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Cornwall, R.

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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: R Cornwall

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Land and Politics in the Transvaal in the 1880's

It is evident that the population of the South African Republic did not constitute a simgle homogenous group, devoid of variation in wealth, education and life-style. The diversity of Afrikaner society has frequently been overlooked by historians however, and the courses of social differentation completely ignored. The State Archives at Pretoria do contain some enormous collections of largely unused material however, which for all their superficial dullness embody a vast amount of detailed and valuable data relating to this very problem HAD one the time and equipment to analyse in detail the information which is to be found in the land-registers, estates, death notices and wills, there can be no question but that the result would represent a most notable contribution to the social and economic history of South Africa. If in addition it were possible to collect the petitions, ballot papers and voting list, many of them still extant then another dimension could be superimposed. These would however, be projects of vast size, and although they will, hopefully, be attempted in the future, for the present we shall have to be satisfied with a more modest harvest of information. There is no expectation that however complete, the bare bones of statistical data will answer all/our questions. They can only be used to suggest the patterns of life extending beyond the range of the livelier facts called from volksraad minutes, newspapers, petitions, private correspondence and reminiscences.

The major part of this paper will be concerned with the social and economic diversity reflected in landownership and in particular with its causes, general and local. No claim is made to completeness in dealing with the origins of the phenomenon, and attention is paid largely to that material which illustrates aspects of the problem which have been previously neglected. Practical considerations obviously restrict the scope of all research, and for the

purposes of this paper most of the evidence relates to the district of Wakkerstroom.

The legislatures of the various trekker communities had begun in quite generous fashion in regulating the issue of land to their burgers. With sparse populations, apparently limitless acres of velds, and potentially hostile African neighbours such liberality was calculated to attract new citizens to aid in the establishment and defence of the republics.

In the beginning the burgers of the Natal, Lydenburg and Potchefstroom settlements were entitled to at least two farms apiece, as burgerregt[1].

In theory a burger simply chose his farm, or farms, and gave a description of the selected land to the local Landdrost, who noted the details on his aanteekening-boek[2] and gave the claimant a certified copy of this entry, called an uittreksel.[3] The Government periodically appointed imspection commissions to establish boundaries of the farms in a certain area; this step was necessary before the transfer of title, the issue of deeds and payment of the nominal land tax. When the inspection commissions arrived those claimants to farms in that specific area were expected to come forward with their uittreksels. Given the obscurity of the descriptions registered by the Landdrost it is obvious to no one, with the possible exception of the claimant himself, can have had the vaguest idea of the extent of his 'farm'. If the aanteekening-boeke of the Landdrost at Wakkerstroom is typical, there can be no wonder that some pieces of land were claimed many times over[4]. The first aanteekening here simply states that A.A. Shoop claimed the farm 'Weltervreden' on the 5th November 1856, and that it was situated 'aan Verzamelberg'. The whole of ward I was known as Verzamelberg, an area which eventually contained over 60 farms.

Technically, when the situation of a multiple claim arose

only the holder of the oldest uittreksel received satisfaction, and any subsequent aanteekening was declared uitgemeten.[5] The disappointed party could however register another claim for his burgerregt, and take his chances at another inspection[6]. Already by 1860 the volksraad had begun to regret its former liberality with the State's only real asset, and new burgers had been restricted to the registration of one farm[7]. In 1866 the issue of burgerregten to newcomers was suspended altogether.

> 'aangezien er misbuite wordt gemaakt van publieke gronden door nieuwe inkomelingen' [8]

Which suggest that speculation was seen to be getting out of hand, and was threatening to leave large areas of the country unoccupied.

