

THE ORIGINS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN LABOUR PARTY
1888 - 1910

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by
D. Ticktin

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CHAPTER IX

FORMATION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN LABOUR PARTY

... it lies with the members to decide whether the South African Typographical Union shall degenerate into a spineless, moribund body, or enter into the arena of active Labour politics. To be, or not to be, that is the question - whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer the slings and arrows cast at us by the present political parties in power or take arms against a sea of troubles and endeavour to fight our way out to salvation.

South African Typographical Journal¹

1. Background to 1907

The labour movements in the South African colonies could not develop in total isolation from one another since several craft Unions ignored the colonial boundaries. For instance, the S.A.T.U., to which printers' societies throughout the sub-continent affiliated, was founded in 1898.² Similarly, the various branches of the A.S.E. in South Africa were controlled from the Rand after the Anglo-Boer War, although in certain matters authority had to be obtained from its headquarters in London.³ Other trade unions, such as the United Operative Bricklayers' Society and the A.S. of C. & J., also had branches spread throughout southern Africa.⁴

It followed, therefore, that trade union officials, in the course of their duties, were required to move about the colonies. Naturally, those who were politically orientated used the opportunity to promote political labour organisation.

1. August 1909, p. 9, editorial.
2. A.J. Downes, Printers' Saga, p. 43 ff. See also p. 24 above.
3. R.K. Cope, Comrade Bill, pp. 68, 77-78. See also p. 23 above.
4. On the Bricklayers' society see Rand Daily Mail, 27.6.1905, p. 5, "Labour Notes"; on the Carpenters' society Rand Daily Mail, 26.9.1905, p. 5, "Labour Notes".

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Whiteside, for example, was in Durban in mid-1903, and in Cape Town and Durban in the following year.⁵ In his capacity as Johannesburg district organiser of the A.S.E., Tom Kneebone toured South Africa in mid-1904 and, about a year later, led the campaign in Kimberley which protested at the victimisation of members of the T. & L.C. by De Beers.⁶ Andrews, too, after his election towards the end of 1906 as the A.S.E.'s organiser for South Africa, was forced to travel and, in 1907, made well-publicised political speeches in the O.R.C. and in Natal.⁷ Lastly, it is worth noting that Sampson, as president of the S.A.T.U., embarked in February 1908 on an inspection tour of his Union's branches.⁸

Communication between the colonial labour movements was also achieved when political labour leaders, who were not craft unionists, moved about. The Natal M.L.A.s, Haggard and Palmer, for instance, assisted the Transvaal L.R.C. in its 1907 general election campaign; and the Cape Town labour leader, G.J. Bruce, was in 1907-1908 on the Rand, in Kimberley, Durban and Port Elizabeth.⁹

The trades councils, too, had some contact with one another. Thus, by about the beginning of 1904, the Cape Town and the Witwatersrand T. & L.C.s had opened regular communication lines; and, a year later, the trades councils in the Cape Colony co-operated in an attempt to secure a fair wage clause in government contracts.¹⁰

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5. S.A.T.J., June 1903, p.20; S.A. News, 16.4.1904, p.4.
 6. S.A. News, 6.4.1904, p.4, "Labour Notes"; Worker, 30.1.1909, article by Trembath in Trembath I, p.70.
 7. The Friend, 14.2.1907, p.5; Natal Mercury, 21.5.1905, p.7; S.A. Tribune, 14.12.1907.
 8. S.A.T.J., March 1908, p.15.
 9. On the Natal M.L.A.s see Times of Natal, 3.4.1907, p.6; on Bruce S.A. News, 20.2.1907, p.10; Worker, 30.1.1909, article by Trembath in Trembath I, p.70; Cape Daily Telegraph, 23.2.1908; Natal Mercury, 3.11.1908, p.8.
 10. On the Witwatersrand T. & L.C. see S.A. News, 14.11.1903, p.10; 16.4.1904, p.4. On the Cape T. & L.C.s see S.A. News Weekly Edition, 20.9.1905, p.11, "The Worker" page ; and 8.11.1905, p.25, "Labour Notes"; S.A.T.J., October 1905, p.2.

From the time labour spokesmen and labour organisations advocated federation of the southern African colonies, they thought, logically, in terms of a united labour body extending over the same territory. A federated South Africa was proposed, for example, by Haggart in December 1899; in the programme of the proposed Rand Labour League in August 1902; in the annual report for 1902 of the Durban T. & L.C.'s secretary; by the National Democratic Federation on the Rand in 1903; and by the Natal Democratic League in the same year. In the Cape the Labour Advance Party supported federation in October 1905 and its successor, the Cape Town L.R.C., favoured unification in February 1907.¹¹

As early as 1898 the editor of the South African Typographical Journal stressed the need for a South African T. & L.C. to deal with vital issues such as organised labour's attitude to non-white labour.¹² A few months later the same publication urged that Cape Town, as the "largest and most populous centre" in South Africa, should take the lead in the formation of this body;¹³ and during the Anglo-Boer War it returned again to the same theme:

Now is the time to lay the foundation of a powerful Labour Confederation in South Africa - a thorough system of amalgamation of Unions. We would remind our various Trades Societies that they will need such an amalgamation ere long; and now they have a magnificent opportunity to get plans ready for application at the conclusion of the present disastrous War.¹⁴

Support for this move came also from A.S. Crossett, the secretary of the Durban Trades Council, in his annual reports for 1900 and 1901.¹⁵

11. See Appendices B, II, 2; B, IV, 4; B, IV, 5; B, II, 5; B, I, 5; below. On the Durban T. & L.C. see S.A.T.J., December 1902, p. 15.
12. May 1898, editorial.
13. July 1898, pp. 7-8. For this information the writer is indebted to Mrs. Elaine Katz.
14. January 1900, as quoted in A.J. Downes, Printers' Saga, p. 55.
15. Natal Mercury Weekly Edition, 9.11.1900, p. 27, and 25.10.1901, p. 6.

After the war political labour organisations looked forward optimistically to the formation of a South African labour party or similar wide-embracing body. Thus in October 1903 the Cape Town P.L.L. sought the co-operation of other labour organisations in its struggle for parliamentary representation and seems to have envisaged a combined movement, the object of which was to co-ordinate demands for industrial legislation.¹⁶ This aim was not lost sight of after the collapse of the P.L.L., for in November 1904 the Cape Town S.D.F. wrote to the local T. & L.C. urging a joint effort to convene a South African Labour Congress while the Cape Town exhibition was attracting people to the city. The project failed, however, owing to the T. & L.C.'s procrastination. Still, in the following year the secretaries of these two bodies issued a joint circular in which it was proposed that a South African congress of representatives of trade unions, socialist organisations and co-operative societies should be held to form a South African L.R.C. But, according to Jack Erasmus, one of the promoters of this scheme, the congress never eventuated because of the "depression and lack of enthusiasm then existing throughout the sub-continent."¹⁷

When the South African Political Labour Association was formed by Trembath and other craft unionists towards the middle of 1905, it also thought, as its name indicates, in terms of a South African labour party. Indeed, Trembath stressed this object:

This idea of branches being formed in other towns was with us from the very conception of the movement; and it would be a great pity if the workers could not come to a decision that one association and one only, should be formed in South Africa. If all the other labour parties which now are being evolved could become amalgamated with us, we might easily make our rules and regulations fit in with the wishes of other towns, and a conference of delegates could settle all broad principles.¹⁸

16. S.A. News, 17.10.1903, p. 3, "Labour Notes".

17. First annual report of the S.D.F. as published in S.A. News, 8.6.1905, p. 8. See also "Labour Notes" in S.A. News, 4.3.1905, p. 15 and 19.8.1905, p. 10.

18. S.A. News, 27.9.1905, p. 9, article by Trembath.

Meanwhile in Johannesburg the labour columnist of the Rand Daily Mail, who, as has been pointed out, probably was H.W. Sampson, was advocating the formation of a P.L.L. not only on the Rand but extending throughout South Africa;¹⁹ and when the League was launched its founders did hope that branches would be formed outside of the Transvaal.²⁰ Two months afterwards Dr. Davidson Buchanan, the virtual founder of the Labour Advance Party in Cape Town, urged in Johannesburg the calling of a South African labour convention.²¹

The same theme was also evident in Natal. Here, after the formation of the N.L.P. in the first half of 1907 had united most of the labour and socialist organisations in the colony, it was to be expected that labour leaders should look further afield. Indeed, Nelson Palmer maintained in April 1907 that the launching of a South African labour party was simply a matter of time; and his opinion was shared by other speakers at the founding conferences of the N.L.P.²²

The president of the Transvaal L.R.C., W.H. Andrews, was also an ardent advocate of this unity movement, explaining at a Natal Labour Party banquet in May 1907:

Speaking as a Transvaaler... he believed they were with them in respect to the combination of all the Labour Parties in South Africa, for the common good of the mass of the people. Federation was very much talked about, and it would come to pass in the course of time. It behoved the Labour Party of all sections to prepare for that event by federating their own forces, and influencing the lines on which federation should take place. It was necessary, if they were not to have federation of capitalists - federated for their own particular purposes and interests - that they should be prepared with their own movements, and checkmate anything they had to put forward which could be for their detriment, and therefore, to the detriment of the mass of the people of the country.²³

19. "Labour Notes" in Rand Daily Mail, 13.6.1905, p.5; 3.10.1905, p.4.

20. S.A. News, 2.9.1905, "Labour Notes", in Trembath III, p.74.

21. Rand Daily Mail, 7.11.1905, p.5, "Labour Notes".

22. Times of Natal, 3.4.1907, p.6; S.A.T.J.; May 1907, p.7; and June 1907, pp.7-8.

23. Natal Mercury, 21.5.1907, p.7.

When Andrews spoke, the disastrous Transvaal Miners' Strike was in progress. By exposing the weakness of organised labour in the same way as the introduction of Chinese labour had done three years previously, the strike certainly strengthened the call for a united labour front throughout South Africa. Thus, soon after the collapse of the strike, the South African Tribune declared:

We cannot be one people, working out one destiny, unless as workers we are one combination; and in order to be that we must formulate a national policy. We are face to face with an army composed of Albus, Goerzs, Ecksteins, Duncklebucklers (men of glorious British names, and souls aflame with British sentiments) - and what is this army in the country for?²⁴

And, at the end of 1907, Andrews stated in Durban that he had come to help in the federation of labour in South Africa. He hoped that a conference of labour representatives would shortly be convened, and that this conference would reach agreement on important political questions such as the federation of South Africa, protection and Native and Indian policies.²⁵

2. Preparation in 1908.

Towards the end of February 1908 Keir Hardie added his support for the formation of a South African labour party; and, evidently moved by him and with this object in mind, the South African Tribune proposed that an intercolonial labour conference should take place in Bloemfontein over the Easter holidays.²⁶ Although the conference was not held, the N. L. P., of which the South African Tribune was the official organ, continued to be keenly interested in labour unity. About May its organising secretary, C.H. Haggard, wrote to labour leaders outside Natal on this subject. Whiteside, Sampson and Andrews agreed that co-operation between the labour parties of the South African colonies was very desirable; Andrews's reply was encouraging, but he had misgivings about the participation of socialist dissidents at an intercolonial labour conference:

24. 21.9.1907, p.6.

25. S. A. Tribune, 14.12.1907, p.3.

26. 6.3.1908, p.5. Note that the Rand Daily Mail, 11.10.1909, p.7, partly attributes the movement pressing for a South African labour party to Hardie.

What is needed is someone to take the initiative, and I think the scheme could be carried out, and would conduce to the solidarity of labour in South Africa. Whether the S. D. F. should be included I am not prepared to say, as its attitude is rather one of isolation, and, in a general conference, mutual give and take and a spirit of compromise must²⁷ be the governing spirit, otherwise no permanent good can result.

Prompted perhaps by Andrews's advice, the N. L. P. conference on 7 June agreed unanimously that steps should be taken as soon as possible to convene a labour conference to consider the federation of labour in South Africa.²⁸ However, when the party's administrative council met on 1 August, it was clear that nothing concrete had yet been achieved, and Haggar was merely instructed to continue his correspondence on the subject.²⁹ But the report of the secretary of the Transvaal L. R. C., presented to its conference on 18 October, revealed that a South Africa labour congress was to be held in the near future.³⁰ Obviously, by this time, Haggar's letters were having some effect.

Towards the end of October the N. L. P. sent Haggar on a propaganda tour to promote the idea of a South African labour party.³¹ When he reported on his assignment on 5 December, he claimed to have addressed numerous meetings throughout South Africa and to have travelled 5 000 miles.³² Evidently, his public meetings were well-attended and he was generally enthusiastically received. So long as Haggar confined his oratory to the need for labour representation in parliament, declaring that the "battlefield of the working classes was Parliament and the weapon was the vote", he certainly furthered the labour cause. But when he resorted to sensational revelations and racial incitement, his insincerity

27. Natal Mercury, 8.6.1908, p. 6.

28. Ibid; or S. A. T. J., Aug 1908, p. 14.

29. S. A. T. J., September 1908, p. 10.

30. S. A. T. J., November 1908, p. 7.

31. C. H. Haggar, "Organised Labour as a Political Factor", p. 939.

32. Natal Mercury, 11.12.1908, p. 3.

was exposed and the labour movement suffered. For instance, in Bloemfontein, Haggar announced that the positions of 20 000 railwaymen in South Africa were in danger since retrenchment was very likely, claimed that the average white worker in the country was worse off than the slaves in the United States of America of years ago and reported that whites were selling their children to "Kaffirs". It should be noted, too, that in Bloemfontein and in Cape Town Haggar's campaign was assisted by H.W. Sampson.³³

By the end of October the N.L.P. succeeded in persuading labour leaders outside Natal that the proposed intercolonial labour conference should be held in Durban and not in Bloemfontein as originally suggested.³⁴ Durban, therefore, was the venue for the conference on 2 January 1909, called by the N.L.P. in a manifesto signed by Haggar and issued towards the beginning of December.³⁵ At this point, it must be stressed that the intercolonial labour conference of October 1908, which has been referred to by several historians, was not held, nor was it even planned.³⁶ Their error seems to have been caused by an ambiguous description of a labour conference in October 1908 in an article written by Haggar in 1910. In fact, the conference he was referring to, was convened by the N.L.P. on 22 and 29 August and was concerned with the unification of the South African colonies.³⁷

The staging of the first intercolonial labour conference was undoubtedly hastened by the imminent unification of South Africa. In June and July 1908 the Closer Union Resolutions were approved by South African parliaments and on 12 October in Durban the National Convention started its first session.

33. For meetings in Bloemfontein see The Friend, 4.11.1905, pp. 5 & 8. and 18.11.1908, p. 8; for meeting in Cape Town S.A.T.J., December 1908, pp. 10-11.

34. Natal Mercury, 3.11.1908, p. 8; Natalian, 6.11.1908, p. 3.

35. "Labour Notes" in Transvaal Leader, 19.12.1908, p. 13; 2.1.1909, p. 11.

36. L. M. Thompson, Unification of South Africa, p. 460; R. K. Cope, Comrade Bill, p. 112; H. J. and R. E. Simons, Class and Colour in South Africa, p. 142; F. J. Grobler, "Die Invloed van Geskoolde Blanke Arbeid", p. 140.

37. Compare C. H. Haggar, "Organised Labour as a Political Factor", p. 939, with S.A.T.J., September 1908, p. 11, and October 1908, p. 5.

Furthermore, the complete lack of labour representation at the Convention certainly showed the urgent need for strengthening political labour organisation.

Oddly enough, there was not widespread enthusiasm for the labour conference. Granted, the Witwatersrand T. & L.C. and the Transvaal I.L.P. were keen to send delegates, but trade unionists, at this time, were politically apathetic.³⁸ For instance, a ballot of Transvaal members of the A.S.E. whether to support labour representation in parliament and co-operation with other societies to that end, resulted in 124 members voting in favour and ten against, of a total membership of 839.³⁹ There was even more apathy amongst its South African membership, for a ballot taken on the imposition of a parliamentary levy resulted in ninety-seven members voting for it and ninety-one against, of a total membership of over 1 000.⁴⁰ Similar apathy existed in the S.A.T.U. Thus one of its most prominent members, J.F. Trembath, who had unsuccessfully advocated the introduction of the compulsory parliamentary levy, commented ruefully in December 1908:

Have the compositors, who are usually considered by far the most intellectual of all workers, no political aspirations, no ambition, and no ideals to live up to?⁴¹

Meanwhile in the O.R.C., despite Haggar's mission, little interest was evident in labour circles for the forthcoming conference; and, probably, in the Cape Colony a similar situation existed.⁴²

38. On the T. & L.C. and the I.L.P. see Transvaal Leader, 19.12.1908, p.13, "Labour Notes".

39. A.S.E. Monthly Report, December 1908, pp. 25-26; January 1909, p. 4. The A.S.E. in the Transvaal decided, nevertheless, to affiliate to the Transvaal L.R.C.

40. A.S.E. Monthly Report, January, February and June 1908, pp. 5, 11, & 7, respectively. With justification, the A.S.E. dropped this matter.

41. S.A.T.J., January 1909, p. 11, letter from Trembath.

42. On apathy in the O.R.C. see S.A.T.J., December 1908, p. 13. The Cape's lack of interest is presumed from her absence of representation at the conference in January 1909.

3. First Intercolonial Labour Conference, 2 and 3 January 1909.

The object of the first intercolonial labour conference, which took place in Durban on 2 and 3 January 1909, was to form a South African labour party and to draft its constitution. A. L. Clark, the president of the N. L. P., acted as chairman and C. H. Haggart as conference secretary.⁴³ The Natal delegates, representing trade unions such as the Railwaymen's Association, the S. A. T. U., the A. S. E., the United Operative Bricklayers' Society and the A. S. of C. & J., and political organisations such as the N. L. P., the Durban Social Democratic Party and the St. Helena Political Association, dominated numerically; and the only non-Natal delegates seem to have been H. W. Sampson, who was sent by the Witwatersrand T. & L. C., A. Crawford and J. Berman, who represented the Transvaal I. L. P., and R. H. Keogh, who was a member of the Bloemfontein branch of the S. A. T. U. An inexplicable absentee was John Connolly, M. L. A.⁴⁴ How many votes non-Natal delegates commanded is not known, nor how the Natal Mercury arrived at its estimate of the number of organisations represented as over fifty.⁴⁵

The object of the conference, the formation of the South African Labour Party, was proposed by Haggart.⁴⁶ In his speech he pleaded for a practical programme and not the dreaming of dreams - an obvious appeal to the socialist delegates to moderate their demands. Sampson, who seconded this motion, thought similarly and outlined the need for a sound party "broad enough for all progressive thinkers". Nevertheless, Crawford moved an amendment that a Socialist Labour Party be formed. Eventually, the conference agreed to a compromise and accepted the name, the South African Independent Labour Party, (the S. A. I. L. P.). This represented a partial victory for the socialists; indeed,

43. Natal Mercury, 5.1.1909, p. 6.

44. Transvaal Leader, 9.1.1909, p. 14, "Labour Notes"

45. Natal Mercury, 5.1.1909, p. 6.

46. The description of this conference has been taken from Natal Mercury, 5.1.1909, p. 6, unless otherwise stated.

the report of the labour columnist of the Transvaal Leader that socialism loomed large at the conference, seems correct.⁴⁷

On the first day of the conference a sub-committee consisting of Sampson, Haggart, Nelson Palmer, A. L. Clark and Crawford was appointed to draft the party's provisional constitution; and it presented its report the following morning. Despite lively discussion on the draft constitution, only slight amendments were made to the sub-committee's recommendations. Considering the short time available to this sub-committee, Crawford's contention that Sampson had much his own way because he was the only person to arrive at the conference with his own draft constitution, seems accurate.⁴⁸

The draft S.A.I.L.P. constitution envisaged an independent, constitutional labour party in parliament with its own whips and distinct policies, besides, of course, an extra-parliamentary party.⁴⁹ Its candidates for public positions were to be required to pledge themselves to support the party constitution and platform; this pledge was practically identical to the one in 1906 of the Transvaal L.R.C.⁵⁰ Membership of the party could be acquired either by being a member of one of its affiliated trade unions, co-operative societies, socialist bodies and other labour organisations, or by joining one of the party branches.

The supreme governing authority was to be the annual conference of delegates from its constituent branches and societies. Management between these conferences was to be vested in the administrative council, which was to consist of the party's office-bearers and one delegate from each constituent organisation or branch; and, between the monthly meetings of this council, control of the party was to be in the hands of its office-bearers, who were to constitute its executive council.

47. 9.1.1909, p. 14.

48. Voice of Labour, 16.10.1909, p. 4.

49. For this constitution see Appendix A, VIII, below.

50. Compare Appendices A, VI & VIII below.

The party's objective seems to have been a half-hearted concession to the socialists, trying, at the same time, to appease socialist opponents:

To secure the full reward for their industry to all producers by the collective ownership of monopolies, and the extension of the industrial and economic functions of the State and municipality.

Nevertheless, the Natal Mercury was quick to attack the socialist talk at the conference; and Haggar was forced to defend its proceedings.⁵¹

After discussion terminated on the first day of the conference, the labour leaders held a public meeting. Haggar stressed the Australian Labour Party's success and extravagantly declared that labour in South Africa would fare even better.⁵² To this, the Natal Mercury correctly retorted that Australian labour achievements had little chance of being repeated in South Africa while unskilled labour remained the preserve of vast numbers of unenfranchised non-whites.⁵³

Although the labour leaders were aware that they had to evolve a policy towards the so-called native problem, their statements, at this stage, were confined to destructive criticism. Thus H.W. Sampson declared:

As a Labour Party, they would not take the advice of the Corner House in Johannesburg. The policy of the magnates had been to exploit the natives at the expense of the white working men. If the workers in this Colony thought of that policy, they would see that it was not justified, and then the Labour Party would be able to amend it.⁵⁴

And, in his own typically obscure way, Haggar was scarcely more explicit in explaining the proposed native policy of the S.A.I.L.P.:

The past policy has been one of exploitation. Even Sir Liege Hulett admitted in Parliament that the white man came here to exploit the black, and the white man has done it, and the natives know it.

51. Natal Mercury, 5.1.1909, p. 4, editorial; 9.1.1909, p. 13, letter from Haggar.

52. Natal Mercury, 4.1.1909, p. 5.

53. 5.1.1909, p. 4, editorial.

54. Natal Mercury, 4.1.1909, p. 5.

The Labourites have a different policy, and one which, by its inherent excellence, must win, namely, to protect, inspire, and to develop along their own lines and from within. We do not regard the native as a black Englishman, or as a Briton in the making. Why should the native be exploited for the advantage of the foreign capitalist, and to his own detriment?⁵⁵

One of the last acts of the labour conference was to appoint the office-bearers of the N. L. P. as provisional office-bearers of the unity movement. They were to issue a conference report, to circulate the draft constitution and to call another intercolonial labour conference to adopt that constitution.⁵⁶

4. Background to the Second Intercolonial Labour Conference.

During 1909 two of the most powerful craft unions in South Africa, the S. A. T. U. and the A. S. E., opted unequivocally for labour representation in parliament. Their reasons for doing so are not clear; possibly the dramatic Kimberley lock-out towards the end of 1908 and the disastrous Natal Railway Strike in the following year turned trade unionists to political action. But even before this strike the S. A. T. U. had altered its constitution to include the direct representation of labour on public bodies as one of its objects. It did so in March 1909 at a conference in Cape Town. This conference, however, rejected the Kimberley branch motion, which was inspired by Trembath, to impose a political levy on all its members. The matter of branch affiliation to labour parties in the South African colonies, and that of the union as a whole to the proposed S. A. I. L. P., was referred to a ballot of members.⁵⁷

Since the majority of the members of the South African Council of the A. S. E. failed to support moves to form a Transvaal Federation of Trades, it appeared highly unlikely that a corresponding political organisation would secure their backing.⁵⁸ Yet, when a ballot of Transvaal and Natal members was taken in mid-1909, the A. S. E. voted decisively in favour of a political levy of 6d.

55. Natal Mercury, 9.1.1909, p.13, letter from Haggar.

56. Natal Mercury, 5.1.1909, p.6; 15.4.1909, p.3.

57. S.A.T.U., January 1909, p.11, article by Trembath; August 1909, pp.9-10, editorial; Worker press-cutting, about March 1909, in Trembath I, p.72; Transvaal Leader, 27.3.1909, p.6, "Labour Notes"; A. J. Downes, Printers' Saga, p.201.

per quarter per member towards affiliation to the Transvaal L.R.C. and to the N.L.P.⁵⁹

Even though Haggart and the N.L.P. neglected to make arrangements for the second intercolonial labour conference, by August 1909 labour in the Transvaal began to define its attitude towards this conference. First, the Witwatersrand T. & L.C. agreed that W.H. Andrews would be its delegate; then on 15 August the half-yearly general meeting of the Transvaal L.R.C. not only resolved to support the formation of the S.A.I.L.P., but also decided to convene on 9 October in the Johannesburg Trades Hall the conference that was to start this party.⁶⁰ In the meantime, labour and socialist organisations in Germiston held joint discussions on the S.A.I.L.P.; and in September the Witwatersrand T. & L.C., the I.L.P. in the Transvaal, the Johannesburg Socialist Society and other labour organisations considered the S.A.I.L.P.'s draft constitution and submitted amendments, presumably to the conveners of the conference.⁶¹

Whether the labour parties in the Cape Colony or in Natal ever considered the draft constitution is not known. The O.R.C. Labour Party did not propose amendments since it considered the constitution to be satisfactory.⁶²

Before the conference was held, it became evident that a unified political front of labour and socialist organisations would be extremely difficult to achieve. There was the strong likelihood of a clash of personalities; there were wide differences on colour policies and over the socialist objective; and there was a move to exclude the trade unions.

59. A.S.E. Monthly Report, September 1909, pp. 6-7.

60. On the T. & L.C. see Transvaal Leader, 7.8.1909, p.13, "Labour Notes"; on the L.R.C. Voice of Labour, 21.8.1909, p.13.

61. On the reaction in Germiston see Transvaal Leader, 21.8.1909, p.13, "Labour Notes"; on the other organisations see Voice of Labour, 4.9.1909, p.3; 11.9.1909, p.3; 2.10.1904, p.4.

62. Transvaal Leader, 2.10.1909, p.15, "Labour Notes".

The dissension in the Transvaal labour movement at this time already has been described in detail.⁶³ Trembath's comment shortly before the conference certainly was valid:

If Bond and Progressive, Liberal and Tory, assailed each other with one tenth of the ardour some Labour men belabour their comrades, the era of the workers' ascendancy would soon be upon us!⁶⁴

The support for the industrial colour bar and opposition to enfranchisement of non-whites of Transvaal trade unionists was well-known and also has been described already.⁶⁵ The situation on the Rand was accurately illustrated in September by the South African Typographical Journal, which was published in Johannesburg, in an editorial strongly attacking Cape negrophilists. It denied natives the right to do skilled work, termed whites who taught them such, traitors, and maintained that the entry of non-whites into the skilled trades would lead to the disappearance of the white man from South Africa. It reminded members of the S. A. T. U. that it was official union policy to oppose the establishment of training colleges where natives could learn skilled trades, and that members taking employment in such institutions would be immediately expelled from the union. Finally, white supremacy was justified on the grounds of military conquest, and those opposing its exclusive white labour policy were castigated as being either "mentally lame" or nurturing "personal treacherous" aims.⁶⁶ By contrast, the Cape's only labour representative on a public body, Jimmy Trembath, the Kimberley town councillor, championed the non-white cause in the Worker and advised delegates to the conference:

Let us endeavour to avoid the adoption of a single plank in our programme which will alienate the support of a single worker, black or white.⁶⁷

63. See Chapter VI, section 10, above.

64. Worker, 7.8.1909, in Trembath I, p. 89.

65. See Chapter VI, sections 6-8, above.

66. S. A. T. J., September 1909, pp. 9-10.

67. Worker, 9.10.1909, in Trembath I, p. 95.

About the same time Worker also published a short poem from Trembath under his pseudonym, "Birdofredum", depicting clearly how the capitalist was exploiting the enmity between black and white workers to keep both in subjection. The identity of interest of all workers was the obvious moral.⁶⁸ Sampson tried to narrow the rift by publishing a long memorandum in which he advocated the permanent territorial separation of natives and full citizenship for the coloured man with one white parent.⁶⁹ To this, Crawford retorted that Sampson was insincere and "that if Kaffirs had votes, the tune would be an entirely different one."⁷⁰

The militant socialists had misgivings about the forthcoming intercolonial conference. In mid-August a Cape Town socialist, A.W. Noon, published in Voice of Labour an article outlining fifteen steps towards the formation of a South African Socialist Party.⁷¹ A month later the secretary of the Johannesburg branch of the I.L.P., James Davidson, was extremely critical of the S.A.I.L.P.'s draft constitution:

That the Socialist organisations will be asked to accept a compromise is evident by the Draft Constitution over which is seen the slimy handwriting of the politician seeking for votes.⁷²

Crawford shared the same opinion, declaring that if the constitution were persisted with, there would be "wreckage" at the conference; he advocated the formation of a S.A.I.L.P. with an advanced programme and a L.R.C. with no programme at all, the function of which was to prevent labour and socialist candidates opposing one another at elections; and he viewed the proposed new party as the creation of politicians who had left the Transvaal I.L.P. in 1907 and therefore were in 1909 without party backing.⁷³

68. Worker, n.d. (c. July 1909) in Trembath I, p. 73.

69. Voice of Labour, 25.9.1909, p. 9. For more detailed discussion see Chapter VI, section 6, above.

70. Voice of Labour, 25.9.1909, p. 9.

71. 14.8.1909, pp. 12-13.

72. Voice of Labour, 18.9.1909, p. 4.

73. Voice of Labour, 2.10.1909, p. 9. See also 21.8.1909, pp. 8-9.

Crawford and the I.L.P. were causing further difficulties for the conference by opposing the affiliation of the trade unions to the S.A.I.L.P. They argued that there were many lukewarm supporters and even opponents of the proposed S.A.I.L.P. in the trade unions; and, certainly, these elements would not promote the socialist cause. Instead, trade union support should be channelled through a South African L.R.C.⁷⁴ Not surprisingly, this attitude towards the unions was strongly condemned by most politically-orientated trade unionists. For instance, a writer in the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, South African Council, Monthly Report, denounced Crawford's stand as "mad", since organisations built up over fifteen to twenty years could not be brushed aside. Continuing, he pointed out:

The men who favour an organisation de novo are as a rule men who have utterly failed in organising anything but chaos. If labour is to be heard in South Africa it will be as the concentrated opinion, energy and funds of existing organisations. If the S.A.L.P. [sic] hopes to succeed it must work for harmonious co-operation of all labour bodies and not their destruction in order to rise phoenix-like from their ashes.⁷⁵

Against this background, it was obvious why the Worker published Trembath's appeal for labour unity on the same day as the second intercolonial labour conference started. After professing to be an ardent socialist, Trembath stressed that trade unions were indispensable to the labour movement and had to become an integral part of the proposed party; and he found it difficult to believe the rumours that some socialists, unless they obtained their demands, were prepared to form their own party.⁷⁶

74. Voice of Labour, 30.10.1909, p.4.

75. September 1909, p.12, article by "Evolution".

76. 9.10.1909, in Trembath, p.95.

5. Second Intercolonial Labour Conference, 9-11 October 1909.

The second intercolonial labour conference was the most important of the founding conferences of the S.A.L.P. and therefore requires detailed description. Starting on Saturday, 9 October 1909, it continued until midnight on the Monday following. All the major trade unions sent delegates with the exception of the S.A.E.D. & F.A., the United Operative Bricklayers' Society and the T.M.A.; but the last-mentioned was well-represented by five of its leaders, who attended as delegates of political organisations. The largest trade union delegations came from the A.S.E., which sent nine men, and the S.A.T.U., eight, that is, in addition to their members who represented other organisations.⁷⁷ Together these two unions controlled about one-third of the conference votes; and, indeed, over half of the conference votes rested with the trade unions. Furthermore, over eighty per cent. of the delegates were trade union members. Nevertheless, political labour and socialist organisations were represented. Thus there were delegates from the Transvaal and Pretoria L.R.C.s, the Transvaal I.L.P., the labour parties of Natal, the O.R.C., Cape Town and Germiston, the Durban Workers' Political Association, the Johannesburg Socialist Society and the Cape Town S.D.F. Finally, the Witwatersrand and Pretoria T. & L.C.s sent delegates, too. Except for two conspicuous absentees, Peter Whiteside and J. T. Bain, the leading pioneers of the Transvaal labour movement, the conference, which was attended by fifty to sixty delegates, undoubtedly was representative of the labour movement in South Africa.⁷⁸ "Never was there a more earnest gathering of men", boasted Haggar. "It was a gathering of which any king or

77. The A.S.E.'s representation has been taken from Transvaal Leader, 9.10.1909, p. 15, "Labour Notes", in conjunction with the official list in Transvaal Leader, 11.10.1909, p. 7 and the official conference photograph in W.H. Harrison, Memoirs, p. 113. A much enlarged conference photograph can be found in the Trembath Papers. The S.A.T.U.'s representation has been taken from the S.A.T.J., November 1909, p. 12.

