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UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND

A F R I C A N S T U D I E S I N S T I T U T E

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by: Alan Mabin

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LABOUR TENANCY AND THE LAND CLEARANCES AT PILGRIMS REST

Alan Mabin

Towards the end of August 1951, the manager of Transvaal Gold Mining Estates (TGME) wrote to Rand Mines asking for advice on a 'very embarrassing matter'. The problem he faced was one of difficulty in obtaining continued permission for African tenants to reside on his company's farms in the Pilgrims Rest district. Unless it was possible to continue to obtain such permission, he wrote, 'the effect on the native labour force, both as regards quantity and quality, may be serious and grow progressively worse'.[1] Thus commenced a struggle over the occupation and use of the land which endured for more than two decades, and ended with the final expulsion of the people in 1972. As in so many other land clearances, most people from the farms ultimately found themselves in squalid circumstances, deprived of access to farmland and excluded from the benefits of agricultural progress. As in forced relocation elsewhere in South Africa, legal provisions, courts and the power of the state were all beyond the control of the people affected. But whatever its outcome, the story of the people of these farms is by no means simply one of the 'apartheid state' bulldozing its hapless victims into an inevitable submission. This complex conflict variously pitted the company, the state and the people on the farms against one another, with variations of texture in the actions of various parties and subtle divisions within the state and the company as well as the farm communities.

Access to land on the farms owned by TGME came over time to depend on an acceptance of a labour tenancy system. Under the arrangements which predominated in the immediate vicinity of Pilgrims Rest, tenants on the company's farms had to provide a certain amount of service to TGME each year, as well as paying rent. This service usually took the form of labour in the company's gold mines, although work in forest plantations and elsewhere also occurred. As such, the 'relations of production' in the Pilgrims Rest area were but a variation on the theme of tenancy-based labour which characterised much of rural South Africa until very recently. With masterful understatement, the Surplus People Project noted that

'little primary work has been done' on the abolition of labour tenancy and squatting on farms in the Transvaal.[2] Still less has the role of private landowners in the origins of labour tenancy, and in its demise, yielded to research.[3] This paper is, then, a first attempt to analyse a specific case in the history of tenancy. It addresses first the creation of tenancy, and then the land clearances, at Pilgrims Rest.

I

For at least a century and a quarter, most of the people living on the farms in the immediate vicinity of Pilgrims Rest have been members of a group called Mapulana. The origins of the Mapulana are somewhat unclear, but the evidence points to Sotho lineage, and an early location in the region of the Mokwena (Crocodile River) around Nelspruit or Phageng (Krokodilpoort).[4] Conflict between and within various polities and chiefdoms, including Swazi (Mswati and Somcuba) raiding on the lowveld, prompted the Mapulana to move northward. Over some time in the mid-nineteenth century several of their chieftainships split, at least in part owing to internal competition for power. Evidence of such conflict exists in the subsequent ascendancy of Mogane chiefs over the Mashego, who 'appear' to have been 'the nucleus of the Pulana'. After about 1855, Swazi raids may have encouraged or forced the major section of the Mapulana to move to the area above the dramatic and near-impassable escarpment of the eastern Transvaal. Various sources suggest a number of different sites of chiefly kraals after this move, including one at the top of Kowyn's pass. Further conflict over the succession among the Mogane culminated in the installation of Kobeng as chief - probably during the eighteen sixties, and possibly with the co-operation or assistance of Boer notables from the nearby heartland of the Lydenburg republic.[5]

In this haze of uncertainty, it is nevertheless clear that Kobeng's Mapulana were settled on the Moklatse (Blyde River) some time prior to 1868. It was estimated by Berlin Missionaries that there were between 1500 and 2000 people under Kobeng's authority at that date; among them were several Boer men, some married to Mapulana women.[6] There have been Mapulana and other people in the upper Blyde valley ever since, but both the nature and location of the communities and their relations with each other and outsiders have been sharply transformed.

Berlin missionaries were not the only outsiders to explore the Blyde valley. Burghers of the Lydenburg Republic (and, after 1859, the South African Republic) had laid claim to several farms there under the republican land grant system. Among these farms were Driekop and Ponieskrans, supposedly taken up in about 1858 by members of a family named Steenkamp. Nearby, Waterhoutboom - the land traversed by Kowyn's Pass - was acquired by none other than Abel Erasmus, the enterprising veldkornet of Ohrigstad. It was precisely the fact that many land grant farms were not effectively in the possession of their owners that allowed another type of speculative operator to explore the area. In the early 1870s, prospectors found especially rich traces of gold along a tributary of the Blyde River, in a narrow valley 50 miles northeast of Lydenburg. The discoveries brought in their train not only diggers and canteen keepers; within a matter of months the trappings of a monetary economy had been established in the Blyde valley. Title to land, at least to land suspected to bear gold, became a valuable commodity. During the second half of 1873 numerous farms in the new goldfields changed hands - some several times. For example, one of the people who had accumulated

sufficient funds from his activities at MacMac, some miles to the south, bought Waterhoutboom from Erasmus in July; he resold the farm to a Kimberley merchant, in August. Driekop and Ponieskrans were purchased from the Steenkamps by a partnership of claimholders and storekeepers - Ponieskrans for £200 - in September 1873. Close behind the rush of activity came representatives of the financially shaky government of the South African Republic. The gold commissioner conducted his affairs at Ponieskrans, now known as Pilgrims Rest, from January 1874. A month later President Burgers paid a visit to the new camp.[7]

Along with increased if somewhat ineffectual attention from the state, claimholders at Pilgrims Rest faced other and more pressing problems. The value of gold produced, despite new discoveries, began to decline in late 1874. In order to increase production, it had become necessary to crush ores rather than simply to sluice alluvial deposits. Like those at Kimberley in the same period, holders of individual claims could command neither the labour nor the material resources necessary to transform their methods of production: transport costs ensured, for example, that a 5-stamp battery delivered at Pilgrims Rest would cost at least £3000. The pressures for concentration of ownership and productive activity were thus considerable. In September and October 1874, the Pilgrims Rest Gold Fields Company, formed in Port Elizabeth by a group of merchants, bought five farms in the area. The company, and individuals like Alois Nellmapius, later the holder of numerous industrial concessions from the Transvaal government, favoured the granting of exclusive rights over blocks of claims to companies. Such a measure was contemplated in the draft gold law which was under discussion in early 1875. Unsurprisingly, the small operators opposed this threat to their property rights. Although the new gold law was passed with few amendments and came into force on 21 June 1875, its provisions had little force at Pilgrims Rest. But the problems on the diggings were compounded both by the fiscal crisis facing the government - and its consequent inability to improve transport - and by its preparations for war against the Pedi. The was ended in a republican military debacle, and amidst Carnarvon's federation schemes, the Transvaal was annexed to Britain in April 1877.[8] These events had a mixed effect on the Pilgrims Rest district.

Together with the decline in gold production, the number of diggers fell to a mere 120 or 130 by 1881.[9] The uncertainty surrounding both the future of the Transvaal and the prospects of the gold fields discouraged new investment, especially on the part of Cape interests which had been responsible for previous channelling of funds to Pilgrims Rest. Under these circumstances, mining at Pilgrims Rest made little headway. Not till after the restoration of republican independence in August 1881 did a significant change in state policy again initiate changes in the area. The new triumvirate government immediately reintroduced and enormously expanded the concessions policy initiated by the Burgers republican regime. Exclusive rights to prospect and mine were granted over numerous Eastern Transvaal farms under this policy. One such concession involved the government farm Graskop, which was leased to the Balkis Land Co. of London for a 21 year term.[10] Still more substantial was the concession granted over the Pilgrims Rest area itself.

The difficulties which several Port Elizabeth concerns faced with respect to their Transvaal interests provided an individual named David Benjamin with the opportunity to acquire substantial interests in that territory. When the Oriental Bank wound up its affairs by, among other

things, calling in loans, the Pilgrims Rest Gold Fields Company was unable to meet its liability of almost £15 000. The bank took possession of the company's extensive Transvaal land holdings in March 1880. Eager to realise its assets against a background of increasing anxiety about the Transvaal, the bank accepted Benjamin's offer of £18 000 for those land interests in January 1881.[11] Almost as soon as the triumvirate had taken power in Pretoria, Benjamin succeeded in securing a valuable concession from the government. On 7 November 1881, he acquired 'the full, free and exclusive right to all gold reefs and other mines, minerals, ores and precious stones ... in, on or under' the farms Ponieskrans, Waterhoutboom, Driekop, Ledovine, Belvedere and Grootfontein. For these rights he was required to pay £1000 per year to the government. Under the concession Benjamin had to acquire the freehold over the six farms; five he already owned, and the sixth (Grootfontein) he purchased in November 1881. In addition, he had to settle the claims of all licensed diggers on his property.[12] He was not bound by any provisions relating to the large number of people, mainly Mapulana, living on these farms.

There followed a period during which Benjamin and his agents attempted to dispose of the diggers on the concession farms. In an atmosphere of legal confusion, aggrieved diggers refused to obey eviction orders, some claiming that their diggings were not even situated on Benjamin's farms. Their complaints were soon echoed in the Volksraad, where the disabilities of 'arme boere' and the dangers attaching to English concessionaires were rehearsed in debate.[13] But before any cases were tested in court, the state responded to Benjamin's (and other concessionaires') appeals, and took action to uphold the position of mining concessions against claimholders. With confirmation by the Volksraad, in June 1883, Benjamin's concession ceased to be a mere contract and acquired the force of law. The property rights of claimholders, not to mention other residents, were effectively extinguished. With the assistance of arbitration by State Attorney Jorissen, Benjamin reached settlements with the remaining small alluvial operators. The number of active diggers was reduced to a dozen.[14] The way was, apparently, open for the development of large-scale mining by the company which had been established for the purpose.

Transvaal Gold Exploration and Land Company (TGE) paid Benjamin £100 000 for the six farms and an even larger sum for the concession.[15] Gardner Williams, an American mining engineer who later became general manager of De Beers Consolidated Diamond Mines, was appointed TGE's resident manager in Pilgrims Rest. The company experienced numerous problems. Costs of transport were higher than ever, and labour was not easy to recruit. Mapulana men, along with other northern Sotho people, had engaged in migrant labour from some time prior to the beginnings of Pilgrims Rest, and from the start were involved, at least as labourers, in alluvial gold mining.[16] Now living on and around the farm Hermansburg, Kobeng's Mapulana maintained their relative independence, however, not only from the mining settlement but also from the republican state. Thus, in 1883 a commissioner named Trigard was chased away by the Mapulana when he attempted to collect tax.[17] Faced with no gold production and little other income, Williams applied for a reduction in the royalty payment in 1885. The only sources of income were rents on claims, stores and residences. Gold output for 1886 was valued at a paltry £1576. Having achieved little success in gold mining, Williams resigned in August 1885, while TGE's financial problems led to a further share issue in 1887. But under a new manager, John Spiers, the company's operations were

restructured, and output began to rise. By 1891 gold production had reached £48 000, and the price of the company's shares had risen from 2/6 to over £10.[18]

Increasing gold production by TGE reflected its growing ability to marshall an expanding labour force, both black and white. At the same time the increasing strength of republican administration - signified by the final defeat of the last major independent chiefdom in the eastern Transvaal, the Ndzundza Ndebele, and facilitated by rapidly increasing revenue following the influx of capital to the Barberton and Witwatersrand goldfields - enhanced the ability of the state to enforce taxation and administrative rule in outlying areas like the Blyde valley.[19] It is not yet known how or from where TGE built up its labour force.[20] But a part of the labour was supplied by the Mapulana who lived in the Blyde valley. There is evidence of a changing relationship between the company and those people living on its farms - mainly Ponieskrans, Grootfontein, Driekop and Ledovine after 1890. The company had begun to collect rents from Africans living on its farm property. For the year ended September 1891, these rents amounted to £139; by 1895, they totalled £165. At least some Africans had become tenants.

