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Title: A Threat to Property and Lives: Black 'Crime' and White 'Victims' in Krugersdorp, 1887 to 1914.

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No. 292

"Although he was helpless and defenceless, he decided to declare 'war' against his persecutors. Without arms he said, he was going to wage a relentless struggle against the white man. He was going to rob him, break into his stores, burgle his houses, and make him uncomfortable in every way possible." (1)

A common perception amongst white residents in Krugersdorp during the period 1887-1923, was that blacks were engaged in a kind of low-key war (2) against whites where newspapers reported almost every other day, how a white storekeeper had been murdered and robbed, how a white girl had been brutally raped, how gangs of 'Amalaita' were attacking white men in the streets and how even the policemen were not invulnerable to assaults at the hands of black criminals.

What this Paper intends to show is that Krugersdorp's white residents saw hardened black criminals as a "threat to property and lives", and while calling for more police, more secure prisons and harsher sentences on such criminals, developeda racist consciousness that turned all blacks into "ascriptive criminals" (3), who had to be separated from whites in every possible sphere and 'incarcerated' into mine compounds, locations, separate hospitals, schools and halls and into separate queues at market tables, railway ticket offices and post offices, removed off the sidewalks and out of parks.

In the process,this Paper hopes also to demonstrate the injustice of such a racist perception amongst white residents, the different ways in which black criminal statistics were inflated, the perceptions of black criminals themselves, the views of black residents of Krugersdorp, and finally, the minority voice amongst whites that responded differently to black crime.

Rather than waste valuable space on a detailed "background" to introduce this Paper, I have taken the liberty to include a detailed survey of Krugersdorp within the text as a whole. The Paper progresses roughly chronologically from 1887 to 1914.

Krugersdorp was first laid out in November 1887 (4), not long after gold had been discovered on the Witwatersrand. Together with Johannesburg and Boksburg in the East (5) it formed the nucleus of what would later simply be called the Rand or the Reef, a sprawling conglomeration of mining towns situated on the richest mining deposits in the world.

It was a rough town, at first, with its black and white miners engaged in drinking, fighting, whoring and gambling (6), in no particular order, earning it several nicknames, including the "Fighting Dorp" (7) and "Devil's Dorp" (8). In such a context crime, ranging from petty theft to murder, was not uncommon, victims and perpetrators were both black and white.

Whites, however, had control over the town in the form of local officials like the Mining Commissioner, the Landdrost, the District Surgeon and the local Sanitary Committee (9) elected by the 431 whites resident in the town in 1890 (10). The State, in the form of the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek or Z.A.R. had a white State President, Paul Kruger, and a white elected Parliament, the Volksraad. They provided the white

Z.A.R. Police or 'Zarps' to towns like Krugersdorp or 'Veg Kommandoes' (irregular troops) in case blacks ever forgot who was boss.

The local newspapers as well as those on the rest of the Rand, were owned by whites, run by white editors for their largely white readers. White miners, once they became employees of the white 'Randlords' like Rhodes, Goerz, Albu, Barnato and Robinson, who all owned mines on the West Rand, had the right to strike, the right to join trade unions, the right to vote (although heavily limited in the Z.A.R.), and this, together with their rare skills, ensured that they commanded high salaries, and lived the life of a 'labour aristocracy' (11), in white suburbs like Luipaardsvlei, Lewisham and Randfontein Village.

Blacks, by which I mean Africans, earned far less, lived in single-sex mine compounds (12), in rooms in the backyards of white masters, in the backrooms of factories and shops, and a few, perhaps 200, lived in a location together with coloureds and a few Indians, in 1891 (13). They had no vote, no newspapers, no overt political power, belonged to no trade unions, had no say in the police who arrested them, the courts that tried them, and prisons that incarcerated them, and no direct means to counter the accusations of whites that they were criminals, to counter the racism, the authoritarianism, the segregationist policies directed at them.

This is not to suggest that they had no power, no ability to evade laws and police often with impunity, to build up their own worlds of strong drink and flamboyant music (14), to strike back at racist whites and their segregationist and authoritarian policies. Krugersdorp's blacks had all of these, but the system worked against them and to many, it was a 'war' they experienced, ravaging them with poverty, disease, malnutrition, insults, neglect and harassment.

Some blacks in Krugersdorp resorted to robbing the hotels and stores of whites like the 'Kaffir' who robbed Mr. Belcher's hotel at Klein Paardekraal in 1892, of 60 pounds of soft goods. Mr. Belcher caught the thief and placed him in the charge of his black servants while he went to call the police. He 'escaped', perhaps with the help of Mr. Belcher's servants, but was later arrested by police and sent to jail for 3 months hard labour and 25 lashes (15). Black criminals paid dearly for choosing whites as their victims.

Court records show that in December, 1892 of the 64 cases heard by the special Landdrost at Krugersdorp, 37 involved a guilty finding, four resulted in a prison sentence without an option of a fine: two cases of theft, one case of assault and one case of vagrancy, all received lashes in addition, with the exception of the vagrancy charge, and all involved black offenders (16). In December 1893, of the 91 cases heard by the same elected, judicial official, 47 or over half, were blacks, many of whom were found guilty under the Pass Laws, as well as one for theft and one for assault. (17)

The Landdrost did not hear the really serious cases, murder cases, for example, were forwarded to the Circuit court in Johannesburg where the judges meted out harsh punishments: Judge Ameshoff sentenced seven men to death at his circuit, and a total of 136 years of imprisonment, Judge de Korte sentenced one man to death, inflicted 27 years of prison and 75 lashes, in the same period (18).

Black murderers, like "Hans" who killed his colleague "September" in 1890 at Krugersdorp (19), rarely escaped the noose, and would be escorted under strong guard from the Circuit Court to Pretoria to be hanged. When blacks killed a white man, like the infamous Cocks murder in Johannesburg in 1889, hanging was almost a certainty. In this particular case, the white jury petitioned for the execution of the five black condemned men to be made a public spectacle with mine managers ensuring that their 'boys' were present (20). Whites were seldom sentenced to death, only two had been executed in the Z.A.R. by 1892 (21), while those that were not so lucky, could be pardoned by the State President, like the two 'Boers' who had murdered an Englishman without any extenuating circumstances. The Star announced "Hanging is Abolished, for white men, that is, though not for black men", in disgust at the pardon, pointing out that the President could "surely never sign another death warrant for a European in this Republic" (22).

The newspaper, was wrong, of course, and the occasional white murderer did find himself on the scaffold although, not as far as I can ascertain, for the murder of a black victim. White murderers, especially "Burghers", Dutch-speacking citizens who had the vote, had to pass through a legal system clearly biased in their favour, tried by their 'peers', the same Dutch-speaking Burghers, although usually of a "lower class", who served on the jury (23).

In 1895 8 murder cases involving white defendants and 34 cases involving black defendants were heard by the same racially composed jury. Only 3 whites were found guilty but 20 blacks received the same guilty verdict. The same pattern is revealed for lesser crimes, only half the whites were found guilty on their 'assault with intent' charges while 17 out of 22 blacks were found guilty (24).

Blacks often found themselves in an alien legal system, without legal representation, and although 'native interpreters' translated for them, were cross-examined in ways that were unfamiliar to them, being less articulate than their counterparts, many must have been found guilty by default of the legal process. Even if a fine was imposed, many could not afford even the 10 shillings imposed for pass offences, and served the 14 days, hard labour, sentence instead (25). In prison they were fed more 'mielie meal' but less meat than whites, and a little salt, with apparently no fruit or vegetables (26) so that at least one black prisoner in Krugersdorp's jail succumbed with scurvey and died (27). Jail escapes often involved black prisoners.

White residents of Krugersdorp, nonetheless, both portrayed and saw themselves as 'victims' of black crime. They had an unfair legal system with crooked policemen (28) on one hand, white juries and often ruthless white prosecutors (29) and landdrosts (30), on the other hand, to ensure that criminal statistics revealed "rampant" crime amongst blacks that could be pointed to, by outraged white residents, who could demand that the authorities "do something".

Thus, in 1895, statistics for December showed that Krugersdorp's 84 cases placed it 5th out of 47 towns in the Z.A.R., after Johannesburg, Heidelburg, Pretoria and Boksburg. 35% of all cases heard in the Z.A.R. that month involved pass law offences, other cases involved the liquor law (16%), the Masters and Servants Law (12%) and Assault

(6%), laws that disproportately involved blacks.(31)

Comparing Krugersdorp with Johannesburg, Florida, Boksburg and Pretoria, we find Krugersdorp at the bottom with pass law offences, near the top for theft and in the middle for assault and the liquor law. Dividing the cases according to whether they were committed by whites and blacks, we find that in virtually each of these five towns, for each of these four offences (with the exception of the pass laws that affected only blacks), blacks exceeded whites by a factor of 3 to 1, in each case. In one exception, blacks in Krugersdorp committed 5 times as much theft (or should that be: were arrested five times as much), compared to whites. Given the rough parity of blacks and whites on the rand in the mid-1890s, of 40 000 blacks and 40 000 whites (32), this figure is significant. White racists pointed a finger at such statistics as justification for a wide array of segregationalist laws.

One must bear in mind, of course, that even a biased legal system should not produce black criminals in such disproportionate amounts, and must consider the possibility that blacks actually committed more crimes than whites. Given unrelenting poverty, a huge gap between black and white wages, a system that clearly worked to keep them down, it would be understandable, even expected, that blacks committed crimes particularly theft, housebreaking and burglary of shops especially from wealthy whites, for straightforward material gain (33). It is also worth exploring to what extent such conditions could drive blacks to lash out violently, through murder, assault and rape, again, on white victims.

Charles van Onselen has investigated what he called "periodic waves of collective hysteria" (34) simply known as the "black peril", where white women and girls were apparently raped or sexually assaulted on an unusually frequent and brutal scale. These "black peril" periods are clearly discernable on the Rand in 1893, 1897, 1907-8, 1911-2 and less clearly thereafter (35). Van Onselen notes that these periods correspond with economic downturns and political tension. More shall be said about this later.

Krugersdorp experienced similar "scares" although not in 1893 nor 1897 which van Onselen admits were hardly comparable with the scares after the Anglo-Boer War (36). Krugersdorp's scare occured in 1899, a time of acute political tension in the months leading up to the Anglo-Boer War. In one incident, a black man, Klaus, was charged with attempted rape on a white married woman, after posing as a policeman to get her to open the door. By this time blacks were employed as policemen by the state and, usually, sent out against black criminals <u>not</u> against white women, so Klaus' ruse did not work and he was arrested (37). Barely three months later a black man was sentenced, in a separate case, for 3 months hard labour and 10 lashes for being found under a lady's bed (38).

Attacks like these upset white residents deeply (39) and added to the fear and resentment felt by whites towards blacks founded on white fears of economic competition with cheaper and often even more efficient black rivals (40). Some of the consequences of this was incessant demands by Krugersdorp's residents for more police, more secure prisons, harsher sentences, greater enforcement of pass laws and the curbing of illicit liquor activities which were seen as

important contributing factors to incidents of 'serious' black crime. I have termed these consequences 'authoritarianism', as it subjected the innocent black majority to police harassment and brutal sentences for minor offences.