In 1871 the further aanteekening of land in the Republic was stopped completely. The Raad explained that a temporary halt to the issue of land was necessary in order to restore the credit of the state. No one was being deprived of his rights, it was argued, but the Raad had acted in order to preserve the rights of the next generation.[9] It goes without saying that the publc scarcely appreciated this reasoning, coming as it did from some of the most successful spectators in the Republic. No further inspections were to be made in response to requests received after 1868, a decision relaxed by the Burger's Government to include applications made up to 10 September 1871.[10]

The aanteekening-boeke of Wakkerstroom lists the registration of over 1200 claims between 1856 and 1866[11]. The district as finally inspected however, contained rather less than 400 farms,[12] so that over two-thirds of the aanteekenings here came to nothing. This was certainly not due to over-generosity on the part of inspection commissions; few farms were inspected to a size greater than the specified 3000 morgen. As the number of registered claims rose, and the physical limits of the district became

apparent, some later commissions appear to have made an attempt to satisfy as many burgers as possible in the middle of ward 3 they inspected a block of over fifty farms, each of approximately 1000 morgen[13]. This sort of device could provide little more than a token solutions, totally inadequate to deal with a problem of this magnitude.

Initially however the gravity of the situation seems to have been scarcely realized. Many of the burgers, improvident or impoverished, soon converted newly acquired land into cash, and trusted to fortune elsewhere. Frequently they did not even wait for their paper claims to be transformed into actual farms, but sold their rights at prices which varied according to the date of registration, and the probability of acquiring land into the purchased uittreksel[14].

The land registers of the district illustrate quite clearly the brisk trade in burgerregten, aanteekenings and forms throughout the 1850's and 60's. The history of farm No. 138 Holfontein, provides a classic example. Aangetekend by D.J. Kruger in January 1857, and inspected in his name in January 1858, Holfontein was transferred to his name by the Government on 19 March 1860. On that same day it was re-transferred to D.F. Steyn, a purchase price of £3.15s being recorded in these transaction on 1 August 1861 Steyn transferred the property to A.F. Bosman for £112.10s, and by 1869 the purchase price had increased to £300. By the 1880's the owners were I.S.Badenhorst and J.A.M. Laas, who had received transfer in 1872 and 1873 respectively; both owned 2912 morgen of this unusually large farm. Laas sold his share in 1893, but Badenhorst was still in possession in 1901. It is evident from the dates of transfer as well as from the sums involved, that A.F. Bosman was the first of the above who bought the actual farm, the two initial sales being purely sepculative transactions. Once the Raad had made

it clear that the traditionally easy manner of granting land would cease, the number of farm sales dropped sharply and prices soared [15]. Those who had either sold their rights, or failed to realize their claim's discovered that a rapidly widening gulf separated them from the prospect of landownership.

At the other end of the social scale some men had made considerable progress in building up consolidated estates. C.F. Labuschagne, Volksraadlid for Wakkerstroom in 1881 and 1882, had established a holding of four adjacent farms in ward 2, and another block of seven in ward 3, in all a total of nearly 22,000 morgen, most of which he had required before 1872 [16].

A source of income independent of the uncertainties and hazards of farming enabled another Wakkerstroomer, Commandant Generaal Joubert, to lay the foundations of an incredible estate which was valued at £227,980 in 1902 [17]. He began with the purchase of Rustfontein in ward 1 in 1859, and his early practice as a law-agent, trader and money lender [18] gave him an excellent advantage in the property-market. By 1874 Joubert was advertising for landless immigrants to occupy eleven of his farms on long-term leases, hoping in this way to develop the inheritance intended for his children [19]. That Joubert was able to secure lessees who would agree to most unfavourable seems to be an indication of the seriousness of the problems confronting the landless. In a contrast made in 1877 one A.J. Boshoff leased Joubert's farm 'Spandekroon' in Standerton for the period of eight years. The lessee agreed to erect buildings and to carry out other permanent works on the farm, which improvements were to serve in lieu of rent. In addition Boshoff undertook the payment of the annual farm tax and promised to take care of Joubert's sheep should he wish to pasture them there in addition

....'de heer P.J. Joubert hout het regt op die Kaffers die er taris woont als de zynen. De heer Boshoff heef het regt voor zich

zelven ook kaffers kralen daar te laten wonen waar over by het volle regt zal hebben...' [20]

That Boshoff valued even a lease on these terms is evident from his anxiety that the Generaal might believe the lies spread by troublemakers, who claimed that the farm was being damaged. On the contrary he had planted fruit trees and erected buildings, and was doing his utmost to cope in difficult times. With apparently unconscious irony he continued.