Whether or not labour was drawn from tenant households, TGE's growing demand for workers was not entirely met through its own recruiting. In July 1895, the local management wrote to Abel Erasmus at Krugerspost to

> inquire if you can oblige us by sending up 50 or 60 good boys for work, or any lesser number that you can furnish us with.[21]

As with other gold mining companies in the Transvaal, labour problems pushed TGE to consider a variety of strategies. And as elsewhere, company amalgamation and monopsony in the labour market appeared to be possible solutions. From 1891, Witwatersrand companies had taken an increasing interest in the Pilgrims Rest area; Abe Bailey's Morgenzon mine provides one example. In 1893 representatives of H. Eckstein and Company engaged in discussions with TGE, with a view to merging their interests in the Lydenburg district.[22]

In order to create a vehicle for Eckstein's activities in the Pilgrims Rest area, a new company called Lydenburg Mining Estates Ltd. (LME) was established in Johannesburg in early 1895. Meanwhile, negotiations proceeded in London with shareholders of TGE for the absorption of the older company. By August agreement had been reached. LME had the disadvantage of not holding as much rich or developed ground as TGE, but did possess the attraction of its owners' enormous capital resources. Still more significantly, LME held title to an enormous extent of land both north and south of TGE's central concession farms (vide Map).

In a memorandum to TGE shareholders, that company's directors remarked that if the merger took place

> the regulation of the labour of the district would be largely in the hands of the Lydenburg Company (LME), who would no doubt be able to manage, not only for an increased supply, but also to obtain the same at greatly reduced rates.

The takeover was approved by the shareholders, and in March 1896 TGE's property at Pilgrims Rest was transferred to LME.[23] However, after the

amalgamation LME continued to request Erasmus's help in recruiting labour, partly due to the rapid expansion of their operations. In July 1896 LME requested Erasmus to supply a hundred workers; a year later E. Hoefer, the manager of the now-renamed company, Transvaal Gold Mining Estates (TGME), asked Erasmus to supply '300 Kafirs'; but by October 1897 Hoefer was paying about one pound each for a mere 27 'boys' actually recruited by Erasmus.[24]

Of course the central reasons for TGME's labour problems included competition for local labour from mining and other employers at a distance, acting through labour agents in the district. For TGME the main issue was the unrestrained activities of these agents; for Erasmus, the company's largest local recruiter, the 'labour shortage' was an opportunity to apply for rights to recruit in Mocambique.[25] The government - which was perhaps understandably lukewarm towards a company whose directors had recently conspired to overthrow the state - held, by contrast, that TGME should solve its own labour difficulties, by itself recruiting in Mocambique if necessary.[26] It was in this context that TGME began to adopt more positively the practice relating its land holdings to its labour supply. The problem for the company was that under the Plakaats Wet (Squatter Law), reaffirmed by the Volksraad in 1895, the presence of non-employed Africans on its farms was theoretically illegal. Again, it is not yet clear whether (or to what extent) TGME used this measure to its advantage in arriving at a modus vivendi with Kobeng over the supply of labour to the mines, though oral evidence suggests that such may have been the case.[27] At all events, in April 1898, TGME applied for official permission to retain Africans on their farms 'on condition they work for a portion of the year in the service of this company'.[28]

The company lost little time in enforcing its policy. By early 1899, rents received by TGME from African tenants had almost doubled over their 1895 level; perhaps 300 families were paying the standard £1 per year. The number of Africans employed had doubled in a year, to reach almost 1500 at the end of March 1899. In the company's annual report, the labour shortage experienced during 1898 was lightly dismissed, for the mines were now 'well supplied'.[29] Whether the improvement in the labour position was due to the institution of labour-related tenancy might be debated, for the recession which the country had entered may have eased employer competition in the labour market; but TGME was well pleased. Though the company was not freed of a necessity to consult Erasmus as Native Commissioner, and to use his and others' services as recruiting agents, the hopes expressed at the time of the TGE-LME merger appeared to have been fulfilled.[30]

II

TGME was not the only company to pursue a 'labour farm' policy during this period. Some Witwatersrand companies held extensive areas of land, often purchased earlier for speculation. As in the Pilgrims Rest case, some tried to tie continued residence on the farms to agreed periods of mining labour, or made available small acreages to families in an effort to attract and create potential mine workers. These labour tenant farms were located at a distance from the Witwatersrand, which made migrant labourers of those who travelled from them to the Witwatersrand mines.[31] TGME worker-tenants could hardly have been described as such. The latter were, perhaps, more akin to the more or less contemporary West Cornwall families who lived close to the copper mines, leasing or renting a plot, building

a house, running a small amount of stock (frequently grazed on unenclosed land), and producing a part of their subsistence from their own cultivation; while members of the family would also work continuously or discontinuously in the mines. While to suggest too close a parallel would be misleading, these Cornish families and the farm tenants of the Blyde valley did have one thing in common: a measure of independence from wage labour and company control.[32] This condition of existence has been emphasised by an early resident of another partly similar set of 'labour farms' on the Vaal River. At Vereeniging Estates, much of the company's land was made available on sharecropping terms; additional areas were the basis of a tenant system which not only allowed a degree of freedom to its members, but also supplied substantial amounts of rent and part of the company's coal mine labour force. According to M.K. Masike,

> ... where sharecropping was not practised, those were the places were the people were free. These were places which were called Mynplase.[33]

A spectrum of sharecropping and labour tenancy arrangements were in situ in the region when Lewis and Marks acquired their Vereeniging Estates farms; as Trapido has pointed out, the company was able to 'take the tenancy system for granted'.[34] Not so at Pilgrims Rest, where a fledgling labour tenancy system had been a late arrival, developed by TGME as a means of asserting its control over the land and people in its domain - even though this system allowed them some autonomy - and upon which the company successfully depended for a large part of its labour supply for the next seven decades.

The Anglo-Boer war of 1899-1902 caused, among other things, a major disruption of the TGME labour supply. But tenancy survived. Within a few months of the close of the war, over 300 workers had returned to work at TGME, mostly tenants and 'of their own accord'. This number was a far cry from the 1500 wanted by the mine management, but it was a start.[35] As at Vereeniging Estates, the destruction and disruption of the war encouraged larger numbers to become tenants on the company's farms, some if not most contracted to provide labour in the mines in addition to their cash rent. Again, like Vereeniging Estates, TGME managed to secure permission from the new colonial administration to retain its tenant system, despite its dubious legality in terms of squatting law.[36] Yet, as it strove to increase gold production, TGME's demand for labour kept ahead of its ability to recruit. An increasing number of lowveld people were brought in, including Mocambicans. Despite the presence of several thousand people on the company's farms, the 'labour shortage' grew more acute, raising difficult questions on the occasion of at least one TGME annual general meeting (in 1911). Meanwhile, the company sought agreements with the local chiefs, including Kobeng, in hopes of securing more labour.[37] By about 1912, the large majority of Mapulana resident on the TGME farms, as well as a number of other people, mainly of Nhlanganu origin, had been effectively incorporated into the tenant system. With the passage of the Native Land Act in 1913, TGME introduced into all tenant contracts the requirement of a paid period of labour service. Kobeng's age, and death in 1915, may have helped TGME to formalise and rigidify this contract system: the floods and financial losses of that year may have provided an added incentive.[38] While the labour tenant system continued, TGME also adopted more drastic measures to coerce labour into its mines. The company's own police force was occasionally involved

in compelling non-tenants from other farms in the district to work for lengthy periods. The local sub-magistrate reported that

> When a scarcity of labour, on the mines, obtains, a raid by armed 'Police Boys' in the employ of the Company appears to be made and the prisoners escorted to the mine to work. Natives, who may have the temerity to resist are often unquestionably submitted to corporal punishment.[39]

By the end of the first world war, TGME had succeeded in creating a system of social control and labour recruitment which was able to support its gold production. The contract or tenant labour system was 'the nucleus of the company's labour'.[40] The picture of the Blyde valley contrasts strongly with other mining areas. At Vereeniging Estates, sharecropping and tenant arrangements were coming to an end; while at the Indwe collieries, the company had gone into liquidation after a protracted failure to extract inexpensive labour from Africans resident on its extensive lands.[41] If labour tenancy elsewhere was waning, at Pilgrims Rest its career was far from over.

III

In the period prior to 1930, Kobeng's son and successor, Tshane, was incorporated still further into the labour system. The chief was now required to produce specified numbers of workers from the company's farms on demand. Each adult man resident on the company's land was required to pay a rent of £1 per year, plus £1 for each wife beyond the first. In addition, at least one person per family had to work at the company's rates of pay for a minimum of 180 days (six tickets of 30 days each) per year - usually well over seven months, allowing for Sundays and time off. While at the mines, the men lived in open compounds. A certain amount of compulsion continued to be used to extract labour; the carrot of increased pay was also used to keep people at work after their six tickets had been served. Those who failed to pay rent, who refused to work, or who deserted, would be expelled from the farms on a trek pass. In some cases, labour defaulters would be arrested by company police and made to provide 'sepalo' (forced labour), often in the recently-established forest plantations. The more subtle means of forcing labour are recalled by Christian Silikane, who started work at 'Thijem' in 1918 - not unusually, at about 14 years of age.

> You must agree (to work) because you cannot say no - because you are in their control, if you disagree they won't trust you.

