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UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND

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by: B E Kennedy

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MINING CAMP TO METROPOLIS: REFLECTIONS ON THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF JOHANNESBURG

by: *Dr. B.E. Kennedy*

> It is a busy, eager, restless, pleasure-loving town, making money fast and spending it lavishly, filled from end to end with the fever of mining speculation.
>
> James Bryce, *Impressions of South Africa*, p.306.

Like most mining towns that survive, Johannesburg and its citizens have over the years sponsored many commemorative chronicles that celebrate its beginnings, spectacular growth, and the pioneers. Hedley Childers' *Out of the Crucible* (London, 1929) is a typical example of this *genre*: anecdotal in style, it provides a 'romanticised' narrative of the growth of the city. The work of Eric Rosenthal and Alan Patrick Cartwright, though more recent, is similar in approach and content.(1) While often dated, uncritical, and unselective, these anniversary pieces contain interesting details and stories picked up from original survivors that, when used judiciously, can supplement archival research for the overseas scholar. Of possibly greater value, are contemporary nineteenth century accounts which convey the ethos, character, and preoccupations of the mining town in its heady boom years. J.A. Hobson's description of Johannesburg on the eve of war is still compelling reading. He noted its sprawling layout, its pretensions to be 'a splendid modern city of the Paris or Vienna order', its predominantly, 'even aggressively, British' tone, and everywhere 'the strange taint of gold lust'.(2)

It was not until 1938, however, that the first serious study of Johannesburg as an 'urban experiment' was published. John P.R. Maud's *City Government: the Johannesburg Experiment*

is a clear and uncontroversial account of the development of municipal institutions on the Rand and reflects the author's keen interest in problems of local government. Maud argued that reconstruction following the Anglo-Boer War was a watershed in Johannesburg's experience of local government; after years of neglect under an unsympathetic régime the Johannesburg Council came into its own as a formidable municipal authority and inaugurated 'a period of large-scale creative effort which has not been equalled before or since'.(3) Maud was not the first to perceive a form of 'municpal socialism' in the spate of administrative reforms and the enlargement of the council's powers and responsibilities. An Australian observer, who visited South Africa with Andrew Fisher to attend the Union celebrations, wrote of this general tendency:

> Most of the big towns are well built, splendidly lighted, well drained and sewered, and handsomely equipped with public parks, gardens, libraries, baths, museums, and transit facilities. The experiment of collective ownership and control of civic utilities, wherever it has been tried, has proved such a convincing economic success that municipal Socialism is now a fixed national establishment, and the whole bearing of public opinion is towards its indefinite expansion.(4)

A parallel phenomenon was occurring in Australia at this time and it is worth considering whether similar forces were at work in both countries. How far, for example, was South African municipal precocity a response to two favourite themes in Australian history, the 'tyranny of distance' and the exigencies of life on the mining frontier? The question is suggested, I admit, by my own work on Broken Hill and if there is something in it, the answers may reveal that local needs and circumstances experienced by the nascent Johannesburg community had more to do with the 'municipal revolution' than Major O'Meara, Lionel Curtis and Lord Milner. Even Maud, who largely attributed the achievement to O'Meara, Milner and the kindergarten, hinted at this when he wrote: 'The municipal history of Johannesburg presents, therefore, an illuminating and suggestive picture of what the municipal history of an English city in the twentieth century would probably have been if the departments of central government in Whitehall had not existed'.(5)

It is symptomatic of the 1930s that Maud underplays the extent and virulence of Anglo-Boer discord and Pretoria's 'exploitation' of Johannesburg in the 1890s; he also pays little attention to the blacks. When mentioning the 'natives' it is almost always in the context of 'sanitation', 'law and order', and 'philanthropy'. In Maud's history of Johannesburg the Indians, coloureds and blacks are closely associated with overcrowded, insanitary housing, slums, and disease and his attitude towards them resembles the eighteenth century view of the poor. Alas, the poor are with us always. They have a right to life (if little else) and are a suitable object for charity.

