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THE MAKING OF CLASS

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Hilary Sapire

In the recent spate of writing on the social consequences of industrialisation in South Africa, two views of black urban life have emerged. This literature has been dominated by images either of highly regulated segregatory institutions such as compounds and locations or of African communities living in inner city slums and freehold townships, holding out against the forces of urban segregation.⁽¹⁾ Most of this work has been confined to the Reef's nerve-centre, Johannesburg.⁽²⁾ Because there is remarkably little awareness of the local histories of other Reef towns, the focus on Johannesburg has unwittingly created an impression of the exclusivity of these two forms of African urban life across the Rand and of uniformity in the processes of executing urban segregationist policy. With regard to the latter for example, Potgieter writes,

Wat die res van die Rand betref het dieselfde patroon wat in Johannesburg van toepassing was, ook daar ontwikkel. Die verskil was net dat die ontwikkeling veel stadiger as in Johannesburg geskied het omdat die munisipale instellings aan die Rand nie van die begin af so dinamies soos in die geval van Johannesburg uitgebou is nie.⁽³⁾

As this paper shows, although the Witwatersrand represented a single industrial belt and the centre of African urbanisation in South Africa, in the period under review it was composed of a mosaic of micro economies, class constellations and styles of city government.⁽⁴⁾ This meant firstly that the pace and

nature of African urbanisation was qualitatively different in most Reef towns and secondly that the ^{evolution of} modes of social control of the urban African populations were determined by highly specific local conditions. This paper shows through the Brakpan Case that the implementation of urban segregation entailed intense struggles on the part of the local authorities against local interest groups as well as against the culture, patterns of residence and sociability of the urban African population.

Brakpan represents a very particular case study - a kind of hybrid. On the one hand, it shared many characteristics with small rural towns such as Heidelberg, Kroonstad and Potchefstroom with their large urban black populations and almost total absence of major industries. Brakpan, like these towns situated on the fringes of agricultural areas operated as a staging post for migrants, labour tenants and women on their way to the larger employment centres on the Rand. It differed dramatically from these towns however because of the presence of large gold mines with their massive African migrant populations living on the verge of the town. In this, Brakpan had much in common with the mining centres of the East and West Rand. The interaction between permanently urbanised Africans and migrants living on the mines were to present particular problems of social control which were not experienced by the small town local authorities. This paper examines the emergence of an African working class in the town, residential and occupational patterns of its members, the rise of segregationist pressures and the attempts made by the local authority to segregate the town.

The Appearance of an African Working Class in Brakpan, 1900 - 1927

Although the Heidelberg district in which the Weltevreden farm lay had long been settled by African agriculturalists, the first trickle of Africans to what would become Brakpan, began with the opening of the Apex and Brakpan Collieries and the establishment of a transport riders camp in the early 1890's. (5) One report estimated the African population at 1 100 in 1895, but as this only took into account the settlement of Africans in the surrounds of the Brakpan Collieries, this figure must have been considerably larger. (6) Apart from the coal mines prior to the South African War of 1899 - 1902, employment for Africans could be found in the transport riders camp, in the "native stores", Maskells Hotel, the Rand Central Electric Company (1897) and on the farms and homesteads on the outskirts of the village.

In the post war years, the complexion of this small African population changed dramatically, for these years saw the opening of deep level gold mining on the Far East Rand. In 1905, Brakpan Mines began sinking operations to produce its first gold in 1908 and the Rand Collieries opened in 1905 to supply cheap coal fuel to this new mine. (7) From these years onwards a constant supply of migrant African workers were deposited at Vitoli, Skilpot, Zweegood or M'shlambomwa, as African names designated the gold and coal mines in the region. (8)

While less is known about the places of origin of African coal miners, African miners who constituted the majority of the gold mine labour force came from the indigenous African communities of the Southern part of the continent. The structure and nature of recruitment and discipline of the African gold mine labour force and the importance of a subsistence base in the Reserves for the profitability of the gold mining industry have formed the subject of many significant studies and need no fuller discussion here. ⁽⁹⁾ The expansion of gold mining into this district and the beginnings of permanent settlement paved the way for other employment opportunities for rural Africans who had made their way to the Reef independently of the mine recruitment agencies, and concurrent with the growth of the compounded African mine working force, Brakpan saw the beginnings of a permanently settled, non-mining African working class.

The most dramatic period of growth in the Brakpan township and thus the opening up of the greatest opportunities for African employment and settlement took place during the first world war and the post war years. In 1914, "State Mines" (Government Gold Mining Areas), which was to become the world's richest gold mine in the 1930's produced its first gold, and it was to this development, rather than to opportunities for industrial development provided by war-time industrial protectionism that Brakpan's growth was tied. ⁽¹⁰⁾ By contrast elsewhere throughout the Reef, secondary industrialisation quickened as the war increasingly cut South Africa off from British suppliers. In this process, the East Rand was carved out as the domain of engineering, which after mining, became the chief capitalist employer in the region. ⁽¹¹⁾ In Brakpan, while an engineering industry did make its appearance, it was an extremely small sector and its activities remained entirely subservient to the needs of the local gold mining industry. Even when it came to industrial diversification to produce ammunition for the war effort, it was in the workshops of State Mines, rather than in the engineering factories, that the lead was taken. ⁽¹²⁾

In Brakpan, the engineering sector, unlike that in neighbouring towns was thus able to soak only a limited number of Africans in employment. These wood and iron pattern shops, foundries and workshops, owned and managed by artisans and journeymen had extremely modest African labour needs. The highly skilled team of artisans required small numbers of African men to perform most of the menial work. Each moulder for example required a "native" to shovel sand from heap to mould, and in most workshops, such as Victoria Engineering, the four white skilled men employed only two African men. Initially, Davies Engineering, which was established in 1927 did not even employ African labour. ⁽¹³⁾ An exception to the rule was the Brakpan Foundry, owned by the Johannesburg-based Rowe and Jewell Company which employed an African labour force of 150. ⁽¹⁴⁾

So hesitant was the growth of this sector in Brakpan, that by the mid 1930's, Brakpan Foundry, Davies Engineering, E W Summerson Engineering, Lester Engineering, Hillman Bros (E R) Ltd and Victoria Engineering Works were the only engineering factories out of a total of 14 industrial establishments. ⁽¹⁵⁾ Apart from the municipality which employed 300 men, the other 8 concerns were the mineral water factory, the town's four brickyards, the crushing works and timber yards. The rush of building activities which followed the establishment of the Brakpan Municipality in 1920 similarly absorbed African labour. ⁽¹⁶⁾ Amongst these building-related industries, Hunt Leuchars and Hepburn which provided work for 8 dozen African men, was the most significant employer. ⁽¹⁷⁾ In the commercial sector African work seekers obtained jobs in three bakeries, the dairies, hotels, general dealers, butcheries, "Kaffir Eating Houses", and the abattoir. ⁽¹⁸⁾ Finally, on the vast agricultural smallholdings which surrounded the town, transport riders engaged "voorlopers" and plottolders, market gardeners and small farmers employed agricultural workers, gardeners and domestic servants.

It is difficult to speak with any precision about population figures in the 1920's, for, as the Town Council despaired, the "lack of reliable data" ⁽¹⁹⁾ and the scattered and usually illegal modes of settlement made enumeration an impossible task. One report in 1921 estimated that there were 14 790 mining men and 462 women housed in the compounds of Rietfontein, Brakpan Mines and State Mines and 1 316 non-mining men and women in the municipal area (1 972 men and 244 women). ⁽²⁰⁾ By 1926, it was estimated that the figure of the non-mining population excluding those living or "squatting" on the mine properties and smallholdings was 2 540 (1 150 men and 390 male children; 530 female adults and 470 female children). ⁽²¹⁾

BRAKPAN CENSUS 1921

PROVISIONAL FIGURES AFFORDED BY MR AUSTIN : ASSISTANT RESIDENT MAGISTRATE BENONI, PER TELEPHONE

AREA	TOTAL	EUROPEAN		NATIVE		ASIATIC INCLUDING SYRIANS		OTHER COLOURED	
		MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
		Rietfontein	793	81	58	537	105	1	1
Brakpan Mines	6 623	327	213	5 810	230	8	3	22	10
Government Gold Mining Areas	9 401	461	311	8 443	127	13	0	24	22
Brakpan Township Area (1)	1 124	439	367	262	52	1	0	1	2
Area (2)	976	396	372	164	26	0	0	9	9
Area (3)	1 257	541	476	177	57	2	1	3	0
Area (4)	1 277	548	500	157	48	9	0	10	5
Area (5)	787	369	337	44	29	0	0	5	3
Area (6)	1 194	473	411	268	32	0	0	7	3
Modder Deep	12	4	8	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	23 444	3 639	3 053	15 862	706	5	85	60	60

Source: CAD:EMR C2/7

GENERAL CENSUS 1924

1924 (September 4, 1924)

	<u>Europeans</u>	<u>Coloureds</u>
State Mines	660	62
Brakpan Mines	553	257
Victoria Falls Power Station	102	16
Apex Collieries	36	58
Brakpan Old Station	30	32
Mordera	19	5
Rand Collieries	163	50
Rand Collieries Smallholdings	30	10
Witpoort	188	84
Van Dyk	65	25

Township number of unoccupied

stands

5 560	Passes issued	
	July	17 850
	Township occupied	
	stands 112	
	allowing one	
	native to 5	
	stands	<u>222</u>
<u>7 446</u>		18 731

Source: CAD:BMR C2/4

Rural Impoverishment, the Growth of Capitalist Agriculture and African Urbanisation

The appearance in Brakpan of a sizeable African proletariat can only partially be explained by the "pull" factor of employment opportunities in the embryonic manufacturing and commercial sector. Indeed, in comparison to the pace of secondary industrialisation elsewhere on the Rand, Brakpan's industrial growth and employment openings were negligible. In this decade, and in fact until the 1950's, Brakpan's industrial and social identity was firmly stamped upon it by the huge gold mining industry which had given it birth. Accordingly, the bulk of the African population of the town was made up of the vast armies of migrant labourers employed on the mines and in the Victoria Falls Power Station (VFP).

Nevertheless, alongside the massive, temporary migrations of miners to the gold mines in the Brakpan vicinity, as a result of major transformations in the rural areas of the country which eroded African subsistence bases, a constant stream of rural immigrants sought permanent employment and homes in this town. One of the crucial forces in extruding rural Africans onto the Rand's labour markets was the promulgation of the 1913 Natives Land Act. This was the final coup de grace delivered to the independent peasantry, whose activities were portrayed by white farmers and ideologues as an obstacle to the goals of intensive capitalist rural production. The Act almost entirely prohibited Africans from buying land outside the existing reserves and enabled landlords to impose stricter terms of tenancy by transforming rent-paying tenants into labour tenants.⁽¹²⁾ Although a distinct time lag occurred before the full sting of the Act was felt, particularly in the Transvaal where many Africans were able to sustain a discretionary entry into the urban labour market until the 1930's,⁽¹³⁾ the effects of the Act and of the advance of rural capitalism into the agricultural hinterland were particularly evident in the Heidelberg area, this region which was to feed

the Brakpan smallholdings, kitchens and factories with African labour in the 1920's and 1930's.⁽²⁴⁾ The expansion of white agriculture into this area into land previously under black occupation and cultivation resulted in the deterioration in the terms of tenancy on white-owned and in large-scale proletarianisation.⁽²⁵⁾ As a result of these developments, it was predicted that some of the country's "most prosperous native churches" which had been sustained by an independent peasantry, would go into decline.⁽²⁶⁾ The arrival of labour tenant families from the farms of the South Eastern Transvaal is reminiscent of the process of small-town urbanisation described by Wells.⁽²⁷⁾ This pattern of urbanisation entailed the movement of whole families from white farms to the small towns in or on the fringes of agricultural districts. So marked was this phenomenon that in 1925 the Native Commissioner of Benoni remarked on how struck he was by the fact that so many "whole families had established themselves in the area". He accordingly pressed the local authority to provide accommodation for the local African population on "a family basis".⁽²⁸⁾

Although most of the non-mining African population originated from the farms of the Transvaal and Natal, where wages were considerably lower than the estimated average of £1 per week in town, the series of disasters in the overstocked and denuded Reserves in the late teens which produced deep tremors of proletarianisation doubtless threw many African workseekers onto the East Rand labour market.⁽²⁹⁾ It was only in the following decade however that these areas proffered non-miners on a marked scale.⁽³⁰⁾

In the 1920's therefore, while there was a significant degree of contact and interchange between the mine compounds and the outer urban world of the town, in general, the shops, businesses and kitchens drew their labour from a strikingly different pool to that of the mining industry. In addition, because of the low level of industrialisation in the town, a considerable proportion of these newcomers could not be absorbed in employment in the town.

