

SOUTH AFRICA

THE WAR OF 1899 – 1902 AND THE CHINESE LABOUR QUESTION

Editor: Baruch Hirson

Published by Microform Limited
East Ardsley, Wakefield
Yorkshire WF3 2AT
England
ISBN 0 7158 5061 X

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A microfilm publication on 10 reels of selected pamphlets and articles covering these issues. Material used is reproduced from the John Burns Library on permanent loan at the Trades Union Congress and from the main journals of the period housed in the Royal Commonwealth Society Library, London.

1983
Microform Limited
East Ardsley, Wakefield WF3 2AT, West Yorkshire, England.

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SOUTH AFRICA

I

The War of 1899-1902 and The Chinese Labour Question

There has been a renewed interest in the South African war of 1899-1902 over the past two decades. In part this has been a response to the debate over the nature of Colonialism and Imperialism which followed the post-war process of decolonization; in part it has been the result of new investigations by the 'revisionist' school of South African historians. The investigations have been far reaching, and have raised new questions about the nature of economic development in South Africa, the role of gold in the South African economy, the use of migratory and indentured labour in the mines, and the factors which led to the war between the South African Republic (or Transvaal) and Great Britain.

The South African colonies had aroused new interest in Great Britain with the discovery of diamonds at Kimberley in 1867, and then of outcrops of gold on the Witwatersrand in 1884. The latter discovery was only the latest of a series of findings which date back to 1853, but it was soon established that despite the peculiarities of the Witwatersrand deposits (very low grade ores in rocks which plunged deep into the bowels of the earth) the ores constituted the largest source of gold in the world. In a recent article, P.J. Cain and A.G. Hopkins maintain that:

Britain's stake in controlling these resources was manifest: gold reserves underwrote her capacity to finance free trade on a global scale; British investors supplied between 60 and 80 per cent of foreign investment in the Rand by 1899; and economic growth centred on the Transvaal provided a rich and rapidly growing market for British goods.(1)

British, German and French capital poured into the Witwatersrand and was added to the resources brought into the gold fields by men who had made their fortune in Kimberley. And it was the latter, using the experience gained in the diamond fields, who organised the vast labour force needed for the deep level mines, and supervised the development of the new settlements.

For the first time in its history, South Africa attracted large numbers of white immigrants. Prospectors from California and Australia, miners from Wales and Cornwall, artisans, merchants and adventurers flocked to the new mining centres. The total white population of South Africa rose from 260,000 in 1870 to 630,000 in 1890. In the Transvaal it rose from 40,000 in 1875 to 119,000 in 1890, and this new heterogeneous, cosmopolitan population was a matter of some concern to the Republican government. This was a 'Monte Carlo superimposed upon Sodom and Gemorrah'(2), and socially unacceptable: and perhaps more to the point, a political threat to the continued rule by the Boer 'notables'.

There were also other changes which the government meant to protect. In 1884 the Republic was barely solvent: by 1887 its revenue reached £638,000, and two years later topped £1.5 m.(3) This income gave the Transvaal an independence which it treasured. The government was able to reject a call from the Cape Colony for a customs conference in 1888, and there was now finance to proceed with the building of a rail outlet to Delegoa Bay in Mozambique.

The increased confidence shown by the Boer Republic was a matter of concern to the mine owners and the Foreign Office alike. The mine owners championed the demands for an extension of the franchise, and levelled complaints against the administration over its granting of concessions (for dynamite, etc), and failure to ensure control of the African labour force. The Foreign Office feared that other European interests would be given preferential treatment in the Transvaal, and that the Republic would find the means to break the grip of British suzerainty.

The growing agitation amongst the expatriate population on the Witwatersrand led, almost inevitably, to plans for a local uprising, supported by a column of troops which would emerge from Bulawayo, under the leadership of Rhodes's friend and protégé, Leander Starr Jameson. The conspiracy involved many of the mining magnates (or Randlords, as they were called) and a number of leading personalities, including Cecil Rhodes (then Premier of the Cape Colony) Joseph Chamberlain (the Secretary of State for Colonies) and Flora Shaw the Times correspondent (who later married Lord Lugard) who was to announce the success of the conspiracy.

The entire event misfired. There was no uprising in the Transvaal, and Jameson moved his column out of Bulawayo without waiting for the signal to advance. The small detachment that he led was easily routed by Republican troops, and the leaders of the conspiracy rounded up on the Witwatersrand.