As far as the police force were concerned, Johannesburg and Pretoria's white residents shared Krugersdorp's concern about the poor quality of the 'Zarps', who in one case, had to be charged before a landdrost in Pretoria by the Head Constable for "refusing to shave" (41). The member of the Volksraad for Krugersdorp, Mr.Meyer, appearing before Krugersdorp's white residents, promised to see what he could do to secure better wages for the local police force,who were paid less than the policemen at Potchefstroom, Barberton, Klerksdorp and Christiana, despite their "heavier duty" (42). There were only 176 policemen, officers and men, both mounted and foot policemen, serving the Rand's 80 000 blacks and whites in 1894. Only 40 were available for night duty. (43)

Often illiterate, these Dutch-speaking, country "bumpkins" (44) were often irregularly paid, and had to borrow money from canteen keepers, opening them up to bribery (45). Many resorted to illegally "arresting" blacks for pass offences, demanding spot fines which they pocketted for themselves, something which particularly angered mining companies as well as white residents who would send their black servants on errands, only to have them return several hours later after having been "arrested" for a pass offence, and having to pay a policeman two pounds to be released (46). Black policemen, similarly, were often corrupt, both in this regard and in applying the liquor law (47).

Krugersdorp's white residents evidently felt that an unsatisfactory police force (48) was not able to protect them properly and called regularly for both an increase in this police force and its reform to make it more efficient.

Krugersdorp's delapidated wood-and-iron prison was also the object of the ire of white residents, mainly because it failed to keep black prisoners incarcerated. In 1890, a 50 pound reward was offered for the recapture of two "Zulus" who escaped from Krugersdorp jail (49). In 1896 the prison was in an "awful condition" and was so overcrowded that some prisoners, one can only assume black prisoners, were chained to poles outside the prison (50).

Poor control over Krugersdorp's black prisoners astonished the Star which observed that 40 blacks marched to the town to wash, such facilities apparently being absent from the prison, "had been drinking and consequently had a big row" (51). When a cattle thief escaped from Krugersdorps jail in 1898, local farmers were up in arms.(52)

A reporter who investigated the local prison in 1899 concluded that a "more dilapidated, disreputable house of correction does not exist in the state" (53). The main building was crumbling in places and some cells were built on sand. Not surprisingly, the report concluded that "the authorities [it would seem] deliberately...place temptation to escape in the way of convicts" (54).

A great deal of petty segregationist regulations plagued the lives of blacks in Krugersdorp at this time. Apart from control over their movements through increasingly stringent pass controls and increasingly harsh fines imposed on them

for drunkeness, possession of liquor and for illicit liquor selling (55), local blacks faced harassment from whites and police if they so much as walked on the pavement or sidewalk in town.

The notorious 'sidewalk' regulation seems to have been first applied in Johannesburg in 1894 where the Star spoke out against the 'barbarous' sentences meted out by the landdrosts who ordered lashes to be given. It point out that "the first batch of natives could not posssibly have known that they were committing an offence" and felt that a stern warning would have been sufficient. The newspaper did not condemn the law itself and revealed deeper, less altruistic motives when it warned that "the rand is in chronic danger of a shortfall in the native labour supply because of the sentences" (56). The next day there were reports of blacks leaving the Rand because they were "murdering all the natives for walking on footpaths" (57).

At least part of the motive behind the law was, if we are to take a white Krugersdorp resident at his word, to prevent blacks 'jostling' whites and obstructing the path so that whites, male and female, had to "elbow their way through these louts or walk in the mud" (58). Obviously it would also be a profound badge of inferiority if blacks were forced to walk in the mud themselves in a 'white' town, metaphorically and literally, lowering themselves in relation to whites, trudging through mud and other rubbish in the gutters.

The same fear of 'jostling', particularly of white females, led to demands for separate queues at the Railway Ticket Office (59), the Post Office (60) and Market Place (61). Could such 'jostling' express the fear of assault including indecent assault? What about pick-pocketing or bag-snatching? The regulation must certainly have reduced the possibility of such criminal 'incidents' perpetrated by blacks on white 'victims'.

Closely linked to this would be demands to lighten the town, which were made with increasing stridency by white residents, but achieved no success before the Anglo-Boer War (62). Well-lit roads would also aid police catch night-curfew breakers. Here, any blacks found in the town between 9pm at night and 5am in the morning, without a 'Night Pass', would be summarily arrested (63). A bell would actually sound some 15 minutes before nine, to warn all blacks to clear out of town. Such a petty restriction on the movementof local blacks, a regulation that would only be imposed on whites in times of extreme turmoil like the 1914 Afrikaner Rebellion (64), gives substance to the claim that white residents saw themselves in a 'war' against blacks, such a law clearly being designed to reduce the possibility of black criminal attacks on whites.

Of course, more profound segregationalist policy was also applied to blacks by the white authorities. The first black location was established in 1891 because blacks were "squatting in the town" (65). This location was situated a half a mile from the town, which by 1897 was seen as too close for the comfort of white residents and removed to a site one mile away from the town (66).

In an article entitled 'Street Orgies', it was reported in 1899 that the white residents of Human Street were complaining about "disgraceful scenes enacted...by kaffirs on

Sunday afternoons...as a regular occurrence" with "drunken and noisy niggers loitering around...they fight, they curse...to the annoyance and disgust of the residents, quite unmolested by the police". The naked racism here is fueled by annoyance at noise and possible indecency, but there is a note of fear that latent violence could break out against whites (67).

These and other points considered, did not disappear during the lengthly Anglo-Boer War, although the exigencies of a real war did seriously disrupt the mining economy and largely emptied the Rand of people, thus drastically minimising crime as a whole (68). The military regime was harsh on any attempts by white or black criminals to re-assert themselves (69), and it was only by 1904, that Krugersdorp returned to 'normal', continuing its 'war' between black and white residents. The local white population was 2 000 and the black population 1 500 in the town, as a whole, with 372 black adults in the location, 206 males and 166 females (70). The struggling local mining industry brought another 12 500 blacks into the mines, and about 4 000 whites (71). Coloureds numbered 400 and Indians 300 (72).

Most of the black mineworkers, as was pointed out earlier, lived in the single-sex compounds on the mines. Increasingly, however, black mineworkers who regularly signed up for lengthly contracts, and the black compound police or 'police boys' (the hated "nongqayi", brutal "Zulu" policemen, to the black mineworkers) were 'rewarded' with the 'priviledge' of being allowed to live some kind of married, family life in Mine Married Locations. The Randfontein mines took the lead in this and 264 black males and over a hundred black females were already housed in this way at the Randfontein Estates and G.M. Co., in 1903, with other mines following suit soon afterwards (73).

The mine married locations and single-sex compounds of the West Rand, like those on the rest of the Rand, increasingly became the base of a notorious and organised gang of criminals known alternatively as the 'Ninevites' or the 'Amalaita", a disciplined 'fighting force' organised along military lines with soldiers in the front ranks and generals commanding at the top, this gang gave a new dimension to the 'war' of crime,between blacks and whites in Krugersdorp (74). It was their leader, Jan Note, who expressed the desire, mentioned at the beginning of this Paper, to "make [whites] uncomfortable in everyway possible".

According to Charles van Onselen, the Amalaita were preceded by first, the "Umkosi Wezintaba" or the "Regiment of the Hills" (75), and then by the "People of the Stone" and the "Nongoloza" (76). The Regiment of the Hills consisted of organised black criminals living in the Klipriviersberg hills, south of Johannesburg and called, by them, "Shabalawawa". they preyed on mostly black migrant workers either through 'highway robbery' or through the 'abathelisi' trick whereby they demanded passes from black workers by pretending to be policemen, demanding 'spot fines' on all and sundry, whether passless or not (77). In this way they were merely copying what many policemen themselves were doing.

They also preyed on white residents and reports of "Midnight Marauders" (78) and a "bandit gang" of black burglars who were responsible for 28 burglaries in one month, in Roodepoort alone, are strongly suggestive of Jan Note's Regiment of the Hills, especially in their 'modus operandi'.

thieving as they possibly can, casting tthe spoils in a general 'fund' (79).

The Rise of the Ninevites after the Anglo-Boer War, coincided with both an economic downturn on the Rand between 1906-8, and the Bambatha Rebellion in Natal which disturbed and worried the white residents of Krugersdorp (80). The two events were related in the sense that many Zulu 'vagrants' pushed at by the rural economy at Natal, and influenced by events there, could find no work on the Rand, and so militant and poverty-stricken, they moved into the ranks of the Ninevites as 'soldiers' or "amakhehla" (81).

A large number of burglaries were committed by blacks on both the white-owned stores and residences of whites in Krugersdorp during this period, which imply organised black criminal attacks on the property of white residents (82). In addition the number of assaults being inflicted on whites by blacks in Krugersdorp, rose steadily over the years 1905, 1906 and 1907, including the murder of a white storekeeper (83). Incidents of "black peril" attacks rose steadily from 1905, peaking in 1908 (84). Under this ruthless "attack" white residents retreated into mental laagers, growing increasingly racist and authoritarian in their attitudes to blacks.

White residents at Randfontein Village demanded more "police protection" from the quasi-military South African Constabulary (S.A.C.) and the Transvaal Territorial Police (T.T.P.). White residents at Luipaardsvlei added their voices to the demands for more policemen after a local store was robbed in broad daylight, leading to a "feeling of insecurity amongst the residents" (85). At Randfontein Village there were 2 sergeants and 10 troopers, all mounted, serving 126 adult, male, white, residents, and 1 sergeant and 6 mounted troopers at Luipaardsvlei, for a population half the size of Randfontein Village (86). However, these white suburbs were situated near major mines, Randfontein serving the giant Randfontein Estates and G.M. Co., Luipaardsvlei serving the Luipaardsvlei Estates and G.M. Co., where thousands of black mineworkers were housed in compounds and mine locations. Clearly this must have caused them to feel unduly vulnerable if one policeman for every 12 white, male residents was seen as inadequate.

The police responded to these demands by enforcing a variety of laws more strictly than before, but particularly pass laws (87) and liquor laws (88). In 1904, 1 539 cases of all crimes were reported, 1 200 cases were tried leading to 1 104 convictions, and 1 177 pounds worth of property was recovered out of the 2 080 pounds reported stolen. 1 402 pounds worth of fines were imposed (89). The cause of these successes were not increased police numbers but greater vigilance and harder work from the police who were so under-manned that they were compelled to do "double duty" in the form of working overtime without an increase in pay (90). To facillitate greater efficiency, attempts were made to establish a degree of uniformity between the two police forces (91).

White residents also demanded improvements in the local prison and in the control of convicts who were increasingly used as cheap labour by the local state to repair streets and roads (92), and by local mines, largely for surface work (93).

Legislative Assembly to promulgate regulations in 1905, prohibiting blacks, and later Chinese, from possessing "dangerous weapons" which included "swords, daggers, knives with blades longer than ten inches in length, spears, loaded or spiked sticks, knuckle dusters, jumpers, crowbars, hammers exceeding 3 pounds in weight, axes, pickhandles and sandbags" (113). Any black person caught with such a "dangerous weapon" in his possession, would face a fine of 25 pounds or 3 months in prison. Whites selling such weapons, "unless they believed that it was required for a lawful purpose" faced the same penalty. The regulations only applied to the Witwatersrand.

That these regulations were clearly supported by local white residents, was clearly demonstrated in 1906 when a local storekeeper was fined 15 pounds or one month's imprisonment for selling "butcher's knives to Chinese coolies". White residents in Krugersdorp condemned the sentence as "too light" and a local newspaper felt that punishment should have included the loss of the storekeeper's trade license (114).