African Occupational and Residential Patterns in Brakpan,
1920 - 1927 .

Amongst men, employment patterns were characterised by considerable movement between jobs in Brakpan, whether on the mines, smallholdings or in the town and between other industrial centres. In the mid 1920's oscillation between the East Rand and the diamond diggings in the Western Transvaal was not uncommon. ⁽³¹⁾ Such mobility however was usually dependent on some level of skill and education, and often those originally from the more deeply mission-penetrated regions of the country enjoyed this leverage. One such informant, Mr Maleko explained that after leaving the "family farm" in the Transkei in 1923, due to "starvation and the lack of crops", he began his working days on the Rand as a messenger in Boksburg, moving shortly thereafter to a similar job on the mines in Springs, then to a post as a policeman in the Springs Native Affairs Department in 1925, before he finally wound up as a teacher in a mission school on the West Springs Mine. ⁽³²⁾ Yet opportunities for better educated Africans and for capital accumulation in Brakpan were few and far between. There was no location in which aspirant entrepreneurs could set up shops. "Native Traders" in the town and concession storekeepers on mining property monopolised and jealously guarded the "native trade" with miners. It was illegal for Africans to open "Kaffir Eating Houses" in the town. The absence of a location, municipal offices and a local magistrates office until the mid 1920's, meant that there were few clerical openings for educated and "civilized" African men and women. Until the establishment of the local magistrates court in 1925, interpreters and clerks found employment in the Benoni magistrates court. ⁽³³⁾ A limited amount of clerical work could be obtained by educated Africans on the mines and teachers found work in the four "native schools" in the area. The only other openings for more educated Africans were as "office boys",

messengers and interpreters in the municipal offices when these were constructed in 1921 and as messengers and assistants in the shops and local businesses.

The local petty bourgeoisie of Brakpan was therefore even more stunted and repressed than their counterparts in the larger Reef centres and they represented a miniscule fraction of the local African population.

Of the approximately 1 000 salaried or professional Africans and slightly larger group of self-employed, small businessmen and craftsmen on the Rand in 1920, ⁽³⁴⁾ only a handful of these would have found a living in Brakpan. Although a break-down of "daily labourers" (the self-employed) in the Benoni-Brakpan areas is available, there is no precise indication of how many such people worked and lived in Brakpan. Presumably the number would have been extremely small because of the above mentioned constraints as well as the stipulation that in order to be issued with a daily labourers pass by the local authority, the individual concerned had to be residing in accommodation approved by the local authority. ⁽³⁵⁾ Given the absence of municipally-provided accommodation in Brakpan, it is unlikely that many would qualify and what self-employment did exist, occurred outside of municipal control. Conditions were certainly not propitious for the growth of a class of Africans able to sustain itself in independent economic activity. It would receive little encouragement from a local government anxious to pare the African population down to a figure commensurate with its limited labour needs. Elements of local capital, particularly those engaged in the lucrative "native trade" would likewise not look kindly upon the competition which a class of African small businessmen and craftsmen would afford.

Return showing Numbers of Daily Labourers and Native
 Juveniles Employed in Labour Districts on the Reef,
 31 November 1922

Benoni-Brakpan District

Hawkers and pedlars	82
Shoemakers and cobblers	52
Tailors	6
Washboys	1
Carriers	15
Storekeepers	47
Brickmakers and builders	2
Paper hangers and painters	8
Cab drivers	8
Well sinkers	2
Masons	2
Gardeners	3
Blacksmiths	6
Butchers	
Plumbers and tinkers	2
Unspecified	2
	<hr/>
	226

On the whole, the male African population deemed necessary to cater for the town's labour requirements were workers in the municipality, the few, small engineering and other factories, brickyards, quarries and commercial establishments where they earned an estimated average wage of £3.0.0. per month. (36) In many of these concerns, new proletarians confronted "time thrift", dictated by the factory clock and an economy highly attuned to market demands. This imposed an unremitting pace of work and an increasing divide between work and the wider realms of human activity. The newly arrived immigrants from the white farms and reserves brought with them habits and values hostile to the demands of modern industry, and the discipline essential to the new productive systems would require the elimination of these familiar rural work rhythms and ethics with their accompanying patterns of sociability. (37) The socialisation of workers was to occur through coercion in most aspects of their working lives, through tight supervision in the factories and businesses and through the ever present threat of dismissal onto an already over-subscribed labour market. This coercive aspect was particularly marked in compounded industries and enterprises such as the Victoria Falls and Transvaal Power Station (as the Rand Central Electrical Works became known), the municipality, Parracks Brickyard, Hunt Leuchars and Hepburn and Rowe and Jewell. In the VFP, for example, stringent controls were exercised by supervisors, and in addition to work discipline, workers were subjected to such measures as arbitrary punishments meted out by vindictive compound managers. On one such occasion, a VFP worker who had been accused of insolence, defiance and insubordination at work was handcuffed and incarcerated for two days by the compound manager - a rare instance in which the compound manager was fined £3 for "common assault". (38) In this concern, intense struggles had to be waged by management to force their workers to accept the tight disciplines and control demanded by the nature of work. In 1902, for example, 62 Xhosa employees who marched from the VFP to Boksburg to protest against

ill-treatment by the resident engineer and against the dangerous nature of the work were given one month's imprisonment with hard labour. (39)

Although the above two examples pertain to an industry and work force which had more in common with the mining industry than with the other local concerns, it is likely that in other industrial and commercial establishments as has been the case in most industrialising societies, a series of interventions in the workplace were necessary in order to control patterns of culture and sociability viewed as antithetical to an industrial order.

Female employment patterns and experiences were strikingly different to those of male workseekers. Immediately prior to the first world war, but especially during the 1920's and 1930's, female influx to the Rand and natural increase spiralled and the extreme imbalance in the ratio of men to women of the early 20th Century began to be redressed. (40)

The women who made their appearance on the Rand ranged from the wives of miners, single women bolting from the restrictive patriarchal structures in the Reserves to women who had come to town with their labour tenant families from white farms. Women were frequently accompanied by their offspring, and Gaitskell has suggested that until 1930, because of the differential impact of rural impoverishment, it was predominantly Xhosa women and women from Basutoland who tended to bring their children to the Rand. (41)

Once in town, the hesitant establishment of family life depended upon accessibility to an income beyond the males' principal wage. Survival for single women and their dependents in town made some form of employment even more incumbent upon them. In Brakpan, as in most South African towns, jobs for women were virtually non-existent for current employment practises excluded women from the industrial workforce.

Domestic service provided one possible opening for women in the 1920's. Until the 1912-1913 Depression, domestic service on the Rand had been a male preserve, but with the deep currents of proletarianisation in the countryside, cheaper labour supplies in the form of women were made available, resulting in the unseating of the "houseboy" from his domain in the backyards of white homes. As Van Onselen points out, however this change in the sexual composition of the Rand's domestic labour force was neither uniform nor immediate. Factors such as white women's fears of the sexual competition from female servants in their homes and the freedom of black women from the pass laws and the limits these imposed upon male bargaining strength, meant that the rate and extent to which women were absorbed into domestic labour was inhibited and that the "houseboy" lingered in white households. (42)

According to informants who lived in the Brakpan township in the 1920's, few white working-class households employed full-time female domestic servants. Generally, they employed local African women to wash clothes and to clean their homes once a week. More often than not, informants indicated, the servants rooms in the backyards were used to accommodate poor white relatives from the rural areas of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal rather than full-time ^{African} maids. (43)

There is no precise breakdown of the sexual composition of the domestic labour force in Brakpan. However, out of the town's 980 domestic servants, 184 were 'juveniles', (under the age of 15). Of these, 162 were male and the remaining 22 girls were employed as nurse maids. The gender profile of the remaining 806 is unclear. (44) Considering the agitation of white residents against domestic servants roaming the streets at night and against 'black peril' incidents in the 1920's, it seems likely that a substantial proportion were still male. Even employers specifically requiring female

domestic workers discriminated against certain categories of women, particularly against young women with children. In 1923 the superintendent of the New Kleinfontein Central Boarding House, for example complained at the shortage of "suitable" women employees and told the Council how she had been compelled to turn away "several girls (who had) called a short time ago ... looking for employment" as she required "women of staid years without a baby".(45)

Few women obtained formal employment outside of the domestic service sector. Where they did, it was often due to the activation of kinship networks. When Mrs Motlakeng, accompanied her husband from Mt Fletcher in the Transkei to the compound at State Mines in 1925, her brother, who was working in a local bakery secured work for her there. In the bakery, she was one of three women employed by this concern, and as she expressed it,

"Many peoples in the kitchen, two ladies and there was me ... that's all ... boys, boys all boys making bread".(46)

The only alternatives to wage labour for women were hawking, selling food, prostitution and the brewing and selling of beer to workers. The latter two practices were to become the most significant avenues of female economic activity, given the proximity of thousands of single male migrants in the surrounding compounds.

Whereas their white working class counterparts were settled in modest, neatly laid out suburbs, no provision was made by the local authority for the accommodation of African workers and their families. This resulted in the profusion of hovels, slumyards, shacks in vacant stands and squatter settlements on the smallholdings and on mining land. Even as late as 1927, four years after the promulgation of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act, which provided for the establishment of locations in South

Africa's towns, there was no location in the Brakpan municipal area. Until the latter half of this year, many African workers and their families lived in an ensemble of informal living arrangements, deemed by a peturbed Government Health Inspector to be "most unsatisfactory".⁽⁴⁷⁾ Before examining more closely the reasons for the failure to provide housing and municipal services for the African working class, the following section examines African residential patterns in Brakpan.

African Residential Patterns in Brakpan, 1900 - 1927

The predominant form of accommodation and social organisation for African gold and coal mineworkers in Brakpan in the 1910's - 1920's, were the compounds of State Mines, Brakpan Mines and Apex Colliery which together housed 9 100 "boys".⁽⁴⁸⁾ These single sex institutions, controlled with varying degrees of efficiency and in the main occupied by migrants and contract workers had been designed originally to cope with changes in the labour process and to control theft, drunkenness and desertion on the part of black workers on the Kimberley diamond fields.⁽⁴⁹⁾ This system was adapted to suit the particular conditions of the Witwatersrand gold mining industry and was used to minimise the costs of its labour force's subsistence, in this way, allowing mining to continue operating on the basis of extremely low wages. The large compounds facilitated economies of scale and thus minimal health services and food supplies could be made available at very low cost. The repressive labour extraction and control functions of compounds as well as the widespread practise of desertion are by now well documented.

In Brakpan, the mine compounds were as incommodious as those elsewhere. Workers lived in rooms with tiered concrete bunks, muddy floors and poor ventilation. The food was inadequate and often used as an instrument of social control. Harsh discipline was meted out by managers, indunas and compound

police and there was little supervision exercised over health and sanitary conditions. When the Government Health Inspector visited the Brakpan Municipality in 1927 for example, after inspecting only one compound, he deemed all others in the municipal area to be "satisfactory".⁽⁵⁰⁾

Conditions in the compounds however varied and as Pearson and Moroney have demonstrated, not all compounds conformed to the "closed institution" model, as delineated by Goffman.⁽⁵¹⁾ Some freedoms were enjoyed by workers and interaction occurred outside the compound universe, particularly on the remote farms and plots surrounding the town. In addition, one of the earliest inducements offered by compound managers in the post South African war period of intensive labour shortages was allowing for the development of "mine locations" in which miners and their families could reside. These rapidly spread about upon mining land.⁽⁵²⁾ The 1906 Report of the East Rand Local Government Commission described the dwellings in these "irregular mine locations in the immediate vicinity of the mines" of the Far East Rand as "insanitary shanties" and observed that "very little control appears to be exercised" over the locations.⁽⁵³⁾ At Rietfontein, mining land close to the Brakpan township where the Rietfontein Colliery was situated, such a "location" had appeared. It had been established on private stands which had been subleased to "Jewish shopkeepers of a low type". Here, Africans crammed into huts made of old corrugated iron and tin boxes, for which they paid rents to the lessees. It was alleged that most rooms or huts were let to and occupied by women "of a very low class who live by brewing and selling kaffir beer and prostitution". The remaining huts were occupied by miners and their wives.⁽⁵⁴⁾ Living conditions at Rietfontein, as in most "irregular mine locations", which usually sprang up in the vicinity of concession stores, were condemned as cramped, filthy and unsanitary. The most alarming aspect for white officialdom was the complete absence of any controlling authority.