Women might go (or be taken) to work if men failed to turn out; frequently, women were set to work in plantations on farms such as Driekop, living in their own compound and being paid a pound a month - half the rate which men received for the same job.[42]

The rent-and-labour tenancy system gave families access to land, which allowed them to avoid the rigours experienced in some other districts at the time. Since the alluvial soils of the valley floors are poor in residual phosphates, it was difficult to grow crops there. In addition, the alluvial soils are very high in clay content; as a result they become sticky and difficult to plough when wet. Instead, kraals and small cultivated areas were located on the hillslopes and valley terraces, where runoff removes water before washing out the phosphates from the soils.[43]

The burdens placed on family agricultural production were increased by the frequent mine accidents and often total lack of compensation for the crippled. On the other hand, the company did pension off some long service workers, especially Mocambican miners who had become involved with local women, settling them with plots of land on the farms.[44]

It may have been conflict over the right to allocate specific plots and house sites which led to conflict between Tshane and TGME. The fact that the Mapulana chief's son, Pitas, was working for TGME suggest that labour service as such was not the basis of conflict, though compulsory Sunday overtime seems to have been among the differences between Tshane and the company. The company considered the chief's opposition sufficiently serious, however, to expel him from Hermansburg farm in 1934. Tshane, with ten of his followers, went to live at Krugerspost, where he died in the 1960s. Meanwhile, a younger member of the family, Kabishe, was appointed regent, and occupied this position until his death in the late forties. During Kabishe's rule, the Mapulana chiefs lost their authority over rights to settle and build houses on the farms. Once more, TGME appears to have used the opportunity provided by legislation - in this case, the 1936 Native Trust and Land Act - to advance its control: as the present chief (the son of Pitas) recounts the story,

> They then gave us a notice in 1936 that it is no more our land but the land belongs to them.[45]

One result was that an increased number of the Mapulana began to migrate to Johannesburg and other cities; while others moved off TGME land to the Bushbuckridge and other areas. However, despite this exodus, the population of the Blyde Valley did not fall. Instead, those leaving were replaced by people from adjacent areas. One source of the influx was crown land which had been transferred to the state Department of Forestry. By the end of 1933 over 5000 individual evictions had been served in the course of state afforestation schemes in the Pilgrims Rest district, with perhaps half that number again still to be served. While a majority of the people affected may have moved to lowveld farms - many company-owned - some settled on TGME's land. At the same time TGME itself was engaged in resettling families moved from its Driekop plantations to Ledovine, Hermansburg and Vaalhoek.[46] Another source of migrants lay in surrounding farming districts, particularly Lydenburg.[47]

A major element in this latter in-migration was the application of Chapter IV of the Native Trust and Land Act to the Lydenburg district in 1938.[48] This chapter of the Act laid down conditions for the residence of Africans on rural land outside the scheduled and released areas of the 1913 and 1936 Acts. In particular, under its provisions farmers or land owners would have to register all squatters and labour tenants. The fee for registering squatters - that is, those who rendered no labour service <u>on the farms</u> - would increase progressively to render landlords' rent income zero or negative. The number of labour tenants - in law, defined as those who <u>did</u> render service <u>on the farm</u> - could be regulated by Native Commissioners; but most importantly, the period for which labour tenants had to provide service in order to avoid eviction as a squatter could be regulated by the Minister of Native Affairs. However, Chapter IV had to be specifically proclaimed over areas of the country, and it was also weakened by provisions limiting evictions unless reserve land could be made available to accommodate evictees. The prospect of forcing supposedly unproductive African squatters and tenants into farm

employment encouraged local farmers' associations to push for proclamation of Chapter IV in some districts; but that there were flaws in their strategy soon became apparent.[49]

Towards the end of 1937, the Department of Native Affairs - despite its own misgivings[50] - was persuaded to proclaim Chapter IV in the Lydenburg District with effect from 1 January 1938. Immediately problems arose which led to amendments to the original proclamation, and the effective date was delayed to April. Meanwhile the previously variable period of approximately three months' service required of farm tenants in the area was extended to four months by Ministerial regulation, only to be altered again to 180 days per year in March 1938. Confusion on the ground was rampant. 'What we see in Lydenburg', wrote Samson Mnisi of Goedgedacht in March 1938,

> are the changes which take place continually. In 1937 our people were told to work 3 months yearly for the masters; in January 1938 the time was changed to four months; now it is again changed to six months. Many people who do not see the wisdom and necessity of six months service and are ordered to leave the farms. These poor people do not know where to. If they are not wanted on the farms, it would be much better if the Government would show that part which will be known as native area. We really wonder why we are being oppressed in that way ...[51]

Labour tenants who refused to contract for more than three or four months' service were 'trekpassed' from the farms (i.e., evicted on compulsory trek passes). But before long the consequences of this response on the part of the white farmers became apparent. Even after the suspension (not repeal) of the proclamation, in June 1938, and once they had served the necessary three months' notice, many tenants left the farms and the district.[52] There was no 'general revolt of peasants and labour tenants'; on the contrary, Senator Rheinallt-Jones praised local African leaders on their 'quiet respectability'. Gradually the farmers accepted that the government would not extend the proclamation to other districts, let alone the whole Transvaal, as long as it was both bound and unable to provide land for expelled farm residents. The Lydenburg proclamation was eventually repealed in November 1940.[53] The general result of this fiasco was the shelving of an attack on squatters and tenants for the next decade and a half. For the neighbouring district of Pilgrims Rest there were nevertheless tangible effects.

One was that TGME management began to realise the quasi-legality of its own labour tenant system. Had Chapter IV been applied in their district, the particular combination of relations between TGME and its labour tenants - cash rent, discontinuous labour service, wages and access to land - would perhaps have rendered those tenants 'squatters' in law. While this potential problem remained unrealised, TGME continued to be somewhat inefficient in securing renewals of its tenants' rights under the 1913 Land Act - a minor issue which seldom disturbed the cordial relations between company and native commissioner at Bushbuckridge.[54] More important was the influx of people to the Pilgrims Rest district which, while it increased the labour supply, also increased the number of non-paying, non-working squatters on TGME's extensive lands. In time both the legal and squatting issues would reappear to disturb the apparently smooth working of the TGME system.

Meanwhile, however, the population on the farms continued to grow, amidst pronouncements on the part of the company's estates manager that enormous areas were available for 'native land settlement' on the farms to the north of Pilgrims Rest. On the five most densely settled farms - Ponieskrans, Ledovine, Hermansburg, London and Vaalhoek - the number of families rose from 395 in 1934 to 526 in 1939, 685 in 1943 and 726 in 1945. The average number of cattle grazed 'free' by these tenants had doubled from one to two per household. By 1946 there were about 1000 families in total on TGME's land - a rural population of perhaps five to six thousand people. On the other hand, the number of Africans at work in the mines had remained roughly constant since the late thirties, and several of the mines faced closure. An increasing proportion of the workforce was to be found in the forests and at treeplanting; eventually, between 1948 and 1956, TGME handed over a large area of its land to another Rand Mines company, South African Forest Investments (SAFI). None of this meant that the company had solved the perennial labour question, for besides desertions, 'unscrupulous' and 'illegal' competing employers - in the manager's view - had the temerity to recruit workers from TGME's labour farms. In response, the company relied on assistance from the 'extremely helpful' Native Affairs Department, on the ability of its own police to apprehend defaulting tenants who took jobs elsewhere on visits home, and on the continuing flow of applicants for residential rights (and thus, for incorporation into the labour tenant system).[55]

Most of TGME's new tenants in the late forties came from vicinity of Pilgrims Rest. Some had worked for the company while living on adjacent farms; others, occasionally from reasonably far afield, sought employment. A few were labourers and tenants from private farms in the neighbourhood. There was also a continual flow between TGME's farms and other tenant-occupied land in the district. A particular case in point was the farm Frankfort, abutting several TGME farms just north of Pilgrims Rest, and the home of a large population of rent-paying tenants, most of whom gave some allegiance to the Hermansburg Mapulana chief and his Dintona (or officials).[56] As 1951 opened, the pace of new applicants for residential rights on TGME property seemed to be increasing. It was in response to the submission of one of these applications to the Native Commissioner at Bushbuckridge for what had, till then, been routine approval, that TGME first received intimation that the long-feared legal interference with its labour tenant system had begun.

IV

The first legal problems encountered by TGME came from an unexpected source. During May 1951, the Native Commissioner wrote to inform the Manager of TGME that all applications for new residential rights were being held in abeyance while his Department checked the implications of the newly-gazetted Group Areas Act for African occupation of rural land. At first the response among TGME officials in Pilgrims Rest was calm.[57] Until June, TGME management continued to send its standard applications for 'leases under s.1 Act No. 27/1913' to the Native Commissioner. But at the end of that month, the commissioner advised the company that the Land Act 'no longer applies as from 30th March 1951', and that the agency in which authority to grant permits for residential rights was now vested, under the Group Areas Act, was the Land Ownership Advisory Board.[58] It is, perhaps, usual to think of the Group Areas Act as an urban measure. Yet, in terms of the Act, 'the whole of the Union, with the exception of reserves, urban locations and mission stations' became an area in which

both 'inter-racial' transfers of land and of occupancy were controlled. Companies were given a group character according to the 'race' of the people holding control; thus TGME was 'white'. For the company, the useful implication was that, since any areas of its land occupied by Africans could not, initially, be occupied by anyone other than an African, permits in those areas would not require renewal. More serious was the implication that areas on the farms unoccupied at 30th March 1951 could not subsequently be occupied by Africans without the approval of the state.[59] Still TGME's management remained unflustered; the impending closure of Vaalhoek mine, where over 600 Africans were employed, allowed some complacency over the labour question. It was not until mid-August that the Estates Superintendent finally made application to the Land Ownership Advisory Board (sic) for permission to accommodate some of the new tenants who had actually been on the farms since March. By contrast, the Board's response was rapid - and abrupt. The applications could not be granted without completion of lengthy application forms, sketch plans and various other requirements. Faced with the prospect of having to undertake lengthy bureaucratic procedures for each new tenant, the Compound Manager pointed out that the conditions imposed were so onerous 'as to preclude our making any applications for residential rights for native tenants ... (This) may in the future have a serious effect on labour supplies'.[60] It was in response to this possibility that the Manager wrote to Rand Mines requesting advice at the end of August.

