

THE EFFECT OF MINING DEVELOPMENT ON THE CULTURAL EXPERIENCE OF THE CARLETONVILLE COMMUNITY

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Die uitwerking van mynbouontwikkeling op die kultuurbeleving van die Carletonville-gemeenskap

Gedurende die afgelope tagtig jaar het mynbouontwikkeling op die Verre Wes-Rand (vandag deels die Gauteng Provinsie en deels die Noordwes Provinsie) 'n intense uitwerking op gevestigde gemeenskappe gehad. Onder meer het die snelle demografiese verwisselings 'n kruiskulturele inwerking oor ras-, geslags-, gebieds- en taalgrense heen tot gevolg gehad. Daarbenewens was mynbouontwikkeling ook 'n primêre dryfveer in die ontstaan van nuutgevormde gemeenskappe. Kultuurhistories is iedere gemeenskap direk/indirek hierdeur geraak. Soos wat daar in een gebied sprake is van eenvormige gemeenskapspatrone oor kultuurgrense heen, is daar ook sigbare eiesoortighede van bepaalde groepe binne gemeenskappe waarmee gehandel moes word. In hierdie bespreking val die fokus op die Carletonville-gemeenskap, en dan baie spesifiek die blanke dorpsgemeenskap se kultuurbeleving te midde van die dominerende goudmynbedryf.

In die bespreking word 'n agtergrond gegee van die kultuurpatroon in die Carletonville-gebied voor goudmyninvesting, waarna die invloed van mynbouontwikkeling op die geestelike en stoflike waardes van die Carletonvillers sedert vestiging in 1948 krities beskou sal word.

Over the past eighty years mining on the Far West Rand (today partially the Gauteng Province and the North-West Provinces) has had a drastic influence on existing communities. Rapid demographic changes, amongst other things, caused cultural influences to become manifest across the borders of language, race, sex and territory. Besides these changes the development of the mining sector was also a primary motive for the founding of new towns with newly formed communities. The cultural history of each community was influenced directly or indirectly by mining. Although uniformity in cross-cultural patterns in a community prevailed in one area, peculiarities within certain groups in communities studied were also visible and had to be examined. In this discussion the focus is on the Carletonville community, and specifically on the dominating impact of gold mining on the cultural experience of the white residents.

In the discussion background is given to the cultural patterns prevailing in the Carletonville area before the establishment of the gold mines; subsequently the influence of mining on the material and spiritual values of its community since the town's foundation in 1948 is discussed critically.

Introduction

In many respects the development of cultural life all over the Far West Rand before mining activities started followed the same pattern. The districts that were established in the second half of the 19th century in the former Transvaal each consisted of several towns for mainly white inhabitants with agriculture as the most important economy. The appearance of the environment then, and to an extent today, was mainly rural and therefore culturally peculiar to itself. Distance, for example, influenced the cultural experience of people. Togetherness, when it was possible, in especially the festive season or on specific religious occasions, was cherished and organised in a spectacular way. Distinguished towns to be founded by white settlers on the Far West Rand before the exploitation of minerals commenced were Potchefstroom, Klerksdorp, Lichtenburg, Coligni and Fochville.¹

Potchefstroom was founded by the Trekkers who arrived on the Highveld from the Eastern Cape in 1838-1839. The district of Potchefstroom by 1845 consisted of five Wards, namely the Gatsrand, Boven-Mooririver, Schoonspruit, Vaalriver, Boven-Hartsriver. As time passed and the area developed, new towns were established in some of these Wards (see map). Carletonville was one town which developed as a result of gold mining activities.

Mining development since the 1880s had an irreversible effect on the established communities mentioned above. Potchefstroom and Fochville both took advantage of the mining industry in the Carletonville area since the thirties, although the population of Fochville never grew excessively.²

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1. Vergelyk met G.N. van den Bergh, Potchefstroom se stigting: 1838 en 1839, *Contree* 26, Oktober 1989, pp. 22-25; D.J.P. Haasbroek, Die geskiedenis van Potchefstroom, 1838-1881, M.A.-verhandeling, PU vir CHO, 1995, p. 5; Compare R. Marx, Wanneer is Klerksdorp gestig?, *Overvaal Museanus* 11(4), Desember 1984, pp. 12-13; R. Marx, Watter is die oudste dorp in die Transvaal?, *Contree* 19, January 1986, pp. 28-31; J.C.A. Boeyens, *Die konflik tussen die Venda en die blankes in Transvaal, 1864-1869* (Pretoria, 1990); A. E. Krause, *Die Lichtenburgse alluviale diamantdelwery, 1926-1945 — 'n sosio-ekonomiese geskiedenis* (Pretoria, 1990); J.P. Claasen, *Gedenboek by geleentheid van die goue jubileum van die Nederduitse Gereformeerde Gemeente Coligny: 13 Mei 1914 - 13 Mei 1964* (Coligny, 1964); Anon., *Fochville 50, 1920-1970: Gedenkuitgawe*, (s.l., 1970), p. 17; J. de Beer, *Weerlig in die Weste: 'n geskiedenis van Lichtenburg* (Johannesburg, 1973); A.J. van der Walt, *Vastrappers (of Volkstipe)* (Potchefstroom, 1920); A.J. van der Walt (red.), *Potchefstroom, 1838-1938* (Johannesburg, 1938); E. Rosenthal, *Manne en maatskappye*, (Kaapstad, 1963), pp. 33-36; A.J. van der Walt, *Potchefstroom, 1838-1938* (Johannesburg, 1938); J.W.F. Giezing, *Geologie en goud in Klerksdorp se Geskiedenis in R. Marx (red.), Klerksdorp, groeiende reus, 1837-1987*, pp. 70-76; R. Marx (red.), *Klerksdorp, groeiende reus, 1837-1987*, pp. 52, 102; A. Brown, *Golden heritage*, pp. 116-227; H. Guest, *Klerksdorp's fifty years of mining*; P.H. de Necker, *'n Geografiese studie van die samehang tussen die ontwikkeling van stedelike kerne en die goudmynbedryf in die Klerksdorpgebied*, M.A.-verhandeling, R.A.U., 1971; J.J.D. Havenga, *Die belangrikheid van die goudmynbedryf in die Klerksdorp-Orkney-Stilfonteindriehoek*, (M.Comm.-verhandeling, PU vir CHO, 1970); Departement van Staatkundige Ontwikkeling en Beplanning, *Klerksdorp-Orkney-Stilfontein Ontwerpgidsplan, 1986*, pp. 101-102; J.A. Galloway, *Die Geskiedenis van Westonaria, 1927-1991* (Departement Geskiedenis, R.A.U., 1995), p. 7; F.C. Munnik, *Randgate and Randfontein*, (Randgate, 1987); A.M. Heyns, *'n Geografiese ondersoek na die landboukleinhoewes in die gebied Randfontein-Welverdiend*, MSc-verhandeling, PU vir CHO, 1954; J.S. Snyman, *'n Kort geskiedenis van Randfontein en distrik (Randfontein, 1952)*; I. Coetzee, *Die vroeë stadsonwikkeling van Roodepoort: 'n kunshistoriese ontleding van die vorm funksieverband* (s.l., 1986).
 2. E.S. van Feden, *Carletonville van pionierstreek tot goudspens*, pp. 17-21.