...'u weet toch wel dat ik de plaats niet als aan ryke man maar wel uit behoeften moete buuren anders zon ik liever een gekocht hebben en gy die misschien ook weet of ondervonden heef wat het is voor uwe gronden te werken in die swaar te betalen in met een vamielie zal er zuber miet zoo ligt,over spreken dan zy die zulks met een zeer ligte spuenlatie gewonnen heef en nu misschien moet kasteelen er by wil hebben [21] '

The pressure on the land increased rapidly as the population grew, both with continued immigration from other parts of South Africa, and the natural increase of these older inhabitants. In 1873 there had been 429 burgers in the district [22] a figure which was practically doubled in the next ten years. By 1885 some 750 burgers lived in the first three wards of Wakkerstroom, of whom less than 200 held titel to land [23]. Certain farms were already being converted into settlements for the landless. Welverdiend in ward I, occupied in 1873 by its two owners and three other men, supported 24 burgers and their families by 1885 [24].

Were we to include the ward of Piet Retief in our calculations, the picture would look even more serious, for due to its factors peculiar to that area virtually none of the inhabitants owned farms. It is worth looking at developments there, for they provide an unusually clear and well-documented view of the tensions and attitudes created by the insecurity and poverty of a landless

existence.

In 1864 the Government of the South African Republic had entered into an agreement with Alexander McCorkindale whereby the latter on behalf of a company still to be formed, received 200 farms each of 6000 acres at £40 apiece.[25] Of these only 'New Scotland farms/111 concern us immediately, for they comprised almost the entire ward of Piet Retief, which passed under the Landdrostdy of Wakkerstroom - 1882[26].

Many of the inhabitants of the ward had originally owned land in the district of Utrecht, along the border disputed by the Zulu.Constant disorder in this area however, had forced them to sell out their holdings and seek land elsewhere. In October 1873 representatives of this group approached President Burgers about the possibility of moving into the area known as Assegaai River, in New Scotland[27]. The President eager to establish a barrier of white settlement between the Swazi and Zulu nations, was agreeable to the scheme. He regarded the land granted to the now deceased McCorkindale as forfeit, as the Scot had been unable to fulfil his part of the contract. The President assured all those who wanted to settle in the area that they would be granted the land in question on condition of occupation[28]. Accepting this verbal promise as sufficient security for their rights the new inhabitants of New Scotland erected houses,kraals,water courses and mills[29]. But in March 1877 the executors of the McCorkindale estate sent notices prohibiting them from squatting on lands which, the President's word notwithstanding, still belonged to the estate. Some occupants were forced to choose between either purchasing the land in question or paying a ruinous £40 annual rent.[30] The squatters lost no time in approaching the British authorities after annexation. They repeated their history, the poverty into/which they had been driven by the unsettled conditions of frontier life, and their inability to afford the purchase price

demanded for the lands they occupied.

'We do not desire to trek into the interior, but to live honourable, and peaceably, as loyal subjects of her British Majesty.

.....being all of us British subjects intrekkers from the Colony of Natal...we now respectfull pray, Your Excellency will take our condition under your special notice, and we address your Excellency with more /confidence trusting and looking to Your Excellency as our only remaining ray of hope, as children look up to their father.....'[31]

Despite this remarkedly prompt avowal of loyalty made by the squatters, the new authorities could no more maintain a vague promise against the legal rights of the Estate than could their predecessors. The retrocession brought similar pleas a few days after the Republic's restoration[32]

The squatters argued that the violation of the original contracts by McCorkindale meant that the Estates' lands now reverted to the State, and that the executors therefore had no right to drive them from these farms[33]. An individual note from the local veld-cornet, and leading spokesman for the New Scotlanders, J.F. van Staden, casts a more personal light on the dilemma, and the more emotive issudes involved. He informed the Government.