In the huts and narrow lanes separating them, barrels and cans full of "kaffir beer in all stages of fermentation" were found by the police and during the weekend's "excessive drinking and debauchery", murders were frequently staged. (55) By the second decade of the century as a result of political and ideological pressures which bore upon the Milner regime to reduce the disorganised pattern of settlement of black workers and their families, mine locations were destroyed, or replaced by more closely regulated married quarters. Although married quarters were provided by State Mines, an informal "location" of 1 160 people remained on the Brakpan Mines property, one informant recalled clusters of squatter camps on the mining land between Brakpan Mines and State Mines in the plantation which separated the town from State Mines and land in the vicinity of Apex Mine in the 1920's. (56)

Although, even on the mines, the compound system was not the exclusive form of worker accommodation it set the standard for accommodation provided by some of the major employers of African labour in the town such as the municipality, Hunt Leuchars and Hepburn, Rowe and Jewell, and Parracks Brickyard.

In 1920, soon after Brakpan became an independent municipality, the Council constructed its own brick and iron compound in the township to house its workforce. Here, 300 single men lived under similar conditions to their miner counterparts. Workers were issued with staple mine fare and the bunks, floors and sinks were all constructed out of concrete and cement. Because the compound was built around the municipal stable, it was constantly plagued by flies.

By 1928, the municipal compound was overcrowded and forty men had to be accommodated temporarily in the produce store room. The Council was caught in a vicious circle when it was realised that it could not engage African labourers needed to construct an extension to the compound because it could not accommodate them. (57)

Establishments such as the VFP, Parracks Stone Quarries, Hunt Leuchars and Hepburn and Rowe and Jewell also built compounds on their properties. According to an informant who was apprenticed to Hunt Leuchars and Hepburn, the compound provided more autonomy than most, in that communal kitchens were provided in which the inmates could make their own food. Nevertheless, controls even in this compound were strict, one of the most irksome being the requirement that workers obtain a pass from their employer before leaving the business premises. This was particularly restrictive because unlike miners, most workers in the compounds in the town had families living in the township and in its surrounds. (56)

Some concerns such as the VFP allowed a section of their workforce to construct huts on their premises or provided huts where workers could live with their womenfolk and families. (57) On the whole, however, family accommodation had to be sought elsewhere. Many Brakpan workers lived in the Springs and "Twatwa" (Benoni) locations. (58) This was not ideal however. In the absence of municipal transport, this entailed the inconvenience of walking a considerable distance between places of residence and of work. It also was very insecure and this option closed for many Brakpan employees in 1923 when the Springs Municipality expelled all Africans not working in the magisterial district of Springs from its overcrowded location. (61) This action exacerbated the growing accommodation shortage in Brakpan, when hundreds of expelled Brakpan workers appeared in the Brakpan township in search of accommodation. Because of the absence of municipally provided housing for Africans in the town, a variety of informal residential patterns both outside the township and within its boundaries emerged. By the mid 1920's these had become the norm and because of the absence of control and the growth in the African population, it gave rise to segregationist agitation.

Many Africans lived on the vast, sparsely settled agricultural smallholdings which lay on the edges of the town. In 1921, both the South African Land Exploration Company (SALLIES) and the Rand Collieries applied for the subdivision of their lands, Witpoort No. 1 and Rand Collieries respectively into smallholdings. These rural plots were originally envisaged as "healthy residential areas for pthisis sufferers and other pensioners".⁽⁶²⁾ Soon after the carving up of the plots, however, smallholders other than pthisis victims and miner pensioners settled here. Many were artisans employed on the mines, who supplemented their incomes through keeping chickens, cows and small vegetable gardens. After a wrangle with the Council over the legality of trading on the smallholdings, transport riders, dairy farmers and Italian and Portuguese market gardeners followed suit and established their enterprises on the plots.⁽⁶³⁾

Just as the plots and the nature of the activities carried out upon them varied, so too did the "squatting", employment and tenancy arrangements with African men and women. The title deeds for both the Rand Collieries and Witpoort Smallholdings legalised the residence of domestic and other servants only. In cases where this ruling and municipal regulations regarding African residence were observed, male members of African families performed agricultural, dairy or gardening work while their women folk workedⁱⁿ the kitchens of the plotholder homestead. Usually, permission to build shacks and to keep stock and chickens was granted to African labourers and their families in lieu of a cash wage. In spite of strict municipal rulings on African residence on the plots, a whole array of "irregular arrangements" with African tenants arose on the plots.

These "irregular arrangements" varied. Some plotholders allowed the "squatting" on their properties of miners, workers, petty criminals and beer brewers in return for rents. This led to the charge from their more law-abiding neighbours that these "shack lords" were trying to raise their monthly instalments

through charging extortionate rentals.⁽⁶⁴⁾ Industrial concerns such as Rowe and Jewell also came under fire for allowing fourteen of their employees to live in two wood and iron sheds on their property at Rand Collieries. A township company also allowed the construction of 121 huts on its property at the Rand Collieries. The Smallholders Association condemned these absentee landlords, mining companies and "European owners" who "lived in the town" for sanctioning African settlement, cultivation and stock-keeping on their vacant lands. Absentee landlords on the Withok Estates, (later to become smallholdings) for example allowed their land to be cultivated by Africans who were "farming on their own account".

In 1927 SALLIES refused to hand over jurisdiction of open land on Witpoort Estates to the Council, and as a result, "native grazing" in these areas continued well into the next decade. As one smallholder expressed it, the sparsity of the white population on the plots was "an invitation to such acts by Natives".⁽⁶⁵⁾

The overwhelming impression from the evidence is that this sort of settlement as well as that on individual plots occurred on a family basis. For these families who had arrived from the farms of Natal and the Transvaal, the plots served as a temporary halt in the inexorable process of proletarianisation. The plots here, played a similar role to peri-urban areas of small rural towns in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, which served as staging posts for labour tenants and sharecroppers before totally relinquishing their independent status and moving to larger industrial centres on the Rand.⁽⁶⁶⁾ One informant recalled how his parents who lived and worked "under feudal conditions" as labour tenants in Natal left for the Rand in search of better prospects in 1920. They found work on the plots belonging to the Van Dyk mine, adjacent to the Brakpan township. As tenants, they continued in agricultural work, "tilling the soil, looking after cattle and helping sell vegetables". They were allowed to keep their own cattle and

goats, and according to their son, Mr Mosuku, this represented a marked improvement upon conditions in Natal. When the location was finally built in 1927, they were removed from the plots, into the location and into wage labour in the town. (67)

The plots also acted as a staging post on the road to full proletarianisation for miners, many of whom established their women and/or families there. (68) The plots therefore accommodated a diverse and variegated population of Africans in different stages of proletarianisation. Alongside "labour tenants" and agricultural workers, lived miners and their families; industrial workers and their families, and by the mid 1920's, a growing sector of Brakpan's unemployed and lumpenproletariat. For women, single and married, the plots were havens for brewing beer and for holding "skokkiaan parties" for miners who would meet and share the conviviality of the crowded shacks, the music and female company in an all-to-brief escape from the alienation and monotony of their working lives.

As a result of the large scale settlement of blacks on the plots, by the mid 1920's, the smallholdings were peppered with "insanitary huts". Shacks appear to have been uniformly squalid and overcrowded. Fashioned from pieces of iron, sacking and other debris, they were dark, damp and frequently condemned as "unfit for human habitation". As one municipal official described them, "Certain native huts ... are so delapidated, defectively constructed and overcrowded that they are injurious and dangerous to health". (69) Plots accommodated up to seven families in shacks. One transport rider for example employed six male drivers and three women as domestic servants. All their dependents were crammed into 2 poky huts on his plot. Another plot was reputed to accommodate 80 people. (70) In addition to the widespread concern amongst plot holders over the appalling living conditions and lack of sanitary conveniences for squatters on the smallholdings, the profusion of shebeens on the plots resulted in moral panic.

Plotholders expressed their fears of the effects of uncontrolled squatting and the widespread shebeening on agricultural practices, master-servant relationships and upon property values. One plotholder, Mr Ceronio frequently complained to the Town Council about the shebeens and of the dangers which he believed they posed to white families and their women folk "who are frequently alone at night due in our areas to shift work".

"my place is between lots of squatters (sic) and it is really a disgrace to see the drunkenness that is going on. Last night was just awful. Every morning you see those native girls putting down tins and tins of this drink and in the afternoon or evening, the drinking rowdiness starts. Why should people be allowed to keep more than one native hut on the properties. Please take into consideration the seriousness of so many natives staying where these white women are lonely during the day".(71)

Paul Jansesn and 76 others similarly complained of a case where five huts on a 5 acre plot, liquor was "freely distilled". (72) Irate neighbours of plotholders who permitted beer brewers and prostitutes to live on their plots sent streams of letters of complaint to the Council. Neighbours of Mr Van Rensburg, a transport rider for example bitterly complained about the "noise, fights etc" on his plot and about the lack of sanitary accommodation there. On Sundays and Saturdays, they complained "the situation was 50% worse ... Crowds of natives from the compounds visit these native girls" and the plots on weekend nights were as a consequence littered with "drunken boys".(73)

Many law-abiding plotholders and farmers resented the fact that they had dispensed with the service of "good boys" by adhering to Municipal by-laws, while their neighbours allowed the squatting of "superfluous natives" who created a "nuisance and disturbed the peace through drinking and riotousness".(74)

Whereas pressure from the Smallholder Association occasionally forced individual plottolders to expel squatters and beer brewers absentee landowners who did not belong to the Association were impervious to such pressures.

It was not only moral sensibilities which were offended by the drinking and prostitution. Many plottolders feared the threat that visiting mineworkers posed to their property and livestock. One plottolder wrote of how "these squatters collect mine boys. On one occasion, I caught 3 boys under the influence of drink at my sheep kraal. I had to sit up all night before the police came". (75)

It was asserted by plottolders and farmers that the squatters disrupted farming activities.

"Native squatters make free use of grazing in our area. They collect all the cattle they can from outside areas, dump them on plots and in consequence the small amount of grazing available to plottolders is reduced". (76)

In addition, agricultural sabotage was frequently suspected,

"These boys (who were) responsible for grass fires here two years past now, destroyed our grazing". (77)

Together with stealing and stock thefts, the frequent veld fires may be viewed as part of a silent, subterranean stream of protest against exploitative conditions and perceived injustices. They could also have represented acts of retaliation against the confiscation of stock or the reduction of land to squatters for grazing, a phenomenon not dissimilar to and probably continuous with the contemporaneous acts of rural protest described by Bradford. (78)

Many plottolders objected to the downward pressures exerted upon property values as a consequence of uncontrolled squatting and the gathering together of the unemployed, criminals and mine workers. As one plottolder expressed this concern,

"Purchasers of plots have found a rapid fall in value owing to native squatters. These areas have had their progress retarded on account of the better values of intensive farmers objecting to dumping his family amongst natives". (71)

The Council however did little to allay plottolders fears about African residence on the plots there. As they answered the housing needs of many of the town's employees, the Council was loathe to take action to prevent the squatting on the holdings. Even when squatting reached uncontrollable proportions in the mid 1920's, no action was taken to reduce African settlement there. This was due in part to the inadequacy of the local police force. Because of municipal parsimony, and the remoteness of the plots from the town, the holdings were not policed. With what police force the town had at its disposal to control illegal occupation and crime, it was

"manifestly impossible for the police to cope with such natives except where complaints made are verified, this owing to the enormous amount of ground to be covered and the difficulty of being sure that the purchaser has not given permission for such natives to remain on a plot". (80)

Moreover, as the SAP Officer Commanding, of the Brakpan-Springs area told the town clerk in 1929, criminal proceedings against plottolders harbouring non-workers on the plots could not be taken as the area had not been proclaimed under the Natives (Urban Areas) Act.