Aside from these authoritarian measures, many white residents turned their attentions to enforcing or calling for even more stringent segregationist policies. There were frequent calls by local white residents to "Purge the Path" of blacks (115), a campaign was launched to stop black men from bathing or washing themselves in the many dams on the mines, especially if they were near public roads, partly because these blacks were often "in a state of absolute nudity", while whites swam in such dams with impunity (116). Great concern was expressed over the failure of police to enforce the Night Curfew. Many whites complained that they had great difficulty with their servants "whose visitors remain for an hour after the bell has gone and say when they are spoken to, that 'they won't get caught'" (117). Blacks regularly evaded many of these petty regulations with impunity (118).

Some whites responded in a different way to the rising black crime rate, particularly serious crime directed at white residents, by criticising police for their heavy-handed tactics, which they argued alienated law-abiding blacks who were needed in an alliance against black criminals and 'agitators' stirring up political and economic unrest amongst blacks.

In one incident which reveals black attitudes to police harassment quite clearly, a pass-raid was made on the Krugersdorp Location in 1905 where 14 Africans were arrested. A local preacher, Ernest Majura, declared that he was going to show the "poor oppressed natives that he at least would resist these 'infernal policemen'", and assaulted one of the policemen, leading to a "general disturbance" in the location (119).

The Magistrate who heard the case involving Majura on a charge of assault, discharged him on the grounds that the police had acted illegally in searching houses without a proper warrant, adding that "a Kaffir has the same rights as any British subject, and his home was his castle and sacred even from the police". There was substantial jubilation in the location that night in celebration of an "unexpected native triumph over a policeman" (120).

The magistrate was not alone in taking such an approach to black crime, in 1906 the local newspaper argued:

> "unless we are to have a Kaffir terror superadded to the Chinese, a very radical change needs to take place in our dealing with the natives and the Pass Laws must be carried out with far greater stringency than they are presently in a lawful and business-like manner and not by raids of locations." (121)

Obviously there was a fear amongst white residents that they would one day push the blacks 'too far', and the spectre of widespread insurrection by blacks haunted whites probably as much as black criminal attacks, and also contributed to the hardening of white attitudes to blacks, with a minority responding with a more accommodating stance.

The period from Union until 1914 saw many of the above features reproduced with the period 1910-12 serving as a kind of high-water mark for black attacks on white residents, with these attacks slowly declining thereafter, and for this reason, this period deserves special scrutinisation.

Black sexual assaults on white women, in the form of rape, attempted rape and indecent assault, rapidly increased so that, for example, three times as many rapes were committed on white women in the period 1906-12, compared to the period 1901-5 (122). These attacks led to a bout of hysteria amongst whites that has been dubbed the 'Black Peril'. Van Onselen identifies two separate occurrences in this period, the first from 1906-8, that co-incided with a serious economic depression and political tension caused by the 1907 white mineworker's strike; the second, from 1911 to 1913, corresponds with, again, declining economic conditions, and political tension in the form of the 1913 mineworker's strike (123).

My own research and van Onselen's own valuable statistics drawn from the Report of Commission on assaults on Women, 1913, does not bear out the hypothesis of two separate scares, but rather one unbroken 'Black Peril' scare from 1906 to 1913, the dip in the statistics between 1909 and 1910 seem too slight and inconsistent (only indecent assault cases really decline in 1909, while in 1910, rapes do decline but attempted rapes and indecent assault cases especially, are markedly increasing). 'Black Peril' reports are particularly common in Krugersdorp during this period, especially 1910 (124). Van Onselen, focussing, perhaps, too much on Johannesburg sees the 'Lyndhurst outrage' of 1911 as the start of a second scare on the Reef, while in Krugersdorp this is not the case.

The point of van Onselen's work is to demonstrate that 'Black Peril' scares co-incide with economic downturns and political tension, an argument which is largely borne out by his evidence. In Krugersdorp, however, the economic boom on the Rand from 1909 to 1912, sees an <u>increase</u> in sexual attacks by blacks on white women. This does not mean that van Onselen is wrong, however, as Krugersdorp and the West Rand generally was swimming against the tide during this period, and mines were closing down, in 1910 (125), at the peak of 'Black Peril' scares in Krugersdorp. It seems that economic factors do have a role to play in these scares.

A significant number of these attacks were committed by black 'houseboys',male domestic servants employed by many white

particular attention to by the 1913 Commission and consequently by the local state at Krugersdorp [illegible]. Van Onselen suggests that in these harsh times, white women were quite capable of cynically and falsely charging their black male domestic servants with sexual offences "in order to defraud their houseboys of their wages", something which the 1913 Commission confirms (126).

While van Onselen does not dwell on this point, he has been attacked for this point by T. Keegan, who accused him of being a "Functionalist" (127). I also have problems with this view but only as I find it astonishingly unlikely that white women would subject themselves to the public impression that they had been sexually assaulted by their black servants, merely to cheat a servant out of a few pounds or to break off a 'difficult relationship' (128). I have found no evidence for this myself in my research in Krugersdorp, and the suggestion by the all-male Commission, smacks too much of 'blaming the victim' or denying that the assaults really happened.

While van Onselen correctly points out that increased sexual assaults may be largely the result of increased police vigilance and increased willingness by white women to come forward with charges in the wake of public hysteria after, usually, a particularly brutal sexual assault (129), it seems likely however that these statistics reflect a real increase in actual assaults on white women committed by black men. I would argue that economic downturns and political tension played an important role here by increasing tension between white females and their black house servants, where constant and unreasonable demands were probably increasingly piled onto these increasingly resentful black servants (130), who were increasingly insulted and threatened with the sack until the servant lashed out violently, for this is what rape really consists of, by raping his white female employer. No blame is apportioned here, rather external pressures act on a situation that is already characterised by sexual tension, resentment felt by males towards being ordered around by white females, and white females fears of potential confrontation (131).

It should be noted that a large number of rapes, attempted rapes and indecent assaults were committed by black men on white women, where they were complete strangers to each other (132). In Krugersdorp we also find black house servants attack young white girls where the 'tension between employer and employee' is somewhat muted, as they are merely 'daughters' of such employers. Van Onselen is probably correct when he suggests that this group was "particularly 'sensitive' to sexual behaviour" and they, together with women of "extremely nervous disposition" became easily frightened or over-reacted to circumstances (133). I would like to suggest that in many cases of "attempted rape" black criminals, in harsh economic times, were either in the process of robbing white households or were intending to rob whites, when they were "found", in ladies' bedrooms, under the bed, or in the house of single white women, and were either hiding from those they intended to rob or lashed out at those women in their way or who tried to apprehend them. I know of at least one case where an 'attempted rape' charge was placed on a man found in a lady's bedroom who had a long list of housebreaking and theft convictions held against him. Would he, in calmer times, have been merely charged on housebreaking? (134)

To conclude this brief focus on sexual assaults on white women, it is worthwhile noting that most of these assaults are committed by individuals and not by an organised gang, with the exception of the notorious Harrison cases, which involved a planned gang-rape committed by the Amalaita (135). Despite Jan Note's threats to make whites "uncomfortable in every way possible", and despite the fact that Amalaita, which often consisted of 'houseboys' or acted on the behalf of 'houseboys' who wanted revenge on their white masters, would occassionally assault white men, the sexual assault of white women do not seem to have been part of the criminal gang's "style", which van Onselen has pointed out, often involved homosexual activities with amakhela often taking a Khela or "boy-wife" as a companion (136).

The Amalaita did assault white males and policemen in an increasingly daring and outrageous extent during the same period that the 'Black Peril' scares occurred ; however, also peaking during the period 1910-11. In Krugersdorp, the motive was often robbery although often it was merely for revenge or assault for assault's sake (137). In the harsh economic times of a declining local mining economy, where many Amalaita were black mineworkers themselves, such motives are understandable: material gain and a 'lashing out' against priviledged whites. Of course white mineworkers were themselves notorious for assaulting black mineworkers, so revenge attacks (138) seem quite likely as well.

White outrage led magistrates to impose particularly harsh sentences on those who assaulted white men, just as 'Black Peril' attacks often led to whites baying for blood, demanding and often getting the death penalty imposed (139) and brutal sentences for the most harmless 'indecent assault' cases including the writing of love-letters to white women (140). The black man responsible for the "savage assault" on a white miner, on the local York mine, in 1910 (incidentally the year it closed down), was sentenced to 4 months in prison and 10 lashes, the Magistrate expressing the hope that this would serve "as a lesson to the native not to touch a white man" (141).

It was attacks by gangs of Amalaita on single white men that particularly upset Krugersdorp's white residents. A party of five 'Amalaita' "knocked" another white about seriously in 1910 (142). The local Member for the Provincial Councillor, and a Town Councillor for Krugersdorp, were assaulted by Amalaita on their way back from a political meeting, but the two managed to put the gang to flight.

The incident that shook the white residents most, and stunned the rest of the Rand, occurred in January, 1911. A small local police force, led by Supt. Deane raided the West Rand mine married location on a Saturday night in search of "a certain Amalaita who had been defying the police and terrorising the inhabitants of West Krugersdorp".

They made a number of arrests under the Liquor Law because a drinking spree was underway when they arrived. They had to release these prisoners when virtually the whole location rose up against them shouting 'Bulalo umlango' ("Kill the white men"). Police shot a "notorious Amalaita ring leader" dead but were forced tto retreat to the mine hospital with many men wounded where they were rescued by the compound manager and his 'Police Boys' (143). The Police returned in force the following Monday with twenty men armed with rifles,

the alleged Amalaita ring leader.

The local newspaper commented, "this sort of attack seems to point to the necessity of all policemen being armed...when entering dangerous locations, where the scum of the reef seek a hiding place" (144), a feeling strongly supported by white residents writing to the newspaper in the wake of the attack (145).

Events like these galvanised the state into action and, according to van Onselen, who quoted a black journalist: "Public and police alike felt that Ninevism, that cynical challenge to authority [had to] be wiped out" (146). Under a concerted attack, which included the imposition of Indeterminate Sentences on convicts with many previous convictions (147), and the "conversion" of Amalaita leader, Jan Note (148), the Amalaita began to decline in influence and the period that followed was noticeably quieter.

The white residents, like those on the rest of the Rand, responded to these sexual and physical assaults on whites and attacks on their property, with predictable ruthlessness, calling for stricter, more "authoritarian" policies and stricter segregationalism.

A new black location was erected in 1912 (149), called unimaginatively the 'New Location', it was earmarked as the new home of the black residents of what was now called, the 'Old Location', where the residents were forbidden to make any "improvements" to the dilapidated "huts" and pot-holed streets, because it was shortly to be "dis-established" (150). Lengthy "Location Regulations" (151) were published and all blacks, who were not resident on their employers' premises, were compelled to live in these locations (152).

Randfontein Village which had long 'suffered' from the presence of a nearby 'mixed slum', with blacks and whites together (153), saw their 'torment' come to an end with the erection of the Randfontein Location (154), fully fenced around its entire perimeter to curb criminal activities there, particularly illicit liquor selling (155).

Petty segregationist demands rose to even sillier heights with whites objecting to black nannies, pushing white children in prams, walking on the sidewalks (156), or sitting in 'white' train compartments with white children (157), or sitting with their white charges in 'whites only' parks, ostensibly because they brought their black boyfriends with them who would distract them while other black 'fiends' preyed on the unattended white girls (158).

As Kathy Eales pointed out:

> "In the decade following the 1912 'Black Peril' commission, officials of the Union's bureaucracies were obliged to grapple with issues far broader than those dealt with in the report itself. Yet, in many respects, the reports were the same - how best to manage and administer the growing number of blacks in towns in a way that maximised the benefit and minimised the cost to whites." (159)

way to my own analysis, and focussing largely on black women, Eales sums up the process that led to the 1923 Native Urban Areas Act and looks at many factors that led up to its promulgation, sharing this task with other earlier writers like Paul Rich and T.R.H. Davenport (1987).

