over the Cape became permanent in 1806. This mainly happened because the immigration of British citizens gained momentum in 1820. The Cape's economy gained a new dimension with the increase of merchants and artisans, which promoted commercial development.[11]

Turbulent economic circumstances in parts of the Cape Colony and the Anglicisation policy of the British regime led to the migration of farmers to the north and east. This was the start of Afrikaner colonisation outside the Cape territory. The Great Trek from 1836 and the establishment of the Boer republics in the interior of South Africa was the completion of the colonisation process.[12] This led to the establishment of new areas for economic development.

The discovery of minerals like coal, gold, and diamonds during the 1860s led to a revolution in the economy, especially of the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek (ZAR),[13] which lured strangers or foreigners to the area. Their claim for political participation in the ZAR caused tension between the Republic and Britain, which reached a peak with the Anglo-Boer War(1899-1902).[14] Political and state stability was reached with the Unification in 1910. On

[8] A Free Burger (Vryburger) is a person who has the right to practice a free profession. See F.F. Odendaal, P.C. Schoonees (e.a.), *Verklarende Handwoordeboek van die Afrikaanse Taal (HAT),* p.1326.
[9] A.J. *Böeseken, Onder die suidersterre tussen die ooste en die weste, 1652-1795,* pp.32-36.
[10] D. Houbart Houghton, *The South African economy,* third edition, pp. 2-3 and S.J. Terreblanche, *Die wording van die Westerse ekonomie…,* pp. 262.

[11] S.P. du T. Viljoen, "Ekonomiese toestande in die Kaap en Natal, 1795-1870", A.L. Müller (ed.), *Die economiese ontwikkeling van Suid-Afrika,* pp.52-53.
[12] C.R. Kotzé, "'n Nuwe bewind, 1806-1834", C.F.J. Muller, *500 Jaar Suid-Afrikaaanse geskiedenis,* 3rd ed., p.128 and C.F.J Muller, "Die Groot Trek-tydperk, 1834-1854", C.F.J. Muller, *500 Jaar Suid-Afrikaanse geskiedenis,* 3rd ed, pp. 151-152, 154 and S.J. Terreblanche, *Die wording van die Westerse ekonomie…,* pp. 262-263.
[13] F.J. Potgieter, "Die ekonomiese ontwikkeling van die Transvaal, 1837-1886", A.L. Müller, *Die ekonomiese ontwikkeling van Suid-Afrika,* pp.130-133.
[14] J.S. du Plessis, "Die Suid-Afrikaanse Republiek", C.F.J. Muller, *500 Jaar Suid-Afrikaanse geskiedenis,* pp. 291-298, 301-302.

the economic terrain, intense urbanisation, industrialisation and economic upliftment were at the order of the day.[15]

1.2 PHASES OF DEVELOPMENT

The economic development of South Africa can be seen in three distinguishable phases. The agricultural phase (1652-1867), the agricultural-mining phase (1868-1910)[16] and the agricultural-mining-industrial phase (1910-present).[17] Although each of these phases was pertinent to a sector or a combination of sectors' position in the economic development of South Africa, only the sector(s) as they manifested in a certain phase are discussed in the overview.

1.2.1 The agricultural phase, 1652-1867

The agricultural phase of economic development in South Africa began with the VOC's administration of the Cape from 1652 to 1795. This phase is followed by the British annexation of the Cape in 1795 and their administration that lasted for eight years. The Batavian regime followed, which repaired the influence of the Dutch in the Cape in 1803, but it was only for a short duration as Britain confirmed its authority once more in 1806. The British administration of the Cape was confronted with prominent events, which influenced the economic development of the Colony. The many eastern frontier wars, followed by the Great Trek in 1836 and the establishment of independent Boer Republics outside British jurisdiction. Then the discovery of gold in 1867 followed,[18] which brought phase one to a close.

During the VOC regime, agricultural operations by free citizens and European immigrants, where intensive agricultural systems were applied, stimulated the economy. It had a beneficial effect on, for example, the wine farming industry.[19] But the average farmer lived a miserable existence. The reasons for this situation were problems that occurred with the slaves in the labour setup[20] and the monopolistic trade policy of the VOC in respect of who

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[15] C.G.W. Schumann, *Die ontwikkeling van die Unie van Suid-Afrika, 1910-1939*, A.L Müller, *Die ekonomiese ontwikkeling van Suid-Afrika,* pp. 229-231, 234; S.J. Terreblanche, *Die wording van die Westerse ekonomie…,* pp. 264-265, 267, 279 and I.J. van der Merwe and A. Nel, *Die stad en sy omgewing: 'n studie in nedersettingsgeografie,* pp.6, 14.

[16] G. Marais, *Die verband tussen ekonomiese ontwikkeling en vestiging van sekondêre nywerhede in die Republiek van Suid-Afrika*, pp. 6, 14.

[17] T.R.H. Davenport, *South Africa: a modern history,* fourth edition, p. 501 and C.G.W. Schumann, "Die ontwikkeling van die Unie van Suid-Afrika, 1910-1939", A.L. Müller (ed.), *Die ekonomiese ontwikkeling van Suid-Afrika,* p.224.

[18] C.T. Campbell, *British South Africa…,* pp.20-21 and C.F.J. Muller (ed.), *500 Jaar Suid-Afrikaanse geskiedenis,* pp. 19-333.

[19] D. Houbart Houghton, *The South African economy,* third edition, pp. 2-3.

[20] A.J. Böesken, *Onder die suidersterre tussen die ooste en die weste*, *1652-1795*, pp. 33-34, 37-38.

had to trade with whom and who had rights on products like wine and meat. This led to further reasons for the farmer's frustrations and poverty.

Initially, grain- and wine farming, as well as animal husbandry, were the major sources of prosperity. The VOC fixed the prices, which caused no profitable production for grain and wine farmers. The situation was somewhat more positive with livestock farming.[21] But the need for larger grazing areas led to the migration of livestock farmers to the interior of the country with the hope of obtaining fertile soil for grazing purposes. These migrations to the Trans-Oranje led to contact and conflict between white and black relating to land ownership.[22]

After the takeover by Britain of the Cape in 1795, the area generally looked healthier.[23] At this stage, the agricultural sector was still run by poverty-stricken farmers and using primitive equipment.[24] During the short Batavian period (1803-1806), a closer liaison between the frontier farmers and the local authorities was established by designated field cornets who were tasked to perform minor administrative matters.[25]

During the Second British annexation from 1806, more attention was given to the improvement of agricultural equipment. Approximately 70,000 white farmers were established in the livestock or agricultural industry by 1836. However, the wine industry was South Africa's largest export and most sought-after product at this stage.[26]

During this more favourable time in the agricultural sector, against the background of the British regime's involvement and the arrival of British Settlers in 1820, farmers, especially on the eastern frontier, experienced frustrations which reached a breaking point in the 1830s.[27] The British administration was accused of having an unsympathetic ear towards the farmers' problems. Economically driven problems, such as a lack of sufficient workers and land for the proper functioning of the agricultural industry, a proper livestock industry, theft, lack of capital, as well as frontier wars, led to the Great Trek (migration) from eastern frontier

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[21] P.J. van der Merwe, *Die Trekboer in die geskiedenis van die Kaap kolonie, 1657-1842,* pp.1-20 and A.J. Böeseken, "Ekonomiese toestande aan die Kaap, 1652-1795", A.L. Müller (ed.), *Die ekonomiese ontwikkeling van Suid-Afrika,* pp.14-18, 27-28.

[22] P.J. van der Merwe, *Die noordwaartse beweging van die boere voor die Groot Trek, 1770-1842*, pp.130-133, 211, 301-306.

[23] J. Noble, *South Africa, past and present: a short history of the European settlements at the Cape,* p. 27 and D. Houbart Houghton, *The South African economy, third edition,* pp. 3-4.

[24] C.F.J. Müller, "Die nuwe Britse ondernemers van die vroeë negentiende eeu", A.L. Müller (ed.), *Die economiese ontwikkeling van Suid-Afrika,* p. 86.

[25] T.R.H. Davenport, *South Africa: a modern history,* fourth edition, p. 37.

[26] C.F.J. Müller, "Die nuwe Britse ondernemers van die vroeë negentiende eeu", A.L. Müller (ed.), *Die ekonomiese ontwikkeling van Suid-Afrika,* p. 79, 86.

[27] C.R. Kotzé, " 'n Nuwe bewind, 1806-1834", C.F.J. Muller (ed.), *500 Jaar Suid-Afrikaanse geskiedenis,* pp. 124, 134-135.

regions such as Uitenhage, Graaff-Reinet, Cradock and Grahamstown, to the north.[28] Farmers who moved to the "Transvaal", Orange Free State and Natal were given large farms during their occupation between 1837 and 1850 according to a simple system. In that time, they were in a very bad financial position because their funds, after a long and tiresome Trek from the Cape, were exhausted. This resulted in underutilised land and a lifestyle of self-sustainability. Tools for agriculture were a luxury, and a lack of them made livestock farming more attractive.[29] In the Western Transvaal, agriculture became a profitable industry after 1851-1852, although on a limited scale.[30]

Agricultural production in the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek (ZAR) and the Republic of the Orange Free State (OVS) was largely dependent on the economic structure of the Cape Colony up to 1867, when diamonds and gold were discovered in this area.[31] Several products, for example, wool and hides, produced in these Republics, were sold in the Cape. The role of the Cape Colony as an important trade centre for imported goods from inland markets increased even further after 1867.[32]

1.2.2 The agriculture-mining phase, 1868-1910

Striving towards the use of minerals as a source of income was already present during the time of the Companjie[33] and was manifested when Governor Simon van der Stel made his journey to the Koperberge[34] and made the first notable discovery of these economic assets (diamonds and gold) in the second part of the nineteenth century. It was followed by a wave of unimaginable immigration, large-scale employment and a flow of capital.[35] As a result, large populations from different countries moved to Kimberley and the Witwatersrand.[36] South Africa went through a transfiguration.[37] The discovery of minerals led to the first industrialised and cosmopolitan communities in South Africa, marking the country's actual

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[28] C.F.J. Muller, *Die Briste Owerheid en die Groot Trek,* pp. 62, 65-66, 73-76.
[29] D.M. Goodfellow, *A modern economic history of South Africa,* p.52 and C.F.J. Müller, *Die Britse Owerheid en die Groot Trek,* pp. 61, 118-121, 150.
[30] F.J. Potgieter, *Die vestiging van die blanke in Transvaal, 1837-1886 met spesiale verwysing na die verhouding tussen die mens en die omgewing*, pp. 60-61, 124, 127 and A.N. Pelzer, *Die geskiedenis van die Suid-Afrikaanse Republiek, I: wordingsjare,* p.179. Also see the Transvaal Archives Depot (TAD), Potchefstroom Magistrate's Archives (PLA), Vol. 64, register, documenting of farms, 1861-1864 and Band 149, Markboek, 1858-1860.
[31] D. Houbart Houghton, *The South African economy,* p. 13
[32] C. Bundy, *The rise and fall of the South African peasantry,* second edition, pp. 110-111. Also see D. Houbart Houghton, *The South African economy,* p.13 and C.F.J Müller, *500 Jaar Suid-Afrikaanse geskiedenis,* p. 207.
[33] A.J. Böeseken, "Ekonomiese toestande aan die Kaap, 1652-1795", A.L. Müller (ed.), *Die ekonomiese ontwikkeling van Suid-Afrika,* p. 30.
[34] A. J. Boëseken, *Simon van der Stel en sy kinders,* pp. 70-71.
[35] C. Bundy, *The rise and fall of the South African peasantry,* second edition, p. 11.
[36] T.R.H. Davenport, *South Africa: A Modern History,* fourth edition, pp.494-501 and L. Katzen, *Gold and the South African economy,* pp. 44-46.
[37] D.M. Goodfellow, *A modern economic history of South Africa*, pp. 57, 104, 111 and J. Nattrass, *The South African economy: its growth and change*, pp. 132-135.

entry to the mining sector, in addition to the agriculture sector. The centre of gravity was moved from the south to the north.[38] This was the fuse for the dormant British Imperialistic symptom, which ended up in political conflict and the war between Britain and the Boer Republics.[39]

The agricultural industry benefited from this concentrated purchasing power by people living close to the mines. The Cape and Natal reinforced their trade ties with the Republics.[40] and with that, competed with the agricultural sector of the ZAR and OVS. This necessitated the farmers of the Republics, of which the largest number was Afrikaans, to look at their production from a new perspective and the extent of their production quality.[41] Examples of this were agricultural exhibitions, the establishment of the Agricultural Council in 1898, organising agricultural associations in 1903 and establishing agriculture corporations.[42]

The large influence that the discovery of mineral resources had on all spheres of society in South Africa also encouraged foreign investment. It was calculated that approximately R700 million of foreign capital was invested in South Africa between 1870 and 1913. Mining Companies pushed out individual diggers and consolidated to such an extent that there were only eight mining houses by the time of Unionisation in 1910, which had control over the mineral riches of the country. Despite this one-sided concentration, the discovery of minerals was an indispensable asset for an underdeveloped country like South Africa.[43]

1.2.3 The agricultural-mining-industrial phase, 1910-present

The establishment of the Union as an apolitical unit is partly seen as the reason for a new spirit of optimism and prosperity towards the economy in South Africa. Shortly after the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, this first political milestone disrupted the South African economy. South Africa, like many other countries, reaped the benefits of the extraordinary war's demands for products by the middle of 1915. It was this war that made it

[38] F.A. van Jaarsveld, *Van Van Riebeeck tot Vorster,* 1652-1974, p. 182
[39] T.R.H. Davenport, *South Africa: a modern history,* fourth edition, pp. 189-191.
[40] F.A. Van Jaarsveld, *Van Van Riebeeck tot Vorster, 1652-1974*, pp. 184-185.
[41] D. J. Jacobs and A.P.J. Van Rensburg, "Die invloed van die mynwese op die ontwikkeling van die Vrystaatse landbou", A.L. Müller (ed.), *Die ekonomiese ontwikkeling van Suid-Afrika,* pp. 196-203.
[42] J.A.S. van Niekerk, *'n Oorsig oor die ontwikkeling van landbou koöperasies in die RSA,* pp.19, 45; The South African Agricultural Union, *Biennial Report,* (eighth co-operative congress, TAU hall, Pretoria, 4-6 May, 1960), pp. 5-6 and D.J. Jacobs and A.P.J. van Rensburg, "Die invloed van die mynwese op die ontwikkeling van die Vrystaatse landbou", A.L. Müller (ed.) *Die ekonomiese ontwikkeling van Suid-Afrika,* p. 204
[43] J.H. Smith, "Die invloed van die mynwese op kapitaalvorming, werkgeleenthede en arbeidsverhoudinge, 1870-1909", A.L. Müller (ed), *Die ekonomiese ontwikkeling van Suid-Afrika,* pp. 106, 212.

difficult to import factory products, and the necessity to produce such products in South Africa led to full-scale production, ushering in the industrial phase during 1915.[44]

The tempo of industrial growth in South Africa from 1915 to ca 1926 is reflected in the number of enterprises, which increased from 5,918 to 7,170.[45] The prominent contribution of the National Party (NP), which became the government in 1924, promoted the expansion of the industrial sector. On the one hand, it was the motivation of the NP to ensure that work would be supplied to the high number of poverty-stricken white people in the factories. On the other hand, it was done to make the South African economy more independent.[46] Great success was achieved by the NP and the United Party (UP) after 1934. The mentioned increase in enterprises from 1926 to 1936, namely 9,987, was a telling example. It was also evident in the increase of white and black employees from 1915 to 1936 by 205% and 148%, respectively.[47]

The mining and agriculture sectors experienced phases of positive surges and decline from 1915 to 1939. In the gold mining industry prominent decline started with the 1922 strike on the Rand (the Rand Revolt) about the reservation of work, as well as South Africa's decline on the gold standard in 1932 during the Great Depression of 1930-1932.[48] The agricultural sector was hit the worst by this. An important agricultural product, such as wool, saw its price decline by 65%. From 1933, agriculture became more favourable, the price of gold went up, and the prospect of further mining extensions was imminent.[49] The development of the gold fields on the Far West Rand (Carletonville area) as part of the so-called Gold Half-moon region from Heidelberg to Virginia received intense attention at this stage.[50]

Economic growth during the Second World War (1939-1945) stimulated industrial growth, similar to the First World War. Large population concentrations in the Southern Transvaal,[51] and in some coastal cities created large markets.[52] The contribution of the factories to the

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[44] H. Gilliomee and R. Elphick (eds.), *'n Samelewing in wording: Suid-Afrika, 1652-1820,* p. 3; G.S.J. Kuschke, *South Africa, the basic philosophy on which her economic prosperity has been built",* (address at the Institute of Directors' dinner held in Manchester England, 14.2.1966), p. 3.
[45] J G.W. Schumann, "Die ontwikkeling van die Unie van Suid-Afrika, 1910-1939", A.L. Müller (ed.), *Die ekonomies ontwikkeling van Suid-Afrika*, pp. 234.
[46] B.J. Liebenberg, "Hertzog aan bewind, 1924-1939", A.L. Müller (ed.), *Die ekonomiese ontwikkeling van Suid-Afrika,* p. 234.
[47] C.G.W. Schumann, "Die ontwikkeling van die Unie van Suid-Afrika, 1910-1939", A.L. Müller (ed.), *Die ekonomiese ontwikkeling van Suid-Afrika*, pp. 234.
[48] L.Katzen, Gold and the South African economy, pp. 73, 76.
[49] L.Katzen, Gold and the South African economy, p. 86.
[50] See Chapter Four, map 5, p.118a.
[51] Unie van Suid-Afrika, Raad vir die Ontwikkeling van Natuurlike Hulpbronne, *Industrial Development in the Southern Transvaal,* 1954, pp. 44-58.
[52] G. Marais, *Die verband tussen ekonomiese ontwikkeling en vestiging van sekondêre nywerhede*…, p. 24.

gross domestic product (GDP)[53] in South Africa climbed from 10.9% in 1939 to 17.1% in 1949 and a further 20.1% in 1959.[54] In contrast, the gold mining industry was the largest source of income by 1948 and an indispensable supplier of employment. Roughly 40,000 whites and 330,000 black people were involved in the gold mining industry.[55]

The agricultural sector also looked rosy. High agricultural prices, as well as a local shortage of agricultural products, contributed to an increased production of important agricultural products. Increased mechanisation in agriculture, although not as revolutionary as the country's manufacturing industry, was observed during the 1950s,[56] which influenced agricultural products favourably.[57] Problems such as overgrazing and the indiscriminate planting of crops showed a decline, but it was still a problem for South Africa's agricultural yield.[58] The reason for this can be attributed to the already stated problem. Despite this, statistics show that production of crops between 1946 and 1971, such as mealies and corn, as well as citrus fruit and wine grapes, increased sharply. It also applied to animal husbandry and the wool industry, while the production of poultry was properly established from 1965 in the consumer market of meat.[59]

Riots and strikes amongst black people in 1960, especially the Sharpeville crisis, were the cause of the withdrawal of approximately R 200 million in private capital. However, this did not adversely influence the country. The withdrawal of capital caused a greater dependency on domestic funds. Initially, the gold mines had to apply their profits to operating expenses. The financial loss was relieved by the support from all the sectors' mutual assistance and support for each other.[60]

By 1965, the South African economy, including the industrial sector, was in a progressive period. With respect to the last named, the growth rate of 5.6% was observed over the period of five years, and with that, the production industry surpassed the percentage rise in

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[53] The GDP of a region implies the total remuneration received in terms of land, capital and entrepreneurship, before any deductions are made. See Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics, report no. 09-10-01, *Bruto binnelandse produk teen faktorkoste, 1911-1968,* 1968, p. iii.
[54] G. Marais, *Die verband tussen ekonomiese ontwikkeling en vestiging van sekondêre nywerhede*…, pp. 25-26.
[55] D.G. Malherbe, "Importance of mining in the economy of South Africa and the scope offered for better utilisation of mining products for industrial expansion", *Journal of the Chemical, Metallurgical and Mining Society,* 50, April 1950, p. 236.
[56] D.G. Franzen and H.J. Reynders (eds.), *Die ekonomiese lewe van Suid-Afrika,* p.70 and Anon., "Die Unie se landbou in die na-oorlogs tydperk", *Boerdery in Suid-Afrika,* April 1955, pp. 203, 212.
[57] D. Houbart Houghton, *The South African economy,* p. 18.
[58] P.L. Wickins, "Agriculture", F.L. Coleman (ed.), *Economic history of South Africa,* pp. 62-64.
[59] A.L. Müller (ed.), *Die ekonomiese ontwikkeling van Suid-Afrika,* pp. 246-247 and P.L. Wickins, "Agriculture", F.L. Coleman (ed.), *Economic history of South Africa,* p. 62-64.
[60] A.C.M. Webb, "Mining in South Africa", F.L. Coleman (ed.*), Economic history of South Africa*, p. 192; D.Innes, *Anglo American and the rise of modern South Africa*, p.174 and *Die Potchefstroom Nuus/News,* 13.1.1961, p. 2.

the mining and agricultural sectors.[61] Based on South Africa's economic performance since it became a Republic in May 1961, the government was encouraged to set up its First Economic Development Programme (FEDP) for South Africa for the term of 1964-1969. Initially, it was revised annually and thereafter biannually. The purpose of the FEDP was to manage the economy in such a way that the Republic could develop according to its growth potential.[62]

During the first FEDP term, the Government had various problems to solve. For example, a shortage of white-skilled people in the mining sector was increasing, while a surplus of black workers arose, which increased unemployment.[63] The industrial sector, which was a young, dynamic competitor in the business world, was blamed for this.[64] By 1966-1967, inflation obstructed South Africa's economic growth and had influenced all sectors. Apart from the Government's interventions in illegal strikes in the gold mining industry,[65] the country's growth rate was lowered in 1969 to get rid of the overdue payment balance of R143 million.[66] Against this background, the report of the Pretorius committee appeared in 1970. This Committee proposed the writing of the National Physical Development Plan (NPDP). This plan led to the NFO in 1975 and is seen as the first comprehensive outline from the Government to structure and plan regional economic development.[67]

The above-mentioned development plan was only implemented in the mid-seventies. Consequently, the shortage of white skilled labour increased, and low exports still affected South Africa's economic development.[68] The unemployment rate of black people was high, and increasing unrest resulted in strikes, boycotts and riots in 1976. While blacks, coloureds, and Indians were claiming participation in politics in an atmosphere of growing resistance, it was proposed that their own unions and white reserved posts in all sectors be abolished.[69] A ninth EOP[70] was developed in 1977, and the Riekert and Wiehahn

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[61] Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics, report no.09-10-01, *Bruto binnelandse produk teen faktorkoste, 1911-1968,* 1968, p. 39 and T.R.H. Davenport, *South Africa: a modern history,* fourth edition, p. 501.
[62] Republic of South Africa, *Ekonomiese Ontwikkelingprogram van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika, 1978-1987*: *'n strategie vir groei,* I, 1979, pp. 2-3
[63] T.R.H. Davenport, *South Africa: a modern history,* fourth edition, p. 503.
[64] Anon., "Republic of South Africa", *Mining Annual Review,* 1965, p. 179.
[65] Anon., "Republic of South Africa", *Mining Annual Review,* 1965, p. 227.
[66] Anon., "Republic of South Africa", *Mining Annual Review,* 1965, p. 237.
[67] R.P. Viljoen, *Aspekte van regionale ekonomiese analise en beplanning met spesiale verwysing na die Suid-Afrikaanse ervaring,* pp. 62-63, 77.
[68] D. Innes, *Anglo American and the rise of modern South Africa*, pp. 173, 208, and *Tegniek*, Junie 1976, pp. 1-2, 9.
[69] P.L. Wickins, "Land and labour", F.L. Coleman (ed.), *Economic history of South Africa,* pp. 32-34.
[70] Republiek van Suid-Afrika*, Ekonomiese Ontwikkelingsprogram van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika*, 1978-1987…, I, 1979, pp. 4, 8-11.

commission was assigned to investigate the country's economic position.[71] Some proposals made by these commissions included the recognition of black unions, a more intensive training program, the establishment of necessary training facilities and the appointment of competent black people in positions which were initially reserved for whites. Some of these proposals were already applied in 1979.[72]

A better display in the respective sectors showed that the country's financial position was favourable at the start of the 1980s. The higher gold price and the expansion schemes of the gold and coal mines caused production figures of these minerals to shoot up.[73] At the same time, it created more job opportunities.[74] This secondary industry was still the main production sector, but its dependence on imported materials and equipment still slowed down sustainable growth.[75] In addition, the agricultural sector was steady despite serious climatic setbacks. The export of agricultural products increased during this period and delivered a steady contribution to the state treasury.[76]

The government scaled its involvement in the country's economic enterprises down, which encouraged privatisation in South Africa.[77] While this was done with mixed feelings,[78] the process was still encouraged.[79] During this period, the government began working on the burden of foreign debt. The low gold price after 1981, along with bad climatic agricultural conditions and high domestic demand, were given as reasons for South Africa's slow economic growth.[80] Although the country experienced a mini-upswing in 1983-1984,[81] the

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[71] J. Nattrass, *The South African economy: its growth and change,* pp.226-227 and F. Fisher and L. Schlemmer (*et al.*), "Economic growth and its relationship to social and political change", L. Schlemmer and E. Webster, *Change reform and economic growth in South Africa,* pp. 9-11, 111.
[72] R.F. Botha, "Ekonomies beleid in Suid-Afrika sedert 1970: 'n evaluering van die toepassing van beleidsinstrumente teen die agtergrond van die beginsels onderliggend aan die vrye markstelsel", *Buro vir Ekonomie Politiek en Analise (BEPA)*, 8, 1986, pp. 287-300, 305.
[73] Republic of South Africa, "Verklaring vrygestel deur Sy Edele die Eerste Minister, mnr. P.W. Botha", *Ekonomiese Adviesraad,* 54, 28-29.2.1980, pp. 1, 2, 6 and I.J. Strydom, *Die anneksasie van die Suid-Afrikaanse ekonomie: die verlede, hede en moontlikhede vir die toekoms,* p. 3.
[74] A.C.M. Webb, "Mining in South Africa", F.L. Coleman (ed.), *Economic history of South Africa,* p.193-194 and J. Nattrass, The South African economy: its growth and change, pp. 226-227.
[75] A.B. Lumby, "Industrial development before the Second World War", F.L. Coleman (ed.), *Economic history of South Africa,* p. 243-244.
[76] P.L. Wickins, "Agriculture", F.L. Coleman (ed.), *Economic history of South Africa,* p. 72.
[77] M.C. O'Dowd, "The stages of economic growth and the future of South Africa", L. Schlemmer and E. Webster, *Change, reform and economic growth in South Africa,* p. 39.
[78] South African Institute of Race Relations, *Race relations survey, 1988/89,* pp. 347-351 and D. Caldwell, *South Africa: the new revolution,* pp. 196-197.
[79] D. Caldwell, *South Africa: the new revolution,* pp. 182-197 and I.J. Strydom, *Die anneksasie van die Suid-Afrikaanse ekonomie...*p. 5
[80] L. A. van Wyk, "Ekonomiese tendense in die RSA: huidig en die toekoms", *Oënskou,* 2(8), September 1984, pp.327-328; Chamber of Mines of South Africa, *93rd Annual report,* 1982, p.4 and Republic of South Africa, *Economic Development Programme for the Republic of South Africa: 1978-1987 – partners in development,* revised edition, 1981, pp. 26-27.
[81] Anon., "Oorsig van die ekonomie in die landbousektor", *Suid-Afrikaanse Landbou-Unie, Jaarverslag, 1986/87,* pp.13 and L.J. Strydom, *Die anneksasie van die Suid-Afrikaanse ekonomie*…pp. 5, 23

weakened economic tendency continued in 1984-85.[82] This created a restless state in the country, which increased union activities in the industrial sector and caused chronic confrontation with the Government until 1988.[83]

The general economic position of South Africa by 1986 was not much better, and the Government had to witness the languishing of all the sectors. Apart from the fact that the share of South Africa's world gold production dropped to 55%, the maintenance cost of the mines rose sharply and shortened their life expectancy.[84] In contrast, more favourable weather conditions during the rainy season of 1986-1987 considerably improved agricultural production. Except for mealies and soya beans, other crops could not provide for South Africa's domestic needs.[85] Likewise, the industrial sector was constricted. Factors such as black radicalisation and the effect of external pressure on apartheid, despite the Government's process of reform, scared off foreign investors and slowed industrial growth.[86]

The period between 1987 and 1988 did not promise a steadier South African economy. In addition, the gold market was relatively quiet. The position of the country's economy was more favourable by December 1988. Factors responsible for this state of affairs were a higher price for gold, compared to previous months, a slightly lower inflation rate and a BBP-increase of around 3%.[87] The unstable political climate was presented as one of the country's main reasons for South Africa's slow economic growth.[88]

1.3 THE COMMUNICATION INDUSTRY AS PIVOT DURING THE DEVELOPMENT PHASES OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY

No country or community can actually grow economically without a vital communication network. Apart from the fact that it influences the social character of the environment, it also stimulates economic development.[89] It leads to closer liaison between towns and stimulates

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[82] L.A. van Wyk, "Begroting 1985: nuwe geloofwaardigheid?", *Oënskou,* 2(2), Maart 1985, pp. 40-41.
[83] T.R.H. Davenport, *South Africa: a modern history*, fourth edition, pp. 516-517.
[84] A. Golding, "Precious metals", *Mining Annual Review,* 1985, p. 39, and G. Milling-Stanley, "Precious metals", *Mining Annual Review,* 1986, p.15.
[85] Anon., "Oorsig van die ekonomie in die landbousektor", *Suid-Afrikaanse Landbou-Unie, Jaarverslag, 1986/87*, pp. 13, 18; and *Boerdery/Farming,* 30.9.1988, pp. 1-2.
[86] M. Lipton, *Capitalism and apartheid in South Africa, 1910-1986*, pp. 377-378 and South African Institute of Race Relations, Race Relations Survey, 1987/88, pp. 143-144.
[87] [88] Assocom, "Assocom extends seasonal greetings and good wishes for a prosperous 1989", *Monitor,* 103(2), December 1988, pp.1-2; Standard Bank, "Monetary policy and interest rates in South African Institute of Race Relations, Race relations survey, 1988/89, p.323; J. Willemse, 'So raak wêreld SA ekonomie", *Landbouweekblad,* 2.6.1989, pp. 18-19 and Assocom, "Assocom extends seasonal greetings…*Monitor, 103(2),* December 1988, pp. 1-2.
[89] J. Nattrass, *The South African economy: its growth and change,* pp. 226-227. Also see F. Fisher, L. Schlemmer (et al.), "Economic growth and its relationship to social and political change", L.Schlemmer and E. Webster, *Change, reform and economic growth in South Africa,* pp. 9-19.

a broad spectrum of the community's activities.[90] The history of connection paths, especially the railways and roads, is closely intertwined with the economic development phases of the South African economy. In this regard, the history of the establishment of the road and railway network is seen as an economic asset in the South African context and will be discussed broadly.

1.3.1 Roads

As a result of the lack of proper roads during the agricultural phase (1652-1867), especially relating to domestic connections, the effective marketing of products was hampered. Necessities, which had to be bought in the Cape, were difficult to get in the beginning.[91] The road network became more favourable in the late nineteenth century.

Although very few resources pertinently indicate it, it does seem as if the growing, scattered population in the Cape encouraged the building of roads in the seventeenth century. In 1689, it was known that the so-called Trekker Road or Cradock Kloof Road was the main connecting route between the Western and Eastern Cape.[92] The closer liaison between residents, caused by this road, was the reason why other similar roads were promoted, and it was certainly advantageous for the existing economic activities in these areas.

The building of several mountain passes in the Cape received attention after 1824 from the British government. John Montagu, the colonial secretary, purposefully developed roads and mountain passes from 1843 until 1852, such as the improvement of the pass through the Cradock Kloof. The opening and renaming of this route in 1849 to the Montagu Pass had advantageous economic implications. For the trading of products, it took fourteen days to travel to the harbour of Port Elizabeth, whereas now, it takes only two days to reach the closer and more popular harbour of Mossel Bay.[93]

The increasing mobility of the Cape's cattle farmer, especially since the beginning of the eighteenth century,[94] added a decisive contribution to the expansion of routes to the north

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[90] P.J. Welgemoed, "Vervoer in Suid-Afrika op pad waarheen?" *Randse Afrikaanse Universiteit, publikasiereeks,* A48, 1975, p. 1.
[91] V.C. Wood, "Die skepping van 'n infrastruktuur vir 'n moderne ekonomie: Die padstelsel", A.L. Müller (ed.), *Die ekonomiese ontwikkeling van Suid-Afrika,* pp. 94-95.
[92] Unie van Suid-Afrika, Ministerie van Vervoer, *'n Eeu van vervoer, 1860-1960,* p. 138.
[93] V.C. Wood, "Die skepping van 'n infrastruktuur…", A.L. Müller (ed.), *Die ekonomiese ontwikkeling van Suid-Afrika,* pp. 94-95.
[94] H. Giliomee and R. Elphick (eds.), '*n Samelewing in wording: Suid-Afrika, 1652-1820*, pp. 44-52 and P.J. van der Merwe, *Die trekboer in die geskiedenis van die Kaapkolonie, 1652-1842*, pp. 8, 65, 68, 133-134.

and interior of the Country.[95] Several cattle farmers' actual population displacement to the interior by 1836, namely when the Great Trek commenced, opened up uninhabited ferocious regions. The Scottish Andrew Geddes Bain, a road inspector of the Western Cape, took it upon himself to build a functional road to the north between 1845 and 1848. With the assistance of approximately 240 black workers, he first had to build the Mitchell Pass. Then he developed the road over the Gydo pass close to the Koue Bokkeveld, as well as the road to Karoopoort. Thus, the region of the Groot Karoo and further north into the Free State was opened. This milestone in the road-construction history of South Africa was economically advantageous in more than one way. Apart from contributing to the reduction of isolation between north and south, it also encouraged the proclamation of towns in this area. Ceres is evidence of this.[96]

Town governments of the proclaimed towns further into the interior of the country handled the building of roads in their districts. This did not happen overnight. For example, when diamonds and gold were discovered in 1867, Potchefstroom, the oldest and still the main town in the Transvaal, crushed their town roads in September for the first time.[97] The postal carriage service, which ran across all the districts regularly, was responsible for the blueprint of these roads, which became more permanent during the seventies.[98]

Since 1867, during the mining phase of the South African economic development, the building of proper roads received attention, especially when mining companies built connecting roads from towns to the mining areas for the convenience of their workers. However, the state of nearly all the roads in the ZAR by the seventies and eighties was seen as impassable. It was said of the Transvaal Road that it was *a country without roads* and *mere tracks formed by ox-wagons*. As the Republic became more prosperous as a result of the discovery of gold, more funds were granted for the upkeep and expansion of roads.[99] This was surely welcomed by all sectors economically, since proper roads contributed to the consumer being closer to the producer, trader and employer.

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[95] This assumption is made with reference to, probably, numerous examples, i.e., A. Appel's study on Outdshoorn. See A. Appel, " Die distrik Oudtshoorn tot die tagtigerjare van die 19de eeu: 'n sosio-ekonomiese studie", *Argiefjaarboek vir Suid-Afrikaanse geskiedenis,* 51(2), 1988, p. 59.
[96] P. Storrar, *A colossus of roads,* pp.10, 29, 30-34 and V.C. Wood, "Die skepping van 'n infrastruktuur…", A.L. Müller (ed.), *Die ekonomiese ontwikkeling van Suid-Afrika,* pp. 94-95.

[97] W.J. Badenhorst, Die geskiedenis van Potchefstroom, 1838-1938, p. 34.
[98] H. Zeederberg, *Veld express,* pp. 17-19.
[99] F.J. Potgieter, "Die ekonmiese ontwikkeling van Transvaal, 1837-1886", A.L. Müller (ed.), *Die ekonomiese ontwikkeling van Suid-Afrika,* pp. 143-145, 151-152. Also see E.S. van Eeden, *Die geskiedenis van die Gatsrand vanaf die vestiging van die Trekkergemeenskap omstreeks 1839 tot die proklamering van Carletonville in 1948,* pp.168-169.

The use of the motorcar was reasonably sought after by the time of Unification, and this led to the need for better roads.[100] There were 25,394 motors, 24 buses, 1,058 commercial vehicles and 15,115 motorbikes in the country by 1922. The use of vehicles and buses multiplied by eight and ten, respectively, by 1935. Industrial establishment developed at a fast pace and was a factor which the road industry had to consider, since the number of industrial vehicles grew to 25,004, and the standard of connecting roads for the transport of all kinds of manufactured goods became indispensable.

In 1935, new legislation with regard to national roads gave more status to South Africa's road infrastructure. A Scheme for the building of national roads was set up.[101] The building of connecting roads between towns also received attention. After the Second World War, the construction of asphalt roads increased.[102]

By 1961, 94% of the original scheme was completed when South Africa became a Republic, and it was extended for a further ten years. The building of motorways and provincial roads was the main purpose for the decade up to 1971. The building of toll roads from 1978 into the eighties claimed the attention of the Department of Transport.[103] By 1988, after 52 years of intense road development, South Africa had proper roads, which delivered an indispensable contribution enabling the country's economic heartbeat to run smoothly.

1.3.2 Railways

The construction of railway lines became important in South Africa during the agricultural-mining phase to expand economic development. Once again, the reason for this was the discovery of diamonds and gold, but also the political rivalry between the earlier colonies, Cape, Natal and the ZAR and OVS Republics,[104] became the main driving force for this development. Shortly before the agricultural-mining phase, a few rail routes were put in use in Natal and the Cape Colony. The first rail route, which was opened, was the 3,2 km route between Durban and The Point in June 1860.[105]

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[100] Unie van Suid-Afrika, Ministerie van Vervoer, *'n Eeu van vervoer, 1860-1960,* p. 141
[101] B.C. Floor, *The History of national roads in South Africa*, pp. 4-5, 32, 37, 38-39.
[102] V.E. Solomon, "Transport", F.L. Coleman (ed.), *Economic history of South Africa*, pp.89, 99. Also see G.L. van Heerde, *Die invloed van moderne vervoer op die ontwikkeling van dorpe in Wes-Transvaal,* p. 116.
[103] B.C. Floor, *The history of national roads in South Africa*, pp. 43, 48-61, 87, 90.
[104] C.G.W. Schumann, "Interregionale konkurrensie ten opsigte van spoorweg- en handelsbeleid", A.L. Müller (red.), *Die ekonomiese ontwikkeling van Suid-Afrika,* p. 216.
[105] E.H. Brookes and C. de B. Webb, *A history of Natal,* p. 78. Also see W.P.N. Lötz. "Geskiedkundige ontwikkeling van internasional spoorvervoer in Suider-Afrika", *Afrika-Instituut* mededelinge, 25, 1974, p. 7.

In February 1862, the opening of the first rail route in the Cape Colony followed, namely the Cape Town-Eersterivier route. Apart from the fact that this was a novelty for the Colonials to travel by rail,[106] the main purpose of the internal rail routes certainly was to be of service for the local economic sector to transport products.

The construction of railway routes only received urgent attention in the ZAR and the OVS after the deployment of gold mines in the Witwatersrand. With this, the long, unfulfilled ideal of President Paul Kruger and the ZAR to obtain its own sea route for the country was achieved.[107] While the Eastern line was built by the Nederlandsche Zuid-Afrikaansche Spoorweg Maatschappy (NZASM) from the Rand to Delagoa Bay, the Cape-Johannesburg route was completed in 1892. In 1894, the Eastern line was completed, and in 1897, it stopped at the Southwest line, which envisaged a connection between Kimberley and the Rand.[108]

The opening of all these routes provided a new impetus to the Republic's economic activities and strategies. Manufactured products could now be traded on a large scale in the interior and to foreign countries. On the other hand, trade commitments between the Cape Colony and Natal were promoted, and this created unwelcome competition.[109]

The use of the Republics' respective rail routes was short-lived. The Anglo-Boer War broke out in 1899 between the two Boer Republics and Britain, which resulted in Britain's annexation of both the ZAR and the Orange Free State in 1902. The administrative and constitutional developments which followed this led to the establishment of the Union.[110]

Unification brought about change for the railways. In 1910, the South African Railways was initiated as an overarching body responsible for provincial railroad administrations.[111] With this, the groundwork was laid for numerous rail stations and a more extensive and

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[106] D.H. Hydenrych, *Die geskiedenis van die spoorweë in die Kaapkolonie tot 1885*, p. 22.
[107] D.W. Krüger, *Die weg na die see,* p. 271. Also see P. Edwards, "Die Suid-Afrikaansche Republiek en Groot-Brittanke se stryd om Delagoabaai, 1889-1899", *Acta Academica*, 23(2), Mei, 1991, pp. 34-51.
[108] R.C. de Jong and G.M. van der Walt (et al.), *NZASM 100, 1887-1899, the building of steam engines and structures of the Netherlands South African Railway Company,* p. 88 and C.F. van R. Zietsman, "Die bou van die Suidwestelyn, 1895-1897, en die NZASM-stasiegeboue op Krugersdorp en Klerksdorp", *Contree*, 12, Julie 1982, pp. 5-7.
[109] C.G.W. Schumann, "Interregionale konkurrensie ten opsigte van spoorweg- en handelsbeleid", A.L. Müller (ed.), *Die ekonomiese ontwikkeling van Suid-Afrika,* pp. 218-221. Also see P.L. Wickins, "Agriculture", F.L. Coleman (ed.), *Economic history of South Africa*, p. 58.
[110] T.R.H. Davenport, *South Africa: a modern history,* third edition, pp. 211, 222-228, 243-245, 255.

[111] Unie van Suid-Afrika, Ministerie van Vervoer, *'n Eeu van vervoer, 1860-1960,* p.ix.

consolidated railroad network in South Africa.[112] At times, limited development took place because of external factors. An example of this was the outbreak of the Second World War in 1930. This war had a disruptive effect on the infrastructure of rail transport for six years, which in turn forced the whole economy into reverse gear. The problem was that the shipment of products sometimes took months to reach its destination.

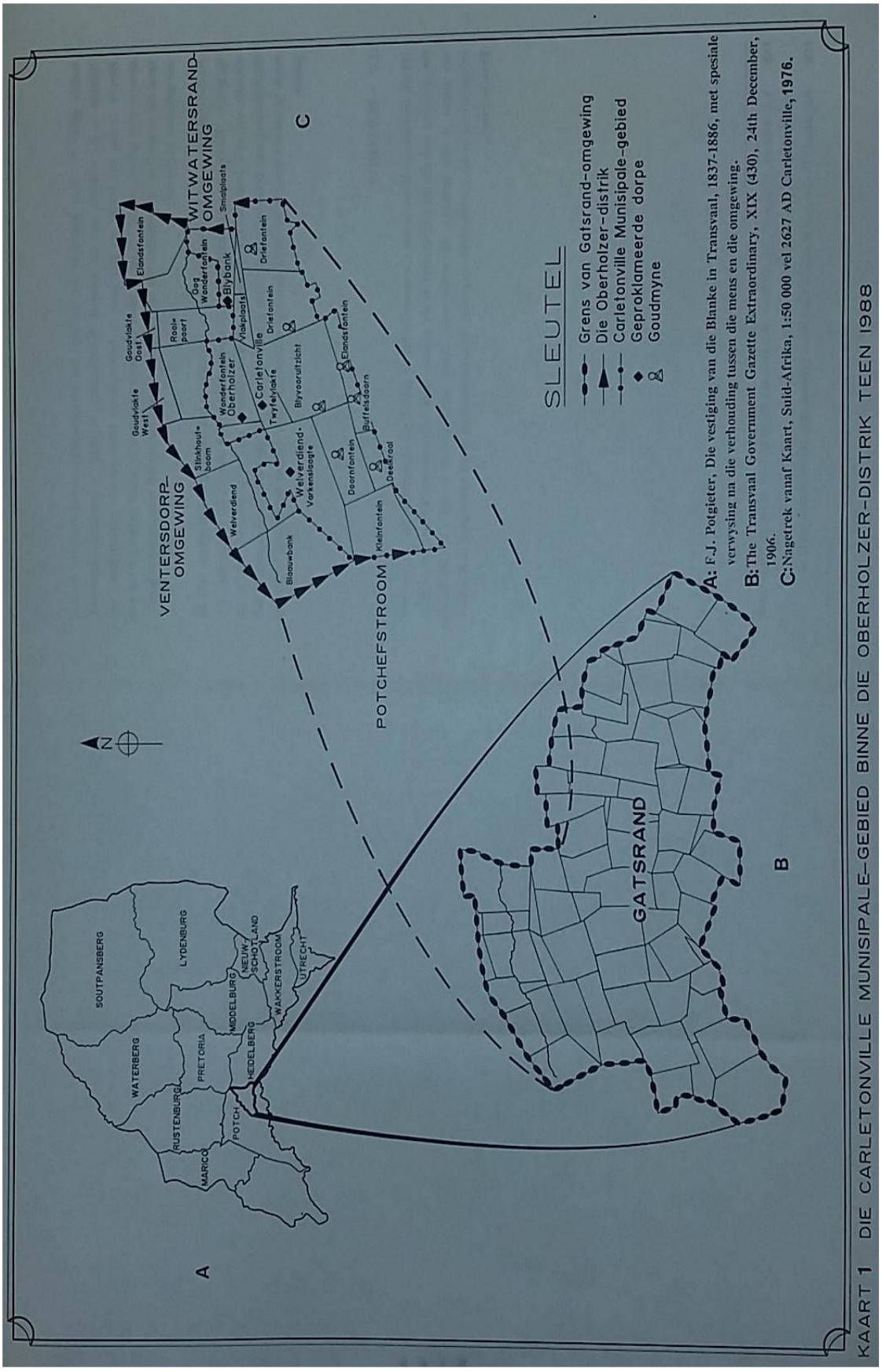
After the war, the government wanted to compensate by starting large-scale development schemes in 1945. The electrification of railroads in 1948 was probably the most important as the transport of the country's rich mineral sources played a prominent role in the electrification of certain railroad routes.[113] The South African economy, which was in its third phase of economic development, benefited from this.

1.4 IN CONCLUSION

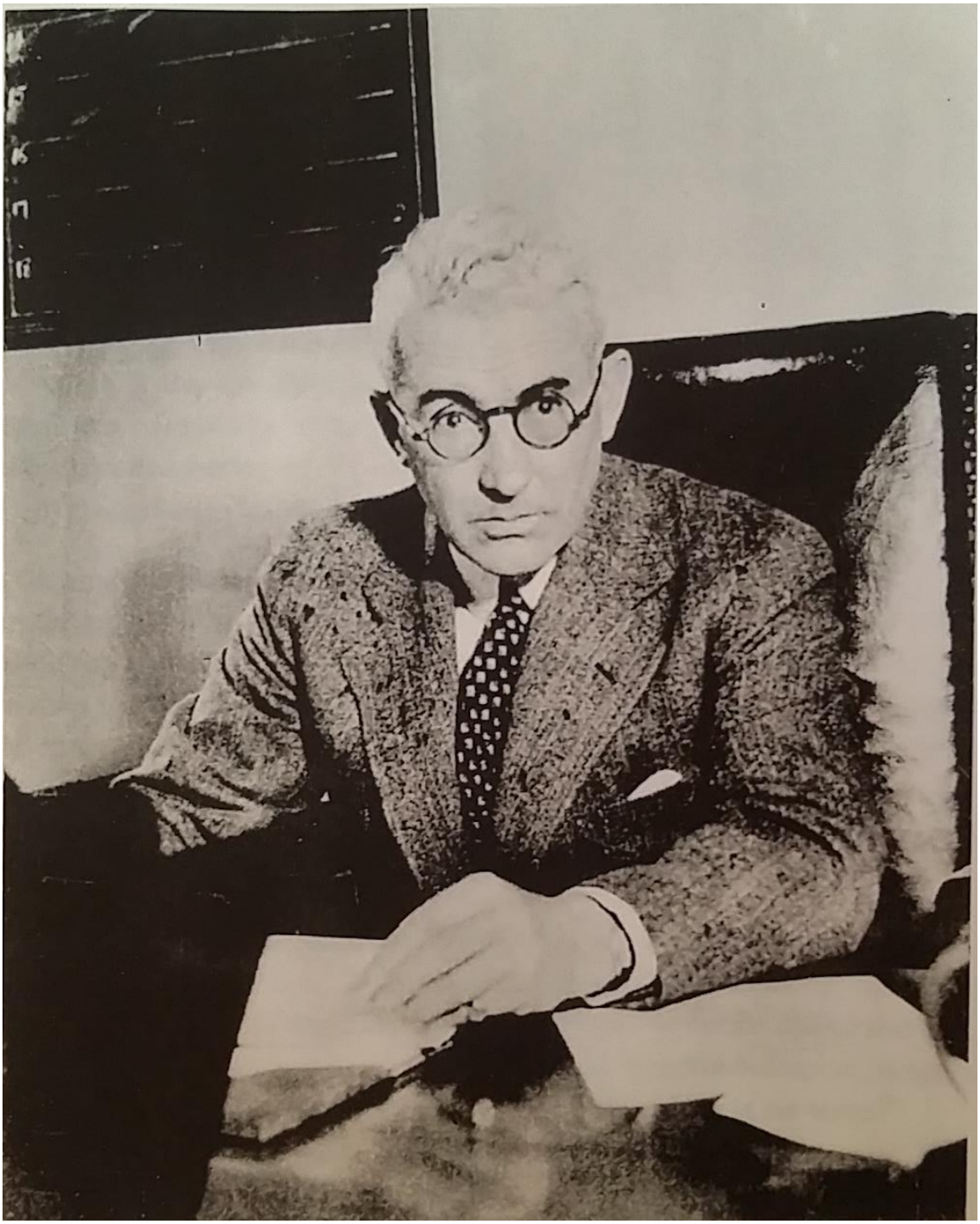
The establishment of Carletonville is mainly ascribed to economic factors, especially with the establishment of the gold mining industry, which was strongly instrumental in the establishment of towns in this area. The way in which towns were proclaimed to accommodate the economic infrastructure in the Carletonville area is discussed in *Chapter Two.*

[112] V.E. Solomon, "Transport", F.L. Coelman (ed.), *Economic history of South Africa,* pp. 100, 103 and D. Houbart Houghton, *The South African economy,* pp. 197-198.
[113] P.O. Sauer, "The transport position in South Africa", *Optima,* 2(4), December 1952, pp.17-21.

Map 1: The Carletonville municipal region in the Oberholzer district by 1988



Guy Carleton Jones



Source: Gold Fields of South Africa

CHAPTER TWO

TOWN DEVELOPMENT IN THE CARLETONVILLE MUNICIPAL AREA

2.1 INTRODUCTION: THE CURRENT CARLETONVILLE MUNICIPAL AREA; ORIGIN, BORDERS AND A BROAD TOPOGRAPHIC OVERVIEW

The farm Twyfelvlakte IQ 286, on which the town of Carletonville was proclaimed in 1948, was already acquired by P.H. de Beer on 30 June 1871.[1] Subsequently, several people had owned the farm at various stages before West Watersrand Areal Limited, decided in November 1946 to establish a town.[2] Carletonville was named after the renowned mine engineer Guy Carleton Jones. Although Canadian by birth, he spent most of his life in South Africa, where he played a prominent role in the discovery of the so-called West Wits line gold region, of which Carletonville was a part.[3]

The Carletonville municipal area borders an extended region, which consists of farms, gold mines and towns dispersed within the region, contributing to its rural appearance. It is situated east of Potchefstroom, the largest town on the western border. The town's municipal jurisdiction stretches further east to the farms Driefontein 113 IQ and Oog van Wonderfontein 110IQ. To the Northwest of the farm, Welverdiend 97 IQ and further north, Wonderfontein 103 IQ form the border. Additionally, the farms Kleinfontein 141 IQ, Deelkraal 142 IQ, Buffelsdoorn 143 IQ, Elandsfontein 115 IQ and Oog van Elandsfontein 114 IQ form the southern border.[4]

Topographically, the Carletonville region is characterised by a wide flat valley surrounded by a granite ridge to the north, and relatively steep granite hills called the Gatsrand to the south. In this dolomitic valley, another topographical phenomenon, i.e. the Wonderfontein Spruit, is found. This is the major drainage channel of the region and flows to the Mooi River in the west.[5]

The savannah-type fauna is interrupted by the presence of dispersed shrubs.[6] Of significance of the topography is the presence of sinkholes. Before the advent of mining activities, these sinkholes appeared naturally. Underground caves were formed by the

[1] Transport Deeds (Deeds Office, Pretoria), Ref.IQ, farm registers, 1865-1910.
[2] *Die Transvaler,* 15.1.1954, pp. 8-11.
[3] *The Star*, 18.5.1960, p.17. *See Chapter*, pp. 112-196 for a discussion of the gold mine development.
[4] See map 1, p. 21a.
[5] A. Pelletier, "Contributions to the geology of the Far West Rand", *Transactions of the Geological Society of South Africa,* XL, 26 July 1937, p. 128.
[6] A.M. Heyns, *'n Geografiese ondersoek na die landboukleinhoewes in die gebied Randfontein – Welverdiend,* p. 2.

dissolving of dolomitic rock by groundwater. This resulted in the sudden and/or gradual sinking of ground layers.[7] Mining activities merely sped up this process. The presence of sinkholes, as this study will show, has influenced the economic development and fate of the region.

2.2 TOWN DEVELOPMENT, 1937-1959

To better understand the economic development of Carletonville as microcosmos within the South African economic development process, it is necessary to highlight the process of town development in this municipal region.[8] This will provide a better perspective of the environment in which the developmental process occurred, as set out in *Chapters Three to Seven*

Town development in the later Carletonville municipal area was realised in 1937 when the gold mine industry was established in this region. Where sparsely scattered railway houses were once the only visible sign of human presence, the gold mines of the West Wits line brought about a change. Towns, people, money, businesses, opportunities, improved roads and a better developed railway system soon followed.[9]

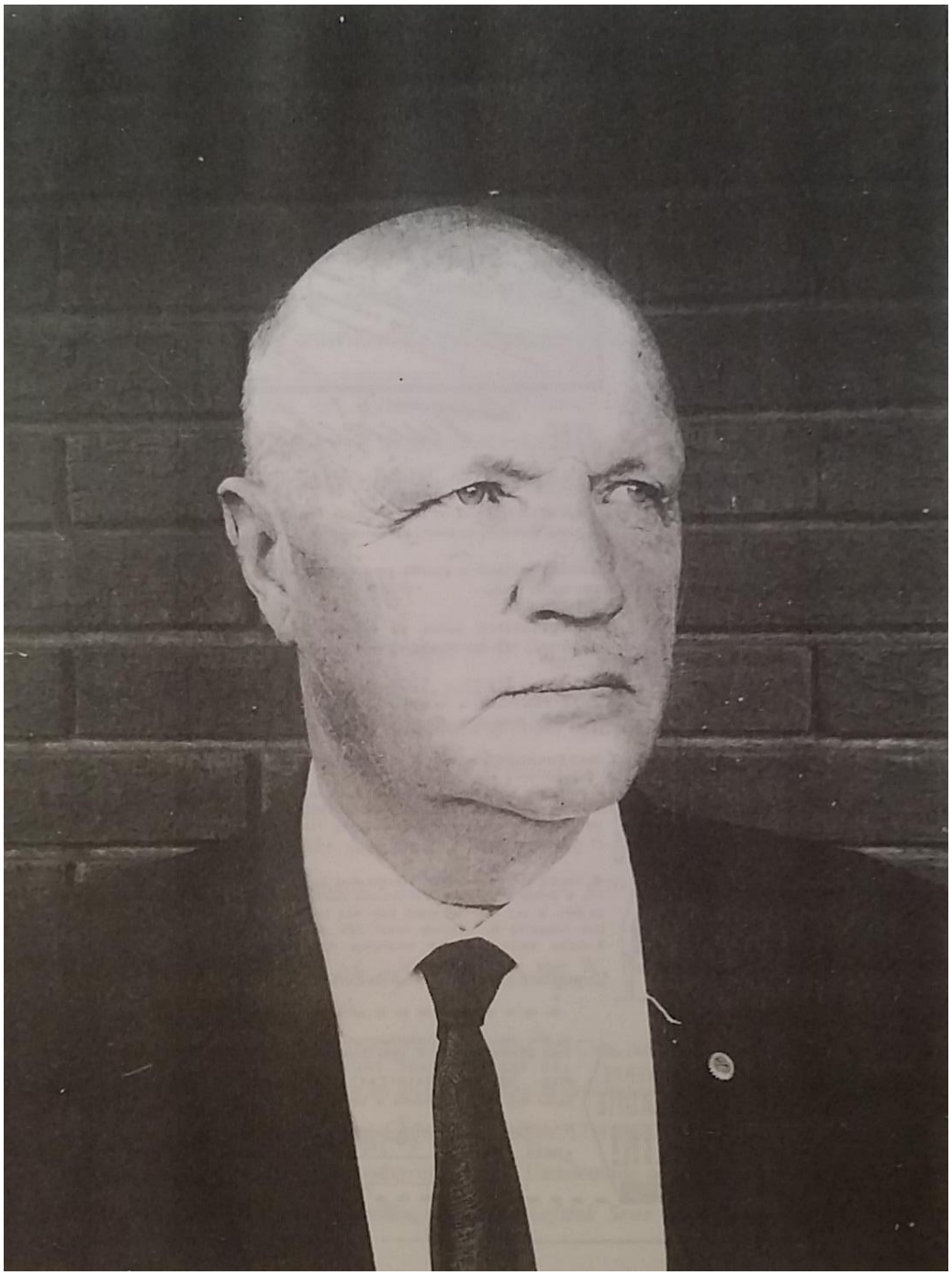
[7] J.F. Wolmarans, *Die ontwatering van die dolomitise gebied aan die Verre Wes-Rand: gebeure in perspektief,* pp. 1-21.

[8] Chapter 7, pp. 332-334, provides more information on the region's demography.

[9] Union of South Africa, Department of Commerce and Industry, *Annual report no* 3. *Raad vir die ontwikkeling van Natuurlike Hulpbronne, 1 Januarie – 1 Desember 1950,* pp. 34-36; Anon., 'Seventeen-hundred new houses for miners: mine of West Wits Line and Klerksdorp have created four new towns – Carletonville, Westonaria, Stilfontein and Orkney', *Mining Survey,* 3(2), March 1951.

Jan Eggo Hommes, founder of the town of Oberholzer

Source: Mr. G. Hommes



A recruitment advertisement for Carletonville, November 1947



CARLETONVILLE

DIE Tuindorp AAN DIE WES WITS-LYN

1 CARLETONVILLE lê 46 myl ten weste van Johannesburg en die Randfontein-Potchefstroom-spoorlyn

2 CARLETONVILLE is gerieflik gelê binne 'n halfmyl vanaf Oberholzer-stasie.

3 CARLETONVILLE bedien die volgende drie belangrike goudmyne: Blyvooruitzicht, Wes Driefontein en Doornfontein.

4 CARLETONVILLE is weliswaar naby hierdie myne, maar is pragtig gelê in 'n ryk, vrugbare vallei.

5 TWEEHONDERD huise is reeds op Carletonville opgerig—en ander word vinnig opgetrek. Lig, water en rioolDienste is reeds tot beskikking van die bestaande wonings, en hierdie dienste word uitgebrei. 'n Skool is opgerig, en planne vir 'n sportstadion en die ontwikkeling van Carletonville as sake-sentrum is opgestel.

Moenie hierdie geleentheid verby laat gaan om die huis van u droume te bou nie—die gesonde soort huis waarop u kinders 'n reg het, die soort huis wat tegelyk 'n eersteklas belegging is. Persele vanaf £505 per kwart akker. Redelike voorwaardes en lenings kan gereël word.

(Dorpsgebied Eienaars: West Witwatersrand Areas, Ltd.

Verkoopagente:
THE SOUTH AFRICAN AND GENERAL INVESTMENT AND TRUST COMPANY, LIMITED, TRUST-GEBOU, FOX- EN LOVEDAYSTRAAT, JOHANNESBURG.

Stuur my asseblief dadelik u beskrywende vouBlaadjie.

NAAM
ADRES

CWWA/1

Jo Hun ... n BESKRYWENDE VOUBLAADJIE DADELIK!

Source: *Die Vaderland,* 15.11.1947

The establishment of the first three gold mines, i.e., (1937),[10] Wes Driefontein (1945) and Doornfontein (1947),[11] encouraged entrepreneurs' hopes for this region. Several towns were proclaimed until 1948. These towns are West Wits (1937), Oberholzer (1939), Bank (1940), Welverdiend (1942), Blybank (1947) and Carletonville (1948).[12] Additionally, the Blyvooruitzicht mine accommodated its employees in mine houses on mine land, which subsequently gave rise to the development of a large town.[13]

It soon became evident that the development of private towns, especially West Wits, Blybank, Welverdiend and Bank, could not keep up with the expansion that could be ascribed to the proclamation.[14] The most important reasons for this were the distance from the mines and the availability of development capital. On the other hand, Carletonville's development was supported financially.[15]

By 1950, the Council for the Development of Natural Resources (Die Raad vir die Ontwikkeling van Natuurlike Hulpbronne (RONH))[16] had already doubted the future of towns such as West Wits, Blybank and Bank. The RONH was also of the opinion that the planning of towns on a regional basis was too late.

[10] R.A. Pellesier, "Contributions to the geology of the Far West Rand", *Transactions of the Geological Society of South Africa,* XL, 26 July 1937, p. 128.
[11] R. Macnab, *Gold their touchstone: Gold Fields of South Africa, 1887-1987, a centenary story,* pp.64-161. In *Chapter Four*, pp. 112-196, local gold mining development is discussed in detail.
[12] Union of South Africa, Department of Commerce and Industry, *Annual report no*. 3, *Raad vir die Ontwikkeling van Natuurlike Hulpbronne, 1 Januarie – 1 Desember 1950,* pp. 34-35 and Annual report 6, *1 Januarie – 31 Desember 1953*, p.19 and Carletonville Municipality, CM, Title conditions, 1937-1960.
[13] *Rand Daily Mail*, 2.7.1959, p. 6. Also compare with W. Hagan-Watson, *Down memory lane: Blyvoor's first 20 years*, pp. 1-10.
[14] Intermediary repository (IR), Carletonville Municipality (MCV), file 22/1(b)(2), Towns: memorandum Re the sinkhole phenomenon and landslide in the dolomite region and its impact on the future development of Carletonville, 17.4.1976, p. 6.
[15] The involvement of local gold mines, especially Carletonville's development, is clear from the documents consulted for this study. See *Chapter Seven*, pp. 293-294, 299-301, 309-310, 314-315, 328.
[16] Die RONH was established on 1 October 1947, to oversee city development and investigate possibilities in the region. It also had to coordinate development in the region. See, Union of South Africa, Department of Commerce and Industry, *Annual report no*. 3, *Raad vir die Ontwikkeling van Natuurlike Hulpbronne, 1 Januarie – 1 Desember 1948,* p. 23

Some of the first houses in Carletonville (Reyneke Street), shortly after 1948.



Source: Gold Fields of South Africa Limited

Had it been planned in time, the tenancy of dubious town development could have been prevented.[17] On the other hand, Carletonville developed faster than the neighbouring towns.[18] The speed at which town development occurred in rural areas such as these put pressure on the existing infrastructure.

The 'Gesondheidsraad vir Buitestedelike Gebiede' (Health Board for Peri Urban areas) was founded in 1944 with its head office in Pretoria, and was approached to manage the infrastructural development of the Far West Rand. A Local Regional committee was founded in 1949 to support the Health Board with its mammoth task.[19]

During 1950 and 1952, another residential area was envisaged for the region, i.e., the agricultural plots, also known as Water's Edge (Watersedge),[20] at the plots Welverdiend and Dorpsuitbreiding no. Een (Town Ext No. One) in Carletonville.[21] It was the gold mining company, West Witwatersrand Areas Limited, that requested Ext No. One. As the owner of Carletonville, they wanted to ensure the extension of the existing residential area as they expected an influx of people with the increase and expansion of the mines.[22] In 1951, the Wes Driefontein mine had completed 213 houses in Carletonville for its white employees, and the Doornfontein mine approximately 60 houses.[23] At this stage, the Blyvooruitzicht mining town accommodated

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[17] Union of South Africa, Department of Commerce and Industry, *Annual Report no.* 3, Council for the Development of Natural resources*, 1 January – 1 December 1950,* p. 36
[18] R. Macnab, *Gold their touch stone:…,* pp. 121-124; *Die Transvaler,* 15.1.1954, pp. 8-11 and W.J. Busschau, "Goudbedryf: reus wat steeds groei", *Dagbreek en Sondagnuus,* Union Festival supplement, 3.4.1960, pp.13, 31.
[19] Carletonville (Municipality), Health Board for Peri Urban Areas (GBG), file T6/13(2), Town and regional planning: West Wits Local Area Committee, West Witwatersrand Region Town Planning Scheme, report of town planning officer on the basic principles underlying and the main proposals of the scheme, December 1952.
[20] The Oberholzer Township Development Company Limited applied in February 1950 to join. However, the Transvaal Town's Council unceremoniously changed the name to Water's Edge (Watersedge). See Carletonville (Municipality), West Wits Local Area Committee (LAC), file A1/407, Watersedge Agricultural Holding: form of application…, 1.2.1950 and the letter, Secretary Townships Board/Peri Urban Areas Board, 29.6.1950.
[21] Carletonville (Municipality), Health Board for Peri Urban Areas (GBG), file T6/13(2), Town and regional planning: West Wits Local Area Committee, West Witwatersrand Region Town Planning Scheme…, December 1952, p.4; Transvaal Archive Depot (TAD), Potchefstroom Municipality (PM), Vol 351, Town lands, establishment of townships: letter, Secretary Town Layout Councilraad/City Council, Potchefstroom, 9.9.1948. Town Extension No. One was proclaimed in July 1952.
[22] Central Archives Depot (CAD), Council for the Development of Natural Resources (RNH), Vol. 224, File NH15/11/8(1), Carletonville Town: letter, Secretary Townships Board/Natural Resources Development Council, 13.12.1951.
[23] Anon., "Seventeen-hundred new houses for miners: mines of West Wits Line and Klerksdorp have created four new towns – Carletonville…", *Mining Survey,* 3(2), March 1951, p. 25.

approximately 3,500 whites, and some of these people wanted to live in Carletonville, if more stands were made available.[24]

The gold mining company West Witwatersrand Areas Limited and the gold mine group Consolidated Gold Fields fully supported the RONH and the Health Council's planning activities in the Carletonville area. As early as the 1940s, they had purchased 90 square miles of freehold land and approached professionals to plan the area. A regional plan was prepared and submitted to the Health Council.[25] The latter was also involved in the process of designing a zone plan for the Carletonville-Oberholzer area. It is possible that some of the town planning suggestions as submitted by the Consolidated Gold Fields Group were incorporated in the zone plan. This Group's suggestions were also only applicable to a section of the Health Council's development area.[26] In 1953, the Health Council's Town planning scheme for the area, drawn up with the assistance of K.J.M. Verhoef, was approved by the Local Area Committee.[27] The approval coincided with the declaration of the Carletonville area as a new district called Oberholzer.[28]

Suggestions regarding the layout of the town and what was supposed to be developed where, according to this new scheme, were not to everyone's satisfaction. For example, the planned business centre for Carletonville Extensions No.s Two and Three had already been criticised by the Oberholzer 'Waaksaamheidskomitee' at the time of the drafting of the zone plan.[29] Apart from their objections that Carletonville was expanding too quickly, whereas numerous stands were available in neighbouring towns, it was also felt that the RONH's

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[24] *Rand Daily Mail*, 2.7.1959, p. 6.
[25] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, Minutes: minute, 15.7.1949.
[26] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file T6/13, Consolidated Gold Fields/Health Council, 17.11.1948 and T6/13/3722, Health Council/Provincial Secretaries, 2.12.1948.
[27] Union of South Africa, Department of Commerce and Industry, *Annual report no. 6*, Council for the Development fo Natural resources, *1 Januarie – 31 Desember 1950,* p. 19 and Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, Minutes: minute, 23.1.1953.
[28] PU for CHE, Continued regional survey of Controlled Region no. 2: region Westonaria-Welverdiend, report no. 3, 1956/57, p. 2.
[29] CAD, RNH, Vol. 224, file NH 15/11/8(1), Carletonville Town: letter, Secretary 'Waaksaamheidskomitee' Oberholzer/Secretary Town Council Transvaal, 18.1.1952; Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, Minutes: minute, 20.7.1951, 11.2.1952 and 21.3.1952, and LAC, file T1/37/1(1), Carletonville Extension No. 3 Township: letter, Secretary Oberholzer 'Waaksaamheidskomitee'/Secretary Town Council, 26.8.1952.

earlier request for unity between Carletonville and Oberholzer[30] were purposefully ignored by the Town Council and the mine authorities. The 'Waaksaamheidskomitee' argued that there were enough business stands available in neighbouring towns and even in Carletonville Ext One. In light of this, an additional extension for a business centre for Carletonville appeared strange.[31]

Apart from the Oberholzer 'Waaksaamheidskomitee's' objections regarding Carletonville Extensions No. Two and Three, the local authority was sharply criticised over the extensions of Carletonville that, according to the Committee, were at the cost of Oberholzer. The Committee even insinuated that Carletonville had been proclaimed in the wrong place.[32] The 'Waaksaamheidskomitee' touched upon another matter – the monopoly that the mining authorities seemed to have over the landowners. As an example, Venterspost and Westonaria, both gold exploration areas outside the northeastern borders of the present Carletonville, were mentioned.

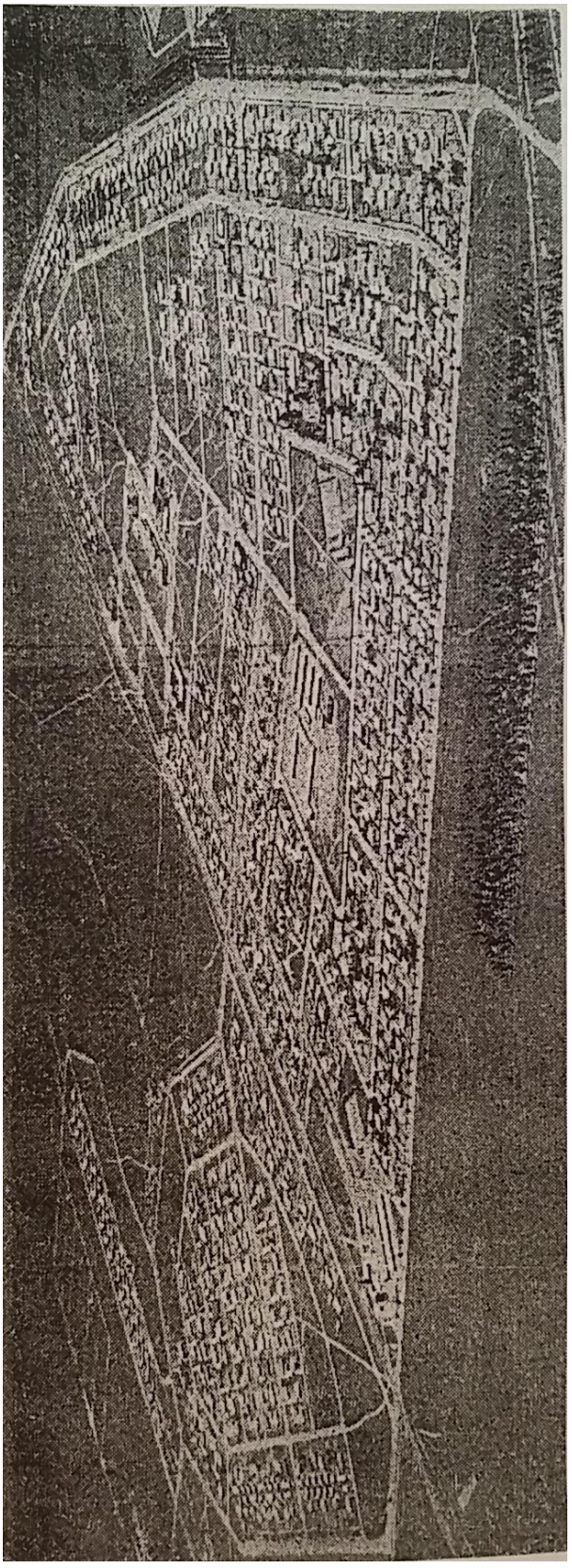
Apparently, Venterspost was fading away after it had to make way for Westonaria, a town proclaimed and developed at the initiative of mining authorities. The Oberholzer Awareness Committee opined that West Wits, Bank and Blybank were following in the footsteps of Venterspost, and also possibly Oberholzer.[33]

Despite the Committee's tirade, the gold mining companies suggested that the development of Carletonville, situated closest to the mines, should not be hindered. [34] Earlier it was also suggested that their employees did not wish to stay in the privately initiated towns Welverdiend, Oberholzer and Blybank.[35]

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[30] CAD, RNH, Vol. 224, file NH 15/11/8(1), Carletonville Town: letter, Secretary Council for the Development of Natural Resources/Secretary Transvaal Towns Council, 11.8.1951 and report, planning of Carletonville region, 7.2.1952.
[31] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, Minutes: minute, 21.3.1952. Table 1, p. 29 a, indicates that only two business stands were envisaged for the Carletonville Town extension, Town Extension No. One. Consequently, the Oberholzer 'Waaksaamheidskomitee's' argument in this regard is questioned.
[32] CAD, RNH, Vol. 224, file NH 15/11/8(1), Carletonville Town: letter, Secretary 'Waaksaamheidskomitee' Oberholzer/Secretary Town Council, Transvaal, 18.1.1952.
[33] CAD, RNH, Vol. 224, file NH 15/11/8(1), Carletonville Town: Townships Board inspection of proposed Carletonville Extension No. 2 township, 3.3.1952.
[34] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file T1/346(1), Carletonville Township Extension no.2: Carletonville/Oberholzer development plan, 11.9.1953.
[35] CAD, RNH, Vol. 224, file NH 15/11/8(1), Carletonville Town: planning of Carletonville Town, 7.2.1952.

Carletonville and Carletonville Town Extension One (left), ca 1954.



Source: Aircraft Operating Company (Johannesburg).

The most important reason for this was probably the lack of essential services such as water and electricity, especially regarding Welverdiend.[36]

The Oberholzer Waaksaamheidskomitee also had reason to worry about the position of town development in. Of the 615 stands in the town, only 70 had been developed by 1953.[37] When it became known that the district would be called 'Oberholzer', a press article insinuated that Oberholzer would become the 'Springs' or 'Brakpan' of the future.[38] However, this speculation was far-fetched, as property development in Oberholzer never experienced an exceptional buyer's market.[39]

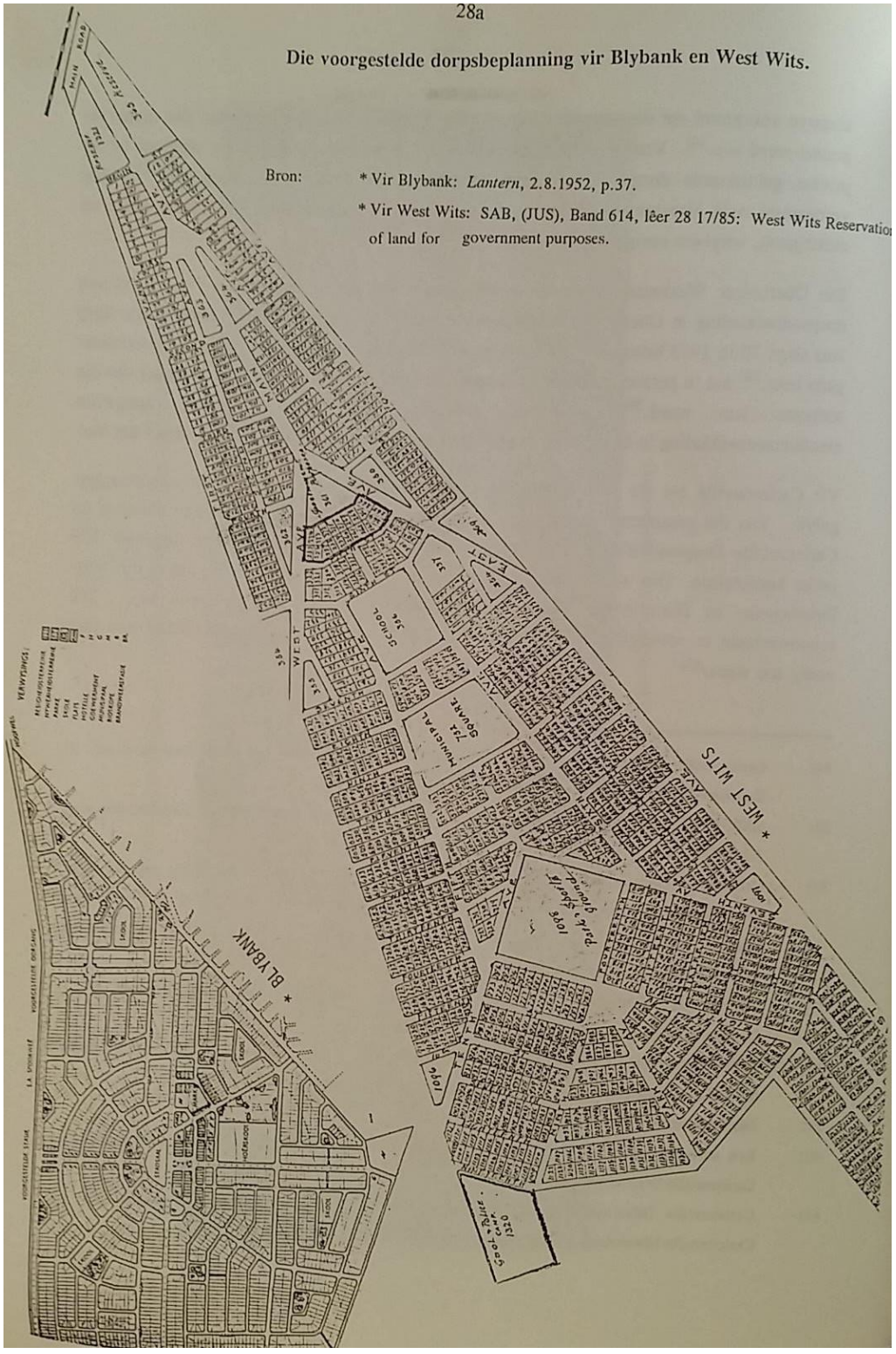
On the other hand, Carletonville's future for town development looked particularly rosy at the time. Of a total of 1138 available stands in Carletonville and Carletonville Town Extension One, 710 had been built upon, and approximately 129 were under construction, leaving only 299 available.[40] This was not enough to fulfil the future needs of the Wes Driefontein and Doornfontein gold mines. These mine authorities expected that more than 2,000 houses would be required in the following ten years.[41]

In Oberholzer, Welverdiend, Bank, Blybank and West Wits, empty stands were ample, and there were expectations that they would benefit from these planned mining activities, as together they had more than 2,000 available stands. [42] It was probably also felt that

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[36] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file Ti/30/1, Welverdiend Township, water supply scheme: letter P.A. Viljoen/J.J. Tromp, 19.4.1949. The Bank was only supplied with electricity from 1961. See TAD, MCV, Vol. 13, file, 22/1/2(a), Bank: letter, Town electro-engineer, Carletonville/Department Manager, SAS, 4.12.1961.
[37] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file T1/346(1), Carletonville township Extension No. 2: Carletonville/Oberholzer development plan, 11.9.1953.
[38] TAD, Municipality Carletonville (MCV), Vol. 49, file 73/5(1), Publicity: publicity, 8.7.1959 – 8.9.1961 and *West Rand Times en Wesrander*, 4.9.1959, p.1.
[39] *Die Transvaler*, 15.1.1954, p.11.
[40] See statistics in Table 1, p. 29a, regarding the number of stands in Carletonville town and Carletonville Town Extension No. One.
[41] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file T1/346(1), Carletonville Township extension no. 2: Carletonville/Oberholzer development plan, 11.9.1953.
[42] See statistics in Table 1, p. 29a, regarding the number of stands in Bank, Blybank, Oberholzer, Welverdiend and West Wits.

The suggested town planning for Blybank and West Wits



Source; For Blybank; *Lantern,* 2.8.1952, p.37.

*For West Wits: CAD, (JUS), Vol. 614, file 28 17/85: West Wits Reservation of land for government purposes.

these towns were in the middle of the Venterspost gold mine (outside the eastern border of the field of study), the Blyvooruitzicht, Doornfontein and Wes Driefontein mines.[43] The Carletonville town developers, however, did not share these sentiments and used the residential areas' decentralised position and bad layout of erven to motivate as to why these facilities were not utilised.[44]

Within the framework of the dilemma and the accusations of the Oberholzer 'Waaksaamheidskomitee', the expansion of Carletonville began. The local mining industry's requirements and needs to establish their employees in Carletonville further stimulated town expansion. In 1954, Carletonville Town Extensions Nos Two and Three were proclaimed,[45] providing for 82 business and 695 residential stands.[46] Based on this, the media predicted a prosperous future for Carletonville. Apart from predictions that the town would soon be as developed as its erstwhile guardian, Potchefstroom,[47] Carletonville town was also called the 'jewel town'[48] and Carletonville a so-called new experiment in a modern lifestyle.[49]

Although Extensions Nos. Two and Three were proclaimed to neutralise the housing shortage; it proved to be inadequate by 1955.[50] Subsequently, another extension, this time in Oberholzer, called Oberholzer Extension No. One (Blyvoor Township),[51] was proclaimed in 1955.[52]

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[43] See, for example, the illustration re Blybank and West Wits, p. 28a and Table 1, p. 29a.
[44] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, T1/346(1), Carletonville Township Extension No.2: Carletonville/Oberholzer development plan, 11.9.1953.
[45] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, T1/346(2), Carletonville Township Extension No.2: Carletonville/Oberholzer development plan, 1954.
[46] See statistics in table 1, p.29a re Town Extensions No. Two and No. Three.
[47] *Sunday Express*, 7.6.1953, p.7 and *Die Transvaler,* 15.1.1954, p. 8.
[48] *Die Transvaler*, 15.1.1954, pp. 8-9.
[49] *Sunday Times,* 10.4.1955, p. 3.
[50] *Carletonville News/Nuus*, 2.11.1955, pp. 2-3.
[51] Oberholzer Town Extension No. One was initially introduced as Blyvoor Township. As it could be mistaken for the Blyvooruitzicht-mine town, the name was changed to Town Extension No. One. See Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, Minutes: minute, second report on amended plan of Blyvoor Township, 4.1.1954.
[52] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, Title conditions, 1937-1960; Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, R. van der Merwe, 3.3.1989 (Chief: Department City and Regional planning, Carletonville) and *Die Transvaler*, 25.1.1956, p.3.

TABEL 1: 'N OPNAME VAN ERFBEPLANNING VIR GEPROKLAMEERDE DORPE IN DIE MUNISIPALE GEBIED CARLETONVILLE TEEN 1956

BLANKE WOONGEBIED	TOTALE AANTAL ERWE	WOON-ERWE	SAKE-ERWE	INDUSTRIELE ERWE	REGERINGS-ERWE	OPVOED-KUNDIG	PARKE	ANDER
* Bank	189	162	20	-	1	1	4	1
* Blybank	2 497	2 305	82	-	10	5	19	76
* Carletonville	612	545	8	-	2	2	11	44
* Carletonville Uitbreiding 1	630	593	2	-	-	4	10	21
* Carletonville Uitbreiding 2	182	63	54	23	4	1	1	36
* Carletonville Uitbreiding 3	379	356	-	-	1	1	4	17
* Oberholzer	615	527	40	24	1	3	2	18
* Oberholzer Uitbreiding 1	342	305	7	13	1	1	4	11
* Welverdiend	922	704	69	37	10	2	4	96
* West Wits	1 303	985	66	-	21	1	2	228
* Blyvooruitzicht (myndorp) erwe reeds bebou	973	966	2	-	1	2	-	2

Carletonville (Munisipaliteit), LAC, leer T6/13(2), Town and regional planning: West Wits Local Area Committee, December 1952, p.26 en PU vir CHO, *Voortgesette streekopname van Beheerde Gebied no. 2 ... verslag no. 3, 1956-57*, p.346.

TABLE 1: A survey of stand planning for proclaimed towns in the municipal region of Carletonville by 1956

In turn, the Welverdiend Township Development Company Limited unsuccessfully applied to the Administrator of the Transvaal to proclaim a first town extension for Welverdiend in 1956.[53] At this stage, there was hardly any talk of development in West Wits en Blybank.[54]

During 1955-1956, the RONH, in collaboration with the Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education (PU for CHE), conducted a survey in the Carletonville-Oberholzer area, known as the Controlled Area No. 2. Aspects such as expansion possibilities, professional opportunities, infrastructural services, agricultural potential, and settlement possibilities for black and white were investigated.[55] Based on this report, the RONH suggested that the Far West Rand should be replanned, as an industrial area for Carletonville had to be established.[56] As a result, the Health Commission drafted a development plan.[57] The most important consideration for the reviewed development plan for the West-Wits region was to promote, stimulate and balance the development of the region's economic sector, to ensure a balanced local community. The relevant regional authorities believed that, if one sector dominated, only one type of employee would be attracted, which could, in turn, cause social tension.[58]

New developments occurred at the Local Regional Committee level, coinciding with the reflection on the development plan. On 30 August 1957, the first locally elected Regional Committee was appointed by the Health Council.[59] Earlier, committee members were nominated by one another, and the Regional Committee

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[53] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file 6/1/1051, Welverdiend Extension No.1: township application for establishment, 16.4.1956. The zone plan of the Health Council for the region provided for this. See Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, Minutes; minute, 27.10.1958.
[54] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, Minutes; minute re improvements re Blybank, West Wits and Bank, 10.11.1958, p. 3.
[55] Union of South Africa, Department of Commerce and Industry, *Annual report no. 8*, Council for the Development of Natural Resources, 1 January – 1 December 1955, p.9 and PU for CHE, Continued regional survey of Controlled Region no. 2…, report no. 3, 1956-57, p. iii.
[56] Union of South Africa, Department of Commerce and Industry, *Annual Report No. 10*, Council for the Development of Natural Resources, 1 January 1957 – 1 December 1957, p. 6 and *Annual Report No. 11*, Council for the Development of Natural Resources, Development of Natural Resources, 1 January 1958 – 1 December 1958, pp. 5-6.
[57] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, Minutes: minute report on the general development of the West Witwatersrand Town development scheme re the reservation for industrial towns and the revision of the "regional" plan, 7.11.1958, p.1.
[58] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, Minute: minute, report on the general development of the West Witwatersrand…, 7.11.1958, pp. 3-4.
[59] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, Minutes: minute, 30.8.1957.

Carletonville's first elected City Council in 1962



FLTR: * Councillors A.E. Grundling, C. Rautenbach, D.L.A. Peck, P.J.K. van Vuuren.

* J.H. Amstel (city engineer), Dr W.P. Roux (part-time medical health official), J.P. Jacobs (city-treasurer), L. De Wet (clerk of the council).

* Councillors J.J. Baard (mayor), C.J. Kriek (deputy mayor).

* J.W. van der Westhuizen (manager of Non-White matters), E.E. de Villiers (electro-technical engineer).

* Councillors A. van der Westhuizen, B.N.D. Geldenhuys, C.J. de Beer and C.J. Joubert (town clerk).

Source: Carletonville Municipality

was dominated by English-speaking mine officials and town owners.[60] The locally elected Regional Committee of 1957 was, however, chosen from the broader Carletonville community, after which the Health Council appointed the final selection.[61]

The above-mentioned milestone in the development of the local management, stimulated primarily by the region's economic and demographic growth, was probably welcomed by the local Chamber of Commerce. The Chamber already had talks with the 'Waaksaamheidskomitee' regarding the local management situation in 1953, and requested an elected Regional committee.[62]

The new 1957 Regional Committee campaigned for an independent local authority from the beginning.[63] During 1958, further town developments, i.e., the proclamation of Town extensions No's Four,[64] Five and Seven,[65] probably stimulated the Local Regional Committee's motivation for an independent local authority. On 1 July 1959, the local Regional Committee's ideal was realised when Carletonville became an independent municipality.[66] The new City Council kicked off with 45 members.[67]

The Administrator of the Transvaal requested that members of the Local Regional Committee, whom he named as Councillors, continue to manage the region's administration on his behalf.

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[60] Carletonville (Municipality), Ref. 3: interview, A.E. Grundling, 9.4.1991 (First chairman of the elected Regional Committee) and Ref. 1: minutes, Far West Rand Chamber of Commerce, minute, 12.3.1953, p.2.
[61] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, Minutes: minute, 30.8.1957 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, A.E. Grundling, 9.4.1991.
[62] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: minutes, Far West Rand Chamber of Commerce, minute, 12.3.1953, pp. 1-3.
[63] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, Minutes: minute, report on suggestions by Committee on boundaries of proposed separate local authority, 17.1.1958.
[64] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file T1/386, Carletonville Extension No. 4: application for founding, 5.2.1958 and CM, Title conditions, 1937-1960.
[65] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, Minutes, minute, 8.12.1958. Town development No. Six, as an industrial town, was already on the table but was only developed in the 1980s. See *Chapter Five*, pp. 208-209.
[66] Union of South Africa, The provinces of Transvaal, *Offisiële koerant*, CLXIX, 24.6.1959, columns 11-14 and Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, Minutes: minute, 18.6.1959, pp. 6-7.
[67] TAD, MCV, Vol. 5, file 2/2, Official Ceremonies and functions of the mayor: mayor's report. 4.11.1960, p. 5.

until the following full-fledged municipal election could be held in 1960 in the area.[68] Carletonville's municipal borders, as determined in 1959, were somewhat smaller than the area in which the West Wits Regional Committee functioned previously.[69] The newly proclaimed area, which stretched eastwards from Welverdiend up to Bank and further south, to the top of the Gatsrand Hills, included the mine hiring regions of Doornfontein, Blyvooruitzicht and Wes Driefontein, including a section of the present Western Deep Levels mine region.[70]

Soon after obtaining municipal status, another town extension, i.e., Carletonville Town Extension No. Eight (October 1959), as well as the town,[71] Pretoriusrus (December 1960), were proclaimed in Carletonville.[72] The new City Council did not have much power over the surrounding mining towns, which caused numerous problems. Mining authorities' management style in mining towns also differed from how the City Council managed the remaining areas.[73] Some town owners within the municipal boundaries caused problems by not sticking to the particular towns' foundational conditions. This proved to be a challenge for town development.[74] Due to the limits of this study, these aspects are not dealt with in more detail. Within the broader context of economic historiography, they are worthy of independent in-depth research. A more extensive challenge, since the inception of the new local authority, has, however, been the sinkholes that were appearing in the region.[75]

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[68] TAD, MCV, Vol. 5, file 2/2(3), Inauguration ceremonies: report from the honourable mayor for the period ending 7.3.1962 and *Carletonville Herald*, 2.11.1984, Supplement, "Carletonville 25 jaar".
[69] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file T1/29(1), Local Regional Committee: letter, 'Waksaamheidskomitee' Carletonville/Health Council for Rural areas, 12.10.1948.
[70] Union of Suid-Afrika, Departement van Handel en Nywerheid, jaarverslag no. 12, Council for the Development of Natural Resources, *1 Januarie 1959 – 1 Desember 1959,* p. 5 and Union of South Africa, The Transvaal Provinsie, *Offisiële koerant*, CLXIX, 24.6.1959, columns 14-16.
[71] TAD, MCV, Vol. 15, file 22/1/2L, Carletonville Extension no. 8: letter, Town Clerk Carletonville/Messrs.New Consolidated Gold Fields, 7.10.1959.
[72] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file, T1/31, Pretoriusrus Township, 9.12.1960. Apparently, while the proclamation of Pretoriusrus, it was called "Blyvoor" because of the region's link with the mining town, Blyvooruitzicht. See TAD, (MCV), Vol. 16, file 22/1/2n (1), Pretoriusrus: letter, Secretary Township Board/The Secretary Peri Urban Areas Health Board, 21.1.1954.
[73] IR, BP, MCV, file 33/1/1/B(1), Use of land, Elandsrand, August 1979 – August 1987: memorandum on the injudicious founding of towns around Carletonville, n.d.
[74] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, Minutes: minute, 16.11.1950, p.2 and TAD MCV, Vol. 13, file 22/1/2(a), Bank: letter, B. Geldenhuys/Town Clerk Carletonville, 18.12.1966.
[75] Sinkholes and subsidence are discussed in each chapter as and when they impacted the area under discussion.

The enormous sinkhole claimed the Oosthuizen family's lives at Westdene.



Source: *Die Huisgenoot,* October 1964.

2.3. THE IMPETUOUS DECADE OF THE SIXTIES

On the eve of the dramatic, impetuous landslides,[76] a new gold mine area, called, began preparing for production during 1960-1961.[77] Simultaneously, a ninth town extension for Carletonville was proclaimed in 1961.[78] The City Council also seriously contemplated the unification of Carletonville and Oberholzer.[79] Carletonville was described as the fastest developing town in South Africa.[80] The population count in the region was approximately 16,000 whites and 39,772 blacks at the time.[81]

The occurrence of landslides in the region, however, enjoyed increased media coverage, especially after cracks and damage to buildings were discovered and builders uncovered underground caves during construction processes.[82] In a popular family magazine, an article aptly titled***, (Transvaal town lopsided)*** undoubtedly attracted much negative publicity for the young town.[83] All the Council's attempts to create positive publicity [84] did not prevent the so-called *invisible giant* from gnawing away at the Carletonville region. [85]

During the winter night of 3 August 1964, a disaster struck the Carletonville community when the Oosthuizen family of five, and their housekeeper, were buried alive, house and all, in a giant sinkhole in the residential area of the Blyvooruitzicht Gold Mine. Within 24 hours, Carletonville became one of the most newsworthy towns on the national and international

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[76] P. de Klerk, "Dorp wat wegsak se stadsraad ontken feite - dis nie so erg", *Die Stem,* 27.8.1961, p. 1.
[77] See *Chapter four,* pp.168-182, for more information on the Western Deep Levels Gold Mine.
[78] TAD, MCV, Vol. 17, lêer 22/1/2(T), Carletonville Extension No. 9: letter, Mining Rights and Estates Department/Acting Town Clerk, 10.5.1961.
[79] CAD, RNH, Vol. 225, file 15/11/8(3), Carletonville Town: letter, Stadsraad Carletonville/Council for the Development of Natural Resources, 18.4.1962.
[80] *The Star,* 13.9.1961, p. 2.
[81] Union of South Africa, Department of Commerce and Industry, *Annual Report no. 13*, Council for the Development of Natural Resources, *1 January 1960 – 1 December 1960,* pp.6-7 and Union of South Africa, Bureau for Statistics, report no. 02.02.01, *Urban and rural population of South Africa, 1904-1960,* 1960, pp.188, 206.
[82] *Die Vaderland,* 13.12.1962, p. 1; *Dagbreek en Sondagnuus,* 20.5.1962, p. 1 and 16.12.1962, p. 2; *The Star*, 10.4.1963, p.2 and *Die Transvaler*, 11.4.1963, p. 1.
[83] K. Steytler, "Transvaalse dorp trek windskeef", *Die Huisgenoot*, 22.2.1963, pp. 8-13.
[84] *The Star,* 23.1.1963, p.1 and 10.4.1963, p. 2.
[85] *Die Transvaler*, 24.5.1963, p.2. See *Dabreek en Sondagnuus,* 20.5.1962, p.1; *The Star,* 23.1.1963, p.1 and *Sunday Express,* 3.2.1963, p. 20.

Demolishing a house near Dolomiet Avenue, 1965



Source: T.M. Toxopeüs

news agendas.[86] More than ever before, further local development proved challenging. The City Council had to stop all town developments with imediate effect[87,] influencing all local sectors. [88] In the process, Carletonville lost a substantial number of prospective residents who preferred to move to Fochville, a town situated to the southeast.[89]

In 1965, the City Council and surrounding mines undertook to evacuate and demolish several houses. It was established that the value of these premises equalled about 3% of the total investments in the town. Town Extensions No's. Five and Eight were especially affected.[90]

Government, represented by J.F.W. Haak, minister of Mining and Planning, continuously reassured the community that everything possible was done to prevent the evacuation of the local towns. To keep their promise, the government suggested the establishment of a water association in 1964, which was tasked with managing all insurance claims and appointed a technical committee to coordinate research regarding sinkings and sinkholes.[91] In turn, the City Councillors promised to beautify the town and turn the demolished properties into parks or maintain them. Sinkholes were also filled.[92] In this manner, they restored the sinking Twyfelvlakte valley to its previous ground level, and they also launched their own surface drainage scheme.[93] In cooperation with the Technical Committee, the City Council established a local advice bureau

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[86] *Carletonville Herald,* 5.8.1964, p.1 and 21.8.1964, p. 1; *Die Vaderland,* 8.8.1964, pp. 1-2 and 21.8.1964, p. 1. This event is discussed in *Chapter Four,* pp.127-128, as far as it affected the Blyvooruitzicht Gold Mine.
[87] CAD, RNH, Vol 224, file 15/11/8(2), Carletonville town: memorandum re the sinkholes and landslides in the dolomite region, 17.11.1964.
[88] *Carletonville Herald,* 13.11.1964, p. 3 and SA, RNH, Vol 224, file 15/11/8(2), Carletonville Town: memorandum re sinkhole and landslides re the dolomite region, 17.11.1964. Also see *Chapter Five,* pp. 204-205, 218-222.
[89] *Carletonville Herald*, 10.6.1966, p. 5.
[90] *Carletonville Herald*, 8.1.1965, p.1 and TA, MCV, Vol. 43, file 70/2/1(1), Planning and development: meeting, Management Committee, 4.1.1966.
[91] TAD, MCV, Vol 43, file 70/2/1(1), Planning and development: meeting, Management Committee, 4.1.1966. In *Chapters Three,* pp. 57, 84-90, *Four,* p. 196 and *Five*, p.220, the activities of the Water Associations and Technical Committee were explained in detail.
[92] TAD, MCV, Vol. 5, file 2/2/2(2), Inauguration ceremonies: mayor's report for the year ending on 9.3.1965, p.10 and TA, MCV, Vol. 43, file 70/2/1(1), Planning en Development: meeting Management Committee, 4.1.1966.
[93] *Carletonville Herrald,* 10.6.1966, p.5; *Herald vir die Goue Weste,* 26.11.1965, p.1 and 26.8.1966, p. 1.

who could advise the public regarding landslides in the Carletonville area in an organised manner.[94]

During these crisis years, the City Council continuously tried to create a positive image of the region through the media.[95] In 1966, residents established an association for property owners to negotiate with the Government for higher property values that dropped as a result of the sinkholes.[96]

However, the landslides continued to influence the possibility of creating a positive image of the Carletonville region. Apparently, the sinkholes were responsible for 34 deaths, the moving and re-establishment of about 900 families and a partial loss of income amounting to R14,035,700 for Carletonville.[97] Purchasing sunken land resulted in the Far Westrand Dolomitic Water Council becoming the most important land-owner in the region by 1978.[98]

By 1976, the Town Council was aware of the detrimental effects the landslides had on any future developments, especially in Carletonville, and had become a source of great concern.[99] During this year, development in Carletonville had ground to a near halt. In 1967-1968, only 94 building plans were approved by the Council, compared to the average of 336 per annum between 1960-1966.[100] Consolidated Gold Fields continued to rub salt in the wounds of Carletonville when this group indicated that the employees of

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[94] *Herald vir die Goue Weste*, 26.8.1966, p. 1.
[95] IR, MCV, file 71/2, Persverslae, 18.5.1963 – 31.1.1967; *Carletonville Herald,* 8.1.1965, p. 1 and *Herald vir die Goue Weste,* 26.8.1966, p. 1.
[96] *Herald vir die Goue Weste*, 25.2.1966, p. 1.
[97] *The Star*, 29.1.1966, pp. 1-2.
[98] P.R. Janisch, "Goldmining into strategy for the future, the 21st century", (symposium of the West Wits Regional Planning Committee
[99] IR, MCV, file 22/1(b): Towns: memorandum regarding sinkholes and land movement in dolomite areas and its impact on the future development of Carletonville, 17.4.1967, p. 1.
[100] TAD, MCV, Vols. 5 and 8, files 2/2/2 and 2(2/2/2) and 6/3/6(d), Building plans: 1960-1968 and *Carletonville Weekly Record,* 29.4.1977, p. 3.

The new Carletonville municipal offices by 1968



Source: Antonica Foto's

A sparsely inhabited Bank residential area…28 years after proclamation



Source: Dr. J.F. Wolmarans

Demolition of a section of Bank Town, ca 1970



Source: Dr. J.F. Wolmarans

A house near Bank Station, damaged by a landslide in 1970



Source: Dr. J.F. Wolmarans

that creation, the Oos Driefontein Gold Mine, would not be situated in Carletonville.[101] The City Council found it unacceptable that Gold Fields, who were directly involved in the creation of Carletonville and its extensions, lost faith in its own enterprise.[102]

Gold Fields did not react to the accusation of the City Council. Subsequently, the City Council requested the assistance and cooperation of the Transvaal Provincial Administration, the Government and the mine authorities with the aim of ensuring the future of the Carletonville region. As a result, several schools, public offices, post offices and a police station.[103] These steps would hopefully restore the public's trust in the region.

Towards the end of the decade, the landslides in the Carletonville region had greatly stabilised. This was, however, not the case in the residential areas on the farm Bank, i.e West Wits, Blybank, but especially in Bank town. The sparsely populated town of Bank's 121 residents, was given till 31 January 1970 to move. Some of them were very upset and opined that the entire sinkhole issue was blown out of proportion. Sommige van hulle was baie ontevrede, en hulle was van mening dat die sinkgat verskynsel hier oordryf is.[104] A petition was handed to the Prime Minister in February.[105] There was no reaction, and the residents of Bank had to evacuate their homes.[106] Apart from the fact that this was an emotional and traumatic event for some residents, the chain of events did affect the region's economic activities,[107] as important businessmen and some residents questioned the area's future.

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[101] *Die Beeld,* 9.6.1968, p. 18 and *Herald vir die Goue Weste,* 28.8.1970, p. 1. Also see *Chapter Four,* pp. 158.159.
[102] TAD, MCV, file 22/1/(b)(2), Towns: memorandum re sinkholes and land movement in dolomite areas and its impact on the future development of Carletonville, 17.4.1967.
[103] IR, MCV, file 22/1/(b)(2), Towns: memorandum re sinkholes and land movement in dolomite areas and its impact on the future development of Carletonville 17.4.1967, pp. 13, 46. The proposed development only materialised in the 1970s. See *Chapter Seven*, pp. 318-319, 323-324.
[104] *Carletonville Herald*, 30.1.1970, p.1 and *The Star*, 24.3.1970, p. 5. By 1970, it was mainly only Bank Town that showed any development in the Bank region. The request to evacuate homes only applied to them.
[105] *The Star,* 4.2.1970, p. 3.
[106] *Die Transvaler,* 296.4.1970, p.1 and Republic of South Africa, *Debates of the Assembly*, 24.5.1973, column 7633.
[107] *Carletonville Herald,* 30.1.1970, p. 1; *The Star*, 8.1.1970, p. 2 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3 interviews, R.A. Nosarka, 8.2.1989. Also see *Chapter Five,* pp. 218-223 and *Seven*, pp. 307-308.

Some of Bank's traders did not establish themselves elsewhere in the region but left the area in search of a better destiny.

2.4 THE PERIOD OF RECOVERY

During the 1970s, the situation in the Carletonville municipal region improved gradually compared to the previous decade. Geologists' scientific research regarding the prevention of the sinkhole phenomenon, and the unperturbed continuation of the work on the gold mines,[108] undoubtedly stimulated the residents' trust in the region. Town developers' activities on dolomite strips where sinkholes had previously occurred were subject to strict requirements. A section called Geological Requirements included strict preventative measures regarding the spread of water, sewage, stormwater drainage, draining of underground water, and the construction of buildings.[109]

The 4,760 erven (stands) in the Carletonville residential area that were valued much lower than those on the Witwatersrand by 1972 as a result of the landslides,[110] gradually increased in value due to the improved situation.[111] Large construction projects that were launched, such as the civic centre and a hospital, were completed during the seventies.[112] The Bank residential area, however, did not experience the same economic recovery as the Carletonville-Oberholzer complex. For those who had lived there earlier, the town had become a mere memory. The signs of underground activity had also not stabilised as elsewhere in the region.[113] The town was proclaimed shortly before the 1980s.[114] Prospects for development in Welverdiend were not rosy at all, and the blame was squarely placed on the shoulders of the town developers who had seemingly not done enough to lure

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[108] See Chapter *Four,* pp.191, 195-196.
[109] TAD, MCV, file 93/6/5(3), Council, Annual Reports: Mayor's Annual report, 1974/5; *Die Vaderland,* 2.6.1973, p. 2 and IR, MCV lêer 22/1(b)(2), Towns: minutes of the City Council, 14.11.1972.
[110] *Die Vaderland,* 2.6.1973, p. 2 and TAD, MCV, file 22/1(b)(2), Towns: minutes of the City Council, 14.11.1972.
[111] TAD, MCV, file 22/1(2), Towns: letter, Acting Town Clerk Carletonville/Director of Local Management, 23.9.1974; *Carletonville Weekly Record*, 28.3.1975 and 26.9.1975, p.2.
[112] TAD, MCV, file 93/6/5(3), Council Annual Reports: Mayor's Annual Report, 1975/1976 and 1976/77 and 1977/78; *Herald vir die Goue Weste,* 10.12.1971, p.1 as well as 4.2.1972, p. 1 and *Carletonville Herald,* 18.2.1977, p.1. Also see *Chapter Seven,* pp. 316-317, 232-324.
[113] P. Roos, "Bank lewe, al is hy dood", *Die Vaderland,* 6.3.1973, p. 11 and Republic of South Africa, *Debates of the Assembly,* 15.5.1972, column 7278.
[114] TAD, MCV, file 22/1/2(b), Bank; letter, Town Clerk Carletonville/TPA, 19.3.1979.

people to the town.[115] By the end of 1975, it appeared as if prospects for Welverdiend had improved as it became known that two additional gold mines, i.e., were to open in the region.[116]

This was also to Carletonville's advantage as the City Council's 1969 request to expand its borders to the Elandskraal area,[117] was approved in 1975.[118] On the other hand, the Fochville City Council was very upset as the intentions of Carletonville to expand southwards in the direction of Fochville would cross the borders of the Potchefstroom magisterial district on which this town was situated. The Fochville City Council believed that this extension would incorporate Western Deep Levels and Elandsrand and become their share in the process. [119] Carletonville's request, supported by the gold mine companies, was, however, approved.[120] These events proved that a mining town such as Carletonville would, more than likely, enjoy the support from the gold mine companies, contrary to a private town such as Fochville. Of greater importance is that the business sector of Carletonville-Oberholzer was much further developed than that of Fochville, judging by the number of extensions and businesses. This was probably to Carletonville's advantage during the decision-making process.

The opening of more mines, as mentioned above, stimulated new town extensions in Carletonville. In 1975, a second town extension for Oberholzer. In turn, mention of the opening of more gold mines stimulated new development [121] and another four extensions for Carletonville were envisaged.[122] At this stage, Carletonville was also

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[115] *Carletonville Weekly Record,* 2.5.1975, p. 1 and 26.9.1975, p. 9.
[116] *Carletonville Weekly Record,* 28.3.1975, p. 1 and 6.6.1975, p. 1; 27.2.1976, p.1; 29.4.1977, p. 2 and *Carletonville Herald*, 3.10.1975, p. 1. See *Chapter Four,* pp. 162, 182, for a discussion on the Elandsrand and Deelkraal mines.
[117] TAD, MCV, file 89/1/2(2), Legal Region: verbatim report, actions of the Commission of Inquiry re the City Council of Carletonville's request wrt the incorporation of a section of the farm Elandsfontein and Oog van Elandsfontein in the municipal area, 16.6.1966.
[118] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, Council minutes: minutes, meeting of the Management Committee, 20.8.1974; 21.1.1975 and 29.1.1975.
[119] TAD, MCV, file 89/1/2(2), Legal Region: letter, Secretary Rand Water Board/Town Clerk, 18.8.1971 and 25.2.1972.
[120] TAD, MCV, file 89/1/2(2), Legal Region: letter, R.A. Plumbridge/Town Clerk Fochville, 30.1.1975 and *Carletonville Weekly Record,* 20.2.1976, p.1. The Elandsrand region was incorporated into the municipal region of Carletonville in 1980. See IR, MCV, file 93/6/5(3), Council, Annual reports: Mayor's Annual Report, 1980/81, p. 3.
[121] *Carletonville Weekly Record,* 11.4.1975, p. 4 and 12.12.1975, p. 3.
[122] IR, MCV, file 93/6/5(3), Council, Annual reports: Mayor's annual report, 1974/1975, Extensions no. 10 to no.13 are discussed.

regarded as one of the 19 largest towns in the country.[123] In 1976, the Carletonville municipality approved building plans valued at more than RM7 for the first time in its history,[124] indicating that Carletonville was regarded as a profitable investment. The press even speculated that Calretonville could even become a city in future.[125]

This was sadly a figment of the imagination that disappeared due to the Government's National Physical Development Plan (NPDP) that appeared in 1975.[126] According to this plan, Carletonville was seen as part of the Pretoria, Witwatersrand Vaal Triangle (PWV) development area.[127] Before, it was regarded as part of the Western Transvaal region.[128]

The classification of Carletonville as a border area of the PWV and adjacent to the Western Transvaal region proved to be a continuous problem, and probably the reason why the region's unique needs within the fast-growing PWV area became increasingly less important. In the distant past, before the advent of the mining industry, Carletonville's position between important towns was exactly why local development had occurred.

By the 1970s, it appeared as though the region's position had become an obstacle to further industrial development. The development and extended communication network towards the Witwatersrand region brought Carletonville so close to this region's economic activities that it delayed the local economic activities and simultaneously hampered the town's development.[129]

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[123] *Carletonville Weekly Record,* 4.4.1975, p. 6 and 26.9.1975, p. 1.
[124] IR, MCV, file 93/6/5(3), Council Annual Reports: Mayor's Annual Report, 1975/1976 and the *Carletonville Weekly Record,* 27.10.1976, p. 1.
[125] *Carletonville Weekly Record*, 29.4.1977, p. 3.
[126] J.C. Schutte (ed.), *West Rand Regional Services Council planning investigation*, pp. 381-382.
[127] TAD, MCV, Vol. 80, file 93/1/27(1), Regional development for the Western Transvaal and neighbouring areas; minutes of the City Council, 27.2.1974, appendix F.
[128] TAD, MCV, file 93/1/27(2), Regional Development for the Western Transvaal and neighbouring areas: brochure, overview of ten years, 964-1974, 31.10.1974.
[129] See *Chapter Five,* pp. 203-204.

Slow progress in industrial development obviously did not stop the population growth within Carletonville. In 1980, with a population of 104,452,[130] and counting, Carletonville claimed it had the highest population in the country.[131] It is also not strange that, at this time, the mining authorities in the Carletonville area again urged that economic alternatives for the local mining industry should be found in time to sustain the large population after mine closure.[132]

The Government also paid attention to the Far West Rand (FWR). The Department of Physical Planning's concept development strategy for the PWV area viewed its existing dependence on the mines as an obstacle for the town.[133] This so-called Good Hope regional development plan of 1981 confirmed the 1975 NFO plan of including the West Wits area into the PWV complex.[134] However, the point of departure remained the establishment of industries where there were large black settlements. West-Wits was not acknowledged as a permanent solution as the local mining industry was regarded as temporary.[135]

To address the above problem in the Carletonville region, the local West-Wits Regional Planning Committee was initiated in 1982. The local gold mines, which had been desirous to strengthen the secondary sector in the area since the 1970s,[136] played a leading role in the initiative.[137]

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[130] Republic of South Africa, Central Statistics Agency, report no. 02-80-21, Population census, *Selected statistics region West Rand, 1980,* 1980, pp. 225-256, 272-273.
[131] Carletonville Herald, 3.10.1980, p. 1.
[132] J.R. Rosmarin, "A strategy for industrial development", (symposium of the West Wits Regional Planning Committee: strategy for the future, September 1982), p. 18. Also see *Chapter Five*, pp. 206, 208.
[133] TAD, MCV, file 69/7/2, Planning of the PWV region: branch, physical planning and spatial development strategy for the PWV complex, 1981, pp. 3, 5, 45. It also includes the suggestion of the Planning Advisory Council of the Prime Minister in 1979 regarding long-term development alternatives for the PWV region.
[134] D.E. Watchman and P.T.C. du Plessis [Minister of Minerals and Energy Affairs], "Welcome and opening speech", (symposium of the West Wits Regional Planning Committee: strategy for the future, September 1982), p. 5.
[135] P.R. Janisch, "Goldmining into strategy for the future, the 21st century", (symposium of the West Wits Regional Planning Committee: strategy for the future, September 1982), pp. 9, 11, 12, 18.
[136] Chamber of Mines, West Wits Line project: planning for the future, pp. 1-2.
[137] F.J. Potgieter, "The development potential of the West Wits line", (symposium of the West Wits Regional Planning Committee: strategy for the future, September 1982), pp. 10-11.

During the search for economic alternatives for Carletonville's municipal region, the city's councillors were in the process of developing and maintaining three housing schemes in some town extensions in the region. The establishment and development of the Piet van Vuuren-Park and Eureka-Park as estates for the aged was probably the most important.[138]

During 1980/1981, the City Council approved building plans for the region worth R14 million.[139] By 1984, this amount for the same purpose had doubled, which is an indication that development in the region had not stopped.[140] After three years of planning, Town Extension No. 6 was proclaimed for industrial purposes,[141] while No's 15 and 16 were proclaimed in 1987.[142]

Except for the above-mentioned town extension, the remainder of the municipal residential extensions included 784 flats and 4,952 homes for whites by 1987.[143] At this stage, a Regional Services Council was also appointed for the West Rand. This council's diverse duties included, amongst others, financial assistance towards the maintenance of the Carletonville region's infrastructure.[144]

By 1988, the occurrence of sinkholes in the vicinity of Carletonville had not completely disappeared. The Dolomitic Water Board continued filling up certain sinkholes, and the remnants of these actions in certain town extensions were likened to open wounds. By that time, some 1,464 obsolete stands, mostly in the Bank residential area and Town extension No. 8, were owned by the Dolomitic Council.[145] However, it had no

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[138] IR, MCV, file 93/6/5(3), Council, Annual Reports: Mayor's Annual Report, 1980/81, p. 1.
[139] IR, MCV, file 93/6/5(3), Council, Annual Reports: Mayor's Annual Report, 1980/81, p. 2.
[140] *Carletonville Herald*, 2.11.1984, pp.14-15. See also *Chapter Five*, p. 231 and *Seven*, pp. 325-327.
[141] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, file 2/8/2, Organisation and management, Regional Services Councils, structuring the area and demarcation of regions: memorandum regarding the demarcation of central and industrial regions, 1987.
[142] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, R. van der Merwe, 3.3.1989 and *Carletonville Herald,* 6.11.1987, p. 2.
[143] J.C. Schutte (ed.), West Rand Regional Services Council, planning investigation, p. 131.
[144] *Carletonville Herald*, 27.3.1987, pp. 5-6.
[145] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, file 15/19/2, City planning and development, control, land formation, weakenings, minutes, Local Ground Movement Co-ordinating Committee, 5.9.1988 and Chamber of Mines, "Far West Rand Dolomitic Water Association, annual report, 1988", p. 20, Appendix C.

further impeding influence on the general development of the entire region. By December 1988, Carletonville comprised some 40,000 ha and had a white population of more than 35,000.[146]

2.5 TOWN DEVELOPMENT AND ACCOMMODATION OF BLACKS, INDIANS AND COLOUREDS SINCE 1948.

2.5.1 Black people

The presence of black people in the municipal area of Carletonville during the establishment of the first gold mines during the 1930s and 1940s was omissible.[147] In 1946, a mere 678 black people lived in the area, but by 1951 this total had increased dramatically to 10,551.[148] As a result of this crowd, a housing need developed among the black people in the region. Subsequently, large-scale squatting occurred, which was not a foreign occurrence by 1952, but became a huge burden.[149]

Nearly two decades before the housing need arose, the Government's Department of Native Affairs had given much thought to the planning of a regional residential area for blacks in the area, much thought. In 1936, land on the farm Stinkhoutboom no. 101 IQ was purchased, which could accommodate approximately 10,000 black residents.[150] The development potential

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[146] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, file 10/1/2(2), Advertising, information and Council emblems, brochures and newsletters: questionnaires, *South African Municipal Yearbook*, 11.1.1989.
[147] E.S. van Eeden, *Die geskiedenis van die Gatsrand…,* pp. 47-51 and Carletonville (Municipality), GBG, file T6/B (2), Town and regional planning: Local Area Committee, 1952, p. 31.
[148] Union of South Africa, Bureau for Statistics, report no. 02-02-01, Urban and Rural population of South Africa, 1904-1960, 1960, p. 206 and PU for CHE, Continued regional survey of Controlled region no. 2…, report no. 3, 1956/57, p. 53. According to the last report in 1952, the number of blacks in the region was supposedly 25,000 - approximately 16,000 on the mines, 3,000 on farms and 6,000 who worked in the commerce and industry sector.
[149] TAD, NTS, Vol. 6611, file 742/313T(2), Carletonville ext. no. 3 township: letter, Secretary for Native Affairs/Chief Native Commissioner Potchefstroom, 22.10.1952 and Carletonville (Municipality), CM, file N79/10/149NAF, West Wits Local Area Committee, accommodation of Bantu's on private property: letter, Medical Health Officia, Health Council/Secretary Health Council, 1.6.1956.
[150] CAD, NTS, Vol. 3874, ê57/309, Township Welverdiend: reservation of land, 27.11.1936.

was only re-assessed in 1952 when the housing needs required urgent attention.[151]

Since then, the Health Council campaigned to acquire a larger piece of land on Stinkhoutboom for the development of a black residential area. The acquisition of another 504 morgen (433 ha) was envisaged, which could eventually comprise 3,600 plots accommodating more or less 7,000 families (some 35,000 residents).[152] It is inexplicable why any further decisions in this regard were delayed; meanwhile, the Local Regional Committee had its hands full identifying farmowners who allowed black people to squat on their farms for compensation.[153]

In 1975, the development of a black residential area bordering the Carletonville region, called Khutsong, gained some momentum.[154] The layout allowed for the construction of houses according to ethnic preferences. In the end, 58% of the houses were allocated to the Sothos and 41.3% to the Ngunis.[155] After the official proclamation of Khutsong as a town in 1958, the Health Council endeavoured to establish infrastructural services in town as soon as possible.[156] When Carletonville gained municipal status in 1959, the city council of this region contributed to the establishment of services in Khutsong even though the town was not situated within Carletonville's municipal boundaries.[157]

With reference to housing, 300 permanent houses and 500 single structures had been erected in Khutsong by 1960. The City Council's financial contribution had, at this stage,

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[151] CAD, RONH, Vol. 224, file NH 15/11/8(1), Carletonville Town: letter, J.E. Hommes/Council for the Development of Natural Resources, 24.5.1952.
[152] CAD, RONH, Vol. 273, filer B/B/2, Planning Assistance Committee, Controlled Region no. 2 Carletonville extension, 1952-1957: proposed location sites for the area of jurisdiction of the West Witwatersrand Local Area Committee of the Peri Urban Areas Health Board, 28-29.7.1952.
[153] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, Minutes: report regarding the history of the native housing problem in the West Witwatersrand Local Area Committee area, 13.10.1955.
[154] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, Minutes: minute, 20.6.1957.
[155] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file L/1/29/20(2), Native location: report, 21.3.1958, p. 19.
[156] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, Minutes: minute, 11.2.1958
[157] TAD, NTS, Vol. 6162, file 742/313N, Carletonville's founding and the takeover of Khutsong Native township: letter, Town Clerk Carletonville/Secretary Bantu Administration and Development, 5.8.1959.

Reached approximately £102,300.[158] The Council also assisted with the establishment of a Bantu Advisory Committee for Khutsong, the purpose of which was to support the City Council in all issues about this black town.[159] A few businesses were also built in the residential area and made available to black tradesmen.[160]

By 1961, despite Khutsong's existence, several black people remained in the Carletonville area as squatters.[161] The squatter camps included those on Wonderfontein, i.e., Muiskraal, Kennedy, TsanCADane and Sitting Pola camps and those on Rooipoort, called Tiekieline and Newstands, as well as Wes Driefontein's camps, Town Hall, and Thoma Mafika and Welverdiend's Airfield squatter camp.[162] To motivate the squatters to move to Khutsong, the City Council started demolishing the squatter towns. Some of the squatters were unhappy about the demolitions and attempted, in vain, to claim compensation from the Carletonville City Council.[163]

The presence of squatter camps remained a problem in the 1970s and 1980s. The lack of sufficient built-up stands in Khutsong for the growing black population was given as the reason for the problem.[164] In 1979, the Carletonville City Council, with the financial cooperation of the organisation Urban Foundation, Ikhaya Lethu introduced the 'self-build' scheme in Khutsong. The purpose was indeed to provide housing for the residents of the new squatter camps, Vuilkombers and Spookdorp (on the western side of Khutsong).[165]

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[158] TAD, MCV, Vol. 4, file 2/2(1), Local Authorities Carletonville: Mayor's report, 1.7.1959 – 1.7.1960.
[159] IR, BAO, Vol. 1049, file A14/1108(1), Bantu Advisory Board: minutes of the Bantu Advisory Committee for Khutsong, 7.6.1966. Also see *Chapter Seven*, pp. 226-337.
[160] TAD, MCV, Vol. 4, file 2/2(1), Local Authorities Carletonville: Mayor's Report, 1.7.1959 – 1.7.1960.
[161] *Die Potchefstroom Nuus/News*, 13.1.1961, p. 2.
[162] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file N9/7/149NAD, Committee West Witwatersrand, Bantu Affairs: meeting Bantu Affairs Sub-Committee, 21.3.1958 and LAC, file NAD N79/10/149, West Wits Local Regional Committee, Accommodation of Bantus on private property: Health Council/Secretary treasurer of the Health Council, 6.1956 and *Die Potchefstroom Nuus/News*, 13.1.1961, p. 2.
[163] *Die Potchefstroom Nuus/News,* 3.3.1961, p. 3 and TA, MCV, Vol 5, file 2/2/2(2), Inaugural ceremonies: Mayor's Report for the year ending March 1964, p. 12.
[164] *Seipone,* 10.8.1979, p.1 as well as 8.2.1980, p. 1; 3.4.1981, p. 2 and 21.4.1984, p. 1.
[165] *Seipone,*15.6.1979, p. 3. According to this account, the Urban Foundation is an organisation founded by the private sector in 1976 to support residents of black towns in South Africa.

According to reports of housing shortages during the early 1980s,[166] it would seem as though the Ikhaya-Lethu scheme had not yet fulfilled its purpose. The reappearance of sinkholes near Khutsong during 1980, and the fears it evoked,[167] could have been the reason for the lack of enthusiasm to move the squatters to the black neighbourhood.

Despite landslides near Khutsong, this town was not evacuated, but additional land for housing was considered.[168] Investigations on land west of Khutsong did not deliver positive results for additional housing in this direction.[169] Subsequently, other areas for the construction of houses were investigated in collaboration with the Western Transvaal Bantu Affairs Administration.[170] At the same time, the establishment of a regional town on a section of the farm Blaauwbank no. 125 IQ was also established, but the distance to the various towns and gold mines made this an unpopular choice.[171]

The extension of Khutsong only gained momentum again in 1988 when the Department of Development Planning acquired land to the south of the eastern side of the town (sections of the farms).[172] The West Rand Regional Services Council made RM3 available during this year to improve Khutsong's infrastructure, including roads and electrification.[173] The approximately 22,550 residents (according to the 1985 census)[174] surely welcomed these new attempts. Although the town did not form part of the Carletonville region by 1988, the residents were closely involved in Carletonville's economic activities.

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[166] *Seipone,* 8.2.1980, p. 1 as well as 3.4.1981, p. 2.
[167] *Seipone,* 29.8.1980, p. 2.
[168] *Seipone,* 24.9.1983, p. 1 as well as 24.3.1984, p. 1.
[169] *Seipone,* 25.9.1983, p. 1 as well as 15.10.1983, p. 1.
[170] *Seipone,* 24.3.1984, p. 1.
[171] *Seipone,* 17.12.1983, pp. 1-2.
[172] *Potchefstroom Herald*, 18.3.1988, p. 5.
[173] *Carletonville Herald,* 18.3.1988, p.1 as well as 25.3.1988, p. 3.
[174] Republic of South Africa, Central Statistics Service, report no. 02-85-01, *Population census, geographical spread of the population with an overview for 1960-1985,* 1985, p. 272.

The largest convergence of black people does not occur in Khutsong, but in the neighbouring gold mines in the Carletonville municipal area. Gold mining companies erected hostels and other living quarters for their employees. The hostels combined accommodate approximately 128,000 black people, while 498 houses are occupied in Wedela, a creation of the Elandsrand and the Western Deep Levels gold mines.[175] In light of this high black population on the gold mines in the magisterial district of Oberholzer, and the presence of more gold mines outside the eastern border where a similar tendency occurred, it is not absurd to say that by 1988, some 67.4% of the total black population in the West Rand region could be found in this area.[176]

2.5.2 Indians

Indians' connections with the present municipal area of Carletonville date back to the 1920s. Rumours of gold that would be mined in the area served as motivation for the settling of, especially, Indian dealers and their families in the region. As the large concentration of whites in town was detested, Indian dealers mainly did their business here for many years.[177]

In 1953, the Health Council's zone plan[178] for town development did not include a certain residential area for the 73 Indians, including women and children.[179] In all probability, it was the Government's proclamation of the Group Areas Act in 1959 that determined the decision of the Health Council and the Local Regional Council in connection with the establishment of the Indians in Carletonville.[180] In a follow-up investigation in 1957 regarding the residential area for Indians, the Council and the Regional Committee decided that the occupation of property by Indians in the West-Wits area

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[175] Carletonville (Municipality), Map, Carletonville Municipal area by 1988. According to the Central Statistics Service's population census in 1985, some 93,274 blacks lived in the Oberholzer district. There was no indication of the number accommodated in hostels. See Republic of South Africa report no. 02-85-01, *Population census geographic spread of the population with an overview of 1960-1985,* 1985, p. 272, as well as *Chapter Seven,* pp. 337-338.
[176] J.C. Schutte (ed.), *Wesrand Streekdiensteraad, beplanningondersoek*, p. 131.
[177] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Verw. 3: interview R.A. Nosarka (businessman, Carletonville), 8.2.1989.
[178] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file T1/346(1), Carletonville Township Extension No. 2: Carletonville/Oberholzer development plan, 11.9.1953.
[179] Republic of South Africa, Bureau of Statistics, report no. 02-02-01, *Urban and Rural population of South Africa, 1904-1960,* 1960, p. 418.
[180] B.J. Liebenberg, "Die Nasionale Party aan bewind, 1948-1961', C.F.J. Muller, *500 Jaar Suid-Afrikaanse geskiedenis,* p. 494.

would in future be regarded as encroachment. It was also felt that no specific area should be designated for Indians and that it was not unreasonable to expect the local group of Indians to move to Lenasia, an Indian town close to Johannesburg.[181]

Despite the attitude of the Local Regional Committee and the Council, a handful of Indians were not removed from the Carletonville region, but it is not certain where they lived in the 1950s and 1960s. Several of them lived in the buildings in which they traded.[182] During a Regional Committee meeting in 1958, the unsuccessful industrial town of Pottiesville[183] was suggested as an Indian township.[184] Too many objections from the white community, however, doomed Pottiesville as a potential Indian town.[185]

There were no further constructive suggestions regarding Indian housing and establishment until 1970[186] when Bank was evacuated.[187] After the Indians left Bank, they were housed in tents and caravans in Azaadville, an Indian township near Krugersdorp, until alternative accommodation arrangements could be made.[188] Arrangements were slow, and it was only in 1983 that several stands on land in Blybank[189] that were declared 'safe' were made available to the 162 Indians.[190] Approximately 100 homesteads were erected shortly afterwards.[191]

That the Carletonville City Council indicated their willingness to make land available to Indians within its borders, while in the previous decade

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[181] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, Minutes: minutes, investigation regarding the Group Areas Act, 1950, West Rand District, 24.9.1957.
[182] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, R.A. Nosarka, 8.2.1989.
[183] See *Chapter Five*, pp. 202-203.
[184] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, Minutes: minute, 21.11.1958.
[185] IR, Department of Bantu Administration and Development (BAO), Vol. 1187, file A16/1108(1), Race regional planning, letter, Secretary Banu Administration/Regional Office of Community Development, 16.8.1961.
[186] *The Star*, 8.1.1970, p. 3 as well as 14.4.1970, p. 4; 29.12.1970, p. 1 and *Die Transvaler*, 3.2.1970, p. 2.
[187] IR, MCV, file 33/3/3(b)(1), Asians: minutes of the City Council meeting, 27.6.1968.
[188] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interviews, R.A. Nosarka, 8.2.1989.
[189] IR, MCV, file 93/6/5(3), Annual Reports: Mayor's Annual Report, 2.3.1983 and *Seipone,* 29.4.1983, p. 1 as well as 3.6.1983, p. 1.
[190] Republic of South Africa, Central Statistics Service, report no. 02-85-01, *Population census geographic spread of the population with an overview for 1960-1985,* 1985, pp. 420, 450.
[191] Anon., "Carletonville, from doubt to confidence", *Institute of Municipal Engineers of South Africa,* 10(9), September 1985, pp. 26-27.

it could hardly be considered, should once again, be found in the Government's attitude towards the position of other groups of colour. The National Party's creation of a new government structure in 1983, in which Indians and coloureds received the right to make decisions regarding national issues, resulted in the changed way of the government's thought patterns seeping through to local authorities,[192] without much ado.

By 1988, the establishment of extended infrastructural service for Indians at Blybank had begun.[193]

2.5.3 Coloureds

Coloureds started populating the Carletonville area in small numbers long after the establishment of the gold mining industry.[194] New employment possibilities created by this industry were probably the drawing card. By the time that Khutsong was proclaimed in 1958, no separate housing for the coloureds had existed in the area.[195] Subsequently, the 452 coloureds present in the area by 1960,[196] resorted to settling in Khutsong.[197]

After the coloured townshop, Toekomsrus was established in 1965 in the Randfontein district, the Carletonville City Council encouraged the local coloureds to move there.[198] According to the 1970 census, there were approximately 967 coloureds in the Carletonville region,[199] which meant that the re-establishment attempts since 1965 did not have much of an effect on the numbers of local coloureds. The long-distance coloured labourers had to travel between

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[192] F. Venter, "Die einde van die eerste… en die begin van die tweede Republiek van Suid-Afrika", *Oënskou,* 2(8), September 1984, p. 294.
[193] J.C. Schutte (ed.), *West Rand Regional Services Council, planning investigation*, p. 131.
[194] PU for CHE, Continued regional survey of Controlled Region no 2…, report no. 3, 1956-57, pp.11-13.
[195] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, Minutes: minute, Investigation regarding the Group Areas Act 1950, West Rand Region, 24.9.1957.
[196] Republic of South Africa, Central Statistics Service, report no. 02-85-01, *Population census geographical spread of the population with an overview for 1960-1985,* 1985, p. 420.
[197] TAD, MCV, Vol. 4, file 2/2/2, Official receptions and functions: Mayor's report, April 1961.
[198] IR, MCV, file 33/3/3(a)(a), Coloureds: minutes, meeting of the Management Committee, 11.5.1965, as well as a letter, Town Clerk Randfontein/Town Clerk Carletonville, 21.8.1967.
[199] Republic of South Africa, Central Statistics Service, report no. 02-05-06, *Occupation and industry according to district and economic region, 1970,* 1970, p. 115.

Randfontein and their new places of employment were possibly the main reason.

In 1983, the stands that were made available to Indians in Blybank were also made available for coloureds.

The Gold-Fields of South Africa-Group supported the City Council's development of Blybank, especially as it could[200] the critical need for skilled labour.[201]

Despite increasing Blybank's accessibility, it would appear that the 1960s' attempts to establish Carletonville's coloureds on Toekomsrus, indeed, had a significant impact on the local coloureds' numbers by the 1980s. Between 1985 and 1988, only 430 coloureds lived in the Carletonville area.[202]

2.6 IN CONCLUSION

From the above discussion, it is clear that the main reason for the successful town development process in the Carletonville municipal region can be ascribed to the rich gold deposits found and mined in the area. This was the most important factor for the proclamation of the town and creating a favourable local economic climate. It was also noted that the rural character of Carletonville had been maintained over time, despite the town's development and gold mining. The rural atmosphere surrounding town developments is mainly thanks to the agricultural sector. To what extent this sector participated in the formation of the local economic framework will be discussed in *Chapter Three*.

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[200] IR, MCV, file 33/3/3(a)(a), Coloureds: letter, Manager, Property Department, Gold Fields of South Africa/Regional Representative, 17.10.1980.
[201] *Seipone*, 29.4.1983, p. 1 as well as 25.9.1983, p. 1.
[202] Republic of South Africa, Central Statistics Service, report no. 02-85-01, *Geographic spread of the population with an overview for 1960-1985,* 1985, p. 420. Also compare J.C. Schutte (ed.), *Wesrand Streekdiensteraad, beplanningsondersoek,* p.131.