78. For official list of organisations and names of fifty-three delegates present see Transvaal Leader, 11.10.1909, p. 7. However, the conference photograph in W.H. Harrison, Memoirs, p. 113, shows fifty-four persons several of whom, for example J. Reid, M. L. A., W. McQueen, A. Hildebrandt and O. H. Evans, are not listed by the Leader. Moreover, the Voice of Labour carried reports of speeches at the conference by persons such as Weinstock also not listed in the Leader; and the S.A.T.J., November 1909, p. 12, provides another delegate not listed: M. Effland, who represented the Cape Town branch of the S.A.T.U. by proxy. It should also be noted that one of the Durban delegates, F. T. Powrie, wrote that fifty-seven delegates attended the conference - Natal Mercury, 1.11.1909, p. 11.

or country might be proud of."⁷⁹ However, there were only five non-Transvaal residents: Haggar for the N.L.P., Bob Stuart for the Cape Town S.D.F., F.T. Powrie for the Durban Workers' Political Association, Trembath for the Kimberley branch of the S.A.T.U., and John Duff for the O.R.C. Labour Party. But Johannesburg proxy delegates represented the Cape Town Labour Party and its S.D.F., the Cape Town, Bloemfontein and Durban branches of the S.A.T.U., and the Durban branch of the A.S.E.⁸⁰

Several other features concerning the delegates are worth recording. The solitary female delegate was Mary Fitzgerald, who represented the Johannesburg Socialist Society; and, evidently, there was only one Afrikaner representative.⁸¹ Lastly, the conference surprisingly decided that all members of the Transvaal L.R.C. (theoretically over ten) were entitled to vote; in effect, this meant double representation of those bodies affiliated to the L.R.C. and attending the conference.⁸² However, four of the L.R.C. delegation were members of the T.M.A., which was not officially represented.⁸³

79. C.H. Haggar, "Organised Labour as a Political Factor", pp. 940-1.

80. Transvaal Leader, 11.10.1909, p. 7. G.H. Parkhouse, then secretary of the Transvaal L.R.C., represented the Cape Town Labour Party of which he had formerly been a leading member. J. Davidson represented the Cape Town S.D.F., of which he had been secretary. The proxy delegates of the S.A.T.U. were J.M. Bain (not to be confused with J.T. Bain), M. Effland and J.G. Kirkwood - compare S.A.T.J., November 1909, p. 12, with January 1910, p. 15.

81. R.K. Cope, Comrade Bill, p. 112, and W.H. Harrison, Memoirs, p. 69, refer to an Afrikaner member of the S.A.T.U., but neither the S.A.T.J., November 1909, p. 12., nor the Transvaal Leader, 11.10.1909, p. 7, reveals his presence. However, A.J. Downes, Printers' Saga, p. 269, refers to the appointment of W. Kesselaar as one of the two delegates of the Pretoria branch of the S.A.T.U., and the Rand Daily Mail, 12.10.1909, p. 8, reports a speech by a "Dutch" delegate from Pretoria. In addition, A. Hildebrandt, who represented the Transvaal L.R.C., probably was an Afrikaner and certainly was anxious that the S.A.L.P. should attract "Dutch" support - Voice of Labour, 23.10.1909, p. 5. On Hildebrandt see pp. 92 & 101 above. See also United Transvaal Directory for 1909, p. 669, which lists A. Hildebrandt as an engineer resident in Brixton, Johannesburg.

82. Voice of Labour, 23.10.1909, p. 4.

83. Transvaal Leader, 11.10.1909, p. 7.

C.H. Haggar, M.L.A., organising secretary of the N.L.P. and former organiser of the Natal Railwaymen's Association, opened the conference proceedings by calling for nominations for the chair.

W.H. Andrews, J.P., organiser for South Africa of the A.S.E., surprisingly defeated H.W. Sampson, M.L.A., president of the S.A.T.U., by sixteen votes to twelve.⁸⁴ Haggar became conference secretary.⁸⁵

Virtually at the outset it appeared that the chairman's expressed hope that a spirit of compromise would prevail, would be frustrated.⁸⁶ An

extremely heated two hour debate ensued over the party's name after less contentious preliminary formalities, like the admittance of the press and the examination of delegates' credentials, had been quickly disposed of.⁸⁷

Acting on behalf of the Witwatersrand T. & L.C., Andrews successfully proposed that the word "Independent" should be deleted from the party's name; it savoured too much of a small section of the movement - an accurate, but unkind, reference to the Transvaal I.L.P.⁸⁸ Since the socialists were clearly unhappy with the new name, the South African Labour Party, (the S.A.L.P.), Davidson moved that a South African Socialist Party should be founded and thereby sparked off an acrimonious debate in which the representatives of the I.L.P. and other socialist organisations pitted their strength against the overwhelming trade union presence. "It had been said that a rose by any other name would smell as sweet", explained the leading socialist spokesman, Archibald Crawford. "That might apply to roses", he added, "but not to political parties. The name 'Labour' if 'Socialism' was its true expression - and it should be - might hide a lie a whole age longer. We should boldly come out in our true name and not be hypocrites." W.C. Salter, a former acquaintance of Keir Hardie and a leading member of the I.L.P., was even more outspoken:

84. Voice of Labour, 23.10.1909, p. 4; R.K. Cope, Comrade Bill, p. 113.

85. Rand Daily Mail, 11.10.1909, p. 7.

86. Voice of Labour, 23.10.1909, p. 4.

87. Voice of Labour, 16.10.1909, p. 3, article by J.D. [Davidson]

In the old country the Labour men are not afraid to use the word 'Socialism'. Talk about the niggers? Some of them are better trade unionists than white men. The man in the street is further advanced than our Trade Union leaders here. At Home the leaders bring along the man in the street, but here the man in the street pushes along the leaders. Trade unionists here are afraid to offend George Farrar. They are afraid dividends might drop if they mentioned 'socialism', and yet they profess to be Socialists. They are not men, they are cowards.

Chief antagonist of the socialists was H.W. Sampson, who challenged them to split then, and not later, and to form their own party. A more conciliatory role was played by Trembath. Again professing to be an ardent socialist, he advised against forcing the pace by insisting on the change of name. Other trade unionists, such as Tom Mathews for the T.M.A., A.F. Crisp for the A.S.E., and Dick Lockyer for the S.A.T.U., explained that the unions would refuse to affiliate to the party if the word "socialist" were included in its name. Indeed, Mathews, despite his past association with the I.L.P., strongly opposed Davidson's amendment, declaring:

If the Socialists who talk so much [had] done some practical work and organised along the reef they would be doing more for their fellow workers than by preaching idealism. . . . The Miners' Association will not join as a body, but if the word Socialist is left out we might get a few branches in.

A totally different aspect of the issue was stressed by John Duff. Eighty per cent. of the voters in the O.R.C. were Afrikaners and it was no use advocating socialism to them. Supporting his contention, J.J. Ware and A. Hildebrandt maintained that socialism was anathema to the Afrikaner. Eventually, the amendment was voted on and defeated by thirty-eight votes to fourteen. Siding with the socialist minority was Gabriel Weinstock, a hotelier, who was to become one of the most powerful members of the extra-parliamentary Labour Party.⁸⁹

The I.L.P. had placed two further amendments to the party's name on the agenda, proposing that it should be called the Socialist Labour Party

89. The above account has been taken from Voice of Labour, 23.10.1909, pp. 4-5.

and, if that failed, the South African Labour Representation Committee. But Haggart chose to ignore these amendments and introduced the next item on the agenda. Consequently, the militant socialists accused him of manipulating the agenda and one by one, led by Davidson and Crawford, they were ordered by the chairman to leave the meeting on refusing to withdraw their accusation. Disaster, however, was averted when Davidson, for the sake of the conference, withdrew his allegation, and Andrews adopted a more conciliatory attitude in the chair.⁹⁰

Sunday's proceedings proved less stormy. The debate on the party's objective was surprisingly short and even-tempered. The Witwatersrand T. & L.C.'s amendment to delete the word "monopolies" and to substitute the words "means of life" was accepted, so that the first clause of the objective then read:

To secure the full reward for the industry to all producers
by the collective ownership of the means of life,

At this point the socialists correctly asserted that "the means of life" included the sunshine and the air, making the T & L.C.'s amendment ridiculous. Then, the I.L.P.'s proposal committing the party to the socialist objective was briskly discussed and passed by twenty-three votes to eighteen amidst great enthusiasm from the socialists.⁹¹ According to Sampson in 1911, the S.A.L.P.'s objective was taken from the constitution of the Transvaal I.L.P. which, in turn, had taken it from the constitution of the British I.L.P.⁹²

Although the conference agreed to the socialist objective, it was not prepared to accept the I.L.P. amendment, proposed by Crawford, that S.A.L.P. members should be allowed to stand for public positions as labour or socialist candidates. This proved significant in view of Crawford's subsequent socialist candidature for the first Union House of Assembly. On this subject Sampson

90. Voice of Labour, 30.10.1909, p.4. See also 16.10.1909, pp. 3 & 4, articles by J.D. [Davidson] and A. Crawford, respectively.

91. Voice of Labour, 30.10.1909, p.4. For the objective see Appendix A, VIII below.

92. Labour Leader, 30.6.1911, p.401, Sampson interviewed. Note that

again challenged the socialists to form their own party, should they dislike standing as labour candidates. "It is all very well", he declared, "for Socialists to come along at election time to take Trade Union money".⁹³

Crawford's following proposal, again on behalf of the I. L. P., was to exclude the trade unions from the S. A. L. P. He argued that the party would have a political platform, which would create discord in the trade union ranks; instead, to cater for the unions, a South African L. R. C., with no platform, should be formed. Apparently, trade union delegates were shocked by this move. Sampson and Trembath stressed that the trade unions were the mainstay of the labour movement. "If there were no Trade Unions", explained the latter, "there would be no movement." Not unexpectedly, the amendment was heavily defeated.⁹⁴ Nor was it surprising that the conference should become prejudiced against Crawford.⁹⁵

Next, the conference agreed to several alterations to the pledge which S. A. L. P. candidates were required to sign. Two amendments successfully moved by Sampson were designed to ensure the independence of the S. A. L. P., and are significant considering Labour's subsequent election arrangements with other parties and its entry into the Pact government of 1924. These clauses stated:

No member of the party shall enter into any alliance, or grant or promise to any person immunity from opposition at any time.

No member of the Parliamentary Labour Party shall accept a portfolio in any Ministry which does not consist of a majority of endorsed Labour members.

Another amendment transferred the administrative council control over the parliamentary party to the annual conference. In supporting this change on behalf of the Witwatersrand T. & L. C., Ware disclosed that relaxation of control over the party's M. L. A. s was proposed to enable men such as

93. Voice of Labour, 30.10.1909, p. 4.

94. Voice of Labour, 30.10.1909, p. 4. See also Rand Daily Mail, 11.10.1909,

95. Voice of Labour, 16.10.1909, p. 3, article by J. D. [Davidson].

Creswell and Wybergh to join the S. A. L. P.; under the old pledge they certainly would not do so.⁹⁶

On the related question whether candidates should sign an undated resignation, vehement discussion took place. A motion in favour of this safeguard was moved by the I. L. P. and was supported by the other socialist societies. Before the conference Davidson actually claimed that the undated resignation had been accepted at the first intercolonial conference, but had been conveniently omitted from the draft constitution.⁹⁷ Sampson strongly attacked the amendment, maintaining that it was illegal and hypocritical. "The moment we are elected", he explained, "we are considered our Party's enemies". Ware pointed out that Creswell and Wybergh would not join the S. A. L. P. if forced to sign such a document, and George Steer, the newly-elected chairman of the South African Council of the A. S. E., condemned the procedure since it questioned a man's honour. On the other hand, Salter captiously countered by emphasising that it was Sampson, with one or two others, who had originally drafted the wording of the undated resignation at a meeting of the Transvaal L. R. C. in 1906. But, more important, he had little confidence in the labour leaders:

In the past we have got bounders, and we will get them again.
We have got to protect our Labour and Socialist candidates.
There are some men in this room I would not trust with a fly.

After this motion had been narrowly defeated by twenty-one votes to eighteen, Salter moved that parliamentary and provincial council candidates should be required to sign a bond for £500 to be forfeited in the event of misconduct. This proposal, of course, was heavily defeated.⁹⁸

The next item on the agenda was the party platform. Shortly after the start of the conference a committee consisting of Sampson, Nettleton, Duff, Crawford and Davidson was elected to produce a draft programme.⁹⁹

96. Voice of Labour, 6. 11. 1909, p. 4.

97. Voice of Labour, 18. 9. 1909, p. 4.

98. Voice of Labour, 6. 11. 1909, p. 4.

99. Voice of Labour, 23. 10. 1909, p. 4.

Crawford claimed that Sampson came prepared with his own platform which formed the basis of the one adopted. But, continued Crawford, Sampson did not have everything his own way, especially concerning racial discrimination:

Everything on it [Sampson's platform] was for "White" persons. The Suffrage, Old Age Pensions, State Insurance, the elementary principles of freedom and justice were exclusively to apply to "White Persons". The Conference wisely altered all this and rather inclined to permit an element of ambiguity rather than decide for one section of workers only. Mr. Sampson's Protectionist principles were relegated to the waste paper basket, and his much advertised stupid "Native Policy" suffered the same fate.¹

But Crawford's reference to Sampson's native policy was not accurate. It probably was supported by the majority of delegates who preferred, however, to postpone final commitment to the territorial separation of the native.² Thus they accepted Crawford's motion to adjourn the discussion till the next conference.³

Despite the inconclusive result of the debate on native policy, it was, perhaps, the most significant of the conference since it revealed wide and insolvable differences amongst the delegates. "The native policy is where most Labour men disagree", admitted Sampson. "It is the rock upon which the Labour Party may split". Adopting Wybergh's line of thought, Sampson was convinced that territorial segregation was the only solution and claimed that the native wanted it too:

The kaffir does not like us one little bit. He wants to get away from us. Kaffirs want segregation. Capitalism says abolish Basutoland and Swaziland. If you degrade the Kaffir race they will have their revenge.⁴

Haggar supported and declared patronisingly that no-one who had spoken so far had any knowledge of the question. Continuing, he explained:

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1. Voice of Labour, 16.10.1909, p.4. On Sampson's role in the drafting of the platform see also 13.11.1909, p.1.
 2. Natal Mercury, 1.11.1909, p.11, letter from F. T. Powrie.
 3. Rand Daily Mail, 12.10.1909, p. 8.
 4. Voice of Labour, 6.11.1909, pp.4-5. Unless otherwise noted, the description below of this debate has been taken from this source. For more information on the Wybergh and Sampson policies see Chapter VI, section 6, above.

Wherever the white man has been dominant, the Kaffir has had to curse the white man; he [the white man] has destroyed them, and wherever the Kaffir has been allowed to advance from inside he has been a success.

By contrast, Crawford urged Keir Hardie's attitude and accordingly moved:

That this Conference recognises only two classes in Society, viz.: the Capitalist class and the working class, and can imagine no principle or policy that is not applicable irrespective of colour.

He denied that fusion of the races was harmful and condemned Sampson's policy as an attempt to legislate for colour. Socialism, he stressed, did not recognise colour. His motion, however, was ruled out of order by Sampson who, as chairman of the platform committee, was in the chair at this time. Salter, like Haggar, believed that the delegates had no understanding of the question, but for different reasons. He reminded them, seemingly with his approval, of Merriman's statement in June 1908 that the men of colour were the workers in South Africa and the whites the aristocrats; and he appealed to the white workers to fight for the fair treatment of the natives.⁵ But the greatest impact probably was made by Trembath. He criticised the most unreasonable prejudice in Johannesburg against colour and pleaded for a policy to draw coloured men, meaning all men of colour, to their side. Furthermore, he advocated equal rights for all races and added:

If you alienate the sympathy of 800 coloured voters in Kimberley you have put back your Labour Party back 50 years. When gentlemen from the Transvaal are in the House or in Cape Colony they will have different views. If you try to take away the vote from the coloured men in Cape Colony you are looking for trouble. The majority of white workers in Cape Colony, I am proud to say, are in favour of equal rights. When I contested Ward IV in Kimberley, and won it, the Progressives printed copies of a resolution moved by Mr. Andrews on [Johannesburg] Market Square and posted them to every black voter in Kimberley for the purpose of taking away the coloured vote from me.

Surprisingly, considering Trembath's attitude, the proxy delegate of the Cape Town Labour Party, G.H. Parkhouse, did not enter the debate, except to state

5. On Merriman see pp. 313 & 340 above. For Salter's speech see Rand Daily Mail, 12.10.1909, p. 8.

that he had been instructed to remain silent on the segregation policy.⁶

The platform, eventually agreed to, reflected the usual labour demands for a more democratic electoral system, industrial and social welfare legislation, and the "recognition of the right of combination and full political freedom for all Government and municipal workers".⁷ All mention of colour was supposed to be omitted, but the day after the conference ended, the Transvaal Leader published the first plank of the platform as "White adult suffrage, with six months' residential qualification only"⁸ In addition, when the S.A.L.P.'s constitution and platform was circulated a few weeks later, colour discrimination was not eliminated. According to Davidson, the responsibility for this development rested with "the Sampson-Haggart combination of Trade Union exploiters."⁹

It is worth recording that revolutionary socialism was not advocated at the conference. Vociferous, and even belligerent, the socialist delegates may have been, but, as Crawford explained, they were not opposed to palliative legislation. "They accepted all that came along", he added, "but strove to gain for the workers all that was rightly theirs."¹⁰ The most militant proposal came in the last moments of the conference when Salter moved that traders, publicans and others be boycotted if they showed undue prominence in their labour antagonism. Naturally, he received little support.¹¹

At the end of the conference the first office-bearers of the S.A.L.P. were elected. Sampson was chosen unopposed as president. In this connection it should be noted, as already has been explained, that Andrews was prevented from standing for any position by the conditions of his job as organiser of the A.S.E.¹² There were nine nominations for the two

6. Rand Daily Mail, 12.10.1909, p. 8.

7. See Appendix B, V, 1, below for this platform.

8. 12.10.1909, p. 7.

9. Voice of Labour, 13.11.1909, p. 2.

10. Voice of Labour, 23.10.1909, p. 4.

11. Rand Daily Mail, 12.10.1909, p. 8; Voice of Labour, 16.10.1909, p. 5, article by Crawford.

12. A.S.E. Monthly Report, February 1908, p. 20. See also p. 311 above.

positions of vice-president, and J.J. Ware of the Operative Masons' Society and J.J. Mulvey of the A.S.E. were eventually elected. Haggar, Davidson, Parkhouse and Pritchard all stood for the post of secretary, which went to Haggar after he had narrowly defeated Davidson in a second ballot. Lastly, Weinstock, the only socialist on the executive, became the party's first treasurer.¹³ Since all these office-bearers seem to have been resident on the Rand, the conference naturally decided that the S.A.L.P.'s headquarters would be in Johannesburg.¹⁴

6. Growth of the S.A.L.P. and its First Annual Conference,
30 January, 1910.

The S.A.L.P. had been established. It remained for labour and socialist organisations to affiliate and party branches to be formed. At first, the S.A.T.U., the T.M.A. and the S.A.E.D. & F.A. refused to commit themselves and only the A.S.E., of the major trade unions, affiliated on behalf of all its branches.¹⁵ The South African Council of the A.S.E. welcomed the formation of the S.A.L.P. at the intercolonial labour conference in October 1909, which it considered a great success. Consequently, it organised a ballot of its members on the question of affiliation, the result of which was decidedly in favour; only the Durban branch opposed.¹⁶ Thus at the first annual conference of the S.A.L.P. in January 1910 the A.S.E. was represented by fourteen delegates, the equivalent of fourteen party branches with a membership of 100 or less.¹⁷

13. Rand Daily Mail, 12.10.1909, p. 8; Voice of Labour 16.10.1909, p. 5, article by Crawford.

14. Rand Daily Mail, 12.10.1909, p. 8. It is not clear whether Haggar had moved to the Rand before his appointment as secretary and, about the same time, as editor of the Worker (see Appendix E below).

15. Voice of Labour, 21.1.1910, p. 26, article by A. Crawford.

16. On its attitude to the conference see A.S.E. Monthly Report, November 1909, p. 4; for the result of the ballot December 1909, p. 9.

17. Voice of Labour, 28.1.1910, p. 42. For the S.A.L.P. constitution see Appendix A, VIII below.

In December 1909 the S.A.T.U. disclosed the result of its ballot on affiliation to the labour parties in the South African colonies. In a high percentage poll 319 members voted in favour and 263 against; here again, the Durban workers were mostly opposed to affiliation.¹⁸ Presumably because of the ballot's indecisive verdict, the governing board of the S.A.T.U. did not follow the A.S.E.'s example of direct affiliation to the S.A.L.P. and left the matter to the discretion of the individual branches. Only the Johannesburg branch was represented at the first annual conference of the party, but shortly afterwards the branches in Kimberley, Pretoria, Durban and Port Elizabeth also affiliated.¹⁹

Other trade unions or their branches, for instance, the South African Operative Masons' Society, the Pretoria Coachbuilders, the Johannesburg Boilermakers' Union and several Rand branches of the A.S. of C. & J., joined at this time the S.A.L.P. too.²⁰ But the list of trade unions represented at the first and second annual conferences of the party was not impressive.²¹ Afterwards, the position certainly improved, and in 1914, when the S.A.L.P. had reached its peak, most Transvaal trade unions were affiliated. In addition, the South African Industrial Federation, originally called the Transvaal Federation of Trades when it was founded in June 1911, was also identified with the party.²²

18. S.A.T.J., January 1910, p. 15.

19. See on the Johannesburg branch Rand Daily Mail, 1. 2. 1910, p. 3; S.A.T.J., April 1910, p. 4; on the Kimberley branch Transvaal Leader, 26. 2. 1910, p. 10, "Labour Notes"; on the Pretoria branch S.A.T.J., March 1910, p. 6; on the Durban and Port Elizabeth branches Transvaal Leader, 11. 6. 1910, p. 3.

20. On the masons and boilermakers see Rand Daily Mail, 1. 2. 1910, p. 3; on the coachbuilders and carpenters Transvaal Leader, 11. 6. 1910, p. 13.

21. On the first annual conference see Rand Daily Mail, 1. 2. 1910, p. 3; on the second the annual conference files in the S.A.L.P. Records.

22. Table of Branch Affiliation Fees for the Year 1914 in the annual conference files of the S.A.L.P. Records. On the 1914 peak of the S.A.L.P. see D. Ticktin, "The War Issue and the Collapse of the South African Labour Party, 1914-15", pp. 59-61; and on the foundation of the Federation of Trades Transvaal Leader, 27. 6. 1911, p. 10.

Undoubtedly, the trade unions, especially the A.S.E., dominated the ranks of the S.A.L.P. For the year ending December 1910, the A.S.E. paid affiliation fees of £150 for its 1500 members.²³ In the first quarter of 1914 the party's paid-up membership was 5 580 comprising 2 581 from the A.S.E., 1 000 from the South African Mine Workers' Union (the T.M.A. renamed), about 400 each from the branches of the S.A.T.U. and the A.S. of C. & J., and most of the remainder from the open branches.²⁴

As delegates to the party's second annual conference stressed, the trade unions were the backbone of the S.A.L.P.²⁵ Not surprisingly, at the next conference the attempt to alter trade union representation in proportion to membership in order to increase the voting power of the open branches, was heavily defeated. "The Trade Unions gave birth to the S.A.L.P.", claimed Walter Madeley, "and today the living element in all our branches is comprised of the Trade Unionists". By contrast, Creswell and Wybergh, who both had joined the party in 1910, wished to limit the influence of the trade unionists. "I quite admit", stated the former, "that the Trade Unionists are the parents of the S.A.L.P., but now the child is ready to go out and fight"; and Wybergh argued more forcibly, agreeing with much of Crawford's past criticism:

We desire to remove the stigma that we are ruled by a clique of Trade Unionists. The public believe you have formed the S.A.L.P. for the purpose of furthering your own private interests. People outside do not trust the Labour Party because they say 'you are dominated by a clique of Trade Unionists'.²⁶

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23. Minutes of the Second Annual Conference, January 1911, section 2, pp. 1, 2 & 5.
24. Table of Branch Affiliation Fees for the Year 1914. In the light of this document the membership claimed by H.D. Bernberg, the party's general secretary, in Rand Daily Mail, 7.1.1913, p. 8, is very exaggerated: 5 000 paid-up members in January 1911, 9 000 in January 1912 and 16 000 in January 1913.
25. Minutes of the Second Annual Conference, January 1911, section 2, p. 6.
26. Minutes of the Third Annual Conference, January 1912, pp. 18 - 21. In 1926 Ben Jenkins became the first non-trade unionist chairman of the S.A.L.P. - Forward, 8.1.1926, p. 5.

Obviously, the open branches did not attract sufficient members to challenge the overwhelming trade union representation at the annual conferences before the First World War. Before the Union general election of 1910 many mushroom branches appeared and, after polling day, disappeared. Thus in June 1910 H.W. Sampson claimed that the S.A.L.P. had fifty branches and several thousand paid-up members.²⁷ Yet at the annual conference in January 1911 only twelve or thirteen branches were represented.²⁸

Shortly after the intercolonial labour conference in October 1909 S.A.L.P. branches began to be formed. In November the Randfontein and Fordsburg branches were started and in December the Marshalls-City and Suburban branch was founded of which Sampson was elected chairman.²⁹ In mid-January, according to the Voice of Labour, branches were "rising up like mushrooms in the night."³⁰ At this stage, they probably were inspired by a dual purpose: to secure representation at the forthcoming annual conference of the party and to establish a base for parliamentary candidatures. However, at this conference only six open branches, all of which were situated on the Rand, were represented.³¹

What was the attitude towards the S.A.L.P. of the existing political labour organisations in the South African colonies? At a special conference of the Transvaal L.R.C. on 21 November 1909 delegates resolved to recommend that its affiliated bodies should join the S.A.L.P. as from 1 January 1910. The L.R.C. was to remain in existence until the party conference on 30 January when it would become the Witwatersrand District Committee of the S.A.L.P.³² Whether this committee was formed in 1910 is not known;

27. Transvaal Leader, 28. 6. 1910, p. 11, letter from Sampson.

28. Minutes of the Second Annual Conference, January, 1911, list of delegates.

29. On the Randfontein branch see Transvaal Leader, 6. 11. 1909, p. 15, "Labour Notes"; on the Fordsburg branch 27. 11. 1909, p. 14, "Labour Notes"; and on the Marshalls-City and Suburban branch, 1. 1. 1910, p. 10, "Labour Notes". For constitution of the last-mentioned branch see Appendix A, X below.

30. 14. 1. 1910, p. 17. See also Transvaal Leader, 29. 1. 1910, p. 13, "Labour Notes".

31. Rand Daily Mail, 1. 2. 1910, p. 3.

probably the administrative council of the party, which met in Johannesburg, assumed its functions.³³ In Pretoria the L.R.C. probably was dissolved about March 1910 when local labour supporters tried to replace it with a branch of the S.A.L.P., and in May with a local district committee.³⁴ In Benoni a district committee of the S.A.L.P. certainly was started in February, and in Durban a similar body was founded in May with a militant socialist, Harry Norrie of the Durban Journeymen Tailors' Society, as chairman. However, the party headquarters refused to recognise this organisation, possibly because it was not anxious to have a man in the Crawford mould running its Durban activities, and it forced new office-bearers to be elected on 22 June. Norrie was ousted and the district committee then seems to have been established to the satisfaction of the party headquarters.³⁵

The main functions of these district committees were to co-ordinate branch activity and to determine Labour nominations for public positions should disputes arise amongst the branches affiliated to it. These nominations then had to be submitted for final approval to the party's administrative council.³⁶

As has been described already, the Johannesburg branch of the I.L.P. affiliated to the S.A.L.P. on the understanding that it would retain its identity.³⁷ But the West Rand I.L.P. simply resolved itself into an ordinary branch of the S.A.L.P.³⁸

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33. In 1911 there was a district committee - Transvaal Leader, 18.3.1911, p. 11, "Labour Notes".
34. S.A.T.J., April 1910, p. 1, and June 1910, p. 5; Transvaal Leader, 7.5.1910, p. 13, "Labour Notes".
35. On the Benoni district committee see Transvaal Leader, 5.2.1910, p. 5; on the Durban counterpart Minutebook of the Durban District Committee, 9, 17 & 22 May and 22 June 1910, and Sampson's undated letter on p. [241]. On Norrie's outlook see T. Boydell's foreword in W. H. Harrison, Memoirs, pp. x, xi, xii.
36. For constitution of the Durban District Committee see Appendix A, IX, below.
37. See pp. 282 - 3 above.
38. Transvaal Leader, 22.1.1910, p. 5, "Labour Notes".

The stand taken by the N.L.P. is not clear. Evidently, it ceased to function towards the end of 1909 without advising its affiliated organisations to join the S.A.L.P. A badly-attended conference of Durban labour organisations was held on 4 December 1909, but came to no decision whether to identify itself with the S.A.L.P. or whether to form a local political association.³⁹ As the ballots of the A.S.E. and the S.A.T.U., described above, showed, Durban trade unionists were apathetic, if not hostile, towards the S.A.L.P. The position became still worse after Hagggar moved to the Rand, Connolly became disenchanted with the political labour movement in Natal and A.L. Clark, Joseph Edwards and T.W. Marshman, the chairman, secretary and treasurer, respectively, of the N.L.P. in 1909, retired from the forefront of labour politics.⁴⁰ Eventually, in June 1910, the S.A.L.P. obtained some standing in Durban when the Workers' Political Association, of which M.O. Hodson was chairman, F.T. Powrie secretary and T. Boydell a leading member, affiliated.⁴¹ Nevertheless, in these circumstances, the prospect of Labour candidates in Natal being elected to the Union's first parliament was not bright.

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39. Natal Mercury, 6.12.1909, p. 5; S.A.T.J., November 1909, p. 3. On the demise of the N.L.P. see also pp. 376-7 and 391 - 2 above.
40. On Hagggar and Palmer see Clarion, 25.3.1910, article by "Puff"; for the N.L.P.'s office-bearers Appendix D, VI, below; and for their lack of activity Minutebook of the Durban District Committee of the S.A.L.P. Marshman, like No rrie, lost his enthusiasm for the party after being ousted as the treasurer of the Durban District Committee - Minutebook, 22.6.1910, 5.7.1910 and 6.8.1910.
41. On its affiliation see Transvaal Leader, 11.6.1910, p.13, "Labour Notes". For detail on the Association see its first annual report in the Boydell Papers, vol. 1, p.52, and p. 391 above.

Meanwhile in Bloemfontein an open branch of the S. A. L. P. was firmly established with John Duff as its main spokesman.⁴² Presumably, the O. R. C. Labour Party simply converted itself into the Bloemfontein branch of the S. A. L. P. From East London came reports of the formation of party branches, but these certainly were not represented at the second annual conference of the S. A. L. P. in January 1911.⁴³ Although the Cape Town Labour Party sent Tom Maginess as an observer to the first annual conference of the S. A. L. P., it was unwilling to affiliate.⁴⁴ But in May 1911 an open branch of the S. A. L. P. was started in Cape Town and it assumed the functions of the local Labour Party.⁴⁵ In the same year Maginess explained to a meeting of the A. P. O. that the Cape Town Labour Party delayed its affiliation because it had misgivings about the S. A. L. P.'s attitude to non-whites; but these doubts had since been removed. The president of the A. P. O., Dr. Abdurahman, was not impressed, however, and claimed:

... in the Transvaal the Labour party's sole desire seemed to be, not that the Coloured man should get some sort of pay for his work, but that he should not be allowed to live at all. The White Labour party and white workers on the Rand were about the most selfish lot he had heard of in any part of the world - as selfish as a pack of hungry wolves,⁴⁶

Oddly enough, Cape Town's objection to the S. A. L. P.'s attitude to non-whites was not advanced as the reason for its independence either at the first or second annual conferences of the S. A. L. P. According to Maginess at the first, and to E. Cresswell, its observer at the second, the real obstacle was the S. A. L. P.'s socialist objective.⁴⁷

42. Transvaal Leader, 18.6.1910, p. 5, "Labour Notes".

43. Transvaal Leader, 22.1.1910, p. 5, "Labour Notes"; Minutes of the Second Annual Conference, List of Delegates. Ten years later James Stewart was elected Labour M. L. A. for East London.

44. Voice of Labour, 28.1.1910, p. 42; Rand Daily Mail, 1.2.1910, p. 3.

45. Cape Town Herald Strike Edition, 26.5.1911, p. 5, and 14.6.1911, p. 4. Note Trembath's presence and membership.

46. A. P. O., 4.11.1911, p. 6.

47. Rand Daily Mail, 31.1.1910, p. 8; Voice of Labour, 11.2.1910, p. 61; Minutes of the Second Annual Conference, January 1911, pp. 11-12.

In November 1909 the Cape Town S.D.F. and the Johannesburg and Pretoria Socialist Societies decided not to affiliate to the S.A.L.P.⁴⁸ Their reasons are best illustrated by describing the attitude of some of their spokesmen towards the S.A.L.P. Arthur Noon of the Cape Town S.D.F. stressed that his organisation was founded to spread socialism and not to secure votes.⁴⁹ R. Petrinovitch of the Johannesburg Socialist Society was distressed by the discussions at the intercolonial labour conference in October 1909:

I ... studied the material some delegates are made of, and their behaviour towards clear sighted Socialists. They are 'White' Socialists, nearly all of them, and some are also firmly convinced that it would be a blessing for the future party to include Wybergh and Creswell in the ranks.⁵⁰

And James Davidson of the same society quickly discarded his optimism about the conference's success. This was caused by the "compromising attitude" forced upon W.H. Pritchard, the I.L.P. candidate on the Transvaal L.R.C.'s ticket of three in the Johannesburg Municipal Elections on 27 October 1909. Davidson explained:

The fact becomes more evident every day to me that the Labour Party was not formed for the sole purpose of fighting the Capitalist class or of alleviating the condition of the workers, but as a machine for exploiting the Trade Unions and the ignorance of the workers generally, and to provide soft billets in Parliament for Trade Union officials and office-seekers.⁵¹

48. Voice of Labour, 11.12.1909, p. 5.

49. Voice of Labour, 20.11.1909, p. 4.

50. Voice of Labour, 30.10.1909, p. 12.

51. Voice of Labour, 13.11.1909, p. 2. On Pritchard's candidature see also pp. 276 & 282 above.

Not content with its verbal assault on the S.A.L.P., the Johannesburg Socialist Society threw down the gauntlet in mid-November when it announced its intention to pursue independent political action. "The Labour Alliance", declared Voice of Labour, "does not permit of Socialism becoming a factor. The Great Cause - the only one that means anything - is to be subordinated to "Labour" representation".⁵² Thus Archibald Crawford came forward as the Socialist candidate for Fordsburg ten months before the polling day of the first Union parliamentary elections. Despite his well-known belief that the S.A.L.P. was created to "hoist certain wire-pullers into Parliament", he still hoped at this time for Labour support.⁵³ However, since he had broken his pledge to the I.L.P. and the Transvaal L.R.C. by announcing his candidature without their sanction, he forced them to take disciplinary steps against him. First, the I.L.P. expelled Crawford; but far from being taken aback, he asserted that this action by a "few bar-room loafers and tools of Trades Hall cliquism" afforded him nothing but pleasure.⁵⁴ Then, the L.R.C. suspended him from attending its meetings.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, the L.R.C. was anxious to obtain Crawford's support, for it wrote to him on 19 January suggesting that he should stand as a Labour candidate. The following day the Fordsburg-branch of the S.A.L.P. informed Crawford that, unless he withdrew as the Socialist candidate for Fordsburg, he would be expelled from the branch.⁵⁶ But Crawford refused to comply.