The response from Rand Mines was unhelpful. It was considered a 'waste of time' to make representations for exemption from the provisions of the new legislation, and TGME was advised to go ahead with the application procedure. Under conditions of 'grave' labour shortage, more useful assistance came from local government officials (magistrates and native commissioner), with many of whom, as mentioned above, TGME had a close and long-standing relationship. On their advice the company made abbreviated applications to the Land Tenure Advisory Board (LTAB).[61]

To add to the company's difficulties, its control over the farms was slipping not only with respect to access, but also with respect to evictions. Court rulings had reduced the ability of landowners to evict defaulting tenants, or forcibly to eject trekpassed squatters. Although the responsible officials were confident that such people could be 'forced off' the farms by 'other means', it was nevertheless feared that the labour farm system hung in the balance at least until the resolution of the Group Areas difficulty. And that difficulty showed no signs of abating. The short form of application and the locality plans submitted by TGME to the LTAB did not meet with the latter's approval. Even those materials had been difficult to prepare, but the Board now demanded a plan showing, amongst other things, the 'group character of ownership and occupation' according to a complex scheme of symbols and colours - even going so far as to recommend the best coloured pencils to use in its preparation. Eventually, in January 1952, TGME managed to submit an acceptable application for one tenant's residential rights to the LTAB, and a hearing was held in Pretoria at the end of March.[62] While awaiting the outcome of this application - and assured by the Native Commissioner that the matter should in any event be left in abeyance until new legislation was passed - the company's managers began to explore the legal position of their labour tenant system under further possible changes to the law. These enquiries were informed by the conviction that it was vital to the company to be able to continue 'employing natives on a tenant basis'.[63]

TGME was not the only company caused to review the legality of African tenancy on its rural property by the Group Areas Act. Another was an Anglovaal group company, South African HE Proprietary Ltd. (SAHE), the owners of Frankfort. These neighbouring landlords were pleased to discover, early in 1952, that the Act placed no obligation on owners to evict 'disqualified' occupants of their farms. Nevertheless, in order to escape possible implication in what appeared to SAHE to be illegal occupancy, that company ceased rent collection on Frankfort, and planned to evict the residents. Similarly, the local police suggestion to TGME was that the company should give notice to all its tenants, in order to protect itself. With very few new tenants, if any, being allowed onto TGME property, the these suggestions were not pleasurable to the Manager, who was determined to maintain the 'rent paying labour tenant system'. For a time the building of new houses on some farms was forbidden - with little effect on the residents' actions. Meanwhile, the LTAB approved the single application to allow Andries N'gutshana to live on 'a portion of Ledovine', raising the hopes of the company that it could set aside a large area of its Blyde valley farms to accommodate new tenants for the foreseeable future. In this light, TGME prepared an application to allocate 1600 morgen on Ledovine, Hermansburg and Willemsoord for future tenants.[64]

Legal investigation showed that the Group Areas Act was far from the only possible threat to the tenant system. Under the Gold Law (Precious and Base Metals Act), the residence of Africans on proclaimed farms, which included Vaalhoek, Willemsoord and Hermansburg, appeared to be of doubtful legality. For a time, TGME refused to allow any new tenants to move to those farms. Still worse, a proclamation in October 1952 altered the application of the Group Areas Act. From that date, 'colour' of occupancy was supposed to coincide with 'colour' of ownership. Unsurprisingly, under this provision the LTAB turned down TGME's pending application, in part on the grounds that it was 'contrary to the Government's policy to allow Non-European penetration of European areas on the scale required by the Company'.[65] The threat to the company's labour system seemed to be renewed by this decision. Nevertheless, TGME's position was far from lost. Its mines continued to be supplied with a 'nucleus of labour' from its own farms. The Native Commissioner was sympathetic, and not yet prepared to implement what was merely 'policy'. The protection which the company thus enjoyed allowed the system to survive, at least for the moment. Eventually, a permit was issued by the LTAB to TGME in 1956, but by that time there was fresh reason for concern on the part of the company. Over the years the Department of Native Affairs had produced new legislation and begun to enforce more rigorously existing law relating to land occupancy and employment.[66]

As the threat of the Group Areas Act receded, so the prospect that provisions of the 1936 Land Act might yet affect 'labour farms' came back into focus. Soon after the election of the Nationalist Party to government in 1948, its secretary for Native Affairs, Eiselen, wrote to his Minister approving of the general application of Chapter IV of the Act, on condition that the state was freed of its 'intolerable' responsibility to find land for those displaced from farms under its provisions.[67] The attitude of the government towards labour tenancy on the farms had been spelled out by the Minister in 1951: they would be 'recognised', but 'not allowed to increase'.[68] The Bill introduced at that time to amend the 1936 Act reappeared, and was passed, in 1954. Its provisions included restriction of squatting to those who were on 'white'

land prior to the 1936 Act, and removed the binding provision on the state to find land displaced by the proclamation of Chapter IV; the Minister said in debate that the general assumption would be that only five families of tenants or squatters would be allowed per farm. However, Chapter IV still had to be applied by proclamation, and this did not occur until 1956, when it was applied to the whole country outside the reserves.[69] Under the provisions of the amended Act, it became far easier for farmers to evict unwanted squatters and labour tenants, and large numbers of people were indeed removed in this way in areas of the country in the late fifties. Not all farmers or owners of 'private labour reserves' wanted to take advantage of this Act, though its application in some areas tended to increase the number of squatters in others.[70] TGME fell squarely into this category - at least for the time being - for its labour supply still depended on its own 'labour farms'. In preparation for the difficulties which might follow the proclamation of Chapter IV, TGME advised the Native Commissioner that it still intended to concentrate all tenants from a number of farms onto Willemsoord, Hermansburg and Ledovine, and began to apply pressure on squatters - in its view, those who were not employed by the company - to leave. With the proclamation still fresh, meetings were held with tenants on all the farms, and all those who were not employed by the company were given two months' notice to depart. Only 'aged and infirm natives' could apply for permission to stay.[71] To preserve its labour supply, TGME was prepared to sacrifice the 'squatters'.

V

The meetings held by the company are now remembered by former farm residents as the beginning of the end.

> We were at Hermansburg, cultivating; we fell into the suffering like this. First came a (TGME) police man who said that fowls should be immunised ... they all died, those fowls ... From there it was the end ... Thereafter they came to tell us that we should not rear more than eight goats ... later on we were told that we should rear only six cows ... then, (in) years which followed, we were told not to plough.[72]

According to Jules Silikane,

> They counted people on the TGME (farms) and thereafter they issued them trek passes, they went from one homestead to another issuing trek passes.[73]

Chief Pitas Mogane appealed to TGME not to force all the non-employed residents to leave the farms, since there was nowhere for them to settle. Some tenants stopped paying rent in the confusion over who was supposed to leave and who to stay. However, 'people resisted and just stayed because it was their home - we loved the place'. Meanwhile, TGME sought permission from the new Native Commissioner to retain both the core of a labour force and the old and infirm on the farms. But by the time the first phase of this process was complete, towards the end of 1958, there were 200 fewer families with the company's permission to live on TGME land than there had been five years before.[74]

Amongst other changes, the company no longer needed as many workers in its mines. In part, this explains why TGME did not try to compel its

entire tenantry to provide year round labour service. Thus, over five months in 1958, 81 tenants were given letters allowing them to seek work elsewhere for a portion of the year, which most, of course, did in urban areas where wages were highest. It was the apparent inability of existing legislation and enforcement to 'channel' labour according to other priorities which led to an enquiry into the labour tenant system.[75]

Under the gathering clouds surrounding its long-standing labour system, TGME's response was to put further pressure on the tenants. Some of those who took jobs in places like Johannesburg were given trek passes on their return to Pilgrims Rest. Tenants' families found themselves pressed into 'free work' for TGME, in the plantations and on the company's own plots. On the other hand, the company stopped collecting rent, thereby making its tenants approximate more closely the labour tenants defined in the Land Act. It was those tenants whose position was threatened by the report of the Nel Committee in 1961.[76]

The committee, which had investigated the labour tenant system in consultation with the South African Agricultural Union, recommended that the entire labour tenant system should be abolished within seven years. Its findings were not incorporated in legislation until 1964, when the Bantu Laws Amendment Act provided the machinery for the abolition of 'labour farms', and for the gradual abolition of labour tenancy by proclamation in specified areas. Paradoxically, the passage of the law eased the position for TGME, for in a sense it legalised, albeit temporarily, the position on the company's land. On the other hand, it threatened a number of the people on the farms, for the eviction of squatters was clearly provided for. As a result, as Christian Silikane put it, 'That's when they said, those who do not work at Thijem must pack and go'.[77]

Even at this stage, however, TGME were not in practice successful or even keen to remove the majority of the farm population. Despite the gradual decline of their gold mining operation, labour problems continued to plague the company. During the sixties, the main reason for these difficulties seems to have been the expulsion of 'foreign' Africans. After the Mapulana people of the Blyde valley, Mocambicans had always been the largest single component of the workforce at TGME; and at times, they formed a majority of underground mine labour. By 1965, however, the disruption of the supply of workers from Mocambique was affecting mining operations at Pilgrims Rest - even though mines generally had some exemption from the loss of their foreign-born workers. Further, the company was experiencing strong competition from other employers in the Pilgrims Rest area, many of whom, including SAFI and the government forestry department, paid wages at least twice those offered by TGME, and offered better compound accommodation. Under the circumstances, the company was not only obliged to increase its underground wage rates in 1965, but was pleased to retain a large population, and its potential labour, on its farms.[78] The character of the labour tenant system had changed somewhat. Many, if not most of the tenants in the Blyde valley were employed off the farms each year once they had completed their service for TGME, a practice encouraged by the company. The dual attractions of access to land and to outside waged employment were, perhaps, necessary to retention of the labour pool; while the company had to pay assiduous attention to the return of its tenants from outside jobs for their annual period of labour.[79]

Until the end of the sixties, then, a tenant labour system continued to characterise the upper Blyde valley. Yet, within a short space of three or four years, the farm population between Pilgrims Rest and the Bourkes Luck potholes had practically vanished, and the landscape of the area had been transformed. What led to this dramatic change?

By 1969, the labour tenant system had been abolished by proclamation in 25 districts of the Transvaal. Although the Pilgrims Rest area had not yet been affected, large numbers of squatters - some of whom had entered the district from elsewhere as farm residence became restricted - were removed, mainly through evictions, from various properties. In the early sixties, a number of these people were offered 'resettlement sites' in the new 'rural township' at Dientje, a farm which, fell in the released area immediately west of the Blyde River Canyon and was available for African settlement, having been purchased by the South African Native Trust. On Elandsfontein, adjacent to Dientje and long occupied by some Mapulana people, new rural and closer settlements were established during the sixties. It was to such a settlement at 'Mphathi' that one of my informants, Christian Silikane, moved from Hermansburg. In the mid-sixties both farms became subject to tribal authorities, one (Elandsfontein) under Chief M.J. Mashilane, and the other falling under Chief Pitas Mogane. The settlements on these farms were swollen by a large influx in the late sixties. A major component of this new population came from Frankfort and adjacent farms over a period. The final eviction by the Bantu Affairs Commissioner took place in 1969, with many people going to Matibidi (Elandsfontein).[80]

Evictions of squatters under the Bantu Laws Amendment Act were clearly encouraged by the state and facilitated by the existence of reception areas for some of the evictees. Further state action, this time against labour tenants, was foreshadowed in the Act, and promised by the chairman of the Bantu Affairs Commission, P.H. Torlage, in 1969. In the wake of this announcement came the government notice prohibiting new labour tenant contracts in the eastern Transvaal, and further notices establishing new closer settlement 'townships' on land in reserves - like Leroro (Elandsfontein) on the highveld and Shatale (London) on the lowveld. Farmers in the Pilgrims Rest area who wanted to move people off their land took advantage of the opportunity. And between 1969 and 1973, the majority of families from TGME property in the Blyde valley moved to resettlement areas like Hlabekisa (Dientje), Shatale, Marite and others further afield.[81]

It is, of course, possible to focus solely on the state as the prime cause of population removal in the Blyde valley. There are, however, other themes to explore. One is the trajectory of production at TGME. At least until 1969, the company engaged in gold production to the degree that it continued to seek large numbers of Mocambicans to work underground in its mines. But mining no longer occupied pride of place in TGME's future plans. While the company had carried on a small amount of food production on its lands for many decades, in the early sixties it began to experiment with the possibility of extensive cultivation. After recognising the limitations which dramatic temperature inversions and pests imposed on crop types in the valley, in 1968 Transvaal Gold Mining Estates entered the commercial agricultural field. To begin with, the gold mines themselves provided some of the necessary resources. Old mine

pumps were used to raise water from the Blyde for irrigation. The acid byproduct of the reduction works had been turned to account in a superphosphate plant at Graskop since the fifties, which helped to overcome the problems of the valley soils discovered by the Mapulana a hundred years before.[82]