While crime rates waned dramatically during the war years, and rose less dramatically thereafter, fear of physical and sexual attacks, murder, robbery or theft, no longer played a significant role in developing the racist consciousness of Krugersdorp's white residents (161). Rather economic and political tension which saw the 1913 white minerworkers' strike, the 1918 black 'bucket workers' strike in Johannesburg, the Anti-Pass Campaign of 1919 led by the black Transvaal Native Congress (162), the 1920 black mineworkers' strike (163), distant events like the Bulhoek Massacre (164), and the 1922 white mineworkers' revolt; together with significant demographic shifts that brought thousands of blacks to the Rand, including significantly black women (165), played aan increasingly important role in segregationist and authoritarian policies.

Krugersdorp, in any case, suffered a period of stagnancy from 1911 onwards, its population actually declining (166) as its mining economy shutdown (167). Many events that shook the Rand, like the East Rand boycott of mine stores by black mineworkers in 1918, failed to impact on an increasingly somnolent town, the only exceptions being the 1920 black mineworkers' strike (168), and, to a lesser extent the 1922 white mineworkers' Revolt (169).

To be sure, white residents remained racist and as determined as ever to keep blacks in their locations and in the "place", Krugersdorp having none of the problems of 'mixed slums' like Johannesburg's Malay Quarter (170). Crime rates declined with a declining population, and Krugersdorp shifted behind even the smallest and newest East Rand towns, in most statistics that mattered, including crime statistics, where it languished near the bottom in comparison with towns on the Rand as a whole, for virtually every conceivable category. It simply becomes too difficult, in the face of this, to sustain the argument that black criminal attacks on white victims had any significance on local segrationist and authoritarian policy, after 1914, thus, I end my account at the start of the First World War.

Footnotes

1. C. van Onselen: New Nineveh, Studies in the Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand, 1886-1914, (New Nineveh), vol. 2, (Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1982) p201.

2. The notion of crime as a "war" is mentioned briefly, in reference to rape in Jacklyn Cock's Preface to Lloyd Vogelman: The Sexual Face of Violence - rapists on rape (Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1990)

3. W. Worger: "Workers as Criminals - The rule of law in Early Kimberley, 1879-1885" in F. Cooper (ed): Struggle for the City, Migrant Labour, Capital Labour and the State in Urban Africa, (Sage Publications Inc., Beverley Hills, 1983) p54. Elsewhere Worger says, "at every moment of their (the blacks) temporary residence in the town...(they are) under the control of either an employer, a civil servant, a policeman, a jailer or a municipal officer", see Ibid., p71.

   See also: P. Bonner: "Family, Crime and Political Consciousness on the East Rand 1939-1955", (History Workshop Paper, University of the Witwatersrand, 1987) p12.

4. M.A. Schutte: "Die Geskeidenis van Krügersdorp, 1887-1900" (Die Geskiedenis...), (M.A. Thesis, University of Potchefstroom, 1976) p29.
   See also Star 11/11/89

5. In 1888 the Witwatersrand Goldfields were divided into the Krugersdorp, Boksburg and Johannesburg Goldfields, each under their own Mining Commissioner, see Eastern Star, 9/11/87, 21/5/88, 23/11/88.

6. C. van Onselen: New Babylon, Studies in the Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand, 1886-1914", ("New Babylon"), vol. 1, (Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1982), p5.

7. The Krugersdorp Standard (K.S.) 6/9/02

8. Ibid.

9. See C. Dugmore: "City Fathers and Spoilt Children - the evolution of the Local State at Krugersdorp, 1887-1923", (M.A. Seminar Paper, University of the Witwatersrand, 1990) for more about Krugersdorp's local government.

10. Eastern Star, 29/4/90

11. F.A. Johnstone: Class, Race and Gold - a study of class relations and racial discrimination (University Press of America, Boston, 1976), is a useful source for exploring this concept.

12. S. Moroney: "Industrial and Scoial conflict in a Labour Repressive Economy: Black Labour on the Transvaal gold mines, 1901-1912" (Honours Dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 1976), is a good source fore more detail of the experiences of black mineworkers during this period.

13. Central Archives Department (CAD), Staatssekretaris (SS), 2077, R9710/89, letter, Mining Commissioner (MC) Krugersdorp to SS 12/9/89. See also telegram, Hoofd Mynwezen to SS 2/4/90

14. For more on the "shebeen culture" during this period, see E. Koch: "Without visible means of subsistence - slumyard culture in Johannesburg, 1918-40), (History Workshop Paper, University of the Witwatersrand, 1981), P. La Hausse: "The Struggle for the City: Alcohol, the ematsheni and popular culture in Durban, 1902-1935" (University of Cape Town), or for the 1940s and 1950s read, D. Coplan: The Township Tonight! - South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre, (Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1985)

15. Star, 14/7/92

16. CAD, Staats Prokureur (SP), SPR93, Verslag van Crimineele Zaken, behandel door den Special Laddrost van Krugersdorp, December 1892.

17. CAD, SP42, SPR658/94, Ibid., December, 1893. In 1894 this judicial official was complemented by a District Landdrost in 1894 (Ons Volk 13/6/96) and a special Judicial Commissioner ("Special Rechterlijke Commissaris"). See M.A. Schutte: "Die Geskiedenis..." p87.

18. Star, 24/1/90. It is not clear how long a "circuit" actually was.

19. Ibid. 1/2/90

20. Ibid. 15/10/89

21. Ibid. 1/7/92

22. Ibid. 8/7/92

23. Ons Volk (O.V.) 3/5/98. Complaints were made that they were not farmers or owners of property.

24. CAD. SP108, Crimineele Statistiek, 1895

25. CAD, SP186, SPR9907/98, "Staat van Crimineele-en-Politie zaken behanded door den Special Rechterlijke Commissaris in Krugersdorp", December, 1898

26. O.V. 31/10/95

27. CAD, SP90, SPR2933/96 - Report of Deaths in Krugersdorp Jail, October to December 1895, and March 1896.

28. There are numerous incidents of 'Zarps' demanding passes, vaccination certificates or proof that blacks have paid taxes, and demanding 'spot fines' from their black victims, see Star 11/10/94, 18/2/99, 6/1/91, 6/5/99. See also SS7831, R6326/99 for a case invloving a Krugersdorp veldcornet.

29. K.S. 6/5/99, local Public Prosecutor, van Leggelo was praised by the newspaper, for achieving 58 convictions out of 77 cases.

30. O.V. 25/7/96 - Landdrost sentenced two black horsethieves to 6 months hard labour and 50 lashes, K.S. 10/6/99, Landdrost Bodenstein was described as being "extremely severe on kaffirs travelling around without passes" and "exceedingly severe" on drunken blacks, "few escaped without making aquaintance with the cat [o' nine tails]", K.S. 4/2/99

31. CAD, SP108, Crimineele Statistiek, 1895, Report for December.

32. Star 11/10/94

33. Food and clothes were often stolen, see K.S. 20/5/99, K.S. 3/6/99 and K.S. 24/6/99.

34. C. van Onselen, New Nineveh, p45.

35. Ibid., p49-51.

36. Ibid., p52.

37. K.S. 7/1/99

38. K.S. 1/4/99

39. K.S. 28/2/11, white women at a public meeting at Krugersdorp called for the death sentence for all rapists.

40. F.A. Johnstone: Class, Race and Gold, is a good source for this position.

41. Star, 3/10/89.

42. Ibid., 3/4/90, this was neccessary to "secure better men".

43. Ibid., 11/10/94

44. K.S. 13/5/99

45. Star, 16/10/94. Local police were not paid in February 1899, see K.S. 16/3/99

46. Star, 11/10/94, 6/1/91, and K.S. 6/5/99

47. K.S. 7/9/97

48. As early as 1889, a "memorie" or petition was sent to the Volksraad by Krugersdorp's white residents, asking the state to increase the local police force, which numbered only 13. M.A. Schutte: "Die Geskeidenis..." p.85. See also O.V. 29/2/96 and K.S. 4/3/99

49. Star, 5/4/90

50. O.V. 5/2/96

51. Star, 15/4/90

52. De Voortrekker (O.V.) 13/5/98

53. K.S. 4/2/99

54. Ibid.

55. K.S. 4/2/99 and K.S. 25/10/03

56. Star, 13/2/94. The law was introduced in Krugersdorp through the 'Town Regulations' of 1889, probably the Sanitary Committee Regulations, sometime in the 1890s. K.S. 29/11/03

57. Star, 14/2/94

58. K.S. 27/6/03. Blacks did not always meekly comply with the demands of whites and police that they move off the pavements, see K.S. 12/3/04 and 24/1/03 for example. Fines for this offence increased from 3 pounds in 1899 to 5 pounds after the war, probably in an attempt to get blacks to comply.

59. K.S. 29/11/03, the same complaints surfaced later, see K.S. 11/12/09 and K.S. 10/2/23

60. K.S. 7/3/03

61. K.S. 17/9/04

62. See, for example, K.S. 18/3/99, 12/4/99, 17/6/99 and 24/10/99

63. K.S. 8/7/99. Complaints were made about the "'hamba kaya' bell" because it rang irregularly between 8:45 and 9:20.

64. K.S. 28/8/15 and 24/1/14

65. Star, 9/12/90

66. CAD, Transvaal Plaaslike Bestuur (TPB) 542, Ta19408, Report of the Krugersdorp Asiatic Locations Committee of Enquiry, 1910, evidence of Mr J.A. Burger, former Mining Commissioner of Krugersdorp, p63.

67. K.S. 9/2/99

68. K.S. 2/9/99, K.S. 16/9/99 - These describe the black and white exodus from Krugersdorp.

69. C. van Onselen, New Babylon, comments on this on p.89.

70. CAD, Superintendant of Native Affairs (SNA) 301, File no. 3680

71. A.J. Potgieter: "Die Swartes aan die Witwatersrand, 1900-1933" (PH.D Thesis, Rand Afrikaans University, 1978) p175.

72. CAD, SNA 301, File no. 3680

73. Ibid. See also S. Moroney: "Mine Married Quarters - Differential Stabilisation of the Witwatersrand Workforce, 1900-1920", in S. Marks and S. Trapido (eds): Industrialisation and social change in South Africa, (Harlow, London, 1982) p265.

74. C. van Onselen, New Nineveh, p185.

75. Ibid., pp172-7

76. Ibid., pp177-180

77. Ibid., p174

78. K.S. 20/5/99

79. K.S. 27/5/99. The Ninevites also apparently shared the loot amongst themselves in this manner, see C. van Onselen, New Nineveh, pp186-7

80. K.S. 7/7/06

81. C. van Onselen, New Nineveh, p185

82. For example, K.S. 7/1/05, 28/2/05, 15/4/05, 19/2/06, 29/4/06, 23/6/06, 8/8/06, 7/11/08

83. K.S. 11/2/05, 27/1/06, 21/6/06, 16/11/06. For the murder case see 28/4/06

84. C. van Onselen, New Nineveh, p49. See also for example K.S. 25/3/05, K.S. 13/10/06, 26/1/07, 9/5/08

85. Ibid., 14/11/03

86. Ibid., 9/4/04

87. Ibid., 18/5/12

88. See for example, K.S. 9/7/10, 5/3/10, 11/6/10, 9/7/10, 22/8/10, 3/12/10. The Randfontein Estates and G.M. Co. Ltd., employed a certain "Ranger Murdoch" to raid its mine compounds and locations for liquor.