Carletonville as case study to illustrate the influence of mining on the cultural values of a community

The present discussion refers only to Carletonville as a case study of a typical mining town on the Far West Rand. Although the greater Carletonville (today part of the Gauteng province) is reflected where possible, the focus will be mainly on the cultural experience of the white inhabitants.

Early inhabitants

During the nineteenth and early twentieth century the area in which the town and municipal area of Carletonville are situated was known as the Gatsrand Ward in the district of Potchefstroom. As the area gradually developed economically and towns were proclaimed, district boundaries were redefined and the name Gatsrand, as reference to the former ward, faded away. Today the name only exists with reference to the Gatsrand hills as a noticeable geographical landmark in the municipal area.³ The settlement of people in the Gatsrand Ward appears originally to have been influenced by its geographic features. With the passing of time its geological value and economic prosperity were the dominant factors in determining the cultural face of a new community — the Carletonville community.

Carletonville is an area with a rich cultural past. The Le Ghoya and other tribes lived in the Gatsrand before Mzilikazi's Ndebele in the third decade of the nineteenth century started their campaign of destruction on the Highveld.⁴ According to legend the first white inhabitant, a certain Harmse, settled in the Gatsrand area as early as 1836. Documentary proof of the first white inhabitants is found from 1839;⁵ they are known to have been part of the Trekker movement from the Cape Colony.⁶

Gatsrand consisted mainly of farms cultivated by white occupants as self-supporting units during the government of the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek (ZAR). There were respected members in the community who assisted the government of the day financially. The contributions by F.G.A. Wolmarans and P.J.W. Schutte to the economic development of the Republic were prominent.

The conquest of the ZAR by Britain through the South African War from 1899-1902 heralded a new phase of development for the Gatsrand Ward — a ward that, like other parts of the former Republic, was economically disrupted due to the military activities and especially the British scorched earth policy. Most families had to start again from scratch. Rumours of possible gold mining exploration did the rounds at this stage.

Reconstruction and development as well as the search for, and discovery of, gold in the Gatsrand Ward followed in the thirties. Apart from the foundation of a Dutch settlement on the farm Wonderfontein in the late twenties, which contributed to the cultural development of the area in becoming much more than merely a farming complex, six towns were proclaimed after the discovery of gold. These new spaces in which cultural activities could

3. E.S. van Eeden, *Die geskiedenis van die Gatsrand vanaf die vestiging van die Trekkergemeenskap omstreeks 1839 tot die proklamering van Carletonville in 1945*, M.A.-verhandeling, PU vir CHO, 1988.

4. E.S. van Eeden, *Carletonville van pionierstreek tot goudspens*, pp. 17-21.

5. E.S. van Eeden, *Die geskiedenis van die Gatsrand* ..., pp. 2-19.

6. P.J. van der Merwe, *Die noordwaartse beweging van die boere voor die Groot Trek, 1770-1842* (Kaapstad, 1957), pp. 180, 205, 208, 282.

take place testified to the "healing" role the government played after the 1899-1902 war. Most noticeable was the continuous change to the appearance of communities in relatively short periods, brought about by gold mining.⁷

Cultural⁸ exposure in Carletonville — material and spiritual

Cultural exposure on the material level

By definition materially refers to visible possessions that can be perceived substantially or essentially.⁹

— Economic revival and town development

Before gold was discovered a few trading stores did business in the area. Apart from a few Indians and Jews, Dutch immigrants had also settled in the area by 1928. Each group did much to fulfil their mission as they saw it and preserve their own culture.¹⁰

Town development in the present Carletonville area gained momentum in 1937, when the gold mining industry was established in this area, known as the West-Wits Line. Towns, people, business enterprises, opportunities, improved roads and a better railway system soon followed.¹¹

The establishment of the first three gold mines, Blyvooruitzicht (1937), West-Driefontein (1945) and Doornfontein (1947),¹² raised the expectations of entrepreneurs. Several towns were founded in the area. They were West Wits (1937), Oberholzer (1939), Bank (1940), Welverdiend (1942), Blybank (1947) and Carletonville (1948).¹³ Carletonville,