Few serious urban studies have appeared in South Africa since Maud's books. Professor T.R.H. Davenport's careful monograph (1971) deals in general terms with the development of urban segregation up to the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923.(6) He shows that during the first two decades of the twentieth century there was a rapid convergence in white attitudes and approach to urban blacks and a general preference for separate 'locations' in which to house them. White anxieties about public health, sanitation, and the spread of infectious diseases were influential in the emergence of segregation in South African cities. (Similar fears prevailed amongst many white Australian unionists, some of whom migrated to South Africa to contribute their own brand of xenophobia to the local labour movement. The theme will be familiar to those who have read Elaine Katz's fine study of trade unions on the Rand.) Davenport's treatment of Johannesburg and its influence, however, is necessarily sketchy and incomplete.

David Welsh's chapter on 'The Growth of Towns' in *The Oxford History of South Africa* (1971) recognises 'the powerful influence of the mining industry on the development of the pass laws and, indeed, on the whole policy relating to urban Africans'.(7) In capacious essays Welsh and his fellow contributors, Monica and Francis Wilson, show a commendable concern for the ways in which social and economic processes contributed to growing interdependence between all racial groups. It is this perspective that places their work squarely in the tradition of W.M. Macmillan and C.W. de Kiewiet. In addition, Welsh borrows heavily from the new hybrid 'urban studies' in his discussion of 'push-pull' factors in urban migration, sex ratios and demography, education and literacy, violence and crime, and the social/racial 'mix'; he is fertile (sometimes facile) in generating hypotheses.

Unlike Australia, large-scale urbanisation in South Africa was comparatively sudden, late and painful. Cities have always absorbed the majority of migrants to Australia, even from the first convict days. A harsh climate and the vast pastoral-mining frontier discouraged rural settlement, while two other vital contrasts with South Africa are, as W.K. Hancock pointed out, that Australia was settled after the Industrial and French Revolutions, and its white population (even on the cosmopolitan goldfields) was drawn overwhelmingly from the United Kingdom. South Africa's 'instant' mining cities mushroomed in the centre of an agricultural and pastoral hinterland late in the nineteenth century, and were initially the creation of overseas migrants, predominantly (though not exclusively) English-speaking. Indeed, conservative Afrikaners from the *Platteland* distrusted the city until they were forced by natural disasters and rural dislocation to move there in increasing numbers. A landless black and white peasantry squatting on the fringes of a vast inland city, sharing more than they cared to admit, contributed greatly to the stresses and strains of urbanisation.

For, as we all know, Kimberley and then Johannesburg attracted

thousands of rural blacks (supposedly 'target workers' and, in theory, 'temporary sojourners'), who supplied the manual labour for working the mines as well as building and running the cities. In certain areas of employment they competed with poor whites until the eventual establishment of colour bars and the 'civilised labour' policy. 'One effect of industrialization', writes Welsh, 'was that the main arena of racial conflict became the towns'.(8) Johannesburg increasingly came to embody the 'northern tradition' of racial segregation and, as Elaine Katz and David Ticktin have convincingly shown, this policy owed as much to British and Australia unionists who spawned the South African Labour Part as to Afrikaner nationalists in the republican mould.(9) Cape Town, by contrast, continued for a time to practise its more liberal, less exclusive policies. In a section on law and order Welsh explains the high rates of crime in the townships and cities as a 'symptom of social dislocation and a violent reaction to a social order that denies people equality'.(10)

The present generation of South African historians, like many of their Australian counterparts, have been greatly influenced by the revival of Marxist scholarship in the 1960s. Nevertheless, the Marxist strain in Australian historial writing has always been more pervasive and persistent - so much so that its opponents have dubbed it the 'Whig Interpretation' of Australian history. Among its more distinguished practitioners have been V. Gordon Childe in the 1920s, Brian Fitzpatrick and H.V. Evatt in the 1930s and 1940s, and Russel Ward, Robin Gollan, and Ian Turner in the 1950s and 1960s before the iconoclastic 'new left' took over.(11) Against these and many lesser 'fellow-travellers' I can only think of 'Jack' Cope and Eddie Roux writing at about the same time in South Africa.(12) Accordingly, the recent contributions of neo-Marxism to South African historical writing have been all the more significant for this long-term neglect.

In particular, there has been a new emphasis on social structure and process which has engaged historians in the intricate task of delineating class and class relations, the role of the state, economic interests, and exploitation in changing situations over time. The older theme of growing inter-dependence has been challenged and partially modified by the analysis of conflict, coercion, and collaboration in society. An excellent example of this new 'school' is F.A. Johnstone's *Class, Race and Gold: A Study of Class Relations and Racial Discrimination in South Africa* (London, 1976), which provides a class analysis of the sytem of racial control and discrimination on the mines.