CHAPTER THREE

AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

INTRODUCTION

Whites have been involved in agricultural activities in the old Transvaal since they migrated to the north from 1836. Groups of migrants who established themselves in this region's agricultural activities were mainly self-sustainable.[1] This included the agricultural community of the then Gatsrand ward. After a more permanent market was established in the 1850s in Potchefstroom, the Gatsrand residents traded in a variety of products from time to time. This included tobacco, wheat, mealies, sunflowers, beans, potatoes, and lucerne. After 1902, the Gatsrand farmers also supported markets in Randfontein, Krugersdorp and Johannesburg.[2]

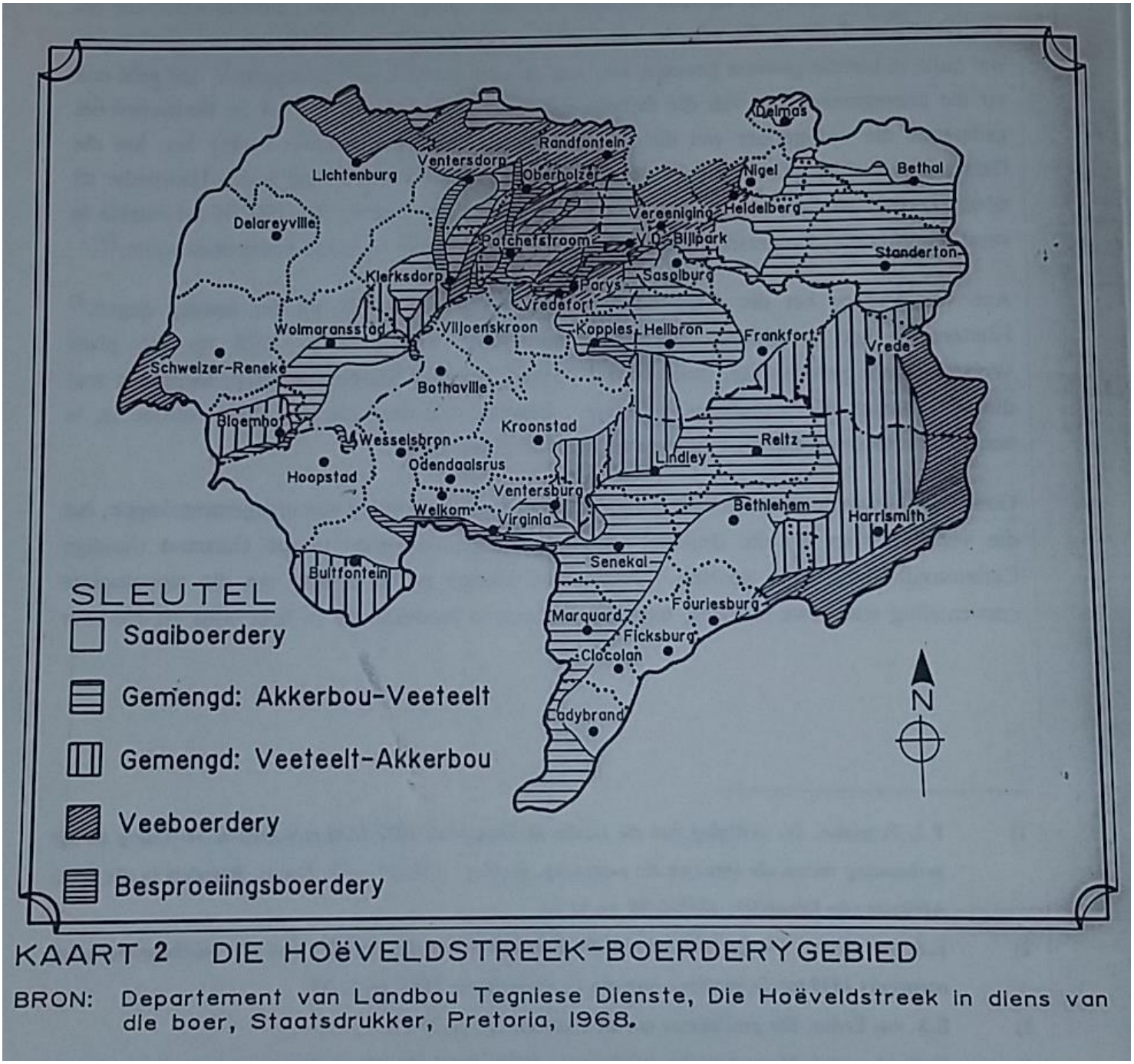
Initially, the Gatsrand agricultural community paid less attention to cattle farming.[3] In contrast, a group of Dutch immigrants who established themselves on the farm Wonderfontein in 1928, focused solely on cattle, i.e. Frisian cattle farming, intending to establish and run a dairy. The Dutch mainly cultivated crops as fodder for the cattle and rations for black labourers.[4]

Gold mining activities in the 1930s, accompanied by the establishment of mining communities, brought the consumers up to the doorstep of agricultural activities in the Gatsrand (Carletonville region). Additionally, the contribution of the technological revolution, including new methods, techniques, improved production, and a higher profit margin for the farmer, resulted

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[1] F.J. Potgieter, *Die vestiging van die blanke in Transvaal, 1837-1886 met spesiale verwysing na die verhouding tussen die mens en die omgewing,* pp. 60-61, 124, 127 and P. Naudé, *Boerdery in die Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek, 1858-1899,* pp. 41, 54.
[2] E.S. van Eeden, *Die geskiedenis van die Gatsrand vanaf die vestiging van die Trekkergemeenskap omstreeks 1839 tot die proklamering van Carletonville in 1948,* pp. 21-35.
[3] E.S. van Eeden, *Die geskiedenis van die Gatsrand*…, pp. 24-27.
[4] Nedbank Archives, Maatschappijen en Personen (MP), Vol. 13, Wonderfontein correspondentie van en aan J. Dommisse staten verslagen enz.: report, 14.10.1939 and G.D. Nel, *Die ontstaan en ontwikkeling van beesboerdery in Suid-Afrika en in besonder die Friesveefokkery***,** p. 82.

MAP 2: The Highveld agricultural region



KAART 2 DIE HOëVELDSTREEK-BOERDERYGEBIED

BRON: Departement van Landbou Tegniese Dienste, Die Hoëveldstreek in diens van die boer, Staatsdrukker, Pretoria, 1968.

In the agricultural industry.[5] As the competition increased, it meant that everyone in this sector had to empower themselves with more expertise.

3.2 TOPOGRAPHY, CLIMATE AND A DESCRIPTION OF THE AGRICULTURAL REGION

3.2.1Topography

With regards to the topography, Carletonville's agricultural borders differ from this area's municipal boundaries. Within the Department of Agriculture's responsibilities, Carletonville is not treated as a separate agriculture district, but forms part of the Oberholzer district. Agricultural data and information regarding the region are subsequently based on regional data.[6] Although some farmers do not strictly fall within the Carletonville municipal boundaries, they are in some way or another part of Carletonville. Using the local business sector's services and the Oberholzer grain silos are only a couple of examples.[7] Subsequently, information contained in this chapter will often include details of the Oberholzer district.

As an agricultural region, Oberholzer forms part of the Potchefstroom sub-region of the Highveld region.[8] Determining sub-regions gained momentum in 1949 when Mr N.J. van Wyk, the chief regional officer of the Department of Land Conservation and Development, identified 18 homogeneous agricultural regions in the Transvaal.[9] In the subsequent years, this identification was developed to such an extent [10] that reasonably Homogeneous Farming Regions (HFR) were classified in 1971, of which the Potchefstroom region was one and situated within the Highveld agricultural region. The Oberholzer district forms part of the Potchefstroom sub-region,

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[5] Nedbank Archives, MP, Vol. 8, Wonderfontein verslagen: overview, 30.6.1946 – 30.6.1947 and F.R. Tomlinson, "Honderd jaar landbou in Transvaal", *Tydskrif vir Wetenskap en Kuns,* 16(2), Oktober 1956, pp.150-151.
[6] Carletonville (PU for CHE), ref. 3: interview, J.J. Steyn (Guidance Officer, Highveld region Potchefstroom), 3.6.1989.
[7] See sections 3.6 and 3.7, pp. 97, 103 of this chapter.
[8] J.J. Steyn, "Agtergrond tot departementele lanbouvoorligting in Potchefstroom substreek", 1985, p. 1. Kyk kaart 2, p. 52a.
[9] N.J. van Wyk, "Natural farming regions of Transvaal", *Farmers Weekly*, 77, 6.4.1949, p.52.
[10] Anon., "Nuwe fase in boerderyontwikkeling van die Hoëveldstreek", *Boerdery in Suid-Afrika*, June 1952, pp. 305, 316; S.W. van der Merwe, "The agricultural economy of the Highveld Region", *Agrekon*, 4(1), January 1965, p.19 and Republic of South Africa, Department of Agricultural Technical Services. *Die Hoëveldstreek in diens van die boer*, 1968, pp.19-20.

and Potchefstroom is also the centre from where agricultural research activities and results are dispersed to the advantage of farmers in the Highveld.[11] For years, this region had been regarded as the most important crop cultivation area in the country.[12]

By 1949, long before the Highveld region was divided into HFRs, some 1,343 farms occurred in the Potchefstroom region. Combined, they covered about 338,878 morgen (291,435 ha), the average-sized farm being approximately 217 ha.[13] This included the Oberholzer irrigation area (only a section of the Oberholzer district) of 1,223 morgen (1911 ha), including about 125 farmers who made a living on approximately 15,2 ha of land each. On the other hand, by 1954, the number of farmers in the Oberholzer district had increased to 132. This equalled the number of farms, which boiled down to the fact that the average size of a farm was 22,442 morgen (193 ha), somewhat small as it included poor farm land.[14]

Farms that were included in the Oberholzer district are Kleinfontein, Blaauwbank, Welverdiend, Stinkhoutboom, Goudvlakte West, and Goudvlakte Oost, Elandsfontein (IQ 494), Rooiport, Smalplaats, Uitspanning, Oog van Wonderfontein, Wonderfontein and Vlakplaats.[15] On some of these farms, sections were proclaimed for the purpose of establishing towns. Gold mines gradually developed some sections on farms in the southeastern parts of the district, which include Varkenslaagte, Doornfontein, Blyvooruitzicht, Wes Driefontein, Oos Driefontein, Deelkraal, Buffelsdoorn, and Elandsfontein (IQ 289). The farm Twyfelvlakte, which became known as Carletonville in 1948, is in the centre of the Oberholzer district as well as that of the smaller Carletonville municipality within the district.[16]

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[11] J.J. Steyn, “Agtergrond tot departementele landbouvoorligting in Potchefstroom substreek’, 1985, pp. 1-2, 20.
[12] S.W. van der Merwe, ‘The agricultural economy of the Highveld Region', *Agrekon*, 4(1), January 1965, pp. 7,18.
[13] Union of South Africa, Bureau of Census and Statistics, Agricultural Census, special report series no. 24, *Area of farms occupied by whites, 1940-50*, p. 32.
[14] PU for CHE, Continues regional survey of Controlled region no. 2: Westonaria-Welverdiend, report no. 3, 1956/57, pp. 83, 94-95.
[15] See map 1, p. 21a (Where more than one farm with the same name appears in the Carletonville region, the IQ-number is also included in the text).
[16] E.S. van Eeden, *Die geskiedenis van die Gatsrand…,* pp. 8-19. (This source discusses the farms and agricultural development before 1948 in the Gatsrand at length on pp. 1-14, 21-35).

Since the 1950s, the number of farms and farmers has gradually decreased while the cultivated agricultural area in the Oberholzer district has increased. Consequently, this process resulted in the fact that by 1981, farming was only practised on 54 farms totalling 30,128ha of the district's total agricultural land of 55,000 ha.[17] On the one hand, the gold mining industry, as a dominant land owner, could be seen as the reason for the decrease in the number of farms. On the other hand, the mining authorities made it possible for farmers to rent land from them, increasing the size of farms.[18]

In 1981, diverse agricultural statistics indicated that only 8,421 ha of the cultivated agricultural land belonged to private owners in the Oberholzer district, while farmers rented 21,761 ha of the cultivated farmland from the mining authorities. Of the 54 farms, 14 measured 1,523 ha each,[19] while the average size of the remaining 40 was 222 ha each. This tendency did not change much, and by 1988, matters had not changed. At that stage, it was estimated that 68 farmers farmed on 55 farms in the region, totalling 23,127 ha of land. In contrast, the Highveld region counted 15,303 farmers and 16,278 farms, and cultivated land was calculated at 11,203 206.[20] In 1988, the farmers in the Oberholzer district had thus farmed on a meagre 0.20% of the agricultural land in the Highveld region. Farming enterprise in the Oberholzer region comprised sowing, cattle and milk farms.[21] Similar to the rest of the Highveld region, the majority of the farmers made a living from a combination of field crops and cattle farming, mostly consisting of mealies, cattle and pigs.[22]

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[17] Republic of South Africa, Central Statistics Service, Census of Agriculture, report no. 06-01-17, *Boerderyeenhede: getal, oppervlakte, waarde, grondbenutting, besproeiing, werksgeleentheid, arbeidsvergoeding en akkommodasie, 1981,* p.125; S.W. van der Merwe, "The agricultural economy of the Highveld Region", *Agrekon,* 4(1), January 1965, p. 22 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interviews Mr J.J. Steyn, 3.6.1989.
[18] See p. 100 of this chapter.
[19] Republic of South Africa, Central Statistics Service, Census of Agriculture, report no. 06-01-20, Diverse agricultural statistics according to income group and farm size groups; expenses; value of farm produce sold and farming debt, 1981, 1981, p. 136 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, J. Kock (Manager, SENWESKO Carletonville), 21.10.1988.
[20] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interviews, Mr J.J. Joubert, 7.6.1990 and Jordaan (Officials, Highveld Region Potchefstroom), 20.01.1991 and 28.01.1991.
[21] Union of South Africa, Department of Agriculture, Botanical Survey memoir no. 24, An ecological account of the vegetation of the Potchefstrrom area, 1951, pp. 67-68; PU for CHE, Continued regional survey of Controlled region no. 2, report no. 3, 1956/57, p.86 and S.W. van der Merwe, "The agricultural economy of the Highveld region", *Agrekon*, 4(1), January 1965, p. 23.
[22]See Sections 3.4 to 3.6, pp. 71-102 of this chapter.

3.2.2 Ground

Different variations of ground are found in the Oberholzer district. Tillable Hutton and Clovelly ground are sour, red and yellow respectively, and are found in the east of the Oberholzer district with a high arable farming potential.[23] On the other hand, the dolomitic south tends to have less arable potential. It is shallow and appears to be rocky. Ground of the Mispah-Glenrosa association, which contains lime, is also present in places. To the north and west, along the Wonderfontein stream, which still existed in the late 1940s, outstretched pieces of deep peat ground and clay are present. Under irrigation, these pieces could be used for intensive horticultural purposes and milk farming.[24]

3.2.3 Climate and availability of water

Early 1950s' statistics indicate that the average annual temperature of the Oberholzer district varied between a minimum of 7,5 °C and a maximum of 23,8 °C. In the summer months, it has reached 35 degrees, while frost has been experienced between September and May.[25] A 1952 survey indicated that the annual rainfall was 26,3 inches (657,5 mm) spread over 58 days.[26] It would appear that since then, no changes of note have taken place regarding the temperature in the Oberholzer district. Between 1954 and 1988, the average annual temperature varied between a minimum of 8.4 °C and a maximum of 24 °C. An average annual rainfall of 670 mm was measured.[27]

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[23] Transvaal Archive Depot (TAD), Municipality of Carletonville (MCV), Vol. 80, file 93/1/27, Regional Development Association for Transvaal and adjacent regions: report, the agricultural potential of Western Transvaal and stimulation of industrial development, 1966 and J.J. Steyn, "Agtergrond tot departementele landbouvoorligting in Potchefstroom substreek", 1985, pp. 9- 11.
[24] PU for CHE, Continues regional survey of Controlled region no.2… report no. 3, 1956/57, pp. 78-81.
[25] Carletonville (Municipality), Local Area Committee (LAC), file T6B(2), Town and regional planning West Wits Local Area Committee; West Witwatersrand Region Town planning Scheme, December 1952.
[26] Union of South Africa, Department of Agriculture, Botanical Survey Memoir no. 24, *An ecological account of the vegetation of the Potchefstroom area,* 1951, pp. 9-10, 67-68.
[27] Department of Agriculture, Highveld region (Potchefstroom), *Agricultural Meteorology: Statistical data obtained from the weather stations in the Oberholzer district,* September 1991.

Although sufficient rain is definitely always welcomed, the presence of underground water in the region was probably the reason why the local farmers were more at ease than those in other regions who were solely reliant on rainfall. In the 1950s, underground water sources enabled the Oberholzer farmers to manage irrigation farming, especially in the northern parts of the present Carletonville municipal region. Water is obtained from two natural fountains, i.e., the one on the farm Oog van Wonderfontein, and the other on the farm Wonderfontein. In the previous century, the local farmers already regarded the fountains as indispensable water sources.[28] Many storms erupted around the use of these fountains.[29] The availability of water at Wonderfontein was also one of the main reasons for the Dutch immigrants to settle in the area in the 1920s.[30] The regulated use of the water for irrigation purposes was created when the Oberholzer Irrigation Council was established in 1925.[31]

Over time, cement canals were built, along which the farmers could redirect water to their farms. By 1957, these fountains delivered 54 million litres per day. Gradually, the gold mining activities influenced the stability of the water supply in the Carletonville region. During the 1950s, the gold mines were pumping out millions of litres of water per day to prevent the flooding of underground mining activities. These actions by the mines had far-reaching effects for the region, as they lowered the water table, making water provision for agricultural activities more difficult.[32]

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[28] PU for CHE, Instituut vir Pedologiese Navorsing, Indeling van die Wonderfonteinvallei in agt substreke vir die bepaling van die landboupotensiaal, 1977, pp. 8-9 and J.F. Wolmarans, *Ontwatering van die dolomietgebied aan die Verre Wes-Rand: gebeure in perspektief,* p.13.
[29] TAD, Department of Justice (JUS), Vol. LD 1268, file AG 223/07, Klagtes van die inwoners van Wonderfontein: klagtes, 2.7.1906; J.R. Shorten, *The Johannesburg saga*, pp.167-168 and E. Rosenthal, *Manne en maatskappye*, p. 74.
[30] Nedbank Archives, MP, Vol. 8, Wonderfontein verslagen: concept notulen, vergadering, 12 Junie 1929, pp. 2-4.
[31] Union of South Africa, *Government Gazette*, Government notice no.396 of 1925.
[32] PU for CHE, Continued regional survey of Controlled region no.2… report no. 3, 1956/57, pp. 82-83. Also see J.F. Wolmarans, *Ontwatering van die dolomietgebied aan die Verre Wes-Rand:*…, pp. 13-14, 19-20.

The manner in which this water was used eventually resulted in a circle of crises, amongst others, the appearance of sinkholes.[33] In 1960, the State negotiated with the Transvaal and the Free State Chambers of Mines regarding the admissibility of dewatering certain underground compartments on the Far West Rand. After several meetings and investigations, it was found that the dewatering of some compartments should be compulsory as it was in the country's interest.[34] This implied that the gold mining industry was a strategic industry for the survival of Carletonville and an indispensable tax source for the Government.

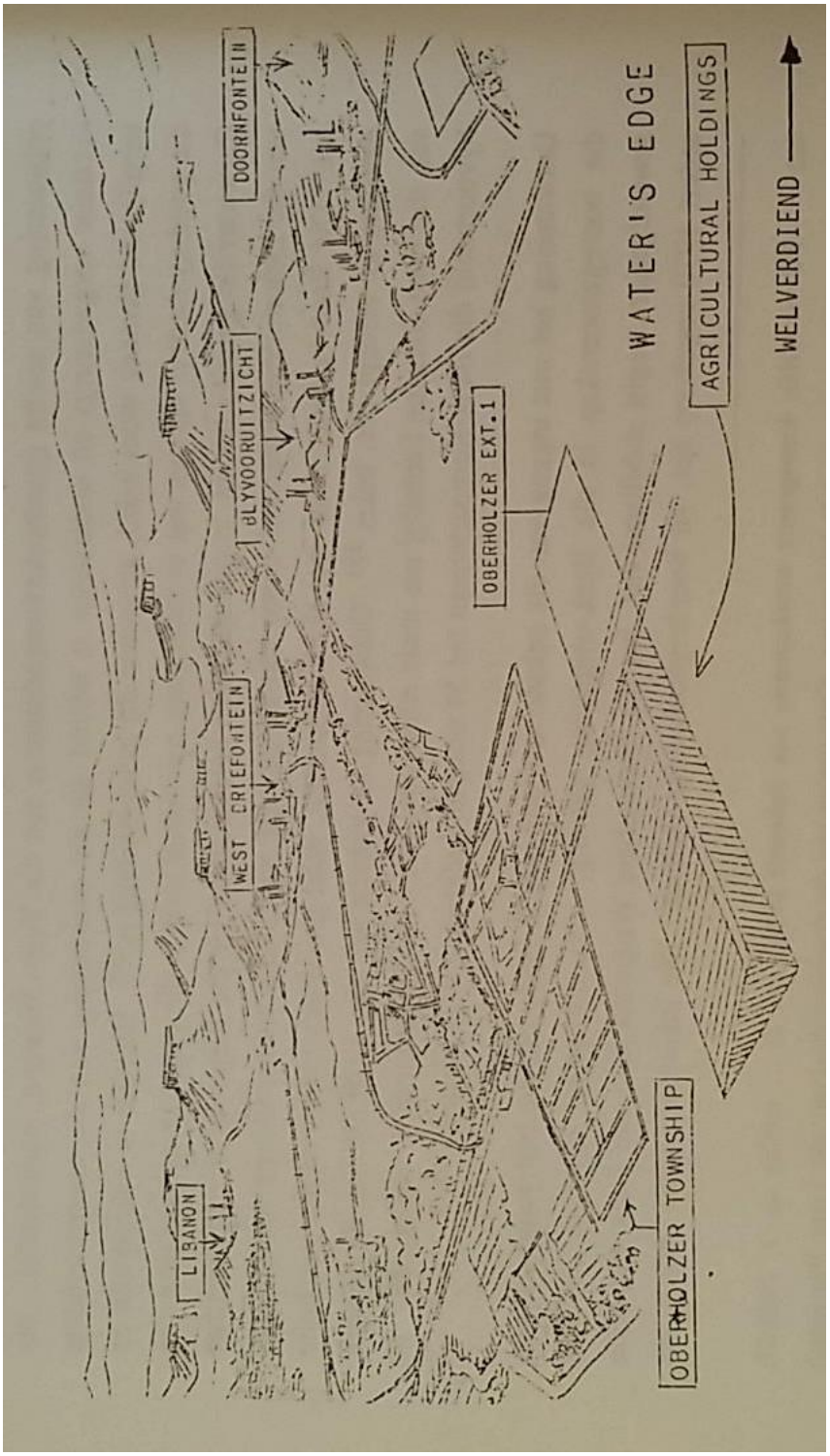
One of the consequences of these discussions was the establishment of the Dolomitic Water Board. Amongst others, one of the Council's responsibilities was compensating people who lost their properties due to landslides.[35] By 1970, dewatering had resulted in the drying up of the fountains and caused sinkhole formation for several years. For example, in the Bank compartment, 54 sinkholes developed during 1970.[36]

At the beginning of the 1970s, dewatering also brought an end to the activities of the farming community in the Bank region. However, at the end of that decade, land began to stabilise, and the Dolomitic Water Board rented out parts of Bank that they had been purchasing since 1970. In June 1988, the income gained totalled R632,651.[37] Despite the setback experienced by a section of Oberholzer's agricultural area in the 1970s, farmers continued using underground water, either naturally or by using the mining canals. Currently, the irrigation land in the region comprises 6,672 ha.[38]

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[33] See *Chapter Four*, pp. 195-196 as an example.
[34] See *Chapter Three*, pp. 84-91 and *Chapter Four*, p. 196
[35] Transvaal Archive Depot (TAD), Municipality Carletonville (MCV), file 33/1/4(e), Formation, consequences of dewatering: letter, Acting Secretary of Mining/The Town Clerk Carletonville, 7.12.1964.
[36] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, file 15/19/2, Town planning and development, control of ground formation and sinkings; report: [in report format] Far West Rand Dolomitic Water Association/Town Clerk Carletonville, 15.8.1988 and J.F. Wolmarans, *Ontwatering van die dolomietgebied aan die Verre Wes-Rand:…,* pp. 20-23, 170. By 1984, the total number of sinkholes in the Bank compartment was 208.
[37] Chamber of Mines, Far West Rand Dolomitic Water Association annual report, 1988, p. 13.
[38] Department of Agriculture, Highveld region (Potchefstroom), Food security questionnaire: Oberholzer (analysed data by D.G. Jordaan), October 1990.

An illustration of the position of the Water's Edge agricultural holdings, 1950.



Source: G. Hommes.

3.2.4 Agricultural holdings

Apart from the agricultural situation discussed above, three agricultural holding groups are also found in the region. Two of the groups, i.e., the Water's Edge and the Welverdiend agricultural holdings, are situated within the Carletonville municipal area.[39]

Over the years, people's craving for spacious living conditions for cultivation purposes to raise additional income has been given as the reason for the annexation of agricultural holdings.[40] The average size of the holdings in the Carletonville region is two morgen (1,72ha). In 1948, 47 holdings were surveyed for Welverdiend, and in 1950, 69 were surveyed for Water' Edge. Initially, neither of the holding groups was populated on a large scale.[41] The opening of more local gold mines increased the population, also stimulating population growth on the holdings. The ground on which the holdings were laid out was not regarded as being very fertile, and many were too small to be used as productive agricultural units. Additionally, the majority of residents had other occupations. Products that could be cultivated in their spare time are mainly sold locally. The cultivation of mealies is popular.[42]

3.3 DRIVING FORCES FOR AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

3.3.1 Local agriculture associations

In the nineteenth century, farmers in the Carletonville area were largely dependent on their own experience, expertise and judgement.[43] In fact, it was a countrywide phenomenon that drew the attention of the authorities early in the twentieth century

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[39] It appears that agricultural holdings originated in the Transvaal from 1918 as a result of an initial lack of properly worded laws regarding the subdividing of farmland. See A.M. Heyns. *'n Geografiese ondersoek na die landboukleinhoewes in die gebied, Randfontein-Welverdiend,* p. 7.
[40] PU for CHE, Continued regional survey of Controlled region no. 2… report no. 3, 1956/57, pp. 106-107, 109.
[41] A.M. Heyns, *'n Georgrafiese ondersoek na die landboukleinhoewes…,* p. 41 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), ref. 1: memoirs, G. Hommes (ex-resident, Carletonville), 29.11.1988.
[42] A.M. Heyns, '*n Georgrafiese ondersoek na die landboukleinhoewes*…, p. 41-42, 50, 54, 99 and PU for CHE, Continued regional survey of Controlled region no. 2:… report no. 3, 1956/57, pp. 115-118.
[43] E.S. van Eeden, *Die geskiedenis van Gatsrand*…, pp. 28-29.

It was realised that apart from the involvement of government departments and research institutions in the agricultural industry, local farmers' associations are essential to promote agricultural activities. Apart from introducing agricultural information, farmers' associations were also the means through which unfavourable issues could be brought to the attention of agricultural institutions. In this manner, the producer laid the foundation for local organised agriculture by means of the farmer's association.[44]

A few farmers' associations had already existed in the Carletonville region long before 1948. They are the Wonderfontein Saamwerk-Boerevereniging, die Welverdiend-Boerevereniging and the Dutch settlers' Saamwerk-Boerevereniging. The over-arching organisation for the farmers' associations of the area was the Sentrale Boere-Unie of Potchefstroom.[45]

Since the 1950s, only the Oberholzer and Die Panne-Boerevereniging were active in the Oberholzer district.[46] Only the Oberholzer Boerevereniging are active within the municipal borders of Carletonville.

3.3.1.1 The Oberholzer Farmer's Association

There is uncertainty over the year in which the Oberholzer Boerevereniging was founded.[47] It is possible that the previously mentioned Wonderfontein Saamwerk-Boerevereniging, and the Saamwerk Boerevereniging of the Dutch Settlers joined in the 1940s to establish the Oberholzer-Boerevereniging.

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[44] F.J.L. Steenkamp, *Landboukoöperasies in Suid-Afrika, 1900-1906*, p. 310.
[45] E.S. van Eeden, *Die geskiedenis van Gatsrand…,* pp. 29-32. Also see F.N. Swart, "The role of farmer associations", *Farmers Weekly,* 75(56), 18.8.1948, p. 56 and F.J.L. Steenkamp, *Landboukoöperasies in Suid-Afrika, 1900-1960*, p. 311.
[46] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 2: letter, J.C.R. Hartman, Chief Manager TLU/E.S. van Eeden, 25.10.1988.
[47] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, A.J. du Buys (farmer and chairperson, Oberholzer-Boerevereniging), 17.2.1989. There were no minutes available on the Oberholzer-Boerevereniging during and after the interview. It was declared missing by the chairman of this farmers' association.

The chairmen of the Oberholzer-Boerevereniging, and the approximate years in which they gave guidance, are as follows:

* W.M.C. Nortjé, 1948-1956[48] (probably a family member of J.P. Nortjé, who took the lead as chairman of the Wonderfonteinse Saamwerk-Boerevereniging since 1924);[49]

* D.H. Kotzé, 1957-1959;[50]

* A.J. Niemand, 1960-1977;

* A.J. du Buys, 1977-1988.

The number of farmers who were members of the Oberholzer-Boerevereniging in the initial years is unknown. Farmers on the farms Blybank, Blyvooruitzicht, Wonderfontein, Twyfelvlakte, Welverdiend, Blaauwbank, Wistinkhoutboom, Rooipoort, and those on mining companies' property were within the borders of the farmers' association.[51] Based on the attendance of meetings during the 1960s landslide crises, about 200 farmers supported the activities of the Oberholzer-Boerevereniging.[52]

After this crisis was overcome, the support for the Oberholzer-Boerevereniging gradually diminished, and in 1988, a mere five farmers were members of this farmers' association, of whom most were milk farmers.[53] The district Unions' activities were given as the reason, as they overlapped to a large extent with those of the farmers' association.[54] Subsequently, the remaining members of the Oberholzer-Boerevereniging decided to disband in December 1988.[55]

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[48] Union of South Africa, Department of Agriculture, *Die boere van Transvaal en hul organisasie, 1897-1957,* p. 232.
[49] *Die Westelike Stem*, 5.3.1924, p. 5.
[50] Union of South Africa, Department of Agriculture, *Die boere van Transvaal en hul organisasie, 1897-1957,* p. 232.
[51] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, A.J. du Buys, 17.2.1989.
[52] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: attendance register, Oberholzer-Boerevereniging, 1966-1986.
[53] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, A.J. du Buys, 17.2.1989 and ref. 1: attendance register, Oberholzer-Boerevereniging, 1966-1986.
[54] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, J.A.W. Coetzer (Farmer and secretary, Die Panne-Boerevereniging), 3.12.1988 and interview, J.J. Steyn, 28.2.1989 and Ref 3: interview, G.G. Toxopeüs (Farmer, Oberholzer district), 3.3.1989.
[55] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, A.J. du Buys, 17.2.1989.

3.3.1.2 The Panne-Boerevereniging

The Panne-Boerevereniging was established on 8 October 1959. The need for, and the establishment of another farmers' association in the area, was due to the distance some of the farmers had to cover to attend meetings of the Oberholzer-Boerevereniging.[56] At the founding meeting of Die Panne, 34 farmers, mostly mealie farmers, joined this association. A few farmers from outside the Oberholzer district borders accepted membership. Mr C.P. Heiberg was elected as the first chairman of the Panne-Boerevereniging.[57]

Eight years later, in February 1968, a rift regarding the mealie price erupted between the South African Agricultural Union (Suid-Afrikaanse Landbou-Unie (SALU)) and the South African Mealie Producers, which negatively impacted the activities of Die Panne. Differences between members of Die Panne-Boerevereniging resulted in the management's decision to disband it in 1968.[58] However, during 1970, Die Panne-Boerevereniging re-awakened and functioned well. Mr I.S. Snyman acted as chairman between 1970 and February 1982. Mr N.J. Hudson succeeded him and remained in this position until 1988.[59] At that stage, the farmers' association comprised 28 members.[60]

Since its establishment, the Panne-Boerevereniging has been involved in various activities, i.e., submission of petitions for road improvements and the inclusion of some farms in the Oberholzer district. Representatives were also sent to conferences, farmers' days, and other educational events. Regular fundraising events such as 'farmer' were organised. Amongst others, these funds were used for outings and the remuneration of speakers. Study groups were organised with the purpose of running a proper farming industry with the assistance of experts' findings and leadership.[61]

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[56] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, J.A.W. Coetzer, 3.12.1988.
[57] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: minutes, meeting held for the planned farmer associations in the Danie Theron Gedenkskool, Carletonville, 8.10.1959 [Original minutes in possession of J.A.W. Coetzer] and Ref. 3: interview, C.T. Steyn, 17.1.1989.
[58] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: minutes, Die Panne-Boerevereniging: minute, 6.2.1968.
[59] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: minutes, Die Panne-Boerevereniging: minute, 16.4.1970 – 24.3.1988.
[60] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: minutes, Die Panne-Boerevereniging: minute, 24.3.1988.
[61] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: minutes, Die Panne-Boerevereniging: minute, 9.12.1959 and 21.4.1960; 22.6.1961; 8.6.1964; 6.2.1968; 22.8.1977; 22.5.1981 and 24.3.1988.

J.F. Oosthuizen, ex-chairman RDLU, and farmer



Source: J.F. Oosthuizen

By the 1980s, an increasing overlap of Die Panne's activities with those of the district's agricultural union, called the Randfontein-DLU, endangered the survival of Die Panne. Improved communication networks in the area that brought farmers 'closer' to one another were another danger for the sustainability of Die Panne. With the assistance of available road networks and telephone services, members could communicate about agricultural issues and problems at any time. This questioned the value of the farmers' association's contribution. However, members of Die Panne-Boerevereniging decided that the combined development group should continue to exist, should the disbandment of Die Panne become a reality in the future.[62]

3.3.1.3 The Randfontein District Agricultural Union (RDLU)

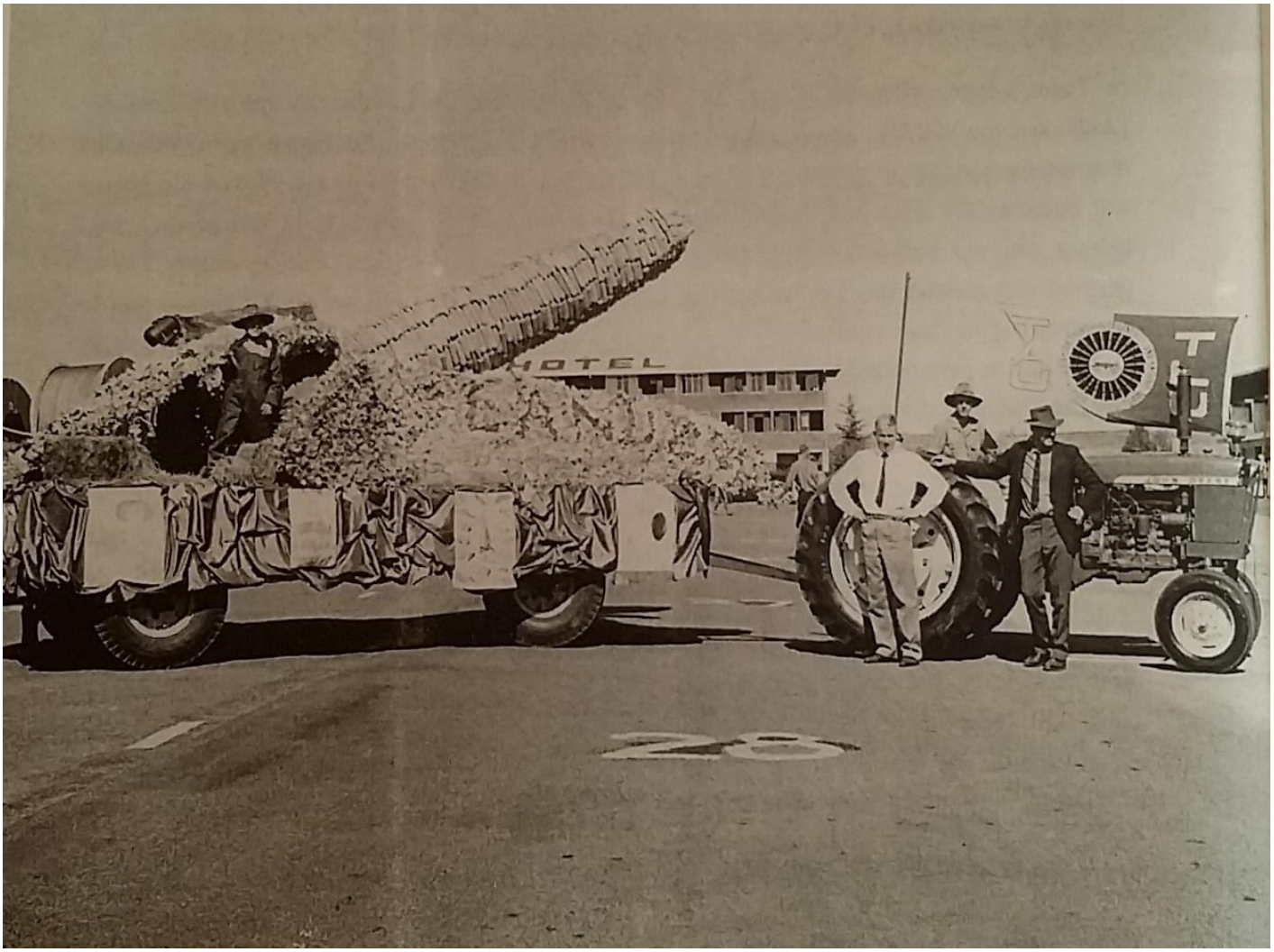
The need for closer cooperation between local farmers' associations in 1955 led to the establishment of the district's agricultural union for the Oberholzer region, initially known as the Randfontein District Farmers Union.[63] Five farmers' associations in the various regions of Randfontein, Westonaria and Oberholzer, i.e., the Oberholzer, Rodora, Tarlton, Die Panne, and the Westonaria-Boerevereniging joined the RDLU in the years that followed.[64]

The RDLU represented farmers from three magisterial districts. According to some farmers, this coalition highlighted the lack of proper infrastructure services within various agricultural communities. The distance of some farms from the leading town in a district also resulted in the weakening of the farmers' associations. This meant that a farmer living within the Oberholzer district borders, but situated closer to Randfontein, could experience service delivery problems. This was especially relevant regarding services such as maintaining law and order and maintenance. By 1988, it was exactly these complications that frustrated the members of the farming community of the Oberholzer district.[65]

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[62] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: minutes, Die Panne-Boerevereniging: minutes, 24.3.1988. See also Ref. 3: interview, J.A.W. Coetzer, 3.12.1988.
[63] Union of South Africa, Department of Agriculture, *Die boere van Transvaal en hul organisasie, 1897-1957,* p. 230.
[64] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 2: letter, Transvaalse Landbou-Unie/E.S. van Eeden, 25.10.1988 and Ref. 1: memoirs, J.F. Oosthuizen (ex-farmer, Oberholzer district), 15.3.1989, p.1. Tarlton and Rodora later combined in one farmers' association, i.e., the Randfontein-Boerevereniging.
[65] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, J.J. Steyn, 28.2.1989 and interview, G.G. Toxopeüs, 3.3.1989.

Die RDLU's participation in the May 1966 Republic's fifth anniversary festivities at Carletonville.



Source: J.F. Oosthuizen

Persons who occupied the chair since the inception of the RDLU's activities include Messrs N.J. Pretorius, J.F. Oosthuizen, B.C. Snyman, C.T. Steyn, A.D. Niemand[66] and currently P.S. Nortjé.[67] Apart from holding regular meetings, the RDLU also arranges annual farmers' days and conferences. Attention has been paid to several problems that farmers have experienced, including the construction of a grain silo and making representations for the provision of electricity all over the agricultural region. Regarding the silo, he achieved much during his chairmanship. Education for blacks on farms also received attention from the RDLU gekry.[68]

Some farmers in the Carletonville municipal area are not part of community life in the towns due to the distances. Common needs regarding church and educational activities, and business, promote liaison between farmers and townsfolk, as farmers use these extended services provided by towns.[69]

Similar to the farmer's association in the district, the RDLU meetings were also poorly attended. Members were keen to hold constructive and sensible meetings and invite specialist speakers in the agricultural field. To prevent the activities of the RDLU and those of the farmers' associations from overlapping, the RDLU suggested the amalgamation of the Oberholzer, Die Panne and the Randfontein Farmers Associations. Once again, the vast distances between the members resulted in this idea not drawing much attention.[70] This issue and the future of these associations under the leadership of the RDLU were still not cleared by the end of 1988.

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[66] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, C.T. Steyn (ex-farmer and chairman, RDLU), 17.1.1989.
[67] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 2: letter, Die Transvaalse Landbou-Unie/E.S. van Eeden, 25.10.1988.
[68] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: memoirs, J.F. Oosthuizen, 15.3.1989, pp. 2-5; *Carletonville Herald*, 26.5.1967, p. 5; Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: Minutes, RDLU: minutes, 9.11.81 — 3.9.1988. The pre-1981 minutes were not available as they had been lost. Minutes of The Panne-Boereverenigings of especially the 1960s mentioned more about the contribution of Mr Oberholzer.
[69] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, C.T. Steyn, 17.1.1989.
[70] Department of Agriculture, *Die boere van Transvaal en hul organisasie, 1897-1957,* pp.126, 230, 233 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: memoirs, J.F. Oosthuizen, 15.3.1989, pp. 4-5.

3.3.1.4 Agricultural associations' councils and cooperatives

Apart from being members of the mentioned local farmers' associations and the RDLU, it appears that farmers are also members of one or other association and cooperative that mainly focuses on one or other crop or cattle that is farmed. Most of these associations are initiated and administered on provincial and national levels. Farmers in the Carletonville region, for example, were attracted to the Transvaal Producers Association as many farmers were running dairies. Cooperatives are represented[71] by branches on regional levels.[72] Almost all the farmers in the district are members of the local cooperative, the Sentraalwes Koöperasies (SENWESKO), whose borders run beyond the Oberholzer district.[73]

The SENWESKO branch at Oberholzer was opened in 1962 with P. Swanepoel as the first manager. In turn, members of the SENWESKO management were involved in the maize crops boards, for example, the Mealie Board. By being indirectly involved in the SENWESKO branch, the Oberholzer district farmers secure a share in creating a better deal for the agricultural sector in the business world. It is especially the farmers J.F. Oosthuizen, J.G. de Bruin and P.S. Nortjé who occupied leading management positions in the council countrywide. Nortjé was appointed in December 1989 as chief executive member of the Nasionale Mielieprodusente Organisasie (NAMPO). Before him, J.G. de Bruin occupied this position for many years.[74] On the other hand, Oosthuizen, agricultural pioneer in the region since the proclamation of Carletonville, served in various agricultural committees.[75]

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[71] Agricultural cooperatives' purpose is to provide for the communal and economic needs of a certain community by combining exceptional material and non-material abilities. See F.J.L. Steenkamp, *Landboukoöperasies in Suid-Afrika., 1900-1960,* p.228.
[72] J.J. Steyn, "Agtergrond tot departementele landbouvoorligting in Potchefstroom Substreek", p. 19 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref 3: interview, H.F. du Plessis (Director, ward three of SENWESKO), 19.4.1989.
[73] SENWESKO is a cooperative created in 1909 by the farmers in the Klerksdorp region. Grain crops were mainly handled. With the assistance of this cooperative, the Oberholzer district also founded a branch. See later in the chapter and Sentraalwes (Koöperatief) Beperk, *Excella quality foods products manufactured by Sentraalwes Industries,* p.1 and Sentraalwes (Koöperatief) Beperk, *Sentraalwes, 1909-1984,* pp. 7, 47.
[74] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview H.F. du Plessis and J.G. de Bruin, Dr E.J. Stoch, H. Jacobs, J. Kock and P. Swanepoel, 19.4.1989.
[75] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: memoirs, J.F. Oosthuizen, 15.3.1989, pp. 1-5.

3.3.1.5 The Carletonville branch of the Transvaal Women's Agricultural Union (Transvaalse Vroue Landbou-Unie) (TVLU)

Die TVLU was established in 1925.[76] Initially, this union consisted of women from the farming community who felt the need to uplift Afrikaner women through the means of an organisation.

'Upliftment' as an ideal was clearly illustrated by the TVLU's activities within the branch, such as discussions on relevant issues and practising crafts at a competitive level.[77] Urbanisation undoubtedly played a role in the diverse professions of TVLU members, which influenced the constitution of the branches. However, the union retained its name, and, subsequently, for this study, the organisation is viewed as a result of and a driving force in the agricultural sector.

Before 1948, the TVLU's branches in Frederikstad and Losberg, outside the present Carletonville municipal area, were the closest VLU branches for interested women in the region.[78] With gold mining activities in full swing near Carletonville town, a few ladies from, mainly the mining community of Blyvooruitzicht, established a local branch on 14 May 1952 with Mrs H.C. Rabie as chairperson. The establishment of the Carletonville branch followed on 24 July 1954, with Mrs C. le Roux elected as chairperson.[79] The Preston branch was founded in the late 1970s for the ladies of the area of Welverdiend.[80]

The rapid increase of VLU branches after the Second World War (1938-1945) made it possible for the VLU to divide branches into regions from 1951. Blyvooruitzicht and Carletonville's VLU branches were incorporated in the Potchefstroom-Klerksdorp region, whose name was changed in 1961 to the South West Transvaal region. A regional chairperson was elected from all the

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[76] I. van der Walt (ed.), *Gedenkalbum van die Transvaalse Vroue Landbou-Unie*, 1925-1975, p. 1.
[77] *Carletonville Weekly Record,* 18.7.1975 and *TVLU-Nuus*, August 1988, p.15 as an example.
[78] I. van der Walt (ed.), *Gedenkalbum van die Transvaalse Vroue Landbou-Unie*, 1925-1975, p. 203.
[79] *Carletonville Weekly Record,* 18.7.1975, p.5; I. van der Walt (ed.), *Gedenkalbum van die Transvaalse Vroue Landbou-Unie, 1925-1975,* p.203-204 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 2: letter, L. le Roux/TVLU, Carletonville, 2.6.1966.
[80] Transvaalse Landbou-Unie (TVLU), *Suidwes-Transvaal-Streek, jaarverslag, 1.2.1985 -1986* (Compiled by A. Agenbach, chairlady, TVLU, Carletonville branch), p. 1.

C. le Roux, first chairlady of the VLU branch, Carletonville



Source: T.M. Toxopeüs.

A. Agenbach, regional chairlady and chairlady of the VLU branch, Carletonville, 1984



Source: A. Agenbach.

VLU branches of the region to further the overarching liaison.[81]

Since the election of the first regional chairperson of the South Western Transvaal region, two ladies from the Carletonville region have served as chairpersons. They were Mrs L.M. Schnetler (1971-1975),[82] and A. Agenbach, who have served in this position since 1984.[83]

As a result of the enthusiasm of the VLU branch managements in the Carletonville region and the well-organised events, support increased over the years. For example, the Carletonville branch's membership of six members in 1988, multiplied by eight.[84] It is also possible that the interest shown in the Carletonville branch was a result of the support of the women of Blyvooruitzicht, as the latter's membership shrank from 20 to seven. Another possible reason for the decline in membership could have been the country's depressing economy, which forced many women to enter the labour market. However, the membership of the Preston branch remained between 11 and 14 members since its establishment.[85]

The TLU's executive management programme, comprising a potpourri of activities, is launched annually to enable branches to adapt to and include their activities accordingly.[86] Apart from what has been mentioned earlier, the annual programmes of the local VLU branches and the Southern Transvaal Region also include exhibitions, fundraising activities, excursions and donations.[87]

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[81] I. van der Walt (ed.), *Gedenkalbum van die Transvaalse Vroue Landbou-Unie, 1925-1975*, p. 203.
[82] I. van der Walt (ed.), *Gedenkalbum van die Transvaalse Vroue Landbou-Unie, 1925-1975*, p. 202, 207.
[83] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, A. Agenbach, 10.9.1989 and *TVLU-Nuus*, August 1988, p. 15.
[84] *Carletonville weekly record*, 18.7.1975, p. 5 and I. van der Walt (ed.), *Gedenkalbum van die Transvaalse Vroue Landbou-Unie, 1925-1975*, p. 204.
[85] TVLU, Suidwes-Transvaal-Streek, annual report, 1.2.1984 – 18.36.1988 (Compiler, A. Agenbach), p. 3.
[86] *TVLU-Nuus,* Desember 1988, pp. 10, 13, 18 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref.1: documents, cuttings and photo-albums of Mrs T.N. Toxopeüs (ex-resident, Carletonville) as viewed on 4.4.1989.
[87] *Herald vir die Goue Weste*, 3.6.1966, p. 1; *Carletonville Herald*, 16.9.1988, p. 3; TVLU, *Suidwes-Transvaal-Streek, annual reports, 1.2.1984 – 8.6.1988* and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: minutes, Southwest Transvaal region, minutes, March 1979.

3.3.2. Black farm labour

Before 1948, the farmers in the Oberholzer district had a constant shortage of black labour on the farms. The Potchefstroom City Council regularly received complaints from farmers that black people were often absent from farms for too long without consent and, in some instances, never returned.[88]

In the 1950s, this tendency did not change, despite migrant labourers flooding into Carletonville's gold mines,[89] which contributed to a population explosion in the region.[90] Migrant labourers offered their services mainly to the gold mines.[91]

At the end of August 1954, the number of black men who laboured on the 132 farms in the Oberholzer area totalled 664. Black women (totalling 56) also laboured on farms, and another 141 presented their services as housekeepers. These numbers included black people who squatted on farms and often caused problems.[92] To address the squatter tendency and place the residents of the squatter camps within a more regulated system,[93] the Bantu Labour Council was established in 1966. All the farmers' associations supported it. The Labour Council immediately took over all legal matters concerning blacks in bona fide agricultural activities or in the service of farming households.[94]

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[88] E.S. van Eeden, *Die geskiedens van Gatsrand*…, p..50.
[89] Central Archives Depot (CAD), Department of Justice (JUS), Vol. 1052, file 21/733, Oberholzer inspection report: letter, Magistrate of Oberholzer/Secretary of Justice, Pretoria, 29.5.1954. See *Chapter Four*, pp.114-116, for more information on migrant labourers in the Carletonville municipal area.
[90] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file NADN9/1/149 no. N1/1/5, West Wits proclaimed region, Naturelle Stadsgebiedwet, toepassing en proklamasie: report, Native administration in the proclaimed area of West Witwatersrand, 1.7.1955 — 30.6.1956 and N79/15/149 no. 1/1/5, Correspondence and reports: letter, Lokasie Superintendent/Bestuurder Naturellesake, 13.11.1957.
[91] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file N79/15/149 no. 1/1/5, Correspondence and reports; letter, Location Superintendent/Manager Bantu Affairs, 13.11.1957.
[92] PU for CHE, *Voortgesette streekopname van Beheerde Gebied no. 2:…,* report no. 3*, 1956/57,* p. 96 and CAD, JUS, Vol. 1052, file 21/733, Oberholzer inspection reports: inspectors' report, office of the Magistrate, Carletonville, 26.2.1953.
[93] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: minutes, Die Panne-Boerevereniging: minutes, 23.3.1960 and 17.2.1961.
[94] IR, Department of Bantu Administration and Development (BAO), Vol. 1049, file A14/1108(1), Bantu Advisory Board: letter, RDLU/Magistrate Oberholzer, 17.12.1966 and letter, Bantu Administration and Development/Chief Bantu Commissioner, 4.8.1967.

According to the 1970 statistics, the number of labourers on farms in the region increased. During this census year, 736 black men and 131 black women (excluding housekeepers) were employed on 54 farms. Thus, each farm had an average of 16 labourers – much more than in 1954. The decrease in farmers and the centralising of farms were partly responsible for these circumstances. Compared to the mining, commercial and industrial sectors in the region, the agricultural sector had the smallest labour force by 1970.[95]

The black labour force within the agricultural sector of the Oberholzer district appeared to be relatively unaffected by the black unrest experienced in the rest of the country during the 1970s. On the contrary, an increase in numbers was noted, and in 1981 the total labour force numbered 1,045. The number of regular labourers had decreased to 592[96,] and according to the latest figures, decreased even further to 376.[97] Although the actual reasons were not stated, one can deduce that the drought in the early 1980s, the absence of proof for the registration of blacks and a shortage of housing and infrastructural facilities contributed to the decrease.[98]

Regarding accommodation for black people on farms, in 1981, there were 169 brick houses, 155 rooms and 48 units made from different materials for 592 farmhands in the Oberholzer region.[99] Provision of accommodation and creating improved community services received the farmers' attention in the subsequent years.[100]

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[95] Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics, Population census, report no. 02-05-06, *Occupation and industry according to district and economic region, 1970,* 1970, p. 215.
[96] Republic of South Africa, Central Statistics Service, Census of Agriculture, report no. 06-01-17, *Farming units: number surface…, 1981,* 1981, pp. 115, 128, 170.
[97] Republic of South Africa, Central Statistics Service, report no. 02-85-03, *Industry according to develpment region, statistic region and district, 1985,* 1985, p. 515.
[98] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: Minutes, RDLU: minutes, 23.2.1982 – 24.1.1985 and minutes, Die Panne-Boerevereniging: minutes, 9.2.1983 – 1.9.1983. The RDLU apparently had a labour committee that had to report on local labour conditions regularly.
[99] Republic of South Africa, Central Statistics Service, Census of Agriculture, report no. 06-01-17, *Farming unit: number surface…,* 1981, pp. 235, 248.
[100] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: minutes, RDLU: minutes, 23.3.1982 and minutes, Die Panne-Boerevereniging: minutes, 16.2.1982 — 1.9.1983.

Additional fringe benefits enjoyed by the labour force were their right to keep cattle.[101] This was a practice that black labour had been involved in since the earliest years in the agricultural industry in the present Oberholzer area.[102]

*3.3.*3 The Landbank and the Landboubank (Agricultural Bank) of South Africa

In South Africa, the agricultural sector has been receiving state aid from financing organisations long before the twentieth century. The *Lambaardbank*, or so-called *Bank van Lening*, had provided loans to farmers to obtain land in the erstwhile Cape Colony as early as 1793.

Regarding the present Transvaal, the establishment of the *Arm Burger Fonds* (Poor Burger Fund) was created by the ZAR government to support farmers affected by the devastating 1897 rinderpest, and could be regarded as the first form of state aid to farmers in this region. The Anglo-Boer War that followed in 1899 was synonymous with large-scale devastation and destruction of agricultural properties, and was probably the most important reason for the establishment of the *Transvaalsche Land en Landbouwbank* in 1907.

In 1912, the new Union Government accepted laws that united the then colonial banks, which became known as the Land and the Landboubank or the Landbank.[103] Landbank branches opened across the country, and the Potchefstroom branch opened in 1930. The Potchefstroom branch serves the districts of Oberholzer, Ventersdorp, Potchefstroom, Klerksdorp, Wolmaransstad, Bloemhof and Christiana.[104]

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[101] The abovementioned is available in the statistics of the Union of South Africa, Bureau for Census of Statistics, Agricultural census no. 23, report no. 4, *Veeverliese, 1948-49,* p. 9 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, T.P. Venter (Station master, Oberholzer), 8.2.1989.
[102] E.S. van Eeden, Die geskiedenis van die Gatsrand…, p. 48.
[103] E.H.D. Arndt, "Landboukreditiefasiliteite voor Unie", *Universiteit Pretoria Publikasies,* 3(8), 1939, pp. 1,10,16, 23 and E.H.D. Arndt, "Die landboukrediet en landbouskuldvraagstuk", *The South African Journal of Economics*, 1(2), June 1933, pp. 1,152,154.
[104] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview Manager (Landbank branch, Potchefstroom), 25.3.1991.

Financing of farmers' agricultural activities, either through providing loans or indirectly through cooperatives, is the main function of the 24 branches of South Africa.[105] Although information regarding credit provision to individuals is private and not available, it can be accepted that farmers from the Oberholzer district have approached the Potchefstroom branch of the Landbank for financial assistance in the past.

After the 1960s landslides, the Dolomitic Water Council bought the land and let it to farmers in the 1970s,[106] after which, the farmers in the Oberholzer district became less dependent on the Landbank's assistance.

By 1988, the Potchefstroom Landbank branch had two clients in the Oberholzer district whose combined loans totalled R397 000. Compared to the Potchefstroom branch's financial assistance to the rest of its region, i.e., R101,984,000, and Landbank's total financial aid to farmers across South Africa, i.e., R2,108,215,000, financial assistance to the Oberholzer district at that stage was literally a drop in the ocean.

In contrast, the Oberholzer SENWESKO branch's funds are used more lavishly by the local farmers. In this manner, the Landbank and the Landboubank van Suid-Afrika indirectly provided financial assistance to several local farmers.[107]

3.4 AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT FROM THE PROCLAMATION OF CARLETONVILLE IN 1948 TO OBTAINING MUNICIPAL STATUS, 1959

Before the 1950s, the farmers in the district had to cope with the establishment and development of three gold mines, the purchase of land for further exploration, and the establishment of six towns, including Carletonville, which was proclaimed in 1948.

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[105] E.H.D. Arndt, "Die landboukrediet en landbouskuldvraagstuk", *The South African Journal of Economics*, 1(2), June 1933, p.152. Compare to the Republic of South Africa, Central Statistics Service, report no. 11-01-01, *Landbouopname, 1986*, 1987, p. 169, regarding region 75, in which the Oberholzer district is located.
[106] See section 3.5 of this chapter, p. 93.
[107] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, Manager (Landbank branch, Potchefstroom), 25.3.1991.

***An advertisement for the Modelmelkery,* 1954**



Illustration: *Die Transvaler*, 15.1.1954.

as well as the lengthy establishment of traders. In 1959, all these new developments were combined within the municipal borders of the newly established, independent local authority of Carletonville.

3.4.1 Farms and People

There are a few farms within the municipal area of Carletonville on which only farming is practised. Apart from towns, other economic sectors are also present on farms.[108] Some well-known families who farmed in the Carletonville area by 1948, include the Wolmaranse on Welverdiend, the Oberholzers[109] and the Hommesse[110] on Wonderfontein, and the Peets on the farm Oog van Wonderfontein.[111] On sections of farms in possession of mines, there were, amongst others, the well-known Schuttes of Buffelsdoorn as well as the Dreyers, Du Preez's and Pienaars from Elandsfontein IQ 289. Outside the municipal borders, but still within the Oberholzer district's borders, it was especially the Nortjés from Rooipoort, who were synonymous with this region.[112]

3.4.2 Farming activities

3.4.2.1 Dairy industry

Upon analysing the agricultural activities in the Carletonville region since 1948, it appears that only singular sections on farms were used for dryland and irrigation farming. The predominantly mixed grasslands between farms were mainly used as fodder for their cattle. The dairy industry was so popular, since the advent of town and goldmine development, that by 1950 and 1951, there were 17 dairies in the municipality.

[108] See map no. 1, p. 21a and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: City Council of Carletonville, list of land owners in the Carletonville municipal region, 1988.
[109] PU for CHE, Continued regional survey of Controlled region no. 2:..., report no. 3 1956/57, p. 87 and E.S. van Eeden, *Die geskiedenis van die Gatsrand*..., pp. 1-21.
[110] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: memoirs, G. Hommes, 29.11.1988 and Ref. 3: interview, T.M. Toxopeüs, 4.4.1989 and *Herald vir die Goue Weste,* 3.9.1965, p. 5.
[111] Union of South Africa, Department of Agriculture, *Die boere van Transvaal en hul organisasie, 1897-1957,* p. 232 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, G.G. Toxopeüs, 3.3.1989.
[112] E.S. van Eeden, *Die geskiedenis van Gatsrand..., Chapters One, Two* and *Six* and Union of South Africa, Department of Agriculture, *Die boere van Transvaal en hul organisasie, 1897-1957,* p. 231.

These included dairies of Steinthal, Oberholzer, Van Lutterveld, Nieuhuis, Botha, Kleyn, Roos, Nortjé, Harmse, Stoch and Phibbs.[113] Many farmers provided milk to the latter dairy, which in turn, distributed milk from Bank and Blyvooruitzicht locally. The dairy of the Van Luttervelds, called Model Melkery/Dairy, later took over distribution from Phibbs. By 1956, the number of dairies doing business with the Model Melkery/Dairy totalled 22.[114] The "Kommissie Wonderfontein" established by the Dutch settlers in 1928, managed another dairy in the 1950s with financial aid from the Nederlandse Bank vir Suid-Afrika. A.J. Grashuis managed the industry on behalf of the "Kommissie".[115]

As direct distributors of milk to the local gold mines,[116] the dairy farmers managed their own potential gold mines on their farms by 1959. At this stage, the milk farmers in the Oberholzer district produced 34,600 pounds (15,727 kg) of cream, provided 30,860 pounds (14,027 kg) of milk to factories, 675,100 gallons (303,795 litres) to dairies and 400 gallons (1,341,000 litres) for own use. The profit made totalled £ 94,032.[117]

Some farmers initially transported milk in milk cans by rail from Oberholzer to Johannesburg, Krugersdorp and Randfontein, where it was distributed. In the absence of assistance at the station, farmers were responsible for their own labour to transport and load the products. Initially, they used ox wagons and later switched to tractors to transport the various products to the stations. The freight trains only provided assistance should a farmer's load exceed two tons.[118] The use of

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[113] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, Minutes, minute, 19.1.1950; 2.2.1959, and file A8/8, West Wits LAC Regional Abattoir: monthly report – West Witwatersrand Local Area Committee, 31.7.1951.
[114] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file 61/0/943, Welverdiend town general correspondence: letter, Health Board/Licence officer, 18.4.1957 and 10.6.1957 and *Carletonville Herald,* 17.9.1965, p.6.
[115] Nedbank Archives, MP, Vol. 8., Wonderfontein verslagen: letter, A.J. Grashuis/Nederlandse Bank vir Suid-Afrika, 26.1.1950 and Vol. 17, Wonderfontein algemene correspondentie, staten, schetzen enz., 1952-1957: letter, Managing Director, Vereeniging ZASM/Dr. U. von Backström, 13.8.1954.
[116] PU for CHE, Voorgesette streekopname van Beheerde Gebied no. 2…, report no. 3, 1956/57, p. 104.
[117] Union of South Africa, Bureau for Census en Statistics, Agricultural Census, report no.33, *Landbou- en veteeltproduksie en suikerriet-, hout- en wattelplantasies, 1958-59,* 1959, p.110.
[118] Carletonville (PU for CHO), Ref. 3: interviews, T.P. Venter, 8.2.1989; M.M. Cole. "The fresh milk supply of the Witwatersrand and Pretoria: an analysis of the geographical factors delimiting the supplying areas", *Suid-Afrikaanse Joernaal vir Wetenskap*, 51, February 1955, pp. 199-205, and *Herald vir die Goue Weste,* 3.9.1965, p. 5.

trucks for transporting the products increased in the 1950s.[119] Subsequently, the farmers increasingly demanded the building of proper roads in the district.[120]

3.4.2.2 Meat Industry

After 1948, the meat industry, especially cattle and pork farming, gradually developed in the presence of the gold mining industry in the Carletonville region. Owners of butcheries who, by 1950, delivered meat to the mines regularly included B.N.D. Geldenhuys, J.L.P. van Graan (Oog van Wonderfontein), J.G. Stapelberg, J.J. Nieuhuis (Wonderfontein), J.J. Giessing (Uitspanning), Pantanowitz and Katz (Welverdiend), West Driefontein Supply Stores and Jacobson, Arenson and Orelowitz and W.P. Stols (Wes Driefontein). A butchery in Blyvooruitzicht, called D. and D.H. Frazer, managed the meat orders from the Blyvooruitzicht gold mine from Potchefstroom.[121]

Due to the uncontrolled supply of meat by the farmers and an increasing demand, which could result in unhygienic mass deliveries, the Health Council for Rural Areas investigated the possibility of establishing a central abattoir in the region in April 1948.[122] The gold mining companies welcomed this step, which could contribute to the farmers providing more meat. It would enable the mines to comply with the Chamber of Mines prescribed weekly quota of 1,6 kg of meat per employee. This was not possible before, as a result of the local meat shortage.[123]

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[119] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: memoirs, G.Hommes, 29.11.1988.
[120] Department of Roads (Potchefstroom), file P92-DP07-072-23/22/992, District Road 92: petition, tarring of the district Road no.92 from Welverdiend to Buffelsdoorn, 21.3.1949. Also see *Chapter Six,* pp. 259-260.
[121] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file A8/8, West Wits LAC, Regional Abattoir: letter, Health Inspector, Krugersdorp/Medical Officer, Peri Urban Areas Health Board, Pretoria, 16.8.1948 and LAC, Minutes: minutes, 20.4.1950 and 23.6.1950.
[122] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file A8/8, West Wits LAC, Regional Abattoir: letter, Director of Meat supplies, Pretoria/Medical Health Officer of the Health Council, Pretoria, 26.4.1948.
[123] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file A8/8, West Wits LAC, Regional Abattoir: letter, Mining Rights and Estates Department, Johannesburg/Peri Urban Areas Health Board, Pretoria, 24.6.1948.

For reasons unknown, the abattoir was mentioned again after the inspector's report indicated that, in some areas, the uncontrolled slaughter of cattle was done under unhealthy conditions. Pigs (*Cysticerci cellulosae*) that were slaughtered despite underlying measles were mentioned as an example.[124] At that stage, as many as 17 butcheries in the area were providing meat to the public from their own abattoirs.[125]

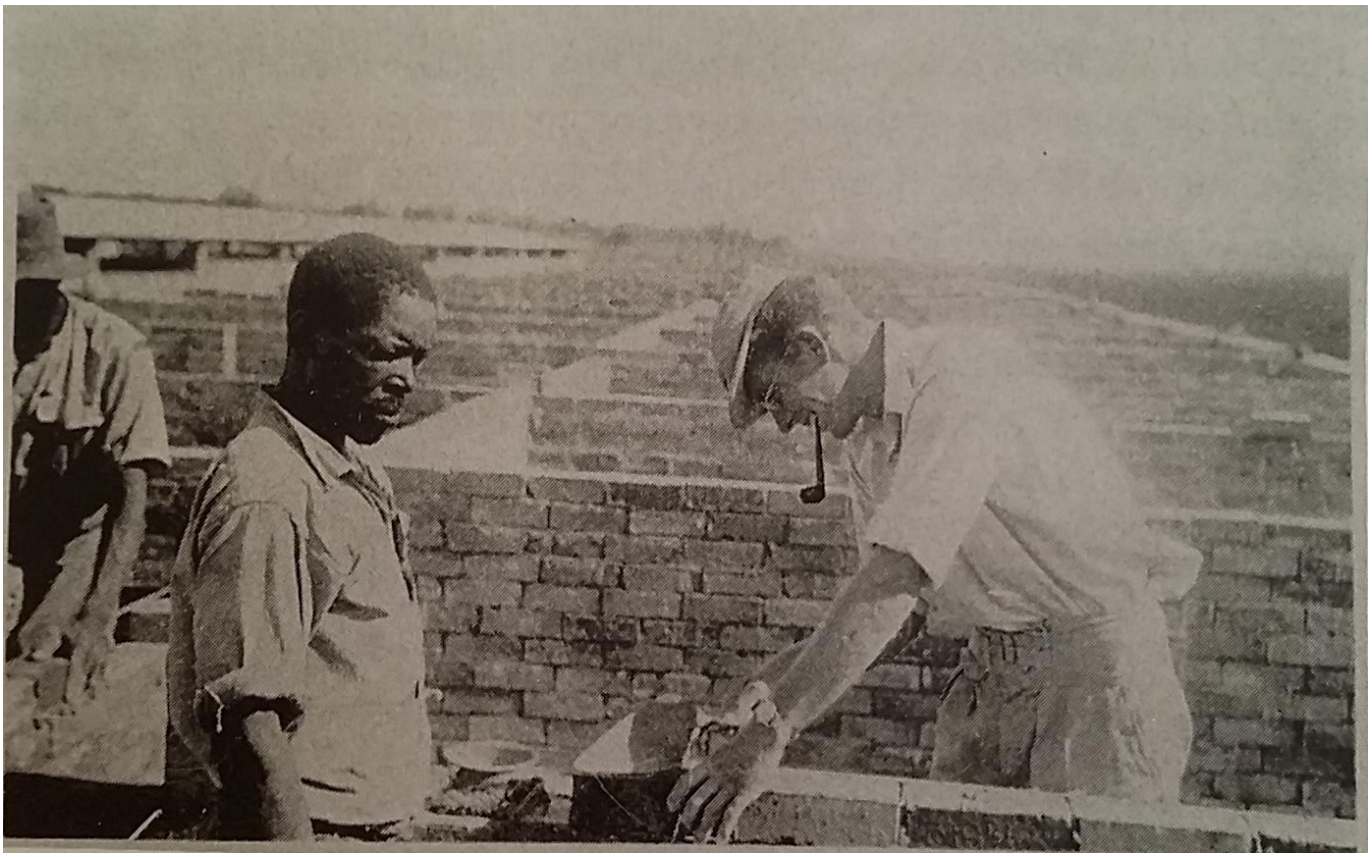
In 1952, the Local Regional Committee approved the construction of a regional abattoir in principle, but a lack of funds prevented the project's execution. A temporary scheme was initiated, which mainly determined that all the butcheries' abattoirs would be subject to more in-depth inspections in future. The slaughter facilities of W.P. Stols (Driefontein) as well as J.G. Stapelberg and H. van Wyk (Wonderfontein) were regarded as sufficient to serve everyone in the region.[126]

Between 1952 and 1958, the number of butcheries in towns in the Carletonville region remained constant,[127] and there was no indication of building an abattoir. The services of main meat producer centres such as Johannesburg, Krugersdorp, and Potchefstroom stood in the way of an abattoir in Carletonville, due to strong competition. The high building costs of an abattoir also contributed to the postponement of the construction.[128] By 1959, 16 butcheries served the area, including J.J. Nortjé, P. Holtshauzen, R.S. Schoeman, B.N.D. Geldenhuys, J.Jacobson, (one butchery each), H.C. van Wyk, L.R. Botha (two butcheries each) and W.P. Stols (seven butcheries).[129]

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[124] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file A8/8, West Wits LAC, Regional Abattoir: report, Health inspector, 17.8.1951, and LAC, Minutes, minute, 19.10.1951.
[125] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file A8/8, West Wits LAC, Regional Abattoir: monthly report of the West Wits Local Area Committee, 31.7.1951.
[126] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file A8/8, West Wits LAC, Regional Abattoir: memorandum on the erection of a regional abattoir at Carletonville 5.5.1953 and report on meat inspection services, West Witwatersrand Area, district Oberholzer, 21.8.1953 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, P. Holtzhausen (Businessman, Carletonville), 27.7.1990.
[127] TAD, Department of Agriculture (LDB), Vol. 3154, file 4022/12/44, Registration of butchers' appeals: letter, A. Kleanthouse/Gesondheidsraad, 19.10.1954; Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file 1/1/149, West Wits LAC, regional abattoir, slaughterhouses: letter, Health Officer Health Board/Secretary, Health Board, 18.12.1958 and LAC, Minutes: minute, 12.1.1959.
[128] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, Minutes: minute, 21.2.1958.
[129] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, Minutes: minute, 21.2.1959.

R. Toxopeüs busy erecting pigsties on J.E. Hommes' farm, 1950



Source: G.G. Toxopeüs

It appears as though the pork farming industry made steady progress between 1948 and 1959. Pork farmers who excelled during the 1950s were two Dutch settlers, J.E. Hommes and his foreman R. Toxopeüs,[130] and H.P. Oosthuizen and A. Peet.[131]

The surrounding mines indirectly stimulated the pork farming industry, as large amounts of leftover food were obtained from the mines. Not all farmers shared in this privilege.[132]
As with pork farmers, there were only a few poultry farmers in the district in the 1950s. The poultry farming activities of the Dutchman H. Clay and one Kleyn are good examples. Clay started his poultry farming in the 1930s.[133] He probably also served the mines and large-scale traders in the PWV region with chickens.

3.4.3 Crops

Regarding crops, the cultivation of mealies was popular.[134] Several farmers made a living from mealie crops. Initially, farmers stored their mealies in grain stores in Randfontein, Magaliesburg and Ventersdorp.[135] The first attempt to obtain a grain silo dates back to the 1920s. Due to the low yield of grain crops, the attempt was unsuccessful.[136]

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[130] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Reg. 1: memoirs, G.Hommes, 29.11.1988 and ref. 3: interview, T.M. Toxopeüs, 4.4.1989 and *Herald vir die Goue Weste*, 3.9.1965, p.1.
[131] Union of South Africa, Department of Agriculture, *Die boere van Transvaal en hul organisasie, 1897-1957,* p. 232.
[132] PU for CHE, Continued regional survey of Controlled region no. 2…, report no. 3, 1956/57, p. 232.
[133] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, T.M. Toxopeüs, 4.4.1989, and interview, A.J. du Buys, 17.2.1989 and *Suid-Afrikaanse Stem,* 20.3.1959, p.16.
[134] TAD, MCV, Vol. 49, file 71/7/5(1), Publicity: letter, Town Clerk, Carletonville/D. Smit, Potchefstroom, 15.2.1960.
[135] Careltonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: memoirs, J.F. Oosthuizen, 15.3.1989.
[136] *Die Westelike Stem*, 28.6.1922, p. 3.

In 1956, J.F. Oosthuizen, on behalf of the RDLU, led a second attempt to obtain a silo. He surveyed the crop yields of the farmers in the region and searched for a suitable piece of land to build a crop store. Oosthuizen found that the total grain yield in the Oberholzer district totalled 70,000 bags, much more than the required 45,000 to qualify for the erection of a grain store. A piece of land near the Oberholzer station was identified as suitable for the grain store. With this information, the Koster Cooperative was approached, taking it for granted that the RDLU regarded the Oberholzer district as being within the borders of the Cooperation, which was, however, not the case. The main office of SENWESKO in Klerksdorp was responsible for the Oberholzer region. This cooperative was in favour of the Oberholzer farmers' request.[137] In 1957-1958, SENWESKO began paying attention to the erection of a grain store in Oberholzer.[138]

3.4.4 Challenges

Water was probably one of the most important challenges of the agricultural sector in the Carletonville region. For example, an excess of water after a heavy downpour proved a major problem for irrigation farmers as water from, especially the roads, would dam up on irrigation land. Subsequently, in 1954, the 'Waaksaamheidskomitee' of Welverdiend suggested that canals be built in which the storm water could be led to the farm Varkenslaagte.[139]

In 1957, the draining of underground water by local gold mines began to show warning signs above ground. After this, the sustainability of irrigation farms next to the fountains took a drastic dive.[140] It reached a critical point when the fountains on the farm, Oog van Wonderfontein

[137] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: memoirs, J.F. Oosthuizen, pp. 2, 4, 15.3.1989 and Ref. 2: questionnaire, E.S. van Eeden/ J.F. Oosthuizen, 13.4.1989.
[138] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, Minutes: minute, 20.06.1957 and 17.1.1958.
[139] Department of Roads (Potchefstroom), file P89/1-DP071-23/21/P89-1, Provincial road P89/1: letter, Road inspector, Potchefstroom/District engineer, Potchefstroom, 12.11.1952, and Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file T1/31, Pretorius township: letter, Oberholzer Irrigation Board/Health Board for Peri Urban areas, 2.2.1954. It appears that this suggestion was not executed.
[140] J.F. Womarans, *Die ontwatering van die dolomietgebied aan die Verre Wes-Rand:…,* p.13 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), ref. 1: memorandum, Oberholzer Irrigation Board submitted to the Select Committee Water Bill, 1960 (Document collection Dr E.J. Stoch).

dried up.[141] Cattle farmers who also participated in irrigation farming activities, mainly to ensure their feeding rations, would also be drastically affected.

Other challenges that farmers experienced in the 1950s included stock disease, as mentioned earlier, such as measles among pigs and venereal diseases called *Evaginates* and *Epididymitis* among cattle.[142] The 1957 drought challenged maize farmers,[143] and plagues such as the 1958 caterpillar worm plague, which was probably the worst.[144] The productivity of both cattle farmers and mealie farmers was negatively affected as a result of these respective plagues.

Another challenge that farmers faced in the 1950s was the absence of electricity. This infrastructural comfort was reserved for the townsfolk of the area,[145] a handicap that was only erased in the late 1960s.[146]

In 1959, the Oberholzer Farmers' Association suggested that a fresh produce market should be established. The first City Council supported the idea and agreed.[147] Further actions took so long that the idea of a market did not materialise in the 1950s,[148] which negatively affected the local economy.

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[141] Also see this chapter, section 3.5, pp.90-91.
[142] Nedbank Archives, MP, Vol. 17, Wonderfontein algemene correspondentie, staten, schetsen ens., 1952-1957: letter, Managing Director, Vreeniging ZASM/Dr. U von Backström, 13.8.1954 and report on the milk herd, veterinary investigation, 8.7.1954.
[143] Nedbank Archives, Economische Ontwikkeling (EO), Vol 11, files 102-108, Economische Rapporten: economic overviews of the Carletonville branch, reports, 31.12.1957 – 31.1.1958.
[144] Nedbank Archives, EO, Vol. 11, files 102-108, Economische Rapporten: economic overviews of the Carletonville branch, reports, 31.3.1958 — 30.6.1958.
[145] Unie van Suid-Afrika, *Debatte van die Volksraad,* 21.5.1951, columns 7300-7301 and Carletonville (Municipality), CM, Council minutes: minutes, 31.7.1959 to 10.12.1959.
[146] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: memoirs, J.F. Oosthuizen, 15.3.1989, and Ref. 2: questionnaire, E.S. van Eeden/J.F. Oosthuizen, 13.4.1989 and Ref. 1: minutes, Die Panne-Boerevereniging: minutes, 1959-1968.
[147] TAD, MCV, file 58/1, Mark: letter, Town Engineer/Newcombe, 10.8.1959 and letter, Oberholzer-Boerevereniging/City Council, 18.2.1960.
[148] TAD, MCV, file 58/1, Mark: letter, City Council /Oberholzer-Boerevereniging, 30.3.1960.

Despite all the challenges, the Oberholzer agricultural sector had survived and was ready to tackle the 1960s.[149] It also seemed as though the mining industry was to the advantage of agriculture. However, the water problem that became a crisis in the late 1950s was a precursor to the first real negative impact of the mining industry on agriculture.

3.5 THE STATE OF THE AGRICULTURAL SECTOR DURING THE LANDSLIDE CRISIS, 1960-1972

Despite the uncertain and unstable period, the accompanying landslide crisis and its impact on the Carletonville region's agricultural activities after 1960,[150] the effects on production outputs by 1972 are difficult to measure.[151] The near-total loss of the Oberholzer Farmers Association and the RDLU's minutes, as well as the closure of Die Panne for about four years from 1967, makes it difficult to reconstruct the agricultural sector's activities during the landslide years.[152] Although the local agricultural industry was affected by dewatering and landslides, the development of some farms was only partly delayed.

3.5.1 Cattle farming industry

3.5.1.1 Cattle and sheep farming

As in the 1950s, the cattle and sheep farming industries experienced growth in the 1960s in the Oberholzer district. In 1963-1964, the cattle numbered 5,525, of which 3,451 were used for milk production and 2,074 for meat production, indicating that milk production continued to dominate.[153]

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[149] Republic of South Africa, Bureau of Census and Statistics, report no. 33, *Agrculture and livestock production and sugar cane, wood and wattle plantations, 1958-59,* 1959, pp. 66,87.
[150] See section 3.5.3.1, pp. 84-91 in this chapter.
[151] See section 3.7, pp. 104-105 in this chapter.
[152] See *Chapter* 3.3, p. 60 and footnote reference 47 of this chapter.
[153] Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics, Agricultural census no. 38, report no. 06-01- 03, *Report on agriculture, livestock production and wood and wattle plantations, 1963-64,* 1964, p. 172.

Since then, the number of cattle increased,[154] that by 1967-1968, some 6,819 heads of cattle were present in the district.[155] In 1970, the agricultural activities on Bank, however, disturbed the growth pattern because the number of cattle, which counted 7,536,[156] had decreased by 1971-1972.[157]

The growth pattern in the sheep farming industry in the 1960s varied. The number of sheep present in the region during 1965-1966, counted 2,945[158] but decreased to 1,883 in the following year,[159] to increase again in 1967-1968 to 2,565.[160] In 1972, the number of sheep present in the region was 1,980.[161] This was a sharp decline of 1,020 sheep in comparison with the statistics of 1970-1971.[162] Because these were not woolled sheep, it can be deduced that nearly all the sheep in the Oberholzer district were kept for slaughtering purposes.

As a result of the slow increase in fresh meat production, due to the competitive market outside the Carletonville area, the number of butcheries remained the same during the 1960s. By 1972, the abattoir that had been foreseen earlier had also not yet materialised.[163]

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[154] Republic of South Africa, Bureau for Statistics, Agricultural census no. 40, report no. 06-01-02, *Summary of the most important statistics on agriculture and livestock production, 1965-66,* 1966, p.15 and Agricultural census no. 41, report no. 06-01-04, *Report on agriculture and livestock production, 1966-67,* 1967, p. 23.
[155] Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics, Agricultural census no. 42, report no. 06-01- 05, *Summary of the most important statistics on agriculture and livestock production 1967-68,* 1968, p.49.
[156] Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics, Agricultural census no. 44, report no. 06-01- 08, *Report on agriculture and livestock production, 1971-72,* 1971, part 2, p. 9.
[157] Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics, Agricultural census no. 44, report no. 06-01- 08, *Verslag oor landbou- en veeteeltproduksie, 1971-72,* 1972, p. 143.
[158] Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics, Agricultural census no. 40, report no. 06-01- 02, *Summary of the most important statistics on agriculture and livestock production 1965-66,* 1966, p.34.
[159] Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics, Agricultural census no. 41, report no. 06-01- 04, *Verslag oor landbou- en veeteeltproduksie, 1966-67,* 1967, p. 23.
[160] Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics, Agricultural census no. 42, report no. 06-01- 05, *Summary of the most important statistics on agriculture and livestock production, 1967-68,* 1968, p.49.
[161] Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics, Agricultural census no. 45, report no. 06-01- 09, *Report on agriculture and livestock production, 1971-72,* 1972, p. 143.
[162] Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics, Agricultural census no. 44, report no. 06-01- 08, *Report on agriculture and livestock production, 1971-72,* 1971, part 2, pp. 57,68.
[163] Carletonville (Municipality), Council minutes: minutes, 1959-1972.

3.5.1.2 The pork farming industry

In the 1960s, the pork industry in the Oberholzer district appeared more promising than any other cattle farming. In 1967, the number of pigs in the region totalled 6,876,[164] and by 1968, it increased further to a phenomenal 8,635.[165] The pig farmer J.E. Hommes sent his son to Europe to gather information on the most modern breeding houses and equipment for his piggery in Oberholzer. In this manner, Hommes would become the largest producer of bacon at a much lower price in South Africa.[166]

At the beginning of the 1970s, the future for pork farmers in the region, contrary to the rest of the cattle industry, looked bleak.[167] The evacuation of Bank was one of the main reasons, as the number of pigs decreased by more than half to 4,461 by 1971.[168] A further setback followed in 1972 when Hommes ended his connection with the area and closed his piggery, due to the quality of the water holes and the landslides.[169] The influence of his decision is clear when the number of pigs that remained in the area, i.e., 2,186, is considered.[170]

3.5.1.3 Poultry farming

Little is known of the few poultry farmers in the 1960s. It appears that the same farmers who became active on this terrain in the 1950s excelled in the following decade.[171]

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[164] Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics, Agricultural census no. 41, report no. 06-01- 04, *Report on agriculture and livestock production, 1966-67,* 1967, p. 28.
[165] Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics, Agricultural census no. 42, report no. 06-01- 05, *Summary of the most important stastics on agriculturs and livestock production, 1967-68,* 1968, p. 49.
[166] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 2: letter, J.E. Hommes/Far West Rand Dolomitic Water Association, 8.5.1968.
[167] See section 3.5.3.1, pp. 84-91 of this chapter.
[168] Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics, Agricultural census no. 44, report no. 06-01- 08, *Report on agriculture and livestock production, 1970-71,* 1971, p. 79.
[169] See section 3.5.3.1, pp. 84-91 of this chapter for a detailed discussion regarding the quality of the water and the landslides.
[170] Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics, Agricultural census no. 45, report no. 06-01- 09, *Report on agriculture and livestock production, 1971-72,* 1972, p. 154.
[171] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, G.G. Toxopeüs, 3.3.1989. Agricultural Statistics of the 1960s do not mention the position of poultry farming in South Africa.

In 1970 — 1971, there were 13,121 chickens in the region,[172] and they further increased to 14,139 in 1972.[173] Why poultry farming in Oberholzer 'escaped' the landslide crisis is not certain. The fact that landslides did not 'terrorise' Carletonville and Bank,[174] and that the larger part of the district was not influenced at all, could probably explain this.

3.5.2 Crops

Regarding the production of crops in the Oberholzer district during the landslide crisis, certain activities are prominent. Some of the first issues that enjoyed preference in the 1960s were constructing market facilities and a silo. The City Council took the lead regarding the market after receiving the farmers' representations. They approached surrounding markets to determine which facilities would be most appropriate for the Carletonville region. The outcome of the investigation, however, indicated that the financial risk of a complete market would be too high, after which the establishment of a 'farmers' market' was considered as an alternative. For this purpose, the City Council provided R800,000 for the construction of a lean-to with stalls, the necessary ablution facilities and parking.[175]

Messrs Cooper and Pretorius from Roodepoort had experience in markets and were approached to assist in drafting plans and providing advice regarding the proposed Carletonville market. They would also become the first lessees.[176] Although the possibilities for future extensions were also considered, the building of the market never materialised. In May 1966, the City Council claimed that there were no possibilities for a fully-fledged market as local producers produced seasonal crops. The consumer, on the other hand

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[172] Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics, Agricultural Census no. 44, report no. 06-01- 08, *Report pn agricultura and livestock production, 1970-71,* 1971, p. 102.
[173] Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics, Agricultural Census no. 45, report no. 06-01- 09, *Report on Agriculture and livestock production, 1971-72,* 1972, p. 154.
[174] See *Chapter Two*, pp. 32-37.
[175] TAD, MCV, file 58/1, market: letter, Nurcombe, Summerley, Ringrose and Todd/Peri Urban Areas Health Board, 25.10.1960; Carletonville (Municipality), CM, Council minutes: Minutes, 29.5.1961; *West Rand Times en Wesrander,* 14.7.1961, p. 7 and *Die Potchefstroom Nuus/News*, 2.12.1960, p. 2.
[176] TAD, MCV, file 58/1, market: excerpt from the minutes of the City Council, 4.10.1961 and 26.10.1961 and *West Rand Times en Wesrander,* 16.2.1962, p. 3.

had more comprehensive and continuous needs. It appeared that some peddlers already served this market, and the farmers never received a market.[177]

During the first few years of the 1960s, Oberholzer district's mentioned seasonal crops, especially mealies and corn, showed much promise due to the continuing rains.[178] In 1963-1964, 46,593 kg of mealies and 597 kg of corn were produced.[179] Despite the drought that struck the region by 1965,[180] the production of mealies and corn increased respectively by 53,220 kg and 2,501 kg.[181] The fact that production of these crops steadily increased in 1971,[182] despite setbacks, evacuation of the region, and water problems, must be ascribed to the persistence of the farmers outside the municipal area in the Oberholzer district.

This increase in the grain supply contributed to the need to replace the grain store with a local silo.[183] Initially, Welverdiend and Bank were considered for this purpose, but Oberholzer was the final choice of most farmers[184] SENWESKO's other projects during the 1960s, however, depleted their funds to such an extent that the construction of a silo for Oberholzer was temporarily placed on hold and was only mentioned again in 1970 when the Government an amount of R40 million for the construction of silos in South Africa. Two silos were approved for Oberholzer and Bank.[185] The dewatering of the Bank compartment mentioned earlier, which eventually resulted in the buyout of the farmers, was probably the reason that Bank was never considered.

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[177] *Herald vir die Goue Weste*, 27.5.1966, p. 1.
[178] *Die Potchefstroom Nuus/News,* 16.12.1960, p. 2 and *Potchefstroom Herald*, 13.1.1961, p. 6, as well as 26.1.1962, p. 7.
[179] Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics, Agricultural Census no. 38, report no. 06-01- 03, *Report on agriculture and livestock production and wood and wattle plantations, 1963-64,* 1964, pp. 27, 84.
[180] See section 3.5.3.2, pp. 92-93 of this chapter.
[181] Republic of South Africa, Bureau for Statistics, Agricultural Census no. 40, report no. 06-01-02, *OSummary of the most important statistics on agriculture and livestock production, 1956-66,* 1966, p. 9.
[182] See Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics, Agricultural Census no. 44, report no. 06-01-08, *Report on agriculture and livestock production, 1970-71,* 1971, pp. 117, 128.
[183] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, H.F. du Plessis, P. Swanepoel and J. Kock, 19.4.1989, as well as Ref. 1: Minutes, Die Panne-Boerevereniging: minute, 16.10.1961; 28.10.1963 and 11.5.1965.
[184] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, H.F. du Plessis, P. Swanepoel and J. Kock, 19.4.1989, as well as Ref. 1: minutes, Die Panne-Boerevereniging: minutes, 15.10.1965.
[185] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: minutes, Die Panne-Boerevereniging: minute, 15.10.1965, as well as 5.3.1970 and 8.8.1972.

After 1972, the construction of the Oberholzer silo gained momentum.[186]

3.5.3 Challenges

3.5.3.1 Dewatering and landslides

Water crises, together with landslides, were probably the prickliest challenges experienced in the Oberholzer district's agricultural history. Although the water problem received prominent attention in the 1960s, slumbering incidents in this regard had already taken place in the 1950s. The building of canals and even dams was suggested to contain the water. The Oberholzer Irrigation Council did not want to take any actions at that stage, as the future management of underground water by the mining sector was unclear.[187]

In November 1960, shortly before the so-called Interdepartmental Committee regarding dolomitic mine water in the Far West Rand reported on the water situation in this region, natural underground water flow at Wonderfontein, dried up due to dewatering. The water, which was pumped out by the Wes Driefontein mine, was transferred by canals to the local Irrigation Board, which had to distribute it to farmers. From the Interdepartmental Committee's report, it was clear that the dewatering of the Oberholzer Compartment in its entirety was the Committee's suggestion. The continued gold mining activities as an indispensable economic source of income for the country were provided as a reason for the suggestion.[188]

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[186] TAD, MCV, file 88/1, Railway facilities: extracts from minutes of the Management Committee, 8.5.1973 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: minutes, Die Panne-Boerevereniging: minutes, 8.8.1972.
[187] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: extracts from minutes, Oberholzer Irrigation Board: n.d. (Document collection Dr E.J. Stoch).
[188] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: final report, Interdepartmental Committee on Dolomitic Mine Water Far West Rand, November 1960, pp. 5, 9, 22 (Document collection Dr E.J. Stoch) and J.F. Wolmarans, *Die ontwatering van die dolomietgebied aan die Verre Wes-Rand:…,* p. 22.

The Committee also reported that a dewatered compartment could impact the agricultural sector in two ways. Firstly, the irrigation area could be expanded by pumping the water from the canals, making distribution easier. Should the amount of water transferred by the canals decrease due to increased use by the mines, it would be to the farmers' detriment. According to the report, it would also not be possible for farmers to switch from irrigation to dry-land farming, as most of the irrigation farms were too small to be economically viable units for dry-land farming. Secondly, it was argued that the withdrawal of water could lead to boreholes drying up.[189] This happened even before the report was made known.[190] The report also expressed the opinion that under such circumstances, especially the milk farmers could be destroyed. Another, more expensive source of water supply to save the situation was apparently possible. Another possibility was to buy out the farmers. The Interdepartmental Committee suggested that under these circumstances, compensation should exceed the agricultural value of the land.[191]

Institutions concerned with the water issues, such as the Irrigation Committee and the Combined Committee regarding dewatering, thought that the Interdepartmental Committee's suggestions provided the best solutions for the sensitive water issues in the Carletonville region.[192] In 1963, the Combined Committee supported the Interdepartmental Committee's recommendations regarding the entire dewatering of the Oberholzer compartment. The Combined Committee determined guidelines for compensation, and the establishment of a dolomitic water council was recommended.[193] The water council was established on 26 January 1964.[194] The Dolomitic Water Council asked farmers who suffered losses as a result

[189] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: final report, Interdepartmental Committee…, pp. 9, 12, 15 (Document collection Dr E.J. Stoch).
[190] J.F. Wolmarans, *Die ontwatering van die dolomietgebied aan die Verre Wes-Rand*:…, pp. 22-23.
[191] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: final report, Interdepartmental Committee…, pp. 17, 18, 28 (Document collection Dr E.J. Stoch).
[192] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: memorandum, Joint Committee Representative of the Government of the RSA and the Transvaal and Orange Free State Chamber of Mines, 2.12.1963 and excerpts from minutes, Oberholzer Irrigation Council n.d. (Document collection Dr E.J. Stoch).
[193] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: memorandum, Joint Committee…, 2.12.1963 (Document collection Dr E.J. Stoch).
[194] Carletonville (PU for CHE) Ref. 1, constitution, Far West Rand Dolomitic Water Association, 26.1.1964 (Document collection Dr E.J. Stoch)

of water shortages to submit claims.[195] As a result of the landslides that also appeared in the Oberholzer district's irrigation area, the State Technical Committee was established in August 1964 to advise the Dolomitic Water Council, among others.[196]

Following the landslide incident at Blyvooruitzicht in August 1964, it seemed as though the farmers' fears had increased, leaving them panic-stricken.[197] By 1966, the State Technical Committee suggested that some families in the Rooipoort region evacuate their farms. This included the Nortjés, who had to end their lengthy connection with Rooipoort in this manner.[198] Mr P.M.K. le Roux, Minister of Water Affairs, assured farmers that they would be compensated for their losses.

Farmers in the irrigation area were also promised they would be bought out due to the water shortage. Should the rest of the farm not form an economic unit, that section would also be bought out.[199] Water provision by water canals was already receiving attention to ensure the sustainability of normal irrigation farmers' activities.[200]

Frustration and unhappiness of some of the irrigation farmers ran high amidst all these assurances. Mining activities were identified as the only reason for the landslides, which negatively influenced the future of agriculture. It was the principles according to which the compensations occurred that caused unhappiness. Apparently, the expensive family farms, contrary to the increase in land prices countrywide, barely had any value. Consequently, these farmers could not convert their investments into cash to find a similar home elsewhere. A water shortage was the irrigation farmers' other frustration

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[195] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: memorandum, TLU Dolomitic Advisory Board, 16.51968 (Document collection, Dr E.J. Stoch).
[196] Carletonville Herald, 21.8.1964, p. 1. Also see *Chapter Two*, pp.34-35.
[197] *Sunday Times,* 24.10.1964, p. 1; J.F. Wolmarans, *Die ontwatering van die dolomietgebied aan die Verre Wes-Rand:…,* pp. 99,103 and Carletonville (PU vir CHO), n.d. 1: memorandum, RDLU and Oberholzer-Boerevereniging, 17.2.1966 (Document collection, Dr E.J. Stoch).
[198] *Die Vaderland,* 3.2.1966, p. 1.
[199] *Die Transvaler,* 22.2.1966, p. 1.
[200] *Herald vir die Goue Weste*, 26.11.1965, p. 1.

The disruption caused by the landslides affected the economic profitability of the irrigation farmers and irrigation farms because:

* Slopes changed overnight.
* Cracks appeared, making irrigation impossible and dangerous.
* Underground water was no longer available for irrigation purposes during the dry seasons.[201]

Approximately 200 irrigation farmers' activities were affected by the problem mentioned above. The depleted water supplies especially had a devastating effect on the Oberholzer Irrigation Council. Mining activities managed by this council decreased to such an extent that the financial implications and administrative burden became too much. Subsequently, in 1966, the Minister of Water Affairs relieved the Oberholzer Irrigation Council of its duties for three years and appointed a few officials to take care of the basic responsibilities in the meantime.[202]

By 1966, mines in the region had already supplied water for personal use to some 30 farmers whose boreholes had dried up.[203] Water was also made available on a limited scale for irrigation purposes. As was expected, a constant flow of water through the mine canal could not be sustained as a high quota of water was used by some on certain days. This challenge was addressed to treat all consumers equally. Attention was also paid to the extension of the mine canal in the Bank and Wonderfontein areas. As a result, the Chamber of Mines opined that local farmers should have a good winter season and that it would probably not be necessary for the Dolomitic Water Council to compensate farmers who suffered crop losses because of drought.[204]

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[201] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: memorandum, RDLU and Oberholzer-Boerevereniging, 17.2.1966 (Document Collection Dr E.J. Stoch).
[202] *Die Transvaler,* 5.2.1966, p. 1 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 2: letter, Secretary of Water Affairs/The Transvaalse Landbou-Unie, 26.6.1968 (Document collection, Dr E.J. Stoch).
[203] *Carletonville Herald,* 18.2.1966, p. 5 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: memoirs, G. Hommes, 29.11.1988.
[204] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 2: letter, Transvaal and Orange Free State Chamber of Mines/Far West Rand Dolomitic Water Association, 13.4.1966 (Document collection, Dr E.J. Stoch).

However, 1966 appeared to have been a mostly dry year, and some farmers suffered damage.[205] On top of that, some farmers' crops were devastated by an unexpected rainstorm in November.[206] At the initiative of the Oberholzer Boerevereniging, a committee, the Transvaalse Landbou-Unie (TLU) Advisory Committee, which had been established in April 1966, was revived to assist farmers in drafting compensation claims such as these. Mr A.D. Niemand was the first chairman of the Advisory Committee.[207]

In 1976, the Advisory Committee also noted the market value of Agricultural land in the Oberholzer district, as farmers were dissatisfied with the valuations of the land done by the Dolomitic Water Council.[208] Certain cases that were not solved and others that were rejected were also investigated.[209] The Committee also investigated farmers' complaints that, among others, the Wes Driefontein mine dumped polluted water containing dangerous mineral elements such as boron and aluminium into the irrigation canals.[210] This investigation resulted in a wide reaction.[211]

Some farmers insinuated that the pollution affected the region's fauna and flora. Examples were plentiful: the abnormal absence of seeds during the harvesting of buckwheat, maize, and corn; heavy pigmentation of grass and clover planted for fodder purposes; an abnormal number of deaths, miscarriages, and deformities among goats and pigs.[212] The consequence was a deputation of

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[205] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: old claims not solved, purchases, 1966-1968 (Document collection, Dr E.J. Stoch).
[206] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, Council minutes: minutes, 8.11.1966 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, Dr E.J. Stoch, 19.4.1989.
[207] Carletonville (PU for CHO), Ref. 1: minutes, TLU-Advisory Committee for the Far West Rand dolomitic region: minutes 19.4.1966. A few names of claimants whom the Advisory Committee managed are mentioned in the minutes of 5.9.1966, and in a notice of 20.4.1966 (Document collection, Dr E.J. Stoch).
[208] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: minutes, TLU-Advisory Committee…: minute, 26.4.1967.
[209] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 2: letter, Transvaal and Orange Free State Chamber of Mines/E.J. Stoch, 1.5.1967 (Document collection Dr E.J. Stoch).
[210] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref 1: minutes TLU-Advisory Committee…: minute, 26.4.1967; 27.10.1967; 1.11.1967 and 3.11.1967.
[211] Compare the articles that appeared in the following newspapers: *Die Transvaler,* 4.11.1967, p. 2; *Sondagstem,* 22.10.1967, pp. 1, 3; *Die Vaderland,* 3.11.1967, p.1 and *Carletonville Nuus,* 9.11.1967, p. 1.
[212] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 2: letter, J.E. Hommes/Far West Rand Dolomitic Water Association, 11.10.1967 and ref. 1: memoirs, G. Hommes, 29.11.1988, Ref. 1: minutes, TLU Advisory Committee…: minutes, 26.4.1967, as well as 27.10.1967 and 15.2.1968 (Document collection, Dr E.J. Stoch).

the Advisory Committee to the Minister of Mining and Planning is to appoint a commission to investigate the so-called water pollution. [213]

The 1968 water pollution investigations indicated an extreme calcium shortage in the water, which could have caused the bad harvest and poor cattle breeding in 1967. It was speculated that some minerals and radioactive isotopes might have harmed the calcium content of the water.[214] In November 1968, Lever's Stock Feeds Propriety Limited from Boksburg, analysed the water used on J.E. Hommes' farm and found that, except for a high boron concentration, the water was pure. Lever ascribed Hommes' problems with his piggery to this.[215] The Investigation Commission could not find any clear-cut proof for these abnormalities. The TLU Advisory Committee was not satisfied and insisted that the Commission make all its findings public. This did not happen.[216] It appears that this difficult situation died a silent death after 1968.

In the meantime, the irrigation farmers suggested that the Wes Driefontein gold mine should pump water from the Bank Compartment directly to the Bank canal and not through the mine

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[213] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: minutes, TLU Advisory committee…: notice of an appointment of an Advisory Committee member on the Investigation Commission, 17.11.1967.
[214] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: memorandum, TLU Advisory committee, 3.11.1968 (Document collection, Dr E.J. Stoch). Apparently, high phosphate is also present in the Oberholzer region. It could harm the osmotic process of crops due to the high salt content. See Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: telephonic information regarding excerpts from Mr M. Vorster's report regarding the geo-hydrology of the Wonderfontein region from Dr Bredenkamp, Department of Geo-hydrology, Pretoria, 10.8.1989.
[215] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 2: letter, Lever's Stock Feeds Pty. Ltd./J.E. Hommes, 1.11.1968 (Document collection, Dr E.J. Stoch). At this stage, there was talk that water pollution also affected the residents who drank it. See Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview E.J. Stoch, 19.4.1989, and *Herald vir die Goue Weste,* 29.11.1968, p. 1.
[216] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: minutes, TLU Advisory committee…: minute, 2.12.1968.

plant's pipeline.[217] This was also not done, and in any event, by 1968, the level of the Bank-source was sagging drastically.[218]

Amidst the events surrounding Bank's source, some local farmers decided to leave the area voluntarily. The scarcity of water, the struggle with the mines over suggested pollution and the impoverishment of the once-rich underground water sources simply became too much for some farmers. This negative attitude was encouraged by the previous year's crop failures and loss of cattle, which were also ascribed to the situation. Financial losses accrued, and the Dolomitic Water Board was reproached for their strict selection before approval of payouts for compensation.[219]

Although the Government was sympathetic towards the irrigation farmers of the Oberholzer district's challenges as they surfaced in 1967 and 1968, the farmers required more aid and State involvement, according to the Advisory Committee. Farmers looked to the authorities for protection against mine management that could exploit them because of their bad financial position due to circumstances.[220] The farmers also asked the Government to update water legislation, as it did not provide for the protection of underground water rights.[221] Regarding the latter, the Deputy Minister of Water Affairs, Mr S.P. Botha, gave the assurance that this matter was receiving attention.[222]

An unexpected water inflow from the Wes Driefontein mine on 26 October 1968 had far-reaching results for the Bank source.[223] The State and the mine authorities saw the only solution as the systematic dewatering of the Bank Compartment. On 26 December of that year, a permit was submitted to the Wes and Oos Driefontein mine, containing prerequisites and conditions regarding the dewatering of underground water at Bank.

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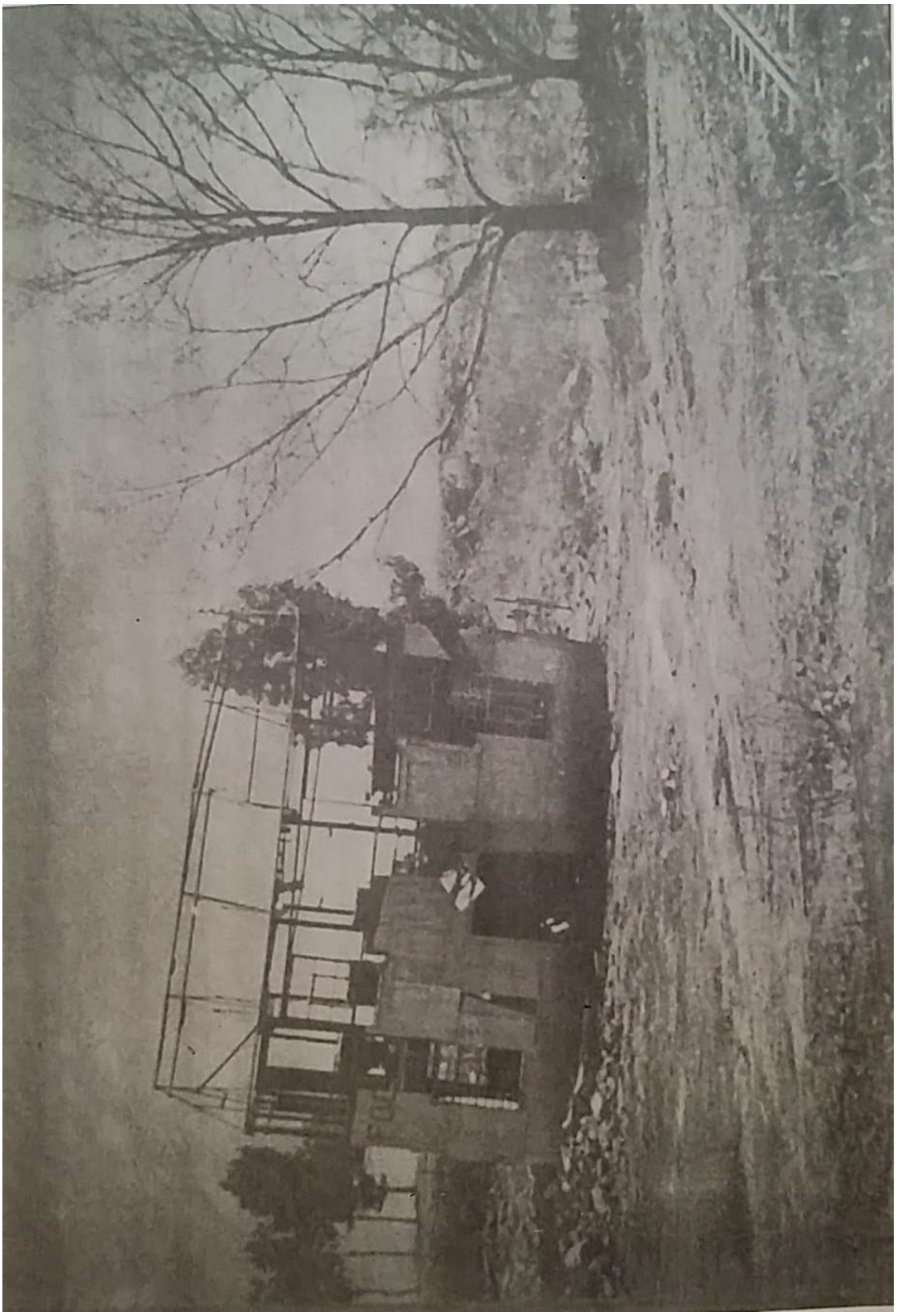
[217] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: minutes, TLU Advisory Committee…: minutes, 15.2.1968.
[218] *The Star,* 13.3.1968, p. 1.
[219] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: memorandum, TLU Advisory Committee, 16.5.1968 (Document Collection Dr E.J. Stoch) and *The Star*, 13.3.1968, p. 1.
[220] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: memorandum, TLU Advisory Committee, 16.5.1968 (Document Collection Dr E.J. Stoch).
[221] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: memorandum, TLU Congress, Discussion point, May 1968 (Document Collection, Dr E.J. Stoch).
[222] Die Landbouweekblad, 21.5.1968, p. 20.
[223] J.F. Wolmarans, *Die ontwatering van die dolomietgebied aan die Verre Wes-Rand*:…, p. 170.

Some of the first landslides in the Wonderfontein Spruit near maize fields north of Bank Station, 1970



Source: Dr. J.F. Wolmarans.

The decay of the Bank roller mill by 1976



Source: Dr. J.F. Wolmarans.

Both accepted it, and a permit was issued on 26 September 1969.[224] Subsequently, the Bank source followed in the footsteps of the Wonderfontein source's dewatering, and ten years and three months later, gave way to gold mine development.[225]

Due to the Bank compartment's dewatering, local farmers were caught up in an economic struggle by 1970. Dewatering caused so many landslides in the region that farming was no longer sustainable. Bank's farmers were obliged to evacuate their farms, after which the Dolomitic Water Council bought them out.[226] The agricultural sector in the Oberholzer region was dealt a heavy blow as the number of farmers and farms decreased drastically.[227]

A new procedure regarding the buying out of property by the Council, which involved three specialists, seemed more satisfactory by 1970. The remuneration amounts for farms were generally regarded as reasonable and acceptable.[228] As a result of the more amicable circumstances, the activities of the TLU Advisory Committee unofficially came to an end in 1970.[229]

The Government also assured the irrigation farmers of the Oberholzer district that renewed attention would be given to the construction of canals. It was also envisaged that the flood water from the Vaal River would, in future, be pumped into the dewatered compartments so that it could be utilised during droughts.[230]

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[224] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: opinion, 1969, pp. 1-23, as well as a memorandum regarding suggested permits for the dewatering of the Bank Compartment to Minister S.P. Botha, 29.10.1969 (Document collection, Dr E.J. Stoch).
[225] On 1 December 1969, the Bank's source was literally dry. See J.F. Wolmarans, *Die ontwatering van die dolomietgebied aan die Verre Wes-Rand:…,* p. 170.
[226] *The Star,* 3.3.1970, p. 1.
[227] See section 3.2.1, p. 54 of this chapter.
[228] *Die Transvaler,* 3.8.1974, p. 2; Carletonville (PU for CHE), ref. 3: interview, A.J. Buys, 17.2.1989 and Dr E.J. Stoch (farmer and businessman, Carletonville), 27.6.1990.
[229] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, Dr E.J. Stoch, 27.6.1990.
[230] *Die Burger,* 19.3.1970, p. 3.

3.5.3.2 General

The first drought to hit the Oberholzer district in the 1960s was in 1964. Subsequently, the sowing of mealies was late, and a good maize crop was out of the question.[231] The drought continued into 1965, and the year's crop prospects for Oberholzer were up to 30% lower than in 1964. Naturally, the region's dairy industry was also severely struck by the drought as fodder was scarce. The Oberholzer-Boerevereniging established a fodder bank to provide farmers with all types of available fodder. In the following years, more attention was paid to the production of fodder crops, probably to prevent a repeat of the fodder scarcity during the drought. In 1964-1965, 3,383 tons of lucerne and teff were produced in the Oberholzer district,[232] and by 1972, the combined teff and lucerne production totalled 6,003 tons.[233] Some farmers, however, had so much debt that they were forced to find refuge elsewhere.[234]

This debt situation was the motivation behind J.C. Greyling, Councillor for Carletonville's parliamentary speech in August 1966 regarding the financing and credit extension to farmers, in which he pleaded for improved financing and remuneration packages for farmers.[235] The South Western Transvaal region made similar representations to the Prime Minister.[236] During 1967, the climate improved to such an extent that a record maize crop was achieved. The results would even have been better had lice and the American bollworm not caused so much damage.[237]

In the spring and summer of 1969, the Carletonville region was badly damaged by the floods. Ironically enough, amidst the dewatering of the Bank Compartment mentioned above. A few farmers, i.e., A.J. Buys, suffered a great loss as a

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[231] *Carletonville Herald*, 4.12.1964, p. 1.
[232] Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics, Agricultural Census no. 39, report no. 06-01- 07, Report on agriculture and livestock production, *1964-65,* 1965, part 2, p. 278.
[233] Republiek of South Africa, Department of Statistics, Agricultural Census no. 45, report no. 06-01-09, R*eport on agriculture and livestock production, 1971-72,* 1972, pp.132.
[234] *Carletonville Herald*, 26.3.1965, p. 1.
[235] Republic of South Africa, *Debatte van die Volksraad,* 11.8.1966, columns 628-632.
[236] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref 1: minutes, South West Transvaal Region: minutes, 11.2.1967.
[237] *Carletonville Herald*, 3.2.1967, p. 5. The article mentions a record maize crop of 4,000,000 bags. The local SENWESKO branch probably provided the figure. However, it cannot be regarded as a true version of the Oberholzer district's maize crop, as the branch has a much wider service area than merely Oberholzer.

result of the flood damage.[238] Heavy rains continued, and the rainfall figure during April 1970 was three times that of April 1969. Among other things, it guaranteed good winter pastures and good crops.[239] However, cattle diseases and plagues influenced production. Cattle attracted measles, a disease that occurred countrywide, and maize developed leafsmut.[240]

During the early 1970s, the nature of agricultural activities in the Carletonville area changed due to, among others, the Dolomitic Water Council's buyout of land. The polemic regarding the so-called water pollution in 1972 had a run-on effect when Hommes closed his piggery in the Oberholzer district as a result of these challenges. The Dolomitic Water Council bought his farm and was soon let out, as many other farms.[241] The result was an influx of many strangers into the local agricultural sector.

3.6 AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT, 1973-1988: CONSOLIDATING AMIDST CLIMATOLOGICAL AND ECONOMIC CIRCUMSTANCES

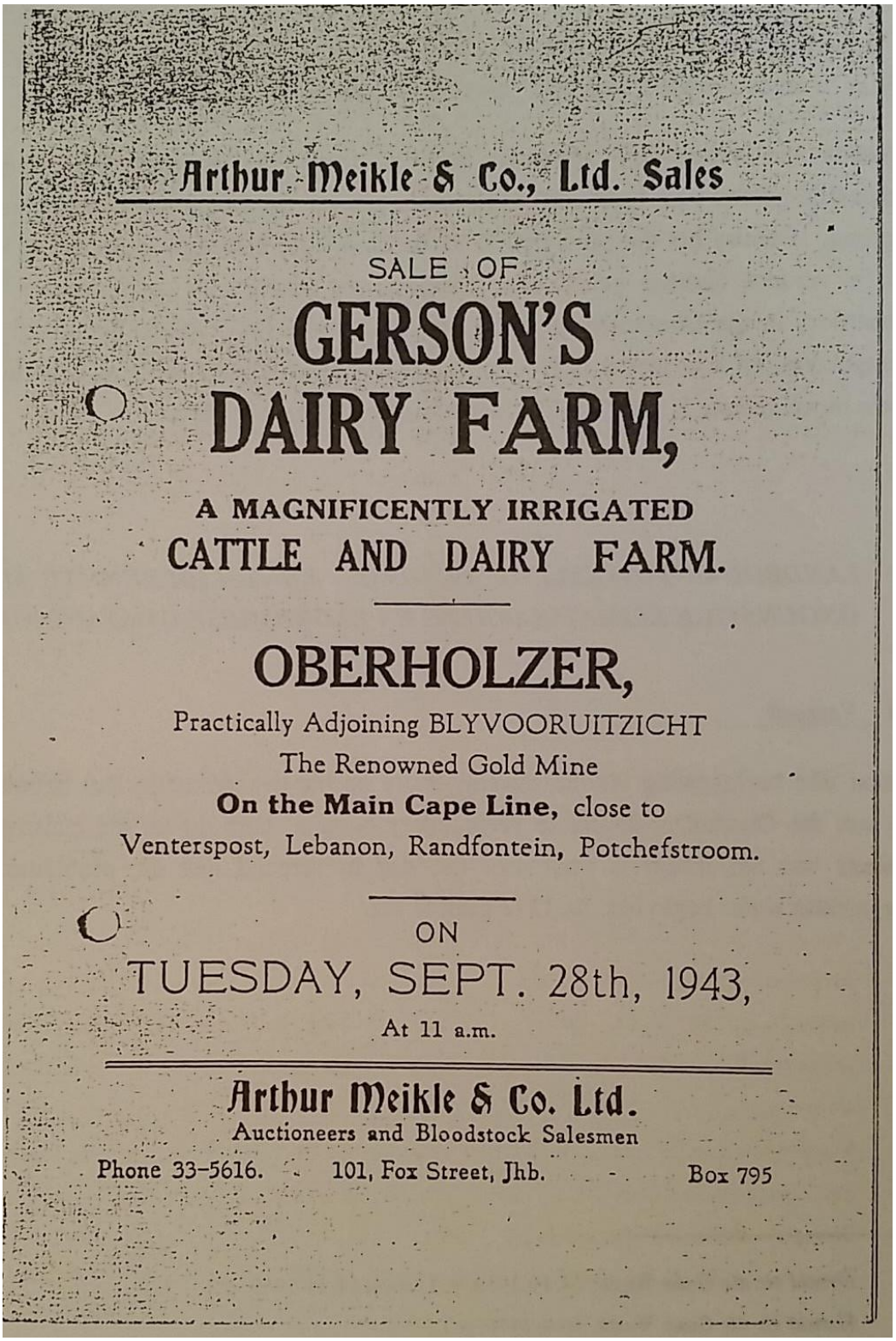
3.6.1 Stockbreeding

Despite few reports on the stance of stockbreeding in the Oberholzer district during the 1970s and 1980s, more favourable statistics available indicated that the problems that started with the underground water had subsided after 1972.

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[238] *Herald vir die Goue Weste,* 24.10.1969, p.1 and 14.11.1969, p.1.
[239] *Herald vir die Goue Weste*, 16.4.1970, p.1.
[240] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: minutes, Die Panne-Boerevereniging: minutes, 25.1.1970 and 11.3.1971.
[241] Carletonville (PU for CHO), Ref. 3: interviews, V. van Aswegen, 3.3.1989 and G.G. Toxopeüs, 3.3.1989, as well as Ref. 1 memoirs, G. Hommes, 29.11.1988.

An advertisement in which one Gerson's dairy farm's position regarding the gold mines and the railway line is pertinently mentioned as being exceptionally economical.



Arthur Meikle & Co., Ltd. Sales

SALE OF

GERSON'S

DAIRY FARM,

A MAGNIFICENTLY IRRIGATED

CATTLE AND DAIRY FARM.

OBERHOLZER,

Practically Adjoining BLYVOORUITZICHT

The Renowned Gold Mine

On the Main Cape Line, close to

Venterspost, Lebanon, Randfontein, Potchefstroom.

ON

TUESDAY, SEPT. 28th, 1943,

At 11 a.m.

Arthur Meikle & Co. Ltd.

Auctioneers and Bloodstock Salesmen

Phone 33-5616. 101, Fox Street, Jhb. Box 795

Advertisement: Nedbank Archives, MP 14.

3.6.1.1 The cattle and sheep industry

The number of cattle in the Oberholzer district increased from 6,586 to 9,684 between 1973 and 1978,[242,] after which it stabilised between 7,000 and 9,000 between 1979 and 1988.[243] During this period, dairy farming was somewhat more popular than the meat industry. Farmers who exclusively focused on stockbreeding were J.H. Erasmus and G. Kluyts van Witdoringboerdery.[244]

The distribution of milk by dairy farmers in the Carletonville municipal region stabilised in the 1980s when National Clover Dairy (NCD) opened a branch in Carletonville in 1984.[245] They managed the packaging and distribution of milk provided by the local dairy farmers. By 1988, local mines were also (consumers) clients of the NCD,[246] while a few individual dairy farmers provided milk to gold mines. Farmers involved in the dairy industry at this stage included J.M.A. Visagie, A.J. du Buys, P.S. Nortjé, J.H. Erasmus, P.J. Niemandt, J. van der Schyff, and the Sanrusmelkery[247] under P.J. Greyling.[248]

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[242] Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics, Agricultural Census no. 46, report no. 06-01-10, Report on agriculture and livestock production*, 1972-73,* 1973, p.142 as well as Agricultural Census no. 47, report no. 06-01-11, Report on agriculture and livestock production,1973-7, 1974, pp. 142; Agricultural Census no. 49, report no. 06-01-13, Report on agriculture and livestock production, 1976, deel 2, 1976, p.11 and report no. 06-01-14, Census of agriculture and livestock production*, 1978,* 1978, p. 167.

[243] Republic of South Africa, Central Statistics Service, report no. 06-01-15, Census of agriculture and livesdtock production, 1979, 1979, p. 167 and report no. 16-01-16, Census of agriculture and livesdtock production, 1980, 1980, p. 135; report no. 06-01-20, Diverse agricultural statistics according to income group and farm size group; expenses, value of farm produce sold and farming debt. *1981,* 1981, p.138 and report no. 11-01-01, Agticultual survey, 1986, 1987, p.148. See also Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, Dr H.H. van Niekerk (Regional Director, Animal Health Highveld region), 28.01.1991.

[244] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, file 17/11/1, Community Services: routine enquiries abattoir, 11.4.1983 — 14.9.1987. Also see maps 3 and 4, pp. 101a and 101b.

[245] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, file 17/1/4/2, Community Services, investigation dairies letter, Health Services, City Council Potchefstroom/Health Services, City Council Carletonville, 16.11.1984.

[246] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, H. Woite (Official, NCD Carletonville), 9.7.1990 and Carletonville Herald, 26.1.1990, pp. 18-19, 23.

[247] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interviews, Dr E.J. Stoch, 9.7.1990 and P.J. Greyling (farmer, Carletonville), 27.7.1990. Greyling mentioned that *Sanus* was derived from his and his spouse's names. i.e., Su*san* and Pet*rus*.

[248] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: minutes, Die Panne-Boerevereniging: minutes, 9.2.1983 and ref. 3: interview, S. van den Heever (Senior Officer, Dolomitic Watter Council Oberholzer), 3.7.1990 and Carletonville (Municipality), CM, file 17/1/4/2, Community Services, investigations into dairies: letter, Health Services, City Council Johannesburg/Health Services City Council Carletonville, 10.4.1986. Also see maps 3 and 4, pp. 101a and 101b.

Since 1973, the number of sheep has increased annually, but has not developed into anything more than for slaughtering purposes. The number of sheep stabilised between 2,000 and 5,000, peaking in 1988 at 4,897 sheep.[249]

3.6.1.2 Poultry farming

In 1972, poultry farming in the Oberholzer district expanded more than any other industry in the region. However, in 1973, the situation changed completely when the number of chickens was 7,821, nearly half of the number present in 1972.[250] The most obvious reason is that poultry farmers left the industry, as was the case with the Toxopeüse, who stopped their farming in the late 1970s.[251] Subsequently, the number of chickens declined further to 5,742 in 1979.[252] Poultry farming is also subject to many inconsistencies due to the apparent easy entry or withdrawal from the poultry industry. Proof of this is the 12,152 chickens that were present in the region in 1980.[253]

The only significant poultry farm in the Oberholzer district in the 1980s was that of Mrs Lynn Gradidge, known as Big G. In 1984, she began farming with about 200 chickens on a plot comprising ten morgen (8,6 ha), and by 1988, there were nearly 10,000 chickens[254] (see maps 2 and 3, pp. 99a and 99b). The chickens were mainly sold to institutions in the Johannesburg region. There were no transport expenses as clients collected the chickens from the farm. Carletonville, Khutsong, and farm stalls were the main markets for the remainder of this farm's egg produce because large poultry farms such as Haagners and Van der

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[249] Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics, Agricultural Census no. 46, report no. 06-01- 10, Report on agriculture and livestock production, 1972-73, 1973, p. 142, as well as report no. 06-01-15, Census of agriculture and livestock production,, 1979, 1979, p. 154 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, Dr H.H. van Niekerk, 28.1.1991.
[250] Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics, Agricultural Census no. 46, report no. 06-01-10, Report on agriculture and livestock production, 1972-73, 1973, p.153.
[251] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, G.G. Toxopeüs, 3.3.1989.
[252] Republic of South Africa, Central Statistics Service, report no. 06-01-15, Census of agriculture and livestock production, 1979, 1979, p. 166.
[253] Republic of South Africa, Central Statistics Service, report no. 06-01-16, Census of agriculture and livestock production, 1980, 1980, p. 135.
[254] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview with Dr H.H. van Niekerk, 28.1.1991, and Mrs L. Gradidge (farmer, Carletonville), 3.7.1990.

Schyff, just outside the western parts of the Carletonville municipal region, served the most clients, like large chain stores, in the area. [255]

3.6.1.3 Pig farming

The downwards trend of the pork industry in the district by 1972, however, showed signs of improvement in the same year. The number of pigs, 3,305 at the time,[256] increased annually to 6,570 pigs in 1981, close to the number of cattle in the district.[257] However, the number of pigs in the region until 1988 never exceeded 7,000 when it stabilised.[258]

Pig farmers in the Oberholzer district in the 1980s included E.J. Stoch, G.G. Toxopeüs, Fred Schnetler, and the Vic van Aswegen partnership, called the Lintia-boerdery.[259] Local pig and other meat farmers mainly supply meat to abattoirs in Krugersdorp (Shamdor), Vereeniging (loading facilities for Kanheim) and Germiston (Kanheim), where marketing and processing are taken care of.[260]

3.6.2 Crops

Agricultural activities in the Oberholzer district were re-awakened when construction of a silo in 1973 in Oberholzer town gained momentum.[261]

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[255] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, Mrs L. Gradidge, 3.7.1990.
[256] Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics, Agricultural Census no. 46, report no. 06-01- 10, Report on agriculture and livestock production*, 1972-73,* 1973, p. 153.
[257] Republic of South Africa, Central Statistics Service, Census of Agriculture, report no. 06-01-19, Livestock and poultry, agricultural machinery, equipment and implements, vehicles and electricity*, 1981,* 1981, pp. 25,36,140.
[258] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, Dr H.H. van Niekerk, 28.1.1991.
[259] *Lintia*-boerdery, the name, is derived from the names of the partners' wives, Linda and Tritia, Dr F. Schnetler and Mr R. Toxopeüs. See Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, V. van Aswegen, 3.3.1989 and maps 3 and 4, pp.101a and 101b.
[260] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, V. van Aswegen, 3.3.1989 and G.G. Toxopeüs, 3.3.1989; P. Holtzhausen, 27.7.1990 and Carletonville (Municipality), CM, file 17/11/1, Community Services: routine enquiries abattoir, 11.4.1983-14.9.1987.
[261] TAD, MCV, file 88/1, Railway facilities: extract, minutes of the Management Committee meeting, 8.5.1973; *Carletonville Herald,* 25.5.1973, p. 10, as well as 22.6.1973, p. 5.

A section of the Oberholzer town with grain silo's in the background, 1979



Source: Gold Fields of South Africa Limited.

On 1 August 1975, the new silo, with a capacity of 850,000 bags and constructed at R 800,000, was inaugurated by the Minister of Agriculture, Mr Hendrik Schoeman.[262] Farmers from as far as Houtkop, southeast of the Carletonville municipal area, have delivered their grain to this silo.[263]

The presence of the silo and a decrease in landslides since the mid-1970s provided a new driving force behind the agricultural activities in the Oberholzer district. The drought and the 1973 cutworm plague that affected maize farmers in the summer,[264] was something of the past by 1975,[265] and the announcement in 1976 that more goldmine companies were to establish in the region resulted in more positive agricultural prices.[266] At that stage, the production of the most important crops was favourable. Some 9,743 tons of maize, 499 tons of sunflower seed, 126 tons of grain sorghum and 84 tons of maize were produced in that year.[267]

For most farmers, 1977 was also a successful crop year.[268] This was also true of the 'agricultural corner' near the sewage farm, which the Carletonville municipality had been managing for several years.[269] However, in the following year, some farmers next to the Wonderfonteinspruit did not experience a successful season due to problems caused by flood and drainage water that damaged their crops.[270] This setback did not affect maize production of 20,886 tons and sunflower seeds, which totalled 381 tons.[271]

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[262] *Carletonville Weekly Record,* 8.5.1975, p. 1 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), ref. 2: questionnaire, J.F. Oosthuizen/E.S. van Eeden, 13.4.1989.
[263] Carletonville (PU for CHO), Ref. 3: interview, H.F. du Plessis, P. Swanepoel and J. Kock, 19.4.1989 and ref. 3: interview, V. van Aswegen, 3.3.1989.
[264] *Carletonville Herald,* 12.1.1973, p.8 as well as 2.2.1973, p. 10.
[265] *Carletonville Weekly Record*, 28.3.1975, p. 1.
[266] *Carletonville Weekly Record*, 27.2.1976, p. 1.
[267] Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics, Agricultural Census no. 49, report no. 06-01-13, Report on agriculture and livestock production part *I 2,* 1976, pp. 6, 12, 30.
[268] *Carletonville Herald*, 16.9.1977, p. 5.
[269] *Carletonville Herald,* 2.12.1977, p. 16.
[270] *Carletonville Herald*, 3.12.1978, p. 5.
[271] Republic of South Africa, Central Statistics Service, report no. 06-01-14, Census of agriculture and livestock production, 1978*,* 1978, pp. 125,113. This census did not provide figures for the maize and grain sorghum production by Oberholzer.

In 1979, agricultural activities and the industry in the district were negatively affected by a terrible drought. Intermittent downpours were experienced, which provided some relief in the district, which was not nearly as badly affected as the rest of South Africa.[272] Production figures for maize (15,172 tons), sunflower seed (348 tons) and grain sorghum (80 tons) reflected the setback.[273]

Against all hope and expectations, drought conditions in South Africa continued after 1980.[274] Fortunately, it did not affect the Oberholzer district so severely. Record crop yields included maize (29,020 tons), sunflower seed (745 tons), grain sorghum (146 tons) and corn (300 tons).[275]

Apart from the financial implications and frustrations of the countrywide drought, it provided perfect opportunities for the outbreak of fires that could cause great damage. In the winter of 1981, the Oberholzer district experienced the outbreak of such fires. According to the Land Conservation Act, such land could only be utilised again after three years following a fire.[276] This obviously affected the agricultural production of the farmers in the region.[277]

Price differences and price hikes of suppliers of farming equipment and supplies, apart from SENWESKO, also led to farmers' discontent.[278] The state of the national economy, unfortunately, prevented any actions in this regard. The RDLU requested the farming associations in the Oberholzer district to provide local solutions for the problem.[279] This was done by organising study groups within the context of the farmers' associations to manage combined purchases to

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[272] Carletonville Weekly Record, 19.1.1979, p.1.
[273] Republic of South Africa, Central Statistics Service, report no. 06-01-15, Census of agriculture and livestock production, 1979*,* 1979, pp. 87, 103, 115.
[274] *Carletonville Herald,* 25.7.1980, p.1 and Anon., "Myne help om water te bespaar", *Die Mynwese,* 3(4), 1983, p. 34.
[275] Republic of South Africa, Central Statistics Service, report no. 06-01-14, Census of agriculture and livestock production*,* 1980, pp.75, 86, 97.
[276] *Carletonville Herald,* 25.6.1981 and 10.7.1981, p. 1.
[277] For a complete discussion of 1981's production figures compared to the rest of South Africa, see section 3.7, pp. 106-107 of this chapter.
[278] Carletonville (PU for CHEO), Ref. 1: minutes, Die Panne-Boerevereniging: minute, 21.11.1978 and 22.5.1981.
[279] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: minutes, RDLU: minute, 9.11.1981.

force prices down.[280] It seems that farmers also compare the prices of consumer articles before purchasing them. In this regard, regular negotiations with the SENWESKO branch took place to ensure that prices for agricultural accessories were not excessively high.[281]

Amidst farmers' attempts to stay afloat, the drought continued into 1983- 1984. Subsequently, the RDLU and the farmers' associations paid prominent attention in their discussions to the lack of grazing land, overgrazing and the farmers' rising debt. Several farmers' credibility had reached an all-time low in 1984. As a result of a lack of money, some had to cut back on labourers and plod along on their own.[282]

In 1985, the crops improved. Maize farmers in the Oberholzer district were, nevertheless, unhappy as the maize price of 1984 was maintained despite the higher input costs in 1985. On 26 April, the councillor of Carletonville, W. Landman, was requested to liaise with the Minister of Agricultural Economy and Water Affairs. Mr G. Wentzel, to negotiate a better price before the farmers would deliver mealies at the Oberholzer grain silo. However, the farmers had to be satisfied with the message that the minister understands their dissatisfaction and that he would consider visiting them on a more suitable day. Although this did not address their unhappiness, little by little, most farmers delivered their crops to the silo.[283]

In 1986, the Department of Agriculture and other related organisations focused on the drought and urgently requested the farmers to take note of the State's National Grazing Strategy to counter the drought.[284] It appears that

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[280] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: minutes, Die Panne-Boerevereniging: minute, 22.5.1981.
[281] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: minutes, Die Panne-Boerevereniging: minute, 11.11.1981, 1.9.1983 and 18.4.1986.
[282] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: minutes, RDLU: minutes, 6.4.1984 – 24.1.1985 and minutes, Die Panne-Boerevereniging: minutes, 9.2.1983 as well as 18.4.1986, and *Carletonville Herald,* 3.5.1985, pp. 1, 4, 29.
[283] *Carletonville Herald,* 3.5.1985, pp.1,4,29. In *Landbounuus,* 29.11.1985, p.3. The reasons for the static maize price are listed as explained by Mr G. Wentzel.
[284] *Landbounuus,* 17.1.1985, p.1 and 10.1.1986, p.1; 7.2.1986, p.1 and 14.2.1986, p.1.