52. 13.11.1909, p.6, editorial.

53. Voice of Labour, 13.11.1909, p.7, editorial.

54. Voice of Labour, 20.11.1909, p.7.

55. Voice of Labour, 18.12.1909, p.5.

56. Voice of Labour, 14.10.1910, p.442.

At this stage, a storm started in labour circles on the Rand over Crawford's support for the Argus Company. During a debate in the Johannesburg Municipal Council on an alleged breach of the municipal fair wage clause by the Argus Company, Crawford again violated his pledge to the L.R.C. by opposing the stand of his fellow Labour councillors.⁵⁷ Towards the end of March the Witwatersrand T. & L.C. repudiated him "as a representative of Labour in any form"; and it resolved to prohibit him from attending its meetings and to ask the A.S.E. to send another delegate in his place.⁵⁸ Finally, the last labour organisation to turn upon Crawford was his own union, the Johannesburg branch of the A.S.E., which decided in May to exclude him from its meetings.⁵⁹ Being thus isolated, he inevitably became one of the most bitter enemies of the S.A.L.P.

By his uncompromising socialist stand Crawford had relegated himself to the political wilderness. In April 1910 he urged the formation of a socialist party to

fearlessly expose the evils arising from the present competitive system, the true relationship of class to class and colour to colour, the need for a change and the character of the change.⁶⁰

But, like the South African Socialist Federation formed on Christmas day, 1909, to which neither the Cape Town S.D.F. nor the Durban Social Democratic Party affiliated, Crawford's Socialist Party attracted few adherents and survived for a short time only. Probably, it was no more than an alternative name for the Johannesburg Socialist Society.⁶¹

57. Transvaal Leader, 28.6.1910, p.11, letter from H.W. Sampson; Voice of Labour, 18.2.1910, pp 74-75; 14.10.1910, p.442.

58. Transvaal Leader, 2.4.1910, p.11, "Labour Notes".

59. Voice of Labour, 2.5.1910, p.238.

60. Voice of Labour, 8.4.1910, p.160. See also 1.4.1910, p.147.

61. Voice of Labour, 1.4.1910, p.150, editorial; W.H. Harrison, Memoirs, p.36; and pp. 281-2 above.

Thus socialism was not popular amongst the Rand workers. This, the S.A.L.P. leaders evidently appreciated. Haggart, for instance, soft-pedalled on the party's socialist objective, explaining:

It is not the intention of the political Labour Party to fall into the midden whilst gazing at the moon; it is not the intention to sacrifice the possible gains in the present to some uncertainties in the future mist. As to "socialisation", that may mean anything; or, as at present, practically nothing.⁶²

Since Johannesburg newspapers practically ignored the first annual conference of the S.A.L.P., not much is known about its proceedings.⁶³ It took place on Sunday, 30 January 1910, in the Johannesburg Trades Hall and not in Durban, as some historians have maintained.⁶⁴ Its main business seems to have been to endorse affiliations to the party and to adopt the constitution which was approved by the intercolonial labour conference in October 1909.⁶⁵ Apparently, this constitution was passed with minor amendments only; but it had not been skilfully written and the most cursory study of it reveals the absence of legal assistance.⁶⁶

62. "Organised Labour as a Political Factor", pp. 941-2. For similar outlook of Mulvey and Ware, the vice-presidents of the S.A.L.P., see Voice of Labour, 15.7.1910, p.327, article by J. Davidson; and of the S.A.T.U. see S.A.T.J., November 1909, p.12.

63. Unfortunately the relevant issue of Voice of Labour is missing from the copies in the South African Library. The most detailed account can be found in Rand Daily Mail, 1.2.1910, p.3.

64. L.M. Thompson, Unification of South Africa, p.460; R.K. Cope, Comrade Bill, p.114; H.J. and R.E. Simons, Class and Colour in South Africa, p.108; F.J. Grobler, "Die Invloed van Geskoolde Blanke Arbeid", p.143.

65. Rand Daily Mail, 31.1.1910, p.8; 1.2.1910, p.3; Transvaal Leader, 31.1.1910, p.7.

66. For the Constitution see Appendix A, VIII, below.

As a result, the party's second annual conference found so many anomalies that it appointed a committee to revise the entire constitution. This version was submitted to the third annual conference, which was held in Bloemfontein in January 1912, and was duly adopted after several amendments had been passed.⁶⁷

The first annual conference also agreed to twenty parliamentary and provincial council Labour candidates. A scrutiny of this list confirms trade union domination of the S.A.L.P., for eight nominees came from the A.S.E., three from the S.A.T.U. and several others from different craft unions.⁶⁸ Lastly, the office-bearers elected at the intercolonial labour conference in October 1909 became the S.A.L.P.'s office-bearers for the ensuing year.⁶⁹

67. Minutes, pp. 3, 4 & 30.

68. Transvaal Leader, 5.2.1910, p.6.

69. Rand Daily Mail, 1.2.1910, p.3.

CHAPTER X

1910 ELECTIONS

Electors unto thine own selves be true, you cannot then be false to South Africa. Vote for Labour candidates and establish the cause of humanity and a great White South African Nation. /

Senator Peter Whiteside, chairman of the
Central Electoral Committee of the S.A.L.P. 1

1. Entry of Creswell and Wybergh into the S.A.L.P.

The gradual gravitation from 1903 to 1909 of Creswell and his friend, Wybergh, towards the labour party has been described during the course of this work.² Against this background, their joining the S.A.L.P. in June 1910 was not surprising. Indeed, as the debates at the intercolonial labour conference in October 1909 reveal, they were expected to take this step beforehand.³

Creswell felt a duty to continue the fight for the acceptance of his white labour policy and therefore was keen to contest the first Union general election. "To stand out now", he wrote in January 1910, "will, I fear, leave in my mind an indelible feeling of having put my hand to the plough and having turned back"⁴ His mission in life appeared to be the abolition of the compound labour system:

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1. Rand Daily Mail, 15.9.1910, p.8.
 2. See especially Chapter IV and Chapter VI, sections 2 & 6, above.
 3. See pp. 419-20 above; also Star, 28.6.1910, p.10.
 4. Creswell to his sister, Margaret, 14.1.1910, envelope 2, Creswell Papers.

How I hate this quasi-servile black labour system. It is in itself the denial of all that labour has secured for itself in the way of rights in more civilised countries and, though suitable in itself to the Kaffir, is when made the basis of industrial development in a white community the source from which a sort of soul crushing lack of manly independence springs and pervades the whole people.⁵

But Wybergh and he were in need of the backing of a political party. The National Association, of which they were members, had been virtually absorbed by Het Volk before its general committee decided to merge with Botha's party in June 1910.⁶ With Wybergh's past as president of the Transvaal section of the South African League, Het Volk supporters would not have welcomed him with open arms. Not that Creswell and he were keen to join that party, for it had shown little inclination to carry out the recommendations of the Mining Industry Commission and, thereby, to end the absolute dependence of the mines on the compound labour system. Thus, in his first public appearance as a member of the S.A.L.P., Wybergh recalled how he had once thought he could advance the interests of the workers through the governing party and how he had become sadly disillusioned with it.⁷ Another National Association M.L.A., George Hay, shared this disillusionment, declaring that the only sincere advocates of a white proletariat were the Labour Party and Creswell and Wybergh.⁸

Creswell and Wybergh probably would have preferred to join a centre organisation standing between Botha's party with its Afrikaner basis and the Unionist Party with its

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5. Creswell to his sister Margaret, 17.4.1910, envelope 2, Creswell Papers.
 6. Star, 29.6.1910, P.8, editorial.
 7. Transvaal Leader, 16.7.1910, p.11.
 8. Rand Daily Mail, 23.6.1910, p.3, valedictory letter to the electors of Clifton constituency.

British background and association with the mining magnates, like its predecessor, the Progressive Party. At the same time this centre organisation would not have had the socialist tag attached to the S.A.L.P. Perhaps, with this in mind, Creswell tried towards the beginning of May 1910 to resuscitate the White Labour Association. A public meeting was held at which Creswell was supported by Wybergh, Patrick Duncan and Whiteside. Significantly, Andrews withdrew his offer to speak because the S.A.L.P.'s constitution prohibited him from assisting another party. For the same reason the Witwatersrand T. & L.C. and the S.A.L.P., despite agreeing with the objects of the Association, withdrew their representatives on its executive.⁹ Shortly afterwards Creswell went on business to Salisbury for several weeks, returning to the Rand only about mid-June when the administrative council of the S.A.L.P. was trying to finalise its parliamentary candidates and allocate their constituencies.¹⁰

At this point Labour spokesmen, probably led by Whiteside, approached Creswell and Wybergh to join the S.A.L.P. and they obliged towards the end of June.¹¹ In his first public speech as a member of the party, Creswell outlined his reasons for taking this step:

It had long been apparent to them [the Labour leaders] that his (the speaker's) politics were Labour politics. His friend Mr. Sampson and his friend Mr. Whiteside had frequently said to him: "You agree with us - why

9. Transvaal Leader, 7.5.1910, p.13. See also Creswell to his sister, Margaret, 1 & 8.5.1910, Creswell Papers, envelope 2. Obviously, Whiteside was indifferent to the rules of the S.A.L.P. On the White Labour Association see also pp.291-2 above.
10. On Creswell in Salisbury see his letter to his sister, Margaret, 20.5.1910, Creswell Papers, envelope 2; on the administrative council meetings Voice of Labour, 17.6.1910, p.283 and Rand Daily Mail, 20.6.1910, p.7.
11. Star, 28.6.1910, p.10. Louis Karovsky, in an interview with the writer on 12.1.1965, stated that Whiteside brought Creswell and Wybergh into the party.

19 10 1910

don't you join us?" Well, he had been compelled to follow the logical conclusions of his own thoughts. Owing to the Chinese crime he had been compelled to think of things, and his politics had become more and more Labour politics. He had replied to them that his objection to the Labour Party was that it was too sectional - that it really embraced only those who worked with their hands. They replied: "We are not sectional. We embrace all workers. And if that is your complaint will it not continue to be your complaint until professional men like yourself join our ranks and prove that it is not so."¹²

But besides this identity of views, there were other factors which prompted the Labour leaders to approach Creswell and Wybergh. Firstly, Sampson and Wybergh evidently intended to oppose each other in the Commissioner Street constituency since it combined the seats which they represented in the Transvaal Legislative Assembly, that is, the City and Suburban and the Marshallstown divisions. Furthermore, because of his personal feud with Sampson, Whiteside threatened to support Wybergh.¹³ Secondly, as outlined in a preceding chapter, the Transvaal labour movement was held back by internal dissension, clashes of personalities and bitter recrimination. Thus, the stabilising influence of strong leadership was badly needed. Thirdly, as the Star pointed out, Creswell and Wybergh were likely to give the party a better image with the electorate, for they were politicians of undoubted stature and unquestionable integrity.¹⁴ Probably because of this stature, the S.A.L.P. allocated to them seats for the parliamentary elections where their chances of success were good; Sampson remained in the Commissioner Street constituency, where a Labour victory

12. Rand Daily Mail, 29.6.1910, p.8.

13. Voice of Labour, 17.6.1910, p.283; 1.7.1910, p.306; Star, 8 & 9.8.1910, articles by "Filius Populi". On the feud between Whiteside and Sampson see pp.269-70 above.

14. Star, 28.6.1910, p.10.

appeared certain.¹⁵

Andrews's biographer has written that Creswell and Wybergh for a long time tried to enter the party on their own terms, but failed to do so and eventually signed the S.A.L.P.'s pledge.¹⁶ On the other hand, Voice of Labour reported that they did not join unconditionally, for the party's constitution and pledge were to be amended to suit them.¹⁷ Indeed, changes were made at the S.A.L.P.'s second annual conference in January 1911. Creswell moved, and Wybergh seconded, that the party's objective should read:

1. The securing of the full results of their industry to all producers, and a cheap supply to all consumers, by the collective ownership of monopolies, and the extension of the industrial and economic functions of the state and municipality.
2. The extension of the field of employment for white men in South Africa.

Significantly, Whiteside and Sampson supported the first part of the motion, which obviously aimed at watering down the socialist objective. Although this part was not passed, the objective as eventually accepted by the conference did soft-pedal on the party's socialism:

The gradual socialisation of the means of production, distribution, and exchange, to be controlled by a democratic state in the interests of the whole community by means of a combined agitation for the demands from time to time contained in the Platform of the Party.

Despite the opposition of Whiteside and Sampson, part two of Creswell's motion was adopted as one of the party's objects. Thus, the S.A.L.P. had unequivocally declared its

15. See Appendix C, VI, 1 below for list of seats allocated; and for list of "safe" Labour constituencies Sampson to Boydell, 24.6.1910, Boydell Papers, vol. 1, p.56.

16. R.K. Cope, Comrade Bill, p.115.

17. 1.7.1910, p.301.

overriding concern for the white man in South Africa. Creswell and Wybergh must also have been pleased with the amendment of the party's pledge omitting mention of the responsibility of Labour representatives to the annual conference.¹⁸ Whether Creswell entered the S.A.L.P. on the understanding that he would become its parliamentary leader, if returned to the House of Assembly, is not clear; but this seems likely.¹⁹

Within the party ranks there was little opposition to the entry of Creswell and Wybergh, except for a few members of the Johannesburg I.L.P., who resigned from it in protest.²⁰ As a journalist recalled several years afterwards, trade unionists welcomed Creswell with open arms:

And you can imagine with what exultation the Labourites of the Trades' Hall received him - the Mining Engineer, with his fine cultured face, his educated accents, his refined habits and manners, his gifts of invective, of scalding satire, of swift repartee. He became the darling of the Trades' Hall gods. The working-men of the Rand simply fell upon his neck, with its straight, neat black tie and its wide, stiff collar.²¹

Other professional men followed Creswell's lead and joined the party. In its own characteristically abusive way, Voice of Labour commented on this "influx":

Most of the supporters of these politicians are anti-Socialists. We know of an ex-Councillor and an ex-Vice-President of a branch of the Progressives

18. Minutes, sections 4, 5 & 6.

19. T. Boydell, when interviewed by the writer on 26.4.1964, maintained that Creswell had no rival as parliamentary leader; Mrs. F.H.P. Creswell, on 12.5.1964, claimed that her husband clearly indicated that he would not work under the S.A.L.P. leaders; and L. Karovsky, on 12.1.1965, stated that Whiteside supported Creswell as leader because of his feud with Sampson.

20. Star, 30.6.1910, p.9; Voice of Labour, 1.7.1910, p.307.

21. The Cape, 3.9.1915, p.14, article by "Candidus". For similar view see Star, 28.6.1910, p.10.

who has gone over to Mr. Creswell. We also know, amongst others of his kidney - a present Councillor and champion of private enterprise who will offer support. The influx of nondescripts, wirepullers, political wasters, tramps, adventurers and ex-Capitalist pimps is reflected in the manifesto of the Labour Party²²

In December 1910, while reporting on the notable advance of the S.A.L.P. on the Rand, Sampson remarked that there was "little difference" between the views of the old industrial section and "the new leaven of professional men" who had been coming into the party.²³ Amongst these recruits were several lawyers who were soon in the forefront of Labour activity. Advocate Percival F. Smith replaced Haggar as general secretary of the S.A.L.P. in September 1910 and was succeeded in January 1911 by a gifted young attorney, Harold D. Bernberg, who held office until his suicide in June 1913.²⁴ Advocate F.A.W. Lucas, an ardent disciple of Henry George's ideas, became the leader in 1914 of the Labour Party in the Transvaal Provincial Council and many years afterwards was elevated to the Transvaal bench.²⁵ Another of the party's brightest intelligences, 1910-1915, was the Johannesburg solicitor and brilliant Oxford University student, S.P. Bunting, who had been befriended by Wybergh about 1905 and who became Creswell's election agent in 1910. A few years later he led the party's propaganda campaign amongst the rural Afrikaner and then became a leading pioneer

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22. 22.7.1910, p.343. See also Voice of Labour, 5.8.1910, p.364; 22.11.1911, p.4; R.K. Cope, Comrade Bill, P.115.
23. Sampson to Boydell, 27.12.1910, Boydell Collection, vol. 8.
24. On Smith see The Cape, 24.9.1915, p.8; on Bernberg Transvaal Leader, 24.10.1911, p.9 and Worker, 26.6.1913; on change of office-bearers in January 1911 Minutes of the Second Annual Conference of the S.A.L.P., section 4, p.1.
25. Weekly Gazette, 16.2.1914; Walker and Weinbren, 2 000 Casualties, pp.54,160 and photograph opposite p.132.

of the communist movement in South Africa.²⁶ Thus, the S.A.L.P. acquired quite a different image from that of the Transvaal L.R.C., 1907-1909.

This professional group in the S.A.L.P. played an important role in the adoption of the party's native policy at its third annual conference in January 1912 and of its coloured policy at the fifth annual conference in January 1914. The first was in perfect harmony with the views long expressed by Creswell and Wybergh and therefore advocated the separation, as far as possible, of the white and native races, politically, socially, industrially and territorially, and agreed to the advancement of the natives in their reserves only.²⁷ The second rejected the separation of coloureds from whites and supported their advancement and membership of the S.A.L.P. providing that they did not undermine "white standards". However, the extension of the franchise to the coloured population of the inland provinces was opposed until the party's native policy was implemented. Coloureds were defined as "persons other than whites, including Cape Malays, but excluding natives or Asiatics."²⁸ The adoption of this policy was proposed by Creswell and was agreed to, despite the strong opposition of the Transvaal trade unions.²⁹

2. The Candidates

The elections for the Union of South Africa's first House of Assembly took place on 15 September 1910, those for the Transvaal and Cape Provincial Councils on the same day and those for the Natal and O.F.S. Provincial Councils

26. E.R. Roux, S.P. Bunting. See also Weekly Gazette, 16.2.1914; D. Ticktin, "The War Issue and the Collapse of the South African Labour Party", pp.68-69.

27. See Appendix B,V,4 below.

28. See Appendix B,V,5 below.

29. Rand Daily Mail, 1.2.1914, p.2.

on 12 October 1910. There were 121 single member constituencies in the House of Assembly elections, comprising fifty-one in the Cape, thirty-six in the Transvaal and seventeen each in Natal and the O.F.S.; in the provincial council elections there were 137 divisions altogether, divided by province in the same way as for the Assembly, except for eight extra seats in both Natal and the O.F.S.³⁰ Thus, there was ample scope for the S.A.L.P. to test its electoral strength.

But before dealing with the Labour and Socialist candidates, some information must be given on the political parties in 1910. The two most important were the South African National Party under the leadership of the prime minister, Louis Botha, and the Unionist Party under Leander Starr Jameson. The former became organised on a Union-wide basis from 1911 only; in 1910, therefore, it represented a loose grouping of Botha's South African National Party in the Transvaal, the Orangia Unie in the Orange Free State and the Afrikaner Bond in the Cape, all of whom retained their separate identities. The National Party in 1910 should not be confused either with E.P. Solomon's defunct National Association or with Hertzog's breakaway party, which was launched in January 1914. By contrast, the Unionist Party's position was perfectly clear. It was formed at a congress in Bloemfontein in May 1910, at which delegates from the Progressive Party in the Transvaal, the Unionist Party in the Cape and the Constitutional Party in the Orange Free State, agreed to the amalgamation of their respective parties.³¹ A third party contesting the elections in 1910 was the S.A.L.P., which was much weaker than the other two in its electoral support and in its

30. F.H. Gale, Who's Who in the Union Parliament, p.4; Natal Mercury, 12.10.1910, p.7, editorial.

31. L.M. Thompson, Unification of South Africa, pp.460-2.

resources. Lastly, a small number of socialist nominees, independent of the S.A.L.P., appeared in three provinces; and, in forty-two seats, mostly in Natal and in the Cape, independent candidates contested the Legislative Assembly elections.³²

As early as mid-November 1909 the newly-formed S.A.L.P. called upon its constituent organisations and branches to submit nominations of prospective Labour candidates in the general election.³³ From this time until June 1910 many Labour candidatures were considered, but the allocation of constituencies could not be finalised until the report of the Delimitation Commission was published on 1 June.³⁴

Several procedures were followed in the initial selection of Labour candidates. In some constituencies party branches, or possibly no more than election committees, were formed to promote the candidature of a prominent labour man in the area. This seems to have applied to Trembath in Kimberley and Sampson in Commissioner Street. A different method was followed, however, in the Germiston district. The local branch of the S.A.L.P., which was the Germiston Labour Party, combined with local trade unions, some of which probably were not affiliated to the S.A.L.P., to form the Germiston Parliamentary Committee. This committee then referred a list of aspirant Labour candidates to a ballot of its members which placed W.H. Andrews

32. A useful summary of the election results can be found in The S.A. Almanack and Reference Book, 1911-12, pp.102-109.

33. Transvaal Leader, 13.11.1909, p.12, "Labour Notes".

34. For early consideration of Labour candidatures see, for example, Voice of Labour, 18.12.1909, p.5; 7.1.1910, p.7; and Transvaal Leader, 5.2.1910, p.6.

at the head of the poll,³⁵ A similar procedure was carried out by the Durban District Committee of the S.A.L.P. It submitted a list of prospective parliamentary candidates to a ballot of local party branch members and allowed the man who was placed first, T. Boydell, the first choice of constituency and so on.³⁶

After the branches and district committees had selected their candidates, they submitted their names to a special selection committee of which Whiteside was the chairman.³⁷ With suitable recommendations, it then referred these names either to the administrative council or to a special conference of the party for final approval. A special conference was held on 12 June and continued a week later, but it endorsed only seven Witwatersrand candidatures, leaving the rest to the discretion of the administrative council.³⁸ It was prevented from allocating several constituencies since negotiations were proceeding at this time with Creswell and Wybergh and with representatives of Botha's party.

The final list of Labour candidates in the parliamentary and provincial council elections showed that the S.A.L.P. was primarily a Transvaal party. In the seventeen Witwatersrand constituencies it fielded ten parliamentary and nine provincial council nominees, and in the four Pretoria divisions it supported two parliamentary and two provincial council candidates. By contrast, in the

35. Transvaal Leader, 23.5.1910, p.8, "Labour Notes"; Star, 9.9.1910, p.9, letter, dated 24 June, from the secretary of the Germiston Parliamentary Committee to the general secretary of the S.A.L.P.

36. Minutes of the Durban District Committee, 6.8.1910; Sampson's letter to the secretary of the Durban District Committee, n.d., in its Minutebook, p.241.

37. "Labour Notes" in the Transvaal Leader, 11.6.1910, p.13, and 18.6.1910, p.5.

38. Rand Daily Mail, 20.6.1910, p.7.

Orange Free State the only Labour nominee was John Duff, who stood for parliament in the Bloemfontein constituency; in the Cape there was also only one official S.A.L.P. candidate, J.F. Trembath, who stood for the House of Assembly in the Kimberley constituency; and in Natal five Labour men fought parliamentary elections and two unofficial Labour candidates contested the provincial council elections. Two parliamentary candidates closely associated with the S.A.L.P., but not standing under its auspices, were Nelson Palmer, who contested Maritzburg North as an independent labour candidate, and Tom Maginess, who stood in the Woodstock constituency, was the Cape Town Labour Party's solitary nominee in the House of Assembly and provincial council elections. Lastly, it is worth recording that Robert Forsyth, a Cape Town municipal councillor and a highly respected doctor in District Six, who was to be returned to the House of Assembly in 1921 as an official representative of the S.A.L.P., stood for parliament in the Cape Town Castle division as a Social Reform candidate - the only one in the elections.³⁹

Socialist candidates, independent of the S.A.L.P., appeared in three provinces. Only in Johannesburg did they oppose Labour men. Here the Socialist Society, having declared itself hostile to all parties of reform and compromise, brought forward two parliamentary candidates: Crawford, who opposed Andrews in Fordsburg, and Davidson, who fought Sampson in Commissioner Street. In Natal there

39. See Appendices A, V & VI below. On the unofficial nature of the Labour candidates in the Natal provincial council elections see Powrie's statement in Natal Mercury, 29.9.1910, p.9, and note the absence of any reference to their candidatures in the Durban District Committee Minutebook.

were two Socialist candidates, one standing for parliament and the other for the provincial council; and in Cape Town three Socialists were brought forward, only one of whom contested the parliamentary elections.⁴⁰

Analysis of the list of S.A.L.P. candidates and the independent labour nominees reveals several important features. First, most of these candidates, save in Natal, were drawn from the trade union ranks, especially from the A.S.E.⁴¹ Secondly, all the recognised labour leaders in South Africa went to the polls as S.A.L.P. or independent labour candidates with the exception of Crawford, who stood as a revolutionary socialist, of Whiteside, who already represented the S.A.L.P. in the Union Senate, and of Connolly, who had become disillusioned with the Natal labour movement. Thus, standing under the auspices of the S.A.L.P. were men like W.H. Andrews, organiser for South Africa of the A.S.E., T. Mathews, general secretary of the T.M.A., and J.T. Bain, the pioneer of socialism and trade unionism on the Rand, all of whom carried much weight in the South African labour movement.⁴² Thirdly, avowed socialists such as Bain, Mussared, Madeley and Trembath had no objection to contesting the elections as Labour candidates.⁴³ Indeed, although he did not doubt Crawford's

40. See Appendices C,V,4 and C,VI,3 below. On the Johannesburg Socialist Society's attitude to other parties see Voice of Labour, 15.7.1910, p.333. Note that A. Ridout, a member of the Cape Town S.D.F., who fought the South Peninsula division in the Cape provincial council elections, was generally regarded as an independent - Star, 16.9.1910, p.10; Minutes of the Second Annual Conference of the S.A.L.P., January 1911, section 4, p.ii, E. Cresswell's comment. On Ridout's background see also p.333 above and Voice of Labour, 30.9.1910, p.427.

41. See Appendices C,V and C,VI below.

42. In a reversal of previous policy the South African Council of the A.S.E. permitted Andrews to contest the elections - A.S.E. Monthly Report, December 1909, p.4.

sincerity, Trembath ridiculed the Socialist Party's independent stand on the Rand, because it had no following.⁴⁴ Certainly, Bain had been associated with the South African Socialist Federation at its inception, but he emphasised the need for labour and socialist unity which he regarded as essential for electoral success.⁴⁵ Crawford, however, entertained a different outlook:

The reception accorded our principles is of little or no importance. The task of educating - not bluffing - the proletariat must be begun, and it is only to be expected that the very strangeness of the new force which combats the ignorance of the people, instead of pandering to it, will rouse a natural, but temporary resentment.⁴⁶

Lastly, study of the list of Labour candidates discloses its dependence on the British voter. The only Afrikaner on this list was C.D. Wentzel, an ex-coal merchant and a former member of Het Volk, who contested the Georgetown constituency in the provincial council elections.⁴⁷

As already described, recrimination amongst the labour leaders retarded political labour organisation before unification of South Africa. That it should recur over the selection of the Labour candidates seems to have been inevitable. Several party members were dissatisfied with the recommendations of Whiteside's selection committee which evidently were adopted by the special conference on 11 and 18 June and, subsequently, by the administrative

43. For socialism of Bain see Voice of Labour, 31.12.1909, p.1 and 7.1.1910, p.5; of Mussared Voice of Labour, 15.7.1910, p.333, and A.S.E. Monthly Report, December 1908, pp.22-23; of Madeley Voice of Labour, 9.9.1910, p.404, editorial; and of Trembath the Trembath Papers.
44. Worker, n.d. (c. mid-1910), in Trembath I, p.96, article by "Birdofredum" /Trembath/.
45. Voice of Labour, 7.1.1910, p.5.
46. Voice of Labour, 7.1.1910, p.6, editorial.
47. Transvaal Leader, 13.8.1910, p.16, "Labour Notes".

council of the S.A.L.P.⁴⁸ Although active in the Germiston district for several months, Andrews became a parliamentary candidate in Fordsburg to allow the ex-Transvaal treasurer, H.C. Hull, a straight contest with Sir George Farrar in Georgetown. Naturally Ware, who was well-known as a Fordsburg representative on the Johannesburg Municipal Council and who was a popular trade union leader, was disappointed at being relegated to the provincial council candidacy in this division.⁴⁹ These arrangements precipitated the resignation from the party of Andrew Dunbar, one of the leaders of the Natal Railway Strike in 1909 and president of the Germiston Labour Party. After heated exchanges had taken place between the S.A.L.P.'s leaders and the Germiston Labour Party over their refusal to sanction a Labour candidate in the Georgetown parliamentary elections, Dunbar denounced the S.A.L.P.'s leadership on Johannesburg Market Square on 24 July as a "sink of political corruption".⁵⁰

The dissension in the ranks of Natal Labour was more serious. Dissatisfaction over the re-election of the Durban District Committee's office-bearers on 22 June and over the selection of the Labour candidates resulted in the secession from the committee of the Journeyman Tailors' Society and the A.S.E., leaving it in the control of the Durban Workers' Political Association and the local branch

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48. Star, 9.9.1910, p.9, correspondence from Dunbar.
49. Voice of Labour, 24.6.1910, p.295; 22.7.1910, p.344; Star, 10 & 11.8.1910, articles by "Filius Populi".
50. Star, 9.9.1910, p.9, correspondence from Dunbar which includes a letter dated 24.6.1910 from the secretary of the Germiston Parliamentary Committee to the secretary of the S.A.L.P., and a letter dated 29.6.1910 from the president of the Germiston Labour Party (Dunbar) to the secretary of the S.A.L.P. See also Star, 29.7.1910, p.11, letter from "W.M." which quotes Dunbar's denunciation of the party's leaders.

of the S.A.T.U.⁵¹ Harry Norrie, a leading member of the Tailors' Society and of the Durban Social Democratic Party, sent a scathing letter to the Natal Mercury towards the end of July in which he criticised the local Labour candidates and announced his withdrawal from seeking Labour nomination because he refused to "be mixed up in a scramble so base". He objected to men joining labour societies at the last moment to assist them into "a billet at £400 a year" as Labour M.L.A.s, to men changing societies for the better promotion of their candidatures and to non-trade unionists representing unionists. In addition, he asserted that some of the prospective candidates refused to be seen on the same platform as others and that the Durban labour movement was "rotten". "In all my experience of the Labour movement during the last 18 years," he concluded, "I have never met such a pack of ravenous wolves as is to be met at the present moment in Durban bearing the name of Labour."⁵² Not surprisingly, the Durban District Committee of the S.A.L.P. suspended Norrie from the party shortly afterwards.⁵³

In short, the S.A.L.P. concentrated its essay at the polls on the Witwatersrand constituencies and drew its candidates almost exclusively from the English-speaking section of the electorate. In turn, these nominees were predominantly selected from the ranks of the trade unions, but there were several notable exceptions like Creswell, Wybergh,

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51. Durban District Committee Minutebook, minutes, 22.7.1910 and 6.8.1910.
52. Natal Mercury, 22.7.1910, p.7. According to Boydell, Norrie was "a quiet, sincere, unassuming, almost humble sort of fellow" who dedicated his life to the cause of socialism - foreword in W.H. Harrison, Memoirs, pp.x-xi.
53. Minutes, 26.7.1910.

Haggar and Ancketill. Unlike the position in the Transvaal, in Natal an inexperienced party organisation brought forward several scarcely known Labour candidates. This occurred because the leaders of the defunct N.L.P. had suddenly disappeared from the forefront of Natal political labour organisation. In the Cape and in the Orange Free State the obvious Labour candidates secured nomination, therefore causing no ill-feeling.

3. Election Arrangements with the South African National Party

The Transvaal labour movement's attitude towards Botha's party certainly changed during the intervening period between the Transvaal general election of 1907 and the Union elections of 1910. As already described, the failure of the Miners' Strike caused some sections of the labour movement to become less sympathetic, and others openly hostile, towards Het Volk. Organised labour could not forget that during the strike the government had called in Imperial troops and had welcomed the large-scale employment of Afrikaner strike-breakers. Furthermore, it deplored Smuts's strong criticism of the strike in a public speech in January 1910.⁵⁴ Shortly afterwards Labour spokesmen claimed that Smuts was working hand in hand with the mining magnates to the detriment of the labour movement; and Voice of Labour referred scornfully to him as a "Champion Smasher of Strikes".⁵⁵ To Mathews, Het Volk and the Progressive Party were identical in policy and both were no friends of the workers.⁵⁶ Perhaps, the attitude of the

54. See Chapter VI, section 1, above.

55. For comment from Labour spokesmen see Transvaal Leader, 31.1.1910, p.7; for opinion of Voice of Labour its issue, 28.1.1910, p.43.

56. Rand Daily Mail, 2.2.1910, p.3, letter from Mathews.

rank and file trade union member was conveyed by R.W. Sheridan of the T.M.A. when he rebuked Haggar for suggesting that the workers should support a Nationalist candidate. Sheridan said that he refused to support a "scabby" government which had broken the miners' strike by sanctioning the use of scabs.⁵⁷

The Transvaal Government's handling of the unemployment situation and its general labour policy also antagonised the labour movement. Bain, for instance, declared:

The Government's labour policy was the worst possible - a system of paying whites a Kaffir wage - and would be handed down to posterity as a disgrace to the Het Volk Government. General Botha had seemingly made a mistake in including Mr. Hertzog in his Cabinet, but he made a much worse mistake in including a thousand Hertzogs, in the person of Mr. Hull. Mr. Hull's white labour policy was based on 3s 4d a day - an evil which did not stop there. The press praised the railway administration, but the railway policy was a rotten, inhuman policy.⁵⁸

So bitter seemed Bain about what he termed "this brutal treatment of white slaves" that he was prepared to support Sir Percy Fitzpatrick, the Unionist candidate in Pretoria East, in his contest with General Botha, the so-called champion of the 3s 4d-a-day-policy.⁵⁹ Bain, however, could have been motivated partly by election expediency, for he needed Unionist support in the Pretoria North constituency where he was standing for parliament against Sir Thomas Cullinan, a Nationalist.