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7. R. Macnab, *Gold their touchstone: gold fields of South Africa, 1887-1987 — a centenary story* (Johannesburg, 1987), pp. 121-124.
 8. It is well-known that the concept *culture* includes a variety of meanings. Whereas some academics love to define and explain culture from various angles, and sometimes from very bounded ideological frames, in the present context a broader definition is meant. A general definition of culture is the following: "... the customs and civilization of a particular people or group". See J.M. Hawkins, *The Oxford paperback dictionary* (Oxford, 1988), p. 195. Linking up with this broad definition, is P.W. Grobbelaar's interpretation. See P.W. Grobbelaar, *Volkstewe van die Afrikaner: die verhaal van ons volkskunde* (Kaapstad, 1974).
 9. J.M. Hawkins, *The Oxford paperback dictionary* (Oxford, 1988), p. 503.
 10. Union of South Africa, Department of Commerce and Industries, Annual Report no. 6, *Council for the development of natural resources, 1 January - 31 December 1950*, pp. 34-36; Anon., Seventeen-hundred new houses for miners: mines of West Wits Line and Klerksdorp have created four new towns — Carletonville, Westonaria, Stilfontein and Orkney, *Mining Survey* 3(2), March 1951; R.A. Pelletier, Contributions to the geology of the Far West Rand, *Transaction of the Geological Society of South Africa* XL, 26-7-1937, p. 128.
 11. R. Macnab, *Gold their touchstone: Gold fields of South Africa, 1887-1987, a centenary story* (Johannesburg, 1987), pp. 64-161.
 12. Unie van Suid-Afrika, Departement van Handel en Nywerheid, jaarverslag no. 3, *Raad vir die Ontwikkeling van natuurlike hulpbronne, 1 Januarie - 31 Desember 1950* (Pretoria, 1950), pp. 34-35; *Jaarverslag no. 6, ..., 1 Januarie - 31 Desember 1953* (Pretoria, 1953), p. 19; Carletonville Munisipaliteit, CM, Titelvoorwaardes, 1937-1960.
 13. Interim Archive [IA], Carletonville Municipality [MCV], file 22/1(b)(2), *Dorpe: memorandum i.v.m. die verskynsel van sinkgate en grondbeweging in dolomitese gebiede en die uitwerking wat dit vir die toekomstige ontwikkeling van Carletonville inhou*, 17-4-1976, p. 6.

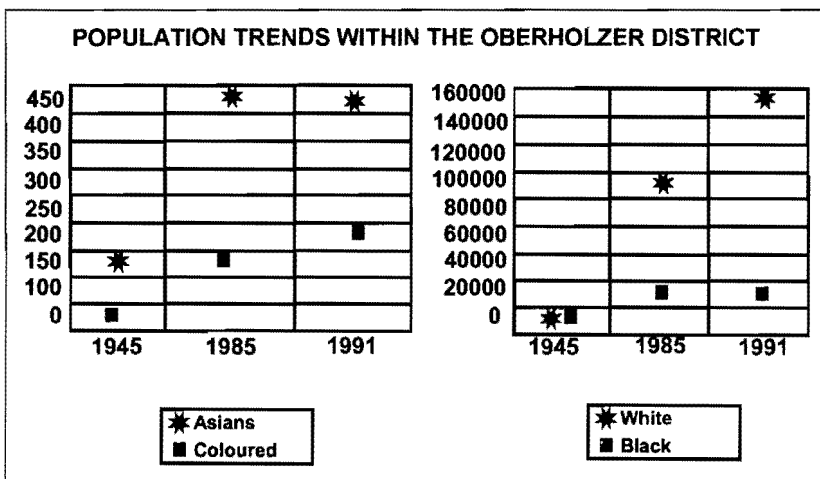
which was proclaimed on 20 January 1948 was the sixth town to develop in the mining area in less than a single decade. The financial impact of the Gold Fields of South Africa group of companies on the development of Carletonville accelerated the pace of the town's growth, ahead of the neighbouring towns of Oberholzer, Welverdiend, Bank, Blybank and West Wits.¹⁴ Gold mining activities, apart from the three pioneer gold mines Blyvooruitzicht, Doornfontein, and West Driefontein, were further expanded from the fifties onwards and gave rise to four new gold mines, namely Western Deep Levels, East Driefontein, Deelkraal and Elandsrand.¹⁵ Western Deep Levels today, which is more than four kilometres deep, is widely known to be the world's deepest mine.¹⁶ It was within this cultural setting that the economic revival of the Gatsrand Ward (Carletonville Municipal area) developed.

By 1951 the number of businesses in the immediate surroundings of the gold mines had more than doubled.¹⁷ Immediate advantages of having the world's finest producers of gold in the municipal area was town development due to population growth. Town development and economic enterprise revolved mainly around the needs of the gold mines.¹⁸ However, existing enterprises have, up to now, not been able to meet the demands of the gold mines.¹⁹ Therefore it is a pity, after so many years since gold mining first started in the Carletonville region and began providing opportunities for industrial development, that there is still a lack of mining-orientated industries locally.²⁰ This means less purchasing power and income for Carletonville, and a less balanced economy for the mining area.

On 1 July 1959, the Local or West Wits Area Committee's ideal was realised when Carletonville obtained an independent municipality.²¹ The newly demarcated area which extended from Welverdiend towards Bank in the east and up to the Gatsrand Hills in the south, also included the areas leased by Doornfontein, Blyvooruitzicht and West-Driefontein, as well as the later East Driefontein, Elandsrand, Deelkraal and a part of the Western Deep Levels mining area.²²

The above-mentioned towns in the Carletonville area were traditionally white towns, representing the Afrikaner culture. Yet for many years it was not unusual to see Jews and Indians trading in the towns. As a result of the political separation Indians had to travel daily from the Indian township of Lenasia in Johannesburg to trade in the Carletonville area. The black township of Khutsong that is situated north west of Carletonville has never since its founding in 1958 until quite recently been part of the Carletonville municipal area. Its