It appears that the Oberholzer district farmers accepted the grazing strategy suggestions, as it was discussed in 1988 during the Panne-Boerevereniging and RDLU's meetings.[285] According to available production figures of 1988 for maize, corn and sunflower, it was only maize that showed a downward trend – possibly ascribed to the drought that had not yet subsided at that stage.[286]

Regarding the letting of land for farming purposes by the Dolomitic Water Council, it was well established in the 1980s and popular among the local farmers. Land let by the Council was mainly situated in the northeastern regions of the Carletonville municipality. By 1988, about 14 farmers were renting land from the Dolomitic Council, of whom most had been farming 15 years or longer. Seven of them farm on Wonderfontein, one each on Uitspanning and Rooipoort, two on Welverdiend and three farmers on Oog van Wonderfontein. They included G.P. Nel, H.W. Britz, G.L. de Kock, J.A. Grové, F.W. de Beer and A. van Wyk.[287]

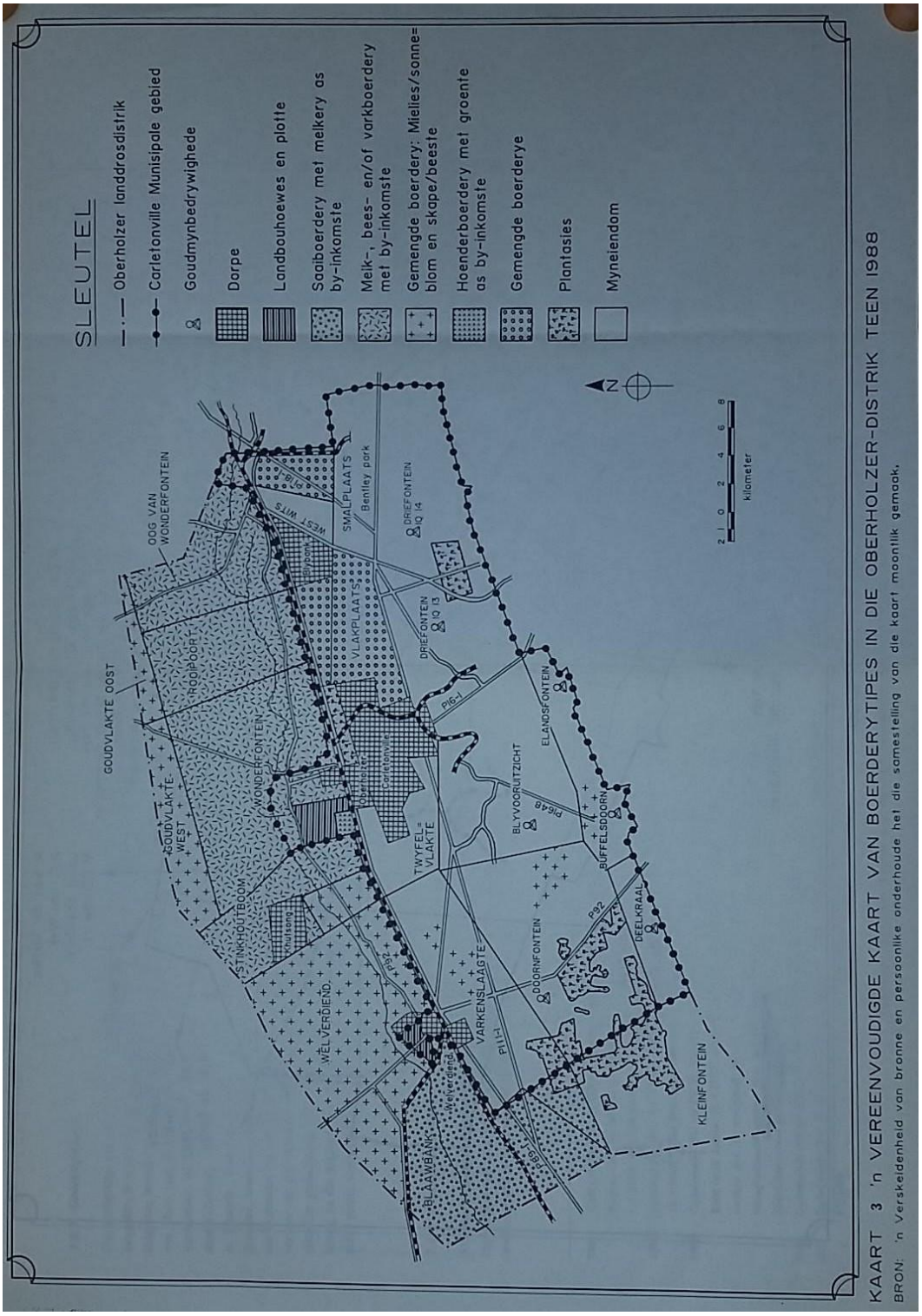
3.6.3 Vegetable crops

Before 1980, the cultivation of vegetables in the Oberholzer district, but especially in the Carletonville region, was never practised on a large scale for production purposes. Gradually, this tendency changed. The few farmers in the vegetable industry, hired land from the Dolomitic Water Council and included M.T.S. Swart, J.M. Visagie, Grass Enterprises and Mrs L. Gradidge.[288]

Grass Enterprises mainly focused on the asparagus industry. Canned asparagus was sent to Durban, while processed asparagus was sold in Pretoria, Johannesburg and overseas markets.[289] Most other vegetables, of which potatoes were the most important, were sold on markets in Johannesburg or to institutions that produced potato chips. Vegetable farmers used their own

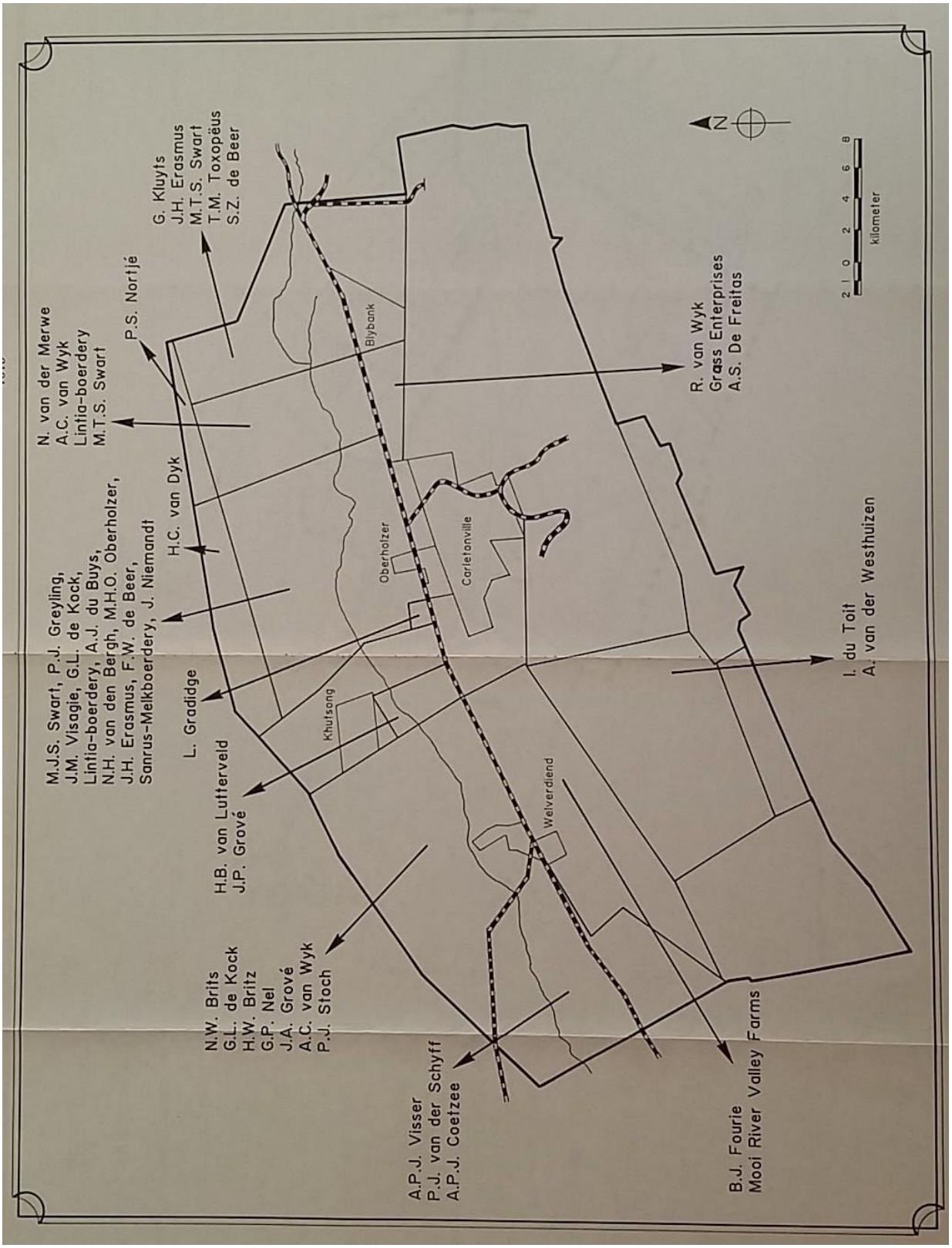
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[285] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: minutes, Die Panne-Boerevereniging: minutes, 3.6.1985 – 15.2.1988 as well as minutes, RDLU: minutes, 24.1.1985 en *Landbounuus,* 11.4.1988, p.1.
[286] See section 3.7, p. 107 of this chapter for a detailed discussion.
[287] The Dolomitic Water Council lets land on a five-year contract basis to farmers who are solvent. The only two requirements were that rent should be paid upfront and that existing structures on the land should be maintained. See Carletonville (PU for CHE), Red. 3: interview, Mrs S. van den Heever, 3.7.1990 and G.G. Toxopeüs, 3.3.1989 and maps 3 and 4, pp. 101a and 101b.
[288] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, Mrs S. van den Heever, 3.7.1990, as well as H.F. du Plessis, J.G. de Bruyn, P. Swanepoel, J. Kock and H. Jacobs, 19.4.1989 and Mrs L. Gradidge, 3.7.1990. Also see maps 3 and 4, pp. 101a and 101b.
[289] Carletonville (PU for CHO), Ref. 3: interview, Manager (Grass Enterprises, Vlakplaats), 11.7.1989. Grass Enterprises is also involved in the instant lawn industry.



MAP 3: A SIMPLIFIED MAP OF FARMING TYPES IN THE OBERHOLZER DISTRICT BY 1988

MAP 4: FARMERS IN THE OBERHOLZER REGION BY 1988



SOURCE: This map was drawn based on various sources and interviews.

transport, to dispatch their produce,[290] while crop farmers used the local road network for the transportation of grain crops such as maize, sunflowers and corn to the local SENWESKO branch at Oberholzer.[291] From here, it is taken by rail to other centres. [292]

3.6.4 Challenges

At the end of the 1980s, the damage to the agricultural industry caused by landslides was still visible, despite it being something of the past. Thousands of hectares of high-potential farmland owned by the Dolomitic Water Council remained uncultivated at that stage.[293] The large pieces of uncultivated land and the drought hampered the potential production and growth of the local agricultural sector, as the local SENWESKO- branch could not expand before more crop yields were delivered.[294] By 1988, pig, cattle, sheep and poultry farmers had more problems with theft than with illnesses. The RDLU planned to open a cattle theft branch in August[295] which probably only materialised in 1989.

3.7 THE IMPACT OF THE OBERHOLZER DISTRICTS AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT ON THE LOCAL, REGIONAL AND NATIONAL ECONOMY

F.L. Coleman says of agriculture that… *however, agriculture is not merely a barometer of the economic climate; it can make a valuable, even indispensable, contribution to economic development.*[296] This remark is also valid for the Carletonville

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[290] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, H.F. du Plessis, J.G. de Bruyn, P. Swanepoel, J. Kock and H. Jacobs, 19.4.1989. In the West Rand Regional Services Council's Planning investigation, which appeared in 1988, it was suggested that the Dolomitic Council make more land under its management available for crop cultivation. See J.C. Schutte (ed.), *Wesrand Streekdiensteraad beplanningsondersoek,* p.240.
[291] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, J. Kock, 21.10.1988.
[292] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, T.P. Venter (Station master, Oberholzer Stasie), 8.2.1989.
[293] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, J. Kock, 21.10.1988, and Chamber of Mines, *Annual Report of the Far West Rand Dolomitic Water Association,* 1988, p.20, and appendices C and D.
[294] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, H.F. du Plessis, J.G. de Bruyn, P. Swanepoel, J. Kock en H. Jacobs, 19.4.1989.
[295] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref 1: minutes, RDLU: minutes, 3.8.1988, as well as Ref. 3: interview, Mrs L. Gradidge, 3.7.1990.
[296] F.L. Coleman (ed.), *Economic history of South Africa*, pp.32-33.

region. However, it is true that the presence of other sectors in the local economy supported agriculture and ensured a much better economic future.

The entire agricultural sector of the Highveld is situated within a favourable economic environment. Within its borders, the population is high due to the mining and industrial sectors' activities.[297] Under these circumstances, farmers can produce a wide variety of produce within the region for markets outside the region.[298] Farmers in the Oberholzer district are lucky as they are the closest agricultural production areas to the industrial and mining complex compared to numerous other districts on the Highveld of the Witwatersrand. Additionally, this district has seven gold mines and a few light industries within its borders.[299]

Before the establishment of the mentioned sectors in the Carletonville municipal region, this area's economic development had depended on the agricultural industry. In this regard, the most important contribution of this sector, is the stimulation of the communication network in the area.[300] This included constructing district roads and the erection of three railway stations in the Carletonville region.[301]

Because of the major role that farming activities played before the establishment of mining, the agricultural industry was the largest employer in the region.[302] Since 1948, the mining sector and the industrial and commercial

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[297] S.W. van der Merwe, "The agricultural economy of the Highveld Region", *Agrekon,* 4(1), January 1965, p.21.
[298] TAD, MCV, Vol. 80, file 93/1/27, Regional Development Association for Transvaal and adjacent region: report regarding the agricultural potential of the Western Transvaal and stimulation of industrial development (n.d.).
[299] See *Chapters Four,* pp. 112-196 and *Five*, pp. 197-243, for more information regarding mining and the industrial sectors, respectively.
[300] G.L. van Heerde, *Die invloed van modernde vervoer op die ontwikkeling van dorpe in Wes-Transvaal*, p. 30.
[301] See *Chapter Six,* pp. 247-265, in this regard.
[302] E.S. van Eeden, *Die geskiedenis van Gatsrand*…, pp. 47-50.

Sector, passed the agricultural sector as a major employer[303] By 1985, the number of economically active persons in Oberholzer's agricultural sector totalled 1,013.[304]

Since the establishment of other sectors, the agricultural sector has also contributed indirectly to the provision of job opportunities. Examples are the employees of the Oberholzer grain silo, the SENWESKO branch, the Irrigation Board, NCD, transport companies and abattoirs. Therefore, the Oberholzer district, and especially the Carletonville municipal region, depends on the agricultural sector for its development and prosperity.

On the regional and national level, the Oberholzer district's comparative statistics since 1960 do not appear very favourable. This contribution probably diminishes even more when Carletonville is included. The following aspect, however, need to be taken into account: the number of farmers in the were low; the size of cultivated land was small; the average size of farms were smaller than the average on the Highveld; some of the available land was poor and very intensive farming practices were present in the district, which diminished the contribution of crop cultivation.

Of the most important crops grown in the district by 1959, compared to the rest of the Highveld region and South Africa's production list, are as follows:

TABLE 2*:* OF THE MOST IMPORTANT CROPS PRODUCED IN SOUTH AFRICA, THE HIGHVELD REGION AND THE OBERHOLZER DISTRICT IN 1959

CROPS	SOUTH AFRICA (BAGS)	HIGHVELD REGION (BAGS)	OBERHOLZER DISTRICT (BAGS)
Mealies	59,057,366	43,320,846	14,945
Sunflower	1,706,452	1,341,703	376
Potatoes	20,548,292	6,569,882	385

[303] In 1953, it was predicted that the total local farming community would never exceed 2% of the total population, which is the case. See SAR, JUS, Vol. 1052, file 21/733, Oberholzer inspection reports: report Carletonville, district Potchefstroom, 4.3.1953, and J.L. Schutte (ed.), *Wesrand Streekdiensteraad beplanningsondersoek,* p. 49.

[304] Republic of South Africa, Central Statistic Service, Population Census, report no. 02-85-03, *NIndustry according to development region, statistic region and district, 1985,* 1985, pp. 111, 253, 375, 515.

Oats	1,736 786	460,698	212
Coral trees	57,162	22,525	24
Dry beans	71,716	9,046	24[305]

From the above table, it is clear that by 1959, the contribution of the Oberholzer district's agricultural sector's most important crops in the Highveld region was less than 1 % without exception. The largest contribution, mealies, accounted for a mere 0.02% and 0.03% of the Highveld's phenomenal contribution of 73,3% to the total South African maize production.

By the 1970s, the variety of crops produced in the Oberholzer district had not changed from the 1960s. Production figures of the district compared with South Africa during 1974 of the two most important crops, for example, were:

TABLE 3: THE PRODUCTION OF MEALIES AND SUNFLOWERS IN THE OBERHOLZER DISTRICT AND SOUTH AFRICA IN 1974

CROP	RSA (tons)	OBERHOLZER DISTRICT (tons)	% of RSA (by Oberholzer dist.)
Mealies	10,590,427	19,932	0,18%
Sunflower	294,417	183	0,06% [306]

According to the above figures, Oberholzer's contribution to South Africa's total maize production increased by 0,15% and that of sunflower by 0,04%, since 1959. Other crops, such as oats and barley, were also produced, but except for corn (125 tons), the harvest yields were minimal.

[305] Republic of South Africa, Bureau for Census and Statistics, Agricultural Census, report no. 33, Report on agriculture and livestock farming and sugar cane, wood and wattle plantations, 1958-59, 1962, pp. 66, 87. The data differs from the 1958-1958 information supplied by S.W. van der Merwe, "The agricultural economy of the Highveld Region", *Agrekon,* 4(1), January 1965, pp. 4- 20.
[306] Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics, Agricultural Census no. 47, report no. 06-01-11, Report on agriculture and livestock production*,* 1974*,* 1974, pp. 108, 111, 120, 123.

At the beginning of the 1980s, the district's contribution to South Africa's total production of maize, sunflowers and corn was rising.[307] In addition, there were a few vegetable crops, which had already contributed a significant percentage to the South African vegetable industry by 1981. Compared to the rest of South Africa, the yield of the most important crops in the Oberholzer district by 1981 was as follows:

TABLE 4: CROPS CULTIVATED IN THE OBERHOLZER DISTRICT, COMPARED TO THE REST OF SOUTH AFRICA BY 1981

CROP	SOUTH AFRICA (tons)	OBERHOLZER DISTRICT (tons)	% VAN SUID-AFRIKA (by Oberholzer dist.)
Mealies	11,332,117	40,432	0,36%
Sunflowers	346,353	542	0,15%
Corn	1,674,209	300	0,01%
Greenpeas	13,056	54	0,41%
Oats	132,295	29	0,02%
Potatoes [15 kg bag]	59,978,796	104, 880	0,17%
Onions [10 kg bag]	12,738,359	33,500	0,26%
Tomatoes [crates 6 kg]	26,244,456 kg	96,000	0,36%
Cabbage	137,906, 957 kg	1,080,000 kg	7,83%
SweetPotatoe	20,823,392 kg	640,000 kg	3,07%
Beetroot	15,740,840 kg	600,120 kg	3,8%
Cauliflower	17,300,720 kg	400,000 kg	2,3%
Greenbean	942,630 kg	400,000 kg	2,11%
Cucumbers	13,965,753 kg	180,000 kg	1,28%

[307] Department of Agriculture, Highveld region (Potchefstroom), Internal report: The average annual production over five years of the most important crops cultivated in the Highveld region, 1978-1983. (Available at Dr J.D. Aucamp, Assistant Director of Crop Production, Highveld region, Potchefstroom).

Asparagus	4,128,231 kg	72,037 kg	1,74%
Carrots	111,519 ton	250 ton	0,2% [308]

According to the data in Table 4, the district makes a noticeable contribution to South Africa's vegetable yield. What makes this more remarkable in both the Oberholzer and especially the Carletonville cases is that these crops are essentially produced as by-products. This includes crops such as beetroot, sweet potatoes, cabbage, cauliflower, green beans, cucumbers and asparagus.

Although more mealies were produced than before, the Oberholzer district did not manage to increase its yield to the district's contribution to South Africa's maize industry by more than 1%. The district's sunflower and corn production also increased. The previously mentioned drought continued to influence the local and the rest of South Africa's production figures by 1987/1978 (see Table 5).[309] Compared to the rest of the Highveld region and South Africa, the district's main crops totalled:

TABLE 5: GRAIN RETURNS IN SOUTH AFRICA, THE HIGHVELD REGION AND THE OBERHOLZER DISTRICT IN 1988

CROP	SOUTH AFRICA (tons)	HIGHVELD REGION (tons)	OBERHOLZER (tons)
Mealies	7,253, 000	4,990,064	30,757
Corn	3,146, 000	1,377,948	230
Sunflower	419,000	285,339	1,014 [310]

The results in Table 5 are significant because they indicate that the Oberholzer district's yield was more than the average yield per hectare in the Highveld region.

[308] Republic of South Africa, Central Statistics Service, report no. 06-01-18, Census of Agriculture, Agricultural crops, fodder and grazing crops, vegetables, fruit and nuts, 1981*,* 1981, pp. 11, 24, 63, 128, 154, 167, 180, 193, 206, 232, 245, 258, 271, 297, 310.
[309] Republic of South Africa, Department of Agriculture, technical announcement no. 185, An evaluation of the agricultural potential of the Highveld region in terms of dry land crop cultivation and livestock production, 1984*,* June 1984, pp. 223, 225, as well as technical announcement no. 203, An evaluation of the agricultural potential *…,* March 1986, p.65.
[310] Department of Agriculture, Highveld region (Potchefstroom), Internal document: national food strategy record, Highveld region, 1989.

The district's mealie and sunflower yields contributed to the above-average production. Mealie production was lower in 1981 and covered about 0,27% of the Highveld region's cultivated surface in the Oberholzer district. Still, it yielded 0,61% of the maize production of the region. Sunflower production was, however, still better. On a meagre 0,04% of the total land surface, it contributed 0,35% to the Highveld's sunflower production and 0,24% to that of South Africa, which was much higher than in 1981.

Statistically, very little information exists about the corn production in the Oberholzer region. It appears that the district's farmers produced less in 1988 than in the previous years. Approximately 0,001% of the Highveld region's cultivated land was used for maize. Compared to the yield in the rest of the region, it amounted to 0,016%.[311]

Comparable statistics regarding the number of cattle over the years are similar to the history of some of the crops in the region, moving up and down, with pigs and cattle being the most important in the cattle industry. The Oberholzer district's cattle industry can be compared to the rest of South Africa as follows:

TABLE 6: ANIMAL HUSBANDRY IN THE OBERHOLZER DISTRICT COMPARED TO SOUTH AFRICA, JUNE 1959

ANIMALS	SOUTH AFRICA	OBERHOLZER DISTRICT	% OF SUID-AFRIKA (by Oberholzer dist.)
Cattle	12,326,663	3, 997	0,03
Pigs	401,552	2, 871	0,72
Sheep	37,851,635	1, 497	0,003

[311] For statistics on the hectares of land in the district and Highveld region, see Department of Agriculture, Highveld region (Potchefstroom), 'Internal report: national food strategy survey, Highveld region, Total surfaces (ha) used for arable farming as indicated per magisterial district, 1989.

Goats	4,952,890	84	0,001
Chickens	10,121,432	10,871	0,12[312]

The low profile of the Oberholzer district compared to the rest of South Africa follows the same pattern observed regarding crop yields. Because a mere 0,2% of the Highveld region's land falls within the Oberholzer district, it is not strange that the larger South African animal husbandry industry dwarfs this industry. At this stage, the pork industry in the district made the largest contribution, followed by the poultry and cattle industries. As indicated in the historical development of the cattle industry of the 1960s, there was fluctuation in the pork industry in Oberholzer.

By 1974, the number of animals in the district, except for pigs, had increased and could be compared to the rest of South Africa as follows:

TABLE 7: THE STATE OF ANIMAL HUSBANDRY IN THE OBERHOLZER DISTRICT COMPARED TO THE REST OF SOUTH AFRICA, 1974

ANIMALS	SOUTH AFRICA	OBERHOLZER DISTRICT	% OF SOUTH AFRICA (by Oberholzer dist.)
Cattle	7,951,407	7,398	0,09
Pigs	965,756	3,457	0,35
Sheep	26,864,387	2,647	0,009
Goats	2,090,470	85	0,004
Chickens	28,477,501	11,062	0,03[313]

According to Table 7's data, the pork farming industry yielded the highest percentage in animal husbandry in South Africa, despite a decrease in contribution in 1959. It could probably have been more at this stage

[312] Republic of South Africa, Bureau for Census and Statistics, Agricultural report no. 33, Report on agriculture and livestock production…, 1958-59, 1962, pp.88, 94-96, 98-100, 102-104, 106.
[313] Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics, Agricultural Census no. 47, report no. 06-01-11, Report on agriculture and livestock production, *1974,* 1974, pp.142, 153.

if the district had not lost some of its farmers due to the crises regarding the landslides and water between 1970 and 1972.

According to the comparative data in Table 8, the pork industry regained its rightful place in Oberholzer district, since then, while cattle and sheep numbers also increased slightly.[314] By 1988, Oberholzer compared to the rest of the Highveld region as follows:

TABLE 8: ANIMAL HUSBANDRY IN THE OBERHOLZER DISTRICT AND THE HIGHVELD REGION IN 1988: A COMPARISON

ANIMALS	HIGHVELD REGION	OBERHOLZER DISTRICT	% HIGHVELD REGION (by Oberholzer dist.)
Cattle	1,835,305	8,504	0,46
Pigs	220,292	6,565	2,98
Sheep	3,067,411	4,897	0,15
Goats	99,002	134	0,13
Chickens	*	10,000	- [315]

* The last survey of chicken numbers was done by cattle inspectors in 1975.

When the gross geographic product (GGP) of Oberholzer's agricultural sector is compared with the rest of the Far West Rand region, the 1980s available statistics appear quite favourable. After the contribution of the Krugersdorp district of 69,9% in 1981, the Oberholzer district's GGP contribution of 16,1% is the highest of all the districts of the Far West Rand.[316] The dominating economic contribution of the local mining sector to the GGP of the Oberholzer district until that stage impeded conclusions regarding that of agriculture

[314] See section 3.6, p.96 of this chapter.
[315] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, Dr H.H. van Niekerk, 28.1.1991.
[316] The far West Rand, according to a general classification (a general classification according to the NFO, as discussed in *Chapter Two,* pp. 39-40 and not an agricultural classification), includes Krugersdorp, Roodepoort, Westonaria, Randfontein and Oberholzer.

on the district level. In 1981, the agricultural sector only contributed 0,8% to the Oberholzer district's total GGP.[317]

The influence of the early 1980s drought and the accompanying agricultural industry crisis is reflected in its decreasing contribution to the GGP of the Oberholzer district. Farmers consumed more than their crops could yield.

Consequently, that year showed a negative GGP percentage contribution of -0,4, which is a true indication of the difficult times in which farmers found themselves.[318] Towns in the Far West Rand were not affected so heavily. Only the agricultural sector in Roodepoort experienced a setback.[319] Conditions improved to such an extent by 1988 that the agricultural sector's contribution to the GGP had probably increased.[320]

Even though the current situation of the agricultural sector in the Oberholzer district is not as extensive as in the past, it is everything **but** the rubbish dump of the earth (*ashoop van die aarde)* according to an agricultural specialist to J. Hommes in the 1960s,[321] and this emaciated industry does modestly influence the local economy.

3.8 IN CONCLUSION

Mr B.H. Wilkens, Councillor for the Carletonville region during the 1970s, referred to his constituency in the parliament on one occasion as the Springbuck constituency. In this way, he attempted to indicate how South Africa's national emblem,

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[317] Republic of South Africa, Central Statistics Service, report no. 04-01-01, Gross geographical product against factor income according to magisterial district, 1981, 1981, p.23.
[318] Republic of South Africa, Central Statistics Service, Statistical news article no. P0401, Gross geographical product against factor income according to magisterial district, 1984, 10 Julie 1989, p.41.
[319] The agricultural sector of Roodepoort had already experienced problems. See Republic of South Africa, Central Statistics Service, report no. 04-01-01, Gross geographical product against factor income according to magisterial district,1981, 1981, p.23.
[320] This deduction is based on information in section 3.7, pp. 107, 109-110 of this chapter. GGP-statistics for 1988 were not available at the time of the study.
[321] *Carletonville Herald*, 28.4.1967, 99.6-7.

the green and gold suited the region as mealies and gold were produced there.[322] From an economic point of view, these two products delivered by the local community had earned quite a sum in foreign exchange for the State. Both sectors have always placed a high premium on productive land[323] by making the gold mines present since 1937, partners in Carletonville and surrounds.

In *Chapter Four,* the role of mines and their use of land in gold mining in the Carletonville region until 1988, and the way in which this sector influenced the local economy, is discussed.

[322] Republic of South Africa, *Debates of the House of Assembly,* 26.4.1978, columns 5543-5544.
[323] *Landbounuus,* 24.6.1983, p.9.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE GOLD MINING INDUSTRY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The history of gold in South Africa started in 1853. P.J. Marais discovered gold deposits in the Jukskei and Crocodile Rivers in the eastern parts of what used to be the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek (ZAR). It was the geologist Karl Mauch who first discovered significant gold deposits in 1867 next to the embankments of the Tati River in the Northern parts of the ZAR. These discoveries caused prospectors to flock to this area in an attempt to find gold. The search for gold indeed led to the discovery of pockets in Eersteling, in the Lydenburg district and Barberton. Further large-scale prospecting led the way for the discovery of the more comprehensive goldfields at the Witwatersrand in 1886, and with it paved the way for goldmining companies.[1]

Political agitation in the ZAR did not considerably influence the development of the gold mining industry. The Anglo-Boer War (1899) slowed the pace, but the industry gained momentum shortly after the peace settlement in 1902. After this, twenty-four incident-free years followed. Shortage of labour and unrest, the First World War, as well as the "lost ridge" of the Far West Rand, are the main matters which hindered the development of more gold mines.[2]

Further gold mine exploration in Transvaal with better techniques led to the discovery of pockets in the far West Rand.[3] During this time, South Africa was in a depression and had to step down on their gold standard, which, however, did not obstruct the planning regarding the gold fields in the Far West Rand. Foreign capital of approximately £80 million was pumped into the South African gold mining industry between 1933 and 1940, of which most was used to develop the West Wits gold mining area (Carletonville area).[4]

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[1] A.C.M. Webb, "Mining in South Africa", F.L. Coelman (ed.), *Economic history of South Africa,* pp.168,173-174 and Anon., "How a great industry began", *The South Africa Mining and Engineering Journal,* 65(2), 6.11.1954, p. 379.
[2] R. Macnab, *Gold, their touchstones: Gold Fields South Africa, 1887-1987, a centenary story,* pp. 53, 77, 122.
[3] J. Oxley, *Down where no lion walked: the story of Western Deep Levels,* pp. 17, 39 and M.M. Walker, "The West Wits Line", *South African Journal of Economics,* 18(1), March 1950, p. 16.
[4] A.C.M. Webb, "Mining in South Africa", F.L. Coelman (ed.), *Economic history of South Africa,* p.190. In sections 4.3 and 4.4, pp. 114, 118 of this chapter, the development of the West Wits Line is discussed in detail.

4.2 CAPITAL ASPECTS CONNECTED TO THE OPENING OF A MINE

Before developing any potential mine, it is necessary to raise sufficient capital. The development involves obtaining tenancy rights of the land from the Government, a geological investigation of the area, drilling of holes and sinking of trial shafts to mine the gold deposits. Employment of workers and employment packages must be determined, and buildings, equipment and housing must be supplied.[5] The geologist Dr W.P. de Kock mentioned in 1950 that approximately 300 million pounds were needed to develop the gold fields of the Orange Free State.[6] The large sums of capital needed by mines undoubtedly require mining companies to refine their techniques in respect of obtaining capital.

Since the earliest years of the gold mining industry, a certain amount of shares was sold to individuals, mining companies and mining groups from national and international parties to ascertain the available funds for the development of a mine. Once a mine becomes profitable, some of the profits are channelled to the government and the shareholders of the mining company.

The opening of gold mines, as well as the profitability of existing mines, are determined by the gold price and the prevailing economic climate. The rising and/or stable gold price, paired with a healthy economic climate, is vital for the continued development and activities of gold mines and recruitment of more shareholders is also ensured. [7]

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[5] Compare S.R. Potter (ed.), *South African Mining and Engineering Year Book*, 1937 to 1963.
[6] W.P. de Kock, "The geology and economic significance of the West Wits Line", *The Geological Society of South Africa,* I, 1964, p. 372.
[7] L. Katzen, *Gold and the South African economy*, pp. 29, 37.

4.3 MIGRANT LABOUR AND THE ROLE OF LABOUR UNIONS IN THE LOCAL GOLD MINING INDUSTRY

4.3.1 Migrant labour

Whilst the mining industry grew to full maturity, the availability of black workers increased. The shortage of labour, during the early 1920s, necessitated the gold mining industry to site black people at their respective homes. In the interior, it was the Native Recruiting Corporation that assisted mines.[8] To monitor the influx, district and employment agencies arose over time. Their main branch focused on managing the supply and demand of workers in a certain area where job opportunities arose.[9] In this way, the much-discussed migrant labour system came into being.[10]

Migrant workers from neighbouring countries and self-governing National states were recruited for the South African gold mining industry.[11] By 1984-1985, neighbouring countries such as Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland, Mozambique and the National State of Transkei delivered nearly 70% of the black labour force in South African gold mines,[12] and about 15% came from neighbouring states such as Malawi and Mozambique.[13] The labour organisation TEBA (The Employment Bureau of Africa) handles the black mine workers' interests under the supervision of the Chamber of Mines. This includes the payout of retained wages and money transmissions of black mine workers to their respective tribal lands.[14]

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[8] D. Yudelman and A. Jeeves, "New labour frontiers for old: black migrants to the South African Gold mines, 1920-1985", *Journal of Southern African Studies,* 13(1), October 1986, pp. 104, 106-107.
[9] Union of South Africa, report UG 61/1955, Summary of the report of the Commission for Socio-economic Development of Banty areas in the Union of South Africa*,* 1955, pp. 16-17; Anon., "Die Suid-Afrikaanse mynbedryf en trekarbeid", *Die Mynwese*, 2(4), 1986, p. 37 and J. Nattrass, *The South African economy, its growth and change*, pp. 136-137.
[10] South African Institute of Race Relations, *Race relations survey, 1988/89,* pp. 418, 421.
[11] South African Institute of Race Relations, *Race relations survey, 1988/89,* pp. 418-419, 421. The independent states represent the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei and the self-governing National States, Lebowa, KwaZulu, Qwa-Qwa, Gazankulu and KaNgwane.
[12] Anon., "Die Suid-Afrikaanse mynbedryf en trekarbeid", *Die Mynwese,* 2(3), 1986, p. 37.
[13] D. Yudelman and A. Jeeves, "New labour frontiers for old:...", *Journal of Southern African Studies,* 13(1), October 1986, p. 122.
[14] Anon., "Die Suid-Afrikaanse mynbedryf en trekarbeid", *Die Mynwese,* 2(3), 1986, p. 37-38.

Apart from the indispensability of the migrant labourers as workforce in the mining industry, the prosperity of several communities in South Africa is centred around their purchasing power. Broadly sOne as stimulating both the national and local economy.[15]

The influx of migrant workers started in 1937 in the Carletonville area, following the establishment of gold mining. A local workers' bureau was established in March 1955, before a district bureau was established. Why a district bureau was not functioning by 1955 could be that the borders for such a bureau in which to function were not yet demarcated. As a result, no incoming black miners were registered at a district bureau.[16] This loss of control encouraged large-scale squatting. The Labour Bureau was founded in 1958, and only then was it ensured that no more illegal immigrants were allowed.[17] This influx control was also applied to black women,[18] and the local labour Bureau kept itself busy with this process during the 1960s and 1970s.[19]

Migrant labourers were accommodated in mine hostels of different mines in the Carletonville area, as well as in Khutsong. According to oral tradition, the Xhosas and South-Sothos numbered the most by 1980, followed by the Tswanas, Tsonga-Shangaans and the Zulu's.[20]

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[15] D. Houbart Houghtons, *The South African economy,* pp. 89-96, 114; Chamber of Mines of South Africa, *97th Annual Report,* 1986, p.10 and D.G. Franzen and H.J.J Reynders (eds), *Die ekonomiese lewe van Suid-Afrika,* p.31. Also see South African Institute of Race Relations, *Race relations survey, 1988/89,* p. 419.
[16] Carletonville (Municipality), Local Area Committee (LAC), file NAD N10/1/149, Labour Bureau: letter, Job Creation Offices Labour Bureau Carletonville/Native Commissioner Oberholzer, 29.4.1957.
[17] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file NAD 79/5/149, West Wits Native Employment: report regarding application to employ foreign natives as labourers in the proclaimed area West Witwatersrand, 16.5.1956, as well as file NAD N10/1/149, Labour Bureau: letter, Labour Bureau/ West Witwatersrand Native Affairs Department, 26.11.1958.
[18] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file NAD 79/5/149, West Wits Native Employment: letter, Manager Native Affairs/Magistrate Oberholzer, 7.10.1958.
[19] Intermediate Repository (IR), Department of Bantu Administration and Development (BAO), Vol. 3278, file 43/1108 (1), Strange Bantu: letter, Director of Bantu Labour/Ministerial Enquiry, Bantu Carletonville, 8.9.1965, as well as Vol. 3067, file C39/1108, Labour Bureau Carletonville, 1961-1973.
[20] Republic of South Africa, Central Statistics Service, report no. 02-08-13, *Geografiese verspreiding van die bevolking, 1980,* 1980, p. 279.

During 1988, approximately 35,000 migrant workers from neighbouring countries, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique and Swaziland were working in the Carletonville area. In contrast, 26,000 migrants came from the independent states and 13,800 from self-governing national states.[21] It was, therefore, South Africa's neighbouring countries that contributed by means of the migrant worker system to local black labour on the gold mines.

By 1988, there were more than enough mine workers in the Carletonville area, with approximately 850 black people signing up monthly for work at the Carletonville Workers Bureau, which provided the local gold mines with sufficient labour. It seems that if the gold mining authorities preferred to employ migrant workers,[22] which could be attributed to the mines that did not want to bear the burden of families. Some mines did accommodate a small number of families in married quarters on the mining property.[23]

The Chamber of Mines is involved in recruiting migrant workers for the gold mines of the Carletonville area. They are also involved in the periodic transport of these workers by road or rail to and from their homes and the mines. As an employment organisation, the Chamber negotiates with the unions of the black employees.[24]

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[21] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: "'n Afkoms analise van swart mynwerkers wat in hostelle geakkommodeeer word", T.P. Venter (Station Master, Oberholzer), 8.2.1989, as well as Ref. 3: interview, J.C. Howitt (Training Officer, Wes Driefontein), 8.3.1989.
[22] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, B.J. Harringtons (Chief, Department of Manpower, Carletonville), 17.1.1989.
[23] South Africa's government policy did not allow for migrant labourers' families to stay in the country permanently. See Republiek van Suid-Afrika, *Debatte van die Volksraad,* 14.4.1971, columns, 4378-4386.
[24] P.J. Malan, "50 Jare van samewerking in die mynbou", *Vereniging van Ondergrondse Amptenare,* 1969, p.101 and E. Webster and J. Kuzwayo, "A research note on consciousness and the problem of organization", L. Schlemmer and E. Webster, *Change, reform and economic growth in South Africa,* pp. 232-236. See section 4.5, pp. 119-120 of this chapter, also regarding black labour.

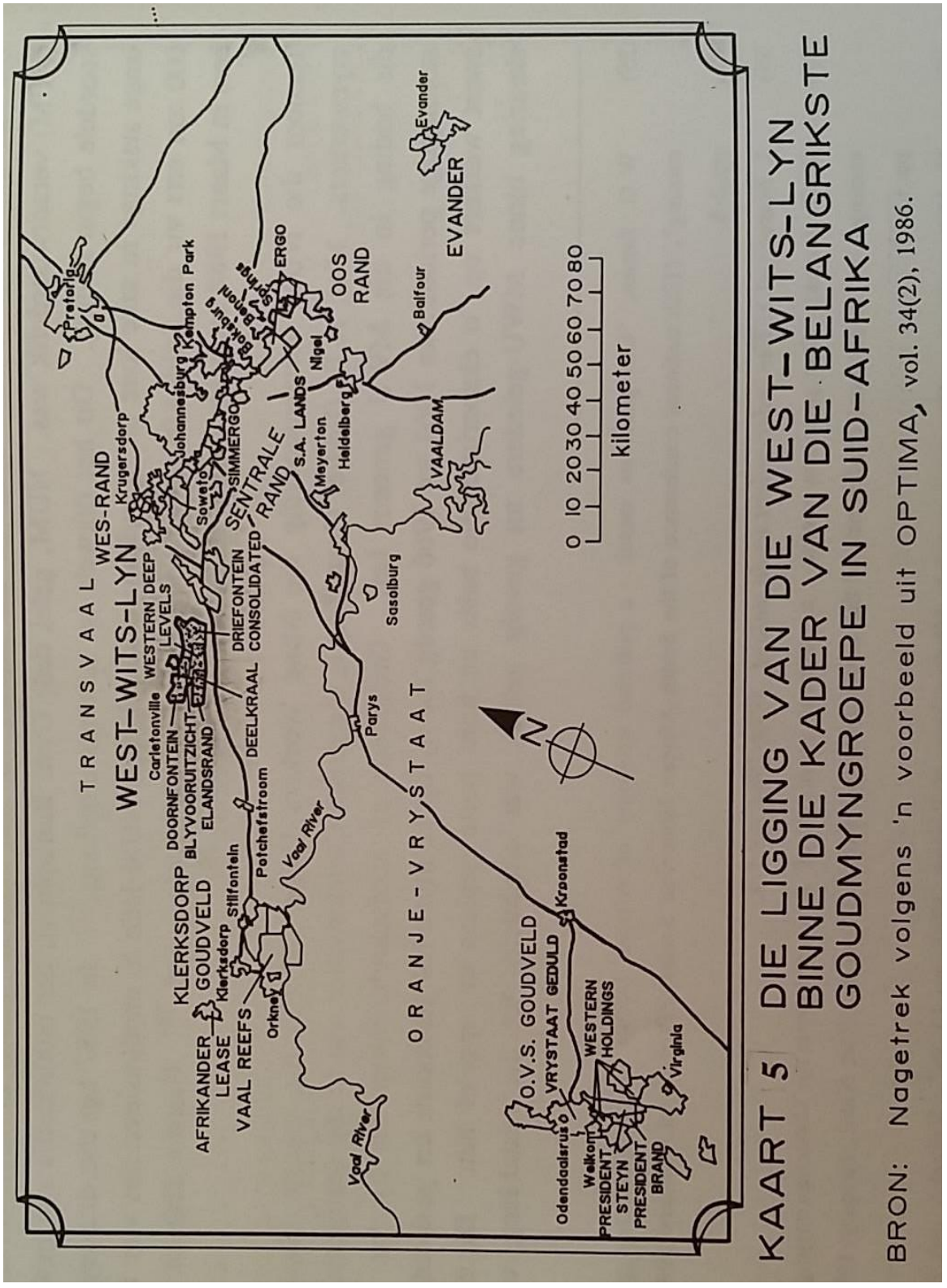
4.3.2 Worker Unions

In 1973, before the era of unions among workers, it was the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) that handled the black workers' interests for many years into the early sixties. The suspension of SACTU's operations by the government caused workers' unrest for approximately a decade, after which several worker unions were established.[25] BetwOne 1977 and 1979, the unions consolidated under overarching associations, for example, the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU) and the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA).[26]

CUSA was responsible for establishing the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) in July 1982. NUM, led by Cyril Ramaphosa, immediately bargained for better advantages. It often led to strikes.[27] In 1987, the three-week-long strikes for better wages and a five-workday week for NUM members led to a production loss of 10,000 tons of ore for the South African gold mining industry.[28] This dispute was only solved in March 1988 to both parties' satisfaction.[29]

Opposing NUM, the Mine Workers Union (MWU) represents the majority of white mine workers. In the 1960s, Mr A.E. (Eddie) Grundling was the first person from Carletonville to take the lead of the opposition. During his time of service, semi-schooled and schooled black workers were placed in higher positions and trained on an experimental basis. This caused a split in the MWU ranks, which led to Grundlingh's resignation.[30] The current member of parliament for Carletonville, Mr P.J. (Arrie) Paulus, was his successor and is still the chairman.[31]

[25] W.G. James, "Our precious metal: a political economy of African labour in contemporary gold mining", (12th national conference of the South African Historical Society, Port Natal, January 1989), pp. 2-8.
[26] J. Maree (ed.), *The independence trade unions*, 1974-1984, pp. 1-9.
[27] W.G. James, "Our precious metal: a political economy of African labour in contemporary gold mining", (12th national conference of the South African Historical Society, Port Natal, January 1989), pp. 13-19.
[28] G. Milling-Stanley, "Precious metals", *Mining Annual Review,* 1988, pp. 13,367. Also see P.G. Eidelberg, "An historical overview of twentieth century trade union organisations in the Transvaal mining industry", (conference of the Economic History Society of Southern Africa, Port Elizabeth, 18-20 July 1990), p.11; *Carletonville Weekly Record,* 16.7.1976, p. 1 as well as 13.5.1977, p. 7; *Carletonville Herald,* 30.7.1976, p.1 and Chamber of Mines, *87th Annual Report,* 1976, p.11. An agreement was reached in that white and black mine workers had time off every second Saturday, or could work voluntary overtime.
[29] *Carletonville Herald,* 25.3.1988, p. 2.
[30] South African Research Services, *South African Review, vol IV,* pp. 269-271 and Anon., "Grundling criticises rebel miners' adviser", *Sunday Express,* 13.11.1966, p. 3.
[31] *Carletonville Herald,* 28.9.1979, p. 3, and 18.4.1980, p. 1 and South African Research Service, *South African Review,* vol IV, p.271. According to the latter article, the MWU campaigned for the reservation of work in favour of white miners.



MAP 5: THE POSITION OF THE WEST WITS LINE IN THE CADRE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT GOLD MINE GROUPS IN SOUTH AFRICA

4.4 THE WEST WITS LINE

The upcoming goldmining industry paved the way during the first half of the twentieth century for an accelerated development tempo of new goldmining areas in large parts of South Africa.[32] This was already the case with the aforementioned West Wits Line area. Prospects for gold mining west of Randfontein and east of Potchefstroom had already lured gold mining companies such as Western Rand Estates Limited, Brayshaw, and Van Goertz between 1899 and 1911. Several trial shafts were sunk on Twyfelvlakte (1902), Driefontein no. 591 I.Q. (1903) and Doornkloof (1910). It was unsuccessful due to problems experienced with the water-bearing dolomite ridge. As a consequence, mining companies only commenced prospecting in the Carletonville area after three decades with the assistance of new technological equipment.[33]

With the financial assistance of New Consolidated Gold Fields Limited, a German geophysicist, Dr R. Krahmann, could discover gold using magnetometry in the early 1930s.[34] Subsequently, the West Witwatersrand Areas Limited was registered in 1932 to continue with the prospecting and further development on the Far West Rand. The introduction of the underground cementation process, which led to drawing water from dolomite, was primarily responsible for the opening of the West Wits Line[35] gold mining area.[36]

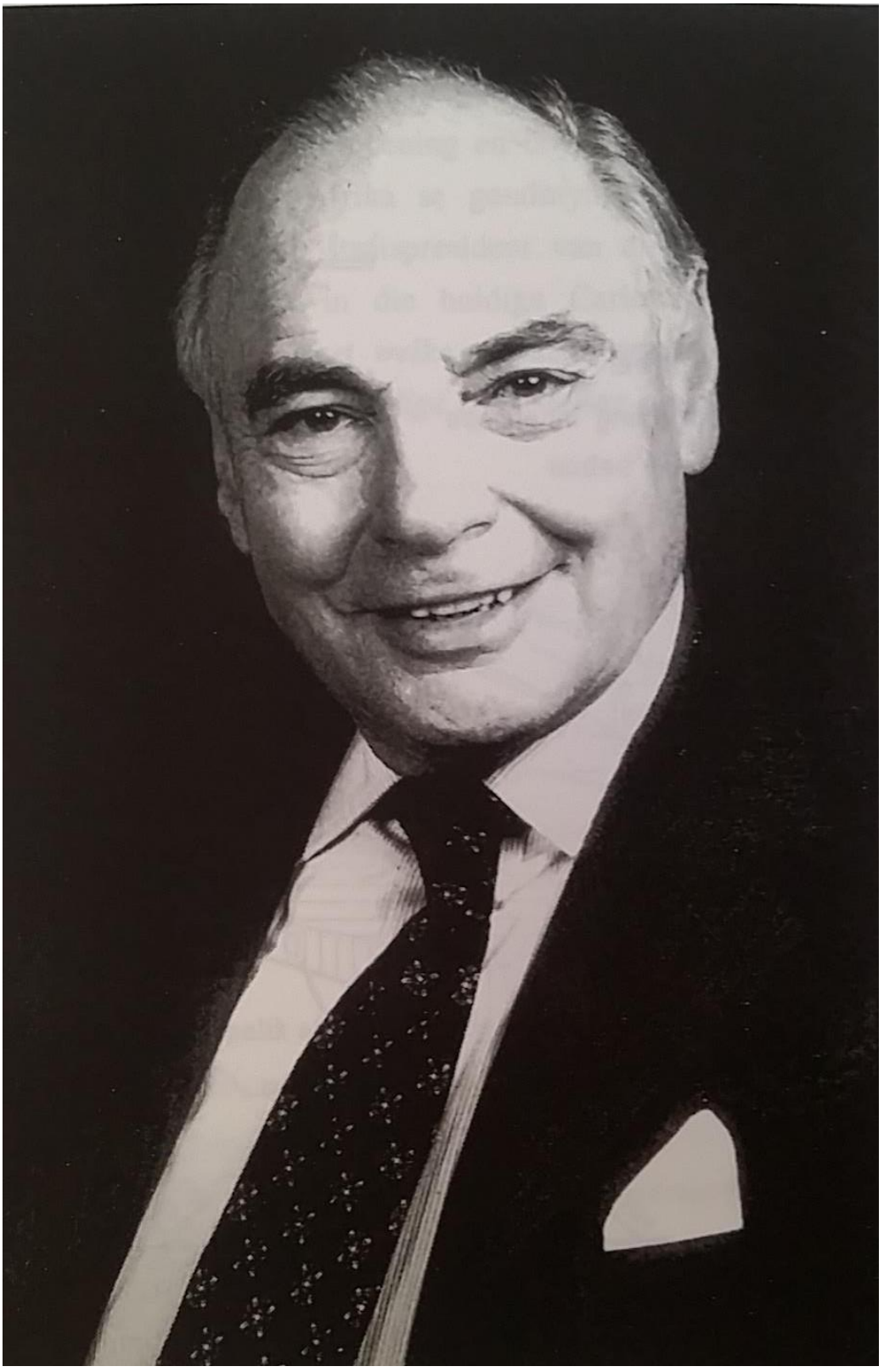
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[32] Anon., "Mynbou en die Suid-Afrikaanse ekonomie", *Die Mynwese,* 3(3), 1987, p. 44 and A.C.M. Webb, "Mining in South Africa", F.L. Coleman (ed.), *Economic history of South Africa,* p.174.

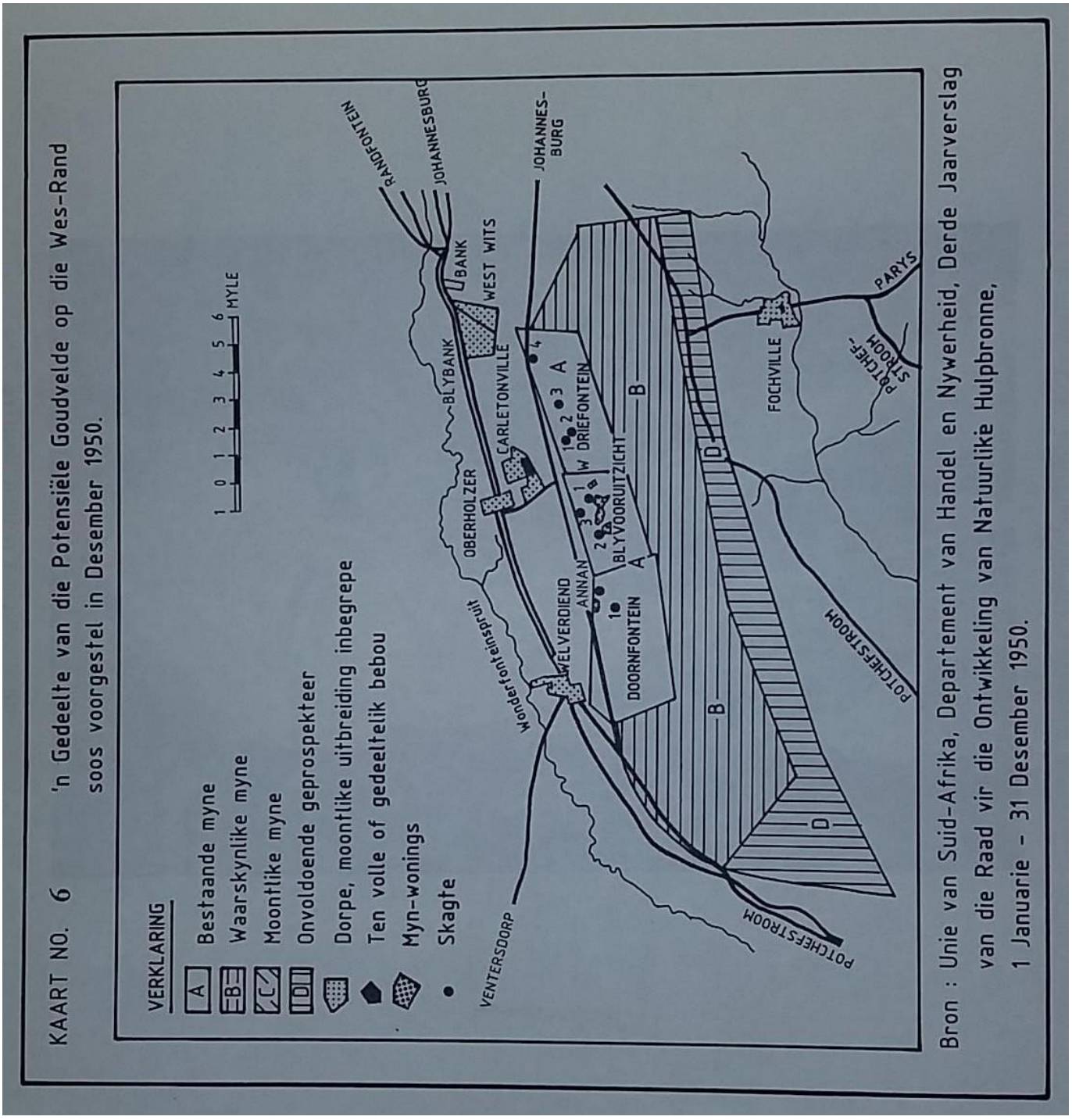
[33] R.A. Pelletier, "Contributions to the geology of the Far West Rand", *Transactions of the Geological Society of South Africa, XI,* July 1937, pp.130, 139 and W.M. Walke, "The West Wits Line", *South Africa Journal for Economics",* 18(1), March 1950, pp. 16-17. In *Chapter Drie,* pp. 56- 58, 84-91, the water-bearing dolomite ridge is also discussed and explained in footnote 128 on p. 134.

[34] W.M. Walker, "The West Wits Line", *South African Journal for Economics*, 18(1), March 1950, p. 20 and E.S. van Eeden, *Die geskiedenis van die Gatsrand vanaf die vestiging van die Trekkergemeenskap omstreeks 1839 tot die proklamering van Carletonville in 1948*, p. 40.

Mine Magnate H.F. Oppenheimer.



Source : D. Hartley.



MAP 6: A SECTION OF THE POTENTIAL GOLD FIELDS ON THE WEST RAND AS DEPICTED IN DECEMBER 1950

Financed by West Witwatersrand Areas Limited, several gold mining companies, such as Blyvooruitzicht (1937), Wes-Driefontein (1945) and Doornfontein (1947) gold mining[37] in the Carletonville area was placed on such a steady base that the mining magnate H.F. Oppenheimer labelled the opening and development of the West Wits Line as the most important event that ever took place in South Africa's gold mining history.[38] Minister T.F. Burgers — earlier state president of the ZAR — who passed through the Transvaal in 1871 and stayed in the Carletonville area for a day, made an optimistic statement; ***wie weet welke schatten van goud hier nog gevonden zullen worden…dit laat ik echter aan deskundige beoordeling over,***[39] (who knows what treasures of gold might still be found here… but that I will leave to the evaluation of the professionals), which indeed came true.

4.5 GOLDMINING COMPANIES IN THE MUNICIPAL AREA OF CARLETONVILLE FROM 1948

After the direct involvement of the West Witwatersrand Areas Limited Gold Mining Company at the West Wits Line gold mining area, this company entered into agreements with other gold mining companies to assist with prospecting, [40] which led to the local gold mining industry representing three mining groups. The responsibility of the mining groups towards the gold mining companies included financing, exploration and development of projects on the company property.[41]

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[35] West Wits Lyn is probably derived from the goldmining company, *West Wit*watersrand Areas Limited.
[36] Anon., "East Driefontein — newcomer to the West Wits Line", *Mining Survey,* 72, May 1973, p. 21 and A.P. Cartwright, *Gold paved the way,* pp. 145, 150-151, 160-172. See also Map 5 on p. 118a.
[37] W.M. Walker, "The West Wits Line", *South African Journal for Economics,* 18(1), March 1950, pp. 20-24 and Union of South Africa, Department of Commerce and Industry, report no. 3, Council for the Development of Natural Resources, *1 January – 31 December 1950,* p. 34.
[38] H.F. Oppenheimer, "The Anglo American Corporation's role in South Africa's gold mining industry", *Optima,* 34(2), June 1986, p. 63.
[39] T.F. Burgers, *Schetsen uit de Transvaal*, p. 7.
[40] R.A. Pelletier, "Contributions to the geology…", *Transactions of the Geological Society of South Africa, XL,* July 1937, p.131 and W.M. Walker, "The West Wits Line", *South African Journal for Economics",* 18(1), March 1950, p. 33. The West Wits Line includes the gold mines of Venterspost, Libanon and Kloof, but these mines are not discussed in this study as they are located outside the eastern border of the Carletonville municipal region. See Map 6, p.119b.
[41] K. Dekker, "Economic evaluation of operations and new ventures", *Gold Fields of South Africa Limited,* 1989 review, February 1990, pp. 79-83.

The gold mining company Rand Mines now manages the gold mine Blyvooruitzicht under the authority of.[42] The group, Gold Fields of South Africa controls the interests of the mines Wes-Driefontein, Oos-Driefontein, Doornfontein and Deelkraal.[43] Anglo American Corporation of South Africa controls the interests of Western Deep Levels and Elandsrand.[44]

4.6 RAND MINES

In 1983, the Rand Mines Limited Gold Mining company was registered at the initiative of the well-known gold magnate Alfred Beit, and was registered within the Corner House-Group.[45] The Corner-House-Group and Rand Mines were responsible for the development of the Blyvooruitzicht Gold Mine in 1937 in the Carletonville area. Barlow Rand Limited Corporation later took over all the interests of the Corner House-Group, amongst others, Blyvooruitzicht.[46]

4.6.1The Blyvooruitzicht Gold Mine

4.6.1.1Development

It was the New Witwatersrand Gold Exploration Company that brought the Corner House Group in through the "back door" of the West Wits Line gold mining area in 1953. The New Witwatersrand offered approximately 724 morgen (623 acres) of land to them, which was bought from the farm Blyvooruitzicht by West Witwatersrand Areas Limited after they could not reach a plausible agreement with Gold Fields. Corner House was compliant and bought the property from New Witwatersrand. In July 1937, the Blyvooruitzicht Gold Mining Company Limited was founded, and its development was the responsibility of

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[42] *Potchefstroom Herald*, appendix, 29.7.1983, p. 16 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 2: letter, L.D. Arnott/E.S van Eeden, 17.8.1989.
[43] S.R. Potter (ed.), *South Africa Mining and Engineering Year Book, 1954-1955*, p. 149.
[44] S.R. Potter (ed.), *South Africa Mining and Engineering Year Book, 1950-1951*, p. 67 and P.J. Malan, "50 Jare van samewerking in die mynbou", Vereniging van Ondergrondse Amptenare, 1969, pp. 67-69.
[45] A.P. Cartwright, *The Corner House, the early history of Johannesburg,* pp. 130-131.
[46] *Carletonville Herald*, appendix, "Blyvoor, 1937-1987", 19.6.1987, p. 3.

Rand Mines.[47] The capital layout for the development of Blyvooruitzicht was outLined at six million shares at 10 shillings each, with a total income of £2,950,000.[48]

By 1948, the Blyvooruitzicht Gold Mine possessed close to 1,043 ha of land in the Carletonville region.[49] In this period, a total profit of £2,486,519 was made from this mine.[50] It is only £463,481 less than the initial capital outlay for the development of the mine. The mine was particularly profitable during this period, and Blyvooruitzicht could be seen as the mine in South Africa with the most promising growth potential.[51] The No. One and Two-shafts (in the eastern parts of the land), as well as No. Drie shafts (north) were already sunk.[52]

During the 1950s, the Blyvooruitzicht Gold Mine was running well and known as the world's richest gold mine. The fast pace of mine extension accelerated the adaptation of administrative offices and workshops.[53] With this, a testing facility for the extraction of uranium on the mine's property was started in 1949. This was the first facility of its kind in South Africa.[54] In the next year, uranium was found, and a plant was built, and in 1953, the raw material was produced. Blyvooruitzicht was the first gold mine to produce uranium in the district

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[47] R. Macnab, *Gold, their touchstones; Gold Fields South Africa, 1887-1987, a centenary story,* pp.144-145. See E.S. van Eeden, *Die geskiedenis van Gatsrand…,* pp. 41-42 for more information on the Blyvooruitzicht Gold Mine before 1948.
[48] S.R. Potter (ed.), *South Africa Mining and Engineering Year Book*, 1937-8, pp. 137-138.
[49] W.M. Walker, "The West Wits Line", *South African Journal of Economics,* 18(1), March 1950, pp.29-30; W. Hagan-Watson, "Down memory lane: Blyvoor's first 20 years", p. 1, and *Potchefstroom Herald and Western Gazette,* 19.1.1945, p. 4.
[50] *Carletonville Herald,* appendix "Blyvoor, 1937-1987", 19.6.1987, p. 5.
[51] Unie van Suid-Afrika, *Debatte van die Volksraad,* 6.8.1948, columns, 987-988.
[52] Anon., "Blyvooruitzicht: 20 years old… but still a long life proposition", *Mining Industrial Review,* 106(11), January 1963, p.14; W. Hagan-Watson, "Down memory lane…", pp.49-60 and Rand Mines, *Blyvooruitzicht Gold Mining Company Limited* – visitors brochure*,* p.3.
[53] W. Hagan-Watson, "Down memory lane:…", p. 49 and Anon., "Blyvoor's 50 years on", *South African Mining World,* February 1988, pp. 26-29.
[54] P.J. Malan, "50 Jare van samewerking in die mynbou", *Vereniging van Ondergrondse Amptenare,* 1969, p. 69 and S.R. Potter (ed.), *South Africa Mining and Engineering Year Book,* 1950-1951, p. 57. Uranium is a radioactive ingredient in gold ore. Its presence in gold ore was noted as early as 1915 in the gold mines of the Witwatersrand. Actual attention with a view to production, however, only commenced in 1949. See Republic of South Africa, "South Africa's mineral industry", *The Minerals Bureau of South Africa,* 1986, p. 49.

and one of the first four goldmines in the country to do so.[55]

Up to 1954, the high capital expenditure for the extraction of gold resulted in the drastic lowering of the taxable income of the Blyvooruitzicht goldmine. It took some years before the mine could deliver a better contribution to the state treasury. [56] Water-bearing underground fissures also slowed down the tempo of the development of the mine. Much time was spent on cementation[58], additionally, underground equipment was installed to pump out the water. In the 1950s, about 14,880,000 gallons (66,960,000 litres) of water were taken away.[59]

Shortly before the 1960s, the mine was provided with more shafts. The No. Four vertical system shaft which was sunk in 1958 outside the mine's northern border, served a dual purpose. It had to supplement the Blyvooruitzicht pumping arrangements and had to serve as a ventilation room for the underground floors far from the surface. A series of incLined shafts to a certain depth was also planned for the mine to be of some use. Of importance was the fact that prospecting work in the western part of the mining ground received urgent attention with the goal of exploiting all potential gold reefs.[60]

The production tempo of the richer eastern parts of the Blyvooruitzicht gold mine began to decLine in the early sixties. This situation was blamed on the lack of labour.[61] In contrast the production of uranium was still good and together with the acid plant that was

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[55] P.J. Malan, *50 Jare van samewerking in die mynbou, Vereniging van Ondergrondse Amptenare,* 1969, p.69; V.H. Osborn, "South Africa becomes a uranium producer", *Optima,* 3(1), March 1953, p. 11-14 and W. Hagan-Watson, *Down memory lane*:…, pp. 52, 55-57.
[56] Anon., "Blyvooruitzict: 20 years old…", *Mining Industrial Review,* 106(11), January 1963, p. 14.
[57] W. Hagan-Watson, *Down memory lane*:…, p. 57.
[58] Cementation is a process by which the cracks in the dolomite rocks in the vicinity of the shaft are plugged to prevent water from flooding the mine. See Rand Mines, *Blyvooruitzicht Gold Mining Company Limited – visitors brochure,* p. 1.
[59] W. Hagan-Watson*, Down memory lane*:…, p. 60 and Anon., "Blyvooruitzicht: 20 years old…", *Industrial Review,* 106(11), January 1963, p. 14.
[60] *Potchefstroom Herald,* 13.11.1959, p.11 and Anon., "Blyvooruitzicht: 20 years old…", *Mining Industrial Review,* 106(11), January 1963, p. 15.
[61] Anon., "Blyvooruitzicht: 20 years old…", *Mining Industrial Review,* 106(11), January 1963, p. 15.

built in 1957, [62] it served as a profitable income.[63]

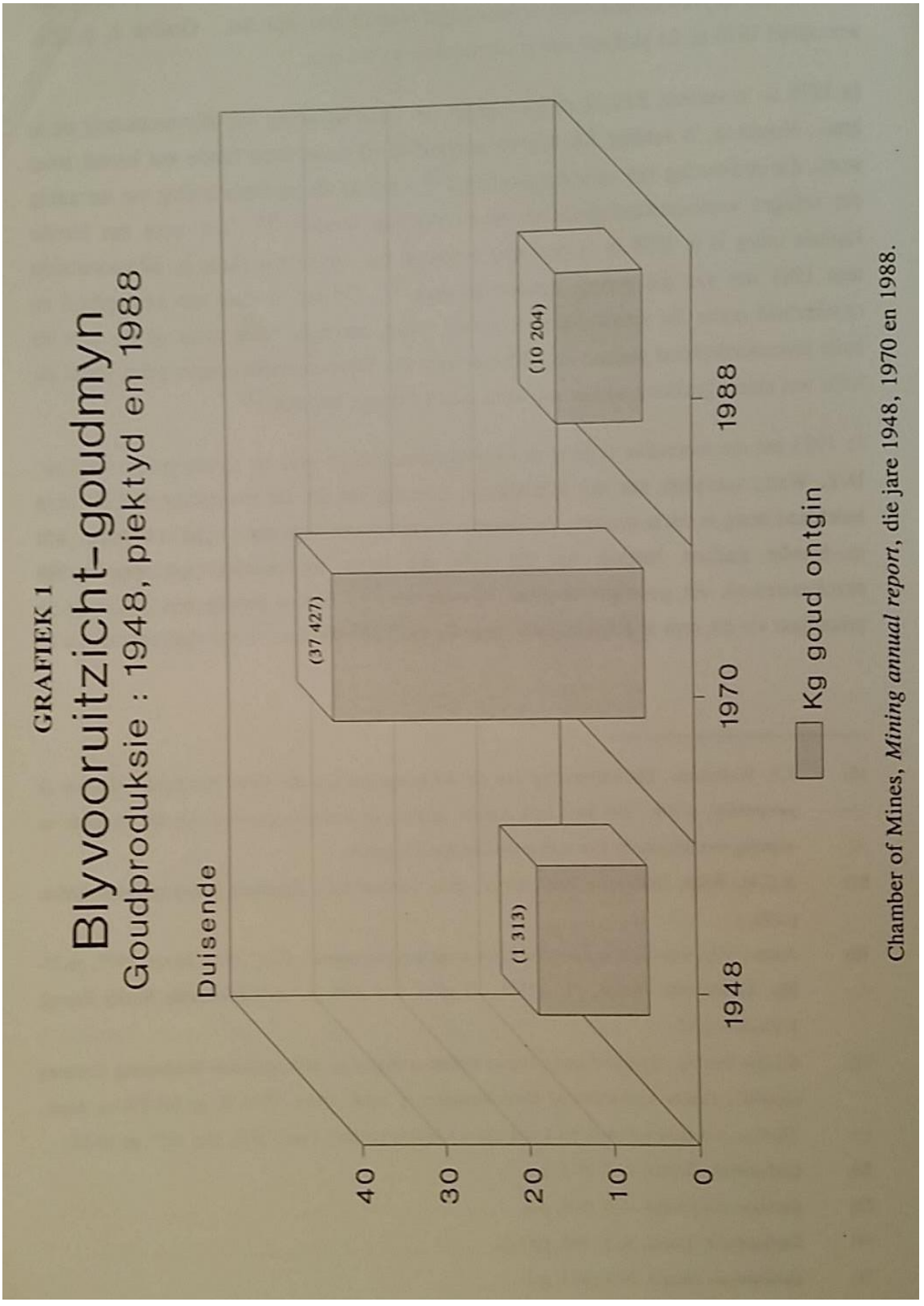
During the mid-1960s, the land subsidence obstructed further development of the Blyvooruitzicht Gold Mine. More than R200,000 was spent on moving residents from the Westdene living area to safer homes, but 103 mine workers resigned, and only 38 new workers accepted work.[64] Despite all these setbacks caused by the land subsidence, the production of gold did not decLine.[65] The production of uranium was stopped until the problems with the unstable land were overcome.[66] The Blyvooruitzicht Gold Mine company decided to install a gold and uranium plant for the amount of R9,5 million on a new area of the rental property in 1968.[67]

The land subsidence only stabilised in the early 1970s.[68] At the same time, the rise of the gold price[69] during these years resulted in a more positive outlook for business at the Blyvooruitzicht Gold Mine. Graph 1, p.125a, shows that 1970 was the peak year of gold production at this mine.

In 1976, a further R10-12 million was spent on expanding the uranium plant at Blyvooruitzicht. A further R4 million was used for damage that needed repair,

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[62] W. Hagan-Watson, "Down memory lane:…", p. 57.
[63] *Potchefsroom Herald*, 16.11.1962, p. 15 en *The Potchefstroom News*, 10.3.1961, p. 3.
[64] *Potchefstroom Herald*, 16.10.1964, p. 9.
[65] *Potchefstroom Herald*, 4.12.1964, p.19.
[66] *Carletonville Herald,* 2.10.1964, p. 3. It appears as though the closure of the uranium plant at the Blyvooruitzicht mine could not only be ascribed to the sinking crisis. In South Africa, 19 producers of uranium stopped their production due to an oversupply. See W. van Rensburg, "Mineral supplies from South Africa, their place in world resources", *The Economist Intelligence Unit,* 59, August 1978, pp. 23-25.
[67] *Carletonville Herald,* 30.9.1983, p. 2.
[68] J.F. Wolmarans, *Die ontwatering van die dolomietgebied aan die Verre Wes-Rand: Gebeure in perspektief,* p.104. This source provides a good amount of information and statistical evidence on the appearance and formation of sinkholes at each mine in the Carletonville region.
[69] A.C.M. Webb, "Mining in South Africa, F.L. Coleman (ed.), *Economic history of South Africa,* p. 192.



GRAPH 1: BLYVOORUITZICHT GOLD MINE – GOLD PRODUCTION, 1948, PEAK AND 1988

the improvement of the chilling plants[70] as well as the commissioning of the equipment, to ensure a safer working environment for mine workers.[71] Despite this capital expenditure, a press release in 1978 speculated that the mining at Blyvooruitzicht would be something of the past by 1985.[72] This caused insecurity among the miners, because their livelihood depended heavily on the mine. Mine workers were reassured that they would be accommodated elsewhere if this mine were to close down.[73]

In 1983, the possible closing of the Blyvooruitzicht Mine was in question when Mr D.T. Watt, chairman of this company, confirmed that the mine's lifespan was shortening. A life expectancy of only 11 years was predicted, which meant that 1994 would be the last production year if exploration work did not yield a more favourable result.[74] Ironically, 1983 was a record year for the mine's ore production when 2,363,000 tons,[75] four times more than the 517,000 tons of 1950, were crushed.[76] It is apparent that the production of the Blyvooruitzichts' Gold Mining Company was destined to exploit lower grades of ore[77] to keep gold production as high as possible.

In 1984, South Africa was in an economic depression, which had a negative effect on the activities at the Blyvooruitzicht Gold Mine.[78] It seems as if this situation stayed static betwOne 1985 and 1988.[79]

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[70] Anon., Blyvooruitzicht embarks on R16m expansion programme", *Coal,* 25(1), January 1977, pp. 27-30; *Carletonville Herald,* 10.10.1975, p. 2 as well as 1.10.1976, p. 7 and *Carletonville Weekly Record,* 1.10.1976, p. 12.
[71] G.L.H. Diering, "Diagonal gully stoping system employed by Blyvooruitzicht Goldmining Company Limited", *Papers Association of Mine Managers of South Africa,* 1974-75, pp. 261-276 and Anon., "Blyvoor cuts costs with new brick and timber handling system", *Coal,* 25(5), May 1977, pp.19-25.
[72] *Carletonville Herald*, 14.7.1978, p. 1.
[73] *Carletonville Herald*, 15.6.1979, p. 9.
[74] *Carletonville Herald*, 30.9.1983, p. 1-2.
[75] *Carletonville Herald,* 30.9.1983, p. 2.
[76] S.R. Potter (ed.), *South Africa Mining and Engineering Year Book, 1956*, p. 47.
[77] *Carletonville Herald,* 30.9.1983, p.2, as well as 28.10.1983, p.17 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, S. Hall (Liaison Offices, Blyvooruitzicht), 21.3.1990.
[78] A. Granville, "Uranium RSA", *South Africa's Mining Industry,* 1986, p. 150.
[79] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, S. Hall, 21.3.1990; Anon., "Die vernaamste SA goudmyne", *Die Mynwese,* 3(4), 1986, p.11 and Anon., "Blyvooruitzicht: 50 years on", *South African Mining World,* February 1988, p. 35. See *Chapter One*, p.13 for more detail on the economic position of South Africa during 1984.

The 2,830 kg gold produced by Blyvooruitzicht in 1988 (see Graph, p.125a) was much lower than the peak production of 1970 and still came from a lower-grade ore. Other South African gold mines showed the same tendency of decLine.[80]

4.6.2.1 Workforce and provision of housing

As gold expropriation started on Blyvooruitzicht, from the first mining operations in 1937 with a handful of workers, the workforce increased to 585 whites and 478 blacks in 1948.[81] During the 1950s and 1960s, the development of the Blyvooruitzicht gold mine also stimulated the growth of this mine, and the number of workers grew to thousands.[82]

In 1978, the number of black workers was approximately 11,000, and the white workforce was close to 2,000. Over the years, the workforce mainly stayed constant.[83] It was the declining gold production of Blyvooruitzicht in the late 1980s, along with the descending gold price, that affected the workforce in a noteworthy way. By 1988, about 10,843 white and black employees were working at Blyvooruitzicht gold mine. This number decLined shortly after 1988, because workers lost their jobs after the expropriation of the lower-grade ore ridges was stopped. Of course, this lowered production costs, which could contribute to prolonging the life of the Blyvooruitzicht mine.[84]

As far as in-service training of the internal workforce of Blyvooruitzicht was concerned, the mine was involved with this from the start.[85] As the schooled posts were now reserved for black people, which were previously filled by whites, the quality of training intensified. [86]

[80] *Carletonville Herald,* 5.2.1988, p. 11 as well as 14.10.1988, p. 14.
[81] E.S. van Eeden, *Die geskiedenis van Gatsrand*…, p. 41.
[82] PU for CHE, *Voortgesette streekopname van Beheerde Gebied no. 2, gebied Westonsaria – Welverdiend,* report no. 3*, 1956-57,* pp. 53, 56, 126, and CAD, BAO, Vol. 2880, file C36/5/1361/1, Unrest on mines and activities: Blyvooruitzicht-goudmyn, 1967.
[83] Rand Mines, *Blyvooruitzicht Gold Mining Company Limited – visitors brochure*, pp. 28-29 and *Carletonville Herald,* appendix, 1937-1987", 19.6.1987, p. 5.
[84] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, S. Hall, 21.3.1990 and Rand Mines, *Blyvooruitzicht Annual Report,* 1988, pp. 5-6.
[85] W. Hagan-Watson, *Down memory lane*…, p. 52.
[86] B. Zatlokal, "Rand Mines versnel vooruitgang", *Die Mynwese,* 1(3), 1987, pp. 36-41.

This monument was built in remembrance of the Oosthuizen family.



Source: *Carletonville Herald*

In 1988, four black mine workers from Blyvooruitzicht made history when they, apart from two others, were the first black mine workers in South Africa to receive blasting certificates from the Government.[87]

To supply accommodation for the black workforce in its early years was not an easy task for the Blyvooruitzicht gold mine. To prevent squatting near the mine on a grand scale, this mine built two hostels between 1940 and 1960, which could accommodate 12,000 black mine workers and each hostel was provided with a kitchen.[88] Several years later, no further expansions of hostels were done. As the number of black labourers increased, the need for expansion of the hostels arose. It was only in the 1970s that the mine spent capital on modernising the existing hostels and building a third hostel. The senior married personnel were accommodated elsewhere.[89] It seems as if no further development, as far as accommodation for black people was concerned, took place on Blyvooruitzicht until 1988.

As with the black workers, the housing need was also the lot of the first white workers of the Blyvooruitzicht mine town. Accommodation in the newly proclaimed towns in the area was scarce. Consequently, single quarters with a mess as well as homes were built in 1937. The National Development Council (NDC), which was founded in 1950, took over the control of the building of housing outside recognised towns. The task of the NDC was to ensure that the building of accommodation on mine property was not done in a random way. By 1957, 952 homes were built in six Blyvooruitzicht residential extensions,[90] namely The Village, The Hill, Northdene, Southdene, Eastdene and Westdene.[91] A further 40 stands in Carletonville Town extension no. Four was also developed by the Blyvooruitzicht

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[87] South African Institute of Race Relations, *Race relations survey, 1988/89,* p. 416 and *Seipone,* 7.12.1988, p. 1.
[88] W. Hagan-Watson, "Down memory lane…", p. 52.
[89] Anon., "Blyvooruitzicht embarks on R16 expansion programme", *Coal,* 25(1), January 1977, pp. 27- 28.
[90] W. Hagan-Watson, "Down memory lane…", pp.2,66 en *Carletonville Herald,* 7.8.1964, p. 6 as well as 28.8.1964, pp. 1, 3.
[91] Blyvooruitzicht Goldmining Company Limited, map: blockplan of residential areas", May 1963.

Gold Mine, because the NDC did not want to issue permits for homes on mine grounds. The reason for this was that several proclaimed towns existed close to the mine where the mine workers could live.[92]

During the 1960s, a catastrophic time followed in the white residential area of Blyvooruitzicht after a giant sinkhole engulfed the Oosthuizen family's home in the middle of the night on 3 August 1964. After this, similar sinkholes followed. Southdene and Westdene were mostly affected.[93] Accommodation on the mining grounds became a problem overnight. The local press reported that some of the families living in the Blyvooruitzicht mine town vacated their homes, whether sinkholes occurred on their residential premises or not, because they feared the same would happen to them.[94]

Rand Mines hurriedly began planning a new suburb and housed the vacated families in caravan parks on mine ground. Some of the families moved in with friends. Thanks to the fast reaction of Rand Mines, the first homes were occupied in the new suburb, south west of Southdene, in November 1964.[95] The number of houses demolished and/or vacated in the Blyvooruitzicht area was 261 in 1967.[96] This unforeseen ground shift not only caused a life tragedy but also claimed its toll financially. As a result of limited construction of more homes on habitable land in the Blyvooruitzicht town area, the number of 952 homes by the end of the 1960s and during the 1970s and 1980s stayed constant. The principle was not to surpass 1,000 dwellings, since an independent local authority would then become a requirement.[97] With the local authority of Carletonville close to the Blyvooruitzicht gold mine, a favourable consideration would be futile in my opinion.

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[92] W. Hagan-Watson, "Down memory lane…", p. 66.
[93] *The Star*, 3.8.1964, p.1; *Westrand Times en Wesrander*, 7.8.1964, p. 1 and *Die Vaderland*, 8.8.1964, pp. 1-2.
[94] *Carletonville Herald,* 25.9.1964, p.1 as well as 2.10.1964, pp. 1,3.
[95] *Blyvoor News/Nuus,* 5.4.1965, pp.1-2.
[96] IR, Carletonville Municipality (MCV), file 22/1(b)(2), Town: schedule which indicates the pattern of Development in the Carletonville region, 18.4.1967.
[97] Rand Mines, *Blyvooruitzicht Gold Mining Company Limited – visitor's brochure,* p. 47. It is mentioned in the brochure that 23 flats were also erected in the Blyvooruitzicht residential area.

Up until 1988, no further housing projects were launched on the mining property of Blyvooruitzicht. In my opinion, it was unnecessary because gold production and the number of workers did not increase. About 948 homes in the mining area were inhabited by whites.[98]

4.6.2.2 Business services, relaxation, sports, cultural activities and medical facilities

Because the Blyvooruitzicht gold mine distinguished itself as a mining pioneer in the Carletonville area, the creation of organised services and cultural activities was also given intense attention by the company. During the early years of the gold mining industry, church gatherings were arranged, medical facilities were established, social functions were organised, and different kinds of sports facilities were put in place to provide for the needs of the families of the Blyvooruitzicht mining town.[99]

As far as church activities were concerned, families before 1948 could join congregations in towns outside the West Wits Line. Afrikaners joined the church congregations of Fochville or Potchefstroom, while the English-speaking went to Potchefstroom. Consequently, the English population tried to establish English churches from the start. The first English churches established were the Roman Catholic, the Anglican, the Methodist and shortly after that, the St. Matthew's Presbyterian Church in 1948. Carletonville became the centre of these churches over time.[100]

A total lack of medical facilities in the Carletonville area led the mining authority to build Blyvooruitzicht's own medical facility on mining grounds. Rand Mines already gave town dwellers of Oberholzer and Welverdiend permission in 1942 to attend its medical facilities

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[98] J.C. Schutte (ed.), *Wesrand Streekdiensteraad beplanningondersoek*, p. 142.
[99] W. Hagan-Watson, *Down memory lane*…, p. 2.
[100] B.J.V. Naudé (ed.), *Gedenkuitgawe: ontvangs van poskoets te Oberholzer, 9-11 Februarie 1952,* pp. 11, 13, 21 and E.S. van Eeden, *Die geskiedenis van Gatsrand*…, pp. 59-66. See also *Chapter Seven*, pp. 291-292.

The Blyvooruitzicht Recreation Club by 1952.



Bron: Barlow Rand Ltd.

when in urgent need at the Blyvooruitzicht mine hospital (built in 1983). In 1948, the A.J. Orenstein mine hospital for black mine workers opened, while the old hospital was used for white patients. The latter closed in 1977 after the Sybrand van Niekerk hospital for whites was opened in Carletonville.[101]

Relating to local social functions, culture and sports activities, the Blyvooruitzicht mine community was actively part of the development thereof. The first sports activities organised in the 1940s were rugby, soccer, golf, jukskei, cricket, hockey and bowls. Rugby was the first sport played on a regional competition basis, while other sports activities were initially practised informally and for relaxation.

Social functions and cultural activities such as games evenings, film screenings, variety concerts and stage performances supplied distraction. The Blyvoor Amateur Dramatic Society staged performances.[102] All these activities took place in the Blyvooruitzicht Recreation Club, which was built for this purpose by the Blyvooruitzicht mine. An old inhabitant amiably remarked that the purpose of the club was mainly to keep everyone out of trouble![103] However, it must have caused a sense of belonging for the isolated community.

The Blyvooruitzicht Recreation Club was also used for educational purposes by schools apart from cultural functions. The Blyvooruitzicht Gold Mining Company was involved with arrangements and financial aspects concerning local schools from the start. The mine carried the financial cost of moving these schools to Carletonville after 1948.[104] Currently, there are three primary schools, one for English and one for Afrikaans whites and a third for black learners living on the

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[101] *Carletonville Herald*, 20.1.1989, p. 3 and W. Hagan-Watson, *Down memory lane*…, p. 50. A.J. Orenstein was the first medical director.
[102] W. Hagan-Watson, *Down memory lane*…, p. 51-59.
[103] W. Hagan-Watson, *Down memory lane*…, p. 10,1 4-17, 36-38, 43-48 and 51-59.
[104] M.M.J. *Ootshuizen, Blanke onderwys in die Carletonville omgewing na 1948: 'n historiese perspekti*ef, pp.64,67,74 and *Carletonville Herald*, supplement: "Blyvoor 1937-1987", 19.6.1987, p. 11.

Blyvooruitzicht community.[105] The Recreation Club was also used to deliver business services, and a men's and ladies' hair salon operated from here on a part-time basis to service the mine community.[106] The community also had a small trade sector in the mines' suburbs called The Village. Newspapers, ice cream by Nels Rust Ice Cream and vegetables by De Ponte Luiz-Partners,[107] were sold. A potpourri of items was sold by the Blyvooruitzicht Stores and Schutte Brothers, and eateries (probably tearooms) were built for the black people.[108] These trade services paved the way for a larger economic infrastructure, which came into being with the building of the Carletonville-Oberholzer complex and contributed to a more integrated community.[109]

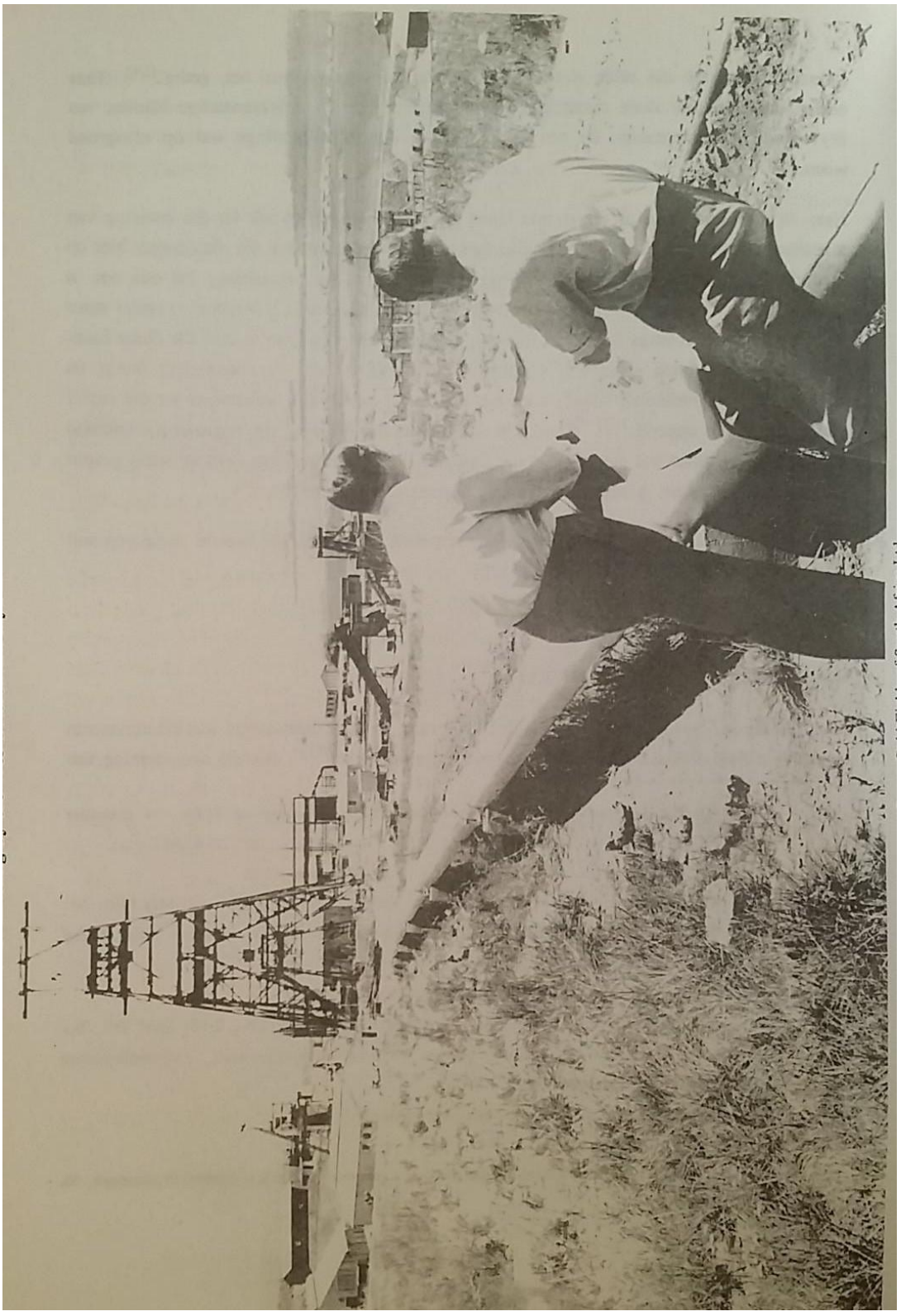
4.7 GOLD FIELDS OF SOUTH AFRICA

Gold Fields of South Africa (GFSA) was founded in 1887.[110] This company was the first of its kind to open and develop gold mines in South Africa.[111] Gold Fields discovered and developed the rich gold ridges of the far West Rand and the West Wits Line 43 years later.[112] The long and fruitful involvement of the GFSA with the West Wits Line produced four rich gold mines for Gold Fields in the Carletonville area, of which the West Driefontein gold mine company was the first.

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[105] J.C. Schutte (ed.), *Wesrand Streekdiensteraad beplanningondersoek*, p. 142.
[106] Blyvooruitzicht Gold Mining Company Limited, Map: blockplan of residential areas", May 1963; W. Hagan-Watson, *Down memory lane*…, p. 52, 55 and Rand Mines *Blyvooruitzicht Gold Mining Company Limited –visitors brochure,* pp. 48-50.
[107] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, Minutes: minute, 1949-1952.
[108] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, Minutes: minute, 21.9.1951 and IR, BAO, Vol. 967, file A15/1108(1), Commercial city regions: letter, Bantu Affairs Commissioner, Oberholzer/Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner, Johannesburg, 21.8.1963.
[109] Consult, *Chapter Five,* pp. 210-216 for more detail.
[110] R.Macnab, *Gold their touchstones*:…, p. 4.
[111] N. Bremer, "Vakbonden en apartheid in Suid-Afrika", *"Economish en Sociaal Historisch Jaarboek,* 40, 1977, pp.106-107.
[112] R.Macnab, *Gold their touchstones*:…, pp. 2,120.

Development at the West Driefontein mine by 1952.



Bron: Gold Fields of South Africa Ltd.

4.7.1 West Driefontein Gold Mining Company

4.7.1.1Development

Gold extraction at the West Driefontein Gold Mine produced the most sensational findings in the gold mining industry of South Africa, as well as the world. The scale on which these findings were exploited is discussed in the historical development of West Driefontein.

The development of the West Driefontein mining company by GFSA commenced in 1983 after the Government approved a lease agreement for this purpose. The start of the Second World War in 1939 stopped further initiative to open the gold mine. Consequently, the company, West Driefontein Gold Mining Company Limited, was registered on 7 March 1945.[113] Shares of about £7,500,000, costing 10 shillings each, were sold for a total value of £3,750,000, and this capital was used for the development of buildings and services on the West Driefontein mine ground.[114] The Blyvooruitzicht gold mine ploughed back the valuable financial support given by the GFSA in 1937 in the form of shares,[115] by providing technical assistance during the years of establishing the West Driefontein mine.[116]

During the first few months since West Driefontein actively joined gold mining operations in February 1952, an impressive 4,693 kg of gold was produced (see Graph 2, p.177).[117] The 115,000 tons of gold ore that were produced during this year quadrupled during the next year, when 45,000 tons of gold ore were ground monthly.[118] Two vertical shafts and one oval-shaped vertical shaft were ready for production purposes at the end of 1952. During the layout of the shafts, water-holding fissures were a problem for the mine. The danger of sinkholes caused by the extraction of water was thoroughly understood.

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[113] R.Macnab, *Gold their touchstones*:…, p. 175.
[114] S.R. Potter (ed.), *South African Mining and Engineering Year Book*, 1947-8, p. 233.
[115] R.Macnab, *Gold their touchstones*:…, p. 145, 146.
[116] W.M. Walkerm "The West Wits Line", *South African Journal for Economics,* 18(1), March 1950, pp.31-32.
[117] Chamber of Mines, 63rd. Annual Report*,* 1952, p. 34.
[118] S.R. Potter (ed.), *South African Mining and Engineering Year Book, 1954-55*, pp. 149, 167 and PU for CHE, Continued regional survey of controlled region no. 2, report no. 3…, 1956-57, table no.5.

Subsequently, holes were drilled where the underground caves occurred, and a mixture of 83% ground and 17% cement was used to fill them up.[119] Work on No. Four shaft was also started, but stopped to ensure that there was enough capital to finish No. One, Two, and Three shafts[120]

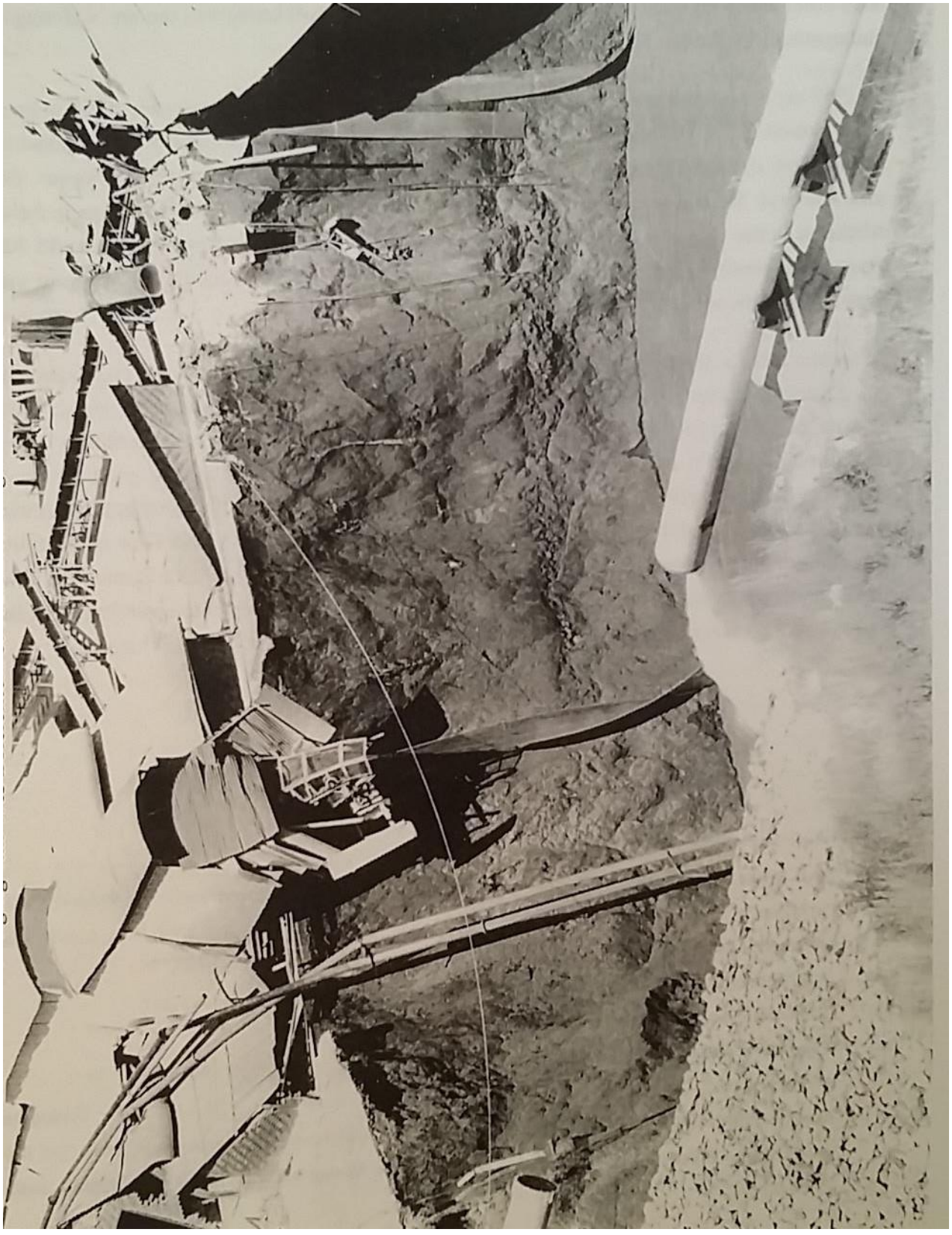
No gold mining group will dispute the fact that gold mining in South Africa during the 1950s belonged to West Driefontein Gold Mine. Only one year after this mine produced its first gold bar, the GFSA announced that West Driefontein showed a profit of £2,000,000. Blyvooruitzicht mine, which was previously praised as the most profitable gold mine and started 10 years before West Driefontein began producing gold, was gradually overshadowed by the yield of West Driefontein mine.[121]

To utilise the West Driefontein gold mine optimally, further development possibilities were investigated in 1953. The planning of a fifth shaft on the southern part of the west section, as well as the development of a reduction and uranium plant, resulted from this. The latter was built with loans from American and British investors.[122] The uranium plant started production in 1956. The production of uranium at West Driefontein included uranium processing of leftover gold from the Doornfontein gold mine.[123] Then the development of the No. Five shaft received attention, and the gold extraction potential where this shaft was built was seen as the richest in the West Driefontein mine area. While the development of the No. Five shaft sinking operations started, the operations at No. Four shaft continued.[124]

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[119] Anon., "West Driefontein develops -1", *"The South African Mining and Engineering Journal,* LXIII(1), 12.7.1952, pp. 823-829 and S.R. Potter (ed.), *South Africa Mining and Engineering Year Book,* 1950-51, pp. 221-223.
[120] S.R. Potter (ed.), *South African Engineering Year Book,* 1950-510, p. 227.
[121] R.Macnab, *Gold their touchstones*:…, pp. 184-185.
[122] S.R. Potter (ed.), *South African Engineering Year Book,* 1950-510, p. 167 and Cory Library, Gold Fields Collection, R.R.M. Cousens, "Recovery of the West Driefontein Mine", (group conference held in Scotland, 2-9 July 1964), p. 37.
[123] P.J. Malan, "50 Jare van samewerking in mynbou", *Vereniging van Ondergrondse Amptenare,* 1969, p.71 and W.P. de Kock, "The geology and economic significance of the West Wits Line", *The Geological Society of South Africa,* I, 1964, table XIV.
[124] S.R. Potter (ed.), *South Africa Mining and Engineering Year Book*, 1954-55, p. 167.

The engulfment of the West Driefontein reduction plant by a sinkhole in 1962



Source: West Driefontein Mine.

By 1957, the gold production at the West Driefontein gold mine showed a profit of £16 million. This consistent growth of the mine not only made a huge financial contribution but also ensured the steady activities of Gold Fields in South Africa. The mine contributed to steadying the development of other GFSA interests in South Africa and the world.[125] In 1959, over 1,055,973 tons of ore were crushed to develop 33,300 kg of gold. This was seven-fold more gold than in the first year of the West Driefontein mine in 1952.[126]

Despite this spectacular production tempo, West Driefontein also experienced growing pains. Because of the presence of dolomitic underground water, huge amounts of capital were spent to control it so that underground mining activities could continue. In 1954, it became necessary to install a pump at West Driefontein, similar to the Blyvooruitzicht gold mine, to pump out water from the mining area. A huge amount of water, i.e., 573,604 million gallons (2,581,218 million litres), was pumped out of the mining area between 1954 and 1962.[127] This relief was short-lived because the water, which was pumped out onto the surface, seeped back into the same compartments just to be circulated again by the pumping plant. As a result, in 1959, signs of surface sinking became visible at West Driefontein gold mine.[128] Ground movement influenced the crushing department's work in the reduction plant at West Driefontein. As a result, the average amount of ore that was crushed monthly could not be sustained.[129] The aforementioned impressive production output of West Driefontein in 1959 would probably have been higher if it were not for this setback that hit the mine.

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[125] R. Macnab, *Gold their touchstones*…, p. 185.
[126] Chamber of Mines, 70th Annual Report*,* 1959, p.28. Also see Graph 2, p. 141a.
[127] W.P. de Kock, "The geology and economic significance of the West Wits Line", *The Geological Society of South Africa,* I, 1964, p.375. The cost for the pumping equipment amounted to £6,270,000. Also see S.R. Potter (ed.), *South African Mining and Engineering Year Book,* 1954-1955, p. 167.
[128] South African Transport Services, *The least unsafe route, V*ol. I (compiled by J.F. Wolmarans), pp. 19-21 and *Carletonville Herald,* 12.2.1965, p. 3. From the article, it appears as if the South African Geological Association regarded the recirculation of water as a direct cause for the sinkhole formations. When underground water filtrates, the fine gravel gets removed from the porous cover, and the remainder of the impure material (hornstones) falls in, forming a sinkhole.
[129] South African Transport Services, *The least unsafe route,* Vol. I (compiled by J.F. Wolmarans), p.22 en *West Rand Times en Wesrander,* 4.5.1962, p. 2.

In December 1962, it was the dormant ground movement which led to the formation of a sinkhole under the reduction plant of the West Driefontein gold mine, engulfing the plant with 29 workers.[130] Consequently, West Driefontein had to rely on the goodwill of neighbouring mines, i.e., Blyvooruitzicht, Doornfontein and Western Deep Levels, to process its monthly ore production. A new, larger reduction plant was built for West Driefontein a year after the accident, which normalised the process.[131] At nearly the same time, the uranium plant at West Driefontein gold mine was closed,[132] since the mine produced enough to fulfil its contracts.[133] During 1962, approximately 3,323,150 tons of gold were treated to produce uranium.[134]

The annual yield of the West Driefontein gold mine grew to such an extent that it was distinguished as the richest gold mine in the world, despite the sinkhole question in the Carletonville area. In this year, West Driefontein also became the first gold mine in the world to produce more than two million fine ounces of gold (62,968 kg) in one year.[135] The mine maintained this position between 1965 and 1967.[136] The same trend could have continued during the remaining years of the 1960s if it were not for the underground water flood of 1968, which affected the activities at West Driefontein.

On 26 October 1968, at a mine depth of 875 metres under the surface of the delving area of No. Four shaft, an astronomical 385 megalitre water poured into the mine.[137] As a consequence, events at West Driefontein mine were the most controversial news worldwide.[138]

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[130] Cory Library, Gold Fields Collection, R.R.M. Cousens, "Recovery of the West Driefontein Mine", (group conference held in Scotland, 2-9 July 1964), pp. 38-40; A.P. Cartwright, *Wes Driefontein – ordeal by water,* p.2; *The Star,* 12.12.1962, p.1 and *Die Transvaler,* 13.12.1962, p. 1.
[131] *Die Transvaler,* 26.9.1966, p. 3.
[132] P.J. Malan, "50 Jare van saamwerking in mynbou", *Vereniging van Ondergrondse Amptenare,* 1969, p.71.
[133] Anon., *Mining and annual review,* 76th Annual Report, 1965, p. 181.
[134] Cory Library, Gold Fields Collection, R.R.M. Cousens, "Recovery of the West Driefontein Mine", (group conference held in Scotland, 2-9 July 1964), p. 37.
[135] Chamber of Mines, 76th Annual Report*,* 1965, p. 34; *Die Transvaler,* 26.9.1966, p.3 and *Herald vir die Goue Weste,* 5.11.1965, p.1.
[136] Chamber of Mines, 78th Annual Report*,* 1967, p. 31, and the 79th Annual Report*,* 1968, p. 33.
[137] A.H. Taute and P.W. Tress, "Dewatering of the flooded underground working in the Bank compartment", *The South African Mining and Engineering Journal,* 83, October 1971, pp. 23;

Workers vacated the mine at once while two black workers held the pump in working order 5000 feet (1,524,39 metres) underground, despite strong winds and inflowing water. This was done in vain because the tempo of the water flow was far stronger than the pump's ability.[139] Geologists found that the pressure of the water in the fissures in the dolomite near No. Four shaft disturbed the thin separation between the overlying Transvaal rocks, causing this unobstructed water flow. This flow in the West Driefontein gold mine also caused the water level to drop below the flow height of the Bank Eye.[140] This brought the mine into disfavour with the farming sector of this district.[141]

By 28 October, the water flow was still increasing, threatening to flood the mine. It was estimated that this disaster would keep the mine out of production for two years. Additional pumps were installed by the fifth day, and approximately 63 million gallons (2,835 million litres) of water were pumped out in 24 hours. By the ninth day, more pumps were installed to pump water to an emergency area, which could store about 560 million gallons of water. At that stage, 440 million was already pumped, and an alternative storage area became necessary. Neighbouring mines again jumped in to help. Western Deep Levels and Blyvooruitzicht began drilling tunnels to the West Driefontein gold mine to lead the water away.[142]

Despite all the assistance, engineers foresaw that the water would reach the 14th level of the mine in two weeks. This would mean that the mine would be flooded, causing it to become inoperable.[143]

South African Transport Services, *The least unsafe route,* vol. I (compiled by J.F. Wolmarans), p. 45 en A.P. Cartwright, *Wes-Driefontein – ordeal by water,* pp. 57-59.

[138] Nearly every newspaper in South Africa and internationally reported on the events at the Wes Driefontein Mine in 1968. Various related articles also appeared, as is evident in footnotes 137 to 148. A film of this event was made in the 1970s based on the writings of South African writer, Wilbur Smith. See J. Oxley, *Down where no lion walked…,* p. 125. These various sources consequently resulted in the statistics regarding the amount of water and the depth of the mine where events occurred, sometimes differing drastically.

[139] P. Holtz and J.H. Booysens, "Om 'n myn te red", *Suid-Afrikaanse Panorama,* 14(2), Februarie 1969, pp.1-2; *Carletonville Weekly Record,* 26.9.1975, p.18 and *Rand Daily Mail,* 28.10.1968, p. 1.

[140] J.F. Wolmarans, *Ontwatering van die dolomietgebied aan die Verre Wes-Rand*…, pp. 126-128, 170.

[141] See *Chapter Drie,* pp. 84-91.

[142] Anon., *Mining annual review,* 79th Annual Report, 1968, p. 26; P. Holtz and J.H. Booysens, "Om 'n myn te red", *Suid-Afrikaanse Panorama,* 14(2), Februarie 1969, pp. 2-4, and R.R.M. Counsens and W.S. Garrett, "Floading at the West Driefontein mine", *Journal of the South African Institute of Mining and Metallurgy,* 69, April 1969, p. 435.

During this struggle for survival, the Government and the rest of South Africa were surely anxious and followed the day-to-day developments at West Driefontein. There was more than enough reason for this. If the mine closed down, it would take a huge bite out of the annual income tax for the Government,[144] followed by a delay in new development and adversely impair the public.

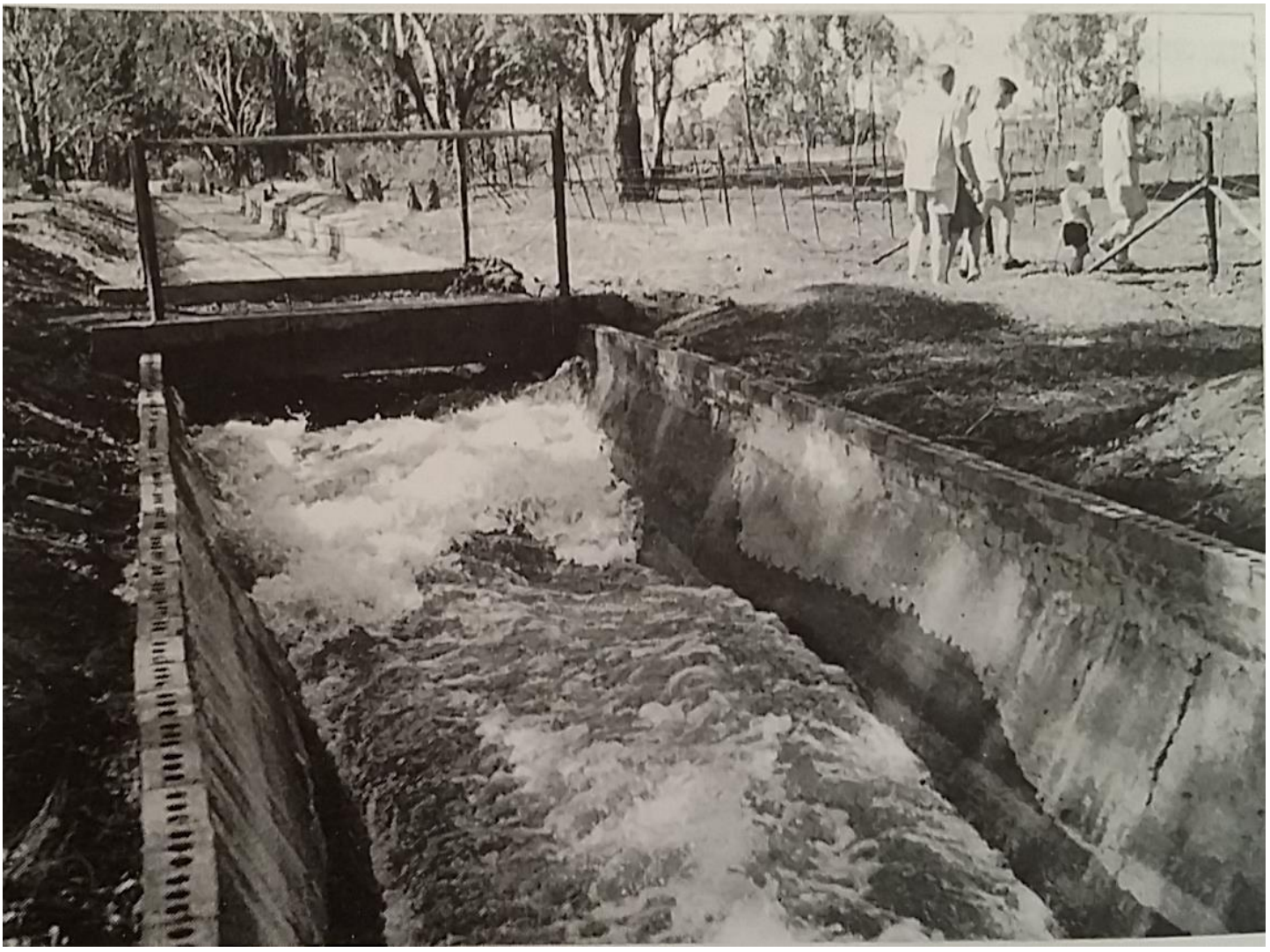
Then there were the shareholders of the West Driefontein gold mine, who determined the tempo of development of the mine with their financial contributions. It seemed as if some shareholders who, before the struggle to save the mine, had begun to change, lost trust in the future of the West Driefontein mine, and gradually gave up their support. This apparently meant a loss of R80 million for West Driefontein.[145]

Regardless of this gradual loss, the GFSA and the West Driefontein gold mining company still continued, with financial cost, to save the mine from total flooding. Mining authorities and other institutions decided to close the No. Four shaft of the West Driefontein. A cementation company was approached, and two concrete plugs of 20,000 cubic metres on mine levels 10 and 12 were installed. On its own, it was a long and nerve-wracking process for those involved. Firstly, walls were installed, and behind dry areas, ventilation pipes were put down, followed by an eight-foot (2,44 metres) mini plug of solid instant drying cement. Two huge 60-foot (18,3 metres) cement fills (plugs), each provided by five valves to lead the water away, while the cement plugs could resist water pressure.[146] After this dramatic rescue story, the West Driefontein goldmine was able to continue with its activities.[147] This was a huge relief for the Government, as an indispensable contribution from the mine to the state treasury could be continued.[148]

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[143] R. Macnab, *Gold their touchstonse*:…, p. 228; *The Star,* 29.10.1968, p.1; *Die Transvaler*, 28.10.1968 and *Rand Daily Mail*, 9.11.1968, p. 11.
[144] *Rand Daily Mail,* 9.11.1968, p. 11.
[145] *Die Vaderland,* 5.11.1968, p. 2.
[146] L.R. Robinson, "Unprecedented inflow of water into the West Driefontein goldmine", *South African Mechanical Engineer,* 18 March 1969, pp.166-169; Anon., "Plugs which saved West Drie", *Coal,* 16(11), January 1969, pp.21-31 and R.R.M. Cousens and W.S. Garrett, "Flooding at the West Driefontein mine", *Journal of the South African Institute of Mining and Metallurgy,* 69, April 1969, p. 444-460.
[147] P. Holtz and J.H. Booysens, "Om 'n myn te red", *Suid-Afrikaanse Panorama,* 14(2), Februarie 1969, p. 4; A.P. Cartwright, *Wes-Driefontein – ordeal by water,* p.70 and A.P. Cartwright, "Wes-Driefontein: ordeal by water", *The South African Mining and Engineering Journal,* 80(1), 28 February 1969, pp. 438-440.

The pumping out of the water from No. Four shaft of the West Driefontein mine, 30 October 1968.



Source: Antonsica's Photos.

Despite this setback, the production figure for the quantity of crushed ore at West Driefontein mine between 1968 and 1969 showed a small decLine from 2,377,000 to 2,306, 000 tons.[149] The kilograms of gold produced decLined considerably from 77,379 to 65,382.[150] The value at that stage was R60 million, and West Driefontein contributed a hefty 6% to the total production in the world and a total of 8% to the total gold production of South Africa.[151] This goldmine was R23 million worth in tax to the government![152]

The dehydration and repair of the flooded shafts was a long process. A lot of equipment had to be replaced, and the electrical and mechanical equipment that was lying under the high-pressure water had to be repaired. The future of No. Four shaft, from which the later East Driefontein mine had to be developed was unsure for quite some time. With this, the possible complete dehydration of the Bank compartment, as earlier with the Oberholzer-compartment, was now discussed. The government had already supported the dehydration of the Bank compartment at the time of the disaster,[153] knowing that this step might cause more landslides in this area. The inflow of water in the West Driefontein gold mine influenced the hydrology of the Bank compartment tremendously since October 1968.[154]

Between 8 January and 12 November 1969, water was pumped from shaft Nos. Two, Three and Four.[155] In June, the pumping out of water from the Bank compartment began on a huge scale, and by December, the Bank eye was nearly dry.

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[148] R. Macnab, *Gold their touchstonse:…,* p. 228; *Rand Daily Mail,* 9.11.1968, p.11 and Anon., *Mining annual review,* 81st Annual Report, 1970, p. 312.
[149] Anon., *Mining annual review,* 81st Annual Report, 1970, p. 312.
[150] Chamber of Mines, 80th Annual Report*,* 1969, p.36, as well as 81st Annual Report, 1970, pp. 5, 31.
[151] Anon., *Mining annual review,* 83rd Annual Report, 1972, p. 331.
[152] *Herald vir die Goue Weste*, 19.12.1969, p.1.
[153] Anon., *Mining annual review,* 79th Annual Report, 1968, p. 271 and *Herald vir die Goue Weste,* 19.12.1969, pp.1-2.
[154] *Rand Daily Mail,* 9.11.1968, p. 11.
[155] The water pumped from the Bank compartment was dumped by boreholes in the mine sump of the northern shaft of Oos Driefontein, after which it was diverted by cement canals. The remainder of the water was led away to farms in the Oberholzer district. See Anon., “Fire and flood at West Driefontein Gold Mine”, *Coal,* 20(5), June 1972, p. 33.

Landslides were evident in this area, and the West Driefontein Mine was held liable for the damage to the Bank area by the townspeople of Bank.[156] This was understandable since Bank Town and all business activities, as well as the Bank station, were suspended during 1970 due to sinkholes.[157] During this year, the mine once more reached full production.[158]

The year 1971 was an outstanding time for West Driefontein in two ways. During December, the underground dehydration process and the evacuation area of the No. Four shaft was finalised.[159] The mine also produced 88,883 kg of gold during this year (see Graph 2, p.177), and with this, it yielded the highest gold production, which it could never repeat nor surpass thereafter. West Driefontein was still the highest producing gold mine at this time in South Africa.[160]

With the events of 1968 still fresh in memories, West Driefontein gold mine had to face yet another serious crisis on Saturday, 29 January 1972. As a result of an electrical defect in the lift device of No. Five, a vertical shaft, a fire started. The lives of more than 500 mine workers were in danger. To top this, the mine lost more than 25% of its production. Rescue work included a water flood in the shaft. Ironically, it was exactly the opposite of the rescue attempt in 1968. With about 750 mega litres of water, the fire was eventually extinguished by 22 February, and by mid-March, the daily mine activities were normalised. In the mine hospital of West Driefontein, 175 mine workers had to be treated for injuries. This disaster took the lives of 16 mine workers.[161]

When comparing the gold production of West Driefontein from 1972 to 1973, namely 75,220 kg, as opposed to 75,511 kg, it does seem as if the disaster during 1972 negatively impacted the mine's production. By 1976, the West Driefontein gold production decLined even further

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[156] J.F. Wolmarans, *Ontwatering van die dolomietgebied aan die Verre Wes-Rand*…, pp. 102, 170, 180.
[157] See *Chapter Two,* p.36, *Five,* pp. 222-223 and *Six,* pp. 250-252.
[158] Anon., *Mining annual review,* 81st Annual Report, 1970, p.312.
[159] R. Macnab, Gold their touchstones:…, p. 229.
[160] Chamber of Mines, 83rd Annual Report, 1972, p. 33.
[161] Anon., "Fire and flood at West Driefontein Gold Mine", *Coal,* 20(5), June 1972, pp. 29-37.

to 55,754 kg, but it was still the highest producing gold mine in South Africa[162] visibly coming to its end.

Regardless of this declining tendency in gold production at West Driefontein, the GFSA still invested in further development of the mine. During 1976, No. Six shaft was sunk at R12 million, and the use of mechanised equipment was expanded. With this, experimental projects were started underground to test the new mechanised equipment.[163] As a result of these tests, two mechanical ore sorting plants were started up in 1978.[164] West Driefontein was exploiting lower-grade gold ridges as well as uranium. This step was one of the first attempts to prolong the longevity of the mine.[165]

The amount of ore crushed annually consequently increased. However, it did not increase the amount of gold exploited from the ore. At the beginning of the eighties, West Driefontein produced 43,792 kg of gold. By this time, another gold mine of the West Wits Line, Western Deep Levels, surpassed West Driefontein.[166] Shortly after this, the GFSA considered the amalgamation of this mine with the much younger East Driefontein Gold Mine.

In May 1981, West Driefontein amalgamated with its neighbouring mine, East Driefontein, to become Driefontein Consolidated, the largest gold-producing company in the world.[167] A year later, the developing North Driefontein mining area was added. Several factors led to the start of Driefontein Consolidated. Some of the reasons were: the rising inflation rate in the South African economy, which upset the mining industry, the shortage of manpower and capital, and the scarcity of material in the building industry, which led to delays in the construction of buildings on mining ground. [168]

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[162] Chamber of Mines, 84th Annual Report, 1973, p. 28, as well as 85th Annual Report, 1974, p. 33; 86th Annual Report, 1975, p. 38; 87th Annual Report, 1976, p. 33 and 88th Annual Report, 1977, p. 26.
[163] Anon., "Sinking number six at West Drie", *Coal,* 24(7), July 1976, p. 1.
[164] Anon., "Two new mechanical ore sorting machines go to West Dries", *South African Mining and Engineering Journal,* 89(4139), April 1978, p.37 and P.J. Bartons and N.F. Peverett, "Automated aborting in a South African gold mine", *Journal of the South African Institute of Mining and Metallurgy, 80,* March 1980, pp.103-111.
[165] Chamber of Mines, 89th Annual Report*,* 1978, p. 47.
[166] Chamber of Mines, 92nd Annual Report*,* 1981, p. 49.
[167] R. Macnab, *Gold their touchstones:…,* p.292. The Oos Driefontein Mine is discussed in detail from p.155 onwards in this chapter.
[168] J. Orpen, "Focus on Driefontein", *The South African Mining and Engineering Journal,* 91(4183), February 1982, p.35. Also see Anon., "Profile: I. Watson, go west young man", *The South African Mining and Engineering Journal,* 91(4183), February 1982, p.10. The North Driefontein Mine is also discussed briefly on pp. 160-162 of this chapter.

By uniting as Driefontein Consolidated, the existing infrastructure of a super mine, such as this one, could be utilised at a lower cost than the initial Drie separate mines. By this time, the life expectancy of West Driefontein was only 15 years, and it was decided to use this mine's infrastructure to the advantage of the other young GFSA gold mines in the Carletonville district rather than to underutilise it. For example, the West Driefontein shafts were already used in 1981 to provide the necessary hoist and ventilation facilities to the East Driefontein mine.[169]

The establishment of Driefontein Consolidated extended the life expectancy of these Drie mines collectively by 40 to 50 years.[170] This was definitely an advantageous investment from an economic point of view. Unemployment was prevented as employees who would have to search for a job elsewhere were retained for the local community and business sector. West Driefontein began a new era in its history in 1982 with its financial commitment to East and North Driefontein. However, each mine was still sOne as an individual entity, and as such, competing with other mines.[171]

The development and improvement of technical equipment on West Driefontein during the 1980s was still on the agenda. The use of manageable hydraulic bores underground instead of jackhammers cut electricity costs and reduced the noise.[172] Furthermore, the No. Six, Seven and Eight west shafts were sunk and developed. These shafts had a further

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[169] Anon., "Driefontein merger: Significant technical and financial benefits", *The South African Mining and World,* 1(7), August 1982, pp. 38-41.
[170] J. Orpen, "Focus on Driefontein", *The South African Mining and Engineering Journal,* 91(4183), February 1982, p. 37.
[171] R. Macnab, *Gold their touchstones*:…, p. 293.
[172] Anon., "Profile: I. Watson, go west young man", *The South African Mining and Engineering Journal,* 91(4183), February 1982, pp.10, 15 and N. Uys, D. Thompson and I. Pearce, "Automatic control of cyanide in leach solutions of a gold plant", *The South African Mechanical Engineering,* 37, April 1987, pp. 159-161.

advantage for the East and North Driefontein Mine.

As far as gold production of West Driefontein was concerned, this mine crushed a constant 2,880,00 million tons of ore annually between 1982 and 1987. The mass of gold developed from this was, unfortunately, still declining. During this period, production of gold decreased from 41,486 kg in 1982 to 32,208 kg in 1987,[173] and 28,050 kg by 1988 (see Graph 2, p.177).[174] At this time, there was still no gold mine in the West Wits Line district that could surpass West Driefontein's record gold production of 1971. The uranium plant was also used effectively. The production of uranium stood at about 20,150 tons.[175]

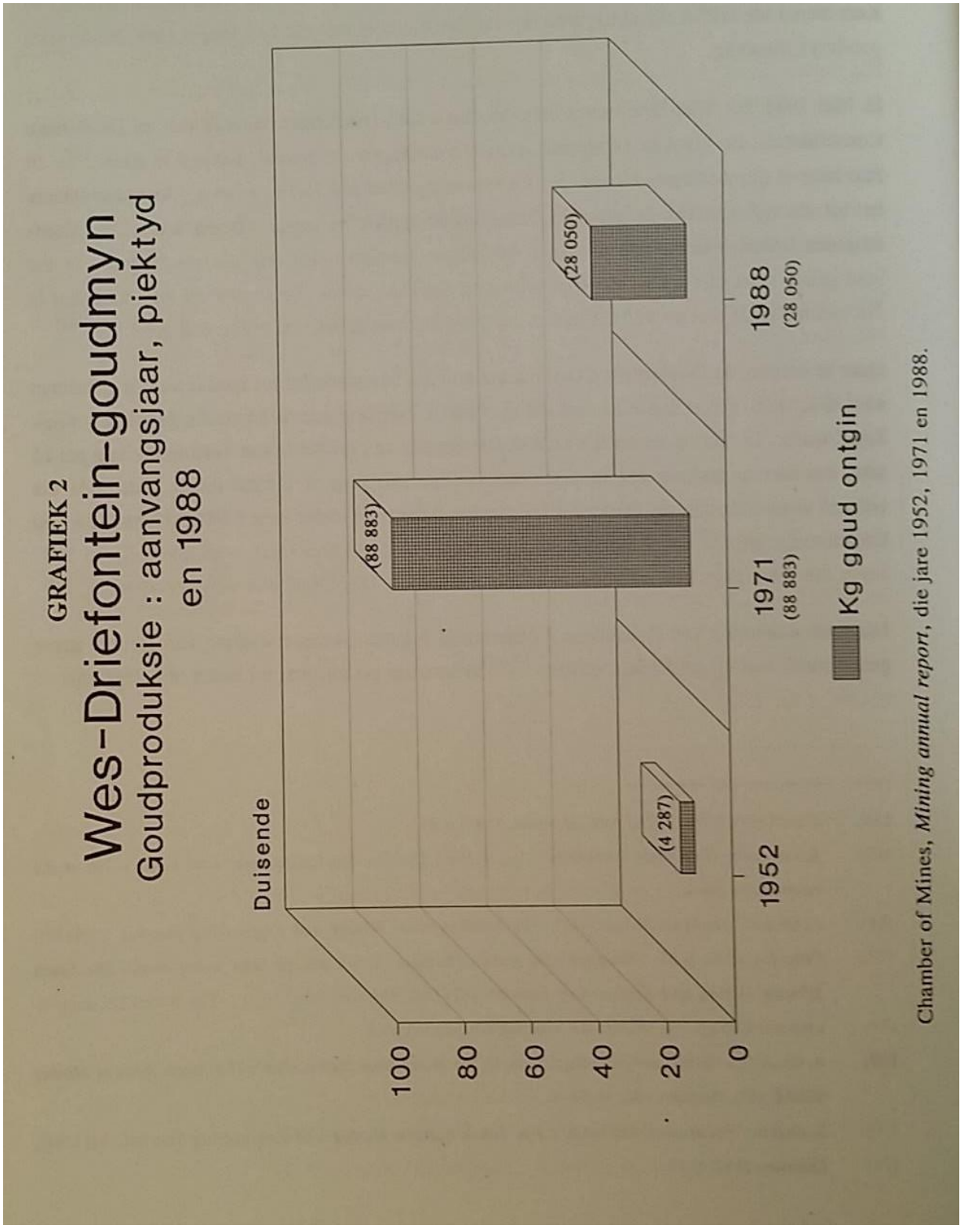
In 1988, West Driefontein was still known as one of the biggest gold suppliers. West Driefontein was the third richest gold mine in the world at this stage, with Kloof Gold Mine (outside the southeast border of the Carletonville municipal district) and the East Driefontein Mine surpassing it.[176]

4.7.1.2 Workforce and provision of housing

Except for a few years, West Driefontein had enough white and black workers since 1948 to provide for its demands. In this year, 100 whites and 595 blacks worked for the mine. By 1953, the number tripled to 486 white and 2,345 black workers.[177] Since then, the number of white people changed a great deal, while the number of black mine workers increased annually. The number of white workers was influenced by the availability of schooled manpower, while the number of black workers was influenced by

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[173] Gold Field of South Africa, *Driefontein Consolidated 1987,* p. 22 and *The West Driefontein News,* 1(1), April 1988, p. 1.
[174] Chamber of Mines, 99th Annual Report, 1988, p. 33.
[175] A. Granville, "Uranium", Republic of South Africa, *South Africa's Mineral Industry,* 1986, pp. 49- 50; Gold Fields of South Africa, *Driefontein Consolidated 1987,* p. 22 and Republic of South Africa, The Bureau for Information, *This is South Africa,* January 1987, p. 83.
[176] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, J.C. Howitt, 8.3.1989.
[177] PU for CHE, Continued regional survey of Controlled Region No. 2…, report no. 3, 1956-57, p. 126a.



GRAPH 2: WEST DRIEFONTEIN GOLD MINE- GOLD PRODUCTION: BEGINNING, PEAK AND 1988

short periods of strikes and unrest.[178] Regardless of external factors, the number of employees of West Driefontein mine increased annually. In 1966, there were 1,500 whites and 14,400 black people working for this gold mine.[179]

Nationwide unrest among blacks during the 1970s also affected the number of workers at the West Driefontein mine. A shortage of black workers arose as the numbers decLined to 13,000 by 1975/1976.[180] In a newspaper report, it was claimed that the total number of the workforce could only keep up 65% of the mine's demands.[181] Reasons for the unrest, which influenced the size of the workforce, were attributed to the political climate of the time. The application of the apartheid policy influenced the economic growth tempo of South Africa. For example, the reservation of work and the prohibition of the formation of unions for black people caused negative attitudes among black workers and promoted unrest. One of the recommendations made in the Wiehahn report, which appeared in 1979, was to acknowledge black unions.[182]

While the Government tried to investigate the economic situation of the black workers by forming commissions, strikes between 1980 and 1982 became more intense than those between 1974 and 1976. This unrest mainly occurred in the secondary sector, where people were protesting against the cheap labour system. Of the 281 strikes that took place during 1982, mine workers from the West Rand were involved in only six.[183] It is unclear whether the black mine workers from West Driefontein gold mine were responsible for suggesting one of these strikes.

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[178] CAD, BAO, Vol. 2882, file C36/5/1393/2, Labour unrest on mines and activities: letter, Chief Commissioner Witwatersrand/West Driefontein Gold Mining Company Limited, 26.8.1965; Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, J.C. Howitt, 8.3.1989 and Anon., "Profile: I. Watson, go west young man", *The South African Mining and Engineering Journal,* 91(4183), February 1982, p. 10.
[179] *Die Transvaler,* 26.9.1966, p. 3.
[180] *Carletonville Herald,* 7.3.1975, p. 1, as well as 6.9.1985, p. 1 and Anon., "Sinking number six at West Drie", *Coal,* 24(7), July 1976, p. 19.
[181] *Carletonville Herald*, 7.3.1975, p. 1.
[182] South African Research Service, *South African Review*, some foundations, new facades, Vol. I, pp. 204.
[183] South African Research Service, *South African Review,* Vol. I, pp. 220-225.

In September 1983 there was a struggle with the black union NUM involved, regarding the underground safety at West Driefontein. Some of the underground workers refused to work under circumstances which they labelled as unsafe. NUM spoke to the chairman of GFSA but the outcome was negative since a lot of workers were dismissed from West Driefontein. This course of affairs ended up in the Industrial Court. It was the first trial where NUM was involved. The Industrial Court made a recommendation in favour of the mine workers to the disappointment of the GFSA.[184]

Although the mining sector was confronted with a large number of strikes during 1984 and 1986,[185] the West Driefontein gold mine was not really affected. By 1985, the mine had a large workforce of 15,608 white and black mine workers, which was an increase of 239 people compared to the workforce of 1984.[186]

By 1988, the training of most black mine workers at West Driefontein was not on track. Although West Driefontein gave increasing attention to vocational training and improvement of working conditions underground, only 10 black workers were appointed in senior positions, while the rest were not schooled or had a standard six or eight school certificate.[187] A better level of training was needed by the mine, because there were not enough whites (1679 in 1988)[188] to fill the skilled positions. The number of black unschooled workers increased, which put more pressure on the training officers to prepare these people for schooled positions.[189] By December 1988, 16,626 black men and 262 black women were working at West Driefontein gold mine.[190]

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[184] South African Research Service, *South African Review,* Vol. II, p. 192, and *Carletonville Herald*, 20.9.1983, p. 1.
[185] South African Research Service, *South African Review,* Vol. IV, p. 259.
[186] Gold Fields of South Africa Limited, *Driefontein Consolidated, 1985,* p.1 8.
[187] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, J.C. Howitt, 8.3.1989.
[188] Gold Fields of South Africa Limited, *Driefontein Consolidated, 1985,* p. 16.
[189] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, J.C. Howitt, 8.3.1989, as well as interview, D. Poel (Public relations officer, Wes Driefontein gold mine), 11.8.1989.
[190] Gold Fields of South Africa Limited, *Driefontein Consolidated, 1985,* p. 16.

West Driefontein had already contemplated the accommodation of white mine workers by 1945, before it had actually joined the gold mining industry. Carletonville was proclaimed in 1948 on the initiative of the West Witwatersrand Areas. The first homes built by West Driefontein are close to the north-western border of the mine.[191] By 1951, the mine had already built 213 houses in Carletonville.[192] West Driefontein was known for the fact that it was the mining management in the area that built the most houses in Carletonville for its employees. The local building industry and building contractors from Johannesburg benefited from the high demand for housing for whites in the Carletonville town.[193] By 1967, West Driefontein financed the building of 896 houses in Carletonville. At this time, only four homes were built on mining land,[194] possibly to accommodate personnel who were performing emergency services.

Landslides in Carletonville during the 1960s increased West Driefontein Gold Mine's expenditure on accommodation. Apart from minor damage such as cracks in the walls of numerous homes,[195] 62 houses had to be evacuated or demolished between 1966 and 1967. In Carletonville, West Driefontein mine lost more houses than any other mine due to landslides and sinkholes. Since then, additional funds have been spent by the mine for housing and improvements. The mine also assisted with the filling of sinkholes in the town.[196] By 1985, the average annual expenses made for the decoration or renovation of houses in town were approximately R1,092,139.[197] Of this, a small percentage was used to repair damage caused by the collapse of ground since it had already mostly stabilised and had little effect. The private housing scheme was gradually received positively by the employees during the

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[191] TAD, Town Clerk, Potchefstroom (PM), Vol. 351, Townlands: report on the establishment of townships, 9.9.1948; R. Macnab, *Gold their touchstones…,* pp. 121, 124 and *Chapter Two,* pp. 21-24 regarding town development.
[192] Anon., "Seventy-one hundred new houses for miners, mines of West Wits Line and Klerksdorp have created four new towns – Carletonville, Westonsaria, Stilfontein and Orkney", *Mining Survey,* 3(2), March 1951, p. 25.
[193] See *Chapter Five Vyf,* p. 211 for more information.
[194] IR, MCV, file 22/1(b)(2), Towns: schedule indicating the pattern of development in the Carletonville region, 18.4.1967.
[195] TAD, MCV, Vol. 38, file 34/14(b), Formation, safety of stands: West Driefontein Gold Mining Company Limited – Cracking of houses in Carletonville, progress report, February 1966.
[196] IR, MCV, file 33/1/4(g), Stands transferred to the City Council because of bad formation as well as the maintenance of stands where buildings were demolished: letter, Mining Rights and Estates Department/Town Clerk Carletonville, 15.6.1966 as well as letter, Wes Driefontein Gold Mine/City Council, 14.1.1967 and file 22/1(b)(2), Towns: schedule indicating the pattern of development in the Carletonville region, 18.4.1967.
[197] Gold Fields of South Africa Limited, *Driefontein Consolidated, 1985,* p. 16.

1980's.[198] This reduced West Driefontein's maintenance expenses.

Accommodation for black mine workers at West Driefontein Mine was developed during the 1950s. Three hostels were built,[199] and expanded with time to house 16,000 workers by 1988.[200] Living quarters for married black workers were also built and are called Letsatsing. Close to the living quarters, guesthouses were built to accommodate the families of the hostel dwellers when they came to visit.[201]

4.7.2.1 Business services, recreation, sports, cultural activities and medical facilities

Mining activities at West Driefontein not only stimulated the need for housing for its workers, but also the number of merchants on mining property, mostly meant to serve the black workers. It is still the case, and the reason is mainly that most white employees live in Carletonville and the black workers support the business centre there. As with Blyvooruitzicht, the recreation club of West Driefontein was on mine property and was used for business meetings during its pioneer years.[202] By 1988, three concession shops did business near the hostels.[203]

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[198] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, J.C. Howitt, 8.3.1989.
[199] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, file T1/30 no. T130/3388, Carletonville Township: letter, Secretary Health Board/Attorneys Roux and Jacobs, 29.12.1953 and CAD, NTS, Vol. 9935, file 599/408c(1), Compound West Driefontein Gold Mining Co. Shaft no. 1: correspondence, 1955-1959.
[200] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, map, Carletonville municipal region by 1988 (Department of Town and Regional Planning, Carletonville Municipality).
[201] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, J.C. Howitt, 8.3.1989, as well as 28.3.1990, and R. Macnab, *Gold their touchstones…,* p. 212(b).
[202] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, Minutes: minute, 15.3.1951.
[203] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, file T1/346(1), Carletonville Township xt. 2: Carletonville/Oberholzer development plan, 11.9.1953, as well as file T6/13: letter, Consolidated Gold Fields Ltd/Health Board for Peri Urban Areas, 11.2.1948 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, J.C. Howitt, 8.3.1989.

Apart from the concession shops close to the hostels, West Driefontein mine developed generous sports facilities as time passed.[204] The facilities close to the hostels were mainly developed for the well-being of the West Driefontein's black workers. Bicycling and athletics were the only sports that were practised on an integrated basis.

One equipped field is available for each of these sports. Nineteen soccer fields, two rugby fields and five tennis courts were laid out. Karate and boxing were also presented. Of all these sporting types, soccer receives the most interest. Four soccer teams play on a competition level under the name West Drie Club, compared to three rugby teams.[205]

West Driefontein built a recreation club complex for its white employees in 1963 in Carletonville.[206] This club developed over the years to such an extent that it housed 11 sports by 1988. These sports were amateur wrestling, netball, boxing, bowls, cricket, hockey, jukskei, rugby, tennis, squash and soccer. All of these 11 sports are practised at the competition level.[207] With this, the mine made an important contribution to the improvement of the town's inhabitants' quality of living.