Free from official harassment, shacks on the smallholdings thus became the most sought-after form of accommodation. The freedom from prosecution and police interference was an important element in the calculations of women, the growing criminal elements as well as the unemployed and those who had entered the urban area passless.

Another reason for the popularity of the plots amongst African men and women was the difficulties and insecurities attached to living in the Brakpan townships itself. A Council regulation ruled that the township,

"...or any portion of it shall not be transferred, loaned or in any manner assigned or disposed to any coloured person and no coloured person other than the domestic servants of a registered owner or his tenant shall be permitted to reside thereon or in any manner occupy the same". (81)

Living in the township therefore involved the complex procedure of securing special permits, without which residents were subjected to arrest and prosecution. Nevertheless, hundreds of Africans lived in the township, and often with the approval and permission of their employers. The mineral water factory, P Sullivan and Sons for example, was "in the habit of allowing (our) boys to rent rooms in the township"⁽⁸²⁾. Quarters could be found in backrooms, garages and above shops and business premises. The backrooms, constructed of wood and iron were little more than hovels. Delapidated, dark and cramped, they regularly came under fire from the Public Health Department which condemned them as "unfit for human habitation". Slumyards began to develop where the families crammed into "grossly overcrowded" backrooms which abutted onto concrete courtyards. The Government Health Inspector, after surveying such establishments urged that

"The building of a municipal location is a pressing matter as the conditions under which native employees in the town are at present housed is most unsatisfactory and unhygienic. They are crowded together in backrooms of private persons and sometimes onto rooms opening onto yards as is the case behind the butcher shop".(83)

The only other places where African men, women and children could live in the township were in crude shelters on the many vacant stands in the town, and in the region of the VFP pan.(84)

Living conditions for Africans were appalling and led to the flourishing of such diseases as typhoid and tuberculosis. The prevalence of venereal diseases was a particular source of concern to the mine management and the town government. In 1918, the "Spanish Flu" epidemic swept Brakpan, and although only 622 Africans (as opposed to 763 whites)(85) were treated in the Beñoni Municipal area in a context of poverty and inadequate housing, the toll taken by the flu on the African population must have been considerable.

The rapid growth of an African population which was squeezed into virtually every nook and cranny in the township gave rise to intense concern amongst the townfolk about the possible health dangers it posed to the white population. In 1924, a Mr J Bezuidenhout and 536 others attempted to take legal action against the Council in order to pressurise it to build a location. Their legal representative wrote in this regard,

"The urgent necessity for immediate commencement to be made arises from the fact that bubonic plague has broken out in Johannesburg. The natives squatting the backyards and shops is nothing short of a danger to the health of the community".(86)

In addition to the widespread concern about the dangers to public health posed by the uncontrolled residence of Africans

in the town, white citizens became alarmed by the prevalence of "Sunday quarrelling and fighting" amongst African workers, which they asserted were "the aftermath of the previous night's drink parties".(87) The regularity of drunken brawls led a harried deputation of the town's clergymen to the Council in 1921, who impressed upon the Council the necessity of providing municipal services and amenities to the local African population. This, they urged, would "direct natives from the deteriorating influences" - beer brewers and prostitutes who plied their trades in the town's backrooms. Most vociferously expressed in this regard was the invective against the backrooms of Power Street, a street notorious on the East Rand as a "native trading zone" where all the evils of drink and sex were allegedly concentrated. These stores were owned by "a low class of European", Jews of Russian descent who catered to an almost exclusively African miner clientele. The backrooms of the shops of Power Street and other stores in the vicinity were rented by African women. The Council despaired that for the sake of inflated rentals and the benefit from the custom which the women drew to their stores, the storeowners

tolerate, and in the majority of instances... countenance, the brewing of intoxicating liquor by innumerable native women who reside in their backyards, ostensibly as their servants".(88)

Although many African men who frequented these backroom brothels and shebeens were workers in Brakpan, Power Street acted as a powerful magnet for miners, drawing them into the heart of the town. To the consternation of both mine managements and the local authority,

"The liquor dens in the area behind Power Street afford an attraction for many (mine) natives, who should not proceed passless beyond Power Street where they obtain liquor, become drunk with the women, constitute a public nuisance and is dangerous".(89)

The regular deluge of miners to Power Steer was made possible by the relaxation on the Far East Rand of Government Notice 542 which had been designed to restrict the numbers of African mine workers wandering beyond the compounds to those with special passes. In the early days of mining on the East Rand, the ruling had been relaxed after an agreement had been made with the Power Steer Traders in order to facilitate miner patronage of the "Native Stores". The dramatic expansion of mining by the late 1920's, however, drastically raised the number of miners travelling to and from Reef towns. By this time, the waiving of Government Notice 542 was seen to present a dire threat to social control in Brakpan because of the whoring and drinking in the stores's backrooms. (90)

Power Street traders not only turned a blind eye to official concern about the activities in the backrooms but in fact effectively encouraged them. In order to ensure miner custom, the traders sent motor lorries to the compounds to convey miners to their stores and to the backroom brothels. (91) The refusal of the traders to co-operate with the police in rooting out prostitutes and brewers gave rise to an indignant campaign against them. Because of the ethnic exclusivity of the trade, the campaign assumed an anti-semitic edge. The traders were accused of having "no sense of responsibility" and of being "out for their own ends only". (92) White residents and churches were embarrassed by the "carousing and immoral conduct" practiced in these "dens". The Apostoliese Geloof Sending for example, was shocked by displays of public indecency,

"Native girls can frequently be seen entering these premises. Under a pretext of doing minor work, they emerge with goods under their dresses and these are distributed to natives in the immediate vicinity. Subsequent acts of indecency take place and natives expose their person to the women and children". (93)

Public pressure, warnings of compound managers, strictures of clerics and regular police investigations however had no effect on the gatherings of large numbers of African workers and women in Power Street. Furthermore, there was no law under which the prosecutions of the traders could succeed.⁽⁹⁴⁾ Power Street thus came to constitute one of the most vivid symbols of the dangers of the ungoverned African population living in the midst of the town.

In addition to the pervasive signs of drunkenness, the occasional occurrence of sexual crimes across the colour line and criminal activity gave rise to segregationist demands in the 1920's. Both phenomena, it appears, were related to the retention of African males in domestic service. A particularly gory "black peril" case in 1927 in which a "houseboy" assaulted his mistress galvanised local white residents into renewing pressure on the Council to construct a location.⁽⁹⁵⁾ A further outgrowth of the male domestic service sector was the reconstitution of the amalaita gangs of black servants.⁽⁹⁶⁾ While these gangs, provided young male domestic servants with a degree of collective security of self esteem in a context of low wages, "black peril" witch hunts and unemployment, they were regarded by the white townsfolk as a threat to public peace. One of the early white residents recalled how amalaita gangs dressed in their distinctive white garb and "tackies" gather(ed) in the area of the pan for weekly fights" in the early 1920's.⁽⁹⁷⁾

Alarmed by large numbers of domestic servants abroad at night, the residents called for a curfew bell to be placed in the Market Square to ring at night at 8.45 and again at 9.00, "so that all kaffir servants should know to be in at that time".⁽⁹⁸⁾ Ideally however, it was felt that local segregation and the establishment of a municipal location would be the means by which to reduce the ubiquitous crime, noise and brawling.

Indeed, one of the key elements in the segregationist demands of white residents in the 1920's was the prevalence of crime in the region. Historically the Far East Rand had earned for itself a certain notoriety for criminality and from the turn of the century, the isolated small town had become a target for a growing class of black criminals. The problem of crime in the region, explained the Deputy Commissioner of Police in 1912, was "probably due to the Cindrella Prison situated in that district" and the "large numbers of seasoned native criminals imprisoned there, (whose release constantly adds to the ranks of native habitually criminals on the East Rand where they are to be found in large numbers)".⁽⁹⁹⁾ Van Onselen has shown, how both Cindrella Prison in Boksburg and the mining compounds on the East Rand extruded squads of "Ninevites", the secret organisation of robbers and criminals which preyed on the Brakpan-Benoni-Heidelberg districts.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ In 1911 and 1912, the Heidelberg area was in the grip of a housebreaking epidemic and in 1912, it was estimated that 400 to 500 robberies and housebreaking incidents had occurred in the area between Germiston and Springs.⁽¹⁰¹⁾

Although by 1914, the Ninevites had been dealt a severe blow by a battery of state measures, the turbulent post war years saw a brief resurgence of activity, as the value of real wages declined and the cost of living soared. This in turn led to the growth in numbers of African criminals, and the swelling of the prison populations.⁽¹⁰²⁾ The increase in crime in the early 1920's might also be related to the decline in the metal working industry on the East Rand.⁽¹⁰³⁾ The fresh wave of crime

in Brakpan in the early 1920's, was also ascribed by local officialdom to the opening of the Springs location which had resulted in the extrusion of "bad characters" from that town. These criminals have secreted themselves into "odd corners" in Brakpan where there was limited policing powers and vast unregulated smallholdings.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ Here they battered off the local African population with acts of petty crime.

Criminal activities had become endemic by the mid 1920's and it was remarked that "the degree of crime being experienced amongst Europeans and Natives is such as to create a feeling of insecurity with residents". (105)

Police resources were stretched to their limit, and as a result of the shortage of manpower, valuable policing time was drained in routine tasks such as the preparation of cases, framing charge sheets and summonses, appearing in court and the typing of preparatory records. The fact that the African population was widely distributed residentially also made it impossible to carry out effective searches and restrain black criminal activity. (106)

It was widely believed particularly by the police that the high levels of criminal activities was due to the absence of a location and of controls over ^{the} influx and efflux of "undesirables" that segregation was believed to ensure.

It is no coincidence either that pressure for local segregation took place immediately after a period when African worker and popular militancy swept the Witwatersrand. The eruptions of 1918 to 1920 both on the mines and in the townships on the Reef in turn catalysed a systematic rethinking of 'native policy' in the Union and in particular, in the urban areas of the Witwatersrand. (107)

The reason for this unprecedented upsurge of militance have been discussed extensively elsewhere and need only brief mention here. Most accounts have the following points in common:

the steady erosion of reserve economies consequent upon underdevelopment and severe drought; the formation of a concentrated black urban proletariat as a result of the spurt given to industry by the war time protectionist policy. The concomitant housing shortage and the growth

of slums, the rising cost of living, the pegging of black wages, direct and indirect taxation on African earnings, the demonstration effects of white worker action and the continued rigidity of the job colour bar. (108)

When inflation was unleashed in 1917, this ferment began on the East Rand; prices of commodities rocketed while African wages remained stationery. In addition to the industrial unease this situation engendered, in the underground caverns of the mines around Brakpan, white officials became alarmed by rumours of a proposed "native uprising" in Natal, where upon the instructions of chiefs, Zulu miners were supposedly to return. In the following year, ⁱⁿ a boycott of mine stores on East Rand mines was conducted ^{and} occasional acts of violence and retribution were wreaked ^{against} concession store owners. (109)

Two years later a mineworker strike of 71 000 black miners paralysed the mines in and around Brakpan. (110) The shockwaves were rapidly transmitted to other concerns. The VFP management for example complained that "the presence of agitators" had caused the "unsettled state of natives at this compound". (111)

On Brakpan Mines, a further strike of 300 white miners over dismissals in April of that year resulted in 3 500 black miners out of a force of 4 500 standing idle. At State Mines, miners were found to be "restless" and reports of "agitators" who had been "going round telling people to strike" fed growing fears of the subversive effects of the interaction between town dwellers and compound workers. (112)

Apart from the outbursts of resistance by miners, as Bonner has shown, the period between 1910 and 1920 also saw the most intense radicalisation of urban black political leadership in South Africa before the Second World War. Under the impact of working class militancy, the almost exclusively petty bourgeois Transvaal Native Congress joined hands with the industrial working class in a brief display of mass class action. (113)

The brutal suppression of the Johannesburg sanitary workers strike in 1918 and the recourse taken by the State to effect

this served to trigger widespread disaffection amongst members of this organisation. This resulted in a Reef wide TNC organised shilling-a-day and anti-pass campaign.