'Dat ik vf twintig jaren op de frinsen zwerfen en aan alles gehoorzaam was aan dem over myn besteide..en zelf op overeng byderhand genoomen hebbende tot helpen reddeng van ons verloorend land en verdrukt volk...P.J. Joubert ken ons deip gezonke elende en reddeloose toestand...'

He concluded that he was a

'redeloose en verkarmde knicht met huis vol kinderen verarmd door de laatste oorlogt....' 34.

The volksraad of 1881 concluded however, that the state was only entitled to the return of that land taken by McCorkindale in excess of the original grant. A commission was appointed to select the land to be returned, and specific instructions were

issued that they were to attempt to secure those farms on which squatters lived, in order that the latter might have the opportunity to lease their land [35]. It was hoped that such leases would at least afford some legal protection to the occupants of the area, for under the present arrangements the squatters were vulnerable not only to pressure from the Estate's representative, but had no redress against the inroads of newcomers.

J.F. van Staden complained that

' hier alle winters vele trek boeren in trekken en onverhoord van plaats tot plaats rondtrekken me' voor behoud dat zy deselfde regt hebben die ik hebben.' [36]

This situation was evidently creating unrest among the older inhabitants who had burned off the grass and improved the pasture.

The task facing the commission of selecting the farms, and exploring the situation and 'solution' to the New Scotlanders was no enviable one. In a remarkable letter to the "Volksstem" the veld-cornet expressed indignation at that paper's reference to the inhabitants of Assegaai River as 'Zulu-Vlugtelinge' Repeating the solemn history of their settlement he issued warning of their determination to remain where they were . They had acted on Burger's promise.

'Zoo doende hebben wy ons hier neergeplagt, maar wy zyn geplagt met cement, en dynamiet zal nu noodig zyn om het plaksel los te maken. Een man met een Boeren-baatje en een jingoes hart kan het niet doen, er wanneer hy ook zulks uit ondernemen, zal hy er gans naakt afkomen' [37]

The Commission found their work as difficult as might have been expected, and recorded regretfully of the meetings held with the occupants.

'Het spyt uwe commissie te moeten melden dat vele tegenstand en verwarring plaatsgevond heeft door de onbehoorlyke gedrag van eenige der Burgers en die gerekend was de uitvoering der pligt

van de commissie grootelyks te vermoeilyken.[38]

The official report lacks the colour of van Staden's effort. The Commission had evidently invited the Estates representatives to be present at the meeting. When the burgers discovered this they rejected the Commissioners

'om de loyalen uit hen midden te verwyderen omdat die heeren hun vyanden waren en de oorlogt en menen dat gemelde heeren uw nog tegen de voordeel der burgers werken zal.'[39]

This request reflects a strain to be noted throughout the appeals addressed to the government after 1881. The continued association of foreign speculators with the British government which had been ousted in 1881.

The burgers apparently expected the Republic authorities to guarantee the full fruits of their victory, and to ensure an end to the hold of speculators over the land. Consequently when on this occasion the Commission informed the meeting that the exclusion of the parties representing the Estate, would constitute an insult against the Government uproar promptly ensued. The good veld-cornet found himself protecting the Commissioner's from forcible eviction[40] by a public with whom he sympathized. Order having been restored the burgers were further informed that those farms already sold by the State, could not be retained by the government, whether they were occupied or not; an announcement which created further threat of riot.