Yet the leaders of the South African National Party and the S.A.L.P. appreciated that constituency bargaining on the Rand was to their mutual advantage. In seats such as Krugersdorp, Springs, Georgetown, Fordsburg and Roodepoort a split vote between these two parties would result in Unionist victories.⁶⁰ Whereas Botha's party conceded the S.A.L.P.'s

57. Star, 29.8.1910, p.10.

58. Transvaal Leader, 9.8.1910, p.3.

59. Transvaal Leader, 16.8.1910, p.3.

60. Louis Karovsky, "Experiments in National Partnerships", pp.104-5.

right to be represented in the House of Assembly and therefore was not averse to negotiating with it, the Unionist Party saw no reason for its independent existence.

Unionists contended that labour politicians should constitute an advance wing of their own party, but none of their twenty-one Transvaal parliamentary candidates were drawn from the working classes or had any association with the trade unions.⁶¹ The Unionist Party, of course, had much to lose from the emergence of a powerful S.A.L.P. since both organisations were urban based.

At the invitation of the National Party, a S.A.L.P. deputation of five persons, led by Whiteside, discussed the elections with Botha and Smuts on 13 June. A few weeks later Whiteside and Hagggar resumed negotiations with Nationalist leaders and during June and July Hagggar was corresponding with Smuts on the same subject.⁶² The Labour candidates vehemently denied that an election agreement had been concluded, but the most cursory glance at the list of Witwatersrand parliamentary and provincial council candidates must have convinced the average elector that the Labour denial was untruthful.⁶³ In Springs, Boksburg and Roodepoort no Nationalist opposed the Labour candidate in the parliamentary contests, and the position was exactly

61. For opposition to independent labour representation of Unionist leaders see Transvaal Leader, 1.9.1910, p.15 (Abe Bailey); 12.9.1910, p.10 (Dr. J.C. MacNeillie); Star, 5.9.1910, p.12 (L. Phillips). For occupations of the Transvaal Unionist candidates see Star, 23.8.1910, p.6.

62. On the meetings see Star, 20.6.1910, p.9; Voice of Labour 24.6.1910, p.292 and 8.7.1910, p.319; on Hagggar's correspondence L.M. Thompson, Unification of South Africa, p.474.

63. For examples of Labour denials see Transvaal Leader, 28.6.1910, p.11, letter from Sampson; Natal Mercury, 6.7.1910, p.9, cable from Sampson to the secretary of the Durban District Committee; Transvaal Leader, 13.8.1910, p.10, speech by Andrews; 1.9.1910, p.5, speech by Wybergh; 2.9.1910, p.5, speech by Madeley.

reversed in the provincial council elections. In the Troyeville and Krugersdorp parliamentary elections the Nationalists had straight contests with Unionists and Labour was not opposed by Nationalists in the provincial council elections.⁶⁴ The constituency bargaining was most obvious in Krugersdorp. The local Labour leaders, Mussared and Holmes had long been keen to stand for parliament since they had made a good showing in the town council elections and alleged their political victimisation by West Rand mines.⁶⁵ However, the S.A.L.P. insisted that the Nationalist candidate, J.W.S. Langerman, the managing director of the Robinson group of mines, should be given a straight contest with the Unionist nominee, Abe Bailey. Mussared was moved to Boksburg where he was virtually unknown and Holmes was endorsed as the Labour candidate in the Krugersdorp provincial council elections.

In the parliamentary contests in Georgetown and Fordsburg the election agreement broke down. In the former Andrews had withdrawn his candidature and had moved to Fordsburg on the understanding that he would be given a straight fight against the Unionist candidate in this constituency.⁶⁶ But in the beginning of August Dr. F.E.T. Krause joined the contest on behalf of the National Party and, by way of reprisal, the S.A.L.P. nominated Tom Mathews in Georgetown where he opposed the former government treasurer, H.C. Hull.⁶⁷

64. See Appendices C,V,1 and C,VI,1 below.

65. Star, 10.8.1910, p.8, article by "Filius Populi"; 11.8.1910, p.9, letter from "J.L."; Transvaal Leader, 18.12.1909, p.4.

66. Star, 9.9.1910, p.9, correspondence from Dunbar; Voice of Labour, 5.8.1910, p.361 and 26.8.1910, p.388; R.K. Cope, Comrade Bill, p.114.

67. Transvaal Leader, 6.8.1910, p.13, "Labour Notes"; 13.8.1910, p.16, "Labour Notes"; Voice of Labour, 12.8.1910, p.369.

The Nationalist-Labour election arrangements were not well-received by certain sections of the Transvaal labour movement. The Witwatersrand T. & L.C. minuted at its meeting on 6 July:

The question of a compromise with Het Volk was also talked over, and it was stated that nothing of that nature had been acceded to.⁶⁸

The Germiston Labour Party viewed with "disfavour" the negotiations with the "Het Volk Party" and wished them to cease immediately, maintaining that Labour should act independently of all parties.⁶⁹ According to one of Merriman's Johannesburg correspondents, the majority of the members of the S.A.L.P. was opposed to the alliance with Botha's party.⁷⁰ And Voice of Labour, not unexpectedly, denounced "office-hungry wire-pullers" in the S.A.L.P. who would compromise with the very devil:

Worse than that, they have been crawling on their bellies before the Het Volk leaders - the men who turned out the military not so long ago to shoot down the miners who had the courage to strike for their rights. Verily! the working classes have been delivered into the hands of the Philistines!⁷¹

The election pact naturally invited the full force of Unionist attacks which referred scornfully to the Labour leaders as the "hangers-on" to the "Het Volk coat-tails".⁷² Yet this pact represented simply a mutually advantageous scheme whereby the Nationalist and Labour Parties enhanced their election prospects on the Witwatersrand at the expense

68. Transvaal Leader, 11.7.1910, p.15, "Labour Notes".

69. Star, 9.9.1910, p.10, correspondence from Dunbar.

70. A.L. MacDonald to Merriman, 29.7.1910, Merriman Papers, no. 363 of 1910.

71. 24.6.1910, p.292.

72. Star, 5.9.1910, p.12 (L. Phillips); 4.8.1910 (Dr. Jameson) as quoted in D.W. Kruger (ed.), South African Parties and Policies, 1910-1960, p.27.

of the Unionist Party. "Just as the Labourites at Home make arrangements with the Liberals", accurately commented the Natal Mercury on the extent of the Nationalist-Labour alliance, "so there may be arrangements made out here".⁷³

But, as a result of this pact, the S.A.L.P. found itself in a difficult position. The general election was dominated by the issue of Hertzogism, which caused the electorate to divide along "racial", and not class, lines.⁷⁴

Thus the S.A.L.P. refused to admit the existence of the pact, thereby hoping that the more imperial minded and flag conscious white worker would not vote for the Unionist Party.

A wiser course, as Haggart suggested after the elections, would have been to reveal the extent of the rapprochement with the National Party.⁷⁵ As already noted, few voters on the Rand could have believed the Labour leaders when they denied the existence of the pact. This denial became even less convincing when the National Party openly supported certain Labour candidates like Creswell and Haggart.⁷⁶

4. The Issues

Towards the end of July 1910 the S.A.L.P. published its election manifesto, the authors of which are not clear. According to a columnist of the Star, who was conversant

73. 19.7.1910, p.6, editorial.

74. On the issue of Hertzogism see Anonymous, "South African Politics", Round Table, November 1910, pp.85, 93-94; L.M. Thompson, Unification of South Africa, pp.465-70, 478.

75. Transvaal Leader, 3.11.1910, p.6, article by Haggart.

76. Transvaal Leader, 30.7.1910, p.12, "Labour Notes"; Voice of Labour, 2.9.1910, p.394; Unionist Monthly, September 1910, p.66; Louis Karovsky, "Experiments in National Partnerships", p.105.

with the workings of the S.A.L.P., the manifesto was drafted by Wybergh.⁷⁷ On the other hand, the Transvaal Leader reported that Sampson, Haggard, Creswell and Wybergh were joint-authors and claimed that the document reflected the "true insipid Wyberghian touch" and the "arrogant suggestions of the inspired Creswellian afflatus".⁷⁸

The manifesto discarded several of the planks in the platform adopted by the intercolonial labour conference in October 1909, for example, the initiative and the referendum, and the demands concerning unemployment. More important, however, was the radical change in colour policy. Any pretence of non-racialism was abandoned and the party came forward unequivocally as a white labour organisation. Its manifesto therefore called for the creation of conditions which would attract a "free white population", the provision of a bonus to mines and factories employing white labour, state-aided Asiatic emigration and prohibition of Asiatic immigration, and the advancement of the native peoples in their reserves and not in the white areas.⁷⁹ For the S.A.L.P. in the Transvaal to have propagated the non-racialism of Olive Schreiner or Keir Hardie would have been to court electoral disaster considering the attitude of the Transvaal electorate towards non-whites. This attitude was well illustrated by an observer from the Cape, as follows:

I think I know the temperament of the people of the Transvaal upon the native and "colour" question. It is that neither natives nor off-coloured people shall have a shadow of equality with the white population. They shall not have a vote. They shall not be admitted to the ranks of skilled labour. They shall be left to work out their own salvation

77. 23.8.1909, p.9, article by "Filius Populi".

78. 23.7.1910, p.8.

79. See Appendix B,V,1 for the platform adopted in October 1909, and B,V,2 for the S.A.L.P.'s election manifesto.

or damnation as the case may be. This temperament is expressed at political meetings here by roars of approval, whose savage and ferocious tone carries a blast of surprise to the new-comer from the Cape.⁸⁰

Although the S.A.L.P. manifesto largely incorporated Sampson's native policy, which had been shelved by the inter-colonial labour conference in October 1909, it did not accept his liberal coloured policy. Strangely, this was included in the manifesto of the Durban District Committee of the party and stated:

Recognising that the main responsibility for the coloured people of South Africa (that is, those with one European parent) lies with the white races, we declare ourselves to be in favour of granting them full political, industrial, and social rights.⁸¹

In Kimberley, where twenty-six per cent. of the electorate was non-white, Trembath denied that he was bound by the attitude towards colour of the S.A.L.P. in the Transvaal, and correctly pointed out that the party had yet to define its native and coloured policies. Undoubtedly, he was sincere in the way he championed the cause of the non-European, for his 1910 election note-book and his surviving papers reveal that he was a keen student of Olive Schreiner's writings and that he genuinely sympathised with the underprivileged, whatever their colour. Nevertheless, he was gravely embarrassed by the stand adopted by the party in the Transvaal.⁸²

The Socialist candidates took a non-racial stand as well. In the Transvaal this was courageous, as the following report in the Voice of Labour shows:

On the Sunday evening prior to the elections, Comrade Crawford held a platform meeting on the Market Square

80. New Nation, 16.9.1910, p.9, article by "Johannes".

81. Extract published in Indian Opinion, 20.8.1910, P.277.

82. On the percentage of non-whites in Kimberley see L.M. Thompson, Unification of South Africa, p.473, n.23. On Trembath see his papers, especially his 1910 election note-book and the undated press-cutting (c. August 1910) in Trembath I, p.466, and also p.350 above.

for two hours and a half, arguing on the question of Colour, and at more than one time it looked a dead certainty that he would be torn to pieces by an ignorant mob. More than one person declared that thousands of pounds could not induce them to defend the same principles before a mob on the eve of an election.⁸³

Ironically, Crawford's Labour opponent in Fordsburg, W.H. Andrews, played a similar role in the Union's second general election. But, by this time, Andrews had been expelled from the S.A.L.P. over the war issue and therefore was in the political wilderness.⁸⁴

In many of its demands, the S.A.L.P.'s manifesto differed from the equivalent documents of the Unionist and National Parties.⁸⁵ For instance, it advocated the abolition of the compound system, state-aided Asiatic emigration, triennial parliaments, taxation of unworked mineral claims, the establishment of a local diamond-cutting industry and the "removal of legal sex disabilities from women with regard to political and municipal franchise". However, none of these demands became an election issue.

Indeed, the similarity of the party programmes was more striking than their differences. They shared a common outlook not only on the colour question, but also on promotion of white labour, ameliorative industrial legislation, combatting miners' phthisis, fostering of local industry and improvement of the education system. Labour agitation over many years probably was responsible for the inclusion in the

83. 16.9.1910, pp.412-3. For attitude of Lorrie Greene, the Socialist candidate in the Pietermaritzburg South parliamentary division see the extract from his manifesto in Indian Opinion, 30.7.1910, p.249; also 13.8.1910, p.269 and 17.9.1910, p.310.

84. D. Ticktin, "The War Issue and the Collapse of the South African Labour Party", p.72.

85. For the party manifestos see D.W. Kruger (ed.), South African Parties and Policies, pp.45-50; note, however, that the S.A.L.P.'s programme on p.73 is not an extract from its manifesto as Kruger claims. For the manifesto see Appendix B,V,2 below.

Unionist manifesto of industrial demands such as those in favour of workmen's compensation, conciliation boards, and adequate ventilation of the mines, factories and workrooms. Not surprisingly, Haggar accused the Unionist and National Parties of practically adopting the general policy of the S.A.L.P., and Walter Madeley claimed that the programmes of the three parties were identical:

If they were put into a bag, shaken up, and drawn, any one would do as well as the another [sic]. The difference lay in the sincerity of his Party; the Labourists really meant to improve the conditions of the workers, while the Unionists simply gulled the people.⁸⁶

Crawford agreed that these programmes were similar; they all aimed at the reform of the capitalist system, whereas he stood for a complete change to socialism; by betraying its socialist objective the S.A.L.P. had lost its right to separate existence and might as well merge with one of the capitalist parties.⁸⁷

Surprisingly, the S.A.L.P. proved unable to make mining conditions an election issue despite the publication one month before the general election of the long-awaited report of the Transvaal Mining Regulations Commission, which confirmed that the annual death-rate of white underground rockdrillers was thirteen per cent, and despite the party's claim that the mines had caused 30 000 deaths between 1905 and 1909.⁸⁸ Candidates of the other major parties naturally expressed concern over the high miners' phthisis

86. As quoted in Voice of Labour, 5.8.1910, p.364. For Haggar's accusation see Worker, as cited in Voice of Labour, 8.7.1910, p.318.

87. Voice of Labour, 12.8.1910, p.373; 9.9.1910, p.408; Star, 24.8.1910, p.12; Transvaal Leader, 5.9.1910, p.5.

88. For relevant extract from the Commission's report see S.A. Almanack and Reference Book, 1911-12, pp.323-4. On the number of deaths see S.A.L.P. handbills, 1910, in the South African Library.

death toll. But they remained a little insensitive on this subject, as Dr. Jameson's remarks at the Wanderers, Johannesburg, illustrate:

Perhaps we have been remiss in not taking it [miners' phthisis question] in hand sooner. Rome was not built in a day. The mine-owners are busy men, but I will say that they are awake to the fact now,⁸⁹

The S.A.L.P. on the Witwatersrand concentrated its election campaign, first, on its white labour policy or Creswellism, as this policy was called, and, secondly, on strong criticism of the Unionist candidates, whom it tried to associate with the Hoggenheimer image and with a liberal attitude towards non-whites. Creswellism was transformed into one of the election issues and, consequently, the Chinese labour controversy was revived by some of the Labour candidates. Creswell still vehemently opposed the system of indentured native labour, which he regarded as being "next-door to slavery"; moreover, this system, by making the services of white men less necessary, undermined the position of the entire white artisan population.⁹⁰

But the S.A.L.P. did not advocate a drastic dislocation of the mining industry, as Wybergh explained:

When he talked about the white labour policy he did not mean the prohibition of Kaffirs from working in the mines. He did not mean the immediate repatriation of 90 000 Mozambique Kaffirs. The white labour policy was the policy of one man one drill or at the most one man two drills, The white labour policy was the policy of gradually reducing the number of Kaffirs, and increasing the number of white men.⁹¹

Some of the alternatives to the acceptance of Creswellism were listed in a S.A.L.P. leaflet as follows:

89. Star, 4.8.1910, as quoted in D.W. Kruger (ed.), South African Parties and Policies, p.25.

90. Transvaal Leader, 20.8.1910, p.7.

91. Star, 8.9.1910, p.12.

Flooding the country with cheap, Indentured Black Labour.
 The levelling down of all wages to a common black basis.
 Decreasing the status of the White Man and increasing the "Black Peril".
 Keeping the land for the Kaffirs and the Kaffirs for the land.
 Sending White Men and their children to other lands to find a living.
 A Black Man's Wage in a Black Man's Land.⁹²

Yet Creswellism apparently was not attractive to the white miners since they preferred to leave unskilled work as the preserve of the natives.⁹³ For instance, Tom Mathews, the general secretary of the T.M.A., declared:

Even though I may not believe in Mr. Creswell's policy, all honour to him for striving for a united white South Africa.⁹⁴

A further drawback was the convincing way in which Labour's opponents were able to argue that Creswellism entailed a reduction in white wages.⁹⁵

Equally ineffective were the S.A.L.P.'s attacks on the Unionist Party. One of its crudest election handbills claimed that to vote "British", and thus to vote Unionist, meant:

Vote Shangaan!	Vote Wernher, Beit & Co.!
Vote M'Chope!	Vote Eckstein!
Vote Imhambane!	Vote Barnato!
Vote Neumann! ⁹⁶	

Some Labour candidates asserted that the Unionists were pandering to the native blanket vote, and that non-whites would be enfranchised by the next elections should the Unionists be returned to power. Others stressed the dominating influence of the mining magnates over the Unionist

92. For this leaflet in full see Appendix B,V,3 below.

93. Star, 11.8.1910, p.6, article by "Filius Populi".

94. Transvaal Leader, 1.9.1910, p.7.

95. See, for example, Dr. J.C. MacNeillie's speech in Transvaal Leader, 12.9.1910, p.10; and Crawford's statement in 16.8.1910, p.5.

96. S.A.L.P. handbill, 1910, in the South African Library.

Party.⁹⁷

Try as the S.A.L.P. did, it could not prevent Hertzogism from becoming the main election issue. "Racial" ties therefore were of paramount importance. In such a situation, the S.A.L.P., which was expected to concentrate on economic questions, could not compete with the Unionist Party for the support of the English-speaking voter.

5. The Campaign

Few facts are known about the S.A.L.P.'s election finances or about its central electoral committee which controlled its electioneering. Evidently, most Transvaal trade unions contributed towards the party's election expenses whether they were affiliated to the S.A.L.P. or not.⁹⁸ In July 1910 the central electoral committee, of which Whiteside was the chairman, opened offices in the centre of Johannesburg.⁹⁹

On the Rand the S.A.L.P. obtained press support in addition to that from its own weekly organ, the Worker, which then was edited by Haggard.¹ The Rand Daily Mail, on the staff of which was Jack Erasmus, a member of the administrative council of the party, and the Sunday Times gave Labour candidates sympathetic treatment.² Crawford's

97. See, for example, on non-white policy Transvaal Leader, 1.9.1910, p.7, (speech by Wentzel) and p.9 (speech by Bernberg); Star, 8.9.1910, p.12 (speech by Wybergh). On the influence of the mining magnates see, for example, Star, 8.9.1910, p.12 (speech by Wybergh); and Transvaal Leader, 13.8.1910, p.10 (speech by Andrews).

98. "Labour Notes" in Transvaal Leader, 30.7.1910, p.12; 3.9.1910, p.12; 10.9.1910, p.12; letter from H.D. Bernberg, general secretary of the S.A.L.P. in Transvaal Leader, 6.2.1911, p.8; A.J. Downes, Printers' Saga, p.205.

99. Transvaal Leader, 23.7.1910, p.12, "Labour Notes".

1. On the Worker see Appendix E below.

2. On the Rand Daily Mail see Voice of Labour, 22.7.1910, p.342; 26.8.1910, p.388; Unionist Monthly, September 1910, p.67. On the Sunday Times see Star, 29.7.1910, p.11, letter from "W.M."

Voice of Labour, however, continued to launch scathing attacks on Labour leaders and even advised its readers to avoid voting for any of the Labour nominees, including Bain and Madeley whom it admired for openly declaring themselves socialists.³

There is no doubt that Sampson was perturbed by the attitude of Voice of Labour and the Johannesburg Socialist Society, for he complained to Boydell about the "renegade socialists" who were a "disgrace to the movement".⁴ Crawford's sustained abuse of his colleagues in the Transvaal labour movement was truly incredible. For example, he wrote in July:

The evil in the S.A.L.P. is in its wirepullers. Mr. Sampson's ideas run on Labour representation as Shylock's did on ducats. "Get in" is his motto, "on principle if you can but - get in." Mr. Andrews is a deeper schemer as tyrannical and unscrupulous in his political methods as the Capitalists he so loudly decries. Messrs. Haggart and Mathews occupy a place on the other end of the wire, the latter possessing the saving graces of honesty and humour.⁵

About the same time the S.A.L.P.'s image was tarnished further by a mutually disparaging exchange of correspondence in the daily press between Sampson and Crawford. Sampson accused Crawford of being the founder of "bogus organisations", implied that he was an agent of the capitalists and asserted that the party was well-rid of his services. Crawford retorted that the split was over fundamental principles and that the Socialist Society, far from being a "bogus organisation", was actually responsible for the S.A.L.P.'s socialist objective. "Mr. Sampson's impudence is colossal", Crawford continued, "in arrogating

3. 9.9.1910, p.404.

4. 24.6.1910, Boydell Papers, vol. 1, p.56.

5. Voice of Labour, 8.7.1910, p.319.

to the party of his invention the broad term 'Labour'." ⁶
 At the end of July, when the president of the Germiston Labour Party, Andrew Dunbar, resigned from the S.A.L.P. and, as described already, denounced its executive as a "sink of political corruption", electors must have wondered whether Crawford's attacks were not true after all.

Further bad publicity for the S.A.L.P. came from the Star. In August it published a series of articles by an anonymous author in which the discord in the Transvaal labour movement since 1902 was described, and in which the Labour leaders of 1910 were belittled as a "gang of political adventurers" with whom the best men in the trade unions would have nothing to do. ⁷ Shortly afterwards the Star carried eight articles, probably by a different author, endeavouring to prove the complete dependence on Het Volk of Wybergh and the Transvaal Labour M.L.A.s. ⁸ Then on 9 September the same paper published several confidential letters supplied to it by Dunbar. These explained as to why he had resigned from the S.A.L.P. and threw light on the Nationalist-Labour election agreement. ⁹

The most disturbing setback to Labour's election campaign on the Rand occurred only a week before polling day and concerned Haggar. As general secretary of the S.A.L.P., editor of its official organ, its best orator and its most arrogant spokesman, Haggar had to withstand scathing attacks from Labour's opponents, of which the following was typical:

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6. Star, 28.6.1910, p.7, letter from Crawford. For Sampson's accusations see Transvaal Leader, 28.6.1910, p.11 and Rand Daily Mail, 21.6.1910, p.7.
 7. Articles by "Filius Populi", 9.8.1910, p.5; 10.8.1910, p.8; 11.8.1910, p.8; 18.8.1910, p.8 (on Creswell); 23.8.1910, p.9 (on Haggar).
 8. 30.8.1910 to 7.9.1910.
 9. 9.9.1910, p.9.

He is the platform buffoon of the party. His ponderous intelligence and his first-hand knowledge of every subject under the sun often cause questions to be asked as to why he left Australia, why the Natal Railway strike was bungled, and why the people of Natal allowed such an accomplished politician to desert them. Mr. Haggar has a long way to go before he gains the confidence of Rand labourites.¹⁰

That he should be repudiated by his own comrades, seemed scarcely credible. Yet on 8 September the Transvaal daily newspapers published a letter from H.W. Sampson, writing as chairman of the S.A.L.P., in which he announced that the party executive had received and accepted the voluntary resignation of Haggar as general secretary and ordinary member of the party.¹¹ Someone from Natal apparently had produced evidence of Haggar's past immoral conduct with women; and about the same time rumours had circulated of his having been a brothel-keeper either in Australia or in Natal.¹²

Although his candidature in the Roodepoort parliamentary contest then appeared hopeless, Haggar's election committee, in defiance of the executive of the S.A.L.P., refused to allow him to withdraw. Apparently, the rank and file members of the party were also unhappy over the action taken against Haggar.¹³ Thus he fought on and declared in public that his isolation from the S.A.L.P. was due to his co-operation with the Nationalist provincial council candidate for Roodepoort, and to his attack

10. Star, 11.8.1910, p.6, article by "Filius Populi".

11. Rand Daily Mail, 8.9.1910, p.7; Star, 8.9.1910, p.9.

12. For a humiliating cross-examination of Haggar on his past conduct see Minutes of the Second Annual Conference of the S.A.L.P., January 1911, section 3, pp.2-10. He was found guilty and expelled from the party, but was readmitted three years later at the party's fifth annual conference, at which Sampson stated that the charges against Haggar had never been proved - Minutes, p.1.

13. Rand Daily Mail, 10.9.1910, p.8; Transvaal Leader, 9.9.1910, p.5 and 10.9.1910, p.7; Star, 8.9.1910, p.9 and 10.9.1910, p.12; R.K. Cope, Comrade Bill, pp.115-6.

on the manhood of North Country Englishmen at a previous election meeting.¹⁴ However, even these weak explanations were denied Haggart, for Sampson again went to the press and stated that the party's action was not taken for political reasons.¹⁵

Shortly afterwards Dr. J.C. MacNeillie, the Unionist candidate for parliament in the Boksburg constituency, asked a valid question: how could a party with so much dissension in its ranks accomplish anything for the workers?¹⁶

Several features of the Labour candidatures outside the Transvaal are worth noting. In Durban Norrie's attack on local Labour candidates, which has been described already, probably undermined their campaigns. Boydell and Powrie must have been particularly annoyed at his action, for their candidatures had forced them to sacrifice their railway employment since N.G.R. regulations forbade its employees to stand for public office.¹⁷ In Bloemfontein John Duff, who was belittled by the Unionist paper, the Bloemfontein Post, as a "peripatetic demagogue", tried to attract the support of the landless, poor Afrikaner and, in his attempt, did receive the assistance of Mrs. Erasmus, who had led the march on parliament of the poor white women and children two years previously.¹⁸ In the Cape Colony Maginess and Trembath

14. Transvaal Leader, 9.9.1910, p.5.

15. Rand Daily Mail, 10.9.1910, p.3; Transvaal Leader, 10.9.1910, p.10.

16. Transvaal Leader, 12.9.1910, p.10.

17. Natal Mercury, 2.9.1910, p.5; T. Boydell, My Luck Was In, pp.37-38.

18. For the attack on Duff see Bloemfontein Post, 18.8.1910, p.4; for support of Mrs. Erasmus 18.8.1910, p.6; and for attempts to attract the Afrikaner vote see undated (c. August 1910) press-cutting from the Worker in Trembath I, p.118.

received the backing of the S.A.P. press.¹⁹ In addition, Trembath was publicly supported by several S.A.P. politicians.²⁰ For him, the contest meant a great deal. Having been victimised for his political activity by the Diamond Fields Advertiser, on the staff of which he had been a compositor, Trembath was able to remain in Kimberley only through the financial support of the South African labour movement.²¹ He was even forced by his financial circumstances to send his wife and children to live with relatives in Cornwall.²²

Trembath's election depended on the coloured vote. This he realised, but the colour prejudice of the S.A.L.P. in the Transvaal made it difficult for him to attract non-white support. In addition, he had to contend with the opposition of the president of A.P.O., Dr. Abdurahman, who came to Kimberley at the end of August to persuade non-white voters to support the Unionist candidate, H.A. Oliver, a former mayor of Kimberley, M.L.A. and member of the De Beers "ticket of four" parliamentary candidates. Abdurahman dismissed Trembath's professed independence of the Haggars and Sampsons of the Transvaal and ridiculed his statement that the S.A.L.P.'s colour policy was still a blank piece of paper.²³ Another prominent non-white leader, Sol T. Plaatje, strongly opposed Trembath. He

19. L.M. Thompson, Unification of South Africa, p.473; New Nation, 9.9.1910, p.4.

20. For example, P. Scholtz, who was returned to the Cape Provincial Council for the Jacobsdal seat, and J. Bosman - press-cuttings, n.d. (c. August 1910) in Trembath I, pp.466, 468, 472-3, 478.

21. Voice of Labour, 30.10.1909, p.5, remarks of W. Holmes; S.A.T.J., March 1910, p.4, and November 1910, p.13. On the victimisation see p.348 above.

22. This was told to the writer in June 1972 by Trembath's daughter, Miss Gwen Trembath of Durban.

23. Press-cuttings, n.d. (August-September 1910), in Trembath I, pp.465, 471-2; A.P.O., 10.9.1910, p.10.

pointed out that Trembath was a member of the S.A.T.U., the rules of which laid down that if a coloured man was taken on, every white compositor should walk out of the office. This, he claimed, was the S.A.L.P. in a nutshell.²⁴ In vain, did Trembath try to counter this opposition by addressing meetings of non-whites and by distributing a leaflet in which he outlined the hostile attitude towards non-Europeans of the Transvaal Unionist leaders.²⁵

6. Results, Post-Mortems and Conclusions

Labour leaders never imagined that the S.A.L.P. would capture the reins of government in 1910, but they did predict that this would occur at subsequent elections. For instance, Creswell stated in September 1910:

A few years ago the Labour party was a little cloud, no larger than a man's hand. In this Parliament it was going to be developed into a cloud with possibilities of rain in it; and five or ten years hence it would be the party which would have the government of the country in its hands.²⁶

Trembath made one of the most optimistic forecasts of Labour's performance in the Union's first general election when he wrote in August 1909 that the Labour Party would win one-third of the seats in the House of Assembly.²⁷ However, in 1910 the Labour leaders were more conservative with their estimates. In June Sampson listed only sixteen seats "more or less safe to Labour", which was a small proportion of the 121 vacancies in the House.²⁸ In August and September Labour candidates spoke of ten to twenty

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24. Trembath's Election Note-book, [p. 50], records Plaatje's remarks.
25. Press-cuttings, n.d. (August-September 1910), in Trembath I, pp. 466 & 476; Trembath leaflet in Trembath II, p. 181.
26. Transvaal Leader, 10.9.1910, p. 3. For similar statement by Wybergh see 12.9.1910, p. 11.
27. Press-cutting from Worker, 7.8.1909, in Trembath I, p. 89.
28. Sampson to Boydell, 24.6.1910, Boydell Papers, vol. 1, p. 56.

victories which they hoped would give the S.A.L.P. the balance of power between the National and Unionist Parties.²⁹

Yet only three S.A.L.P. candidates, Creswell, Madeley and Sampson - all of whom stood in Witwatersrand constituencies - were elected to the House of Assembly. In the provincial council elections the party fared still worse, for only two candidates, Ware and Holmes, who both contested Witwatersrand seats, were successful. "The general setback to the Labour Cause", commented Nelson Palmer, "is very sad to contemplate".³⁰ Of the independent labour candidates only Haggar, who stood for parliament at Roodepoort, and Powrie, who contested the provincial council elections at Durban Congella, were elected. According to the Star, Haggar's victory upset all calculations, and this view was shared by the Bloemfontein Post, which reported:

The most inexplicable feature of the whole elections is the majority of the notorious Mr. Haggar over Mr. Wallace Soutter at Roodepoort, and the crowd absolutely declined to believe that the return had been accurately given.³¹

It has been suggested that the scandal associated with Haggar was an election asset amongst the large number of unmarried miners in his constituency.³²

Although the election results proved a great disappointment to the S.A.L.P., Labour had made, nevertheless, an advance in the Transvaal compared with its performance

29. For Bain's prediction see Transvaal Leader, 9.8.1910, p.3; for Sampson's 24.8.1910, p.5; for Andrews's 12.9.1910, p.11.

30. Palmer to Boydell, 19.9.1910, Boydell Collection, vol. 8.

31. 16.9.1910, p.5. For the Star's comment see its issue, 16.9.1910, p.11.

32. This was told to the writer by Louis Karovsky when interviewed in January, 1965.

in the Transvaal general election of 1907. Despite the virtual halving in 1910 of the number of Transvaal constituencies available to parliamentary candidates, Labour representation remained at three (excluding Haggar). Furthermore, whereas in 1907 Labour contested thirteen seats and polled 5 216 votes of 61 251 cast, in 1910 the S.A.L.P. brought forward twelve nominees (including Haggar) and won 8 246 votes of 45 279 polled. In other words, Labour's percentage of the votes cast in 1910 was more than double that in 1907. Perhaps, for Labour, the only other encouraging feature of the election results was the narrow defeat by twenty-five votes of the Cape Town Labour Party's parliamentary candidate, Tom Maginess, who had contested the Woodstock seat.³³

The Socialist parliamentary candidates attracted negligible support and fared worst on the Rand where they opposed Labour nominees as well as candidates of the other major parties. Despite campaigning in Fordsburg for over ten months, Crawford received only eight votes. In the provincial council elections, however, the Socialist candidates did better and Arthur Ridout was actually elected in the South Peninsula division in Cape Town. But, although a prominent member of the Cape Town S.D.F., he had campaigned as an independent.³⁴

The inability of the S.A.L.P. to provide an effective counter issue to Hertzogism was the main reason for its poor performance in the Transvaal. This Sampson

33. For election statistics see Appendices C,V and C,VI below.

34. On Ridout see Minutes of the Second Annual Conference of the S.A.L.P., January 1911, section 4, p.11, comment by E. Cresswell; and Voice of Labour, 30.9.1910, p.427. For election statistics see Appendices C,V,4 and C,VI,3 below.

realised after the elections, for he wrote that the S.A.L.P. had "quite underrated the result of the racial cry" made by Unionist candidates. He admitted also that the militant socialists on the Rand had harmed the Labour campaign to a far greater extent than the poll obtained by their candidates indicated.³⁵ As shown already, the militant socialist movement certainly had played an important role in giving the S.A.L.P. an unfavourable public image.