Descendants of those early followers of Kobeng, of course, provided the necessary labour. Valley residents, especially women, started working on the company's farming venture while they were living at places like Hermansburg. They could walk to work from their own homes. Ploughing, hoeing and burning were performed by these workers, as well as harvesting of mielies, spraying fertilisers and pesticides, and loading. Children - girls as well as boys - looked after cattle. Although many of these employees were members of tenant households, most worked continuously, and did not see their jobs as labour service for TGME.[83]

The company's cultivation and ranching activities had another effect on the valley residents. Even at the start, there were evictions to make way for large new cultivated fields on the farms. 'Numerous families have been moved as the ground is required for our farming venture', wrote a company official in late 1968.[84] The change in the nature of the company's operations heralded a signal change in its attitude to residence on the farms. Now living at Hlabekisa, Chief L.L. Mogane recalls that the 'general manager kept on warning (Chief Pitas) that "You must go!" - after two years, one year, etc., until we came here'. It was during 1969 that these warnings began to be issued. The first of a new round of compulsory trek passes, ultimately served on every household in the farm population, was handed to F.D. Morukung on September 12th. It gave three months to leave the farm. Recognising the seriousness of the company's intent, some farm residents began to search for new homes. Despite the state's investment in reception areas for evictees, officials in some tribal authorities reacted to enquiries for land by requesting TGME to delay evictions. Nevertheless, 33 families left TGME farms, issued with trekpasses 'at their own request' in September. Another 120 were given trekpasses as notice to leave by December. In practice, few former labour tenants had actually been forced to leave the farms by the time of the notice prohibiting new labour tenant contracts in July 1970, though by then the population of the valley had already declined to at least 1500 people below the number present five years before. Over the next year, however, at least a further 200 compulsory trek passes were issued by the company.[85] Many evicted people, however, failed to move.

The company, of course, could afford to adopt a 'wait-and-see' attitude, as it had done in the fifties when it was still committed to keeping many of the Mapulana on its farms. Chief Pitas Mogane, still resident on his ancestral lands at Hermansburg, failed to secure relief for the Mapulana through the courts. Following a hearing at Graskop in May 1971, in which the court ruled that trek passes being issued by TGME were valid, the chief requested TGME to allow people who had already gone to Dientje to return to the company's farms while better arrangements were made for their accommodation. This request the company declined, employing legality as the cover for its refusal.[86] In August the last trek passes were issued, and the company applied various pressures in its attempts to move the remaining people.[87]

Early in 1972, TGME took stock of the situation prevailing on the Blyde valley farms. There were still, they estimated, 573 kraals on the land, occupied by perhaps 3000 people who owned about 760 cattle and 850 other head of stock. These people, 'squatters' in the view of the company, would not be removed, the manager thought, unless Chief Pitas could be persuaded to go. Eventually, the involvement of the Bantu Affairs Commissioner at Lydenburg resolved the company's problem.

> They ordered people to come for their last (meeting) to tell them to move to (Dientje) ... It was final.

The Commissioner linked the necessity of Chief Pitas's move to Dientje with his position as head of the Mogane Tribal Authority. It was 'arranged' that the chief would move from Hermansburg to Dientje between Christmas 1972 and the new year.[88]

To avoid the removal to Dientje, some people 'ran away' to Bushbuckridge and Marite.[89] The end came swiftly. Rondavels were chopped down with axes and demolished by police. Property had in some cases to be abandoned, not only because of the demolition of houses but because people had not means of carrying it. Six trucks were supplied, and the people moved in groups. But the trucks were supplied by TGME, and only those identified as having worked for the company could use them - and then, at a cost of R2 or R5. Livestock could be taken along, but fruit trees, pine plantation and other long term investments had to be abandoned with the ruined houses and the graves of Kobeng and Tshane. Chief Pitas moved: but not so his wife, Elizabeth Mogane, who stayed behind for a week with a group of women.

> We just stayed, and each time they came I used to tell them that the house is still full of property

Finally, the TGME police removed her too.[90]

The consequences of the removal for many people were quite difficult. Fifteen years after the first members of the Mogane group moved to Hlabekisa, the passage of time has allowed the investment of labour and natural growth to transform the appearance of the township. But the old pattern has gone. No longer can people walk to wage jobs, let alone enjoy the access to land which they once had. 'The sons have to work far away' to support the community. About 100 people from Hlabekisa still work at predictably low wages on TGME farmland, now run by Barlow Farms (Rand Mines Properties), where some of those who do have jobs are exposed to the serious dangers of mechanised agricultural labour. Other members of the original communities on the farms have been scattered to many parts of the country.[91]

VII

Mapulana people still live in the upper Blyde valley, but the population is much smaller than it was a mere two decades ago. The memory of these people reaches back to the beginnings of gold mining and before, though it has been broken and disrupted by the events of that period. Over time, companies ultimately controlled from beyond the district came to dominate the Blyde valley and its surrounds. The pattern of land tenure established under this dominance became the key to local settlement. When the major company, 'Thijem', shifted its attention from mines to farms,

it found it expedient, if not necessary, to clear the population off the land. That it did so at a time when the state was more than willing to provide the legal means of doing so, and to supply reception areas for the population so removed, was perhaps coincidental. The net result was the exclusion of those whose families had, for a century, 'served loyally to inrich the masters'[92] from the benefits which those riches could supply.

If there is a common thread running through the literature with reference to the demise of labour tenancy, it is the notion that 'removals from the rural areas which result in the elimination of squatting and labour-tenancies ... have their origins in the 1913 and 1936 Lands Acts'.[93] If anything is clear about farm relocation, it is that its rationale has certainly not been 'for the sole reason of putting a distance between people of one skin colour and another'.[94] To draw simple if simplistic conclusions from the history of the people of the Blyde valley, the private goals of landowners may well have been facilitated by legal and other aspects of state policy and practice; nevertheless, the actions of companies may have been directly responsible for the final clearance of at least some agricultural lands.

Despite the volume of material dealing with forced removals in South Africa, there remain some obvious lacunae in the literature. Among the removals which have been lost in the publicity over dramatic, ideologically-based demolitions of urban group areas and rural black spots are the innumerable relocations of people from company-owned land in the Transvaal. So little is known about social conditions in these vast areas of the province over the past century that it is daunting to contemplate the research task which lies ahead. Both the relationships between the history of rural communities and the events of their removals, and the subsequent forms which relocated communities have taken, remain little known.[95] It is partly due to the lack of such studies that the state has been portrayed as the key actor in South African population relocation. Of course there are areas in which that assessment seems largely correct; black spot removals are a case in point. But even there, accumulation and impoverishment, as Beinart and Delius put it in a wider context, have 'often been interlinked processes'. The long history of the entrenchment of capitalist agriculture has indeed reached a devastating conclusion in the evictions of squatters and tenants.[96]

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Notes:

1. Pilgrims Rest Museum Archive (PRMA), Transvaal Gold Mining Estates Ltd. (TGME) 43 'Native Labour - General' (pencil no. 802) 25.4.47-13.12.51, Mine Manager Pilgrims Rest to Rand Mines Ltd. (Secretaries), Johannesburg, 30.8.1951. Owing to the subsequent reorganisation of this archive, I have given titles of files as well as the pencil numbers originally allocated to them by PRMA staff; the latter appear in parentheses, preceded by 'pn.', in subsequent footnotes.

2. Surplus People Project, *Forced Removals in South Africa* (Cape Town and Pietermaritzburg, 1983), Vol. 5, The Transvaal, p. 120.

3. For general work on forced removals, see C. Desmond, *The Discarded People* (Johannesburg: Christian Institute, 1969; revised edition, London: Penguin, 1971); A. Baldwin, 'Forced removals and separate development', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 1 (1975) pp. 215-227; the *Reports* of the Surplus People Project, op. cit.; Bill Freund, 'Forced resettlement and the political economy of South Africa', *Review of African Political Economy*, 31? (1984), pp. 49-63.

4. N. van Warmelo, *Preliminary Survey of the Bantu Tribes of South Africa* (Pretoria: Department of Native Affairs, Ethnological Publications No. 5, 1935), pp. 111-112; D. Ziervogel, *The Eastern Sotho* (Pretoria: J.L. van Schaik, 1954), p. 107; Interview, Chief L.L. Mogane and others, Hlabekisa Township, 22.2.1985, p. 1. (Transcripts of all interviews mentioned are deposited in the Oral History Project, African Studies Institute, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.)

5. P. Bonner, *Kings, Commoners and Concessioners: the Evolution and Dissolution of the Nineteenth-Century Swazi State* (Cambridge: University Press, 1983), pp. 61, 76, 215; P. Delius, *The Land Belongs to Us: the Pedi Polity, the Boers and the British in the Nineteenth Century Transvaal* (London: Heinemann, 1983), p. 29; Van Warmelo, *Preliminary Survey* p. 112 ('Mogane ate the pumpkin-porridge of Mashego'); Ziervogel, *Eastern Sotho* pp. 11, 107-109. The last-named author suggested that Kobeng was installed in part with the assistance of Abel Erasmus, but this seems unlikely, since the latter was only 20 in 1865; cf. P. Delius, Abel Erasmus: power and profit in the nineteenth century eastern Transvaal, forthcoming in W. Beinart, P. Delius and S. Trapido (eds.), *Putting a Plough to the Ground: Accumulation and Dispossession in Rural South Africa 1850-1930* (Johannesburg: Ravan). The Berlin missionaries noted that the Mapulana were protected by both Sekukuni and 'the Boers'; cf. 'Paulus Masiele's und Samuel Ntereng's Bericht uber ihre Reise zu den Mapulanas vom 28. April - 5. Mai 1869', *Berliner Missions-berichte* (*BMB*) 21 (1870), p. 391. There is, however, a strong tradition that Kobeng's chieftainship was confirmed after he had rendered assistance to the Boers, perhaps during the 1880-1881 Transvaal war of independence; cf. interview with Chief L.L. Mogane and others, p. 3 and pp. 10-11 (Elizabeth Mogane); and interview, July Sedibe, Pilgrims Rest, 23.2.1985, pp. 64-5. Kowyn's Pass appears to be named after Kobeng, but it seems probable that the Mapulana bagaMogane had moved to the highveld while Kobeng's predecessor (? Moronwe) was still alive, for Moronwe died at gaSerukle (Peach Tree Creek), a few miles from Pilgrims Rest.

6. A. Merensky, 'Aus dem Tagebuch von den Berichten von Botsabelo ... 1868', *BMB* 19 (1870), p. 362; 'Paulus Masiele's Bericht', pp. 391-2; H. During, 'Besuch unter den Mapulana', *BMB*, 24 (1871), pp. 426-8; interview, Chief L.L. Mogane, 22.2.1985, pp. 10, 14, 15.