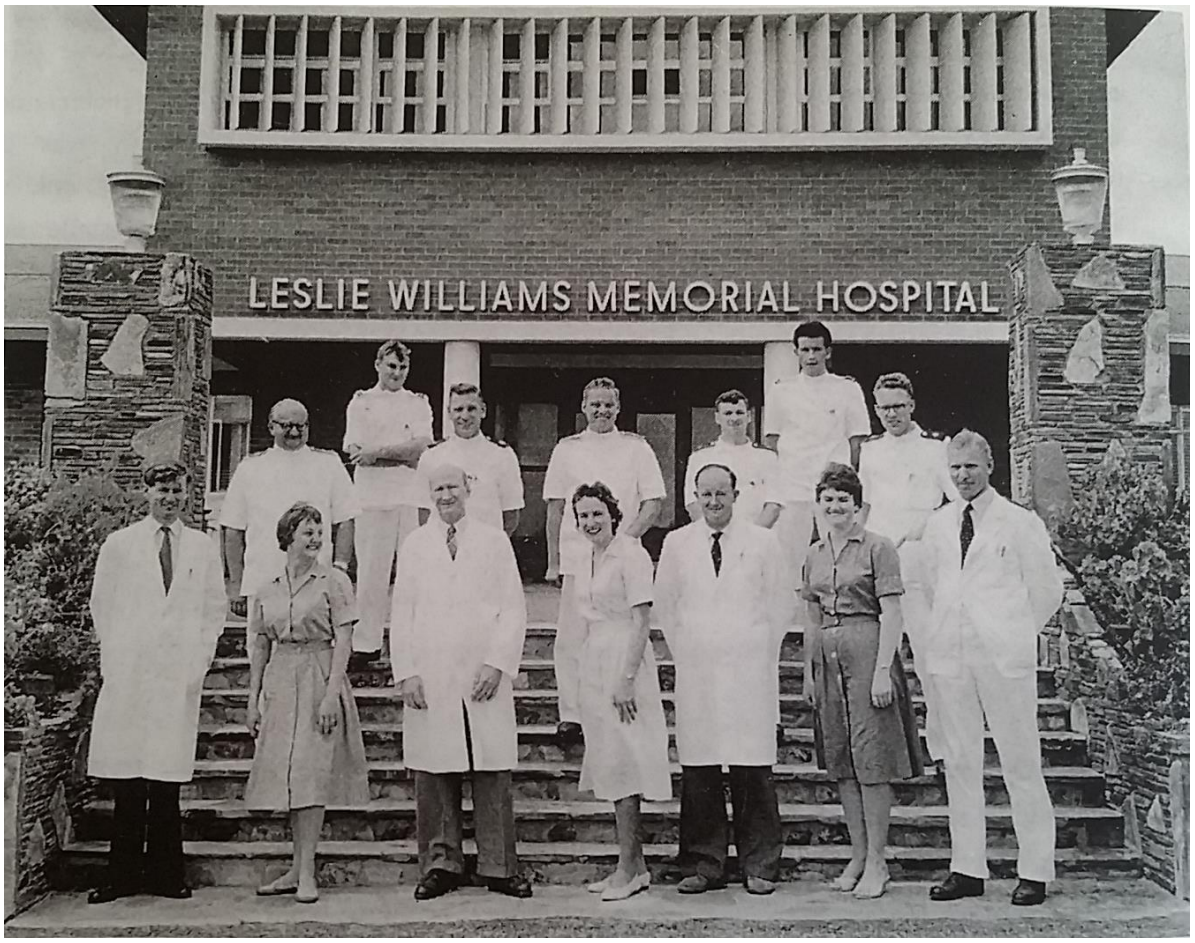
As with sport, the white employees mainly share the cultural life and activities of Carletonville. This includes choir singing, stage performances, associations, clubs and church activities.[208]

The most important and favourite cultural activity among the black workers at the hostels of West Driefontein is tribal dances. Tribal dances are held regularly on Sundays at the three hostels, in tribal connection. [209]

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[204] IR, BAO, Vol. 4194, file C170/3/1393/1, Recreation facilities: West Driefontein Gold Mining Company no. 2 shaft, 1964-1973 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, J.C. Howitt, 8.3.1989.
[205] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, C.J. Jacobs (Sports officer, Wes Driefontein), 6.6.1991.
[206] IR, BAO, Vol. 1477, file A18/1108/27, Segregation: West Driefontein Gold Mining Company Limited recreation club Carletonville, 1963-1967. White miners from the Doornfontein and Oos Driefontein mines also use the Wes Driefontein's sports facilities. See Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, J.C. Howitt, 8.3.1989.
[207] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, J. Letourneau (Sports officer, Recreation Club Carletonville), 6.6.1991.
[208] In *Chapter Seven,* pp.229-301, the cultural life of Carletonville is discussed.
[209] Carletonsvielle (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, C.J. Jacobs, 6.6.1991.

The old Leslie Williams Memorial Hospital by 1957.



The new Leslie Williams Hospital by 1969.



Source: West Driefontein mine.

The hostel dwellers' involvement in church activities is vague. Some of the white church fellowships in the Carletonville area present mission activities to the dwellers with.[210]

Medical facilities are provided to black employees as well as workers from East Driefontein and the Deelkraal gold mines by the Leslie Williams Mine Hospital on West Driefontein mining property. This hospital was named after L.S. Williams, the first medical official working there. Shortly after the opening of the hospital in 1957, it had to close because of landslides. In 1965, a new hospital was built approximately six kilometres south of Carletonville and in 1969, after the opening, it was renamed to the Leslie Williams Memorial Hospital. [211] The white mine workers of West Driefontein made use of the medical facilities of the Sybrand van Niekerk provincial hospital,[212] as well as the Mine Assistance Association Clinic (MBV) in Carletonville.[213]

4.7.3 Doornfontein gold mine

4.7.3.1 Development

Shortly after the Second World War, the opening of a third mine in the Carletonville area, Consolidated Gold Fields' second mine, was established. Doornfontein Gold Mining Company Limited was registered as a company in January 1947, and on 25 February, a rental area of West Witwatersrand Areas Limited, approximately 39,856 ha of ground west of the West Driefontein and Blyvooruitzicht Gold Mine, was obtained.[214] The Doornfontein gold mine was started with a capital turnover of about £4,000,000, obtained from 8,000,000 sold shares worth ten shillings (one rand) each.[215]

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[210] E.S. van Eeden, *Die geskiedenis van Gatsrand*…, p. 72.
[211] R. Macnab, *Gold their touchstone*…, p. 311.
[212] Sybrand van Niekerk-hospitaal (Carletonville), Speech: official opening of the hospital, 12.1.1979.
[213] Carletonsvielle (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, D. Poel, 11.8.1989, and J. Orpen, "Focus on Driefontein", *The South African Mining and Engineering Journal,* 91(4183), February 1982, p. 37.
[214] New Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa Limited, Companies reports, *Doornfontein Consolidated,* Annual Report, 1947*,* pp. 1, 3.
[215] S.R. Potter (ed.), *South African Mining and Engineering Year Book,* 1947-48, p. 235 and W.M. Walker, "The West Wits Line", *South African Journal for Economics,* 18(1), March 1950, p. 32.

The sinking of the first shaft officially began on 21 March 1947 when Mrs Annan, the wife of the chairman of Consolidated Gold Fields, Robert Annan, dug the first sod.[216] The shaft was completed in October 1951 and is known as the Annan shaft.[217] In January 1948, a second shaft was sunk and was named No. One shaft. This shaft was completed in November 1953 at a depth of 5,066 feet (1,544 metres).[218]

To speed up production and prevent a delay, a directory plant with the capacity to crush 10,000 tons of ore per month was built before the development of the Annan shaft.[219] Production activities at the Annan shaft began in 1953. About 36,000 tons of ore were crushed per month, and during 1953/54, 5,436 kg of gold was produced (see Graph 3, p.188).[220]

Encouraging results led to further adjustments, enabling the crushing plant to crush 100,000 tons of ore per month.[221] The development of Doornfontein surpassed expectations by 1955, the reason being the comparatively small problems with underground water in this gold mining area. Precautions were made by installing pumping facilities in case water should cause any future problems.[222]

Apart from the precautions made to manage underground water, other technological methods were also used to develop the Doornfontein Gold Mine as soon as possible. Among other things, the use of an exceptional mechanised shooting programme to shoot

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[216] New Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa Limited, Companies reports, *Doornfontein Consolidated, Annual Report, 1948,* pp. 5-6 and W.M. Walker, "The West Wits Line", *South African Journal for Economics,* 18(1), March 1950, p. 32.
[217] Doornfontein Gold Mine, *Doornfontein Gold Mining Company Limited: visitors brochure,* p.1; Doornfontein Gold Mine, *Doornfontein Gold Mining Company Limited,* (n.d.) and W.P. de Kock, " The geology and economic significance of the West Wits Line", *The Geological Society of South Africa,* I, 1964, p. 356.
[218] W.M. Walker, "The West Wits Line", *South African Journal for Economics,* 18(1), March 1950, p.32 en S.R. Potter (ed.), *South African Mining and Engineering Year Book,* 1950-51, pp. 227, 229, as well as 1954-1955, p. 153.
[219] S.R. Potter (ed.), South African Mining and Engineering Year Book, 1950-51, pp. 227, 231.
[220] Chamber of Mines, 65th Annual Report*,* 1954, p.36.
[221] S.R. Potter (ed.), *South African Mining and Engineering Year Book, 1954-55*, p. 151 and Doornfontein Gold Mine, *Doornfontein Gold Mining Company Limited,* (n.d.).
[222] S.R. Potter (ed.), *South African Mining and Engineering Year Book,* 1954-55, pp. 151, 153

Underground tunnels at a faster tempo,[223] thus speeding up the crushing of ore. As a result, by 1956, the ore crushed annually doubled compared to the first production year of the mine, from 379,000 to 644,000 tons of ore.[224]

At the start of the 1960s, the Doornfontein mine was still known for its progress. By 1963, as much as 1,496 000 tons of ore were crushed, and 197,024 kg of gold were produced. As mentioned earlier, the uranium from the West Doornfontein mine of about 156,300 tons was also processed at Doornfontein.[225] At this stage, a further two shafts were sunk, of which one was an auxiliary shaft for the No. One shaft.[226] The appearance of sinkholes in the 1960s did not affect the production of gold in this area since landslides are incLined to occur in the Carletonville municipal district to the north east.[227]

Favourable conditions for mining gold in the Doornfontein mining area led to the highest production of gold ever by 1970. An unsurpassable 1,402,000 tons of ore produced 22,973 kg of gold, and this mine was unable to repeat this (see Graph 3, p.188).[228] An increase in the degradation of the quality of ore in this area, together with the decLine of production possibilities, was likely the main reason this achievement in 1970 could not be repeated.

In 1976, the mine management of Doornfontein once more explored the area, even though the potential for gold was nearly exhausted.[229] Intensive drilling was done in the southwestern parts of the mining area. Leasehold was obtained further west of the

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[223] R.R.M. Cousens, "Some aspects of development", *Journal of the South African Institute of Mining and Metallurgy,* 57(2), September 1956, pp. 67, 77, 79-80.
[224] Anon., Doornfontein…a mine that has amply lived up to expectations", *Mining Industrial Review,* 107(2), April 1963, p. 2 and Chamber of Mines, 68th Annual Report, 1957, p. 86.
[225] Chamber of Mines, 74th Annual Report, 1963, p.56; Anon., "Doornfontein…a mine that has amply lived up to expectations", *Mining Industrial Review,* 107(2), April 1963, pp. 3-4 and *Potchefstroom Herald,* 3.11.1959, p. 9, as well as 11.11.1960, p. 3.
[226] *Doornfontein Gold Mine, Doornfontein Gold Mining Company Limited: visitors brochure*, p. 1.
[227] See *Chapter Two,* pp. 32-42.
[228] Chamber of Mines, 82nd Annual Report, 1971, p. 64.
[229] *Carletonville Weekly Record*, 24.9.1976, pp. 3, 5.

existing mining area for exploration purposes. The outcome was satisfactory.[230] While the future of this new operation was planned, the development of the existing shafts was taking place. The increase of mechanised operation techniques[231] contributed to the production of gold from Doornfontein, presenting stronger yields in 1978 compared to the previous two years. About 12,564 kg of gold was produced from 1,440,000 tons of ore.[232]

The stronger gold price during 1980 also made the prospect of sinking more shafts on the Doornfontein mining ground look much rosier.[233] In 1981, more than R100 million was budgeted to sink an incLined shaft, and to erect No. Three shaft, a No. Three subvertical shaft and a three-sub-ventilation shaft in the western part of the rented area. The mine management of Doornfontein tried to establish the proposed extensions in a short period of time because gold production in the original mine was declining rapidly.[234]

Although the new development extended the existence of Doornfontein by as much as twenty years, it did not imply a more promising production of gold. Since the 11,889 kg of gold produced in 1981, this mine's gold production decLined annually to produce only 8,064 kg by 1987. The amount of ore, namely 1,464,000 tons, stayed steady during these years.[235] It was apparent at this stage that the mine processed large amounts of ore.

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[230] Anon., "New life for Doornfontein? New lease formula and ore value will answer the question", *Coal, Gold and Base Minerals of Southern Africa,* 28(1), 22 Janauary 1980, p. 2 and Anon., "Doornfontein opens up", *Coal, Gold and Base Minerals of Southern Africa,* 29(2), February 1981, p. 25.

[231] Anon., "Controlled diamond drilling proves success at Doornfontein Goldmine", *The South African Mining and Engineering Journal,* 89(4139), April 1978, p. 75 and P.J. Botha, "Mechanised mining project site at Doornfontein Gold Mining Company Limited", *Journal of the Mine Ventilation Society of South Africa,* 32, June 1979, pp. 114-119.

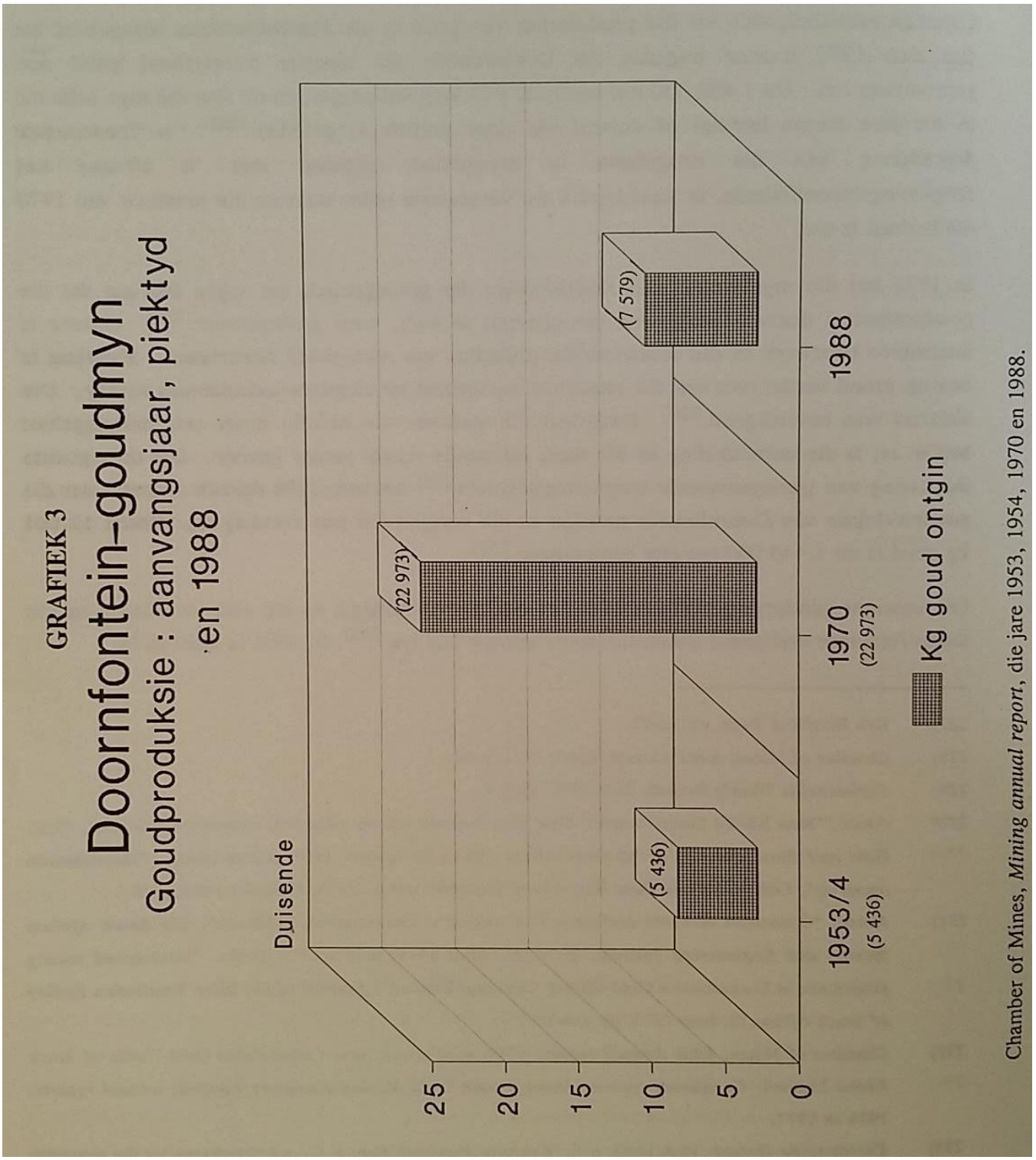
[232] Chamber of Mines, 89th Annual Report*,* 1978, p.36, as well as New Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa Limited, Companies reports, *Doornfontein Gold Mining Company Limited, Annual Reports,* 1976 and 1977.

[233] *Carletonville Herald,* 15.8.1980, p. 1. See also *Chapter One,* p.12, regarding the general economic development of South Africa.

[234] Anon., "Doornfontein opens up", Coal, Gold and Base Minerals of Southern Africa, 29(2), February 1981, pp. 25-27; *Doornfontein Gold Mine, Doornfontein Gold Mining Company Limited: visitors brochure,* p. 1, and *Carletonville Herald*, 15.8.1980, p. 1. The new rental area implied that 563ha of land would be added to the existing mining region of Doornfontein.

[235] Chamber of Mines, 92nd Annual Report*,* 1981, p. 49 to 98th Annual Report*,* 1987, p. 36 and Anon., "Die vernaamste SA goudmyne", *Die Mynwese,* 3(4), 1986, p. 9.

GRAPH 3: DOORNFONTEIN GOLD MINE - GOLD PRODUCTION: BEGINNING, PEAK AND 1988



In 1988, the new No. Three shaft system was started up. The high-grade carbon leader reef in the southern area of the western part of the mining area could now be exploited. With this lower grade main reef areas were still processed. By this time, the mine's rented area was 4,548 ha and about 7,579 kg of gold from 1,462,000 tons of ore were mined (see Graph 3, p.188).[236] It appears that Doornfontein definitely made discoveries in the 1990s on the 563 ha rented ground in the western parts of the mining area.[237]

4.7.2.2 Workforce and housing

After gold mine activities at Doornfontein commenced in 1945, the need for white workers and housing was still low.[238] Between 1948 and 1954, there were 65 whites and 306 blacks employed after which employee numbers increased strongly. This was definitely due to the increasing development and the mine's extension. By 1958, there were 710 white and 5,364 black workers employed at the mine, which was many more than during the intake in 1954, when there were 374 whites and 2,389 black people.[239]

Because of the gold mining activities, the need for accommodation arose, and the mine management needed to pay more attention to this. Although the Doornfontein mine is near Welverdiend Town, accommodation was provided for whites on the mining grounds.[240] The most important reason for this was the lack of proper infrastructure in Welverdiend,[241] opposed to Carletonville, which was well equipped and favoured because the management of Doornfontein gold mine approved building plans worth R84,000 during 1958 for the building of houses in the town.[242] The development of living quarters for black workers received attention in 1955. The temporary 32-room Annan hostel was enlarged and

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[236] Chamber of Mines, 99th Annual Report, 1988, p. 43.
[237] New Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa Limited, Companies reports, *Doornfontein Gold Mining Company Limited, Annual Report*, 1990, p. 5.
[238] PU for CHE, Continued regional survey of Controlled region no. 2…, report no. 3, 1956-57, p.127 and W.Hagan-Watson, *Down memory lane*…, p. 1.
[239] New Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa Limited, Companies reports, *Doornfontein Gold Mining Company Limited, Annual Report, 1958*, as well as *…, Annual Report, 1954*, 1955-1957.
[240] W.Hagan-Watson, "Down memory lane…", p. 1 and Anon., "Seventy One hundred new houses for mines: mines of West Wits Line…", *Mining Survey,* 3(2), March 1951, p. 25.
[241] See *Chapter Two*, p. 27.
[242] Nedbank Archive, Economische Development (EO), Vol. 11, no. 102-108, *Ekonomiese oorsigte van die Carletonville-tak: ekonomiese oorsig, Nederlandse Bank van Suid-Afrika Beperk, Carletonville*, 28.2.1958.

renovated to become a permanent host.[243] A further £116,989 was spent on the building of quarters for married black personnel.[244]

It seems that most white employees of the Doornfontein gold mining company lived in Carletonville during the 1960s. Apart from the established infrastructure and town development, which were probably the main reasons for this phenomenon, the establishment of a proper road network between Carletonville and this mine was also a contributing factor. This company owned 525 stands by 1967/1968 in Carletonville, and employees could, with the assistance of the mine's white housing scheme, buy these stands.[245] Initially, the construction of houses was slow, which could be ascribed to the landslides. This caused uncertainty among employees because 37 of the Doornfontein mine's 65 rental homes were already damaged by landslides and sinkholes in Carletonville. All 37 homes had to be demolished.[246] As this area stabilised, more houses were built by the mine in Carletonville. The number of homes did not exceed 65 in 1988.

Apart from Carletonville, employees from Doornfontein especially moved to Welverdiend and other neighbouring towns during the 1980s.[247] The greater number of white workers in 1988 were living in surrounding towns, while only 56 homes were inhabited on the mining ground.[248] The white working force, which numbered between 800 and 900 since 1968, was still less than 1,000.[249]

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[243] New Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa Limited, Companies reports, *Doornfontein Gold Mining Company Limited, Annual Report,* 1948, p. 6.
[244] New Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa Limited, Companies reports, *Doornfontein Gold Mining Company Limited, Annual Report,* 1955, p. 3.
[245] New Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa Limited, Companies reports, *Doornfontein Gold Mining Company Limited, Annual Report,* 1967, p. 3, as well as *…, Annual Report,* 1968, p. 6.
[246] IR, MCV, file 22/1(b)(2), Towns: schedule indicating the pattern of development in the Carletonville region, 18.4.1967.
[247] Doornfontein Gold Mine, *Doornfontein Gold Mining Company Limited: visitors brochure*, p. 4.
[248] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, A.J. Boonsaaier (Personnel Officer, Doornfontein gold mine), 5.7.1991.
[249] New Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa Limited, Companies reports, *Doornfontein Gold Mining Company Limited, Annual Report,* 1968 to *…, Annual Report,* 1988.

Compared to the white workers, the number of black mine workers was 8,000 in 1968. This number did not increase during the 1970s and moved to over 9,000 during the 1980s.[250] The extraction of gold in the new leasehold area[251] was probably the main reason for this growth. By 1988, the mine employed about 9,363 black workers.[252] Because of this growth, Doornfontein mine adjusted its accommodation facilities. The planning of a new hostel close to No. Three shaft gained momentum during 1984, and the building was completed by 1988.[253]

4.7.3 Business services, recreation, sports, and cultural activities

The infrastructural and cultural activities offered on the mining ground were developed for the well-being of mainly black workers at Doornfontein. As with most mines in this area, these services were scarce in the pioneering years, but improved with time. A post office depot, a medical depot, where less serious injuries could be treated, and a concession shop were built. Serious medical cases were referred to the Leslie Williams Memorial Hospital.[254] A beer garden and canteen were built at each of the two hostels on the Doornfontein mining ground.

Sufficient sports facilities were also developed near the hostels, including four fields for rugby and soccer and two tennis courts. In addition, there is a bowling green, a swimming pool and a mini-golf course which is used by black and white workers. The athletes of all these sport types are affiliated with the Gold Fields West Recreation Club in Carletonville. Lastly, the Doornfontein gold mine also has a dance arena for practising tribal dancing activities for hostel dwellers.[255]

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[250] New Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa Limited, Companies reports, *Doornfontein Gold Mining Company Limited, Annual Report,* 1968 to *…,* Annual Report, 1987.
[251] Doornfontein Gold Mine, *Doornfontein Gold Mining Company Limited: visitors brochure*, p. 3.
[252] New Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa Limited, Companies reports, *Doornfontein Gold Mining Company Limited, Annual Report,* 1988, p. 5.
[253] Doornfontein Gold Mine, "Doornfontein Gold Mining Company Limited", (n.d.) and J.C. Schutte (ed.), *Wesrand Streekdiensteraad beplanningsondersoek,* p. 142.
[254] Doornfontein Gold Mine, *Doornfontein Gold Mining Company Limited: visitors brochure*, p. 5 and Doornfontein Gold Mine, "Doornfontein Gold Mining Company Limited", (n.d.).
[255] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, A.J. Boonsaaier, 5.7.1991.

Very few sports or other organised cultural activities are present on the mining ground for white employees, despite Carletonville being seen as the centre for exercising these activities, although a ladies' book club has existed for several years. The club's purpose was mainly to encourage mutual relations among the wives of mine workers. Apart from going on excursions and listening to educational talks, they also bought literature and exchanged it among each other. This fulfilled a definite need as no local public library existed during the mine's pioneering years.[256]

4.7.3 The East Driefontein Gold Mine

4.7.3.1 Development

During the late 1960s, the Goldfields Group gave urgent attention to developing a new mine, regardless of the uncertain future of the Carletonville sinkhole area. An intensive drilling programme commenced in 1963, east of West Driefontein Mine on the farm Driefontein IQ 614.[257] Favourable discoveries led to Gold Fields applying to rent the ground on the other side of West Driefontein from the government in May 1963.[258] The Minister of Mining at that time, Dr C. De Wet, granted mining rights on about 4,829 morg (4,152,94 ha) ground for the activities of the new gold mine named East Driefontein because of its location, east of the West Driefontein mine.[259]

At first, it was thought that the capital outlay for developing East Driefontein mine would be R30 million.[260] This amount rose drastically after the traumatic water flood at the No. Four shaft of the West Driefontein mine in 1968. The initial development of East Driefontein was meant to deploy from this exact No. Four shaft.

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[256] Carletonville (PU for CHE, Ref. 3: interview, G. Gibson (Officer, Doornfontein mine), 26.2.1991.
[257] Deeds of Transport (Deeds Office, Pretoria), Ref. IQ, farm registers, 1865-1910.
[258] Anon., "East Driefontein – newcomer to the West Wits Line", *Mining Survey,* 72, May 1973, p. 23; Anon., "Southern Africa", *Mining Annual Review,* 1965, pp. 227-228 and East Driefontein, East Driefontein — a division of Driefontein Consolidated Limited (n.d.).
[259] *Die Transvaler,* 3.5.1968, pp. 1-2; *The Star,* 2.5.1968, pp. 1, 34 as well as 28.5.1968, p. 2 and *Die Beeld,* 9.6.1968, p. 18.
[260] R. Macnab, *Gold their touch stone*:…, p. 225.

If this schedule could be implemented as planned, the East Driefontein gold mine could have commenced production three years earlier.[261]

While Gold Fields tried to complete the shaft sinking process at East Driefontein as fast as possible, the necessary facilities were put in place to control the water flow effectively at No. Four shaft. This was done to speed up the development of East Driefontein.[262] Nine pumps, to handle water, with a total capacity of 30 million gallons (1,350 million litres) were installed at the new mine's pump station.[263] After the underground water dropped to a satisfactory level by January 1971, the West and East Driefontein mines received permission from the Department of Mining to resume work in No. Four Shaft.[264] The capital cost to bring East Driefontein mine to an estimated crushing capacity of 200,000 tons per month was expected to be R70 million,[265] R40 million more than the estimated capital for development.

In April 1972, mining activities at East Driefontein commenced in earnest when gold ore was extracted from the Ventersdorp contact reef, the carbon leader reef and the main reef.[266] During the first year of gold extraction, East Driefontein produced 10,600 kg of gold from 530,000 tons of ore (see Graph 4, p 198).[267] This was considerably higher than the production of neighbouring mines such as Blyvooruitzicht, Doornfontein, West Driefontein, and later Deelkraal and Elandsrand could boast of.[268] For the shareholders and the Government, the completion of this promising young mine was undoubtedly worth the wait.

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[261] A.H. Taute and P.W. Tress, "Dewatering of the flooded underground workings in the Bank compartment", *The South African Mining and Engineering Journal,* 83, October 1971, p. 31; *Die Beeld,* 9.6.1968, p.18; *The Star,* 2.5.1968, p. 34 and J. Orpen, "Focus on Driefontein", *The South African Mining and Engineering Journal,* 91(4183), February 1982, p. 37.
[262] A.H. Taute and P.W. Tress, "Dewatering of the flooded underground workings in the Bank compartment", *The South African Mining and Engineering Journal,* 83, October 1971, pp. 31, 35, 37.
[263] *Carletonville Herald*, 27.3.1970, p. 5.
[264] A.H. Taute and P.W. Tress, "Dewatering of the flooded underground workings in the Bank compartment", *The South African Mining and Engineering Journal,* 83, October 1971, p. 39.
[265] A.H. Taute and P.W. Tress, "Dewatering of the flooded underground workings in the Bank compartment", *The South African Mining and Engineering Journal,* 83, October 1971, p. 31.
[266] Anon., "East Driefontein – newcomer to the West Wits Line", *Mining Survey,* 70 May 1973, p. 21.
[267] Chamber of Mines, 84th Annual Report, 1973, p. 28.
[268] The gold mines Doornfontein, Deelkraal and Elandsrand are discussed later in this chapter.

In contrast with the deduction made in the renting contract, it was found by 1974 that the ore from the contact reef was of higher grade. As a result, Gold Fields began an exploration programme to the northern border of the mining area.[269] Meanwhile, the development programme of the first phase of the East Driefontein gold mine continued and underground work as deep as 4,000 metres was expected. To start, one of the main shafts was dug 2,000 metres deep. The aim was to reach the production goal of 181,000 metric tons of ore per month before 1976, the target year. The second phase included reaching a depth of 2,926 metres, with underground hoisting rooms. Because fewer workers were employed and modern sophisticated instrumentation and control systems,[270] were used, it was speculated in 1973 that this mine could become the super mine of the future,[27] and that it was possible to accomplish.

During 1976 and shortly thereafter, further development took place at the mine. The No. Three shaft system with 14 floors close to No. Two shaft was completed, and four fans were installed underground. The No. One sub-vertical shaft was also built. In both the 24th and 26th floors, a cooling plant, the first of its kind, was installed at East Driefontein.[272] East Driefontein was able to monitor its reduction plant from a control centre with three mounted computer systems.[273] The steady gold production of the mine was because so much modernising, development and better technology could be imported to the advantage of the mine. During 1977, East Driefontein produced 48,847 kg of gold from 2,096,000 tons of ore, and this would be seen as the peak year of gold production at this mine (see Graph 4, p.198a).[274]

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[269] Anon., "Getting to work in the big end", *Mining Survey,* 77, May 1975, p. 24 and Anon., Driefontein merger: significant technical and financial benefits", *The South African Mining World,* 1(7), August 1982, pp. 35-37.
[270] Anon., "East Driefontein — newcomer to the West Wits Line", *Mining Survey,* 72, May 1973, pp. 21-28, and Anon., "Getting to work in the big end", *Mining Survey,* 77, May 1975, pp. 24-25.
[271] Anon., "East Driefontein – newcomer to the West Wits Line", *Mining Survey,* 72, May 1973, p. 21.
[272] Anon., "That sinking feeling", *Coal,* 24(6), June 1976, pp. 17-22.
[273] R.D. Beck, "Controlled reduction at East Drie", *Coal,* 24(11), November 1976, pp. 37-53.
[274] Chamber of Mines, 89th Annual Report, 1978, p. 31.

Until East Driefontein and West Driefontein amalgamated in 1981, the amount of gold produced at East Driefontein decreased annually by an average of 3,125 kg, while the amount of ore crushed increased from 2,313,000 tons to 2,760,000.[275] It was apparent that East Driefontein was extracting lower-grade ore than in previous years. Moreover, the declining gold price impacted the mine's production output.[276]

Between 1982 and 1987, the mine constantly crushed 2,820,00 tons of ore per year. The amount of gold extracted still decreased from 35,053 to 32,994.[277] Despite this, East Driefontein was still one of the richest gold mines in the world by 1987,[278] and development continued. A No. Four and No. Four sub-vertical shafts, as well as a No. Five shaft was sunk at a cost of R38,872, 569.[279] This mine also became the pioneer mine to refill the underground excavations. By means of this so-called refill system, the slime, after it was separated from the ground ore and rejects, was pumped back underground to serve as support. This prevented landslides, provided better working conditions, and reduced mine discards[280] which promoted environmental conservation.

By 1988, the East Driefontein Gold Mine was still flourishing. An increase in ore extraction of 2,860,000 tons was recorded, and 32,523 kg of gold was produced (see Graph 4, p.198).[281] Compared to other mines in the Carletonville area, it showed an increase in ore extraction and a decrease in cost.[282]

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[275] Chamber of Mines, 90th Annual Report, 1979, p. 43, as well as 91st Annual Report, 1980, p. 39; 92nd Annual Report, 1981, p. 49, and 93rd Annual Report, 1982, p. 45.
[276] See *Chapter One*, p. 13.
[277] Gold Fields-Group, *Driefontein Consolidated,* 1987, p. 22. The statistics in this source differ from those in the Annual Reports of the Chamber of Mines. See Chamber of Mines, 98th Annual Report, 1987, p. 39.
[278] *Potchefstroom Herald,* supplement, 4.9.1987, p. 15.
[279] Gold Fields-Group, *Driefontein Consolidated,* 1985, pp. 11-12.
[280] *Potchefstroom Herald,* supplement, 4.9.1987, p. 15.
[281] Chamber of Mines, 100th Annual Report, 1989, p. 37.
[282] *Carletonville Herald*, 15.1.1988, p. 9.
[283] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, H.Erasmus (Officer, Oos Driefontein Gold Mine), 18.6.1991.

4.7.3.2 Workforce and provision of housing

East Driefontein started with a workforce of 120 people in the late 1960s.[283] After production commenced in 1972, the workforce increased. By 1977, there were 10,225 black workers and 908 whites employed by the mine. With the start of the 1980s, the workforce employed increased to 12,095. This number grew to 14,590 by 1988.[284]

As with the gold mines Blyvooruitzicht and West Driefontein, attention was already given to housing for the mine workers since the start of the mining activities at East Driefontein. Housing in Carletonville or the establishment of a new town was considered, respectively. It seemed as if Gold Fields was in favour of a new town on mining ground rather than Carletonville, which was fraught with sink holes.[285]

The establishment of housing in white suburbs within the grounds of East Driefontein led to huge dissatisfaction from the City Council of Carletonville.[286] They were unable to stop this and had to be content with Gold Fields' intention to rent homes in Carletonville for its employees. By 1988, 830 homes and single quarters were built on mine ground, and this resulted in only a small percentage of employees from East Driefontein living in Carletonville by 1988.[287] The few homes that were damaged in the landslides in 1970, in the mining suburb of East Village, did not move Gold Fields to consider Carletonville as a home for its employees.[288] Accommodation for the black workers received attention from the start. A single-quarter complex was built to accommodate a large number of mine workers. With this, a few rondavels were built for visitors.[289]

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[284] New Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa Limited, Companies Reports: *East Driefontein Gold Mining Company Limited, Annual Reports, 1968* to *1988.*
[285] Compare *Die Beeld,* 9.6.1968, p. 18.
[286] In *Chapter Two,* pp. 35-36, this aspect is also noted.
[287] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, map, Carletonville Municipal region by 1988 (Department of Town and Regional planning, Carletonville Municipality).
[288] *Herald vir die Goue Weste*, 28.8.1970, p. 1.
[289] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, K. Blamey (Personnel officer, Oos Driefontein Gold Mine) and East Driefontein Gold Mine, *East Driefontein – a division of Driefontein Consolidated,* n.d.

4.7.3.3 Business services, recreation, sports and cultural activities as well as church facilities

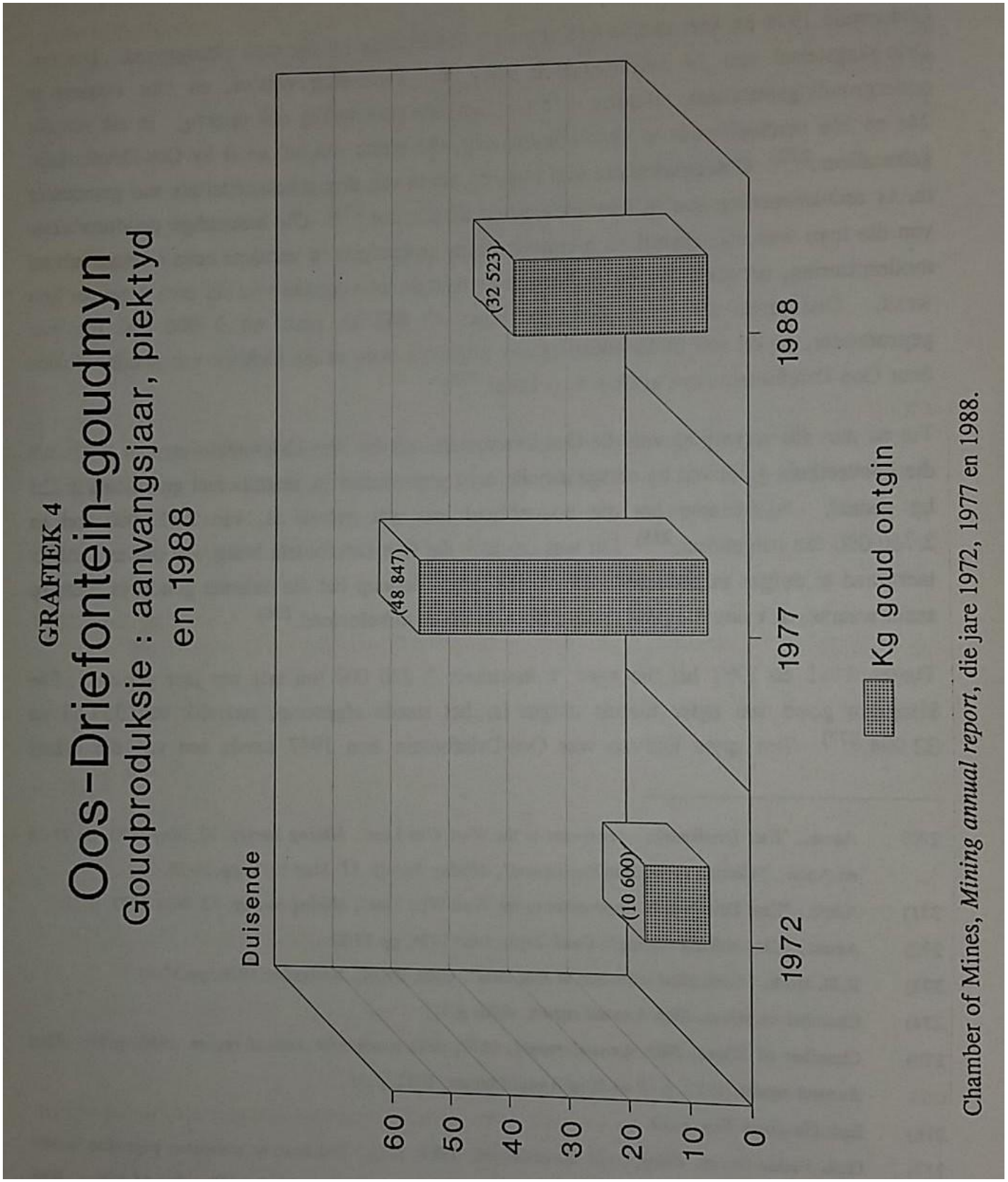
East Driefontein's white workers shared many facilities with other mines of the Gold Fields Group in the Carletonville area. Bi-weekly medical services were delivered by the medical team from the Leslie Williams Memorial Hospital (West Driefontein) in the East Driefontein suburb, West Village, as well as sport and recreation facilities from West Driefontein in the Carletonville suburb. Sport facilities such as soccer and rugby fields for the black workers were available near the single quarters on the mining property and medical cases were treated at the Leslie Williams Hospital.[290]

During the 1970s, a primary school for whites was established in West Village[291] and a primary school for black children was opened near the single quarters of the East Driefontein gold mine.[292] This filled a need that was felt for a very long time. The Danie Theron-Gedenkskool in Carletonville, which served the children from East Driefontein for a long time, suddenly lost 400 learners[293] on 25 April 1978 in favour of Laerskool Oos-Driefontein.

The workers from East Driefontein were not totally independent from Carletonville for all their necessities. They used the sports and recreation facilities as well as the business centre of the Carletonville area. There were just a few businesses on the mine's ground i.e., a butchery, a supermarket and a hairdresser in the West Village suburb, called Miners Multi.[294] The white inhabitants also attended the churches in Carletonville .[295]

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[290] *Potchefstroom Herald*, 4.9.1987, p.15 and East Driefontein Gold Mine, East Driefontein – a division of Driefontein Consolidated, n.d.
[291] M.M.J. Oosthuizen, *Blanke onderwys in die Carletonville-omgewing na 1948: 'n historiese perspektief*, pp.68-69.
[292] J.C. Schutte (ed.), *Wesrand Streekdiensteraad beplanningsondersoek*, p. 142.
[293] M.M.J. Oosthuizen, *Blanke onderwys in die Carletonville-omgewing…*, p. 68.
[294] J.C. Schutte (ed.), *Wesrand Streekdiensteraad beplanningsondersoek*, p. 142.
[295] See *Chapter Seven,* pp. 289-292, 306-308, 324 for a discussion of the Carletonville history.



GRAPH 4: EAST DRIEFONTEIN GOLD MINE: GOLD PRODUCTION, BEGINNING, PEAK AND 1988

4.7.3.4 Business services, recreation, sports, cultural activities, as well as church facilities

East Driefontein's white workers shared many facilities with other mines of the Gold Fields Group in the Carletonville area. Bi-weekly medical services were supplied by the medical team from the Leslie Williams Memorial Hospital (West-Driefontein) in the East Driefontein suburb, West Village, as well as sport and recreation facilities from West-Driefontein in the Carletonville suburb. Sport facilities such as soccer and rugby fields for black workers were available near the single quarters on mine property, and medical cases were treated at the Leslie Williams Hospital.[290]

During the 1970s, a primary school for whites was established in West Village[291] and a primary school for black children was established near the single quarters of the East Driefontein gold mine.[292] This filled a need that was felt for a very long time. The Danie Theron-Gedenkskool in Carletonville, which served the children from East Driefontein for a long time, suddenly lost 400 learners[293] on 25 April 1978 in favour of Laerskool Oos-Driefontein.

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[290] *Potchefstroom Herald*, 4.9.1987, p.15 and East Driefontein Gold Mine, East Driefontein – a division of Driefontein Consolidated, n.d.
[291] M.M.J. Oosthuizen, *Blanke onderwys in die Carletonville-omgewing na 1948: 'n historiese perspektief,* pp. 68-69.
[292] J.C. Schutte (ed.), *Wesrand Streekdiensteraad beplanningsondersoek*, p.142.
[293] M.M.J. Oosthuizen, *Blanke onderwys in die Carletonville-omgewing*…, p.68.
[294] J.C. Schutte (ed.), *Wesrand Streekdiensteraad beplanningsondersoek*, p.142.
[295] See *Chapter Seven,* pp. 289-292, 306-308, 324 for a discussion on the Carletonville church history.

GRAPH 4: EAST FRIEFONTEIN GOLD MINE – GOLD PRODUCTION - BEGINNING, PEAK AND 1988

4.7.4 Extension to the north of East Driefontein, namely "North Driefontein",[296] and the beginning of Driefontein Consolidated

Satisfactory results next to the northern border of the East Driefontein Gold Mine on the Ventersdorp Contact Reef led to Gold Fields' decision to conduct an exploration programme in the early 1970's. Over the following years, 14 new surface and 2 underground boreholes were drilled for this purpose, and the results were satisfactory. It was especially the borehole on a strip of land called Texas Golf, on which the group had already acquired mineral rights, that showed very promising precipitation.[297]

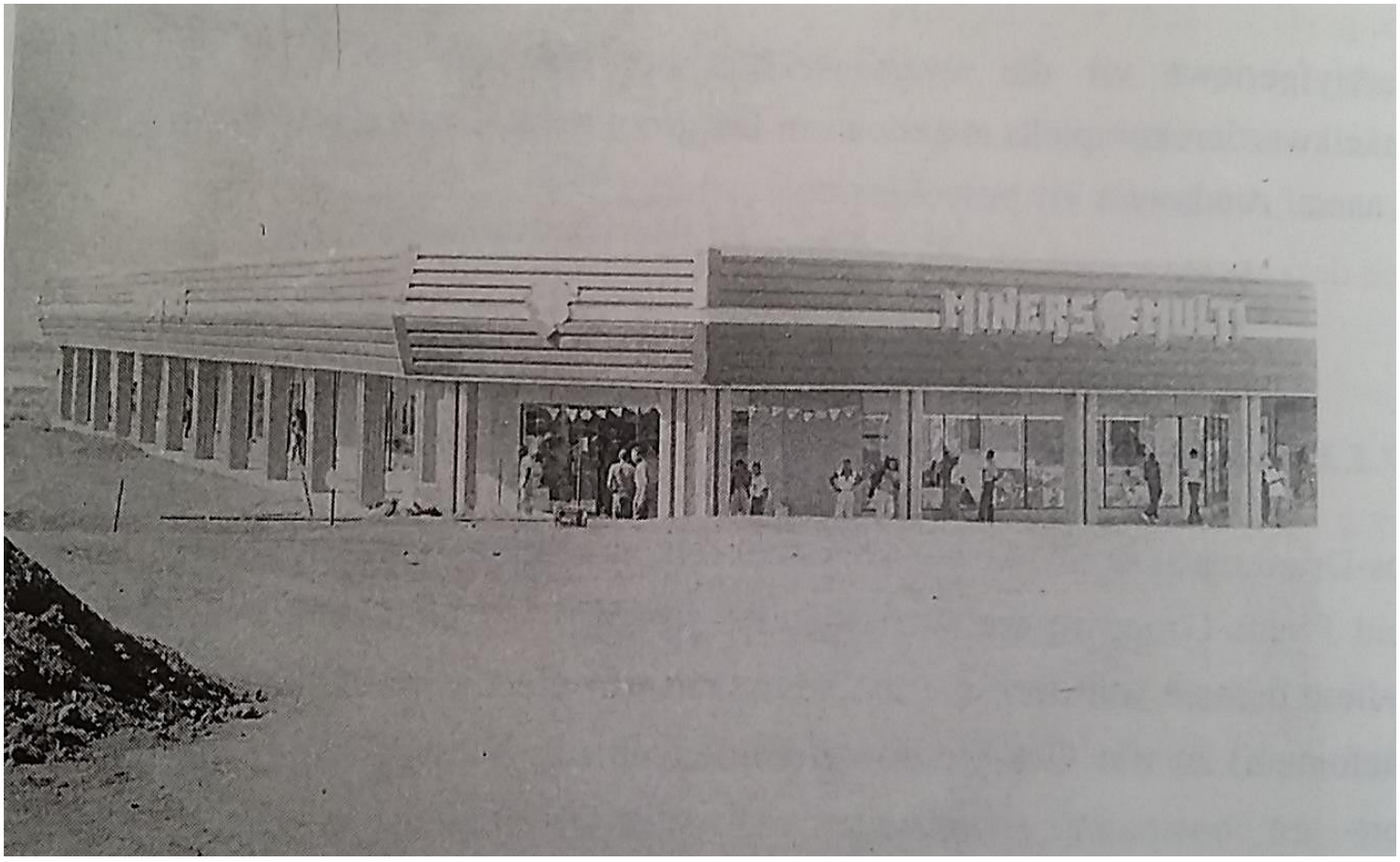
Early in 1979, the building of a shaft began. By September 1980, an investigation team from Gold Fields recommended that the development of "North Driefontein", in conjunction with neighbouring mines East and West Driefontein, could have more beneficial prospects. A shortage of capital, personnel and equipment in the early 1980s stimulated this recommendation. By doing this, the unfavourable capital position would be improved by the amalgamation of the existing facilities.[298] This cooperation made it possible to remove the border pillars between the mines and extract gold from them. The mass of gold contained in these pillars was about 28,000 kg.[299]

After further meticulous planning, the amalgamation of East, West, and "North" Driefontein mine became a reality in 1981. This amalgamation led to the start of Driefontein Consolidated.[300] The lifespan of these mines was estimated at 40 to 50 years, and the East Driefontein mine was regarded as the mine with the longest lifespan.

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[296] The region north of East Driefontein spontaneously became known as North Driefontein. However, it was never a separate company. See Anon., "South Africa", *Mining Annual Review,* 1981, p. 471.
[297] Consulting Engineers, Gold Fields, "Driefontein merger: significant technical and financial benefits", *The South African Mining World,* 1(7), August 1982, p. 37.
[298] Anon., "Die vernaamste SA goudmyne", *Die Mynwese,* 3(4), 1986, pp. 9-10 and J. Orpen, "Focus on Driefontein", *The South African Mining and Engineering Journal,* 91(4183), February 1982, pp. 35-37.
[299] *Carletonville Herald*, 24.4.1981, p. 1.
[300] New Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa Limited, Companies reports, Driefontein Consolidated, Annual Report, 1982*,* pp. 4-5.

The business centre at East Driefontein Mine.



Source: *Carletonville Herald*.

The West and East Driefontein mines began developing the "North" Driefontein area shortly afterwards.[301]

By 1988, Driefontein Consolidated was known as the world's largest and richest gold-producing mine,[302] and at this stage, it made a joint profit of R1,308,454. From this amount, the Government claimed tax at an indispensable high R781,217.[303]

Because "North" Driefontein never functioned as a separate mining company, the infrastructural services and amenities as seen at other mine companies were not necessary. If "North" Driefontein was developed earlier as a separate mine, the towns Bank, West Wits and Blybank, further north, would probably have had a better chance at survival.

4.7.5 The Deelkraal Gold Mine

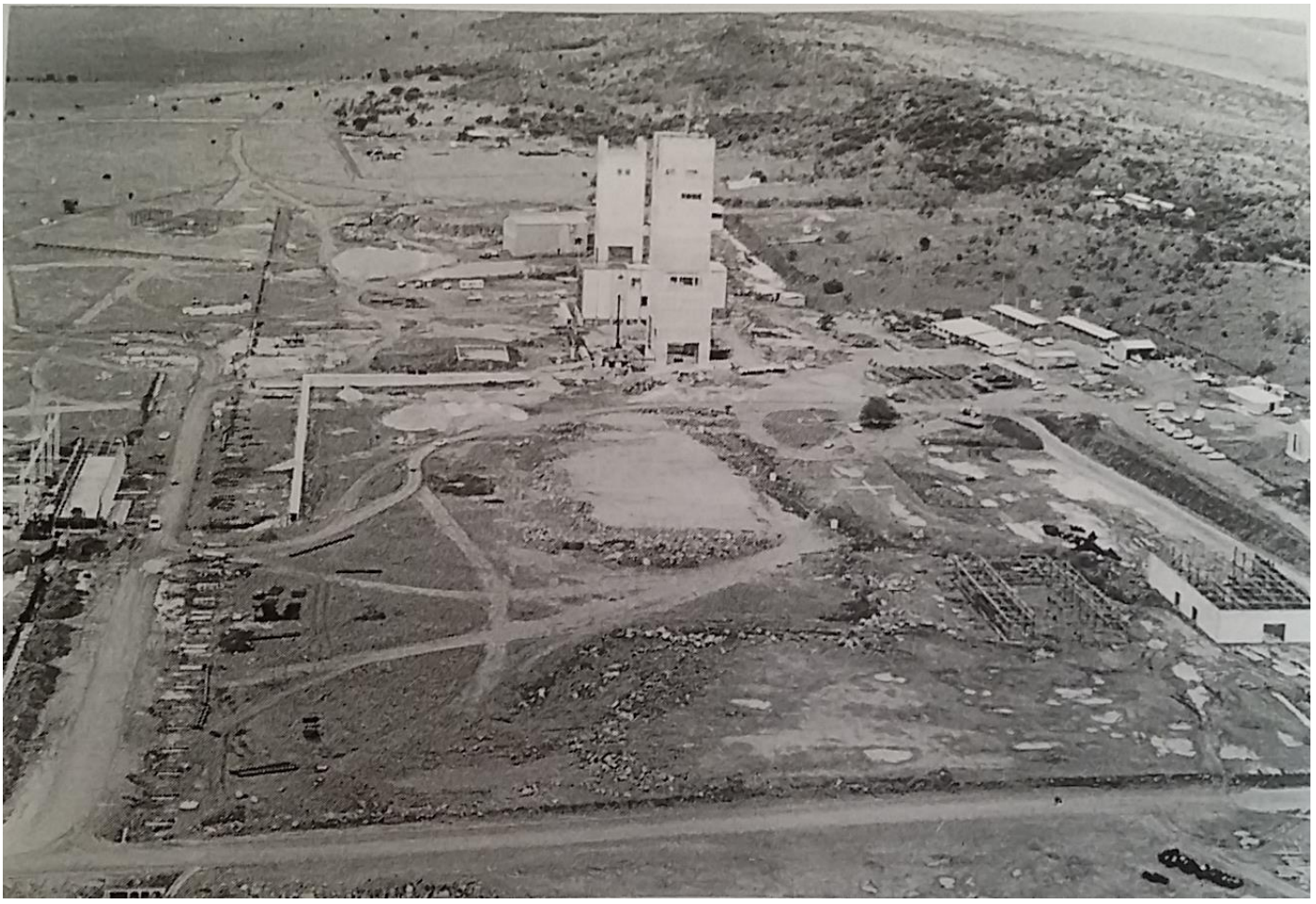
4.7.5.1 Development

The youngest mine of Gold Fields of South Africa in the West Wits Line area is the Deelkraal gold mine. Although this company only started in 1974 on 2,366 ha of land, the exploration work on the farms Deelkraal no. 142 IQ and Kleinfontein no. 141 IQ, south of the Doornfontein mine, dates back much earlier. Gold Fields began with a drilling programme in the Deelkraal area during the 1950s. The results were not encouraging, and the project was stopped. This area was revisited at the end of 1967, based on more favourable geological information.

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[301] Consulting Engineers Gold Fields, "Driefontein merger: significant technical and financial benefits", *The South African Mining World,* 1(7), August 1982, pp. 39-43 and Anon., "Profile: I. Watson, go west young man", *The South African Mining and Engineering Journal,* 91(4183), February 1982, p.10.
[302] *The West Driefontein News*, April 1988, p. 1.
[303] *Potchefstroom Herald,* 4.9.1987, p. 4; New Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa Limited, Companies reports, Driefontein Consolidated, Annual Report*,* 1987*,* p. 7, 22, and *Carletonville Herald*, 29.7.1988, p. 7.

Deelkraal Gold Mine, 1978



Source: Deelkraal Gold Mining Co. Ltd

Three of the old boreholes produced favourable precipitations. These findings led to the establishment of the Deelkraal mine shortly thereafter.[304]

A projected R100 million would be required to develop this mine, which would extract ore from the Ventersdorp, Kontak and Elsburg reefs.[305] At first, it was thought that R85 million would be enough, but rising costs made it impossible. Shares of R20 million at R2 a piece were issued.[306] Furthermore, it was planned to commence production in 1980. To reach this goal, infrastructure such as workshops, a training centre, dams, sub-stations and other support services were built shortly after 1975 .[307]

During 1975, the sinking of No. One and No. Two shafts required the most attention.[308] Sister mines were unable to assist with this work because Deelkraal was too far, and no underground connection was possible.[309] During the sinking of shafts, the presence of water-carrying dolomite was noted. Successful cementation of the fissures did not cause a hold-up with the work. Furthermore, a lock-carrying crusher, which could process 75,000 tons of ore per month, was built near the shafts. It was claimed to be the largest of its kind in the southern hemisphere.[310] With this production capability and the increased gold price in 1980, the year in which this mine was ready for production, it made up for the voids and problems during the shaft sinking process.

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[304] W.A. Nortjé, "Deelkraal", p. 1; Anon., "Deelkraal - the profit sharer goes smoothly into production", *South African Mining and Engineering Journal,* 90(4157), December 1979, p. 55 and *Carletonville Herald,* 15.6.1973, p.2, as well as 13.7.1973, p. 1 and 24.8.1973, p.1.
[305] *Carletonville Weekly Record*, 25.4.1975, p. 5.
[306] *Carletonville Weekly Record*, 18.4.1975, p. 2.
[307] *Carletonville Weekly Record,* 1.10.1976, p. 5; Anon., "Deelkraal hurries to trial milling date", *Coal, Gold Base Minerals of South Africa,* 26(12), December 1978, pp. 52-57, and W.A. Nortjé, "Deelkraal", pp. 2-3.
[308] New Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa Limited, Companies reports, Deelkraal Gold Mining Company Limited, Annual Report*,* 1977, pp. 4-6.
[309] Anon., "Deelkraal - the profit sharer goes smoothly into production", *South African Mining and Engineering Journal,* 90(4157), December 1979, pp. 55-59.
[310] *Carletonville Weekly Record,* 18.4.1975, p. 2, as well as 25.4.1975, p. 5 and 1.10.1976, p. 5; Anon., "Cover drilling pays big dividends in sinking Deelkraals two shafts", *The South African Mining and Engineering Journal,* 88(4134), November 1977, pp. 31, 33.

The Deelkraal mine processed 830,000 tons of ore in its first production year, from which 3,164 kg of gold was extracted (see Graph 5, p.206).[311]

The amount of ore extracted at Deelkraal trended upwards during the 1980s. The amount of gold produced from the ore in 1983 was 6,767 kg, and increased to 7,587 kg in 1986.[312] The reason for this was probably because the mining company decided in 1982 to sink deeper and to enlarge the horizontal passages of the Deelkraal mine. A 35,379 square feet of working surface was added to the mine's activities.[313] Other developments that received attention at the Deelkraal mine by the middle 1980s were doubling the chilling plant's capacity, the building of another crushing plant, as well as strip-mining since 1986.[314]

By 1988, ore extracted at Deelkraal was still of a high grade, and a drop was not foreseen in the near future.[315] The mine ended the year on a positive note with about 1,590,000 tons of ore and 9,659 kg of gold extracted (see Graph 5, p.206).[316] In comparison with the other gold mines in the Carletonville area, Deelkraal was still one of the smaller mines, which only exceeded the veteran Doornfontein Gold Mine's production.[317] This state of affairs did not detract from the economic worth of the Deelkraal gold mine. Its contribution as an employer and source of income for the government was just as indispensable as all the other gold mines in the area.

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[311] Chamber of Mines, 91st Annual Report, 1980, p. 34.
[312] Chamber of Mines, 93rd Annual Report, 1982, p. 45, as well as Chamber of Mines, 94th Annual Report, 1983, p.38 to 97th Annual Report, 1986, p. 46.
[313] Anon., "Getting down to new areas", *The South African Mining World*, 2(4), May 1983, pp. 44-47.
[314] *Carletonville Herald,* supplement, 4.9.1987, p. 4; Anon., "Die vernaamste SA goudmyne", *Die Mynwese,* 3(4), 1986, p.9; Anon., "Getting down to new areas", *The South African Mining World,* 2(4), May 1983, pp. 45-46 and Mon., "Southern Africa", *Mining Annual Review,* 1987, pp.387-388.
[315] *Carletonville Herald,* 15.1.1988, p. 9, as well as 29.6.1988, p. 7.
[316] Chamber of Mines, 99th Annual Report, 1988, p.43 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, H.J. Long (Senior personnel officer, Deelkraal), 30.4.1990.
[317] Compare Deelkraal with the production outset of other mines in Graphs 8 and 9, pp.189a, 190a.

4.7.5.2 Workforce and provision of housing

During the first years after Deelkraals gold mine commenced production, there were 213 whites and 304 black workers employed by the.[318] During the first five years of production at Deelkraal, a few incidents led to a small monthly fluctuation in the number of workers. These included underground accidents, which first occurred in January 1982,[319] as well as a large strike at the mine regarding wages in September 1985. At one stage, it was so critical that only 157 of the mine's 6,200 black workers reported for their shifts.[320] This situation normalised in 1986,[321] with a white and black work force of 7,602.[322] It was forecast that approximately 7,000 black and 700 white workers would be working at the mine by the time it reached full production.[323] This workforce was still not reached by 1988, when the combined groups totalled 7,209.[324] This number was still lower than the workforce of 1987.[325] No good reason could be supplied, but it did not affect the production tempo. It is possible that the increased mechanisation of this industry could have been the reason.

As there were no towns in the vicinity of Deelkraal, it led to the immediate construction of homes on mining property for white employees. In 1975, the Department of Environmental Planning and Energy permitted the mine to build housing for 1,000 employees on mining property, on condition that it would not be allowed to be proclaimed as a

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[318] New Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa Limited, Companies reports, *Deelkraal Gold Mining Company Limited, Annual Report,* 1986, p. 4.
[319] *Carletonville Herald,* 22.1.1982, p.1 and 8.3.1985, p. 4.
[320] *Carletonville Herald,* 6.9.1985, pp. I, 5, and New Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa Limited, Companies reports, *Deelkraal Gold Mining Company Limited, Annual Report, 1986*, p. 4.
[321] Carletonville Herald, 3.2.1986, p. 1.
[322] New Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa Limited, Companies reports, *Deelkraal Gold Mining Company Limited, Annual Report,* 1986, p. 4.
[323] Anon., "Deelkraal - the profit sharer goes smoothly into production", *South African Mining and Engineering Journal,* 90(4157), December 1979, p. 57 and Anon., "Getting down to new areas", *The South African Mining World,* 2(4), May 1983, p. 51.
[324] New Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa Limited, Companies reports, *Deelkraal Gold Mining Company Limited, Annual Report,* 1988, p. 5.
[325] New Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa Limited, Companies reports, *Deelkraal Gold Mining Company Limited, Annual Report, 1986,* p. 5.

GRAPH 5: DEELKRAAL GOLD MINE – GOLD PRODUCTION, BEGINNING AND BY 1988

full-fledged town[326] The expectation was to build about 653 to 700 houses and[327] by 1977, about 276 stands already contained houses.[328] Some workers were staying in Carletonville or another town in the municipal area.[329] In 1981, the building contractors Murray and Roberts Construction signed a contract stating that this company would build 163 houses on Deelkraal,[330] after which the number of homes rose to 310 in 1982.[331] By 1988, the amount increased to 439.[332] This meant that the demand for housing on mining property was still popular despite better roads to main suburbs.

Most black mine workers at Deelkraal were migrant workers, as was the case with other mines, and they lived in a hostel. Much planning was needed to design a modern building for the mine. The result was nine double-story dormitories, each with 32 to 40 sleeping quarters accommodating 18 persons per dormitory. A total of 5,400 black workers could then be housed. Lodgings and necessary infrastructural services were free.[333] Senior personnel were housed in self-service apartments at the end of each sleeping hall. These apartments could house four to six persons. Apart from this, living quarters for married black workers were built in the early 1980s.[334]

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[326] IR, MCV, file 33/1/2(a)(1), Deelkraal: minutes, meeting of the Management Committee, 20.11.1975.
[327] *Carletonville Weekly Record,* 1.10.1976, p. 1 and Anon., "Deelkraal hurries to trial milling date", *Coal, Gold and Base Minerals of South Africa,* 26(12), December 1978, p. 57.
[328] New Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa Limited, Companies reports, *Deelkraal Gold Mining Company Limited, Annual Report, 1977*, p.4.
[329] Anon., "Deelkraal - the profit sharer goes smoothly into production", *South African Mining and Engineering Journal,* 90(4157), December 1979, pp. 55, 57.
[330] *Carletonville Herald*, 23.10.1981, p. 1.
[331] Anon., *Deelkraal Gold Mining Company Limited: brochure*, 9.7.1982, p. 3.
[332] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, map: Carletonville Municipal region by 1988 (Department of Town and Regional Planning, Carletonville Municipality).
[333] Anon., "Deelkraal hurries to trial milling date", *Coal, Gold and Base Minerals of South Africa,* 26(12), December 1978, p. 57 and Anon., "Getting down to new areas", *The South African Mining World,* 2(4), May 1983, p. 51.
[334] Anon., *Deelkraal Gold Mining Company Limited: brochure,* 9.7.1982, p. 3 and Mon., "Deelkraal hurries to trial milling date", *Coal, Gold and Base Minerals of South Africa,* 26(12), December 1978, p. 57.

4.7.5.3 Business services, recreational, sports, cultural activities and church facilities

A variety of recreational and sports facilities were built for black and white employees living on mine property. This included a nine-hole golf course, tennis courts, a bowls court and a shooting range. Additionally, a tribal dancing arena and a theatre, from where a potpourri of cultural activities was started for and by black workers.[335] There were few church facilities or activities on the mine property. This was solely the responsibility of the mission workers of local white churches, the largest following being that of the Zionists.[336]

As with the churches, all forms of cultural practices for whites at Deelkraal, except for sports and recreation, were also very scarce. The reason for this was that extensive facilities were available in Carletonville, Potchefstroom and Fochville, where the Deelkraal employees could join.[337]

To compensate for the few social activities at Deelkraal, a group of English ladies founded the Deelkraal Ladies Social Club shortly after the opening of the Deelkraal gold mine. By hosting a monthly function, these ladies arranged for the wives of mining officials to get to know each other better. Shortly after the club was founded, it also began functioning as a charity organisation. Funds were and are still collected and are sent to local institutions in need. [338]

A few traders mainly run concession shops on the mining property. The Department of Environmental Planning and Energy determined in 1975 that only a few businesses may operate on mining grounds.[339] In the white suburb, there is a supermarket, a video and

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[335] Anon., "Deelkraal - the profit sharer goes smoothly into production", *South African Mining and Engineering Journal,* 90(4157), December 1979, p. 57.
[336] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, H.J. du Plessis (Senior compound manager, Deelkraal), 25.4.1990.
[337] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, H.J. Long, 25.4.1990. Potchefstroom and Fochville are outside the Carletonville Municipality.
[338] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, D.A. Olivier, 25.2.1991.
[339] IR, MCV, file 33/112(a)(1), Deelkraal: minutes, meeting of the Management committee, 20.11.1975

a greengrocer.[340] Close to the Deelkraal hostel, Frazer Stores and oAnglo Americanwners of two dining houses do business. Because of the few business services on the mine property, the business centre of Carletonville benefited greatly from the opening of the Deelkraal mine. Apart from added buying power, it contributed to the opening of more businesses in the Carletonville business centre.[341]

4.8 THE ANGLO AMERICAN CORPORATION OF SOUTH AFRICA GROUP

Apart from the presence and input of Rand Mines and Consolidated Gold Fields in the West Wits Line area, Anglo American Corporation of South Africa also literally dug itself into this territory.

The Anglo American Corporation Group (AAC) was founded in 1917. Mining activities in Brakpan and Springs were the first to be financed and developed by this group. In 1935, the AAC acquired land in the West Wits Line and commenced exploration. Results were promising, and the AAC was extending its original property in the West Wits Line, following an agreement with Gold Fields. AAC was also involved in the development of the promising Orange Free State gold fields. Its extension in the West Wits Line led to the opening of two mines, namely Western Deep Levels and Elandsrand.[342]

*4.8.*1The Western Deep Levels Gold Mine

4.8.2.1 Development

After much drilling on the AAC property on the West Wits Line, the Company appeared to plan the start-up of an extraordinary deep mine in 1943, south of the gold mines

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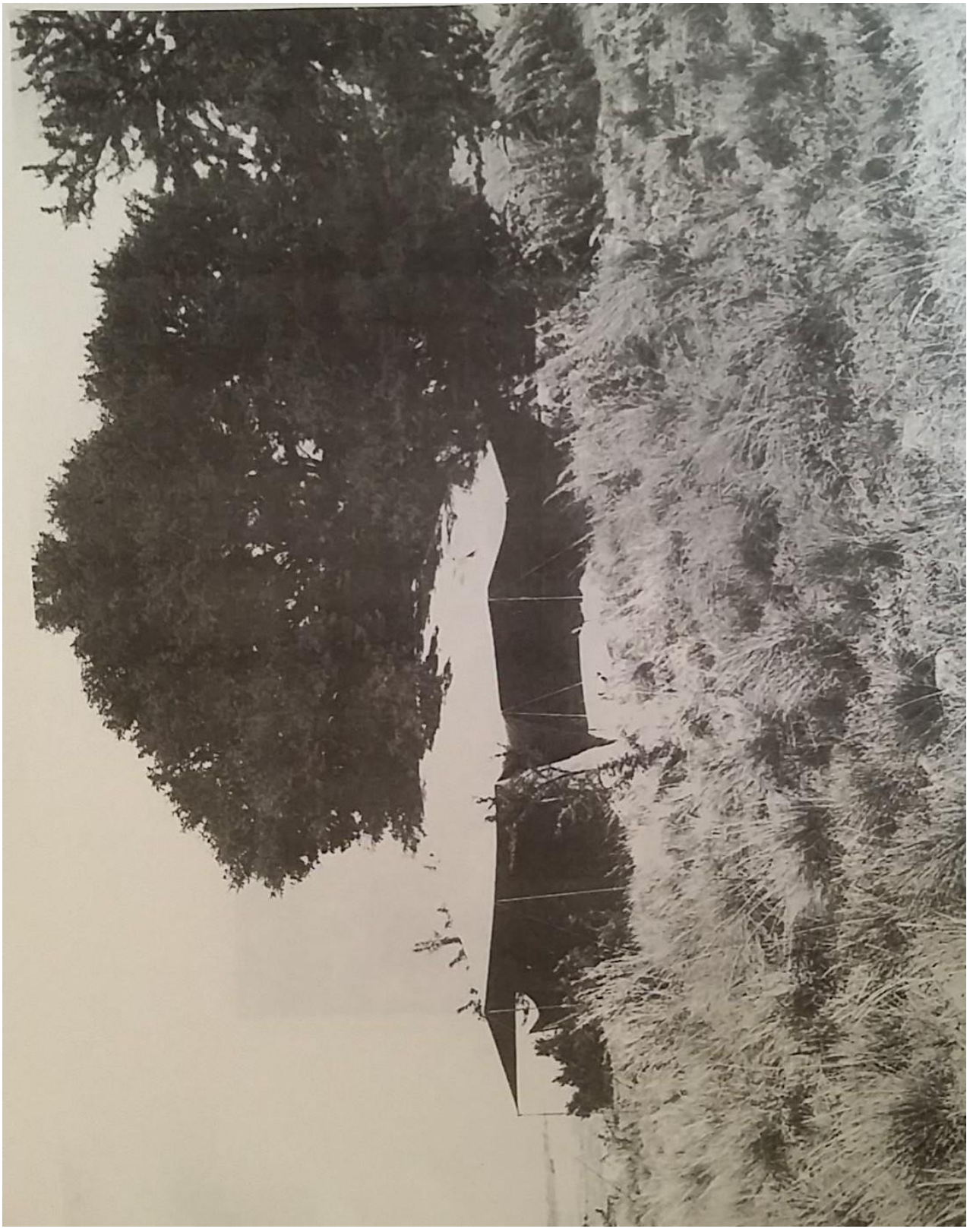
[340] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, H.J. Long, 25.4.1990.
[341] IR, MCV, file 33/112(a)(1), Deelkraal: minutes, meeting of the Management committee, 20.11.1975 and *Carletonville Weekly Record,* 1.10.1976, pp. 1, 5, 12. See *Chapter Five,* pp. 215-216, 229, regarding the opening of the OK Bazaars and the Pick ‘n Pay centre.
[342]H. Oppenheimer, "The Anglo American Corporation's role in South Africa's gold mining industry", *Optima,* 34(2), June 1986, pp. 59-61, 65

Sir Ernest Oppenheimer



Source: D. Hartley.

Western Deep Levels' administrative "office", approximately 1957



Source: D.M. Grobbelaar.

Blyvooruitzicht and West Driefontein. In 1943, the company Western Ultra Deep Levels Limited was registered, and exploration work was continued. By 1950, nine drill holes had already been drilled in the northern parts of the mine. The results were unfavourable, and the rental area was reduced.[343]

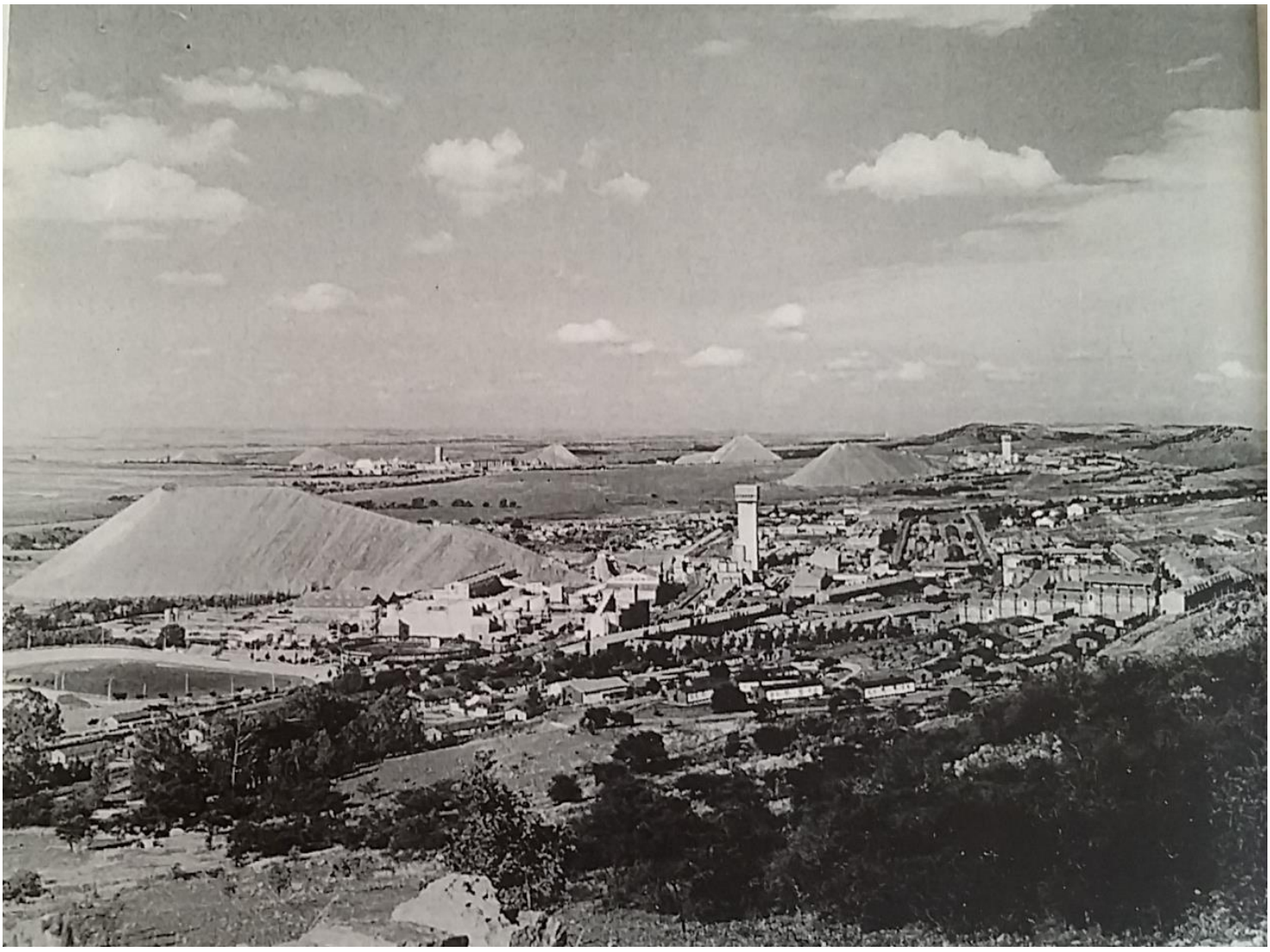
Despite this reduction, the potential of the rest of the area was apparently highly appraised. It appears that Western Ultra Deep Levels, in conjunction with other gold mining companies, applied for mining rights in 1956, on a portion of the territory of the South and West Driefontein Mine. After the application was approved, this company was named Western Deep Levels Limited. Development, with an aim on production, started in all earnest in 1957 when the chairman of AAC, the famous Sir Ernest Oppenheimer, officially opened the mining activities on 26 June.[344] The rented area encompassed about 4,820 morgen (4,145 ha).[345]

The No. Two and No. Three shafts were built in record time. In less than five years, the mine reached the Ventersdorp-Kontak ridge at a depth of 1,920 metres, which was shallower than the targeted reach, namely the carbon leader ridge, which contained high-grade gold ore.[346] R60 million was spent on development in the first phase. In 1962, capital was used to sink Nos. Two and Three shafts with hoist and ventilation shafts, as well as a reduction plant that could process about 2,000,000 tons of ore per month.[347]

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[343] H. Elliot, "Down towards the styx; an account of the development of Western Deep Levels", *Optima,* 34(2), June 1986, p. 106.
[344] H. Elliot, "Down towards the styx ...", *Optima,* 34(2), June 1986, pp. 106-107; *Carletonville Herald,* 8.8.1986, p.12 and Nedbank Archive, ED, Vol. 11, file 102-108, Economic reviews of Carletonville branch: report, economic review of the Carletonville branch, 31.12.1957, p. 2.
[345] S.R. Potter (ed.), “West Witwatersrand Areas Ltd.”, *South African Mining and Engineering Year Book,* 1945-1955, p.171 and CAD, Executive Council of the Union URU, Vol. 4258, file 1968, Mine rental: property in the district of Oberholzer awarded to W.D.L. Ltd, 1961.
[346] J. Oxley, *Down where no lion walked ...,* pp. 5-6; Anon., "Western Deep Levels ... a giant comes to live", *Mining and Industrial Review,* 106(11), March 1962, p.10; Anon., "13 000 voet onder die aarde", *Suid-Afrikaanse Panorama,* 7(5), Mei 1962, p. 2; *The Star,* 15.3.1962, p. 8; *Die Transvaler,* 21.3.1962, p.11 and *Carletonville Herald,* 29.1.1965, p. 1.
[347] Anon., "Western Deep Levels ... a giant comes to live", *Mining and Industrial Review,* 106(11), March 1962, pp. 10-13.

The development of Western Deep Levels during the 1960s



Source: *Carletonville Herald*

Two friction hoists were also installed, and were among the largest in the world. These machines were very advantageous when hoisting from deeper underground.[348]

In light of experience gained from other mines, extensive measures were taken at Western Deep Levels to manage underground water from the beginning. Concrete reinforcements were built while the shafts were still under construction. The pumping ability of 60 million gallons (2,7 million litres) per day was expected. The mine's life expectancy was projected to be 60 years.[349]

On 22 March 1962, the mine was officially opened by Mr H.F. Oppenheimer. During the ceremony, he referred to a personal ideal of his that Western Deep Levels' goal would be to develop the deeper carbon leader reef.[350] Rumours about this had already spread in the 1950s,[351] and since production commenced, immediate attention was given to extracting this rich gold reef.[352]

The waiting period was short, because the first cross-section of the carbon leader reef was reached by the end of March 1962 at the western sector of the No. Two ventilation shaft. A depth of 2,865 metres was reached in September 1962. In contrast to this, the drilling activities at the No. Three sub-vertical ventilation shaft only reached a depth of 2,838 metres in June 1962.[353]

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[348] Anon., "The Western Deep story", *The South African Mining and Engineering Journal,* 73(1), 23.3.1962, pp. 598-606, 613-620, 625, 639; H. Elliot, "Down towards the styx ...", *Optima,* 34(2), June 1986, p.106; *The Star,* 15.3.1962, p. 9 and *Carletonville Herald,* 8.18.1986.
[349] Anon., "13 000 voet onder die aarde", *Suid-Afrikaanse Panorama,* 7(5), Mei 1962, pp. 1-3; Anon., "Western Deep Levels ... a giant comes to live", *Mining and Industrial Review,* 106(11), March 1962, pp. 10-13; Anon., "The Western Deep story", *The South African Mining and Engineering Journal,* 73(1), 23.3.1962, p. 621 and *Potchefstroom Herald,* 8.6.1962, p. 13.
[350] H. Elliot, "Down towards the styx ...", *Optima,* 34(2), June 1986, p. 6.
[351] *Potchefstroom Herald,* 4.12.1959, p.1; *Die Transvaler,* 21.3.1962, p.11 and W.P. de Kock, "The geology and economic significance of the West Wits Line", *The Geological Society of South Africa,* I, 1964, p. 385.
[352] Anon., "Southern Africa", *Mining Annual Review,* 1964, p.173, and *Deep Levels News,* August 1967, p.8.
[353] S.R. Potter (ed.), South African Mining and Engineering Year Book, 1962-63, pp. 1, 61-62 and J. Oxley, Down where no lion walked ..., pp. 29, 114, 116.

Western Deep Levels' official opening in 1962



Honorary guests with the first cast gold bar of Western Deep Levels. From left to right: Mrs H.F. Oppenheimer, Dr M.H. de Kock, Mr H.F. Oppenheimer and Mrs M.H. de Kock.

Source: D.M. Grobbelaar.

After only one year of production, Western Deep Levels could boast a record tonnage from this gold mine. About 110,000 tons of ore were extracted, and 13,694 kg of gold were produced (see Graph 6, p.175a). A profit of R578,126 was made.[354] This was a contribution of 1% towards the capital outlay of R55,222,000, which was used to build the mine up until the start of production in 1962.[355] Shortly after this, activities at the No. Three shaft made the prospects of gold development even rosier when high-grade ore was drilled at the Ventersdorp-Kontak ridge.[356]

During development, such as the sinking of a secondary and tertiary shaft, it was made known in 1966 that Western Deep Levels was investigating the possibility of producing uranium.[357] The production potential became a reality in 1968 when uranium was found while doing underground tests in the carbon leader ridge. A uranium plant was built in the next year, which could process about 63,500 tons of ore.[358]

Another aspect of the development during the 1960s was the installation of cooling plants at the No. Two and Three shafts. About 3,000 tons of air per day were needed at this stage to defy the high underground temperature. The deeper gold extraction, which became a reality in the 1970s, demanded higher work output from the cooling system. As a leader in ore extraction, Western Deep Levels delivered positive and successful input on improving cooling plants.

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[354] Chamber of Mines, 73rd Annual Report, 1962, p. 33 and H. Elliot, "Down towards the styx ..., *Optima,* 34(2), June 1986, p. 7.
[355] S.R. Potter (ed.), *South African Mining and Engineering Year Book*, 1962-63, p. 63.
[356] J. Oxley, Down where no lion walked ..., p. 116; H. Elliot, "Down towards the styx ...", *Optima*, 34(2), June 1986, p.7 and A.G. Knowles, *A paleocurrent study of the Venters Dorp Contact Reef at Western Deep Levels Limited on the Far West Rand*, pp. 1-10.
[357] *Herald vir die Goue Weste*, 10.6.1966, p. 1.
[358] H. Elliot, "Down towards the styx ...", *Optima,* 34(2), June 1986, p. 8. An oversaturated world market and consequent lowering of the uranium price led to Western Deep Levels closing its plant in 1985 and adapting it for gold mining. See *Deep Levels News,* December 1969, p. 3, and Western Deep Levels Gold Mine, "WDL, a pioneer at depth" (n.d.).

The expenses for this were very high, [359] i.e., in 1968, R25 million was spent.[360]

Important incidents in 1964 and 1968 included an underground fire that partly obstructed mine activities and a freak accident at one of the hoist installations.[361] During the flood at the West Driefontein mine in 1968, Western Deep Levels assisted West Driefontein by drilling large holes in the nearest border pillar, which separates Western Deep Levels from West Driefontein. The water was drained by a system of high-pressure valves, which was hastily imported. From there, the water was fed through a network of pumps and high-pressure pipes. Many precautionary measures had to be taken to make this scheme work. Concrete stops were plugged into all underground tunnels, which were vulnerable to flooding.[362] For the AAC and the shareholders of Western Deep Levels, it was a successful end to the flood at the West Driefontein Gold Mine as well as a relief. This successful assistance scheme was probably expensive.

With the passing of these incidents in 1969, Western Deep Levels Mine once more gave intensive attention to the extraction of ore from the carbon leader ridge, below 1,000. For this, strip-mining sites were arranged, and investigation tunnels were continued on the same level. A descending passage at the Nos. Two and Three shafts were sunk to connect the two shafts for aeration. Hoisting machines at both shafts' tertiary vertical shaft systems were also completed.[363]

As was the case with most gold mines in the Carletonville area, the 1970s were a highlight for gold production at Western Deep Levels.

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[359] *Deep Levels News*, December 1965, p. 3 and J. Oxley, *Down where no lion walked* ..., pp. 125-126.
[360] J. Oxley, *Down where no lion walked* ..., pp. 125-127.
[361] *Deep Levels News,* August 1967, p. 8.
[362] J. Oxley, *Down where no lion walked* ..., pp. 121-123.
[363] S.R. Potter (ed.), *South African Mining and Engineering Year Book, 1968-69*, pp.35-37 and J. Oxley, *Down where no lion walked* ..., pp. 183-195.

In 1970, the mine produced the most gold ever, i.e., 60,413 kg (see Graph 6, p.223) from 3,171,000 tons of ore.[364]

A further highlight occurred in 1973 when the mine reached a world record depth of 3,472 metres. The previous record-holding mine is the East Rand Proprietary Mines (ERPM) mine (Boksburg) with a depth of 3,428 meters.[365] The aim of Western Deep Levels, to extract gold even deeper, was continued. By 1977, the mine's No. Two shaft system was a phenomenal 3,777 metres - nearly four kilometres deep![366] About 90% of the available cooling systems were installed at these depths, as well as improved installations and a total of R26 million was projected.[367] This development was only possible because of the shareholders' confidence in mine capital. Although the production tempo began to slow down, it was still impressive. From 2,977,000 tons of ore, 43,479 kg of gold were produced.[368]

In 1978, the possible development of the southern part of the mining territory was discussed. The No. One shaft project, which was first known as the No. Four shaft was planned and started. This would become the most expensive and deepest hoist shaft system in the world. The rising gold price in the late 1970s made sinking a further shaft feasible. In 1980, the cost for the first phase of the No. One Shaft was projected to be R586 million.[369] Apart from the capital expenses connected to the building of the shaft, further costs were projected for manpower for the different stages of shaft sinking, mining equipment, offices, magazines, a milling plant, a filter machine and electricity.

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[364] Chamber of Mines, 81st Annual Report, 1970, p. 31.
[365] J. Oxley, *Down where no lion walked* ..., pp. 186,193.
[366] *Carletonville Weekly Record*, 24.6.1977, p. 1.
[367] Anon., "Western Deep counters deep mining problems", *Coal,* 25(7), July 1977, pp. 31-37; *Carletonville Herald,* 28.11.1980, p.1 and Chamber of Mines, 88th Annual Report, 1977, p. 26.
[368] Chamber of Mines, 89th Annual Report, 1978, p. 31.
[369] Anon., "Spending R715M at Western Deep, even this won't be enough", *Finance Week,* 5, 5 June 1980, p. 349; L. Dellatola, "Die wêreld se diepste myn", *Suid-Afrikaanse Panorama,* 26(6), June 1980, p.19; C. de Kock, "World record mining project", *Mining Survey,* 3(4), 1982, pp. 39-44 and *Carletonville Herald,* 25.1.1980, p. 3.

Underground partition walls were planned to soften the effects of earthquakes. A cooling plant had to be acquired that could cool rocks as hot as 63ºC. The rumour was that the three mining shafts jointly used as much power as Cape Town.[370]

In 1981, the sinking of No. One shaft started in all earnest while the new uranium plant at No. Two Shaft commenced with work. This plant was designed to manage 200,000 tons of ore per month. It took nearly three years to complete because of the location, which is known for its steep hills.[371]

None of the above developments at No. One Shaft during 1980 and 1981 influenced the production tempo of activities at other shafts of Western Deep Levels. At this stage, the annual tempo of ore extraction was 3,156,000 tons. During the next two years, the kilograms of gold produced also increased from 39,012 kg in 1981 to 39,454 kg in 1983.[372] However, it was clear at this stage that gold production at Western Deep Levels, since its peak in 1970, declined to 21,400, although nearly the same amount was extracted. The grade of the extracted ore was no longer as high. It is clear why so much hope and expectations were put on the future production of the No. One Shaft.

The development of the No. One Shaft had to be stopped due to flooding in July 1982 in the service shaft at a depth of 970 metres, and part of the shaft wall gave way.

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[370]D.J. Jordaan, "Ground movement in underground working and its effect on survey stations", *Journal of the Institute of Mine Surveyors of South Africa,* 20, June 1980, pp. 80-87 and A. v. Z. Brink and D.M. O'Connor, "Research on the prediction of rockbursts at Western Deep Levels", *Journal of South African Institute of Mining and Metallurgy,* 83, January 1983, pp. 1-10.
[371] Anon., "Review of Concor's contract; Western Deep levels no. 2 shaft uranium plant", *The Civil Engineering Contractor,* 15(9), June 1981, pp. 23-27.
[372] Anon., "South Africa", *Mining Annual Review,* 1982, p. 422 and Chamber of Mines, 92nd Annual Report*,* 1982, p. 34 to 96th Annual Report*,* 1985, p. 42.

Water flooded in at about 6,000 litres per hour. This was a strange phenomenon for the mining authorities because water had been extracted from this area many years before. A geological survey showed that underground water-carrying fissures between Pretoria and the dolomite range were responsible for this.[373] The assistance of the Gold Fields Cementation Company was requested. A 17 metre concrete plug was designed and installed in this problem area under difficult circumstances to stop the water flow.[374] This process was very costly and an unforeseen expense, and resulted in mine activities only normalising by March 1983.[375] Another matter that harmed the development process of the No. One Shaft was the prevailing gold price. The low gold price of 1983 had a stifling effect.[376] However, the deployment process of the shaft was continued and was put in operation during 1986, which was the target year.[377]

Western Deep Levels could keep to the target for 1986. An impressive production of 100, 000 tons of ore per month was expected. By opening this deep shaft, the gold mining industry was put on a new road of deep underground development. This was beneficial for the local and South African economy.[378] For 1987, all three shafts of Western Deep Levels

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[373] R.L. de G. Solms, "Flooding of Western Deep Levels no. 1 shaft", *The South African Mining World,* 3(5), June 1984, pp. 57-79.
[374] C. de Kock, "World record mining project", *Mining Survey,* 3(4), 1982, p. 44, and P. Holz, "New shaft at Western Deep Levels flooded", *South African Mining World,* 1(8), September 1982, p. 65.
[375] J. Oxley, *Down where no lion walked* ..., pp. 201-203.
[376] P. Holz, "New shaft at Western Deep Levels flooded", *South African Mining World,* 1(8), September 1982, p. 69; Anon., "South Africa", *Mining Annual Review,* 1983, p. 387 and Chamber of Mines, *94th Annual Report,* 1983, p. 38.
[377] Anon., "Western Deeps going down to 4 000m", *Coal, Gold and Base Minerals,* January 1985, pp. 75-80.
[378] J. Doyle, "M & R hard at work on gold plant for super mine", *South African Construction World,* 4(3), April 1985, pp.40-45; Anon., "Approaching D-day for WDL's southern division", *The South African Mining World,* 4(9), October 1985, pp. 42-47; *Carletonville Herald,* 18.7.1980, p. 1 as well as 25.7.1986, p.1; 8.8.1986, p. 9 and *Western Deep News,* August 1986, p. 1.

extracted 5,826,000 tons of ore on the rental area of 4,103 ha. At this stage, it was higher than any other gold mine in South Africa.[379]

Apart from the activities of Western Deep Levels at No. One shaft, the mine did much research in 1983 and 1986 to increase productivity. Consequently, the use of dumpers, load-bearing machines and trucks in mining areas was realised.[380] Further development took place at the No. Three shaft. Two large crushing machines were built in November 1984 to extract gold from a million tons of waste rock.[381]

By 1988, all the above-mentioned factors were responsible for the extreme increase in ore extraction and gold production at Western Deep Levels. In 1988, 6,579,000 tons of ore were extracted, and 39,223 kg of gold were processed (see Graph 6, p.175a).[382] Although the production figure of gold at Western Deep Levels could still not reach that of the 1970s, the mine constantly reached higher production figures of ore. Extremely sophisticated techniques and equipment were used to experiment in the world's deepest mine passages.[383]

4.8.1.2 Workforce and provision of housing

In 1962, before the official opening of Western Deep Levels, about 1,000 workers had already been busy in this area since 1952, doing pioneering work.[384]

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[379] Chamber of Mines, 98th Annual Report, 1987, p. 34.
[380] Anon., "Moving towards improved productivity", *The South African Mining World,* 3(6), July 1984, pp. 69-71; Anon, "Rubber at Deep Levels", *The South African Mining and Engineering Journal,* 93(7), July 1984, pp. 6-48; Anon., "Mine haulage at the world's deepest ... rubber helps to get the gold", *Coal, Gold and Base Minerals,* May 1984, pp.53,55 and *Carletonville Herald,* 30.8.1985, p. 30.
[381] *Carletonville Herald,* 2.11.1984, p.1 as well as 7.6.1985, p. 12.
[382] Chamber of Mines, 99th Annual Report, 1988, p. 36.
[383] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, J.P. van der Mere (Financial officer, WDL mine), 3.5.1990; *Carletonville Herald,* 23.9.1988, p. 28, and *Western Deep News,* March 1989, p. 6.
[384] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file T6/B(2), West Wits Local Area Committee: report, 1952.

By 1962, this number had grown considerably. About 1,100 white and 11,000 black people were in the service of the mine.[385]

The number of workers increased considerably at Western Deep Levels after 1962. The levels also dropped because of worker unrest. As far as unrest and strikes at Western Deep Levels are concerned, 1973 was the most prominent year in this mine's history. This year, dissatisfaction among black mine workers has arisen because of the percentage difference in salary increases between machine operators and underground divers.[386] Unrest caused the death of 11 black workers after police shot at the workers in self-defence. Widespread local and national reaction followed, and the reason for this was investigated.[387] The consequence was that the black workforce decreased between 1973 and 1974, from 15,494 to 12,310, while the white workforce increased to 1,624.[388]

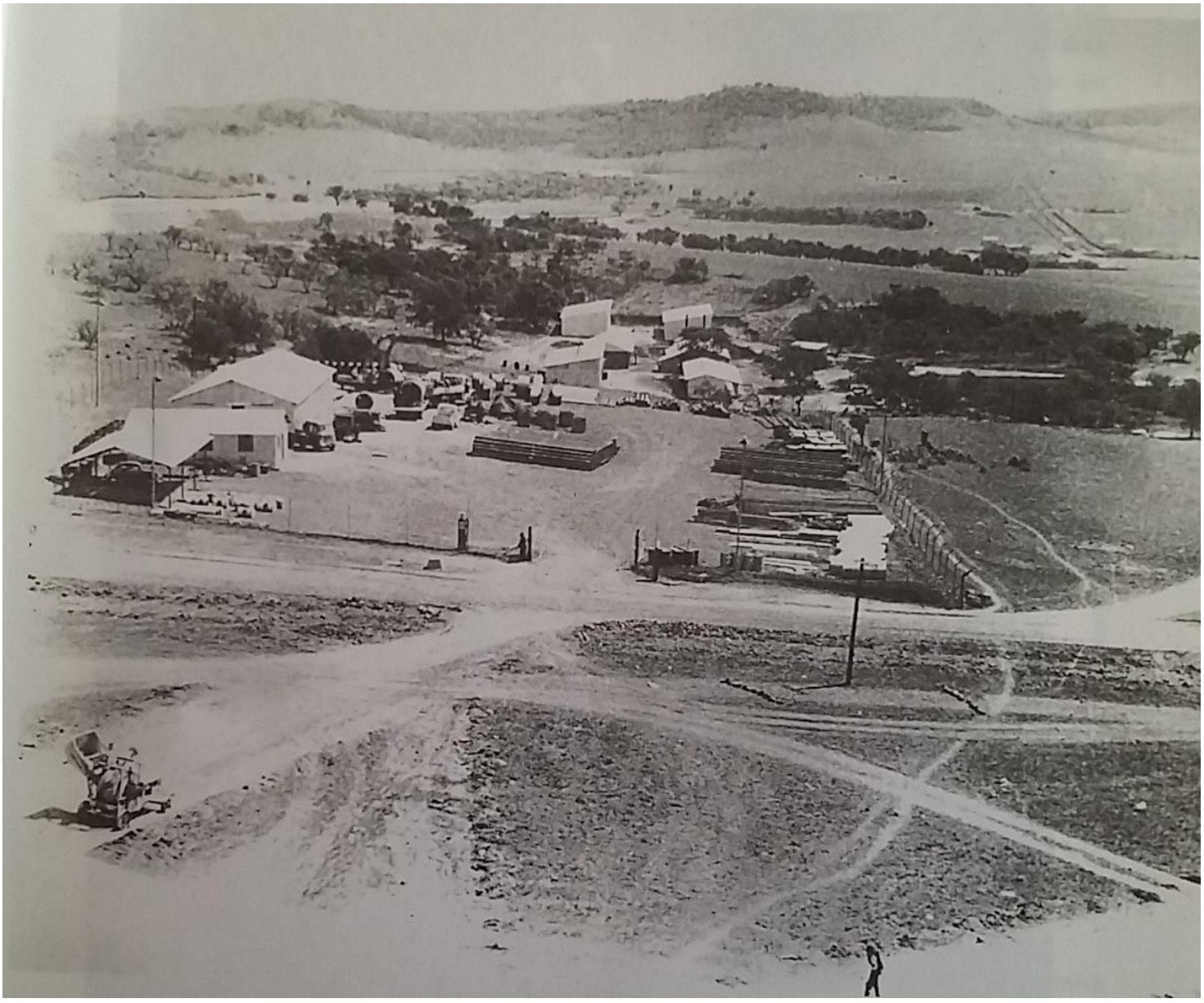
During the subsequent years, the working conditions improved. Western Deep Levels experienced a shortage of white workers in 1978, despite the number of white workers rising to 1,826, which hampered production. A large number of workers heeded the mine's request to work overtime. This additional expense for Western Deep Levels amounted to about R1,6 million.[389] With the launch of pioneer activities at No. One shaft in 1981, the workforce gave the mine a considerable positive push. About 2,000 blacks and 250 whites were employed in this year. [390]

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[385] Anon., "13 000 voet onder die aarde", *Suid-Afrikaanse Panorama,* 7(5), Mei 1962, p. 2 and *The Star,* 15.3.1962, p. 8.
[386] Anon., "After the shooting", *Financial Mail,* 49, 14.9.1973, pp. 1017-1018; Anon., "Jameson Mkhonza is dead", *Financial Mail,* 50, 5.10.1973, pp. 30-32; *The Star,* 16.10.1973, p. 1, as well as 17.10.1973, p. 1 and *Die Vaderland,* 12.10.1973, p. 1.
[387] Anon., "Western Deep re-visited", *Financial Mail,* 50, 9.11.1973, pp. 568-571; *The Star,* 13.9.1973, p.27; *Die Vaderland,* 9.10.1973, p.1 as well as 11.10.1973 and *Rapport,* 14.10.1973, p. 3.
[388] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, G.P. Mong (Head, Central time office, WDL), 7.9.1990.
[389] Anon., "Shortage of white miners is serious", *The South African Mining and Engineering Journal,* 89(4139), April 1978, p. 17 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, G.P. Mong,
[390] P. Holz, "New shaft at Western Deep Levels flooded", *The South African Mining World,* 1(8), September 1982, 1(8), September 1982, p. 72 and *Carletonville Herald,* 15.11.1985, p. 5. 7.9.1990.

GRAPH 6: WESTERN DEEP LEVELS GOLD MINE – GOLD PRODUCTION, BEGINNING, PEAK AND 1988

Western Deep Levels Village, 1958



Source: D.M. Grobbelaar.

Western Deep Levels Village, First and Second Avenue in 1959.



Source: D.M. Grobbelaar.

The white numbers increased to 2,277, and the black workforce to 17,323.[391]

During 1985 to 1986, Western Deep Levels had a workforce of about 25,282, of whom most worked underground.[392] By 1987, the number of black workers dropped slightly.[393] Apart from other factors, this drop can be attributed to the strikes during this year. However, the ore grade extracted in 1988 compensated, and the year was much more profitable.[394] With this, the workforce was restored in 1988, and numbered 3,196 whites and 25,112 blacks.[395] The mine's training centre was very busy at this stage.[396] Training definitely ensured that the workforce's production capability was optimally utilised.

Accommodation for white workers at Western Deep Levels in the 1950s was already discussed. With the mine situated close to the centre between Carletonville and Fochville (outside Carletonville's municipal border), there were rumours that Fochville would be the designated town for the Anglo American Group to accommodate mine workers. Because the southern part of Western Deep Levels bordered on Fochville, which was only developed in the 1980s, and the fact that Fochville's infrastructure seemed weaker, the company considered Carletonville the preferred town for accommodation.[397]

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[391] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, G.P. Mong, 7.9.1990.
[392] H. Elliot."Down towards the styx…", *Optima,* 34(2), June 1986, p. 12.
[393] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, J.P. van der Merwe, 3.5.1990, as well as interview, T.P. Venter, 8.2.1989 and Anglo American Corporation, Western Deep Levels, 32nd Annual Report, 31.12.1989, p.11. This source mentions a workforce of 28,301.
[394] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, G.P. Mong, 7.9.1990.
[395] *Carletonville Herald*, 29.1.1988.
[396] *Western Deep News/Nuus,* August 1986, p. 6; *Deep Levels News,* December 1965, p. 3 and September 1966, p.3.
[397] Nedbank Archive, EO, Vol. 11, files 102-108; Economic surveys Carletonville branch: report, 31.12.1957, p. 2, as well as 31.1.1958, pp. 2-3.

Shortly after mining production commenced in 1962, there were already 550 stands with houses in Carletonville Extension No. Four, developed by Western Deep Levels.[398] For officials who performed essential services, homes were built in the new mining town, Western Deep Levels Village, as well as a mining lodge to accommodate 84 bachelors.[399]

Sinkholes that occurred in the 1960s in the Carletonville area and damage to houses led to Western Deep Levels' decision to build homes for its employees in Fochville. Although this caused an unfavourable reaction from Carletonville's City Council,[400] the company carried out its decision. A few years later, the Town Council unsuccessfully attempted to convince the AAC to change its plans. It seemed as if the group wanted to sell their stands in the Town Extension No. Nine in Carletonville.[401]

Not all the houses belonging to the Western Deep Levels Mine in Carletonville were sold. During the 1960s, regular inspections were done, and potentially dangerous homes were vacated.[402] After West Driefontein mine, Western Deep Levels lost the most houses by 1967 because 57 of a total of 582 homes were not fit to live in.[403] The confidence of Mining officials in the Carletonville area as a suburb was only restored during the following decade.

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[398] *Carletonville Herald*, 25.1.1963, p.5 and S.R. Potter (ed.), *South African Mining and Engineering Year Book, 1962-63*, p. 61.
[399] Nedbank Archive, EO, Vol. 11, files 102-108; Ekonomiese oorsigte Carletonville-tak: verslag, 31.1.1958; Anon., "13 000 voet onder die aarde", *Suid-Afrikaanse Panorama,* 7(5), Mei 1962, p. 4; Western Deep Levels Gold Mine, *WDL, a pioneer at depth,* (n.d.); *Deep Levels News,* November 1967, p.3 and Republic of South Africa, Department of Commerce and Industry, Annual Report no. 15, *Council for the Development of Natura Resources, 1 January 1962 - 31 December 1962,* p. 8.
[400] *Carletonville Herald,* 25.1.1963, p. 5, and TAD, MCV, Vol. 51, file 73/5(5), Publicity: newspaper cuttings, *Die Transvaler,* 1966.
[401] IR, MCV, file 221(b)(2), Towns: minute, Management Committee, 25.4.1967.
[402] TAD, MCV, Vol 38, file 34/1/(4b), Formation, security and stands: Western Deep Levels Gold Mining Company Limited - cracking of houses, Carletonville progress report, 7.3.1966.
[403] IR, MCV, file 22/1(b)(2), Towns: schedule indicating the pattern of Development in the Carletonville region, 18.4.1967.

During the initial years, while developing No. One shaft in the 1980s, the mines built more than 250 homesteads in Fochville.[404] By 1986, a further 250 houses were completed. This tendency did not prevent some mining officials from making Carletonville their hometown.[405] The number of homes in the Western Deep Levels mining suburb, Village, increased to 184 by 1988.[406]

Housing for black mine workers received attention before the official production year, 1962. Two hostels were already built near Nos. Two and Three shafts, as well as a further 100 homes for married black officials[407] behind the No. Two hostel. The black suburb called Skoonplaas, also had a school. It was not possible to extend Skoonplaas, as the suburb did not develop further. During the 1980s, these homes were converted into security buildings, while a new black township was being developed.[408]

The two hostels had two floors each and 24 living quarters, each equipped to house 228 mine workers. By 1967, 13,000 mine workers were living in the hostels. A third similar hostel was built during the 1970s,[409] probably because the increase in black worker numbers necessitated it.

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[404] P. Holz, "New shaft at Western Deep Levels flooded" *The South African Mining World,* 1(8), September 1982, p. 72, and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, N. Theunissen (Project manager, Weulela), 7.9.1990.
[405] Western Deep Levels Gold mine, *WDL, a pioneer at depth,* (n.d.) and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, N. Theunissen, 7.9.1990.
[406] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, map: Carletonville Municipal region by 1988 (Department of Town and Regional Planning, Carletonville Municipality). Also see Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, N. Theunissen, 7.9.1990.
[407] TAD, MCV, Vol. 51, file 73/5(5), Publicity: newspaper cutting, *Die Transvaler,* 1966; CAD, NTS, Vol 9969, file 1321/408C3(1), Western Deep Levels: compound, Shaft 3. See also vols. 2576 and 2577 for similar information and Anon., "13 000 voet onder die aarde", *Suid-Afrikaanse Panorama,* 7(5), Mei 1962, p.4.
[408] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, N.T. Theunissen, 7.9.1990. It is unknown why the name 'Skoonplaas' was used. It was apparently quite fashionable for black married officials to call their townships Skoonplaas.
[409] *Herald vir die Goue Weste*, 12.5.1967, p. 11 and Western Deep Levels Gold Mine, *WDL, a pioneer at depth,* (n.d.).

As mentioned earlier, during the unrest at Western Deep Levels in 1973, the hostel system was investigated. The opinion was that 8,000 people living in one hostel could easily lead to unrest and vandalism. A housing scheme including the workers' families was proposed.[410] The easing of the influx policy by 1978 made this possible.[411]

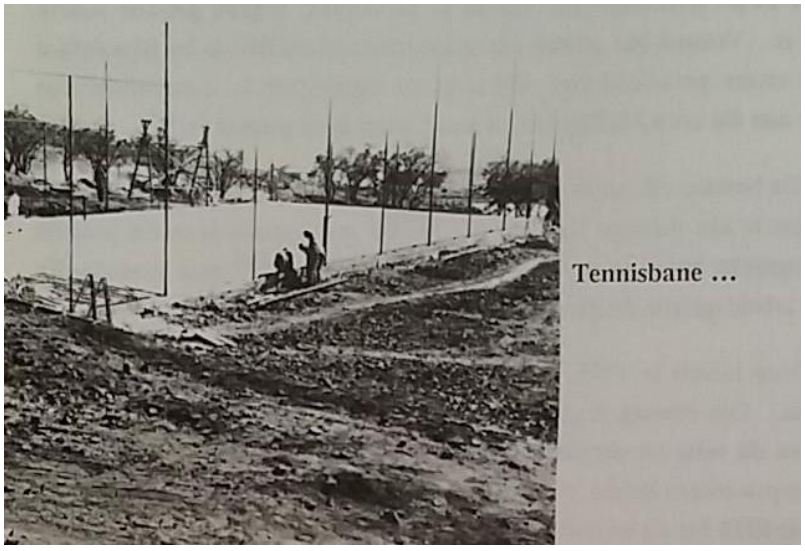
In conjunction with the Anglo American Group's latest addition, Elandsrand gold mine, Western Deep levels planned a black suburb called Wedela.[412] In December 1978, this suburb, built on 813 ha, was officially opened. The first development phase would include 600 houses. Twenty-six of the 126 homes were already occupied.[413] Hostel accommodation remained popular, and a fourth hostel was built in 1981, to house black workers close to the No. One shaft.[414]

After the Government stopped its influx policy in 1986,[415] more workers, with their families, lived in Wedela. This change led to Anglo American's decision to revise their housing scheme.[416] The group spent about R50 million to develop the town. Black mine workers were given the opportunity at Wedela, which was divided into ten suburbs

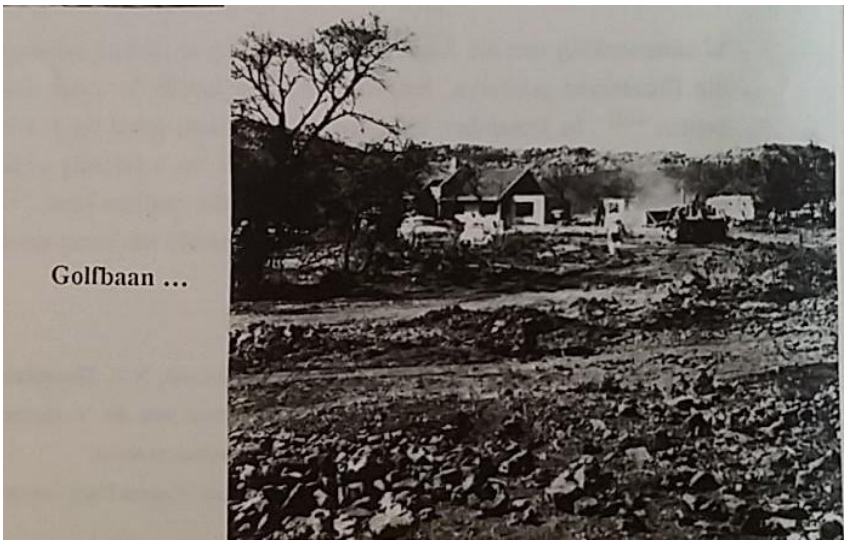
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[410] Anon., "Western Deep re-visited", *Financial Mail,* 50, 9.11.1973, p. 571.
[411] J.H. Coetzee, "Die afskaffing van instromingsbeheer", *Oënskou,* 4(6), Julie 1986, p. 225.
[412] The name Wedela was derived from the names of two gold mine companies: Western Deep Levels and Elandsrand.
[413] *Carletonville Herald,* 29.7.1977, p. 13; J. Oxley, *Down where no lion walked,* pp. 167-168 and N.T. Theunissen, "Wedela ... the town waiting for a proclamation", *Local Government in Southern Africa,* May/June, 1989, pp. 3-5.
[414] P. Holz, "New shaft at Western Deep Levels flooded", *South African Mining World,* 1(8), September 1982, p.72; *Carletonville Herald,* 29.7.1977, p. 13 and Western Deep Levels Gold Mine, *WDL, a pioneer at depth,* (n.d.).
[415] J.H. Coetzee, "Die afskaffing van instromingsbeheer", *Oënskou,* 4(6), Julie 1986, p. 226-227.
[416] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, Council minutes: minute, 29.11.1986, p. 13.

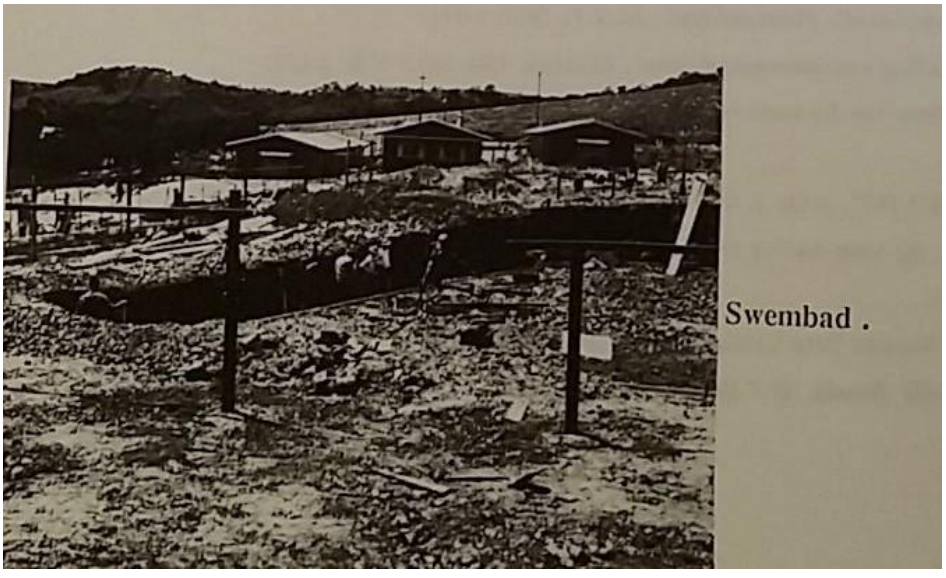
The development of recreation facilities at Western Deep Levels during the early 1960s.



Tennisbane ...



Golfbaan ...



Swembad .

to buy a home. More homes were built in Wedela, and by 1988, there were 498 built stands,[417] with the prospect of continuing development.[418] Another project, which was launched this year, was the construction of a centre where visiting wives of black mine workers could meet their husbands.[419]

4.8.1.3 Business services, recreation, sports, cultural activities and church facilities

Assorted sports, recreational and social activities were part of the daily way of life of black and white mine workers at Western Deep Levels. From sports reports, it seemed as if the white workers could practice nearly any sport. Service organisations such as the Western Deep Levels Ladies Charity Fund and social clubs where wives of mining officials could get involved, such as those at other local mines, were well underway. Additionally, films and Christmas tree functions were a part of the annual recreational activities.[420]

Western Deep Levels is the mine in the area that has one of the most modern sports facilities for its workers. This includes a standard Olympic swimming pool, an athletic course, and a cycling course. A cricket field and a soccer field are close to the hostels. Each hostel boasts a recreation hall where black workers can practice their cultural activities, such as tribal dances.[421]

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[417] J. Oxley, *Down where no lion walked ...,* pp. 169-170; Carletonville (Municipality), CM, map: Carletonville Municipal region by 1988 and N.T. Theunissen, "Wedela ... the town waiting for a proclamation", *Local Government in Southern Africa,* May/June, 1989, p. 5.
[418] In 1990, Wedela was proclaimed as an independent local authority, see *Wedela News,* February 1990, p. 1, and March/May 1990, pp. 1-3.
[419] *Carletonville Herald,* supplement, 29.1.1988, p.6. Similar projects were also launched since the opening of the mine. See Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, N. Theunissen, 7.9.1990.
[420] *Deep Levels News,* December 1965, p. 3, as well as March 1966, p. 6; September 1966, p. 3; November 1967, pp.1, 8 and *Western Deep News,* February 1986, pp. 5, 8, 16, 18.
[421] Anon., "13 000 voet onder die aarde", *Suid-Afrikaanse Panorama,* 7(5), Mei 1962, p. 5, Western Deep Levels Gold Mine, *WDL, a pioneer at depth,* (n.d.) and H. Elliot, "Down towards the styx ...", *Optima,* 34(2), June 1986, p. 12.

The pride of the mine, as well as the Elandsrand mine, are the facilities available in the black suburb of Wedela. These include, to name a few, the standard Olympic swimming pool, tennis courts, recreation halls and a recreation club called Village Club. This does not include the sports and other facilities at the Wedela Technical High School provided to the town's learners.[422] Other services at Wedela are a medical clinic, a post office, a modern business centre, a pre-primary, two primary and one secondary school.[423]

The future of Wedela, if it develops to its full potential, looks very impressive. This includes a further eight primary schools, more clinics, nursery schools, business enterprises and community centres.[424] It seems that the AAC recognises its black workers and the need for a normal living pattern within family connections by establishing this model town with permanent housing rather than the controversial migrant worker system, which accommodated men only temporarily.

Hostels do not have their own medical services when compared to Wedela. A mine hospital that was built and opened in 1963, close to No. Two shaft[425] covered this need.[426] Mine workers from the Elandsrand Gold Mine, as well as white mine workers from both mines, could make use of this service.[427] Serious cases were referred to hospitals in the Johannesburg area.[428]

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[422] J. Oxley, *Down where no lion walked* ..., p. 170 and H. Elliot, "Down towards the styx ...", *Optima*, 34(2), June 1986, p. 12.
[423] J. Oxley, *Down where no lion walked* ..., p. 170; H. Elliot, "Down towards the styx ...", *Optima,* 34(2), June 1986, p. 12, and J.C. Schutte (ed.), *West Rand Regional Services, planning investigation*, p. 142.
[424] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, N.T. Theunissen, 7.9.1990 and N.T. Theunissen, "Wedela ... the town waiting for a proclamation", Local Government in Southern Africa, May/June, 1989, p. 4.
[425] J. Oxley, *Down where no lion walked* ..., p. 172 and S.R. Potter (ed.), *South African Mining and Engineering Year Book, 1962-63*, p. 61.
[426] CAD, BAO, Vol. 2837, file C33/3/1397, Health condition on mines and industries: Western Deep Levels, application to construct, 17.7.1960 as well as opening, 7.11.1963.
[427] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, E. van Wyk (Liaison officer, WDL-myn), 11.8.1989.
[428] *Deep Levels News*, December 1965, p. 3.

Other services delivered at the hostels included a crafts centre, carpenter's, clothes shop, and a hairdresser.[429] Similar services were available for white residents on the mining property.[430]

Western Deep Levels has given attention to conservation since its opening. A bird sanctuary was created close to the No. Three hostel and, in conjunction with the Elandsrand gold mine, a small 650 ha game park were established on the southern part of Western Deep Levels.[431] The mine also has a nursery, which was opened during the 1960s. At this nursery, flowers and shrubs that thrive in this area are sold to employeesat reduced prices. The goal of the nursery was to replenish the plants which were unavoidably damaged during the building of the gold mine.[432]

Western Deep Levels was not only involved in gold mining, research, and the application of modern technology, but also made indirect worthwhile contributions to promoting the social welfare of Carletonville, a part of South African society.

4.8.2 The Elandsrand Gold Mining Company

4.8.2.1Development

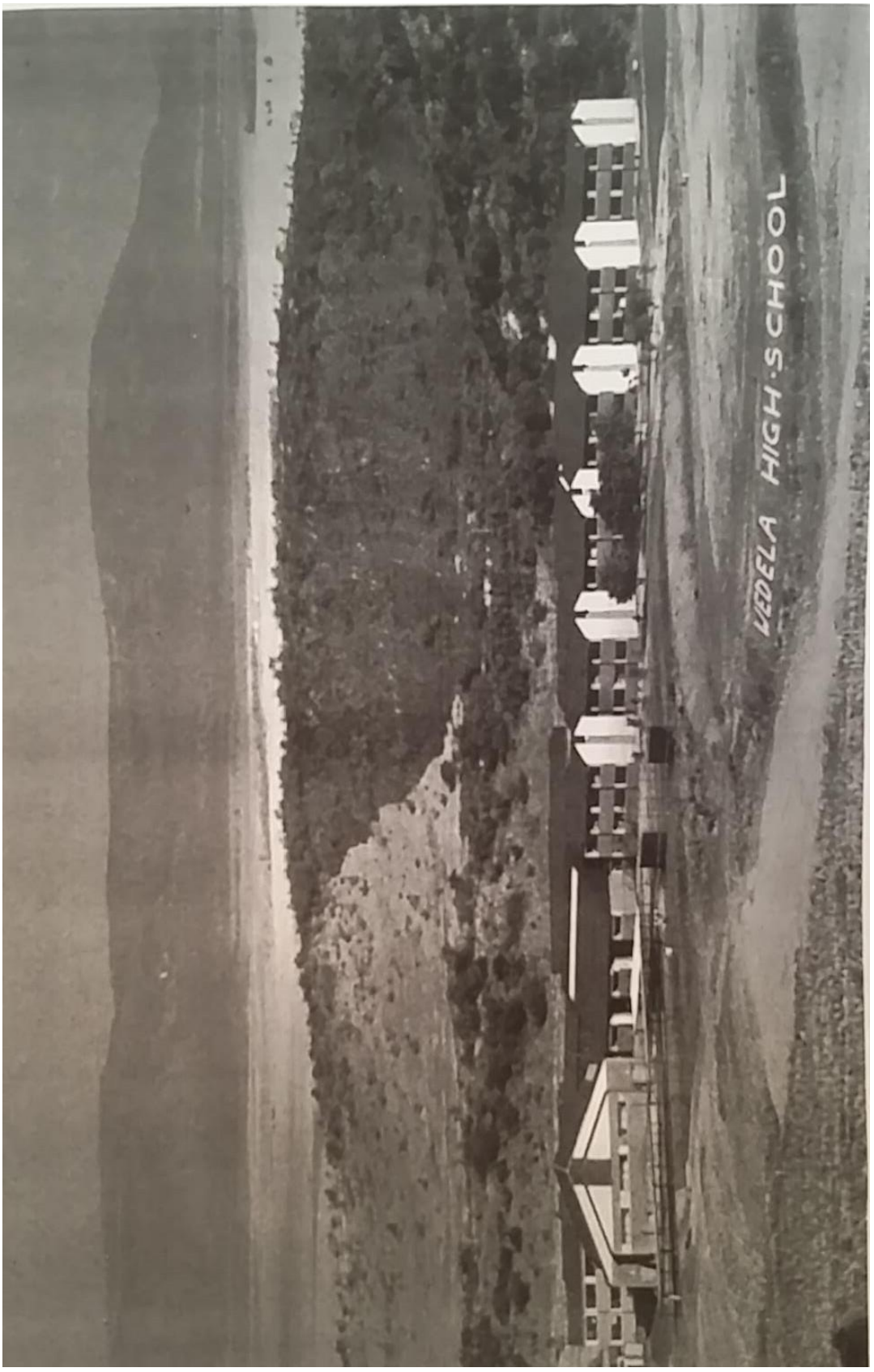
The Elandsrand Gold Mine is AAC's youngest addition in the Carletonville area.[433] A possible development of the land outside the southern borders of the Doornfontein mine was already discussed in 1968 when the AAC drilled 17 holes in this area.

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[429] *Herald vir die Goue Weste,* 12.5.1967, p. 11 and Mon., "13 000 voet onder die aarde", *Suid-Afrikaanse Panorama,* 7(5), Mei 1962, p. 4.

[430] H. Elliot, "Down towards the styx ...", *Optima,* 34(2), June 1986, p. 12.
[431] J. Oxley, *Down where no lion walked* ..., p. 178.
[432] *Deep Levels News,* September 1966, p. 2 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, E. van Wyk, 11.8.1989.
[433] Anon., "South Africa", *Mining Annual Review,* June 1969, p. 271.

Wedela Technical High School



Source: D. Hartley.

Results were promising. Gold ridges of more than a metre thick were found in the Ventersdorp-Kontak ridge.[434]

After a few years of planning and investigations, the Elandsrand Gold Mining Company was established in September 1974. The mine was built on 2,618 ha, and mineral rights were given on 515 ha of land southeast of Elandsrand, on which Western Deep Levels also had a claim. In an agreement between the two mines, it was decided that Elandsrand would be responsible for extracting the Ventersdorp-Kontak ridge, and Western Deep Levels would take responsibility for the carbon leader ridge.[435]

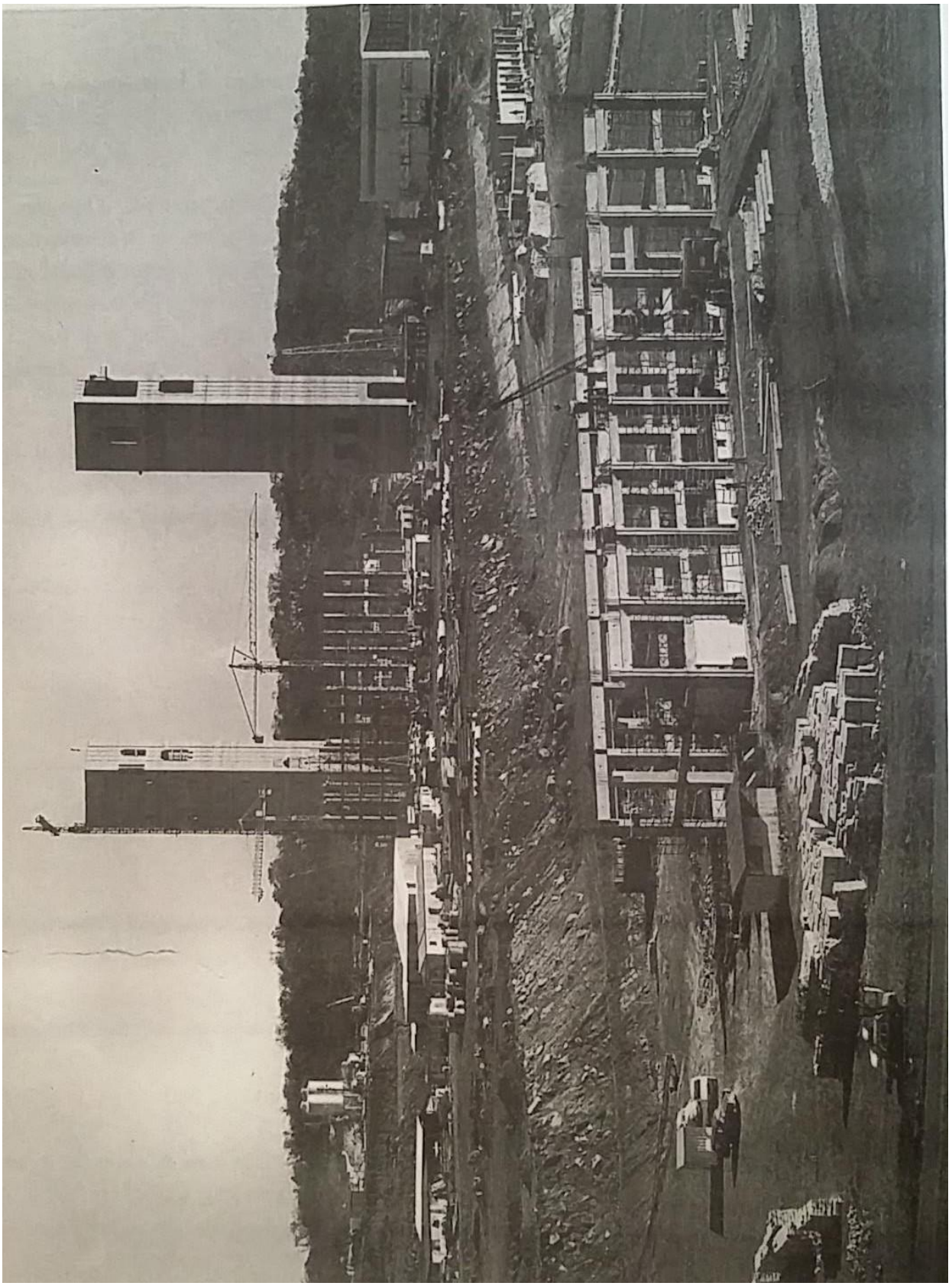
To develop the new Elandsrand mine, a capital outlay of R172 million was made,[436] and production would begin in 1981. A life expectancy of 34 years was a possibility.[437] Elandsrand could get immediate input from the experience of other gold mines in the area. For example, the mine's first phase of development was the foundation of the shaft site, which was sunk using a unique pre-sinking process. This was followed by the sinking of a 2,100 metres so-called man-material shaft and a necessary additional 2,195 metres deep rock ventilation shaft.[438] On 9 January 1976, the next phase, the sinking of the primary shaft, officially began.[439]

Other aspects which were part of the planning before production could begin were the building of feeder roads, the provision of electricity, the construction of lifting houses as well as temporary and permanent workshops, offices and because of this

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[434] C. Heever, "Elandsrand and the advance of gold mining towards the 21st century", *Optima,* 27, 1978-79, p. 114.
[435] J. Oxley, *Down where no lion walked ...,* p.198 and C. Heever, "Elandsrand ...", *Optima,* 27, 1978-79, p. 115.
[436] Elandsrand Gold Mine, Elandsrand, 16th Annual Report*,* 1989, p. 3.
[437] *Carletonville Herald,* 3.10.1975, p. 1, as well as 21.7.1977, p. 5 and 13.4.1979, p. 3.
[438] C. Heever, "Elandsrand ...", *Optima,* 27, 1978-79, pp. I14-115 and *Carletonville Weekly Record,* 3.10.1975, p. 10.
[439] Carletonville Herald, 9.1.1976, p. 3, and J. Oxley, *Down where no lion walked*…, p. 199.

Development at Elandsrand



Source: Anglo American Corporation

After 21 months, the Elandsrand project was a year ahead of its scheduled opening.[440]

To speed up the start of production, developing an ore level is required to deliver ore of average size at the highest capacity to the gold extraction plant on ground level.[441] As a result, numerous installations were erected to equip the ore level appropriately. An underground connection from Western Deep Levels to Elandsrands' 75th floor, which would eventually break through to the 2,238th floor to extract gold deeper down, also received attention at the beginning.[442] Western Deep Levels was responsible for providing power and water for the mine before ESCOM and the Rand Water Board took over this responsibility.[443]

At the commencement of the development of the Elandsrand mine, there was a healthy cooperation with the Western Deep Levels mine. The first gold ore from Elandsrand was extracted through the shafts of Western Deep Levels, and the first gold bar was poured on 22 December 1978, three years ahead of schedule.[444] In the first year of production, 582 tons of ore were crushed, from which 2,931 kg of gold was produced[445] (see Graph 7, p.185a). Further mechanisations in the following years were on the agenda, such as trackless hydraulic drilling equipment assisted by dumper trucks, which was introduced. For this purpose, the mine trained personnel in water mechanics to open the way for

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[440] C. Heever, "Elandsrand ...", *Optima,* 27, 1978-79, pp. 115-116, and *Carletonville Weekly Record,* 3.10.1975, p. 10. This mine apparently had the largest lift (hoist) in the world on its premises in 1976. See *Carletonville Weekly Record,* 30.4.1976, p. 12.
[441] *Carletonville Weekly Record*, 29.10.1976, p. 23.
[442] C. Heever, "Elandsrand ...", *Optima,* 27, 1978-79, pp. 117-119 and *Carletonville Herald,* 9.1.1976, p. 3.
[443] *Carletonville Weekly Record*, 3.10.1975, p. 10.
[444] J. Oxley, *Down where no lion walked* ..., p. 199, and Elandsrand Gold Mine, Elandsrand 16th Annual Report, 1989, p. 5.
[445] Chamber of Mines, 90th Annual Report*,* 1979, p. 43.

The Elandsrand gold mine

Front view:



Official opening on 10 April 1979.



Source: *Carletonville Herald*.

GRAPH 7: ELANDSRAND GOLD MINE – GOLD PRODUCTION, BEGINNING AND BY 1988

further mechanisation.[446] With this, the mine's ventilation system was installed according to the latest techniques for underground cooling.[447]

Despite Elandsrand's ability to speed up production using the latest methods and techniques, the mining company received disappointing news that the ore was of lower quality than expected.[448] The mine produced less gold from 1,215,000 tons of ore[449] in 1981 than the 985,000 tons of ore of 1980, namely 5,204 kg gold against 1980's 5,250 kg.[450] According to later statistics, it seemed as if this problem was only temporary.[451]

Other aspects that could have handicapped production at the beginning were possibly the insufficient lifting capacity,[452] and the sinking of a new vertical sub-shaft system to extract better ore quality. A further prospecting programme for this purpose was launched,[453] which produced dividends. By 1986, 1,895,000 tons of ore were extracted, and 11,836 kg of gold were produced.[454]

In 1988, Elandsrand mine proposed the concept of an underground production control centre in a specific area to improve communication.

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[446] *Carletonville Herald,* 22.12.1978, p. 1 and *Carletonville Weekly Record,* 22.12.1978, p. 8. Also compare the prospects mentioned in the *Carletonville Herald,* 9.1.1976, p. 3.
[447] C. Heever, "Elandsrand ...", *Optima,* 27, 1978-79, pp. 119-122 and *Carletonville Weekly Record,* 22.12.1978, p.8.
[448] C. Heever, "Elandsrand ...", *Optima,* 27, 1978-79, p. 120 and J. Oxley, *Down where no lion walked ...,* p.199.
[449] Chamber of Mines, 91st Annual Report*,* 1980, p. 39; Mon., "South Africa", *Mining Annual Review,* 1982, p. 422.
[450] Elandsrand Gold Mine, Elandsrand 16thAnnual Report*,* 1989, p.9 and Chamber of Mines, 91st Annual Report*,* 1980, p. 33
[451] Chamber of Mines, *93rd* Annual Report, 1982 to 96th Annual Report, 1985, p. 42, and *Carletonville Herald*, 26.4.1985, p. 6.
[452] C. Heever, "Elandsrand ...", *Optima,* 27, 1978-79, p.120.
[453] Anon., "Die vemaamste SA goudmyne, *Die Mynwese,* 3(4), 1986, p. 6.
[454] Chamber of Mines, 97th Annual Report*,* 1986, p. 46, and Elandsrand Gold Mine, Elandsrand 16th Annual Report, December 1989, p. 9. The sources differ somewhat regarding Elandsrand's gold production in 1985.

