

## S.J.P. Kruger and landownership in the Transvaal

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State President S.J.P. (Paul) Kruger may be regarded as one of the leading landowners in the Transvaal during the nineteenth century. His historical background in landownership is an interesting one. His father, Casper Kruger, did not own any land in the Cape Colony before he and his family, including the young Paul, migrated to the Transvaal in the late 1830s. Casper was largely dependent on the lands of family and friends in the colony for the necessary grazing for his flock of sheep.<sup>1</sup> This was possibly one of the incentives for the young Kruger's intensive and systematic efforts to acquire land in the Transvaal after he settled there. Chief Justice J.G. Kotzé, who knew Kruger quite well as state president and had weekly appointments with him,<sup>2</sup> made an interesting observation on the importance that Kruger attached to landownership:

In the matter of banking, however much he may have trusted the deposit of state funds in the bank, the President kept no personal banking account, preferring to cash the Treasury draft received of his monthly salary and having the money in his possession, investing it in land.<sup>3</sup>

The earliest land registers for the Transvaal contain at least two entries for the young Kruger – one for “Paul” Kruger and the other one for “Stephanus Johan Paulus” Kruger for, respectively, 1849 (Rietvalei [sic] “on the Magalies berg”) and 1842 (“on the Hexrivier”).<sup>4</sup> The latter entry refers to the farm Waterkloof No. 4 which, according to Kruger's memoirs, he obtained in that period – evidently on the strength of the practice of allocating two farms to new farmers in the initial years of white settlement in the Transvaal (ZAR).<sup>5</sup> This farm was initially allocated to J. Cronjé but he does not appear to have utilised it; either way, he did not pay the inspection fees.<sup>6</sup> Rietvalei (sic) 824 is located to the southwest of Rustenburg. The government awarded this farm to Kruger.<sup>7</sup> During his short stay in the Eastern Transvaal in 1845 the farm Swartkop on the Steelpoort River was also allocated to Kruger.<sup>8</sup> However, since he returned to the western Magaliesberg area a few months later, this was not really of any significance.

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1. D.W. Krüger, *Paul Kruger, Deel I, 1825–83* (Dagbreek-Boekhandel, Johannesburg, 1961), pp 1, 6–8.
2. J.G. Kotzé, *Memoirs and Reminiscences*, vol. 2 (Maskew Miller, Cape Town, [1949]), p 126.
3. Kotzé, *Memoirs and Reminiscences*, vol. 2, p 31.
4. National Archives of South Africa, Pretoria, Transvaal Archives (hereafter TA), Farm Registers (hereafter RAK, for all the various districts) RAK 2433, Farm Registers for the District of Rustenburg, Folio 23, No. 232, Rietvalei, 6 February 1849 and Folio 156, No. 891, no name, 7 February 1842.
5. S.J.P. Kruger, *Gedenkschriften* (De Locomotief, Semarang, 1902), p 7; J.S. Bergh, *Geskiedenisatlas van Suid-Afrika. Die Vier Noordeelike Provinsies* (J.L. van Schaik, Pretoria, 1998), pp 128–129.
6. TA, Office of the Surveyor General, Inspection Rapports Rustenburg District, p 51: Waterkloof, 10 May 1843. See also TA, RAK 2433, Farm Registers for the District of Rustenburg, Folio 9, No. 173, De Waterkloof “Aan Magaliesberg”, 18 December 1839.
7. TA, RAK 3015-3023, Farm Registers for the District of Rustenburg: Rietvalei 824 (new number 314).
8. *South African Archival Records, Transvaal No. 1* (Government Printer, Pretoria, 1949), p 181.

In the period up to 1877 Kruger acquired possession of at least 27 farms or portions of farms in the Rustenburg district in addition to the farm allocated to him on the Steelpoort River (see above). Nine of these farms were awarded to him for services rendered to the state.<sup>9</sup> The farms were Rietvalei 824 (sic) (see above); Doornpoort 251; Saulspoort 269; Welgevonden 351; Rhenosterkraal 563; Middelkuil 564; Modderkuil 565; Koedoesspruit 572; and Roodekraalspruit 592.<sup>10</sup>

However, these farms, together with the other farms that he bought in the 1850s and 1860s, created a financial problem for Kruger. In the early years of the South African Republic, officials such as Kruger were largely remunerated with land instead of salaries because of the poor state of the economy.<sup>11</sup> Kruger nevertheless had to pay transfer duties etc. for the land he acquired in this manner, as well as the full purchase price for land that he bought from other persons.