Van Standen concluded that it was now

' gevaarlyk voor eenige ambtenaar om voor de toekomst aansprekelyk to blyven daar ik reeds vreesde dat der district in anarchie of wetteloosheid vervallen zal'[41]

and in a letter to the Commandant General added hints of re-signation from his invidious position[42]

A memorial from 78 inhabitants of the ward dispels any suspicion that the veld-cornet was overstating the feelings

of his neighbours. The petitioners alleged that the Commission had been misled by McCorkindale's agents. Again the frustration with the continued power of the 'loyalists' is evident

'Ook is de Commissie niet er toe overgegaan om die occupaties te bezigtigen die sedert zeven tot tien jaren geoccupeerd die-
zyn en gedurende stilstand van wapens voor de Conventie door agenten in boedel van wylen A McCorkindale aan loyalen onderdanen verkocht is geworden....Aan ons is door leden der commissie gevraagd geworden of wy voor de Lap Schotte Grond gevocht hebben? Wy zeggen ja! voor alles wat onze onafhankelykheid ter onderheeft gebracht, wy meenen dat ook de Schotte een deel uitmaakte van de Annexatie en wy gevoelen ons niet bekwaam ons verder door loyalen te laten verdrukken.....[43]

This, and other demands for attention, brought the McCorkindale matter before the Raad again, and in its 1882 sessions[44] the members were asked to consider compensating the squatters. Some members however, rejected any attempt to push through this particular claim to compensation, without considering older, rights. When the district boundary had been established between Lydenburg and Wakkerstroom, many burgers who had registered claims to land with the Landdrost of the latter district discovered that these claims fell within Lydenberg, and were therefore forfeit[45]. Already in 1866 the volksraad had decided that reparation must be given[46] and by 1869 it was established that no less than 56 persons had a right to compensation[47]. Delay followed upon delay however, and the Government's ignorance of local conditions made action impossible,[48] with the result that in 1882, these men had still not received any consideration for their rights. Many of the original claimants had already sold their shares in this doubtful enterprise by this time, with the result that the interested parties were again not farmers, occupying the land, but speculators, land agents and the like[49].

Despite the obvious sympathy of some of the members of the Volksraad for the McCorkindale squatters, the Raad was forced to conclude that there were other claims with more solid legal foundation and which would have to be met before those of the New Scotlanders. The promise of President Burgers was apparently never met by his successors, and the squatters were forced to compete in auction for leases against men of far greater means. That land which reverted to the Government eventually seems to have found its way into the hands of speculators both from the Transvaal and abroad, or into the estates of the larger landowners of Wakkerstroom[50].

Compared with what has gone before, the analysis of material gained from voting records will form little more than a postcript. The use of voting lists and ballot papers present the researcher with new problems[51]. Samples of voting made so far have necessarily been restricted to a very short period, essentially that of 1881-86, and too little information has been collected to show any really significant pattern. Perhaps the most striking aspect of political life revealed by this data is the general apathy shown by the majority at elections. In 1883 the population of the Republic had the opportunity to vote for a President for the first time in ten years. In Wakkerstroom only 22% of enfranchised burgers voted. Apart from this the figures reveal little; families tended to vote together; bywoners appear to have made up their minds independently of their landlords; and 35% of the landed burgers voted as opposed to 18% of those without property. The results of this small study would hardly be worth a mention were it not for evidence taken from outside the period covered in detail. It is surely worth noting that the ecclesiastical division which occurred in Wakkerstroom in 1866 is still reflected in the voting behaviour of those involved, as much as twenty years later. Those members of the Kerkraad who

had attacked Ds van der Hoff all voted for Kruger in 1883, while those who opposed his rival Cachet, backed Joubert, who had shared their view and the 60's [52].

Our land records have already illustrated some of the major aspects of a social and economic change which, was already fairly rapid before the discovery of the Rand's wealth. Political and administrative development was forced to follow, as the Republic's population grew and scattered. Central controls slowly became more effective, and by the time of Burger's presidency, the Landdrost was already replacing the veld-cornet as the government's local agent. Power was moving away from the localities and locally selected men as an increasingly complex administration began to demand skills foreign to the rurual population. Reaction against / this irrevocable process was fairly frequent, and petitions were submitted urging a return to the old system of administration. The discovery of gold on the Rand added to the pressures for more efficient control, and also provided the means for extending this control, thus adding further to the friction between local and central interests.