Discontent over living conditions significantly infused the ferment. After passes, housing was possibly one of the most reviled institutions affecting African life on the Reef. Throughout the Rand, material conditions were squalid and depressed. The conditions in Johannesburg, the centre of TNC activity are well known. On the East Rand, these were perhaps worse, and it is therefore small wonder that the campaign of 1918 evoked such an intense response in this region. On the East Rand, most locations had been constructed adjacent to municipal sewerage depositing sites. They were overcrowded, disease infested and characterised by gross municipal neglect. Under austere location regimes, residents were subjected to arbitrary measures such as continual liquor and pass raids. (14)

It was in Benoni, Brakpan's parent municipality that the most regular demonstrations and outbursts occurred. In this "storm centre of the Reef", bitter struggles in which crowds threw stones at the police, led to the summoning of all white constables in the area to round up 20 African males suspected of travelling through the district spreading disaffection among the mine natives". In Springs, similar episodes of crowd clashes with the police were reported and in Boksburg, meetings in the location similarly culminated in a fracas in which 60 arrests were made.

The Benoni and Brakpan records are virtually impermeable to questions as to the effects of this wave of protest in the Brakpan Township and it is difficult to ascertain the extent to which the local blacks and TNC branch participated in the campaign. That Brakpan and Benoni was officially regarded as one and the same, might explain the general documentary silence about activities in Brakpan. It is more likely how-

ever that the documentary silence reflected a situation of political quiescence in the Brakpan Township. Although a TNC branch had been established, with its offices in Northdene Avenue in centre of the township, because of its relatively conservative and cautious leadership, the small size of its membership, the scattered nature of African settlement and the absence of working class pressure from below militant popular action was unlikely.

Although the documents record TNC requests for public meetings in the Public Park in the 1920's (115) and although according to an informant, regular TNC meetings over the need for housing were held near "Jew stores" at State Mines, (116) dealings with the local authority were characterised by mutual courtesy and there is no evidence of militant grassroots pressure on this organisation for a more radical, confrontationalist political stance.

The leadership of the local branch emerged chiefly from the ranks of the local educated clerks, interpreters and messengers. The branch secretary for example, Mr C H K Morotolo was an interpreter and messenger in the municipal offices and S Ziswana, a branch office bearer, was an interpreter in the Benoni Magistrates Court. Amongst rank and file, the membership was drawn from the municipal employees who worked in municipal offices and higher-paid workers in the town's commercial concerns. The signatures appended to a TNC petition of 1923, requesting the construction of a location, probably represents a fair reflection of the social composition of the TNC branch. Of the 24 signatories, 12 signed themselves as municipal employees, 6 as employees in commercial concerns, two as interpreters, two as mine clerks and one as an "office boy". (117)

Although there were no demonstrations organised by this small, isolated grouping in Brakpan, the recent upheavals in most Rand towns were not lost on Brakpan's local authority, and from 1920,

attempts to provide a location thus assumed an urgency amongst local officialdom.

The State Native Affairs Department similarly became perturbed that Brakpan was the only Rand town without a "Native Location". In 1920 for example, Major Bell, the Native Sub-Commissioner of the Witwatersrand warned the Brakpan Council of the dangers of further dilatoriness in the provision of a location for its local African population. (115) The upsurge of militance on the Rand, had made Bell particularly aware of the social consequences of "native slums" and of the possibilities of African middle class disaffection consequent upon government neglect of their needs. (116) He pressed upon the Brakpan Council the urgency of implementing government policy, which he described as one which intended

"to secure the best conditions practicable for the natives and in general to create an environment calculated to raise the moral tone of the native and make him a useful member of society instead of a potential criminal". (116)

In addition, from this date, local TNC pressure on the Council mounted steadily. From 1920 to 1923, the congestion, crime and drunkenness of Africans in the township had assumed such alarming proportions that a new wave of harassment of Africans was undertaken at the hands of the police and magistrates, in their efforts to ferret out criminals and beer brewers. It was this which prompted the first TNC deputation to the Town Council in 1922, but because of the generalised chaos in the town caused by the 1922 white miners strike, the Director of Native Labour, Colonel Pritchard would not permit this meeting to take place. A year later, the Council was informed by a TNC deputation which demanded the establishment of a location, that

"At present natives are being arrested in a wholesale manner and are being fined by the magistrate for living in the township without permits from the standholders. He (Ziswana) further stated that the Springs location would be closed in approximately three months time and that hundreds of natives would as a consequence be rendered homeless". (12)

This deputation was followed by a request by Ziswana for permission for the delegation to sit in on the meetings of the Finance Committee in order to reach some agreement on the solution to the housing problem in Brakpan. ⁽¹²⁾ The Council did not accede to this request, but resolved that from this time onwards, until a location had been constructed, no further prosecutions of Africans living permitless in the township should be carried out, "unless in the opinion of the Chief Sanitary Inspector, a distinct nuisance is being created and that they be requested to exercise discretion in the matter". (13)

By the mid 1920's, for a variety of motives, the call for segregation emanated from most quarters in the Brakpan township, white and black. Some of the calls originated in the extreme exclusionism of the white working class inhabitants which made such complaints as those against "natives using foot-paths in the township and especially in their congregation in front of Maskells hotel, making it impossible for Europeans to pass on sidewalks". Beneath the racism, however, lurked a very real fear of permanent African settlement and acquisition of skills in the town, factors which were antithetical to the interests of this structurally insecure class. A location system with its regulatory mechanisms was believed to be the means with which to contain the inflow of Africans to the town. The calls for segregation also originated from philanthropic concern over the squalor, poverty and disease which bred in the town slumyards and smallholding shacks. Others believed that crime, prostitution, illicit drinking and potential working

class militancy could best be contained in a municipally controlled location. For African workers too, who either had to live in single sex compounds or backroom hovels in order to be near to their place of work, a location with accommodation on a family basis was deemed infinitely preferable to the prevailing situation and was actively called for by the TNC. Yet, even after 1923, when the State had made provision for the construction of a location in Brakpan, the haphazard, informal patterns of African residence persisted as the municipality struggled to overcome local obstacles in order to implement Government policy.

Brakpan and Municipal Segregation

In the post South African war years, development of the Brakpan settlement began to occur in the more purposeful and planned direction. The Milnerite social planning for "orderly settlement" in which poor blacks were winnowed out from poor white urban districts, however passed this crude, small colliery settlement over.

The new Benoni municipality which enjoyed jurisdiction over the Brakpan settlement from 1907 did not give much thought to settling the black inhabitants in an "orderly" manner either because, numbers at time did not warrant such consideration and because the growth and extension of Brakpan beyond a residential area for white miners was never envisaged. With more foresight, the Transvaal Coal and Trust Company, owner of Brakpan Mines, and the company responsible for the laying out of a township in 1912, secured surface rights under the provision of section 71 of the 1908 (Transvaal) Act, for a site for a future "native location" in 1911. (: 124)

From 1909, the Transvaal Coal and Trust Company had begun to campaign for the development of Brakpan into a township which could meet all the residential requirements of white miners to

the south of Benoni. The initial application to the Provincial Authorities in 1909 triggered a clash with the Benoni Council, which resisted the idea because of the additional financial obligations the development and administration of Brakpan would incur. On 23 May 1910, a second revised application for the establishment of a "garden township" to serve Apex Mines, Brakpan Mine, Modder "B" Mine, VFP, State Mines, Rand collieries and Van Dyk Mine was submitted to the Provincial Authorities. In these plans, provision was made for a location in an area, 300 metres from the south eastern border of the proposed town. At this early stage, it was warned that the location site was too near to the town, and would therefore be unsuitable. Throughout 1910 and 1911, however, years of petitioning and of debates between Brakpan ratepayers and the Transvaal Coal and Trust Company and the Benoni Town Council, the problem of the location site was relegated to the background. On 5 April, 1911, the Minister of Lands approved the lay-out of the township including that of the ill-sited proposed municipal location. (125) Although no further thought was given to the establishment of a location, an important ruling made at this time with regard to the settlement of Indian traders in the township was to govern the residential choices of African employees. This ruling emerged from fears of Indian "infiltration". In the first decade of the century, the East Rand was blown by a strong gust of anti-Indian agitation, primarily because of the fierce trading competition which the opening of the mines in the region had brought about. Consequently, before the Township Board stated that it was not prepared to approve of the Brakpan Township unless strong measures were taken to prevent Indian "infiltration". It was therefore laid down that no Coloured person with the exception of domestic servants could live in the township. (126)

From 1912 to 1920, when Brakpan formed a ward of the Benoni municipality, no steps were taken to establish a location on the land set aside for this purpose in 1912. In fact, one of

the charges of neglect flung by Brakpan ratepayers at the Benoni municipality in its secessionist campaign, 1916 - 1920, was its failure to properly control the African population in the township. In 1915, for example, no support was given to local agitation for the establishment of a pass office for Brakpan, and in 1920 the Brakpan Ratepayers Association instituted an enquiry into the reasons why there was no location. (14)

It was only 7 years later however that a location was established in Brakpan. There were several reasons for this delay. Municipal penury, the attitudes of chief employers of African labour to the African workforce, the financial constraints under which they operated, white ratepayer opposition to subsidising African housing, and the confusing overlapping jurisdictions of municipal, provincial and central authorities all contributed to paralysis in the field of African housing. One of the chief problems was the narrow fiscal base of the local authority.

Although mining capital owned vast tracts of land within the municipality, it was exempted from municipal rates on the land it owned, paying only a tax on buildings and improvements to the land. All revenue from taxes on mineral values were funnelled towards the central state. Thus, even though the taxable area of Brakpan was extended in 1922 to include portions of mine-owned land - the farms Brakpan No 5, Schapensrust or Koolbult No 7, Witpoortjie No 2 and Rietfontein No 5, mining capital contributed little to the municipal revenue. (15) Neither did the mining industry, operating under severe cost constraints - a fixed international gold price and low grade ore have any interest in encouraging permanent residence and township housing. It depended for its profitability on a system of migrancy and the cost-cutting compound system. In addition, as the largest land owner in the town, mining capital was able to dictate the use of urban space, according to its will to suit its own sectional interests and

in the following years, would successfully block Council attempts to use mine-owned land to house the African population. Such was the purchase that this fraction of capital had on the State that until 1926, the government refused to compel the mining companies to part with the surface rights of their properties for the purpose of a location.

Manufacturing capital would have had a considerably greater interest in promoting a stabilised, adequately housed workforce housed in a location, but it too was unable to provide the financial resources and was exempted locally from paying tax for the provision of public services. The manufacturing sector was small and undeveloped and like mining acted under crippling cost constraints, which limited its ability and will to house its workforce. Very little surplus from mining was ploughed into manufacturing, and capital was scarce for investment in manufacturing. The few local industries such as engineering shops engaged in repair work for the mines had a limited market and did not make use of mechanized production methods and economies of scale that were being pioneered by their counterpart industries in the metropolitan countries. Neither was the industry free from bouts of bankruptcy which resulted in overseas competition and under-capitalisation. As a result, as Sitas has described it, the local engineering shops suffered an "unfortunate relationship between profits and working costs".

Weighed down by these factors, local manufacturing was unlikely to exhibit much interest in assuming responsibility for the reproduction of the African working class. There was no need, for with large scale proletarianisation, there was a surfeit of job applicants at factory gates, which meant that the labour force could be replenished from a reserve army of labour when workers became old and worn out. The actual labour forces of factories were extremely small and most employers, with the exception of Rowe and Jewell and Hunt Leuchars and Hepburn, which provided compounds for their workers, were content to see

their employees living either on their business premises, rooms in the town or on the smallholdings.

From 1920, when Brakpan became an independent municipality, the financial burden of the administration of the town fell exclusively upon white ratepayers, an almost entirely working class constituency. From the beginning of its life as an independent municipality, the Council was burdened by onerous financial obligations which had to be sustained by the local white population through rates on sites and on improvements and for the use of municipal services. Part of the agreement when seceding from Benoni in 1920 was that Brakpan would raise £14 000 sterling to pay the Star Life Assurance in respect of a loan obtained by Benoni (in return for taking over the assets within the Brakpan area, valued at £33 988 30).⁽¹²⁹⁾ In addition, the new local authority had to construct municipal buildings, a water and electricity scheme, to provide safety measures at the Springs railway crossing, pay officials salaries and buy equipment, livestock and vehicles. Furthermore, the loans which the Administrator was prepared to sanction for these purposes were regarded as inadequate.⁽¹³⁰⁾ As a consequence, rates were high, particularly so for a white working class population subject to the vagaries of unemployment and poverty. In 1922, the year of the white mining strike and of widespread unemployment for example, the collection of rates was well nigh impossible and was one of the reasons why the Administrator refused to authorise further loans to the Brakpan Town Council.⁽¹³¹⁾ In 1926, the burden of rates weighed even more heavily on the population when site values were increased by 1d. These would only be reduced in 1937.⁽¹³²⁾

While they wanted a location, the extra financial responsibilities of housing the African labour force would not be welcomed by the white working class, particularly as the chief employers of black labour seemed to be abrogating all such responsibility. Most importantly, the political complexion of the Council's

constituency governed attitudes to subsidising black housing and to permanent black settlement in the town.