In January 1858 Kruger brought this dilemma to the attention of State President M.W. Pretorius. He also referred to money that the state still owed him for his services – a sum of £80 in total.<sup>12</sup> To solve his problem Kruger even gained permission in 1858 to go on hunting expeditions again, concurrently with his duties as commandant and commandant-general. On these trips Kruger usually took poor families with him and gave them some of the game he shot. Furthermore, a memorandum calling upon the Transvaal people to support him was drawn up and circulated among the public. However, by February 1859 his financial constraints had still not been resolved satisfactorily. At that stage he asked the state president to pay him some of the money that the state still owed him so that he would be able to pay his creditors.<sup>13</sup> Even at the beginning of 1866 this matter had not been entirely resolved.<sup>14</sup>

Apart from the nine farms that Kruger obtained from the government in the District of Rustenburg for his services, he also bought a number of other farms or portions of farms in this district in the period preceding the 1880s, *inter alia* Losperfontein 119; Boschfontein 193; Klein Doornspruit 255; Baviaanskrans 288; Beestkraal 296; Turffontein 297; Boekenhoutfontein 336; Kookfontein 337; Zwartkop 355; Zoutpansdrift 359; Rietspruit 419; Beerfontein 432; Klipfontein 538; Waterval 544; Bierkraal 545; and Palmietfontein 551. At a later stage, Kruger bought the farms Driefontein 696 (later No. 83, in the Warmbaths district) and Albion 376 in the Rustenburg district. He possibly also acquired other farms as well.<sup>15</sup>

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9. TA, RAK 3015- 3023, Farm Registers for the District of Rustenburg.

10. TA, RAK 3015-3023, Farm Registers for the District of Rustenburg.

11. S. Trapido, "Reflections on Land, Office and Wealth in the South African Republic, 1850–1900", in S. Marks and A. Atmore (eds), *Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial South Africa* (Longman, London, 1980), p 352.

12. TA, State Secretary (hereafter SS) 19, R180/58, p 73: S.J.P. Kruger – State President M.W. Pretorius and the Executive Council, 21 January 1858.

13. TA, RAK 3015-3023, Farm Registers for the District of Rustenburg. Staff members in the National Archives were unfortunately unable to give me access to all of these RAK volumes, which I consulted a few years ago. The same happened to some or all of the appropriate volumes for the districts of Pretoria, Middelburg, Carolina, etc. See also *Land en Volk*, 10 August 1893; and Kruger, *Gedenkschriften*, p 10.

14. TA, SS74, R70/66, pp 188–189: S.J.P. Kruger – State President, 25 January 1866.

15. TA, RAK 3015-3023, Farm Registers for the District of Rustenburg; *Land en Volk*, 10 August 1893. Regarding the farm Klipfontein, see also S.J.P. Kruger and P.G.W. du Plessis: Declaration, 20 December 1866 at Waterkloof, TA, A.371, Engelbrecht Collection, vol. 9, file 30, pp 6–8. According to this document, Kruger bought the farm together with Du Plessis.