As a result, production increased,[455] as proved by the extraction of about 971,000 tons of ore, and production of 12,070 kg (see Graph 7, p.185a).[456] Elandsrand Mine's gold production was increasing at this stage, and its contribution to the rest of the South African gold mining industry was higher than its neighbouring mines, Doornfontein, Deelkraal and Blyvooruitzicht.[457]

4.8.2.2 Workforce and housing

While planning the development of Elandsrand, it was decided that the number of whites working on this mine would be 750, and the black workers would number 8,000.[458] The fact that this would benefit Carletonville was not left untouched by the local press. Indeed, most of the workers would have had to buy their consumer goods from the town. Consequently, business looked very positive for the Town Council regarding the incorporation of the new mine in its municipal area.[459]

By 1978, the workforce of the Elandsrand Mine numbered 308 whites and 3,500 blacks. In the initial stages of the mine's development, it aimed to mechanise to such an extent that the workforce would be 25% less than that of other comparable gold mines.[460] In 1985, the white workforce surpassed the initial decision with 786 workers in service. The number of black workers surpassed the initial 8,000 by 1987, when about 8,577 were in the mine's service. The number of both population groups increased in 1988, when the whites totalled 898 and the blacks 8,621.[461] The reason for exceeding the planned workforce, can be attributed to the activities which started

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[455] *Potchefstroom Herald,* supplement, 20.5.1988, p. 20.
[456] Elandsrand Gold Mine, Elandsrand 16th Annual Report, 1989, p. 9 and *Carletonville Herald,* 29.1.1988, p. 20.
[457] See Graphs 8 and 9 on pp. 189a and 190a.
[458] *Carletonville Herald,* 3.10.1975, p. 1; *Carletonville Weekly Record,* 22.12.1978, p. 8 and C. Heever, "Elandsrand ...", *Optima,* 27, 1978-79, p. 124.
[459] *Carletonville Weekly Record,* 1.10.1975, pp. 1-2,5,12 as well as 6.5.1977, p. 4.
[460] *Carletonville Weekly Record,* 22.12.1978, p. 8, and C. Heever, "Elandsrand ...", *Optima,* 27, 1978-79, p. 124.
[461] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, C.P. Mong, 7.9.1990.

at the vertical sub shaft during the mid-1980'.[462]

Since the beginning of mining activities at the Elandsrand Mine, accommodation for its workforce has drawn much attention.[463] Just as the Deelkraal Mine, the Elandsrand Mine was situated far from a town. The Elandsrand Mine received permission from the Department of Environmental Planning and Energy to house its workers on mining property.[464] Modern flats and homes were built from 1975 in the new mining town called Elandsridge.[465]

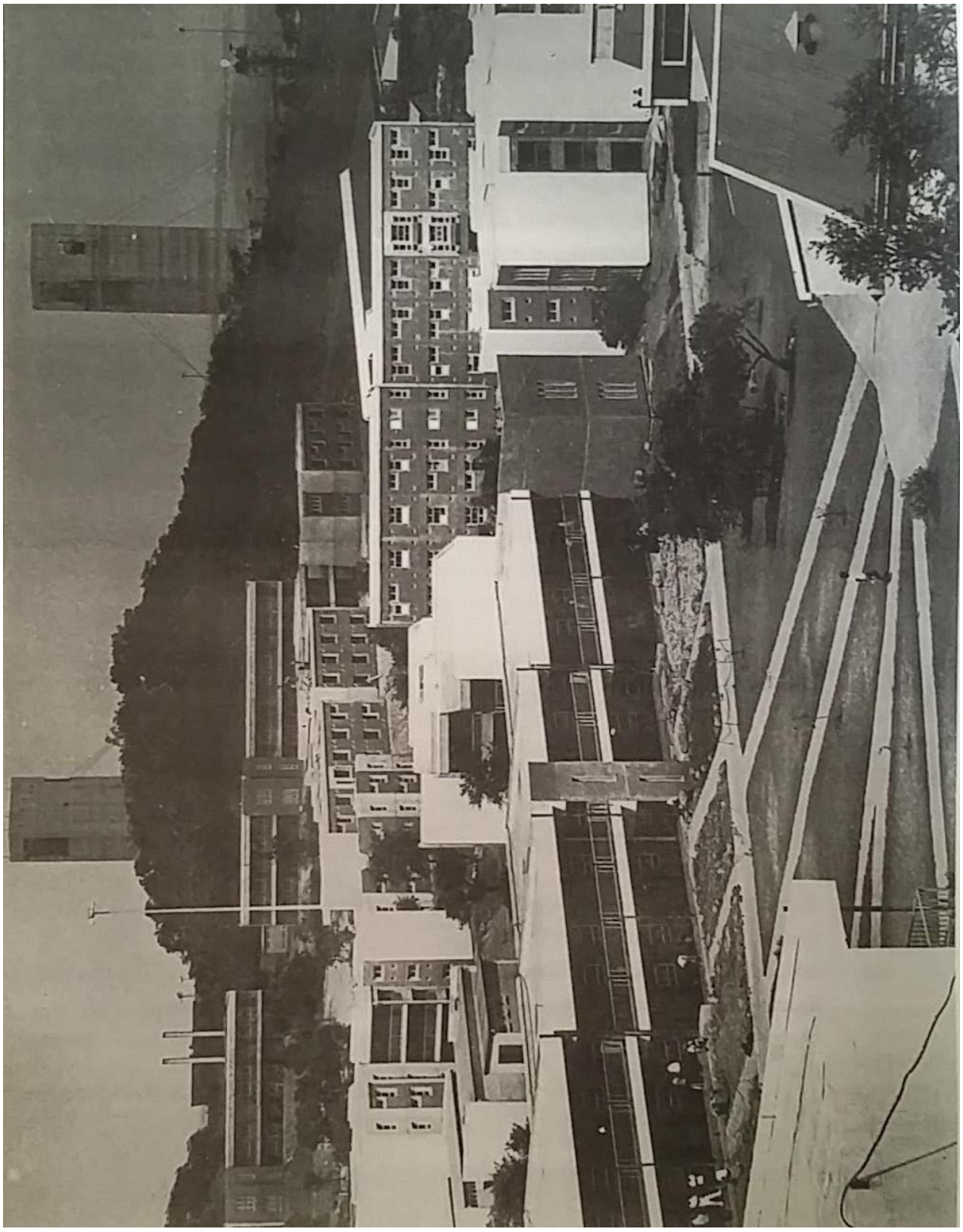
The housing of whites on mining property led to dissatisfaction of the Carletonville Town Council, as the Ordinance on Property Tax of Local Governance of October 1977 determined that service delivery to these mining towns was the responsibility of the local authority. According to this, a local authority could not raise taxes on its services rendered to the mining towns. This caused an increased financial burden on such an authority.[466]

The City Council proposed that employees from the Elandsrand Mine live in Welverdiend, as there were 584 undeveloped stands by 1979. The alternative proposal was the building of housing in Town Extension Nos. Two and Ten of Carletonville, of which parts were in the process of being proclaimed.[467] It seems as if

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[462] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, J.C.P. Snyman (Personnel officer, Elandsrand Gold Mine), 11.5.1990 and Elandsrand Gold Mine, Elandsrand 16th Annual Report, 1989, p. 11.
[463] *Carletonville Herald,* 3.10.1975, p. 1, and C. Heever, "Elandsrand ...", *Optima,* 27, 1978-79, p. 115.
[464] IR, MCV, file 33/1/2(a)(1), Deelkraal: minutes, Management committee, 20.11.1975 and *Carletonville Weekly Record,* 3.10.1975, p.10.
[465] *Carletonville Weekly Record,* 30.4.1976, p.12 and 3.10.1975, p.10 and C. Heever, "Elandsrand ...", *Optima,* 27, 1978-79, p. l25.
[466] IR, MCV, file 33/1/2(b)(3), Use of land Elandsrand: memorandum, indiscriminate establishment of towns in Carletonville, (n.d.) as well as letter, City Council, Carletonville/Regional representative, Department of Environmental Planning and Energy, 14.11.1979 and letter, Town Engineer Carletonville/Town Clerk Carletonville, 9.7.1979.
[467] IR, MCV, file 33/1/2(b)(3), Use of land Elandsrand: memorandum, indiscriminate establishment of towns in Carletonville, (n.d.) as well as letter, City Council Carletonville/Regional representative, Department of Environmental Planning and Energy, 14.11.1979 and letter, Town Engineer Carletonville/Town Clerk Carletonville, 9.7.1979.

The *From the Hill* complex at Elandsrand



Source: Anglo American Corporation.

the Elandsrand Mine kept to its initial decision despite the Town Council's suggestions. To the contrary, white mine workers went and settled in the area's proclaimed towns. It seems as if there were 534 houses available in Elandsridge in 1988.[468] These houses were not enough for the white labour force attached to the mine at the time.

Elandsrand and Western Deep levels worked together to make the suburb Wedela possible.[469] The suburb idea was also applied to the accommodation of single black workers. Ten complexes, varying from single to three-story buildings, were constructed. Each of these complexes had its own garden, with no borders or walls in between. Rooms were planned in such a manner that they could also be converted into married quarters, and in the complex, each room could house six to 12 people. Every complex had its own lounge and dining room. The personnel in the central kitchen dispersed the food so that the inhabitants could eat in small furnished dining rooms. The goal was to make meal times more intimate and sociable.[470] About 550 to 700 black workers could be accommodated in each complex. The complexes were appropriately arranged by 1988 to house 7,000 of the 10,300 mine workers.[471]

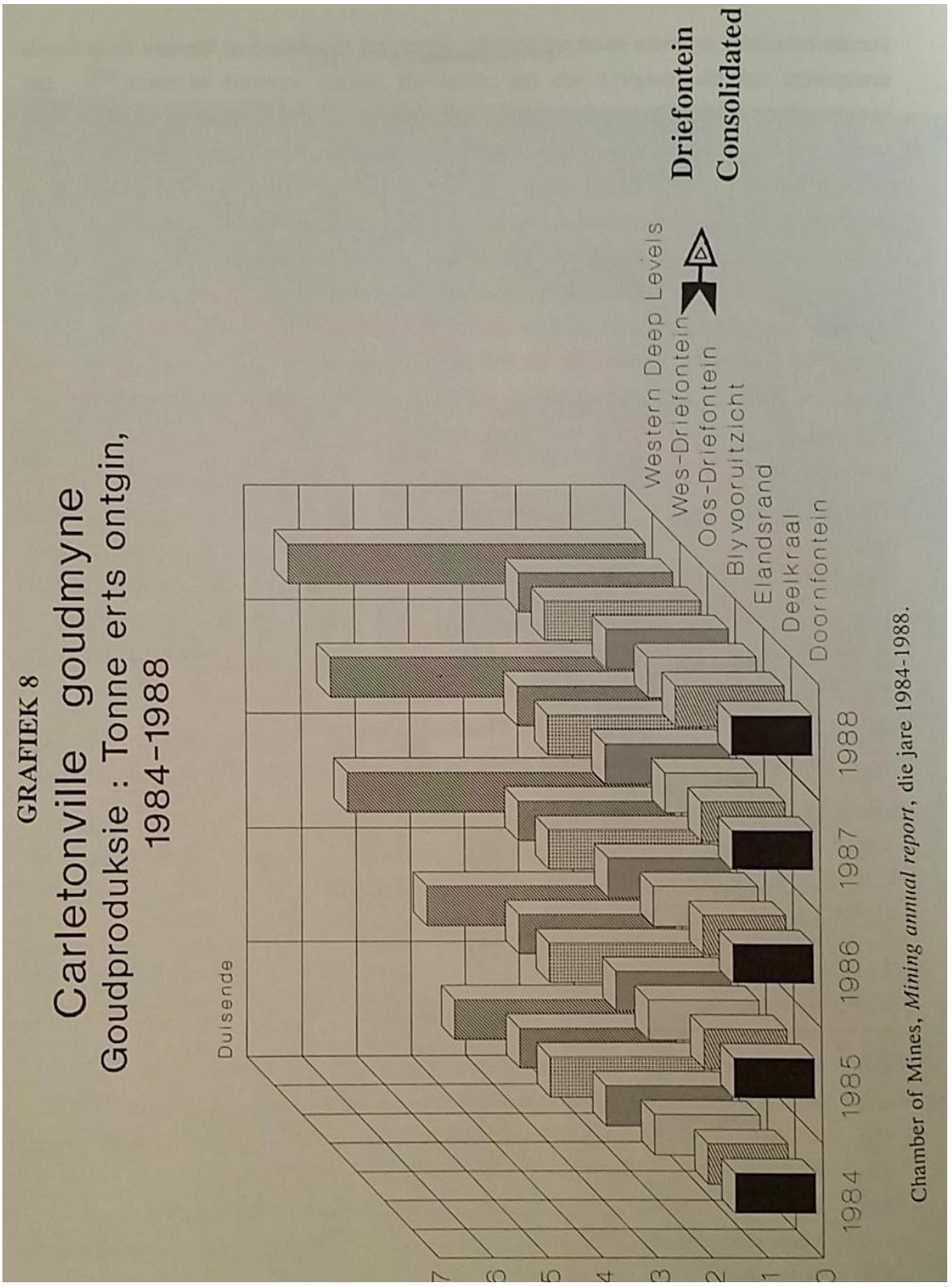
4.8.2.3 Business services, sports, recreational and cultural activities and church facilities

The only church or cultural opportunities and business services present at Elandsrand Mine were mainly planned for the black mine workers. Most of the white employees used Carletonville or

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[468] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, map: Carletonville Municipal region by 1988.
[469] C. Heever, "Elandsrand ...", *Optima*, 27, 1978-79, p. 125, and *Carletonville Weekly Record*, 3.10.1975, p. 10. For more information on Wedela, see the discussion of the Western Deep Levels, pp. 179-180.
[470] C. Heever, "Elandsrand ...", *Optima*, 27, 1978-79, pp. 125-126; *Carletonville Weekly Record*, 3.10.1975, p. 10, as well as 30.4.1976, p. 12, and 29.10.1976, p. 5.
[471] Elandsrand Gold Mine, Elandsrand, 16th Annual Report, 31.12.1989, p. 3.

GRAPH 8:CARLETONVILLE GOLD MINES – GOLD PRODUCTION: TONS OF ORE MINED, 1984-1988



Western Deep Levels.[472] The Elandsrand Ladies Social Club, which functioned since the start of production at this mine, has to be mentioned.[473]

Three mini canteens were available for the black workers. In contrast, traditional concession shops, a business centre with seven shops, were built close to the housing complexes. Carletonville was still used for business activities. Enough sports facilities, such as soccer and rugby fields, are also available,[474] as well as a so-called "Kickabout"[475]- field where blacks could exercise any sports. A community hall was built where cultural activities such as tribal dancing were practised.[476]

4.9 THE GOLD MINES IN THE MUNICIPAL AREA OF CARLETONVILLE COMPARED TO THE TOTAL SOUTH AFRICAN GOLD MINING OPERATIONS

4.9.1 General

According to the preceding study regarding the seven gold mines in the Carletonville municipal area, each attracted national attention at some time because of events or achievements. For example, Blyvooruitzicht, West, East and North Driefontein (Driefontein Consolidated), as well as Western Deep Levels, distinguished themselves at certain times of their gold production as some of South Africa's leading individual gold producers. West Driefontein was the world's leading gold producer, briefly since the 1960s, until consolidating with East and North Driefontein.[477]

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[472] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, C. Diedericks (Official, Elandsrand Mine), 18.5.1990.
[473] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, D.A. Olivier (Chairlady, Elandsrand Dames Sosiale Klub), 22.2.1991.
[474] C. Heever, "Elandsrand ...", *Optima,* 27, 1978-79, pp. 124-125.
[475] Apparently, a "Kickabout" field was an idea that was taken over from South America. See C. Heever, "Elandsrand ...", *Optima,* 27, 1978-79, p. 125.
[476] *Carletonville Weekly Record*, 29.10.1976, p. 5.
[477] Cory Library, Gold Fields Collection, W.J. Busschau, "The South African scene", (group conference held in Scotland, 2-9 July 1964), p. 19.

Apart from Blyvooruitzicht, these mines still delivered a high gold yield by 1988.

Comparing the two largest mines in the Carletonville area, Driefontein Consolidated and Western Deep Levels, it seems that the gold-bearing ridges in the Driefontein Consolidated area produced a higher ore quality than Western Deep Levels, even though Western Deep Levels is known as the deepest gold mine in South Africa, with a spectacular display of ore extraction per year (see Graph 8, p.245).[478]

Deelkraal and Elandsrand are exceptional as they are the gold mines that benefited the most from technological progress in the gold mining industry. Although both mines could not be compared to Driefontein Consolidated or Western Deep levels by 1988, their gold production continued to increase. At this stage, the mines Doornfontein and Blyvooruitzicht had to bow the knee to the achievements of the two younger mines.[479]

All the mines in the Carletonville area were responsible for 18% of South Africa's gold production by 1988. Western Deep Levels delivered the largest individual contribution, if the contributions of Oost and West Driefontein Gold Mines are calculated separately (see Graph 9, p.248).[480]

As far as the supply of accommodation and the practise of cultural activities on mine property, as well as the workforce numbers at each mine, Western Deep Levels is also unsurpassed.[481]

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[478] In 1988, Driefontein Consolidated mined 5,693,000 tons of ore and Western Deep Levels 6,579,573. From this, Driefontein produced 60,573 kg of gold, contrary to the latter's 39,223. See Chamber of Mines, 99th Annual Report, 1988, p.43.
[479] In 1988, Deelkraal and Elandsrand mined less ore than Blyvooruitzicht, but produced more gold. See information on each mine and Graph 4.9, p. 190a, in this chapter.
[480] Chamber of Mines, 99th Annual Report, 1988, pp. 13s, 78.
[481] In 1988, Western Deep Levels mine employed 28,308 people and Wes Driefontein Mine 18,305. All the other mines employed fewer than 14,000. See text on each mine in this chapter.

GRAPH 9: SOUTH AFRICA / CARLETONVILLE, GOLD PRODUCTION BY 1988 – A COMPARISON

When calculating the workforce of West and East Driefontein Mines together, there are 3,000 more employees than Western Deep Levels' 28,308. With service delivery, Blyvooruitzicht mine did the most necessary pioneering work. In contrast, West Driefontein Mine's investment in services in Carletonville was exceptional. All the other local gold mines invested in the development of the town as the years went by, since activities here were the centre of the area's community life.[482]

4.9.2 Technological achievements

Mechanisation and technological development are seen as ways to improve an industry, such as the gold mines. What distinguishes the gold mines at Carletonville from other gold mines in South Africa is (i) handling of problems in connection with water-holding dolomite rock, and with that (ii) the sinkhole phenomenon that needed attention, and (iii) the techniques developed by the local mines to defy the underground depths and to ensure the safety of the mine workers. These aspects are discussed in more detail:

4.9.2.2 Water-holding dolomite rock

The water-holding dolomite rock led to the refinement of the cementation process techniques,[483] and world-quality pumping equipment was used to pump underground water in the Carletonville area.[484] Economically, some sectors were negatively affected at this time, due to sinkholes and landslides. In the long run, these problems were phased out, which had a positive effect. The pumping activities from the mines led to the distribution of water over the entire municipal district,

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[482] See *Chapter Seven,* pp. 288-339 as an example.
[483] P.J. Malan, "50 Jare van saamwerking in die mynbou", *Vereniging van Ondergrondse Amptenare,* 1969, p. 138.
[484] J.F. Wolmarans, *Ontwatering van die dolomietregion in die Verre Wes-Rand* ..., p. 102.

and allowed farmers to take advantage of this.[485]

4.9.2.3 Sinkhole phenomenon

The geological catastrophe of sinkholes in the Carletonville area affected gold mining in South Africa intensely, according to the member of parliament J.C. Greyling.[486] It placed a phenomenal additional financial obligation on the gold mining groups. For example, many inhabitants whose homes and farms were destroyed were bought out.[487] By 1973, the amount spent on this was R11,091,808.[488] Mines had to find new ways to dump redundant water. These events in the Carletonville area led to research, especially on the geological terrain.[489] Precautionary measures were taken based on research, and geologists assured the residents that they were living on the safest ground in South Africa.[490]

4.9.2.4 Mining techniques

With the use of mining techniques to reach extreme underground depths, the results of Western Deep Levels, as mentioned, stood out above other gold mines in South Africa[491] (see results in Graph 8, p.189a). During the 1960s, deep gold extraction was still regarded as impossible.[492] Western Deep Levels mine proved the opposite. Currently, the No. Two shaft is at a depth of 3,777 metres, and further depths are being prepared.

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[485] See *Chapter Three,* pp. 84-85 and F.J. Potgieter, "The development potential of the West Wits Line" (symposium of the West Wits Regional Planning Committee: strategy for the future, September 1982), p. 12.
[486] Republiek van Suid-Afrika, *Debatte van die Volksraad,* 24.5.1973, columns 7632-7634.
[487] IR, MCV, file 33/1/4(g), Stands transferred to the City Council because of bad formation, as well as the maintenance of stands where buildings were demolished: letter, Mining Rights and Estates Department/Town Clerk Carletonville, 15.6.1966 and *The Star,* 28.10.1966, p. 1.
[488] Republiek van Suid-Afrika, *Debatte van die Volksraad,* 24.5.1973, columns 7632-7634.
[489] *Rand Daily Mail*, 3.6.1966, p. 1.
[490] *Die Suid-Afrikaanse Stem*, 29.9.1963, p. 1.
[491] *Carletonville Herald*, 23.9.1988, p. 28.
[492] D. Koliasnikoff, *Problems of closing down a South African gold mine*, p.7.

As a pioneer and technological leader in this terrain, and with reference to strip mining,[493] Western Deep Levels surely paved the way for the extended life expectancy of other mines. With that, more job opportunities were made available, which can be seen in a positive light.

4.10 GOLD MINING'S ROLE IN THE LOCAL ECONOMY

There is little doubt about the indispensability of gold for the upkeep of the South African national household. The mining industry had a decisive influence on the country's economic fate.[494] This also implies the region and local communities in which gold mines function. The gold mines of the PWV district, which includes the Carletonville municipal area, contributed about 7,4% to the GGP in 1964. The opposite is true as far as the economic growth is concerned (Carletonville area) in the western part. Since ca. 1946, the development has been determined mainly by the gold mining industry. In 1964, the gold mines contributed a hefty GGP of 67,7% in this sub-district. By 1970, this percentage rose to 70%.[495] In the Oberholzer district, in the west, local mining contributed 97% to the GGP! By comparison, the development of local secondary and tertiary services was still particularly slow until 1988.[496]

Mining activities in the Carletonville area influenced economic growth and stimulated all the spheres in the community. For example, the high population growth of the mine workers in the

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[493] J. Oxley, *Down where no lion walked* ..., pp. 225-226.
[494] W.F.J. Steenkamp, "Die goudmynbou in die Suid-Afrikaanse ekonomie", *Universiteit van Suid- Afrika,* 69, 1968, p. 1 and TAD, MCV, Vol. 49, file 37/5(1), Publicity: letter, Town Clerk Carletonville/D. Smit Potchefstroom, 15.2.1960 and D. Spooner, *Mining and regional development,* pp. 1-2.
[495] Republiek van Suid-Afrika, report no. 2 - PWV-series, *Die goudmynbedryf in die Pretoria- Witwatersrand-Vereenigingstreek,* 1970, pp. 35, 39, 64.
[496] J.C. Schutte (ed.), *Wesrand Streekdiensteraad beplanningsondersoek,* pp. 224, 280. Also see *Chapter Five,* pp. 208, 224, 227-230, 241.

area required a higher output of service delivery from the trader and farmer.[497] The local railway network also benefited because goods for mines had to be transported. This indirectly and especially impacted the workload and workforce needs of the Oberholzer station. It was the production of gold in South Africa which stimulated the development of the national railway industry.[498]

As the largest work provider[499] in the Carletonville area, gold mines indirectly stimulated the trade sector. By 1985, there were about 7,019 whites and 64,528 black people employed by the gold mines in the municipal district of Carletonville.[500] This figure totalled 98,131 by 1988.[501] This large number of mine workers' monthly salaries is a large source of income for the business sector in this area. In 1966, it was calculated that white employees of these mines, who mainly lived in Carletonville, earned about R18 million in wages and salaries, which was spent locally.[502] Black people represent the highest population increase and are the most indispensable for the buyers' market.[503]

As a provider for the area, the gold mining industry took the lead in several other spheres of community life. For example, the building of educational centres, housing, and

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[497] Republiek van Suid-Afrika, report no. 2 – PWV series, *Die goudmynbedryf ...,* 1970, pp. 41, 63. See also *Chapter Three,* pp. 72-74,102-103.
[498] W.F.J. Steenkamp, "Die goudmynbou in die Suid-Afrikaanse ekonomie", *Universiteit van Suid- Afrika,* c69, 1968, p.13 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, T.P. Venter, 8.2.1989. See also *Chapter Six,* pp. 245, 247, 249.
[499] W.F.J. Steenkamp, "Die goudmynbou in die Suid-Afrikaanse ekonomie", *Universiteit van Suid- Afrika,* c69, 1968, p.13 and C.G.W. Schumann, *Structural changes and business cycles in South Africa, 1806-1936,* pp. 332-333.
[500] Republic of South Africa, Central Statistics Service, Report no. 02-85-03, *Population census, industry according to Development region, statistic region and district, 1985,* 1985, pp. 111, 515
[501] See the statistical data in the discussion of each mine.
[502] *Carletonville Weekly Record,* 1.10.1976, pp. 5,12 and TAD, MCV, Vol. 51, file 73/5/(5), Publicity: newspaper cutting, *Die Transvaler,* 1966.
[503] See 4.3 in this Chapter, pp. 114-118 for a discussion regarding migrant labourers.

recreational facilities, as well as contributing to the financing of development schemes in surrounding towns.[504]

On social terrain, the mines also provide a service through the community club, where the material interests of its mine officials are looked after. Mine officials participate voluntarily and a small amount is deducted from their salaries for this purpose.[505]

All of the above-mentioned, are aspects contribute to a higher standard of a community.[506] Today, the names of streets and buildings in Carletonville reflect the influence and role which the gold mine industry has played locally, for example, Dolomiet Drive, Flint Street and Ingot House.[507]

4.11 THE GOLD MINE INDUSTRY AS A COLLABORATIVE FORCE IN THE STATE'S ECONOMY

It is important that gold mines not only create opportunities for the local business sector to prosper, but also that the industry is an important source of income for the government through taxes.[508] This does not include the profits of the gold mining industry, mining lease payments, licenses and taxes on foreign shareholders. This capital is used to finance projects in the country. The building of factories, roads, and the extension of power stations, and the

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[504] W.M. Walker, The West Wits Line", *South African Journal for Economics,* 18(1), March 1950, p. 27; Carletonville (Municipality), CM, file T1/346(2), Carletonville Township Ext. 2: letter, Manager Mining Rights and Estates Department/New Consolidated Gold Fields Limited, 29.3.1955 and file T1/368(2), Oberholzer ext. 1: letter, Mining Rights and Estates Department, Consolidated Gold Fields/Peri Urban Areas Health Board, 20.3.1956 and Anon., "Mynbou en die Suid-Afrikaanse ekonomie", *Die Mynwese,* 3(3), 1987, pp. 48-49. Also see *Chapter Seven,* pp. 288-339.
[505] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, J.P. du Buisson, and M. de Beer, 26.2.1991. (Officials of Doornfontein and the Western Deep Levels Mines, respectively).
[506] *West Rand Times* en *Wesrander,* 5.2.1961, p.1; *Carletonville Herald,* 22.2.1963, p. 4; Carletonville (Municipality), CM, file T1/386, Carletonville ext. 4: Record of a Committee of the township, 3.9.1953, p. 5 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, T.P. Venter, 8.2.1989.
[507] *Sunday times,* 10.4.1955, p. 3 and *Die Transvaler,* 15.1.1954, p. 8.
[508] L. Katzen, *Gold and the South African economy. The influence of the gold mining industry on business cycles and economic growth in South Africa, 1886-1961*, pp. 43, 47, 5l, 53, 55 and *Carletonville Herald*, 29.1.1965, p. 1.

creation of better teaching facilities.[509]

The indispensable role of gold mines in the country's economy is underlined by the government's direct involvement in the industry. For example, Western Deep Levels was the first deep-level mine in the Republic to receive tax concessions. In 1965/1966, the Government received tax income of 37,4% of the PWV area's gold mines. The West Wits Line contributed 30,9%.[510] Calculated in rand and cents, the three oldest mines in this area. i.e., Blyvooruitzicht, West Driefontein and Doornfontein, paid an annual tax of R26 million to the state.[511]

It is therefore not strange that when the contribution of the local gold mines was considered (an amount of which was channelled to the treasury), the sinkholes of the 1960s led to an economic setback for the State.[512] The RONH was informed in November 1964 that 2,049 mine homes in Carletenville were subject to sinking ground. This did not include the homes on mining property.[513]

The State's capital expense by 1966 to merely investigate the sinkhole phenomenon and overcome it was R24 million.[514] The Government already gave

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[509] Anon., "Don't discount the gold mining industry!", *SA Industry and Trade,* October 1966, p. 27.
[510] Republiek van Suid-Afrika, report no. 2 – PWV series, *Die goudmynbedryf ...,* 1970, pp. 43-44 and W.F.J. Steenkamp, "Die goudmynbou in die Suid-Afrikaanse ekonomie", *Universiteit van Suid- Afrika,* c69, 1988, pp. 14-23.
[511] TAD, MCV, Vol. 51, file 7315/(5), Publicity: newspaper cutting, *Die Transvaler,* 1966. Also see Anon., "Onze gemeentewapens: Carletonville", *Nieuws uit Zuid-Afrika,* 12(8), Januarie 1973, p. 19.
[512] The extent to which sinkholes challenged the development of each mine in the Carletonville region was discussed earlier in the chapter.
[513] CAD, Council for the Development of Natural Resources (RNH), Vol. 24, file 15/11/8(2), Carletonville town: letter, City Council Carletonville/RONH, 19.11.1964.
[514] Anon., "The facts about sinkholes", *Mining Survey,* 3(2), 1966, p. 25. Local mines also had big expenses in this regard. Each chapter discusses examples of the mines' actions taken in this regard. Also see *Herald vir die Goue Weste,* 11.2.1966, p. 1, as well as 25.2.1966, p. 3; 18.3.1966, p. 1 and 31.5.1985, p. 18.

attention to sinkholes since 1964, as far as built-up areas were concerned, in this region. It was deemed necessary to inform the public that no reasonable risk was imminent for them to leave, since a large-scale evacuation would have a detrimental effect on the mining activities and the economy. In the same year, the State's Technical Committee regarding sinkholes, and an association known as the Far West Rand Dolomite Water Board was initiated,[515] on which only gold mine representatives could serve.[516]

Weighty decisions such as the evacuation of Bank town and the extraction of water from the Bank compartment were part of the above-mentioned Board and Committee's recommendations. The circumstances of, especially the Bank town inhabitants and farmers, were adversely affected, while there was the prospect of improving mining activities.[517] In the long run, it seems that the state's accession delivered dividends. Western Deep Level's contribution to the treasury in 1986 was a phenomenal R1,618,904 000! Confidence in the area was restored in time and the new mines stimulated the local business sector.[518]

4.12 IN CONCLUSION

The years of devotion and ideals of the gold mining industry eventually took form, turning the West Wits Line area into a reality that did not deliver a modest contribution to the economy, as is clear from the preceding information. The presence and development of the gold mines in the Carletonville area necessarily created a need for a well-organised local business centre. The development and state of affairs of the industries and business sector will be discussed in *Chapter Five*.

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[515] *Carletonville Herald,* 21.8.1964, p. 5; *Die Vaderland,* 16.8.1964, pp. 1-2; *Die Transvaler,* 28.10.1964, p. 2 as well as 5.2.1966, p. 1; Republiek van Suid-Afrika, *Debatte van die Volksraad,* 24.5.1973, column, 7633 and IR, MCV, file 24/1/1, Claims from the Dolomitic Water Association: letter, Chamber of Mines/Town Clerk Carletonville, 7.3.1969.
[516] Chamber of Mines, "Far West Rand Dolomitic Water Association", *Annual Report,* 1988, p. 1.
[517] Also see *Chapter Two,* pp. 36-37 and *Three,* pp. 84-91.
[518] J. Oxley, *Down where no lion walked* ..., p. 184.

CHAPTER 5

MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY AND THE COMMERCIAL SECTOR

5.1 INTRODUCTION

It is general knowledge that manufacturing industries (factories) are the secondary sector and commerce is the tertiary sector. Both sectors form the core of this chapter.

Contrary to the commercial sector, where service delivery is involved,[1] and has formed part of the white economy in the Cape since 1652, the secondary sector followed the Western pattern and only really developed in South Africa after 1910,[2] and comprises the processing of products from the primary sector.[3]

In the Carletonville region, it was agriculture, and not the gold mining industry, that formed the primary sector and stimulated the development of the secondary and tertiary sectors. Due to the presence and development of the gold mining industry since 1948, the region has changed, developed and expanded, which resulted in the establishment of other sectors.

Long before the Carletonville region showed signs of economic growth, its residents relied on Potchefstroom for commercial services. Residents of the wards in the Potchefstroom district between the 1940s and 1970s

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[1] J.A. Lombard and J.J. Stadler, *'n Inleiding tot die ekonomiese beskrywing,* p. 207. Service delivery includes, among others, the services of small and large general dealers, financial, insurance and property institutions, markets and communities, social, and personal services. See A.A. Ligthelm, *'n Toepaslike ontwikkelingstrategie vir Suider-Afrika,* p. 58.

[2] Union of South Africa, Department of Commerce and Industry, *Die verspreiding van sekondêre nywerhede in die Unie van Suid-Afrika,* 1953, p. 1 and A.L. Midler (ed.), *Die ekonomiese ontwikkeling van Suid-Afrika,* p. 264. In the historical context, it would therefore be more practical to discuss the tertiary sector before the secondary.

[3] J.A. Lombard and J.J. Stadler, *'n Inleiding tot die ekonomiese beskrywing,* p. 207 and S.P. du T. Viljoen, "Die ontwikkeling en betekenis van die nywerheid", Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns, *'n Halfeeu ekonomiese vooruitgang, 1909-1910 – 1959-1960,* p. 57. The processing of products is done via factories, electricity, gas and water provision, and the construction industry. See A.A. Lighthelm, *'n Toepaslike ontwikkelingstrategie vir Suider- Afrika,* p. 58.

had to travel here for shopping and other economic activities. Alternatively, they had to rely on the irregular visits of hawkers to the Gatsrand ward (Carletonville region) to purchase or exchange products, goods and knick-knacks.[4]

During the last three decades of the 20th century, the Gatsrand ward had a few of its own hotels and shops, mainly thanks to initiatives of farmers from the region. In 1928, the Dutch immigrants settled on the farm Wonderfontein and revived local commerce. They established the Adorp Co-op cheese factory and the Oranje Hotel in the 1930s. Less than a decade after the Dutch's arrival, the mining industry developed in the region, and by the late 1940s, it began contributing to the growth of the secondary and tertiary sectors.[5]

5.2 THE PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRIES IN CARLETONVILLE

There were prospects for industrial development in the Carletonville region before 1948, when 37 stands in Welverdiend and 24 stands in Oberholzer were made available for light industries by town planners.[6] The Health Council's regional plan for the 1950s also provided for one heavy industrial town.[7] Vlakplaats no. 112 IQ, east of Carletonville town, was indicated as the ideal place, as its position would be to the advantage of all towns in the vicinity. Varkenslaagte IQ 119, to the west, were judged by some as a possibility, by which mainly Carletonville,

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[4] E. Rosenthal, *Manne en maatskappye*, pp. 33-36 and E.S. van Eeden, *Die geskiedenis van die Gatsrand vanaf die vestiging van die Trekkergemeenskap omstreeks 1839 tot die proklamering van Carletonville in 1948*, pp. 35-37.
[5] E.S. van Eeden, *Die geskiedenis van die Gatsrand*, pp. 7-38.
[6] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, Title conditions, 1937-1960.
[7] Central Archives Depot (CAD), Department of Justice (JUS), Vol. 1052, file 21/733, Oberholzer inspection reports: report, Departmental inspector A.J. van Niekerk, 4.3.1953, attachments A, p. 4 and Carletonville (Municipality), Health Council for Rural Areas (GBG), file T6/B(2), Town and Regional Planning Local Area Committee: Peri Urban Areas Health Board, report of the town planning officer on the basic underlying principles and the main proposals of the scheme, December 1952, p. 26.

Dutch-inspired business activities at Wonderfontein before 1948

*** The Oranje Hotel**



*** The Adorp Cheese factory**





Oberholzer and Welverdiend would benefit.[8] The purpose of the Health Council and the Council for the Development of Natural Resources (CDNR) regarding industrial development for the region was to develop a local, economically balanced community rather than a single economic community consisting of mine workers. Socio-economically, the first community was preferred.[9]

Developments regarding the establishment of a local industrial area for Carletonville had only just begun in the early 1950s. As mentioned earlier, a few of the stands for industrial purposes in Oberholzer and Welverdiend were in use at that stage.[10] In Welverdiend, only three industrial stands were in use.[11] Subsequently, the gold mines in the area had to rely on other centres for the large-scale supply of products.[12]

5.2.1 First factories in the Carletonville region

After important aspects for the development of the Carletonville region, such as position, availability of land, water and electricity, it appears that the market for possible products for the gold mining industry was considered from the beginning.[13] Consequently, factories involved in the processing of raw materials like sand, stone and limestone were erected in the region. Some of these include the West Rand Lime at Rooipoort, the Cementation Company Africa Limited at

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[8] Carletonville (Municipality), GBG, file T7/B(2), Town and Regional Planning Local Area Committee: Peri Urban Areas Health Board, report of the town planning officer ..., December 1952, p. 29.
[9] CAD, Council of the Development of Natural Resources (CDN), Vol. 273, file B/B/2, Planning assistance Committee, Controlled area no. 2, Carletonville extension: application for the establishment of Pottiesville industrial town, 27.4.1957.
[10] CAD, JUS, Vol. 1052, file 21/733, Oberholzer inspection reports: report, Departmental inspector A.J. van Niekerk, 4.3.1953, attachment A, p. 4.
[11] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1, Minutes of the Chamber of Commerce, Carletonville: minute, 17.7.1950. This observation by the Chamber of Commerce could not be verified from other sources.
[12] *Die Vaderland,* 4.10.1950, p. 14.
[13] PU for CHE, Continued regional survey of Controlled area no. 2. Region Westonaria Welverdiend, report no. 3, 1956/57, p. 132.

Wes Driefontein[14] and the stone quarries of the brothers Schutte Eiendoms Beperk and M.J. Eloff, who were settled respectively on Blyvooruitzicht and Welverdiend.[15] The production of bricks was undertaken by the Driefontein Brick and Potteries Company Limited[16] (who had been in the industry since 21 December 1949), and the Brick and Fireclay Company Proprietary Limited.[17]

In 1953, it was estimated that the number of labourers in the different industries totalled 3,000 blacks and 800 whites. Although development had barely commenced, the hope was that development in the region would follow in the footsteps of the Witwatersrand. It was also calculated that 18,5% of the local employed population would be linked with the secondary sector after the fourth mine went into production.[18] This would mean that the secondary sector would be the second largest employer after the mining sector. With this prediction in the early 1950s, it was accepted that the secondary sector would expand rapidly in the following decades.

5.2.2 Town Extension No. Six, Carletonville

From 1953 to 1955, the Town Council, the Health Board for Peri Urban areas, and the Wes Witwatersrandse Plaaslike Gebiedskomitee (local regional committee) began paying attention to the industrial possibilities of Carletonville Town Extension No. Six, east of Carletonville town, situated on Vlakplaats no. 112 IQ. Some 200 morgen (172 ha) on which 117 stands of one to three morgen (0,86 ha-2,58 ha) each, would have been laid out, were identified. The choice of Vlakplaats for industrial purposes was, except for its position in relation to

[14] Carletonville (Municipality), Local Area Committee (LAC), file L1/29/4, West Wits Local Area Committee: buildings and building plans, June 1949 - August 1952 and Union of South Africa, *Telephone Directory Transvaal,* April 1951, pp. 617, 667.
[15] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, Minutes: minute, 15.6.1951 and 23.5.1951.
[16] CAD, RNH, Vol. 224, file NH15/11/8(1), Carletonville Town: memorandum on development of the Far West Rand with particular reference to establish magistrates' courts and government offices, 26.1.1952 and Union of South Africa, *Telephone Directory Transvaal,* April 1951, p. 617.
[17] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, Minutes: minute, 16.11.1951.
[18] CAD, JUS, Vol. 1052, file 21/733, Oberholzer inspection reports: report, Departmental inspector A.J. van Niekerk, 4.3.1953, attachment A, pp. 4, 6.

nearby towns, popular due to the proximity of two stations and a stop, as well as provincial routes close by.[19]

D.J. Potgieter, probably a businessman in town, had similar plans for Welverdiend since December 1954. He motivated his vision because some industries were already active in Welverdiend and the railway stations, as well as the P89/1 route, would be to the advantage of industrial development. It was especially the Department of Native Affairs that planned to establish a town for blacks on the farm Witstinkhoutboom IQ 101, northeast of Welverdiend, which resulted in Potgieter's request for Welverdiend Town Extension No. Two for industrial purposes. None of these ideas materialised as government departments involved in industrial development apparently had to investigate numerous approved industrial regions across the Transvaal before new applications could be considered.[20] Meanwhile, the need for stands for light industries in Carletonville Town Extension No. Two and Oberholzer Town Extension No. One, increased. Twenty-three and 13 industrial stands were zoned in each area, respectively.[21]

In August 1955, the sustainability of Carletonville Town Extension No. Six was further investigated. The Town Council debated aspects such as the distance between this town and the future black town, pollution and the possible shortage of black labourers. A RONH representative confirmed that the government's policy concerning the development plan for the West Wits region was seen as part of the Witwatersrand region for industrial purposes. A smaller local industrial extension was suggested as water provision, population growth, housing and many other aspects had to be considered. There was, however, no doubt about the market potential of Extension No. Six and the speedy construction of the necessary

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[19] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file T1/421, Carletonville Extension No. 6 (Industrial): report on the proposed establishment of Carletonville Extension No. 6 (Industrial town), 13.6.1955, pp. 1, 6.
[20] Transvaal Archives Depot (TAD), Department of Native Affairs (NTS), Vol. 6616, file 1015/313 (T)(2), Oberholzer district, section 59 of the farm Welverdiend no. 2 (Industrial town): letter, D.J. Potgieter/Department of Native Affairs, 13.12.1954 and letter, Department of Native Affairs/D.J. Potgieter, 24.1.1955.
[21] PU for CHE, Continued regional survey of Controlled Region No. 2 ..., report no. 3, 1956/57, p. 34(a). See also *Chapter Two*, p. 29a

infrastructure from the existing towns was necessary. During the meeting, an estate agent and well-known pioneer involved in the layout of the Carletonville region, S. Perkins, referred to all the enquiries he had received from institutions and/or individuals regarding the availability of stands for industrial purposes in the district. Interested institutions included oil companies, heavy engineering services, building contractors, scrap yards and second-hand car dealers.[22] A final decision regarding the suggested Extension No. Six could not be reached at this meeting, and it was postponed.

Except for the mentioned challenges regarding the establishment of industries, the industrial regions on the Rand, from which the gold mines in the Carletonville region obtained all their equipment and other household goods, were indeed one of the most important reasons for the meagre number of factories present in the area by 1957.[23] The dragging of feet with the proclamation of Extension No, Six did also not necessarily alleviate the situation.[24] The company Hunt-Leuchars and Hepburn Limited mentioned the shortage of railway lines and the absence of an industrial area as reasons why they had not established in the Carletonville region in 1957. Despite the lack of an industrial town, numerous secondary industries had settled in the region at this stage.[25]

5.2.3 Pottiesville

A request received in 1957 regarding the proclamation of an industrial town west of the Carletonville Oberholzer town, on the outspan at the

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[22] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file T1/421, Carletonville Extension No. 6 (Industrial): record of the proceedings of a committee of the Townships Board held at Carletonville, 8.8.1955, pp.1-23 and SAR, RNH, Vol. 273, file B/B/2, Planning Assistance Committee, Controlled region no. 2, Carletonville extension, 1952-1957: letter, Secretary for Native Affairs/Secretary Townships Board, 17.9.1956.
[23] PU for CHE, Continued survey of Controlled Area No 2..., report no. 3, 1956/57, p.130. See also *Chapter Two*, pp. 39-40.
[24] Nedbank Archives, Economische Ontwikkeling (BO), Vol. 11, file 102-108, Economical overview of Carletonville branch: economical overview, 31.12.1957, as well as economical overview, 31.1.1958.
[25] CAD, RNH, Vol. 273, file BB/2, Planning Assistance Committee, Controlled Region No. 2, Carletonville extension and application for the establishment of Pottiesville as an industrial town, 27.4.1957, pp. 2-3.

Wonderfontein IQ 104, instead of to the east (Carletonville Town Extension No. Six), elicited a renewed discussion by the Local Regional Committee. The industrial town, Pottiesville, which important residents suggested was viewed as the most suitable for industrial purposes.[26] Although the suggested position of Pottiesville was presented in such a manner that it would be close to the future black town, the distance was regarded as uncomfortable for whites who had to travel there.[27] The possibility of Pottiesville as an industrial town faded away as challenges such as an airfield that was situated too close and the lack of a railway station appeared. To top it all, the zone plan for the region did not provide for any additions before the consent of the Town Council or the RONH.[28]

Understandably, some businessmen and residents were keen that the establishment of secondary industries should occur sooner rather than later. It is also apparent in a request from the Carletonville 'Waaksaamheidskomitee' in September 1958 to the Local Regional Committee after newspaper reports on the industrial status of some East Rand towns. In the reports, it was speculated that some of the East Rand towns could become ghost towns because of a lack of sufficient businesses.[29] The fear that Carletonville would undergo a similar fate, asked for action. Carletonville Town Extension No. Six, however, remained the choice of the Planning Assistance Committee above any other by 1959.[30]

5.2.4 The 1960s

Between 1961 and 1966, South Africa experienced unprecedented economic growth in the country's history. The prosperity enjoyed by the secondary sector in the 1950s showed an annual

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[26] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, Minutes: minute, 1.2.1957 and SAB, RNH, Vol. 273, file B/B/2, Planning Assistance Committee, Controlled Region No. 2, Carletonville extension: application for the establishment of Pottiesville Industrial town, 27.4.1957, p. 1.
[27] CAD, RNH, Vol. 273, file B/B/2, Planning Assistance Committee, Controlled Region no. 2, Carletonville extension: application for the establishment of Pottiesville Industrial town, 27.4.1957, pp.5-9.
[28] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, Minutes: minutes, 1.2.1957 and 27.10.1958.
[29] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, Minutes: minute, 8.9.1958.
[30] CAD, NTS, Vol. 6611, file 742/313T(5), Carletonville Extension No. 6: report of the Health Council concerning the reservation of industrial towns. 20.4.1959.

growth rate of 5.6% by 1965-1966. By comparison, the municipal region of Carletonville did not actually share in the phenomenal growth of this sector. Prospects of industrial expansion mentioned in the previous decade had not materialised by 1961.[32] Prospering towns in the PWV region, within which Carletonville was situated, remained a challenge regarding the establishment of a fully-fledged industrial city within the municipal area. Apparently, some shortcomings, such as a water shortage, insufficient stands, a lack of transport facilities, and insufficient labour, were also accountable for the slow development of the industrial sector.[33]

Councillor J.J. Baard, mayor of Carletonville, mentioned in 1961 that he remained hopeful that the establishment of local industries would materialise in the near future. He stressed that it would initially only be industries that would fulfil the needs of the surrounding gold mines, like the existing ones.[34] A few light industries in each of the Carletonville and Oberholzer (Stasie and Oberholzer Streets) town extensions that had only served the mines included Welverdiend (16th Street and Stasie Ave), Bank Town Extension No. Two, Blybank (Pointerlaan) and West Wits (11th -13th Avenues).[35] Activities surrounding the new Western Deep Levels Gold Mine[36] probably provided new hope for industrial extension in the Carletonville municipal region.

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[31] S. Jones, "Real growth in the South African economy since 1961" (conference of the Economic History Society of Southern Africa, Port Elizabeth, 18-20 July 1990), pp. 5-6. Also see *Chapter One,* p. 11.
[32] *Die Potchefstroom Nuus/News*, 17.3.1961, p. 3.
[33] *The Star*, 13.9.1961, p.2; *West Rand Times en Wesrander*, 5.2.1962, p. 1 and Carletonville Herald, 31.5.1961, p. 1.
[34] TAD, Municipality Carletonville (MCV), Vol. 54, file 76/1, Regsake en regsgedinge: Carletonville Dorpsaanlegskema, 1961.
[35] *West Rand Times en Wesrander*, 5.2.1962, p. 1.
[36] *Carletonville Herald,* 24.2.1964, p.1 and 9.10.1964, p.1; *Potchefstroom Herald,* 3.7.1964, p. 1 and 21.2.1964, pp. 1-11 (appendix: Regional conference of the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut) and TAD, Municipality Carletonville (MCV), file 93/1/27, *Streeksontwikkeling vir Wes-Transvaal en aangrensende gebiede: brosjure, terugblik oor tien jaar, 1964-1974*, 31.10.1974.

5.2.5 The impact of sinkholes

The alarming proportions of the sinkholes in 1962 in the Carletonville region stood directly in the way of industrial settlement. However, by 1965, 16 light industries were present in the area, but there were no heavy industries in sight.[37] Sinkholes also affected some of the properties of the light industries.[38] Industrialists had little trust in Carletonville's future following these natural disasters, and by 1968-1969, the number of mines had decreased to seven.[39] After a cloudburst in October 1969, more sinkholes followed, taking their toll on industry.[40]

By 1970, the labour force employed by factories in the Carletonville municipal region was remarkably small due to the shortage of industries. From a local population of 95,903, there were only 213 whites, 956 black people, 16 coloureds and two Asians who, together, accounted for 1,2% of the local population, were involved in the secondary sector.[41]

Although sinkholes occurred periodically in the municipal region of Carletonville after 1971,[42] it did not completely deter the growth of industries. According to statistics, 11 light industries were active

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[37] Die Suid-Afrikaanse Vereniging van Munisipale Werknemers, *Suid-Afrikaanse Munisipale Jaarboek,* 1964-65, p.321.
[38] CAD, RNH, Vol. 224, file 15/11/8(2), Carletonville town: letter, Town Clerk/RONH, 19.11.1964. According to this document, 33 industrial buildings were affected by the sinkholes. This number differs from the statistical information in the previous footnote, which mentions 16 light industries.
[39] Die Suid-Afrikaanse Vereniging van Munisipale Werknemers, *Suid-Afrikaanse Munisipale Jaarboek,* 1964-65, p. 333.
[40] *Carletonville Herald*, 24.10.1969, p. 8.
[41] Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics, Population Census, report no. 02-05-06, *Beroep en Nywerheid volgens distrik en ekonomiese streek,* 1970*,* 1970, pp. 51, 115, 173, 215.
[42] *Carletonville Herald,* 12.10.1973, p. 1. Also see *Chapter Two,* pp. 37, 42 and *Chapter Seven,* pp. 322- 323.

during 1971-1972 in the region,[43] was somewhat more than in 1968-1969. These industries included producers of builders' hardware, industrial plastic producers and brick-makers who were fulfilling the needs of the mining sector.[44]

The scarcity of industrialists remained a matter of concern for the City Councillors and, as in the past, they incessantly struggled to solve the problem.[45] In 1975, the town experienced a setback in all its attempts when a government decision taken in that year, within the framework of the National Physical Development Plan (Nasionale Fisiese Ontwikkelingsplan (NFO)), limited the establishment of industries within the PWV Region to certain areas. Carletonville, which formed part of this region, was excluded.[46] A more decentralised policy regarding industrial development within the PWV area, as contained in the Government's White Paper regarding this development, was supported and pleaded by the Carletonville City Council, local businessmen and town developers.[47]

Amidst the pleas, the existing industries went their way, and by 1975, a few more were established in the area.[48] The contribution of the Oberholzer district industries to the gross geographical product (GGP) of the secondary sector for region no 50 in terms of

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[43] Die Suid-Afrikaanse Vereniging van Munisipale Werknemers, *Suid-Afrikaanse Munisipale Jaarboek,* 1971-72, p. 350 and TAB, MCV, Vol. 52, file 73/5(7), Publicity: business telephone and buyers guide for Carletonville, 1970-71.
[44] TAD, MCV, Vol. 52, file 73/5(7), Publicity: business telephone and buyers guide for Carletonville, 1970-71 and IR, MCV, file 89/2/3, Industrial statistics: letter, Licence and Traffic Chief Carletonville/Chris van Rensburg Publikasies, 24.6.1969.
[45] TAD, MCV, file 22/1(b)(2), Towns: extract from the minutes of the meeting of the Management Committee, 12.5.1975; *Carletonville Weekly Record,* 2.5.1975, p.14; *Carletonville Herald,* 22.6.1973, p. 5 and TBP, MCV, file 69/7/2, Planning of the PWV region: establishing of industries, 6.8.1973.
[46] Apparently, the Government decided in June 1973 that industrial development should only materialise in certain labour-intensive areas. This did not include Carletonville with its gold mines and many black workers. See also *Chapter Two,* pp. 40-41.
[47] TAD, MCV, file 69/7/2, Planning of PWV region: establishment of industries, 6.8.1973; *Carletonville Weekly Record,* 2.5.1975, p. 14 and Carletonville (Municipality), CM, file 12/2/4/21, Constitution and meeting of the regional development Association of the West Rand/Far West R: White paper on the information piece regarding the promotion of industrial development for South Africa, pp. 6-7.
[48] IR, MCV, file 73/5(9), Publicity: statistics, Carletonville City Council, 1974/1975.

factories at this stage were a meagre 2,6%.[49] However, it was much higher than that of the Oberholzer district (Carletonville region) of 0,65%.[50] Thus, due to the unforeseen run-of-the-mill issues in Carletonville, together with some detrimental external factors, there was no exceptional progress in the way of industrial development. The speed at which reparation occurred would eventually also determine the speed of industrial establishment.

5.2.6 Regaining trust and renewed development

In 1976, there were 32 active light industries in the Carletonville region.[51] Compared to a few years earlier, this showed a reasonable growth. The normalisation of trust in the business sector was primarily responsible for this growth. The development of factories in the Oberholzer district remained slower than in some of the other towns in Region No. 50. Consequently, by 1978, the high industrial growth tempo of the remainder of the Oberholzer district, i.e., 1,82%, appeared lower than before, and that, ironically enough, despite the improved situation in the district.[52] It also appears that the Carletonville - Oberholzer district contained the most industries in the district at that stage. In Welverdiend, numerous industrial stands remained vacant.[53] The latter's relatively short distance from the complex was mainly responsible for this.

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[49] The towns Randfontein, Roodepoort, Krugersdorp, Westonaria and Oberholzer were part of Region No. 50.
[50] Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics, report no. 09-14-04, *Bruto geografiese produk teen faktorinkome volgens landdrosdistrik, 1975,* 1975, p. 22.
[51] The South African Association of Municipal Employers, *Suid-Afrikaanse Munisipale Jaarboek,* 1976, p. 394. According to the Chief Licensing Officer's report, there were still no factories in 1976. He prefers to talk about 'workshops' that were mainly involved in maintaining mines and acted as agents for larger institutions elsewhere. See MCV, file 89/2/3(1), Industrial Statistics report. Chief licence Officer and Traffic Officer, Carletonville/Regional representative, Export promotion, 11.2.1976.
[52] Republic of South Africa, Central Statistics Service, report no. 09-14-05, *Bruto geografiese produk teen faktorinkome volgens landdrosdistrik, 1978,* 1978, p.22.
[53] TAD, MCV, file 89/2/3, Industrial Statistics: appendix, information regarding industrial stands in Carletonville, March 1978, pp. 18A-18B and file 33/1/2(b)(3), Use of land Elandsrand: letter, Town Engineer Carletonville/Town Clerk Carletonville, 9.7.1979.

Although most industrial stands in Carletonville and Oberholzer were occupied in 1979, it appeared that a lack of interest and willingness to encourage further industrial establishment was problematic. Subsequently, at the beginning of the 1980s, the idea to establish a proclaimed industrial town had yet to materialise. Even the Chamber of Commerce's involvement did not make a difference.[54] The *Afrikaanse Sakekamer* showed no reaction as they only began functioning again in 1982, after a long absence. [55]

Mining authorities requested that the development and expansion of the secondary sector, as a possible replacement for gold mines in future, should receive more attention.[56] By the 1980s, this request also had no effect. Official figures show that in 1980-1981, the number of light industries in the region remained consistent related to the previous years.[57] The 0,23% contribution of the Oberholzer district to the GGP of the region's industries at that stage continued on a downward curve.[58]

By 1982, the situation had not changed.[59] A shortage of industrial stands that had been a problem since the late 1970s was the driving force behind the city managers' recommendation of the declaration of Town Extension No. Six, as an industrial town.[60] The attempt was, however, rather to find

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[54] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: minutes of the Carletonville Chamber of Commerce, minutes, 24.10.1979 and 14.11.1979.
[55] *Carletonville Herald*, 19.2.1982, p. 3.
[56] *Carletonville Herald*, 24.10.1980, p. 3. See also *Chapter Two*, pp. 40-41.
[57] The South African Association of Municipal Employers, *Suid-Afrikaanse Munisipale Jaarboek,* 1980-81, p. 383.
[58] Republic of South Africa, Central Statistical Service, report no. 04-01-01, *Bruto geografrese produk teen faktorinkome volgens landdrosdistrik, 1981,* 1981, p.2 2.
[59] The South African Association of Municipal Employers, *Suid-Afrikaanse Munisipale Jaarboek,* 1982, p. 171.
[60] *Potchefstroom Herald,* supplement concerning commerce and industry, 8, 29.7.1983, p. 25 and The South African Association of Municipal Employers, *Suid-Afrikaanse Munisipale Jaarboek,* 1984, p. 202.

future alternatives for the gold mining industry. City Managers attempted to draw light industries that concentrated on production to Carletonville.[61]

In 1984, the Oberholzer district's GGP contribution to the total industrial sector of Region no. 75 (earlier known as Region no. 50) totalled 2,7% - somewhat higher than indicated in the 1981 survey.[62] This growth was probably a result of the extension of existing mines and the development of more mines, together with the proclamation of Town Extension No. Six.

Interestingly, businessmen were so keen to see Carletonville's industries develop that Town Extension No. Six was referred to as Carletonville Park in 1985 and was regarded as one of the largest industrial townships in South Africa.[63] The extension was only proclaimed on 4 February 1987, some 35 years after it was mentioned for the first time! At that stage, Carletonville Town Extension No. 14, adjacent to Extension No. Six was zoned for industrial purposes.[64] By 1988, neither Town Extension No. 14 nor any planning for it had materialised.[65]

After the eventual realisation of an industrial town, the local authority had hoped to lure industrialists to industrial stands in Welverdiend and Oberholzer.[66] According to the

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[61] *Carletonville Herald,* 8.2.1985, p. 1, as well as 22.11.1985, p. 1.
[62] Republic of South Africa, Central Statistics Service, report no. P.0401, *Bruto geografiese produk teen faktorinkome volgens landdrosdistrik, 1984,* 1989, p. 40.
[63] *Carletonville Herald*, 22.11.1985, p. 1.
[64] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, Council minutes: minute of the meeting of the Management Committee, 25.2.1986, p. 9 and Carletonville (Municipality), CM, file 2/8/2, Organisation and control, Regional Services Councils: layout of region and the demarcation of the central and industrial areas, 1987. [65] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, R. van der Merwe (Chief, Department of Town and regional planning, Carletonville Municipality), 19.9.1990. Mr Van der Merwe also stated that the name "Carletonville Park" for Extension No. Six was never used after 1988. Also see *Carletonville Herald,* 18.3.1988, p. 2.
[66] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, file 2/8/2, Organisation and Control Regional Services Councils, memorandum re demarcation of central and industrial areas, 1987, pp. 7-8.

1988 industrial statistics, it did happen, as by December, there were 128 light industries present in the region. This year, the City Council approved 19 building plans altogether for the erection of factories.[67] Some of these plans included those of *Carletonville Brouery Beperk, Carletonville Engineering Services* and *Donenzo Construction*. Apparently, the National Dairy Cooperative also purchased three stands to erect a food processing plant. By 1988, more than half of the 79 industrial stands in Town Extension No. Six had been sold.[68]

It therefore appears that businesses in the Carletonville Municipal region showed potential growth. The development of industries in the late 1980s was a country-wide tendency,[69] to which Carletonville residents contributed modestly. With regards to the local commercial sector, it is much larger than the secondary sector, as is illustrated in the following discussion:

5.3 COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT

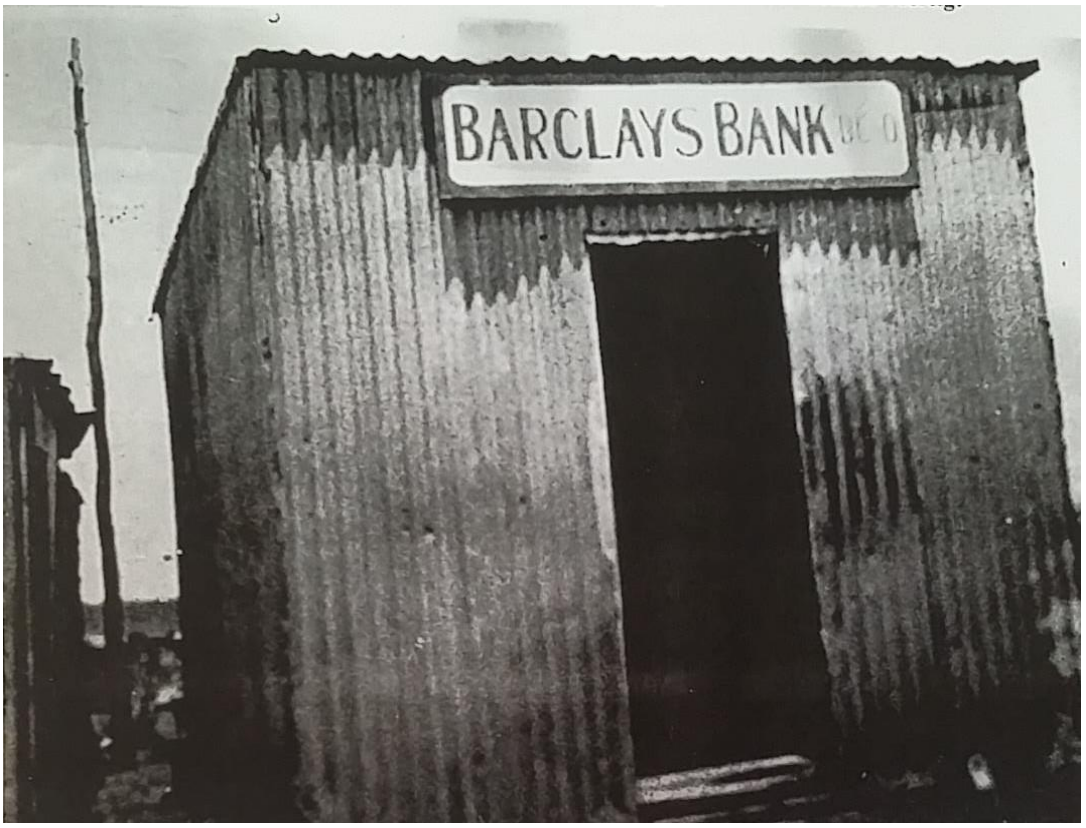
When Carletonville was proclaimed in 1948, the presence of traders in the region was not something new or strange, though few and far between from Welverdiend to Bankdorp. They were mostly Indian traders.[70] As in the case of the secondary sector, it was the mining of gold, the shining precious metal, that also confronted the tertiary sector with new challenges.

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[67] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, file 10/1/2(2), Public relations information, brochures and newsletters: questionnaire, *Suid-Afrikaanse Munisipale Jaarboek*, 11.1.1989.
[68] *Carletonville Herald,* 31.7.1987, p. 1, as well as 18.3.1988, p. 2 and *Potchefstroom Herald,* appendix regarding mines and industries, 4.9.1987, p. 3 and 20.5.1988, p. 11.
[69] Republic of South Africa, Raad van Handel en Nywerheid, report no. 2663, *Jaarverslag,* 1987, p. A.
[70] E.S. van Eeden, *Die geskiedenis van die Gatsrand,* pp. 35-39. See section 5.3, pp. 234-240 of this chapter for a discussion of Indians' position regarding their contribution to the local business sector.

Pioneer trade activities in the Carletonville region:

***The part-time Barclays Bank "branch" at Oberholzer during the 1940s**



Source: G. Hommes.

***Ingot-House, the first business complex in Carletonville**



Source: Consolidated Gold Fields Ltd.

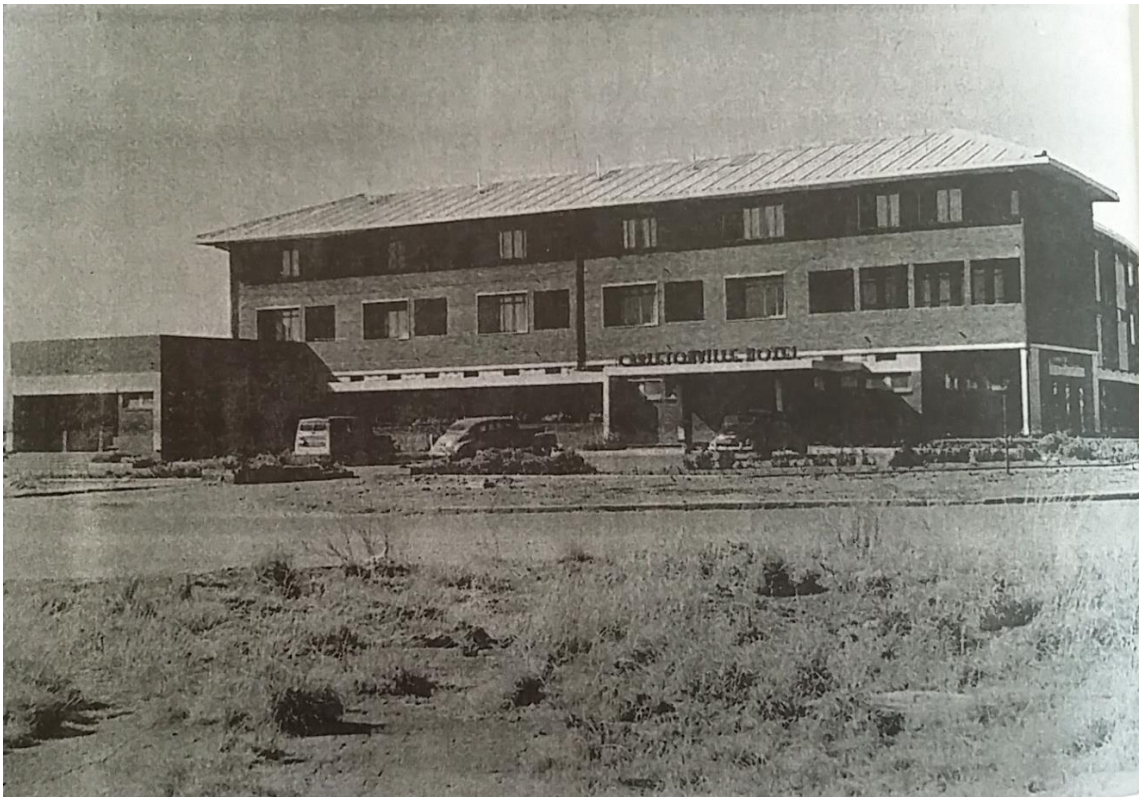
Pioneer trade activities in the Carletonville region:

*** Blyvoor chemist**



Source: J. Grolman.

*** Carletonville Hotel during the 1950s**



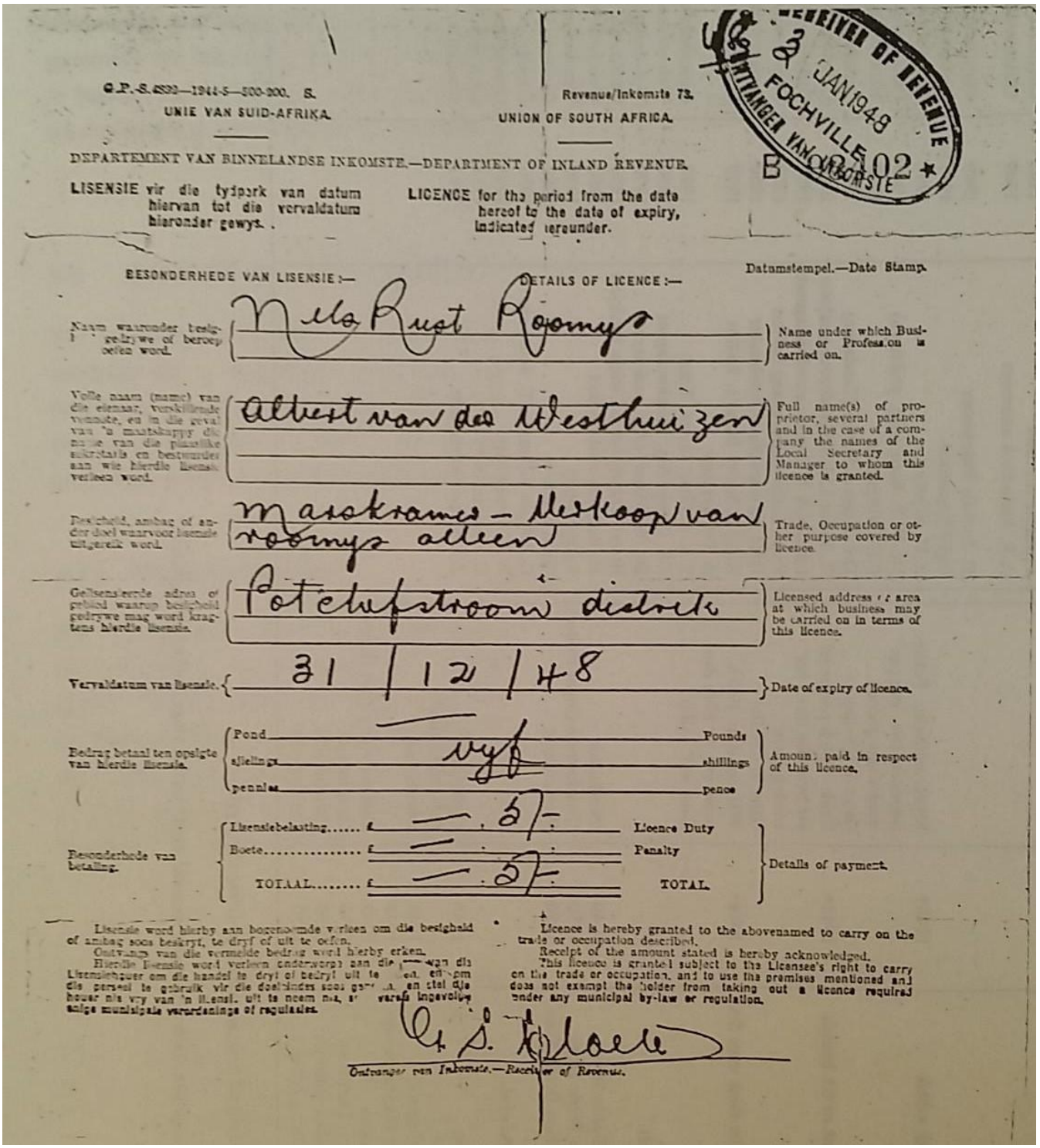
Source: Consolidated Gold Fields Ltd.

Hand-made ice cream containers for the distribution of ice cream in the Carletonville region during 1948



Source: A. van der Westhuizen.

An example of one of the first commercial licences issued to a trader in Carletonville town



G.P.-S. 4532—1944-5—500-200. S.

UNIE VAN SUID-AFRIKA.

Revenue/Inkomste 73.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

RECEIVER OF REVENUE
3 JAN 1948
FOCHVILLE
ONTVANGER VAN INKOMSTE
B 2202

DEPARTEMENT VAN BINNELANDSE INKOMSTE.—DEPARTMENT OF INLAND REVENUE.

LISENSIE vir die tydperk van datum hiervan tot die vervaldatum hieronder gewys.

LICENCE for the period from the date hereof to the date of expiry, indicated hereunder.

BESONDERHEDE VAN LISENSIE:—

DETAILS OF LICENCE:—

Datumstempel.—Date Stamp.

Naam waaronder besigheid gedryfwe of beroep beoefen word. — Mls Rust Roomys — Name under which Business or Profession is carried on.

Volle naam (name) van die eienaar, verskillende vennote, en in die geval van 'n maatskappy die name van die plaaslike sekretaris en bestuurder aan wie hierdie lisensie verleen word. — Albert van der Westhuizen — Full name(s) of proprietor, several partners and in the case of a company the names of the Local Secretary and Manager to whom this licence is granted.

Bedryfstak, ambag of ander doel waarvoor lisensie uitgereik word. — Maaskramer - Verkoop van roomys alleen — Trade, Occupation or other purpose covered by licence.

Gelisensieerde adres of gebied waarop besigheid gedryfwe mag word kragtens hierdie lisensie. — Potchefstroom district — Licensed address or area at which business may be carried on in terms of this licence.

Vervaldatum van lisensie. — 31 / 12 / 48 — Date of expiry of licence.

Bedrag betaal ten opsigte van hierdie lisensie.

Pond — Pounds
sjielings — shillings
pennies — pence
— vyf —

Amount paid in respect of this licence.

Besonderhede van betaling.

Lisensiebelasting..... £ — . 5/- — Licence Duty
Boete..... £ — . . — Penalty
TOTAAL..... £ — . 5/- — TOTAL

Details of payment.

Lisensie word hierby aan bogenoemde verleen om die besigheid of ambag soos beskryf, te dryf of uit te oefen.
Ontvangs van die vermelde bedrag word hierby erken.
Hierdie lisensie word verleen onderworpe aan die [illegible] van die Lisensiehouer om die handel te dryf of beoefen uit te oefen, en om die perseel te gebruik vir die doeleindes soos gemeld, en staan die houer nie vry van 'n lisensie uit te neem nie, [illegible] ingevolge enige munisipale verordeninge of regulasies.

Licence is hereby granted to the abovenamed to carry on the trade or occupation described.
Receipt of the amount stated is hereby acknowledged.
This licence is granted subject to the Licensee's right to carry on the trade or occupation, and to use the premises mentioned and does not exempt the holder from taking out a licence required under any municipal by-law or regulation.

C. S. Kloete

Ontvanger van Inkomste.—Receiver of Revenue.

Source: A. van der Westhuizen (Carletonville).

TABEL 9: PIONIERHANDELSBEDRYWIGHEDE IN DIE CARLETONVILLESE MUNISIPALE GEBIED, 1948-1951

ONDERNEMING	OPENINGS-JAAR **	DORP
Algemene Handelaars		
D. & D.H. Frazer Ltd.	1948*	Blyvooruitzicht
Waks and Judelsohn	1948	Oberholzer (later in C'ville)
R. Gersh Trading Store	1948*	Welverdiend
I.E. Methar & Co.	1948	Welverdiend
Noel Phibbs handelaars	1948*	Carletonville
M.S. Mia Store	1948*	Bank
Nosarka's Cash Store	1948	Bank
J.P. Holtzhausen handelaars	1948	Bank
Carletonville Supply Store	1949	Carletonville (Ingot House)
Harry Bentel Store	1949	Carletonville (Ingot House)
Gold Reef Trading Store	1949*	Wes-Driefontein
J.G. Barkhuizen handelaars	1949	Welverdiend
Atlas Bazaar	1949*	Welverdiend
J.S. Minnaar	1950	Oberholzer
Blyvoor Grocers and Fisheries	1950	Oberholzer
Good Hope Supply Store	1951	Welverdiend
Welverdiend Bazaar	1951	Welverdiend
Apteke		
Oberholzer Pharmacy	1948	Oberholzer (later in C'ville)
E.J. Adcock Bpk.	1949	Carletonville
Hoffmann's Pharmacy	1950	Oberholzer
Banke		
Barclays Bank subtak	1948*	Blyvooruitzicht: Potch-personeel twee dae per week diens gedoen (later in C'ville)
Standard Bank of SA branch	1948*	Bank: Potch-personeel vir twee dae diens per week gedoen (later in C'ville)
Nederlandsche Bank voor SA	1948*	Welverdiend: Potch-personeel vir twee dae (later in C'ville)
Drankwinkels		
Dave Sobel Bottle Store	1949	Oberholzer
Carletonville Bottle Store	1950	Carletonville (Ingot House)
Werner Brothers Bottle Store	1950	Welverdiend
Klere-/Sportwinkels		
Chic Fashions	1948	Oberholzer (later in C'ville)
Moolmans Uitrusters	1948	Oberholzer
Bezuidenhout Mansuitrusters	1948	
Barclay Fashions	1949	Carletonville (Ingot House)
Culhanes Sport Outfitters	1950	Carletonville
Shegwens Ladies Outfitters	1950	Carletonville
Tootal Furnishing Fabrics	1950	Carletonville

ONDERNEMING	OPENINGS-JAAR **	DORP
Diensstasies		
H. Boersma	1949*	Wonderfontein
J. Vermeulen	1949*	Welverdiend
Ed's Motors	1948	Bank (later in C'ville)
H. van Rooyen Motors	1950	Oberholzer
R. Bell's Motors Pty Ltd	1950	Carletonville
Carletonville Garage & Service Station	1950	Carletonville
Oliver Motors	1950	Bank
Grosvenor Motors Ltd.	1950	Carletonville
Oberholzer Garage	1950*	Oberholzer
De Beers Garage	1950	Welverdiend
J.W. Snyman	1950	Welverdiend
Welverdiend Garage	1950*	Welverdiend
Hotelle		
Welverdiend-hotel	1948*	Welverdiend
Carletonville-hotel	1949*	Carletonville
West Wits-hotel	1948*	West Wits
Algemeen		
Perkins & Crumley	1948*	Carletonville
Model Meubileerders	1948	Oberholzer (later in C'ville)
Blyvoor Timbers	1948*	Carletonville
Chandler Brothers	1948	Oberholzer
A.R. Fleischack attorneys	1949	Carletonville
R. Soulsby Hairdresser	1949	Carletonville
Ingot Restaurant	1949*	Carletonville (Ingot House)
Z.M. Wissing	1949	Welverdiend
Dr. W.P. Roux (Alg. praktisyn)	1949*	Carletonville
P.C. Wolmarans	1949	Welverdiend
Drs. Hope & Venter (Tandartse)	1949	Carletonville (Ingot House)
F. Tailor Ladies Hairdressing saloon	1950	Carletonville
Lumley & McLuckie eiendomsagente	1950	Carletonville
Ricks Ladies hairdressing Saloon	1950*	Carletonville
HSH Booysen Stoomketelmaker	1950	Carletonville
Nicol & Seeley Piano's, Radios & Refrigerators	1950	Carletonville
S.A. & Genr. Invest. Trust	1950	Carletonville
J.F. Cronje Alg. Eiendomsagent	1950	Welverdiend
Dr. W. Marais (Alg. praktisyn)	1950	Welverdiend
Brand, Thompson & Cronje fishfriers	1950	Oberholzer
H. Boersma werkswinkel	1950	Wonderfontein
Kalkbrandery	1950	Wonderfontein
Qauil Fishfrier	1950	Carletonville
D.P.S. de Villiers en Y. Schroeder	1950	Oberholzer
W.L. Impey frier	1951	Oberholzer
C. Pilalitos frier	1951	Carletonville (Ingot House)
Z.J. Siebert hairdresser	1951	Oberholzer

* *Onsekerheid bestaan oor die presiese stigtingsjaar.*

** *Sommige van die bedrywe wat vermeld word, het wel voor 1948 al sake gedoen.*

TABLE 9: PIONEER COMMERCIAL ACTIVITIES IN THE CARLETONVILLE MUNICIPAL REGION, 1948-1951

5.3.1 Pioneer trade services

From the beginning, Carletonville and Oberholzer lured the most businesses due to their proximity to the gold mines of Blyvooruitzicht, Wes Driefontein and Doornfontein. Businessmen from towns such as Potchefstroom, Krugersdorp, Randfontein, and the Witwatersrand established themselves here.[71] Articles and adverts regarding the rosy future of the Carletonville region had already surfaced in the 1940s, and probably also promoted the region's business activities widely.[72] Although development did not occur overnight, statistics indicate that tertiary activities gained momentum between 1948 and 1949.[73] Some commercial sector pioneers within the Carletonville region since the town's proclamation in 1951, are indicated in Table 9 on p. 275.[74]

From Table 9, it can be deduced that tertiary institutions originally established in Oberholzer, Welverdiend, and Bank. However, as Carletonville developed faster on most terrains than these towns, the settlement patterns changed. For example, by 1950, electricity supply for Carletonville neared completion, while a contract for the water supply with the Rand Water Board had been signed by 1952. Other towns followed.[75]

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[71] E.S. van Eeden, *Die geskiedenis van die Gatsrand* ..., p. 43.
[72] *Die Vaderland,* 15.11.1947, p. 2.
[73] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file L1/29/8, West Wits Local Area Committee health conditions: report, T.A. Verbeek/Peri Urban Areas Health Board, 8.8.1949.
[74] The data in Table 9, p. 210, were found in various sources. These include Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, Minutes: minute, 1949-1951; *Sunday Express,* 7.6.1953, p. 16; *Die Potchefstroom Nuus/News,* 23.12.1960, p. 2 as well as 28.4.1969, p. 6; 16.6.1967, p. 3; H. van Rooy (eds.), *Adingra Staff Journal,* 1(1), June 1972, p. 3; *Carletonville Weekly Record,* 28.5.1976, p. 6; *Carletonville Herald,* 26.8.1988, p. 20; Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, N.M. Pretorius, 3.3.1989, as well as interview, A. and C. van der Westhuizen, 8.2.1989 and 3.3.1989; Nedbank Archives, Ontwikkeling en Initiatieven (OD, Vol. 7, file 36-26, Stigting Banktakken, uitbreiding Potchefstroom-Welverdiend: letter, Hoofagent Nederlandsche Bank voor Zuid-Afrika/Directie Amsterdam, 29.12.1947 and correspondence of the Directie Amsterdam, 3.1.1948 and Union of South Africa, *Telephone Directory Transvaal,* April 1951, pp. 617,667.
[75] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file T1/346(2), Carletonville Township Extension 2: letter, J.W.A. Wright, Carletonville Estates/New Consolidated Gold Fields Limited, 3.10.1952 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, Mrs N.M. Pretorius, 3.3.1989 and A. van der Westhuizen, 8.2.1989 and 3.3.1989.

Light-hearted commercial advertisements of two Carletonville businesses (1955)

Van der Westhuizen
Bouers

Wil u u droomhuis bou,
Dan moet u die naam reg onthou.

Die naam is van der Westhuizen boukontrakteur,
Dit is die naam wat u nooit sal betreur.

Kom kyk na huise wat hy bou,
En oortuig uself dat hy nie brou.

Albert van der Westhuizen is 'n man van sy woord,
Daarom vorder sy werk so vinnig voort.

Van der Westhuizen bouers trek ook planne
en spesifikasies op,
En glo my, hierin word hy nie maklik geklop.

Oor van der Westhuizen bouers se werk hoef
u nooit te stry,
Want daar gaan u tevredenheid kry.

Bel 151 gedurende die dag,
En u hoef gladnie te wag.

Al is u nou ook vreemd of bure,
Bel asseblief 813 na ure.

Blyvoor Bottel Stoor

Al is u nou ook lelik of mooi,
U word hartlik uitgenooi,

Het u die naam mooi gehoor,
Die naam is Blyvoor Bottel Stoor.

Ons adres is van Zyl Smit straat,
Ons verkoop drank by die groot maat.

Al is u naam nou ook Piet, Gert of Stoffel,
Drink 'n sopie van die witperd uit die bottel.

Het u lus vir wyn,
Ons verkoop bottels by die dosyn.

Ons verkoop ook brandewyn,
En wees verseker van geen hoofpyn.

Blyvoor Bottel Stoor het alle soorte bier,
Kom kry dit gerus maar hier.

Blyvoor Bottel Stoor se foon nommer is 336,
Vir al ons klante doen ons ons bes.

Ons verseker u van vriendelike diens,
Aan Blyvoor Bottel Stoor sê u nooit totsiens.

Maak nou by Blyvoor Bottel Stoor 'n draai,
En u sal nooit u geld versmaai.

By Blyvoor Bottel Stoor kry u 10% afslag,
Waaroor u later lekker sal lag.

Source: C. van der Westhuizen.

Table 9 further illustrates that there was an overwhelming monopolistic tendency during the pioneer years of commercialisation in the tertiary sector, which made competition impossible.[76] Clear examples include the chemists, financial institutions, bottle stores and hotels mentioned in Table 9. This monopolistic tendency in the Carletonville and Oberholzer regions was also present in other towns within the jurisdiction of *West Witwatersrandse Plaaslike Gebiedskomitee*. There was, for example, only one hotel on Welverdiend,[77] and one on Bank. A few vegetable shops and general car dealers had been in business, especially in the Bank area, before 1948. It is possible that the Indian dealers in the Bank region were exposed to competition due to the presence and activities of several dealers.[78] There were also pioneer building contractors who were involved in the construction of commercial buildings in the 1950s and competed against one another, i.e., Phoenix Construction, Gibb and Sons, Farber and Slootwerf, Perkins and Bramley, D.C.G. Hoffman and A. van der Westhuizen Bouers.[79]

5.3.2 Infrastructural services

The initial shortage of enough and appropriate infrastructure, such as electricity, water, buildings, and tarred roads, could also explain the absence of competition in the local tertiary sector. Mr Joe Grolman, the first chemist of distinction in 1948 in the Carletonville region, had to function without the mentioned services. The necessary water had to be transported over 12 km in a 198-litre (44-gallon) metal container, with exceptional trouble to the chemist. On top of that, a generator had to supply sufficient power, and as a result of its unreliability, candles and lanterns were often used in broad daylight![80] Other pioneer traders in the region had similar

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[76] Also compare Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, Minutes: minute, 15.2.1957 and *Die Vaderland,* 4.10.1950, p. 14.
[77] *Carletonville Herald*, 16.4.1984, p. 16.
[78] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file T1207/1, Bank Township general: letter, C.F.J. Swanepoel/Peri Urban Areas Health Board, 23.1.1948 and *Sunday Express,* 7.6.1953, p. 18.
[79] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file T1/223/2, Oberholzer Township, building and building plans general: letter, Phoenix Construction/Peri Urban Areas Health Board, 18.1.1951; Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, A. van der Westhuizen, 3.3.1989.
[80] *Sunday Express,* 7.6.1953, p. 18.

experiences.[81] As local development continued, challenges surrounding the supply of infrastructural services were eliminated.[82]

5.3.3 The Chamber of Commerce

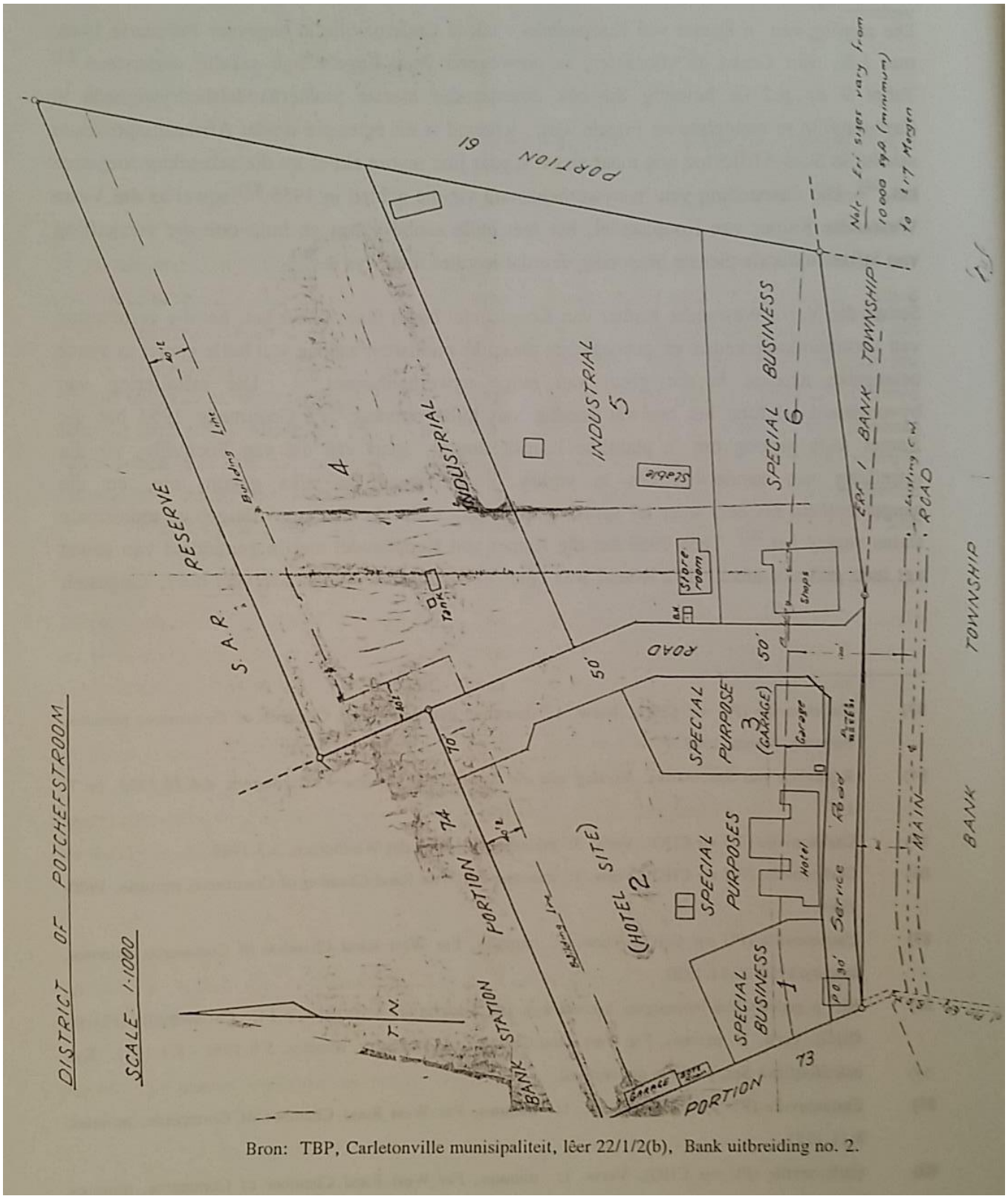
The establishment of a Chamber of Commerce branch in Carletonville in approximately February 1948, with J.H. van Graan as chairman, was mostly supported by English businessmen.[83] Table 9 on p. 275 is proof, as most of the names of the pioneer commercial activities in Carletonville were English. It is, however, not strange as Afrikaans businessmen in South Africa only became actively involved in the business sector a few years earlier.[84] The establishment of an industrial council in 1955 for the region,[85] and the Far West Rand Chamber of Commerce assisted them by making suggestions and hastening the supply of infrastructural services by pointing out voids.[86]

Since the Far West Rand Chamber of Commerce became operational, the attention it paid to improving communication services and sufficient local publicity were important aspects of growth in any industrial setup.[87] They prioritised the installation of telephones[88] and during 1951 the Chamber even attempted to establish a local licensing office separate from Fochville for the

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[81] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, Mrs N.M. Pretorius, 3.3.1989 and A. van der Westhuizen, 8.2.1989 and 3.3.1989.
[82] See *Chapter Two*, pp. 24-26, 29 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, A. van der Westhuizen, 3.3.1989.
[83] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: minutes, Far West Rand Chamber of Commerce, minutes, February-March, 1948.
[84] Republic of South Africa, *Verslag van die Tweede Ekonomiese Volkskongres, 4-6.10.1950*, pp. 7-147.
[85] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, A. van der Westhuizen, 3.3.1989.
[86] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: minutes, Far West Rand Chamber of Commerce, minutes, 1950-1961.
[87] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: minutes, Far West Rand Chamber of Commerce, minutes, January 1950-20.11.1950.
[88] For confirmation of a part hereof, see *Die Vaderland*, 4.10.1950, p. 14; Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: minutes, Far West Rand Chamber of Commerce, minutes, 5.6.1951 - 8.1.1951. Also see *Chapter Six*, p. 275.

The suggested Bank industrial town



Bron: TBP, Carletonville munisipaliteit, lêer 22/1/2(b), Bank uitbreiding no. 2.

Source: TAR, Carletonville municipality, file 22/1/2(b), Bank Extension No. 2.

issuing of commercial licences.[89] Once again, this did not materialise, and the issue was only brought up again long after the Carletonville region became a municipality.[90] By 1959, the Chamber of Commerce functioned with an average of eight members. In the mid-1950s, membership was much higher, as it was during this time that local businessmen actively struggled to improve trade possibilities.[91]

5.3.4 Population growth and trade development

The slow population growth in towns like Oberholzer, Bank, West-Wits and Welverdiend[92] delayed the establishment of additional businesses in their business centres.[93] In 1952, a mere 30 of the available 277 business stands in these towns were utilised. These included some eight stands in Oberholzer that were not fully developed.[94] H.W.H. Calderbank's unsuccessful application in 1956 to erect a petrol station in Oberholzer was attributed to the propensity for too low a population growth in this town. The Health Board for Peri-Urban areas refused Calderbank's application because the existing stations, i.e., Blyvoor Motors and Kennedy Motors, had already resulted in an oversupply for the 16%

[89] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: minutes, Far West Rand Chamber of Commerce, minutes, 8.11.1951.
[90] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: minutes, Far West Rand Chamber of Commerce, minutes, 3.5.1962.
[91] Carletonville (PU for CHO), Ref. 1: minutes, Far West Rand Chamber of Commerce, minutes, 23.1.1950, as well as 20.11.1951. Membership appears to have been between 18 and 32 between 1952 and 1956, after which there was another decline. See Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: minutes, Far West Rand Chamber of Commerce, minutes, 8.1.1957, as well as 13.8.1959.
[92] See *Chapter Two,* pp. 28-29, 38, also at which tempo town extensions and proclamations occurred in these towns.
[93] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file L1/29/L(1), West Wits Local Area Committee buildings: schedules and reports, 1949-1954. During these few years, the approval of building plans for businesses on business stands totalled 95, of which most were for Carletonville Township Extension No. 2.
[94] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file T1/346(1), Carletonville Township Extension no. 2: letter, Oberholzer 'Waaksaamheidskomitee'/Secretary Town Council, January 1952 and SAB, RNH, Vol 224, file NH 15/11/8(1), Carletonville Town report, Townships Boards inspection of proposed Carletonville Extension No. 2 Township, 3.3.1952.

of the developed stands' populations.[95] The handful of petrol stations that also managed second-hand car dealerships on their stands were well supported.[96]

The above-mentioned tendency in Bank town in 1959 resulted in the Health Council denying approval for a second town extension. This decision led to great frustration among the businessmen in town. One of the complaints directed at the Council was: *At one stroke of a pencil, virtually the whole of our future developments, the proposed township, not to mention the substantial expense to which we have been put, is to be ruled out and nullified.* From this complaint, it appears that local businessmen believed that the second extension for Bank Town would encourage population growth.[97] Because of the Health Board's decision, this standpoint was worthless, and to protest against high-level planning and decision-making was pointless.

It did not go much better on Welverdiend.[98] It appears that the low population concentration, together with slow town development, led to scepticism among the traders. A good example is the application of C.E. Durrheim in 1959, to the City Council of Carletonville to open a part-time men's hairdressing saloon in one of the Welverdiend Hotel's rooms. It appears as though Durrheim did not see fit to open a permanent saloon because of the unfavourable circumstances in Welverdiend. The City Council, which was undoubtedly keen to develop the businesses in Welverdiend, turned down Durrheim's application. He was, however, assured that permission would be

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[95] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file T1/223/8, Oberholzer township, consent use: letter, Oberholzer Waaksaamheidskomitee/Peri Urban Areas Health Board, 26.3.1956 and Council meetings, Peri Urban Areas Health Board, 23.8.1956 and 5.10.1956.
[96] CAD, RNH, Vol. 273, file BB/2, Planning Assistance Committee, Controlled regions no. 2: application for the declaration of Pottiesville industrial town, 27.4.1957, pp.2-3.
[97] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file 61/1/239, Bank Extension No. Twee, foundation application: letter, G. Fine and I.G. Slonimsky/Secretary Peri Urban Areas Health Board, 15.11.1958.
[98] See Chapter *Two,* pp. 28-29, 38.

Businesses in Carletonville in the late 1950s

*** The OK in Flint Street**



***Kennedy Motors in Stasie Street**



Source: Antonica Foto's.

*** Ingot House, the first business complex in Carletonville**



Source: Wes Driefontein Mine

given, should he establish his business on a separate business property.[99] Durrheim's reaction could not be confirmed.

Probably the most important factor in the low population growth in the mentioned towns and the resulting small business sector lies in the development of Carletonville. With the closely situated gold mines as stimuli, growth increased at a much faster rate by the 1950s than in the other towns.[100] Special mention is made of the businesses in Flint Street, where a branch of the OK-Bazaars Ltd. opened in 1954,[101] and the Ingot House business complex, which was extended between 1954 and 1955.[102] The growth tendency was maintained even after 1955.[103]

According to the February 1958 report of the branch managers of the Nederlandsche Bank voor Suid-Afrika in Carletonville, that month was characterised as significant in the growth of the town's business activities. Building plans for businesses worth £118,990 were approved during the reporting period, and the establishment of six shops and two petrol stations was envisaged.[104]

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[99] TAD, MCV, file 54/1/2, Commercial rights: letter, Town planner Carletonville/Town Clerk Carletonville, 21.8.1959.
[100] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file T1/421, Carletonville Town Extension No. 6: letter, Chief Engineer Health Board/Secretary Health Board, 29.10.1957, and *Rand Daily Mail,* 29.11.1951, p. 12.
[101] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file T1/346(3), Carletonville Extension No.2: letter, OK-Bazaars Ltd./Secretary Peri Urban Areas Health Board, 3.12.1955. Initially, the OK Group was established in Carletonville's Stanlen Building on Flint Street. See TAD, Companies (MPY), Vol. 239, file 54/1215, OK Bazaars Carletonville Limited: letter, Secretary OK Bazaars/Registrar of Companies (Pretoria), 27.10.1960.
[102] *Die Transvaler,* 15.1.1954, p. 9 and Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file TI346(3), Carletonville Extension No. 2: letter, H.W.E. Stauch en Vennote/G. Fleischack (Potchefstroom), 1955.
[103] Nedbank Archives, EO, Vol. 11, file 102-108, Ekonomiese oorsigte van Carletonville-tak: verslae, 31.12.1957 - 31.1.1958 and *Carletonville Herald,* 24.1.1969, p.1.
[104] Nedbank Archives, EO, Vol. 11, file 102-108, Ekonomiese oorsigte van Carletonville-tak: verslag, 28.12.1958. As a result of incomplete documents of the Local Regional Committee, the statistical evidence presented by the Nederlandsche Bank could not be verified.

In 1959, approximately 411 trade licences were issued, and the developing commercial sector especially relied on the support of the flourishing mining community. Mining officials earned such high salaries that American luxury vehicles were sold on a large scale in town.[105] A few days after Carletonville was awarded municipal status, the Council's Licence Committee held its first meeting. The issuing of trade licences immediately enjoyed the Committee's attention.[106]

5.3.5 The 1960s

In contrast with the industrial sector, commercial activities in the Carletonville region during 1960-1961 were more progressive. Apart from the prospects of establishing more gold mines and extending existing ones, improved infrastructure was also responsible for the more favourable business conditions. At that stage, for example, ESCOM was in the process of providing power to the entire region.[107] The Rand Water Council had already been supplying water to the majority of the consumers.[108]

A branch of the Afrikaans Business Chamber was established in Carletonville in 1959,[109] and it continued to promote local business interests in this decade. These included a request to the City Council for the establishment of a fire station and a request that external institutions, like buying aid schemes, auctioneers and credit bureaus, who wanted to do business in Carletonville,

[105] Nedbank Archives, EO, Vol. 11, file 102-108, Economic overviews of Carletonville branch: report, 28.12.1958. Due to the incompleteness of the Local Regional Committee's documents, statistical evidence presented by the Nederlandsche Bank could not be verified.
[106] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, Council minutes: meetings, Licence Committee, 21.7.1959 and 20.8.1959.
[107] TAD, MCV, Vol. 5, file 2/2(3), Inauguration ceremonies: report by the honourable Mayor for the period ending, 7.3.1962, p. 11.
[108] The South African Association of Municipal Employers, *Suid-Afrikaanse Munisipale Jaarboek,* 1960-61, p. 454.
[109] Due to the absence of minutes of the business chambers, it is difficult to monitor their continued and exact activities. See Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, A.E. Grandling, 19.10.1988.

be denied access.[110] Another issue in which the Chambers were involved during 29-30 May 1961, was the black workers' strikes, a country-wide phenomenon. To prevent the business sector from being crippled by this, the Chamber of Commerce established a local task force of scholars who could provide necessary services during the two days.[111]

Despite sporadic setbacks such as strikes and sinkholes, the general commercial environment of Carletonville between 1961 and 1962 was healthy. Sinkholes in the region did not affect the traders' business activities at this stage. The City Council's reassurance in 1961 satisfied the local Chamber of Commerce, mouthpiece of the majority of businesses at that stage.[112] The mines' spending power increased during the development of Western Deep Levels. Subsequently, more traders moved to this region.[113] A record number of trade licences were issued between April 1961 and April 1962.[114]

However, since 1962, the occurrence of sinkholes increased to such an extent that the local community could no longer be pacified by the positive declarations of the City Council about the area's future. Their fear of a decrease in Carletonville's purchasing power was the most important reason for their restlessness. Consequently, the Carletonville Chamber of Commerce requested that a publicity campaign in favour of the region should gain momentum, which should portray a positive view of the growth and development of the municipal region.[115] This was done by the Council in its issuance

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[110] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: minutes, Far West Rand Chamber of Commerce (hereafter called the Carletonville/Oberholzer ...), minutes, 15.9.1960, as well as 20.6.1961; 8.2.1962 and 19.2.1963 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, A.E. Grundling, 19.10.1988.
[111] Carletonville (PU vir CHO), Ref. 1: minutes, Carletonville/Oberholzer Chamber of Commerce, minutes, 18.5.1961 - 19.5.1961, as well as 15.6.1961.
[112] Carletonville (PU vir CHO), Ref. 1: minutes, Carletonville/Oberholzer Chamber of Commerce, minute, 28.9.1961.
[113] *The Star,* 13.9.1961, p.2.
[114] TAD, MCV, Vol. 5, file 2/2(3), Inauguration ceremonies: report by the honourable Mayor for the period ending on 7.3.1962 and Vol. 4, file 2/2, Official receptions and functions: report from the mayor, April 1962.
[115] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: minutes, Carletonville/Oberholzer Chamber of Commerce, minute, 24.1.1963.

of reports focusing on the increase in approved building plans and in trade licences in Carletonville.[116] Unfortunately, circumstantial factors such as the change of the original railway route and the danger signs on some provincial routes drew more attention and publicity.[117]

It is noticeable that the Chamber of Commerce and the Afrikaans Business Chamber continued their projects and activities within the framework of their objective, amidst the abovementioned situation.[118] One of them was the so-called *Koop in Carletonville veldtog (Buy in Carletonville Campaign)* as a result of the crisis in which the community found itself.[119] The reason was that the locals tended to do their monthly shopping in Randfontein and Krugersdorp rather than to support local businesses. A lack of sufficient and a variety of products, together with the City Council's decision to freeze the construction of any large chain stores,[120] obviously supported these spending patterns.

A further challenge in the City Council's positive publicity campaign was the unexpected appearance of a gigantic sinkhole in the Westdene residential area of the Blyvooruitzicht mine in August 1964. It unnerved the Carletonville locals.[121] Especially

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[116] TAD, MCV, Vol. 5, file 2/2/2(2), Inauguration ceremonies, mayoral report for the period ending 21.3.1963 and *Carletonville Herald,* 8.1.1965, p. 1.
[117] Carletonville (PU for CHE), ref. 1: minutes, Carletonville/Oberholzer Chamber of Commerce, minutes, 25.6.1963 and 25.10.1963.
[118] *Carletonville Herald,* 24.1.1964, p. 1; Carletonville (PU for CHE), ref. 1: minutes, Carletonville/Oberholzer Chamber of Commerce and Industries, [the name of the Carletonville Chamber of Commerce underwent another change, minute, 4.6.1964 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, A.E. Grundling, 19.10.1988.
[119] *Carletonville Herald*, 28.2.1964, p. 2.
[120] *Carletonville Herald,* 6.3.1964, pp. I-2 and 19.6.1964, p. 1 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, A.E. Grundling, 19.10.1988.
[121] *The Star,* 9.9.1964, p. 3.

Afrikaans businessmen soon withdrew from the area, which negatively affected the activities of the Afrikaans Business Chamber for years to come.[122]

The events at Blyvooruitzicht and landslides elsewhere in the region gradually suffocated the Carletonville business sector. A lack of faith from within and without affected the income of various businesses negatively. The property market was categorised as slow, with hardly any demand for business and trade premises. In turn, this also had a depreciating effect on properties and building societies were not eager to finance, amongst others, the construction of more commercial buildings. [123] This reaction was not welcomed but understandable. The 1964 statistics cited 86 businesses in the region whose premises were damaged due to landslides.[124]

Another negative effect that sinkholes had on the tertiary sector was on its labour force. Potential labourers from outside the area were apparently too weary to live in the region. A shortage of labour thus became yet another of Carletonville's many problems.[125]

Seasoned businessmen remained positive towards the future of Carletonville, despite the situation by January 1965.[126] Scientific investigations in the following year also indicated that the business centre

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[122] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, A.E. Grundling, 19.10.1988, as well as V. van Aswegen, 3.3.1989.
[123] CAD, RNH, Vol. 224, file 15/11/8(2), Carletonville Town: memorandum in connection with sinkholes and sagging in dolomitic regions, 17.11.1964.
[124] CAD, RNH, Vol. 224, file 15/11/8(2), Carletonville Town: letter, Town Clerk Carletonville/RONH, 19.11.1964.
[125] *Carletonville Herald,* 13.11.1964, p. 3 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, A.E. Grundling, 19.10.1988.
[126] *Carletonville Herald, 8.*1.1965, p. 1, as well as 5.2.1965, p. 1.

of Carletonville was safe.[127] Commercial activities had already shown a downward curve, and had reached a mere 300 by 1964[128] of which only 245 businesses were up and running. Although few notable landslides occurred in the towns of Oberholzer and Welverdiend, business activities were probably in the same position due to the landslide stigma in the rest of the area.

In 1965, the Carletonville business sector experienced a negative year. Findings by the States' Coordinating Technical Committee indicated the possible permanent instability of some of the stands, which could negatively affect Carletonville's future. This was another setback for the City Council, which had truly attempted to maintain businesses' interests up to that stage. The Dolomitic Water Council then also announced that contractors would in future not be compensated for damage to buildings as a result of land movement, which further rubbed salt in the wounds of the damaged community structure and would ultimately result in fewer contractors being willing to erect buildings in the Carletonville region.[129]

The local business sector was unhappy because the Dolomitic Water Council was not prepared to compensate businesses whose profit was affected by the closing of important link roads.[130] Two well-known businessmen in town, B. Lumley and J. van Rooyen, made their discontent known.[131] Although Lumley

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[127] TAD, MCV, Vol. 5, file 2/2/2(2), Inauguration ceremonies: mayoral report for the period ending on 9.3.1965, pp. 2, 9.
[128] The South African Association of Municipal Employers, *Suid-Afrikaanse Munisipale Jaarboek,* 1964-65, p. 321.
[129] IR, MCV, file 33/1/4(e), Formation, results of dewatering: memorandum to the Minister of Mining and Planning, his Honourable Dr C. de Wet, re the consequences of dewatering of dolomite areas as a result of mining on the development of Carletonville, 14.9.1967, pp. 4- 5 and *Carletonville Herald,* 19.3.1965, p. 1.
[130] *Carletonville Herald,* 5.3.1965, p. 1 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: minutes, Carletonville/Oberholzer Chamber of Commerce and Industries, minute, 6.2.1966. (The minutes of the period 1966-1974 were lost).
[131] *Carletonville Herald,* 5.3.1965, p. 1 and 17.12.1965, p. 2 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, V. van Aswegen, 3.3.1989.

and Van Rooyen's trust in the town was also waning; they succeeded in signing a contract with Esso Eiendoms Beperk in July 1965. This oil company envisaged investing thousands of rands in Carletonville.[132]

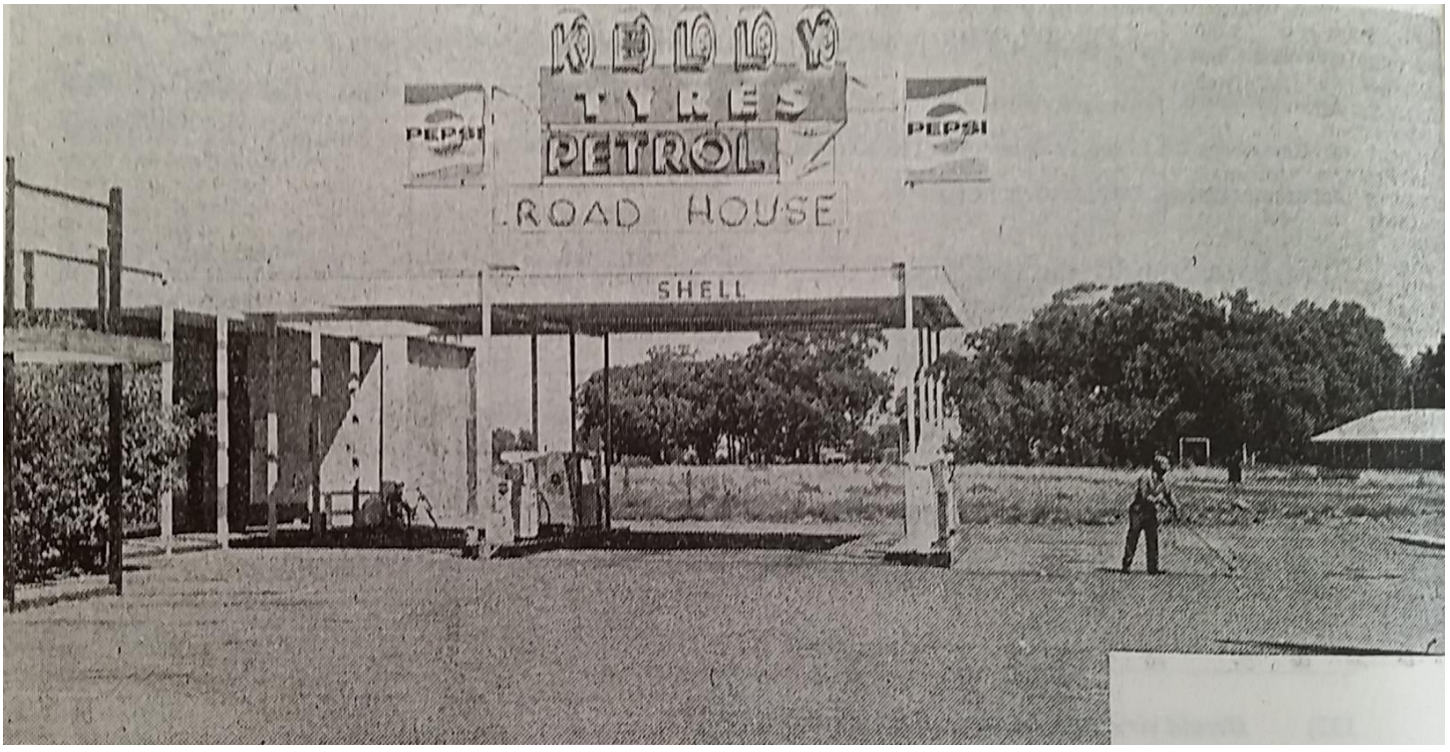
By December 1965, business activities were all but healthy. In light of the local economic situation, businessmen requested that the Afrikaans Business Chamber and the Chamber of Commerce coordinate an attempt to protect the interests of local businesses.[133] This happened in 1966 when negotiations with the Minister of Mining, J. Haak, and the Minister of Water Affairs, P.M.K. le Roux, took place.[134] A Carletonville advisory committee with J. van Rooyen as chairman was the result. The purpose of the committee was to advise the ministers on the stance of local businesses.[135] After a series of talks with Mr Haak, the committee requested that an economic commission be appointed to determine the extent of the damage in Carletonville and assist in regaining trust in the region.[136] It is uncertain whether such a commission was ever appointed. It is, however, well-known that the Carletonville City Council handed over a detailed memorandum regarding the influence of the landslides on the region to the Minister of Mining and Planning in 1967.[137]

Government's involvement did not change the situation in Carletonville overnight. It appears that, especially Afrikaans businessmen involved in construction and the property market, were unable to continue the uncertain, wobbly existence. Some, like Lumley and Van Rooyen, had already moved in June 1966.[138] The Dolomitic Water Council, which did not

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[132] *Herald vir die Goue Weste*, 25.6.1965, p. 1.
[133] *Carletonville Herald*, 17.12.1965, p. 2 .
[134] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: minutes, Carletonville/Oberholzer Chamber of Commerce and Industries, minute, 6.2.1966 and *Herald vir die Goue Weste,* 11.2.1966, p. 1.
[135] *Herald vir die Goue Weste*, 15.2.1966, p. 1.
[136] *Herald vir die Goue Weste*, 25.3.1966, p. 1.
[137] IR, MCV, file 33/1/4(e), Formation, consequences of dewatering: memorandum to the Minister of Mining and of Planning ..., 14.9.1967.
[138] *Herald vir die Goue Weste*, 24.6.1966, p. 1

A “quiet” Bank town by March 1970.



Source: *The Star,* 24.3.1970.

compensate all indirect damages, was also responsible for the unhappiness and the withdrawal of some traders from the region.[139]

The City Council's concern regarding the leaving of businessmen is clear from the reception arranged especially for financial institutions in August 1966. Representatives from banks, building societies, insurance companies and the press were invited. During the function, the nature of the region's problems, as well as Carletonville's future, which was regarded as 'rosy', were discussed.[140] The City Council hoped to obtain the cooperation of these institutions to stop the tendency to move away from Carletonville. This indeed happened, and the business sector, represented by the Chamber of Commerce and the Afrikaans Chamber of Business, agreed that Carletonville's future could be approached with much more faith and trust.[141] Trust was further encouraged by the continued mining activities. Local gold mining companies did not cease their activities due to the presence of landslides.[142] Leaning on this pillar, the maintenance of other local sectors and services was ensured.

Between 1968 and 1969, 289 businesses were active in the Carletonville region.[143] At this stage, it was known that the local mining industry would expand, which would be advantageous to business. Businessmen could rightfully claim that they were serving one of the richest

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[139] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 2: correspondence, letter, J. van Rooyen/The Minister of Mining, 10.4.1967 (Document collection Dr E.J. Stoch) and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, V. van Aswegen, 3.3.1989.
[140] TAD, MCV, Vol. 5, file 2/2(3), Official receptions and functions: reception of financial institutions, 17.8.1966, pp.1-4.
[141] TAD, MCV, Vol. 51, file 73/5(5), Publicity: newspaper cutting, *Die Transvaler,* September 1966, p. 2; *Herald vir die Goue Weste,* 19.5.1967, p. 1 and Carletonville (Municipality), CM, file T9/2/2, Financial institutions: letter, OK General Manager/Town Clerk Carletonville, 30.5.1967.
[142] At this stage, the mines were making an operating profit of approximately R73M. See *Chapter Four* on the history of the local gold mining industry.
[143] The South African Association of Municipal Employees, *Suid-Afrikaanse Munisipale Jaarboek,* 1968-69, p.332.

Ed's Motors in the 1970s



Source: F. Laubscher.

regions in the country where a large number of mining employees mainly spent their income locally.[144]

Businesses in the Bank region did not participate in the regeneration process of the Carletonville and Oberholzer sector. The dewatering of the Bank Compartment increased sinkholes on Bank, which made living there life-threatening by 1970.[145] The majority of activities in this area, including established businesses, disappeared. Some of them opined that the gold that ***lured*** them there in the first place, now also *chased* them away,[146] implying that the establishment of the gold mines was the determining factor in the rising population and the establishment of the business sector. On the other hand, it was the same business sector that was responsible for the underground dewatering in the region that increased the emergence of sinkholes.

5.3.6 The "vasbyters" (stickers) and the "ongewenstes" (unwelcomed)

Despite the evacuation of Bank Town and various other problems caused by the sinkhole in the region, commercial activities seemed to prosper in Carletonville at the beginning of the 1970s. These included the motor industry, Eds' Motors, of Mr Eddie Twaits, which reopened in Annan Street, Carletonville, after evacuating from Bank.[147] In the commercial circles, it was common to refer to the ‘vasbyters’ and the ‘ongewenstes’. The stickers were the traders who stuck it out through the bad times and now started benefitting, after the unwelcome traders, who were scared off by the sinkholes, moved away.[148]

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[144] *Carletonville Herald,* 24.1.1969, p. 1 and IR, Archives of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development (BAG), Vol. 3038, file C39/28/1108, Labour bureau Carletonville: letter, Venter, Mosdell, Suttners Stores, Spilkins Outfitters/Dept. Bantu Administration and Development, 24.4.1970.
[145] See *Chapters Two,* pp. 36-37 and *Three,* pp. 90-91 for more detail.
[146] *Carletonville Herald,* 30.1.1970, pp. 10-11 and *The Star,* 8.1.1970, p. 2, as well as 24.3.1970, p. 5.
[147] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, E. Twaits (ex-businessman, Bank Town and Carletonville), 20.4.1989. According to the present owner, the owner of Eds' Motors had been doing business in Bank since 1936.
[148] *Die Vaderland,* 16.10.1980, pp. 16-17.

Although the local tertiary sector was on the mend, it could hardly compare with the neighbouring towns in the region. This was also true of the labour power in this sector. By 1970, some 4,72% of the local population, i.e., 1,500 whites, 2,924 blacks, 100 coloureds and nine Asians worked in the tertiary sector. This was much lower than in the neighbouring towns of Randfontein, Roodepoort and Krugersdorp.[149] The most obvious reason for this was, and is, that the three towns represented a more balanced labour distribution between the economic sectors, while the Carletonville district's dominant employers were the mining sector.

Notwithstanding the economic disparities in Carletonville, the number of active businesses between 1971 and 1972 increased to 330, much higher than in the 1960s.[150] The fact that various commercial services remained on the doorstep of the consumer, i.e., from toys, hobby shops to consumables, house and home necessities and agricultural implements, probably increased the Carletonville consumers' faith in the future of the region.[151] The City Council's involvement in its business sector in the 1960s shows how important the tertiary commercial sector was regarded in the region, to gain the trust of the rest of the community.[152] Partly thanks to the so-called 'stickers', Carletonville entered a more stable period of its history.

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[149] Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics, report no. 02-05-06, Population census, *Beroep en nywerheid volgens distrik en ekonomiese streek, 1970,* 1970, pp. 51, 115, 173, 215.
[150] The South African Association of Municipal Employees, *Suid-Afrikaanse Munisipale Jaarboek,* 1971-72, p. 351 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: report, number of licences issued for the periods Jan. 1973 - Oct. 1988, 19.10.1988.
[151] TAD, MCV, Vol. 52, file 73/5(7), Publicity: business telephone and buyers guide for Carletonville, 1970-71.
[152] TAD, MCV, Vol. 5, file 2/2(3), Official receptions and functions of financial institutions, 17.8.1966, pp. 1-4.

Members of the Carletonville Housewives league



Source: *Carletonville Herald*.

5.3.7 A prosperous tide

Regarding business activities, Carletonville experienced a turning point in 1975. The total commercial licences issued numbered 595,[153] nearly just as many as the total issued between 1960 and 1962.[154]

This positive inclination of renewed trust could be ascribed to the reopening of the original railway line and most of the provincial roads to the West Rand. Trust was also reconfirmed by the large Governmental investments made in a hospital and a police station.[155]

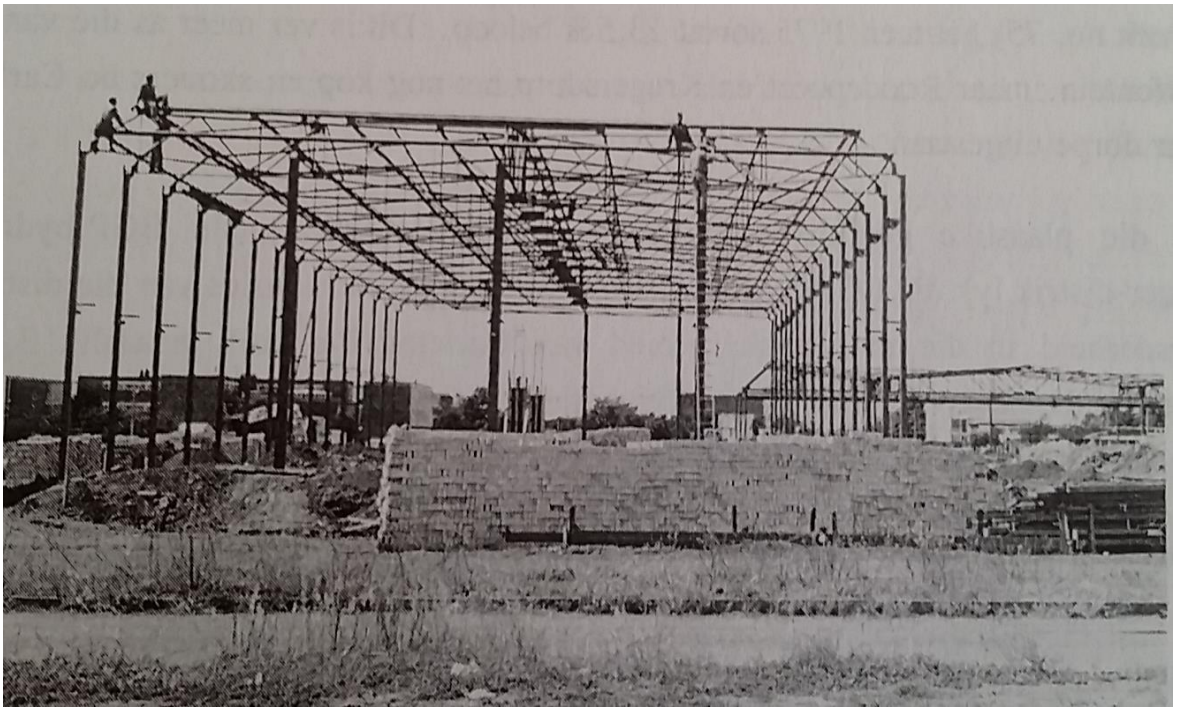
More commercial banks and building societies – financial institutions that encouraged trust - opened in Carletonville between 1975 and 1976.[156] Commercial and financial institutions of the Carletonville area's contribution to the GGP of the West Rand region (first Region No. 50, later Region No. 75) totalled 13,5% by 1975. This was far higher than Westonaria and Randfontein, but Roodepoort and Krugersdorp stood out head-and-shoulders above Carletonville and the other towns.

Compared to the local gold mines' large contribution to the total GGP of the Oberholzer district, the GGP contribution of commercial institutions in the district, i.e., 3,1% (of which most are in the Carletonville municipal area), is less impressive. However, it compares much better with the mentioned GGP contribution of the local industrial sector.[157]

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[153] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: report, number of businesses and licences issued for the period Jan. 1973 - Oct. 1988, 19.10.1988.
[154] TAD, MCV, Vol. 5, file 2/2(3), Inauguration ceremonies: report of His Excellency the Mayor, for the period ending on 7.3.1962.
[155] TAD, MCV, file 73/5(9), Publicity: statistics, Carletonville City Council, 1974; *Carletonville Weekly Record,* 28.3.1975, p. 1 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: minutes, Carletonville Chamber of Commerce, report of the president, 24.6.1975, pp. 1-3. For a detailed discussion, also see *Chapters Six,* pp. 253-254, 262-263 and *Seven,* pp. 318, 323.
[156] *Carletonville Weekly Record,* 28.3.1975, p. 11 and 23.1.1976, p. 1.
[157] Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics, report no. 09-14-04, *Bruto geografiese produk teen faktorinkome volgens landdrosdistrik, 1975,* 1975, p. 22. The GGP combined percentage of the tertiary sector was obtained by calculating the Central Statistics Service's commercial and refreshments section, as well as financing and fixed property.

Construction and opening of the new OK-Bazaar complex, Carletonville.





Source: *Carletonville Herald*

The Chamber of Commerce continued its earlier activities amidst improved circumstances. Trade and transport challenges, and quality consumer service, were among the most important issues with which they dealt in 1975.[158] Another local institution that had established an effective consumer service in the meantime was the Carletonville *Huisvrouliga* (Housewives League).[159] Its exact founding date is unknown, but the branch was well established by March 1975.[160] They addressed aspects affecting consumers, such as misleading advertisements, poor-quality goods, and ineffective service, extremely successfully.[161] The interest in the activities of the Carletonville Housewives League was extraordinary until 1988. With a membership of 100, they were one of the largest Housewives League branches in the country at one stage.[162]

In 1976, in a period of national unrest and rising inflation, commercial activities in Carletonville continued to thrive. The number of businesses increased to 390, and 745 commercial licences were issued.[163] However, Carletonville did not entirely escape the countrywide inflation rate and the unrest among the blacks. Throughout the year, the local Chamber of Commerce repeatedly requested businesses to lower their profit margins on products to counter inflation.[164] Additionally, businesses had to cope without the assistance of their black employees due to the strikes several times during that year.[165]

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[158] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: minutes, Carletonville Chamber of Commerce, minutes, 9.7.1975, and 14.10.1975.
[159] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, Mrs L. Lewis, 8.2.1989 (member, Huisvrouliga, Carletonville).
[160] *Carletonville Herald,* 7.3.1975, p. 13; *Carletonville Weekly Record,* 23.5.1975, p. 8 as well as 30.5.1975, p. 9 and 13.6.1975, p. 13.
[161] *Carletonville Weekly Record,* 21.1.1977, p. 8 and Huisvrouliga van Suid-Afrika, *Rands and Sense,* November 1988-January 1989.
[162] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, Mrs L. Lewis, 8.2.1989.
[163] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: report, number of businesses and licences issued during the period Jan. 1973 - Dec. 1988, 19.10.1988.
[164] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: minutes, Carletonville Chamber of Commerce, minute, 20.1.1976; *Carletonville Herald,* 13.8.1976, p. 4, as well as 20.10.1976, p. 14 and 1.10.1976, p. 17.
[165] *Carletonville Weekly Record*, 6.8.1976, p. 3.

Another problem that developed in Carletonville in 1976 was the peddlers, who traded in the town's open spaces. Although the Chamber of Commerce reacted heavily against it, they did not achieve much, as these types of traders had peddling licences.[166] Regardless of the appeal of the peddlers, the tendency at that stage was a good indication of increasing faith in the town's future. Large commercial undertakings such as Manboys and the OK-Bazaar also showed trust, and in 1976, they announced that they would be expanding their commercial interests in Carletonville.[167]

Another contributory factor to the improved business climate in Carletonville could be the mining industry's planned implementation of a five-day workweek for the mine workers. The Carletonville City Council found this disturbing, as black workers could flood the traditional white business centre. Additionally, bus routes to the business centre had to be adapted, additional infrastructural facilities such as ablution blocks had to be constructed, and possibly, businesses would have had to extend their facilities. Nevertheless, the City Council undertook to attend to these issues.[168]

On 11 October 1977, the business sector of Carletonville definitely reached a milestone when the OK group opened its largest single-floor complex in town.[169] Not only did it improve competition among businesses in the community, but it also attracted buyers from towns outside Carletonville.[170] Consequently, more commercial enterprises settled in Carletonville.[171] This is illustrated by the number of businesses that increased to 468

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[166] Carletonville (PU for CHE), ref. 1: minutes, Carletonville Chamber of Commerce, minutes, 16.3.1976, as well as 14.3.1976 and presidential report, 27.7.1976.
[167] *Carletonville Weekly Record,* 27.8.1976, p. 1 as well as 11.2.1977, p.6; 22.4.1977, p.3 and *Carletonville Herald,* 17.6.1977, p. 6, and 8.10.1976, p. 1.
[168] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, Council minutes, extraordinary meeting of the City Council, 6.5.1976.
[169] *Carletonville Herald,* 14.10.1977, p. 1.
[170] *Carletonville Weekly Record*, 30.9.1977, p. 2.
[171] *Carletonville Weekly Record,* 5.8.1977, p. 17 as well as 7.10.1977, p. 16 and *Carletonville Herald,* 7.10.1977, p. 25.

and 900 commercial licences were issued during the year.[172] Judging by the number of enterprises involved in electricity services, furniture sales, car sales and general outfitters in Carletonville, it appears as if these industries performed well. There were between 15 and 26 of these businesses.[173] At one stage, Carletonville was so progressive that it was regarded as the town with the highest growth rate in South Africa, where there were little to no unemployment challenges.[174]

5.3.8 The road network in and around the business centre: "Other roads to Rome"

A problem that caused a stir among businesses in 1977 and 1978 was the City Council's decision to establish one-way streets in the business centres to reduce motor car accidents. Businesses opined that these one-way streets had a negative influence on them.[175] The City Council doubted this complaint as they did not think the shopping patterns of consumers were easily changed.[176] Despite their displeasure and representations,[177] the City Council could not succeed in changing the situation.[178]

According to the 1978 Oberholzer district data, it appeared that the one-way streets did not affect commercial and business activities. The district's GGP contribution to the commercial activities of the West Rand Region

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[172] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: report, number of businesses and licences issued for the period Jan. 1973 - Dec. 1988, 19.10.1988.
[173] Chamber of Mines, West Wits Line project: planning for the future, p. 56.
[174] *Carletonville Weekly Record,* 7.10.1977, p.1, as well as 14.10.1977, p.3. This was the case until 1980. Also see *Carletonville Herald,* 31.10.1980, p. 1.
[175] *Carletonville Weekly Record,* 22.7.1977, p.1 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: minutes, Carletonville Chamber of Commerce, minutes, 6.9.1978 - 17.9.1980.
[176] *Carletonville Weekly Record*, 22.7.1977, p. 1, 12.
[177] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: minutes, Carletonville Chamber of Commerce, minute, 17.9.1980.
[178] The matter of the one-way streets arose again in 1981, but was unsuccessful. See Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: minutes, Carletonville Chamber of Commerce, minute, 18.2.1981.

The Pick ‘n Pay complex, under construction



Source: *Carletonville Herald*.

increased to 14,1%.[179] About 521 businesses were responsible for this achievement, and more commercial licences, i.e., 953, were issued in that year.[180] Among the new and extended businesses were Jets,[181] Edgars[182] and Oberholzer Wholesalers.[183]

Despite Carletonville's well-supplied business centre, about 16% of the municipal area's residents chose to do business in the Witwatersrand region by 1978.[184] Potchefstroom was popular among the communities of Deelkraal and Elandsrand. One of the reasons was the absence of proper access roads to business centres in Carletonville and the Blyvooruitzicht mine town,[185] while the hyper-shops in the Witwatersrand attracted Carletonville residents,[186] probably because of the bigger variety of products and services supplied under one roof.

5.3.9 The opening of a Pick 'n Pay branch and other commercial undertakings

The Pick 'n Pay group's announcement in July 1978 that they intended to construct a multi-million-rand hyper shop in Carletonville,[187] probably brought bright smiles to the faces of the City's Councillors.[188] This would mean that local consumers' spending would increase should a more complete commercial service be provided. The Councillors "smiled" even brighter,

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[179] Republic of South Africa, Central Statistics Service, report no. 09-14-05, *Bruto geografiese produk teen faktorinkome volgens landdrosdistrik, 1978,* 1978, p. 22.
[180] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: report, number of businesses and licences issued for the period Jan. 1973 - Dec. 1988, 19.10.1988.
[181] *Carletonville Weekly Record,* 17.3.1978, p. 3.
[182] *Carletonville Herald,* 14.4.1978, p. 8.
[183] *Carletonville Herald,* 14.4.1978, p. 3 and *Carletonville Weekly Record*, 17.4.1978, p. 8.
[184] Chamber of Mines, *West Wits Line project: planning for the future*, pp. 30, 37 and A. Nieuwoudt, *Die beplanning van die ontwikkelende verspreide **skid**?? in die gebied van Carletonville, Fochville en Westonaria*, p. 227.
[185] IR, Carletonville Municipality, file 33/1/2(b)(1), Elandsrand: memorandum of the City Engineer, Carletonville, 9.10.1978, pp. 1-4.
[186] Chamber of Mines, *West Wits Line project: planning for the future,* pp. 30, 74. The planning report mentions that the dispersed nature of towns in the region is one of the reasons responsible for the 'restlessness' of the community's purchasing pattern.
[187] *Carletonville Herald,* 2.6.1978, p. 9, as well as 18.5.1979, p. 1 and 25.7.1980, p. 1.
[188] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, A.E. Grundling, 19.10.1988.

because this would increase their tax income through rates, taxes and services delivered, such as water and electricity. On 10 October 1980, the Pick 'n Pay complex in Carletonville Town Extension No. Two (the business centre) opened.[189] There were also very few available, undeveloped stands in the extension at this stage, which was also the case with the available business stands in Oberholzer and the 95 business stands in Welverdiend, of which 86 had been utilised.[190] Similar to the OK-Bazaar, the opening of Pick 'n Pay, inevitably harmed the turnover of the smaller businesses.[191]

Carletonville's municipal region was also honoured for its general phenomenal growth at this stage.[192] Reports announced that the cost of housing, especially in the 1980s, rose exceptionally high, and accommodation was scarce.[193] Compared to the 1960s, when only four property agents were active in the region, there were some 18 agencies in the 1980s.[194] Businessmen agreed that the erstwhile distrust in Carletonville had disappeared.[195] It is also apparent in the increase in the Oberholzer district's commercial sector's contribution of 3,16% to the GGP.

Although this sector showed an increase in terms of rand and cents in 1981, it was not enough to compete with the exceptional growth rate of the gold mines, together with the favourable gold price. The mentioned GGP contribution of the commercial sector was overshadowed by the 95,8% contribution of the gold mines.[196] This is illustrated by the fact that in 1972, the commercial sector's contribution to the GGP was 5,1% compared to the

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[189] *Die Vaderland,* supplement, 16.10.1980, p. 4 and *Carletonville Herald,* 9.10.1980, p. 1.
[190] IR, MCV, file 33/112(b)(5), Use of land Elandsrand: letter, Town Engineer Carletonville/Town Clerk Carletonville, 9.7.1979.
[191] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: minutes, Carletonville Chamber of Commerce, minute, 17.9.1980.
[192] *Carletonville Herald,* 20.6.1980, p. 1, as well as 17.10.1980, p. 6 and 27.3.1981, p. 1.
[193] *Die Vaderland,* supplement, 16.9.1980, pp. 16, 19 and Anon., "Carletonville, bellwether of change", *Finance Mail,* 81, 7.8.1981, p. 684
[194] IR, MCV, file 93/6/5/(3), Council, Annual reports: annual mayors report, 1980/81, p. 3.
[195] *Carletonville Herald,* 27.3.1981, p. 1 and Anon., "Carletonville, bellwether of change", *Finance Mail,* 81, 7.8.1981, p. 684.
[196] Republic of South Africa, Central Statistics Service, report no. 04-01-01, *Bruto geografiese produk teen faktorinkome volgens landdrosdistrik, 1981,* 1981, pp. 22-23.

92,7% of the gold mining industry. The fact that the GGP contribution of the commercial sector decreased to 13,9% in 1981 can be ascribed to the exceptional growth of Roodepoort and Krugersdorp.[197]

Despite a weaker appearance compared to other towns in the West Rand, commercial activities in Carletonville thrived. The presence and development of hyper-commercial undertakings, which seemed unrealistic a decade before, certainly had a positive effect on the establishment of more traders. One-man businesses and the informal trade sector (hawkers) were detrimentally affected in the long run. This tendency had a country-wide effect on traders, which subsequently resulted in the establishment of the Small Business Development Corporation (Kleinsake Ontwikkelingskorporasie (KSOK)) in 1981, to finance more small businesses in South Africa.[198] Since then, several companies, also in Carletonville, have been established, thanks to the KSOK.[199]

By 1983, the prospects of industrial developments and more mine shafts at various mines[200] convinced the City Council to investigate further development possibilities for the commercial sector in Carletonville. The City and Regional Planning Department drafted a master plan for the future development of the municipality's central business district.[201] This plan was not implemented officially because Mr M Mostert, the chief city planner and mastermind behind the plan, moved to Krugersdorp.[202]

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[197] Republic of South Africa, Central Statistics Service, report no. 09-01-01, *Bruto geografiese produk teen faktorinkome volgens landdrosdistrik*, 1978, pp. 21-23, as well as report no. 04-01-01, *Bruto geografiese produk teen faktorinkome volgens landdrosdistrik*, 1981, pp. 22-23.
[198] H. Murray (ed.), *Small Business Development Corporation, Roots of enterprise*, pp. 6-8.
[199] By January 1989, the KSOK had four clients in Carletonville. Reliable statistics for the period 1982 to 1988 were, however, not available. See Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, B. van Huyssteen (representative, KSOK Johannesburg branch), 18.2.1992.
[200] See this chapter, p. 208, as well as *Chapter Four,* pp. 173-175, 185, as an example.
[201] *Carletonville Herald,* 27.5.1983, p. 4, as well as 2.11.1984, p. 14, especially regarding other similar initiatives of the City Council, based on the evacuation of municipal premises for commercial purposes.
[202] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, M. Mostert, 15.11.1990. It was envisaged that the plan would be implemented in five phases and continue until 2000. See also *Carletonville Herald,* 27.5.1983, p. 5.