This was a mining and artisanal community, to whose interests black urbanisation and permanent residence in the town were inimical. The militancy of this class in defence against the encroachment of black labour on the citadel of white labour privilege was violently and dramatically expressed in the "Rand Rebellion" of 1922. The violence perpetrated against scabs and attacks on African miners and the armed conflict on Brakpan Mine in which 23 people were wounded and 8 killed, marked Brakpan as one of the storm centres of the revolt. So severe were attacks on black miners that on Brakpan Mines, 10 000 black miners armed with sharpened jumpers threatened to settle accounts with the strikers. (133) In the 1924 parliamentary election, successful Labour Party candidate, General Waterston, leader of the Brakpan "hooligan" Commando was swept into power with his promises of protection from the competition of black labour. (134) In the municipal election of 1929, Labour Party candidate, Dai Davies won on his platform opposing the influx of Africans into the urban area. (135) He promised, if elected to see that the municipality obtained "further powers to prohibit Natives coming into the Municipal Areas unless they have work to come to" In a poor municipality, where the interests of a white working class which expressed its insecurity in an all-embracing racism, predominated, it was unlikely that the local authority would be willing to undertake the financial responsibilities of providing facilities for a permanently urbanised African working class. The financial deadlock was resolved in 1925 when a loan for location purposes was extended by the Central Housing Board. Conflicts over the siting of the location however would still delay the establishment of a location for a further two years.

In 1920, when independent status was bestowed upon Brakpan, it was hoped that the financial burden of providing for a location could be eased by establishing a joint location with the Springs

Municipality. It was a plan which suited property owners in the town who did not want an African location as near to the township as the original plans had envisaged for fear of the downward pressures that this might exert on property values. (136)

When overtures were made to the Springs Town Council, however, this proposal was turned down as a site had already been chosen by this municipality for its own location. Brakpan rapidly dropped the idea of a joint location, for the Springs site was one it found to be "unsuitable". (137)

The town engineer, was now instructed to design a location for the original Weltevreden site, for which provision had been made in 1911, despite doubts as to its suitability. By April 1921, these plans were completed and the Public Health Committee met with Major Bell, the assistant Director of Native Labour to discuss the establishment of the proposed location. At the meeting, Major Bell stressed the importance of situating the location about 1½ miles from the town as well as the necessity of providing for the expansion of the location so that the problems of teeming slums which characterised areas of African settlement in Springs and Johannesburg could be obviated. (138) The Brakpan No 5 or Weltevreden site, however, filled none of these requirements. After war-time population growth, its 32 morgen was considered too small to house an estimated population of 4 000. It was also too close to the township boundary. No expansion could take place without the permission of Brakpan Mines, the owner of the farm Weltevreden and which emerged as one of the fiercest opponents of the site. It was asserted by its management that the site was "too close to the township and the No 3 shaft and compound and would therefore be a great source of trouble to both the Mine and Township Administration". (139) The management of Brakpan Mines was only too aware that access to liquor and women which a nearby location would afford to the mine's labour force, "would lead to serious disorganisation of mining operations and further losses". (140)

Other obstacles to the siting of the location rapidly arose. It was realised that any expansion of the location in this area would block further growth of white residential areas as well as the development of the proposed provincial hospital. Local property owners set themselves against the site. They asserted that a location in such close proximity to the town would place the moral and physical welfare of their families at risk and cause their property values to drop. A petition of 636 signatories objecting to the Weltevreden site on these grounds was submitted to the Council in 1924. (141) Because of the overwhelming opposition to this site, in 1920, the Council endeavoured to find an alternative site.

In 1920 the Council attempted to secure a location site on the Schanpensrust or Koolbult No 13 farm, an area of 100 morgen and situated 2 miles from the town. This site was favoured by the Council, Department of Native Affairs and Colonel Pritchard, the Director of Native Labour. It had numerous advantages above that of the original site on Weltevreden or Brakpan No 5. It was considerably larger and a more convenient distance from the town. The old NZASM railway station at Schanpensrust would be available for immediate use to transport workers to town by train, thereby relieving the Council of the responsibility of providing bus transport. Finally the Rand Water Board Pipeline in the immediate vicinity would make possible the provision of water to the location. So enamoured was the Council with this site, that a further plan for a location to accommodate Africans, "coloureds" and Indians was approved and applications were made for the surface rights of 61 morgen on this property. (142) The Schanpensrust option however was foreclosed in 1921 when the Mining Commissioner of Boksburg announced that he could not support a request for a permit for the surface rights, as Brakpan Mines held the coal rights on Koolbult on behalf of the Consolidated Mines Selection Company and were not prepared to cede the necessary permit for building a location to the Council. (143)

The Council was also faced with opposition to this site from another important interest group in the town, from the shopkeepers of Power Street. In the expectation that a location would be built on Weltevreden or Brakpan No 5, shops had been established by these traders on the road leading to the proposed location. In a petition signed by shopkeepers to the Town Council, it was asserted that if a location was built at Koolbult, bankruptcy would stare them in the face. (144)

In 1922, the Council however was determined to continue negotiating for the Koolbult site, but at this stage, the Director of Native Labour advised them to delay further action in this regard until the draft Native Urban Areas Act had been dealt with by parliament. Colonel Pritchard hoped that this would open the way for government pressure to be exerted on the owners of Koolbult. (145) Yet by the time the much awaited act made its appearance, it was too late. By 1923, the Witpoort farm, on the borders of Koolbult had been carved into smallholdings and a location on the fringes of the plots was now considered incompatible with the interests of the plotholders. As Counsellor Price expressed it, "it would encroach on the residential privileges of the plotholders at Witpoort by reason of its abutting on that Estate". (146)

However, unsuitable Brakpan No 5 was considered, given the absence of any other viable alternatives, and the congestion in the town, in the following year, the Council applied to the Mining Commissioner for the release of a further 30 morgen adjacent to the proposed location site on Weltevreden. (147) By this date, the Minister of Native Affairs was persuaded that "the establishment of a Native location is an urgent necessity" (148) and agreed to lend his support in negotiating for more land. Although, ministerial intervention resulted in the acquisition of an additional 30 morgen adjacent to the proposed location from Parrack Quarry, the Council and the Department still had to overcome the implacable opposition of the mines which closed

ranks in their shared determination to resist the establishment of a location close to their compounds. New State Areas Mine which lay on the border between Brakpan and Springs and which was adjacent to the Weltevreden site insisted that

"Mine natives would be able to obtain liquor in the location, with the result that drunkenness amongst natives would cause serious disorganisation of work on the mine with consequent financial loss to the Company and the government". (14)

Its management raised the spectre of "tribal fights" being staged by "natives under the influence of liquor" and of a rampant sexuality which it argued, could only result in venereal diseases. Experience of the old Springs Location, it argued had brought "heavy hardships to the conduct of operations".

"The site of the native location which the Brakpan Municipality proposes to establish is just as objectionable from this company's point of view and is only a little more distance from our compound than the old Springs location which the company paid £2 000 to have removed".

Brakpan Mines chimed in, opposing not only the granting of additional land to the location site, but to the siting of the location there at all. They asserted that their "experience has proved conclusively that natives living in locations are not as well controlled as those in compounds". "Dangerous" and "undesirable natives" who were bound to gather in the location would exert a "dangerous influence" upon the "raw mine native". (15) The South African Police (SAP) added its voice of criticism of the site. Having been engaged in an interminable battle against the liquor trade in the Springs location, it argued that the control of and prosecution of miscreants would be rendered even more difficult at Weltevreden

because of the verdant plantation nearby which was "ideal for liquor smuggling". Control of the illicit liquor sales would be no easy task if a location carrying a population of 4 000 men and women was to be inserted in a compound landscape of 13 499 single black men. (151)

By this time, despite mining capital intransigence and vehement police opposition to the site, the Council was determined to establish a location as soon as possible at Weltevreden. Plans for the location were already far advanced and the Central Housing Board had agreed to grant £15 000 for the construction of the first houses. (152) A deputation of Councillors met with the Minister of Native Affairs in November 1925 to appeal for his support in siting the location at Weltevreden. The Minister however felt that the obstacles in the way of the Weltevreden site were too great, and urged the Council to explore the viability of establishing a location on the farm Rietfontein No 4, land owned by Apex Mines, which he regarded as a more suitable site. (153) Although the Council duly entered into negotiations for the release of this land, at a Council meeting in December 1925, it resolved that notwithstanding the objections of New State Areas Mines and the opposition of the police, the Provincial Authorities were to be appraised of the urgent necessity of the immediate erection of a location at Weltevreden. (154)

Early in the following year, the Council once again tried to impress upon the Department of Native Affairs of this and of the recency and therefore invalidity of the mines' objections to the site. In a meeting with the Secretary of Native Affairs, J F Herbst, Councillors told him of the

"pressing urgency of bringing the question of the location site to a settlement as the overcrowding of Natives in the town was a serious menace to the public of Brakpan". (155)

Although the Department of Native Affairs urged the Council to attempt to secure the Rietfontein site, in a further meeting with the Minister of Native Affairs, the Minister conceded that the Department of Native Affairs would support the Weltevreden scheme if within a reasonable period of time, no headway could be made in securing land at Rietfontein. ⁽¹⁵⁶⁾ These negotiations were duly held over 3 days. In September 1926, however, the Mining Commissioner made public his decision that because he could not see his way clear to setting aside Rietfontein No 4 as a location, because of mining interests there. ⁽¹⁵⁷⁾ On the 26 October, the Council ^{in turn} received notice that the Department of Native Affairs would now aid the Council in executing the Weltevreden scheme, and in securing additional land from Brakpan Mines. ⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ A further 32 morgen was thus acquired from Brakpan Mines, and although only 62 morgen in extent, the Brakpan Native Location was finally established in 1927.

With the building of the location and Weltevreden, in 1927, the way was set for the creation of a new black urban community compacted in a location. Families, single men and women on the smallholdings, shacks, backyards and backrooms were dislodged and herded into municipal houses. A distinct, new identity was belatedly bestowed upon a hitherto scattered and fragmented African community and the conditions laid for growth of a new urban culture, consciousness and forms of association.

A satisfied white population and Town Council saw the new location as the panacea to the town's social problems. It brought about the final regimentation and control of the towns labouring class and the mechanisms needed for the extrusion of the "dangerous classes", unemployed, "idle and dissolute". The local authority could also now bask in the moral comfort that in segregating the town, the loftiest human ideals had been realised.