Even more important than structural analysis has been the concern with values and the 'discovery' of the underdog in South African history. Whereas convicts, swaggies, bullockies, and bushrangers have been the staple of Australian social history - at least since the 1890s - it has taken the present generation of South African historians to find their own indigenous equivalents. (That Humphry Macqueen, the *enfant terrible* of the 1960s, had to lampoon Australian lumpenproletarians as

acquisitive racists and rabid nationalists in order to make his reputation is an illuminating comment on this difference!)

Charles van Onselen, to take a conspicuous example, writes lively stimulating history that is attuned to the methods and interests of the new social history. Like a latter-day Hobson, van Onselen takes a mordant pleasure in uncovering the tracks of Randlords and 'concessionaires' wherever they may lead and in exposing the pretensions and hypocrisy of Johannesburg's *nouveau riche*. His gaze turns from the mining magnates and city fathers to the seamier sources of their income and the classes of struggling under-privileged and down-trodden whites and blacks enmeshed in the political economy of Johannesburg and its mines. House-boys, prostitutes, cabbies, Jewish canteen-keepers, black criminals and washermen advance to the centre of the stage and at last we are given a worm's eye view of the golden city.(13) Enough said.

To an outsider the most distinctive facet of Johannesburg's society, with whose nuances and complexities contemporary Australia has little or no experience, has until recent years been the most neglected in terms of historical writing. I refer, of course, to black labour on the mines and in the city. At the turn of the century some observers dealt with the curiosity of a black 'serf civilisation' as Hobson had stigmatised it, but the really considerable advances in historical knowledge and human empathy have come in the last ten years or so, and this has been preeminently the achievement of younger historians (many of them associated with the University of the Witwatersrand), notwithstanding the formidable problems of evidence, language, and understanding confronting them.

The first scholarly treatment of the subject appeared in Sheila T. van der Horst's *Native Labour in South Africa* (London, 1942), an expanded version of a thesis presented to the London School of Economics in its more radical days. Based largely on official sources, hers is an intelligent and detailed study of government policy, which (following in the steps of W.M. Macmillan) looks mainly at the political and economic aspects of race relations. The rapid growth of the mining industry, though it did not constitute a turning point in black-white relations, enormously increased the demand for native labour throughout Southern and Central Africa and according to van der Horst attracted (rather than compelled) large numbers of tribal and rural blacks within the orbit of European society. More recently, historians have spent much time and effort on re-assessing the means by which blacks were recruited and have emphasised far more than van der Horst did the coercive aspects of proletarianisation and recruitment as well as the heavy costs borne by the blacks. They have seen the process more or less as an exploitative one and they have been at considerable pains to show that many blacks resisted it, even if at first in ways that were 'subterranean' and 'indirect'. Like Rudé's discovery of the crowd and Soboul's work on the *sans-culottes*, this new interest in and sympathy for black workers has resulted in both

a substantial revision of Southern African history and the uncovering of new kinds of evidence, oral history included.

Kimberley set the pattern for labour policies on the Rand in such ways as scouring the countryside as far north as the Limpopo for mine workers, the use of contracts under the Masters and Servants Act and Pass Laws to control labour, and the establishment of the compound system. That these innovations occurred almost at the same time as the Zulu and other native wars helps to explain the strong and persistent element of violence in the story of race relations in the mining towns. The acquisition of guns and the skills to use them was, paradoxically, a major reason for many Pedis going to Kimberley in the 1870s, as the Transvalers found to their regret in the war with Sekhukhune.(14)

Van der Horst also noted that the mining boom exerted great influence on the South African economy as a whole. Kimberley and the Rand were above all 'consuming centres' and powerfully stimulated agriculture, commerce, transport, urban services, and building. In the long run, so her argument goes, such economic growth assisted blacks to assimilate 'peacefully' to the dominant white society by acquiring for themselves 'new wants', European clothes, work discipline, education, and fluency in English or Afrikaans. But the success of assimilation is largely taken for granted and the costs in terms of demoralisation, disease, and death are not weighed precisely enough in the balance. Here is a big difference between van der Horst's 'objective' descriptions of general historical processes and the strong moral concerns grounded in detailed studies of recent historians.