According to Voice of Labour the almost "complete rout" of the S.A.L.P. was due to its "compact" with the National Party, to which it sold its principles for a "mess of pottage".³⁶ However, without Nationalist support Labour probably would have won no parliamentary seats at all. The agreement with the Nationalist leaders was undoubtedly vindicated by the election results, for in Georgetown and Fordsburg, where that agreement broke down, the Unionist candidates were elected.³⁷ Moreover, the S.A.L.P. received greater benefit from it than the National Party did since more Nationalists voted Labour than vice versa. Thus A.J. Dercksen, the chairman of the Benoni branch of the National Party and defeated provincial council candidate in the Springs constituency, commented bitterly:

We all know how at the last election the Labour party misled us on many points. On the Witwatersrand, where our party supported their candidates, they were all elected, but where they had to support us, we fell out!³⁸

35. Sampson to Boydell, 11.10.1910, Boydell Collection, vol. 8.

36. 16.9.1910, p.412.

37. Louis Karovsky, "Experiments in National Partnerships" p.105. See also Bloemfontein Post, 19.9.1910, p.5, statement by Arthur Barlow, who was defeated by Madeley in the Springs constituency; Transvaal Leader, 3.11.1910, p.6, article by Haggar.

38. Transvaal Leader, 5.11.1910, p.11. Dercksen did not take into account, however, the election to parliament with Labour support of J.W.S. Langerman in the Krugersdorp constituency.

The elections in the Transvaal showed also that militant socialism combined with an avowedly non-racial stand commanded virtually no support amongst the all-white electorate. Crawford conceded this in analysing his shattering defeat in Fordsburg as follows:

Eight votes in Fordsburg and the TRUTH. Eight votes for revolutionary Socialism and no race or colour bar.

If this doesn't suit, would you have preferred that the Socialist candidates had drawn a colour line and got a hundred and eight votes?

Or adopted a white labour policy and other reforms and got two hundred and eight votes?

Or adapted their literature to play on the passion of the people and got three hundred and eight votes?

Or canvassed the constituencies, kissing dirty babies etc., and got four hundred and eight votes?

Or joined with Het Volk and got five hundred and eight votes?

Or, in addition to all things, joined with the Labour Party and got in?³⁹

In Natal the defeat of all the Labour parliamentary candidates was partly due to the lack of unity in the labour movement which has been described already. According to Haggar, while good work was done by some members of the S.A.L.P. in Durban, others did their best to "scuttle the ship".⁴⁰ But the main reason for the failure to elect a single Natal Labour M.L.A. was the large-scale desertion of the railway vote to the opposition. Thus Palmer wrote to Boydell about their defeats in Maritzburg North and Greyville, respectively:

There can be no doubt but that you and myself suffered from the very blackest treachery amongst the Railwaymen. It is this treachery that cuts me deeply. By my standing to these men I lost a lot of support from other quarters, and then to be sold by them is beyond relief.⁴¹

In the Cape Colony Maginess and Trembath were defeated because non-white voters in their constituencies voted

39. Voice of Labour, 16.9.1910, p.411.

40. Transvaal Leader, 3.11.1910, p.6, article by Haggar.

41. 19.9.1910, Boydell Papers, vol. 8.

solidly for the Unionist candidate. Although Maginess and Trembath adopted a non-racial attitude in their campaigns, their opponents successfully associated them with the white labour policy of the S.A.L.P. on the Rand.⁴²

As the following extract from the official organ of the African Political Organisation illustrates, the Cape non-white workers were hostile towards 'the Cape Town Labour Party and the S.A.L.P.:

Of course it will be wondered why the Labour party candidates were not supported by the Coloured people of the country. It certainly seems anomalous that the real workers of the country should be in opposition to the Labour party. But that is not to be wondered at by those who know what are the aims of the Labourites. Their sole object is to crush out the Coloured worker from every sphere of employment. They want a white South Africa. Such a claim is the most impudent and foolish policy that any rational beings could put forward in this country, which is the home of the black man, who outnumbers the white at the rate of five to one.⁴³

The S.A.L.P.'s poor performance in the elections was not surprising in view of its extremely limited appeal. The party was based primarily on the Witwatersrand, where its M.L.A.s were elected and its headquarters situated. Its candidates were almost exclusively drawn from the English-speaking section of the electorate and it appeared to represent little more than the political mouthpiece of Transvaal craft unions and of a few professional men like Creswell and Wybergh. Nevertheless, a foundation had been laid for solid advance as soon as industrial issues were to overshadow "racial cries"; and, in Creswell, an outstanding and widely-respected parliamentary leader had

42. Voice of Labour, 23.9.1910, p.421; A.P.O., 4.11.1911, p.5, comment by Maginess; Trembath's autobiographical notes in Trembath I, p.210.

43. A.P.O., 24.9.1910, p.5.

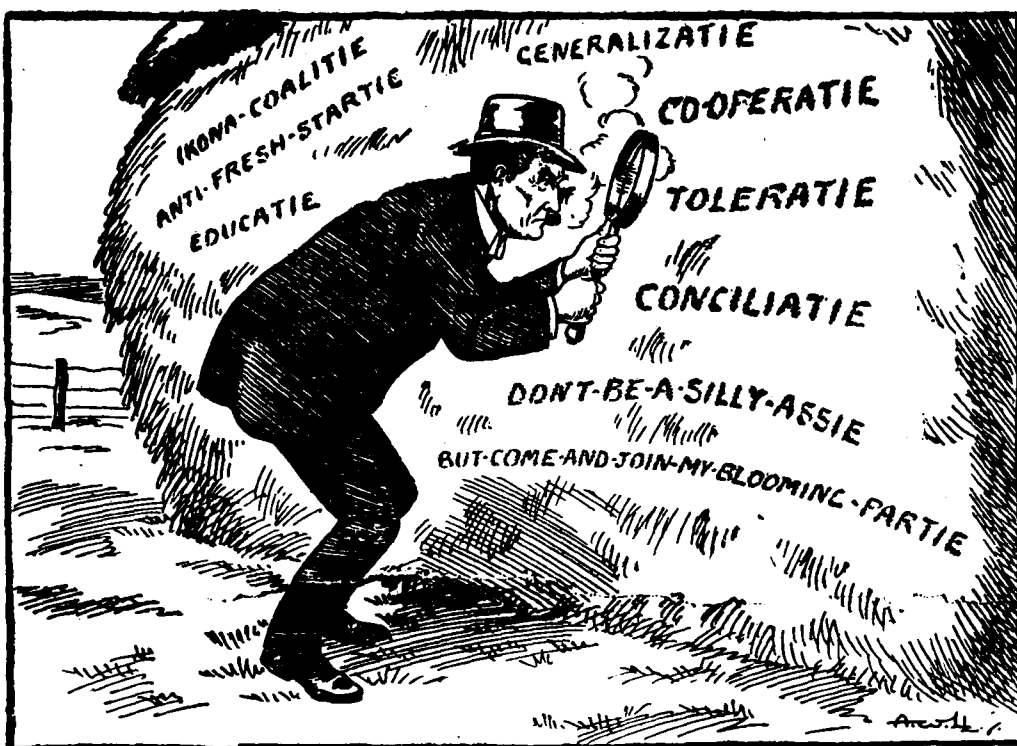
been found, who was to do a great deal towards improving the party's public image.

By expressing exclusive concern for white labour and thereby rejecting the supposedly non-racial attitude of the intercolonial labour conference in October 1909, the S.A.L.P. certainly deviated from labour principles generally accepted throughout the world. The party treasurer, Gabriel Weinstock, advanced one of the main reasons for this heretical step in January 1912 when he stated that the white labour platform would enable the S.A.L.P. to become the government of South Africa within twenty years, and that pandering to non-whites would entail a wait of five centuries.⁴⁴ Election considerations apart, the party's white labour policy was the product of the well-known racial prejudice of most white Transvaal workers and trade unionists, and the genuine faith of several party members in the feasibility of the Creswell-Wybergh solution for South Africa's colour problems. Thus, for the champions of non-white rights in the South African labour movement, like Trembath, Connolly, Brittlebank and Crawford, there was no future in the S.A.L.P.

44. Minutes of the Third Annual Conference of the S.A.L.P., January 1912, p.10.

RAND DAILY MAIL, JOHANNESBURG, FRIDAY, JUNE 17, 1910

BOTHA'S HAYSTACK.



F.H.P.C. (surveying Botha's haystack with the eye of faith and a powerful magnifying glass): "No, my white labour needle is not exactly sticking out a mile; but I feel sure I shall find it—I hope before the Elections!"

HAGGAR

RAND DAILY MAIL, JOHANNESBURG, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 9, 1910.

ON THE SANDS.



HIS CLOTHING WASN'T THERE
HE HAD NOTHING ELSE TO WEAR
SO HE WORE A HAGGAR'D LOOK.

[The Labour Party has dissociated itself from Mr. G. H. Haggard.]

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APPENDIX A

CONSTITUTIONS AND OBJECTS

I. Articles of Association of the Natal
Labour League Adopted on 2 August 1890¹

1. To promote all public questions calculated to afford employment to the working classes of the community, and to cause public expenditure to be so made as to effect that object.
2. To consider the question of native and Asiatic labour, and to agitate for the abolition of the Indian Immigration Board.
3. To prevent the expenditure of public money for immigration purposes.
4. To advance by all possible means the industrial resources of the colony, and to urge the necessity of immediate and continuous action in this direction upon the representatives.
5. To consider the state of the land laws, and the disposal of the grants of lands of the colony.
6. To take action with reference to the extension of the railways, and future working of the same, and to endeavour to make rates for carriage thereon as moderate as possible.
7. To take action in all elections to ensure the return of such representatives only as will support the objects of the League.

II. Objects of the Cape Town and District
Trades and Labour Council in December 1901²

By assisting to organise the trades for protection and friendly purposes only.

By endeavouring to bring about an amicable settlement in cases of dispute between employers and employed, or, when such disputes cannot be amicably settled, by

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1. Natal Mercury, 4.8.1890, p. 3.
 2. South African Typographical Journal, January 1902, p. 2.

APPENDIX A, II

rendering sympathy and devising means for helping those societies requiring assistance; but that the Council shall in no way intervene unless with the consent of the society concerned.

By watching over proceedings in our Local Boards and Law Courts, and by the discussion of all matters relating to the trades.

By endeavouring to secure representation on Local Boards and in Parliament.

By petitioning Parliament on such questions as may affect the rights and interests of the trades in obtaining and defending these objects, and by any means as may from time to time be deemed advisable by the Council.

III. Rules of the Cape Town Political Labour League, 1903¹

1. The Cape Town Political Labour League has been formed by the authority of the Cape Town Trades and Labour Council.
2. The main object of the League is to promote the organisation of a Parliamentary Labour party.
3. The business of the League shall be carried on by a Council, consisting of not less than 30 members, and shall include a president, one vice-president, a secretary and a treasurer. Five members shall form a quorum.
4. The Council of the League shall, in the first instance, be constituted by the Provisional Committee appointed by the Trades and Labour Council, and by duly accredited delegates from bona-fide Labour organisations of Cape Town. The members of the Council shall retain office for six months, after which a new Council shall be elected at a general meeting of members of the League.
5. Membership of the League is open to all wage-earners, irrespective of race or colour, who agree to the principles and platform of the League.
6. The League shall be the supreme governing authority in all matters connected with the parliamentary candidature of Labour candidates, and its decision shall be binding and conclusive.
7. The Council of the League shall have power to do all things necessary to give effect to the main object of the League and pending the completion of such Council its powers shall be vested in the Provisional Committee.
8. Branches of the League may be established through Cape Town and district.

1. S.A. News, 22.8.1903, p. 8, "Labour Notes", and 27.8.1903, p. 6.

9. All League candidates shall sign the following pledge:

"I hereby agree that if I am elected I will do my utmost to carry out the principles embodied in the Labour platform, and that on all questions affecting the platform or on which the existence of a Ministry may depend, I will vote as a majority of the Parliamentary Labour Party may decide at a duly constituted caucus. And I pledge myself not to oppose the candidate selected by the Political Labour League."

10. A candidate shall not be qualified for acceptance by the League who is not a bona-fide working man. Should any question arise as to the eligibility of a candidate the decision of the League shall be final. ("Working-man" shall be defined to be a person who earns his daily living by manual labour.)
11. The Council of the League shall formulate the principles and platform of the League.
12. These rules may be revised from time to time as circumstances warrant.

[13] The Parliamentary Labour party shall sit and act as a third party entirely separate and distinct from the Ministerial and Opposition parties, and shall not enter into any alliance or compact with either of the said parties.

IV. The Municipal Pledge of the Transvaal

Political Labour League, October 1905¹

"I the undersigned candidate for selection by the members of the Transvaal Political Labour League, such members being duly qualified voters for the Municipality, hereby solemnly give my pledge that in the event of my not being selected I will not in any way oppose the duly selected candidates. I will vote on all questions affecting the Labour platform as the majority of the Labour Party in the Council may decide in caucus assembled. The necessity for convening and holding such caucus to be at the discretion of the duly elected leader of the party. In the event of circumstances arising affecting the interests of labour and no caucus is possible, the leader of the party may call upon the members elected under this pledge to vote solidly. I give this pledge on the distinct understanding that on all minor matters I am left unbound, by minor matters being meant cases in which a caucus has not been deemed necessary."

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1. Rule 13 of the constitution of the Transvaal Political Labour League as quoted in a letter from "Nemosa" in the Rand Daily Mail, 23.10. 1905, p. 5.

V. Articles of Association Adopted on 24 June 1906 of the
General Workers' Political Association of Pietermaritzburg ¹

This Association shall be called the General Workers' Political Association, Pietermaritzburg.

The membership shall be open to all workers and sympathisers who agree to actively advance the cause of labour representation, and pay a subscription of one shilling per month to the funds of the Association.

The business of this Association shall be managed by a Committee appointed at a regular general meeting, half of whom shall be elected every six months. Retiring members shall be eligible for re-election.

The Committee shall consist of a Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer, and twenty ordinary members. The officers shall be ex-officio, entitled to vote at all meetings, and the Chairman shall have a deliberative vote, as well as a casting vote.

Nine members shall form a quorum at committee meetings. Any member who shall absent himself without a valid excuse from three consecutive meetings of the Committee shall cease to be a member thereof, and the Committee shall have power to fill any vacancy which may occur.

The committee shall meet as often as may be necessary, and the secretary must call a general meeting on receipt of a requisition signed by at least twenty members of the Association. It shall be competent for the Committee to call a general meeting at any time. A general meeting shall be held every six months for the election of officers, ten members of Committee, and for general business.

Business of urgent importance may be dealt with by five members of the Committee, including the Chairman and Secretary, but all business so transacted shall be submitted at the next Committee meeting of full attendance, for confirmation, or otherwise.

All accounts shall be passed by the Committee before payment by the Treasurer.

Notice of motion to amend, or add, to these rules shall be given at the general meeting previous to that at which the motion shall be put.

Any matter not herein provided for may be dealt with by the Committee, subject to ratification at the following general meeting.

The annual general meeting shall be held in June of each year, upon a date to be previously fixed. The Secretary's report and Treasurer's annual statement, certified by the Auditors shall be submitted at this meeting. Auditors shall be appointed at the half-yearly general meeting preceding the annual general meeting or at a special general meeting called for that purpose.

VI. Constitution of the Transvaal Labour

Representation Committee, December 1906¹

The name of the organisation shall be "The Transvaal Labour Representation Committee".

The objects shall be to promote and finance Labour Candidates on all governing bodies.

The basis of representation shall be one delegate for each 50 or part thereof. 1 for each additional 100 and 1 for each Trades Council. Labour bodies which have not been invited to affiliate, and are desirous of doing so, must first present their constitution for the approval or otherwise of this body. No labour body except Trades Councils of less than twenty members can affiliate.

The executive shall consist of a Chairman, two vice-chairmen, one treasurer, secretary and eight members to be elected by the L.R.C.

Affiliation fee shall be 10s. per annum for each delegate excepting Trades Councils who shall pay £2.10s. per annum in lieu of membership fee.

Subscriptions shall be 1s. per member per annum.

That no arrangements with any political organisation can be entered into with any body affiliated to the Labour Representation Committee.

The following pledge must be signed by candidates endorsed by the L.R.C.:

I hereby solemnly pledge myself that if elected to a seat upon the I will do my utmost to carry out the principles and policy of the L.R.C., as contained in the Party's constitution and Platform, and on all questions affecting the Party to vote as a majority of the Party's representatives in caucus assembled may decide (it being permissible for any member of the caucus to take the initiative in calling a caucus). In the event of circumstances arising affecting the interests of Labour, and no caucus being possible, the Chairman of the group of representatives may call upon the members elected under this pledge to vote solidly in one direction or the other.

I further pledge myself in the event of my not being selected by the members of the Party to contest the seat, not to oppose in any way the candidate selected, and further to appear before the constituents as a Labour candidate only.

I also pledge myself to duly appear before and consult with the L.R.C. whenever called upon to do so, as also to obey any directions given by that body as to voting upon questions which affect labour interests.

I give this pledge on the distinct understanding that

1. Rand Daily Mail, 20.12.1906, p. 4.

on all minor questions I am left unbound, by minor questions being meant questions for which a caucus has not been deemed necessary, and no instructions have been issued by the Chairman of the Parliamentary group or L.R.C.

VII. Constitution of the Natal Labour Party, 1908¹

Aim and Object

To organise and consolidate the Political Power of Labour in an Organisation having a common platform and policy throughout the Colony; to endeavour to secure the Election of Direct Labour Representatives to the Legislative Assembly wherever possible throughout the Constituencies; and to maintain such Labour Representatives as an Independent Group in Parliament, to be known as "THE NATAL LABOUR PARTY."

Constitution

1. Trade Unions, Labour, Socialistic, and other organisations may be affiliated to the Natal Labour Party, provided they accept the Constitution, and are otherwise considered eligible by the Administrative Council for the time being.
 - (a) Each Society affiliated shall be entitled to appoint one Delegate for every 50 members, or fraction thereof, in good standing, to the Annual Congress.
 - (b) No Society or Organisation shall be represented by more than four Delegates.
2. The organisation shall be managed by a Council, composed of President, two Vice-Presidents, Hon. Secretary, and Hon. Treasurer, and one representative from each Society or Branch affiliated, and shall be known as the Administrative Council of the Natal Labour Party.
3. Substitutes may be appointed in the place of Delegates unable to attend.
4. The Executive Officers shall be elected at and by the Annual Congress, to be held on Easter Monday. In the event of a vacancy on the Council, the Organisation affected shall fill same without delay.
5. No Organisation or Branch shall be entitled to representation on the Administrative Council whose subscription is more than one quarter in arrear.
6. The Administrative Council shall meet once a month at least, or at such other times as may be deemed advisable, and shall be competent to transact and decide all business within the meaning and scope of

1. John X. Merriman Papers, no. 258 of 1908. Judged by its contents this constitution was printed during the second half of 1908.

this Constitution, due notice of such business having been posted to each member of the Council by the Secretary, at least seven days before the meeting. Seven members of the Council shall form a quorum.

7. The finances of the Organisation shall be met by a minimum subscription of 3d. per quarter per member, according to the number of members of the Affiliated Societies, and shall be payable quarterly, in the months of January, April, July, and October: and by donations given unconditionally to the Party Fund.
8. The Political Policy and Programme of the Party shall be formulated and adopted at the Annual Congress, and shall be maintained by the Administrative Council, or until revised and amended by vote of the Affiliated Societies at which the matter shall have been duly discussed and decided.
9. All Candidates nominated under the auspices of the Party Organisation shall pledge themselves, if elected, to join the Parliamentary Group, and undertake to strictly abstain from identifying themselves with, or promoting the interests of, any Party antagonistic to those of the Labour Party, and to appear before their Constituents as Labour Candidates only. They must work and vote for such legislative measures as may be decided upon by the Party Organisation, or such other measures as may not be in conflict with the interests of Labour.
10. All Parliamentary Candidates shall have been active members of an affiliated Society for at least twelve months prior to nomination.
11. All Candidates promoted and Representatives returned under the auspices of the Natal Labour Party shall receive such financial support as the Administrative Council may decide.
12. All Candidates shall first be nominated by a Society or Organisation affiliated to the Natal Labour Party, and the final selection shall be made by the Administrative Council.
13. No member of the Natal Labour Party shall accept office in any Ministry without the consent of the Administrative Council.

Parliamentary Group

14. No Parliamentary Member of the Natal Labour Party shall act by himself, or independently of the Party Caucus, in any matter included in the Party Programme; but in matters outside the Political Programme, which may not be in conflict with the Party Programme, Members shall be free to exercise their own judgment with regard to political action, except when the fate of a Government is involved, in which case the action of the Members shall be determined by Caucus.
15. No person shall be admitted as a Parliamentary Member of the "Natal Labour Party" UNLESS HE PLEDGES HIMSELF IN WRITING to the Political Programme of the Party.
16. The Parliamentary Group shall elect its own Leader,

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VIII. Constitution of the South
African Labour Party, 1909¹

This constitution was approved by the intercolonial labour conference, 2 to 3 January 1909, and adopted by the following conference, 9 to 11 October 1909, after several amendments had been passed. The known amendments are included in square brackets below.

The original poor grammar is retained. Note also that the third annual conference of the S.A.L.P., held in January 1912, adopted an extensively revised and re-written constitution.

Name

The name of the organisation shall be "The South African Independent Labour Party", ["The South African Labour Party"] and the registered office shall be at such place as the party may hereafter determine by ballot of the members of the affiliated branches.

Object

To secure the full reward for their industry to all producers by the collective ownership of monopolies, and the extension of the industrial and economic functions of the State and Municipality. [The Socialisation of the Means of Production, Distribution and Exchange, to be controlled by a democratic State in the interests of the entire community.]

Methods

By united action to secure the election to all legislative bodies of candidates, to form or join a distinct group of members, with its own whips and own policy on labour questions; to abstain strictly from identifying themselves with, or promoting, the interests of any other political section or party. Such candidates to pledge themselves to accept this Constitution and the platform of the party, as adopted at this or future conferences; to abide by the decisions of the group in carrying out the aims and objects of the Constitution, and to appear before their constituencies under the title of labour candidates [party candidates] only.

Membership

Membership of the party shall be open to South African trade unions, bona fide labour organisations or their

1. Natal Mercury, 5 January 1909, p. 6, for the constitution; Voice of Labour, 23 & 30 October and 6 Novem-

branches, Socialists, and co-operative societies, and to those persons of either sex who endorse the objects and methods of the party, and are accepted by the particular branch they desire to join. Persons who desire to join the party, but who find it inconvenient by reason of distance, or any other reason, to attach themselves to an existing branch, shall pay their subscriptions direct to headquarters, and be entered on a roll of unattached members. Any person expelled from membership of the party shall not be eligible for membership elsewhere, without having first submitted his or her case for adjudication of the Administrative Council.

Management

The party shall be governed by an annual conference, who shall be the premier authority, and to whom all final appeals shall be made. The annual conference shall be constituted as follows: The Chairman, two vice-chairmen of the Administrative Council, the general treasurer, and the general secretary (all of whom shall have served during the term or portion of the term preceding), and delegates appointed by each branch in the proportion of one delegate for each 100 or portion of 100, fully paid-up members on the branch's membership roll, and one delegate for each affiliated South African trade union or trades council. All delegates must be appointed directly by the members of the branch, and must be furnished with proper credentials, signed by the president and secretary of their respective branches. All proposals to add to, or take from, the Constitution, platform or pledge of the party, shall be in the hands of the general secretary at least two months prior to the Annual Conference, and shall be forwarded by him to all branches at least one month prior to the annual conference. Proposed alterations carried by a majority of the whole of the delegates attending conference shall at once come into force. The names of delegates to all conferences must be in the hands of the general secretary at least three days prior to conference meeting.

Special Conferences

A special conference shall always be called six months prior to a general parliamentary election, for the purpose of finally selecting candidates, and determining the policy of the party at such election. Other special conferences may be called by a requisition signed by two-thirds of the whole of the members of the Administrative Council, or by one-third of the branches of the party. Delegates to special conferences shall be elected on the same basis and conditions as those to the annual conference.

Administrative Council

The party shall be managed and controlled between conferences by a Chairman, two vice-chairmen, general treasurer and general secretary, who shall be elected at each annual conference, and one member elected by each branch of the party, the first five named to constitute the Executive Council.

Branches shall elect their own representatives to serve upon the Administrative Council, either from among their own members or from those of the branch at which headquarters are situated. In the event of a branch neglecting to supply representatives six weeks after vacancy has occurred, the Administrative Council shall be em-

members of any other branch until such vacancy has been filled.

The Administrative Council shall meet at least once a month, the majority of its members to form a quorum, except in the case of the selection of candidates, when two-thirds of the members shall be required to form a quorum. Should the Administrative Council fail to meet at any time for a period of three months, it shall, ipso facto, cease to exist. Any member of the Administrative Council absent from three consecutive meetings without sending an acceptable excuse in writing shall be ineligible to again attend, and his seat shall be declared vacant by the president without further reference.

The duties of the Administrative Council shall be: To exercise a determining voice in the selection of candidates for legislative bodies, and, where no branch exists, to choose candidates where necessary. To raise and disburse funds for general and by-elections; and for the other objects of the party. To deal with such matters of local dispute between branches and members, which may be referred to its decision by the parties interested. To appoint and exercise a supervising control over the work of the general secretary and officials. To appoint organisers and lecturers when convenient, and to direct and superintend their work. To supply for use of branches uniform books, membership cards, and the various forms provided for under this Constitution. To present to the annual conference a report of the previous year's work and progress of the party. To prepare the conference agenda paper. To appoint sub-committees to deal with special branches of its work. The Administrative Council shall not initiate any new departure or policy without first obtaining the sanction of the majority of the branches of the party.

Matters arising between conferences, not provided for in this Constitution shall be dealt with by the Administrative Council. The Administrative Council may, by a majority of the members sitting, give instruction to the general secretary, after hearing the branch implicated in explanation, to declare that any such branch has ceased to exist for disloyalty to the platform, or disobedience to the Administrative Council, and may authorise the establishment of a new branch.

Executive Council

The duties of the Executive Council shall be: To render advice to branches seeking same between meetings of the Administrative Council. To decide matters of urgency, when it is found impossible to summon a meeting of the whole Administrative Council. To carry out instructions of the Administrative Council and Annual Conferences. Any vacancy occurring upon the Executive Council between Conferences shall be filled by the Administrative Council.

Subscriptions

Subscriptions to the party shall be on the following basis. Branches shall pay to the headquarters not less than 6d. per quarter for every member on their membership roll. South African trade unions, when a majority of their branches are already affiliated to the party, and Trades Councils, may affiliate on the payment of £5 per annum, payable in advance. Members joining the unattached branch shall pay not less than 5s. per annum, payable in advance.

Funds

The funds of the party shall be applied solely to carrying out the objects of the party. All moneys belonging to the party shall be vested in three trustees, appointed by the Administrative Council from their number, any of whom, together with the general secretary, may sign cheques. The Administrative Council shall submit an annual report and audited balance-sheet to the annual Conference. Contributions from other sources to the party's funds shall only be accepted unconditionally, and providing payments are made direct to the Administrative Council. No individual member, unless properly authorised, shall accept moneys for the purposes of the party. Any surplus of funds remaining after paying administration and other expenses, shall be credited to a Labour Representation Fund, which shall be solely used for the purpose of assisting the party's candidates in any district where no branch exists, or where branches require assistance in returning a candidate in their district. It shall, however, be fully understood that each branch is expected to pay the full expenses of candidates put forward by them, and the assistance mentioned in the previous clause shall only be given at the option of the Administrative Council, when funds are available.

Branches

Subject to the General Constitution, each branch shall be perfectly autonomous. Branches of the party may form municipal, ward, district, electoral, or propaganda Committees within their respective areas. They shall have complete control of the balance of income derived after paying the Administrative Council subscription. The party will not be responsible for any debts contracted by branches, either in their own name, or in the name of the party, unless such expenditure has previously been approved by the annual Conference, or Administrative Council. No branch shall take any action which affects prejudicially the position or prospects of any candidate, without first laying the case before the Administrative Council. Before running candidates, branches must satisfy the Administrative Council that they are able to raise the election expenses, in the event of the party not having sufficient funds.

Standing Orders

The following shall be the standing orders and rules of procedure at the annual, or special, Conferences, and at meetings of the Administrative Council:-

Order of procedure:-

1. Examination of credentials.
2. The names of delegates to be called over, and responded to.
3. Proceed with the business, according to the agenda paper.

Standing orders:-

1. Each speaker shall stand up and address the chair.
2. The privilege of speaking on any subject shall belong to him, who first rises to address the chair.

on any subject, nor longer than ten minutes, unless allowed by the meeting, the mover of the resolution having the privilege of replying after all who wish to have spoken.

4. All questions to be decided by a majority of votes, which in urgent or important cases, and whenever demanded, shall be by ballot. The chairman to have a deliberative vote only, and, in the event of an equality of votes, the question shall lapse, and those present at once proceed to the next business.
- [5] All votes shall be counted by the chairman, but in the case of a ballot scrutineers shall be appointed. No delegate or member to leave the meeting without the consent of the chairman.
- [6] A motion once carried shall not be again debated or rescinded unless a motion has been carried ordering a meeting for that purpose, and a majority of members then present shall be required to rescind any former resolution.
- [7] The secretary shall read the names of any newly-elected delegates immediately after the chair has been taken. No member shall be nominated for any office unless his, or her, consent, in writing, be previously obtained. All elections shall be by ballot, and an absolute majority of the votes cast must be obtained by the successful candidate.
- [8] Any delegate disobeying the chairman, by refusing to comply with the foregoing resolutions, or in case of deliberate misconduct, on a vote being taken against him, to be requested to withdraw from the meeting. Any questions which may arise not provided for in the foregoing standing orders shall be decided by the chairman, whose decision shall be final.

General Rules

Selection of Candidates

In the selection of candidates for any election, and in conducting the same, branches shall have full powers, subject to the veto of the Administrative Council. Candidates must have been members of the party for the 12 months previous to selection, provided that, where a branch has not been in existence 12 months, the Administrative Council may suspend this clause, to suit the circumstances. Candidates shall be permitted to defend themselves against any charge of unfitness for the position. Candidates for selection must be nominated upon the official forms supplied by the Administrative Council.

The Administrative Council shall have power to recommend the withdrawal of any candidate whose past career renders him, or her, in their opinion, unworthy of confidence, provided that such candidate has first had an opportunity of defending himself, or herself.

Selection of candidates for legislative bodies, in the event of more than one nomination being received, shall be by ballot, at a special meeting, duly called by a notification being posted to each branch member seven days prior to such meeting. All nominations must be in the hands of the branch secretary three clear days prior to the meeting.

In the case of electorates of more than one branch, the ballot papers shall be collected by scrutineers, sealed, and forwarded to the Administrative Council, within seven days. The Administrative Council shall depute two of their number to conduct a count, and make the result known. The ballot papers shall be kept for, at least, one month after the count has taken place.

The names of all candidates selected by branches must be forwarded to the Administrative Council for approval, or otherwise. Any member who is nominated as a candidate shall be disqualified from taking any part in, or in assisting in any way in connection with, the taking of the ballot, or count, but shall have the ordinary membership right to vote.

Pledge

All candidates put forward by branches or by the party shall sign the following pledge, immediately after nomination by the members:-

"I hereby solemnly pledge myself that, if elected to a seat upon the, I will do my utmost to carry out the principles and policy of the S.A.I.L.P. [S.A.L.P.], as contained in the party's constitution and platform, and on all questions affecting the party to vote as a majority of the party's representatives in caucus assembled may decide (it being permissible for any member of the caucus to take the initiative in calling a caucus). In the event of circumstances arising affecting the interests of Labour, and no caucus being possible, the chairman of the group of representatives may call upon members elected under this pledge to vote solidly in one direction or the other. I further pledge myself, in the event of my not being elected by the members of the party to contest the seat, not to oppose in any way the candidate selected, and further, to appear before the constituents as a Labour candidate only. I also pledge myself to duly appear before, and consult with, the Administrative Council whenever called upon to do so, and also to obey any directions given by that body as to voting upon questions which affect Labour interests. [I also pledge myself to consult with the Administrative Council whenever called upon to do so and obey any directions given by Annual Conferences]. I give this pledge on the distinct understanding that on all minor matters I am left unbound - by minor questions being meant questions for which a caucus has not been deemed necessary, and no instructions have been issued by the Chairman of the Parliamentary group, or the Conference of the party."

[No member of the party shall enter into any alliance, or grant or promise to any person immunity from opposition at any time.

No member of the Parliamentary Labour Party shall accept a portfolio in any Ministry which does not consist of a majority of endorsed Labour members.]¹

1. The intercolonial labour conference, October 1909, added these two clauses to the pledge.

IX. Constitution of the Durban District

Committee of the S.A.L.P., 1910¹

1. The name of this organisation shall be "The Durban District Committee of the South African Labour Party," and shall be composed of delegates from the Branches formed within the District elected on the basis of one delegate for each 50 members, or portion thereof.
2. The objects of the Committee shall be to administer the affairs of the Party in the District, to adjudicate upon matters affecting two or more Branches in the district, to cause a ballot of the branches to be taken in the event of more than one candidate being nominated for any Parliamentary or administrative body, subject to the final approval of the Administrative Council of the Party or a Conference, and generally to carry out the objects defined in the Constitution of the Party by the methods therein stated.
3. The District Committee shall meet at least once a month.
4. The management of the Committee shall be carried on between meetings by a Chairman, Vice-chairman, Secretary, and Treasurer. An election of officers shall be held every six months, and any vacancies that occur shall be filled at the next regular meeting of the Committee.
5. The subscription to the Committee shall be 6d. per quarter and shall be used for hiring meeting places, administration, and for the purposes of the better organisation of the District.
6. Meetings shall be conducted in accordance with the Standing Orders laid down in the Constitution of the Party. The Chairman's decision on all points of order shall be final.