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14. E.S. van Eeden, *Ekonomiese ontwikkeling ...*, chapter four.
 15. J. Oxley, *Down where no lion walked, the story of Western Deep Levels* (Johannesburg, c.1989), pp. 225-226; E.S. van Eeden, *Carletonville van pionierstreek tot goudspens*, p. 194.
 16. SAB, Bewaarder van vyandseiendom, Ref. 104 (H3/12): Commissie voor Wonderfontein, Januarie 1940; *Potchefstroom Herald and Western Gazette*, 17-10-1985.
 17. E.S. van Eeden, *Ekonomiese ontwikkeling en die invloed daarvan op Carletonville, 1948-1988. 'n Historiese studie*, D.Phil.-proefskrif, PU vir CHO, p. 210; diagram.
 18. CM, LAC, Minutes, minute 16-11-1951; IA, MCV, file 89/2/3, Nywerheidstatistiek: Lisensie- en Verkeershoof Carletonville — Chris van Rensburg Publikasies, 24-6-1969.
 19. *Carletonville Herald*, 8-2-1985, 22-11-1985; Interview: Mr D.O. Ndzoku [mayor of Carletonville] — E.S. van Eeden, 20-8-1996.
 20. Compare interview Mr. D.O. Ndzoku — E.S. van Eeden, 20-8-1996.
 21. *Rand Daily Mail*, 2-7-1959, p. 6. Also compare with the manuscript of W. Hagan-Watson, *Down memory lane: Blyvoor's first 20 years*, pp. 1-10.
 22. Unie van Suid-Afrika, Die provinsie van Transvaal, *Offisiële koerant*, CLXIX, 24-6-1959, kolomme 11-14; and Carletonville (Municipality), Local Area Committee (LAC), Minutes: minute 18-6-1959, pp. 6-7.



Source: Republic of South Africa, Central Statistical Services, Population Census 1991, Report 03-01-02, Geographical distribution of the population.

Figure 1.

economic links with Carletonville arose due to the need for labour in the various economic sectors in the Carletonville municipal area.²³ (Fig. 1) Carletonville, at an early stage of gold mine development, already proclaimed three town extensions and in the neighbouring town of Oberholzer one extension.²⁴ By 1995 the number of extensions more than quadrupled.²⁵ This high extension rate, however, did not necessarily imply or secure a balanced economic sector (i.e. primary sector development as against the secondary and tertiary sector). Nor did it ensure unity or a "nation-like" cultural mode or attitude in every section of community life.

Through the years the gold mines invested in town development on mine property as well as in the surrounding towns, especially Carletonville.²⁶ Within a matter of one decade the urban infrastructure of Carletonville underwent a metamorphosis. The mining authorities also initiated forums to discuss the future economic direction of the Carletonville municipal area, should mining activities eventually come to an end.

Although by 1991 most of Carletonville's white inhabitants were Afrikaans-speaking, the bulk of the working force in the area reflected a population whose mother tongue was

23. Carletonville (Municipality), [LAC] Minutes: minute *Ondersoek ingevolge die Wet op Groepsgebiede 1950, Wesrand-Streek*, 24-9-1957; 20-6-1957; 11-2-1958.

24. Carletonville (Municipality) local Area Committee (LAC) file T6/13(2), Town and regional planning: West Wits Local Area Committee, December 1952, p. 26.

25. *Carletonville Herald*, 6-11-1987; Urban Dynamics, *Greater Carletonville/Fochville sub-regional structure plan* (March 1995).

26. E.S. van Eeden, *Ekonomiese ontwikkeling ...*, pp. 22-42.

either English, Portuguese, Zulu, Tswana, South Sotho or Xhosa.²⁷ It may be added that trade by Indians, coloureds and blacks in Carletonville was legalised by the government in 1988.²⁸ Ironically this supposedly new cultural trend was nothing new to Carletonville residents, for it had been 'illegally accepted' for years. The political-economic change did not have much effect on the use of a specific language in everyday economic activities (see diagram two for language statistics).

Gold mining companies also took it on themselves to not only supply funds but to make available expertise to assist in improving the local infrastructure. The provision of roads, water and electricity as well as the development of health-care services and schools with their concomitant financial and administrative burdens took place without problems. The black township Wedela, for example, situated between Elandsrand and Western Deep Levels gold mines, is a typical success story for which Anglo American was mainly responsible.²⁹

Particularly from the sixties onwards the community structure took on a cosmopolitan character. For older inhabitants the presence of English-speaking whites as well as the variety and number of the black ethnic groups, of whom some squatted due to a lack of homes, were of necessity elements of change to which local people had to adapt.³⁰ The same applies to the newcomers to Carletonville. The economic advantages and opportunities created by gold exploration suppressed or outlived any outraged emotional reaction to material development and change that may have resulted from mining activities.³¹ In a newspaper report of 1961 it was said of Carletonville and its inhabitants that "as fast as the money is earned, they spend it — on shining new cars, caravans, furniture and luxury fishing trips to the Mosambique coast..." and "miners talk about wine, women and overtime..."³² It is uncertain if this one-sided claim can represent the attitudes of the wider cultural spectrum of the Carletonville community. However, cognizance has to be taken of perceptions such as these, and in a sense they support the earlier remark about the possible suppression of emotional distress by focusing on secular matters.

By 1988 the gold production of the Carletonville mines had declined, with the exception of the two youngest additions, Deelkraal en Elandsrand. Apart from these signs that the life span of several mines had passed its peak, the local economy, the region and South Africa still profited tremendously from them. The 97% contribution of the Carletonville gold mining industry to the Gross Domestic Product for the West Rand Region in 1988 and its 23,58% contribution to the total gold production of the South African gold mines by 1996 undoubtedly proves its strength. Apart from the advantages the production of gold brought about, the seven gold mines provided labour for a large number of the economically active population in the Carletonville area.³³ (Fig. 2)

27. E.S. van Eeden, *Carletonville, van pioniersreek tot goudspens*, pp. 12-13.

28. Carletonville (Municipality), CM, Council minutes; vergadering van die Bestuurskomitee, 9-1-1989; South African Institute of Race Relations, Race relations survey, 1988/89, p. 419.

29. E.S. van Eeden, *Ekonomiese ontwikkeling* chapters two, four, five and seven.

30. E.S. van Eeden, *Ekonomiese ontwikkeling....* compare with pp. 44 and chapter seven; CM, LAC, file N9/7/149 NAD, Komitee Wes Witwatersrand Naturellesake: vergadering Naturellesake Onderkomitee, 21-3-1958; file N79/10/149, West Wits Plaaslike Gebiedskomitee, huisvesting van Naturelle op privaateiendom (1956).