It is also the case that van der Horst, in defence of the Chamber's monopsony of labour, accepts that 'it was largely the plentiful supply of cheap Native labour which had made possible the proving and working of the relatively low grade ore of the Witwatersrand'.(15) In other words, the high working costs of the Rand largely justified the Chamber of Mines in reducing black wages. This view has been increasingly challenged of late. Francis Wilson as an economist expressed some scepticism in 1972 about the reiterated claim that the high cost of mining on the Rand and the plight of the 'marginal mines' compelled the Chamber of Mines to keep black wages as low as possible.(16) Moreover, in a stimulating article in the new *Journal of South African Studies* Alan Jeeves asserted that the Chamber's concern for the 'marginal mines' was largely spurious, at least during the formative stage of the industry; the argument was designed as propaganda to keep labour costs as low as possible. 'The picture of the industry as a disparate collection of rich and poor independent producers was, of course, erroneous', writes Jeeves. 'The controllers of the rich mines were also the owners of most of the poor ones....'(17) Yet successive governments in South Africa succumbed to the argument and passed coercive legislation to assist the mine owners to recruit and control black labour. And for this they exacted few

conditions. Jeeves' conclusion is bleak but realistic: 'because labour was, therefore, cheap on rich as well as low grade mines, it was wastefully and inefficiently used. The mine owners demonstrated both ignorance and callous disregard of their black labour force (frequently at the expense of their own self-interest)'.(18)

The heavy social and psychological costs of 'assimilating' black workers into the mining industry, including high mortality from accidents and disease, and the alienation produced by the compound system and locations, are now more widely recognised in historical writing. Not that these costs were exclusively borne by black workers; current research by Elaine Katz, Peter Richardson and others, for instance, has revealed the crippling toll of silicosis on white labour until the various reforms of 1912-16.(19) Another group of victims of urbanisation, about whom we are learning considerably more as a result of the efforts of the History Department of Randse Afrikaans Universiteit, were the Afrikaner 'poor whites' who, in coming to terms with urban life faced some of the same problems as the blacks.(20) For all that, however, these groups of whites managed sooner or later, one way or another, to climb out of the dung-heap, leaving the blacks behind them. Black wages have been kept low 'because of the assumption that the worker gets additional support from his claims upon the products of his native village'.(21) From the point of view of white workers and mine owners, migratory labour has been a convenient arrangement, for over the past sixty years the gulf between white and black wage rates has doubled. But given the fact that increasing numbers of black miners have become more or less permanently urbanised without access to land there is reason to question the older view. Why should not increased wages attract more and better labour and provide much-needed incentives for efficiency? Wilson posed this question in the early 1970s and his argument may have carried some weight judging from improvements in black wages since then.

The opposition of white trade unions to any dilution of the colour bar has been arguably the most serious obstacle to more liberal policies in the past. Van der Horst and successive labour historians have recognised the important role performed by white trade unions in the institutionalisation of the colour bar in the early twentieth century. For van der Horst this was part of a broader struggle between blacks and 'poor whites' for work in the cities. Wilson perceived that white unions had to wage war on two fronts - against 'cheap slave labour' whether black or Chinese on the one hand, and against mine owners hostile to unionism on the other. A class analysis, however, views the social structure and racial prejudice as being determined by the relationship between the owners of the means of production and the workers. In *Class, Race and Gold* F.A. Johnstone distinguishes between the 'class colour bar', which was essentially exploitative and structurally determined, and the 'job colour bar', which was largely a protective measure forced on white workers by the prior 'class colour bar'. Mine owners

and capitalists become, in Johnstone's analysis, the major obstacles to reform and the main beneficiaries of the system.

A series of bitter strikes culminating in the 'Rand Revolt' of 1922 forced the Chamber of Mines to recognise the power of the white unions and to co-opt them to its side by reserving skilled jobs for their members. Against the weight of repressive legislation, proletarianisation, and the compound system - what Johnstone calls the 'class colour bar' - black unions (in so far as they have been permitted to exist at all) have had little chance of success, although the work of P.L. Bonner and others on the 1920 black workers'strike and the anti-pass law movement has shown that Cope, Simons, and even Roux may have underestimated the extent and organisation of black protest in this period.(22)