89. K.S. 11/2/05

90. Ibid., 25/2/05

91. Ibid. The Union Police Force was formed in 1912 bringing all the disparate police forces together.

92. CAD, Colonial Secretary (C.S.) 124, 0543, Resident Magistrate (R.M.), Krugersdorp, to Secretary, Law Department (L.D.) 1/7/01. They paid 1s 6d per day per convict, per day. See also K.S. 1/8/03

93. K.S. 18/04/03 - French Rand, K.S. 7/11/03 - Lancaster West, K.S. 8/10/10 - York Mine.

94. K.S. 12/9/09

95. K.S. 8/10/10 - Black prisoners wore "breeches, a cap, a red undershirt and jersey, all marked with a broad arrow".

96. K.S. 12/9/09. See also K.S. 19/3/04 where prisoners broke out of Krugersdorp jail by scraping away the mortar between the stones with a nail". White residents, fearing further

escapes, demanded the removal of the prison, out of the centre of the town, to a "more isolated part". See also K.S. 13/10/06.

97. M.A. Schutte: "Die Geskiedenis..." p28. See also "Staatscourant" 7/11/94

98. K.S. 20/4/15 - Attacks on white farm women in Elandsvlei.

99. Ibid., 26/3/04. See also P. Richardson: Chinese Mine Labour in the Transvaal (Chinese) (MacMillan Press, London, 1982) p205.

100. K.S. 4/7/03

101. Ibid., 6/8/04

102. Ibid., 4/7/03

103. Ibid., 3/9/04

104. Ibid., 24/9/04 and 8/4/05 and 26/11/04

105. Ibid., 22/10/04

106. Ibid., 3/11/06

107. P. Richardson, Chinese, p175. Richardson points out that "the political consequences of this widespread desertion were serious for the mines".

108. K.S. 7/7/06

109. K.S. 2/9/05

110. K.S. 25/2/05. The local newspaper reported the arrival of a large number of black migrants seeking work in Krugersdorp and felt that "their migration into the town [was] caused principally by the drought".

111. See K.S. 4/1/04, 27/2/04, 2/4/04, 21/1/05, and 4/2/05.

112. K.S. 24/8/07

113. Ibid., 28/10/05

114. Ibid., 7/4/06

115. Ibid., 27/1/06. See also 27/6/03

116. Ibid., 7/7/06, 31/1/03, 7/2/03

117. Ibid., 9/3/07

118. In 1911 in Krugersdorp there were 6363 blacks charged with "statutary offences" like pass laws, liquor laws, town regulations like the pavement and night curfew regulations, forming 9% of the total black population, clearly many more must have evaded the police as well. See Report of the Chief Commissioner of Police, 1911, p90.

119. K.S. 21/1/05

120. Ibid., 7/7/06

121. Ibid., 7/7/06. See also 24/11/17. The white Krugersdorp resident who wrote to the Krugersdorp Standard in 1906 felt that pass laws on the Rand were "ill-timed, extremely injudicious and [it is] most provocative to wake up peaceable natives between three and four in the morning by forcing open doors of their huts, ...is bound to raise the very worst feelings and to drive law-abiding men into hostility against the white men".

122. C. van Onselen: New Nineveh, p51.

123. Ibid., pp51-2

124. See, for example, K.S. 28/8/09, 2/4/10, 15/10/10, 17/12/10. There were substantially more cases in 1911, see for example, K.S. 9/2/11, 4/3/11, 18/3/11, 11/3/11, 5/4/11.

125. K.S. 8/1/10. The Lancaster G.M. Co. closed down in 1913, see K.S. 18/1/13

126. C. van Onselen: New Nineveh, p52. Van Onselen cites a number of newspaper articles to support the view taken by the Commission on Assaults on Women, 1913, paragraph 120.

127. Ibid., p71, footnote: 185

128. Ibid., p53

129. Ibid.

130. Ibid., p52. Van Onselen touches on this but then goes on to discuss "trumped up" charges.

131. L. Vogelman, The Sexual Face of Violence, explores the relationship between rapists and their victims.

132. For example, K.S. 4/3/11, 8/4/11 and 19/8/11

133. C. van Onselen: New Nineveh, p53

134. K.S. 18/3/11 and K.S. 31/7/20

135. C. van Onselen: New Nineveh, p60

136. Ibid., pp179, 187, 198

137. K.S. 14/1/11

138. S. Moroney: "Labour Repressive Economy", looks at this in some detail.

139. K.S. 28/2/11

140. C. van Onselen: New Nineveh, p179

141. K.S. 2/4/10

142. Ibid., 1/1/11

143. Ibid., 31/1/11

144. Ibid., 4/2/11

145. Ibid., 21/1/11

146. C. van Onselen: New Nineveh, p189.

147. Ibid., p191

148. Ibid., p194

149. M. Proctor: "Local and Central Control of Black Settlements in Munsieville", in: Geo Journal, 12.2 (D. Reidel Publishing Co., 1986) p168

150. Ibid., p169, K.S. 28/5/21

151. K.S. 27/7/12. Administrative note no. 278. See also Krugersdorp Public Library (KPC), "Munsieville File", "Native Location Bye-Laws, 1912"

152. K.S. 3/9/04. Municipality of Krugersdorp, Notice no. 66 of 1904.

153. See, for example, K.S. 23/9/05

154. K.S. 20/12/14

155. Ibid., the Location was planned in 1909 to provide housing for "domestic natives employed in the native area", it was situated on the property of the West Rand Consolidated G.M. Co., about 1 mile from Randfontein Village. The fence is

favourably remarked upon by the police, see 1917 Randfontein Locations Committee of Inquiry, evidence of Sergeant T. Bocks, p12.

156. K.S. 2/12/11

157. Ibid., 12/8/05

158. Ibid., 15/8/14. The complaint was raised by the local Chamber of Commerce, who sent a deputation to the Town Council, and further recommended the appointment of a "Park Constable".

159. K.A. Eales: "Masterless Men and Unrestrained Women", p1

160. T.R.H. Davenport, The Beginings of Urban Segregation in South Africa: the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 and its Background, (Institute of Social and Economic Research, Rhodes University, 1971). See also P.Rich, "Ministering to the White Man's Needs: the development of urban segregation in South Africa, 1913-1923", (History Workshop Paper, University of the Witwatersrand, 1978).

161. A static crime rate was a nation-wide phenomenon, see Union Statistics, Jubilee Issue, 1910-1960, pF-2, and Report of Commissioner of Police, 1926, p20. For Krugersdorp's criminal statistics, which show a marked decline, see KPL, Town Council Minutes, Reports of the Chief Sanitary Inspector, for 1909-10 (p85), 1910-11 (p95), 1911-12 (p87), 1915-6 (p97) and 1916-7 (p100).

162. See P. Bonner: "The Transvaal Native Congress, 1917-1920 - the radicalisation of the black petty bourgeoisie on the Rand", in S. Marks and R. Rathbone (eds): Industrialisation and Social Change in South Africa (Longman, Essex, 1982)

163. See P. Bonner: "The 1920 Mineworkers Strike - a preliminary account", ("Strike") in B. Bozzoli (ed): Labour, Townships and Protest (Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1979)

164. See K. Eales: "Masterless Men and Unrestrained Women", p32.

165. Ibid., p1

166. Statistical Summary of Union Progress, 1891-1923, p125

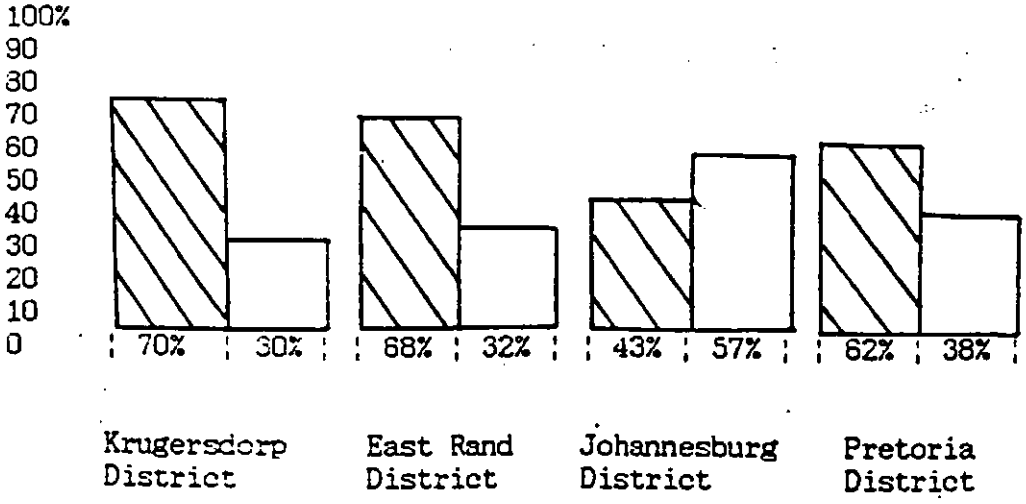
167. See C. Dugmore: "The Evolution of the West Rand Mining Industry, 1886-1923", Chapter One of my forthcoming M.A. Thesis.

168. P. Bonner: "Strike", p279.

169. A major mine was closed down, K.S. 4/2/22, but Krugersdorp escaped "red ruin, havoc, looting and slaughter", K.S. 18/3/22

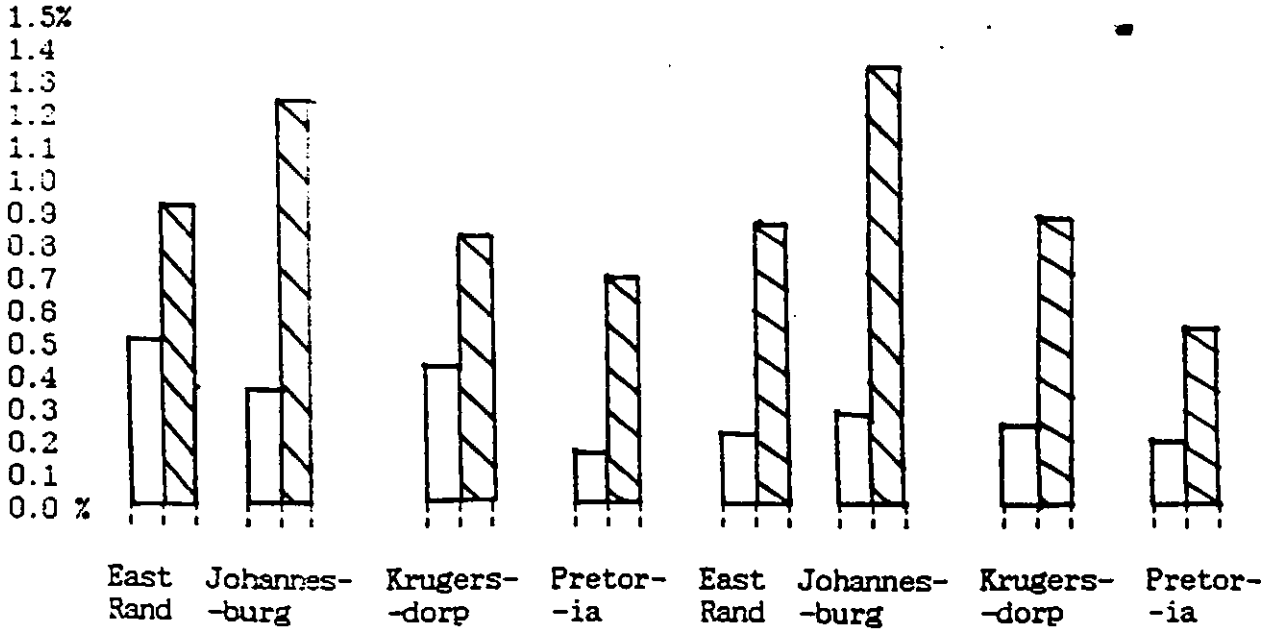
170. See H. Dugmore: "The Coloured Community in Johannesburg, 1910-1936" (M.A. Seminar Paper, University of the Witwatersrand, 1989)

STATISTICS - 1911 (source : Report of the Commissioner of Police, 1911, U.G. 62-12.)