X. Bye-Laws of the City and Suburban-Marshalls

Branch of the S.A.L.P., Adopted December 1909²

Name

The name of this Organisation shall be the City and Suburban-Marshalls Branch of the South African Labour Party, and its object to carry out the object defined in the Constitution of that Party by the methods therein defined.

Membership

Membership of the Branch shall be open to persons of either sex who endorse the methods and objects of the

1. Minutebook of the Durban District Committee of the S.A.L.P., p. [241], Trembath Papers.
2. Ibid.

APPENDIX A, X

Party, after approval by the members of the Branch in General Meeting.

Meetings

This Branch shall hold its meetings not less than once a month in the Trades Hall, on a date to be arranged by the Committee.

Management

The management of the Branch shall be carried on by a Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Treasurer, Secretary, and nine Members of the Branch, with power to add to their number, who shall be called the Committee. This Branch hereby appoints to be their first Committee, to hold office for six months from date and carry on the business of the Branch between General Meetings. Election of officers shall be held every six months, and any vacancies that occur in the meantime shall be filled at the next regular meeting of the Branch. Any member absenting himself from three consecutive meetings of the Committee without reasonable excuse shall forfeit his seat.

Subscriptions

Subscriptions to the Branch shall be not less than 1/- per month, payable in advance, of which sum not less than 6d. per member per Quarter shall be forwarded to the Administrative Council of the South African Labour Party. Members of Trade Unions or other Labour organisations already affiliated to the Party who desire to attach themselves to this Branch may do so upon payment of the sum of 10/- per year, payable in quarterly instalments in advance.

Funds

The funds of the Branch when they have reached the sum of £10 shall be banked in an approved bank, and shall be operated upon by the signatures of the Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer, acting on the instructions of the Branch. Any surplus of funds remaining after the payment of 6d. per quarter per member to the Administrative Council shall be devoted to furthering the interests of the Branch and rendering financial assistance to candidates put forward by the Party.

General Rules

All Meetings of the Branch shall be conducted in accordance with ordinary usages and the Standing orders laid down in the Constitution of the Party. The Chairman's decision on all points of order shall be final. Except at the inaugural meeting, no person shall be allowed to propose a resolution or vote upon any question until he has been a member of the Branch for at least one month. Only members of the Branch shall be allowed to participate in the business of the Branch. Visitors, however, may be permitted to be present and take part in any debates or lectures organised under the auspices of the Branch if introduced by a Member.

Every member of the Branch upon joining shall sign his name and address in a book to which a copy of the Constitution and Platform of the Party, as also a copy of the Bye-Laws of the Branch has been attached.

for final selection to the Administrative Council of the Party, shall be in accordance with the General Rules of the Party.

The Branch shall, as soon as possible after formation, affiliate to the District Committee of the Party for the District should one be in existence, for the better organisation of the Party, and pay from its general funds such sums as may be due to such Committee.

APPENDIX B

PROGRAMMES, MANIFESTOS, CIRCULARS, POLICIES AND OBJECTS

I. Cape Colony1. W.T. Hammond's Reply to the Requisition, July 1898,
Asking Him to Stand for the Legislative Assembly as the
Labour Candidate for the Port Elizabeth Constituency¹

I thank you for the high honour of your invitation to be nominated in the cause of true Progress and Labour, as a candidate at the forthcoming Election for the Legislative Assembly.

It is the people who have spoken and I dare not refuse so clear an indication of duty, therefore I have pleasure in accepting the invitation.

My views are well known, but I mention that I am in favour of Re-distribution, Cheap Food, an Anti-Contract Labour Law, an Anti-Convict Labour Law, the admission of raw materials Duty Free, and careful fostering of Colonial Manufactures, the Innes Liquor Bill, an Excise, a Government Audit of Municipal Accounts, Local Government Reform, an Employers' Liability Act, the interest of our local Fishing Industry being looked after, a thorough Reform in the conditions of employment of the Railway Department and Customs, a substantial Revenue being obtained from Diamonds, Fiscal Reform, a Customs Union on an equitable basis, but, my especial duty would be to voice the desires, demands and grievances of Labour, and to make certain that the voice of the real wealth produce[r]s, will be heard in Parliament.

The Commercial Interests of Port Elizabeth would of course always have my most careful attention.

Imperial growth is to me always a source of pride. The triumph of a true civilisation must be for ever an evidence of Imperial mission.

2. The Cape Town Political Labour League's Programme, 1904²

Amendment of the electoral law, so that a Parliamentary candidate shall contribute nothing towards the Returning Officers' expenses.

1. Looker-On, 22.7.1898, p. 9.

2. S.A. News, 30.1.1904, p. 10. Although the programme is not specifically referred to as that of the P.L.L., there

£300 a year to members of Parliament.

Employers' Liability and Workmen's Compensation. All boilers and engines to be under Government supervision. State to issue certificate of competency.

Compulsory arbitration in industrial disputes.

Restriction of Asiatic immigration.

Free and compulsory primary education without regard to race or colour.

Progressive income tax, with exemptions up to £350 a year.

"Fair Wage" clause in all Government contracts.

Voters' qualification to be reduced to £25.

Disqualification of directors of private corporations for office as Ministers of the Crown.

Equal political rights for all civilised men.

Old-age pensions.

Equal rights for promotion of coloured citizens in the Government service, according to merit.

Technical education without regard to race or colour.

Amendment of the Diamond Trades Act.

Amendment of the Masters' and Servants' Act.

Amendment of the registration law so that a duly qualified elector may become registered as a voter at any time.

Excise duty on alcoholic liquors.

Workshops and Factories Act.

State regulation of trusts and combines.

To facilitate bona-fide settlement and prevent aggregation of large estates.

Opposition to State-aided immigration.

3. The Cape Town Social Democratic Federation's Fighting Platform, 1904¹

1. A Conciliation and Arbitration Act to establish a tribunal on which labour and capital shall be equally represented, before which both sides of every labour dispute can be heard, and by which a minimum wage will be fixed for each division of labour. This will mean the abolition of sweating and tyranny in such times of

1. S.A. News, 28.5.1904, p. 4. The platform is given as explained by a member of the Cape Town S.D.F.

depression as the present.

2. State old-age pensions and adequate provision for all widows, orphans, sick and disabled workers. This should remove one of the greatest reproaches - that of heartlessness, selfishness and callous indifference to the sufferings of the poor - from our boasted civilisation.
3. Free and secular primary and secondary education, and State maintenance where necessary.
4. State control of the liquor traffic.
5. The abolition of indirect taxation; and the gradual transference of all public burdens to unearned increments, with a view to their ultimate extinction.
6. Municipalisation of public works.

4. Municipal Platform Drafted by the Joint Meeting of the Cape Town Trades and Labour Council and the Social Democratic Federation, 26 August 1905¹

A fair wage clause to be inserted in all municipal contracts; municipal inspection of scaffolding; erection by the municipality of houses for the working classes; all municipal work being done departmentally; all general meetings of the Council being held in the evening.

5. The Labour Advance Party's Programme, October 1905²

Whereas our necessities are such as to call for the active co-operation of all citizens having the welfare of South Africa at heart, and believing as we do that the existing political parties do not adequately represent the workers: Therefore be it resolved that we organize ourselves into an association to be known as the "Labour Advance Party", quite independent of and in no way connected with any other party, for the purpose of obtaining as speedily as possible a Co-operative Commonwealth through public education, and by legislative enactment, and the the following means be adopted for the attainment of that end, namely:-

In Affairs National

1. A federated South Africa on a Government basis, of the people, for the people, and by the people.
2. Adult suffrage for all civilised British-born or naturalised persons.
3. One qualified person one vote in all elections.
4. Recognition of the "initiative" and "referendum" as

1. S.A. News, 29.8.1905, p. 8.

2. The Owl, 6 October 1905, p. 26. This programme was approved in Cape Town on 15 October - S.A. News,

inherent rights of the people.

5. Universal education - free, secular, compulsory and technical.
6. The establishment and maintenance of a State Bank, and national insurance.
7. The establishment and maintenance of agricultural and industrial colonies, where the unemployed may be able to obtain work as a right.
8. No more alienation of public lands or mining privileges, and the repeal of the "I.D.B."
9. No contracts for public work to be sent out of the country that can be produced by workers within it, and the prohibition of all imported contract labour.
10. Pensions for all aged and invalid citizens.
11. Nationalisation of the liquor traffic, all profits accruing therefrom to be devoted to the Old-age Pension Fund.
12. Reform in the administration of jails and asylums, and free hospitals supported by the state.
13. Cessation of foreign borrowing and repayment of existing loans as speedily as possible.
14. A graduated land-tax and a tax on all private and company-promoted mineral productions, and an increase of death duties.

In Affairs Municipal

1. Abolition of plural voting.
2. Municipal ownership and control of all street trams and tramways.
3. Municipal ownership and control of all lighting and water supply.
4. Municipal inspection of all buildings under construction, and all factories and workshops.
5. Municipal provision for the housing of workers.
6. Establishment of a Public Works Department, for the execution of all municipal work.
7. Levying of a death duty on the municipal real estate owned by persons at the time of their decease.
8. No further alienation of lands held by the municipality.

Note that this programme formed the basis of the platform adopted on 8 February, 1907 by the Cape Town Labour Representation Committee. Points 13 of "Affairs National" and 7 of "Affairs Municipal" were, however, excluded and the following clauses added:

food to be supplied to children at school by the State.

Taxation of all unimproved lands with the Government's right of compulsory purchase at valuation.

Graduated tax on all dividends.

The recognition of the eight-hours' day and a maximum of 44 hours a week.

The fair wage clause in all Government contracts.

A Factory and Workshops Act, and Shop Assistants Act, and the appointment of Wages Boards.

Recognition of the right of combination and all political rights to all workers, including civil servants.

The amendment of the Mining Laws: that royalties be imposed, that no further minerals be alienated from the Government, and that an export tax be placed on uncut diamonds, with a view to the ultimate nationalisation of the mining industry.

All meetings of the Municipal Council to be held in the evening after working hours.

Municipal insurance.

6. The Cape Town Labour Party's

Fighting Platform, October 1907¹

1. An Act to declare that a legal day's work shall not be more than eight hours, with a weekly half-holiday for workers.
2. The protection and development of all Colonial industries, with protection for all workers engaged therein by means of a Factories and Workshops Act with provision for Wages Boards.
3. Licensing reform. Prohibition to the aboriginal natives. All other licensing questions to be decided locally by the people at the ballot-box.
4. An Act to recognise the right of combination with full political rights to all workers, including Government servants.
5. Free, compulsory and technical education from the primary school to the University.
6. Prohibition of all imported contract labour, except such experts as may be required to initiate new industries.
7. Graduated tax on all dividends, and an export duty on all uncut diamonds and unwrought minerals.
8. A Truck Act to prevent deductions from workers' wages

1. As adopted by a meeting in Cape Town on 17 October of delegates of the Trades and Labour Council, the L.R.C. and other labour bodies and as published in S.A. News, 30.10.1907, p. 6. Note the similarity with the pre-

for supplies by employers.

9. The establishment of a Portfolio of Labour and a Board of Trade.

7. Political Manifesto of the Cape Town

Social Democratic Federation, 1907¹

1. That the name be "The Socialist Party."
2. The objective shall be the socialisation of all the means of production, distribution, and exchange - i.e., the ownership and control of all these means by the people and for the people.
3. Methods to achieve the objective:
 - (a) By the education of the people in the principles of Socialism;
 - (b) by the independent representation of Socialism on all elective bodies.

PROGRAMME

Representation

Universal adult suffrage with full political rights and privileges for men and women; proportional representation; second ballot; triennial Parliaments; initiative and referendum.

Financial

Cessation of public borrowing and repayment of existing loans as speedily as possible; national expenditure to be regulated by revenue; the establishment of State bank; the nationalisation of the banking and insurance systems; accumulative income tax on all incomes over £500 per annum; graduated tax on all land with a view to acquisition by the State; taxation of all private and company-promoted mineral productions; increases of death duties.

Educational

Free, secular, primary, secondary, and University education, with all necessary requisites provided by the State; the age of compulsory school attendance to be raised to 16 years.

Public Monopolies and Services

Nationalisation of all mines; nationalisation of all railways, docks, and public means of transit; public ownership and control of the food and coal supply; public ownership and control of all hospitals and dispensaries.

Labour

The enactment of a Right-to-Work Bill, in order to provide

1. S.A. News, 1.10.1907, p. 6.

all persons with suitable employment, at a statutory minimum wage; six hours to be a maximum working day for all workers.

II. Natal

1. Programme of J.F. King and J.F. Ferguson, Labour Candidates for the Durban Borough Legislative Assembly Elections, August 1893¹

Indian Immigration

We object to the Government introduction of Coolie Labour, and will advocate and vote for the repeal of all existing Laws relating to the same.

Native Question

The adoption of the foregoing will necessitate immediate measures being taken to ensure a reliable supply of Native Labour. To effect this the Native Laws require to be reformed, so as to bring them more in unison with European ideas.

European Immigration

Government assisted European Immigration should be abolished.

Education

The present system being costly and cumbersome, we consider that it should be remodelled, with the object of cheapening Elementary Education; and, further, that all State aid for the Technical Training of Natives in skilled trades should be done away with.

Free Trade

We are in favour of the further adoption of the principle of Free Trade.

Land Question

We are in favour of a tax being levied upon all land not beneficially occupied.

Harbour Works

In the interests of the Colony, we think that the affairs of the Harbour should receive prompt attention, with the object of putting an end to the present deadlock, and that in future, if the Board exists, it should be elective.

Railways

Our rightful share of the interior trade of South Africa is dependent on the advancement of our Railways, and no

1. Natal Mercury, 30.8.1893, p. 2.

stone should be left unturned to effect so reasonable a consummation. We would support, by all means in our power, any measures having this end in view. We are in favour of laying down Railways to open up our agricultural districts.

Defence

Under the new form of Government we must largely depend upon our Volunteer Force, the efficiency of which must be increased, and the force made popular.

General

The political disabilities place upon Government employees should be removed.

We are in favour of legislation on the following subjects:-

An Employers' Liability Act, so as to afford protection to employees.

The legal recognition of Trades Unions.

A small Debts Act similar to the English County Court System.

A re-distribution of Seats, and equal Electoral Districts.

2. Programme of the Durban Trades Council, 1897¹

1. Government Contracts

- (a) That for all Government contracts, where skilled or mechanical labour is required, tenders to be called for, in the first instance, in the newspapers of the Colony.
- (b) That for each trade separate tenders be called for.
- (c) That, where possible, all contracts for Government work shall be executed in the Colony.
- (d) That in all Government contracts a clause be inserted that the ruling rate of wages in the district where the work is done shall be paid to all artisans engaged on such work.
- (e) That no sub-letting of contracts be allowed.

2. That it is desirable that a Trade Union Act be passed in the next Session of Parliament for the purpose of legalising such Unions, and also for the protection of the members.
3. That the Employers' Liability Bill be amended up-to-date on the same footing as the English Bill.
4. That all steam boilers in the Colony be registered and be periodically inspected by a qualified Government

1. Natal Mercury, 23.7.1897, p. 5.

Inspector, and that all engine men in charge of such boilers or steam engines shall pass an examination and obtain a Government certificate showing that they are qualified to take charge of such.

3. C.H. Haggar's Platform for the Durban

Borough By-Election, 16 December 1899¹

I have been asked to voice the thought of the Natal Progressive League, and therefore the great movement represented by them, by becoming a candidate for the vacant seat in the Legislative Assembly of Natal - not as the opponent of any man, nor as the result of any split, but as the representative of a great and all important cause. My name was first mentioned, and it was only on account of misrepresentation that my name was last before the public. I am no novice at political or municipal questions, but I did not ask to be chosen, nor do I now wish to learn or to win at the expense of true Democracy. At the same time I am willing to serve the country to the full extent of ability and opportunity. For Ten Years immediately preceding my residence in Natal, I was actively engaged in the Political and Municipal life of the most important constituency (outside the capital) in Queensland, and was in daily contact with the Financial, Industrial, and Social Questions, similar to those which are in theory, and should be in fact, foremost in Natal to-day. The thought crystallised in the Progressive League is the only thought which has been able to either grasp or satisfactorily solve the Political and Municipal Questions of the hour. At all times I have been an unflinching and loyal supporter and advocate of such principles, and claim that such a body is a lineal and moral descendant of the men who won all that is greatest and best in the British Constitution.

The Following are some of the positions I am prepared to assume and defend:

1. Federation of South Africa under the Imperial Power; and the integrity of the Empire.
2. Redistribution of Seats at the earliest opportunity, on a basis of White population, and not on a basis of acreage.
3. One Man One Vote. All elections to be held the same day throughout the Colony. Manhood Suffrage conditional upon bona fide residence only. An Elector to have the right to record his vote at the nearest Courthouse, should he be absent from his home at the time of election.
4. Abolition of All Import Duties Upon the Necessaries of Life, in accordance with the recognised principles of Free Trade.
5. Absolute Prohibition of Further Indian Immigration to this Colony; compulsory return of all time expired

1. Natal Mercury, 27.11.1899, p. 2, advertisement.

Indians who have now acquired Domicile in Natal. Coolie Locations. The early resumption of all lands alienated or sold to Indians or other Asiatics (at a valuation).

6. Development of Native Labour.
7. The encouragement of white settlement upon the lands of the Colony, and the promotion of all possible native industries, by means of Government loans if necessary.
8. Taxation of Land Values, and immediate equitable taxation of absentee landlords. A State Bank, an Agricultural College, and an Experimental Farm.
9. Such payment of Members of Parliament as shall enable Electors, if they so wish, to be represented in the Assembly by the poorest man.
10. Increased Educational Facilities so as to enable the people to acquire First Class Technical Education at a nominal cost. An Examining University of Natal.
11. Government Cold Storage available to all; the appointment of a Railway Board; provision that no government Contract shall be sublet under current rate of wage; adequate Government Inspection of Mines, Boilers, Machinery.
12. Unqualified Support to all Temperance and Social Reforms.
13. In Municipal Matters I should strongly urge the provision of Free Trains for School Children; the immediate abolition of the present Shilling Ticket and the substitution of Stage Tickets. No further Sale of Municipal lands.

4. The Durban Trades Council's Platform,

Durban Borough Election, 27 September 1901 ¹

1. More equitable distribution of political power on the basis of white population;
2. one man, one vote;
3. establishment of a state bank of issue;
4. tax on unimproved land values;
5. educational reform;
6. minimum wage for white adult labour at 8s per day;
7. Government work that can be executed locally to remain in the Colony, and not sent abroad;
8. Simultaneous voting throughout the Colony;

1. Natal Mercury Weekly Edition, 13.9.1901, p. 23.

9. residential qualification for the franchise, as applying to lodgers, reduced to 12 months.

5. The Natal Democratic League's Manifesto, November 1903¹

General Objects

- (a) Union of the white races.
- (b) Government of the people by the people for the people in the interests of the people.
- (c) A firm and just native policy, encouraging the development of the native on industrial lines.
- (d) South African Federation on a Democratic basis.

Specific Objects

- 1. Responsible Government, based upon white adult male and female suffrage, and direct reference of constitutional changes to the electorate.
- 2. The welcome of all white immigrants capable of becoming citizens.
- 3. Prohibition of the introduction of labour under contracts, except African and white labour possessing especial skill required in the Colony, and proper control of immigration affecting white labour from other lands.
- 4. The protection of those who may be persuaded and inveigled by employers and their agents to enter the Colony and compete at an unjust wage, viz.: under ruling rates recognised in the Colony.
- 5. One man, one vote, one value.
- 6. The qualification for the franchise in this Colony to be reduced to 12 months, with three months' registration, a Registration Court to sit every three months, continuous residence in the Colony to count for such qualification.
- 7. Direct taxation of the unimproved value of all lands and minerals.
- 8. No further sale of Government or Municipal lands, all lands to be leased in perpetuity, with re-valuation every 21 years.
- 9. All revenue to be derived from direct taxation.
- 10. Free, compulsory secular education; elementary, higher, and technical.
- 11. Factory and workshop legislation for all trades and occupations.
- 12. Old age pensions.

1. Natal Mercury, 24.11.1903, p. 11.

13. The establishment of coroner's courts.
14. Prohibition of Asiatic immigration.
15. Active propaganda by printing all necessary information to the public of the Old Country and other parts of the Empire.

6. Programme of the Pietermaritzburg General Workers' Political Association, Adopted on 24 June 1906¹

Political

One man one vote. Right of exercise of voting powers not to be limited to locality.

All elections to be on one day, and that day to be a Saturday, from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m.

Redistribution of political power to be on the basis of population.

The right of initiation and referendum.

Extension of the franchise to women, on same basis as male franchise.

Reduction of qualification of lodger franchise to six months' continuous residence in the Colony.

Full payment of Members of Parliament and election expenses.

Taxation

Abolition of all taxation on the necessaries of life.

The taxation of Land values.

Taxation of profits on the use of natural opportunities - such as mines, minerals and water rights.

Land Legislation

Resumption of all landed properties (at an equitable valuation) not beneficially occupied, and held for speculative purposes.

Labour Legislation

All skilled labour to receive the Union rate of wages.

The immediate restriction of and gradual abolition of Asiatic immigration.

The compulsory repatriation of all indentured Indians or Asiatic labourers.

Arbitration and Consolidation [? Conciliation] Courts.

Recognition of Unions by law.

Prohibition of the introduction of labour under Contract (except white labour possessing special skill required in

the Colony).

All government and municipal contracts to be paid the local Union rate of wages.

A minimum living wage for unskilled labour.

Abolition of Government service pensions, and the introduction of old age pensions.

Repeal of the Militia Law.

Specific Legislation

State Bank.

Prohibition of Rings dealing with the necessaries of life.

Free compulsory education - elementary and secular.
Technical Institution to be assisted by Government.

Free railway travelling for school children.

Elective Appeal Board.

7. The Natal Labour Representation

Committee's Programme in 1906

The programme before the general election in September was summarised in a daily newspaper as follows:- ¹

Electoral reform,
Redistribution on a population basis,
The recall of unfaithful representatives,

The abolition of the Poll tax,
No tax on the necessities of life,
Taxation of land values,
A graduated income tax,

A compulsory Arbitration Board for industrial disputes,
Strikes made illegal,
An Appeal Board,
A Workmen's Compensation Act,
Local Union wage rates for municipal and government contracts,

Free compulsory primary and technical education,

A definite native policy.

The official programme, dated 18 December 1906, was very similar: ²

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1. Natal Witness, 18.8.1906, p. 13. The writer is responsible for the lay-out.
 2. Natal Mercury, 1.1.1907, p. 3.

Parliamentary

1. Electoral Reform as to hours of Polling and Registration.
2. Re-distribution of Seats; one man, one vote, one value.
3. Payment of Members and Election Expenses.

Taxation

1. Abolition of the Poll Tax, and all taxation on the necessaries of life, where not producible in this country.
2. Taxation of Land Values.
3. Graduated Income Tax over a minimum of £250.

Industrial

1. The compulsory Repatriation of all Indian or Asiatic labourers.
2. Compulsory Arbitration Board.
3. Government and Municipal Contracts to be paid at the local Trade Union rate of wages.
4. A Workmen's Compensation Act.

Educational

1. Free Compulsory Education.
2. Free travelling for School Children on the Railway.

Native Policy

1. The immediate formation of a definite Native Policy.

8. The Natal Labour Party's Platform Adopted on 20 May 1907¹

Parliamentary

1. Electoral Reform:
 - (a) Hours of polling to be from 8 a.m. to 8 p.m.
 - (b) All elections to be on one day, that day to be a public holiday.
 - (c) All licensed premises to be closed during polling hours.
 - (d) Adult European suffrage.
2. Redistribution of Seats: One Man, One Vote, One Value.
3. Payment of all members.

Taxation

1.
 - (a) Abolition of the poll-tax.
 - (b) Abolition of taxation on the necessaries of life.
2. Taxation of land values.
3. Graduated and differentiated income-tax.
4. Death duties, progressive, with a minimum of 1 per cent. on £1 000.

1. Platform in Natal Mercury, 21.5.1907, p. 7, in conjunction with that in the Natal Labour Party Constitution

Industrial

1. (a) Immediate stoppage of indentured Asiatic labour.
(b) Compulsory repatriation of all indentured Asiatics in the Colony on the expiry of their indentures.
2. Fair-wage clause, based on local trade union rates, to be inserted in all Government and municipal contracts.
3. Arbitration and Conciliation Act, dealing with all industrial disputes.
4. Workmen's Compensation Act.
5. A Factory and Workshops Act.
6. A legal eight hour working day.
7. The establishment of a Department of Industry and Labour, with a responsible Minister thereto.

Educational

1. Free and compulsory secular education.
2. Free travelling for school children on the railways.

Land

1. No further alienation of Crown Lands.
2. All Lands to be held on Perpetual Lease.

Native Policy

1. The immediate formation of a definite Native Policy.

General Business

1. The establishment of State Insurance, State, Land, and Municipal Banks, with a special Department for Natives.
2. The establishment of a State trusteeship.
3. Old age pensions.

9. Reports of the Special Committee of the Natal Labour Party on the Free Asiatic Population and the Native Races, Adopted by the N.L.P.'s Congress of 7 June 1908¹

Free Asiatic Population

In formulating a definite policy dealing with the free Asiatic population of the Colony, your Committee are unable to lay down any general principles which would justify the party in seeking a solution of the free Asiatic question, which are not equally applicable to the European working class community of the Colony. In other

1. Natal Mercury, 8.6.1908, p. 6.

words, your Committee are unable to differentiate between the coloured or Asiatic workers, as to the best policy to be adopted in securing the just and equal rights of both the European and the free Asiatic workers of the Colony, but would recommend the party to agitate, educate, and work to promote the adoption of such legislation as will secure a minimum wage for all skilled and unskilled workers in the Colony. Further, the Committee would recommend the Congress to re-affirm the absolute necessity of the immediate and entire stoppage of all Asiatic immigration into the Colony, and to delete paragraph (b) industrial section of the programme, as being in conflict in some respects with (a) of the same section.

The Native Races

As the primary object of the Natal Labour Party is to protect and safeguard the interests and rights of the working-class population, and, as these will be best conserved and protected by a wise and just policy of protection of the rights of the native races, this Congress affirms that the policy, or course of conduct, of the Natal Labour Party towards the native races shall be:

- (a) To, as far as possible, conserve and protect the interests and rights of the native races, nationally, socially, politically and economically;
- (b) to encourage and support them in their efforts against the encroachments of all forms of exploitation;
- (c) to resist any limitation of their freedom of development from within;
- (d) to insist that they shall receive full and free educational facilities, compatible with their state of development.

III. Orange River Colony.

1. Programme of the Independent Labour

Party of the O.R.C., May 1907¹

- (a) A system of Free Secular Compulsory Education in both languages, English and Dutch, and free up to the sixth standard.
- (b) An Employers Liability and Workmen's Compensation Bill whereby contracting out of in respect of injuries received will be declared illegal.
- (c) Compulsory Arbitration in all labour and kindred disputes between employers and employees, and the appointment of Conciliation Boards for that purpose.
- (d) A legalised eight hours maximum working day for all tradesmen, labourers and shop assistants.

1. The Friend, 2.5.1907.

- (e) While advocating the assumption and control of the Railways of this Colony by its own Government, it is strongly advisable that the present arrangement between these two Colonies be maintained pending an enquiry by a commission to be appointed by Responsible Government.
- (f) A practical scheme of protection for the encouragement and establishment of local industries.
- (g) A graduated tax on all incomes over £300 per annum.
- (h) That a trade union rate of wages be paid on all Government and Municipal Contracts. In cases where a trade union rate does not apply, a fair wage shall be paid; and no piece-work, or convict labour, or skilled coloured labour allowed. All work to be completed in this Colony.
- (i) Liberty of speech and action to all daily paid Government and Railway Employees.
- (j) The appointment of a minister to protect the mining interest of the people.
- (k) The encouragement of scientific agriculture on a co-operative basis and the establishment of a department of agriculture with a competent minister to supervise and regulate the farming industry.
- (l) The following Reforms and Social Principles will receive the support of the Party: Old Age Pensions and Legislation for the control and proper supervision of Combines, Trusts and Monopolies.

IV. Transvaal

1. The Johannesburg and District Trades and Labour Council's Programme for the Johannesburg Sanitary Board Elections, December 1893¹

1. The insertion of a clause in all Sanitary Board contracts, binding the successful tenderer to pay the current rate of wages recognised by the trades in the districts.
2. The adoption of the Eight Hours' Day for all employees of the Sanitary Board, and those in the employ of contractors holding contracts from the Sanitary Board.
3. The recognition by the Sanitary Board of a minimum rate of wages for all white employees engaged by or doing work for the Sanitary Board, either departmentally or by contract, of not less than £4 per week.
4. The doing of all municipal work departmentally wherever

1. Standard & Diggers' News, 16.12.1893, p. 6.

practicable, instead of by contract.

5. The municipalisation of all such industries as the water supply, the gas supply, tramways, and such other undertakings as can be best managed by the Sanitary Board.
 6. The alteration of the hours of meeting for the Sanitary Board meetings, if so desired by petition of the ratepayers, to such hour in the evening as will enable ratepayers to be present at such meetings.
- [7.] The reduction of the qualification for municipal voting from £40 rental per annum to that of £20 per annum.

2. The International Independent Labour Party's

Appeal to the Workers and General Public of

the Witwatersrand and District, July 1899¹

If we would retain the Transvaal as a white man's country, and prevent the introduction of the compound system, which here, as in Kimberley, would throttle and eventually strangle and utterly suffocate the working and trading interests, then we must be up and doing. There is no time to lose, and if we delay or dally by the way, it will be too late. Already the enemy, that insatiable daughter of the horse leech, the Chamber of Mines backed up by its mercenary supporters, is on the war-path, and even now in the offices and headquarters of the large mining corporations the plans are being drafted and got out, which will in the end enslave us, unless we now by our united and determined and sustained efforts prevent that horrible state of affairs from taking place. To-day it is possible with the help of the Government to have such laws passed as will enable us to retain for all time, as the property of the State and for the benefit of ourselves and our children, the vast and yet unworked mineral wealth of the country. If by our negligence and apathy and our refusing to co-operate one with the other, and each with all, we allow this catastrophe to befall us, as it surely will unless we take steps to prevent it, then the Transvaal, with its vast resources for the providing of future comfort and plenty for the workers and citizens, will, as in England and the United States, pass into the hands of the capitalists of South Africa - the Jay Goulds and Rockefellers, and the country will be under the control of the huge trusts that will then reign supreme. It is a horrible and terrible thing to contemplate, and yet the danger is very real and very near. But it is because we know that it is in our own power to yet prevent it that we press the very urgency to our claims.

The situation at the present time, which has been caused entirely by the cursed greed and selfishness of the gigantic mining Corporations, has become almost unbearable. Men and women are leaving the country, and driven away by the panic artificially created by financial groups who wish to attain their diabolical aims, even at the cost of

1. Standard & Diggers' News, 7.7.1899, p. 7.

the lives and happiness of thousands. All business is paralysed, men are being thrown idle so as to make the situation more critical and the uncertainty more intense, in the hope that by these devilish means the desires of the mining magnates may be attained. There is only one way left, not only for the working class, but for the commercial and trading classes as well, and that is to join hands and hearts and heads together, and combine on a common platform recognised by the whole of those men and women who have the welfare and well-being of the Transvaal truly at heart. This will mean peace and happiness to all. We will never free ourselves from this uncertainty, or the possibility of its recurring, again and again, until we begin to think about how to manage our own affairs. Until we make up our own minds in real earnestness and sincerity, in mutual confidence and friendship, free from national prejudice or national or race hatred, bound together by one common interest - "The Common Good" - we cannot expect to have happiness and prosperity in our midst. We know full well what has brought about the present intolerable state of affairs. Not the fact that we do not possess certain political and electoral rights, but the fact that the non-possession of them has given groups of unscrupulous financiers, and disappointed speculators the opportunity of pressing forward their own despicable ends under cover and disguise of an assumed concern to redress our grievances. We know who are our friends and who are our enemies. Our friends are not in the ranks of those who, at an earlier date, tried to shackle us with an I.G.B. Law fit only for Kaffirs and convicts, the passing of which was only defeated by the workers doing then as we ask them to do now - to band themselves together into a party opposed to all such Acts becoming law. Our friends are not those who opposed the passing into Law of the Prohibition of Sunday Labour Bill, and who also opposed the Employers' Liability Act, which was drafted by the Government at the request of the workers for the better protection of their lives and personal safety. Had that measure not been opposed by the Chamber of Mines it would now have been a reality, and it would have been impossible for mine managers to intimidate mine workers into signing away their rights as citizens under the common law of this State. The memory of acts such as these never dies in the minds of those who desire to see right done. These things which have happened within the last few years back ought to be a lesson to us, ought to make us sink all petty differences of opinion, and unite to forward our common cause. All antagonistic feelings must die out. We must live them down, for they but serve to enable our enemies, by taking advantage of them and by rousing them within us, to obtain another shackle upon our limbs, another link upon the chains which bind us. We want to extend that fraternal feeling until out of the gutter and out of the depths of misery there shall be growing up a fuller humanity, a greater manhood and womanhood. We want to see and to help to bring about the time when we shall work together for the interest of our class, when the worker will know what is meant by comfort, and leisure and the pleasure which leisure brings. We wish to see our children reaping the fruits of our labours in an education which will mean the drawing out and development of all their faculties to the utmost, so that when their time to labour has arrived, that they shall work not with sheer brute strength only, but with the due exercise of their mental faculties as well. By all means let us separate ourselves from a class who use us as their tools to acquire wealth wherewith to further exploit and enslave our fellows. Let us never forget that in their hearts and minds, despite of all

or their paid agents are always dinning into our ears, these men despise us. Although it is an uphill fight let us not despair nor fritter away our time and opportunities of helping ourselves and our fellows. Let us do this now, and having done it, and having brought our organisation into the highest state of efficiency possible to attain, then we will be prepared to combat any action of our enemies that we may deem hurtful to the common good.

