

# Footnotes

## CHAPTER 2

1. De Kiewiet, *A History of South Africa, Social and Economic*, chapter 5.
2. C.V. Sutherland, *Gold*, page 165.

## CHAPTER 4

1. Pratt, *The Real South Africa*, published 1912.

## CHAPTER 5

1. Presidential address to the Annual General Meeting of the Chamber of Mines, March 1912 – quoted by F.A. Johnstone, *Class, Race and Gold*.
2. Transvaal Labour Commission Reports 1903.
3. Reported in the *SA Mining Journal*, 23 September 1893.

## CHAPTER 6

1. Presidential address to the Annual General Meeting of the Chamber of Mines, March 1912.
2. *Native Life in South Africa* by Sol. T. Plaatje, is to be published by Ravan Press in 1981.

## CHAPTER 7

1. Presidential address to the Annual General Meeting of the Chamber of Mines, March 1912.
2. Cape Hansard 1894, page 362 – quoted by Van der Horst, *Native Labour in SA*.
3. Presidential address to the Annual General Meeting of the Chamber of Mines, March 1912.
4. Quoted by C. Bundy, *The Emergence and Decline of a South African Peasantry*. (This paper appears in *Contemporary South African Studies*, ed. Kallaway and Adler.)
5. Report of the Native Economic Commission, 1932.
6. From *Another Blanket*, Agency of Industrial Mission, page 25.
7. From *A Hundred Zulu Lyrics*, by Hugh Tracey.
8. 'The Sound of Africa Series,' Hugh Tracey – Record No AMA TR-85.

## CHAPTER 8

1. From *Chopi Musicians*, Hugh Tracey.
2. 10th Chamber of Mines Annual Report 1898, page 89. (Much of the material in this Chapter comes from Kent McNamara's paper, 'The Development of a Recruitment Infrastructure: Labour Migration Routes to the Witwatersrand Gold Mines and Compound Accommodation – 1889 to 1912' – Paper presented at Wits. History Workshop, 1978, published in *South African Labour Bulletin*, Vol 4, no 3).
3. 6th Chamber of Mines Annual Report, 1894, page 35 – quoted by McNamara.
4. From a report to the Secretary for Native Affairs, 1906 – quoted in unpublished honours thesis by Sean Moroney, 'Industrial Conflict in a Labour Repressive Economy: Black Labour on the Transvaal Gold Mines 1901 – 1912'.
5. I am indebted to Moses Molepo of the African Studies Institute for this information.
6. Secretary for Native Affairs, 1903 – quoted by Moroney, unpublished thesis.
7. 10th Chamber of Mines Annual Report, 1898, page 4 – quoted by McNamara.
8. 6th Chamber of Mines Annual Report 1894, page 19.
9. From *Chopi Musicians* by Hugh Tracey.
10. Native Labour Commissioner's report, 6th Chamber of Mines Annual Report, 1894, page 69. – quoted by MacNamara, *SA Labour Bulletin*, Vol 4, no 3.
11. WNLA agents, Dr Samson's report to the Secretary for Native Affairs, 1903 – quoted by Moroney.
12. Evidence to Mining Industry Board, 1922 – quoted by F.A. Johnstone in *Class, Race and Gold*.

## CHAPTER 9

1. The Master and Servants Act was repealed in 1974. It has been suggested that an important reason for dropping this Act is that it has been replaced by a number of laws controlling labour – such as the Bantu Laws Amendment Act (67 of 1964), with the efficient application of influx control and the registration of black workers at labour bureaux. (Colin Bundy, 'The abolition of Master and Servants Act' – *SA Labour Bulletin*, May 1975.)
2. From the record Nyakynsa/Safwa (Wankie) – Hugh Tracey, 'The Sound of Africa Series'.

## CHAPTER 10

1. Chamber of Mines Annual Report, January 1899 – quoted by B. Bozzoli in *The Political Nature of a Ruling Class*.
2. Conference between Transvaal Native Congress and the Minister of Justice, 7.4.1919 – quoted by Johnstone.
3. From *A Hundred Zulu Lyrics* – Hugh Tracey.
4. Evidence to the Industrial Commission of Enquiry, 1897 – quoted by Bozzoli.
5. Speech to Rand Mines Annual Meeting, 25.3.1903 – quoted by Bozzoli.
6. Quoted by P. Bonner, 'The Transvaal Native Congress 1917 – 1920: the Radicalisation of the Black Petty Bourgeoisie on the Rand'.
7. Quoted by Johnstone.
8. Quoted by Bozzoli.