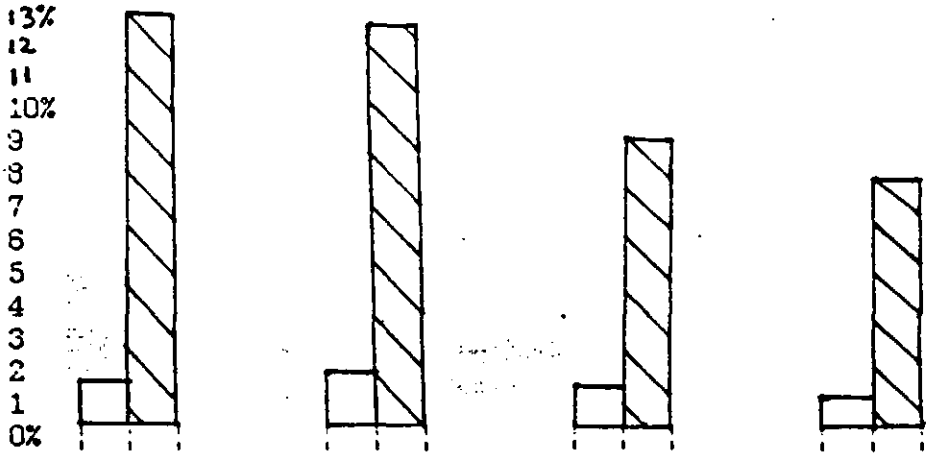
Blacks = ▨
Whites = ▭

Percentage of Blacks to Whites, 1911. p. 81.



Black crime as a percentage of black population = ▨
White crime as a percentage of white population = ▭

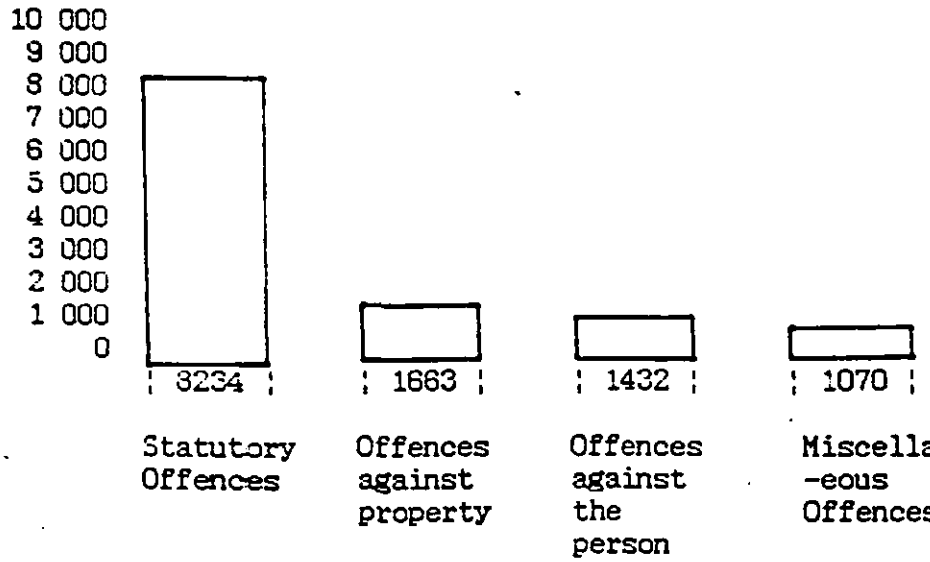
p.81



STATUTORY OFFENCES - 1911

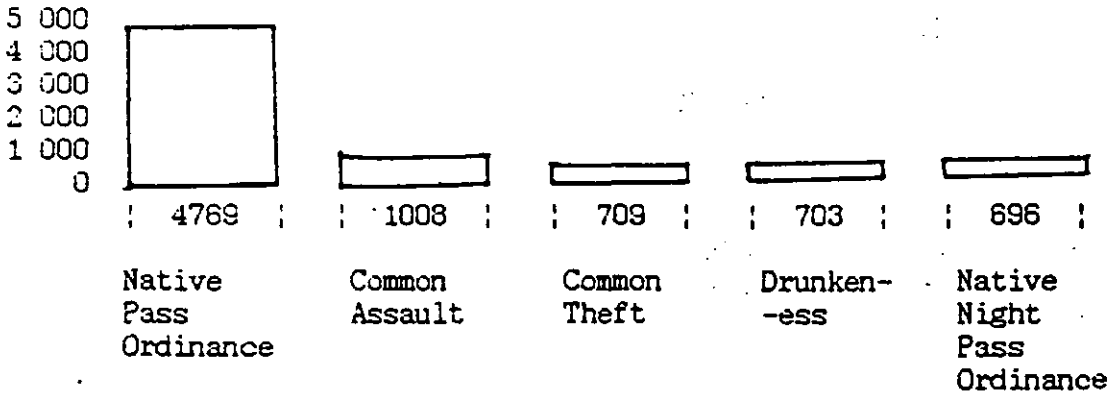
Blacks as a percentage of the black population =
Whites as a percentage of the white population =

p.90



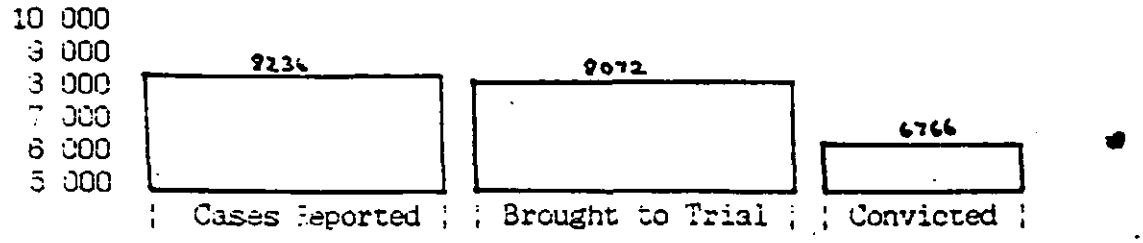
Crimes in order of total cases reported in Krugersdorp, 1911

pp.119 - 123

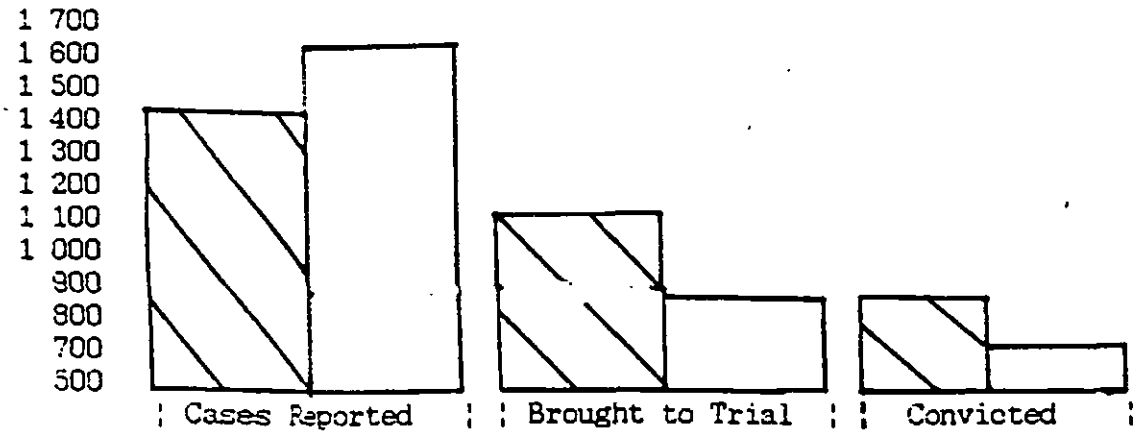


Crimes in order of total cases reported, 1911

pp.119 - 123



Statutory Offences



Offences against the person =
Offences against property =

All data for Krugersdorp District, 1911. pp.119 -123

Serious Crime in Krugersdorp : 1911

In order of total convictions, divided according to race (B = Black, refers to Africans, W = White, C = Coloured , A = Asian)

Common Assault : B = 427
W = 116
C = 19
A = 2

Common Theft : B = 276
W = 23
C = 20

Assault with Intent : B = 235
W = 6
C = 1

Assault on Police : B = 26
W = 7
C = 2

Malicious damage to property : B = 26
W = 7

Breach of Peace : B = 21

Public Violence : B = 18

Indecent Assault : B = 15 (Blacks on W females = 2, on B females = 7 on B males = 5), (Whites on W females = 1, on B females = 1)
W = 2

Attempted Murder : B = 5

Attempted Rape : B = 2 (on B females = 1, on W females = 1)

Rape : B = 2 (both on B females)

* N B there were no murder or homicide convictions

(i) INDEXES OF RETAIL PRICES OF FOOD, FUEL, AND LIGHT.

Year.	Group I.		Group II.	Group III.	Groups I, II, and III.	Group IV.	All Groups.
	Cereal Foods.	Other Foods (not Animal Products).	Dairy Produce.	Fresh Meats.	All Foods.	Fuel, and Light.	

(a) PRINCIPAL TOWNS FROM 1895 (BASIS, YEAR 1910 = 1000).

1895	1049	1094	988	838	990	1388	1016
1900	1078	1132	1102	1048	1102	1262	1105
1905	836	971	1058	1226	1058	1152	1071
1910	1008	1008	1008	1008	1008	1008	1008
1911	1140	1097	1038	1109	1098	960	1081
1912	1230	1110	1048	1128	1146	948	1125
1913	1261	1133	1068	1213	1163	949	1160
1914	1323	1068	1098	1288	1168	951	1181
1915	1484	1244	1216	1098	1228	858	1188
1916	1556	1245	1287	1159	1276	989	1246
1917	1768	1499	1356	1241	1418	1022	1376
1918	1823	1457	1291	1276	1457	1141	1406
1919	1927	1581	1452	1457	1659	1169	1618
1920	2814	2078	1914	1740	2049	1370	1970
1921	2132	1758	1604	1419	1866	1472	1818
1922	1658	1468	1320	1160	1384	1291	1356
1923	1541	1517	1318	1339	1344	1201	1329

(b) REGIONAL DIVISIONS FROM 1918.

(BASIS, AVERAGE OF NINE TOWNS, YEAR 1910 = 1000).

1918	1934	1581	1388	1416	1510	1209	1506
1920	2788	2068	1817	1748	2020	1406	1956
1921	2137	1703	1488	1358	1822	1520	1612
1922	1662	1461	1250	1142	1386	1274	1342
1923	1602	1578	1251	1160	1333	1260	1329

(c) DETAILED INDEXES OF REGIONAL DIVISIONS, 1923.