Elaine Katz's *A Trade Union Aristocracy* appeared in 1976. In this study of white unions in the Transvaal up to the general strike of 1913, she demonstrates that racial discrimination was not the unique achievement of Afrikaner nationalism and that immigrant British unionists 'advocated the introduction of these forms of racial discrimination long before National Party ideology had become a force of political significance'.(23) That the major trade unions, including the Transvaal Miners' Association, were all self-consciously craft unions emphasising membership qualifications, skills, respectability etc. provides a striking contrast with Australia. The 1880s was the decade of the 'new' mass unions of unskilled workers in Australia and to a lesser extent in the United Kingdom but this development did not occur in South Africa where black labour was simply not organised. Instead the craft unions imbibed an ethos of mid-Victorian self-help and respectability as well as notions of a 'labour aristocracy'. Miners from Australia or with Australian experience also contributed their opposition to 'cheap competitive non-white labour and especially to the indentured Chinese'.(24) White Australia and the early successes of the Labour Parties in Australia acted as a beacon to South African unionists, who were always much weaker in organisation and membership than their Australian cousins; South African labour may even have absorbed the idea of a living or basic wage (white of course) from Mr. Justice Higgins and the fledgeling Arbitration Court.

After the Anglo-Boer War F.H.P. Creswell, whose brother was busy founding the Royal Australian Navy, advocated for the first time a white labour policy, or the employment of unskilled white labour on the mines as a solution to the industry's labour shortage. His experiments with such a policy in 1902 and 1903 were opposed by the unions, who saw it as an attempt to reduce white wages and to increase the risks from exposure to dust underground. A strike resulted in September 1902 and this setback together with disillusionment over Creswell's results convinced the Chamber of the necessity of Chinese labour. When it was evident that the companies would import Chinese to the mines the miners' union pressed for a list of 'enumerated'

occupations from which the Chinese would be excluded. This goal was achieved in the 1904 Labour Importation Ordinance, which was a major step in the development of the colour bar.

Racial anxieties were first seriously aroused over the 'Chinese question'. 'Initially white miners did not fear Africans as competitors, provided Africans were regarded as unskilled workers.'(25) The Chinese, however, were feared for their 'intelligence and industry', for their virtues (as Alfred Deakin put it) more than their vices. Hence, the mine owners' policy of importing indentured Chinese labourers from 1904 proved extremely unpopular with unionists, who regarded it as a deliberate attack on unionism and their efforts to achieve an Australian-style democracy - as in some ways it was.

Syndicalist influences, comprising disenchantment with political solutions, a belief in industrial unionism and especially the general strike, grew within the union movement at about the same time as in Australia and Katz attributes much of this to the visit of Tom Mann in 1910 on his return to Britain after several hectic years in Australia. In spite of Mann's insistence on organisation and industrial unionism, South African labour leaders continued to exclude black workers from the benefits of industrial organisation and espoused a policy of racial segregation instead. 'By 1912 the theory of segregation of Africans had been developed to embrace political, social, industrial, economic and educational spheres and it was incorporated in the Labour Party's constitution.'(26) It is the conclusion of Katz that socialism as such was not very influential and the tradition of exclusive craft unionism remained the dominant one. Even so, unions were weak by Australian standards and were refused recognition by the Chamber of Mines until 1913.

The formation of the South African Section of the I.W.W. and the Federation of Trade Unions of the Transvaal in 1911 marked the high point of syndicalist influence and doctrines of 'militant direct action' informed the strikes of 1911 and 1913. The latter was in some ways a 'wildcat strike' produced by a volatile climate of discontent and, while extremely short by Broken Hill standards, witnessed considerable violence. How far was this eruption of violence a characteristic feature of Johannesburg's history? This is an interesting question to explore in the light of the strikes of 1913 and 1922 and the absence of such experiences, despite much longer strikes, at Broken Hill. David Yudelman's argument about the central importance of mining to the survival of the South African state goes a long way to explain the rapidity of police and military intervention but there are other factors too.(27) All of which, by comparison, emphasise the aptness of Douglas Pike's description of Australia as the 'quiet continent'.