The new opportunites offered by mining and related enterprises increased the social divergences among the Africaner population, as those with wealth in land diversified their interests, while an ever increasing number of Africaner poor were attracted to the Republic by vague rumours of wealth. Politics assumed new importance as the spoils of power increased, while the extension of administrative control and the growth of the press brought an increasing proportion of the burgers into contact with the clearer political issues of the 90's. In 1893 over 3/4 of the enfranchised burgers of Wakkerstroom voted for a President [53], although it is perhaps significant that the voting lists of ward I show considerable consistency when compared with those of 1883, it is obvious that only a painfully detailed and extensive survey

of political behaviour will eventually provide the information vital to an understanding of the mechanics of Transvaal politics, because only then will the interplay of old loyalties and new issues become apparent.

R. Cornwall

University of London

24th October, 1972.

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N.B. This paper is not to be quoted without the author's permission.

1) Voortrekker Wetgewing :Notule van die Natalse Volksraad 1839-1845. ed. G.S. Preller Pretoria 1924. p.43. Volksraadsbesluit (V.R.B.) No. 3 1 April 1840; Locale Wetten : Pp 11-12 and footnote V.R.B. Onrigstad 21 April 1848. art 1.; V.R.B. 5 May 1851 art. 15. ibid. P 142. V.R.B. 28 September 1860. art. 149

2) Registration-book

3) The terms aanteekening meaning registration, and inttreksel or extract, were often used synonymously.

4) Landdrost Wakkerstroom Vol. 87 "Register van Aanteekenings van Plaatsen 1856-1866."

5) Literally 'measured out'; this meant it was mullified.

6) Groenboek No. 1. 1884 "Rapport van een Landmeter-Generaal ... van 1884" With this report G.R. von Wielligh attempted to persuade the Republican authorities of the necessity of a General Survey. Incidentally he provides the historian with a most helpful summary of the chaotic state into which the Transvaal's land administration had fallen, and a guide through the complex and frequently contrdictory property legislation enacted by the Volksraad.

7) Locale Wetten: P. 142. V.R.B. 28 Sept. 1860. art. 149

8) Staatscourant 5 Dec. 1866. V.R.B. 25 Oct. 1866. art. 566

9) Staatscourant Byvoegsel. 19 Sept. 1871. V.R.B. 11 and 12 Sept. 1871 arts. 42-45; Staatscourant Byvoegsel 26 Sept 1871 V.R.B. 16 and 19 Sept. 1871 arts. 72-74; Staatscourant Byvoegsel 3 Oct. 1871. V.R.B. 20 Sept. 1871 art. 75.

10) Locale Wetten P. 594. V.R.B. 23-24 Sept. 1874 art. 10

11) Landdrost Wekkerstroom Vol. 87 op.cit.

12) ibid. Land Registers Vols. 90, 92, 93, 97, 102, 105, 106. This was before the inclusion of Piet Retief as a fourth ward.

13) ibid.

14) ibid.

15) ibid.

16) ibid. C.F. Labuschagne even had the temerity to approach the Government in later years claiming that he had still received no land for his burgerregt his aanteekening having veen mullified by the alteration of the Lydenberg-Wakkerstroom boundary. He requested the compensation to which he was legally entitled. SS. 1193 R 2369/84 in R 1386/86.

D.J. Joubert g.g. C.F. Labuschagne as President and Uitvoerende Raad. (U.R.) dd. Wakkerstroom 10. May 1884.

17) Estate No. O. 17175 This incredible sum of money takes no account of the livestock and farming implements, almost all of which were destroyed in the war. The wealth of the estate lay principally in land, in holdings scattered over most of the Republic. One of the most significant features in the inventory of the estate is the amount of land Joubert had acquired in Pretoria during the 1890's. The administrative capital of the Republic had obviously benefitted from the rapid economic development of the Rand, and property values in the Towns generally must have risen steeply. One erf acquired by the General in 1883 near the centre of Pretoria was assessed in 1902 at over £14,000, the value of three or four good farms.