I. Coastal	1515	1544	1324	1169	1347	1211	1344
II. South (Non-Coastal)	1615	1584	1147	1072	1297	1014	1237
III. Central	1582	1592	1120	1026	1261	1127	1202
IV. Eastern	1506	1705	1136	1166	1324	1204	1329
V. Witwatersrand and Pretoria	1590	1556	1234	1112	1357	1122	1332
VI. Northern	1734	1642	1102	1163	1343	1261	1346
VII. North-Western	1815	1786	1060	870	1270	1213	1302

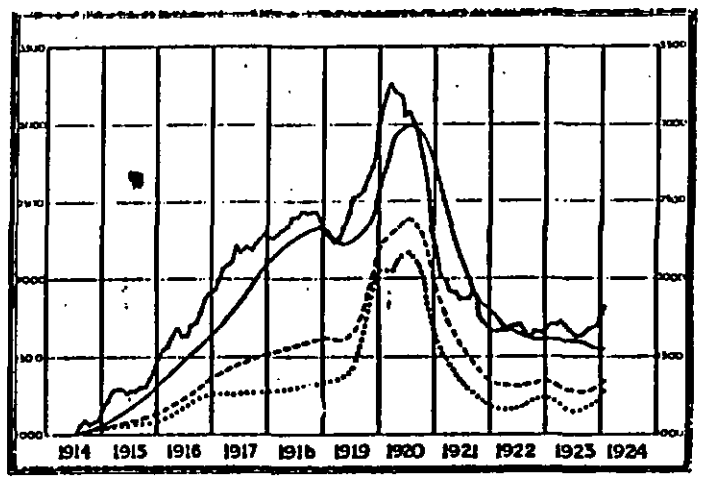
(ii) INDEXES OF RETAIL PRICES OF FOOD IN NINE TOWNS FROM 1910.

(BASIS OF TABLE—AVERAGE OF NINE TOWNS IN 1910 = 1000).

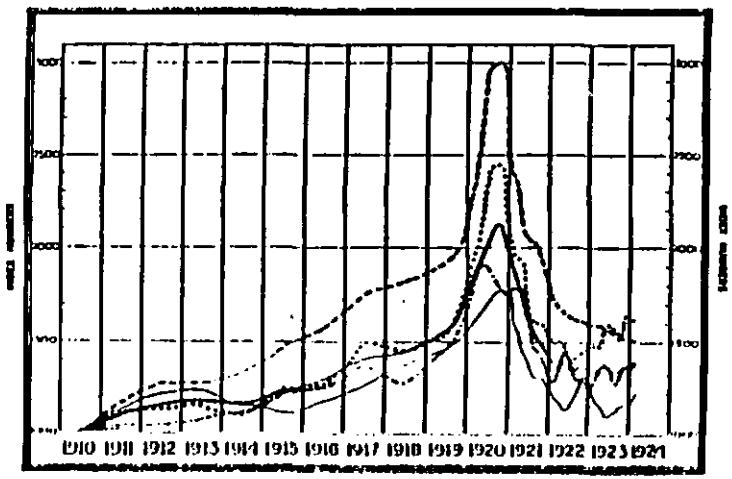
Year.	Cape Town.*	Port Elizabeth.	East London	Kimberley.	Pietermaritzburg.	Durban.	Pretoria.	Johannesburg.*	Bloemfontein.	Weight'd Average.
1910	870	1016	918	868	984	1020	1139	1060	954	1000
1911	1047	1067	1010	1124	990	1099	1174	1121	1006	1098
1912	1079	1078	1039	1198	999	1099	1281	1218	1029	1148
1913	1106	1078	1038	1478	998	1118	1288	1256	1058	1198
1914	1068	1049	1041	1150	1048	1098	1267	1161	1116	1145
1915	1206	1260	1157	1212	1134	1197	1381	1246	1102	1228
1916	1288	1246	1148	1236	1278	1240	1339	1319	1172	1276
1917	1364	1491	1291	1280	1428	1498	1668	1476	1330	1418
1918	1348	1410	1381	1388	1406	1618	1881	1460	1385	1427
1919	1520	1619	1486	1489	1406	1684	1940	1670	1606	1660
1920	1978	2138	1982	1999	1907	2078	2141	2062	2009	2049
1921	1889	1682	1806	1499	1674	1718	1729	1880	1618	1866
1922	1588	1288	1274	1286	1352	1488	1647	1578	1289	1384
1923	1335	1278	1288	1267	1353	1420	1469	1581	1208	1344

* Cape Town includes Wynberg. Johannesburg includes other Rand Towns.

GRAPH SHOWING THE TREND OF WHOLESALE PRICES OF COMMODITIES IN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE PRICES OF IMPORTED GOODS AND OF ENGLISH WHOLESALE PRICES.



RETAIL PRICE OF FOOD, 1910, TO FEBRUARY, 1921 - PRINCIPAL TOWNS.



(iii) WEIGHTED AVERAGE OF PREDOMINANT RETAIL PRICES OF FOOD, FUEL, AND LIGHT IN SIX TOWNS FROM 1895 TO 1909, IN NINE TOWNS FROM 1910, AND IN SEVEN DIVISIONS FROM 1919.

Year.	Bread.	Flour (Ordinary White).	Oatmeal (S.A.)	Rice.	Tea.	Coffee (Ground).	Condensed Milk.
	lb.	25 lb.	lb.	lb.	lb.	lb.	14-oz. tin.
	d.	s. d.	d.	d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1895	2·75	4 5	2·0	2·5	1 10	1 6	8·6
1900	3	5 5·6	2·25	2·75	1 11	1 5·6	8·6
1905	2·75	5 5	2·5	2·75	1 9	1 5	8
1910	3·75	6 0	4	3·16	1 10	1 9	8
1911	3·92	6 11·5	3·0	3·16	1 10·0	1 4·0	8·1
1912	3·92	6 8·25	3·0	3·16	1 10·0	1 4·0	8·5
1913	3·91	6 7·75	4·01	3·16	1 11·1	1 4·4	8·9
1914	3·91	6 11·2	4·1	3·0	1 9·0	1 4·0	8·7
1915	3·95	6 10·4	4·1	3·0	1 9·0	1 7·2	7·6
1916	3·20	7 8	5·1	3·0	2 0·0	1 7·2	8·6
1917	3·25	7 8	5·5	3·4·4	2 5·2	1 9·1	9·6
1918	3·75	6 1·5	6·8	4·4	2 2·0	1 7·2	11·6
1919	3·96	6 4·5	6·16	5·16	2 2·0	1 7·2	11·6
1919, Nine Towns	4·17	6 7·0	6·4	6·1	2 2·0	1 9·1	11·6
Seven Divisions.	4·21	6 8·4	6·7	6·1	2 4·4	1 9·6	11·6
1920, Nine Towns	6·38	12 7·0	7·9	9·4	2 6·8	1 11·6	1 5·2
Seven Divisions.	6·13	12 9	7·9	9·4	2 11·2	2 0·4	1 5·2
1921, Nine Towns	6·03	9 9·8	7·4	8·2	2 6·0	1 9·2	1 5·2
Seven Divisions.	6·02	9 10	7·7	8·2	2 6·0	1 9·6	1 5·7
1922, Nine Towns	5·90	7 5·5	6·0	6·6	2 3·6	1 7·4	0·1
Seven Divisions.	4·00	7 10·1	6·2	6·4	2 3·6	1 7·6	0·6
1923, Nine Towns.	3·84	7 0·8	6·2	6·1	2 2·0	1 7·1	10·4
Seven Divisions	3·76	7 2·6	6·4	6·1	2 10·8	1 7·1	11

Year.	Sugar.	Golden Syrup.	Jam (S.A.)	Candles.	Potatoes.	Paraffin.	Coal.
	lb.	lb.*	lb.*	lb.	12 lb.	Gal.	100 lb.
	d.	d.	d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1895	2·25	6·5	6	10	1 0·6	2 6	1 11·5
1900	2·50	6·5	6	8·5	1 2·4	1 11	1 11·5
1905	3	6·5	6	7	10·6	1 9·5	1 11·5
1910	3	6·5	6	7	11	1 8·5	1 6·5
1911	3	6·5	6·5	7·5	1 1	1 4·5	1 6
1912	3·00	6·5	6·5	7·5	1 1·6	1 4·5	1 6·5
1913	2·96	6·5	6·5	6·5	1 0·6	1 4·5	1 6·5
1914	2·75	6·5	6·5	6·5	11·6	1 4·5	1 6·7
1915	2·75	6·5	6·5	6·5	1 0·6	1 6·5	1 6·7
1916	2·75	6·5	6·5	9·5	10·6	1 6·5	1 6·6
1917	2·50	6·5	6·5	9·5	10·6	1 6·5	1 6·6
1918	2·50	6·5	6·5	10·5	10·6	1 6·5	1 6·6
1919	2·50	7·5	7·7	10·5	10·6	1 6·5	1 6·6
1919, Nine Towns	2·50	7·5	7·7	10·5	10·6	1 6·5	1 6·6
Seven Divisions.	2·50	7·5	7·7	10·5	10·6	1 6·5	1 6·6
1920, Nine Towns	4·41	10·6	10·4	1 1·5	1 4·6	2 1·5	1 6·6
Seven Divisions.	4·24	11·1	10·6	1 1·5	1 4·6	2 1·5	1 6·6
1921, Nine Towns	4·25	10·6	10·5	1 1·5	1 11·6	2 1·5	1 6·6
Seven Divisions.	4·11	10·9	10·6	1 1·5	1 11·6	2 1·5	1 6·6
1922, Nine Towns	4·17	8·1	9·5	1 1·5	1 7·6	2 0·5	1 6·6
Seven Divisions.	4·22	8·2	9·5	1 1·5	1 7·6	2 0·5	1 6·6
1923, Nine Towns.	4·24	7·7	9·5	1 1·5	1 11·6	2 0·5	1 6·6
Seven Divisions	4·01	8·0	9·7	9·4	1 11·1	2 0·4	1 6·6

* In 2-lb. tins.

(iii) WEIGHTED AVERAGE OF PREDOMINANT RETAIL PRICES OF FOOD, FUEL, AND LIGHT IN SIX TOWNS FROM 1895 TO 1909, IN NINE TOWNS FROM 1910, AND IN SEVEN DIVISIONS FROM 1919—*(continued)*.

Year.	Butter.	Cheese.	Bacon.	Eggs.	Fresh Milk.	Beef.	Mutton.
	lb.	lb.	lb.	doz.	pt.	lb.	lb.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	d.	d.	s. d.
1895	1 0·6	1 4	0 10·6	1 6	2·50	8·3	6·5
1900	1 0·3	1 3·3	1 2·6	2 2	3	8·3	8·3
1905	1 0	1 1	1 2	1 11	2·75	9	8·3
1910	1 0	1 3	1 4	1 6	2·20	7·2	8·6
1911	1 0·6	1 2·3	1 4·4	1 9·6	3	7·2	7·6
1912	1 0·2	1 3	1 4·4	1 10·4	3	9·6	9·1
1913	1 0·0	1 2·6	1 4·0	2 1·4	3	9·7	9·5
1914	1 0·3	1 2·6	1 4·1	2 4·1	3	7·6	7·3
1915	1 0·4	1 2·1	1 5·5	2 0·4	2·10	7·5	8·2
1916	1 11·0	1 2·0	1 8	2 0·3	2·25	8	8·4
1917	1 10·2	1 2·0	1 9	2 0	2·60	8·2	9
1918	1 0·3	1 1·1	1 10·4	1 9·2	2·40	9·5	10·2
1919, Nine Towns	2 0·9	1 3·3	2 0	2 0·1	2·80	9·3	11·4
Seven Divisions.	2 0·1	1 3·7	1 11·6	2 0·5	2·82	9·4	11·1
1920, Nine Towns	2 2	1 5·9	2 7·8	2 4·6	3·28	10·5	1 0·2
Seven Divisions.	2 1·6	1 7	2 7·3	2 6·0	4·01	10·3	1 0·1
1921, Nine Towns	2 4·9	1 6·6	2 6·6	2 9·9	4·00	9·8	10·9
Seven Divisions.	2 3·6	1 7	2 6·6	2 6·7	4·18	9·1	10·8
1922, Nine Towns	2 0·1	1 5·4	2 0·8	2 2·6	3·57	7·6	9·5
Seven Divisions.	1 11·3	1 5·7	2 0·8	2 0·6	3·68	7·4	9·5
1923, Nine Towns.	2 2·6	1 7·9	1 11	2 0·4	3·22	8·9	9·3
Seven Divisions	2 2·0	1 8·2	1 11·6	2 0·3	3·63	7·6	9·0

§ 4. Housing and Rents.