Finally, we ask of all those who read this manifesto and whose sympathies are with us, to send in their names at once, not to delay or put it off till to-morrow or the next day. Join hands with us now and share with us in the honour of having assisted to retain the Transvaal for the workers, and having wrested its welfare from out of the very clutches of those whose sole desire is to obtain control of its vast mineral wealth for the capitalist class, and to see the flag of a Bastard Jingoistic Imperialism float over this state.

All those in sympathy with the platform and programme of the International Independent Labour Party are urgently requested to support us in our efforts to retain the Transvaal for the workers, and to resist to the utmost the despicable attempt now being made to swamp the Boer Government in favour of a capitalist autocracy. Names of those anxious to join will be received by members of the Executive Committee, or the Secretary, Box 1965, Johannesburg, or to the office of the "Johannesburg Witness", 1, Raines' Buildings, Government Square.

3. Aims of the International

Independent Labour Party, August 1899¹

In the interest of the workers of the Witwatersrand and district, the Executive Committee of the I.I.L.P. desire to impress upon them and others not directly coming under that category, but whose interests are identical - shopkeepers and traders generally - the importance of organisation to maintain as high rates of wages as possible amongst all classes of workers, from the highest municipal officer to the man who sweeps out the office.

Where wages are highest, there will be the largest production, the most equitable distribution of wealth. There will invention be most active, and the brain best guide the hand. There will be the greatest comfort, the widest diffusion of knowledge, the purest morals, and the truest patriotism. The equitable distribution of wealth involves the abolition of all monopolies, the nationalisation of the land, and the municipalisation of all those works which are of their nature a public necessity, and which can be controlled and carried on by publicly elected bodies with greater economy than by private companies.

The I.I.L.P. desires to work for the common good of the people of all nations; it entirely disregards political inequality or religious disabilities. It desires to aim at the highest ideals of life by elevating the moral and intellectual standard of all its members. It will

¹ Standard & Diggers' News, 12.8.1899, p. 4.

Bill so as to prevent same on gold mines.

12. Federation of South Africa on a white population basis of manhood suffrage, a plebiscite vote to be taken of the whole white nation.
 13. Nationalisation or municipalisation of the liquor traffic.
 14. Free secular, compulsory, higher as well as elementary education.
 15. Compulsory arbitration in all labour disputes.
 16. A minimum wage for white and black labour.
 17. A Bill to encourage land settlement on the New Zealand principle and the encouragement of a strong farming community.
 18. Graduated Income-tax Bill, exempting all salaries under £300 per annum.
5. Programme of the National Democratic Federation, 1903¹

Advocates for South Africa

1. Union of the white races.
2. Government of the people, by the people, for the people.
3. A firm and just native policy, encouraging the development of the native on industrial lines.
4. Federation on a democratic basis.

Advocates for the Transvaal

1. Responsible Government based on white adult suffrage and direct reference of constitutional changes to the electorate.
2. The welcome of all white emigrants capable of becoming citizens.
3. Prohibition of the introduction of labour under contract, except African labour and white labour possessing special skill required in the country.
4. Prohibition of Asiatic Immigration.
5. Direct taxation of the unimproved value of all land and minerals.
6. Remission of indirect taxation.
7. Assisting the Home public to gain a better knowledge of South Africa.

1. S.A. News, 5.9.1903, p. 12, "Labour Notes".

6. Programme of the Johannesburg

Social Democratic Organisation, 1904¹

Nationalisation of the land; nationalisation of the mines; and the Socialisation of all the means of production, distribution, and exchange.

A legal restriction of the hours of labour to eight per day; trade union wages in all Government and Municipal work; an efficient employers' liability law; to provide work for the unemployed; prohibition of employment of children under 17 years of age; prohibition of contract labour.

Adult suffrage; election days to be holidays and treated legally as Sundays; referendum on all important questions.

Graduated tax on incomes of over £500 per annum.

7. Municipal Platform of the Witwatersrand

Trades and Labour Council, September 1904²

1. Initiative by which 5 percent. of qualified voters may on petition demand a referendum on any or every proposition submitted by such proportion of qualified voters.
2. The basis of municipal taxation to be assessed on the unimproved value of land.
3. The municipal control of lighting, water, tramways, sewerage and markets, and other public services.
4. Creation of municipal baths and wash-houses, and free public libraries.
5. Eight hours' day, with trade union minimum wage for municipal employees.
6. Direct employment of white labour wherever possible.
7. Election of Mayor by the ratepayers.
8. All municipal meetings to be held at night.
9. Payment of members.
10. Strict enforcement of the Weights and Measures Regulation.
11. Retention and extension of open spaces, with due provision for Town Hall.
12. The qualification for municipal suffrage to be residential.

1. Star, 22.2.1904, p. 8. For easier reference the writer has slightly rearranged the order of some of the demands.

2. S A News, 24.9.1904, p. 3, "Labour Notes".

8. Object, Methods and Programme of
the Transvaal Labour Party, November 1904¹

Object

The Socialization of the Means of Production, Distribution and Exchange.

Methods

- (a) The Political, Economic and Industrial Education and Organisation of all workers and
- (b) The election of Representatives of our views and objects to all elective bodies.

Programme

1. Land

- (a) The retention by the State of all ownership titles in land.
- (b) The taxation of land values.
- (c) The encouragement of Co-operative land settlements.

2. Minerals

- (a) Direct working by Government of its share (6/10) in Premier Diamond Mine.
- (b) The Retention, and ultimate Direct mining of the Bewaarplaatsen by the State.

3. Industrial

- (a) All Railways to be owned and operated Directly by the State.
- (b) The Maintenance of an Efficient and Up-to-date Public Works Department.
- (c) The Insertion of a Fair Wages Clause in all Government Contracts, and the payment of Fair Wages to all Government Employees. The Trade Union Standard to be the minimum in all cases.
- (d) The Establishment of an Arbitration Board for the Settlement of Trade Disputes.
- (e) The prohibition of the importation of labour under contract (excepting native labour).
- (f) An eight hours day for all Workers.
- (g) A Shops' Bill to regulate the hours during which shops may be open.
- (h) The Observance of a Labour Day (1 May) as a general holiday - the same to be secured by law.
- (i) Old age Pensions.
- (j) The Municipalization and Public Control of the Drink Traffic.

1. B. Spoelstra, "Die Bewindsaanvaarding van die Botha-Regering oor Transvaal as Selfregerende Britse Kolonie in 1907", Archives Year Book for South African History, 1953, II, pp. 377-8, without his italics. The programme has been dated by the writer and was published in part in Star, 19.11.1904, p. 10.

4. Educational

- (a) The incorporation in the curriculum of all State Schools of a system of non-theological moral instruction.
- (b) The Government to organize a Thorough System of Free Education.

5. Political

- (a) The immediate Establishment of Full Self-Government for this Colony on the basis of
 - (i) Manhood Suffrage
 - (ii) One man, one vote
 - (iii) Three months residential qualification for Enfranchisement for all White British Subjects.
- (b) Costs of Registration and Returning Officers' Fees to be borne by State.
- (c) Payment of Members.
- (d) The Initiative and Referendum.

9. The Political Labour League's Platform, August 1905¹Parliamentary Platform

1. Union of the white races.
2. Equal rights for the Dutch and English languages.
3. Responsible Government, based upon white adult suffrage.
4. One adult, one vote, Parliamentary or Municipal.
5. The establishment of a Department of Labour, with a responsible Minister.
6. Graduated percentage tax on mining profits.
7. Absentee tax.
8. Death duties.
9. Progressive tax on land values, town or country, without exemptions, and exclusive of improvements.
10. Accumulative tax on all incomes over £400 per year.
11. Taxation of unimproved mineralised areas.
12. The legalising of the 8-hour system.
13. The establishment by law of Courts of Compulsory Arbitration between employers and employees.
14. No further alienation of Crown lands.
15. The sustaining of village settlements, and the creation of small landholders under a system of perpetual lease with periodical valuations.
16. Free compulsory unsectarian primary and secondary education, with all necessary requisites provided by the

1. Rand Daily Mail. 23.8.1905. p. 3.

State.

17. The maintenance and extension of technical education by the State.
18. Pensions for all aged and disabled persons.
19. Initiative and referendum.
20. Establishment of a State bank.
21. The establishment of a State life and fire assurance.
22. Payment of members.

Municipal Platform¹

1. Adult suffrage.
2. All electors resident for six months to be qualified representatives.
3. Election of mayors and presidents by the people.
4. All Municipal taxes to be assessed on the unimproved value of land.
5. All community enterprises, as tramways, lighting, water supply, police, and markets to be conducted and controlled by the Municipalities.
6. Direct employment of white labour.
7. An 8-hours day. Trade Union minimum wage to be paid to all Municipal employees.
8. Erection by the Municipality of healthy homes for the people.
9. Erection of Municipal baths and washhouses.
10. Municipal insurance of ratepayers' property.
11. Representatives to all trusts and boards to be elected by the people.
12. Creation of recreation reserves in popular neighbourhoods for the use of the people, and as playgrounds for children.
13. Provisions for the regular entertainment of the people by concerts, lectures, and theatrical performances, and other means of elevating the popular tastes.
14. No alienation of any lands the property of the Municipalities.
15. Strict enforcement of the Weights and Measures Acts.
16. Initiative: by which 5 per cent. of qualified voters in any Municipality may, upon petition, demand that a

1. Compare with Appendix B, IV, 7 above, virtually all of whose planks have been repeated except for the modified attitude under point 17 to payment of members. There are, however, several new demands: points 8, 10, 11, 13, 14 and 19, for example.

referendum on any or every proposition submitted by such proportion of qualified voters shall take place at the next Municipal elections.

17. All meetings of Municipal Councils to be open to the public and held at night; or payment of members.

19. [? 18] Fair wages clause.

10. The Parliamentary Platform of the Transvaal Miners' Association, September 1905¹

An eight hours' day.

Better ventilation.

Better sanitation.

Board of examiners for issuing blasting certificates.

An Employers' Liability Bill with no contracting out clause.

A Compulsory Arbitration Board.

11. The Parliamentary Platform of the Transvaal Independent Labour Party, November 1906²

One general roll on the basis of white adult suffrage, with automatic registration on a six months' qualification.

A legalised eight hours' maximum working day for all workers.

Primary and secondary education, secular, compulsory, and free. Technical training schools to be established in connection with same.

Prohibition of the importation of Asiatic labour, or any contract labour, skilled or unskilled.

Establishment of a Department of Labour, with a responsible Minister thereto.

Conciliatory Boards for the settlement of labour disputes.

Establishment of a State Mines Engineering Department, under a responsible Minister, for the opening up and working of Government mining areas.

Efficient and direct payment from the State for the services of members of Parliament and Municipal councillors. Payment to be not less than £500 per year for Legislative

1. S.A. News Weekly Edition, 13.9.1905, p. 14.

2. Transvaal Leader, 1.12.1906, p. 9.

services, and payment of official election expenses by the State.

No further alienation of Crown lands.

The encouragement of scientific agriculture on a co-operative basis.

No indirect taxation.

A progressive tax on incomes over £500 a year.

A Government Commission on all share transactions.

Death duties, progressive, with a minimum of 1 per cent on £1000.

Initiative and referendum.

Contracting out of common law in respect to injuries received during employment to be illegal.

Better ventilation and sanitation of all mines and workshops.

A technical and industrial board to issue certificates to all persons taking part in dangerous employments.

To promote a Factories and Workshops Act, embodying fair conditions of engagement and dismissal.

Trade Union rate of wages in all Government and municipal contracts.

Old age pensions.

Taxation of land values.

12. The Transvaal Labour Representation

Committee's Platform, 7 June 1908¹

1. Right to Work Bill.
2. Compulsory Conciliation and Arbitration Awards Bill.
3. Eight Hours' Bill.
4. Prohibition of Contract Labour.
5. Old Age Pension Scheme.
6. Free Compulsory Secular Education from the Primary School to the University.

1. S.A. Typographical Journal, November 1908, p. 6, the report of the L.R.C.'s secretary for the half-year ending October 1908.

13. The Transvaal Labour Representation Committee's Attitude towards the Draft South Africa Act, 28 February 1909¹

That this conference [annual general meeting] of the Transvaal Labour Representation Committee, while affirming the principle of Unification of the various South African colonies, most emphatically protests against such being effected without the wish and consent of a majority of qualified voters residing therein, and insists that certain clauses in the draft Act be either deleted or altered.

That this conference is opposed to the institution of a Senate or any second Chamber, the same being in direct opposition to the principle of democracy.

Further, that it recommends the institution of a Legislative Assembly to be elected on a basis of universal white adult suffrage. Any person at present entitled to a vote not to be disfranchised, and that the power of veto be vested in a referendum of the people.

That in order to give the native and coloured population of South Africa the opportunity to discuss and present their views before the Government, provision be made for a native and coloured people's assembly, this body to have no administrative or legislative powers, but the right to advise the Union Parliament on matters affecting their welfare.

That we strenuously protest against the disabilities imposed on members of the House of Assembly, and that the words "six months" be inserted in the place of five years.

Further, that the salary of an M.L.A. be not less than £500 per annum.

That a compulsory holiday be proclaimed during the election, and that the first day of May be a public holiday.

The conference approves of the principle of three member constituencies.

14. Manifesto, April 1909, on the Draft South Africa Act of the Johannesburg Independent Labour Party²

The terms of the Draft Act of Union are entirely unsatisfactory from an I.L.P. standpoint, though not unexpected as a fruit of exclusive capitalist deliberation.

If the Act is passed without alteration in its fundamental principles, the position of the worker will become more

1. Rand Daily Mail, 2.3.1909, p. 2.

2. Press-cutting in the Trembath Papers, Book II, p. 125; quoted in part by Labour Leader, 23.4.1909.

degraded and he will be compelled to yield more readily to capitalist exploitation, because of the increased power the latter will gain through the cunning arrangement and constitution of the proposed Senate. In an economic sense, and because of this, the Convention might be termed a "Thiev's Congress," and when thieves meet in secret conclave they do not invite their victims. It is doubtless because of this fact that Labour was uninvited, although most vitally affected by any Constitutional change.

The Coloured Vote

We recognise the danger of immediately enfranchising all coloured people, because of their general unfitness to exercise it. Nevertheless, they must be recognised. A policy of repression is impossible and can only ultimately react with disastrous effect on the white races. The establishment of political equality between the races does not necessarily involve social equality nor race fusion. In fact, the latter is proceeding apace without any recognition of colour. The sole use of the political machine is to secure the emancipation of wage slaves without regard to colour. As the coloured people are wage slaves like ourselves, they have an identity of interest with us. If we antagonise them they will always be available for the capitalists to use against us, to subdue and degrade us. They are actually being used in this direction now. We therefore advise:-

That the Franchise be extended to all adult citizens fit to exercise it irrespective of race, sex, colour or creed.

The Senate

The Constitution of the Senate places a dangerous power into the hands of a few individuals, which, it is almost certain, will be used in the interests of the few, and against the best interests of the entire community. While the reason put forward for the nomination of Senators seems praiseworthy; in the absence of any guarantee against abuse of power placed in their hands, we are opposed to any members being nominated. The tenure of office is dangerously long, and the property qualification required is an anachronism in this age of reason.

We, however, disapprove of the idea of a Senate and would advocate the substitution of the "Initiative and Referendum," thus placing the power of making and vetoing laws in the hands of the people. This system has proved successful in Switzerland and is the only one which ensures the supremacy of the people. We therefore support the view:-

That the "Initiative and Referendum" should be instituted instead of a Senate.

That if a Senate is to be established at all it should be popularly elected on a democratic franchise for a tenure not exceeding five years. Any voter to be eligible as a Senator.

The Referendum

We regret that so many sections waste their energy on details. We recognise the importance of amending the Act in many directions but consider that the Convention will deal with these more readily when they know that the Act will be submitted to a popular vote.

Rather than risk rejection, they will doubtless give sufficient consideration to the wishes of the people to at least secure the support of the required majority.

We therefore invite the co-operation of all sections and we advise:

That all agitation should be concentrated upon the demand for a Referendum and that the final submission of the proposed Act of Union be made to the people irrespective of what amendments may have been agreed to by the Convention.

V. South Africa

1. Platform Adopted by the Intercolonial

Labour Conference, October 1909¹

White² adult suffrage, with six month's residential qualification only.

All Returning Officers' expenses to be paid by the State.

Triennial Parliaments.

To abolish the Senate or Second Chamber, and substitute therefor the "initiative" and referendum.

All legislative and administrative bodies to be elected by popular popular vote.

Free, secular, primary, and university education; all educational requisites, maintenance and medical attendance to be provided by the State free.

Compulsory education up to 16 years of age; when two languages are in vogue the medium of teaching shall be optional.

The enactment of an unemployed workmen Bill providing for grants in aid to trades unions; the establishment of labour exchanges and labour colonies.

To oppose all immigration which is subsidised or stimulated by employers and all contract labour immigration (white or coloured), as well as all attempts to lower the standard of living of the working class in South Africa.

A fair-wage clause to be inserted in all Government and municipal contracts based on the trade union wage for the district.

Compulsory arbitration Act to include all State employees.

The limitation of the hours of labour, with a maximum of

1. Transvaal Leader, 12.10.1909, p. 7.

2. Voice of Labour, 6.11.1909, p. 5, maintains that the word "White" was not passed by the conference.

48 hours by statutory enactment.

Labour Day (May 1) to be a general holiday secured by law.

Workmen's Compensation Act.

Factory and Workshops Act, providing for the establishment of minimum wage boards and the prohibition of child labour.

A lien Act, providing for preference for workmen's wages over all other creditors.

The establishment of a department of labour with a responsible Minister.

The recognition of the right of mining and prospecting upon private property and the compulsory working of claims on such property.

The recognition of the right of combination and full political freedom for all Government and municipal workers.

2. Manifesto of the South African Labour Party, July 1910¹

The opening of the first Union Parliament will signify the true entry of the people of South Africa upon their career as a self-governing nation; and the coming Elections must bring home to all the heavy responsibility that rests upon our shoulders. No party can claim the support of the country that fails to realise this responsibility and to put before the people a policy which shall be a broad, national one, dealing with the requirements not of a section only, but of the whole people. But the nation does not desire amiable platitudes to which all can subscribe, nor is it interested in political theories, however excellent, unless translated into practice. What is needed, but is lacking in all other party programmes hitherto put forward, is a straightforward statement of the practical measures required to meet the present necessities of the country. Above all, the people will have nothing to do with racialism or sectionalism of any kind, and those who, to further their selfish ends are now engaged in spreading vile insinuations of bad faith and sinister designs will be regarded as the enemies of South Africa.

The South African Labour Party is absolutely non-racial, and will fight racialism wherever it shows its head. It seeks only the national interest, and by national interest we mean the interests of men and women living in the country, whether rich or poor, skilled or unskilled. But it stands for persons, not property; for homes, not dividends; for a free nation, not for a money-making machine.

It is independent of all other parties, but it will welcome and support measures of social reform from whomsoever they emanate.

The programme of practical social reform which will be

1. Amongst the S.A.L.P. 1910 Election Handbills in the S.A. Library. Note that the extract published in D.W. Kruger, South African Parties and Policies, 1910-1960: A Select Source Book, p. 73, is not from the Manifesto as claimed. The writer does not know where

advocated by all Labour members, and which we confidently appeal to the country to support, is as follows:-

Education

Free and compulsory primary, and free secondary education. The medium of instruction to be that desired by the parents. Free medical inspection and treatment of school children.

Labour

To create conditions which will attract a free white population by prohibiting the importation of contract labour, white or coloured. Abolition of compound and trap system. Provision of a bonus to mines and factories employing white labour. General Workmen's Compensation Act, including compensation to all workers for industrial diseases, State insurance and old age pensions. General eight hours day, or forty-eight hours week, and prohibition of Sunday labour. Proper safeguards for the health of workers in mines and factories, and the prohibition of child labour. Prohibition of blacklisting.

Women

Removal of legal sex disabilities from women with regard to political and municipal franchise. Raising of the age of consent and putting the two sexes on an equality in criminal legislation.

Triennial Parliaments.

Fiscal and Commercial

No fiscal burdens to be placed on food. Where local industries require assistance, such assistance to be given by way of bounty rather than through protective Customs tariff. Establishment of a diamond-cutting industry and tax upon the export of uncut diamonds.

Defence

Establishment of a citizen defence force. A practical recognition of the value of the Navy for the defence of South Africa.

Mining Laws

Open prospecting upon privately owned land under proper safeguards. Compulsory working of mines, taxation of unworked claims, and the retention of control by the State over areas of proved mineral value.

Land Legislation

Easy and cheap transfer of land. Graduated tax on unimproved land values and compulsory expropriation for the purpose of closer settlement. Compensation to tenants for improvements. Encouragement of white labour on farms.

Native Policy

Separate representation for Kaffirs in separate Advisory Council, and no further extension of Parliamentary franchise to them. Prohibition of squatting and "Kaffir farming" and of native ownership of land in areas occupied by whites, and provision of suitable native reserves.

Proper educational facilities and agricultural training for natives in reserves.

Asiatics

Prohibition of Asiatic immigration. State-aided Asiatic emigration.

3. 1910 South African Labour Party Election Handbill:

"Creswellism! What It Means to All White Men."¹

IT INVOLVES:

Stopping the Country being flooded with cheap black indentured coloured labour.

Refusing to allow indentured men of any colour to be brought in for the purpose of lowering wages.

Insisting on the amelioration of the conditions under which the working population live, and on the payment of good wages.

Attracting a good class of free workers to come in of their own accord.

Providing suitable occupations for the white children at present growing up in the country.

Forming a residential white industrial population.

Making the employers more dependent upon the services of white men.

Placing white men in a better position to resist by means of labour organisations the tendency to reduce wages which has already, under the existing coloured labour system, reduced the amount of wages paid to white miners since 1907 by over £700 per day.

Insuring the safety and security of the Country and the working of mines under proper sanitary conditions.

Establishing a home for a great white people.

Providing employment for Kaffirs living within the Union and leaving others in their own countries.

Working the mines so that the greatest possible permanent benefit shall be secured to the Country.

REMEMBER:

That two separate Government Commissions have minutely investigated the existing facts and tendencies of the present indentured coloured labour system.

That Messrs. J.W. Quinn and R. Feetham, Unionist candidates for Parliamentary honours, were members of one of these Commissions (the Indigency Commission).

That both Commissions reported

- (1) That it is essential that the use of white labour shall be increased.
- (2) That, if present conditions continue, white skilled workers will ultimately be displaced by blacks.
- (3) That a radical alteration in the labour system of the Country is necessary to the future prosperity of the whole country.

That the system of Indentured Coloured Labour is of a quasi-servile nature.

That this system could not continue to exist if artificial aid were not given by Legislation and Government Administration.

That the cost of such Government Administration is large and is borne by the general community for the benefit of Mine Owners.

That the objections to "Creswellism" is [sic] based upon warnings of financial ruin which have been disproved by past experience.

That the same people who utter these warnings uttered similar lurid warnings about Chinese repatriation, and that such warnings were disproved by actual results.

That the statement that "Creswellism" means 5/- a day is a lie which was disproved by evidence of Mining Records produced before the Mining Industry Commission.

That the statement that "Creswellism" on the Village Main Reef reduced the wages of skilled miners is a deliberate lie, admitted before the Mining Industry Commission on oath by Mr. Raine, the Manager of that Mine, to be false.

That "Creswellism" means security and permanently increasing employment at good wages under good conditions for white men.

That the Mining Houses' real objection to "Creswellism" is that they fear Labour Organisation and Trades Unionism.

That the people who do the work of a country will in the end inherit it.

WHAT IS THE ALTERNATIVE?

Flooding the country with cheap, Indentured Black Labour.

Bringing in men who will do skilled work at lower wages.

The cheapening and ultimate displacement of white men (see Indigency Commission Report, Part II, Chap. I and II.)

The continuance of a system which has already resulted in the payment to white men of 1/9 per day wages (see Inspector of White Labour's Report, October, 1909).

The levelling down of all wages to a common black basis.

Making White Men indigents and continuously increasing the number of "Poor Whites."

Decreasing the status of the White Man and increasing the "Black Peril."

conditions.

Allowing the continuance of Miners' Phthisis conditions and the consequent destruction of white and black humanity.

Keeping the land for the Kaffirs and the Kaffirs for the land.

Sending White Men and their children to other lands to find a living.

A Semi-Barbaric and a Semi-Civilised Country.

A Black Man's Wage in a Black Man's Land.

C R E S W E L L I S M means Civilised Conditions, Clean Mines, Certain Prosperity, and White Men's Rule.

4. The Native Policy of the S.A.L.P., Adopted at its Third Annual Conference, January 1912¹

Separation of native and white races as far as possible by the following means:-

1. Separate representation for Kaffirs in separate Advisory Councils, and no further extension of the Parliamentary franchise to them.
2. Prohibition of squatting and "Kaffir farming" and of native ownership of land in areas occupied by whites, and provision of suitable native reserves.
3. Proper educational facilities and agricultural training for natives in reserves.
4. The application of reasonable sums out of the proceeds of native taxation to the establishment of suitable industries, such as cotton and sugar planting in native reserves, so as to provide for any natives who, in pursuance of the white labour policy, may be displaced from areas occupied by whites.
5. The application of any eventual profits accruing towards the reduction of native taxation.
6. Prohibition of marriage or co-habitation between white persons and natives throughout the Union.

1. Rand Daily Mail, 1 & 5 January 1912, pp. 4 & 8 respectively.

5. The Coloured Policy of the S.A.L.P., 1914¹

(Extracts from the report of the committee which was appointed by the S.A.L.P.'s third annual conference, January 1912, and whose findings were provisionally approved at the fourth annual conference and adopted at the following conference, January 1914.)

By the "coloured" population is meant persons other than white, including Cape Malays, but excluding Natives or Asiatics.

It appears to us certain that individuals among the coloured people will gravitate either to the white or black mass of the population, and those problems presented by the coloured people as such, will tend to disappear. With the realisation of the first steps of our native policy, and the consequent great increase to the white population, the presence of the coloured people as a separate section of the population will have a decreasing power to affect our national development.

Any statement of policy with regard to coloured people is therefore tentative, and the whole matter will become less important as our native policy is carried into effect.

We, therefore, limit ourselves to the following proposals:-

1. That no proposal for the modification of the laws confining the franchise to Europeans should be considered until such time as our native policy is given effect to.
2. That in any industrial legislation affecting wages and conditions of labour, white standards should be insisted upon.
3. That, with a view to preventing miscegenation, legislation of a most stringent character should be enacted, prescribing heavy penalties, without distinction of sex, for cohabitation of whites with Kaffirs.
4. That it is undesirable to admit coloured persons to membership of the Party who have not given practical guarantees that they agree to the Party's policy of upholding and advancing white standards.

We proceed to offer the following remarks in support of these proposals:-

1. With regard to the franchise, for the reasons stated above, we believe that whatever may be the case in the future when a sound native policy is in force, it is desirable to maintain the franchise in the inland Provinces as at present. With the native franchise still obtaining in the Cape Colony, it is unsafe to weaken the white voting strength in the inland Provinces.
2. It is sometimes urged against the principle laid down in the second item that such legislation would inflict

1. Worker, 8.1.1914, p. 5.

hardship upon coloured people who cannot attain a white standard of efficiency. Confronted by the alternative of the possibility of such hardship on the one hand and acquiescence in the general standard of labour conditions being lowered on the other, the Labour Party have, in our opinion, no choice but to insist on the maintenance and improvement of labour conditions in conformity with white standards of living.

3. The necessity of this is already recognised by the Party and appears in our programme.
4. Nothing should be done to attract coloured people to the Party at the expense of the white ideals. We cannot shirk the responsibility which circumstances place on the white races in this country. The white population must at present, and for a long time to come, bear the responsibility of guiding the destinies of the country, and this responsibility will not be lessened by the indiscriminate admission of large numbers of coloured people in all stages of civilisation into our political institutions.

On the other hand, any attempt to exclude civilised people merely on account of their colour is unjust and indefensible, and even suicidal. Separation from the white race - though most desirable in the case of natives, both in their interest and ours - is an impossible policy in the case of the coloured population, members of which can hardly be distinguished from Europeans, and therefore we see no alternative to the policy we have suggested.

APPENDIX C

ELECTION RESULTS

Abbreviations Used

A.S.E.	Amalgamated Society of Engineers
A.S. of C. & J.	Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners
B.W.P. & D.A.	British Workmen's Political and Defence Association
H.V.	Het Volk
I.	Independent
I.L.	Independent Labour
I.L.P.	Independent Labour Party
I.P.	Independent Progressive
L.	Labour
M.	Ministerialist
N.	National Party (Het Volk, Orangia Unie and S.A.P. in 1910)
N.A.	National Association (1907 in Transvaal).
P.	Progressive
P.L.L.	Political Labour League
S.	Socialist
S.A.E.D. & F.A.	South African Engine-Drivers' and Firemen's Association
S.A.P.	South African Party
S.A.T.U.	South African Typographical Union
T.M.A.	Transvaal Miners' Association
W.M.U.	Working Men's Union of District Six
U.	Unionist

I. Legislative Assembly Resultsin the Cape Colony, 1898-19081. 1898 General Election, Port ElizabethConstituency, Polling Day: 18 August 1898¹Elected

Walton (P)	2 793
Wynne (P)	2 686

Not Elected

Jones	(I)	1 110
W.T. Hammond	(L)	148

1. Eastern Province Herald, 19.8.1898.

II. Legislative Assembly ElectionResults in Natal, 1893-19071. The First Natal General Election, 1893Durban Borough, 14 September 1893¹

<u>Elected</u>		<u>Not Elected</u>	
Robinson	1 383	J.F. King (L.)	<u>567</u>
Escombe	1 255	J.F. Ferguson (L.)	<u>556</u>
Leuchars	1 023	Hartley	302
Greenacre	930		

2. Durban Borough By-Election, 16 December 1899²

<u>Elected</u>		<u>Not Elected</u>	
Greenacre	1 270	Poynton	509
		C.H. Haggar (Natal Progressive League)	<u>225</u>

3. The Third General Election, 1901Durban Borough, 27 September 1901³

<u>Elected</u>		<u>Not Elected</u>	
Dan Taylor	1 660	de Labistour	1 433
Maydon	1 479	Ellis Brown	1 153
Payne	1 478	W. McLarty (L.)	<u>1 090</u>
Ancketill	1 472	Laughton	506

4. Durban Borough By-Election, 26 October 1905⁴

<u>Elected</u>		<u>Not Elected</u>	
Evans	1 818	C.H. Haggar (L.)	<u>1 055</u>

1. Natal Mercury, 15.9.1893, p. 3.2. Ibid., 18.12.1899, p. 7.3. Natal Mercury Weekly Edition, 4.10.1901, p. 17.4. Natal Mercury, 27.10.1905, p. 5.

APPENDIX C, III

Transvaal Legislative Assembly General Election, 20 February 1907 ¹

(The Labour candidates and their trade unions or occupations)

Constituency	Labour Candidate	Occupation/Trade Union	L.	H.V.	N.A.	P.	I.	Percentage Poll
Pretoria (Pretoria)	J. REID	A.S.E.	503	-	283	-	-	59
Pretoria East	W.B. Madeley	A.S.E.	398	-	-	716	-	64
Pretoria West	A. Crawford	A.S.E.	337	-	-	486	-	53
Benoni	J.C. Whitelaw	Miner, ? T.M.A.	497	-	-	629	-	63
Georgetown	G. Preston	Machinist on the Railways	254	514	-	-	449	70
Wentworth Central	J.F. Back ²	Merchant	534	-	-	549	-	65
Wentworth	M. Lucas	General Engraver	112	-	411	-	293) 241)	67
Wentworth West	R.J. Stickland	T.M.A., S.A.T.U.	512	-	-	554	-	67
Wentworth East	W.W. Lorimer	Shop Assistant	146	-	450	387	-	64
Wentworth North	H.A. Reid ³	Architect	507	-	-	512	-	64
Wentworth South	J.E. Riley	Masons' Union	336	-	-	573	-	60
Wentworth West	P. WHITESIDE	S.A.E.D. & F.A.	642	-	-	525	-	66
Wentworth East	H.W. SAMPSON	S.A.T.U.	438	-	-	384	-	52

Summary of Transvaal Legislative Assembly Results, 1907

Closing day for nominations: 9 February.

Average percentage poll in the 59 constituencies
contested: 68

Total electorate: 90 062

Party	No. of Candidates	Total Votes	No. of Seats Won
H.V.	45	23 769	37
P.	33	17 694	21
N.A.	16	6 379	6
L.	13	5 216	3
I.	34	8 193	2
Totals	141	61 251	69

IV. Labour and the Johannesburg Municipal Council, 1902-091. Lord Milner's Nominations, 1902-03

A.S. Raitt (A.S.E.), R. Shanks (master mason, quasi-labour representative), A. Strong (T.M.A.); and from March 1903, P. Whiteside (President of the Witwatersrand Trades and Labour Council and general secretary of the S.A.E.D. & F.A.)

2. First Elections, Polling Day, 9 December 1903¹

Conducted on the general ticket system: every voter had thirty votes for thirty positions; top ten candidates were returned for three years, next ten for two and the following ten for one year only.

There were 60 candidates altogether; a 38% poll out of the electorate of 19 685.

Note additional abbreviations used:

U.C.	=	United Conference Ticket
R.	=	Reform Ticket
A.S. of R.E.	=	Amalgamated Society of Railway Employees

1. Star, 10.12.1903, p. 7.

Elected

1.	6 348	25. A.S. Raitt (U.C.,	3 421
10.	4 272	A.S.E.)	
19. R. Shanks	3 586	30.	3 049
(U.C., master mason)			

Not Elected

31. P. Whiteside	(U.C., S.A.E.D. & F.A.)	3 033
38. S.W. Fursey	(R., T.M.A.)	2 785
46. O.H. Evans	(U.C., A.S. of C. & J.)	2 251
47. W.W. Lorimer	(R., Shop Assistants' Union)	2 065
48. R. Thompson	(R., S.A.T.U.)	2 062
54. R.E. Hale	(U.C., A.S. of C. & J.)	1 859
55. W.J. Strick	(R., T.M.A.)	1 786
60. W.J. Phelps	(R., A.S. of R.E.)	1 444

3. Polling Day, 26 October 1904¹

General ticket system with twelve vacancies and tenure for two years. Labour contested with its own ticket of ten.