Any discussion of company policy and industrial relations - not to mention the city in general - must sooner or later consider the contribution of the 'Randlords' and the mining houses. 'The best society', thought Bryce of Johannesburg in 1897, 'is

cultivated and agreeable. It consists of men of English or Anglo-Jewish race - including Cape Colonists and Americans, with a few Germans, mostly of Jewish origin'.(28) J.A. Hobson in 1899 first gave expression to the view of the Randlords as a Jewish capitalist clique engaged in a conspiracy to further their own ends and this has been a persistent and powerful theme in the historiography of South Africa. But how accurate is the 'Hoggenheimer' stereotype? How much power did these men actually wield and to what effect? What public role did they seek to fulfil in Johannesburg society? Did they see themselves as latter-day Medicis, patrons of culture and the arts, and if so, what contributions did they make directly or indirectly to the endowment of the city with libraries, hospitals, schools, universities, parks, museums, and art galleries? These are questions that any scholar of Johannesburg's civic *persona* must ask and seek to answer. Unfortunately there is a dearth of first rate biographies in South Africa. Thelma Gutsche's study of Lady Phillips is probably one of the best we have(29), while two recently published volumes of correspondence of Sir Lionel Phillips and Sir Percy Fitzpatrick respectively go some way towards filling the void.(30) But it seems curious that the historical profession in South Africa must still wait upon a really distinguished biography of J.B. Robinson, or Alfred Beit, or even Cecil John Rhodes, not to mention the second-rankers. Many of these men were far abler, more public-spirited, and certainly more politically aware and involved than Australia's 'quartz and silver kings'. Of course, they had to be.

In conclusion, the themes emphasised in this rambling bibliographical essay - urbanisation, geographical and social mobility, the influence of distance, and the growth of unions and Labour parties - all testify to processes common to Australian and South African society in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. That would have been no surprise to C.W. de Kiewiet or W.K. Hancock, who, while allowing for the special influences of environment and history, would have recognised these societies as members of the same species - transplanted European settlements in 'new worlds'. Perhaps they underestimated very real differences in their desire to discern a common British identity. (This paper has, by contrast, deliberately underemphasised the wider British world of which each was a part and from which much was derived; this is a serious omission, I admit, if only because of what de Kiewiet called the 'imperial factor' in South African politics.) Nevertheless, at a time when a *laager* mentality and cultural chauvinism are strong in both Australia and South Africa it is important and necessary to re-emphasise the many elements and experiences that their societies share. For what is truly distinctive in the history of each can only be brought into sharper relief by a comparative perspective.

FOOTNOTES

1. Eric Rosenthal, *Gold! Gold! Gold! The Johannesburg Gold Rush* (London, 1970). Most of A.P. Cartwright's works - *The Gold Miners* (1962), *The Corner House* (1965) and its companion piece *Golden Age* (1968), *The Dynamite Company* (1964) and *Gold Paved the Way* (1967) are lavishly produced 'company histories', anecdotal in style, and given to lauding the achievement of magnates and companies.

2. J.A. Hobson, *The War in South Africa: Its Causes and Effects* (London, 1900), Chap.2, 'Johannesburg in the Summer of 1899'.

3. J.P.R. (later Sir John) Maud, *Johannesburg and the Art of Self-Government* (Johannesburg, 1937), p.70.

4. Ambrose Pratt, *The Real South Africa* (London, 1912), p.211.

5. Maud, *City Government: The Johannesburg Experiment* (Oxford, 1938), p.5.

6. T.R.H. Davenport, *The Beginnings of Urban Segregation in South Africa* (Occasional Paper No. 15 for Rhodes University Institute of Social and Economic Research, Grahamstown, 1971).

7. David Welsh, 'The Growth of Towns', in Monica Wilson and Leonard Thompson (ed.), *The Oxford History of South Africa*, Vol. II (Oxford, 1971), p.197.

8. *ibid.*, p.181.

9. Elaine N. Katz, *A Trade Union Aristocracy: A History of White Workers in the Transvaal and the General Strike of 1913* (African Studies Institute Communication No. 3, Johannesburg, 1976); David Ticktin, 'The Origins of the South African Labour Party, 1888-1910', (Ph.D. thesis, University of Cape Town, Sept. 1973).

10. Welsh, *op. cit.*, p.220.

11. V. Gordon Childe, *How Labour Governs* (1923); Brian Fitzpatrick, *British Imperialism and Australia, 1783-1833: An Economic History of Australia* (London, 1939); *A Short History of the Australian Labour Movement* (Melbourne, 1940); *The British Empire in Australia: An Economic History 1834-1939* (Melbourne, 1941); Russel Ward, *The Australian Legend* (O.U.P., 1958); Robin Gollan, *Radical and Working Class Politics: A Study of Eastern Australia, 1850-1910* (Melbourne, 1960); Ian Turner, *Industrial Labour and Politics: The Dynamics of the Labour Movement in Eastern Australia 1900-1921* (Canberra, 1965); *Sydney's Burning: An Australian Political Conspiracy* (Sydney, 1967).