1. **Rent Legislation.**—A *Rents Act* was passed by Parliament in 1920, with effect from June of that year until the 30th June, 1921. From that date it was extended, by later enactment, from year to year.* A summary of the Act, which provided for the constitution of rent boards with power to order the reduction of rents, was given in the sixth and previous issues of this *Year Book*.

2. **Housing Loans Funds.**—The total amount voted by Parliament for the establishment of Housing Loans Funds in the different Provinces under the *Housing Act* of 1920 (see previous issues of this *Year Book*) was £1,807,040 (to the 31st March, 1924), and on this basis the Board, from the date of its inception to the 31st December, 1923, approved a number of municipal housing schemes and housing loan applications involving a total commitment of £1,501,580. Particulars are given in the appended tables which show (i) the position as regards house construction and loans authorized under the Act in each of the Provinces, and (ii) the extent to which advantage was taken of the facilities provided by the Act in certain urban centres. It is to be noted that financial stringency led, in 1921, to the considerable curtailment and subsequently to the suspension of the programme contemplated under the Act.

(i) HOUSING ACT—CONSTRUCTION AND LOANS AUTHORIZED AND ISSUES MADE FROM HOUSING LOANS FUNDS IN EACH PROVINCE TO 31st DECEMBER, 1923.

Province.	Municipal Schemes and Dwellings.	Housing Loans.	Total Loans.	Total Issues.	Dwellings for Occupation by		
					Europeans.	Natives and Coloured.	Total.
	£	£	£	£			
Cape	440,700	140,940	581,640	506,332	441	1,004	1,445
Natal	338,800	17,710	356,510	315,884	256	—	256
Transvaal	119,000	253,002	372,002	290,292	281	804	1,085
Orange Free State	69,028	194,580	263,609	213,129	169	839	1,008
Union	926,656	575,806	1,501,580	1,166,087	3,107	2,647	5,754

* An Act passed during the second session of 1924 continued the rent legislation and removed the necessity for the annual renewal of the Act.

The system involves the completion of a form setting forth the race, sex, age, nationality, birthplace, occupation, offence and result of trial of every person arrested, summoned or warned.

Owing to financial stringency the Government decided to discontinue the collection of Criminological Statistics. Figures relating to crime as affected by environment, antecedents, drink, etc., are, therefore, not available; but from other sources it has been found possible to differentiate between serious crime committed in industrial and rural areas. For the same reason the collection of data respecting civil actions has also been suspended, as stated in § 3, paragraph 4 above.

It will be observed from the table below that no full particulars of crime are available before 1913, when the *Police Act* (Act No. 14 of 1912) came into operation. Prior to this date the Union was policed by a number of forces under separate control, and it was found impracticable to consolidate the figures of the different systems then in use. In 1913 the *system of collecting criminal statistics then in use in the Transvaal Province was adopted* throughout the Union.

The following tables (I) and (III) show the total number of prosecutions, convictions, etc., for all offences during a series of years. Particulars of serious crimes in the Union are given in the following paragraph. Throughout this section, in the figures for persons charged in respect of the year 1921 and subsequent years, *no account is taken of persons awaiting trial.*

(I) NUMBER OF PERSONS CHARGED BEFORE COURTS, 1912* TO 1923.

Year.	Cape of Good Hope.	Natal.	Transvaal.	Orange Free State.	Union.	Per 1,000 of Population.
1912	†	†	†	†	†50,116	16
1913	82,150	59,758	119,402	29,956	270,276	85
1914	84,488	57,017	106,824	21,019	270,997	82
1915	83,254	56,287	121,712	22,287	283,520	84
1916	85,866	60,638	131,767	26,328	304,794	87
1917	82,401	59,102	125,630	23,039	294,232	84
1918	78,038	54,787	113,939	22,850	265,699	40
1919	88,995	59,329	134,514	28,864	305,192	45
1920	87,854	54,752	137,969	29,340	310,911	47
1921	86,089	70,307	150,215	28,602	335,301	49
1922	90,702	68,885	154,018	30,583	340,208	48
1923	100,518	74,927	180,647	34,061	390,056	55

* Complete figures for Union not available before 1912. † Figures not available.
‡ Excluding persons awaiting trial.

(II) NUMBER OF PERSONS CONVICTED, ACQUITTED, ETC., BY COURTS, 1913 TO 1923.

Year, and Police Division.	Convicted. Male.	Convicted. Female.	Acquitted or Discharged.	Bail Estreated.	Cases Withdrawn.	Died or Absconded.	Committed to Asylum.	Total.
Union, 1913-23.								
1913	190,618	21,119	27,949	22,581	12,727	1,170	112	276,276
1914	189,948	21,341	26,169	22,548	12,944	1,253	141	274,344
1915	191,583	21,674	25,176	21,044	13,136	831	100	273,944
1916	201,286	23,188	29,917	25,883	14,178	874	126	295,453
1917	193,974	23,899	31,594	20,618	13,618	818	92	284,613
1918	178,194	20,945	31,178	21,583	11,346	881	117	264,244
1919	210,181	21,100	33,100	20,727	13,011	801	110	299,230
1920	216,946	22,185	26,296	27,600	14,056	916	139	315,036
1921	225,972	23,656	27,314	22,969	15,509	203	167	335,301
1922	229,188	20,906	28,535	*	17,316	214	174	345,268
1923	204,780	25,792	30,819	*	16,830	141	224	390,086
Police Divisions, 1923.								
Cape Eastern	22,953	6,632	8,767	*	1,719	10	23	32,958
Cape Western	30,033	4,426	9,282	*	1,741	18	32	30,536
Elizabeth	6,282	840	725	*	217	8	4	8,201
Transkei	14,757	1,513	3,574	*	1,442	21	11	19,824
Natal	56,181	6,587	9,616	*	6,552	52	31	74,937
Transvaal	14,029	3,704	5,202	*	3,810	21	11	26,780
Witwatersrand	78,051	9,528	5,426	*	3,107	6	65	91,767
Orange Free State	26,025	3,055	2,841	*	1,519	8	17	34,066
TOTAL	204,780	25,792	30,819	*	16,830	141	224	390,086

* Figures included under convictions.

(III) CONVICTIONS FOR VARIOUS CLASSES OF OFFENCES IN UNION, 1913 TO 1923.

Year.	Offences against: The State.	The Administration of Justice.	Public Peace.	Public Order.	The Person.	Property.	Statutory Offences.	Revenue and Municipal Offences.	Total Convictions.
1913	243	2,208	13,614	3,787	10,374	22,219	160,877	27,695	241,119
1914	2,310	2,311	13,067	3,298	10,220	22,809	157,491	25,006	236,512
1915	1,173	2,218	11,848	3,400	10,197	24,271	157,883	21,896	234,156
1916	880	2,503	12,068	3,068	10,370	27,201	114,153	22,719	224,163
1917	622	2,533	9,947	2,956	10,161	26,865	112,229	23,349	210,743
1918	504	2,536	9,207	2,448	10,077	26,250	102,457	23,070	180,764
1919	538	2,298	9,674	2,161	11,504	29,491	118,620	24,855	221,641
1920	513	2,310	10,047	2,281	10,809	34,222	118,114	44,268	227,084
1921	438	2,504	12,771	2,258	11,857	31,587	102,215	25,378	249,990
1922	2,402	2,225	10,686	10,051	12,424	32,999	176,636	56,106	305,129
1923	739	4,384	11,639	12,090	12,989	28,642	209,703	42,389	340,613

2. **Serious Crime.**—A large proportion of the persons brought before the courts of the Union each year are charged with petty offences, chiefly contravention of statutes, common assault and common theft. For the most part the option of a fine is given in such cases. On the other hand, an appreciable percentage of the total charges before the courts relates to what may be properly designated as serious crime. Statistics of such cases are contained in the tables hereunder, which show the results of serious criminal charges during a period of years, details of such charges for two years, and particulars of murder cases, stock thefts and offences under the liquor laws during a period of years.

The totals for the year 1921 are considerably smaller than those for the two preceding years. This is not because of a decrease in the incidence of serious crime in the Union, but because certain items not included in the category of serious crime prior to 1921 were added in that year, and because certain others previously taken account of were excluded. The offences added were bigamy, contraventions of the diamond laws, buying, selling, and possession of gold, offences against the immorality laws, Europeans selling liquor to natives, public violence, and receiving stolen property. Prior to the year 1923 all cases of common theft were statistically included under serious crime. In that year common theft cases were only regarded as serious crime where the value of the goods stolen was estimated to be in excess of £50.

(I) RESULTS OF CRIMINAL CHARGES IN SERIOUS CASES, UNION, 1913 TO 1923.

Year.	Cases Reported.	Un-detected Cases.	Cases Found False.	Persons Convicted.	Sex of Persons Convicted. European.	Sex of Persons Convicted. Other.	Per 10,000 of Population. European.	Per 10,000 of Population. Other.
1913	27,617	12,746	3,049	14,618	1,809	12,810	13	58
1914	28,228	14,213	3,760	11,900	1,919	10,990	14	50
1915	29,016	15,144	3,152	22,030	1,906	21,124	14	45
1916	25,425	10,906	6,058	25,816	1,727	23,901	13	46
1917	25,102	10,849	3,961	24,358	1,620	22,888	11	44
1918	23,649	10,906	3,154	25,006	1,568	23,040	10	43
1919	21,707	10,729	3,093	27,958	2,081	25,871	14	49
1920	23,258	25,818	3,538	32,946	2,499	30,848	16	57
1921	27,148	22,906	3,607	29,014	2,401	27,618	16	51
1922	24,697	20,861	3,619	29,948	2,728	26,018	18	48
1923	24,711	6,389	4,104	19,220	2,617	16,708	17	30

Table 2. Sexual assaults in the Transvaal 1901–12

Year	*Rape*	*Attempted rape*	*Indecent assault*	*Total convictions*	*Number of charges*
1901	0	0	3	3	3
1902	0	1	3	4	5
1903	1	1	2	4	4
1904	1	3	7	11	11
1905	1	4	7	12	16
1906	3	6	8	17	21
1907	3	5	11	19	26
1908	4	5	13	22	30
1909	3	5	5	13	25
1910	0	6	18	24	33
1911	3	12	22	37	46
1912	3	10	20	33	51

Data extracted from *Report of Commission on Assaults on Women 1913*, para. 28

This table is taken from

C. van Onselen: Studies in the Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand, 1886–1914, New Nineveh, vol 2 (Raven Press, Johannesburg, 1982) page 51