The Jameson Raid has entered history as one of the filibustering events in the hey-day of European expansion. It can certainly be argued that this was seen by Joseph Chamberlain as one means whereby Britain could use Empire to expand British industry, and extend the sphere of loan capital, and there can be little doubt that the Randlords who supported the conspiracy were those most committed 'to long range mining programmes'.(4) Jameson's failure only marked the end of one phase of the struggle for control of the gold fields, for the Republic, and ultimately, for South Africa.

Events in South Africa after 1895 were dominated by Alfred Milner's presence, and historians have all too often interpreted events as if they were shaped by the whims of this man alone. His responsibility in forcing Kruger's hand, and in precipitating the declaration of war by the Republic are not in doubt: what has concerned more recent writers has been the circumstances within which this champion of Empire was able to manipulate events to his own ends. In a perceptive passage, Shula Marks and Stanley Trapido provide the backdrop against which the preliminary skirmishing took place:

At the end of the 19th century, a peculiar disjuncture existed between the enclave capitalist mode of production based upon the most advanced and sophisticated technology and huge concentrations of European finance capital (which arose quite dramatically and suddenly in the middle of the veld of the Transvaal as a result of the mineral discoveries) and political/state power which remained in the hands of Afrikaner notables, themselves largely dependent on their landholdings.... Although Kruger tried, through his concession policies, to create an independent industrial base, in fact these attempts simply led to an increase in the possibilities of corruption of the small bureaucracy....(5)

These authors do not doubt the possibility of individual members of 'this class of notables' becoming capitalists, and they have little doubt about the capacity for 'reform' in the state, but 'it was an early entrepreneurial and individualistic form of capitalism' which was remote from the 'demand of the mining magnates for a new form of centralized and effectively coercive state apparatus'.(6)

The scenario was determined by the situation in the Transvaal, and the two main actors, Milner and Kruger, represented the interests of British imperialism and Boer parochialism. The ultimate prize, as far as the Randlords were concerned, lay in the control of those factors which would increase the profitability of the mines, and this involved, primarily, the efficient control of African labour. This was the backdrop against which the costliest war (both in lives and in money) was fought in the last decade of the nineteenth century, for possession of any portion of Africa.

The war was conducted by whites alone (with blacks serving only as servants or auxiliaries) and little attention was paid by the protagonists in the field, or by partisans who argued the merits of the conflict, to the fate of the thousands of Africans caught between two armies. Propagandists espoused the cause of the interned Afrikaners, or argued over the merits of the 'burnt-earth' policy. It was left to historians, some 70 years later to provide evidence of even greater suffering on the part of Africans interned during the war years, and we still have very few accounts of the sufferings of African families driven from their farm lands, or forced off the 'white' farms on which they squatted. They were of importance to whites only in so far as they provided muscle power on the farms, and down the mines, and with the suspension of production during the war years, their fate was of little concern to the world at large.(7)

The war extended over a period of two and a half years, and it needed considerable resources to subdue the Boer forces. In the process large regions of farmland were devastated, several major towns were held by the British under siege conditions, and production in the former Boer republics severely disrupted. In the immediate aftermath of the war, a severe drought added further to the dislocation in the countryside, and made the task of the new administration even more difficult. Milner had drawn up an ambitious plan for encouraging British immigrants to redress the balance between Dutch (or Afrikaner) and British in South Africa, for expanding education, subsidizing new municipal councils, and rebuilding the country. And it was to the gold mines that Milner looked for the necessary finance.

The mines could not return to full production in the post war years because Africans resisted attempts to reduce their wages and impose new production routines, and the Chamber of Mines claimed that there was a shortage of 129,000 black labourers in 1903, and that this would rise to 365,000 by 1908. Proposals for the use of white unskilled labour was rejected, and ultimately Milner persuaded the British government to sign the necessary treaty with China for the importation of 60,000 labourers between 1903 and 1907. Despite the increased cost of recruiting, transporting and accommodating Chinese labour, the mines were able to rely on workers who contracted for three years (as against six months by Africans), and therefore gained greater skills and used techniques which reduced working costs and allowed the companies to mine much lower grades of ore.(8)

For nearly five years much of the more arduous underground work was performed by Chinese labour, and when eventually these men were repatriated, African labour had lost its bargaining position, and accepted the new working conditions and lower rates of pay. The Chamber of Mines had its cheap labour force, and Milner acquired his source of income - even if he was unable to secure a large scale British immigration.