7. T.R.H. Davenport, *South Africa: a Modern History* (London: MacMillan, 1977), p. 66. Deeds Office (DO), Pretoria, Title Deeds (TD) 1031 and 1033 of 29.7.1873; 1680 of 30.7.1873; 1681 of 14.8.1873; 1671 of 23.9.1874.

8. A. Mabin and G. Pirie, 'The township question at Pilgrims Rest, 1894-1922', unpublished paper, 1985 (forthcoming?); Delius, *The Land Belongs to Us*, pp. 195-212. The 5 farms purchased at Pilgrims Rest by the company were Ponieskrans (for 3000 pounds), Waterhoutboom, Driekop, Ledovine and Belvedere; cf. DO, TD 1495 of 2.9.1874, 1671 of 23.9.1874, 123 of 15.10.1874. See also TD 344 of 1880.

9. Transvaal Archives, Pretoria (TA), SS 605, R333/82, GC PR to SS, 17.1.1882.

10. TA, LD 8989, AG3383/B/02, Registrar of Deeds to Secretary Law Department, 9.7.1902.

11. Benjamin remains a shadowy character. Thus, he is not accorded an entry in the *Dictionary of South African Biography*. See, however, G. Saron and L. Hotz, *The Jews in South Africa: a History* (Cape Town, OUP, 1955), pp. 140-143. Details of the property transactions are found in DO, TD 344 of 20.3.1880, statement of J. Walker, trustee of the Pilgrims Rest Goldfields Co.; TD 198 of 1.3.1882, statement of D. Benjamin of 31.1.1881, and statement of D. Don, 14.1.1882; in addition to 5 farms at Pilgrims Rest Benjamin acquired 26 other farms and an interest in a further 68 from the Oriental Bank. See also A. Mabin, 'The rise and decline of Port Elizabeth 1850-1900', forthcoming in *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 19 (2) (1986).

12. A copy of the concession, with English translation, is in TA, LD 1004, AG473/05. On the purchase of Grootfontein (for 500 pounds), see DO, TD 515 of 14.11.1881.

13. TA, SS 605, R333/82, J.E. Glinister to SS, 6.6.1882, 13.7 and 18.7.1882; complaint of Edwin Jones, digger, attached to GC PR to SS, 6.3.1882; *Staatscourant* 20.7.1882, Bijvoegsel, pp. 3-5.

14. Report of the concessions commission, *Staatscourant* 28.6.1883, p. 284; Volksraad decision, *Volksraad Besluite*, 18.6.1883 Art. 364 and Art. 366. On decline in numbers of diggers see TA, MNW 588, MM2892/21, Mining Commissioner PR to Secretary for Mines and Industries, 28.10.1922. These matters are dealt with by L. Kaplan in 'The development of various aspects of the gold mining laws in South Africa, 1871-1967' (unpubl. Ll.M. thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1985), s. 5.4 and 6.2, and to whom I am indebted for assistance.

15. Mabin and Pirie, 'Township question', *op. cit.*

16. cf. Delius, *The Land Belongs to Us*, p. 63; interview, Chief L.L. Mogane, 22.2.1985, pp. 8, 9.

17. D. Wangemann, 'Die erftarkung der Transvaal-Republiek im samse gegen die Eigenboren', *Allgemeine Missions Zeitschrift* 11 (1884) p. 120.

18. TA, SS 1093, R4137/85, Application for alteration in royalty; DO, TD 2346 of 3.12.1891, declaration of W.M.M. Farmer; A.P. Cartwright, *Valley of Gold*(Cape Town: Howard Timmins, 1973), pp. 4, 7.

19. cf. Bonner, *Kings, Commonners and Concessionaires*, pp. 221-2.

20. The reason for this lacuna is the recent discontinuance of my access to the company's records in the Pilgrims Rest Museum Archive.

21. Barlow Rand Archives, Sandton, Transvaal (BRA), H. Eckstein Papers (HE), P 109, TGE Annual Reports, 1891-1895; PRMA, TGE Letterbook General (8.1.1895-24.9.1895), W. Russell to J.A. Erasmus, 22.7.1895. See also TA, SN 32, SR 2409/95, 'Meeting at Pilgrims Rest of Gold Mining Companies ...'.

22. cf. PRMA, TGE Letterbook General (4.3.1892-22.6.1893), J. Spiers to H. Eckstein & Co., 6.6.1893; TGE Letterbook General (8.1.1895-24.9.1895) J. Spiers to A. Bailey, 29.3.1895. See also I.S. Ibokette, 'Labour strategies in the Transvaal gold mining industry, 1890-1910' (unpublished M.A. thesis, Queens University, 1983).

23. Cartwright, *Valley of Gold*, pp. 2-4, 7-9; DO, TD 828 of 10.2.1896, declarations of Nicol Browne, 3.10.1895 and 1.11.1895; BRA, HE, P 109, Memorandum to Shareholders of Transvaal Gold Exploration and Land Company, Ltd., 23 October 1895; PRMA, TGE Letterbook General (24.9.1895-3.3.1896), J. Spiers to Secretary, 3.3.1896.

24. PRMA, LME Letterbook General (3.3.1896-18.12.1896), J. Spiers to Erasmus, 14.7.1896; TGME Letterbook General (18.12.1896-25.10.1897), Hoefer to Erasmus, 13.7 and 6.10.1897.

25. PRMA, LME Letterbook General (3.3.1896-18.12.1896), J. Spiers to Erasmus 7.8.1896; TA, SN 51, SR 1708/98, Erasmus to Secretary for Naturellensaken, 14.5.1898.

26. TA, SN 51, SR 1708/98, minute of Secretary for Naturellensaken on Erasmus letter of 14.5.1898. Among the directors of TGME were Lionel Phillips (the chairman), Percy Fitzpatrick and Abe Bailey. All three were deeply involved in the Reform Committee and in the debacle surrounding the Jameson Raid; they were arrested in January 1896, tried and convicted.

27. TA, SN 49, SR 796/98, Erasmus to SN, 1.3.1898, and attached H.J. Fotheringham to H. Swart, 21.2.1898; interview, Chief L.L. Mogane, pp. 17, 18.

28. TA, SS 7532, R14497/98, Hoefer to Native Commissioner, Krugerspost (Erasmus), 28.4.1898.

29. BRA, HE, P 109, TGME Annual Report to 31.3.1899.

30. PRMA, TGME Letterbook General (15.10.1898-29.8.1899), Acting Manager to Erasmus, 29.4. and 12.5.1899.

31. e.g., *The Mining Industry. Evidence and Report of the Industrial Commission of Enquiry* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand Chamber of Mines, 1897), evidence of H. Jennings, esp. pp. 229-30, and of G.A. Denny, esp. p. 376. See also A.H. Jeeves and D. Yudelman, 'THe mobilisation of a subcontinent: migrant labour for the South African gold mines, 1920-1983, a preliminary account' (unpublished paper, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, History Workshop, 1984), p. 5.

32. cf. D. Rose, 'Home ownership, subsistence and industrial change: the mining district of west Cornwall in the later nineteenth century',

forthcoming in N. Thrift and P. Williams (eds.) *The Making of Urban Society: Historical Essays on Class Formation and Place* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul).

33. Interview with M.K. Masike (interviewed by M.M. Molepo), Viljoenskroon, 24.2.1980, p. 11. TGME's reluctance to allow its white employees a measure of similar independence was marked: as late as 1951, the company unsuccessfully attempted to prevent its white miners from owning or leasing *any* land, not merely its own; cf. PRMA, TGME 264 (pn. 2537), 'Ownership and lease of farms by employees', Rand Mines, Ltd., Secretaries to TGME (RM Secs.) to Manager, Pilgrims Rest (Man.), 18.5.1951.

34. S. Trapido, '"Putting a plough to the ground": a history of tenant production on Vereeniging Estates, 1896-1920', forthcoming in Beinart, Delius and Trapido (eds.), *Putting a Plough to the Ground*. I am indebted to Richard Mendelsohn, whose forthcoming work on Sammy Marks will illuminate many issues, for comments on labour tenancy at Vereeniging Estates.

35. BRA, HE, P 109, TGME 5th Report for the 2 1/2 Years Ending 30th September 1902.

36. cf. Trapido, 'Putting a plough'; there were 150 tenants on Vereeniging Estates in 1898, and 240 by the end of 1903. On TGME see State Archives, Pretoria (SA), K 356, Native Labour Commission 1938, Box 2, Evidence submitted by Messrs. J.H.A. Deiring (sic) and Gardiner, on behalf of the Transvaal Gold Mining Estates Pilgrims Rest, 8 February 1938, p. 2.

37. Interview with Chief L.L. Mogane, p. 6; interview with Christian Silikane, Shatale Township, 21.2.1985, pp. 16-17; BRA, 497T (TGME Annual Report 1911); *Leader*, 21.10.1911; *Rand Daily Mail*, 21.10.1911.

38. SA, JUS 196, 3/317/14, Native Land Act: Forced labour employed by the TGME Ltd. at Pilgrims Rest, esp. Assistant Magistrate Pilgrims Rest to Secretary for Native Affairs, Pretoria, 22.5.1915, pp. 1, 4; interview, Chief L.L. Mogane, pp. 19-20; Ziervogel, *Eastern Sotho*, p. 109; PRMA, TGME (pn. 1657) file 'Applications for renewal of contracts under s.1 of Act 27 of 1913'; Cartwright, *Valley of Gold*, p. 120.

39. SA, JUS 196, 3/317/14, Native Land Act: Forced labour ..., Assistant Magistrate Pilgrims Rest to Secretary for Justice, Pretoria, 19.3.1914; and to Secretary for Native Affairs, 22.5.1915.

40. With respect to relations between the company and the white population, see Mabin and Pirie, 'The township question at Pilgrims Rest', *op. cit.*; see also SA, K 356, Native Labour Commission 1938, Box 2, Evidence ... on behalf of TGME, p. 2.

41. cf. S. Trapido, 'Putting a plough'; A. Mabin, 'The history of a failure: the Indwe Railway, Colliery and Land Company, 1883-1918', in preparation. With respect to agricultural labour tenancy, see H. Bradford, '"A taste of freedom": capitalist development and response to the ICU in the Transvaal countryside', in B. Bozzoli (ed.), *Town and Countryside in the Transvaal* (Johannesburg: Ravan, 1983), pp. 128-150. TGME was not the only mining company to retain an off-farm-labour, tenant system: see 'Verslag van die komitee van ondersoek insake die plakkerdiensbodestelsel' (Nel Committee), Department of Bantu Administration and Development (DBAD), Pretoria, 1961, pp. 19-21, 35-6; and J. Bloch, 'Labour tenancy in the Transvaal' (unpubl. BA Hons. dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 1983), pp. 49-50.

42. Interview, Chief L.L. Mogane and others, Hlabekisa, 22.2.1985, pp. 33-35, pp. 37, 41-43 (Jules Silikane), 43-44 (Elizabeth Mogane); Interview, Christian Silikane, Shatale, 21.2.1985, p. 24. 'Tshane' is also written 'Chaana'.