31. Compare with E.S. van Eeden, *Carletonville* pp. 172-173, 237.

32. *The Star*, 13-9-1961.

33. See E.S. van Eeden, *Carletonville....*, pp. 7-10.

CONTRIBUTION OF CARLETONVILLE'S GOLD MINES TO GOLD PRODUCTION IN SOUTH AFRICA BY JANUARY 1996 (in kg. fine gold)

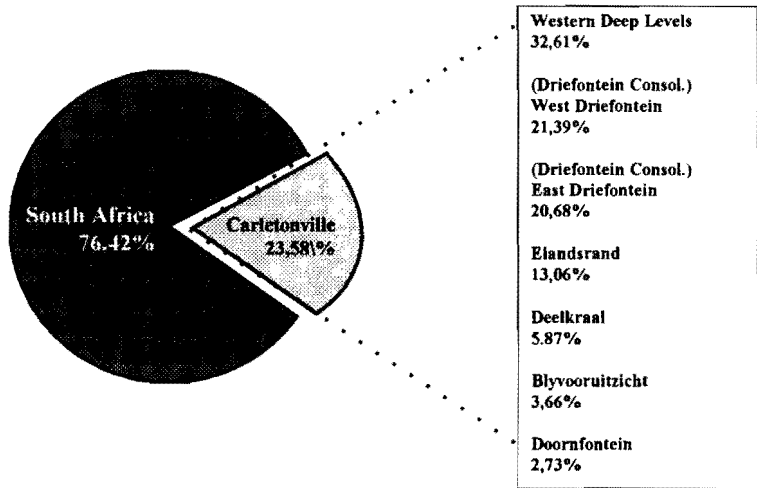


Figure 2.

Cultural exposure spiritually

According to the Oxford Dictionary,³⁴ "spiritual" means "of the human spirit or soul, not physical or worldly". It also has reference to the Church and religion.

The mining industry's contribution to local development in general is immeasurable. In Carletonville it provided the infrastructure for the practice of religion, sports, and a variety of focussed cultural and recreational activities — on mine property as well as in the town of Carletonville.³⁵ Exposure to material goods was the key to how the spiritual experience manifested itself culturally.

— Religious and educational practices

Since the start of mining development in Carletonville in the thirties, cultural experiences and standards gradually changed. No longer could it be said of Carletonville (the perceptions of a resident during those days) "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

34. J.M. Hawkins, *The Oxford paperback dictionary* (Oxford, 1988), p. 787.

35. E.S. van Eeden, *Ekonomiese ontwikkeling ...*, chapter four.

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 few small and sparsely stocked shops" [sic].³⁶

It is noticeable that this observer does not mention the existence of any congregations. The cultural pattern for at least the white population of the area up to 1945 was to attend church services in either Potchefstroom, Fochville or Krugersdorp. As the population grew the need for spiritual nutrition nearer to home and work became a necessity. Since 1946 a total of 24 churches were given a home in the Carletonville area, of which the Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk (NHK) was the first to be founded.³⁷

By 1991 the religious statistics to some extent reflected the economically active population, which mostly consisted of black workers in the seven gold mines. Besides a total of nearly 70 000 unspecified 'churchless' inhabitants, members of the Black Independent Congregations appeared to be the most numerous in the greater Carletonville area. Next in terms of numbers were the Roman Catholic Church, the Methodist Church, the Nederduitse Gereformeerde and the Anglican Church. The Apostoliese Geloofsending and the Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk are the last of the churches, worth mentioning, with a reasonable list of members.³⁸

Perhaps one drawback that thus far has influenced the Carletonville community's culture and consciousness significantly is the level of education of its people. Although by 1991, 15 schools had been established in the Carletonville township (primary and secondary as well as one tertiary institution) the educational qualifications of individuals in the workforce and the adult community in general still appear to be limited. By 1991 37,6% of the inhabitants had some qualification that ranged from grade one to grade seven (std 5). Approximately 27,9% had passed grade eight, nine, ten or eleven. Only 7% had a grade 12 (std. ten) certificate, and those with a degree made up only 0,46% of the population in the Oberholzer district (Carletonville area). In 27,02% of cases no educational record was available.³⁹ Perhaps these trends have changed in recent years due to the fact that the mining authorities have definitely paid more attention to in-service training in order to have a more efficient staff in a highly competitive economy. In essence the mining sector for years determined the educational level in the labour market. The quest for employees qualified in certain trades weighed more than anything else.⁴⁰

— Political experience

The cultural experience of politics in the former Gatsrand Ward (and later Carletonville) by the nineteen-thirties is characterized by the fact that it accommodated mainly white people. The narrowly directed national political agenda was also the agenda of the people, although the white community, to a limited extent, joined in when differences were debated. In 1948

36. *Blyvoor Nuis/News*, 30-11-1956.

37. E.S. van Eedsen, *Ekonomiese ontwikkeling ...*, chapter seven.

38. Republiek van Suid-Afrika, Sentrale Statistiekdiens, *Bevolkingsensus 1991*, Verslag nr. 03-01-07. Kerkverband volgens ontwikkelingstreek, Statistiese streek en distrik.

39. Republiek van Suid-Afrika, Sentrale Statistiekdiens, *Bevolkingsensus 1991*, Verslag nr. 03-01-18. Uitgesoekte statistiese streek Wes-Rand.

40. A.C.M. Webb, Mining in South Africa in F.L. Coleman (ed.), *Economic history of South Africa* (Natal, 1983), p. 190; M.M. Walker, The West Wits Line, *South African Journal for Economics* 18(1), March 1950, p. 16.

the very young Carletonville community voted in the candidate of the Herstigte Nasionale Party (eventually the National Party), Mr G.P. Brits,⁴¹ as part of the Losberg seat. This political sentiment of the white community endured for 39 years. In 1987 a major shift was made when Mr P.J. Paulus, chairperson of the Mine Workers' Union of South Africa and a member of the Conservative Party, was elected as parliamentary candidate for Carletonville.⁴² The political changes since then, followed by the first national democratic election, have reflected a totally different political sentiment, candidates being voted in mainly by the dominant black labour force on the gold mines.⁴³ One can perhaps speculate that the essence for the white political sentiment that was dominant up to 1993 was to preserve the superiority of the white minority in a cultural setting where whites were outnumbered, especially in the workplace — i.e. the gold mines as the biggest local employer. The Colour Bar laws⁴⁴ were no longer in place to ensure that whites obtain higher qualifications, positions and opportunities, to the disadvantage of others.