Despite this setback, commercial activities increased between 1984 and 1985. The number of businesses increased from 575 to 690, while the number of commercial licences issued increased from 889 to 998.[203] This is an impressive performance considering the poor economic climate.[204]

During July 1985, ASSOCOM, the spokesperson for the Chamber of Commerce, announced that the country-wide liquidation of businesses had reached serious measures. As many as 110,7% insolvencies had been reported during the first six months of the year.[205] In contrast to the GGP figure of 1984-1985 in the commercial and financing industries for the West Rand region, the Oberholzer district showed exceptional growth. Percentage-wise, however, the district's contribution remained at a constant of 13,6% in the area. This indicates that other towns in the region also maintained a constant growth rate.[206] Therefore, it appears that the Oberholzer district was not heavily affected by insolvencies.

It was only between 1986 and 1988 that the City Council actually paid attention to the development of the Carletonville business sector. Hence, the construction of various business complexes to regenerate the town was launched.[207] By stimulating business development in the business centre, the City Council attempted to maintain the centre as the most important business centre in Carletonville. The streets Annan Road, Kaolin Street and Dolomiet and Onyx Avenue,

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[203] Carletonville (PU for CHO), Red. 1: report, number of businesses and licences issued for the period Jan. 1973 - Dec. 1988, 19.10.1988.
[204] Another impressive achievement is that of Ed's Toyota (first Ed's Motors), which, in 1985 and 1988, and up until 1992, received the award for the best and most prosperous branch of the Toyota Group countrywide. See Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, J.F. Laubscher, 3.4.1992.
[205] Carletonville (PU for CHE), ref. 1: minutes, Carletonville Chamber of Commerce, minute, 10.11.1985 and Republic of South Africa, Council for Commerce and Industry, report no. 2663, Annual report, 1987, pp. 2-3.
[206] Republic of South Africa, Central Statistics Service, report no. P0401, *Bruto geografiese produk teen faktorinkome volgens landdrosdistrik, 1984,* 1984, pp.40-41.
[207] *Carletonville Herald*, 23.1.1987, p.1.

which made the business centre very accessible, was also an important reason for maintaining the business centre.[208]

Nearly simultaneously with the above-mentioned developments, the idea of free commercial areas as part of a countrywide deregulating programme gained attention.[209] At the request of the Carletonville City fathers, the Department of Political Development and Planning (Politieke Ontwikkeling en Beplanning) investigated the possibility of the two suggested free commercial areas in the eastern part of Carletonville's business sector, i.e., Amethys Street and Diamond Street.[210] These two suggested free commercial areas were not 'new' regarding the commercial activities of other colour groups in the area.[211] Indian trader R. Nosarka had, for example, been trading in the white business centre since the 1960s.[212]

The suggested free commercial areas were not very popular with the residents.[213] After years of silence, this stimulated the local Afrikaans Business Chamber to resume its activities in December 1987. Free commercial areas, as a possibility for Carletonville, probably aroused quite some reaction among the members.[214] On the other hand, it appeared that the local Chamber of Commerce and ASSOCOM,

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[208] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, file 2/8/2, Organisation and control of Regional service councils, layout of region and demarcation of regions: memorandum of investigation of the Demarcation Council for Local Authority regions, 26.8.1986, p. 1.
[209] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, file 2/8/2, Organisation and control of Regional Service councils..., l e t t e r , Regional Director Transvaal Provincial Administration/Town Clerk Carletonville, 2.6.1987, as well as Council minutes: meeting of the Management committee, 21.1.1986.
[210] *Carletonville Herald,* 18.12.1987, p. 3, as well as 11.3.1988, p. 2.
[211] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, file 15/4/2-2/1276(105), Town planning and Development control, changes to town development scheme: application for the rezoning of erven 1276 Carletonville Ext. 2, 1988.
[212] IR, MCV, file 33/3, Group Areas Act: letter, E.M. Nosarka/Town Clerk, Carletonville, 28.9.1960; Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, R.A. Nosarka, 8.2.1989 and the *Carletonville Herald,* 24.2.1989, p. 14.
[213] *Carletonville Herald*, 11.3.1988, p. 2.
[214] Carletonville (PU for CHO), ref. 3: interview, A.I. Posthumus (ex-chairman, Afrikaans Chamber of Business), 14.2.1989. This revival of the Afrikaans Chamber of Business was short-lived, as a lack of interest in March 1988 resulted in its disbandment.

reacted positively to the suggested free commercial areas,[215] without much further notable reaction.

On 15 December 1988, the two mentioned business areas in the Carletonville central business centre were proclaimed as free commercial areas by the Government.[216] This implied that, forthwith, all races could legally trade in the area and rent premises.[217] The Conservative Party (CP) minded City Council, which had taken over the lead since 26 October 1988 from the previous National Party (NP) minded City Council, could not succeed in recalling the request in this regard.[218]

However, as a means to prove its political loyalty to the CP, Carletonville's young CP City Council soon paid attention to the reinstatement of the so-called small apartheid.[219] ASSOCOM condemned the Carletonville City Council, as well as the councils of other towns that considered this step, as it could harm future international investments.[220] Only time could tell what the impact of this prediction would have on Carletonville.[221] Until this stage, the commercial activities in the Carletonville municipal region showed growth. The active businesses numbered 705, slightly more than the 700 of 1986. The number of commercial licences issued was 1,040 compared to 1,008 in 1986.[222] At this stage, commercial activities were still mainly dependent on

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[215] ASSOCOM, *Newsletter,* 8.11.1988.
[216] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, Council Minutes: meeting of the Management Committee, 9.1.1989.
[217] It is known that several black and Asian businessmen managed businesses in town before the proclamation of free commercial areas. This was done under their auspices of well-disposed white businessmen. See Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, R.A. Nosarka, 8.2.1989
[218] *Carletonville Herald,* 23.12.1988, p. 22 and Carletonville (Municipality), CM, Council Minutes: meeting of the Management Committee, 9.1.1989.
[219] In this regard, see *Carletonville Herald,* 20.1.1989, pp. 1-2, 4, 17, as well as 27.1.1989, p. 1 and 17.3.1989, p. 1.
[220] ASSOCOM, *Newsletter,* 15.11.1988.
[221] *Carletonville Herald,* 3.3.1989, p. 1, as well as 10.3.1989, p. 1; 24.3.1989, pp. 1, 9; 7.4.1989, p. 1 and 5.5.1989, pp. 1-2,15.
[222] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: report, number of businesses and licences issued for the period Jan.1973 – Oct 1988, 19.10.1988.

Black buying power of about 128,309 souls, 223, as during the preceding years.

Commercial undertakings active in 1988 in the Carletonville region are:

TABLE 10: UNDERTAKINGS IN THE MUNICIPAL REGION OF CARLETONVILLE DURING 1988

UNDERTAKING	NUMBER
Traders	536
Chemists	14
Motor dealerships	5
Service stations	42
Pawn shops	13
Hotels[224]	3
Banks	10
Insurance institutions	8
Cafes	57
Bakeries	10
Hair dressers	21
Undertakers	2
Pet shops	1
Restaurants	7
Peddlers	28
Accommodation enterprises	52
Rental services	14
Dry cleaners/laundries	10
Workshops	103
Professional business services	48 [225]

[223] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, file 10/1/2(2), Publicity, information, council emblems, brochures and newsletters: questionnaire to the *Suid-Afrikaanse Munisipale Jaarboek*, 11.1.1989, p. 5.
[224] Hotel Welverdiend closed in the early 1980s. The Neo Craft factory then used the building for its business purposes. The three hotels mentioned here are the Carletonville Hotel, the President Hotel and the Oberholzer Hotel. See J.C. Schutte, *Wesrand Streekdiensteraad beplanningsindersoek,* p. 139 and *Carletonville Herald,* 16.33.1984, p. 16.
[225] Information for Table 10 was found in: Carletonville (Municipality), CM, file 10/1/2(2), Publicity, information, council emblems, brochures and newsletters: questionnaire for the *Suid-Afrikaanse Munisipale Jaarboek*, 11.1.1989, p. 5; J.C. Schutte, *Wesrand Streekdiensteraad beplanningsondersoek,* p. 306 and Carletonville (Municipality), CM, file 2/8/2, Organisations and control. Regional Service councils, layout of the region and the demarcation of regions: memorandum, Demarcation Council for local authority regions ..., 1986-87, p. 2.

At the end of 1988, further development and extension of the white business area of Carletonville was favourable.[226] If the upcoming industrial Town Extension No. Six is included; the prospects for the secondary and tertiary sectors of Carletonville appeared rosy at that stage. However, in light of the local mining activities that commenced in 1937, the development process for both was slow and far from the ideal, which the City Council had envisaged for the community.[227]

5.4 ACTIVITIES OF OTHER POPULATION GROUPS WITHIN THE LOCAL COMMERCIAL SECTOR: A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

The involvement of other population groups in tertiary activities[228] in the Carletonville municipal area was mainly from the Indian community. This was long before 1948, as some of them had been doing business in the Bank region since the 1920s. The business activities of the Nosarka family were probably the best known, and descendants are still active in the commercial industry.[229]

After Carletonville's proclamation in 1948, the centre of gravity of the Indian sector was mainly in the Bank region. It seems that whites and Asians did business as neighbours without any problems.[230] After the NP with its apartheid policy came to power in 1948, the situation in Bank gradually changed. Since 1952, the different group areas were demarcated, and no provision was made for an Indian group area in the

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[226] *Carletonville Herald,* 3.2.1989, p.1.

[227] Of relevance are the studies regarding the future of the West Wits region, and the development of its potential, which enjoyed particular attention in 1978 and in 1982. See *Chapter Two,* pp. 40-41.

[228] As far as could be determined, the construction of a beer brewery and beer hall for blacks near Khutsong in 1959 was the only secondary industry. See Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file 33/0/139, Natice locations: report, 20.2.1959.

[229] *Carletonville Herald,* 30.1.1970, p. 11, as well as 17.6.1983, p. 9; E.S. van Eeden, *Die geskiedenis van die Gatsrand ...,* p. 44 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, R.A. Nosarka, 8.2.1989. It appears that no coloureds or black people had established themselves as traders in the Carletonville area by 1956. See PU for CHE, *Voortgesette streekopname van Beheerde Gebied no. 2 ...,* report no. 3, 1956*/57,* p. 75.

[230] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, B.A. Nosarka, 8.2.1989.

immediate region of Bank. This was also relevant for the coloureds who lived in the legal Local regional Committee.

By 1952, it was accepted that some 200 Indians and 300 coloureds would establish themselves in the Indian or coloured residential areas of nearby towns.[231] Due to the distance between the towns and their businesses on Bank, this did not happen. Subsequently, dissatisfied whites in Bank drafted complaints and petitions on the state of affairs to force Indian traders out of Bank.[232] Indian businessmen continued trading in Bank, despite a court case in this regard,[233] and the white community continued to support Indian shops. After the court findings in favour of the Indians, Indian businesses in the region continued their activities and remained popular.[234] This situation was also relevant to Indian traders in Welverdiend and Oberholzer who were, among others, general dealers, butchers and fresh produce traders.[235]

Since then, the black township of Khutsong was established. A subcommittee of the West Witwatersrand Bantu Affairs reported in August 1958 on the number and types of business that could be accommodated in town. According to the findings, only one of each of the following industries could be allowed for between 200 and 400 families: grocer, outfitter, green grocer and butcher. Regarding shoe and furniture makers, clothes and coal traders, only one of the following could be allowed for 500 to 1,000 families, and only one petrol station per 1,000 households. The total number of business stands, i.e., 221, was further divided

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[231] Carletonville (Munisipaliteit), LAC, file 4/0/149, Group Areas - general: report, suggested group areas by the Peri Urban Areas Health Board, 13.10.1958, p. 1. Also see *Chapter Two,* pp. 46-49.
[232] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, R.A. Nosarka, 8.2.1989.
[233] In 1952-53, the court found that Indian traders were trading illegally in Bank. However, because of the absence of another area for them in the vicinity, the court decided in their favour. See documents re court case in R.A. Nosarka's possession.
[234] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, R. A. Nosarka, 8.2.1989.
[235] PU for CHE, Continued regional survey of Controlled region no. 2 ..., report no. 3, 1956/57, p. 75.

Among the different ethnic groups. The West Sotho received 179 business stands, while the Pedi received a mere three – the least of everyone.[236]

An important aspect also addressed in the report is that no Indian traders were to be allowed in Khutsong.[237] This was indeed also in accordance with the government policy. Black traders, however, were very keen to establish themselves in Khutsong.[238] Initially, amenities were scarce, and consequently, by November 1958, few businesses were active. At that stage, a commercial project for Khutsong valued at £12,000 had been initiated,[239] and could contribute to overcoming the problems.

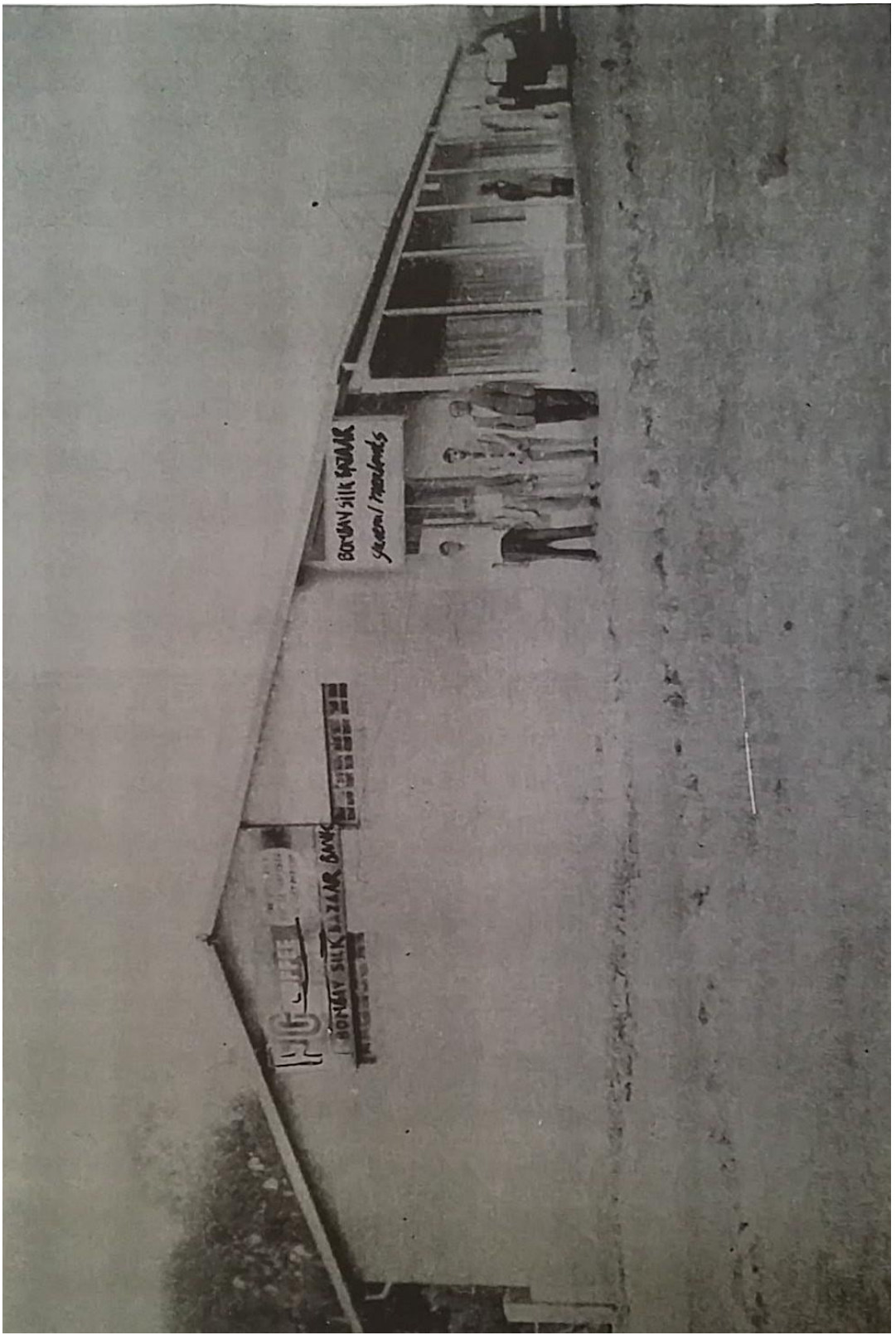
Another challenge encountered was that Indian and white traders served the Khutsong residents by delivering ordered products in town. As this could not be forbidden, an attempt was made to establish the necessary infrastructure in Khutsong.[240] It would absorb many business activities in squatter camps in the region and help to phase out these camps.[241]

After Carletonville obtained municipal status in 1959, the group areas issue was raised again. The City Council requested that the South Transvaal Committee regarding Group Areas

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[236] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file 33/0/139, Bantu locations: minute, 7.6.1957. Also see *Chapter Two,* pp. 43-44, for general information.
[237] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file NAD N9/7/149, Native Affairs Sub-Committee West Witwatersrand regional committee: report, Wes Witwatersrand Native Affairs Sub-committee, 22.8.1958.
[238] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file N118/9/61, Commercial facilities, Khutsong: letter, J. Nxumalo/Superintendent Khutsong Location, 2.4.1958. Similar applications for trade licences to establish businesses in Khutsong were received in the same year. These included those of J. Tselanyane, M.P. Selebogo and Anna Modise.
[239] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file N118/9/61, Commercial facilities, Khutsong: Wes Witwatersrand Native Sub-committee meeting, 25.7.1958.
[240] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file 4/0/149, Group areas - general: minute, Native Advisory Committee for Khutsong location, 6.11.1958.
[241] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file N118/9/61, Commercial facilities, Khutsong: applications M.Sathekge, 18.7.1958, as well as B. Rampai, 9.7.1958.

Bombay Silk Bazaar in Bank.



Source: I. Nosarka.

Some Indian businesses in Diamond Street during the 1960s



Source: Gold Fields of South Africa Limited.

to proclaim the Carletonville municipal region for whites only.[242] At the same time, E.M. Nosarka of Bombay Silk Bazaar in Bank applied to occupy the vacant premises in Ingot House in the Carletonville business region.[243] The City Council did not approve.[244] Meanwhile, the South Transvaal Committee did not comply with the City Council's request because Carletonville was too far away to be included in the regional planning of the West Rand.[245]

The vagueness regarding a pertinent group area for the Asians and the coloureds in the Carletonville region, and the refusal of the City Council to place, amongst others, Asian traders in a white area, based on the country's policy, resulted in illegal business undertakings. It became clear that, especially Asians, under the banners of white owners, annexed business properties in white areas.[246] In cooperation with the white Chamber of Commerce, the City Council attempted to expose such illegal activities. It appeared that the Chamber was not in favour of the presence of Indian traders in the Carletonville town area. It was apparent in a 'by-the-way' remark during a meeting when Nosarka approached the Chamber for a donation to establish an Indian Chamber of Commerce, upon which it was decided not to react to the request.[247]

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[242] TAD, TPB, Vol. 3951, file TALG 21-2-146, Investigation re the desirability of introducing group areas at Carletonville: report, 19.6.1961, p. 2.
[243] TAD, TPB, Vol 3951, file TALG 21-2-146, Investigation re the desirability of introducing group areas at Carletonville: report, 19.6.1961, p. 2.
[244] IR, MCV, file 33/3, Group Areas Act: letter, Director SAIRR/Town Clerk, Carletonville, 14.3.1966 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, R.A. Nosarka, 8.2.1989.
[245] IR, Vol. 3951, file TALG 21-2-146, Investigation re the desirability of introducing group areas at Carletonville report, 19.6.1961, pp. 2-3. A petition, signed by 274 whites, supported maintaining the status quo in the region. From 1975, Carletonville was indeed regarded as part of the West Rand. See *Chapter Two,* pp. 39-40.
[246] IR, MCV, file 33/3, Group Areas Act: letter, Town Clerk, Carletonville/Southern Transvaal Committee Group Areas Council, 2.8.1962 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, R.A. Nosarka, 8.2.1989.
[247] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: minutes, Carletonville Chamber of Commerce, minutes, 23.8.1962, and 18.11.1963.

Nevertheless, an Indian Chamber of Commerce was founded in 1962 under the chairmanship of E M. Nosarka.[248] At this stage, business premises in Carletonville were provided on a selection basis to Indians.[249] Obtaining a licence was thus not that easy. Consequently, Indian businessmen continued to try to access trade licences for the business centre of Carletonville in the name of whites. Other towns experience similar challenges with no ideal solutions.

Meanwhile, the establishment of businesses in Khutsong fared well.[250] A second beer depot, managed by the City Council, was opened in 1965.[251] Problems were, however, still experienced with traders from outside who lured clients from Khutsong in underhanded ways.[252]

The sinkhole problems experienced in the 1960s did not affect black traders from Khutsong's activities. Sinkholes appeared more northeast, negatively affecting Indian businesses on Bank.[253]

As a result of the sinkholes on Bank, the Indian Chamber of Commerce was very active at that stage. Aware of the Group Areas Act and that Indians were bound to certain areas and that it was difficult to obtain trade licences elsewhere, the City Council requested the Business Chamber to consider the request to move the Indians elsewhere in the Carletonville region.[254] Bank

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[248] Carletonville (PU for CHE), ref. 3: interview, R.A. Nosarka, 8.2.1989. The exact year of foundation could not be determined.
[249] TAD, TPB, Vol. 3951, file TALG 21/2/146, Investigation re the desirability of introducing group areas at Carletonville: report, 19.6.1961 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: minutes, Carletonville Chamber of Commerce, minutes, 20.5.1965, 24.6.1965 and 21.10.1965.
[250] TAD, MCV, Vol. 4. file 2/2, Official receptions and functions: report of the mayor, April 1962.
[251] TAD, MCV, Vol. 5. file 2/2/2(2), Inauguration ceremonies, 9.3.1965, p.16 and *Carletonville Herald,* 14.2.1965, p. 1.
[252] IR, BAO, Vol. 967, file A120/1108(1), Commerce town regions: letter, Town Clerk Carletonville/Secretary Dept. Bantu Administration and development, 1946.
[253] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, R.A. Nosarka, 8.2.1989.
[254] IR, MCV, file 33/3/3(b), Asians: letter, E.M. Nosarka/Town Clerk Carletonville, 7.4.1969, and 14.4.1969 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, R.A. Nosarka, 8.2.1989.

was especially viewed as the home for Indians. This request could not be adhered to as all Bank residents were told to evacuate the region in 1970.[255]

Moving away from Bank was a traumatic experience for the Indian traders as, eventually, most of them had to resettle in the Indian town Lenasia, near Johannesburg. The Nosarkas also moved to Lenasia but retained their business, Edura, in Carletonville and manage it to this day. During 1969 and 1970, their business had a monthly turnover of about R4 million. As a result of Edura's direct contact and purchase of clothing and materials from overseas markets, it even serves as a centre that supplies businesses across the country. By 1970, it was therefore understandable that this little 'goldmine' should be retained at all costs.

By 1976, after local business activities had returned to normal, the white Chamber of Commerce paid attention to the possibility of a black Chamber of Commerce.[256] It is ironic that the white Chamber, which did not care for a local Indian Chamber some years before, was now willing to do pioneer work regarding a black business chamber. It is possible that the changing political climate in South Africa since the HF Verwoerd era in the 1960s played a major role in changing attitudes. Whatever the case, the growth of the black business sector in Khutsong stimulated the establishment of a black business chamber.

The above-mentioned growth in black and Indian businesses can primarily be attributed to black buying power.[257] A pronouncement made in the early 1980s, i.e., *without the blacks, this town would dry up, and in a few years they will do all the spending,*[258] is true as white, black and Indian businesses rely on black buying power.

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[255] See Chapter *Two,* pp. 36-37.
[256] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, R.A. Nosarka, 8.2.1989. By 1989, Edura showed a monthly turnover of R20 million.
[257] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: minutes, Carletonville Chamber of Commerce, minutes, 28.9.1976, and 26.10.1976. It is not clear whether the attempt materialised.
[258] Anon., "Carletonville bellwether of change", *Finance Mail,* 81, 7.8.1981, p. 684.

The old burnt down Edura business centre, 1987



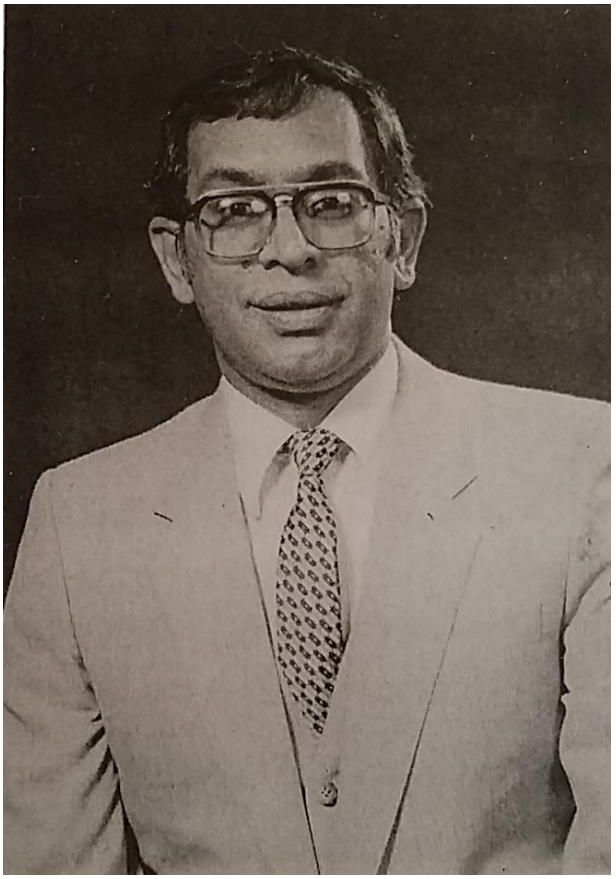


Source: R.A. Nosarka.

The new Edura business centre



R.A. Nosarka.



Source: R.A. Nosarka.

The re-establishment of Asians in Blybank during 1982 and 1983[259] provided permanence to the position of Indian businesses in the Carletonville region. Despite criticism against their presence in the central business region of Carletonville, their activities,[260] were well supported. Apparently, by 1988, 100 Indian shops were present in the business region. Edura was by far the most prosperous business, despite the setback caused by a fire in 1987.[261]

The majority of black consumers did business in Carletonville, as well as in Khutsong's business centre by 1988.[262] The earlier schemes to promote the different colour groups' business activities separately did not see the light. On the contrary, it seemed as though there was a tendency during the 1980s to touch base with business activities in the white business sector. The establishment of two free commercial areas in 1988 confirmed this.[263]

5.5 THE GGP POSITION OF INDUSTRIES AND COMMERCE COMPARED TO THE REST OF THE LOCAL ECONOMY AND SOUTH AFRICA

The total contribution of the local secondary and tertiary[264] to the GGP of South Africa and the West Rand region in the 1980s, compared as follows:

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[259] See *Chapter Two,* p. 48, in this regard.
[260] D.E. Watchman, "Openingsrede" (symposium of the West Wits Regional Planning Committee: strategy for the future, September 1982, p. 22. It was said that Indian traders were responsible for a 20% decline in the status of the Carletonville business sector.
[261] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, R.A. Nosarka, 8.2.1989 and Carletonville (Municipality), CM, file 2/8/2, Organisation and Control ...: memorandum, Demarcation Board for Local Authority regions, 1987.
[262] *Seipone,* September 1988, p. 4.
[263] *Carletonville Herald*, 23.12.1988, pp. 1-2.
[264] See the explanation on p.197, footnotes 1, 3.

TABLE 11: THE GGP-CONTRIBUTION OF CARLETONVILLE'S SECONDARY AND TERTIARY SECTORS, COMPARED TO THAT OF THE WEST RAND REGION AND SOUTH AFRICA, 1981-1984

Year	GGP Carletonville	GGP West Rand Region	GGP South Africa	% of West Rand through Carletonville	% of South Africa through Carletonville
1981	70,206	912,460	38,256, 604	7,6	0,1
1984	130,918	1,180,969	57,753,895	11	0,2 [265]

According to the statistics in Table 11, it is clear that Carletonville does not hold a notable local position in the secondary and tertiary sectors and in South Africa. Percentage-wise, the contributions are small, but at least confirm that there was local growth and the GGP contribution of Carletonville had increased.

According to the concluding comparative GGP data in Graph 10, p. 243a, regarding the contribution of all economic sectors to Carletonville as discussed in Chapters Three to Five, the mining sector remained the reigning economic impulse by the 1980s. The historian, Jill Nattrass's remark that *the development of a modern mining sector in an otherwise underdeveloped economy often leads to very little further economic development in the region*,[266] is indeed partly true, concerning the financial situation of the Carletonville municipal region. This can be seen in the GGP contributions of the commercial sector, industries and the agricultural sector.

After mining, the commercial sector performed the best and by 1984, was even better than the towns of Westonaria and Randfontein, which were also part of the West Rand region. According to Graph 10, p. 243a, the secondary sector's contribution to the GGP of the Oberholzer district was the third most and did not compare well with most of the other towns in the region.

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[265] Republic of South Africa, Central Statistics Service, report, report no. P0401, *Bruto geografiese produk teen faktorinkome volgens landdrosdistrik, 1984,* 1989, pp. 15, 40-41.
[266] J. Nattrass, *The South African economy, its growth and change*, p. 142.

GRAPH 10: CONTRIBUTION OF AGRICULTURE, MINING, INDUSTRY AND COMMERCIAL SERVICES TO THE GGP OF THE OBERHOLZER DISTRICT (CARLETONVILLE REGION) 1972-1984: A COMPARISON

The agricultural sector's GGP contribution was the lowest in 1984 when a serious national drought drastically derailed the sector. The drought affected all the towns in Region No 75, and the Oberholzer district was hit the hardest.

Although the Oberholzer district's agriculture improved by 1988, it appears if Carletonville's total economic position, as it was in 1984 and before, was maintained (see graph 10, p. 243a). Whether the 1988 attempts to change the tendency of a domineering mining sector to a more balanced economic dispensation, as was the case with the Witwatersrand, remained to be seen.

5.6 IN CONCLUSION

Town development, together with a well-developed economic infrastructure, is not sustainable without a proper communication network. The importance and historical development of the local linking roads discussed in *Chapters Three* to *Five* are elucidated in *Chapter Six.*

CHAPTER SIX

CONNECTING NETWORKS AND COMMUNICATIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The economic development and growth of a region greatly rely on the condition of its communication network. This network includes connections such as railway lines, roads and transport services, while communications include postal services and the press. The term communication network is applied to both aspects in this chapter.

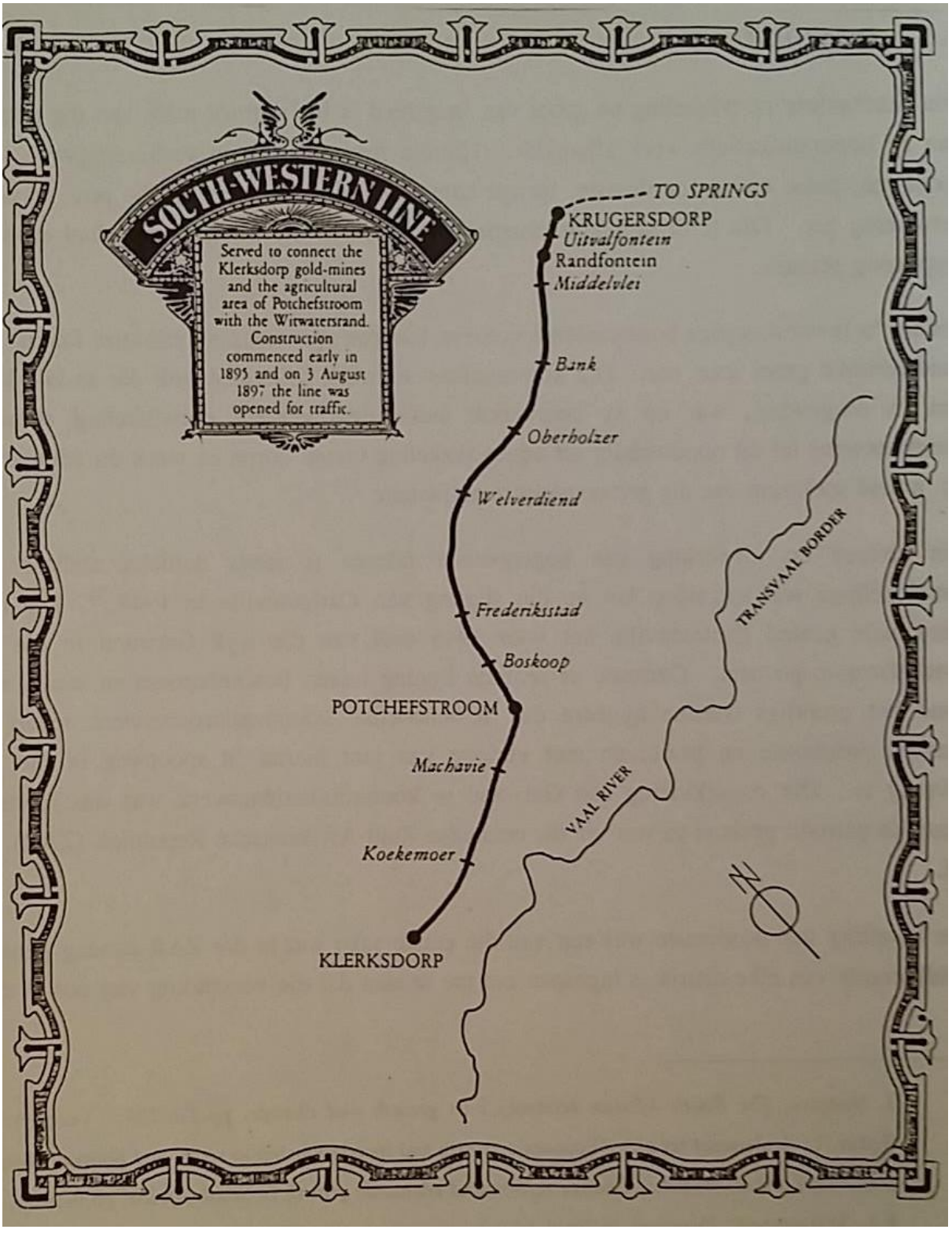
Without a sustainable communication network, no community can function effectively or show real growth. The communication network also influences the social region's character, which, in turn, indirectly stimulates economic development.[1] It also leads to closer liaison between towns and stimulates the activities of the broad spectrum of communities.[2]

The influence and development of the above-mentioned factors are clear in the developments leading to the foundation of Carletonville in 1948.[3] The present Carletonville municipal region was part of the Potchefstroom district's Gatsrand ward before 1948. Gatsrand's central position between Potchefstroom and the centres on the Rand greatly contributed to the establishment of a decent communication network since 1850. This included postal services and roads, followed later by a railway line in the area. The development of Gatsrand's communication network was based on the same pattern as the erstwhile Zuid-Afrikaansche Republic (ZAR).

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[1] J. Nattrass, *The South African economy: its growth and change,* pp. 226-227. Also compare F. Fisher, L. Schlemmer (et al*.),* "Economic growth and its relationship to social and political change", L. Schlemmer and E. Webster, *Change, reform and economic growth in South Africa,* pp. 9-19.
[2] P.J. Welgemoed, "Vervoer in South Africa op pad waarheen?" *Randse Afrikaanse Universiteit, publikasiereeks,* A48, 1975, p. 1.
[3] E.S. van Eeden, *Die geskiedenis van die Gatsrand vanaf die vestiging van die Trekkergemeenskap omstreeks 1839 tot die proklamering van Carletonville in 1948*, p. 177.

Map 7: The Southwest line: trajectory between Krugersdorp and Klerksdorp, 1897



Source: R.C. de Jong and G.M. van der Waal (et al.), *NZASM 100, 1887-1899…, p.198.*

The establishment of a postal service was one of the first matters to receive attention in the ZAR. Field cornets of each district were to ensure that mail was dispatched seamlessly in their wards.[4] Private contractors and postmen had to transport the post. Two roads running through Gatsrand were used to transport mail, among others. Numerous postal agencies existed on farms in the Gatsrand ward. Of these, five were operational by 1948 in the present Carletonville and established on the farms Wonderfontein (3.7.1873), Driefontein no. 591 IQ (19.7.1893), Welverdiend (1.2.1897), Oog van Wonderfontein (1.3.1897) and Blyvooruitzicht (20.8.1945). Apart from the postal agency on Driefontein, all the others had the comfort of a telephone service.[5]

The mail coach route between Potchefstroom and Pretoria, which the ZAR-burgers also used as a road, was known as the 'Boereroete' (Boer route). In 1887, a road to the south of this one was constructed between Potchefstroom and Johannesburg. Ward roads were in abundance at this stage. Because they were gravel roads, heavy traffic and several other reasons resulted in the necessity for regular maintenance.[6] Maintenance of roads was done in an organised manner as a result of the arrival of the motor car and increased use of transport services. The establishment of gold mines in 1937 in the Gatsrand stimulated the improvement and construction of roads.[7]

The establishment of a railway line in Gatsrand was only inspired by the commencement of activities of the Nederlandsche Zuid-Afrikaansche Spoorweg Maatschappy (NZASM) in 1887. During the 1890s, NZASM commenced construction of the Southwestern line that would eventually link the Cape with the Rand. The railway trajectory between Krugersdorp and Klerksdorp envisaged three railway stations for the Gatsrand, i.e.,

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[4] P. J. H.S. Grobler, *Poswese in die Zuid Africaansche Republic tot 1899*, pp. 9, 220.
[5] E.S. van Eeden, *Die geskiedenis van die Gatsrand* ..., pp. 163-168.
[6] E.S. van Eeden, *Die geskiedenis van die Gatsrand*…, pp. 168-171.
[7] G.L. van Heerde, *Die invloed van moderne vervoer op die ontwikkeling van dorpe in Wes-Transvaal*, pp. 115-116.

the farms Welverdiend, Wonderfontein and Oog van Wonderfontein.[8] The most important reason for selecting this route was to link the Witwatersrand to the rich Klerksdorp goldfields and the highly acclaimed agricultural district of Potchefstroom.[9] The trajectory was completed in 1897.[10]

In the following years, the development of the three railway stations ground to a halt. Train timetables, for example, were not adjusted for the comfort of the local population. It happened often that trains reached Gatsrand station at night. Passengers who wanted to leave from the Oberholzer stop usually had to indicate to oncoming trains that they were waiting at the stop. This was done by making a fire near the railway line as a sign for the machinist to bring the train to a halt. This method was used until the 1940s.[11] After the arrival of the mining industry, attention was eventually paid to the development of the railway stations in the region.

Initially, there was little talk of communication services such as an airfield and a local newspaper in Gatsrand. In 1923, an airfield was constructed east of the farm Welverdiend and sometimes used for military weapon shows. By the 1940s, however, it was hardly used and was in a bad state.[12] Neighbouring towns' newspapers, such as the *Potchefstroom Herald and Western Gazette,* and *De Westelike Stem,* were the only newspapers that the residents knew and in which a small, lost article on the region sometimes appeared.[13] Shortly after the first gold mines were established in the region

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[8]Anon., In memoriam N.Z.A.S.M., pp. 16, 173; E.S. van Eeden, *Die geskiedenis van die Gatsrand* pp. 173-174 and R.C. de Jong and G.M. van der Waal (et al.), *NZASM 100, 1887-1899, the buildings, steam engines and structures of the Netherlands South African Railway Company*, pp. 35, 201.

[9] See data on map 7, p. 245b.

[10] C.F. van R. Zietsman, "Die bou van die Suid-westerlyn, 1895-1897, en die NZASM-stasiegeboue op Krugersdorp en Klerksdorp", *Contree,* 12, Julie 1982, p. 7.

[11] *Carletonville Herald*, 28.4.1967, p. 6.

[12] Central Archives Depot (CAD), Director of Civil Aviation (DBL), Vol. 34, file 824/161, Airfields Welverdiend: report, 21.2.1923, as well as 11.8.1941.

[13] E.S. van Eeden, *Die geskiedenis van die Gatsrand…,* pp. 177, 207. The impression given regarding the availability of newspapers is based on the author's experience of the information source in the M.A. study.

Oberholzer stop before 1948



Source: G. Hommes.

volunteers in the young mining community collected national magazines and newspapers in Johannesburg, which they sold locally.[14]

As a result of the primitive nature of the communication network, because of the badly developed commercial sector, the local community was forced to use the communication services (especially roads and the only railway route) to obtain products from elsewhere.[15]

In this chapter, the author investigates how the establishment of the gold mining industry contributed to population growth and the expansion of the local business sector as a stimulant for further improvement of the communication network, and how this industry's activities relieved the dependence on communication services.

6.2 CONNECTING NETWORKS

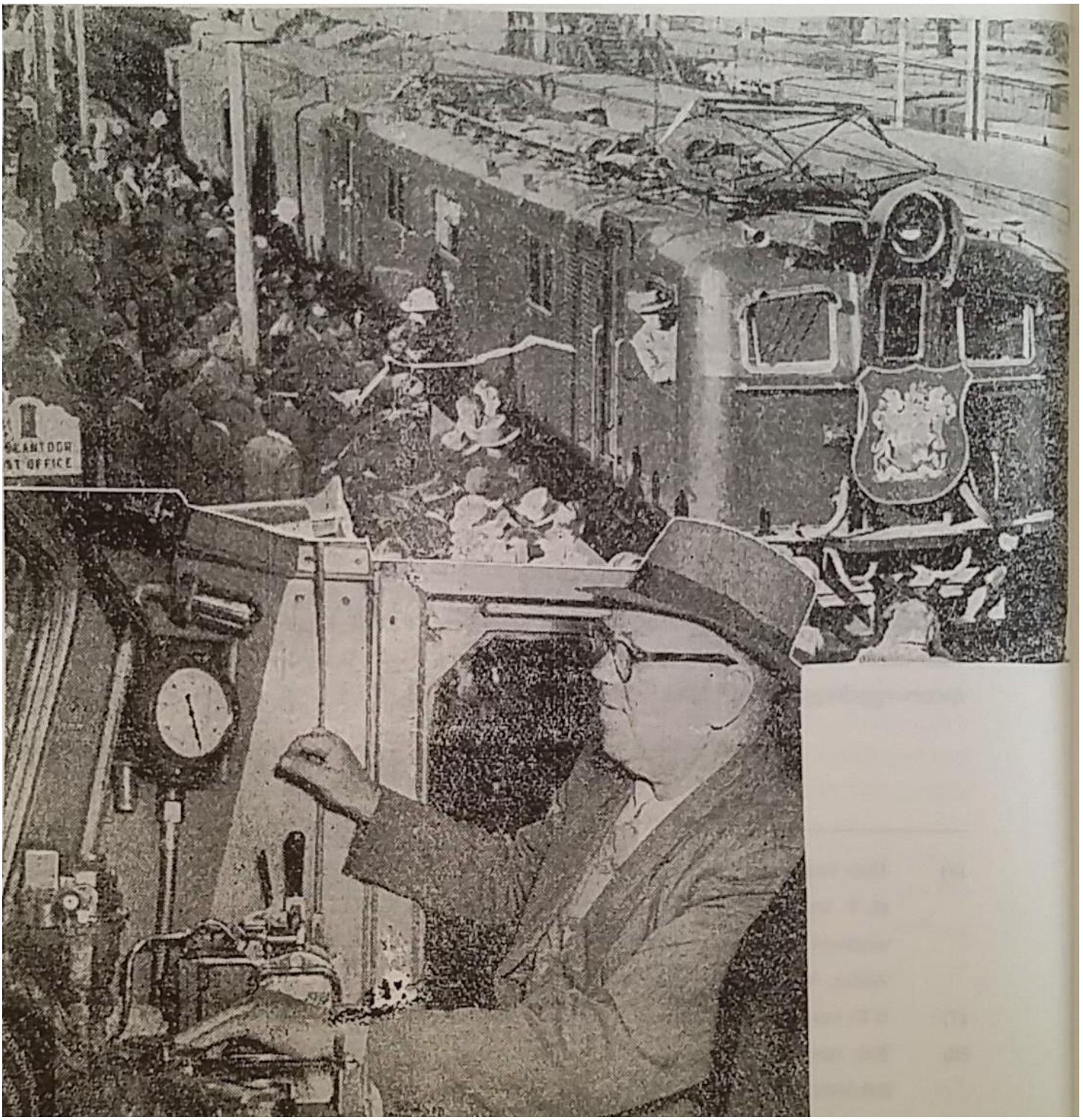
6.2.1 Railways

The discovery of minerals in Transvaal, especially gold, is regarded as the reason why the railway network was so intensively developed in the interior,[16] for example, the mentioned South Western line, in the late nineteenth century.[17] This railway line has been the only line through the Carletonville municipal region since the establishment of the gold mine industry, and is currently still the only one, which includes the mentioned stations of Bank and Welverdiend,[18] as well as the Oberholzer stop[19] on Wonderfontein.[20]

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[14] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, A. van der Westhuizen, 25.8.1987, and W. Hagan Watson, *Down memory lane: Blyvoor's first twenty years*, p. 15.
[15] E.S. van Eeden, *Die geskiedenis van die Gatsrand…,* p. 43 and *Carletonville Herald*, 28.4.1967, p. 6.
[16] Union of South Africa, Ministry of Transport, *'n Eeu van vervoer, 1860-1960*, p. 8 and J.C. Heunis (MP and Minister of Transport), "The role of railways towards reaching the national transport and economic objectives", (seminar of the National Development and Management Foundation of South Africa, Johannesburg, 2.10.1980), pp. 1-2.
[17] C.F. van R. Zietsman, "Die bou van die Suid-westelyn ...", *Contree,* 12, Julie 1982, p. 7.
[18] E.S. van Eeden, *Die geskiedenis van die Gatsrand* ..., pp. 174-175 and *Herald vir die Goue Weste*, 3.9.1965, p. 5.
[19] A railway stop is a place where no railway staff work and where the train literally stops to allow passengers to board or alight. See Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 2: letter, Curator South African Transport Museum/E.S. van Eeden, 18.4.1989 (the letter is in a report format) and F.F. Odendal, P.C. Schoonees (e.a.), *Verklarende Handwoordeboek van die Afrikaanse Taal* (HAT), p. 349.
[20]Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 2: letter, Curator South African Transport Museum/E.S. van Eeden, 18.4.1989 and *Herald vir die Goue Weste*, 3.9.1965, p. 5.

The opening of the electrified railway line at Welverdiend, 1951



Source: *Rand Daily Mail*, 4.8.1951

Despite the establishment of gold mines, the railway stations in the Carletonville region were pretty measly in the late 1940s and early 1950s, and activities were limited. This state of affairs soon ended. According to one account, however, the stations were little more than small railway hamlets, scorned by express trains, that slowly approached a new, more stressful life.[21] This could also not be different, as the area around the gold mines was busy changing rather quickly.

The electrification of the railway line was one of the first signs of the development of the railway service since Carletonville's proclamation in 1948. In August 1951, P.O. Sauer, Minister of Transport, opened the Welverdiend section of the electrified railway at Welverdiend station.[22] Later, it was requested that the facades of the stations be adapted to suit the latest developments. G.P. Brits, councillor for the region in the 1950s, consequently asked the Minister of Transport for permission to add lights along the electrified railway line next to the Oberholzer stop and the Welverdiend Station.[23] Management of Wes Driefontein Mine had already agreed to temporarily supply the South African Railways and Harbours (SAR&H) with power from the mine's sub-station in Platinum Street, Carletonville,[24] until the completion of the power line in the region. Additionally, two stops, one at Maizelands (between Oberholzer[25] and Bank Station) in 1951,[26] as well as Uitspan (between

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[21] Anon., "Seventeen hundred new houses for mines: mines of West Wits Line and Klerksdorp have created four new towns - Carletonville, Westonaria, Stilfontein and Orkney", *Mining Survey,* 3(2), March 1951, p. 25.
[22] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, file T7/13(2), Town and regional planning West Wits Local Area Committee: West Wits region town planning scheme, December 1952, p. 5; *Rand Daily Mail,* 4.8.1951, p. 1 and *Die Transvaler,* 25.1.1956, p. 1. In 1949, Welverdiend station was already regarded as the Far West Rand's largest marshalling yard. See TAD, MCV, Vol. 1, file T1/30, Welverdiend Township: report, *Krugersdorp Times and Westrander,* 30.12.1949, p. 3.
[23] Unie van Suid-Afrika, *Debatte van die Volksraad,* 19.2.1953, columns 1605-1606 and Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file L1/29/17, Railway facilities: letter, Secretary Peri Urban Areas Health Board/System Manager, SA Railways, 11.2.1953.
[24] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file T1/223/3, Supply of electricity to SA Railways by West Driefontein Mining Company Limited: letter, Mining Rights and Estates Department/Peri Urban Areas Health Board, 22.9.1948, as well as letter, Joint Manager Rand Mines/New Consolidated Gold Fields Limited, 2.9.1948.
[25] Oberholzer stop achieved station status in the early 1950s as a result of the development of the gold mine industry and the business sector. See Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 2: letter, Curator South African Transport Museum/E.S. van Eeden, 18.4.1989 and *Herald vir die Goue Weste,* 3.9.1965, p. 5.

Welverdiend and Oberholzer stations) opened by 1959,[27] to enable black people to reach their workplaces.[28]

Initially, Welverdiend seemed to be the most active station in the region,[29] but because of its proximity to the upcoming mining industry and business sector, Oberholzer gradually became the busiest station in the area by the 1950s.[30] A new goods yard was envisaged for Oberholzer in 1957.[31] The extension of the station ran into thousands of rands, and its development even continued throughout the sinkhole crisis of the 1960s.[32] Early in the 1960s, the local Chamber of Commerce directed a representation to the SAR&H via the City Council to change the station's name to Carletonville Station, given the name of the municipality.[33] This did not materialise, probably due to the historical significance of the well-known Oberholzer family, who stayed on the farm Wonderfontein, on which the station was situated.

The railway route through the Carletonville region did not escape the devastating landslides of the 1960s and 1970s. Not only was the route reconsidered, but an immense amount of money was spent to repair the railway line.[34] The first land movements next to the railway line were noticed in about July 1962 between Bank and Oberholzer station. In the following months

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[26] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, Minutes, Local Area Committee: minute, 16.11.1951.
[27] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, Minutes, Local Area Committee: minute, 20.3.1959.
[28] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 2: letter, Curator South African Transport Museum/E.S. van Eeden, 18.4.1989, and Chamber of Mines, *West Wits Line project: planning for the future,* p. 61.
[29] E.S. van Eeden, *Die geskiedenis van die Gatsrand*…, pp. 175-176.
[30] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 2: letter, Curator of the South African Transport Museum/E.S. van Eeden, 18.4.1989.
[31] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, Minutes, Local Area Committee: minute, 10.12.1957 and Transvaal Archive Depot (TAD), Department van Native Affairs (NTS), Vol. 6611, file 742/313T(5), Carletonville extension no. 6: letter, Mining Rights and Estates Department/Secretary Townships Board, 19.2.1957.
[32] *Die Potchefstroom Nuus/News*, 7.3.1961, p. 3 and *Herald vir die Goue Weste*, 26.8.1966, p. 1.
[33] Carletonville (PU for CHO), Ref. 1: minutes, Carletonville Oberholzer Chamber of Commerce: minutes, 20.4.1961, 22.8.1961 and 22.9.1961.
[34] Chamber of Mines, West Wits Line project: planning for the future, p. 71.

Bank Station, 1963



Source: Dr J.F. Wolmarans.

conditions deteriorated to such an extent that scientists like the geologists who investigated the sinkholes on behalf of the SAR&H and the goldmining companies since 1960, were summoned to assist.[35]

It was especially the sinkholes in the Bank region that resulted in a proposal to the railway authority in 1963 to relay the existing railway line.[36] At this stage, the speed of passenger trains moving through the area was limited to 5 miles (8km) per hour, and goods trains to 20 miles (32km) per hour around the Bank station. The subsequent delays definitely played a role in the positive consideration of relaying the railway line.[37] Speculation in the media that an alternative for the Johannesburg Cape railway route over Fochville was considered,[38] was not welcomed by the Carletonville residents and the City Council. The discomfort this would cause the traveller, farmer and trader was given as a reason. Krugersdorp and Randfontein would also be affected should the line run through Fochville over Vereeniging.[39]

Senior officials of the SAR&H informed the various City Councils that the construction of a railway line over Fochville, as a link between Potchefstroom and Vanderbijlpark, had been long in the planning. This was based on economic and convenience considerations, as a large traffic volume, especially transporting ore, had to follow a detour from the Western Transvaal over Oberholzer, to Vanderbijlpark and Vereeniging.[40]

The railway authority tried to overcome both challenges, i.e., the sinkholes and the disgruntlement regarding the proposed change of the railway route by

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[35] J.F. Wolmarans, *Ontwatering van die dolomietgebied aan die Verre Wes-Rand: gebeure in perspektief*, p. 157.
[36] South African Transport Services, *The least unsafe route, I,* (compiled by J.F. Wolmarans), pp. 34-38 and J.F. Wolmarans, *Ontwatering van die dolomietgebied aan die Verre Wes-Rand ...,* p. 161.
[37] *Die Vaderland,* 9.4.1963, p. 2 and *The Sunday Threes,* 10.1.1963, p. 1.
[38] *Die Transvaler,* 10.5.1963, p. 3; *Die Vaderland,* 9.4.1963, p. 2; *The Star,* 20.1.1963, p. 2, as well as 28.5.1963, p. 2 and *Carletonville Herald,* 31.5.1963, p. 1.
[39] Intermediate Repository (IR), Carletonville Municipality (MCV), file 88/1, Railway facilities letter, Acting Town Clerk Carletonville/SAR & H, 28.5.1963.
[40] TBP, MCV, file 88/1, Railway facilities: letter, Town Clerk Carletonville/Member of Parliament C. Greyling, 4.11.1966.

simply changing the timetable of the Blue Train, Trans Karoo and the 22h00 train from Johannesburg to Cape Town so that they would travel over Fochville from 6 December 1966. A few short diversions were made to the Oberholzer Bank railway line to ensure the safety of the trains moving through the area.[41]

Several sinkholes near the Maize lands stop, resulting in it being used only as a trade stop from 1966. Shortly afterwards, this stop and the Uitspan stop fell into disuse after the government relaxed the permit system regarding the accommodation of blacks.[42] Complaints from white residents in Bank regarding large-scale squatting and damage to mealielands near, especially, the Maize lands stop, over the years contributed to the closing of both these stops.[43]

After 1968, the future of the railway line in the Bank region looked even bleaker when a large-scale sinkhole appeared. The blame was placed on the shoulders of the Wes-Driefontein mine after its underground water problems of 1968, when they dewatered the Bank compartment[44] to prevent similar crises in the future.[45] However, it expedited the caving in of the surface and forming of sinkholes.[46] Apart from the fact that it ended the existence of the Bank residential area, as discussed in chapter one, it has now also placed the future of the Bank station at risk.[47]

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[41] IR, MCV, file 88/1, Railway facilities: letter, Chief Manager South African Railways /C. Greyling, 28.12.1966.
[42] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 2: letter, Curator South African Transport Museum/E.S. van Eeden, 18.4.1989, as well as Ref. 3: interview, T.P. Venter (Station master, Oberholzer), 8.2.1989.
[43] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, Minutes, Local Area Committee: minute, 16.11.1951 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, T.P. Venter, 8.2.1989. In 1987, Maize fields fell into disuse.
[44] See *Chapter Four*, pp. 135-136,138 for a detailed discussion of the topic.
[45] In geological terms, a 'compartment' is a section under the ground, consisting of a certain rock formation. See J.F. Wolmarans, *Ontwatering van die dolomietgebied aan die Verre Wes-Rand* ..., pp. 97,99,103.
[46] J.F. Wolmarans, *Ontwatering van die dolomietgebied aan die Verre Wes-Rand* ..., p.71.
[47] *Die Transvaler*, 23.11.1968, p. 1, and 11.2.1970, p. 1 and *Herald vir die Goue Weste*, 6.3.1970, p. 1.

On 1 May 1970, train traffic through Bank Station was suspended, and the railway administration was urgently requested to investigate an alternative route.[48] This suggested railway line diversion would ultimately also influence the significance of the Welverdiend and Oberholzer stations.[49] In the meantime, the cost of the diversion and the responsible party caused contention. Mining authorities, who were blamed, opined that the ground formation had to be given time to stabilise before a new railway line was considered. It was reasoned that the site on which the existing line ran was dewatering quickly and would normalise before the completion of a diversion,[50] which could run into R 8 million.[51]

After deciding to keep the existing railway line provisionally,[52] various precautionary measures were implemented to prevent sinkhole formation and monitor the appearance of sinkholes. Examples include upgrading the stormwater drainage, filling sinkholes with debris from demolished buildings,[53] appointing patrols to guard the railway line between Oberholzer and Bank 24 hours a day, and warning oncoming trains should a sinkhole appear under the railway line.[54] Trains were also compelled to move through the area at a snail's pace.[55]

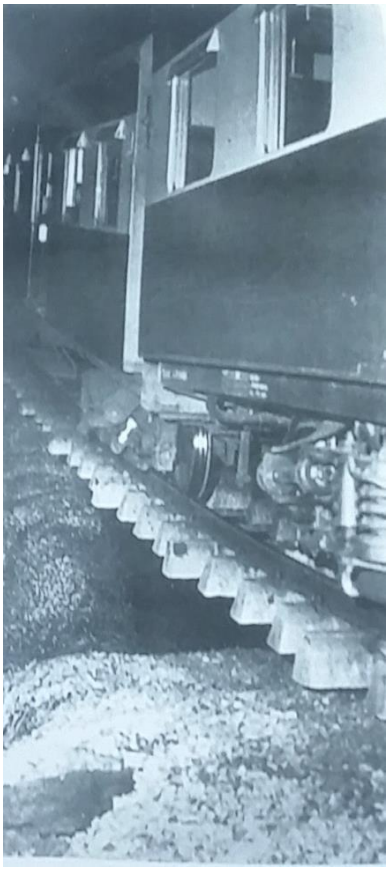
As a result of the landslides, Bank Station underwent a metamorphosis. The pedestrian bridge was no longer used as passenger trains no longer passed by. A part of the platform and the station building collapsed, and only a few railway personnel were still working

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[48] J.F. Wolmarans, *Ontwatering van die dolomietgebied aan die Verre Wes-Rand* ..., pp. 180-181.
[49] *The Star,* 1.5.1970, p. 1.
[50] *Die Transvaler,* 10.5.1968, p. 1.
[51] South African Transport Services, *The least unsafe route, I,* (compiled by J.F. Wolmarans), p. 57 and J.F. Wolmarans, *Ontwatering van die dolomietgebied aan die Verre Wes-Rand ...,* p. 182.
[52] *Die Vaderland,* 3.9.1970, p. 1.
[53] J.F. Wolmarans, *Ontwatering van die dolomietgebied aan die Verre Wes-Rand* ..., pp. 183-184.
[54] *Die Vaderland,* 23.11.1969, p.1 and South African Transport Services, *The least unsafe route, I,* (compiled by J.F. Wolmarans), p. 70.
[55] South African Transport Services, *The least unsafe route, I,* (compiled by J.F. Wolmarans), p. 54.

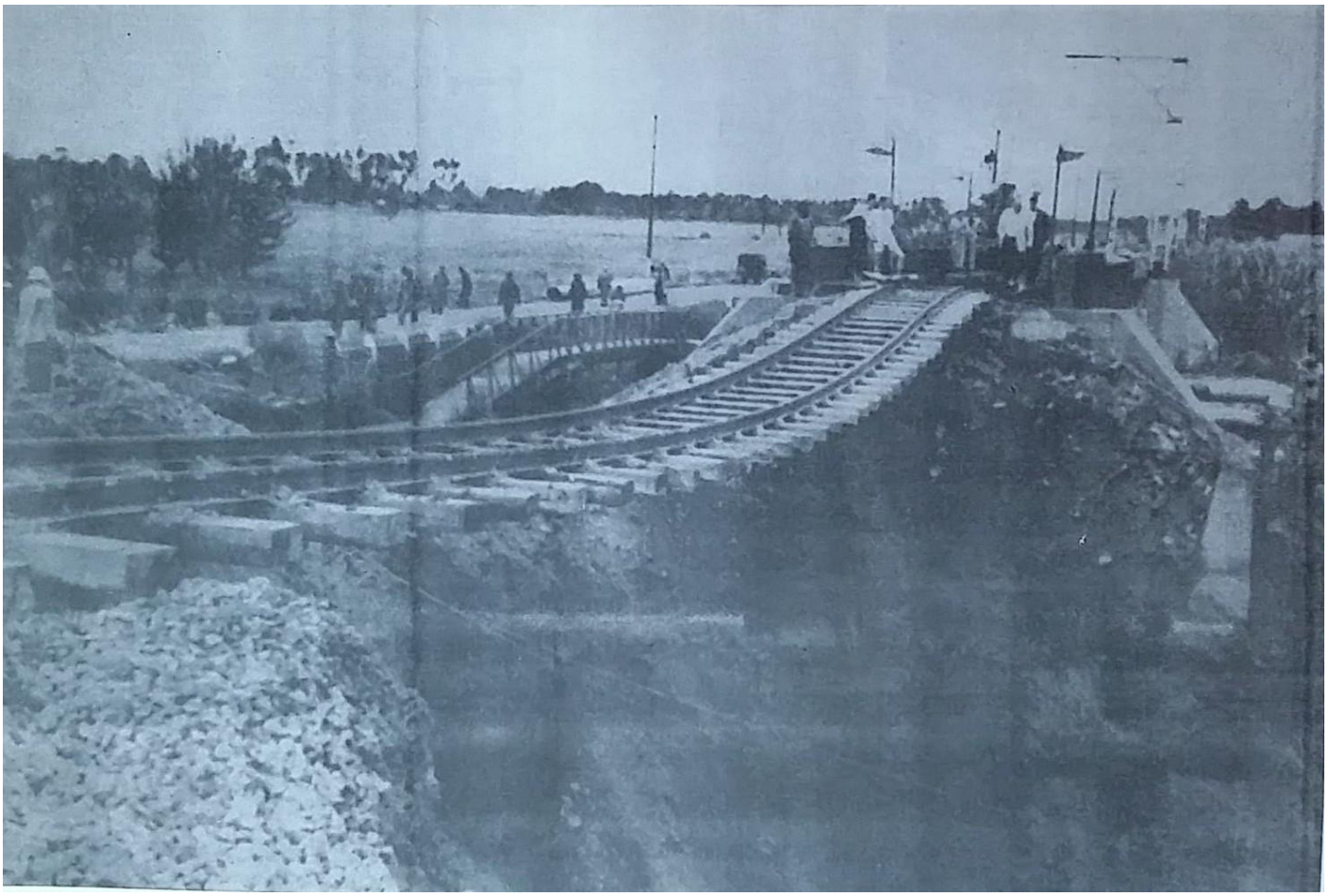
The sinkhole on which a suburban train came to a standstill near Maize lands stop on 9 April 1975





Source: Dr J.F. Wolmarans

A sinkhole near the Venterspost gold mine, 4 April 1963



Source: Dr J.F. Wolmarans.

at Bank Station.[56] By strengthening the railway line and filling the sinkholes, the railway line was maintained in such a state that some 1,029 goods trains could pass through during 1970.[57] Although the passenger train service that served Bank Station expired, the service that the large number of goods trains delivered, resulted in the fact that the economy was not affected too severely – also for years to come.

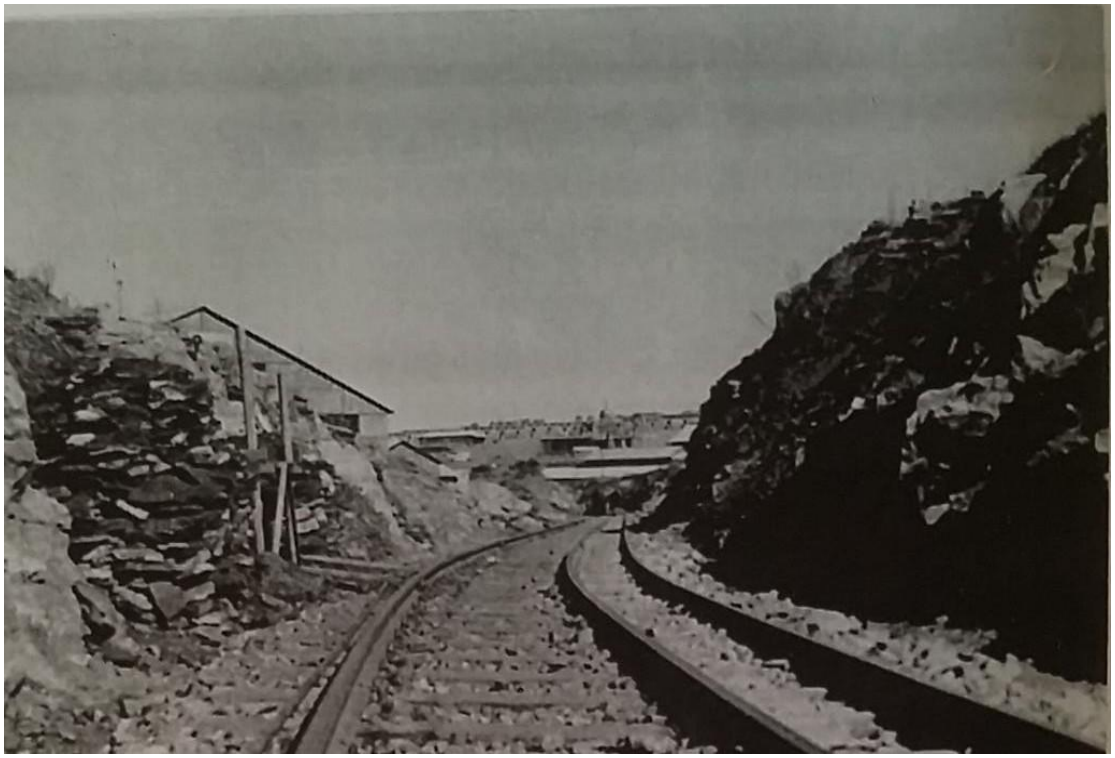
Between 1970 and 1972, the worst surface depressions appeared in the Carletonville region in the Bank area.[58] Subsequently, the railway authority decided to temporarily suspend the train service as civilian safety could no longer be guaranteed. As a result of pressure from the local agricultural sector, which had planned to erect a silo near Oberholzer station and use the railway route through Bank, the goods railway line was reopened in 1973.[59] Persons who had previously travelled from Carletonville to the Rand for work were, however, inconvenienced. J.C. Greyling, councillor for Carletonville, requested that the Minister of Transport address the construction of a detour railway line as soon as possible to provide clarity to the Carletonville residents. [60] was fruitless.

It was only after the sinkholes in the region stabilised near the railway line that the suburban trains were reinstated from 1 April 1975 on the original route past Oberholzer station.[61] As a result of the evacuation

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[56] *Die Beeld,* 8.11.1970, p. 1 and *Die Vaderland,* 3.9.1970, p. 1.
[57] South African Transport Services, *The least unsafe route, I,* (compiled by J.F. Wolmarans), pp. 70-75.
[58] J.F. Wolmarans, *Ontwatering van die dolomietgebied aan die Verre Wes-Rand* ..., p. 74.
[59] IR, MCV, file 88/1, Railway facilities: minutes, Bestuurskomitee, 8.5.1973, art. 7.2.
[60] Republic of South Africa, *Debatte van die Volksraad,* 18.3.1971, column, 3055, as well as 16.3.1972, column, 3477.
[61] IR, MCV, file 88/1, Railway facilities: letter, SAS/C. Greyling, 30.3.1973, as well as a letter, Town Clerk Carletonville/C. Greyling, 28.2.1974; SAS/Town Clerk Carletonville, 12.3.1975 and TBP, MCV, file 93/6/5(3), Council, annual reports: annual mayoral report, 19.4.75.

Side lines to the No. One and Two shafts of the Wes-Driefontein mine, 1966





Source: Wes Driefontein gold mine

of Bank Town, the station in the erstwhile residential area was no longer used as a passenger stop.[62]

Although a horrendous sinkhole formed under the railway line, just east of the Carletonville municipal region, nine days after the announcement and a suburban train came to a standstill over it, the railway route continued to be used.[63] Four of the mainline passenger services' train timetables were even scheduled via this route.[64] Thus, the original route and the surrounding controversy survived the test of the landslide era. In 1973, it was already alleged that R30 million was saved by reutilising the original railway line.[65] The strict measures that were instated since 1963 regarding the issue,[66] were also gradually lifted.[67] Trust in the railway line was undoubtedly confirmed by this and businesses in Carletonville would obviously benefit.[68]

To adapt to the speed at which Carletonville developed, various improvements for Oberholzer station were envisioned. Among others, a railway bridge over Ada Street was planned and completed.[69] Some of the existing sidelines between the gold mines and the railway stations in the region were already upgraded.[70] During April 1984, the SAR&H also launched a special express service for goods by train between

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[62] *Die Transvaler*, 10.4.1975, p. 1 and *Carletonville Weekly Record*, 21.2.1975, p. 1.
[63] South African Transport Services, *The least unsafe route, I,* (compiled by J.F. Wolmarans), pp. 78-79. It was found that the sinkhole was not formed by underground movement, but by the erosion of three boreholes that were sunk in 1963. See *Die Vaderland,* 10.4.1975, p. 2, and *Carletonville Herald,* 11.4.1975, p. 1. A similar incident hit the Venterspost Gold Mine area in 1963. See photo on p. 253b.
[64] South African Transport Services, *The least unsafe route, I,* (compiled by J.F. Wolmarans), pp. 81-82.
[65] IR, MCV, file 88/1, Railway facilities: minutes, Management committee, 8.5.1973, art. 7.1, as well as letter, SAS/Town Clerk Carletonville, 17.3.1975.
[66] *Die Vaderland*, 9.4.1963, p. 2 and J.F. Wolmarans, *Ontwatering van die dolomietgebied aan die Verre Wes-Rand* ..., p. 161.
[67] TAD, MCV, Vol. 5, file 2/2(3), Official reception and functions: letter, Acting Town Clerk/Ministry of Transport, 13.2.1975.
[68] *Carletonville Weekly Record*, 12.3.1976, p. 1.
[69] IR, MCV, file 93/6/5(3), Council, annual reports: annual report by the mayor, 1980/81.
[70] TAD, MCV, Vol. 52, file 73/5(6), Publicity: mayor's report, 13.3.1970.

Johannesburg and Oberholzer, and goods from Johannesburg could reach the station for delivery within a day.[71]

Subsequently, by the late 1960s, the Welverdiend Station had developed remarkably. The existing shunter train was extended fourfold, and provision was made for five private sidelines to increase the industrial use of the station.[72] The railway trajectory between Welverdiend and Lichtenburg was electrified in the late 1970s, which further improved the user potential of Welverdiend Station.[73] With regards to the Bank Station, any further development of the station was stopped as a result of the evacuation of the Bank residential area. By 1988, it was merely used as a thoroughfare for trains. No passenger service was reinstated over the trajectory, and no staff were appointed at the station.[74]

In 1988, the Welverdiend Station mainly served as an industrial station as a result of its spacious railway facilities. Train timetables were scheduled in such a manner that goods could be transported from Welverdiend's shunting yard to Coligny, Lichtenburg, Klerksdorp and Ventersdorp.[75] On the other hand, the Oberholzer station was the busiest regarding public use, the mines being the largest consumer. This included the dispatch and reception of mining equipment,[76] as well as the transport of black mine workers from other national states. The agricultural sector also used the Oberholzer Station on a large scale.
Some 20,802 goods trains used the station during 1988 – a great deal more than the 20,044 in 1986.

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[71] *Carletonville Herald*, 6.4.1984, p. 3.
[72] *Carletonville Herald*, 2.12.1983, p. 1.
[73] Republiek van Suid-Afrika, Debatte van die Volksraad, 17.3.1988, column, 3775.
[74] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 2: letter, Curator South African Transport Museum/E.S. van Eeden, 18.4.1989, as well as ref. 3: interview, T.P. Venter, 8.2.1989.
[75] *Carletonville Herald*, supplement, 24.1.1969 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, T.P. Venter, 8.2.1989.
[76] The local rail fare paid annually amounted to R200,000 in 1966. See TAD, MCV, Vol. 5, file 2/2(3), Official receptions and functions: reception of financial institutions, 17.8.1966, and *Carletonville Weekly Record,* 2.5.1975, p. 14.

Because of the mentioned relaxing of the permit system and the increased use of more private undertakings of passenger transport, the use of trains by the local community decreased from 205,733 in 1986 to 142,188 in 1988.[77]

Despite this decrease, it appears that Welverdiend and Oberholzer stations continued to play an important role within the local communication network, especially regarding the commercial activities of the business sector. The old Bank Station serves as a site for the control of train traffic (known as Centralised Traffic Control) that is run from Welverdiend to the other side of Bank.[78]

Although the municipal region of Carletonville only had one 92-year-old railway line by 1988, it remains one of South Africa's most important railway routes and could, economically speaking, mean a lot to Carletonville in the future.

6.2.2 Roads

Before the completion of decent provincial roads in South Africa, there was no competition between road and railway networks.[79] As the quality of roads improved, they became a more popular communication network between towns.[80] This tendency was also noted in the old Gatsrand. Since 1937, the upcoming local gold mining industry, together with petitions from the farming community and an increase in the use of motor cars,[81] eventually hastened the extension of roads in the Carletonville region – especially in the direction of the mines to link the

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[77] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 2: letter, Curator South African Transport Museum/E.S. van Eeden, 18.4.1989, as well as Ref. 3: interview, T.P. Venter, 8.2.1989 and *Seipone,* 19.12.1981, p. 1.
[78] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, T.P. Venter, 8.2.1989.
[79] D.G. Franzsen and H.J.J. Reynders (eds.), *Die ekonomiese lewe van South Africa,* p. 204.
[80] Union of South Africa, Ministry of Transport, *'n Ent van vervoer, 1860-1960,* p. 142.
[81] Statistics pertinently indicating the number of registered motor cars in the Carletonville region before 1955 could not be found. It is primarily because at that stage the area did not have an independent licencing office, and the Fochville motor licencing office was used for this purpose. A motor licencing office for Carletonville was envisaged for 1958. See Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, Minutes, Local Area Committee: minute, 24.9.1957.

The so-called ”Rooi-See” route (P89/1) near Bank, 1948





Sources: Department of Roads, Potchefstroom. Mrs G. Hommes

roads. Most of the roads in the region had soil or gravel surfaces by 1948.[82]

To improve mobility in the transport of people and goods, essential elements in the economic development of a region, a tar road programme was implemented for the Western Transvaal in the 1950s. The most important road routes for the Calretonville region remained the Potchefstroom-Pretoria and the Potchefstroom-Johannesburg route,[83] as well as the links from these to Rustenburg and Parys.[84]

The six provincial (P) and the six district roads (D) in the Carletonville region were proclaimed between the 1940s and the 1960s. The roads and their road numbers are as follows:

TABLE 12: PROCLAIMED ROADS IN THE CARLETONVILLE REGION SINCE 1940

Roan number	Route	Year of proclamation
P89-1	Potchefstroom via Oog van Wonderfontein to Randfontein and Johannesburg ["Rooi see"-route]	1940
P61-1	Carletonville via Wes Driefontein and further south, which joins the Potchefstroom-Johannesburg road (P3-6)	1945 [85]
P111-1	Junction with P89/1 past Doornfontein mine and Carletonville	1947 [86]

[82] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, J.H. Putter (Chief, Roads Department of Potchefstroom), 28.2.1989; E.S. van Eeden, *Die geskiedenis van die Gatsrand...,* pp.172-173, and W. Hagan Watson*, Down memory lane* ..., p. 48.
[83] G.L. van Heerde, *Die invloed van moderne vervoer op die ontwikkeling van dorpe in Wes-Transvaal,* pp. 61,124, 131; Roads Department (Potchefstroom), file 92 DP07-072-23/22, District roads, road 92: petitition 21.3.1949 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: minutes, Far West Rand Chamber of Commerce: minutes, 1949-1951.
[84] *Die Transvaler,* 15.1.1954, p. 9.
[85] Roads Department (Potchefstroom), file P111-I DP07-072-23/21, Provincial road P111-1: map N4 verw. R5641/65/1.
[86] Roads Department (Potchefstroom), file P111-1 DP07-072-23/21(3), Provincial road P111-1: letter, Director van Roads/Streekingenieur Potchefstroom, 19.5.1986. Also see Transvaal Provincial Administration, administrator's proclamation no. 277, 1948.

	to P3-6 and Westonaria region	
P118-1	From Wes-Driefontein Mine via Oog van Wonderfontein and joins P89-1	1948 [87]
P61-2	Junction from Oberholzer with P89/1 to Randfontein and with P111/1 to Welverdiend	1954 [88]
P61-3	A section of old road no 1755 over the farm Wonderfontein to Wildfontein (Randfontein district)	1962 [89]
D92	From Elandsrand Mine, north to Welverdiend and further east to Oog van Wonderfontein (the road forms part of the old Boerepad)	19e eeu [90]
D665	From Blaauwbank north to Wonderfontein and south from Driefontein and Leeuwpoort	1944 [91]
D1465	A junction between the D92 and P89-1 road range in the Rooipoort region	1947 [92]
D1468	Buffelsdoorn via road 92 to Blyvooruitzicht	1948 [93]
D1755	A junction from P61-3 (Oog van Wonderfontein region), further to the northwest	1953 [94]
D331	From Welverdiend in a northwestern direction, like Rysmierbult	1957 [95]

[87] Roads Department (Potchefstroom), file P118-1 DP07-072-23/21, Provincial road R118-1: letter, Acting Provincial Secretary/Driefontein Brick and Potteries Co. Ltd., 8.11.1949.
[88] Roads Department (Potchefstroom), file P61-2 DP07-072-23/21, Provincial road P61-2: letter, Chief engineer TPA/District engineer Potchefstroom, 30.4.1954. See also Transvaal Provincial Administration, administrator's proclamation no. 185, 1954.
[89] Roads Department (Potchefstroom), file P61-3 DP07-072-23/21, Provincial road P61-3: administrator's proclamation no. 660, 1962.
[90] E.S. van Eeden, *Die geskiedenis van die Gatsrand*…, p. 173.
[91] Roads Department (Potchefstroom), file 665 DP07-072-23/22(1), District roads, road 665: letter, Potchefstroom City Council/Provincial Road engineer, 5.2.1944.
[92] Roads Department (Potchefstroom), file 1465 DP071/23/22, District roads, road 1465: letter, Provincial Road engineer/Road inspector, 3.2.1947.
[93] Roads Department (Potchefstroom), file 1648 DP071/23/22, District roads, road 1648: letter, Provincial Road engineer/ Road inspector, 6.1.1948.
[94] Roads Department (Potchefstroom), file 1755 DP072-23/22(1), District roads, road 1755: letter, District mine engineer, Southwestern Transvaal/Secretary Oberholzer Irrigation Board, 20.4.1953, as well as letter, Acting Provincial Secretary/RONH, 31.6.1953 and letter, Road inspector Potchefstroom/District engineer, 10.9.1953.
[95] Roads Department (Potchefstroom), file 331 DP07-072-23/22(1), District roads, road 331: letter, Road engineer WesternTransvaal/Provincial Road engineer, 4.2.1948 and Transvaal Provincial Administration, administrator's proclamation no. 176, 1957.

From the abovementioned road proclamation dates, it appears as though the establishment of the gold mining industry stimulated the development and extension of roads in the Carletonville region from the beginning. Obviously, by 1959, these circumstances were to the advantage of the 5,507 road users in the area and benefited the local businesses, who collectively ran 494 registered trade vehicles[96] in the Carletonville region. However, the condition of some of the roads left much to be desired.

The Potchefstroom Roads Department had been confronted by landslides on or near roads in the Carletonville region as early as 1948, when a section of the P89/1 in the Bank region had to be relayed.[97] This added to the road authorities' expenses - mainly due to the soil samples of the region required by researchers to try and develop the best gravel base for roads, especially for the P89/1-mete in the Carletonville region.[98] Culverts had to be dug to prevent damage by water flooding to the road surface.[99] As the road user's safety on the P111/1-route could not be guaranteed, the mounting of road warning signs and a lower speed limit for motorcars were considered.[100] In 1957, the

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[96] Union of South Africa, Bureau for Census and Statistics, report no. 232, *Statistiek van motorvoertuie vir die jaar 1959,* (Union and SWA), 1959, p. 41.
[97] Roads Department (Potchefstroom), file P111-1 DP07-072-23/21, Provincial road P111-1: opinion no. 3, 7.1.1957, as well as file P89-1 DP07-072-23/21(1), Provincial road P89-I: administrators proclamation no. 273, 1.12.1948. Sinkholes also appeared in 1953 next to the P89/1 near the Doornfontein mine. An intensive drilling programme was launched to determine the presence of sinkholes before the road could be reopened. See W. Hagan Watson, *Down memory lane* ..., p.56.
[98] Roads Department (Potchefstroom), file P89-1 DP07-072-23/32(1), Provincial road P89-1: letter, R. van der Merwe/Road inspector Potchefstroom, 2.5.1949.
[99] Roads Department (Potchefstroom), file P89-1 DP071-23/21 section 1, Provincial road P89-1: Mining Rights and Estates Department/The District Roads Engineer, 28.6.1955, as well as letter, District engineer Southwestern Transvaal/Chief engineer Pretoria, 8.7.1955.
[100] Roads Department (Potchefstroom), file P111-1 DP07-072-23/21, Provincial road P111-1: opinion no. 3, 7.1.1957, pp. 1-4, as well as 29.10.1955 of a similar report.

busy P111/1-route had to be relayed by some four km in 1957, as a result of sinkholes. The cost of the detour was estimated at R30 000.[101]

Meanwhile, the Potchefstroom Road Council received requests from the Carletonville area's farmers and the 'Waaksaamheidskomitees' of the surrounding towns to improve the district's roads.[102] Due to a shortage of funds, these requests were denied.[103] In the 1960s, the importance and use of district roads for economic activities were determined by counting the traffic. Based on the outcome, it was decided whether a road had to be tarred and/or improved.[104]

Development in Carletonville eventually led to the improvement of, especially, provincial roads to transport the heavier traffic flow.[105] Since 1959, the Carletonville municipality has taken care of the maintenance of the roads in its municipal region. Local mining authorities also contributed.[106] During one of the first large-scale landslides in the 1960s, the gold mining companies, for example,

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[101] Roads Department (Potchefstroom), file P111-1 DP07-072-23/21, Provincial road P111-1: memorandum, sinking of road surface, 3.6.1957.
[102] As an example, see Roads Department (Potchefstroom), file 92 DP07-072-23/22, District roads, road 92: petition, 21.3.1949, as well as file 331 DP07-072-23/22, District road 331: letter, 'Waaksaamheidskomitee' Welverdiend/Road Council Potchefstroom, 3.10.1957.
[103] As an example, see Roads Department (Potchefstroom), file 665 DP072/23/22, District roads, road 665: letter, Provincial Road engineer /District road engineer, 3.12.1949, as well as file 331 DP07-072-23/22, District roads, road 331: letter, District engineer South western Transvaal/District engineer Potchefstroom, 25.10.1957.
[104] Roads Department (Potchefstroom), file 1254 DP-072-23/22, District roads, road 1254: summary of traffic statements, 19 - 20.7.1960 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, J.H. Putter, 28.2.1989.
[105] Roads Department (Potchefstroom), file P89-I DP07-072-23/21(2), Provincial road P89-1: letter, Gold Fields of SA Ltd/Provincial Roads Department, 20.5.1960, as well as P61-1 DP07-072-23/21, Provincial road P61-1: memorandum regarding doubling of P61-1 route from P111-1 route to a national road TI3-12 (Kraalkop), 16.9.1969.
[106] Roads Department (Potchefstroom), file P111-1 DP07-072-23/21, Provincial road P111-1: letter, Transvaalse Provincial Administration/Toen Clerk Carletonville, 12.3.1964, as well as letter, Town Clerk Carletonville/The Directo of Roads, 30.12.1963; TAD, MCV, Vol. 4, file 2/2, Official receptions and functions of the mayor: mayor's report, 4.11.1960, p. 6.

levelled all the roads in the Bank Compartment covering a distance of 88 km.[107] The City Council treated some of the roads in the town in the same manner.[108]

Despite the trouble the Potchefstroom Roads Department took in overcoming the challenges caused by the sinkholes, the future of some provincial roads going through the Carletonville region was questioned in the 1960s. Consequently, sections of roads P89/1 and P111/1, and some district roads, were closed to traffic in 1963.[109] Additionally, sinkhole warning signs, which were only considered some years before, were mounted along some routes. This not only caused problems for the Transvaal Provincial Roads Department, which had to plan alternative routes,[110] but also proved to be a challenge for the Carletonville Business sector, which was responsible for the economic development of the town. This was clear from the local Chamber of Commerce's request to the Carletonville City Council to prevent the isolation of the town and clients from moving to the business sector of Fochville.[111] At that stage, some 2,679 private and light utility vehicles, and 234 heavy commercial vehicles used Carletonville's roads. [112] Based on these reasons, the closure of the mentioned roads would indeed negatively affect the town's business sector, and at this stage, the business community of

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[107] J.F. Wolmarans, *Ontwatering van die dolomietgebied aan die Verre Wes-Rand…,* p. 170. Mining authorities were also involved in constructing other roads after the sinkholes blocked some routes to the mines. See IR, MCV, file 70/1/8, Provincial and numbered roads (2): letter, Blyvooruitzicht Gold Mining Co. Ltd./Town Clerk Carletonville, 4.10.1963.
[108] IR, MCV, file 70/1/7(2), Proclamation of roads: reports, 1961, 1963. The main road through Carletonville (Annan Rd) was nearly completed by March 1961. See *The Potchefstroom News,* 10.3.1961, p. 3.
[109] IR, MCV, file 70/1/8(1), Provincial and numbered roads: memorandum regarding the safety of roads in the Carletonville region, 2.5.1963, as well as minutes: minutes Management Committee, 12.9.1962, p.12 and 26.9.1963, pp. 1-2; *Die Vaderland,* 30.12.1963, p.1 and *Carletonville Herald,* 5.3.1965, p. 1.
[110] IR, MCV, file 70/1/8(1), Provincial and numbered roads: letter, Acting Town Clerk Carletonville/Regional Officer Provincial Roads Section, 5.4.1963 and *Carletonville Herald,* 29.9.1963, p. 1.
[111] IR, MCV, file 70/1/8(1), Provincial and numbered roads: letter, Carletonville Oberholzer Chamber of Commerce/Town Clerk, 24.9.1963, as well as file 70/1/8(3), Provincial and numbered roads: letter, Department of Mines/Town Clerk Carletonville, 19.4.1966.
[112] TAD, MCV, Vol. 37, file 73/1/40(1), Formations, roads and sinkings: summary status regarding the origin and destination of vehicles, 7.12.1963.

The opening of the P61-1 double road by the mayor, C. Rautenbach, 17 December 1968



Source: Antonica's Foto's

The introduction of the first traffic lights in Carletonville (at the P61-1 crossing), 3 March 1969



Source: Antonica's Foto's.

Carletonville probably only then realised the indispensable role the connecting roads played within their economic activities.

The City Council was dissatisfied with the decision by the Transvaal Provincial Roads Department to close some of the region's most important provincial roads. In 1964, the Council negotiated to reopen roads P111/1 and P89/1.[113] Road authorities and other institutions, who were involved in the prevention of sinkholes, however, wanted to wait for another rainy season before ascertaining whether the ground had stabilised.[114] Meanwhile, the City Council began safeguarding roads in town that had either been closed due to sinking surfaces or were potentially dangerous according to the so-called 'groengordelkaart' (green belt map),[115] with the view of possible reopening.[116]

By 1968 and thereafter, it seemed as if the road authorities had become more at ease with regard to the stability of the ground in the Carletonville region. This is clear from the opening of the long-anticipated double road on road P61-1 from Carletonville to Fochville on 17 December 1968, which also reassured the community.[117] During the year 8,200 motor vehicles were registered in Carletonville, nearly double the number counted in the 1959 motor census. Utility vehicles numbered 1,079, which was also double the number during 1959.[118]

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[113] IR, MCV, file 70/1/8(2), Provincial and numbered roads: letter, Secretary of Mining/Town Clerk Carletonville, 31.8.1964, and Carletonville (Municipality), CM, Council minutes: minute, 29.10.1964.
[114] TAD, MCV, Vol. 37, file 73/140(1), Formations, roads and sinkings: letter, Department of Mines/Town Clerk Carletonville, 19.4.1966.
[115] In June 1967, the State Technical Committee produced a town map, indicating to interested parties and the Carletonville public where sinkholes appeared and which parts of Carletonville were regarded as unsafe. These findings were soon known as the green belt. See *The Star*, 15.6.1967, p. 6.
[116] TAD, MCV, Vol. 37, file 73/1/40(1), Formations, roads and sinkings: letter, Far West Rand Dolomitic Water Association/Town Clerk Carletonville, 4.7.1967, and letter, Secretary Geological Survey/Town Clerk Carletonville, 26.10.1966 and 29.12.1966.
[117] *Carletonville Herald*, 20.12.1968, p. 3. Carletonville officially introduced the town's first traffic light on 3 March 1969 at the crossing of the P61-1 and the P111-1 road. See *Herald vir die Goue Weste,* 7.3.1969, p. 1, and 24.10.1969, p. 1.
[118] Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics, report no. 12-03-02, Statistics of motor vehicle as on 30 June 1968, 1968, pp. 20, 31 and Union of South Africa, Bureau of Census and Statistics, report no. 232, Statistieke van motorvoertuie vir die jaar 1959 (Union and SWA), p. 41.

In 1969 and shortly afterwards, sections of roads that were closed between 1964 and1965 were reopened for traffic.[119] Road P89/1 was, however, strictly observed as the safety of the route was still questioned.[120] In 1971, these doubts proved to be valid when it was decided to permanently divert the section of road P89/11 in the Bank region for R500,000. The most important reasons for the diversion were the closing of Bank Town due to the landslides and the cracks that appeared on the road.[121] At the same time, concessions were made regarding roads that were still closed.

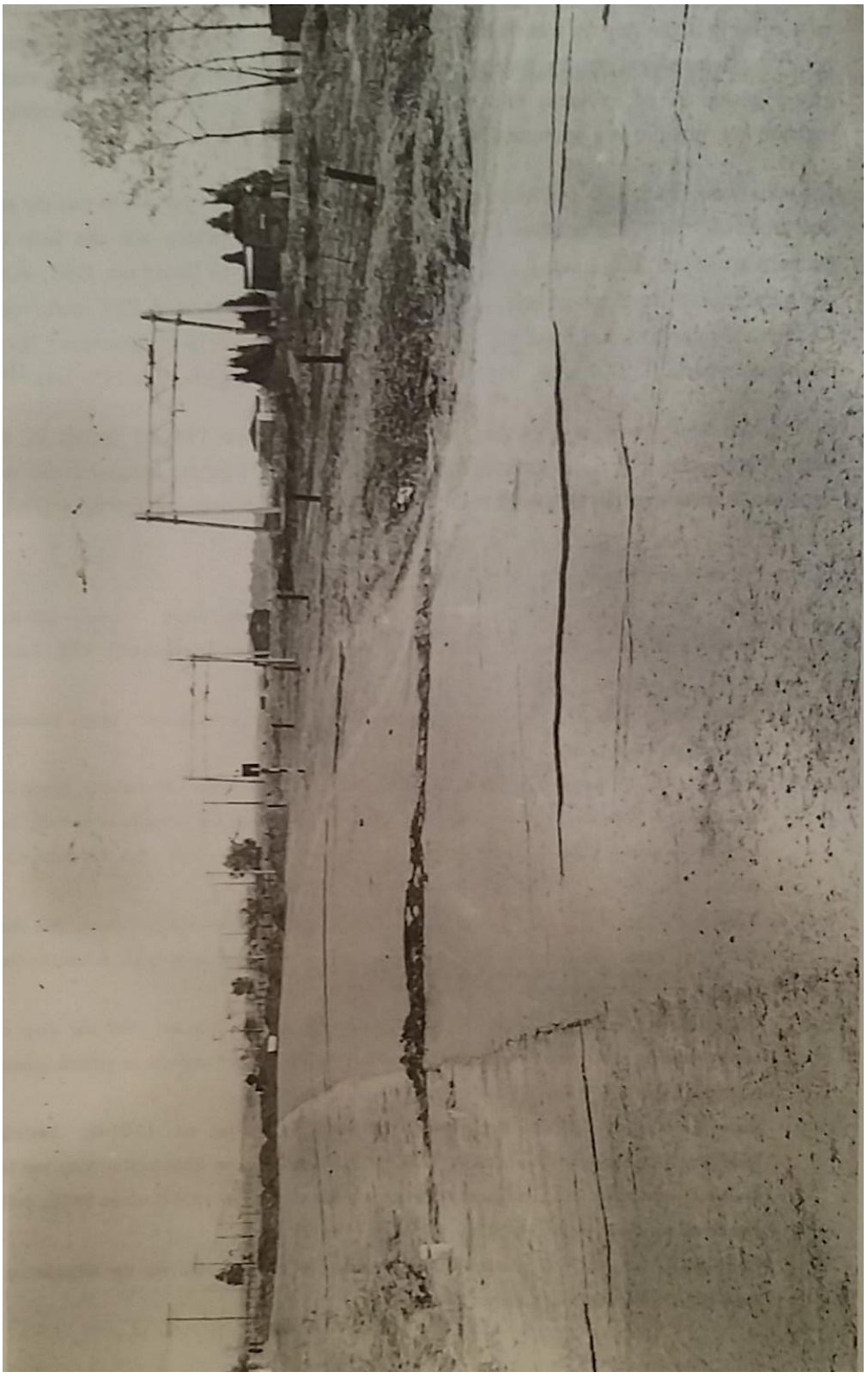
A section of the district road 665 (known as the Rodora road) between the P111/1 and the P3/6 national road was reopened in 1971, and the building costs were estimated at R300,000.[122] During the year, attention was focused on building more roads on the Rand.[123] In the meantime, the Carletonville City Council improved the roads in town at a cost of R127, 000.[124]

Apart from improving the roads, the Far West Rand Dolomitic Water Council undertook to cover the City Council's past costs of patrolling the P111/1 and P89/1 routes. The patrolling of the roads in the Carletonville region became the responsibility of the Water Council from 1972,[125] while the mining groups

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[119] *Herald vir die Goue Weste,* 31.1.1969, p. 1, as well as 23.6.1972, p. 1.
[120] IR, MCV, file 70/1/8(4), Provincial and numbered roads: minutes of the meeting of the City Council 24.4.1969, as well as October 1969.
[121] *Rand Daily Mail,* 31.7.1971, p. 3. The section of road P89/1 in Bank were known among the pioneers as the *Rooi See* (Red Sea) due to regular floods after bouts of rain. See Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 2: Memoirs, G. Hommes, December 1988.
[122] *Rand Daily Mail,* 31.7.1971, p. 3.
[123] Roads Department (Potchefstroom), file 665 DP07-072-23/22(1), District roads, road no. 665: letter, Regional Officer Potchefstroom Transvaal Road Department, 30.7.1971; *Die Transvaler,* 29.7.1971, p. 3; *Herald vir die Goue Weste,* 6.3.1970, p. 1, as well as 27.3.1979, p. 1.
[124] *Herald vir die Goue Weste*, 16.4.1971, p. 1.
[125] TAD, MCV, Vol. 37, file 33/1/4(c)(2), Formations, roads and sinkings: letter, Chamber of Mines/Town Clerk Carletonville, 2.12.1971 and IR, MCV, file 33/1/4(c), Formations, roads and sinkings: letter, Chamber of Mines/Town Clerk Carletonville, 23.12.1971.

Cracks on the P89/1 road, south of Bank Station in 1969



Source: Dr J.F. Wolmarans.

continued to contribute to the construction and improvement of the district roads.[126]

The Roads Department in Potchefstroom paid attention to the mining groups' representations in 1975 to tar the district roads close to the mines.[127] The Department also had to decide whether they should consider the request of the Carletonville City Council and the SAR&H for the reopening of a section of the P89/1 road through the desolated town of Bank,[128] as it remained the indispensable route that had not been opened by 1976 (see map 8 on p.357). The Roads Department, however, noticed that the ground surface was still unstable in the region, which consequently led to them denying the City Council and the SAR&H permission.[129]

The heavy rains in January 1978 in the Carletonville region aggravated the unstable ground. Consequently, the P89/1 road developed more cracks that had to be repaired. During this period, the TPA inspected the road regularly to identify sinkholes in time.[130]

By the early 1980s, with landslides largely being something of the past, further improvements to some of the main routes were undertaken. This included the broadening of sections of roads P89/1 and P61/3, and the rebuilding and strengthening of the P118/1-road.[131] After 1987, route P111/1 underwent similar changes.[132] The

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[126] Roads Department (Potchefstroom), file 665 DP07-072-23/22(1), District roads, road no. 665: letter, Director of Roads/Town Clerk Carletonville, 11.9.1972.
[127] Roads Department (Potchefstroom), file 92 DP07-072-23/22/92, District roads, road no. 92: letter, Manager Deelkraal G.M. Co. Ltd./Provincial Roads Dept., 6.5.1975, as well as letter, Manager Deelkraal Mine/Senior Road Inspector Potchefstroom, 12.7.1975.
[128] *Carletonville Weekly Record,* 28.3.1975, p.1, as well as 28.11.1975, p. 5 and 5.12.1975, p. 1.
[129] *Carletonville Weekly Record*, 27.2.1976, p. 1.
[130] *Carletonville Weekly Record,* 6.1.1978, p. 1, and 27.1.1989, p. 1.
[131] Roads Department (Potchefstroom), file P89/1 DP07-072-23/21/P89-1(2), Provincial roads, road P89/I: letter, Administrator TPA/Roads Administration, 18.3.1980, as well as a similar letter on 10.4.1982.
[132] Roads Department (Potchefstroom), file P111-1 DP07-072-23/21/P111-1(3), Provincial roads, road P111/1: letter, Regional Engineer South Western Region/The Executive Director of Roads, 26.8.1987 and *Carletonville Herald,* 15.1.1988, p. 1.

MAP 8: COMMUNICATION NETWORKS IN THE CARLETONVILLE MUNICIPAL REGION BY 1976

eventual purpose of all the improvements was to reopen sections of roads 118/1 and P89/1 that were closed in the 1960s and 1970s,[133] and especially the P111/1 route that had to bear a heavy traffic load.

Compared to other provincial roads, the P111/1 road is regarded as the main vein of mining activities in the region.[134] The eastern part of the route between Westonaria[135] and the Carletonville mines was already bearing a traffic load of 100,000 vehicles per week.[136] At that stage, it was known as the *pad van die dood* (**road of death**) due to the high number of accidents that occurred on the road annually.[137] Apart from the high accident occurrences, on one of its roads, the Carletonville region also had the highest number of motor vehicle registrations per annum in Region No 75 in 1985, i.e., 123, of which most were requested by black people.[138]

In 1985, it was announced that R5,5 million would be spent to rebuild the P89/1 route of about 28 km over Bank to Randfontein, after a 15-year closure.[139] It would probably lessen the heavy burden on the P61/3 road to Randfontein, which carried 35,000 vehicles weekly.[140] As the provincial roads were developed and repaired to their earlier state, the local business sector and the community benefited.

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[133] Roads Department (Potchefstroom), file P61/3 DP07-072-23/21/P61-3, Provincial roads, P61/3: letter, Director van Roads/L.E. Pope, 9.7.1982.
[134] *Carletonville Herald,* 17.2.1984, p. 3.
[135] Westonaria is a town outside the eastern border of Carletonville.
[136] Roads Department (Potchefstroom), Map M86/2 of Transvaal: Traffic volumes, 1985.
[137] *Carletonville Herald*, 17.2.1984, p.1 .
[138] University of South Africa, "Motor vehicle statistics as indicators of regional economic growth and welfare", *Buro vir Marknavorsing, Research report*, 150, 1988, pp. 84, 95, 139, 195.
[139] *Carletonville Herald*, 31.5.1985, p. 1.
[140] Roads Department (Potchefstroom), Map M86/2 of Transvaal: Traffic volumes, 1985.

Although some of the town and district roads in the Carletonville municipal region had not been modernised and tarred by 1988,[141] the provincial routes, as essential links in the local business and mining sectors, were in a good state.[142]

The fact that road construction in the region is ongoing indicates the continued importance of these connecting links in Carletonville. Where it added to the challenges of the local economy as a result of inevitable setbacks in the past, such as landslides, the opposite was true at the end of the 1980s. Apart from the fact that it formed an important component of all local sectors' activities, it encouraged closer liaison between residents of other communities and Carltetonville's business sector. This situation can be attributed to the gold mining industry that continuously improved and developed the roads through the years, and established road transport services.

6.2.3 Road transport services[143]

At the beginning of the gold mining activities in the Carletonville area, road transport services were in their baby shoes. Needless to say, it was these same mining activities that greatly created the need for such services. As the leader among the local gold mines, Blyvooruitzicht was the first to provide a transport service. A "motor bus service" was introduced in the 1940s between Blyvooruitzicht and Randfontein, and between Potchefstroom and Blyvooruitzicht. A similar

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[141] *Carletonville Herald*, 3.6.1988, p. 1.
[142] It was only a section of the P111/1 route that connected to the P3-6 that was temporarily closed in 1987 when a sinkhole was identified. The road was reopened in 1989. See Department of Roads (Potchefstroom), file P111/1 DP07-23/21/P111-1(3), Provincial Roads, road P111/1: letter, Regional engineer Southwestern region/Town Clerk Carletonville, 15.12.1987 and *Carletonville Herald,* 3.1.1989, p. 2.
[143] In the context of the study, road transport services are defined as those services mainly designed to transport people. Transport of goods from and to, amongst others, the three stations in the area is not discussed. Regarding the latter, a few pioneers in Carletonville's history include: Wollies Station Transport (Oberholzer), West Wits Transport (Oberholzer) and Peck Brothers Cartage (Welverdiend). See Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interviews, G. Kennedy, 6.12.1988, and *Transvaal Telephone Guide,* 1951-52, p. 166.

undertaking existed between the Wes Driefontein goldmine and Potchefstroom.[144]

Greyhound Bus Lines, founded in 1943, has since assisted in transporting white and black mine workers in the area. This bus service was established by Western Bus Lines (in 1971) and continued by its subsidiary, Greyhound Bus Lines.[145]

6.2.3.1 Bus service

During the early 1950s, the Local Regional Committee, together with the Gold Fields Group, paid serious attention to the provision of bus transport services[146] as well as to the transport facilities for its employees in Carletonville.[147] In 1955, this resulted in, among others, the provision of 12 mobile bus shelters for whites in towns, which also served as bus stops.[148]

In 1956, the Health Board decided that a bus terminal should also be erected.[149] The establishment of the black town of Khutsong necessitated the implementation of transport service facilities and the bus services.[150] Greyhound Bus Lines expanded its transport services,

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[144] E.S. van Eeden, *Die geskiedenis van die Gatsrand…,* p. 172 en Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: minutes, Far West Rand Chamber of Commerce: minute, 20.11.1950.
[145] *Carletonville Herald,* annexure regarding the Western Bus Lines, July 1989, p. 3 and Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file 100/0/61, Khutsong location, public transport: report, Peri Urban Areas Health Board regarding the implementation of transport services for Khutsong residents of Khutsong, 1.11.1958.
[146] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, Minutes, Local Area Committee: minute, 20.7.1951.
[147] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file T1/46/14, Carletonville township's bus service: letter, Mining Rights and Estates Department, New Consolidated Gold Fields/Peri Urban Areas Health Board, 2.9.1952.
[148] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file T1/46/14, Carletonville township bus service: minutes of the Local Area Committee: minute, 28.4.1955.
[149] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file L1/29/25, West Wits LAC: letter, Chief engineer Health Council/Secretary, Health Council, 29.10.1956.
[150] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file 100/0/61, Khutsong location, public transport: report, Health Board for Peri Urban Areas regarding the establishment of transport services for the Khutsong residents, 21.11.1958 and IR, Carletonville Municipality, file 12/1/2(2), Bus routes: letter, Town Clerk/Road Transport Council, 4.8.1966.

That had only been to the advantage of the gold mines, to Khutsong. The Health Council was keen to establish a bus service here as the Khutsong resident numbers increased[151], and by 1959, the Council launched the project in Khutsong.[152]

In a 1963 survey, the Carletonville City Council established that a bus service in the area ran primarily between Carletonville and the mines. At that stage, employees of the Blyvooruitzicht mine were the largest users of bus transport.[153] Based on the 8,200 registered motorcars in the area, it appeared that a large number of white mineworkers and town residents started using their own transport rather than public transport.[154] This affected the bus services for whites, and consequently Greyhound Bus Lines had to suspend its services in town and to Johannesburg in 1968, as a result of a lack of interest. Shortly afterwards, all the company's buses were used to service the mines on a 24-hour basis.[155]

The suspension of the passenger train service to the Bank area in the 1970s because of the instability of the land surface, stimulated the need for a passenger bus service. Greyhound, together with the South African Railways & Harbours (SAR&H), implemented a bus service in May 1970 between Welverdiend and Westonaria. People who normally travelled by train and had railway concessions used the passenger bus service route.[156] Some train passengers were not satisfied with this arrangement, as it took them longer by bus

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[151] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, Minutes, Local Area Committee: minute, 21.11.1958. It appears as though the Health Council's ideal materialised shortly afterwards.
[152] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file 100/0/61, Khutsong location public transport: letter, Manager Native Administration/ Peri Urban Areas Health Board, 14.1.1959.
[153] TAD, MCV, Vol. 37, file 73/1/40(1), Formations, roads en sinkings: summary statement, 7.12.1963.
[154] Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics, report no. 12-03-02, Statistics of motor vehicles as on 30 June 1968, 1968, p.20.
[155] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, Council minutes: minute, 19.11.1968, pp. 1-2.
[156] *Herald vir die Goue Weste*, 1.5.1970, p. 1. A similar service was introduced to Johannesburg. See *Herald vir die Goue Weste*, 8.4.1971, p. 1.

to reach their destination.[157] A number of them probably started using private transport.

Another competitive factor the bus service had to contend with was the fast-growing car rental industry.[158] However, in the 1970s, the need for bus transport services was still high, as, by 1979, further development of facilities for this purpose became necessary. This year, the old bus terminal was replaced by a new one at the cost of R75,000.[159] At this stage, some 22 buses served the Carletonville region's black people and another 12 were used for longer distances.[160] By 1983, Greyhound Bus Lines had 71 buses in the area, mostly used to transport black people.[161]

Shortly after 1983, Western Bus Lines took over the bus transport industry in Carletonville from Greyhound. This takeover occurred at the same time that the popularity of the black car rental industry continued to increase. This industry caused a setback for local bus services, and by 1988, the Western Bus Lines only had 40 buses left to transport black people to the mines and to Carletonville.[162] Meanwhile, the City Council had been busy changing the Protea drive-in into an additional bus depot.[163]

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[157] IR, MCV, file 88/1, Railway facilities: letter, Town Clerk Carletonville/SAR, 28.2.1974. As mentioned under Railway transport, this problem and many others resulted in the reinstatement of passenger train service.
[158] Taxis as a transport service is discussed in this chapter in 6.2.3.2.
[159] *Seipone*, 1.6.1979, p .5 and 15.6.1979, p. 2.
[160] IR, MCV, file 12/1(5), Bus service: letter, Greyhound Bus Lines/Town Clerk Carletonville, 10.11.1981; *Seipone*, 15.6.1979, p. 2, as well as 13.6.1980, p. 5.
[161] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, file 7/8/1, Community Services, public transport: letter, Greyhound Bus Lines/Town Clerk Carletonville, 4.8.1983.
[162] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, Manager (Western Bus Lines Carletonville), 22.3.1990.
[163] *Potchefstroom Herald*, 18.3.1988, p. 5.

It seems that Western Bus Lines' local service remained indispensable until 1988, as numerous mine workers and Khutsong residents used this transport service.

6.2.3.2 Taxi services

By 1955, car rental (taxi) services for whites in Carletonville prospered. Taxi owners transported about 200 white people per month. The absence of a proper bus service for whites contributed to the popularity of taxi services in town. The suppliers were pioneers (private persons), including E.J. Botha, H.H. Rabie, N.J. Myburgh and D.B. Blignaut.[164]

A couple of black entrepreneurs also served blacks during this period. However, by 1955-1956, the demand for such a service was small. Consequently, the Health Board was only prepared to consider five black applicants for the taxi industry, as it was considered sufficient.[165] In 1956, approval was given to T.D. Rafuthu, J. Tenyane, J. Madisa and S. Mutloane to provide a service to blacks in the area's squatter camps.[166] After the establishment of Khutsong, the black residential area, the black taxi industry functioned increasingly well.[167]

During the 1960s, but especially from the 1970s, the taxi industry for black people in the Carletonville area exploded. All roads to the local

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[164] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file L1/29/33, West Wits Local Area Committee motor vehicle registration: report, taxi services in Carletonville, 20.7.1955, as well as file N114/149, West Wits Region motor transport certificate/ taxi's: letter, Manager Native Affairs/ Registration officer, 20.11.1956.
[165] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file L1/29/33, West Wits LAC motor vehicle registration: applications to Health Board, September 1955, as well as file M114/11/149, West Wits Region motor vehicle certificate taxis: letter, Manager Native Affairs/Witwatersrand Local Area Committee, 2.10.1956 en 1.8.1957.
[166] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file N114/11/149, West Wits Region motor transport certificate taxi's: letter, Secretary Treasurer Peri Urban Areas/Non-European Affairs Department, 26.10.1956 and Minutes, Local Area Committee: minute, 12.11.1957.
[167] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file L1/29/33, West Wits Local Area motor vehicle registration: minutes, 19.1.1958 - 19.1.1959.

gold mines were characterised by the high flow of commuters travelling from Khutsong by taxi.[168] The countrywide black riots in 1976 provided a few challenging months in Khutsong. Apart from damage to buses, taxis were not allowed to transport black people to Carletonville as a result of the boycott actions. This temporarily disrupted the local business sector.[169]

The unparalleled increase in the use of taxis as road transport created unique problems. Not all taxis were licensed. In 1979, the number of registered taxis was estimated at 64. The Khutsong Taxi Association, affiliated with the South African Black Taxi Association (SABTA), already existed to coordinate cooperation among taxi owners for the benefit of a community where the need for such a transport service continued to increase.[170] From this association, the Carletonville United Taxi Association originated during the 1980s.[171]

In 1983, recklessness among black taxi drivers that challenged road safety resulted in the Traffic and License Department of Carletonville not issuing licences to combi owners who wanted to use them as taxis.[172] Additionally, the use of 36 illegal combi taxis owned by whites was investigated by the police. Offenders were arrested, which resulted in several court cases.[173]

Control of the issuing of licences to black taxis and overloading remained a problem for the Traffic Department of the town until at least 1988.[174] This also applied

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[168] Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics, report no. 12-03-02, *Statistics of motor vehicles as on 30 June 1968,* 1968, p. 20; Chamber of Mines, West Wits Line project: planning for the future, pp. 60-62, and IR, MCV, file 71/1/2(c), Native Labour Liaison Committee Skakelkomitee (BAS): minutes, BAS, 17.3.1978.
[169] *Carletonville Weekly Record*, 6.8.1976, p. 1, as well as 20.8.1976, p. 1 and Chamber of Mines, West Wits Line project: planning for the future, p. 61.
[170] *Seipone,* 23.2.1979, p.1, as well as 4.6.1981, p. 2.
[171] *Seipone,* 4.8.1988, p. 1.
[172] *Seipone,* 2.4.1983, p.4, as well as 2.7.1983, p. 1 and 24.12.1983, p. 1.
[173] *Seipone,* 9.4.1983, p. 1.
[174] *Carletonville Herald*, 5.2.1988, p. 2.

to the owners of combis who illegally served black commuters.[175] Approximately 52% blacks in Khutsong, excluding blacks from the mine hostels, used taxis. An estimated 600 taxis operate in the region.[176] This need for an extended transport service to the mines resulted in the black taxi industry, as elsewhere in South Africa, strengthening its market share in Carletonville, despite accompanying challenges.

Contrary to the popularity of taxis for blacks, there was never really talk of an upcoming taxi industry for whites in the Carletonville region. The increasing use of private transport could be regarded as the main reason. By the end of 1988, there were 48,415 licensed vehicles[177] in Carletonville, compared to 4,361 that were registered in 1959. White taxi services were obviously affected, and one after the other withdrew from Carletonville. It is therefore not strange that by 1988, there was only one taxi for whites, called Welties Taxi's, in the region.[178]

However, black taxi services in the Carletonville region indirectly impacted the local economy positively, either by transporting workers to their workplace or transporting black people to the local business sector for shopping. It was obviously also to the advantage of petrol filling stations, due to mass petrol purchases by taxis. In this manner, the contribution of the taxis to the development of the local economy was not to be scorned.

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[175] IR, MCV, file 12/1/(5), Bus service: minutes of the City Council, 17.3.1982; *Seipone,* September 1988, p. 2 and *Carletonville Herald,* 23.13.1988, p. 5.
[176] J.C. Schutte (ed.), *Wesrand Streekdiensteraad, beplanningsondersoek,* p.118 and *Carletonville Herald,* 6.11.1987, p. 2. Taxis servicing commuters illegally are not included.
[177] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, file 10/1/2(2), Publicity, information and council emblems, brochures and newsletters: questionnaire, *Suid-Afrikaanse Munisipale jaarboek*, 11.1.1989, and *Carletonville Herald,* 23.12.1988, p. 5.
[178] Carletonville (PU for CHE), ref. 3: interview, A. Welthagen, 4.03.1991.

6.2.4. Air transport services

The use of air transport services, economically speaking, can make an important contribution to the industrial establishment and development of any town, district or country.[179] As a communication medium, it is fast, and as a result, undertakings should benefit from it. The disadvantage, however, is that it is expensive, which is probably why it has not influenced the history of, especially, rural towns in South Africa.[180] The Carletonville region is no exception, and until 1948, the so-called airfield west of town, on some 125ha of land, only existed in name.[181]

During 1951-1952, the Local regional Committee, in cooperation with the Civil Aviation, planned a new development standard for the Carletonville airfield.[182] The purpose was to provide the Air Club of Carletonville with improved landing facilities. At this stage, the club rented the land for one pound per year from the West Witwatersrand Areas Limited. After the club had built new runways at a high cost, the Carletonville airfield was licensed by the Department of Transport as a private airfield.[183]

It was, however, mainly the five members of the Carletonville Air Club that used the airfield during the 1950s and not the business sector of the region.[184]

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[179] Union of South Africa, Ministry of Transport, *'n Eeu van vervoer, 1860-1960,* pp.1 87-188.
[180] J. Marx, *Lewensvatbaarheidstudies van nywerhede in streek 23*, pp. 47-48.
[181] E.S. van Eeden, *Die geskiedenis van die Gatsrand*…, pp. 176-177 and A. Nieuwoudt, *Die beplanning van die ontwikkelende verspreide stad in die gebied van Carletonville, Fochville en Westonaria,* p. 92.
[182] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file L1/29/25, West Wits Local Area Committee, proposed Airfield at Carletonville: letter, Chief Engineer LAC/Secretary Civil Aviation, 28.2.1951, as well as letter, Chief Engineer LAC/Col. J. Krige, 18.7.1951.
[183] IR, MCV, file 93/14, Airfield: letter, Carletonville Air Club/Mayor Carletonville, 24.4.1961.
[184] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, A. van der Westhuizen, 8.2.1989. Apparently, undertakers also sometimes used the airfield for transporting and receiving bodies.

Air shows, such as the one in 1960, were presented by the Air Club to collect funds for further improvements to the airfield.[185]

In 1961, the club approached the City Council for financial support, as the airfield was no longer sufficient, and the funds were depleted.[186] Although the City Council did make funds available from time to time, it was not enough to fulfil the needs of the club members.[187] In their motivation, the air club was supported by individuals who began using the Airfield as a landing place for business purposes and for missionary work in Botswana and the then Rhodesia.[188]

The mining group Gold Fields of South Africa subsequently negotiated with the City Council. Developments in this regard and talk that Civil Aviation could withdraw the license of the private airfield,[189] caused the activities of the air club to ease off.[190] The City Council and Gold Fields did not make an immediate decision, possibly as a result of the land depressions in the late 1960s. In this regard, discussions were only initiated again in 1975.[191]

Carletonville City Council was well disposed towards the improvement of the airfield and regarded it as necessary for the town's future.[192] Therefore

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[185] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, C. van der Westhuizen, April 1989, and *Carletonville Herald,* 7.6.1963, p. 1.
[186] IR, MCV, file 93/14, Airfield: letter, Carletonville Air Club/Mayor Carletonville, 24.4.1961, as well as 15.9.1975.
[187] IR, MCV, file 93/14, Airfield: letter, Secretary Air Club/Town Clerk Carletonville, 16.5.1962.
[188] IR, MCV, file 93/14, Airfield: letter, L. Smage/Gold Fields of SA Ltd., 1964.
[189] IR, MCV, file 93/14, Airfield: letter, Town Clerk, Carletonville/Secretary of Transport, 6.10.1965 and Carletonville (Municipality), CM, Council minutes: minute, Management committee, 13.6.1972.
[190] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, A. van der Westhuizen, 3.3.1989.
[191] IR, MCV, file 93/14, Airfield: letter, Carletonville Air Club/Town Clerk, Carletonville, 15.9.1975, as well as minutes, Management committee, 23.9.1975, and *Carletonville Weekly Record,* 31.10.1975, p. 5.
[192] IR, MCV, file 93/14, Airfield: minutes, Bestuurskomitee, 23.9.1975 and *Carletonville Weekly Record,* 7.5.1976, p. 1.

In 1976, the Council applied to rent the airfield from Gold Fields of South Africa, while a more suitable site for constructing a permanent airfield for Carletonville could be found.[193]

After years of investigating alternative options for the airfield, the City Council decided in 1982 to keep the existing one, continue its contract with Gold Fields and to let the airfield. Lessees were responsible for the maintenance of the airfield. Mr D.J. Pretorius was the first businessman who rented the airfield for business reasons from the City Council.[194]

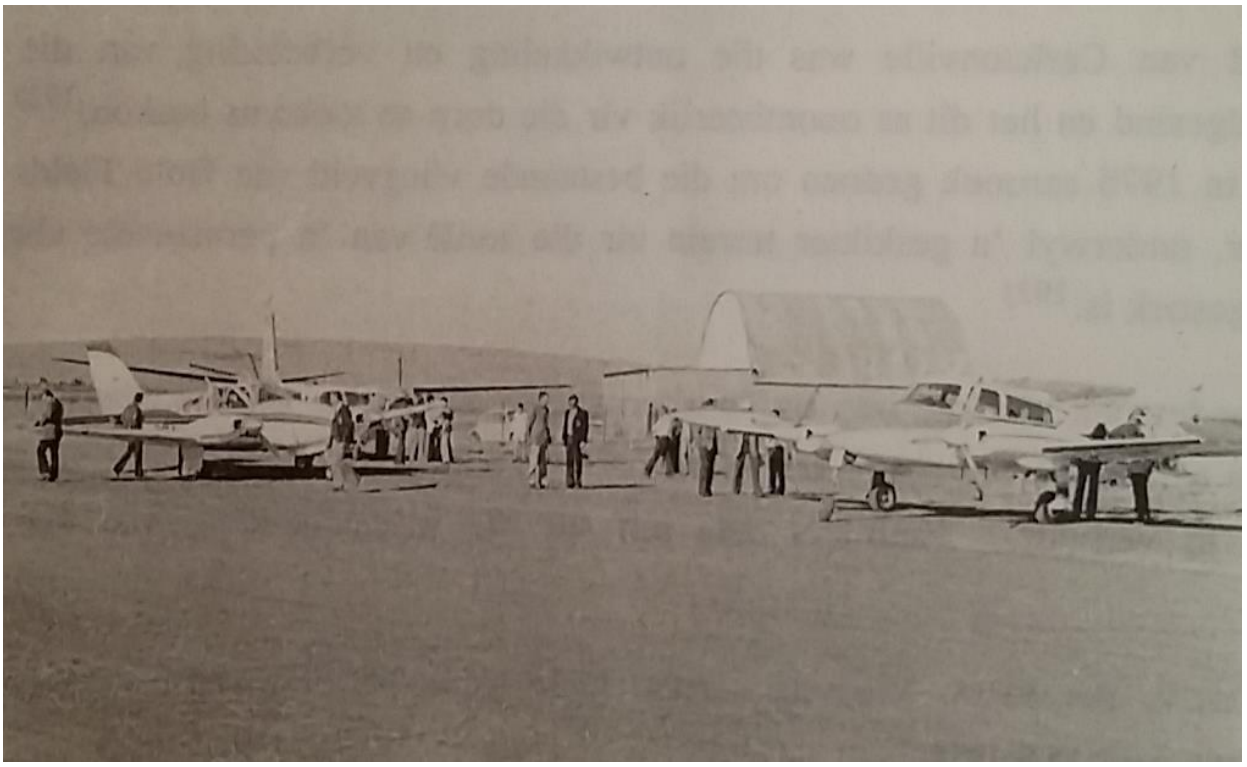
In 1984, the Carletonville City Council negotiated with Gold Fields to take over and control the airfield as the local need for it continued to increase. The motivation included references to doctors, businessmen and mine officials who used the airfield.[195] After the City Council took over the airfield in 1984-1985, R56,000[196] was spent on improvements and the construction of a second runway.[197]

In 1986 and 1987, the airfield underwent further changes when an entrance and clubhouse were built. Apart from the parachute club's use of the airfield, it appears

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[193] IR, MCV, file 93/14, Airfield: letter, Town Clerk, Carletonville/Secretary of Transport, 23.7.1976, as well as 24.9.1976. Compared to the Air Club's measly one-pound rent per year in the 1950s, the City Council had to pay R400 from 1976, plus possible additional costs to Gold Fields. See IR, MCV, file 93/14, Airfield: letter, Gold Fields of South Africa Limited/Town Clerk Carletonville, 6.2.1976.
[194] IR, MCV, file 93/14, Airfield: report from City Counil minutes, 26.8.1982, pp. 2-5, 8.
[195] IR, MCV, file 93/14, Airfield: letter, Town Clerk, Carletonville/Civil Aviation, 27.2.1984 from the Town Clerk's report, pp. 6-7.
[196] Anon., "Carletonville: from doubt to confidence", *Instituut van Munisipale Ingenieurs van Suid-Afrika,* 10(9), September 1985, p.28.
[197] IR, MCV, file 93/14, Airfield: City Council's circular from the report of the Town Clerk, pp. 9-10, as well as rental agreement, Carletonville Airfield, 24.8.1984.

Activities at the Carletonville airfield, 1984



Source: *Carletonville Herald*.

that 10 businessmen from Carletonville also rented hangars from the City Council by 1988.[198] At this stage, the use of air transport was limited. What was interesting was that the local business sector increased its position regarding its use of air transport.

6.3 COMMUNICATION INDUSTRY

6.3.1 Post and telephone services

Post and telephone services as a communication medium fulfil a special function within a community. The mining of gold within the borders of Carletonville in 1937 provided impetus to the existing and new post offices. Whereas gold mines were the primary reason for the development of new post offices, the old post offices' existence can be ascribed to the construction of the South West line after 1899.[199]

To support the first gold mining activities, the Blyvooruitsig post office[200] was opened on 20 August 1945 on the premises of the Blyvooruitzicht Gold Mine.[201] The West Driefontein mine did not benefit from a service situated so far away. The importance of post and telephone services for the mining and business activities in the Carletonville region resulted in the Gold Fields Group paying immediate attention. In December 1948, the group approached the Peri Urban Areas Health Board in connection with the use of stands

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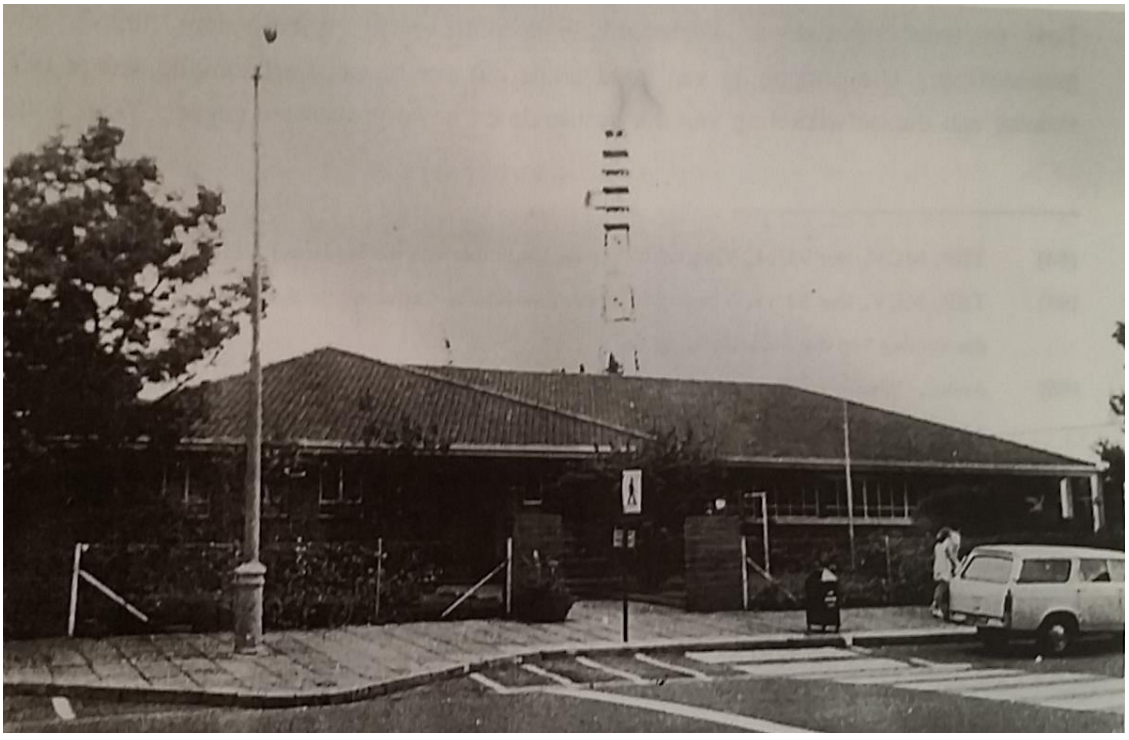
[198] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, J.F. Coetzee (Chief, Engineering Department, Carletonville Municipality), 4.4.1990. A log-book confirming the number of air users in the business sector in 1988 was not available.
[199] See section 6.1 in this chapter, p. 243.
[200] There seems to be much confusion about the name Blyvooruitsig instead of Blyvooruitzicht, as the farm on which it stood. Initially, it was thought that the post office in Schweizer-Reneke, with the same name, led to the one in Carletonville's name to be changed to prevent confusion. Research proved this confusion to be unnecessary. In 1922, there was a postal agency in Blyvooruitzicht, some 30km from Schweizer-Reneke. It closed in 1923, after which there was no post office by this name. Incorrect data in the main post office in Pretoria also confused R.F. Putzel. See R.F. Putzel, *The encyclopedia of South African post offices and postal agencies, I,* (A-E), p. 265.
[201] E.S. van Eeden, *Die geskiedenis van die Gatsrand* ..., p. 168.

The first post office service facility of Carletonville was a house, 1951



Source: Post Office Museum.

The first telephone exchange in Carletonville, 1951



Source: Post Office Museum

for a post office and for a telephone exchange.[202] The request was approved in January 1949.[203]

On 24 April 1950,[204] Consolidated Gold Fields' needs were fulfilled when a post exchange office was erected in Carletonville. Various services, such as a savings bank and post and telegraph facilities, were available.[205] In 1951, a telephone service with a manual exchange department was added. In that year, 272 telephone lines were made available to residents of the Oberholzer and Carletonville districts.[206] However, most of the farmers in the district did not benefit, which gave rise to much unhappiness. Farmers opined that the business sector enjoyed more privileges than farms, which were actually also business undertakings.[207]

G.P. Brits, councillor for Losberg (which included the Carletonville region), noted his constituency's urgent need for extended post and telephone services in parliament in 1952.[208] Although his request did not receive immediate attention, the matter was attended to shortly afterwards. The implementation of a door-to-door post delivery system was attended to by the post office authorities in October and[209] by April 1954, the system was ready. The amount of private post that the town received at this stage apparently did not justify delivery

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[202] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file L1/29/27, Postal and telephone facilities: letter, Mining Rights and Estates Department/Peri Urban Areas Health Board, 10.12.1948.
[203] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file L1/29/27, Postal and telephone facilities: letter, Peri Urban Areas Health Board/Mining Rights and Estates Department, 6.1.1949.
[204] R.F. Putzel, *The encyclopedia of South African post offices* ..., I, (A-E), p. 301.
[205] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, R. Lombaard (Research officer, Post Office Museum Pretoria), 5.9.1990.
[206] Unie van Suid-Afrika, *Telefoongids Transvaal,* April 1951, p. 617 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), ref. 1: minutes, Far West Rand Chamber of Commerce: minutes, 28.1.1951, as well as 20.3.1951.
Regarding telephones, Oberholzer was not as fully equipped as Carletonville at this stage.
[207] Unie van Suid-Afrika, *Debatte van die Volksraad,* 12.5.1952, column, 6179.
[208] Unie van Suid-Afrika, *Debatte van die Volksraad,* 12.5.1952, column, 6179.
[209] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file L1/29/17, Postal and telephone facilities: letter, Regional Secretary Peri Urban Areas Health Board/Assistant Secretary, 22.3.1951, as well as letter, Peri Urban Areas Health Board/Post Master Carletonville, 21.10.1952.

at houses. On top of that, the Carletonville post office blamed the residents for being too slow in reacting to the post office's request to fix numbers to their houses.[210] Shortly afterwards, these challenges were overcome, and in 1959, the postal delivery service was activated.[211] The farm line telephone scheme also only received attention in 1959,[212] and was rolled out in 1961 at a cost of R2,602,00.[213] From 1964, Carletonville gradually migrated to an automated telephone service.[214]

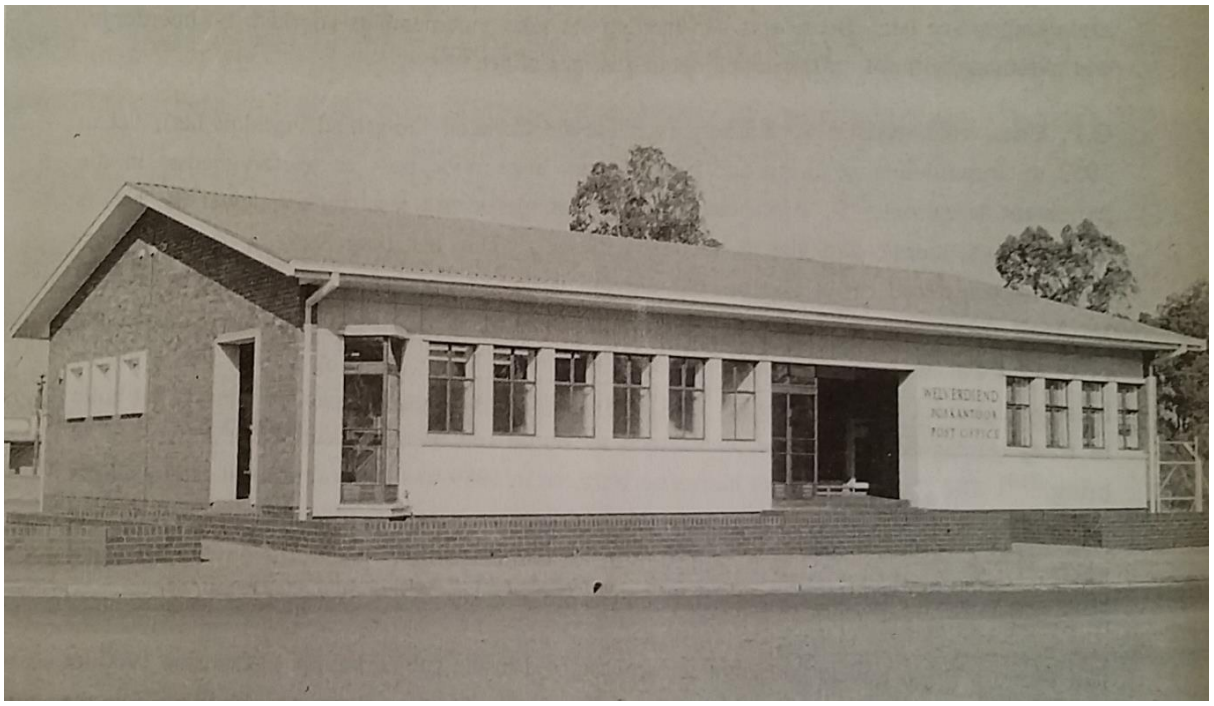
The Western Deep Levels Gold Mine's presence in the area resulted in the opening of a postal agency called Western Levels. For the benefit of the mining community, it was constructed on mine property.[215] At that stage, a post office for the mining community at Doornfontein, was also envisaged.[216] This did not happen, probably because Welverdiend was regarded as the centre that could service the mine in this regard. On 31 July 1961, the opening of the Khutsong postal agency in the young black residential area followed.[217]

No further postal agencies were opened in the 1960s. It is possible that the landslide phenomenon was responsible for the foreign institutions' investment confidence in Carletonville during

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[210] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file L1/29/27, Postal and telephone facilities: letter, Post Master Carletonville/Secretary Health Board, 5.7.1954, as well as letter, Secretary Health Board for Peri Urban Areas/Post Master Carletonville, 2.9.1954.
[211] R.F. Putzel, *The encyclopedia of South African post offices ..., I,* (A-E), p.301 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, M.J.G. Lourens (Post Master, Carletonville), 6.12.1988.
[212] CAD, Department of the Post Master General (PMG), Vol. 25, file 3B/2B/4529/60, Supply of a farm line telephone scheme in Carletonville, 2.6.1959 - 26.2.1960, as well as a letter, Post Master Carletonville/Telephone manager Johannesburg, 26.2.1960.
[213] TAD, PMG, Vol. 137, file 3B2B/20618/61, Farm line telephone scheme: letter, Deputy Post Master General/Telephone manager Johannesburg, 3.11.1961.
[214] CAD, PMG, Vol. 380, file 5A5C/3283165, Manual exchange Carletonville: temporary accommodation, 1.3.1965. Apparently, attention was paid to an automated system in 1962. See *West Rand Times en Wesrander,* 5.2.1962*,* p. 1.
[215] *Union of South Africa, Possirkulêr,* no. 2169, 1960, column, 11818.
[216] CAD, PMG, Vol. 47, file 2FIB/08017/60, Suggested establishment of the postal agency office at the Doonfontein Mine: letter, Doornfontein Gold Mining Co. Ltd /Postmaster Carletonville, 6.9.1960.
[217] R.F. Putzel, *The encyclopedia of South African post offices ..., II*, (F-M), p. 206.

The opening of the new post office on Welverdiend, October 1968



Source: Antonica Foto's.