43. A. Mabin, 'Some aspects of changing land-use patterns in the Blyde River valley, eastern Transvaal' (unpublished paper, Department of Geography, University of the Witwatersrand; presented to Second SA Universities Geography Conference, University of Cape Town, 1970), pp. 4, 7.

44. cf. Interview, Chief L.L. Mogane, pp. 84-85; Mabin, 'Blyde River valley', p. 4.

45. Interview with Chief L.L. Mogane and others, pp. 15, 21-23, 46-50; 24-28 (Elizabeth Mogane); Ziervogel, *Eastern Sotho*, p. 109; interview with July Sedibe, 23.2.1985, pp. 30, 70. Kabishe may have been installed before the expulsion of Tshane; his status as 'regent' may conceal considerable conflict over the succession; certainly the Native Commissioner at Bushbuckridge thought of him as a chief. cf. University of the Witwatersrand Library (UWL), AD 843 (South African Institute of Race Relations Collection), B44.7, 'Report on Natives in the Pilgrims Rest District 1933', pp. 1, 2, 6.

46. UWL, AD 843, B44.7, 'Report on Natives ...', pp. 12, 14; Van Warmelo, *Preliminary Survey*, p. 51; PRMA, TGME (pn. 1657) file 'Applications for renewal of contracts under s.1 of Act 27 of 1913'. R. Gardiner, Estate Agent TGME to Assistant Native Commissioner (NC) Bushbuckridge (BBR), 11.10.1932.

47. Interview, Chief L.L. Mogane and others, p. 52 (Elizabeth Mogane); interview, Jubilee Kok, Pilgrims Rest, 22.2.1985, p. 33.

48. TA, K 356, Native Labour Commission 1938, Box 2, Evidence ... on behalf of TGME, p. 2.

49. A simple guide to the provisions of Chapter IV of the 1936 Act is to be found in Surplus People Project, *Report*, Vol. 1, pp. 89-90, 105-108. Unfortunately, its historical usefulness is limited by the propensity of lawyers to focus on the amended law now in force. For a very short summary of the provisions of the Chapter, see South African Institute of Race Relations, *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa* (SAIRR *Survey*) (1953-54) pp. 84-85. On the provisions affecting the period of service, see UWL. AD 943, B53.5, D.C. Smit, Secretary for Native Affairs, to J.D. Rheinallt-Jones, 10.3.1938.

50. UWL, AD 843, B101.27, 'Meeting of farmers in the Bioscope Hall, Lydenburg', 2.10.1938, p. 2.

51. UWL, AD 843, B53.5, S. Mnisi to J.D. Rheinallt-Jones, 11.3.1938.

52. UWL, AD 843, B53.5, N. Modipa to J.D. Rheinallt-Jones, 5.4.1938 and 26.5.1938; Rheinallt-Jones to Modipa, 23.6.1938; L. Gordon Turner to Rheinallt-Jones, 10.7.1938.

53. The contrast is between M. Morris, 'The state and the development of capitalist social relations in the South African countryside: a process of class struggle' (unpubl. D.Phil. thesis, University of Sussex, 1981), Chapter 7, and UWL, AD 843, B53.5, J.D. Rheinallt-Jones to Minister of Native Affairs, 27.10.1938. Morris's account depends on B. Hirson, 'Rural revolt in South Africa, 1937-1951', *Collected Seminar Papers on the Societies of Southern Africa in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* 5 (1976), and 'snippets here and there in the *Farmers Weekly*'.

54. cf. UWL, AD 843, B53.5, attachment to letter of L. Gordon Turner to J.D. Rheinallt-Jones, 20.9.1938, 'Ruling Chief Native Commissioner' (re TGME); PRMA, TGME (pn. 1657) file 'Applications for renewal of contracts under s.1 of Act 27 of 1913', Additional NC BBR to Estates Manager, TGME, 31.3.1939.

55. PRMA, TGME 43 'Native labour general 30.9.1943-11.2.1947' (pn. 803), memo. Compound Man. to Man., 18.8.1944; memo. Estates Man. to Man., 15.12.1945; Man. to C.G. Frost, Graskop, 15.2.1946; interview, Jubilee Kok, 22.2.1985, pp. 33, 38; interview, Chief L.L. Mogane and others, p. 36 (Jules Silikane).

56. e.g., PRMA, TGME file 'Applications for residential rights on company farms' (pn. 1643), Compound Man. to NC BBR, 25.2, 11.4, 9.5, 23.5, 9.8, 7.10, 17.10, 29.11.1949, in the cases of H. Malache, F. Malele, J. Koya, H. Silikane, S. Makoena, J. Malapane, P. Nokere and S. Segage; and cf. interview with Caswell Mogane, Shatale Township, 21.2.1985, pp. 1, 62, 71.

57. PRMA, TGME 43c, 'Group Areas Act', N.P.J. O'Connell, NC BBR to Man., 23.5.1951; pencil note by Compound Man. on same, 'entails very little' (for TGME).

58. PRMA, TGME 43c, 'Group Areas Act', Compound Manager and Estates Superintendent (CM & ES) to NC BBR, 27.6.1951; N.P.J. O'Connell, NC BBR to Man., 28.6.1951.

59. cf. SAIRR, *Survey* (1949-1950), pp. 26-7; PRMA, TGME 43c, 'Group Areas Act', N.P.J. O'Connell, NC BBR to Man., 28.6. and 2.7.1951. These restriction applied, of course, in addition to racial restrictions imposed in title deeds (of which there were in fact none on TGME land: cf. PRMA, TGME 43c, 'Group Areas Act', RM Secs. to Man., 19.12.1951).

60. PRMA, TGME, file 'Vaalhoek general correspondence 1945-1962' (unnumbered), Man. to Secretary for Mines, Pretoria, 8.6.1951; PRMA, TGME 43c, 'Group Areas Act', CM & ES to Secretary, Land Ownership (sic) Advisory Board, Pretoria, 9.8. and 13.8.1951; Secretary, Land Tenure Advisory Board (LTAB) to Man., 20.8.1951, and minutes by CM & ES to this letter.

61. PRMA, TGME 43c, 'Group Areas Act', RM Secs. to Man., 10.9.1951; Man. to RM Secs., 18.9.1951.

62. PRMA, TGME 43c, 'Group Areas Act', memo. CM & ES to Man., 23.10 and 31.10.1951; Sec. LTAB to Man., 5.12.1951; copy of government form DI 319; Man. to Sec. LTAB, 2.1.1952; Man. to RM Secs., 13.8.1951; RM Secs. to Man., 31.3.1952.

63. PRMA, TGME 43c, 'Group Areas Act', RM Secs. to Man., 31.3.1952; memo. CM & ES to Man., 19.5.52.

64. PRMA, TGME 43c, 'Group Areas Act', Memo. SAHE to Man., 31.3.1952; Man. to RM Secs., 3.6.1952, and attached 'Minutes of Meeting re Frankfort'; memo. CM & ES to Man., 19.5 and 22.7.1952; Sec. LTAB to Man., 16.6.1952, and attached permit; Man. to RM Secs., 5.8.1952, and RM Secs. to LTAB 21.10.1952; memo. CM & ES to Man., 3.12.1953; TGME, file 'Applications for residential rights' (pn. 1643), CM & ES to Shadrack Mogane, 3.6.1952.

65. PRMA, TGME 43c, 'Group Areas Act', Man. to RM Secs., 5.8.1952; memo. Land and Estates Manager, Rand Mines, to Chairman, TGME, 18.8.1952; Van Hulsteyn, Feltham and Ford (Attorneys) to RM Secs., 25.11, 3.12 and 13.12.1952; RM Secs. to Man., 12.5.1953; TGME, file 'Applications

for residential rights' (pn. 1643), Acting CM and ES to Cyanide Mawela, 16.4.1953.

66. PRMA, TGME 43c, 'Group Areas Act', Man. to RM Secs., 8.6.1953; memo. CM & ES to Man., 30.9 and 3.12.1953; memo. RM Secs. to R.K. Lawley, 30.5.1956. TGME 43, 'Native labour general Feb. 1947-Nov. 1956', (pn. 800), RM Secs. to Man., 8.3.1956.

67. Union of South Africa, *Report of the Department of Native Affairs, 1949-50* (UG.??-50), p. i.

68. *Hansard* (Senate), 7.5.1951, c. 3012.

69. cf. SAIRR, *Survey* (1953-54), pp. 84-6; *Survey* (1956-7), p. 174; *Hansard* (Assembly), 22.2.1954, c. 911.

70. cf. SPP, *Report*, Vol. 4, Natal, pp. 46-7; *The Star* (Johannesburg), 11.3.1954; J. Bloch, 'Labour tenancy', p. 58.

71. PRMA, TGME 43c, 'Group Areas Act', NC BBR to Man., 4.5.1955; Man. to NC BBR, 4.11.1955; memo. RM Secs. to Man., 8.6.1956; Man. to RM Secs., 6.11.1956.

72. Interview, Chief L.L. Mogane and others, 22.2.1985, pp. 60-61 (Elizabeth Mogane); on time period, p. 62 (J. Silikane).

73. *ibid.*, pp. 55-56 (Jules Silikane).

74. Interview, Chief L.L. Mogane and others, 22.2.1985, pp. 56 (Chief Mogane), p. 62 (Elizabeth Mogane); interview, Jubilee Kok, 22.2.1985, p. 41; PRMA, TGME 294/3 'Old age and infirm natives who may remain on Company farms' (pn. 953) NC BBR to Man., 18.6 and 28.12.1957, 17.5 and 29.7.1958 (the file title is something of a misnomer); TGME 294/4 (pn. 952), containing permits issued to residents 6.1. to 11.8.1958. A faded green foolscap pad found in the Archive at Pilgrims Rest, marked only 'Book I', contains the names of most of those given permission to stay on the farms by TGME during 1958. The successful resistance of of Blyde valley residents appears to have had little or no relation to events in Sekukuniland, or attempted organising by SACTU rural unions at the time; see *Sunday Express*, 'The truth about the strife in Sekukuniland', 1.6.1958, and on the Farm, Plantation and Allied Workers Union, K. Luckhardt and B. Wall, *Organise or Starve: the History of the South African Congress of Trade Unions* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1980), p. 200.

75. cf. TGME 43, 'Native labour general Nov. 1956 to June 1964' (pn. 799), 'Return of Bantu labour statistics to Inspector of Bantu Labour, Graskop', 16.8.1961; TGME 294, 'Company tenants' (pn. 958), M. Brandt, Benoni, to Man., 28.7.1958; *Hansard* (Senate), 19.6.1959, c. 4808.

76. Interview, Chief L.L. Mogane and others, 22.2.1985, pp. 59-60 (Zephania Mokoena), p. 62 (Chief Mogane); interview, Jubilee Kok, 22.2.1985, p. 39; 'Verslag van die komitee van ondersoek insake die plakkerdiensbodestelsel' (Nel Committee), Department of Bantu Administration and Development (DBAD), Pretoria, 1961; see also *The Star* (Johannesburg), 28.7.1961.