— Other cultural activities

Mining development brought about a tremendous change in the community activities of the local people. A variety of people, representing a variety of cultures, served and enhanced the traditions they were familiar with or wished to expand (white English and Afrikaans residents were for example familiar with the Appollo Choir, the Playmakers and the Rapportryers). But the relationship of the greater community with the economy and with poverty and the inability of people to adapt to a stressful working environment have drawn these cultures together to find solutions. Therefore one will find that organisations such as the MOTHs, the Suid-Afrikaanse Vrouefederasie (SAVF), the Rotarians, Lions International, the Christelike Maatskaplike Raad, The Women's League and the Suiderkruis Fonds pursued similar goals for Carletonville, of which the raising of the living standards of people in the community initially received priority.⁴⁵ The half-dominating, overwhelming role of the SAVF in the pioneer years and in the sixties when sinkholes were prominent in Carletonville, was memorable. Apart from delivering and creating community services they also developed leisure/recreation opportunities for all family members.⁴⁶ Apart from these nation-wide organisations, such as the SAVF, unique community services that originated on Carletonville soil were for example the Blyvooruitzicht as well as the Western Deep Levels Ladies Charity Fund.⁴⁷

41. E.S. van Eeden, *Die Geskiedenis van die Gatsrand...*, pp. 107-109; B.M. Schoeman, *Parlementêre verkiesings in Suid-Afrika, 1910-1976*, p. 291.

42. Anon., NP says protest vote gave Carletonville to Arrie, *The Star*, 7-5-1987; S. Raine, Paulus: a knight for white, *The Sunday Star*, 15-3-1987; Bosses beware when Arrie takes up his seat, *Sunday Tribune*, 10-5-1987.

43. Anon., NP says protest vote gave Carletonville to Arrie, *The Star*, 7-5-1987; S. Raine, Paulus: a knight for white, *The Sunday Star*, 15-3-1987; Bosses beware when Arrie takes up his seat, *Sunday Tribune*, 10-5-1987.

44. T.R.H. Davenport, *South Africa: a modern history* (London, 1991), pp. 503-512.

45. See E.S. van Eeden, *Ekonomiese ontwikkeling ...*, chapter seven. Minutes, 1971-1978: Minute foundation meeting, Suiderkruis Branch (Carletonville), 16-11-1971.

46. Carletonville (PU vir CHO), Ref. 3: Interview, E.J. Nefdt, 4-9-1990.

47. *Deep Levels News*, December 1965, p. 3; W. Hagan-Watson, *Down memory lane. Blyvoor's first twenty years*, s.l., s.a., 1965.

Material and spiritual drawbacks

- Depletion of subsoil water sources

The development following the establishment of the gold mines in the Carletonville area also had its drawbacks, as was seen during the period of the sinkholes. Underground water, a mining problem that had in fact hampered gold prospecting opportunities in Carletonville quite seriously for years before the actual discovery of gold in the thirties, caused destruction during the forties and fifties. Fear that these underground water deposits might endanger the lives of mine workers underground, led to the decision of mining companies to pump out the surplus water gradually. The consequences were catastrophic⁴⁸ and affected every sphere of community life. The depletion of underground water by the mines in the sixties was suddenly of great concern to the new local authority, especially because everyone concerned realised that a single-sector economy could make or break a community. The occurrence of sinkholes in the Carletonville area enjoyed increasing attention⁴⁹ and for nearly a decade caused a static economy. As far as secondary industries were concerned, this catastrophe caused a lack of proper growth in the sixties, although sinkholes were not the only reason for the sluggishness.

The media went overboard reporting on this frightening phenomenon and in the process disturbed the general economy for a considerable time, especially after cracks and damage to buildings were discovered and builders exposed subterranean caves during construction work.⁵⁰ An article with the significant title *Transvaal town becomes lopsided* was published in a well-known South African Afrikaans-language family magazine, which undoubtedly drew negative attention to the young mining town.⁵¹ However, no attempts by the Town Council at positive publicity⁵² prevented the so-called *invisible giant* from gnawing away at the Carletonville area. Ironically enough the sinkhole events of 1963 provided a platform for the founding of the first fully fledged local newspaper, the *Carletonville Herald*.⁵³

Several sinkholes appeared on mine property after 1962 and in some cases caused a loss of lives, the death of the Oosthuizen family probably being the best-known. Despite much criticism and a heavy financial burden as a result of this ecological disaster, mining authorities pulled through and established a normalising pattern. As a result three of the gold mines mentioned earlier started with production, namely East Driefontein (1968), Deelkraal (1974) and Elandsrand (1974).⁵⁴

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48. Compare with IA, MCV, file 33/1/4(e), Formasie, gevolge van ontwatering: memorandum aan die minister van Mynwese en van Beplanning, 14-9-1967; E.S. van Eeden, *Economic development ...*, chapter five.
 49. Union of South Africa, Department of Commerce and Industries, Annual report no. 12, *Raad van die Ontwikkeling van natuurlike Hulpbronne, 1 Januarie 1959-1 Desember 1959*; Unie van Suid-Afrika, Die provinsie van Transvaal, *Offisiële koerant* CLXIX, 24-6-1959, kolomme 14-16.
 50. *Die Vaderland*, 13-12-1962, p. 1; *Dagbreek en Sondagnuus*, 20-5-1962, p. 1; 16-12-1962, p. 2; *The Star*, 10-4-1963, p. 2; *Die Transvaler*, 11-4-1963, p. 1.
 51. K. Steytler, Transvaalse dorp trek windskeef, *Die Huisgenoot*, 22-2-1963, pp. 13.
 52. *The Star*, 23-1-1963, p. 1; 10-4-1963, p. 2.
 53. Compare with *Carletonville Herald*, 25-1-1963.
 54. E.S. van Eeden, *Ekonomiese ontwikkeling ...*, chapter four.