12. R.K. Cope, *Comrade Bill: The Life and Times of W.H. Andrews, workers' leader* (Cape Town, 1943); E. Roux, *Time Longer than Rope: a history of the black man's struggle for freedom in South Africa* (London, 1948; reissued Madison, 1964).

13. C. van Onselen, 'Randlords and Rotgut, 1886-1903', *History Workshop Journal*, No. 2, Autumn 1976, pp.33-89; '"The Regiment of the Hills": South Africa's Lumpenproletarian Army, 1890-1920', *Past and Present*, No. 80 (August 1978), pp.91-121; 'The Witches of Suburbia: Domestic Service on the Witwatersrand, 1890-1914', paper presented to the *History Workshop*, Johannesburg, February 1978. These articles and an essay on 'Prostitutes and Proletarians, 1886-1914' are to appear in a two-volume study of Johannesburg to be published by Macmillan sometime in 1981.

14. Aylward, who in 1876 fought against Sekhukune's tribe, reported that 'Secocoeni and his people are not to be confounded with utterly uncultivated and entirely barbarous savages. Many of them, as I have said elsewhere, are well acquainted with the use of breeches and breechloaders. Nearly all of them have worked on the diamond fields'. Sheila T. van der Horst, *Native Labour in South Africa* (London, 1942), p.70.

15. *Ibid.*, p.163. She also accepted the view as historically valid that, since black miners were mainly rural natives with 'predetermined and limited wants' ('target workers'), low wages were necessary to keep them at work longer; high wages would have stimulated inflation and sent them back to the *kraals* sooner without attracting large numbers to the mines. Admittedly, it is difficult to distinguish between van der Horst's *description* of arguments advanced at the time and her *endorsement* of them.

16. Francis Wilson, *Labour in the South African Gold Mines, 1911-1969* (Cambridge, 1972).

17. Alan Jeeves, 'The Control of Migratory Labour on the South African Gold Mines in the Era of Kruger and Milner', *Journal of South African Studies*, Vol.2, No.1 (October 1975), p.24. Jeeves' article sums up a lot of recent work by younger historians on the Randlords, the state, and black labour.

18. *Ibid.*, p.29. Van der Horst recognised this but chose to play it down.

19. Elaine Katz, 'Silicosis on the Witwatersrand Goldfields: the disease; incidence and prevalence; compensation', in *The Economics of Health Care in Southern Africa* (South African Labour and Development Research Unit, Cape Town, 1979), Vol.I, pp.1-60; Gillian Burke and Peter Richardson, 'The Profits of Death: A Comparative Study of Miners'

Phthisis in Cornwall and the Transvaal, 1876-1918', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol.4, No.2 (April 1978), pp.147-71.

20. Prof. Dr. E.L.P. Stals (ed.), *Afrikaners in die Goudstad*, Deel 1, 1886-1924 (Pretoria, 1978).

21. Wilson, *op. cit.* p.121.

22. P.L. Bonner, 'The 1920 Black Mineworkers' Strike: A Preliminary Account', in B. Bozzoli (ed.), *Labour, Townships and Protest: Studies in the social history of the Witwatersrand* (Johannesburg, 1979), pp.273-297; 'The Decline and Fall of the I.C.U. - A Case of Self-Destruction?', in E.Webster (ed.), *Essays in Southern African Labour History* (Johannesburg, 1978), pp.114-120.

23. Katz, *Trade Union Aristocracy*, p.2.

24. *Ibid.*, p.17.

25. *Ibid.*, p.73.

26. *Ibid.*, p.232.

27. David Yudelman, 'From Laissez Faire to Interventionist State: Subjugation and Co-optation of Organised Labour on the South African Gold Mines, 1902-1939', (Ph.D. thesis, Yale University, 1977).

28. James Bryce, *Impressions of South Africa* (London, first ed., 1897; third ed., 1899), p.308.

29. Thelma Gutsche, *No Ordinary Woman: the life and times of Florence Phillips* (Cape Town, 1966).

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