II

The War of Words

In April 1896, only four months after the Jameson Raid, the Imperial South African Association was launched 'to uphold British supremacy and to promote the interests of British subjects in South Africa, with full recognition of Colonial self-government'. During the first year of its existence the Association held 130 public meetings, attended (it was claimed) by 50,000 persons. In 1896 some 150,000 copies of pamphlets were distributed. In successive years the activities of the Association grew, and in the year 1899 over 400 meetings were held, attended by a quarter million persons, who between them received some half a million pamphlets.(9)

The war of words had begun with the efforts of the Association - and it was backed up by satellite committees in Canada and Australia. In Great Britain the Central Conservative Office and the National Union joined with the South African Vigilance Committee in pressing the Imperial case against the Boer republic.(10) In the press, in journals, and by means of pamphlets the objectives of the government were broadcast across the country and in South Africa.

The opposition view was publicised by the Transvaal Committee and the Manchester Transvaal Peace Committee (which was transformed into the South African Conciliation Committee from November 1899), the National Reform Union, the Liberal publication department, and the Stop-the-War Committee. The South African Conciliation Committee seems to have been narrowly sectarian and to have depended on the local strength of the Social Democratic Federation with its branches in areas like Aberdeen, Bradford, Liverpool, Sheffield and Newcastle.(11) The opposition never found a strong national leader, and the various groups opposed to the war were at loggerheads over policy and tactics. Their strength lay perhaps in the extent of the anti-war feeling that was widespread, even if submerged by the war hysteria evoked by the lifting of the siege of Mafeking and other dramatic events played out on the battle fields of South Africa. The Non-conformist congregations, the United Methodist Free Church, and several well-known figures added their voices to the opposition, and a number of important newspapers (including the Manchester Guardian which carried reports from South Africa by J.A. Hobson) played a part in presenting an anti-government view on the conflict.

Between 1899 and 1902, Professor J.S. Galbraith estimates that over 2,000 pamphlets and leaflets were printed and distributed in Great Britain and the South African colonies. There were over and above newspaper and journal articles, and books published at the time but did incorporate material taken from Parliamentary debates, Command papers, and from the newspaper reports and editorials.(12)

There can be no means of judging the effectiveness of these publications in any absolute sense. The extent to which any pamphlet was read, or if read, convinced the reader or readers, is not measurable. Nor is it possible to determine the extent to which public speakers used the material in the pamphlets when addressing audiences or speaking from the pulpit. There is nonetheless indication from the widespread interest shown at public meetings that the public must have taken leaflets or pamphlets with the express desire of reading more about the problems involved. Furthermore, the large number of copies distributed must have ensured extensive perusal of the arguments presented. In the year 1900, for example, it was estimated that 3,500,000 copies of various publications were distributed across the country.

1900 was an exceptional year, and the volume of paper distributed to persuade the electorate to return the government in the Khaki election was high. The theme was Boer guilt, and an attack on 'Little Englanders' who had encouraged Kruger to resist legitimate British demands. Those who opposed the government were traitors (although the use of this epithet was not used in the early stages of the war).⁽¹³⁾ The government won the election with a majority that was marginally higher than that achieved in 1895 - but, once again, as Professor Galbraith comments, the effectiveness of the pamphlet war cannot be determined, and the result might have been decided by the view of the time that the war was about to be successfully concluded.

The controversy over the war had barely ended when new events in South Africa raised a storm in Great Britain. Milner's decision to import Chinese labour for the gold mines was sanctioned by the British government, and in February 1904 the Colonial Office approved a Chinese Labour Ordinance. The Chinese were to be recruited on three year fixed term contracts, and their conditions of labour were prescribed in the document. They would live in compounds (like their African predecessors) and could only leave the site for 48 hours under permit. They were to work a six day week, ten hour day, at a rate of two shillings per day.