— Dislocating of towns

As far as town development is concerned, the picture appeared more gloomy. The towns of Bank (after a drawback earlier in its history),⁵⁵ Blybank and West-Wits were not as fortunate as Carltonville to survive the economic experiment of dislocating. In January 1970, for example, occupants of Bank were advised to evacuate the town permanently because of the unstable surface caused by intense ground movement.⁵⁶ In the years that followed extensive demolition of town houses in especially Carletonville Extensions 5 and 8 took place.⁵⁷

The Bank area did not later share in the same process of recovery with Carletonville and Oberholzer. The dewatering of the Bank Compartment had increased the occurrence of sinkholes in Bank which, by 1970, had made it extremely dangerous to live in this area. Most activities, among them old established businesses, simply disappeared. Some said that the gold which had "attracted" these activities in the first place, had now been the cause of their "exodus".⁵⁸

— Agricultural setback

Apart from the fact that the agricultural sector lost its position as prime economic activity in the former Gatsrand after gold had been discovered, further change occurred as a result of the evacuation of rich farming areas in the vicinity of Bank. The buying up of farms by gold mining companies contributed to the decline of the agricultural industry.⁵⁹

Some farmers who had not been as drastically affected as those in the Bank area experienced scattered incidents of subsurface hydroextraction on their farms. The water that was pumped out by the West Driefontein Mine was then channelled to the local Irrigation Board to relieve the farmer's shortage of water due to hydroextraction at two points. By 1966 the fact that farmers were dependent on the goodwill of the mining sector had further weakened their economic position. Mines in the region were already supplying water to more than 30 farmers whose bore-holes had dried up. After the sixties nothing visible remained of the once strong Wonderfontein and Eye of Wonderfontein, once a spot of scenic beauty.

Complaints from farmers that the West Driefontein mine had dumped polluted water with harmful mineral elements like boron and aluminium into the irrigation canals, evoked widespread reaction. Some farmers claimed that this affected the vegetation and animal life of the area. Examples of abnormal absence of seed during the harvest of buckwheat, maize and corn, the heavy pigmentation of grass and clover planted for feeding purposes and the

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55. Development was favoured more by the gold mine authorities than that of Bank. One business person experienced the disapproval of a second town extension as follows: "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". See Carletonville (Munisipaliteit), LAC, Lêer 61/1/239, Bank Extension no. Two; requests for foundation: G. Fine and I.G. Slonimsky — Secretary Peri Urban areas Health Board, 15-11-1958.
 56. *Die Transvaler*, 29-4-1970; Republic of South Africa, *Debates by the House of Assembly*, 24-5-1973, column 7633; *Carletonville Herald*, 30-1-1970.
 57. Transvaal Archive, MCV, volume 43, file 70/2/1(1), Beplanning en ontwikkeling: vergadering bestuurskomitee, 4-1-1966.
 58. *Carletonville Herald*, 24-1-1969, p. 1; TBP, Argjef van die Departement Bantoe-administrasie en -ontwikkeling (BAO), Band 3038, lêer C39/28/1108, Arbeidsburo Carletonville: Vener, Mosdell, Suttners Stores, Spilkins Outfitters — Department Bantu Administration and Development, 24-4-1970.
 59. E.S. van Eeden, *Ekonomiese ontwikkeling ...*, chapter three.

abnormal number of deaths, miscarriages and deformities that occurred in fish, goats and pigs were mentioned.

The above-mentioned row, which started in the sixties and which still continues, caused hostility between the mines and the farmers, which resulted in a further decline of the farming industry. A water shortage and disputes with the mines about the alleged pollution, as well as the exhaustion of the once rich subsurface water sources had evidently become too much for some farmers. The negative attitude was exacerbated by the crop failures and stock losses of the last few years, which were blamed on the above problems. Furthermore financial problems accumulated and the Dolomitic Water Association, founded by the mining authorities, was criticised for its strict screening before claims for damages were paid out. Owing to these events some of the farmers decided to leave the region voluntarily.⁶⁰

— Business sector

In the sinkhole period, especially during 1965, the business sector in Carletonville did not experience any improvement in their situation. The findings of the Government's Co-ordinated Technical Committee had indicated that some of the plots could possibly be classified as permanently unsuitable. This would, of necessity, have a negative effect on the future of Carletonville. To the City Council, which had up to that time made a valiant attempt to retain the businessmen's confidence, this was a decisive blow. When the Dolomite Water Board furthermore announced that builders would not in future be compensated for damage to buildings caused by sinkholes, it served to further exacerbate the situation of the already debilitated community structure. After all, this would imply that fewer builders would be prepared to construct buildings in the Carletonville area in future.⁶¹

At the beginning of the decade of the seventies Carletonville seemed more prosperous. For instance, in the motor industry, Ed's Motors had opened in Annan Street in Carletonville after moving from Bank.⁶² At this stage, business circles in Carletonville distinguished between those with so-called grit and the so-called undesirables. The "gritty" ones were regarded as those merchants who had remained put and were now reaping the benefits of surviving several difficult years after the undesirable merchants who had been scared off by the sinkholes had left.⁶³

By 1970 about 4,72% of the local Carletonville population was employed in the tertiary sector and 1,2% in the secondary sector. This was decidedly lower than in the neighbouring towns of Randfontein, Roodepoort and Krugersdorp.⁶⁴ The most obvious reason for this, apart from the subsidences, which is still valid today, is that there appears to be a more suitable division of labour between the economic sectors in these three towns,

60. E.S. van Eeden, The impact of economic logic on the environment: a case study on the effect of subsidences, hydro extraction and hydro pollution on the agricultural industry of the Oberholzer district (Carletonville area), 1959-1972, Electronic Journal, *Monitors*, H-Africa network, 1996.