The new Carletonville post office opened in 1975



Source: Post Office Museum

the years were extremely low. Attention was paid to the need for extended service and existing agencies. This included, among others, Khutsong that obtained a two-weekly post delivery service in 1966,[218] and Welverdiend, whose longtime ideal was realised on 23 October 1968, when a new post office building was opened for the town.[219]

Notable improvements and extensions of post offices and telephone exchanges became a reality in 1971 when the Government made RM27 available for new services in this regard, across the country. The construction of a new post office in Carletonville and an extension of the existing telephone exchange were envisaged.[220] On 27 November 1975, Carletonville's new post office was officially opened by Mr M. Viljoen, the Minister of Post and Telecommunication Services. Mr D.J.N. Jacobs was the first post master to take the lead in the new post office.[221] Changes to the electrical link for the automated exchange of the town received attention shortly after the opening.[222] Additionally, on 2 April 1973, another postal agency, i.e., Goudveld (at Oos Driefontein Mine), opened on 2 April 1973.[223] Branch agencies and services underwent phenomenal growth in the 1980s. The following nine branch agencies were opened:

TABLE 13: BRANCH AGENCIES OPENED IN THE CARLETONVILLE REGION SINCE 1980

Post Office	Site	Date of opening
Ha-ramosa	Doornfontein Mine Western	4.8.1980
Ekhayallihle	Deep Levels Mine	6.8.1980
Kwa Thanduxolo	Oos Driefontein Mine	2.9.1980
Phofung	Elandsrand Mine	2.9.1980
Motebong	Western Deep Levels Mine	9.3.1981
e'Mbali	Western Deep Levels Mine	15.7.1981

[218] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: minutes, Carletonville Chamber of Commerce and Industries: minute, 25.8.1966.
[219] *Carletonville Herald*, 25.10.1968, p. 13.
[220] *Die Vaderland*, 20.3.1971, p.1, and *Herald vir die Goue Weste*, 14.5.1971, p. 1.
[221] *Carletonville Weekly Record,* 2.5.1975, p. 11, as well as 29.8.1975, p. 7 and 7.11.1975, p. 3.
[222] IR, MCV, file 86/1/2(2), Telephone service and cables: letter, Regional representative/Town Clerk Carletonville, 11.9.1975.
[223] CAD, PMG, Vol. 490, file 2FIB/2682/68, Suggested establishment of a postal agency, Goudveld: negotiations re the opening of the Goudveld post office, 18.2.1972 - 6.3.1973, and B.F. Putzel, *The encyclopedia of South African post offices ..., II,* (F-M), p. 55.

Letsatsing	Wes Driefontein Mine	5.10.1981
Kwa Ncedabantu	Blyvooruitzicht Mine	5.4.1982
E'Siyifumene	Blyvooruitzicht Mine	July 1982 [224]

From Table 13, it is clear that the postal agencies that opened on mine property were built close to hostels. The realisation of this type of service for large numbers of blacks on mine property was certainly a dream come true.

Services that most post offices in this region have delivered include the issuance of money and postal orders, a telebank, savings bank and investment facilities, payment of pensions and receipt of money for television licences and telephone rentals. Issuing and maintenance of telephones in the region are mainly managed by the main post office in Carletonville.[225]

As in many towns in South Africa, the post office had a long waiting list for telephones due to an overload of the main line service. This was also the case with Khutsong (which also had a long waiting list), for which an automated telephone service was envisaged in 1980[226] and was implemented in July 1983.[227] The problem was discussed in parliament in 1985 by Mr W.J. Landman, the then councillor for Carletonville.[228] Not much had been achieved since, however, in 1987 further development resulted in the installation of improved telecommunication equipment in the town. [229]

[224] *R.F. Putzel, The encyclopedia of South African post offices ..., I*, (A-E), pp. 89, 433, 453, as well as II, (FM), pp.89,258,278,392, and III (N-T), pp. 34-85. Also see Postal, March 1982, p. 9.
[225] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, M.J.A. Lourens, 6.12.1988.
[226] *Seipone,* 24.10.1980, p. 1, as well as 12.9.1981, p. 1.
[227] *Carletonville Herald,* 21.5.1983, p. 2 and *Seipone,* 23.7.1983, p. 1.
[228] Republiek van Suid-Afrika, *Debatte van die Volksraad*, 13.3.1985, columns, 2286-2287.
[229] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file 17/22/4(3), Community services: postal and telephone services, 12.5.1987 - 19.1.1989.

The inauguration of the post office in Phofung (Elandsrand), July 1980



Source: *Carletonville Herald*

By 1988, the position of post offices in the municipal region of Carletonville had changed dramatically from 1899 to 1948. While the availability of roads and railways in the region initially stimulated the type of need, post offices were planned and constructed from an economic point of view after 1937. This resulted in the downgrading of the Welverdiend post office, which was first regarded as one of the most important and active post offices in the region.[230] By 1988, the Welverdiend post office had been so degraded that all duties could be managed by one person only.[231]

Additionally, a mobile postal agency had been servicing the Deelkraal and Elandsrand mines since the early 1980s, for a limited number of hours per week.[232] The Carletonville post office played the leading role in the development process. All agencies and post offices in the municipal region functioned under its management by 1988.[233]

By 1988, the transport of mail by rail by the Carletonville post office was something of the past. As the old mail coaches had to make way for railway transport, the latter had to make way for the more popular road transport service and a modern, developed road network for the transport of Carletonville's post.[234] This tendency could be regarded as an additional reason for the downgrading of the Welverdiend post office.

During 1988, the postal routes of Carletonville and environs had completely changed from the days when it was still known as Gatsrand. Mail was sorted locally, including the mail bags for the direct

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[230] The judgement in this regard is made based on the region's history, as in: E.S. van Eeden, *Die geskiedenis van die Gatsrand* ..., p. 167.
[231] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, M.J.G. Lourens, 6.12.1988.
[232] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, W.G.G. James van Vuuren (Post office Officer, Carletonville), 10.9.1990.
[233] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, M.J.G. Lourens, 6.12.1988.
[234] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, T.P. Venter, 8.2.1989.

mail to Port Elizabeth, Cape Town, Durban, Johannesburg and King Williamstown. This mail was taken by car to the main post office in Krugersdorp, from where it was transported to the mail bag depot in Boksburg (Comet) for further sorting. Mail via Carletonville to neighbouring towns like Potchefstroom and Klerksdorp was taken to the addresses by motorcar.[235]

6.3.2 The newspaper industry

The distribution of a local newspaper can be an effective communication medium and mouthpiece for town residents. Not only can local dealers advertise their services, but a variety of newsworthy items from the region that might otherwise have been lost can be made accessible to all residents.

Before 1948, the closest the erstwhile Gatsrand ward (present Carletonville region) residents came to establishing a newspaper was the individual involvement of the widow J.P. Borrius, from the farm Blyvooruitzicht. Her husband was the government printer in the 1860s at Potchefstroom.[236] With her financial assistance, the *De Volkstem* was founded in 1873 in Pretoria.[237]

By 1950, when Carletonville's development gained momentum, the region's residents did not have a newspaper that served everyone's interests. Neighbouring towns' newspapers that placed newsworthy items in the area were the exception.[238]

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[235] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, M.J.G. Lourens, 6.12.1988.
[236] F. Vermooten, J.P. Borrius: A printer pioneer, 1840-1892, pp. 1-10.
[237] E. Rosenthal, *Manne en maatskappye,* pp. 50-51.
[238] E.S. van Eeden, *Die geskiedenis van die Gatsrand…,* Source references in the thesis indicate the extent of articles that were published by Potchefstroom newspapers, i.e., *Potchefstroom Herald, Western Gazette* and *De Westelike Stem.*

Mining staff of the pioneer gold mine, Blyvooruitzicht, were the first to start a newspaper in 1953 called *Blyvooruitzicht News*.[239] Ironically enough, the initiative came from both Mrs Borrius, as well as the later Blyvooruitzicht gold mine staff on the farm Blyvooruitzicht. By 1953, national magazines and newspapers were distributed by H. Tappan and C.G. de Beer of the Oberholzer newspaper distribution,[240] depots called Blyvoor News Agency.[241]

In 1951, the Local Regional Committee provided permission for the use of the garage of a private residence for the distribution of newspapers by the Central News Agency (CNA). The CNA's distribution point was directly opposite the Ingot House business complex on Flint Street. A Carletonville resident, A. van der Westhuizen, also assisted with distributing national newspapers in the Carletonville region.[242] It appears that especially English magazines and newspapers were very popular.[243] This indicates the leading role played by English-speaking whites during Carletonville's developmental years by stimulating the establishment of the local newspaper industry.

In the 1950s, the population growth in the Carletonville region increased rapidly, and the need for a newspaper as a source of information regarding local issues also increased. Consequently, the newspaper *Carletonville Nuus/News* appeared on the street on 2 November 1955,[244] under the guidance of J.C. Greyling. The publication of the newspaper was, however, short-lived, as economic

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[239] *Blyvoor News*, 1953.
[240] Unie van Suid-Afrika, *Telefoongids vir Transvaal,* April 1951, p. 617.
[241] *Potchefstroom Herald*, 28.10.1988, p. 8.
[242] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, A. van der Westhuizen, 8.2.1989, and 3.3.1989.
[243] The deduction was made regarding information in Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file T1/430, West Wits Local Area Committee, CNA distribution Centre: report, West Witwatersrand Local Area Committee, 17.8.1951 and *Potchefstroom Herald,* 28.10.1988, p. 8.
[244] *Carletonville Nuus/News*, 2.11.1955, p. 1.

reasons and duties involved were incompatible with Mr Greyling's heavy workload. [245]

At the beginning of the 1960s, Carletonville still had no regular weekly newspaper that served local interests.[246] Doornfontein[247] and Wes Driefontein mine[248] each developed their own newspapers for the mine workers. Neighbouring towns such as the *Potchefstroom Nuus/News* and the *Wesrand Times en Wesrander* of Krugersdorp reported on newsworthy items of Carletonville, as they had in the past. Both newspapers dedicated a page to the news from Carletonville every week.[249] After the opening of the Western Deep Levels Gold Mine in 1962, the mine also launched a mine newspaper for the workers, called *Deep Levels News/Nuus*.[250]

Increasing development in the area and the absence of an official mouthpiece aiming at positive publicity during the sinkhole period in Carletonville provided renewed stimulus for the need for a local newspaper. Obviously, the business sector had expanded and could make an important financial contribution to a local newspaper in exchange for advertisements.

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[245] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, J.C. Greyling, 13.3.1990.
[246] Between 1955 and 1963, there were a few attempts to launch a local newspaper, without success. See *Carletonville Herald,* 11.11.1988, p. 4.
[247] *Doornfontein News/Nuus*, 15.2.1987, p. 1.
[248] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, D. Poel (Public liaison officer, Wes Driefontein Mine), 11.8.1989. Earlier editions of the *Wes Driefontein News* were unfortunately not preserved by the mine.
[249] Consult newspapers *Wesrand Times* and *Wesrander,* 1959-1963; *Potchefstroom Nuus/News,* November 1960 - 21.4.1961; Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: minutes, Carletonville- Oberholzer Chamber of Commerce: minute, 9.2.1961 en TAD (MCV), Vol. 49, file 7/5/(1), Publicity: letter, J.N. Rademeyer/Town Clerk Carletonville, 2.11.1960.
[250] *Deep Levels News/Nuus,* Oktober 1964. Also see Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, E. van Wyk (Public liaison officer and editor of the mine newspaper *Western Deep Levels*), 11.8.1989. After a stormy existence in the 1970s, the mine newspaper appeared regularly in the 1980s. See *Western Deep Levels News/Nuus,* November 1984, p. 2.

H.B. van der Walt, founding member of the *Carletonville Herald*, 1963



Source: H.B. van der Walt

Staff members of the Carletonville Press, 1976



Back row (f.l.t.r): F.A. Oberholzer, N.G.M. Ferreira, M.B. Coetzee (foreman), H. Huisman, A.J. Viljoen.

Middle row (f.l.t.r): Ms C. van der Westhuizen, Mrs M. Coetzee, J.W. Johnson (managing director), Mrs P.M.C. Coetzee (chief) and Mrs A. Britz.

Front row (f.l.t.r): Petrus, Solomon, Johannes, John.

Source: J.W. Johnson.

Under the leadership of Carletonville's business community, and especially the initiative of D.S. Goosen, F.H. Kamffer and H.B. van der Walt, the first edition of the *Carletonville Herald* appeared on 25 January 1963. The Carletonville Press in Amethys Street undertook the printing.[251] Contrary to its predecessor of 1955, and according to sales, it appeared that this newspaper had a better chance of survival.[252] Councillor J.J. Baard, the mayor, expressed the hope in his message in the first edition that this bold undertaking by persons with entrepreneurial spirit was here to stay ("*stoutmoedige onderneming van persone met ondernemingsgees hopelik gekom het om te bly").*[253] This, indeed, came true.

During September/October 1966, a new attempt was made to resuscitate the erstwhile *Carletonville News/Nuus* under a new name, *Carleton News/Nuus,* under the leadership of G. van Heerden. After only two months on the street, the newspaper was discontinued,[254] and the *Carletonville Herald* maintained its monopoly.

As the owners of the *Carletonville Herald* changed over the years, the distribution area also changed. After Messrs V. van Aswegen and V. Daly became the owners of the *Carletonville Herald* in the late 1960s, it was sometimes published as the *Herald vir die Goue Weste* and distributed outside Carletonville.[255]

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[251] TAD, PMG, Vol. 263, file 2D2B/5519/63, Registration as a newspaper: application, *Carletonville Herald* (Pty) Ltd., 25.1.1963 and *Carletonville Herald*, 25.1.1963, p. 3. According to the *Carletonville Herald* of 11.11.1988, the first issue appeared in July 1963. According to the first footnote in the source, July is incorrect.
[252] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, H.B. van der Walt, 14.7.1989, and Carletonville Herald, 24.1.1964, p. 2.
[253] *Carletonville Herald*, 25.1.1963, p. 4. The first editions of the newspaper were distributed free of charge.
[254] CAD, PMG, Vol. 474, file 2D2B/18305/67, *Carletonville Nuus/News* - Registration as newspaper, 9.10.1966 - 1.12.1966: application for registration as a newspaper 9.10.1966, and *Carletonville News/Nuus*, 20.9.1966 - 9.11.1966.
[255] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, V. van Aswegen, 4.1.1991.

The first edition of the *Carleton-nuus/news*, September 1966



CARLETON-NUUS NEWS

4 Diamond Str., CARLETONVILLE, Tel. 2924.

Die tweetalige weekblad vir alle inwoners van CARLETONVILLE, OBERHOLZER, WESTONARIA, FOCHVILLE, KLOOF, WELVERDIEND & BANK

The bilingual weekly for all the residents of

(Geregistreer by die H.P.K. as 'n nuusblad). (Registered as a Newspaper at the G.P.O.)

VOLUME 1 No. 1 WOENSDAG 20 SEPTEMBER 1966 Prys/Price 3c

STEPHANIES BAKKERY CARLETONVILLE,
OMEGA SLAGHUIS en
STEPHANIES BAKKERY OBERHOLZER
wens die
CARLETON-NUUS
(as baba)
WELKOM IN ONS MIDDE
en wens 'n vinnige groei toe, tot volwasse koerant.

Een van die interessantste besittings van mnr. J. de Beer van Julianastraat, is 'n houtkalender vir die jaar 1833, wat tydens die Groot Trek saam met die Voortrekkers na Transvaal gekom het. Hoe die Voortrekkers die dag en datum hiervan afgelees het, is nie meer bekend nie, behalwe vir die feit dat hulle stokkies gebruik het, wat 'n gaatjies op die kalender gedruk het. Kan enige van ons lesers miskien vir ons sê hoe die kalender afgelees is? Waarvoor staan byvoorbeeld die X- en S-tekens in die middel van die bord? Is daar nog soortgelyke kalenders in besit van enige van ons lesers?

SINKGATGEVAAR NOU VERBY

Sedert die laaste sinkgat 9 maande gelede, op 25 Desember verlede jaar ingesak het, het Carletonville se aardkors stabiel gebly en alle tekens dui tans daarop dat die voorkoms van sinkgate nou verby is.

Die publisiteit wat dwarsdeur die land aan die sinkgatprobleem verleen is, het die ontwikkeling en vooruitgang van die dorp erg in die wiele gery en dit het gelyk asof die staat, handel en nywerhede vertroue in Carletonville verloor het.

Dit is egter nie die geval nie, soos duidelik bewys word deur die tale regeringsgeboue wat binne afsienbare tyd in Carletonville sal verrys.

Die volgende feite het onlangs onder die aandag van die Carleton-Nuus gekom.

- 'n Provinsiale hospitaal sal in Carletonville opgerig word ten bedrae van meer as R2½ milj. Planne daarvoor word reeds deur die argitekte opgetrek.
- Die Departement Justisie het reeds verlede maand begin met die oprigting van nuwe landdroskantore in Oberholzer.
- Huise wat ten tye van die groot sinkgatskrik deur mynbesture ontruim is, is weer beskikbaar gestel vir bewoning en talle is reeds weer betrek.
- Nuwe woonhuise is nog steeds in aanbou en die vinnige vermeerdering van blanke inwoners, het die onderwysowerhede genoodsaak om voorsiening vir nuwe skole te maak. Onder die beoogde nuwe skole is 'n Hoër Handelskool en die oprigting van nuwe en groter gebou vir die Goudwes-skool.

Oor die algemeen het owerhede, sakemanne en inwoners hul vertroue in Carletonville herwin en hoewel die ontwikkeling van die dorp vir 'n tydperk onderbreek is gaan dit nou in versnelde pas voort.

Nogtans sal die waaksaamheid oor die veiligheid van die inwoners nooit verslap nie. Die Staat het 'n spesiale Komitee aangestel om gereelde ondersoeke in te stel en waarskuwingstoestelle is oral aangebring waar die geringste vermoede bestaan dat grond in die verre toekoms ooit onveilig sou kon word.

'n Myngeoloog het onlangs die mening uitgespreek dat sinkgate nou iets van die verlede is aangesien die bodem na die insinkings gestabiliseer het.

Ernstig siek

Mnr. Hugo van die Hoër Handels- en Tegnieseskool, Carletonville, is ernstig siek en die skoliere wens hom 'n spoedige herstel toe. Mnr. Hugo tree die einde van die jaar amptelik af.

Diamantlokvink Gearresteer deur „Koper"

'n Baie bekende inwoner van Carletonville het onlangs 'n interessante ondervinding gehad.

Terwyl die persoon na sy motor stap, het 'n Kleurling hom genader en gevra of hy nie belangstel om diamante te koop nie. Die persoon het hom afgejak en in sy motor geklim. So maklik het die Kleurling hom nie laat afskud nie, en langs die man ingeklim.

Die man het hom bloedig vererg en wou die Kleurling daar en dan 'n pak slae gee, maar die Kleurling het met sy pleidooi volgehou. Toe die man verneem waar die diamante is, het die Kleurling gesê dat dit by sy huis is. Hulle is toe daarheen.

Die man het langs die pad stilgehou, terwyl die Kleurling gou die diamante gaan haal het. Met sy terugkeer het hy twee groot diamante aan die man getoon. Hulle stap toe saam na die agterkant van die motor. Die man het die kattebak oopgemaak. Toe die Kleurling buk, stamp die man hom in die bak in en maak dit toe. Daarop het die man hom na die aanklagtekantoor geneem, waar die Kleurling gearresteer is. 'n Kleurling-George van Coller word aangekla van bedrog. Die saak kom op 18 September voor.

ONS DOEL EN STREWE

Met genoeë stel ons onsself vandag aan die inwoners van die Middelwes-Rand bekend as 'n weeklikse nuusblad wat as kampvegter vir die belange van alle inwoners van hierdie streek sal optree.

Ons wil graag die behoefte wat in die afgelope jare al hoe duidliker geword het, vul en 'n diens aan die gebied en sy gemeenskap lewer.

Die CARLETON-NUUS sal voortaan elke Woensdagmiddag verskyn om sy lesers die jongste nuus oor sake van belang te bring. Dit is ons doel om die Middelwes-Rand, met Carletonville as middelpunt van die vooruitstrewende gemeenskappe in die goudryke gebied met publisiteit te dien en die inwoners te verteenwoordig.

Dit sal dus steeds die beleid van die CARLETON-NUUS wees om samewerking te soek en te bewerkstellig tussen alle openbaare instansies en die publiek en met woord en daad die ontwikkeling en uitbreiding van die gebied op alle terreine te stimuleer.

Ons hoop dat u as lesers hierdie koerant as u eie sal aanvaar en dat hy elke Woensdagmiddag as 'n welkome vriend in u huis ont-

OUR AIM AND ENDEAVOUR

We take pleasure in introducing ourselves to-day as a weekly newspaper for all the residents in the towns on the Middle West Rand.

During the past few years the demand for such a medium to represent the interests of the communities has steadily grown and it is our aim to fill this gap with a local newspaper which will serve its community through publicity.

The CARLETON-NEWS will appear henceforth every Wednesday to bring its readers the latest news on matters of public interest.

It will be the constant policy of the CARLETON-NEWS to seek and establish co-operation between local bodies and the public and in this way contribute towards the progress and development of this gold-rirh region of which Carletonville forms the hub.

We sincerely hope that you as readers will receive this paper as your own, and will regard it as a welcome friend in your home every

MODEL MELKERY
vir
VOLROOM
GEPASTEURISEERDE
MELK en ROOM
★
Probeer ons Super Vrugte Drankies
★
Oberholzer Depot:
Posbus 82 — Tel.: Fabriek 3921
Fochville 296 — Annan 6243
Blyvooruitsig 9683.
Mej. Model

HUISE, STANDPLASE, PLOTTE, PLASE BY
CARLETONVILLE AGENTSKAPPE
U plaaslike agent vir:
SAAMBOU-BOUVERENIGING
H/v. Gold- en Diamondstraat, Carletonville, Skakel 4828.
Alle soorte Lewens, Brand, Marine en Ongevalleversekering word onderneem.

Illustration: TAD, PMG, Vol. 474, file 2D2B/18305/67.

In 1973, Mr S.P.B. Hoogenboezem, the new owner, envisaged an even wider distribution area. In October that year, the *Wes-Transvaal en OVS Herald* appeared as an appendix in the *Carletonville Herald*.[256] This distribution area would once again change after 'Nasionale Pers' took over the newspaper in the 1980s.[257]

In February 1975, the *Carletonville Herald* was challenged by a competitor when Mr J.W. Johnson, owner of *Carletonville Press* and printer of the *Carletonville Herald*, founded the *Carletonville Weekly Record/Weeklikse Rekord*.[258] Apparently, Johnson founded the newspaper after he had an altercation with Mr Hoogenboezem,[259] but according to Johnson, the motivation for the *Weekly Record* was the need for another local newspaper. Despite the debate regarding the validity of two local newspapers, the *Weekly Record has* appeared often since March 1975. According to Johnson, the *Carletonville Weekly Record* had a large readership, [260] to such an extent that the *Carletonville Herald* showed a slight decrease in sales during the functioning of the *Weekly Record*.[261]

Johnson's workload and problems with labour shortages convinced him to sell the *Carletonville Weekly Record* to B. Cords in June 1979. He experienced similar challenges, and, consequently, the last edition of the newspaper appeared on the street three weeks after Cord had taken over its management.[262] After four years, the *Carletonville Herald* retrieved its sole right in the Carletonville region.

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[256] See editions of *Herald vir die Goue Weste*, 1966-1972 and *Carletonville Herald*, 1973.
[257] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, S.P.B. Hoogenboom, 4.9.1990.
[258] *Carletonville Weekly Record*, 26.3.1976, p. 2.
[259] *Carletonville Herald,* 11.11.1988, p. 3. In an interview with Mr Johnson, he did not give the impression that the so-called altercation with Hoogenboezem gave rise to the establishment of another newspaper. Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, J.W. Johnson (owner, Carletonville printer), 20.4.1989.
[260] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, J.W. Johnson, 20.4.1989.
[261] *Carletonville Herald*, 11.11.1988, p. 3.
[262] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, J.W. Johnson, 20.4.1989.

Carletonville Herald personnel



(F.l.t.r) M. Heyns (ed. 1978-1980), C. Dutton (ed. 1975-1978), C. Rautenbach (collaborator), H. Scheppel (ed. 1988-), E. van Wyk (ed. 1980-1988).

Source: *Carletonville Herald*

By the 1980s, the annual edition of the *Carletonville Herald* amounted to 6,000 copies,[263] much more than the initial 3,000 copies that were printed.[264] Apart from the region's population increase, the promising increase in circulation could also be ascribed to the newspaper's editorial policy. This basically determined that reporting should be a mirror image of the community, be apolitical and should present all matters of communal interest as objectively as possible.[265]

Apart from the *Carletonville Herald,* which mainly served white readers, the appearance of a newspaper for blacks became a reality when *Khutsong News,* financed by two businesswomen, i.e., Mrs K. Pretorius and Mrs J. Carthy of K & J Mining Supply, appeared in February 1979. In 1980, this newspaper, known as *Seipone* (mirror), was taken over by the *Carletonville Herald*.[266] By 1984, it became clear that *Seipone* was not profitable. Poor support by advertisers contributed to this situation. Nasionale Pers, as owner of the *Carletonville Herald* and *Seipone*, subsequently decided to suspend the newspaper for black people. The argument was that the new regional newspaper, *City Press*, could serve the interests of the blacks in the region.

In 1987, however, it was found that blacks preferred their own local newspaper to a regional weekend newspaper,[267] and from May 1988 *Seipone* appeared again regularly.[268] The local mine authorities

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[263] *Carletonville Herald,* 27.7.1984, as well as 11.11.1988, p. 2 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, H.S. Scheppel (editor, *Carletonville Herald*), 7.9.1990.
[264] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interviews, S.P.B. Hoogenboezem, 4.9.1990, and H.S. Scheppel, 7.9.1990.
[265] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, H.S. Scheppel, 7.9.1990.
[266] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, J. Carthy (ex-businesswoman, Carletonville), 1.3.1989, as well as G. Wessels (editor, *Potchefstroom Herald*), 23.11.1988 and *Khutsong News,* 9.2.1979, p. 1.
[267] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, G. Wessels, 23.11.1988 and *Capro Black Newspapers,* 1.7.1987.
[268] *Seipone,* May 1988, p. 1, and December 1988, p. 4. Under the guidance of Nasionale Pers, *Seipone's* interests expanded on a regional basis.

only recently paid attention to the need of their black mine workers for a newspaper of their own.[269]

The local newspaper industry, as a handy mouthpiece of Carletonville's business sector, only achieved adulthood in the late 1980s by providing a variety of newspapers for all the communities in the region.

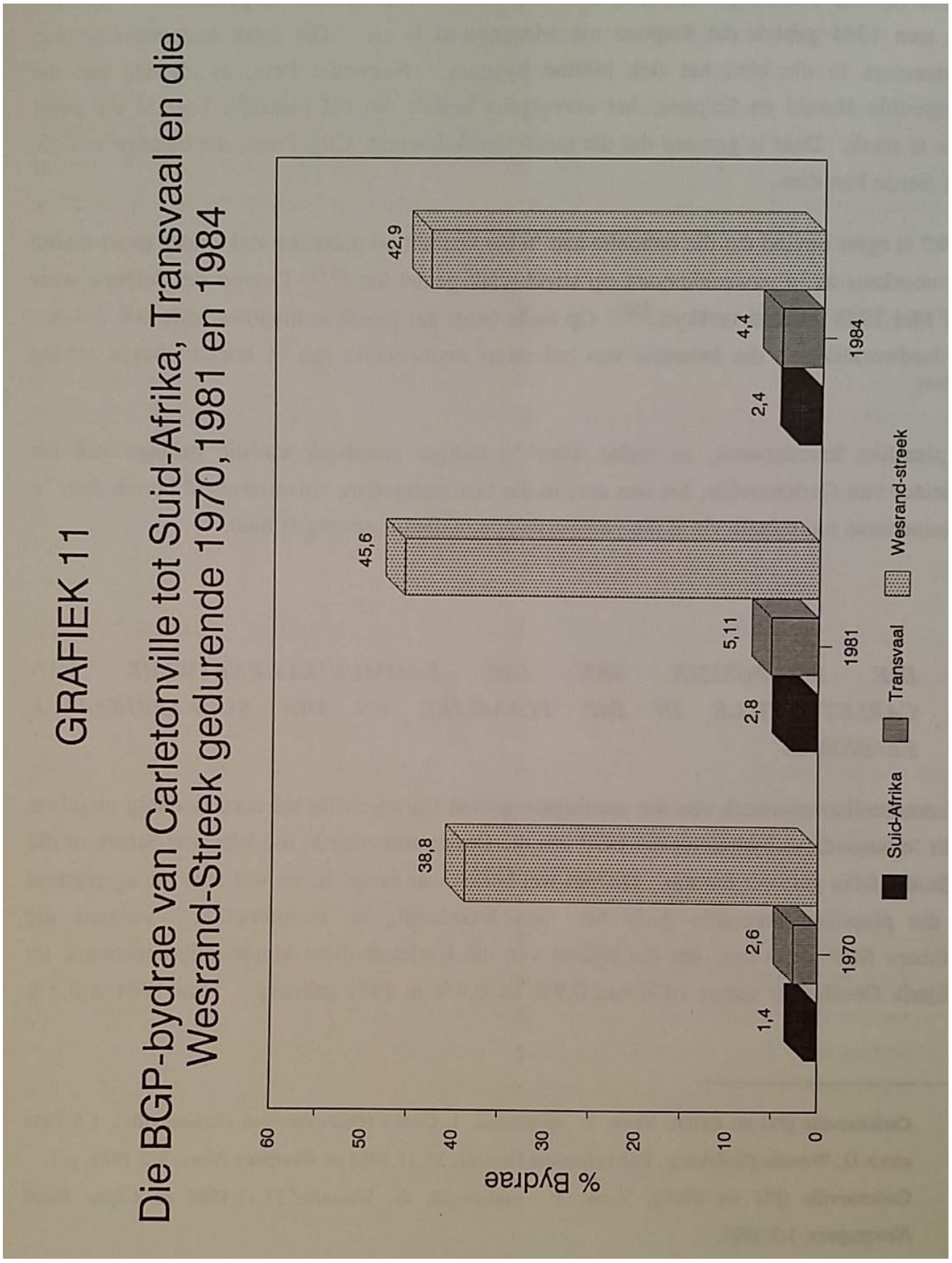
6.4 THE GROSS GEOGRAPHICAL PRODUCT (GGP) POSITION OF THE COMMUNICATION NETWORK OF CARLETONVILLE IN THE LOCAL AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY

The communication network of the Carletonville municipal region never expanded to such an extent that it made a special contribution to the GGP of the Oberholzer district, the Westrand Region, or that of South Africa. That which was made available and which thrived against the backdrop of the local economy was indispensable. According to the GGP data, the contribution of the Carletonville communication network to the Oberholzer district between 1970 and 1981 shrank from 0,9% to 0,4%. By 1984, 0,5 was delivered, which was somewhat of an improvement and probably an indication of the growth of the communication industry during this period.

At the regional level, the GGP of the local communication network only surpassed that of Westonaria, whose economic development was determined by the gold mine industry. In contrast, the other towns in the region are close in proximity and have a more balanced, economically active population and infrastructure, which obviously demands a more extensive communication network than a rural-oriented community such as Carletonville. However, the communication network of Carletonville's GGP contribution to the Westrand Region since 1970, rose from 6,2% to 10% in 1984.

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[269] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interviews, J.W. Johnson, 20.4.1988, as well as D. Poel, 11.8.1989 and E. van Wyk, 11.8.1989.



GRAPH 11: THE GGP-CONTRIBUTION OF CARLETONVILLE TO SOUTH AFRICA, TRANSVAAL AND THE WESTRAND REGION DURING 1970, 1981 AND 1984

Should the GGP contribution of Carletonville be compared to the communication network on national level, it is, like agriculture and the industry, a mere drop in the sea. By 1984, Carletonville's communication structure contributed only 0,1% to the state coffers.[270]

6.5 THE OVERALL POSITION OF CARLETONVILLE'S ECONOMY VERSUS THAT OF SOUTH AFRICA

Should the position and contribution of Carletonville's total economic infrastructure be compared to that of the Westrand Region, Transvaal and South Africa (see Graph 11, p. 286a), it is not at all inferior. On the contrary. The establishment of gold mines in Carletonville since 1937 supported the local economy to such an extent that, by 1970, this region contributed 38,8% to the GGP of the Westrand region.

Land sinkings that challenged the Carletonville region did not affect its GGP contribution, thanks to the continued production of the gold mines. Confidence and recovery during the 1970s resulted in Carletonville remaining the most important contributor by 1981, with its share of 45,6% to the GGP of the Westrand region. Carletonville's GGP share in Transvaal and South Africa was 5,4% and 2,8% respectively.

The abovementioned contributions are impressive, given the fact that most towns in the country, including important metropolitan areas such as Port Elizabeth, Pietermaritzburg, Bloemfontein, Vanderbijlpark and Vereeniging, did not achieve this rate.

Although the GGP contribution of Carletonville to the Westrand Region, Transvaal and South Africa had dropped somewhat by 1984,[271] to 42,9%, 4,4% and 2,4%, respectively. It remained

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[270] Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics, report no. 09-14-04, *Bruto geografiese produk teen faktorinkome volgens landdrosdistrik, 1975,* 1975, p. 22, as well as ..., *1978,* 1978, p. 22; *1981,* 1981, pp. 22-23 and ..., *1984,* 1984, pp. 15, 40-41.
[271] See *Chapter Four* wrt the production history of all the gold mines.

one of the highest regional contributors in South Africa and literally worth its weight in gold.[272]

6.6 IN CONCLUSION

As indicated in this chapter, communication services are necessary on all levels of the communication network in any economic system. In the Carletonville region, connecting links and the communication industry still stood their ground in the local economic sector by 1988.

To what extent the Carletonville household, including the communication network, contributed to the Carletonville community's development, evolution, and encouraged the community's involvement is discussed in *Chapter Seven.*

[272] Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics, report no. 09-14-04, *Bruto geograflese produk teen faktorinkome volgens landdrosdistrik, 1970,* 1970, pp. 3, 22, as well as…, *1975,* 1975, pp. 3, 22;…,*1978,* 1978, pp. 4, 22;…, *1981,* 1981, pp. 5, 22-23; ..., *1984,* 1984, pp.15, 40-41.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE INFLUENCE OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ON THE SOCIETAL EVOLUTION

7.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapters, the various economic sectors in which the Carletonville community was eventually established, developed and thrived were discussed. The gold mining industry proved to be the distinctive dominant factor influencing the establishment patterns, the population profile and the evolution of the societal structure. For the purpose of describing the evolution process, three periods are distinguished:

7.2 SOCIETAL EVOLUTION DURING THE FIRST DECADE AFTER THE PROCLAMATION OF CARLETONVILLE AS A TOWN, 1948 - 1958

Pioneer immigrants who came in search of a better future on the gold fields of the West-Wits Line had to reconcile with the barrenness of the environment. There was little talk of proper infrastructure, business activities, and sports and recreational activities.[1] Although the circumstances in the Blyvooruitzicht mine town were somewhat better, it was by no means satisfactory.[2]

By the end of the 1940s, Carletonville and Oberholzer, the closest two towns to the established gold mine companies, were beginning to evolve.[3] A mine official who worked at the Blyvooruitzicht mine recorded his recollections as follows: *Across the bare veld which now comprises Carletonville and Oberholzer, we enjoyed an almost uninterrupted view of Oberholzer station, the plantations, which are still there, were the interruption. Behind the station, all the hamlet boasted was a post office, West Wits field camp, a cheese factory, the "Orangia hotel", a high-sounding title, but merely a boarding house. There were also a*

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[1] See *Chapter Four,* pp. 128-130 and *Five,* pp. 210-212.
[2] See *Chapter Four,* pp. 126-130.
[3] See *Chapter Two*, p. 22.

few small and sparsely stocked shops.[4] It can certainly not be argued that the businesses to which he refers were small, although according to statistical data in Table 9, p.210e[5], there were quite a number of them. Whatever the case, this observation confirms that by 1948, a society was developing in the Carletonville region.

Most of the Carletonville residents during the development phase, who numbered 5,388 according to the 1951 census, were connected to the local mining industry.[6] As more and more gold mine companies established themselves, the number of whites and blacks in the region increased.[7] Thus, from the beginning, the societal character was similar to a typical mining community. Regardless of the nature of the population profile, it was not to the detriment of the development process of a potpourri of local structures for this urbanised community.

7.2.1 Church communities

The need to establish church associations was one of the first issues that the new community addressed. Initially, the Afrikaans church associations in the towns of Fochville, Potchefstroom and Krugersdorp, and the travelling English ministers addressed this need. Stimulated by the presence of the gold mining industry and the numerous newcomers in Carletonville and the neighbouring towns, the church community needed to pay attention to their local presence before 1948.[8]

The first church community that formed a fully-fledged congregation in the region was from the midst of the three Afrikaans sister churches, i.e., the Dutch Reformed Church (Nederduitsch Hervormde

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[4] *Blyvoor Nuus/News*, 30.11.1956, p. 1.
[5] See *Chapter Five*, p. 210e.
[6] Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics, report no. 02-05-12, *Population of South Africa, 1904-1970,* 1970, p. 55.
[7] The economically active population by 1985 is discussed in detail later in the chapter.
[8] E.S. van Eeden, *Die geskiedenis van die Gatsrand vanaf die vestiging van die Trekkergemeenskap omstreeks 1839 tot die proklamering van Carletonville in 1948*, pp. 53, 61, 64-65, 67-68.

Kerk) (NHK) at Wonderfontein, in 1946.[9] This was followed by the establishment of the Dutch Reformed Church (NGK) Carletonville in 1948, and in 1951, another NGK was founded on the Blyvooruitzicht mine property.[10] In 1953, the third sister's church, i.e., the Gereformeerde Kerk (GK), founded a congregation in Carletonville.[11] It is strange that the GK was the last of the three sisters' churches to establish congregational activities, as, geographically, the area is close to Potchefstroom, the heartland of this denomination, which has a historical connection with the founding of the church. It could probably be ascribed to the fact that the GK had the fewest members of the three sisters' churches. Local economic growth and the influx of various cultures definitely influenced church establishment patterns.

Apart from the presence of the three sisters' churches, the Afrikaans Pentecostal Church associations also settled in the Carletonville area shortly after its proclamation. In 1949, the first Pentecostal church appeared, i.e., the Apostolic Faith Mission (AFM).[12] The New Protestant church followed five years later.[13]

The fact that the six mentioned Afrikaans churches established themselves in the region within a short period indicates, among other things, that Carletonville had more Afrikaans than English-speaking residents in the 1950s. The needs of the English-speaking element, comprising schooled mine officials and traders, were initially fulfilled on an irregular basis. English church associations that served residents of this area as early as 1948, temporarily, are the Anglican, the

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[9] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, F.S. van Rensburg (Archivist, NHK Church Archives, Pretoria), 12.11.1990.
[10] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, F.S. van Rensburg (Archivist, NGK Church Archives, Pretoria), 12.11.1990.
[11] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, A. Coetzee (Official, Gereformeerde Church Archives, Potchefstroom), 12.11.1990.
[12] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, A. Swanepoel (Pastor, AGS congregation Carletonville), 12.11.1990 and Carletonville (Municipality), CM, Council minutes: minute, 26.1.1%1, art. 10.??
[13] *West Rand Times en Wesrander*, 7.8.1959, p. 4.

Methodists, the Church of the Nazarene and the Roman-Catholic Church.[14] Irregular religious activities for the handful of Indian and Jewish businessmen were not strange at that stage.[15]

The Anglican Church was the first to provide the English-speaking church associations with a sense of permanence when a church building was inaugurated in 1950.[16] Buildings for the Carletonville Jewish district congregation[17] and for the Methodist congregation followed shortly.[18] The much older church association in the region, i.e., the Roman Catholic Church, only inaugurated their own building in 1956, bringing to an end years of roaming regarding congregational activities.[19] However, the small congregations of the Assemblies of God,[20] and the St. Matthews Presbyterian Church,[21] which only established themselves in the area in 1957,[22] would roam around for some years.

As most members of the mentioned English churches were local mining industry employees, it is not strange that this sector agreed to make the recreational halls of the different mines available to churches that did not have their own buildings for this purpose. A long-term arrangement for the churches that used the recreational halls

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[14] Carletonville (Municipality), Local Area Committee (LAC), file 29/1/52, Consent use: applications for consent use under Town Planning Scheme Carletonville, 29.1.1952; Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 2: letter, J.E. Brady/A.J. Prinsloo, 6.9.1989, as well as Ref. 3: interview, G.C. Troon/A.J. Prinsloo, 7.8.1989 and E.S. van Eeden, *Die geskiedenis van die Gatsrand…,* pp .67-68.
[15] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, R.A. Nosarka (Businessman, Carletonville), 8.2.1989, as well as T. Waks (businessman, Carletonville), 15.4.1987.
[16] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 2: letter, D. Olver/A.J. Prinsloo, 27.7.1989.
[17] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 1: document, Carletonville and District Hebrew Congregation/Barclays Bank, 28.8.1951.
[18] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, Minutes: minute, 15.7.1954 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, J.C. Troon (Reverend, Methodist Church), 7.8.1989.
[19] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 2: letter, J.E. Brady/A.J. Prinsloo, 26.9.1989.
[20] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, Minutes: minute, 16.11.1951, p. 10 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, H. Mills (Reverend, Assemblies of God Church), 9.5.1989.
[21] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file 00139, The Presbyterian Church of South Africa/Transvaal Presbytery, 23.2.1953 en B.J.V. Naudé (red.), *Gedenkuitgawe: ontvangs van poskoets te Oberholzer, 9-11 Februarie 1952,* p. 6.
[22] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, H. Mills, 9.5.1989 and B.J.V. Naudé (ed.), *Gedenkuitgawe: ontvangs van poskoets ...,* p. 6. The St. Matthews Presbyterian church only inaugurated its building in 1960.

Members of the first Jewish district congregation

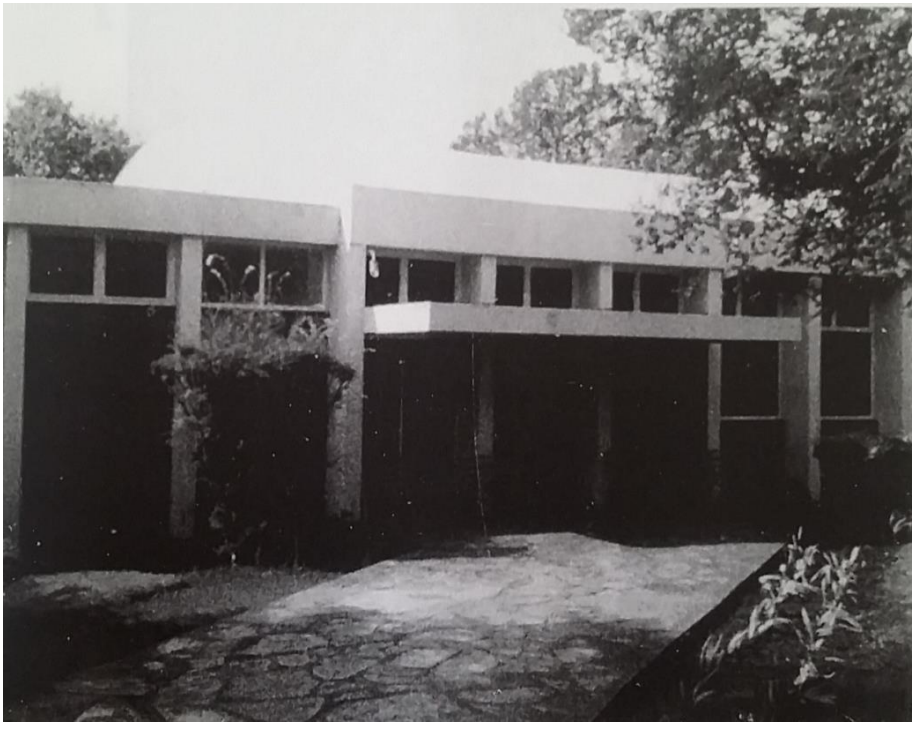


Seated: f.l.t.r. - J. Grolman, T. Waks, R. Beitz, H. Orelowitz.

Standing: f.l.t.r. - D. Waks, J. Waks, J. Jacobson, J. Pearl.

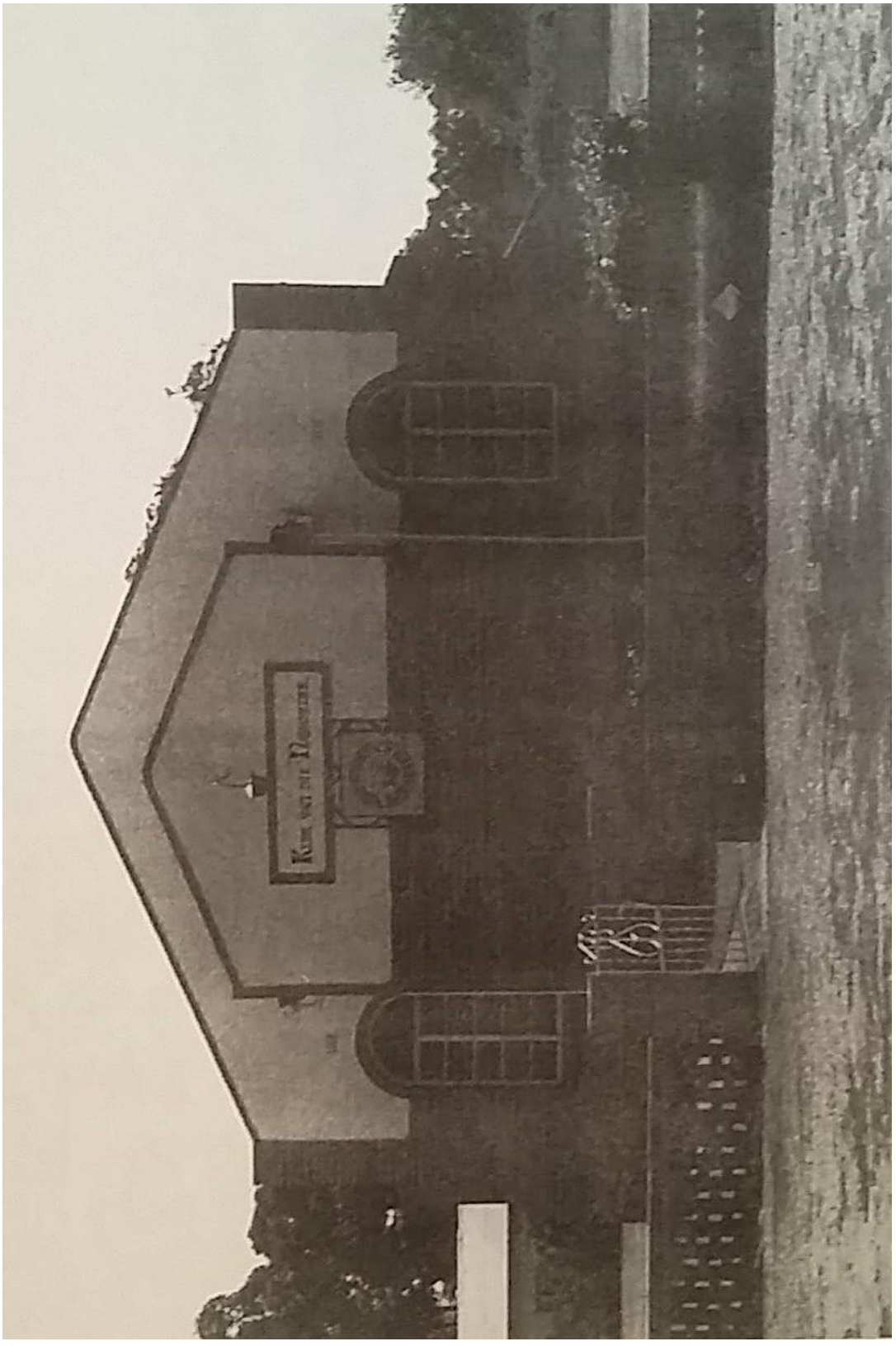
Source: S. Waks.

The Jewish synagogue, Carletonville



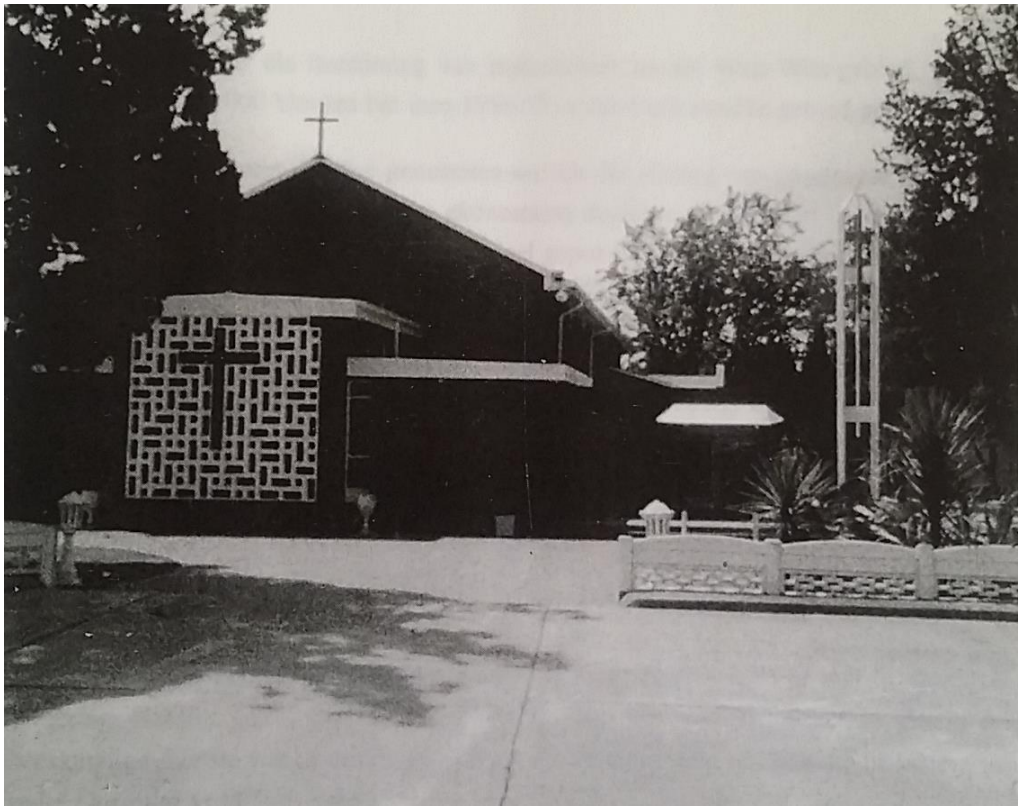
Source: A.J. Prinsloo, 1989.

Church of the Nazarene, Welverdiend



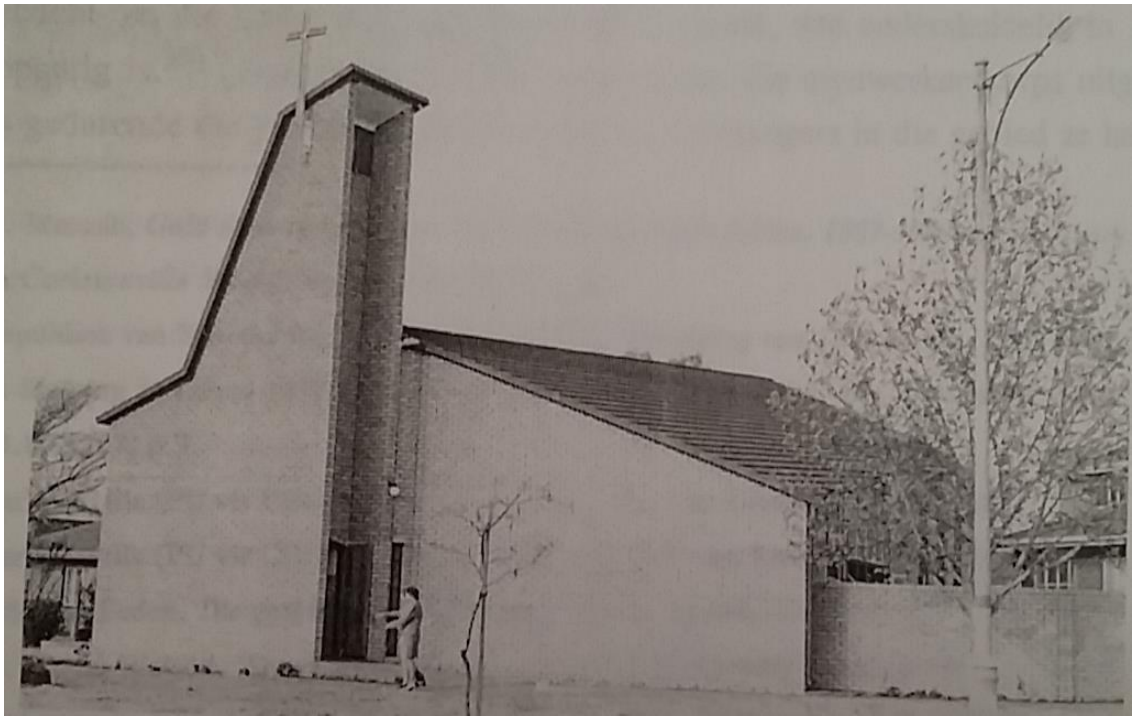
Source: S. Kirchner.

The Roman Catholic Church, Carletonville.



Source: A.J. Prinsloo.

Methodist Church, Carletonville



Source: *Carletonville Herald*

was not necessary as the local population was stimulated by the closure of the gold mines in the Orange Free State, followed by the influx of mine workers from the West- Wits region.[23] By 1956-1957, approximately 15,000 were living in the Carletonville area.[24]

Obviously, it was not only English congregations that benefited from the closure of gold mines elsewhere, and the favourable local economic driving forces, which provided momentum to activities in the Carletonville region. The founding of two more NG congregations in 1957,[25] and a NH congregation in 1958,[26] is living proof.

After a decade had passed for the church associations in the economic heartland, as many as 14 congregations were present in the Carletonville region, each busy with its own activities and thus contributing to creating a balanced community.

7.2.2 Health services

In the years before the gold mining industry flooded the local Carletonville region with change, the existence of proper health services amounted to nil. Physicians in neighbouring towns also served the erstwhile Gatsrand residents.[27]

By 1948, medical facilities were available for the three established gold mines in the Carletonville region, but the ordinary resident on the street could not use these facilities regularly. Mining companies did provide residents

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[23] R. Macnab, *Gold their touchstone: Gold Fields of South Africa, 1887-1987 - a centenary story*, p. 200 and *Carletonville Weekly Record,* 28.7.1978, p. 10.
[24] Republic of South Africa, report no. 02-05-12, *Population of South Africa, 1904-1970,* 1970, p. 55. An assessment was made between the 1951 and 1960 census figures. See *Die Transvaler,* supplement, *Die Weste*, 23.10.1957, p. 3.
[25] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, S. van Rensburg, 12.11.1990.
[26] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, F.S. van Rensburg, 12.11.1990.
[27] E.S. van Eeden, *Die geskiedenis van die Gatsrand* ..., p. 154.

with permission to use medical amenities on the mine property during emergencies. These facilities included three medical depots and two mine hospitals, i.e., the Blyvooruitzicht and the Leslie Williams Memorial Hospital, which were built in 1938[28] and 1957, respectively.[29] Townsfolk who were not part of the miners' community during the 1950s had to follow in their predecessors' footsteps regarding medical assistance.[30] At least the reasonably well-developed communication network, especially rail transport and roads to other centres, filled this void to an extent.[31]

The appointment of Dr W.P. Roux as the first district physician in the Carletonville region since 1949, and the availability of a handful of practitioners, definitely provided comfort to the community.[32] Due to the lack of proper medical facilities, doctors had to perform their tasks with great difficulty. As an example, Dr Roux had to perform his first post-mortem on a dining table in the backyard of the Oberholzer Hotel![33] In a certain sense, it was the same favourable economic milieu in which Carletonville found itself that was responsible for the absence of services, as the speed of economic development was quicker than the provision of infrastructure.

Infrastructure is first considered based on the provincial or local authorities' financial abilities, a favourable population concentration and the position of neighbouring towns. To obtain more medical and relevant services, such as an ambulance and fire brigade service, required a proper, motivated need assessment, while the business and mining activities continued unperturbed, production outputs increased annually, as did the local population numbers.[34]

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[28] W. Hagan-Watson, *Down memory lane. Blyvoors' first twenty years*, p. 10.
[29] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, S.F. Terblanche, 12.10.1989.
[30] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, Minutes: minute, 12.11.1957.
[31] See *Chapter Six,* pp. 248-249, 256-258.
[32] See *Chapter Six,* pp. 248-249, 256-258.
[33] *Carletonville Herald*, 15.7.1988, p. 1.
[34] As an example, see Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 2: letter, Director General, TPA/E.S. van Eeden, 24.10.1989.

Between 1952 and 1958, representations were made to the Local Regional Committee and the Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA) for the establishment of the above-mentioned medical services. The Waaksaamheidskomitee' (Vigilance Association) of each town in the region, as well as Consolidated Gold Fields, the creator of Carletonville, made contributions.[35] Preliminary arrangements were made until final decisions could be made. The Blyvooruitzicht Mine, for example, was prepared to make its established firefighting service available to the neighbouring towns. The local Rotary branch undertook to manage the ambulance service until a permanent service could be finalised by the Regional Committee branch.[36] The Administrator of Transvaal approved the building of a hospital in Carletonville in February 1956.[37]

Carletonville was one of the many towns that wanted hospitals immediately at this stage. However, they had to make peace with the fact that they were on a long waiting list,[38] which seemed to cause a local, debilitating and impatient reaction. In 1957, the Health Board and the Local Regional Committee repeated their representations for the establishment of an ambulance service and the construction of a hospital.[39] The tempo at which the Rotary ambulance service was used, i.e., as many as 25 rides per month, was used as one of the motivational factors.[40] These requests did not deliver results overnight,[41] and by 1958, there was no progress in this regard. The favourable economic climate at this stage was an exceptional stimulus for the new development.

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[35] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file L1/29/35, Firefighting and ambulance services: letter, Consolidated Gold Fields Limited/Peri Urban Areas Health Board, 4.9.1952, as well as letter, Carletonville (Waaksaamheidskomitee) Vigilance Association and Oberholzer Vigilance Association/Peri Urban Areas Health Board, 3.12.1952 and Minutes: minutes, 29.11.1956, as well as 14.1.1958.
[36] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file LI/29/35, Firefighting and ambulance services: letter, Consolidated Gold Fields Limited/Peri Urban Areas Health Board, 4.9.1952 as well as 18.8.1955; 18.5.1956 and Minutes: minutes, 29.11.1956, as well as 12.11.1957.
[37] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 2: letter, Director General, TPA/E.S. van Eeden, 24.10.1989.
[38] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, C. Rautenbach (ex-resident and mayor, Carletonville), 22.3.1989.
[39] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, Minutes: minutes, 12.11.1957, as well as 14.1.1957.
[40] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, Minutes: minute, 12.11.1987.
[41] See section 7.4.1.1, p. 323 of this chapter.

Because of economic growth, Carletonville was known as the town with many babies and few aged and was even jokingly referred to as the *kinderwaentjiedorp* (baby pram town)![42] The tendency of population growth gave doctors endless problems as the local medical infrastructure was so insufficient that they were not able to assist pregnant women during delivery time. In August 1958, at the initiative of Dr W.P. Roux, the Oranje-Kraaminrigting (maternity home) was established in a residence in Carletonville,[43] for pregnant mothers.

By 1958, the onus remained on the relevant authorities in the Carletonville region to create structures for medical services, which were still quite primitive at that stage.

7.2.3 Service organisations

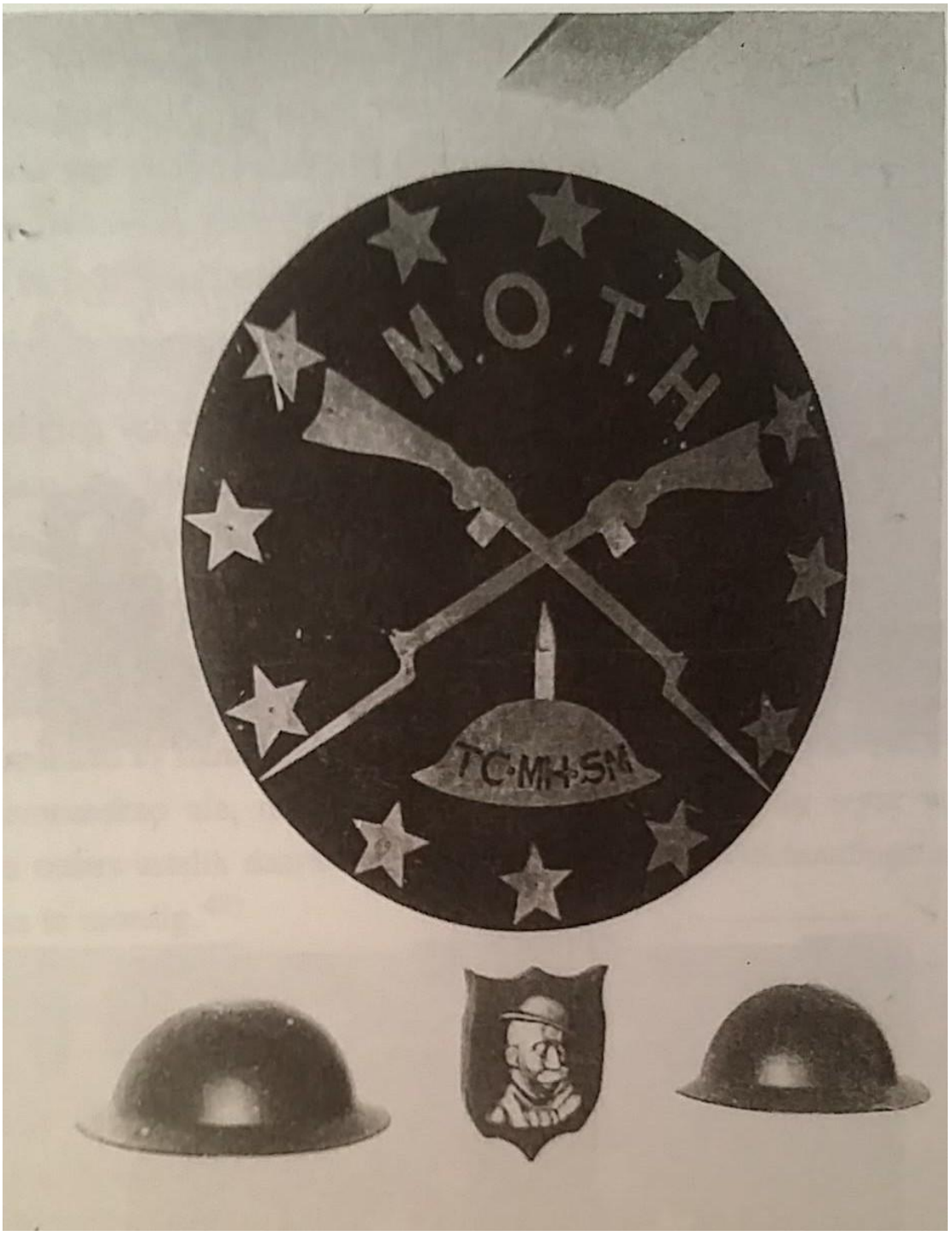
In contrast with the shortcomings regarding the provision of medical facilities, service organisations originated nearly at the same time as the first heartbeat of the local economy.

The Blyvoor Women's Guild, comprising wives of officials working at the Blyvooruitzicht Gold Mine, was established at the beginning of the 1940s. From the beginning, this organisation was involved in collecting funds for the poor.[44] The Women's Charity Committee, which was established in 1946, with a similar purpose, consisted mainly of the wives of officials from the Wes Driefontein gold mine.[45]

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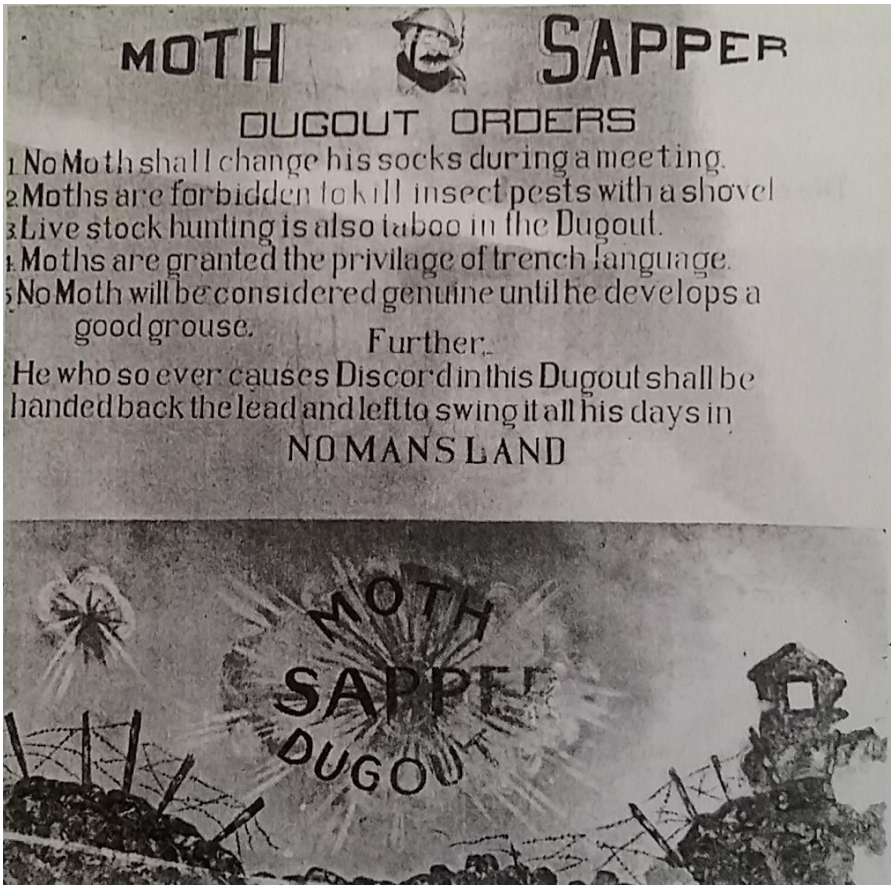
[42] Transvaal Archives Depot (TAD), Carletonville Municipality (MCV), Vol. 51, file 73/5(5), Publicity: article, "Die dorp van baie babas en min bejaardes", (n.d.).
[43] *Carletonville Herald,* 15.6.1988, p. 1 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, C. Hartzer/Dr. W.P. Roux, 1.11.1989.
[44] W. Hagan-Watson, *Down memory lane* ..., p. 14.
[45] *Carletonville Herald,* 19.6.1987, p. 21 and W. Hagan-Watson, *Down memory lane* ..., p. 14.

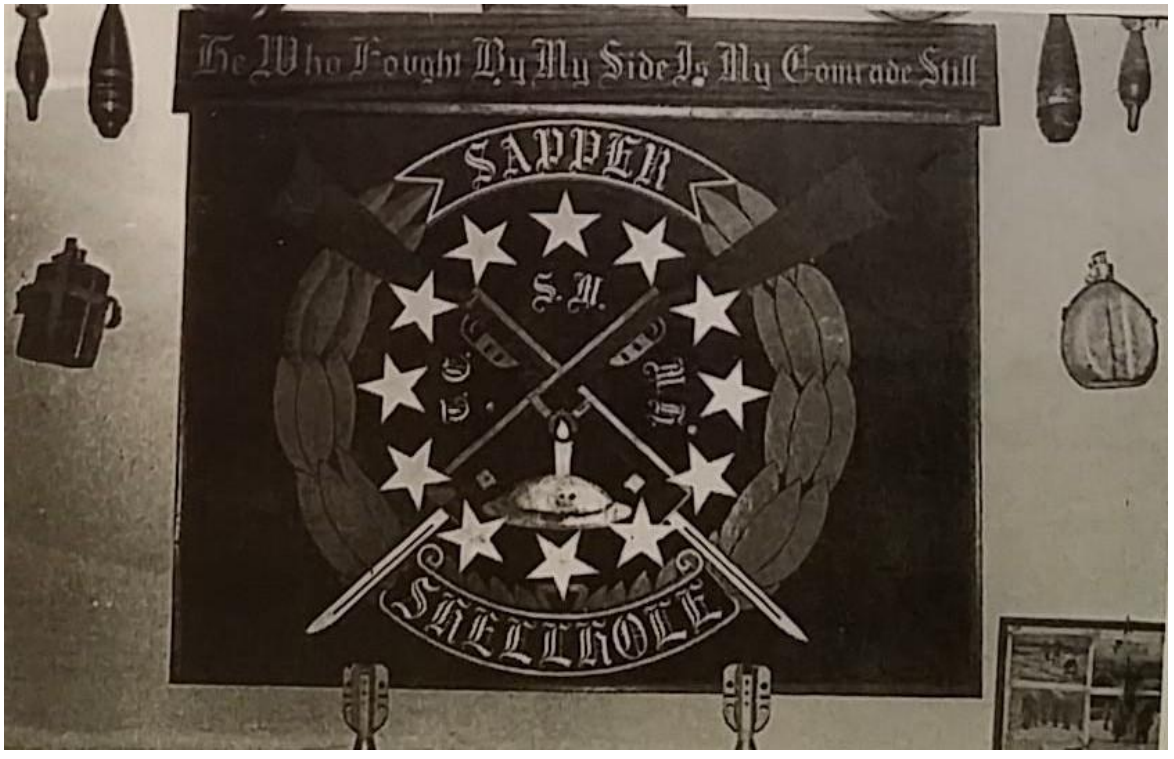
The emblem of the Memorable Order of Tin Hats (MOTHS)



Source: *Carletonville Herald*.

Emblems of the Sapper Shell Hole





Source: *Carletonville Herald*.

After the end of the Second World War (1939-1945), a branch of the new country-wide organisation of ex-soldiers, the Memorable Order of Tin Hats (MOTHs), was also established in the Carletonville region. The first to be founded in 1946 at Blyvooruitzicht was the Dudley Wilkenson Shellhole,[46] and in 1947 it was followed by the Sapper Shell hole in Carletonville Town.[47] As a charity organisation, these branches' purpose was to assist the widows of war veterans and to reunite ex-soldiers to maintain camaraderie. Thus, by 1948, service organisations were not only part of the developing community, but some organisations also encouraged mutual relationships and friendships through their communal gatherings.[48]

The Suid-Afrikaanse Vrouefederasie (South African Women's Federation) (SAVF) was another nationally inspired service organisation that began functioning as the Oberholzer branch in the region in 1952, under the leadership of Mrs K. de Beer and Mrs R. Marais.[49] This organisation, whose general purpose is to assist people in need[50] was involved with the poor, people with financial and marital problems, and child abuse in Carletonville from the beginning. Three full-time social workers were appointed by 1956 to address social problems.[51] These social challenges in this community were not unique to Carletonville, but were a general tendency among similar industrialised communities in South Africa.[52]

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[46] W. Hagan-Watson, *Down memory lane* ..., p. 45. The Shell hole was named after Dudley Wilkenson, a Blyvooruitzicht mine worker who was the only employee from this mine who died during the Second World War.
[47] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, C.W. Wright, 11.12.1990.
[48] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, C. Rautenbach, 11.12.1990.
[49] SAVF-Oberholzer branch (Carletonville), Annual reports: reports, 19.11.1952 to 25.2.1954; Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, K. de Beer, 15.10.1990 and *Die Transvaler,* annexure, 23.10.1957, p. 3.
[50] H.D.A. du Toit, *Olie op die wonde,* p. 123.
[51] SAVF Oberholzer branch (Carletonville), Annual reports: reports, 22.6.1955 to 23.6.1965.
[52] A.T. Winkler, *Tendense in die Suid-Afrikaanse volkswelsyn beleid, 1910-1966,* pp. 1-10 and PU for CHE, Department of Social Work, Community analyses: community analysis of Orkney, as well as of Klerksdorp and Vereeniging, 1990.

Members and founding members of the SAVF Oberholzer branch



Standing: f.l.t.r. Mrs Scheeman, R. Marais (founding member), Van Staden, Trotskie.
Sitting: f.l.t.r.: Mrs Pretorius, Mrs K. de Beer (founding member), Mrs Nefdt.

Source: *Carletonville Herald*

Provision of cheap accommodation[53] and high salaries[54] for employees influenced the Carletonville community in two ways. In the first instance, there was a tendency for employees to spend their income on luxuries and social occasions, to the advantage of traders, which, secondly, encouraged a don't care attitude regarding finances and financial planning for the future.[55]

Regardless of who was responsible for the above-mentioned situation, it was due to the mining sector's involvement since the 1940s that assistance was given to local social issues. Apart from the social assistance service provided by the Chamber of Mines in Johannesburg,[56] the International Rotary Organisation also founded a branch in Carletonville for this purpose in February 1956.[57] This was followed in November by the establishment of a Round Table branch.[58] These organisations were also involved with the financial assistance to local black people.[59]

By 1958, the SAVF, Rotary, Lions and the MOTHs, as well as the women's organisations from the mining community, were the most important service organisations in the

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[53] A.T. Winkler, *Tendense in die Suid-Afrikaanse volkswelsyn beleid, 1910-1966,* pp. 1-10 and PU for CHE, Department of Social Work, Community analyses: community analysis of Orkney, as well as of Klerksdorp and Vereeniging, 1990.
[54] A.T. Winkler, *Tendense in die Suid-Afrikaanse volkswelsyn beleid, 1910-1966,* pp. 1-10 and PU for CHE, Department of Social Work, Community analyses: community analysis of Orkney as well as of Klerksdorp and Vereeniging, 1990.
[55] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, E.J. Nefdt (Management members, SAVF-Oberholzer branch), 4.9.1990.
[56] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, F.J. Cronjé (Chief, Barbara Centre for personality development, Carletonville), 15.10.1990.
[57] The Rotary is an international organisation of male business and professionals to assist charity and service to the community or religious communities. The organisation was founded in 1905 in America. See D. Kempff, *Rotary,* pp. 3, 6; *Carletonville Herald,* 25.3.1977, p. 1 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, T. de Koker/J. Grolman, 12.12.1990.
[58] The Round Table is an international service organisation for businessmen under 40 years that delivers community service and raises money for charities. See H. Barty-King, *Round Table. The search for fellowship,* p. 12*;* Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, T. de Koker/N. Peck*,* 3.9.1990 and *Carletonville Herald,* 17.10.1980.
[59] *Carletonville Herald,* 17.10.1980, p. 1 as well as 6.7.1984, p. 1 and 4.10.1984, p. 2.

A fundraising activity by the:

*** Round Table branch (Supper Show, 31.10.1980)**



Source: *Carletonville Herald*

*** Rotary branch (Rotary ball, 1968)**



Source: Antonica's Foto's.

Carletonville region. The last two were founded at the initiative of the mining and business sectors, respectively. Although churches also regard community service as part of their purpose, it would appear that the 14 congregations in the Carletonville region largely focused on their settlement, developing the congregations, and local missionary work.

7.2.4 Educational facilities expand

Apart from its involvement in establishing service organisations, medical services and churches in the 1940s, the economic welfare of Carletonville also influenced the establishment of educational facilities.

Because of the influx of mine workers, traders, and other businessmen to the mines and towns in the Carletonville region since 1937, it became necessary to change the existing teaching amenities to adapt to the new circumstances. Although several farm schools existed in the Carletonville region in the 1940s, the need for more central schools closer to the mines was brought to the attention of the Transvaal Teaching Department. As a result, the Blyvooruitzicht Government School was established in 1942 in the recreation hall of the Blyvooruitzicht mine, while the existing Wonderfontein School moved to Carletonville Town in 1946.[60] It appears that the Welverdiend School in Welverdiend was situated well enough for the miners of the Doornfontein mine, as no schools were established on mine property.[61]

Similar to the situation with the churches, the dominant accretion of the Afrikaans-speaking population within the gold mines stimulated the establishment of the first Afrikaans-medium schools. These included the primary schools Wonderfontein (1948) and Carletonville (1950).[62] Over time, these schools became dual-medium schools until English-medium schools could be established.[63]

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[60] E.S. van Eeden, *Die geskiedenis van die Gatsrand*…, pp. 86-90 and M.M.J. Oosthuizen, *Blanke onderwys in die Carletonville-omgewing na 1948: 'n historiese perspektief,* p. 27.
[61] E.S. van Eeden, *Die geskiedenis van die Gatsrand*…, p. 87.
[62] M.M.J. Oosthuizen, *Blanke onderwys in die Carletonville-omgewing*…, pp. 59, 100.
[63] M.M.J. Oosthuizen, *Blanke onderwys in die Carletonville-omgewing* ..., p. 84.

The foundation of both Afrikaans and English-medium schools gained renewed attention by the 1950s from the Consolidated Gold Fields Group. The Group provided the following reasons for the building of new schools in a memorandum: *The Far West Rand is one of the most rapidly developing areas in the Transvaal, and it is essential that schooling facilities there should keep pace with the growth of the population. The townships of ... Blybank, Carletonville, Oberholzer and Welverdiend and the residential area of Blyvooruitzicht Gold Mining Company Limited can look forward to considerable influxes of population during the next ten years, the greatest influx being expected at Carletonville.* In the memorandum, it was suggested that two new primary schools, one Afrikaans and one English-medium, be built in each of the towns, while Carletonville should preferably serve as the autonomous educational centre for high schools. As motivation for the last suggestion, it was argued that (i) the centrality of the town, (ii) its tempo of development, and (iii) its population growth were more favourable than that of the other towns.[64]

Consolidated Gold Fields' prediction concerning the future role and position of Carletonville was correct. The rate of town development, the communication network, and the establishment of business interests were already barometers of the fast local development.[65] In 1953, the first secondary school in the area, the Carletonville Hoërskool, with 465 learners, opened its doors in Carletonville town. The school functioned as a double-medium school from the beginning.[66]

As gold mining activities increased in the 1950s, more primary schools were established. They included the Blyvooruitzicht English Medium School (1956), the Blyvooruitzicht Afrikaans Medium School (1956), Rockland Primary School (1956), the Danie Theron Gedenkskool (1957), and the Westfields School (1957).[67] The opening of these

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[64] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, Minutes: minute, 19.2.1951.
[65] See *Chapter Two*, pp. 24-30*; Five*, pp. 211-212 and *Six*, pp. 248-249, 256-258.
[66] M.M.J. Oosthuizen, *Blanke onderwys in die Carletonville-omgewing*…, p. 100.
[67] M.M.J. Oosthuizen, *Blanke onderwys in die Carletonville-omgewing* ..., p. 84.

schools and the mentioned secondary school definitely filled a big void, as it was no longer necessary for local children to attend schools in neighbouring towns.[68]

By 1958, the need for new schools had not nearly been fulfilled. As far as I am concerned, for a region to establish nine schools in a matter of nine years, excluding the schools that existed before 1948, is a success, greatly attributed to the mining sector.

7.2.5 Sports, cultural and recreational activities

Between 1948 and 1958, there was a measure of development in sport, cultural, and recreational activities in Carletonville. Organised sport was, for example, dominated by the initiatives by local gold mining companies and subsequently most sports facilities were limited to mine properties.[69] Undoubtedly, this is the reason for the slow pace of the establishment of sports facilities in the municipal borders of Carletonville.

Initially, cultural activities such as stage performances, games and film evenings were organised on mine property, and a primitive library service was available on Blyvooruitzicht Gold Mine property. At least some of these cultural activities were presented after 1948 in Carletonville Town. The establishment of a library service in 1950

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[68] E.S. van Eeden, *Die geskiedenis van die Gatsrand…,* pp. 80, 81 and Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, Minutes: minute, 19.2.1951.
[69] The gold mine companies and gold mine groups' contribution to the development of the community is discussed in *Chapter Four,* pp. 120-194. Also see Central Archives Depot (CAD, Council for the development of natural resources (RNH), Vol. 224, file NH 15/11/8(1), Carletonville Town: West Witwatersrand Areas Limited, memorandum on development of Far West Rand with particular reference to provision of magistrate courts and government offices, 26.1.1952.

was the first.[70] It appears that this need increased as the favourable economic climate resulted in population growth, and a request for the extension of library services by 1954 was regarded as important and even urgent. The public spontaneously organised a library committee, after which they negotiated with the Health Board. After a series of talks with the Board, a space was made available for this purpose in the Gail-and-Beverley business complex in 1956.[71] By 1958, the library already had 1,700 users, and as a result, this service's responsibilities and functions became too much for the Library Committee. During this year, the Local Regional Committee took over the duties of the library from the Library Committee.[72]

Apart from the availability of a library, the country's famous Apollo Choir of Carletonville, led by Henk Grijzenhout,[73] and the Carletonville Playmakers under the leadership of Stan and Cherry Solomon, had been active since 1955[74] to cultivate cultural interest within the community and simultaneously introduce the region to the outside world. Choir leader and conductor Grijzenhout once said: *Daar is nie net goud in Carletonville se grond nie, maar ook in die kele van baie van sy inwoners. Dit is hoog tyd dat daar besef word dat buite Johannesburg kulturele welvaart te vinde is.*[75] (There is not only gold in Carletonville's ground, but also in the throats of many of its residents. It is high time that it is realised that there is also cultural wealth outside Johannesburg). This cultural wealth in the Carletonville region, to which Grijzenhout refers, was indirectly

[70] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file L1/29/34, Regional library: letter, Regional Librarian/Peri Urban Areas Health Board, 10.5.1954.
[71] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file L1/29/34, Regional library: letter, Health Council /Liaison Committee, Oberholzer, 23.11.1954.
[72] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, Carletonville public library: suggested takeover of the administrative control. 19.5.1958.
[73] *SAUK Radio bulletin,* 10.3.1958, p. 24; *West Rand Times en Wesrander,* 26.10.1962, p. 4 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, C. van der Westhuizen (ex-soloist, Apollo Choir), 15.3.1989, as well as 20.4.1989.
[74] *West Rand Times en Wesrander,* 2.10.1959, pp. 3-4 and TAR, MCV, Vol 51, file 73/5(5), Publicity: article, *Playmakers gewild,* (n.d.).
[75] *West Rand Times en Wesrander*, 26.10.1962, p. 4.

Apollo Choir (1959)

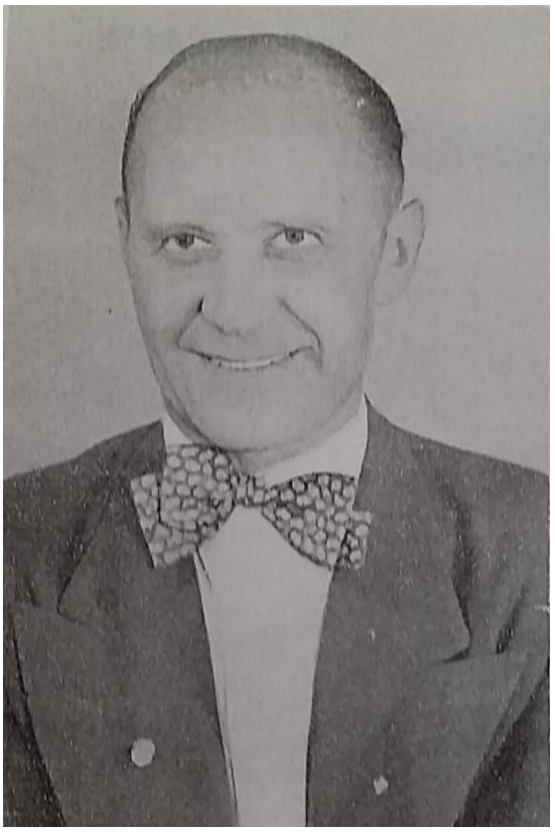


Illustration: concert, Apollo Choir (1959)



Source: A. van der Westhuizen.

Mr Henk Grijzenhout, conductor Apollo Choir

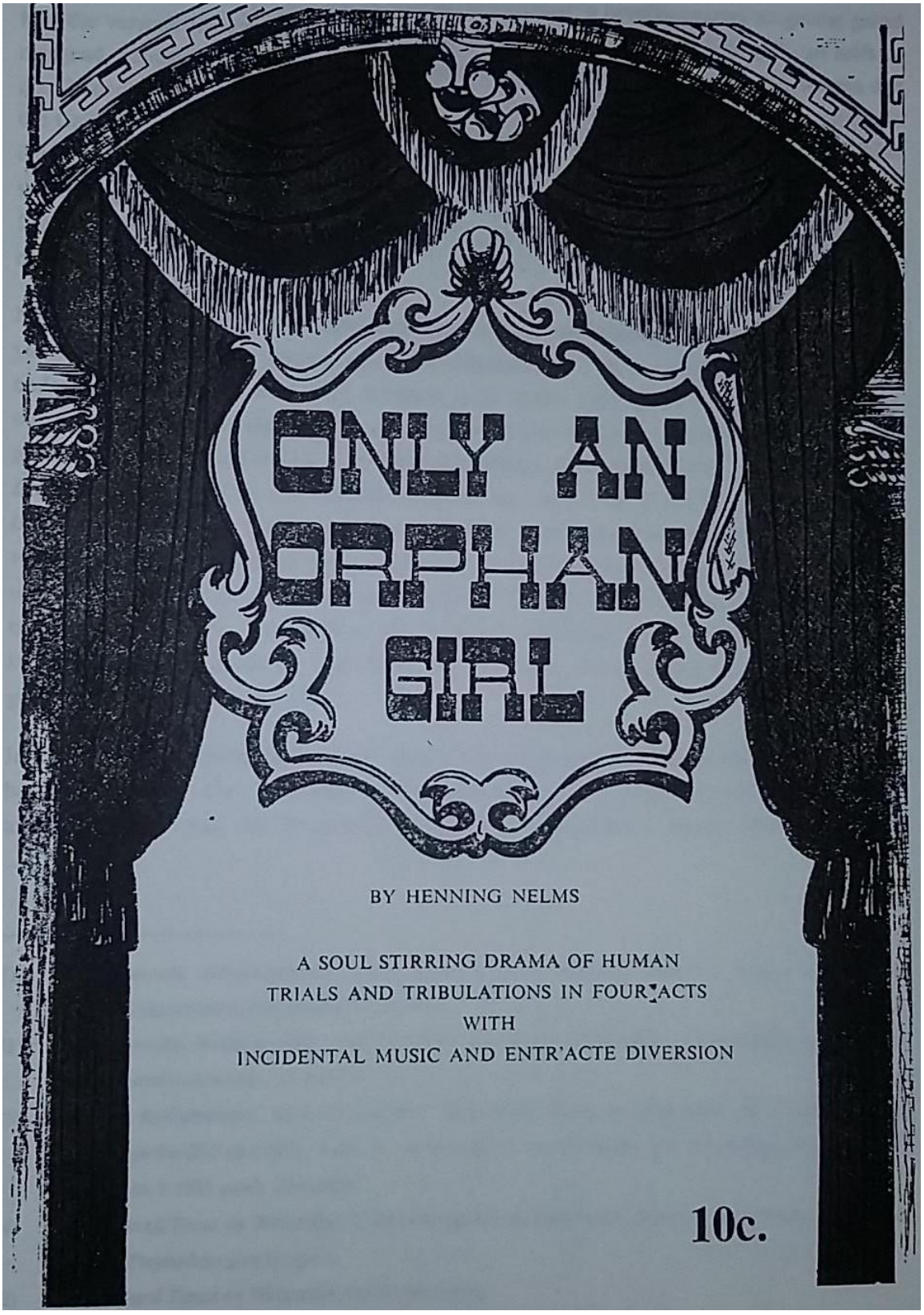


Mrs C. van der Westhuizen, soloist, Apollo Choir, 1962



Source: A. van der Westhuizen.

Illustration: A concert of the Carletonville Playmakers (ca 1962)



Source: A. van der Westhuizen.

due to the presence of gold in the region. The successes and fame of the Apollo Choir were, nevertheless, something special and characteristic of a fast-growing cultural awareness achieved shortly after Carletonville was proclaimed as a town.

In 1958, a music association was established for the town. The Music Association was primarily responsible for the organisation and presentation of local stage shows by the theatrical companies of the *Transvaalse Raad vir die Uitvoerende Kunste (TRUK*).[76] (Performing Arts Council of the Transvaal - PACT). Grijzenhout's earlier remarks regarding the local cultural wealth were also characteristic of the enthusiasm with which cultural institutions held street collections for the benefit of charities.[77]

Recreational activities presented to the Carletonville community during the 1950s, included entertainers such as the Boswell Brothers Circus,[78] and the circuses of J.A. Raedt,[79] J.N.Z. Turnbull[80] and C. Pagel.[81] Additionally, the Blyvooruitzicht mine also organised amusement, such as games evenings and weekly film shows.[82] In 1956, the Carletonville Cinema obtained a license to establish a theatre on stand 162 of Carletonville.[83] It is clear that the pioneer gold mine, Blyvooruitzicht, was one of the first and foremost local initiators of recreation and entertainment opportunities and contributed to the fact that Carletonville residents could enjoy meaningful recreational activities by 1958.

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[76] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, C. Rautenbach, 12.11.1990 and Intermediate Repository (IR), Carletonville Municipality (MCV), file 49/2, Cultural organisations: minute, (Management Committee, 30.6.1966.
[77] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, Council minutes: minute, 5.11.1958.
[78] Carletonville (Municipality). LAC, Minutes: minute, 17.11.1949.
[79] Carletonville (Municipality). LAC, Minutes: minute, 19.11.1950.
[80] Carletonville (Municipality). LAC, Minutes: minute, 15.6.1951.
[81] Carletonville (Municipality). LAC, Minutes: minute, 21.9.1950.
[82] See *Chapter Four*, p. 129.
[83] Carletonville (Municipality). LAC, Minutes: minute, 27.8.1956.

7.2.6 Law and order structures

As the economic structure developed in the Carletonville region, the need for a law-and-order structure arose. The closest towns which could initially provide such support were Potchefstroom, Fochville and Welverdiend.[84] However, the latter was too small and ineffective to comply with the requirements of the new developing mining region.[85]

In the absence of a police post in the initial years of the Blyvooruitzicht gold mine, the mine created an internal police post, probably as a security measure, which was manned by mine officials.[86] The Blyvooruitzicht police even helped patrol the Carletonville region temporarily in the 1950s, as the Welverdiend police station was incapacitated due to a shortage of manpower.[87]

Due to the bad state of affairs and the increasing demands of the new local economic structure, attention was paid in 1951 to establish a separate law and order structure for the Carletonville region. As there was existing infrastructure for the application of law and order in Welverdiend, the chief magistrate of Potchefstroom regarded it as the perfect town for the expansion of these structures. The reaction of the public in Carletonville was, however, so unfavourable that the magistrate changed his mind after a public meeting, in favour of an order structure in the Carletonville Oberholzer complex.[88] In 1952, attention was paid to the construction of a magistrate's office in Carletonville.[89]

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[84] E.S. van Eeden, *Die geskiedenis van die Gatsrand*…, pp. 115, 122-124.
[85] CAD, Department of Justice (JUS), Vol. 1052, file 21/733, Oberholzer inspection reports: appendix C, personnel matters, 1953.
[86] W. Hagan-Watson, "*Down memory lane* ...", p. 52.
[87] Carletonville (Municipality). LAC, Minutes: minute, 16.3.1950.
[88] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file L1/29/30, Siting of proposed magistrate's court: memorandum, 5.2.1951 and SAB, RNH, Vol 224, file NH 15/11/8(1), Carletonville Town: letter, Secretary of Justice/RONH, 20.8.1951.
[89] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file L1/29/30, Siting of proposed magistrates court: report Oberholzer township, proposed erection of a magistrate's court on erf 484, 19.9.1952.

The planning for a police station in the Town of Oberholzer in 1953 occurred at the same time as the declaration of the Carletonville region as magistrate's district of Oberholzer.[90] However, when the building was supposed to be constructed in 1954, problems arose regarding the conditions of use according to the town planning scheme on the stands that were to be used.[91] Alternative stands were searched for, and in January 1956, it resulted in the construction of a police station in Carletonville Town extension No Two. Provision was made for a personnel strength of approximately 12 men, and seven cells for prisoners.[92] Although it was humble beginnings, the permanence of a local law and order structure by 1958 certainly scared off prospective offenders and provided the new developing community with peace of mind.

7.2.7 Political environment

Shortly before the outbreak of the Second World War, enfranchised citizens of Carletonville and environs were members of the Losberg[93] constituency. From a historical point of view, it is a constituency that had some memorable moments on its tally by the 1940s. These include the election of the famous Gen Louis Botha as a member of parliament for the South African Party for Losberg after he lost his seat in Pretoria West during the 1910 Union elections. Botha was a member of parliament for Losberg from 1910 to 1919, during his full term as Prime Minister of South Africa.[94]

There was more than enough of politics and politicking at local public meetings during the Botha term and later, including reaction to the much-debated participation in the Second World War, and the conflict regarding election agreements.[95] As the number of mine workers, being part of the new gold pantry

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[90] CAD, Public Works Department (PWD), Vol 1367, file 3081, Oberholzer police station accommodation: letter, Commissioner SAP/Director Public Works, 8.7.1953, and 23.12.1953.
[91] CAD, PWD, Vol. 1367, file 3081, Oberholzer police station accommodation: letter Director, Public Works/District representative, 20.2.1954.
[92] *Die Transvaler,* 25.1.1956, p. 1.
[93] The name Losberg is derived from the Tswana word *"Kokosi".* It refers to a loose-standing hill near the present Town of Fochville and is very central in the Gatsrand. Tswana tribes stayed here intermittently during the period before the Great Trek in 1838, on the "mountain". See E.S. van Eeden, *Die geskiedenis van die Gatsrand…,* pp. 1-2.
[94] E.S. van Eeden, *Die geskiedenis van die Gatsrand*…, pp. 104-106.
[95] E.S. van Eeden, *Die geskiedenis van die Gatsrand*…, pp. 107-113.

Carletonville increased, so did the members of the Losberg electorate. It was especially English speakers who brought with them different political points of view and sentiments to the region.

The year 1948 was of great significance for Carletonville as a recently proclaimed town with great economic prospects, and with regard to South Africa's political history. During the elections in May that year, the political situation in South Africa took a dramatic turn when the Herenigde Nasionale Party (HNP) won by the smallest of margins.

Mr G.P. Brits, co-founder of the NP branch in the Carletonville region in 1914, as well as a member of parliament during the 1920s and 1930s,[96] won the seat of the Losberg electorate in 1948 for the HNP by a small majority.[97] This victory is significant as his United Party (UP) opponent was B. Bekker (son of the erstwhile Administrator of Transvaal, S. Bekker).[98] The post-war political situation and increasing criticism of the colour policy of Gen J.C. Smuts,[99] may be regarded as some of the reasons for Brits' victory in May 1948 in the Losberg electorate.

Regardless of the immense population increase in the Carletonville region during the 1950s, and the establishment of a new district in 1953, the expanding mining region remained the responsibility of G.P. Brits within the borders of the Losberg electorate until 1958. It appears that Brits experienced little political opposition in this electorate at this stage. On the one hand, it could be attributed to his endearing personality and involvement in his electorate.[100] On the other hand, it was possibly because the

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[96] E.S. van Eeden, *Die geskiedenis van die Gatsrand*…, pp. 107-109.
[97] B.M. Schoeman, *Parlementêre verkiesings in Suid-Afrika, 1910-1976*, p. 291.
[98] *Potchefstroom Herald and Western Gazette*, 26.3.1948, p. 6 as well as 2.4.1948, p. 5.
[99] *Potchefstroom Herald and Western Gazette*, 23.4.1948, p. 2.
[100] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, W.J.A. Wessels (family member of G.P. Brits, Fochville), 12.3.1987, and interview, J.C. Greyling (ex-MP, Carletonville), 30.9.1991.

NP enjoyed overwhelming support in the midst of the crumbling opposition party in the 1950s.[101] The rollout of the development process within Carletonville was, thus, not much affected by the political climate in this decade. However, the development process obviously required much of Brits' attention as he had to negotiate for the establishment of local services at the provincial and government levels.[102]

From the above-mentioned facets of the societal structure during 1948 to 1958, it is clear that the growing local population, stimulated by the dynamic mining and business industries, were the key to further local development. By 1958, few of the earlier little communities, where people lived and worked in an intimate atmosphere, had survived. The ever-growing community obviously made further infrastructural demands. Economic development, together with growing needs, changed Carletonville totally within ten years.

7.3 DEVELOPMENT IN CONFLICT WITH LANDSLIDES CARLETONVILLE'S STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL, 1959-1974

The multiple developments in Carletonville in the decade before 1959, encouraged by a circle of economic stimulants, followed by a high population accretion, encouraged the establishment of proper local infrastructure. This circle contributed to the development of the Carletonville region to such an extent that this town was proclaimed and, within a matter of ten years, had an independent local authority.[103] At that stage, it was thought that Carletonville's development might follow in Johannesburg's footsteps, and that the community was determined to be at the forefront of all development initiatives.[104] Should the white population numbers, according to the 1960 census, be considered, this commendable aim was not unachievable. The local population was

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[101] B.J. Liebenberg, "*Die Nasionale Party aan bewind, 1948-1961*"; C.F.J. Muller (red.), *500 Jaar Suid-Afrikaanse geskiedenis,* pp. 481-488.
[102] See *Chapter Six,* p. 248, as an example.
[103] See *Chapter Two*, p. 31.
[104] See *West Rand Times en Wesrander*, 31.6.1959, p. 1.

three times the 1951 census survey, i.e., 16,111.[105] With an increase of more than a thousand people per year, the society of Carletonville was bursting at the seams.

An article from September 1961 confirms the population explosion. It notes that houses were so scarce in Carletonville that newcomers had to rent the garages of established residents as temporary accommodation. Additionally, the general outlook on life of the Carletonville residents became increasingly materialistic as a result of the high salaries of the mine workers. It was said of the mining community that... *as fast as the money is earned they spend it - on shining new cars, caravans, furniture and luxury fishing trips to the Mozambique coast,* and jokingly that *miners talk about wine, women and overtime* ...[106] Although these one-sided remarks could hardly be seen as representative of the Carletonville community, the local economic milieu was favourable, thanks to the envisaged expansion of gold mine establishments, and a general positive atmosphere was present during most of the period between 1959 and 1962. The landslide tendencies only appeared later and threatened the society's economic and infrastructural development.

From 1964 to 1970, the steadfastness of the local community in all its facets was tested as this was the most prominent crisis period of the threatening sinkhole phenomenon.[107] A discussion of the influence of sinkholes on the local economy and the community activities between 1959 and 1974 is presented.

7.3.1 Churches

During the golden years of 1959 to approximately 1962, another three churches, i.e., the Baptist,[108] the Pentecostal Protestant[109] and the 'Lede-in-Christus-kerk'[110] opened their doors

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[105] Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics, report no. 02-05-12, *Bevolking van Suid-Afrika, 1904-1970,* 1970, p. 55.
[106] *The Star,* 13.9.1961, p. 2.
[107] See *Chapter Two,* pp. 32-37; *Three,* pp.84-91; *Four,* p.191; *Five,* pp. 216-223 and *Six,* pp. 250-252, 261-263.
[108] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, Council minutes: minute, 3.1.1962 and Baptist Church (Carletonville), Church minutes, 1960-1964: minute, 4.11.1960.
[109] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, Council minutes: minute, 3.10.1960, p. 29.
[110] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, Council minutes: minute, 1.10.1959, art. 31.

The Anglican Church, Carletonville



Source: A.J. Prinsloo.

The Pentecostal Protestant Church



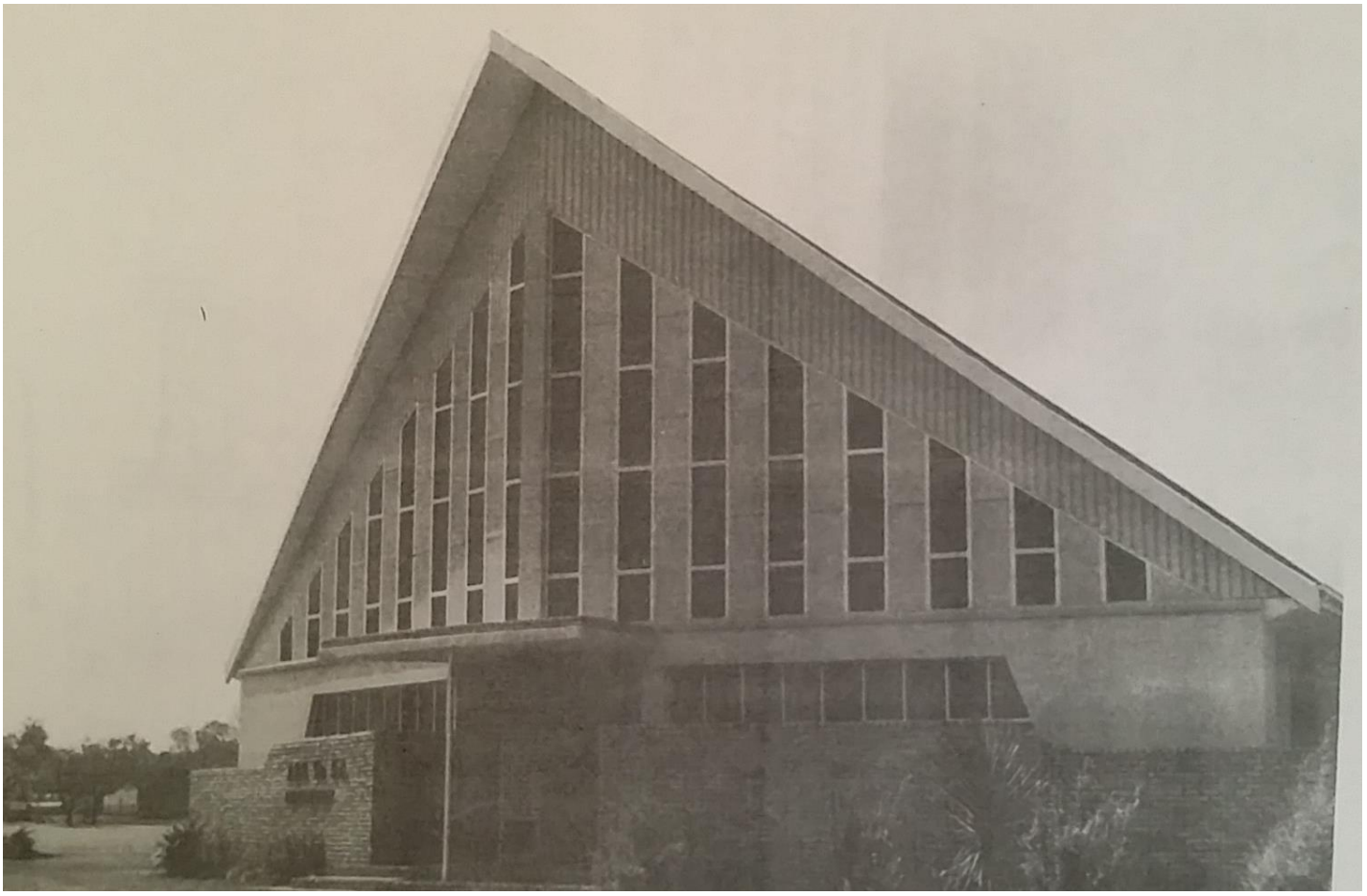
Source: S. Kirchner

Laying of the cornerstone, NG congregation, Welverdiend



Source: *Carletonville Herald*

Church building of the AGS congregation, Carletonville



Source: S.C. Kirchner.

Carletonville. Additionally, a new congregation of the NG Church was founded in Welverdiend.[111] This is a sure sign of the development of a homogenous community in which a variety of convictions and approaches were present.

Notably, no new churches were added between 1963 and 1974 in Carletonville. Although most denominations were well established at this stage, the influence of the landslides, which caused havoc in places, should be regarded as a possible reason for the slow establishment of more congregations.

Churches that were hit by the landslides included the AGS, the Baptist and the Anglican congregations. The AGS congregation had to demolish its building in 1963 due to a gigantic crack and plan an entirely new building.[112] Although it debilitated the AGS congregation's location of gathering for a while, the regular church services were not affected as they were temporarily held in the Carletonville High School.[113]

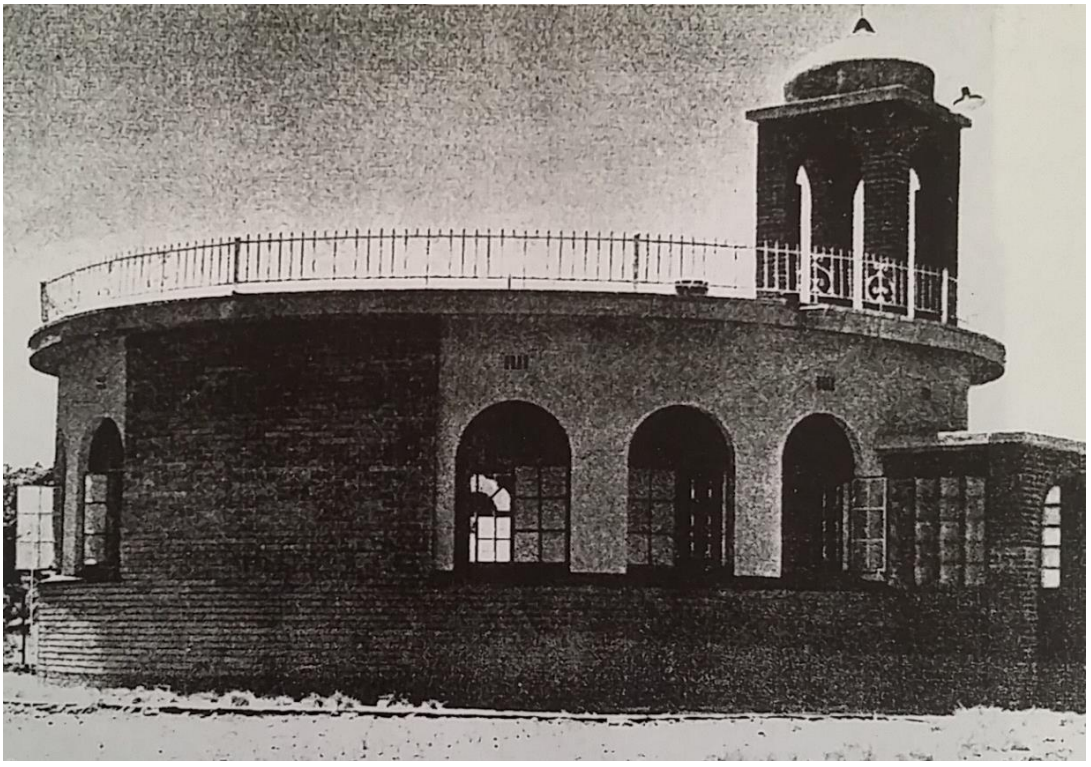
Not even the membership, which totalled 300, was affected. The numbers remained consistent from 1963 to 1965, despite the landslide crisis.[114]

Apart from the AGS congregation, the Baptist congregation also experienced challenges with landslides in 1968. The parsonage of this congregation was so badly damaged that continuous repair and maintenance had to be done at high cost. The Baptist

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[111] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, S. van Rensburg, 12.11.1990. The church building of the NG congregation of Welverdiend was only inaugurated on 28 August 1979.
[112] Apostoliese Geloof Sending-gemeente (Carletonville), Church minutes: minutes, 10.11.1963, and 24.6.1964.
[113] Apostoliese Geloof Sending-gemeente (Carletonville), Church minutes: minutes, 11.12.1963, and 29.12.1963.
[114] Apostoliese Geloof Sending-gemeente (Carletonville), Church minutes: minutes, 10.11.1963, and 18.10.1964 and 12.12.1965.

The Bank, and the district's Muslim building at its best, 1958



Source: *South African Panorama,* vol. 3, January 1958.

The Muslim building was in a state of disrepair by 1989



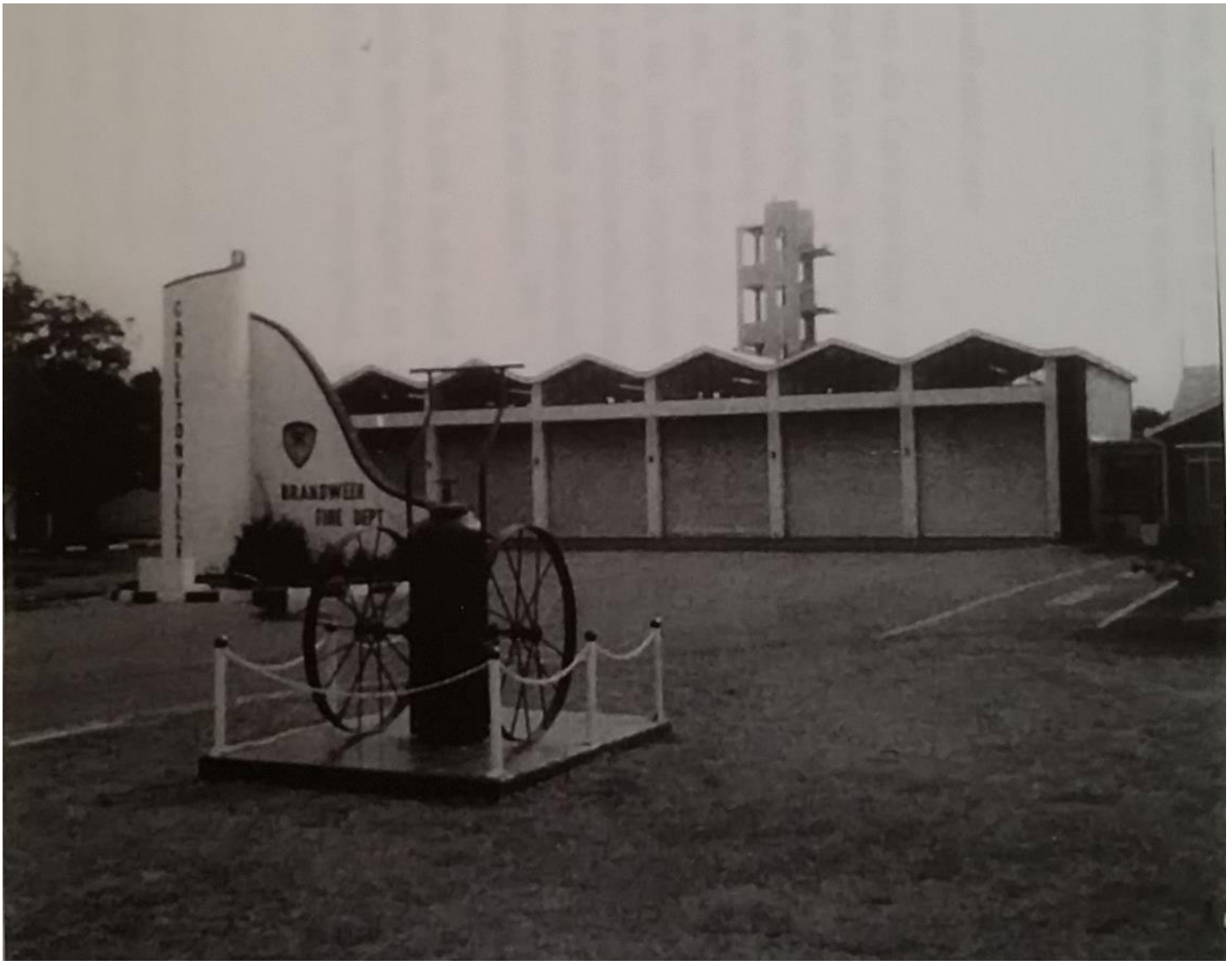
Source: A.J. Prinsloo.

The fire and emergency service of Carletonville, 1980



Source: *Carletonville Herald*.

New Fire Department (1985)



Source: C.G. Hartzer.

congregation sold its parsonage stand to the Dolomitic Water Council, and in 1970, used the funds to buy another erf for a parsonage. [115]

In 1972, the Technical Committee responsible for sinkholes,[116] found that the stand on which the Anglican congregation's church was built was on top of a cave. Fear that it could eventually sag forced the congregation to stop its church activities in Blyvooruitzicht and start building a church building in Carletonville immediately. The new church building was inaugurated as early as 1973![117]

Despite the mentioned incidents between 1963 and 1972, not one white church had to close. It rather appears that the general tendency was to find alternative amenities as soon as possible so that community activities would not be disturbed. This undoubtedly contributed to maintaining the members of the congregations' faith in Carletonville. The sustainability of the local congregations is, however, because of the economic influence, as the continued access to the region's richest gold treasures,[118] figuratively speaking, was the most important key to the future at this stage.

The only church group that did not benefit from the presence of the gold mine in the long run was the Indian church and its mosque in Bank Town, as they were left to their own devices regarding the landslides. All residents had to evacuate the region by January 1970,[119] which automatically led to the suspension of the local mosque activities without much ado.[120]

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[115] Baptist Church (Carletonville), Church minutes: minutes, 1964-1970.
[116] See *Chapter Two*, p. 34; *Three*, pp. 84-85 and *Four,* p. 196.
[117] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, J.E. Atherton (Reverend, Anglican church, Carletonville), 15.6.1989.
[118] See *Chapter Four*, pp. 136-138 as an example.
[119] See *Chapter Twee*, p. 36.
[120] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, N. Nosarka (ex-businessman, Bank Town), 8.8.1989. No alternative accommodation was made available to the Indians in the Carletonville region after the evacuation of Bank Town. Subsequently, most of them had to move to Lenasia, an Indian residential area near Johannesburg. Also see *Chapter Two*, pp. 47-48.

MBV Medical Centre



MBV Dental Care Centre



Source: C.G. Hartzer.

Regardless of this one example of church closure, another aspect proves the contrary. For example, the country-wide NG church inspired action, the 'Christelike Maatskaplike Raad' (CMR) (Christian Social Council) opened a branch in Carletonville in 1966, amidst regular sinkhole incidents, to assist poor congregation members.[121]

7.3.2 Health services

One aspect of Carletonville's development pattern that was slow on the uptake between 1959 and 1974 was public health services. Except for the attention given to the establishment of fire and emergency services in 1959 and 1960,[122] nothing came from the 1950s permission to erect a hospital in the 1960s. Despite talks and planning, nothing constructive was done.[123] The most important reason for this could probably be ascribed to the landslides in the Carletonville region, as the Transvaal Provincial Administration preferred to wait and see what the future held for Carletonville.[124]

Another obstacle in the way of a new hospital was the gold mining industry's dominating influence in Carletonville's municipal region. In 1963, a third mine hospital was opened by the new Western Deep Levels Gold Mine.[125] As most of the residents were involved in the local mining industry, the presence of three mine hospitals probably eased the minds of the relevant authorities, which could have contributed to the delay. By 1974, there was still no hospital for the broader Carletonville community, but only half-hearted attempts to commence with the construction work.[126]

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[121] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, R.E. Labuschagne (Chief Social worker, CMR-branch Carletonville), 15.10.1990.
[122] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, R.I. Minnie (Official, Fire service, Carletonville), 31. 10.1989.
[123] *Carletonville Herald*, 16.9.1966, p. 1.
[124] *Carletonville Herald*, 10.2.1987, pp. 1-2.
[125] See *Chapter Four,* pp.181-182.
[126] *Carletonville Herald,* 3.9.1971, p. 1 and Sybrand van Niekerk Hospital (Carletonville), Speech: official opening, 12.1.1979.

In 1964, the Carletonville Medical Clinic was the only medical service that opened its doors in the 1960s due to the lack of proper service for poor whites and blacks. With this, an extensive local psychiatric service was made available to the community that provided public education and training, including a clinical and preventative service.[127] The opening of a clinic in the middle of an uncertain period for Carletonville must be ascribed to the need for an organised infrastructure, stimulated purely by economic factors.

Another void identified in the medical field in the 1960s and early 1970s was the absence of a proper dental service. As with the mine hospitals, it was also the local gold mine industry that took the initiative in establishing the first dental service in Carletonville. Under the auspices of the so-called 'Mynbystandsvereniging' (MBV) (mine aid association), a dental clinic was opened in 1974 for the comfort of the mine workers and their families.[128] Notably, the construction of the clinic did not follow the normal pattern of infrastructural establishment by gold mines. Usually, this occurred immediately after the gold mine's opening, but it took much longer to open the dental clinic. It is not certain whether the presence of sinkholes in this period could have resulted in this delay. It is nevertheless a factor that has to be considered.

7.3.3 Service organisations

Contrary to the situation regarding medical facilities, it would appear that service organisations were much more active during the period 1959 to 1974. The SAVF branch in Oberholzer was actively realising its ideals within the organisation's context for which they were founded.

Apart from the Oberholzer branch's lengthy social services, they took the lead in 1961 and founded two ladies' clubs called the "Lag en Lewe-tak" in Bank Town

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[127] *Carletonville Herald*, 20.3.1964, p. 1.
[128] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, Dr T. Niehaus (Practitioner, Dental Clinic Carletonville), 24.10.1989.

and the "Werk met Lus-tak" on Welverdiend.[129] This was done in an attempt to involve the towns' women in the activities of the SAVF Oberholzer branch. With activities such as exhibitions, competitions and discussions,[130] it was attempted to provide the Carletonville women with opportunities to escape from their daily rushed routines, and to uplift them.[131]

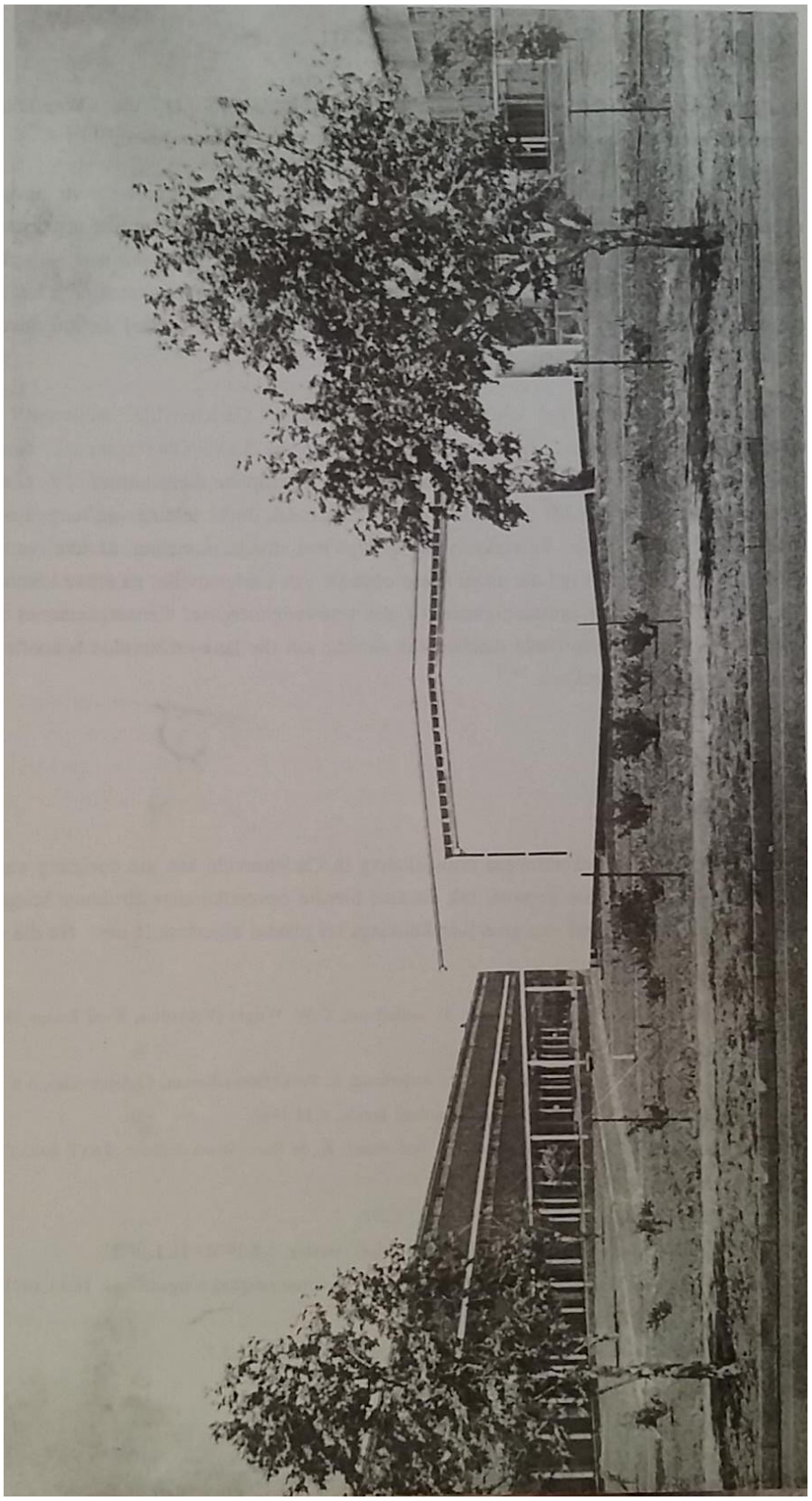
During 1962 and 1963, the SAVF Oberholzer branch, amidst talk and incidents of threatening sinkhole dangers, expanded its activities by establishing a refreshment, family care and work club committee as well as a SAVF pistol club.[132]

Apart from the activities of the SAVF Oberholzer branch, other service organisations, which were also established in the 1950s, increasingly proved in the 1960s that they were committed to maturity, improved togetherness and community involvement. This is apparent, as the needs of the Carletonville community were gradually identified by the organisations, after which money was collected for a specific purpose to address and resolve problem areas within the community.[133] Some new service organisations that were founded in 1962 and 1963 were the Western Deep Levels Ladies Charity Fund,[134] the Rotary Anns,[135] another branch of the MOTH organisation, i.e., the Kwai Bridge Shellhole[136] and the Lions organisation.[137] In 1966, the Western Transvaal's Psychiatric Health organisation were added to the existing service organisations.[138]

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[129] SAVF-Oberholzer-branch (Carletonville), Annual reports: report, 1.5.1960 - 30.4.1961.
[130] SAVF-Oberholzer-branch (Carletonville), Annual reports: report, 1.5.1961 - 31.3.1962.
[131] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, E.J. Nefdt, 4.9.1990.
[132] SAVF-Oberholzer-branch (Carletonville), Annual reports: report, 1.4.1962 - 31.3.1963.
[133] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, E.J. Nefdt, 4.9.1990.
[134] See *Chapter Four* p. 180.
[135] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, J. Grolman (ex-businessman, Carletonville), 12.12.1990.
[136] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, C.W. Wright (chairman, Kwai Bridge Shell Hole), 11.12.1990.
[137] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, L. Peck (ex-businessman, Carletonville), 3.9.1990.
[138] Carletonville (Municipality), Council minutes: minute, 8.11.1966.

Carleton Jones High School



Source: *Carletonville Herald*

The role that these different service organisations played as indirect stimulants for the local economy in providing financial assistance to social institutions in exchange for psychologically healthy and productive individuals was affected by the sinkhole crisis. Regular donations by the mining and business sectors during the crisis years were limited,[139] probably in an attempt to save themselves and cover the expenses brought about by the landslides and unforeseen expenditures.[140]

Circumstances improved for the service organisations in the Carletonville region during the 1970s. In 1971, the SAVF Oberholzer branch could extend its social service thanks to the financial assistance of the local mining sector.[141] During November of the same year, the Carletonville City Council, under the leadership of Mayor C. Kriek, founded the Carletonville Southern Cross branch with fundraising as the most important aim.[142] Since then, the economic upward curve of Carletonville, after some concerned years,[143] also created more favourable conditions for the activities of service organisations. By 1974, for example, attention was given to the long-overdue need for a retirement centre/old age home. [144]

7.3.4 Schools

When the economic development of Carletonville is measured against the erection of schools in the 1960s, the presence of this structure was not affected by the threatening local landslides. After the foundation of Laerskool Dagbreek in 1960, the opening of the Carletonville Jones High School and the Laerskool Jongspan followed in 1962.[145]

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[139] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, K. de Beer (regional leader, SAVF South Transvaal region), 15.10.1990.
[140] See *Chapter Four,* p.191 and *Five,* pp. 218-222.
[141] SAVF Oberholzer branch (Carletonville), Annual reports: report, 1.4.1970 - 31.3.1971.
[142] Suiderkruis-branch (Carletonville), Minutes, 1971-1978: minutes, founding meetings, 16.11.1971.
[143] See *Chapter Five,* pp. 223-225.
[144] SAVF Oberholzer branch (Carletonville), Information leaflet: *Senatus,* pp. 5,7.
[145] M.M.J. Oosthuizen, *Blanke onderwys in die Carletonville-omgewing*…, pp. 69,107.

The opening of the new Western Deep Levels gold mine in 1962[146] was definitely the main driving force behind the establishment of the two mentioned schools during the year. Not even the worst crisis years caused by sinkholes between 1964 and 1967, when uncertainty and doubt were at their height, could stop the construction of more schools.[147] A perfect example of the continued supply of educational amenities, although sinkholes disrupted existing schools, is the establishment of the Carletonville Spesiale Skool, otherwise known as the Goudwes Skool, in 1966.[148]

Between 1961 and 1971, some six schools in the Carletonville region were confronted by the destructive process of the "knagende ondergrondse reus"[149] (gnawing underground giant). The first school grounds to be affected were the Carletonville Jones High, Westfields Primary and the Laerskool Jongspan in 1961 and 1962.[150] Similar challenges were experienced by the Rockland Primary School and the Laerskool Blyvooruitzicht in 1964,[151] shortly after the shocking disappearance of the Oosthuizen family and their house into a sinkhole on 3 August that year.

The normal teaching process at all the schools was temporarily handicapped, as some parents were afraid to send their children to school.[152] Alternative teaching facilities were created after August 1964 for learners from the Rockland Primary School and the Blyvooruitzicht Laerskool. The recreation hall of the Blyvooruitzicht mine was once again used, as so many times before, as a place of refuge for the activities of one or other homeless interest group. The arrangement was short-lived as the school grounds of the Rockland Primary were declared safe in October 1964. Learners of the Blyvooruitzicht Laerskool, however, had to be accommodated at the Rockland Primary School temporarily.

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[146] See *Chapter Four*, p. 170.
[147] See *Chapter Two,* pp. 33-36.
[148] M.M.J. Oosthuizen, *Blanke onderwys in die Carletonville-omgewing*…, pp. 140, 143.
[149] *Die Transvaler,* 19.1.1963, p. 2.
[150] M.M.J. Oosthuizen, *Blanke onderwys in die Carletonville-omgewing*…, pp. 70-73, 76.
[151] *Carletonville Herald,* 7.8.1964, p. 6, as well as 11.9.1964, p. 1; 25.9.1964, p. 1 and 2.10.1964, p.1.
[152] M.M.J. Oosthuizen, *Blanke onderwys in die Carletonville-omgewin*g…, pp. 73-75; *Carletonville Herald*, 25.1.1963, p. 1 and *Die Transvaler*, 19.1.1963, p. 2.

To solve the dilemma of accommodating two schools on one terrain, the learners from Rockland Primary were educated in the mornings, and learners from the Laerskool Blyvooruitzicht were educated in the afternoons. This arrangement was soon referred to as the *oggendsessie* (morning session) and the *smiddagskof* (afternoon shift)![153] In this manner, the challenges of the landslides were neutralised, although it was very uncomfortable for quite a while. By 1968, the teaching process for both schools had normalised.[154]

Because of Carletonville's improved business environment since the late 1960s, which was further stimulated by the activities of the new Oos Driefontein Mine,[155] women were gradually involved in the local labour force. The expanding female working corps increased the need for pre-school facilities.[156] The SAVF Oberholzer branch fulfilled this need by opening the Pikkie Kleuterskool in 1971 with the financial support of various businesses, the local mines and the Carletonville City Council.[157]

During July 1971, signs of landslides were noticed on the sports field of the Laerskool Dagbreek.[158] Notably, no big fuss, as was done during the sinkhole episode in the 1960s, was made about it.[159] On the contrary, it was clear that the Carletonville society realised that Carletonville as a town, as well as the rest of the community, would not disappear, as long as the gold mines were active in the area. Consequently, by and after 1971[160], the economic development overshadowed this individual sinkhole incident, making it disappear into oblivion.

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[153] *Carletonville Herald*, 18.12.1964, p. 1.
[154] M.M.J. Oosthuizen, *Blanke onderwys in die Carletonville-omgewing*…, pp. 75-76.
[155] See *Chapter Four,* pp. 155-156.
[156] IR, MCV, file 47/2, Kinderbewaarplek (children's shelter): letter, K. de Beer/Town Clerk, Carletonville, 6.2.1967.
[157] SAVF Oberholzer branch (Carletonville), Annual reports: report, 1.4.1970 - 31.3.1971 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, E.J. Nefdt, 4.9.1990.
[158] M.M.J. Oosthuizen, *Blanke onderwys in die Carletonville-omgewing* ..., p. 76.
[159] *Carletonville Herald*, 4.8.1972, p. 3.
[160] See *Chapter Two*, pp. 37-39.

By 1972, stimulated by a healthier local economy, the need for more schools in Carletonville increased. The opening of the Rotara Skool for the mentally challenged,[161] the establishment of the Kleuterhof Private Kleuterskool in 1973 and the Bollie Private Kleuterskool, as well as the Rocklands Kleuterskool, highlighted this need.[162] By 1974, the vision of establishing more schools within the framework of a growing Carletonville mining community was as bright as ever.

7.3.5 Sports, recreation and cultural activities

Despite the favourable state of Carletonville's economic infrastructure by 1959, the establishment of sports facilities was not very promising. Shortly before Carletonville obtained an independent local authority in July 1959, the future development of sport facilities for Carletonville and Oberholzer was tabled during a meeting of the Local Regional Committee.[163] In a report compiled by the committee's chief engineer, the establishment of facilities for rugby, soccer, cricket, tennis, jukskei (yoke pin), bowls, swimming, korfball and hockey was suggested. According to the chief engineer, its implementation could be achieved within three years. Despite the trouble taken by the engineer, and unfortunately for the Carletonville residents, the suggestions in the report did not gain momentum. It simply disappeared in the annals of the Regional Committee's minutes with the words 'for information' (*ter kennisname*).[164]

It is uncertain whether the Local regional Committee opined that the new local authority, which would take over from them in July 1959, should consider the report. The newly established City Council of Carletonville, however, had far more urgent matters on the agenda than to discuss this report.[165] It was also not necessary,

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[161] Anon., *Rotara-skool*, p. 2 and *Carletonville Herald*, 9.6.1976, p. 19.
[162] M.M.J. Oosthuizen, *Blanke onderwys in die Carletonville-omgewing…,* pp.39-48. A few pre-schools also opened on mining property.
[163] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file 40/0/139 (2), Parks and sports grounds: report, development of sports facilities for Carletonville and Oberholzer, 13.4.1959.
[164] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file 40/0/139(2), Parks and sports grounds: report, development of sports facilities for Carletonville and Oberholzer, 13.4.1959.
[165] This deduction was made based on the Council Minutes, which were studied.

as the local gold mine companies had already started planning the construction of sports facilities in October 1959.[166]

While the City Council took a serious interest in the unsatisfactory state of some of the sports facilities at the beginning of the 1960s,[167] the Carletonville Recreation Club, which was built at £170 000, was opened in March 1960.[168] The Gold Fields Group made a large financial contribution in this regard.[169]

In addition to the above-mentioned amenities made available by the local gold mines, the City Council paid attention to the establishment of several sports facilities in the different towns and municipal extensions from 1960/1961 on an annual basis.[170] The landslides, however, temporarily affected this facet of community life when the Council had to freeze its construction projects.[171] However, sports activities as such were not really affected during the landslide period.[172]

With regards to recreation, the travelling merry-go-rounds and the film industry continued to serve the broader Carletonville community.[173] The 'Uitspan' (Outspan) Drive-in (Pty) Ltd, and Lomond Property

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[166] *West Rand Times en Wesrander*, 3.10.1959, p. 4.
[167] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, Council Minutes: minutes, 14.1.1960.
[168] *Die Suid-Afrikaanse Stem*, 20.3.1960, p. 1.
[169] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, J. Letourneau (Official, Carletonville Recreational club), 6.6.1991.
[170] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, Council minutes: minutes, 4.2.1960 to 4.2.1974.
[171] See *Chapter Two,* p.34 and Die Suid-Afrikaanse Vereniging van Munisipale Werknemers, *Suid-Afrikaanse Munisipale Jaarboek,* 1974, p. 253.
[172] See as example the *Carletonville Herald,* 2.10.1964, p. 1, as well as 9.10.1964, p. 1; 12.12.1964, pp. 1-3 and 5.7.1972, p. 6.
[173] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, Council minutes: minutes, 21.7.1959, 25.8.1959 and 1.10.1959 as examples.

Limited used various premises in the Carletonville region from 1959 to 1960, for establishing drive-in theatres.[174]

In the midst of arguments about the instability of the ground and the withdrawal of underground water by 1969, recreation activities did not disappear.[175] On the contrary, during this crisis year, the recreational needs for the elderly in the region also received attention when Rus-'n-Bietjie-Klub was founded on 12 November.[176]

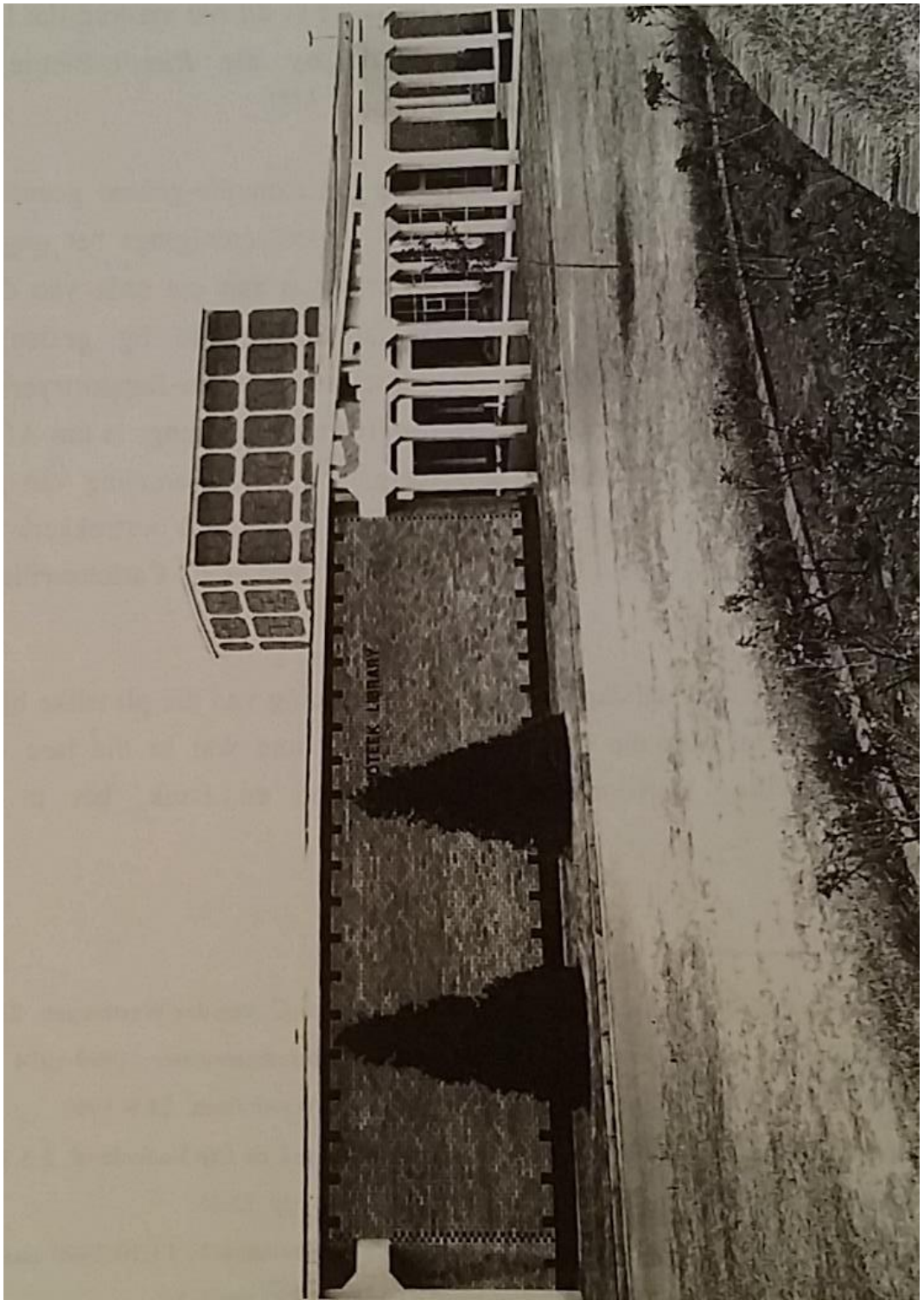
The 'Rus-'n-Bietjie-Klub' (Rest a while Club), was founded at the initiative of the A van der Westhuizen couple to involve senior citizens in a potpourri of recreational activities and social events, which would simultaneously combat loneliness. It was well supported, and the club was very active and well organised.[177] It is, therefore, not strange that senior citizens from outside the Carletonville municipal borders joined the 'Rits-'n-Bietjie-Klub' (Gallavant a little Club) as it was referred to jokingly.[178]

On the surface, the cultural life in the Carletonville region was by no means negatively affected by the poor 1960s.[179] Bands and theatre associations went their way unchallenged,[180] and the presentation of school concerts was plentiful.[181] More cultural organisations were also founded in the 1960s, including the Carletonville-Rapportryers (Dispatch riders) (1960) and the Gatsrand-Blyvoor-Rapportryers (1968). The most important aim of these nationally inspired associations was to unite Afrikaans speakers

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[174] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, Minutes: minutes, 12.1.1959, as well as CM, Council minutes: minute, 4.2.1960.
[175] See *Chapter Three*, pp.84-91 and *Four,* pp. 135,191.
[176] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, A. and C. van der Westhuizen, 24.9.1990.
[177] Rus-'n-Bietjie-Klub (Carletonville), Attendance register, 1969-1974, as well as Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, A. and C. van der Westhuizen, 24.9.1990.
[178] *Carletonville Herald,* 18.2.1972, p. 1, as well as 20.3.1981, p. 2 and *Die Vaderland,* 2.5.1974, p. 3.
[179] *Carletonville Herald*, 26.4.1963, p. 1 and *Chapter Twee*, pp. 32-36.
[180] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, C. Rautenbach, 13.10.1990, as well as A. and C. van der Westhuizen, 24.9.1990 and *Carletonville Herald,* 12.12.1964, pp. 1-3.
[181] M.M.J. Oosthuizen, *Blanke onderwys in die Carletonville-omgewing*…, pp. 114-115, 121.