"It stands as an axiom that when natives are housed well, they will respond to civilising influences and not only be healthier and happier but render better service. That we suppose, is the *raison d'être* for such a location. But looked at from the higher point of view, it is but a measure not only of selfish policy but of justice and humanity to see to it that these people whose wages are small and outlook so limited should have a chance to live decently and to make the best of themselves". (167)

(1) Some of the work which comprises this body of literature are S. Moroney, 'The Compound as a Mechanism of Worker Control 1900 - 1933' in South African Labour Bulletin. (SALB), Vol. IV, 3, May, 1978; S. Moroney, 'Industrial Conflict in a Labour Repressive Economy: Black Labour on the Transvaal Gold Mines, 1900 - 1912', B.A. (Honours) dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 1976; D. Moodie, 'Mine Culture and Miners' Identity on the South African Gold Mines' in B. Bozzoli (ed.), Town and Country-side in the Transvaal, (Johannesburg, 1983), pp. 176 - 197; R. Gordon, Mines, Masters and Migrants, (Johannesburg, 1977); N. Kagan, 'African Settlement in the Johannesburg Area, 1903 - 1923', M.A. Thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1978; J.J. Fourie, 'Die Koms van die Bantoe aan die Rand en Hulle Positiese Aldaar', M.A. Thesis, Randse Afrikaans Universiteit, 1972; A. Potgieter, 'Die Swartes aan die Witwatersrand, 1900 - 1933', Phd Thesis, Randse Afrikaans Universiteit, 1978; E. Koch, 'Doornfontein and its African Working Class, 1914 - 1935: A Study of Popular Culture in Johannesburg', M.A. Thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1983; A. Proctor, 'Black Workers, Local Government and the State: Urban Class Conflict and the History of Three Johannesburg suburbs, Sophiatown, Maritindale and Newclare, 1905 - 1940', B.A. (Honours) Dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 1978; A. Proctor, 'Class Struggles, Segregation and the City: A History of Sophiatown 1904 - 1940' in B. Bozzoli (ed.), Labour, Townships and Protest (Johannesburg, 1979) pp. 49 - 89

(2) See also E. Hellman, 'Rooivard: A Sociological Survey of an Urban Native Slum', M.A. Thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, A. Stadler, 'A Long Way to Walk: Bus Boycotts in Alexandra, 1940 - 1945 in P. Bonner (ed.), Working Papers in Southern African Studies, Volume 2, (Johannesburg, 1981), pp. 258 - 303; T. Lodge, 'The Destruction of Sophiatown' in Town and Countryside, pp. 337 - 364

(3) 'Die Swartes aan die Witwatersrand', p. 61. See also pp. 126 - 153

(4) See J. Cohen, 'A Pledge for Better Times: The Local State and the Ghetto, Benoni, 1930 - 1938', B.A. (Honours) Dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 1982
D. Gilfoyle, 'An Urban Crisis: The Town Council, Industry and the Black Working Class in Springs, 1948 - 1958', B.A. (Honours) Dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 1983; P. Bonner, 'Family, Crime and Political Consciousness on the East Rand, 1939 - 1955', Unpublished paper, 1986

(5) F.J. Nothling, 'Die Ontstaansgeskiedenis van Brakpan, 1964 - 1922', M.A. Thesis, University of Pretoria, 1969, chapter 1;
F.J. Nothling, 'The Story of Brakpan', (unpublished manuscript)
S. Webster, 'The Brakpan Story', (unpublished manuscript), pp 1 - 5

(6) The Star, 15 July, 1895

(7) For the history of the gold mining industry in this region, see 'Die Ontstaansgeskiedenis van Brakpan', pp. 15 - 27 and 'The Story of Brakpan', Chapter 14

(8) TAB : SNA, N.A. 8 852/1902

F.J. Nothling, 'Die Vestiging van nie - Blankes in Brakpan 1888 - 1930' in Kleig, Vol. 197, p. 16

(9) F. Johnstone, Class Race and gold (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976); H. Wolpe, 'Capitalism and Cheap Labour Power in South Africa: From Segregation to Apartheid' in H. Wolpe (ed.), The Articulation of Modes of Production, (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980); F. Wilson, Labour in the South African Gold Mines 1911 - 1969 (Cambridge University Press, 1972); A. Jeeves, 'The Control of Migratory Labour on the South African Gold Mines in the Era of Kruger and Milner'

(10) 'The Story of Brakpan', p. 23

(11) A. Sitas, 'African Worker Responses on the East Rand and Changes in the Metal Industry 1960 - 1980'. Phd Thesis. University of the Witwatersrand, 1984, pp. 66 - 67; W. Freund, 'The Social Character of Secondary Industry in South Africa, 1915 - 1945', Paper presented to the African Studies Seminar, University of the Witwatersrand, 1985, pp. 4 - 5

(12) Brakpan - Transvaal (Johannesburg, 1970). p. 23

(13) 'Achievement - Brakpan 1919 - 1952', pamphlet edited by F. Stark and issued by the Town Council of Brakpan and the Chamber of Commerce, (Johannesburg Municipal Library)
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(14) Engineer and Foundryman, February, 1938

A. Macmillan, Environ of the Golden City and Pretoria (Cape Town, 1934), pp. 167 - 168

(15) South African Directory, (Cape Times, 1934), p. 1420

(16) 'The Story of Brakpan, p.

(17) Brakpan - Transvaal, pp 36 - 41

(18) Central Archives Depot (Hereafter CAD): Brakpan Municipal Records (Hereafter BMR) P4/142. Report on Systematic Health Inspections of Brakpan Municipality by Dr Cluver, 24 and 30 June, 1927

(19) CAD : BMR C2/2 Town Clerk to the Director of Census, 18 January, 1921

(20) CAD : BMR C2/2 Brakpan Census, 1921. Provisional figures forwarded by the Assisatant Resident Magistrate, Senoni, per telephone

(21) CAD : BMR H2/117 Town Engineer to the Town Clerk, 3 December 1926

(22) See T. Keegan's analysis of the context and impact of the 1913 legislation in 'Crisis and Catharsis in the Development of Capitalism in South African Agriculture' :

Paper presented to the African Studies Institute, University of the Witwatersrand, 1985

(23) See for example G. Simpson, 'The Political and Legal Contradictions in the Preservation and Dissolution of the Pre-capitalist Mode of Production: The Phokeng Disturbances, 1921 - 1926', B.A. (Honours Dissertation), University of the Witwatersrand, Chapter 1

(24) H. Bradford, 'A Taste of Freedom: Capitalist Development and Response to the ICU in the Transvaal Countryside' in Town and Countryside, pp. 128 - 150.
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(25) 'A Taste of Freedom', op. cit

(29) C. Bundy, 'The Rise and Fall of the South African Passsystem', p. 213 (London, 1979).

(30) 'Family, Crime and Political Consciousness', p. 3

(31) See the case of Elliot Tshelaza in CAD : Court Appeal Records, Braikan Municipality v Elliot Tshelaza, TPD 104/29

(32) H. Sapire interview with Mr Maleko, Tsakane, January, 1985;

(33)

(34) CAD : Government Native Labour Bureau (GNLB) 323 84/20/243 Return Showing Numbers of Daily Labourers and Native Juveniles Employed in Labour Districts on the Reef, 31 November, 1922

(35) CAD : GNLB 323 84/20/243 Daily Labourers and Native Juveniles employed in Labour Districts : Native Subcommissioner, Benoni to Director of Native Labour, Johannesburg, 12 October, 1926

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(36) Braikan Herald, 1930. This figure represents a lower percentage than the classic 1% a week earned by Africans elsewhere on the Reef. See 'The Social Character of Secondary Industry', p. 7

(37) See T.S. Roberts, 'Drink and Industrial Work Discipline in 19th Century Germany', in Social History, Vol. 15, no. 1, pp. 24-35 and H. Gutman, 'Work, Culture and Society in Industrialising America', (Oxford, 1977)

(38) CAD : GNLB 137 File 13/97 Compound Manager, Braikan to Head Compound Manager, Rosherville, 28 April, 1914

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(39) P. Warwick, 'Black Industrial Protest on the Witwatersrand, 1901 - 1902', in SAILB, Vol. 2, No. 8, April 1976, pp. 22 - 35

(40) D. Gaiskell, 'Laundry, Liquor and 'Paying Ladish': African Women in Johannesburg, 1903 - 1939', Unpublished paper presented to the workshop on South African Social History, Centre of International and Area Studies, London, 1978; D. Gaiskell, 'Female Mission Initiatives: Black and White Women in Three Witwatersrand Churches, 1903 - 1939', PhD Thesis, University of London, 1981

(41) 'Female Mission Initiatives', p. 106

(42) C. Van Onselen, 'Studies in the Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand, Volume 2, New Nineveh', (Johannesburg, 1982) pp. 1 - 73

(43) H. Sapire interview with Mr S Webster, Braikan, December, 1986

(44) CAD : GNLB 323 84/20/243 Return Showing Numbers of Daily Labourers and Native Juveniles employed in Labour Districts on the Reef, 31 November, 1922

(45) CAD : BHR N3/1 Mrs Lewis to the Superintendent, Braikan Native Location, 15 July, 1923. (As no location existed, such letters were transmitted to the Town Clerk)

(46) H. Sapire interview with Mrs Motlakeng, Tsakane, 25 February 1985

(47) CAD : BMR P4/142 Report on Systematic Health Inspection of Brakpan Municipality by Dr Cluver, 24 and 30 June, 1927

(48) *ibid*

(49) C. Van Onselen, Ghiberg: African Mines Labour in Southern Rhodesia, 1900 - 1933 (London, 1976)
S. Moroney, 'The Compound as a Mechanism of Worker Control, 1900 - 1912' in SALB, Vol iv, 4, May, 1978

(50) CAD : BMR P4/142 Report on Systematic Health Inspection of Brakpan Municipality by Dr Cluver, 24 and 30 June, 1927

(51) S. Moroney, 'Mine Married Quarters: The Differential Stabilisation of the Witwatersrand Workforce 1900 - 1920' in S. Marks and R. Rathbone (eds.), Industrialisation and Social Change in South Africa, pp. 259 - 269; P. Pearson, 'Authority and Control in a South African Gold Mining Compound', paper presented to the African Studies Seminar, University of the Witwatersrand, 1976

(52) 'Mine Marries Quarters', p. 259

(53) Report of the East Rand Local Government Commission, 1906

(54) CAD : GNLB 1 2192/07 Government Native Labour Bureaux Director to the Secretary for Native Affairs, 17 December, 1907

(55) *ibid*

(56) H. Sapire interview with Mr S Webster, December, 1986

(57) CAD : BMR 51 C/26 Town Clerk to the Chairman of the Finances and General Purposes Committee, 5 April, 1928; CAD : BMR P4/ 15 Minutes of the Meeting of the Finances and General Purposes Committee, 14 September, 1920; CAD : BMR P4/142 Report on Systematic Health Inspection of Brakpan Municipality by Dr Cluver, 24 and 30 June, 1927

(58) H. Sapire interview with Mr S Webster, December, 1986

(59) CAD : BMR P4/15 Minutes of the Meeting of the Finances and General Purposes Committee, 14 September, 1920; CAD : BMR 133 :259/13/97 Housing of SAR Native Employees, Brakpan (undated)

(60) CAD : GNLB 1 2192/07 Government Native Labour Bureaux Director to the Secretary of Native Affairs, 17 December, 1907
CAD : BMR C2/2 Town Clerk to Director of Census, 18 January, 1921
CAD : BMR P4/15 Minutes of the Meeting of the Finances and General Purposes Committee, 17 August, 1920

61) CAD : BMR 149 N3/1 S. Ziswana to the Town Clerk 22 March 1923

62) 'The Story of Brakpan', p.81; CAD : BMR A4/6 Secretary, Townships Board to the Town Clerk, 26 November, 1921

(63) CAD : BMR A4/6 Minutes of a Special Council Meeting, 26 February, 1926

(64) CAD : BMR A4/6 Evidence of D.H. Bester to the Commission of Enquiry into the Excision of the Witpoort and Rand Collieries Smallholdings, 21 July, 1921.
The rents charged to African tenants helped smallholders pay rates and license fees which were seen as particularly onerous for artisan smallholders earning an estimated 20/- a day.
See CAD : BMR A4/6 Minutes of a Special Meeting of the Town Council, 23 February, 1926

(65) CAD : BMR A4/6 See correspondence and evidence in Excision of Witpoort and Rand Collieries Smallholdings, 2 July, 1926 and especially the evidence of H. Maskell

CAD : BMR C2/2 Town Clerk to the Director of Census, 18 January, 1921

CAD : BMR P4/47 Minutes of the Meeting of the Finances and General Purposes Committee, 19 November, 1927

CAD : BMR A4/7 Minutes of the meeting of the Finances and General Purposes Committee, 24 February, 1927

The struggles waged by plotheolders and the local government against African squatters within the municipal area echoes those of municipalities of the platteland towns of the Orange Free State and Transvaal in the late 19th Century. See H. J. Van Aswegen, 'Die Vestedeliking van die Nie - Blanke in die Oranje - Vrystaat, 1854 - 1902' in South African Historical Journal, No.2, November 1970, pp. 19 - 37

(66) See for example J. Wells, 'The Day the Town Stood Still': Women in Resistance in Potchefstroom, 1912 - 1930' in Town and Countryside in the Transvaal, pp.269 - 307