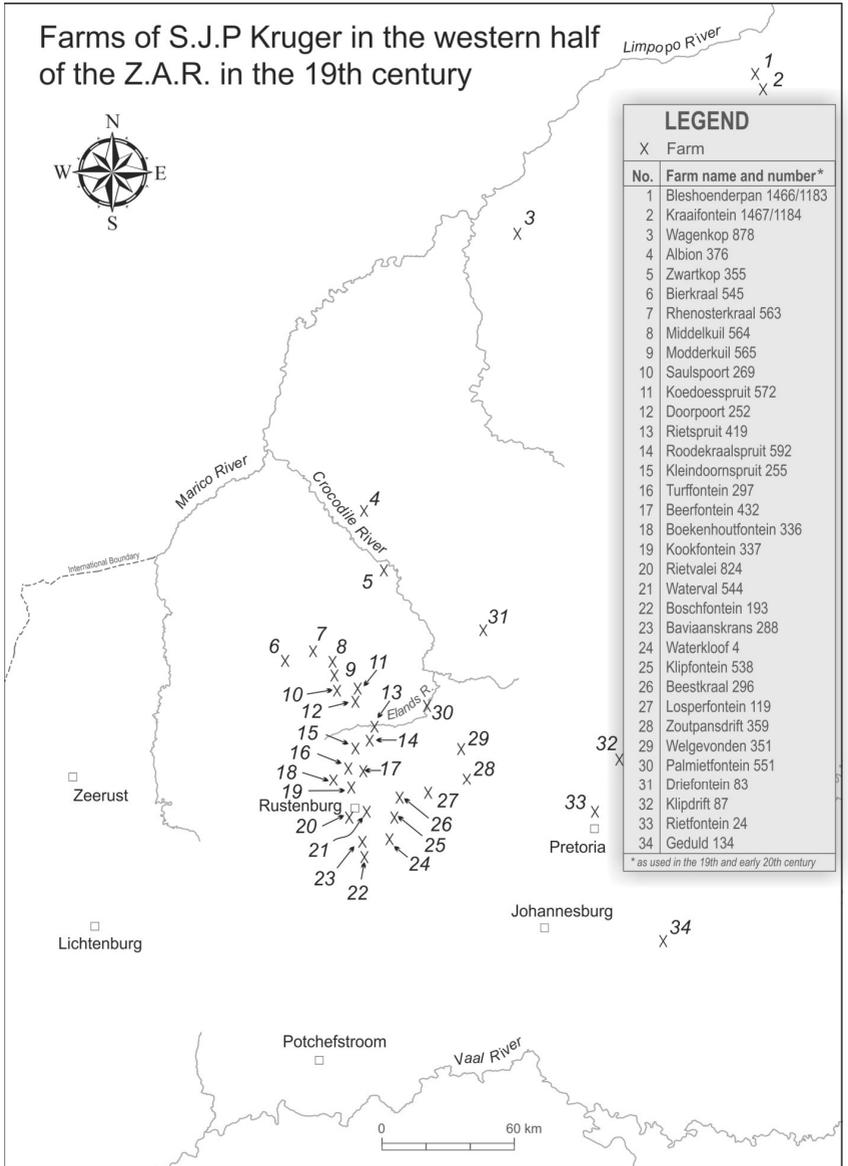


Figure 1: Western half of the Transvaal

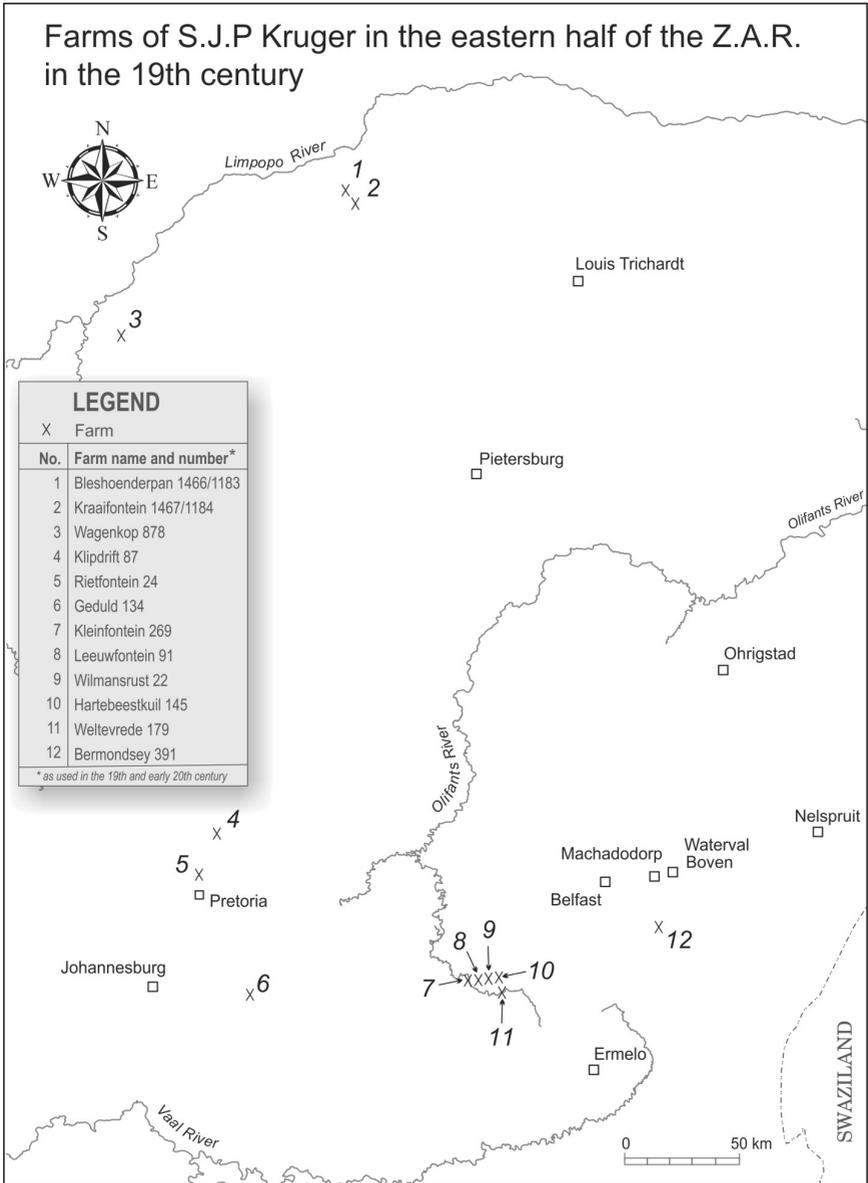


Figure 2: Eastern half of the Transvaal

In the Pretoria district, Kruger obtained the farms Klipdrift 87 and Rietfontein 24 (portion), adjacent to Pretoria. Kruger's wife, Gezina, sold some of the milk and other products produced on this farm to their neighbours. Kruger also acquired five adjacent farms or portions of these farms along the upper reaches of the Olifants River in the Middelburg district in the 1880s and early 1890s, namely, Wilmansrust 22; Leeuwfontein 91; Weltevreden 179; Kleinfontein 269; and Hartebeestkuil 145.<sup>16</sup> In the Carolina district he bought the farm Bermondsey 230;<sup>17</sup> and in the northern Transvaal he acquired Wagenkop 878 in the Waterberg district and Bleshoenderpan 1466 and Kraaifontein 1467, both of which were also in the Waterberg district. The latter two farms were subsequently included in the Soutpansberg district, respectively as Nos 1183 and 1184.<sup>18</sup> In an apparent attempt to embarrass Kruger, in 1893 the newspaper *Land en Volk*, which was critical of him, published a list of some of the farms and erven he owned in towns that it had knowledge of.<sup>19</sup>

The above farms do not represent a complete list of the farms owned by Kruger. For example, in a document dated 19 November 1858 and issued by the landdrost of Rustenburg, W. Robinson, at least three more farms belonging to Kruger are referred to, but the names of the farms are difficult to decipher.