77. SAIRR, *Survey* (1964), pp. 248-50; PRMA, TGME 43, 'Native labour general, June 1964-June 1969' (pn. 793), Bantu Affairs Commissioner (BAC), BBR to Man., 7.10.1964; Mine Secretary, TGME (Sec.) to BAC BBR, 9.10.1964; interview, Christian Silikane, 21.5.1985, p. 42. See also interview, Chief L.L. Mogane, p. 58: 'The General Manager called the chief ... to tell them that the area falls under TGME - it is not a

Trust - it is not a land where a person can stay without working for TGME'.

78. PRMA, TGME 43, 'Native labour general, June 1964 to June 1969' (pn. 793), Sec. to BAC BBR, 9.4.1965; Copy of 'Application for labour' on form BA 403, 15.4.1965; Man. to Consulting Engineer, Rand Mines, Johannesburg (CE), 8.6 and 1.7.1965; BAC BBR to Man., 17.6.1965; Acting Man. to BAC BBR, 26.9.1967; 'Schedule of repatriated foreign Bantu' attached to Sec. to BAC BBR, 26.12.1967. More generally on 'foreign Africans', see UWL, SAIRR Press CLips, Box 510, 'Foreign Africans', which contains both clips and correspondence; and *Rand Daily Mail*, 21.10.1960 and 10.4.1964.

79. PRMA, TGME 43, 'Native labour general, June 1964-June 1969' (pn. 793), Sec. to (employer, Denver, Johannesburg), 8.8.1967; Sec. to (employer, Pilgrims Rest area), 9.1.1968; Man. to (potential employer), 12.9.1968.

80. *Hansard* (Assembly), 14.3.1969, c. 66; PRMA, TGME 43, 'Native labour general, June 1964-June 1969' (pn. 793), BAC BBR to Man., 10.5.1965; Chief Pittas (sic) Mogane, Royal City, Hermansburg, to Man., 3.4.1965; Chief M.J. Mashile, Mashilane Tribal Authority, to Sec., 12.9.1968; interview with Christian Silikane, Shatale Township, 21.2.1985, p. 42; interview with Caswell Mogane, Shatale Township, 21.2.1985, pp. 70, 71-3. See also Desmond, *The Discarded People* (1971 edn.), p. 166.

81. 'Farm labour system to be changed', *The Friend* (Bloemfontein), 16.6.1969; Government Notice (GN) No. 1224, 31.7.1970, *Government Gazette* (*GG*) No. 2761, 31.7.1970, p. 7; GN 213, 13.2.1970, *GG* No. 2621, 13.2.1970, p. 6; GN 1533, 18.9.1970, *GG* No. 2823, 18.9.1970, p. 1; Mabin, 'Blyde river valley', p. 6; C.M. Rogerson and E.M. Letsoalo, 'Rural underdevelopment, poverty and apartheid: the closer settlements of Lebowa, South Africa', *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 72 (1981), pp. 347-361.

82. PRMA, TGME 43, 'Native labour general, June 1964-June 1969' (pn. 793), Man. to BAC BBR, 18.6.1969; Mabin, 'Blyde River Valley', pp 4-5, 7-8; interview, Jubilee Kok, 22.2.1985, p. 40. PRMA, TGME 323, 'Foskor July 1959-December 1965', contains correspondence relating to the superphosphate plant. On the rundown of mining at Pilgrims Rest, see Cartwright, *Valley of Gold*, pp. 172-9. The company was able to take advantage of state low-grade gold mine assistance after 1967, but made so little new investment in plant that the roof of the reduction works had almost completely rusted away before it closed in 1971.

83. Interview, Chief L.L. Mogane and others, 22.2.1985, pp. 86-88 (Athnica Chiloane), 88-90, 95 (Lettie Mashego). At the start, these women were paid about R6 per week.

84. PRMA, TGME 43, 'Native labour general, June 1964-June 1969' (pn. 793), (official) to G. Richdale, 30.10.1968.

85. Interview, Chief L.L. Mogane and others, 22.2.1985, p. 57; PRMA, TGME 294/1, 'Bantu trek passes' (pn. 1027), Trek pass in name of F.D. Morukung, 12.9.1969 and over 400 others; Magistrate, Mhala, to Man., SAFI, 29.12.1969; Mabin, 'Blyde River Valley', p. 6.

86. Mabin, 'Blyde River Valley', p. 6; PRMA, TGME 294/1, 'Bantu trek passes' (pn. 1027), Chief Pitas Mogane and Council, Royal City, Hermansburg, to Man., 28.6.1971; Acting Man. to Chief Mogane, 7.7.1971.

87. cf. PRMA, TGME 294/1, 'Bantu trek passes' (pn. 1027), Trek pass issued to J.M. Malele, Hermansburg, 19.8.1971.

88. cf. PRMA, TGME 294/1, 'Bantu trek passes' (pn. 1027), Memo., Man. to (Rand Mines Ltd.), 4.2.1972; Bantoesakekommissaris, Lydenburg, to Chief Pitas Mogane, 21.11.1972 (this letter is in the possession of Chief L.L. Mogane, Hlabekisa); interview, Chief L.L. Mogane, 22.2.1985, p. 69.

89. Interview, Chief L.L. Mogane, 22.2.1985, p. 69. Marite was once known as the 'Alexandra Township of the Eastern Transvaal on account of its cosmopolitan population; cf. C. Desmond, *The Discarded People* (1971 edn.), p. 168.

90. Interview, Chief L.L. Mogane and others, 22.2.1985, pp. 63, 66 (Chief Mogane), 64-66 (Anarie Malele), 62, 70-71 (Elizabeth Mogane).

91. Interview, Chief L.L. Mogane and others, pp. 72-3, 82 (Chief Mogane); 90, 92-94 (Lettie Mashego, whose daughter died as a result of a farm accident).

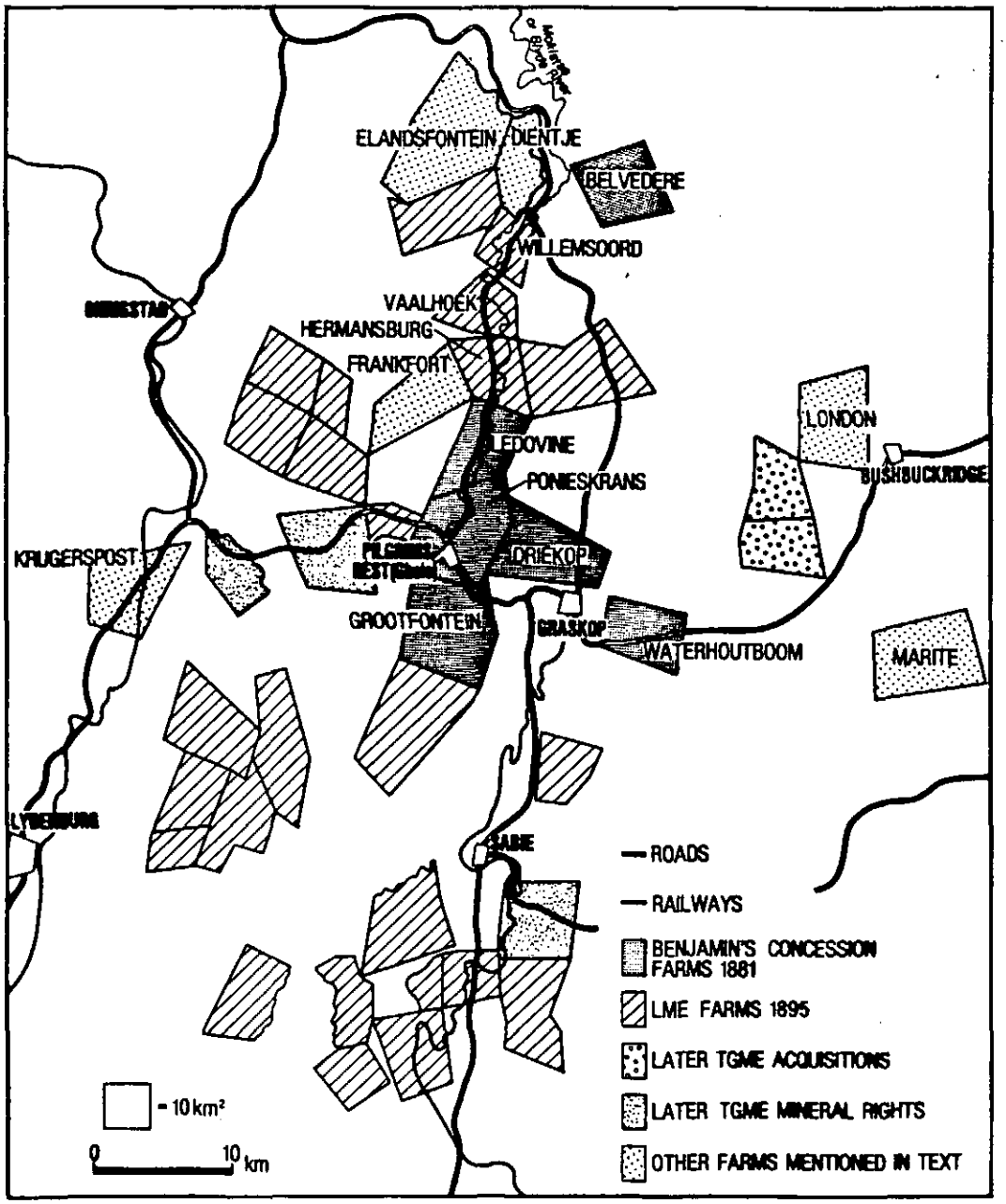
92. UWL, AD 843, B53.5, N. Modipa to J.D. Rheinallt-Jones, 5.4.1938.

93. A. Baldwin, 'Forced removals', p. 221.

94. N. Gordimer, Preface to C. Desmond, *The Discarded People* (1969 edition), p. 7.

95. An exception in this respects is Patrick Harries, '"A forgotten corner of the Transvaal": reconstructing the history of a relocated community through oral testimony and song', forthcoming in B. Bozzoli (ed.), *Class, Community and Conflict* (Johannesburg: Ravan).

96. cf. W. Beinart and P. Delius, Introduction to *Putting a Plough to the Ground*, p. 1. Squatter and tenant removals have accounted for at least half of rural 'forced removals'; cf. SPP, *Reports*, Vol. 1, p. 6.


ELANDSFONTEIN
DIENTJE
BELVEDERE
WILLEMSOORD
VAALHOEK
HERMANSBURG
FRANKFORT
LEDOVINE
PONIESKRANS
LONDON
BUSHBUCKRIDGE
KRUGERSPOST
DRIEKOP
GROOTFONTEIN
GRASKOP
WATERHOUTBOOM
MARITE
ROADS
RAILWAYS
BENJAMIN'S CONCESSION FARMS 1881
LME FARMS 1895
LATER TGME ACQUISITIONS
LATER TGME MINERAL RIGHTS
OTHER FARMS MENTIONED IN TEXT
= 10 km²
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