The modern civic centre, which also accommodated a library, 1980



Source: Carletonville public library

by means of collective events.[182] Collection of funds to help finance the activities of the local Voortrekker commando, gradually became part of the objectives of the Carletonville Rapportryers.[183]

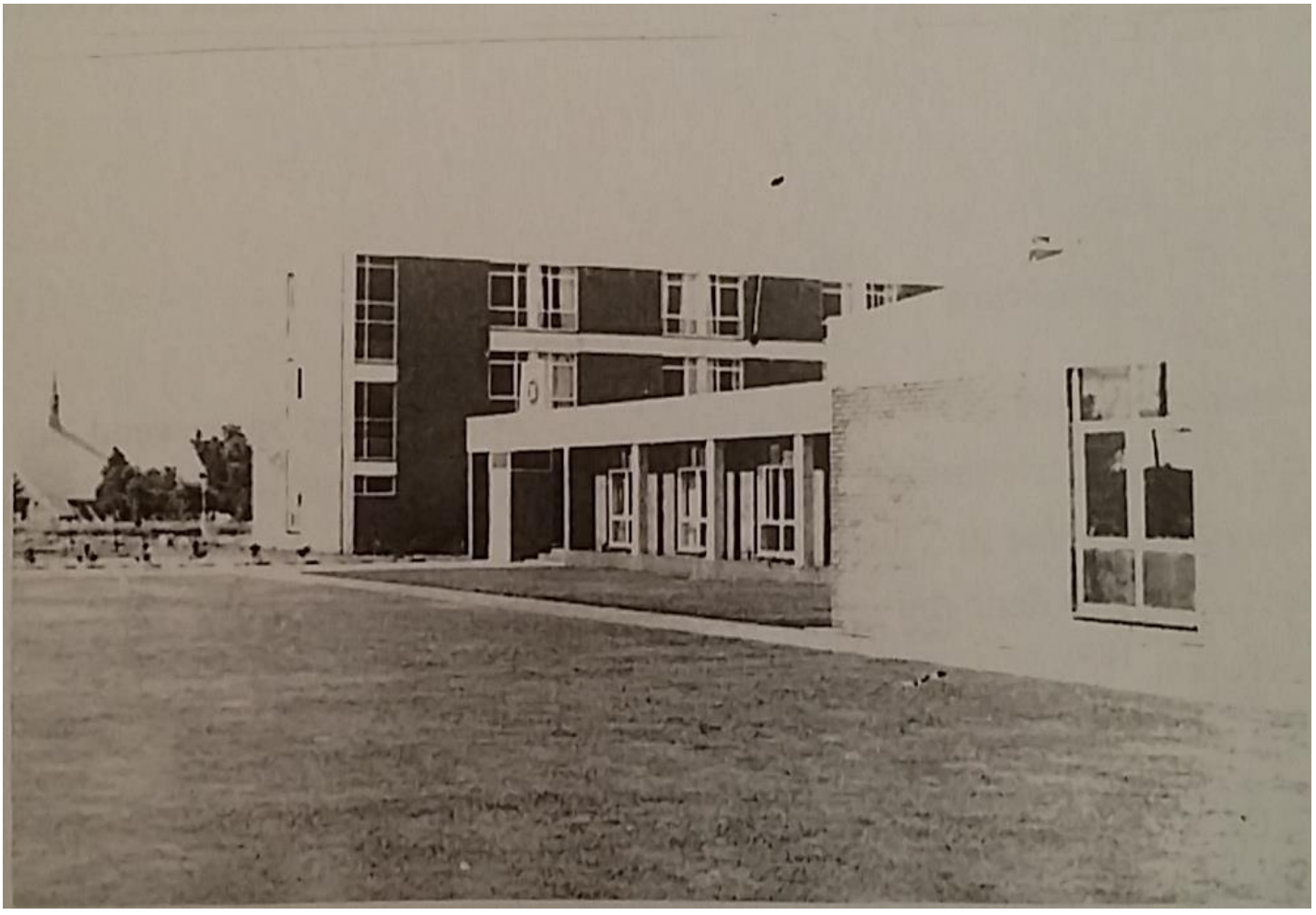
In the early 1960s, attention was also paid to the extension of the local library facilities. In the 1950s, the combined membership of the four libraries, including Carletonville, Blyvooruitzicht, Welverdiend and Bank, numbered 2,806,[184] which represented 16,5% of the total white population of the Oberholzer district,[185] and indicates that this service was well-supported. Both the City Council and the Blyvooruitzicht gold mining company did much to improve the efficiency of the local library service.[186] By 1974, the City Council also started fulfilling its ideal of establishing a civic centre, which includes, among others, a modern library. The latter was one of the first aspects of this project that received attention. [187]

The development of Carletonville within the framework of certain economic drivers, apart from its influence on the development of the mentioned field and cultural activities, also impacted folk festivals. A folk festival, for example, the Union festival, which was later replaced by the Republic festival, has been part of the lives of Carletonville's

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[182] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, C. Rautenbach, 13.10.1990 and *West Rand Times en Wesrander,* 7.7.1961, p. 1.
[183] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, J.F. Schnetler, 13.10.1990.
[184] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, Council minutes: minute, 12.12.1960, as well as report, Town Clerk, 27.2.1961, pp. 52-54.
[185] The percentage calculation was made by considering the total population count. See Republic of South Africa, Central Statistics Service, Population Census, report no. 02-85-01, *Geografiese verspreiding van die bevolking met 'n oorsig vir 1960-1985,* 1985, p .390.
[186] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, Council Minutes: minute, 12.12.1960, as well as report, Town Clerk, 27.2.1961, p. 54.
[187] Die Suid-Afrikaanse Vereniging van Munisipale Werknemers, *Carletonville Munisipale Jaarboek,* p. 253.

The new police station of Carletonville, 1974



Source: *Carletonville Herald*

white residents' annual activities since it became a municipality [188]

7.3.6 Law and order structures

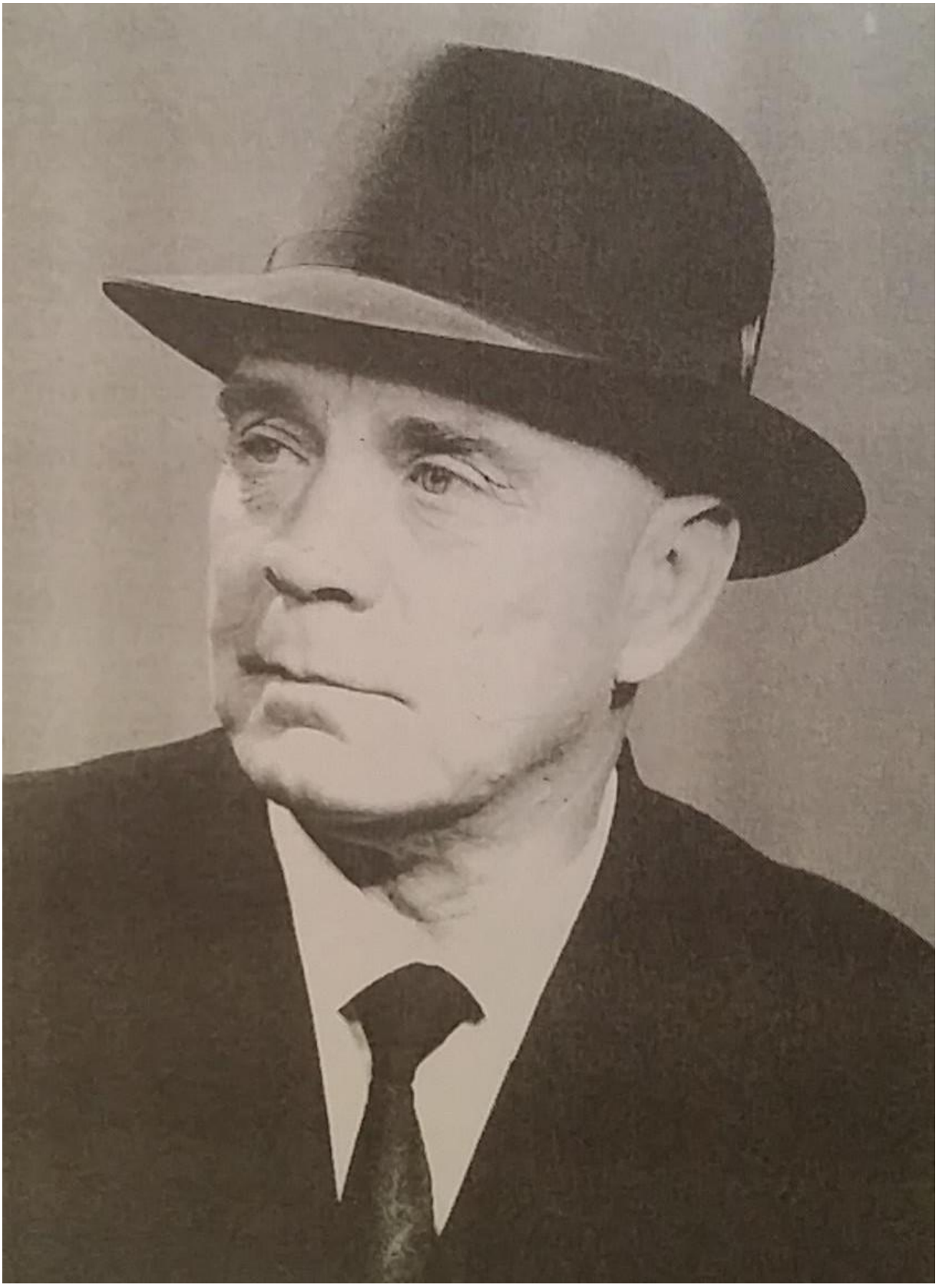
During the sinkhole period, the State made attempts to stabilise the future of the towns in the Carletonville region. In 1968, construction of the new magistrates' building in Van Zyl-Smit Street in Oberholzer started. The new building was opened on 14 February 1969 by the Secretary of Justice and native of the region, Mr J.N. Oberholzer.[189] Shortly after the inauguration of the building, the old magistrate's building was taken over and restored by the Gatsrand commando and inaugurated in September 1973.[190] At this stage, the commando expanded its duties by assisting with the local fire and police service.[191] By 1974, however, it had not been necessary for the commando to assist.

Regarding the development of the police service in the Carletonville region, it appears that their day-to-day activities in the 1960s were mainly peaceful and according to routine. The worst challenges were probably the landslides with which they were indirectly involved. At times, they had to guard the sinkholes and make sure that the careless inquisitive did not become part of the freak of nature.[192] Between 1950 and approximately 1970, there were no notable successes or developments, which could be ascribed to the years of ill trust towards Carletonville .

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[188] As an example, see Carletonville (Municipality), CM, Council minutes: minute, 15.10.1959 and *Carletonville Herald,* 26.5.1988, p. 1.
[189] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, R.H. Barnes (Chief magistrate, Carletonville), 25.2.1992.
[190] *Carletonville Herald*, 14.9.1973, p. 1.
[191] IR, MCV, file 12/5(1), Civic protection services, 1968-1972: letter, Fire Chief/Colonel R.R.F. Brown, 1.10.1971, as well as 12/5(2), Civic protection services, 1972-1976: letter, Commandant A.E. van Straten/Town Clerk, 7.9.1976.
[192] *Carletonville Herald,* 7.8.1964, pp. 1-2, as well as 21.5.1965, p. 1.

J.C. Greyling.



Source: *Carletonville Herald*

In 1971, the authorities began building the modern police station in the town of Oberholzer (Ada Street) after it had been stationed temporarily in Carletonville. The R800 000 complex was opened on 20 March 1974, and was known as the Oberholzer police station.[193] The opening of the station, as well as the new magistrate's office, contributed to the creation of renewed trust in the Carletonville region.

7.3.7 The political climate in the midst of the sinkhole episode

After the death of Councillor G.P. Brits in 1958, Dr N. Diedericks took over the Losberg constituency.[194] Dr Diedericks was the Minister of Economic Affairs [195] for several years and was probably pleased with his new political home, where the economic development of Carletonville was blooming and already contributed thousands to the state coffers annually.[196]

In 1966, the country's constituencies were reviewed by the 'Afbakenings commission' of the government. The result was that a constituency for Carletonville was determined, which ended Carletonville's connection with the Losberg constituency. Although the new constituency stretched right up to the eastern border of Ventersdorp, Carletonville, with its high population concentration, formed the nucleus of the constituency.[197]

In 1966, Mr J.C. (Cas) Greyling from Ventersdorp, as nominated member for the NP, became the first MP of the new constituency. He won the seat

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[193] Potchefstroom Police, Department of Public Relations (Potchefstroom), documentation Oberholzer police station: letter, Section Commissioner/District Commissioner, 12.2.1974, as well as report, official opening, 20.3.1974. The name of the police station changed in 1990 to the Carletonville Police Station. See Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, E.J. Niemandt (Station Commander, Carletonville), 4.12.1990.
[194] B.M. Schoeman, *Parlementêre verkiesings in Suid-Afrika, 1910-1976*, p. 371.
[195] T.R.H. Davenport, *South Africa: a modern history,* fourth edition, p. 352.
[196] See *Chapter Two,* pp.28-31 and *Four,* pp. 189-190,192-195.
[197] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, J.C. Greyling (ex-Member of Parliament, Carletonville), 30.9.1991.

during the election that year, with 3,807 votes against the 2,240 for Mr W.G. Pyne-Mereier of the UP.[198] Although it was a convincing victory of 1,567 votes for the NP, it is possibly the sinkhole question in Carletonville, and the UP's pre-election charge that the NP gave the residents false hope regarding their future and also used it as a pre-election gimmick (*voorverkiesingsfoefie)*,[199] that cost the NP several votes. This point of view was also maintained by the Carletonville Property Owners' Association, the local Business Chamber, the Chamber of Commerce and the SAVF Oberholzer branch earlier that year. They opined that the Government would only win the trust of the Carletonville investors if they could guarantee the safety of all the stands, and, where possible, compensate owners.[200] According to the outcome of events, it does not appear that the government reacted and, by implication, approved the compensation system of the Dolomitic Water Board.[201]

Mr Cas Greyling, who started his term as the Carletonville MP on a somewhat 'sinkhole-type of note', by way of speaking, assisted in creating trust and stability in Carletonville.[202] Additionally, he defused the 1966 strikes at the local gold mines successfully and thus ensured continued production without loss of income for the gold mines.[203] By 1974, when the tide turned successfully in favour of Carletonville, Mr Greyling was still the MP for the region.[204]

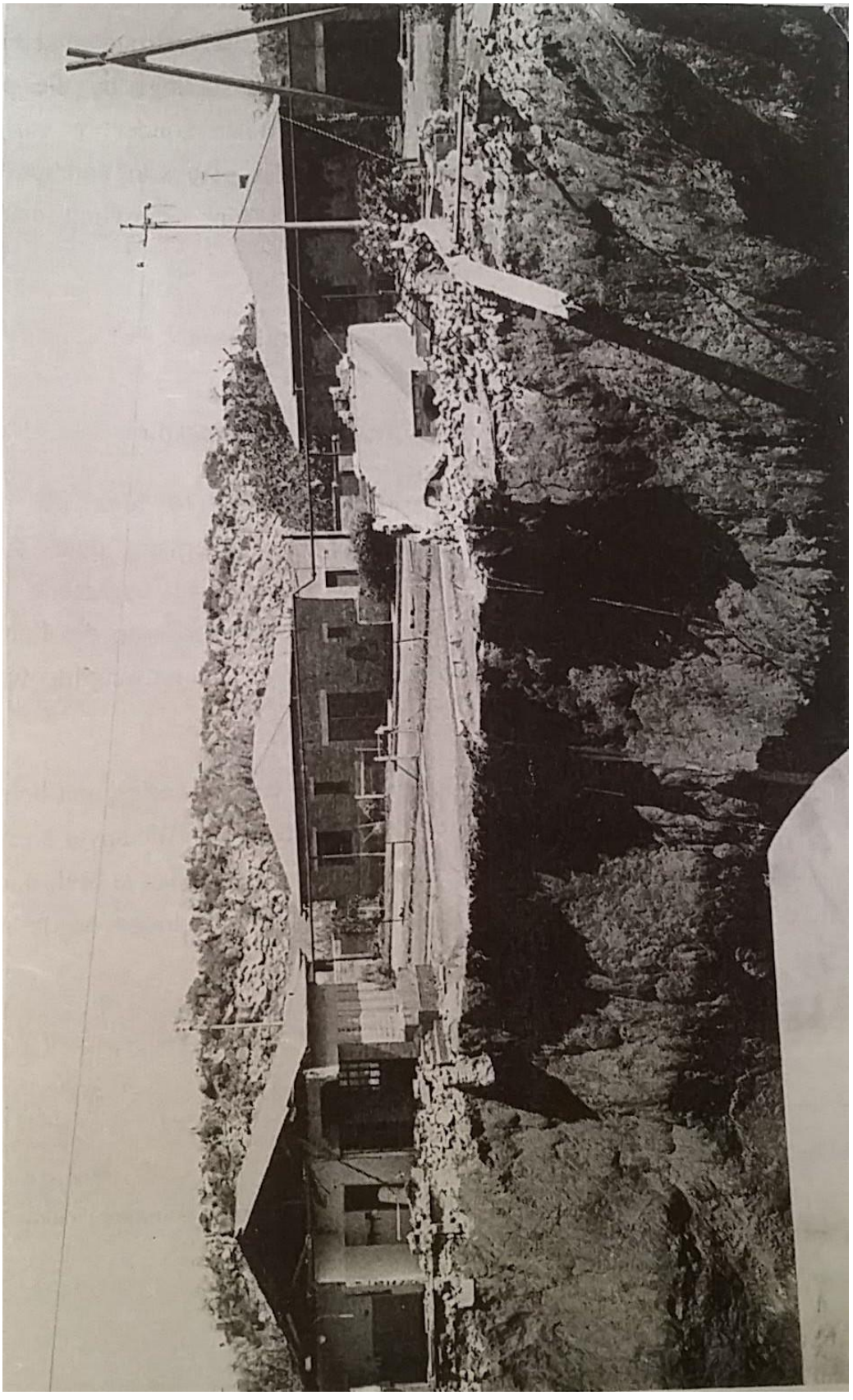
7.3.8 Landslides during the period 1959 to 1974 - reviewed

From the above discussion of the period 1959 to 1974, it appears that, initially, the landslides during the 1960s were not taken too seriously by the broader

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[198] B.M. Schoeman, *Parlementêre verkiesings in Suid-Afrika, 1910-1976,* p. 430; Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, J.C. Greyling, 13.3.1991 and *Herald vir die Goue Weste,* 1.4.1966, p. 1.
[199] *Sunday Times,* 20.3.1966, p. 1, and Republiek van Suid-Afrika, *Debatte van die Volksraad,* 29.5.1969, columns, 7067-7069.
[200] *Die Vaderland,* 9.2.1966, p. 1 and *Sunday Times,* 20.3.1966, p. 1.
[201] See *Chapter Two,* p. 35 and *Three,* pp. 87-89.
[202] Republiek van Suid-Afrika, *Debatte van die Volksraad,* 29.5.1969, columns, 7067-7069 and Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, J.C. Greyling, 30.9.1991.
[203] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, J.C. Greyling, 30.9.1991.
[204] *Carletonville Herald*, 9.12.1977, p. 3.

The sinkhole at Blyvooruitzicht, 3 August 1964



Source: B. Jacobs.

community.[205] Ever so lightly, it was remarked in a press release that the Carletonville residents found the inquisitive funnier than the cracks (*nuuskieriges snaakser as die barste)*.[206] Agriculture, the communication network, and the business sector experienced the sinkhole disruptions since 1963, more intensely.[207]

It was noted by 1964 and 1965 that there was some uncertainty among businessmen and prospective buyers regarding the purchasing of stands in Carletonville.[208] However, the local authority continued to expand the local infrastructure as demanded by the local rising population numbers. With the new Western Deep Levels Gold Mine, there was no alternative, as the mine ensured renewed development in the local economy and community.[209]

The sinkhole disaster in the Westdene residential area of Blyvooruitzicht in August 1964 was the most important spiritually disruptive factor, especially among the Blyvooruitzicht community, and for the region's image to the outside world.[210] The occasional bad publicity given by the media created panic and insecurity.[211]

There was, however, no talk of a large-scale exodus in 1964 because of the sinkholes,[212] the most important reason being that the local mines continued their activities among the landslide rumours.[213] Financial considerations also played a role among mine workers, as some of them were not

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[205] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, Council Minutes: minute, 3.1.1962.
[206] *Die Suid-Afrikaanse Stem*, 29.9.1963, p. 1.
[207] See *Chapter Six,* pp.250-252,261-263; *Three,* pp.86-91 and *Five,* pp. 218-223.
[208] *Carletonville Herald*, 1.2.1965, p. 2.
[209] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, file 15/4/2-2/1276, City planning and Development control, 1962-63. Also see *Chapter Three,* p. 32 and *Four,* p.170.
[210] *Carletonville Herald,* 7.8.1964, p. 6, as well as 2.10.1964, p. 1; *The Star,* 5.9.1964, p. 1 and *West Rand Times en Wesrander,* 7.8.1964, p. 1. See also *Chapter Two,* p. 33 and *Six,* pp. 251, 261.
[211] Compare *The Star,* 5.9.1964, p. 1 and *Herald vir die Goue Weste,* 30.4.1965, p. 1.
[212] *Die Transvaler,* 20.10.1964, p. 2, as opposed to *The Star,* 5.9.1964, p. 1, which reported that some residents of the Blyvooruitzicht community wanted to move.
[213] See *Chapter Two,* p. 37 and *Four,* pp. 120-192 regarding the history of each mine.

prepared to lose their employee package.[214] The same could have been said of businesses, as at that stage Carletonville was still a favourable commercial region, even though business was not as flourishing as it could be.[215]

The City Councillors and the business sector of Carletonville had to look on as distress and disappointment crumbled important members of the business community's trust in the region.[216] The increasing distrust can also be ascribed to the fact that some of the connecting routes to towns outside the region were temporarily or permanently closed due to the landslides. This isolated the Carletonville businesses for quite a while.[217]

The mentioned crises were an enormous financial setback for the City Council and the mining authorities, who were largely blamed for the situation. These expenses included the disbursement of compensation by the mining authorities and the City Council's repairs of damaged buildings, the storm water drainage system and the internal road network.[218] Indirectly, all these expenses were probably meant for the completion of other projects that would have benefited the community in other ways. It was attempted to regain the trust of the Carletonville community with state aid.[219] An example is the construction in 1974 of a new police station.[220] All these attempts by the City Council, the mining sector and the Government did not deliver results overnight. It was easier for Carletonville to succeed in making *die wêreld gat bewus*[221] (the world, 'hole-aware') than obtaining the opposite results.[222]

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[214] *West Rand Times en Wesrander*, 14.8.1964, p. 2 and *The Star*, 5.9.1964, p. 1.
[215] See *Chapter Five,* pp. 219-220.
[216] TAD, MCV, Vol. 38, file 34/1/4(b), Formation, safety regarding stands: letter, A.C.M. Pretorius/Town engineer, Carletonville, 23.6.1965 and *Carletonville Herald,* 18.2.1966, p. 1. Also see *Chapter Five,* pp. 219-222.
[217] See *Chapter Six,* pp. 251-253, 260-263 and *Herald vir die Goue Weste,* 14.5.1965, p. 1.
[218] See *Chapter Two*, p. 37 and *Four*, p. 191.
[219] *Herald vir die Goue Weste*, 26.8.1966, p. 1.
[220] See text information at 7.3.6 and footnote 188 of this chapter, p. 317.
[221] *Carletonville Herald*, 28.2.1964, p. 3.
[222] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, Council minutes: minutes, 1966-1968 and *The Star,* 17.4.1967, p. 1.

Carletonville's setback is not reflected in the white population growth of the region. In 1960, some 16,986 whites lived in the area; by 1970, this had increased to 22,416,[223] and by 1974, the number stood at 25,000.[224] In the preceding discussion in section 7.3, pp. 305-320, a similar tendency of continued growth is noted in nearly every facet of the community. By 1974, it appears as though the sinkhole stigma and fear remained a problem with which people from outside Carletonville struggled.[225] Potential investors were probably also deterred by the situation.

Thanks to the continued incentives and incentives from the various economic sectors, the emotions regarding the sinkholes in Carletonville in 1973 and 1974 had calmed down, and there was no kick left in the damage the sinkholes had caused the community. Residents merely took note of sinkholes that appeared from time to time, but no fuss was made as in the past.[226] It appears that sensational reporting over the last few years has rather created a sense of dulling among the community regarding sinkholes.

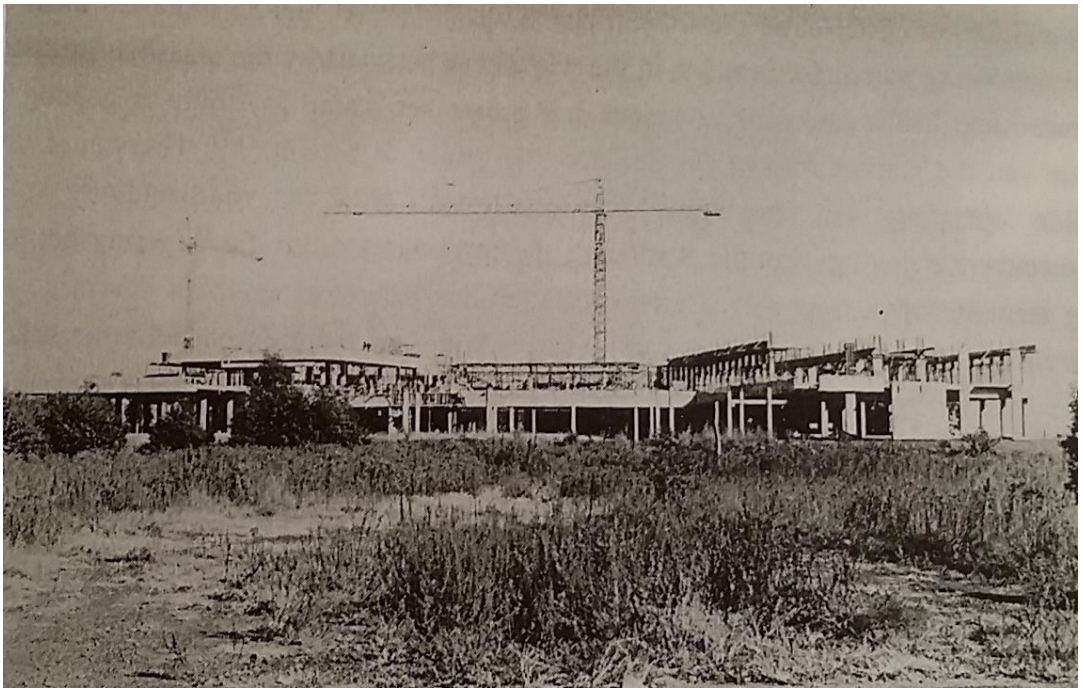
7.4 RESTORED TRUST, INCREASING COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT AND POLITICAL RIFTS: THIS IS CARLETONVILLE IN A POTPOURRI OF ISSUES BETWEEN 1975-1988

The restored trust in Carletonville gradually developed from the mid-1970s and is literally reflected in each local sector and at the infrastructural level. Some areas, however, experienced exceptional development between 1975 and 1988 due to a continued dynamic economic tempo in the municipal region,

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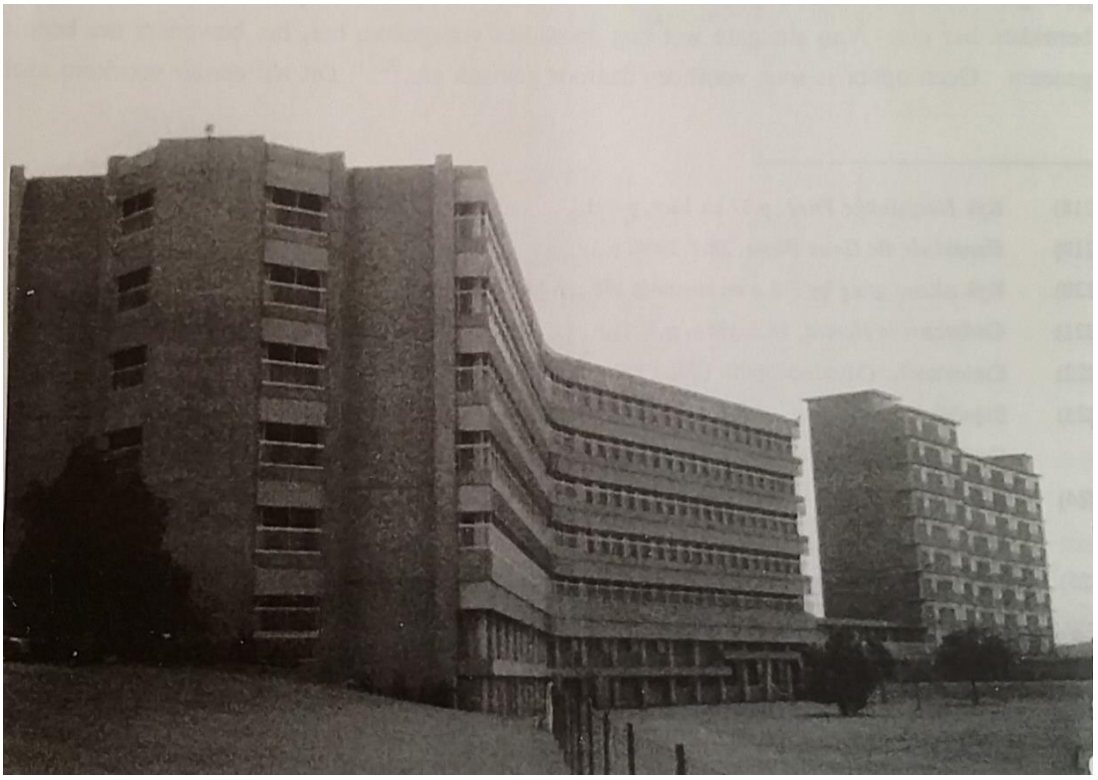
[223] Republic of South Africa, Central Statistics Service, Population census, report no. 02-85-01, *Geografiese verspreiding van die bevolking met 'n oorsig vir 1960-1985,* 1985, p. 390.
[224] Die Suid-Afrikaanse Vereniging van Munisipale Werknemers, *Suid-Afrlkaanse Munisipale Jaarboek,* 1974, p. 252.
[225] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, R.E. Labuschagne, 15.10.1990 and *The Star,* 17.4.1967 as examples of pronouncements of Carletonville residents' impressions.
[226] *Die Transvaler*, 23.6.1973, p. 1, as well as 27.6.1973, p. 2; *Herald vir die Goue Weste*, 21.4.1972, p. 1 and *Carletonville Weekly Record*, 9.7.1976, p. 1.

Construction of the Sybrand van Niekerk Hospital in 1975



Source: Antonica's Foto's.

The Sybrand van Niekerk Hospital, after completion, 1977



Source: C.G. Hartzer.

contrary to those who developed gradually. The areas that continued to experience growth thanks to economic development include education, service organisations and politics. Churches, the medical industry, law and order and the sports and recreation sectors appeared more static.

7.4.1 The state of medical services, churches, law and order structures, and sports, culture and recreation

7.4.1.1 Medical services

The provision of health services in the municipal region of Carletonville only really materialised in 1977 when the Carletonvillese Kinderleidingkliniek (children's clinic) opened in May,[227] followed by the Sybrand van Niekerk[228] Provincial hospital on 1 July.[229] The ambulance services, which were managed first by the service organisation Rotara were also taken over by the City Council.[230] This brought to an end the lack of proper health services for the broader public. Earlier services delivered by the Oranje-Kraaminrigting (maternity hospital) and the old Blyvooruitzicht Hospital to whites were closed when the new hospital opened to help consolidate health services in this region.[231]

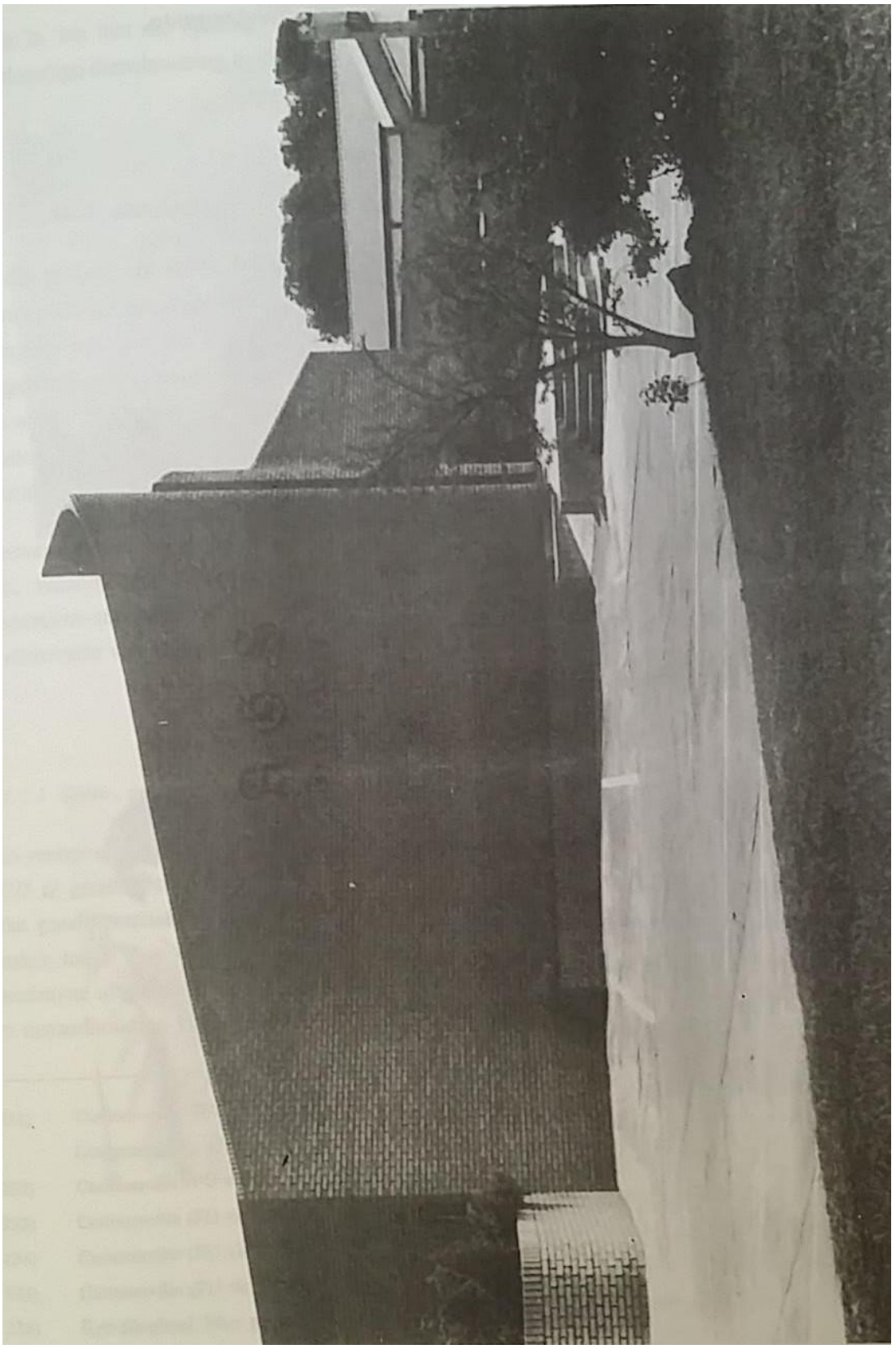
7.4.1.2 Church activities

By 1975, some 21 church fellowships were active in the Carletonville region. Because the population continued to increase, the secession of 'daughter' congregations increased in the 1980s in Carletonville, especially among the Afrikaans churches. These include the NG

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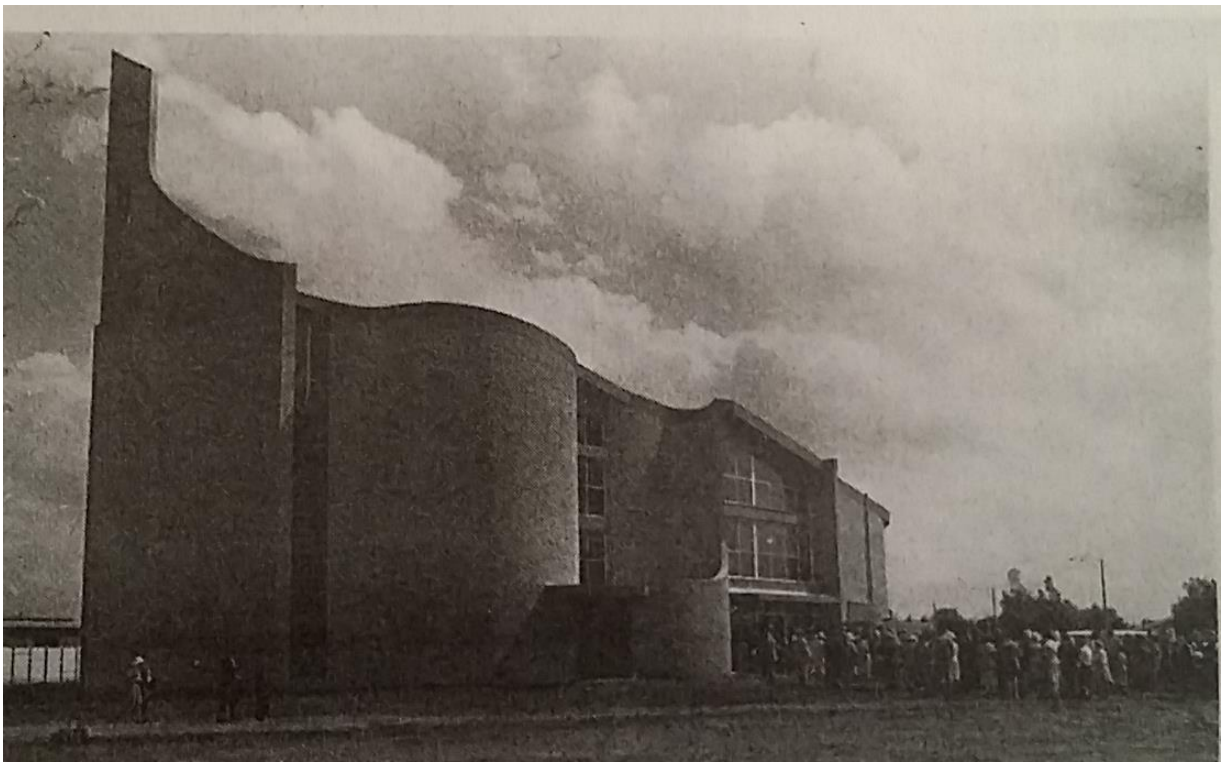
[227] *Carletonville Weekly Record*, 9.5.1977, p. 1.
[228] S.G.J. van Niekerk, in honour of whom the Carletonville Hospital was named, was the administrator of the Transvaal at the time. He played an important role in the decision-making process regarding the construction of the hospital. See *Carletonville Weekly Record,* 20.5.1977, p. 1.
[229] *Carletonville Herald*, 8.7.1977, p. 1.
[230] IR, MCV, file 2/1(2), Ambulance services: minutes, Management committee, 25.7.1978, as well as 15.1.1982.
[231] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, C.P. Wolmarans (ex-matron, Oranje-Kraaminrigting, Carletonville), 20.9.1989, as well as *Carletonville Herald,* 15.7.1977, p. 1.

The church building of the AGS congregation, Oberholzer



Source: S.C. Kirchner.

Church building, Oberholzer Wes, NG congregation



Laying of the cornerstone, NG congregation, Oberholzer Wes.



Source: *Carletonville Herald*.

Church, in contrast to those whose growth was more gradual. The areas where the influence of economic development was obvious included Oberholzer Wes, established in 1979,[232] the AGS congregation Oberholzer, which seceded in 1981 from the Carletonville congregation,[233] as well as the NG congregation Carletonville Wes, formed in 1987.[234]

Apart from the 23 congregations that were present in the region by 1988, another smaller church, the Seventh-day Adventists, also settled in the area.[235] The existing economic stability in Carletonville ensured the steadfastness and activities of churches between 1975 and 1988.

7.4.1.3 Sports, recreational and cultural amenities

By 1975, the establishment patterns of sports, recreational and cultural activities and facilities had reached a measure of constancy and saturation. Apart from the fact that each gold mine company had its own sufficient sports and recreation facilities,[236] the Carletonville Recreation Club was mainly expanded and maintained by the local mines.[237] Compared to this, the City Council's establishment and maintenance of similar services dispersed in the area by 1988 were minimal.[238] The availability of facilities in these areas was mainly thanks to the involvement of the mining sector.

Contrary to sports and recreational activities in any society, cultural activities are more exposed to private initiative and drive. This is especially true of locally inspired cultural organisations that depend on the support of individuals for effective functioning. Consequently, it is not a strange phenomenon when such organisations within a certain society disappear, or in time, make way for new similar organisations. In Carletonville, the same pattern occurred

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[232] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, S. van Rensburg, 12.11.1990.
[233] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, A. Swanepoel, 12.11.1990.
[234] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, F.S. van Rensburg, 12.11.1990.
[235] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 2: letter, City Council, Carletonville/E.S. van Eeden, 22.11.1988.
[236] See *Chapter Four,* pp. 120-189, regarding each mine's recreational activities.
[237] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, J. Letourneau, 6.6.1991.
[238] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, Council minutes: minute, 1975-1988.

during the years. For example, in the 1970s, the once famous Apollo Choir, as well as the theatre group, the Carletonville Playmakers, were already part of the pleasant cultural treasured memories of this region.[239]

Cultural associations, i.e., the Eisteddfod and the Music associations, were still serving the Carletonville society by 1975.[240] No other notable cultural activities are associated with Carletonville until 1988. It appears that the development of the local economy did not significantly impact the cultural activities of the local white community.

7.4.1.4 Law and order structures

From 1975, law-and-order structures in Carletonville were more functional and active than during the sinkhole era. The assistance of the local police and commandos was used during the local mining strikes.[241] The population growth in the community obviously led to an increase in the number of offenders, which gradually placed more stress and demands on the maintenance of law and order.[242]

7.4.2 The position of education, service organisations and politics in Carletonville

7.4.2.1 Education

The first schools that opened during the period of restoration in the Carletonville region were on mine property and included Laerskool Oos-Driefontein (1979) at the Oos-Driefontein mine and the Timbertwig Nursery School on the property of the Western Deep Levels Mine.[243] The Bambiland Private Nursery School is the only educational institution that opened without the direct involvement of a local gold mine. The business and industrial sector's indirect influence on mothers

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[239] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, A. and C. van der Westhuizen, 24.9.1990.
[240] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, C. Rautenbach, 12.11.1990.
[241] *Sunday Times,* 16.3.1986, pp. 1-2; *The Star,* 17.2.1986, p. 1 and *The Citizen,* 18.3.1986, p. 3.
[242] *Carletonville Herald,* 19.11.1976, p.1, as well as 11.2.1983, p. 1; 25.2.1983, p.1 and 23.12.1988, p. 1.
[243] M.M.J. Oosthuizen, *Blanke onderwys in die Carletonville-omgewing*…, pp. 44-48.

increasingly accessing the labour market,[244] is the most important reason why pre-school institutions increased in Carletonville. Between 1981 and 1985, nursery schools opened in the region on a large scale. That included the Pikkie Nursery (1981), the Pinnochio Nursery (1981), the Smurfieland Private Nursery (1982), the Jan Groentjie Private Nursery, the Goosy Gander Nursery (1985), followed by the Elandsrand Nursery in 1986.[245] The establishment of the 'Onderwyshulpsentrum' (teachers' aid centre) in 1983, the new Technical College building with financial assistance from the Anglo American-Group in 1984[246] and the second Afrikaans Medium Hoërskool in 1986,[247] contributed to strengthening the trust in the region. The impact of the local economy on the community's activities of the area was simultaneously exposed.

Notably, it was mainly nurseries (pre-primary) schools that were opened between 1975 and 1988. One would deduce that the Carletonville community had sufficient primary and secondary institutions despite the population increase after 1975, to comply with the community's educational needs. As noted with the establishment of churches, it was only the Afrikaans-speaking community that required an additional secondary school in the 1980s.

7.4.2.2 Service organisations versus community involvement

Of all the societal components in Carletonville, the service organisations showed the most growth and development between 1975 and 1988. It may be ascribed to the fact that the establishment pattern stabilised in this period, which required increased community involvement to maintain the established society.

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[244] Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics, report no. 02-05-06, *Beroep en nywerheid volgens distrik en ekonomiese streek, 1970, 1970*, p. 51, as well as report no. 02-85-03, *Nywerheid volgens ontwikkelingstreek, statistiese streek en distrik, 1985,* p. 111.
[245] M.M.J. Oosthuizen, *Blanke onderwys in die Carletonville-omgewing*…, pp. 35-51.
[246] *Carletonville Herald, 11*.5.1984, pp. 1-2.
[247] M.M.J. Oosthuizen, *Blanke onderwys in die Carletonville-omgewing*…, p. 122.

Within the Carletonville community, the SAVF Oberholzer branch's social department became increasingly involved in the 1980s, paying more attention to the poor, family problems and alcohol and drug addicts.[248] Since then, a more specialised service regarding the rehabilitation of alcoholics was delivered by the Suid-Afrikaanse Nasionale Raad vir Alkoholisme (SANRA) (South African National Council for Alcoholism) branch in Randfontein. A therapist's weekly visit to Carletonville was enhanced by the services of the Alcoholics Anonymous (AA) branch of Carletonville, which mainly consisted of rehabilitated alcoholics holding weekly meetings.[249]

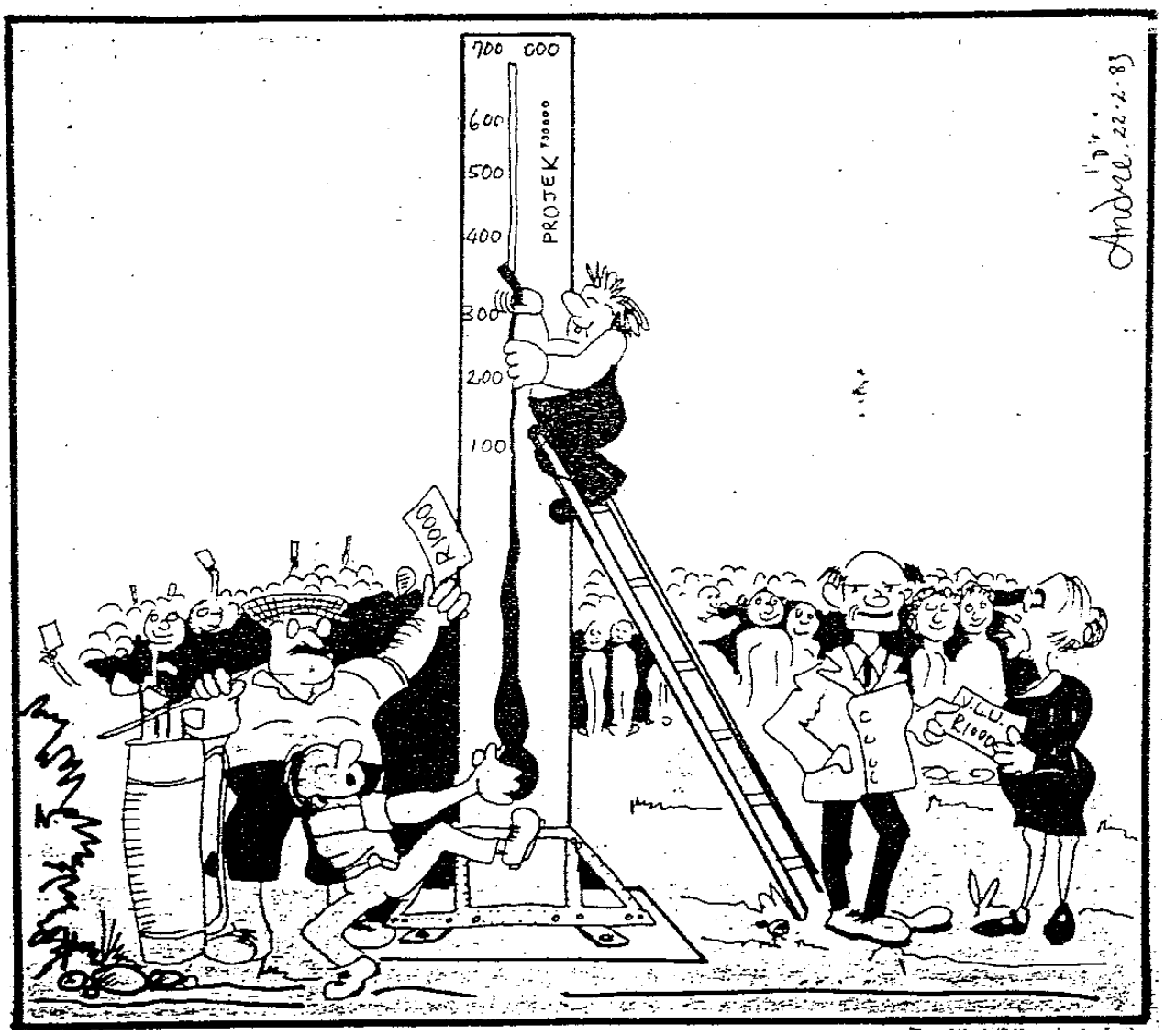
In 1981, the 'Ondersteuningsraad' (Supporting Council) branch was opened in Carletonville by the NHK to deliver a similar service as that of the social workers of the SAVF Oberholzer branch and the KMD branch.[250] An Emergency/Life Line branch also opened in Carletonville this year, and professionals in the community provided support to those in need of counselling by phone.[251] As in the past, all these services received financial support from the business community for performing the mentioned duties.[252] The variety of services delivered in Carletonville by 1982 resulted in the opening of the Community Centre by the SAVF Oberholzer branch, to serve as the central body to coordinate all aid services.[253]

Additionally, the Oberholzer branch of the SAVF's attempts to erect houses for the elderly in Carletonville were at last approved by December 1983.[254]

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[248] SAVF Oberholzer branch (Carletonville), Annual reports: annual report, 1.4.1980 - 31.3.1981.
[249] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, I. de Beer (Social worker, Carletonville), 10.9.1990.
[250] Anon., "*Die Ondersteuningsraad*", *Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk Afrika,* 1985, pp. 1-8.
[251] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, O.M. Johnson (Director, Emergency line Carletonville), 19.12.1990, as well as Ref. 2: letter, O.M. Johnson/E.S. van Eeden, 20.12.1990.
[252] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, Council minutes: minute, Management committee, 13.9.1983 and Anon. *Life Line,* (n.d.).
[253] *Carletonville Herald*, 25.6.1982, p. 4.
[254] *Carletonville Herald,* 9.12.1983, p. 3, as well as 13.1.1984, p. 1.

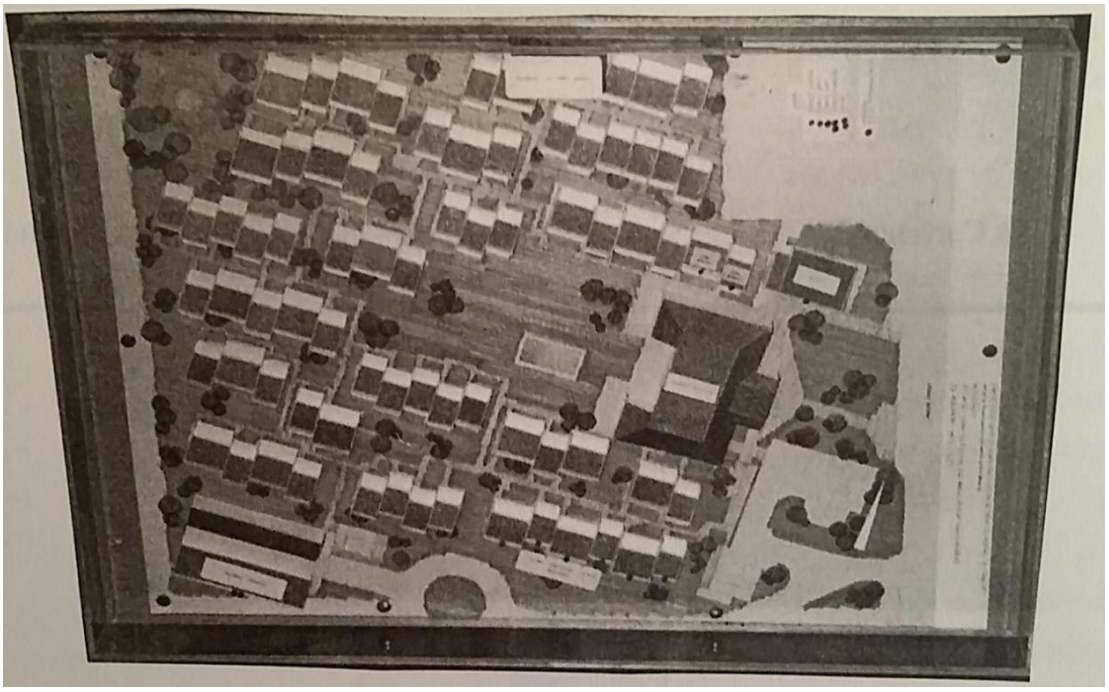
The *Carletonville Herald*'s depiction and propaganda for Projek 700 000



Source: *Carletonville Herald,* 25.2.1983.

Planning of 'The Senatus' Service Centre

***Planning phase**



*** Completed Senatus Service Centre**



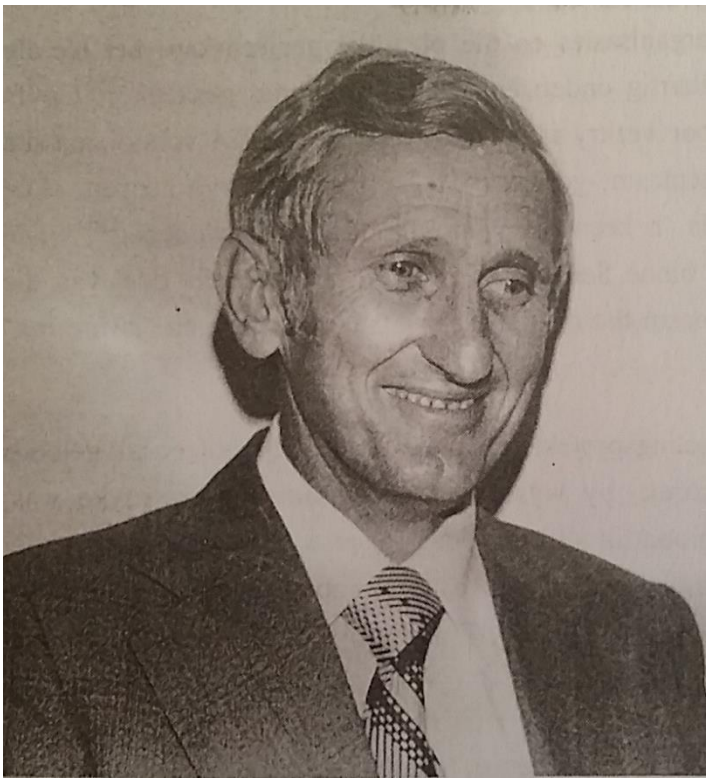
Source: E.J. Nefdt.

Unveiling of the memorial plaque and opening of the Senatus, 18 September 1983

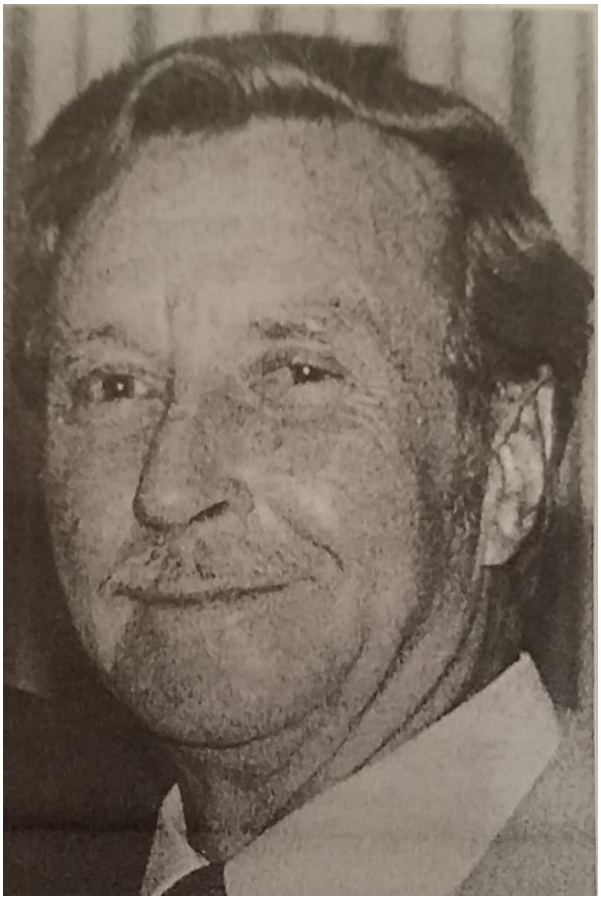


Source: E.J. Nefdt.

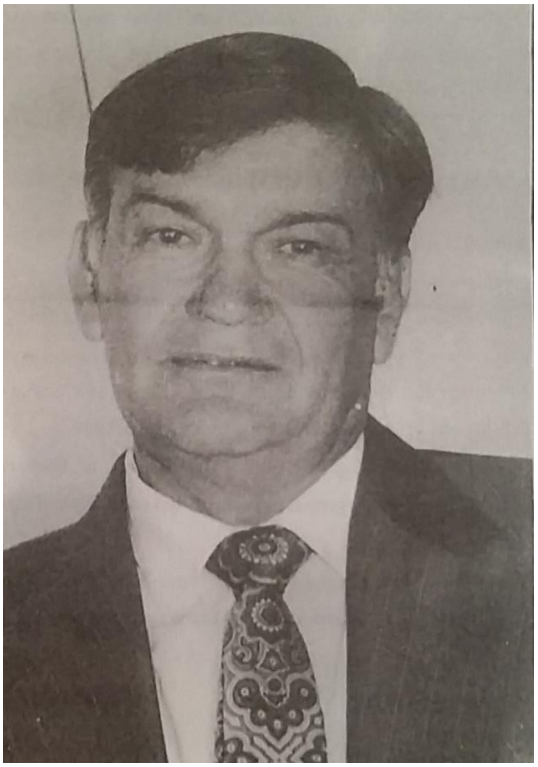
B.H. Wilkens



W.J. Landman



P.J. Paulus.



Source: *Carletonville Herald*.

The business sector of Carletonville, its service organisations and the local community fully supported the project known as the 'Projek 700 000' and made large donations,[255] even before it was officially approved. The project was completed in 1984, and the housing complex, as well as the service centre, called Senatus, was opened with much ado. The word 'Senatus' means oldest, referring to the oldest residents.[256] The services and activities that were presented for the elderly in Senatus, however, replaced the purpose of the Rus-'n-Bietjie Club to such an extent that it resulted in the dissolution of the club and led to its *"ewige rus"* (rest forever) in 1988.[257]

Between 1986 and 1988, more development projects were launched by the SAVF Oberholzer branch, indirectly including other service organisations by means of fundraising activities. Consequently, the Oberholzer branch could expand its services to include, among others, the establishment of a day-care association, the implementation of a personality enrichment project (Persoonlikheidsverrykingsprojek),[258] and a save and stretch financing project (Red-en-Rek-Finansprojek),[259] as well as a post-divorce actualisation programme (Na-egskeidingsaktualiseringsprogram).[260]

In 1986, another service organisation was founded in the region, i.e., the Barbara Centre for personality development (Barbara-Sentrum vir Persoonsontwikkeling).[261] It was the first fully-fledged psychiatric service made available by the Chamber of Mines.[262] In 1988, the Barbara-Sentrum launched a coordinated project called Project 2000, together with other social organisations. The purpose was to investigate problems experienced by the youth and bring them to the attention of the headmasters. Additionally, an annual Expo was presented during which local sources were introduced to the Carletonville consumers.[263]

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[255] *Carletonville Herald*, 25.2.1983, p. 4.
[256] SAVF Oberholzer branch (Carletonville), *Senatus,* p. 49.
[257] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, A. van der Westhuizen, 24.9.1990.
[258] SAVF Oberholzer branch (Carletonville), Annual reports: report, 1 April 1988 - 31 Maart 1989. This project was launched in 1987.
[259] SAVF Oberholzer branch (Carletonville), Information leaflet: Red-en-Rek-finansprojek, 24.9.1987, pp. 1-33.
[260] SAVF Oberholzer branch (Carletonville), Information leaflet: Na-egskeidingsprogram, 30.6.1988.
[261] The name of the centre is derived from the Christian legend in which Barbara was a guardian angel who guarded underground workers, among others. See *Ensiklopedie van die Wêreld,* vol. II (BKK-CLL), p. 59.
[262] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, F.J. Cronjé (Head, Barbara-Sentrum), 15.10.1990.
[263] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, S. Roestenburg (Social worker, Barbara-Sentrum), 18.12.1990.

On an international level, it is known that a developed community is a company that identifies its own problems and implements its own unique plans and programs to solve them.[264] By 1988, Carletonville was indeed such a community within an established economic dispensation.

7.4.2.3 Politics and disputes in the political process in Carletonville

Amidst the renewal process and unprecedented growth of Carletonville since 1975,[265] the rest of South Africa experienced difficult times.[266] Economically speaking, it was not exactly a rosy picture. Within the political arena, constitutional and policy changes were observed.[267]

Mr Cas Greyling of the Carletonville constituency was responsible for a few controversial months in South African politics, when, on the eve of the November 1977 election, as the only NP MP, he refused to accept the new suggestions for a tri-cameral parliament. His man-alone attempt on 12 September to try and convince Dr Connie Mulder, the Transvaal leader of the NP, otherwise, was taken further on 14 September, during the Transvaal National Party Congress. During the Congress, Greyling blamed the NP for being rotten with political immorality (***besmet is met politieke immoraliteit)*** [sic]. It caused a great reaction, and consequently, he was expelled from the NP on 11 October 1977.[268]

These actions of Mr Greyling and the outcome had little influence on Carletonville's political loyalty towards the NP.[269] The successful

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[264] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, M.S. Ferreira (Lecturer, Department of Social Work, PU for CHE), 13.3.1991.
[265] *Carletonville Weekly Record,* 26.9.1975, pp. 1, 9, 17; IR, MCV, file 73/5(8), Publicity: report, Carletonville, 1973/74, pp. 1-3.
[266] See *Chapter One,* pp. 12-14.
[267] T.R.H. Davenport, *South Africa: a modern history,* fourth edition, pp. 381-383
[268] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, J.C. Greyling, 30.9.1991. Also compare the *Carletonville Herald,* 21.10.1977, p. 3.
[269] This assumption is made based on the local newspapers consulted. There was little reaction to J.C. Greyling's "rebellious" behaviour. There was also no reaction from the readers. See, among others, the *Carletonville Weekly Record,* 25.11.1977, p. 1.

pre-election propaganda of the NP,[270] which included holding several political meetings that included important MPs,[271] finally sunk Mr Cas Greyling, who stood as an independent candidate in Carletonville. Subsequently, B.H. Wilkens became the new NP MP for the Carletonville constituency.[272]

After a relatively peaceful period in the Carletonville constituency in the MPs Wilkens and W.J. Landman, respectively, between 1978 and 1981 and from 1981 to 1987,[273] Mr P.I. (Arrie) Paulus of the Conservative Party (CP) entered the Carletonville political arena.[274] At the time of Mr Paulus' participation, the NP government was purposefully on the road to a new constitutional dispensation in South Africa,[275] and for the first time, the constituency of Carletonville was not in the hands of the NP.

The changed constitutional dispensation, based on the so-called democratic basis among the nations of South Africa, did not represent the wishes of the majority of the Carletonville residents during 1987/1988.[276] This attitude can be ascribed to the large number of black people living and working in the area, which gave rise to a fear in the white community for being pushed aside on the labour front within the gold mining industry.[277] In contrast, the local business sector was inclined to support the suggested removal of apartheid regulations, as many of them depended on black buying power.[278]

It would appear that the average Carletonville resident's convictions were in support of maintaining the status quo on a constitutional level. Consequently, this attitude resulted in the nominated member for the CP for the

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[270] *Carletonville Herald,* 7.10.1977, p. 3, as well as 21.10.1977 and 25.11.1977, p. 17.
[271] Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3: interview, J.C. Greyling, 30.9.1991.
[272] *Carletonville Herald*, 9.12.1977, p. 3.
[273] Republiek van Suid-Afrika, *Debatte van die Volksraad,* 1978 tot 1987.
[274] S. Raine, "Paulus: a knight for the white", *The Sunday Star,* 15.3.1987, p. 2.
[275] T.R.H. Davenport, *South Africa: a modern history,* fourth edition, pp. 428-437.
[276] *Sunday Times,* 15.3.1987, p. 2.
[277] Republiek van Suid-Afrika, *Debatte van die Volksraad,* 24.5.1985, columns 361-6363 and *Sunday Times,* 22.3.1987, p. 12.
[278] This attitude of the business sector can clearly be seen in the *Carletonville Weekly Record,* 11.7.1975, p. 1; *Carletonville Herald,* 6.4.1984, pp. 2-3 and *Sunday Times,* 22.3.1987, p. 12. Also see *Chapter Five,* pp. 232-233.

The apartheid notice, which was erected in December 1988 in Carletonville





Source: *Carletonville Herald*

Carletonville constituency, Mr Paulus, marginally won the 1987 elections with 5,970 votes against the 5,872 of the NP and the Herstigte Nasionale Party's (HNP) 571 votes.[279] As the leader of the white Mine Workers Union (MWU), the local mine workers deemed Arrie Paulus as the ideal person to protect their rights.[280] This was followed by the unopposed election of Mr J. Nel in January 1988 as the first CP City Council member of Carletonville.[281]

The local political dispute only really placed the economic structure of Carletonville in the midst of the political crossfire after the municipal election of October 1988. During this election, the CP nominees achieved victory in all ten municipal wards in Carletonville. The apparent surprise[282] turned into a drama when the previous NP inclined City Council's application to open up certain areas in the Carletonville business centre for all races was recalled by the CP City Council,[283] and apartheid signs were mounted at all public facilities and amenities in town. Similar to the business sectors of Boksburg, Springs and Brakpan, where these CP actions were the order of the day, the business sector of Carletonville also opined that their business interests were threatened.[284] The rationale for these actions by the CP Council was to keep the public facilities at the civic centre and all the parks clean, as they were littered with garbage, especially during lunch hours.[285]

However, the government overruled the new Carletonville City Council's wishes when, on 15 December 1988, the suggested local free trade area

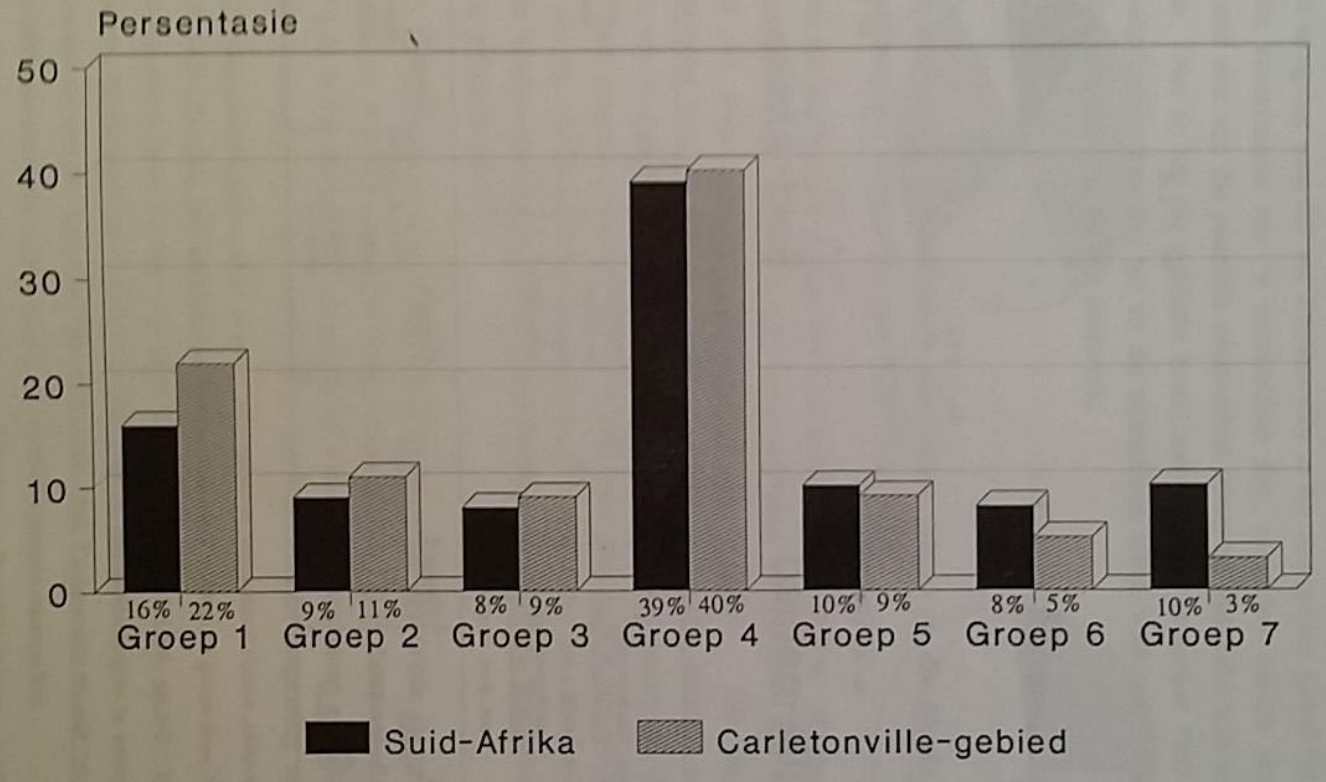
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[279] Anon., "NP says protest vote gave Carletonville to Arrie", *The Star,* 7.5.1987, p. 17.
[280] S. Raine, "Paulus: a knight for the white", *The Sunday Star,* 15.3.1987, p.2 and D. Delport, "Bosses beware when Arrie takes up his seat", *Sunday Tribune,* 10.5.1987, p. 6.
[281] *Die Patriot,* 8.1.1988, p. 5.
[282] *Carletonville Herald,* 28.10.1988, p. 1; *Die Patriot,* 4.11.1988, p. 3 and *Die Beeld,* 20.12.1988, p. 10.
[283] *Carletonville Herald,* 11.11.1988, pp. 1-2; *Die Beeld,* 11.5.1988, p.4, as well as 11.11.1988, p. 6.
[284] *Carletonville Herald,* 2.12.1988, p. 1, as well as 9.12.1988, p.18; *Pretoria News,* 30.11.1988, p. 1 and *Vrye Weekblad,* 2.12.1988, p. 10.
[285] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, Council minutes: minutes, 29.11.1988 and *Carletonville Herald,* 20.1.1989, p. 1.

GRAFIEK 12

Ouderdomsgroepe

Blankes



OUDERDOMSGROEPVERKLARING:

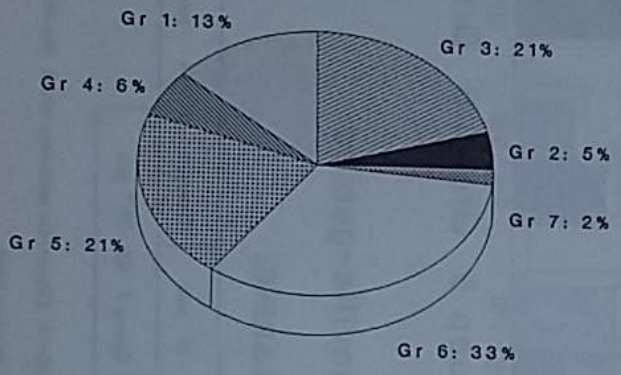
Groep 1 1 - 9 jaar	Groep 2 10 - 12 jaar	Groep 3 15 - 19 jaar	Groep 4 20 - 44 jaar
Groep 5 45 - 54 jaar	Groep 6 55 - 64 jaar	Groep 7 65 - 75+ jaar	

Republiek van Suid-Afrika, Sentrale Statistiekdiens, Bevolkingsensus, verslag no. 02-85-14, *Uitgesoekte statistiese streek Wes-Rand*, 1985, pp.44,58,70,78 en J.C. Schutte, *Wesrandse Streekdiensteraad beplanningsondersoek*, Oktober 1988.

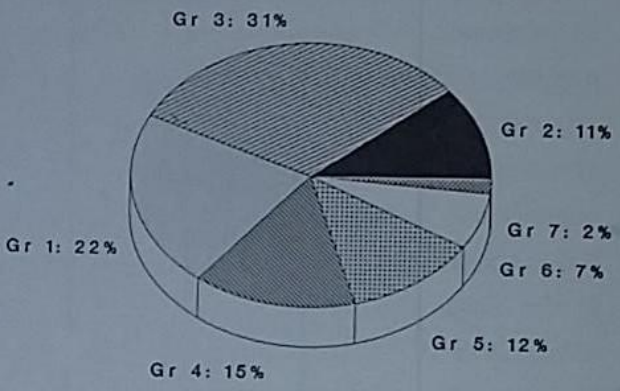
GRAPH 12: AGE GROUPS - WHITES

GRAFIEK 13

Bevolkingsverspreiding: Beroepsgroepe
Blankes



Carletonville-gebied



Suid-Afrika

BEROEPSGROEPVERKLARING:

Groep 1 Professioneel, Semi-prof., Tegnies. Ingenieur,argitek natuurwetenskaplik medies onderwysverwant geesteswetenskaplik kuns, sport, vermaak	**Groep 2** wetgewend uitvoerend bestuur administratief	**Groep 3** klerklik verkope
Groep 4 vervoer kommunikasie diens boer, visser	**Groep 5** ambagsman vakleerling	**Groep 6** myn en steengroef produksie toesig operateur	**Groep 7** ongeskoold nie-klassifiseerbaar

Republiek van Suid-Afrika, Sentrale Statistiekdiens, Bevolkingsensus, verslag no. 02-85-14, *Uitgesoekte statistiese streek Wes-Rand*, 1985, pp.144,160,173,183 asook verslag no. 02-85-01, *Uitgesoekte statistiese streek Wes-Rand*, 1985, p.1.15.

GRAPH 13: POPULATION DISTRIBUTION: PROFESSIONAL GROUPS - WHITES

was proclaimed.[286] This did not prevent the negative impact on the black consumer's boycott that was initiated shortly after the implementation of the Carletonville City Council's so-called *klein apartheid* (petit apartheid).[287] From Carletonville's history and even that of the entire South Africa,[288] it is clear that an economic system, regardless of its strength, could implode in the wink of an eye, when its building blocks calve away existing and the potential buying power, as well as the investment possibilities, either as a result of sinkholes or because of political potholes. Like a vicious abscess, an economic setback, such as Carletonville experienced in the 1960s, also infects the social components of a community, as these structures' activities also depend on the economic sector's financial assistance and goodwill. Similarly, the political system as experienced and practised by December 1988 in Carletonville, difficult times were predicted for the economic sector,[289] which could, once again, filter through to other local components.

7.4.3 The influence of the different economic sectors on the white profile of the Carletonville society between 1985[290] and 1988

In 1985, the white community of Carletonville numbered some 29,376. Of this, 40%, represented the working population between 10 and 44 years and approximately 22% between one and nine years old (see Graph 12, p.470). At this stage, the presence of the age group one to four in Carletonville was also more than the average of each of these groups in South Africa. This indicates that by 1985, more young people lived in Carletonville, especially young couples with children, than in the rest of South Africa.[291] It is, therefore, not strange that the so-called *kinderwaentjiedorp* (children's pram town) required so many educational institutions and centres, especially after 1975![292]

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[286] *Die Beeld,* 20.12.1988, p. 2 and *The Cape Times,* 20.12.1990, p. 2.
[287] *Carletonville Herald,* 3.3.1989, p. 1, as well as 24.3.1989, p. 1 and 7.4.1989, p. 1.
[288] See *Chapter One,* p. 14 and *Two,* pp. 32-37.
[289] *Carletonville Herald,* 7.4.1989, p. 1, as well as 5.5.1989, p. 1; 12.5.1989, pp. 1-2. In May 1989, the Government forced Carletonville to remove the apartheid signs. The local economy would only normalise by September 1989. See *Carletonville Herald,* 29.9.1989, p.1.
[290] The 1985 census information presently represents the latest census figures.
[291] Republic of South Africa, Central Statistics Service, Population Census, report no. 02-85-14, *Uitgesoekte statistiese streek Wes-Rand, 1985,* 1985, pp. 44, 58, 70, 78.
[292] See section 7.2.2, pp. 292-295 of this Chapter.

Regarding the 11,305 economically active whites in the mining sector in Carletonville during the mid-1980s (graph 13, p.471), the proportion was 33% (group six in Graph 13). Included is the high percentage of group five, who represented the craftsmen and apprentices of the region and of whom 21% were active in the Carletonville region. The percentage of group five includes whites active in the secondary sector. Both these occupational groups (groups five and six) represent a higher percentage present in Carletonville than in the rest of South Africa, where they were respectively 7% and 12%.

The contrary is, however, true regarding the business sector and professionals in the Carletonville region. By 1985, approximately 18% of the economically active whites in the community were professionals and semi-professionals (groups one and two of graph 13), contrary to the high 31% in South Africa. This is also true of the region's 21% whites in the region's business sector, which is 10% lower than South Africa's average (group 3 of graph 13).

Measured against the remainder of the region within which Carletonville, as part of the Oberholzer district, is located, the economically active population of groups one to three are by no means low. During the census, only Krugersdorp surpassed Carletonville. If it is considered that Krugersdorp's economically active population is more than double that of Carletonville, it can be claimed that groups one to three nevertheless represent a high percentage of Carletonville's working population.

After group seven (see graph 13), which is relatively insignificant, group four (the farmers) represents the smallest number of working whites in the region.[293] Since 1937, the phasing in of the mining sector in the Carletonville region, followed by the supporting components, the once agrarian-oriented region completely changed into an urban-oriented mining community, limiting the farming community. This changing occupational distribution proves that Carletonville could be regarded as an industrialised region.

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[293] Republic of South Africa, Central Statistics Service, reports, 02-85-01, as well as 02-85-14, *Bevolkingsensus uitgesoekte statistiese streek Wes-Rand, 1985,* 1985, p. 44.

In 1970, the agricultural sector served about 1% of the community,[294] it decreased to 0,5% by 1985. Manpower in the secondary sector increased from 2,8% in 1970[295] to 3,2% in 1985,[296] and in the trade sector it once again declined from 11,5 %[297] to 10,5%.[298]

Of further note is the number of working females in the region, which increased from 18,9% in 1970 to 24,3% in 1985. Compared to the neighbouring town of Randfontein, where the total economically active population was 10,977 in the latest census, and 33,1% women were accommodated in the labour market, Carletonville's number of working females of 11,305,[299] appeared relatively low.

As a whole, the white community of Carletonville in 1988 was a true reflection of the intense impact of the local economic system, with the gold mines as the pivot, continuing to have an overwhelming effect on the activities of this society.

7.5 THE INFLUENCE OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE COMMUNITY OF KHUTSONG[300]: AN OVERVIEW

Since its proclamation in 1958, the Khutsong township outside the northwestern borders of the Carletonville municipal region has experienced

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[294] Republic of South Africa, Central Statistical Service, report no. 02-85-03, *Nywerheid volgens ontwikkelingstreek, statistiese streek en distrik, 1985,* 1985, p. 111.
[295] Chamber of Mines, West Wits Line project: planning for the future, p. 45.
[296] Republic of South Africa, Central Statistical Service, report no. 02-85-03, *Nywerheid volgens ontwikkelingstreek, statistiese streek en distrik, 1985,* 1985, p.111.
[297] Chamber of Mines, West Wits Line project: planning for the future, pp.44-45.
[298] Republic of South Africa, Central Statistical Service, report no. 02-85-03, *Nywerheid volgens ontwikkelingstreek, statistiese streek en distrik, 1985,* 1985, p. III.
[299] According to the Chamber of Mines' *West Wits Line project report,* p.45, it is 15,5%. These calculations are, however, incorrect. See statistics obtained from the Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics, report no. 02-05-06, *Beroep en nywerheid volgens distrik en ekonomiese streek, 1970,* 1970, p. 51, as well as report no. 02-85-03, *Nywerheid volgens ontwikkelingstreek ..., 1985,* 1985, p. 1.
[300] The black township of Khutsong is situated outside the Carletonville municipal region. Its history is therefore only discussed in broad terms in section 7.5, as the residents of this community did liaise with Carletonville on an economic level.

the same infrastructural and economic needs as the neighbouring white towns. With regards to the establishment of these services, the economic development in the Carletonville region also stimulated development in Khutsong.

The Peri Urban Health Board regions took the lead in supplying overarching infrastructural services in Khutsong.[301] Additionally, white community structures in the Carletonville municipal region provided voluntary services to Khutsong residents, as well as generous financial support for business and other infrastructural projects in the Khutsong region.[302]

7.5.1 The infrastructural establishment pattern, 1958-1985

Initially, it appears that the provision and establishment of amenities and services in Khutsong ran much faster than in some white towns in the area. So, for example, Khutsong received two primary schools with six classrooms each, nearly at the same time as its proclamation in 1958.[303]

There was also no shortage of church associations, which applied to the Health Council for stands in Khutsong. These included the Reformed (Gereformeerde Kerk), the Dutch Reformed (Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk), the Nederduits Hervormde Kerk (NHK), the Roman Catholic Church, the AGS, the Church of the Nazarene and the Hannoverian Evangelical Lutheran Free Church Mission.[304] Additionally, some of the white congregations organised so-called garage services, locally and in Khutsong, which could be attended by black people.[305]

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[301] See *Chapter Two,* pp. 43-44.
[302] *Carletonville Herald,* 6.7.1984, p.1, as well as 5.10.1984, p. 3.
[303] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, file 33/0/139, Native locations: general, 7.6.1957, as well as file N79/4/61 NAD, Health Board for Peri Urban regions: report regarding the use of school buildings in Khutsong location for church purposes, 17.10.1958 and 10.11.1958.
[304] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, Council minutes: minute, 12.12.1958, 10.9.1959 and 5.11.1959, p. 4.
[305] Due to the Government's earlier policy, the City Council would not always provide permission. See Carletonville (Municipality), CM, Council minutes: minute, 5.11.1959, pp. 1- 2.

The City Council contributed to the establishment of medical services in Khutsong. In 1959, the construction of a clinic in Khutsong received attention after the Bantu Advisory Committee of the town requested it.[306] This materialised when a clinic was opened in 1961.[307]

Regarding a welfare service to the Khutsong community, it received the attention of the City Council and the welfare official of the Health Board. Deserving cases were assisted financially. The welfare official was also involved in organising the annual Christmas function for the elderly and the children of Khutsong.[308]

Before the 1960s, sports and the establishment of sports facilities for the black community in Khutsong received attention from the Carletonville City Council and the Health Board.[309] Two soccer clubs, the Carleton Bantu Football Association and the Stone Brokers' Football Club, were well underway by 1959.[310] At this stage, the welfare official of the Health Board also started a boxing club in Khutsong to keep the young Bantus off the streets (*Jong naturelle uit die straat to hou*).[311]

In addition to creating recreational amenities for sports, the layout of the children's playgrounds[312] and film shows in the Khutsong recreation hall were tackled by the City Council. Films were rented from the firm, Hollywood Films.[313]

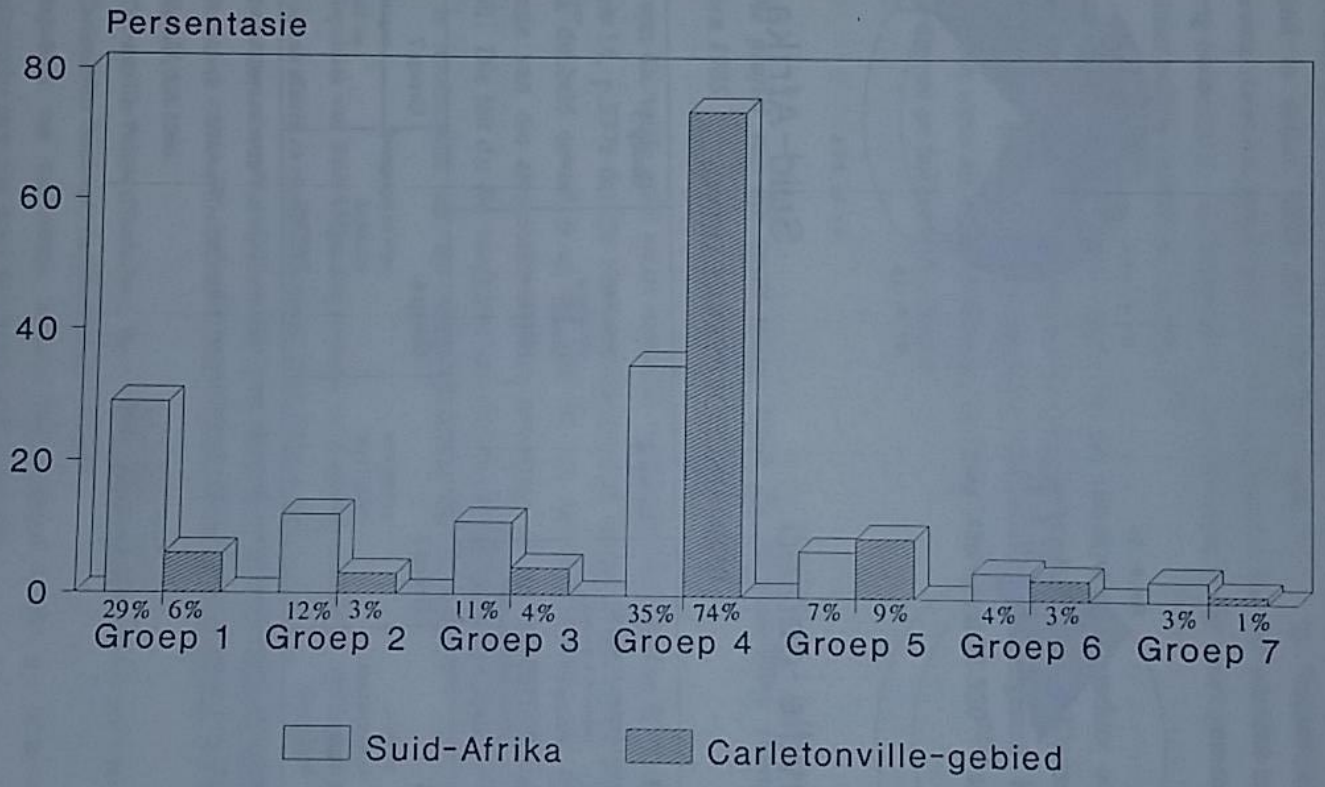
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[306] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, Council minutes: minutes, 10.9.1959, as well as 5.11.1959 and Carletonville (Municipality), CM, file N118/11/61, Health services Khutsong location: report, 5.9.1958.
[307] Carletonville (Municipality), LAC, Minutes: minute, 9.2.1959 and TAD, MCV, Vol. 5, file 2/2(3), Inauguration ceremonies: report by the honourable Mayor, 7.3.1962.
[308] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, Council minutes: minute, 25.8.1959, p.11, as well as minute, meeting of the Committee for Health and Bantu Affairs, 5.11.1959, and report of the Committee for Finances, 17.11.1960.
[309] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, Council minutes: minute, 6.10.1960, p. 37.
[310] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, Council minutes: report, Committee for Public Works and Planning, 10.9.1959, art. 6.
[311] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, Council minutes: minute, 20.3.1959.
[312] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, Council minutes: minute, 4.2.1960.
[313] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, Council minutes: minute, 24.1.1963.

GRAFIEK 14

Ouderdomsgroepe

Swartmense



OUDERDOMSGROEPVERKLARING:

Groep 1 1 - 9 jaar	Groep 2 10 - 12 jaar	Groep 3 15 - 19 jaar	Groep 4 20 - 44 jaar
Groep 5 45 - 54 jaar	Groep 6 55 - 64 jaar	Groep 7 65 - 75+ jaar	

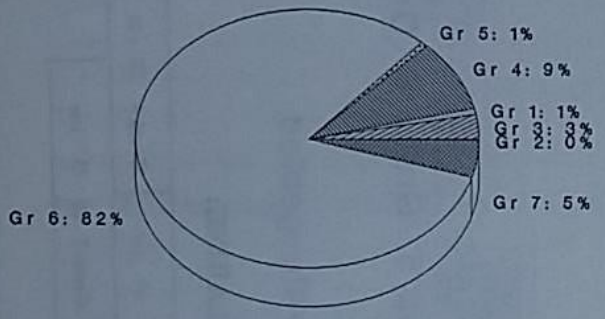
Republiek van Suid-Afrika, Sentrale Statistiekdiens, Bevolkingsensus, verslag no. 02-85-14, *Uitgesoekte statistiese streek Wes-Rand*, 1985, pp.44,58,70,78 en J.C. Schutte, *Wesrandse Streekdiensteraad beplanningsondersoek*, Oktober 1988.

GRAPH 14: AGE GROUPS - BLACKS

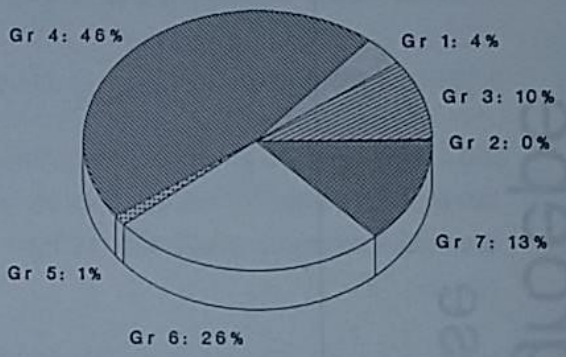
GRAFIEK 15

Bevolkingsverspreiding: Beroepsgroepe

Swartmense



Carletonville-gebied



Suid-Afrika

BEROEPSGROEPVERKLARING:

Groep 1 Professioneel, Semi-prof., Tegnies. Ingenieur,argitek natuurwetenskaplik medies onderwysverwant geesteswetenskaplik kuns, sport, vermaak	**Groep 2** wetgewend uitvoerend bestuur administratief	**Groep 3** klerklik verkope	
Groep 4 vervoer kommunikasie diens boer, visser	**Groep 5** ambagsman vakleerling	**Groep 6** myn en steengroef produksie toesig operateur	**Groep 7** ongeskoold nie-klassifiseerbaar

Republiek van Suid-Afrika, Sentrale Statistiekdiens, Bevolkingsensus, verslag no. 02-85-14, *Uitgesoekte statistiese streek Wes-Rand*, 1985, pp.144,160,173,183 asook verslag no. 02-85-01, *Uitgesoekte statistiese streek Wes-Rand*, 1985, p.1.15.

GRAPH 15: POPULATION DISTRIBUTION – PROFESSIONAL GROUPS, BLACKS

It appears that the Carletonville City Council and the Health Council were largely responsible for the establishment of the town's infrastructure until 1966.[314] In 1966, a Bantu Advisory Committee was founded, which took over this responsibilty[315] and by the following year requested that a children's haven called *African Self Help Association Khutsong*, be opened locally.[316] By 1970, some 10,813 black women in the Oberholzer district were economically active.[317] Subsequently, the establishment of a children's haven became a necessity.

The need for a local police station, exclusively responsible for maintaining law and order in Khutsong, also became a necessity. The police stations at Carletonville and Welverdiend were responsible for this task in 1958.[318] An alarming increase in unrest-related incidents during the early 1980s underlined the need for a police station in Khutsong. In December, a police station was opened in the black community to ensure improved police reaction.[319]

With the advent of the 1980s, the local mining sector also channelled funds to improve infrastructure and recreational facilities in Khutsong. This was welcomed by the Khutsong Advisory Committee,[320] as the expenses incurred to provide enough services and facilities to the community, which numbered some 22,550,[321] were astronomical.

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[314] Although the Carletonville City Council financed facilities for Khutsong from the Western Transvaal Bantu Affairs Administration Council's Bantu income account, the Council made its own financial contributions. See Carletonville (Municipality), CM, Council minutes: minute, 6.5.1976.
[315] See *Chapter Two,* p. 44.
[316] Carletonville (Municipality), file 47/2, Children's shelter: letter, C.I.A. Smit/Stadsraad Carletonville, 24.2.1967.
[317] Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics, report no. 02-05-06, *Beroep en nywerheid volgens distrik en ekonomiese streek, 1970,* 1970, p. 215.
[318] TAD, Department of Bantu Affairs (NTS), Vol. 6162, file 742, Khutsong Township: letter, Town Clerk Carletonville/Secretary, Bantu-Administration and Development, 5.8.1959 and *Carletonville Herald,* 3.6.1966.
[319] Carletonville Polic (Oberholzer), file 4/1/7/25, Khutsong police station: opening, 17.12.1985.
[320] Carletonville City Council, *Carletonville 25,* pp. 1-15.
[321] Republic of South Africa, Central Statistics Service, report no. 02-85-14, *Bevolkingsensus, uitgesoekte statistiese streek Wes-Rand, 1985,* 1985, p. 78.

7.5.2 The profile of black people in the Carletonville economic structure by 1985

In 1985, black people in Carletonville numbered 93,274. This is apparent from Graph 14, p. 477, that a high percentage of black people in the age group 20 to 44 years, nearly double the number than in the rest of South Africa, reflects the overwhelming concentration of the economically active population in the Carletonville gold mining industry. The fact that the rest of the age groups in the region are very low is ascribed to the migrant labour system.[322] By 1988, this tendency had probably changed, as changes in the country's policy also resulted in local changes.[323]

Approximately 32% of the region's economically active black population is employed by the mining sector (see group six of graph 15, p.337b), which is notably higher than South Africa's 26% from the agricultural sector. After the mining industry, the agricultural sector and communication services employed the majority of the black people (see graph 15). The meagre 9% of the economically active agriculture sector is much lower than the economically active agriculture population of 46% in South Africa. This is also true of the remainder of the occupational groups in which the local black population, compared to the rest of South Africa, appears poverty-stricken.

The majority of Khutsong's economically active residents were thus connected to the local mining sector by 1985. It is therefore not strange that this sector supported the development of Khutsong. The number of those employed in the other sectors was, however, collectively much more than those working in the mining sector. This is an indication that the Khutsong residents primarily served the white community in the different towns.[324]

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[322] Republic of South Africa, Central Statistics Service, report no. 02-85-14, *Bevolkingsensus, uitgesoekte statistiese streek Wes-Rand, 1985,* 1985, pp. 44, 58, 70 and 78.
[323] See *Chapter Four,* pp. 180-181, regarding Wedela, where families settled and brought about a changed local social structure and life pattern.
[324] Republic of South Africa, Central Statistics Service, reports no. 02-85-01, as well as 02-85-14, *Bevolkingsensus, uitgesoekte statistiese streek Wes-Rand, 1985,* 1985, p. 515, 183 and Carletonville (Municipality), file 18/6/1(1), Non-white affairs, liaison and mutual assistance, Kleinsake Ontwikkelings Korporasie (K.O.K.): discussion regarding a community health centre, 8.10.1986.

As far as Khutsong's community development, it apparently did not seem very satisfactory by 1986. Consequently, the Community Health Council of Khutsong, the City Council of Carletonville, representatives from the private sector and the Department of Political Development and Planning combined, addressed the town's problems.[325] The most important challenge was the absence of a hospital, which consequently placed extra stress on the municipal clinic.[326]

After a series of negotiations, the construction of a Community Health Centre was envisaged, which would accommodate a health, dental, social and midwifery service.[327] Various development schemes were being established, among which Consolidated Gold Fields was involved.[328] By 1988, it was, however, not completed.

7.6 IN CONCLUSION

The development of Khutsong between 1958 and 1988 was largely thanks to the development of the white communities in the Carletonville municipal region. The contribution by the City Council and the mining sector regarding the expansion and establishment of services in Khutsong, to ensure a healthy and empowered society, is characteristic. Hereby, a stronger and larger black labour buying force for the neighbouring towns was a certainty.

Upon closer examination, the underground gold pantry in the municipal region of Carletonville, as erstwhile home for various black tribes, and after 1838 for the white settlers, had become indispensable to the local community as well as the rest of South African society by 1988.

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[325] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, file 18/6/1(1), Non-white affairs, liaison and mutual assistance, Kleinsake Ontwikkelings Korporasie (K.O.K.): letter, C.J. de Beer Department van Governmental Development and Planning, 6.10.1986.
[326] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, file 18/6/1(1), Non-white affairs ..., minute, K.O.K. committee, 19.2.1987, p. 5.
[327] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, file 18/6/1(1), Non white affairs ..., minute, discussion, community health centre by K.O.K.committee, 8.10.1986.
[328] Carletonville (Municipality), CM, file 18/6/1(1), Non-white affairs ..., minute, K.O.K. committee, 20.8.1987, p. 3.

SUMMARY

Economic development and events in the Carletonville municipal region form part of and contribute to the historical development of the broader community of the Far West Rand and of South Africa.

The region in which Carletonville functions as a town and a municipal authority was known as the Gatsrand ward in the district of Potchefstroom during the 19th and 20th centuries. As the region developed economically, towns were proclaimed, and regional borders were restructured; the name Gatsrand, as a reference to the erstwhile ward, disappeared. Today, the name only refers to the Gatsrand hills, a well-known geographic landmark in the municipal region. This is a study of the economic development of the current municipal region of Carletonville since 1948, and its influence on the local society until 1988.

In the Introduction, the spotlight broadly falls on economic development in South Africa since Jan van Riebeeck established the victual station in 1652 at the Cape of Good Hope on behalf of the Dutch East Indian Company, the *Verenighde g'Octroijeerde Oost Indische Compe.* Three phases are identified in the development pattern of the economy, i.e., South Africa as an agricultural country, 1652 to 1867, followed by the Agri-mining phase roughly between 1868 and 1914, and the third phase with the industrial sector as focus until 1988. As a country's communication network is a necessary aspect for the establishment of any economic system, some attention was also paid to the development history of the most important connecting routes and links.

As an entity within the South African economy, the Carletonville region really only started contributing from 1937, during the above-mentioned phase three, when the Blyvooruitzicht gold mine, followed by the gold mines of Wes-Driefontein and Doornfontein, opened in the region. This hive of activity activated the town proclamation and town expansion simultaneously. Carletonville, proclaimed on 20 January 1948, was the sixth town established within just more than a decade in the region of the mentioned gold mines. Due to its location and the financial contributions of, especially Consolidated Gold Fields, it was also the most advantageous town and the tempo

of town development was faster than the neighbouring towns of Oberholzer, Welverdiend, Bank, Blybank and West Wits.

In 1952, this favourable position of Carletonville caused friction between the ‘Waaksaamheidskomitee’ of Oberholzer, the Local Regional Committee, the Health Board and the gold mines. Their attempts to slow down Carletonville’s development were unsuccessful, and the heated emotions could also not stop a further eight town extensions during the 1950s, in contrast with the one additional extension proclaimed in Oberholzer.

This extraordinary growth rate of Carletonville and environs led to the establishment of its own independent local authority in July 1959. All the mentioned towns and mines were included in the new municipal region. The first decade of local management was anything but moonshine and roses for the new City Council. Gold mining companies’ withdrawal of underground water changed the dormant sinkhole region into a nightmare of landslides within a matter of a few years.

Loss of life, anxiety and pessimism about the region’s future were rife among the residents. These doubts were strengthened by the tragic event on 3 August 1964 in the Westdene residential area of the Blyvooruitzicht Mine, when a gigantic sinkhole engulfed a family of five. In the following years, the large-scale demolition of houses, especially in Town Extensions No. Five and No. Eight was a common sight. The uninterrupted economic activities of the gold mines, however, had a normalising effect on the rest of the Carletonville region, which was an important factor in ensuring its survival.

During the 1970s and 1980s, the renewed trust in Carletonville was also the driving force behind the proclamation of a further five town extensions in the municipal region. The towns of Bank, Blybank and West Wits did not share in this recovery process, as there was no sign of development. The Bank residents were told to evacuate the region in January 1970 due to the landslides.

That ended any hope of town development, which was unceremoniously suspended.

By 1988, the biggest hindering factor in the envisaged town development of Carletonville was the absence of an economic substitute for the local mining industry. As the dominant sector, this industry had a definite influence on town development and on the supply of accommodation in the white residential area. This was also true of the black people who lived in hostels on mine property. The black township of Khutsong, proclaimed in 1958 and situated just outside the jurisdiction of the Carletonville City Council, served as a residential area for black people who were mainly employed by businesses in the neighbouring towns.

Before 1983, there was no permanent accommodation for the handful of Indians and coloureds in the Carletonville region. Both groups only received permission to settle in the erstwhile white town of Bank in that year.

Agricultural activities in Carletonville were the primary economic drivers in 1937, before the mining of gold. As a new driver behind the local economy, the mining of gold was not the only reason that agriculture was removed from its long, overwhelming position in Carletonville households. The buying of farms by gold mine companies, as well as town development, followed by the regrouping of district borders by the Transvaal Provincial Administration, were also aspects responsible for the decline of agriculture by the 1950s.

Carletonville's agricultural sector, which includes the two groups of agricultural plots, Water's Edge and Welverdiend, forms part of the Oberholzer district's farming region in the Highveld and consists of 30,128ha. The focus is smaller when only Carletonville's municipal region's agricultural activities are considered; however, various agricultural activities are present.

These agricultural activities include arable and cattle farming, and the cultivation of vegetables. Intensive farming, such as the dairy and pork industries, is especially popular in the Carletonville region. The arable and vegetable farming practices are mainly a secondary income to the mentioned intensive industries.

Although dry land farming is not a strange phenomenon in this region, most farmers in the arable and vegetable industries use irrigation. It is therefore not strange that the extraordinary landslides of the 1960s in Carletonville also caused a setback for the farming community, as water was the main reason for the crisis. The mines' withdrawal of underground water, followed by widespread surface cave-ins and the running dry of bore holes, greatly affected the farmers. As a result of this, the once well-watered Wonderfontein and Oog van Wonderfontein had to use a widespread network of furrows and canals to spread some of the water to the farmers. This also posed problems for some farmers.

Rumours of water poisoning by the gold mines worsened the temporary rift between the agricultural and mining sectors. Instances of so-called deformed crops and animals were presented, but no concrete proof could be found against the mines. Eventually, this resulted in important farmers selling their farms, mostly to the gold mining industry.

By 1975, shortly after circumstances improved for the agricultural sector, a country-wide drought between 1979 and 1984 also affected Carletonville's agricultural activities. However, the availability of water undoubtedly softened the effect of the drought, which was not the case elsewhere in other farming regions.

Regarding the presence of the gold mining industry, its influence on agriculture in the region remained far-reaching by 1984. On the one hand, it was fortunate that the producer and the consumer were on each other's doorsteps. The constancy and trust that the mining sector created regarding the future also stimulated the establishment of agriculturally orientated businesses such as SENWESKO, followed by the construction of a grain silo and the NCD group.

On the other hand, the gold mining industry dominated land ownership in the region with its 21,761ha of agricultural land, disheartening private farmers. By 1988, residents on active farms were mostly tenants. Consequently, the small-scale farming in the Carletonville area could not justify a local market or an abattoir. With regards to the latter, pig, dairy and poultry farmers marketed their products outside the region until 1988.

Agriculture's contribution to the local economy in the Carletonville region is minimal. Indirect encouragement, for example, creation of job opportunities by the secondary and tertiary sectors, such as the local SENWESKO branch and the NCD, as well as direct employment of labourers on farms, is the most important contribution of the agricultural industry.

By the 1980s, the Oberholzer agricultural district's GGP was a steady 16,1% on a regional level. Although modest with regard to the total contribution of the Oberholzer district, it nevertheless contributed a handy percentage to the GDP of South Africa.

Gold mining activities have been part of the economic circumstances of the erstwhile Gatsrand or present Carletonville region since 1937. This year, the current Barlow Rand Group opened its Blyvooruitzicht Gold Mine, followed by the Gold Fields of South Africa Group's opening of the Wes-Driefontein (1945) and the Doornfontein gold mines (1947). In 1962, the Anglo American Corporation Group followed when they opened an ultra-deep mine, called Western Deep Levels.

Apart from gold mine construction on mine property, hostels, mining houses and a small well-equipped infrastructure were developed at these mines. Some of the gold mines entered the uranium market at the same time, but eventually concentrated on mainly producing gold due to a saturated market.

However, not everything went well for the gold mines. During the 1940s and 1950s, the presence of underground water once again caused problems, an aspect which actually kept the gold mining industry from becoming involved in the Carletonville region for years. Fearing the consequences of the water for the underground miners and their activities, the water was gradually withdrawn – with catastrophic consequences. Various cave-ins on mine property, with loss of life, followed after 1962. Despite the criticism and financial implications, the local gold mines persevered. Additionally, another three gold mines opened in the region, i.e., Oos Driefontein (1968), Deelkraal (1974) at the initiative of the Gold Fields-Group and Elandsrand (1974), initiated by the Anglo American Corporation.

All the above-mentioned mines had a phenomenal impact locally and on the South African economy. The local revolution it caused influenced the total infrastructure. Due to the increasing population, more accommodation, businesses, services and institutional as well as administrative institutions were required. Contrary to the past, the societal structure gradually adopted a cosmopolitan character. For the established residents, the presence of English speakers and many black people, as well as the large-scale squatting, were aspects which they were compelled to get used to.

Local gold mining companies jumped in and supplied the necessary funds and knowledge to improve the infrastructure. The construction of access roads, the supply of water and electricity, and the construction of school buildings are good examples.

Over the years, the gold mines in the Carletonville region provided the South African state coffers with millions. As leading individual gold producers at one stage, the Blyvooruitzicht, Wes-Driefontein, and Oos-Driefontein gold mines advanced South Africa’s image as an important gold-producing country. This is also true of the Western Deep Levels, which is currently the deepest gold mine in the world.

By 1988, the gold mine production, except for the two latest additions, Deelkraal and Elandsrand, continued to decrease, despite high ore production. Despite this indication that the hourglass was slowly running out for the mines, the local economy, the region and South Africa continued to benefit from it. The industry's GGP contribution to the West Rand region of 97%, and 18% gold contribution to the total South African gold mine industry by 1988, is impressive, unquestionable proof.

When the position of the industrial and commercial sectors as secondary and tertiary sectors within the Carletonville region is discussed, it contrasts sharply with the local gold mining industry. For many years before the proclamation of Carletonville in 1948, there was little development in these sectors. In the pioneer era, the Dutch who settled on the farm Wonderfontein in 1928 made a prominent contribution in establishing factories and traders in the Carletonville region.

Once again, it was the gold mining industry and the consequent establishment of several towns that had an overwhelming influence on, especially traders, and a potpourri of business undertakings. The opposite was experienced in the secondary sector, as the industries established in the region were primarily for the mining industry. Consequently, no alternative initiatives were developed, with the result that it relied too heavily on the gold mines and their affiliates for years.

Between the 1950s and the 1970s, there were intermittent, weak attempts by the Local Regional Committee to proclaim and develop an industrial town. Obstruction factors included the uncertainty about the most suitable position, the uncertain future of Carletonville during the landslide period, and the location of the region next to the important PWV industrial complex. It was only in the 1980s when local institutions began realising that the mines' future had reached an end that finality regarding the establishment of an industrial town was reached. Carletonville Extension No Six, proclaimed in 1986 for industrial purposes, was the final result.

The development of the local tertiary sector during the 1950s was favourable. A better-equipped infrastructure in Oberholzer, and especially Carletonville, gradually resulted in the establishment of more businesses, at the cost of the towns of West Wits, Bank, Blybank and Welverdiend. However, the landslides in Carletonville and the rest of the municipal region affected the business sector for most of the 1960s, because of the sinkhole stigma clinging to the area.

By 1970, a revived trust and renewed growth in the business sector were noted, despite the evacuation of the Bank Town, which led to the permanent loss of a few dealers. The earlier, apathetic attitude of building societies and several other undertakings about their position and the future of Carletonville had mostly disappeared by 1975 and was replaced by greater activity. The role of the City Council and the Government in gaining renewed trust may not be regarded lightly. During the landslide period, they continually attempted to repair Carletonville's image in various ways. Trust was also gained by the opening of two hyper shopping centres, OK-Bazaar and Pick 'n Pay. That finally put the nail in the coffin of the sinkhole stigma.

By 1988, permanence was also given to the business interests of other races when the Government proclaimed two free trade areas in the white residential area in December. At that stage, thanks to the high black buying power, the business sector continued to blossom. In fact, it was the most important stimulus throughout all the years for the establishment of various businesses in the region.

Regarding communication, Carletonville's early development as a municipal region must be attributed to its central position with regard to important centres such as Krugersdorp, Johannesburg and Potchefstroom. Two important mail routes that crossed the region to these towns in the 19th century basically became the two main routes in the area.
Gold mine activities since 1937 have gradually created the need for more and better roads in the area.

The important South Western railway line running from Johannesburg to Kimberley and joining the Cape Railway line, also runs through the Carletonville region. The stops established on the farms Welverdiend, Wonderfontein, Bank in 1896 were the initial driving force behind the establishment of a few tertiary industries. After the towns were proclaimed during the 1930s and 1940s, the need for more and regular train services increased. Additional railway extensions and development of stations also took place due to the needs of the expanding gold mines during the 1950s and 1960s.

Bus and motor rental services (taxis) also established themselves shortly after the opening of the first gold mine. The airfield that existed before 1948 was increasingly used for business purposes rather than for the erstwhile airshows.

Due to the population increase in the region as a result of the influx of labourers to the gold mines, the need for a post and telephone service became more urgent. Consequently, Welverdiend lost its position as the most important post office in favour of the Carletonville post office in 1953. This led to a further slowdown in town development in Welverdiend. This was followed by the opening of a network of regional offices, of which most were situated on mine property to the advantage of hostel dwellers.

The impact of the sinkhole period on the total communication network mainly affected the road and railway networks negatively. Apart from the fact that passenger train services were suspended permanently from Bank station in 1970, three provincial roads were partly closed, and alternative routes had to be used. This had a temporary debilitating effect on the local business sector, as it delayed the dispatching and import of products. This situation was, however, something of the past in the 1970s, when the Roads Administration of Transvaal spent large sums of money on the repair of these routes.

Ironically, the sinkhole incidents in which Carletonville found itself in the early 1960s, turned into a favourable platform in 1963 for the foundation of the first fully fledged local newspaper,

the *Carletonville Herald*. Another newspaper, the *Carletonville Weeklikse Rekord/Weekly Record*, entered the market for a short period of four years, from 1974. The *Carletonville Herald* thus maintained the monopoly and still exists as the town's mouthpiece.

The process of economic development in Carletonville simultaneously paved the way for the establishment of institutions in the region that had to serve as the backbone for a healthy and well-organised society. This included churches, medical services, social services, cultural organisations, schools, sports and recreation clubs, law and order structures, and the establishment of political structures, for the community to participate in government issues. The degree of economic development in the Carletonville region since 1948 was determined by the extent to which these organisations and structures were established, functioned and developed.

Regarding the establishment of church communities in particular, the first decade after the proclamation of Carletonville saw an explosion in the foundation of various congregations. Despite the stormy 1960s and early 1970s, another four congregations saw the light. The economic effect and implications of the landslides did not influence all the congregations in the same way. The AGS congregation's evacuation of their church building became a greater financial burden and, as a result, they experienced a decrease in membership numbers, more than congregations that did not face these challenges. For the Indians who had to evacuate Bank Town in 1970, the financial and spiritual implications were even larger, as they had to permanently take leave of their impressive mosque and regular combined events. This disruption was the indirect result of a decision to pump out the underground water to ensure the security and the future of the local mines.

A steadier economy and future were indeed obtained, and by 1975, another four church communities settled in the Carletonville region. The period post-1975 was also characterised by the breakaway of more congregations from their mother churches. In 1988, some denominations served the municipal region of Carletonville. At this stage, the majority were Afrikaans-speaking, which clearly indicates which language group also dominated the local labour market.

With regards to the church activities in the black township of Khutsong just outside the Carletonville municipal borders, a similar tempo of the establishment of church communities was noted. Shortly after the proclamation of Khutsong in 1958, white church communities acquired stands in town where regular church services could be held. Black ministers currently form part of this service.

Contrary to the development process of church communities, medical services were inefficient for years after economic growth was well-established. It appears that the establishment of medical amenities for the broader Carletonville public was delayed because of the reassuring fact that by 1962, there were three mine hospitals for the four gold mines in the region. The only medical services that were established between 1948 and 1964, to fulfil the town residents' need for medical services, were the Oranje Maternity Hospital (1958) and the Carletonville Medical Clinic (1964).

The landslide crisis of the 1960s did not affect the above-mentioned institutions. However, it did give the Transvaal Provincial Administration a reason to adopt a 'wait-and-see' attitude with regard to Carletonville as a centre for a provincial hospital. This, obviously, resulted in a further delay with regard to the establishment of medical services.

In 1977, the opening of the Sybrand van Niekerk Hospital and the Carletonville Children's Guidance Clinic was a victory for Carletonville in more than one way. It placed a stamp of trust on the continued economic development process, and was also to the advantage of the existing service organisations. The regular financial support of the business and mining sectors of the activities was less at this stage, and not all services could be delivered fully.

As economic stability, followed by a higher standard of living, entered the Carletonville region during the late 1970s and 1980s, more service organisations were established. Notably, the services rendered were done by professional

officials. This can mainly be ascribed to the fact that the Carletonville community maintained a higher living standard than before and could consequently afford to pay more for professional services to maintain the society. This includes the communities of the churches, the Chamber of Mines' Barbara Centre for Personality Development, and the extended social services department of the SAVF Oberholzer branch.

The SAVF Oberholzer branch's 'Projek 700 000', which had in mind the construction of accommodation for senior citizens and was completed in 1984, bears testimony to the professionalism and community involvement with which the needs of the community were addressed at that stage. Most of the professional services in Carletonville also provided for the needs and emergencies of black residents.

The need for the construction of schools in the Carletonville municipal area developed simultaneously with the establishment of the gold mines and a large-scale immigration to the region. The speed at which the schools were built was so fast that nine were completed within the first decade after economic development, 1948-1958. Similar to the churches, the Afrikaans language schools were also in the majority.

The opening of more schools throughout the sinkhole period was continued, although the activities of a few schools, such as the Carleton Jones High and primary schools Dagbreek and Jongspan, were temporarily disrupted by the appearance of sinkholes. This was followed by a particularly flourishing period for education, with the opening of various prominent nursery schools. The increase of women entering the labour market during this favourable period could probably be ascribed to the high number of nursery schools that were opened. Obviously, this tendency created new job opportunities, which strengthened the economically active percentage of the local population.

Regarding schools for black people, two primary schools were erected in the 1960s in Khutsong. Since the 1970s, the two primary schools and a high school in the black mine township of Wedela have also served this need.

The availability, creation and practice of sports, and cultural and recreational activities were overwhelmed by the local mines from the beginning. The necessary facilities and amenities were mainly established on mine property. Consequently, the creation of similar facilities in towns initially received little attention.

The Apollo Choir and the Carletonville Playmakers created interest in the cultural activities in the 1950s, and the choir even achieved national acclaim. Additionally, a library service, provided for in the 1940s on the Blyvooruitzicht mine property, was initiated in Carletonville in 1950.

In the 1960s, two branches of the country-wide Rapportryers organisation were established in Carletonville. At this stage, it appeared that the Afrikaans community were more involved in the cultural activities. English speakers dominated the latter as a result of their position in the business sector and their ability to assist the community financially. This pattern continued until 1988, when a third branch of the Rapportryers was founded in Welverdiend, and nothing else really changed.

Sports amenities in Carletonville only received attention in the late 1960s when the Gold Fields Group built a large recreation club. This action by Gold Fields can mainly be ascribed to the fact that Carletonville was mainly their creation and that the group also wanted to fulfil the recreational needs of its mineworkers, who all lived in Carletonville.

Another recreational club, unique to Carletonville and established in 1969, is the popular Rus-'n-Bietjie for senior citizens. The main purpose of the club was to organise more recreational activities and social get-togethers for the senior citizens of the town. The availability of more advanced services for senior citizens in the 1980s led to the club’s suspension.

Regarding law and order, the towns of Potchefstroom, Fochville and Welverdiend initially served the Carletonville region. This situation did not really affect the three mines that had been established in the region by 1948, as they had their own reliable security corps. A police station was provided for Carletonville in 1953, which maintained law and order in the new economic order. As the region developed economically and the local population increased, the responsibilities of the Carletonville police increased. The poor economic climate in the 1960s caused a lack of attention to the further development of the local police corps. A new, modern police building was only inaugurated in 1974. This promoted trust in Carletonville and put businesses and the rest of the community at ease.

The economic explosion that hit Carletonville from 1937 and especially in the 1940s, did not immediately change the borders of the Losberg constituency in which the society practised their politics for year on end. As the community of Carletonville expanded, the need for its own constituency increased. In 1966, a constituency for the municipal region of Carletonville was determined, with the renowned Mr J.C. (Cas) Greyling (NP) as the first elected MP for the region. By 1988, Mr P.J. (Arrie) Paulus (CP), also the chairman of the white Mineworkers Union, was appointed in this position. This is an indication of the political sentiment of the Carletonville community at the time.

Thus, viewed as a whole, the continued activities of the Carletonville gold mining industry largely remained the driving force behind the agricultural sector, industries, trade and the communication network by 1988. In their own right, each impacted the numerous, indispensable community activities.

SOURCES

ABBREVIATIONS USED:

s.a. : sine annum (no date)

s.l. : sine localité (no place)

s.l. e.a. : sine localité et annum

s.n. : sine nom

d.o. : ditto (the same)

I. UNPUBLISHED ARCHIVAL SOURCES

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1.4.1 Archive of Maatschappijen en Personen

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1.5.1 Deeds of Transport, IQ, farm registers, 1865-1910

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1.6.2 Maps

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1.7.1 Statistics Highveld region and Oberholzer district (Unpublished internal documentation, 1978-1990)

1.7.2 Food strategy questionnaire: Oberholzer (Unpublished processed data), October 1990

1.7.3 The average annual production over five years of the most important crops cultivated in the Highveld region, 1978-1983 (Unpublished data)

1.7.4 Statistics of the weather stations in the Oberholzer district (Unpublished processed data for the period 1954-1988)

1.8 CARLETONVILLE MUNICIPALITY

1.8.1 West Witwatersrand Local Area Committee, 1949-1959

1.8.1.1 Labour Bureau, 1957

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1.8.1.2 Carletonville township bus service, 1952-1958

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1.8.1.3 Consent use, 1948-1952

LAC file 29/1/52.

1.8.1.4 Towns and town extensions, 1948-1955

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1.8.1.7 Health conditions, 1949-1956

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1.8.1.8 Accommodation of Bantus on private property, 1956

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1.8.1.10 Committee Wes Witwatersrand, Bantu Affairs reports, 1956-1958

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1.8.1.11 Correspondence and reports, 1948-1959

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1.8.1.13 Miscellaneous matters, 1949-1956

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1.8.1.14 Monthly report - health inspector, 1950-1956

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1.8.1.15 Native location, 1945-1959

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1.8.1.18 Local regional committee, 1949-1959

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1.8.1.19 Postal and telephone facilities, 1948-1955

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1.8.1.20 Pretoriusrus township, 1959-1960

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1.8.1.21 Provision of ambulance services, 1956-1959

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1.8.1.22 Railway facilities, 1951-1956

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1.8.1.23 Registration of licencing of motor vehicles, 1950

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1.8.1.24 Regional abattoir, 1950-1959

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1.8.1.25 Regional library, 1954-1956

LAC file L1/29/34.

1.8.1.26 Siting of proposed magistrate's court, 1950-1952

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1.8.1.27 Traffic control, 1949-1955

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1.8.1.28 Watersedge agricultural holdings, 1950

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1.8.1.29 West Wits building and building plans, 1948-1952

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1.8.1.31 West Wits motor vehicle registration, 1955-1959

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1.8.1.32 West Wits native employment, 1956-1959

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1.8.1.33 West Wits Local Area Committee, 1949-1959

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1.8.2.1 Town planning West Wits, 1959-1962

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1.8.3.1 Towns, 1975

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1.8.3.3 Non white affairs, 1986-1987

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1.8.3.11 Title conditions, 1937-1960

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1.8.3.12 Valuation lists, 1977-1987

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1.8.3.13 Group Areas Act, 1959-1982

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1.12.1 Catalogue information regarding all post offices in the municipal region of Carletonville

1.12.2 Photos: Carletonville Post Office, 1975

* First post office building, 1951.

* Old telephone exchange, 1951.

1.13 POTCHEFSTROOM POLICE, POTCHEFSTROOM

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3. MANUSCRIPTS

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VERMOOTEN, F., ***J.P. Borrius: 'n drukker-pionier, 1840-1892*** (M.A. dissertation, PU for CHE, 1945).

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WILSON, J.E., ***A changing rural economy and its implications for the Overberg, 1838-1872*** (D.Phil.-thesis, UNISA, 1990).

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WOLMARANS, J.F., ***Ontwatering of die dolomietgebied aan die Verre Wes-Rand: gebeure in perspektief*** (D.Phil. thesis, UP, 1984).

5. TAPE RECORDINGS/INTERVIEWS

5.1 TAPE RECORDINGS, CARLETONVILLE PROJECT (PU FOR CHE)

K. de Beer (Regional leader SAVF, South Transvaal), 15.10.1990.

J.G. de Bruin (Farmer, Oberholzer district), 19.4.1989.

A.J. du Buys (Farmer, Carletonville), 17.2.1989.

H.F. du Plessis (Representative, SENWESKO), 19.4.1989.

A.E. Grundling (Businessman and ex-mayor, Carletonville), 19.10.1988.

M.J.G. Lourens (Post master, Carletonville), 16.12.1988.

N. Nosarka (Ex-businessman, Bank Town), 8.8.1989.

R.A. Nosarka (Businessman, Carletonville), 8.2.1989.

N.M. Pretorius (Businessman, Carletonville), 3.3.1989.

E.J. Stoch (Farmer and businessman, Carletonville), 19.4.1989.

N. Theunissen (Official, Western Deep Levels mine), 7.9.1990.

G.G. Toxopeüs (Farmer, Oberholzer district), 3.3.1989.

T.M. Toxopeüs (Ex-Resident, Carletonville), 4.4.1989.

V. of Aswegen (Businessman and farmer, Carletonville), 4.1.1991.

A. and C. of der Westhuizen (Ex-Residents, Carletonville), 25.8.1987 asook 8.2.1989.

5.2 PERSONAL INTERVIEWS, CARLETONVILLE PROJECT (PU FOR CHE)

A. Agenbach (Chairman, TVLU Carletonville branch), 10.9.1989.

J.E. Atherton (Reverend, Anglican Church, Carletonville), 15.6.1989.

R.H. Barnes (Chief magistrate, Carletonville), 25.2.1992.

H.B. Bierman (Official, SENWESKO), 19.5.1989.

K. Blarney (Resident, Carletonville), 6.5.1990.

A.J. Boonsaaier (Official, Doornfontein mine, 5.7.1991).

H. Botes (Official, Doornfontein mine), 25.2.1991.

J. Canby (Ex-Businesswoman, Carletonville), 1.3.1989.

A. Coetzee (Archivist, Reformed Church archive), 12.11.1990.

J.F. Coetzee (Town engineer, Carletonville municipality), 4.4.1990.

J.A.W. Coetzer (Farmer, Oberholzer district), 3.12.1988.

J.F. Cronje (Psychiatrist, Barbara centre, 15.10.1990.

I. de Beer (Social worker, Community Centre), 9.10.1990.

M. de Beer (Liaison officer, Western Deep Levels mine), 26.2.1991.

H.F. du Plessis (Representative, SENWESKO), 25.4.1989.

H.J. du Plessis (Officer, Deelkraal mine), 25.4.1989.

C. Diedericks (Officer, Elandsrand mine), 18.5.1990.

J.P. du Buisson (Officer, Doornfontein mine, 26.2.1991.

H. Erasmus (Officer, Oos-Driefontein mine), 18.6.1991.

M.S. Ferreira (Lecturer, Dept. Social Work, PU for CHE), 3.3.1991.

G. Gibbon (Officer, Doornfontein mine), 26.2.1991.

L. Gradidge (Farmer, Carletonville), 3.7.1990.

Grass Enterprises (Manager, Vlakplaats), 11.7.1989.

J.C. Greyling (Ex-Member of Parliament, Carletonville), 11.1.1991, as well as 13.3.1991 and 30.9.1991.

P.J. Greylingh (Resident, Carletonville), 27.7.1990.

J. Grolman (ex-Businessman, Carletonville), 24.4.1989.

A.E. Grundling (Businessman and ex-mayor, Carletonville), 9.4.1991.

S. Hall (Liaison Officer, Blyvooruitzicht mine), 21.3.1990.

B.J. Harrington (Officer, Deelkraal mine), 21.3.1990.

P. Holtzhausen (Businessman, Carletonville), 27.7.1990.

S.P.B. Hoogenboezem (Editor, Carletonville), 4.9.1990.

J.C. Howitt (Officer, Wes-Driefontein mine), 8.3.1989, as well as 28.3.1990.

C.J. Jacobs (Sports Officer, Wes-Driefontein), 6.6.1991.

H. Jacobs (Farmer, Carletonville), 19.4.1989.

W.J.J. Janse of Vuuren (Officer, Carletonville Post Office), 10.9.1990.

A. Johnson (Chief, Emergency line, Carletonville), 19.12.1990.

J.W. Johnson (Manager, Carletonville Printer), 20.4.1989.

D.G. Jordaan (Officer, Highveld region, Potchefstroom), 20.1.1991, as well as 28.01.1991.

J.J. Joubert (Researcher, Highveld region Potchefstroom), 7.6.1990.

G. Kennedy (Ex-Businessman, Carletonville), 6.12.1988.

J. Koch (Officer, SENWESKO), 21.10.1988, as well as 19.4.1989.

R.E. Labuschagne (Officer, KMD, Carletonville), 15.10.1990.

J.F. Laubscher (Businessman, Carletonville), 4.3.1992.

Landbank (Manager, Potchefstroom), 25.3.1991.

L. Lewis (Member, Housewives League and businesswoman, Carletonville), 8.2.1989.

R. Lombaard (Officer, Post Office Museum, Pretoria), 5.9.1990.

J. Letourneau (Officer, Carletonville Recreation club), 6.6.1991.

H.T. Long (Officer, Deelkraal mine), 30.4.1990.

R.J. Minnie (Beampte, Brandweerdiens, Carletonville), 31.10.1989.

G.P. Mong (Officer, Western Deep Levels mine), 7.9.1990.

M. Mostert (Ex-City Planner, Carletonville-munisipaliteit), 15.11.1990

E.J. Nefdt (Executive member, SAVF, Oberholzer branch), 4.9.1990, as well as 21.1.1990.

E.J. Niemandt (Station Commander, Carletonville Police), 4.12.1990.

T. Niehaus (Medical practitioner, Carletonville), 24.10.1989.

R.A. Nosarka (Businessman, Carletonville), 8.2.1989.

D.A. Olivier (Resident, Elandsrand-myn), 22.2.1991.

J.F. Oosthuizen (ex-Famer, Oberholzer district), 15.3.1989.

L. Peck (ex-Businessman, Carletonville), 3.9.1990.

D. Poel (Personnel Officer, Wes-Driefontein mine), 11.8.1989.

A.J. Posthumus (ex-Chairman, Carletonville Business Chamber), 14.2.1989.

N.M. Pretorius (Resident, Carletonville), 3.3.1989.

J.H. Putter (Officer, Department of Roads, Potchefstroom), 28.2.1989.

C.S. Rabie (Social Worker, KMD), 15.10.1990.

C. Rautenbach (ex-Mayor, Carletonville), 23.4.1987, as well as 22.3.1989; 13.10.1990.

S. Roestenburg (Psychiatrist, Barbara Centre), 18.12.1990.

H.S. Scheppel (Editor, Carletonville Herald), 7.9.1990.

J.C.P. Snyman (Officer, Water Council, Pretoria), 11.5.1990.

C.T. Steyn (ex-Farmer, Carletonville), 17.1.1989.

J.J. Steyn (Agricultural Councillor, Highvel region Potchefstroom), 3.6.1989, as well as 28.2.1989.

Dr E.J. Stoch (Farmer and businessman, Carletonville), 27.6.1990, as well as 9.7.1990.

A.M.S. Swanepoel (Pastor AGS-Church, Carletonville), 12.11.1990.

P. Swanepoel (Farmer, Oberholzer district), 19.4.1989.

S.F. Terblanche (Officer, Wes-Driefontein mine), 12.10.1989.

E. Twaits (ex-Businessman, Bank Town and Carletonville), 20.4.1989.

V. Van Aswegen (Farmer and businessman, Carletonville), 3.3.1989, as well as 4.1.1989.

E. Van den Bergh (Officer, Support Council, Carletonville), 15.10.1990.

S. Van den Heever (Officer, Dolomitic Water Board), 3.7.1990.

J.P. Van der Merwe (Officer, Western Deep Levels mine), 3.5.1990.

P.W.A. Van der Merwe (Traffic Chief, municipal license office, Carletonville),

9.10.1988.

R. Van der Merwe (City Planner, Carletonville municipality), 3.3.1989, as well as 19.9.1990.

H.B. Van der Walt (Ex-editor, Carletonville), 14.7.1989.

A. Van der Westhuizen (Ex-Businessman, Carletonville), 3.3.1989.

B. Van Huysteen (Representative, KSOK, Johannesburg branch), 18.2.1992.

Dr H.H. Van Niekerk (Medical Officer, Veterinary Service, Highvel region), 28.1.1991.

F.S. Van Rensburg (Archivist, NH Church Archive, Pretoria), 12.11.1990.

S. Van Rensburg (Archivist, NG Church Archivist, Pretoria), 12.11.1990.

E. Van Wyk (Liaison Officer, Western Deep Levels mine), 11.8.1989.

T.P. Venter (Station master, Oberholzer), 8.2.1989.

T. Waks (Businessman, Carletonville), 15.4.1987.

A. Welthagen (Owner, Wellies Taxi's, Carletonville), 4.3.1991.

G. Wessels (Editor, Potchefstroom Herald), 23.11.1988.

W.J.A. Wessels (Resident, Fochville), 12.3.1987. Western Bus Lines (Personnel, Carletonville), 22.3.1990.

H. Woite (NCD, Carletonville), 9.7.1990.

C.P. Wolmarans (ex-Matron, Oranje-Kraaminrigting, Carletonville), 20.9.1989.

5.3 INTERVIEWS, CARLETONVILLE PROJECT (PU FOR CHE)

L.L. Dawson/A.J. Prinsloo, 15.8.1989. J. Grolman/T. de Koker, 12.12.1990.

Cmdt. J.A. Holtzhausen/C.R. Reyneke, 10.11.1990.

Dr. Niehaus/C.G. Hartzer, 24.10.1989.

D. Olver/A.J. Prinsloo, 27.7.1989. N. Peck/T. de Koker, 3.9.1990.

C. Rautenbach/C.R. Reyneke, 3.12.1990.

Dr. W.P. Roux/C.G. Hartzer, 1.11.1989.

J.C. Troon/A.J. Prinsloo, 7.8.1989.

A.T. Turnbell/T. de Koker, 18.12.1990.

A. en C. of der Westhuizen/T. de Koker, 24.9.1990.

C.W. Wright/T. de Koker, 11.12.1990.

6. NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES

6.1 Newspapers

Blyvoor Nuus/News, 1951-1988.

Boerdery/Fanning, 30.8.1988.

Cape Times*,* 20.3.1970 and 20.12.1990.

Capro Black Newspapers, 1.7.1987.

Carletonville Herald, 1963-1991.

Carleton Nuus/News, 1955.

Carletonville Nuus/News, 1966-1967.

Carletonville Weekly/Weeklikse Record, 1975-1979.

Die Westelike Stem, 1914-1922.

Die Beeld*,* 9.6.1968 and 8.11.1970.

Die Burger, 19.3.1970.

Die Dagbreek en Sondagnuus, 1962.

Die Landbouweekblad, 21.5.1968.

Die Patriot, 1988.

Die Transvaler, 1950-1975.

Die Vaderland, 1950-1980.

Doornfontein Nuus/News, 1988-1990.

Herald vir die Goue Weste, 1965-1972.

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