<sup>20</sup> In another (damaged) document reference is made in July 1871 to a farm owned by Kruger in the Wakkerstroom district.<sup>21</sup> Then too, Kruger stated in the Volksraad in August 1894 that he possessed a farm that had been cut out of the Transvaal when the borders were adjusted in 1884.<sup>22</sup> There is also reference in a letter written in 1896 by his son-in-law, P.N.J. Smit, to another two farms belonging to Kruger, but without the necessary detail regarding numbers and location.<sup>23</sup>

Kruger sold a large number of the farms that he obtained for small amounts to his sons and sons-in-law. In 1860, for example, he sold Losperfontein 119 to Tjaart A.P. Kruger; and in 1869 he sold Boschfontein 193 to Douw Gerbrand Kruger. In June 1873 he sold the farm Rhenosterkraal 563 to his son Casper and his son-in-law, Lourens du Plessis, for £15; and for similar sums he sold Middelkuil 564 to his son, Stephanus S.P. Kruger and his son-in-law Theunis Eloff; Modderkuil 563 to Jan A. Kruger and Pieter Kruger; Roodekraalspruit 592 to Jan A. Kruger. In 1874 he sold a portion of Kookfontein 377 to Jan A. Kruger, and Bierkraal 545 to Casper Kruger. There is also evidence that he and Jan Kruger bought Rietspruit 419 together in 1871. He probably also assisted the new minister of the Gereformeerde Kerk in Rustenburg, Dirk Postma, to buy Kleindoornspruit 255 from him in 1860.<sup>24</sup>