The estate of President Kruger's wife, Gezina, who died in July 1901 shows a similar interest in town erven. Estate No. O. 17667

Strangely enough, Joubert's estate contains no mention of any shareholdings despite the fact that he was a heavy investor during his lifetime, with wide interests in various property, commercial, mining and manufacturing enterprises. For details of these see J.A. Monton: Genl. Piet Joubert in die Transvaalse Geskiedenis Archives Year Book 1957 Volm. 1. Parrow 1957. pp. 201-209.

18) J.A. Monton op.cit. P. 11. Joubert's dealings as a moneylender are well documented in the Joubert Verzameling Vol. 11. At the time of his death, bonds to the amount of £2,784 were outstanding in his favour. - see Estate O. 17175

He later offered sound advice to his son-in-law A.H. Malan, concerning the necessityof avoiding debt. Hard steady work received its joint reward, while social and moral ruin awaited with divine certainty those who carelessly encumbered to the temptation of easing credit. His son had just written enthusiastically of a bank in Newcastle which was offering to loan money at 8%.

.. ' de arme kerel weet nog nie van een bank di een krois der ryken maar die vloïk der arme es. stap maar eers de bank drumpel over als gÿ arm en verlegen es - dan zal zÿ wel kort daar na met meer arm en verlegen zyn, neem maar eenvoudig bancroit en dat es de zekere laam van elke arme man di naar di bank stap en plaats van naar de ploeg staart ... blÿft uit de bank uit de tronke de kanteen de kroeg - es sleg geraamlyke en schandelyke en de bank es een deur waardoor vele menschen en dege eers genoemde 3 plaatzé zyn gekoomen ... begen klÿn groi langzaam dat is zoet en zeker en dat es maar gods ordannati en zoo wel behaagelyk voor hein '. - Joubert Verzameling Vol. 15/4 1895. pp. 611-613.

P.J. Joubert to A.H. Malan d.d. Pretoria 10 Oct. 1885.

19) J.A. Monton . op.cit. P. 201.

20) Joubert Verzameling Vol. 51 Doct. 3297 contract dd 19 June 1877

21) Joubert Verzameling Vol 59 Doct. 59. Doct 3656/528. A.J. Boshoff P.J. Joubert dd Spandelkroon Standerton 22 July 1884.

22) SS. 165 p. 160 'Lyst van Persoonen en Plaatsen in de verschillende wyken van hetDistrict Wakkerstroom. ' dd W.W. Strooin 1 May 1873 Lsnddrost A.A. O'Reilly

23) Landdrost Wakkerstroom Vol. 185 Burger lists Land Registers.

24) ibid SS. 165 Pp. 219-220

25) E.V.R. 224 (Volksraar Inkomende Stukke) VRR 53/81 Report of the Commission on the McCorkindale farms, appointed by V.R.B. of 19 Oct 1881 art 134. This report gives a very thrœough resumè of the contract between the Republican Government and McCorkindale.

26) ibid

27) S.S. 237 R. 2918/77 in R 2173/77 B.W.J. Steenkamp and J.H. Potgieter to Sir Theophilus Shepstone d.d. Blesbokspruit 24 July 1877

28) SS. 840 R4054/88 in R 3863/83 V.F. van Staden to President and Uitvoerende Raad dd. Traktaat, New Republic 23 April 1888.

29) SS. 237 R2918/77 in R2073/77 op.cit.

30) SS 564 R4008/81 J.J. Ferreira J.L. van Reenen and others to Vice-President S.J.P. Kruger dd. Derby 13 Sept. 1881 - enclosure in J.L. van Reenen to Vice-President. S.J.P. Kruger dd. Derby 15 Sept. 1881. EVR 223 VRR 22/81. C. Birkenstock and others to VR d.d. Assegaai R. 10 Sept. 1881.