Electorate of 22 348; 43% poll.

Note that A.S. Raitt, M.L.C., did not stand on the Labour ticket of ten, preferring the U.C. ticket. He polled 3 457 votes and was placed eighteenth of the thirty candidates.

Elected

1.	5 737	11. P. Whiteside (S.A.	3 925
2.	4 798	E.D. & F.A.)	
		12.	3 813

Not Elected

20. C.A. Lane	(Minister of Religion)	3 388
22. O.H. Evans	(A.S. of C. & J.)	2 290
24. R.T. [?T.E.] Clark	(? Painters' Union)	2 007
25. R.J. Stickland	(S.A.T.U.)	1 973
26. H.W. Sampson	(S.A.T.U.)	1 907
27. G. Milligan	(S.A.E.D. & F.A.)	1 822
28. W. Cahill	(Bricklayers' Union)	1 788
29. W.R. Pegg	(S.A.T.U.)	1 506
30. J. Rosco	(Bricklayers' Union)	1 426

4. Polling Day, 25 October 1905²

Johannesburg was divided into ten wards, each electing one member per year who held office for three years. Labour contested three out of the five wards where polling took

1. Transvaal Leader, 27.10.1904, p. 8.

2. Rand Daily Mail, 26.10.1905, p. 7; Transvaal Leader, 26.10.1905, p. 7.

place. No Labour candidate was returned.

Electorate of 23 338; 48,69% poll for the five wards.

Ward 3 (Central Johannesburg) Ward 5 (Fordsburg)

E.O. Leake	658	Dr. W.D. Frazer	621
H.W. Sampson (S.A.T.U.)	370	J.H. Brideson (S.A.	240
majority	288	E.D. & F.A.)	
42,66% poll		majority	381
		47,28% poll	

Ward 7 (Braamfontein, Parktown)

Rev. C.A. Lane	460
W.H. Andrews (A.S.E.)	439
majority	21
44,12% poll	

5. By-Election, 1 February 1906, Ward 5 (Fordsburg)¹

J.J. Ware (Masons' Union)	345
G.E. Symons	339
Labour majority	6
38% poll	

6. Polling Day, 31 October 1906²

Labour fought all the wards contested, but only Ware was successful.

Ward 4 (Jeppestown)

W. Ballantyne	579
P. Whiteside (S.A.	405
E.D. & F.A.)	
majority	174
58,8 % poll	

Ward 5 (Fordsburg)

J.J. Ware (Masons' Union)	614
O.J.J. van Wijk	408
P.J. O'Flaherty	39
Labour majority	206
48,35 % poll	

Ward 6 (Troyeville)

J. Jeppe	911
J.F. Back (I.L.P.)	284
majority	627
39,43 % poll	

Ward 7 (Braamfontein-Parktown)

S.I. Minnaar	665
W.H. Andrews (A.S.E.)	507
majority	158
49,7 % poll	

Ward 10 (Turffontein)

J.C. Lucas	683
W.L.K. Reuter	249
G. Milligan (S.A.	159
E.D. & F.A.)	
majority	434
42,53 % poll	

1. Rand Daily Mail, 2.2.1906, p. 7.

2. Ibid., 1.11.1906, p. 7; Transvaal Leader, 1 & 2.11.1906, pp. 7 & 9 respectively.

7. Polling Day, 30 October 1907¹

Labour fought two out of the five wards contested and was successful in both.

Ward 4 (Jeppestown)

W. Walker (I.L.P.)	603
J.J. Furze	<u>523</u>
Labour majority	80
50 % poll	

Ward 5 (Fordsburg)

A. Crawford (A.S.E., I.L.P.)	649
A.E. Hewson	<u>358</u>
Labour majority	291
39 % poll	

8. Polling Day, 27 October 1908²

Labour was unsuccessful in three out of the four wards it contested.

Ward 3 (Central Johannesburg) Ward 4 (Jeppestown)

E.O. Leake	574	J.J. Furze	545
H.W. Sampson (M.L.A., S.A.T.U.)	504	T. Landye (A.S.E.)	<u>273</u>
majority	<u>70</u>	majority	272
39,5 % poll		35,3 % poll	

Ward 5 (Fordsburg)

O.J.J. van Wijk	586
T. Mathews (T.M.A.)	<u>519</u>
majority	67
40 % poll	

Ward 10 (Turffontein)

W.R. Jackson (A.S. of C. & J.)	332
L. Northcroft	<u>281</u>
Labour majority	51
22,0 % poll	

9. Polling Day, 27 October 1909³

The system of proportional representation with the single transferable vote was introduced.

Electorate of 28 232 of whom only 11 788 voted, requiring a quota of 1 072 for election. There were twenty-two candidates for the ten vacancies. Two out of the three Labour men were returned.

<u>Position after first count:</u>	1.	1 152	<u>elected</u>
	2. J.J. Ware		
	(Masons' Un.)	1 132	<u>elected</u>
	3.	1 063	
	8. J.J. Mulvey		
	(A.S.E.)	607	
	13. W.H. Pritchard		
	(I.L.P.)	387	

1. Rand Daily Mail, 31.10.1907, p. 7; Transvaal Leader, 31.10.1907, p. 9.

2. Transvaal Leader, 29 & 30.10.1908, pp. 5 & 8 respectively.

3. T.G. 5 of 1910, p. 32.

Final Placings:

2.	J.J. Ware	1 072	(quota)	elected
6.	J.J. Mulvey	1 072	(quota)	elected
14.	W.H. Pritchard	446		not elected

V. 1910 Provincial Council Results

1. The S.A.L.P. in the Transvaal, 15 September 1910¹

Constituency	Candidate	Occupation/ Trade Union	L.	U.	N.	I.
Denver	J.J.Mulvey	A.S.E.	690	830	-	-
Commissioner Street	J.Berman	Accountant	406	439	192	559 250
FORDSBURG	J.J.WARE	Masons' Society	965	634	-	-
Georgetown	J.D.Wentzel	Ex-coal Merchant	377	1067	543	-
Germiston	E.R.Pearce	Builder & Contractor	837	1077	-	-
KRUGERSDORP	W.G.HOLMES	A.S.E.	1283	-	-	777
Langlaagte	W.H.Pritchard	Electrician	645	1000	-	-
Pretoria North	J.E.Riley	Masons' Society	334	437	1105	-
Pretoria West	F.Nettleton	Coach- builder	325	400	824	411
Troyeville- Siemert	H.D.Bernberg	Solicitor	938	1027	-	-
Turffontein	W.R.Jackson	A.S. of C. & J.	759	-	362	807

Eleven Labour candidates altogether, of whom only Ware and Holmes were successful.

2. S.A.L.P. in the O.F.S. and the Cape Province

There were no Labour candidates.

1. Rand Daily Mail and Natal Mercury, 16 & 17.9.1910

3. S.A.L.P. Members in the NatalProvincial Council Elections, 12 October 1910¹

(The S.A.L.P. does not appear to have officially participated in these elections)

Constituency	Candidate	Occupation/ Trade Union	L.	I.
DURBAN				
CONGELLA	F.T.POWRIE	Electrician	497	353
Durban				
Point	C.H.Knowler	Accountant	316	344

4. Socialist Candidates in the
1910 Provincial Council Elections²

Constituency	Candidate	Occupation/ Trade Union	S.	U.	I.
SOUTH PENIN- SULA (Cape)	A.RIDOUT	Stationer	1099	891	-
Cape Town					
Central	A.W.Caporn	Doctor	111	1309	574
Durban					
Greyville	H.Norrie	Tailor	259	-	292) 215)

Although an active member of the Cape Town Social Democratic Federation, Ridout campaigned as an independent.

VI. The First Union General Election, 15 September 1910³

The seats were divided as follows:

Nationalists	67
Unionists	39
Labour	3
Independent Labour	1 (Haggart)
Independents	<u>11</u>
total:	<u>121</u>

1. Natal Mercury, 13.10.1910, p. 6.
2. Rand Daily Mail, 16.9.1910, p. 7 for the Cape results; Natal Mercury, 13.10.1910, p.6 for the Natal contest.
3. Rand Daily Mail, 16 & 17.9.1910; Star, 21.9.1910, p.10;

APPENDIX C, VI, 1

1. The S.A.L.P. Candidates in the Transvaal for the First Union House of Assembly (Eleven)

Constituency	Candidate	Occupation/Trade Union ¹	L.	U.	N.	S.	I.	I.L.	Voters on roll	Percent. Poll
Boksburg	C.B. Mussared	A.S.E.	680	1109	-	-	-	-	2856	62
COMMISSIONER STREET	H.W. SAMPSON	S.A.T.U.	924	884	-	25	-	-	2931	62 ELECTED
Denver	T. Landye	A.S.E.	652	866	-	-	-	-	2763	55
Fordsburg	W.H. Andrews	A.S.E. *	520	590	544	8	-	-	2887	57
Georgetown	T. Mathews	T.M.A. *	388	1109	515	-	-	-	2962	67
Germiston	J. Coward	T.M.A. *	816	1114	-	-	-	-	2891	66
JEPPEES	F.H.P. CRESWELL	Consulting Mining Engineer	1065	988	-	-	-	-	2850	71 ELECTED
Langlaagte	W.J. Wybergh	Mining Engineer	748	945	-	-	-	-	2756	61
Pretoria North	J.T. Bain	A.S.E.	538	-	1138	-	188	-	2790	67
Pretoria West	J. Reid	A.S.E.	228	644	999	-	74	-	2845	68
SPRINGS	W. MADELEY	Small trader, A.S.E.	872	799	-	-	-	-	2725	61 ELECTED
ROODEPOORT	C.H. HAGGAR	Journalist	-	789	-	-	-	815	2828	56 ELECTED

Note that Labour, including Hagggar, polled 8 246 votes out of 45 279 votes cast in the 25 seats contested, obtaining 18 % of the polling. There was an average Transvaal percentage poll of 65 in a total electorate of 68 875. Eleven

APPENDIX C, VI, 2

2. The S.A.L.P. Candidates for the First Union House of Assembly in Natal, the O.F.S. and the Cape Province

Constituency	Candidate	Occupation/Trade Union ¹	L.	U.	N.	S.	I.	I.L.	Voters on roll	Percent. Poll
Durban Central	H. Ancketill	Ex-journalist turned agent	227	660	126	-	285	-	1754	74
Durban Greyville	T. Boydell	A.S.E.	511	-	-	-	910	-	1708	83
Durban Point	C.H. Knowler	Accountant	328	-	-	-	930	-	1762	71
Durban Umbilo	F.T. Powrie	Electrician	554	788	-	-	-	-	1701	78
Umlazi	H. Humphrey	Fruit farmer, ex-Railwaymen's Association	296	158	-	-	327 132 123)))	1727	55
Maritzburg North	N.P. Palmer	Accountant	-	-	-	-	871	576	1781	81
<p>In Natal, Labour, including Palmer, polled 2 492 out of 18 028 votes cast, representing nearly 14 % . Out of an electorate of 26 219 69 % went to the polls. There were contests in all but one of the Natal seventeen seats.</p>										
Bloemfontein	J. Duff	Tailor	146	863	653	-	-	-	2439	68
Kimberley	J.F. Trembath	S.A.T.U.	584	1121	-	-	-	-	3108	54
Cape Town Castle	R. Forsyth *	Doctor, Social Reform Party	-	1273	-	-	571	224	3203	64
Cape Town, Woodstock	T. Maginess *	Lecturer, A.S.E., Cape Labour Party, unaffiliated to S.A.L.P.	-	951	-	-	-	926	3201	58

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APPENDIX C, VI, 3

3. The Socialist Candidates for the First Union House of Assembly

Constituency	Candidate	Occupation/Society	S.	L.	U.	N.	I.	Voters on Roll	Percent. Poll
Cape Town Central	A.W. Noon	? , Cape Town Social Democratic Federation	296	-	1695	-	-	3202	62
Commissioner Street	J. Davidson	Clerk, Johannesburg Socialist Society	25	924	884	-	-	2931	62
Fordsburg	A. Crawford	Journalist, Johannesburg Socialist Society	8	520	590	544	-	2887	57
Maritzburg South	L.H. Greene	Merchant	72	-	-	-	519 357 119	1765	76

APPENDIX D

OFFICE-BEARERS

I. The Witwatersrand Trades and Labour Council, 1902-10
 (including office-bearers' trade unions if known)
 (incomplete list)

Period	President (one office)	Vice-President (one office)	Secretary (one office)
July to Nov. 1902	E. Boughey (A.S. of C. & J.) (chairman of provisional committee)		
Nov. 1902 to Dec. 1904	P. Whiteside (S.A.E.D. & F.A.)	W.H. Andrews (A.S.E.)	J.W. Snow Davies (S.A.T.U.) H.W. Sampson (S.A.T.U.) from June 1903
1905	H. Parkes (A.S. of C. & J.) W. H. Andrews (A.S.E.) from June	W.H. Andrews (A.S.E.) H. Middleton from June	A. Hildebrandt (? A.S.E.) H.W. Sampson (S.A.T.U.) T. Landye (A.S.E.) J.C. Anderson
1906	J.J. Ware (Masons' Society)	J. Pitman (Bricklayers' Society)	? J.H. Crompton (S.A.T.U.) from 1 July to 15 August only
1907	J.E. Riley (Masons' Society)	?	Vaughan R. Locker (S.A.T.U.) W.A. Farrar (Bricklayers' Society)
1908	O.H. Evans (A.S. of C. & J.) J.T. Anderson from November	J.T. Anderson (? Plumbers' Society) ?	W.A. Farrar (Bricklayers' Society) J.J. Mulvey (A.S.E.)
1909	H.W. Sampson (S.A.T.U.)	T. Landye (A.S.E.) ?	R. Locker (S.A.T.U.) T. Landye (A.S.E.)
1910	W.S. Brebner (A.S. of C. & J.)	J.J. Ware in January only W.R. Jackson (A.S. of C. & J.)	R. Locker (S.A.T.U.) O.H. Evans (A.S. of C. & J.)

II. First and Last Office-Bearers of the Transvaal

Labour Representation Committee, 1906 and 1909¹

(including office-bearers' trade unions or political affiliations)

Elected December 1906

President	W.H. Andrews	A.S.E.; I.L.P.
Vice-presidents (two)	T. Mathews M. Lucas	T.M.A.; I.L.P. I.L.P.
Secretary	W.W. Lorimer	I.L.P.
Treasurer	G. Weinstock	Vorwarts
Committee	J.F. Back A. Crawford T. Hannigan T. Landye J.E. Riley H.W. Sampson H. Scheonburger M. Trewick	I.L.P. A.S.E.; I.L.P. S.A.E.D. & F.A. A.S.E. Masons' Society S.A.T.U. ? Vorwarts T.M.A.

Elected August 1909

President	T. Mathews	T.M.A.
Vice-presidents	J.J. Ware P. Winstock [G. Weinstock]	Masons' Society I.L.P.
Secretary	G.H. Parkhouse	S.A.T.U.
Treasurer	W.H. Andrews	A.S.E.
Committee	W.J. Carbis A.N. Corbett J. Dowds J.W. Gaynor W. McQueen F. Shaw O. Popp	T.M.A. ? A.S. of C. & J. T.M.A. A.S.E. A.S.E. T.M.A.

III. Office-Bearers of the Transvaal

Independent Labour Party, Elected October 1907²

		<u>Trade Union/ Occupation</u>
President	J.T. Bain	A.S.E.
Vice-presidents	T. Mathews A. Brittlebank	T.M.A. Photographer
Secretary	G. Hay Wilson	?
Treasurer	G.W. Johnston	Newsagent

1. Rand Daily Mail, 31.12.1906, p. 8; Voice of Labour, 21.8.1909, p. 13.

2. Rand Daily Mail, 14.10.1907, p. 8.

IV. Office-Bearers of the Johannesburg Branch
of the Transvaal Independent Labour Party, 1909¹

<u>Elected in February</u>		<u>Occupation</u>
President	A. Crawford (re-elected)	Editor and owner of <u>Voice of Labour</u>
Vice-president	W.R. Burns	?
Secretary	J.A. Clark	Boilermaker
Treasurer	T. Mathews (resigned in March) ²	General Secretary of the T.M.A.

Elected in July

President	W.H. Pritchard	Electrician
Vice-president	? W.R. Burns	?
Secretary	J. Davidson	Clerk
Treasurer	G. Weinstock	Hotel proprietor

V. Office-Bearers of the General Workers'

Political Association of Pietermaritzburg, 1906-08³
(incomplete)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Office</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>
1906	Chairman	N.P. Palmer	Accountant
	Vice-chairman	W. Hopkins	Park Curator
	Secretary	P.B. MacDonald	Hairdresser
	Treasurer	A. Blanchard	Draper
	Correspondence secretary	A.T. Tranmer	Clerk
1907	Chairman	L.H.H. Greene	Timber merchant
1908	President	N.P. Palmer M.L.A.	Accountant
	Chairman	A. Blanchard	Draper
	Vice-chairman	L.H.H. Greene	Timber merchant

1. Transvaal Leader, 13.2.1909, p. 15, "Labour Notes"; and Transvaal Leader, 31.7.1909, p. 13.
2. Transvaal Leader, 20.3.1909, p. 12, "Labour Notes".
3. Natal Witness, 25.6.1906, p. 6; Times of Natal, 3.4.1907, p. 6; Natal Witness, 15.2.1908, p. 12. For the occupations see Natal Government Gazette, 24.7.1907, pp.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Office</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>
1908	Secretary	P.B. MacDonald	Hairdresser
	Treasurer	W. Ames	Decorator
	Assistant-secretary and correspondent	A.T. Tranmer	Clerk

VI. Office-Bearers of the Natal Labour Party, 1907-09¹
(incomplete)

Note use of additional abbreviations:

G.W.P.A.	General Workers' Political Association of Pietermaritzburg
N.L.R.C.	Natal Labour Representation Committee
N.R.A.	Natal Railwaymen's Association
S.D.F.	Social Democratic Federation

<u>Elected for year 1907-08</u>	<u>Society/Occupation</u>
President	A.L. Clark Chairman, N.L.R.C.; president N.R.A.
Vice-presidents	L.H.H. Greene G. Davidson G.W.P.A.; Timber Merchant. N.R.A.
Secretary	J. White N.L.R.C.; A.S.E., Durban.
Treasurer	J. Edwards S.A.T.U., Durban.
Council	W.R. Arthur C. Engstrom J. Honeyman F.E. Kearney E. Kelting T.W. Marshman G. Robertson J.T. Ryan A.T. Tranmer S.A.T.U., Durban. Fishermen's Association. G.W.P.A. A.S.E. S.D.F. A.S.E., Durban. N.L.R.C.; A.S.E., Durban. N.R.A. G.W.P.A.

Elected for year 1908-09

President	A.L. Clark	as above
Vice-presidents	?	?
Secretary	J. Edwards	as above
Treasurer	L.M. Sanderson	S.A.T.U., Durban.
Organising-secretary (paid position)	C.H. Haggar	M.L.A.

1. Natal Mercury, 21.5.1907, p. 7; Transvaal Leader, 9.1.1909, p. 4, "Labour Notes"; A.J. Downes, Printers' Saga, p. 239; and Natal Mercury, 15.4.1909, p. 3. For some of the occupations see Times of Natal, 3.4.1907, p. 6; Natal Mercury, 10.6.1907, p. 5; and Natal Mercury, 29.3.1909, p. 6.

<u>Elected in April 1909</u>		<u>Society/Occupation</u>
President	A.L. Clark	N.R.A.
Vice-presidents	G. Robertson T.A. Beatty	A.S.E. S.A.T.U., Durban.
Secretary	J. Edwards	S.A.T.U., Durban.
Treasurer	T.W. Marshman	A.S.E., Durban.
Organising- secretary	C.H. Haggar	M.L.A.

A GUIDE TO THE LABOUR PRESS

Most of the Transvaal Labour publications before 1910 seemed to have disappeared. For several months in 1893 the Witwatersrand Mine Employees' and Mechanics' Union brought out the Sentinel, but the writer has found no issues.¹ Nor has the South African Labour News and Mechanics Guardian, which was limited to a few numbers in the Transvaal in the middle of 1897, been located.² Only one copy of J.T. Bain's Johannesburg Witness has been traced despite its weekly appearance for about a year before the outbreak of war in 1899.³

Other Transvaal papers that could not be found included the Tribune, the weekly started under the proprietorship of William Mather, the first general secretary of the T.M.A., which was published for about a year after its first number in September 1902;⁴ the Trades and Labour News, the monthly organ of the Witwatersrand Trades and Labour Council, which was first issued in October 1903 and continued for about five months and was then revived for a short period about August 1904;⁵ the Transvaal Trades and Labour News, the short-lived weekly published in Pretoria about April-May 1906;⁶ and lastly, The Miner, started on 1 June 1907, which might not have survived its first issue as it failed to secure the T.M.A.'s

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1. Critic, 26.5.1893, p. 519; 6.10.1893, p. 445.
 2. Transvaal Critic, 23.7.1897, p. 135; 30.7.1897, p. 163; Transvaal Sentinel, 24.7.1897.
 3. 1.9.1899 (no. 59) is in the Johannesburg Public Library.
 4. Transvaal Leader, 1.9.1902, p. 5; Natal Mercury, 5.12.1902, p. 8; A.J. Downes, Printers' Saga, p. 136.
 5. S.A. News, 17.10.1903, p. 3; 6.2.1904, p. 10, "Labour Notes"; 20.8.1904, p. 4, "Labour Notes".
 6. "Labour Notes" in Rand Daily Mail, 24.4.1906, p. 5, and 22.5.1906, p. 3.

approval and antagonised the S.A.T.U. by giving its printing to the Argus Company, a non-union establishment.⁷

Two Transvaal Labour weekly newspapers surviving in part are Voice of Labour and the Worker. About the end of September 1908 Archibald Crawford started his own weekly, the Voice of Labour, originally as the official organ of the General Workers' Union on the Rand.⁸ It was produced on his own printing works, Modern Press,⁹ carried contributions from socialists throughout South Africa, and was the official mouthpiece of Rand militant socialists until its demise at the end of 1912. Crawford relinquished his control at the end of September 1910 when he embarked on a world study tour of the socialist movement.¹⁰ An incomplete set of Voice of Labour is available in the South African Library, Cape Town.

Towards the second half of 1908 Harry Sampson and his S.A.T.U. were looking for 2 000 guaranteed subscribers to ensure financial stability for their proposed paper, the Worker.¹¹ It was eventually first published towards the end of January 1909 as the sole responsibility of the Johannesburg branch of the S.A.T.U. R. Locker was appointed manager at £5 a week and J.H. Crompton editor.¹² By August the branch seemed keen to float a limited liability company to take control on behalf of the Transvaal labour movement as it had already lost £400 in

7. S.A. Typographical Journal, June 1907, p. 2.

8. A.S.E. Monthly Report, November 1908, p. 11; Voice of Labour, 23.2.1910, p. 90, editorial.

9. Voice of Labour, 6.11.1909, p. iv (cover); 8.7.1910, p. 319.

10. Ibid., 30.9.1910, p. 428.

11. "Labour Notes" in Transvaal Leader, 8.8.1908, p. 14, and 5.9.1908, p. 11.

12. "Labour Notes" in Transvaal Leader, 30.1.1909, p. 14, 20.2.1909, p. 13, and 18.9.1909, p. 10; Natal Mercury, 15.12.1909, p. 6; A. J. Downes, Printers' Saga, p. 254.

its pioneering efforts.¹³ In October the Natal M.L.A., C.H. Haggar, was appointed editor and manager;¹⁴ and the following month the company was formed with trade union members as directors and the main shareholders.¹⁵ Before becoming the official organ of the S.A.L.P. about November 1909 it seemed to be the mouthpiece of the Transvaal Labour Representation Committee and the Witwatersrand Trades and Labour Council.¹⁶

Voice of Labour was certainly not pleased with the content of the Worker, maintaining:

It is a pity so few members of the S.A.L.P. read their official organ; the fulsome drivel which constantly appears there from the pen of Mr. Haggar and others would surely drive the large bulk of them into the Socialist Party.¹⁷

No issues of the Worker, which ceased publication at the end of October 1914,¹⁸ have been found in South African libraries save for a few isolated copies during its last year of existence. The late Professor Edward Roux held numbers covering its last sixteen months, but their present location is not known. The Trembath Papers in Durban contain cuttings from the Worker virtually from its inception. These are mostly articles by Jimmy Trembath under his own name or under his pseudonym, "Birdofredum". Unfortunately many of the cuttings are undated and unlabelled.

The writer was unable to locate any Cape or O.R.C. labour paper started before 1910. Yet towards the end

13. S.A. Typographical Journal, August 1909, p. 4; Voice of Labour, 11 & 18.9.1909 and 16.10.1909, pp. 4, 8, 9, respectively; A.J. Downes, Printers' Saga, p. 256.
14. Transvaal Leader, 23.10.1909, p. 15, "Labour Notes"; and Voice of Labour, 21.1.1910, p. 32.
15. Transvaal Leader, 13.11.1909, p. 12, "Labour Notes"; and A.S.E. Monthly Report, November 1909, p. 4.
16. Voice of Labour, 11.9.1909, p. 8; and Transvaal Leader, 13.11.1909, p. 12, "Labour Notes".
17. 8.7.1910, p. 318, editorial. See also, for example, 13.5.1910, p. 221, article by Mary Fitzgerald.
18. D. Ticktin, "The War Issue and the Collapse of the South African Labour Party, 1914-15", South African Historical Journal, November 1969, p. 63.

of 1905 and in 1906 the Cape Town Social Democratic Federation produced from its own printing press, the Cape Socialist as its monthly organ; and Jack Erasmus of the South African News edited at the same time Cape Vanguard, the monthly journal of the Cape Town Trades and Labour Council.¹⁹ On 3 June 1903 the Bloemfontein branch of the S.A.T.U. seems to have published its only issue of the Unionist.²⁰ Lastly, in June 1910 the O.R.C. branch of the S.A.L.P. produced a weekly, the S.A. Workers' Journal, which probably only survived its first few issues.²¹

The writer was, however, more fortunate in locating Natal journals. The first twelve issues of the Torch, monthly organ of the Natal Progressive League, can be read in the Durban Public Library. It was first published in November 1898. In May 1905 C.H. Haggart, A.L. Clark, G. Robertson, H. Attersoll, H. Norrie and others started the Socialist Spark, a monthly journal which continued until February 1906 when it simplified its name to Spark, which in turn survived until January 1907. Both journals still exist, but the writer was unable to find them.²² On 3 August 1907 the Natal Labour Party secured an official organ in the South African Tribune which appeared weekly in Durban until 1 May 1908 and is available in the Natal Archives. In the same location is the Natalian, a remarkably labour sympathetic weekly newspaper published in Pietermaritzburg during 1907-08.

Two trade union journals published before 1910 are

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19. W.H. Harrison, Memoirs of a Socialist in South Africa 1903-1947, pp. 6, 9-10; S.A. News Weekly Edition, 13.9.1905, p. 14; and S.A. News, 28.4.1906, p. 5, "Labour Notes".
20. A.J. Downes, Printers' Saga, p. 169.
21. Transvaal Leader, 11.6.1910, p. 13, "Labour Notes".
22. F.J. Grobler, "Die Invloed van Geskoolde Blanke Arbeid op die Suid-Afrikaanse Politiek van 1886 tot 1924" (D. Litt thesis, University of Potchefstroom, 1968), p. 116. Grobler, who consulted these papers, does not, however, disclose their location.

available to the researcher. All issues of the monthly South African Typographical Journal from its inception in March 1898 can be found at the offices of the S.A.T.U. in Pretoria. After being produced first in Cape Town and then in Durban it was edited in Johannesburg from the end of 1903. Secondly, the Amalgamated Engineering Union of South Africa has retained in its Johannesburg headquarters the A.S.E. Monthly Report from its start in 1906 by the South African Council of the A.S.E.²³

Because the available Labour press before 1910 is so inadequate the researcher is advised to consult the following weekly labour columns, which proved invaluable to the writer, in the daily newspapers:

South African News

20 September 1902 to 15 October 1904, author: A.D. Donovan
(A.D.D.)
22 October 1904 to 16 July 1906, author: Jack Erasmus (J.E.)
28 August 1907 to 2 October 1907, author: "Nemesis".

Rand Daily Mail

23 May 1905 to 5 June 1906, author: "Worker" who was probably H.W. Sampson.

Transvaal Leader

2 May 1908 to 24 September 1910, author: anonymous
1 October 1910 to 12 October 1912, author: T.G. Jones.

23. The writer is indebted to Mrs. E. Katz of the Economic History Department of the University of the Witwatersrand for his information on these two journals.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

In the bibliography which follows, the use of the asterisk (*) indicates that the writer has studied photocopies of the sources listed and not the originals.

The writer has found it convenient to arrange his source material in the following way:

- I. ARCHIVAL SOURCES
- II. HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS
 - (a) Unpublished
 - (b) Published
- III. OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS
- IV. NEWSPAPERS AND JOURNALS
- V. CONTEMPORARY WORKS
 - (a) Books and Pamphlets
 - (b) Articles
- VI. LATER WORKS
- VII. INTERVIEWS

I. ARCHIVAL SOURCES

1. Incoming correspondence to the State Secretary of the South African Republic, 1893-1900, notably that in SS 3861 which contains valuable material on Transvaal trade unions. These files are in the Transvaal Archives in Pretoria.
2. The South African Labour Party Records (1911-1957) which were given to the Johannesburg Public Library in 1964. These consist of annual conference, administrative council and executive committee minutes, correspondence files, various party publications and other miscellaneous records.

II. HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS

(a) Unpublished

1. Boydell Collection in the Cape Archives. This mainly consists of seventy-eight neatly arranged volumes of varied contents amongst which press-cuttings predominate. Only the first few volumes are relevant to this study.
2. Creswell Papers in the Central Archives, Pretoria. Their main value is in the miscellaneous correspondence stored in a few brown envelopes.
3. Mary Fitzgerald's autobiographical notes in the Johannesburg Public Library.
4. C.L. Henderson's unpublished autobiography in the Political Archives at the University of the Orange Free State.
5. Louis Karovsky Papers. These were consulted at Mr. Karovsky's residence in Houghton, Johannesburg. They consist of private correspondence and some valuable S.A.L.P. documents.
6. John X. Merriman Papers in the South African Library.
7. Olive Schreiner Papers in Jagger Library.
8. Trembath Papers. These are the possession of Miss P.G.T. Trembath of Howardene, Durban. They consist of three scrapbooks of press-cuttings, leaflets and autobiographical notes (cited in the text as Trembath I, II and III); Trembath's election note-book, 1910; and the Minutebook of the Durban District Committee of the S.A.L.P., 1910-15.

(b) Published

- CLARK, M. (ed.) Sources of Australian History (London, 1957).
- COMMAGER, H.S. (ed.) Documents of American History (New York, 1949).
- CRONWRIGHT-SCHREINER, S.C. (ed.) The Letters of Olive Schreiner, 1876-1920 (London, 1924).
- EYBERS, G.W. (ed.) Select Constitutional Documents Illustrating South African History, 1795-1910 (London, 1918).

IV. NEWSPAPERS AND JOURNALS

(For information on the labour and socialist press see Appendix E above)

- A.P.O. (Cape Town)
 African Review (London)
 Amalgamated Engineers Journal (London)
 Amalgamated Society of Engineers, South African Council,
 Monthly Report * (Johannesburg)
 Bloemfontein Post
 The Cape (Cape Town)
 Cape Daily Telegraph (Port Elizabeth)
 Cape Times (Cape Times)
 Cape Town Herald Strike Edition (1911)
 The Clarion* (Britain)
 The Critic (Johannesburg)
 Diamond Fields Advertiser (Kimberley)
 Durban Election Bulletin (1921)
 Eastern Province Herald (Port Elizabeth)
 Eastern Record (1914-15) (Benoni)
 Forward (1924-29) (Johannesburg)
 The Friend (Bloemfontein)
 The Independent (Kimberley)
 Johannesburg Witness
 Labour Leader * (Britain)
 Labour World (1918-20) (Johannesburg)
 The Looker-On (Port Elizabeth)
 The Natalian (Pietermaritzburg)
 Natal Mercury (Durban)
 Natal Mercury Weekly Edition (Durban)
 Natal Witness (Pietermaritzburg)
 New Nation (Cape Town)
 The Owl (Cape Town)
 Rand Daily Mail (Johannesburg)
 Review of Reviews (London)
 The Social-Democrat (London)
 South African News (Cape Town)
 South African News Weekly Edition (Cape Town)
 South African Tribune (Durban)
 South African Typographical Journal * (Cape Town, Durban and
 Johannesburg)
 Standard & Diggers' News (Johannesburg)
 The Star (Johannesburg)
 The Times (London)
 The Torch (Durban)
 Transvaal Critic (Johannesburg)
 Transvaal Leader (Johannesburg)
 Transvaal Leader Weekly Edition * (Johannesburg)

Transvaal Sentinel (Krugersdorp)
 Unionist Monthly (Johannesburg)
 Voice of Labour (Johannesburg)
 Weekly Gazette (1913-14) (Johannesburg)
 The Worker (Johannesburg).

V. CONTEMPORARY WORKS

(a) Books and Pamphlets

- AMERY, L.S. (ed.) The Times History of the War in South Africa, 1899-1902, VI (London).
- BELL, H.T.M. and LANE, A.C. A Guide to the Transvaal (Johannesburg, 1905).
- BOONZAIER, D.C. 'S.A. News' Cartoons (Cape Town, 1904).
- BROTHERS, O.F. The First Transvaal Parliament (Johannesburg, 1907).
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