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16. TA, RAK 2926, Farm Register for the District of Middelburg; *Land en Volk*, 10 August 1893; TA, A371, Engelbrecht Collection, vol. 10, file 32, p 167 and file 35, p 122 and file 34, p 218, Poynton Bros. – S.J.P. Kruger, 12 September 1898; D. Reitz, *Commando. A Boer Journal of the Boer War* (Faber, London, 1932), p 16.
  17. TA, A 371, Engelbrecht Collection, vol. 11, file 36, p 137.
  18. *Land en Volk*, 10 August 1893; Jeppe's Map of the Transvaal or S.A. Republic and Surrounding Territories, Pretoria, 1899.
  19. *Land en Volk*, 10 August 1893; *De Volksstem*, 15 August 1893, pp 2–3 (Praatjes van den Dag).
  20. TA, SS 22, R2438/58, p 131, Statement by W. Robinson, 19 November 1858.
  21. TA, SS 134, R725/71, No. 72, p 265: S.J.P. Kruger – ?, 13 July 1871.
  22. Minutes of the First Volksraad, 29 August 1894, art. 1541.
  23. TA, A371, Engelbrecht Collection, vol. 10, file 34, p 197: P.N.J. Smit – S.J.P. Kruger, 6 September 1895.
  24. TA, RAK 3015-3023, Farm Registers for the District of Rustenburg.

Apart from farms, Kruger also owned a significant number of erven in at least four Transvaal towns. Thorough research on this is likely to reveal that he owned even more. In the town of Rustenburg at least three erven belonged to Kruger by 1858,<sup>25</sup> while in Pretoria he owned at least eight by 1893,<sup>26</sup> and in Middelburg and Belfast at least 18 by 1903.<sup>27</sup>

In his analysis of farms possessed by S.J.P. Kruger, the historian D.W. Krüger only appeared to be aware of 17 of the 27 farms (at least) that Kruger owned in the Rustenburg district. He apparently had no knowledge of the 10 farms (at least) owned by Kruger in other districts. He was also seemingly unaware that Kruger originally bought the farms Beerfontein 432 and Turffontein 297 when these two farms still formed a single farm and that it was only later that he divided Beerfontein and Turffontein into two farms. The missionary Christof Penzhorn bought these two farms (portions) from Kruger on behalf of Mokgatle, the chief of the Bafokeng. Although D.W. Krüger regarded the selling prices of Beerfontein/Turffontein and Saulspoor as very high, they were in fact comparable with the selling prices of other similar farms in the Rustenburg district in this period.<sup>28</sup>

Kruger was well aware of accusations that in some instances at least the farms that he purchased had previously belonged to African communities. He pointed out, however, that he had purchased these specific farms second hand; that there were other considerations involved in these purchases; and that he was inclined to sell the land back to the African communities in question.<sup>29</sup> In the 1860s Kruger tried to sell some of these farms – Beerfontein and Turffontein (in the vicinity of his own farm, Boekenhoutfontein) and Saulspoor (at Pilanesberg) – back to African communities under the trusteeship system. However, such proposed sales were problematic because of the views prevailing in the Volksraad at the time. Kruger eventually sold these farms to missionaries acting on behalf of the specific African communities for substantial amounts – £900 for Beerfontein (portion)/Turffontein, as well as £900 for Saulspoor.<sup>30</sup> The Bafokeng bought the remaining portion of Beerfontein from Kruger in the 1880s.<sup>31</sup> Subsequently, in 1891, Kruger shed more light in the Volksraad on his point of view on white farmers' infringing on land owned by Africans:

Now it was earlier laid down that nobody could register a farm located at a native village; people, however, did not heed this and various burghers and speculators registered farms on which natives lived, or near to where they lived. This was, however, against the law. They received transfer for those farms and then it would have meant that the Government had no land left and that the natives would have to be driven away. Therefore the Volksraad resolved to give such burghers this land on a proportional basis and a Commission was appointed to see from the returns made

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25. TA, SS 22, R 2438/58, p 131: Statement by W. Robinson, 19 November 1858.
  26. *Land en Volk*, 10 August 1893.
  27. TA, A71, L.J. Jacobcz Collection, vol. 6, pp 53–55: Declarations by S.J.P. Kruger, 20 June 1903.
  28. Krüger, *Paul Kruger I*, pp 76–81; J.S. Bergh, "S.J.P. Kruger in the Dock, 1872", *South African Historical Journal*, 63, 1, March 2011, pp 1–9; TA, First Volksraad (hereafter EVR) 217, No. 1624, pp 240–241, Testimony of S.J.P. Kruger before a Volksraad Commission, 24 October 1872.
  29. Bergh, "S.J.P. Kruger in the Dock 1872", pp 15–17.
  30. J.S. Bergh, "S.J.P. Kruger and the Transvaal Hardliners on Race Policies and Practices in the Early 1870s", *South African Historical Journal*, 58, 2007, pp 154–155; TA, RAK 3015-3023, Farm Registers for the District of Rustenburg.
  31. J.S. Bergh "We must never forget where we come from": The Bafokeng and, their Land in the 19th-century Transvaal", *History in Africa*, 32, 2005, p 113.

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on the land whether burghers had received more than the value of such farms. As far as the granting of locations was concerned, the Government had always been careful ...<sup>32</sup>

Kruger's most lucrative land transaction was made when he and his son-in-law, F.C. Eloff, bought the farm Geduld No. 134 Heidelberg (later No. 174 Witwatersrand, No. 24 Boksburg and No. 4 Springs) to the east of Johannesburg and adjacent to the later East Rand town of Springs from A. Brodrick in 1886 for £700. In 1891, Eloff sold his portion of Geduld to Kruger for £3 000.<sup>33</sup> The very successful gold-mining industry, which commenced in 1886 on the Witwatersrand, a mere 47 kilometres west of his farm, was probably Kruger's incentive for buying Geduld No. 134. Against this background, F.C. Eloff made large profits in his own right on various other land transactions. In the Heidelberg district in particular, he was very successful in this regard and acquired substantial wealth.<sup>34</sup>

There was an irrigation dam on Geduld and Kruger rented out part of the farm to individuals who used the water for agricultural purposes. He also let small portions of the farm to individuals who erected businesses, including a hotel and butcheries, as well as to a few people who were prospecting for coal, gold and other minerals. Kruger derived a handsome monthly income from this source.

At some stage Kruger also became aware of rich coal deposits on Geduld. By March 1891, Kruger and Eloff had concluded an agreement with the *Nederlandsch Zuid Afrikaansche Spoorweg Maatschappij* (NZASM) for the coal rights on the farm, up to a maximum of 200 tons, in terms of which they were paid £10 000. The mining rights which Kruger and Eloff owned to search for gold and other precious metals, minerals and stones was not affected by this agreement. They also agreed that the dam on the farm should not be polluted and that the NZASM should not extend its activities to a piece of land adjoining the dam – to the extent of 3000 by 2000 yards – and that the leases which Kruger and Eloff had granted previously should be duly recognised.<sup>35</sup>

This contract was amended slightly in November 1894 after new negotiations between Kruger and NZASM (headed by G.A.A. Middelberg). In terms of one of the new stipulations, the 200 tons of coal that NZASM was entitled to was reduced to 50 tons.<sup>36</sup>

Kruger was probably aware from an early stage of the possibility that there might also be gold deposits on Geduld. In his contract with the NZASM, concluded in 1891, he specifically excluded the right to prospect for gold, silver and other precious minerals. It was therefore no surprise that early in 1895 he concluded a purchase option agreement in this regard with the Geduld Syndicate for a period of

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32. Translated from the original Dutch. Minutes of the First Volksraad, 11–12 June 1891, arts 373 and 5.

33. TA, RAK 3036, Farm Register for the District of Springs: Geduld 134. See also Krüger, *Paul Kruger I*, p 79 footnote 9.