## CHAPTER 11:

1. I am indebted to Moroney (unpublished honours thesis) for many of the quotations in this chapter. For a summary of some of the themes in his thesis, see 'Mine Worker Protest on the Witwatersrand, 1901 – 1912' from *Essays in SA Labour History*, ed. E. Webster.
2. From Inspector's Report on the Compounds of the Rand fontein Group of Mines, October 1908 – quoted by Moroney.
3. Quoted by Johnstone.
4. From Dr Samson, District Health Officer's report to the Secretary for Native Affairs, 1903.
5. *Another Blanket*, page 5.
6. 'Randlords and Rotgut', by Charles van Onselen (published by Ravan Press), page 50. This paper deals fully with the mine-owners' use of liquor as a form of controlling their workers. 'Randlords and Rotgut' appears with a collection of van Onselen's essays on the early social history of working class life in South Africa in *Studies in the Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand 1886 – 1914*, volumes I and II.
7. Native Grievances Inquiry Report 1914, para 474.
8. Secretary for Native Affairs Report from Acting Pass Commissioner, 1903 – quoted by Moroney, unpublished thesis.
9. Native Grievances Inquiry, 1914, para 33.
10. Quoted by A.P. Cartwright, *The Gold Mines*, page 220.
11. *Another Blanket*, page 23.
12. From *A Hundred Zulu Lyrics*, Hugh Tracey.
13. All quoted by Moroney, unpublished thesis.
14. These figures are taken from Moroney and from 'The Transvaal Labour Crisis, 1901 – 1906' by D. Denoon, published in the *Journal of African History*, vol 8, 1967
15. Quoted by Moroney.
16. Quoted by Moroney.
17. Native Grievances Inquiry Report, 1914, para 507.
18. This poem appeared in *Staffrider*, vol 2, no 3, July/August 1979.
19. From *A Hundred Zulu Lyrics* by Hugh Tracey. (This is a Xhosa song popular with Zulus.)
20. From *Chopi Musicians* by Hugh Tracey.
21. From the Rouge-Maputo district. Record AMA/TR-13 in the 'Sounds of Africa Series', Hugh Tracey.

## CHAPTER 12

1. Quoted in *The Political Nature of a Ruling Class* by B. Bozzoli.
2. Quoted in *Class, Race and Gold* by F.A. Johnstone.
3. South African Native Affairs Commission 1903 – 1905; minutes of evidence – quoted by Bozzoli.
4. From a report to the Chamber of Mines Native Recruiting Corporation, 1925.
5. Evidence of mine-worker 'Tom' to the Native Grievances Inquiry, p 5, 28.10.1913 – quoted by Johnstone.
6. Evidence of mine-worker 'Kalaway' to Native Grievances Inquiry, p 19, 28.10.1913 – quoted by Johnstone.
7. From Van der Horst, *Native Labour in South Africa*, page 205 – 206.
8. From *Economics in South Africa*, N. Franklin.
9. Quoted by J.A. Hobson, *Imperialism*, 1902.
10. Quoted by J.A. Hobson, *Imperialism*, 1902.
11. Presidential address to Chamber of Mines Annual General Meeting.
12. From *The Boer War*, T. Pakenham.

13. G. Albu's evidence to Industrial Commission of Enquiry, reported in *SA Mining Journal*, 24.4.1897 – quoted by Bozzoli.

#### CHAPTER 14

1. President of the Chamber of Mines in a speech to a monthly meeting, September 1906 – quoted by Bozzoli.
2. For more information about Chinese workers on the Rand, see *Chinese Mine Labour in the Transvaal*, P. Richardson.
3. Quoted by Bozzoli.
4. From Moroney, unpublished thesis.

#### CHAPTER 15

1. From 'Supply and Control of Labour on the Rand, 1895 – 1924' – unpublished mimeo by E. Webster.
2. Transvaal Labour Importation Ordinance of 1904 – quoted by Johnstone, page 67.
3. Quoted in *Comrade Bill*, R.K. Cope.
4. From the Transvaal Mining Industry Commission 1904 – quoted by Van der Horst, *Native Labour in South Africa*.
5. From the Transvaal Indigency Commission, 1908 – quoted by Van der Horst.
6. From 'Supply and Control of Labour on the Rand 1895 – 1924', unpublished mimeo by E. Webster.
7. From *Comrade Bill*, R.K. Cope.
8. Figures from Van der Horst.
9. From 'Phthisis and the White Working Class on the Rand', E. Katz, unpubl. paper presented to 1978 Wits. History Workshop. See also 'The Migration of Miners' Phthisis between Cornwall and the Transvaal 1876 – 1918', Burke and Richardson, from *Labour, Townships and Protest*, ed Bozzoli.
10. From *Comrade Bill*, R.K. Cope.
11. From Government Commission Enquiry 1914 – quoted by Rob Davies, 'The Class Character of South Africa's Industrial Conciliation Legislation' from *Essays in Southern African Labour History*, ed E. Webster.
12. From *Comrade Bill*, R.K. Cope.
13. Increased production during those years was also assisted by technical improvements.