61. Die Suid-Afrikaanse Vereniging van Munisipale Werknemers, *Suid-Afrikaanse Munisipale Jaarboek* 1964-1965, p. 321.

62. Kyk E.S. van Eeden, *Ekonomiese Ontwikkeling ...*, chapter 5.

63. Carletonville (PU vir CHO), Verw. 3: onderhoud met E. Twaits (ex businessman of the towns of Bank and Carletonville), 20-4-1989.

64. Republiek van Suid-Afrika, Departement van Statistiek, verslag no. 02-05-06, *Bevolkingsensus, Beroep en nywerheid volgens distrik en ekonomiese streek, 1970*, pp. 51, 115, 173, 215.

while in the Carletonville district, mining has remained the dominant employer.⁶⁵

— Transport

As far as the visible effect of the sinkhole period on the overall transport network was concerned, it was the road and railway networks that were detrimentally affected. Apart from the fact that passenger services at Bank Station had been permanently discontinued from 1970, three provincial roads had to be partially closed and alternative roads used. This temporarily crippled the local business sector as it caused a delay in the transport of products to and from other towns. It also caused delays in transport for people living in the Carletonville municipal area and those coming from other districts for business. etc.⁶⁶

Like other institutions and the government, the mining industry helped and in many ways was primarily responsible for restoring confidence in the economy and in the community life of Carletonville. Building societies, for example, increasingly demonstrated their willingness to provide funds for individuals and for business purposes. The restored confidence manifested itself in the local economy. The building of a grain silo and of hyperstores by two nation-wide traders, OK and Pick-'n-Pay, in the seventies are visible examples of this trust.

Partly owing to the so-called "gritty ones" referred to earlier, by 1976 the people of Carletonville had entered a more stable period in their history. However, the mines still called the tune in every aspect of community life.⁶⁷

— Other community activities

Although the process of founding schools was not affected by the sinkholes, their visibility caused emotional distress. The grounds of the schools Carletonville Jones High, Westfields Primary, Rockland Primary and the Primary School Jongsan were the first to experience surface problems. For months the normal daily routine was disrupted because the facilities of other institutions and schools had to be used. Arrangements in the form of morning and afternoon sessions were also made necessary.⁶⁸

Religious practices were also hampered, and particularly in the sixties the Apostolic Faith Mission (AFM), the Baptist Church and the Anglican congregation were affected. The AFM and the Anglican Church acquired a new financial burden after it had been decided by the mining authority that their locality was no longer safe and that their buildings had to be demolished. However, it must be added that the funds and assistance these churches obtained from the mining industry and the local authority restored their normal cultural routine in a matter of 10 years.⁶⁹ Unfortunately for the members of the Indian Mosque in the Bank

65. E.S. van Eeden, *Ekonomiese ontwikkeling ...*, chapter six.

66. Republiek van Suid-Afrika, Sentrale Statistiekdiens, *Bevolkingsensus 1991*, Verslag nr. 03-01-18. Uitgesoekte statistiese streek Wes-Rand.

67. E.S. van Eeden, *Ekonomiese ontwikkeling ...*, chapters five and six.

68. M.M.J. Oosthuizen, *Blanke onderwys in die Carletonville-omgewing ...*, M.A.-verhandeling, PU vir CHO, 1990, pp. 70-73, 76; *Carletonville Herald*, 7-8-1964.

69. AGS (Carletonville) <Kerknoules: Notule, 10 November 1963; 24 Junie 1964-1970; Carletonville (PU for CHE), Ref. 3; Interview: J.E. Atherton (Reverend Anglican Church Carletonville), 15-6-1989.

township, a town that was demolished in 1970, their place of worship was not rebuilt.⁷⁰

Conclusion

Agricultural activity had been the core economic activity in Carletonville before gold mining began in the area in 1937. The agricultural setting was reflected in the other cultural activities of the community. Communal social activities were organised on farms.

As a new initiative, which soon proved to be the dominant factor in the local economy, gold mining was not the only reason why agriculture lost its long-standing position in the Carletonville community. The buying out of farms by the gold mining companies for i.a. town development, followed by the re-division of districts, were also aspects contributing to the attenuation of agriculture in the area during the fifties. The enormous subsidences of the sixties were also a blow to the farming community. The extraction of the subsurface water by the mines, followed by surface subsidence and the drying up of bore-holes, had a negative economic effect on the farmers. All these visible changes gradually affected the cultural experience and development of community life in the Carletonville area.

The sinkhole period proved that Carletonville needed to address their unidirectional economy more effectively. In 1995 a new development potential structure plan for the greater Carletonville/Fochville sub-region was prepared by Urban Dynamics Inc.. Although their primary task was to facilitate a process in which all stakeholders of for example the Carletonville area would be involved, the structure plan indicated that the secondary sector of the Oberholzer district was fairly weak. They pointed out that nearly 90% of the economic input came from the mining sector.⁷¹ Urban Dynamics advised that cognisance be taken of trends and patterns in the gold mining industry of South Africa with regard to future planning.

Despite the dominance of the mining sector, white inhabitants still showed a willingness to contribute to the development and cohesion of their community. People were exposed to a variety of associations/unions, among them Afrikaner-directed organisations like the *Rapportryers*, *Vrouelandbou-Unie* and the *Suid-Afrikaanse Vrouefederasie*. Church activities since the forties developed into something more than just Sunday communions. Furthermore the widely-known Apollo Choir, which became famous in the sixties, will always be remembered for their contribution to cultural life. White miners of English origin also brought a cultured spirit to the community. In due time they founded the societies which they preferred. In dramatic societies and in societies like the Rotarians, Lions International and the MOTHS both language groups, English and Afrikaans, worked together and celebrated together. The gold mining industry had indeed brought people together and changed people's approach to daily life — generally and politically. Carletonville may very well serve as an example of how the inhabitants of various mining-oriented areas on the Far West Rand experienced the cultural life of their towns.

70. Carletonville (PU vir CHO), Ref. 3; Interview: N. Nosarka (former businessmen, Bank Township), 1992.

71. Urban Dynamics, *Greater Carletonville* ..., p.8.