34. TA, RAK 2864, Farm Register for the District of Heidelberg. See, for example, his land transactions in connection with Putfontein 24, Het Blok 49 and Potfontein 53.

35. Sanlam Archive, Cape Town, Geduld Mine 7/1/3/1/1: Contract of S.J.P. Kruger and F.C. Eloff with the *Nederlandsch Zuid Afrikaansche Spoorweg Maatschappij*, 13 March 1891. See also the correspondence from various individuals who were utilising stands etc. on Geduld to Kruger's private secretary – TA, A371, Engelbrecht Collection, vols 9 and 10; as well as TA, A71, L.J. Jacobcz Collection, vols 3 and 4.

36. Sanlam Archive, Cape Town, Geduld Mine 7/1/3/1/1: Supplementary Agreement between S.J.P. Kruger and G.A.A. Middelberg for the NZASM, 7 November 1894.

three consecutive years. This syndicate must have been aware that there was a strong possibility of large deposits of gold on Geduld because even at this early stage they were prepared to offer Kruger £5 000 for the first year to investigate this and £1 000 for each of the second and third years – and (significantly) for the right to buy the farm eventually. At this stage they were prepared, in consultation with Kruger, to determine the eventual purchase price of Geduld in the following way:

If the series of reefs known as the Main Reef series ... run through the property either as outcrops or as deep levels, the purchase price shall be £100 000 sterling ...

If the Main Reef series or some of them do not run through the said farms but there are other payable reefs ... the purchase price of the said farm shall be £70 000 ...

This was also subject to the contract concluded by Kruger and Eloff with NZASM on 13 March 1891 “with reference to the coal rights ...”, as well as the supplementary contract between Kruger and the NZASM of 17 November 1894 and the other less important contracts entered into by Kruger with third parties pertaining to the arable land and stands. It was again expressly stated that the Geduld Syndicate should not damage the irrigation dam on the farm during their exploration.<sup>37</sup>

The final deed of sale for Geduld was concluded on 20 December 1898 after the initial three-year period of investigation had been extended by another year. Despite the fact that it had not yet been conclusively determined at that stage whether the Main Reef series ran through Geduld, the Geduld Syndicate agreed to a purchase price of £100 000, reduced by an amount of £4 800 for a small portion of Geduld that Kruger sold separately (see below). In terms of the final agreement, a sum of £10 000 was payable in cash immediately after the signing of the agreement; a further £55 200 within two years from the date of signing, on which interest was to be paid calculated at six percent per annum and payable half-yearly; and the remaining £30 000 within three years.<sup>38</sup>

In the event, the Geduld Syndicate paid the remaining amount of £85 200 plus £4 000 interest to Kruger by 17 May 1899.<sup>39</sup> Kruger had previously sold a small portion (200 morgen) of Geduld to the Springs Real Estate Company for £12 500 in 1897.<sup>40</sup>

After the conclusion of the transaction with the Geduld Syndicate, Kruger gave £1 000 to each of his children as a gift.<sup>41</sup> Out of the amount that he received from the Geduld Syndicate, Kruger also paid £40 000 over to the government of the South African Republic in May 1899 as a loan. This amount was, however, not repaid to the Kruger family after the Anglo-Boer War.<sup>42</sup> Dr W.J. Leyds, who was in

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37. Quotation translated from the original Dutch. Sanlam Archive, Cape Town, Geduld Mine 7/1/3/1: Copy of the original Dutch Agreement between S.J.P. Kruger and the Geduld Syndicate, 26 February 1895.

38. Sanlam Archive, Cape Town, Geduld Mine 7/1/3/1/1: Copy of the agreement between the Geduld Syndicate and S.J.P. Kruger in Dutch, 20 December 1898.