#### CHAPTER 16

1. Evidence to Mining Industry Commission by S. Reyerbach, Chairman of Rand Mines, 13.6.1907 – quoted by S. Moroney, 'Mine Worker Protest on the Witwatersrand: 1901 – 1912', from *Essays in Southern African Labour History*, ed. E. Webster.
2. Memorandum of Native Labour Supply, Pritchard, Director of Native Labour Bureau – quoted by Moroney, unpublished thesis.
3. Evidence by Buckle for Native Grievances Enquiry Report, par 310, page 42.
4. J.H. Johns, Consulting Engineer in evidence to the Mining Industry Commission 1907 – quoted by Moroney.
5. Report to Secretary for Native Affairs, 1902 – quoted by Moroney, unpublished thesis.
6. Secretary for Native Affairs Report 1907 – quoted by Moroney, unpublished thesis.
7. Reported in *SA Mining Journal*, 26.6.1896 – quoted by Bozzoli.
8. Evidence of the General Superintendent of the Native Recruiting Corporation to the Witwatersrand Disturbances Commission (1913) – quoted by Johnstone.
9. Sir George Albu, reported in the *SA Mining Review*, June 1907.
10. Report by Sub-Inspector, SAP, Benoni, to District Commandant, SAP, Boksburg, 4.2.1916 – quoted by Johnstone.
11. Reported by Native Constable R. Moorosi at a meeting on 29.6.1918.
12. Reported by Native Constable Arthur, Sergeant A.N. Turner and Sergeant J. Bland to Commissioner of Police, on the meeting of 19.6.1918 – quoted by Johnstone.
13. Report of the Commission of Inquiry into African Unrest on the Witwatersrand in 1918 – quoted by Johnstone.
14. Statement of the Transvaal Native Congress to the Low Grade Mines Commission 1919 – 1920 – quoted by Johnstone.
15. Minutes of a conference between Minister of Justice and Transvaal Native Congress, Pretoria, 7.4.1919 – quoted by

Johnstone.

16. 18 October 1918, Reported by Native Constable Jali – quoted by Johnstone.
17. Report of Native Detective N. Sibisi to the Commissioner, SAP, on a meeting on 3 April 1919 – quoted by Johnstone.
18. Report of Detective J. King to Commanding Officer, SAP, Roodepoort, 6.3.1918 – quoted by Johnstone in the 'IWA on the Rand: Socialist Organising Among Black Workers on the Rand, 1917 – 1918', from *Labour Townships and Protest*, ed. Bozzoli.
19. Report of District Commandant, SAP, East Rand-Boksburg to Commissioner, SAP, 10.2.1920 – quoted by Johnstone in *Race, Class and Gold*'
20. Speech of the President of the Chamber of Mines, Annual General Meeting, March 1920 – quoted by Johnstone.
21. Spokesman for the workers of the Knights Deep Mine – quoted in *Comrade Bill*, page 215.
22. J. Fulford, District Commander, SAP Boksburg to Deputy Commissioner, Transvaal Division, 4.3.1920 – quoted by Johnstone.
23. Quoted by Johnstone, *Class, Race and Gold*.
24. Quoted by P. Bonner, 'The Transvaal Native Congress 1917 – 1920: The Radicalisation of the Black Petty Bourgeoisie on the Rand'.
25. P. Bonner, 'The Transvaal Native Congress 1917 – 1920: The Radicalisation of the Black Petty Bourgeoisie on the Rand'.
26. 'The South African Native National Congress' changed its name to the 'African National Congress' in 1925.
27. Quoted by E. Roux, *Time Longer than Rope*.
28. From *Comrade Bill*, R.C. Cope. Another translation of this leaflet is quoted by Johnstone, 'The IWA on the Rand', in *Labour, Townships and Protest*, ed. B. Bozzoli.

#### CHAPTER 17

1. Report of Native Detective M. Ngwenye to Commissioner of Police on a meeting dated 26.1.1919.
2. Evidence in 1921 Unemployment Commission – quoted by Johnstone.
3. Employer's evidence to Transvaal Indigency Commission 1908 – quoted by Johnstone.
4. Report and Minutes of Evidence of Select Committee of House of Assembly on European Employment and Labour Conditions, 1913 – quoted by Johnstone.
5. Letter from P. Tarbutt, Director of Goldfields Limited, Chairman of Village Main Reef Mine, to the Transvaal Labour Commission 1903 – quoted by Bozzoli.
6. Reported in *SA Mining Journal*, March 1897.
7. C. Hanau, President of Johannesburg Consolidated Investment Co. Limited, in a speech at the Annual Meeting, 1903 – quoted by Johnstone.
8. *SA Mining Journal*, editorial November 1892 – quoted by Bozzoli.
9. As above.
10. As above.
11. L. Reyersbach, Chairman's address to Annual General Meeting of the Rand Mines Limited, 23 March, 1904.
12. J.H. Johns in a speech to the Association of Mine Managers, 1894.
13. Evidence and minutes to the Wages and Economic Commission, 1925.
14. 'Origins of Class Formation in the Diamond Fields', D. Ginsberg – unpublished paper delivered at Seminars on Contemporary Labour, University of Natal.

#### CONCLUSION

1. Lionel Phillips' speech to the Chamber of Mines, 1893 – from *The Golden Transvaal*, published 1893.
2. George Albu, reported in *SA Mines*, 14.3.1903 – quoted by Bozzoli.
3. President of the Chamber of Mines to Annual General Meeting, March 1912 – quoted by Johnstone.
4. Editor, *SA Mining Journal*, 30.11.1895.
5. Quoted in *Man's Worldly Goods*, L. Huberman, Chap XVI.