31) SS 237 R2073/77 J.F. van Staden Snr. and 9 others to Sir T. Shepstone d.d. Assegaai River District 7 May 1877. The petitioners included J.F. van Staden Jnr., the later veld - cornet.

32) SS. 586 R. 3745/81 J.F. van Staden, G.H. v. Rooyen and others to Triumvirate dd. Assegaairivier 16 Aug. 1881

33) ibid

34) SS. 588 R 5496/81. J.F. v. Staden veld-cornet. Tv. and UR. Paardekraal. 14 Dec. 1881

35) Staatset Byv. 8 Dec. 1881 VRB 3 Nov. 1881; U.R. 6 VRB art 59. 6 Feb 1882

36) SS 631 R. 1703/82. J.F. van Staden to Tv. and U.R. undated, probably 10 March 1882.

37) Volkstem Byv. 8 March 1882. J.F. van Staden to ed. dd. New Scotland 18 Feb. 1882.

38) SS. 881 R 1999/82 in R 6072/83. Report of Commission apprd by URB art. 63 63 of 1882. 8 Feb 1882 etc. G.P. Moodie Chairman, N.J. Smit and A.S. Smit members. det. Smithfield 11 March 1882.

39) SS. 631 R 1703/82 J.F. v. Staden to Tv. and U.R. dd. N.S. 10 March 1882.

40) ibid

41) ibid

42) SS 640 R. 2095/82 J.F. v. Staden to P.J. Joubert. Cdt.Gen. dd. Witkloof dist. Derby 8 March 1882.

43) EVR 225. VRR 109/82 G.F. Scheepers, 77 others to VR dd. Blesbokspruit Derby 3 April, 1882

44) Staatset Byv. 27 July and 3 Aug. 1882. VRB art. 650-652. 29 and 30 Junel882.

45) SS 143. R544/72 A.G. Scheffer to Fingerend Staats President dd. Utrecht 3 April 1872.

46) Staatscourant 13 January 1869 - VR 7 and 9 Nov. 1868. arts 244 and 245 - confirming VRB 13 Oct. 1866 arts. 398 and 399.

47) UR.3. art. 38. dd. 23 December 1869.
Staatset 4 Jan. 1870 - List dated Pretoria 28 Dec. 1869.

48) SS 188. R1042/75. P.F. Henderson veld-cornet Wyk 3 to Landdrost O.C. Weber dd. Goudhoek 15 May 1875 - enclosure in Landdrost O.C. Weeber to Staatsecretaris M.W. Stroom 15 May 1875.

P.F. Henderson informed Landdrost Weeber in 1875 that open land existed all along Witrivier. He could not say how many farms there were as he was ignorant of the whereabouts of the McCorkindale beacons, but he had talked with men who knew the land well, he said, and they assured him that there was enough land for the compensation farms and more besides.

49) SS 598 R 19/82 J. Minnaar to Driemanschap - dd. Pretoria 30 Dec. 1881.
SS 598 R 397/82 in R 19/82 F. Jeppe p.p. R.L. Daly to Driemanschap dd Pretoria 14 Jan. 1882.
SS 229 R 574/77

Hollard and Keet to SS. dd. M.W. Stroom 10 Feb 1877 encloses a declaration by L.J. Pieterse dated Leheeshoek 31 July 1865, that he has sold his burgerregte to P.F. Henderson for £15.

50) In 1887 a final and unsuccessful attempt was made to secure small farms as compensation for just three or four of the New Scotlanders who had remained in occupation of their claims since 1869 - Staatset. Byv. 12 Oct. 1887.
VRB art. 1165-1167. dd. 19-20 July 1887.

51) Landdrost Wakkerstroom art. 185. Veld-cornet lists and ballot papers 1866-1893

52) F.G.M. du Toit ed. Random 1866 Pretoria 1969. p. 133;
G.B.A. Gerdener Ons Kerk in die Transgariep Cape Town 1934. p. 306

53) Landdrost Wakkerstroom Vol. 185. op.cit.