39. TA, A 371 Engelbrecht Collection, vol. 11, File 37, p 42: Nel, Lorenz and Pienaar to S.J.P. Kruger, 17 May 1899.

40. TA, RAK 3036 Farm Registers for the District of Springs: Geduld 134, Transaction B 68385/1897.

41. TA, A71, L.J. Jacobcz Collection, vol. 4, pp 375–84.

42. TA, A140, Dr F.V. Engelenburg Collection, pp 94–97 and 101–4, F.V. Engelenburg – C. Ramsbottom, 15 June 1929; J.R. Leisk to F.V. Engelenburg, 11 June 1929; P. Grobler to F.V. Engelenburg, 9 July 1928 and 10 September 1928.

close contact with Kruger while the former president was in Europe, was under the strong impression that Kruger did not think it likely that this loan would ever be repaid.<sup>43</sup>

S.J.P. Kruger was one of the most prominent landowners in the ZAR. This was especially true of the period prior to the first British annexation of the Transvaal (1877–1881). Along with other well-known residents of the districts of Rustenburg and Pretoria, such as Hermann Jeppe, the Rustenburg member of the Volksraad, and O.W.A. Forssman, he can be regarded as one of the leading landowners of those districts.<sup>44</sup> Because of the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand, the ZAR experienced a huge influx of wealthy people in the 1880s and 1890s. Some of these new settlers bought land in the Transvaal, especially on the Witwatersrand and in adjacent areas. Against this background, Kruger became a less prominent landowner but he continued buying farms, as well as erven in some Transvaal towns. Especially after the discovery of gold on his farm Geduld, Kruger became a wealthy man. This enabled him to live comfortably in Europe in his latter years – even after his ZAR salary was stopped in April 1904.<sup>45</sup>

### Abstract

State President S.J.P. Kruger may be regarded as one of the leading landowners in the Transvaal during the nineteenth century. As one of the early settlers he was entitled to some land free of charge. He also acquired a few farms as compensation for his services as commandant and commandant-general in the early years of the new Transvaal Republic (ZAR). In addition to this, Kruger became a very prominent buyer of farms, as well as erven in some towns – initially in the western half of the Transvaal, but later also in the eastern and northern Transvaal. Kruger sold a large number of his farms for small sums to his sons and sons-in-law, but also sold some at market prices to others. His most lucrative transaction occurred when he and his son-in-law, F.C. Eloff, bought the farm Geduld to the east of Johannesburg in 1886. After the discovery of coal and gold on this farm Kruger was able to sell it for a very large sum and he became a relatively wealthy man.

**Key words:** S.J.P. Kruger; landownership in the ZAR; F.C. Eloff; Geduld No. 134.

### Opsomming

Staatspresident S.J.P. Kruger kan as een van die prominente grondeienaars in die Transvaal gedurende die negentiende eeu beskou word. Hy was as een van die vroeë setlaars geregtig op 'n beperkte hoeveelheid grond sonder vergoeding. Hy het ook 'n paar plase as kompensasie vir sy dienste as kommandant en kommandant-generaal in die vroeë jare van die nuwe Transvaalse Republiek (ZAR) ontvang. Kruger het daarbenewens 'n baie prominente koper van plase, sowel as erwe in sommige dorpe, geword – aanvanklik in die westelike helfte van die Transvaal, maar later ook in die oostelike en noordelike Transvaal. Kruger het 'n groot aantal van sy plase vir klein bedrae aan sy seuns en skoonseuns verkoop,

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43. TA, A140, Dr F.V. Engelenburg Collection, p 107, W.J. Leyds – F.V. Engelenburg, 3 October 1926.

44. J.S. Bergh, "To make them serve": The 1871 Transvaal Commission, on African Labour as a Source for Agrarian History", *History in Africa*, 29, 2002, pp 45–47.

45. TA, A71, L.J. Jacobsz Collection, vol. 11, pp 68–69, H.C. Bredell, on behalf of S.J.P. Kruger, Menton, France – Dr W.J. Leyds, Utrecht, 15 April 1904.

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maar later van sy ander plase teen markpryse aan andere. Sy mees winsgewende transaksie was toe hy en sy skoonseun, F.C. Eloff, die plaas Geduld, oos van Johannesburg, in 1886 gekoop het. Na die ontdekking van steenkool en goud op hierdie plaas was Kruger in staat om die grond vir 'n baie groot bedrag te verkoop. As gevolg hiervan het hy 'n relatiewe ryk persoon geword.

**Sleutelwoorde:** S.J.P. Kruger; grondeinaarskap in die ZAR; F.C. Eloff, Geduld No. 134.