(67) H. Sapire interview with Mr Mosuku, Tsakane, February, 1985

(68) H. Sapire interview with Mr Pakade, Tsakane, February, 1985

(69) CAD : BMR P4/15 Public Health Report, 31 January, 1929
CAD : BMR P4/15 Letter circulated to 32 people on Witpoort P Plots, 19 April, 1928

(70) CAD : BMR P4/47 Minutes of the Meeting of the Town Council, 26 March, 1928

CAD : BMR A4/6 Minutes of the Meeting of the Town Council, 25 August, 1930

(71) CAD : BMR P4/47 G. Ceronio to the Town Clerk, 14 August, 1928

(72) See complaints in CAD : BMR P4/46 Witpoort and Rand Colliery Smallholders Association to the Town Clerk

(73) CAD : BMR A4/6 Evidence: Commission of Enquiry into the Excision of Witpoort and Rand Collieries Smallholdings, 21 July 1926

(74) *ibid*

(75) *ibid*

(76) *ibid*. See also CAD : BMR A4/6 Minutes of the Special Meeting of the Finance Committee, 1 December, 1926

77) CAD : BMR A4/6 Evidence of J.P. Fouche to the Commission of Enquiry into the Excision of Witpoort and Rand Collieries Smallholdings. 21 July, 1926

78) H. Bradford. 'The ICU in the South African Countryside'. PhD Thesis. University of the Witwatersrand, 1985. p.80

79) CAD : BMR A4/6 Evidence : Commission of Enquiry into the Excision of Witpoort and Rand Collieries Smallholdings. 21 July, 1926

80) CAD : BMR P4/47 SAP Officer Commanding Brakpan - Springs Area to the Town Clerk. 18 June, 1929

81) 'The Brakpan Story'. p. 21

82) CAD : BMR N3/1 P. Sullivan to the Town Clerk. 23 February, 1923

83) CAD : BMR N3/1 Minutes of the Meeting of the Finances and General Purposes Committee. 17 April, 1923

84) CAD : BMR P4/142 Report on Systematic Health Inspection of Brakpan Municipality by Dr Cluver. 24 and 30 June, 1927

84) CAD : BMR 164 P4/15 Memo: Squatting at VFP Pan. 14 September 1920; H. Sapire interview with Mr S Webster, Brakpan, December, 1986

85) 'The Brakpan Story', p.25

86) CAD : NTS 179/313 Mr Legate to the Town Clerk. 1 April, 1924
CAD : BMR P4/17 Health Report for year ending 30 June 1928

87) CAD : BMR N3/1 Minutes of the Meeting of the Town Council. 8 August, 1924

88) CAD : GNLB 2756/13/34 Sub Inspector Officer Commanding, SAP, Brakpan - Springs Area to the District Commandant, SAP, Boksburg, 17 December, 1927

See also CAD : BMR 150 N3/1 Report of the SAP at the meeting of the Town Council. 28 August, 1924

89) CAD : GNLB 2756/13/54 Sub Inspector, Officer Commanding AP, Brakpan - Springs Area to the District Commissioner, SAP, Boksburg, 17 December, 1927

90) See correspondence in CAD : GNLB 2756/13/54 Illicit Liquor Traffic in Brakpan and CAD: Evidence to the Commission of Enquiry into Trading on Mining Ground, 1935

91) *ibid*

92) Evidence to the Commission of Enquiry into Trading on Mining Ground, 1935

93) CAD : GNLB 2576/13/24 V. Acton to the Resident Magistrate, 8 December, 1927

(94) The Star, 14 December, 1927

(95) CAD : NTS 179/313 Mr Legate to the Town Clerk, 1 April, 1924

(96) C. Van Onselen, 'Studies in the Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand', pp. 1 - 73

(97) H. Sapire interview with Mr S. Webster, Brakpan, December, 1966
S. Webster, 'A Glimpse of Brakpan's Past', undated manuscript, Brakpan Municipal Library

(98) CAD : BMR N3/1 Brakpan Ratepayers Association to the Town Clerk, 3 September, 1920

CAD : BMR N3/1 Minutes of the Meeting of the Town Council, 28 August, 1924

(99) CAD : Department of Justice (Hereafter JUS) 3/778/12 Deputy Commissioner, SAP, Pretoria to the Secretary, Transvaal Police, Pretoria 13 June, 1912

(100) 'Studies in the Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand', pp. 171 - 201
See CAD : JUS 144 3/778/12 Native Gang Organisation, Benoni

(101) CAD : JUS 144 3/778/12 Sub Inspector O/C, Benoni Police to the District Commissioner, Transvaal Police, Boksburg, 20 June, 1912

(102) 'Studies in the Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand' Vol 2. p.

(103) 'African Worker Resistance', p.67

(104) CAD : BMR P11/1 Minutes of the Meeting of the Town Council with Colonel Godley, Deputy Commissioner of Police, Witwatersrand District, 2 September, 1923

(105) See correspondence in CAD : BMR P11/ 1 Police Headquarters: Erection of

(106) P. Bonner, 'The 1920 Black Mineworkers Strike: A Preliminary Account' in B. Bozzoli (ed.), Townships, Labour and Protest, (Johannesburg, 1979), pp.273 - 297 and P. Bonner, 'The Transvaal Native Congress, 1917 - 1920: the Radicalisation of the Black Petty Bourgeoisie on the Rand' in Industrialisation and Social Change, pp. 270 - 313

(106) CAD : JUS 3/911/21 District Commander East Rand District, Boksburg to Deputy Commissioner, Commanding Witwatersrand, SAP, Johannesburg, 23 July, 1927

(108) 'The Transvaal Native Congress', H. J. and Simons, R. E., Class and Colour in South Africa 1850 - 1950 (Harmondsworth, 1960); M. Benson, The Struggle for Birthright, (Harmondsworth, 1966); P.L. Wickens, The Industrial and Commercial Workers Union of Africa (Cape Town, 1978), F. Johnstone, Class, Race and Gold, (London, 1976)

(109) 'The Black Mineworkers Strike'; CAD : Evidence to the Commission of Enquiry into Trading on Mining Ground, 1935

(110) 'The 1929 Black Mineworkers Strike'

(111) CAD : JUS 3/127/ 20 Sub Inspector SAP. Benoni to District Commander SAP, Boksburg, 26 February, 1920

CAD : JUS 29/3/337/20 Sub Inspector, SAP to District Commander, Boksburg, 7 April, 1920

(112) CAD : JUS 29/3/337/20 Sub Inspector, SAP to District Commander, Boksburg, 7 April, 1920

(113) 'The Transvaal Native Congress'

(115) CAD : BMR P1/6 C.H.K. Morotolo (Secretary) and J.M.A. Moroka (Chairman), Transvaal African Congress, Brakpan Branch to the Town Clerk, 19 July, 1926

CAD : BMR P1/6 C.H.K. Morotolo (Secretary) and J.M.A. Moroka (Vice - Chairman) Transvaal African Congress, Brakpan Branch to the Town Clerk, 19 July, 1926

(114) See for example 'A Pledge for Better Times' and 'An Urban Crisis'

(116) H. Sapire interview with Mrs Motlaken, Tsakane, February, 1985

(117) CAD : BMR N3/1 Petition from Simon Peter Ziswana and Twenty Six Others

(118) CAD : BMR 149 N3/1 Town Clerk's Memo , 8 October, 1927

(119) CAD : GNLB 313 84/20/243 Statement of Evidence of H.S. Bell Sub Native Commissioner, Witwatersrand before the Local Government Commission, 12 July, 1920

(120) CAD : BMR 149 N3/1 Town Clerk's Memo, 17 April, 1923

(121) CAD : BMR 149 N3/1 Minutes of the Meeting of the Town Council, 17 April, 1927

(122) CAD : BMR 149 N3/1 S. Ziswana to the Town Clerk, 22 March, 1923

CAD : BMR 159 N3/1 Minutes of the Meeting of the Town Council, Finances and General Purposes Committee, 10 April, 1923

(123) CAD : BMR 149 N3/1 Minutes of the Meeting of the Finances and General Purposes Committee, 10 April, 1923

(124) CAD : NTS 129/313 Town Clerk to the Secretary for Native Affairs, 15 April, 1924

(125) Transvaal Leader, 18 February, 1911

(126) 'The Story of Brakpan', p.22. So strong was anti - Indian sentiment that in 1920, the new mayor Geo Beeges promised a meeting of white citizens that the new Council would do all in its power to prevent "Asiatic infiltration and occupation of white stands" in the town. From this date onwards, no trading or hawk-ing licenses were issued to Indians or "Assyrians". See CAD : BMR A/23 Asiatics: Various Court Decisions and Legal Opinions

(127) East Rand Express, 30 October, 1915; CAD : BMR 149 N3/1 Minutes of the Meeting of the Town Council, 3 September, 1920

(128) 'The Story of Brakpan', p. 26

(129) 'The Story of Brakpan', pp. 37 - 39

(130) CAD : BMR L5/3 Report of the Finance Committee, 30 January, 1923

(131) 'The Story of Brakpan', p. 41

(132) 'The Story of Brakpan', p. 61

(133) 'Die Ontstandsgeskiedenis van Brakpan', p.

(134) East Rand Express, 10 May, 1924. In the electoral campaign, unemployment amongst white men was a major electoral issue in Brakpan as was that of raising loans for the provision of housing for the white population. In this campaign, both Nationalist and Labour candidates promised to fight unemployment and for the protection of white labour.

(135) Brakpan Herald, October, 1929

(136) CAD : BMR 149 N3/1 Minutes of the Meeting of the Town Council, 12 November, 1920

(137) CAD : BMR 149 N3/1 Minutes of the Meeting of the Town Council, 12 November 1920

(138) CAD : BMR 149 N3/1 Minutes of the Meeting of the Town Council, 15 April, 1921

(139) CAD : BMR 149 N3/1 General Manager, Brakpan Mines, to the Town Clerk, 6 June, 1921

CAD : BMR 149 N3/1 Memo: Visit of Colonel S.M. Pritchard and Major H.S. Bell to Brakpan, 20 May, 1921

(140) CAD : BMR P1/6 Town Clerk to the Director of Native Labour, 6 June, 1921

(141) The Star, 11 August, 1925

(142) CAD : BMR 149 N3/1 Town Clerk to the Director of Native Labour, 6 June, 1921; Town Clerk to the Mining Commissioner, 90ksburg, 16 September, 1921; Town Engineer to the Town Clerk, 14 February, 1922

(143) CAD : BMR 149 N3/1 Town Clerk to the Director of Native Labour, 6 June, 1921; Minutes of the Meeting of the Finances and General Purposes Committee, 19 June, 1923

CAD : BMR 98 H2/117 Office of the Registrar of Mining Titles to the Town Clerk, 30 April, 1921

(144) CAD : BMR 149 N3/1 Minutes of the Meeting of the Town Council, 25 March, 1924

(145) CAD : BMR 149 N3/1 Minutes of the Meeting of the Finances and General Purposes Committee, 11 May, 1922

- (146) CAD : BMR 149 N3/1 Minutes of the Special Meeting of the Finances and General Purposes Committee, 11 May, 1922
- (147) CAD : BMR 149 N3/1 Minutes of the Meeting of the Town Council, 22 April, 1924
- (148) CAD : NTS 179/313 Secretary of Native Affairs to the Secretary of Mines and Industries, 3 June, 1924
- (149) CAD : NTS 179/313 General Manager, New State Areas Ltd to the Administrator of the Transvaal, 20 October, 1925
- (150) CAD : NTS 179/313 General Manager, Brakpan Mines, Anglo American Corporation to the Provincial Secretary of the Administrator, 23 December, 1925
- (151) CAD : BMR 149 N3/1 Minutes of the Meeting of the Town Council, 27 November, 1925
- (152) CAD : BMR 149 N3/1 Minutes of the Meeting of the Town Council, 27 November, 1925
- (153) *ibid*
- (154) Rand Daily Mail, 23 December, 1925
- (155) CAD : BMR 149 N3/1 Minutes of the Meeting of the Town Council, 23 March, 1926
- (156) CAD : BMR 149 N3/1 minutes of the Meeting of the Town Council, 26 March, 1926
- (157) *ibid*. See also 'Die Swaartes aan die Witwatersrand', p.144
- (158) CAD : BMR 149 N3/1 Minutes of the Meeting of the Town Council, 23 November, 1926
- (159) Brakpan Herald.