There was immediate opposition in both South Africa and Great Britain. In the former the white trade union federation denounced the scheme as a move to replace all white workers by cheap 'uncivilised' labourers and supported the White Labour League. Other Leagues were formed to oppose the use of Chinese labour on racial grounds, but the most important political outcome was the formation of Het Volk, a party led by Generals Botha and Smuts. They won the election in the Transvaal in 1907 on a manifesto which included the repeal of the Chinese Labour Ordinance.

In Great Britain there was opposition from the Liberals, reunited after the period of open split over the South African war. The Non-conformists who had opposed the war took up the Chinese 'slavery' issue, and lambasted the administration over events in the Transvaal. To the general condemnation was added new voices of outrage over the reports of sodomy in the compounds, and then of corporal punishment, inflicted by compound managers, for trivial offences.

For almost a decade Southern Africa was in the forefront of Parliamentary debate, and summing up the effects of events in the Transvaal on British domestic politics, Peter Richardson states:

In this mêlée of political interests, the issue of Chinese labour in the Transvaal was to play a major part. Indeed,

it might be claimed that the question of 'Chinese slavery' did as much as any other single issue to erode the electoral fortunes of the seemingly impregnable Tory Party, and united the Liberals. It also played a significant role in cementing the Lib-Lab pact, which contributed so much to the emergence of the Labour Party as a political force in these years.(14)

The problems raised by the importation of Chinese labour did not give rise to quite the same flood of pamphlets as was witnessed over the war. There was greater use of newspapers, and of national journals to voice the contending opinions. And once again, the South African issue was to be an important debating point in the general election of 1906. On this occasion the organised working class played a far larger role than had been possible in 1900 - not only because an independent Labour movement was raising its head, but also because the British working class saw parallels between its own position and events on the Witwatersrand. There had been concern in labour quarters for some time over the large scale immigration into the United Kingdom from eastern Europe. Jewish refugees, amongst others, had entered the labour market, and there were fears of 'sweated labour' replacing skilled workers. Xenophobia was rife and the 80,000 strong audience that rallied to a Trade Union Congress meeting at Hyde Park in March 1904 to protest against the Labour Ordinance was not altogether disinterested.(15)

The victories of the Liberal Party in the General election of January 1906 in Great Britain, and then of Het Volk in the Transvaal in 1907, provided the political impetus to stop the use of Chinese labour in the gold mines. But there had also been important changes in the availability of African labour. Drought and other disasters in the rural areas had weakened African resistance to the demands of the mines, and there was little opposition by the mines to the revoking of the Ordinance. The Liberals in Great Britain proposed, initially, to stop all importations immediately and press for early repatriation. Then they temporized and stated that they would respect existing importation licences. Finally all recruiting was suspended from November 1906 pending the granting of responsible government to the Transvaal, and following the victory of Het Volk at the polls in February 1907, the Ordinance was revoked. By 1910 the last of the labourers was repatriated to China. The politicians were seen to have triumphed: and the mines were satisfied with an almost full complement of locally recruited black labour.

III

Pamphlets, Leaflets and Articles on Microfilm

This microfilm collection contains a comprehensive, although not exhaustive compilation of pamphlets, leaflets and articles published in the decade following the Jameson Raid. There are pamphlets on every topic over which the Transvaal administration could be taken to task: the franchise, the rights of the 'uitlander', the control of black labour, the Boer attempt to overthrow the British right to suzerainty, and the issues of forced labour and slavery in the Transvaal. There are equally forthright defences of the Boer Republic against the Randlords, against foreign Capitalists, and against perfidious Albion.

The authors drawn into this war of words include some of the most prominent publicists of the time, and the effects of their writings were to echo through Europe in the decades to come. In the publications of the time readers met the ideas of well tried writers like William Stead, Sir William Harcourt, and some of the most prominent politicians in Great Britain and South Africa. New names sprang to prominence, and some, like that of Emily Hobhouse (who worked tirelessly to get relief for the Afrikaner women and children in the concentration camps), and J.A. Hobson, correspondent of the Manchester Guardian (whose writings were to influence Lenin amongst others) became household names.

The pamphlets and articles were filmed from the John Burns Library on permanent loan at the Trades Union Congress, London and the Library of the Royal Commonwealth Society, London. Although both libraries contain fairly extensive collections, there is only a small amount of duplication and, in some cases, incomplete series of leaflets found at one library have been supplemented by the remaining numbers located in the second institution.

The material from the Trades Union Congress reproduced in this publication was collected by John Elliot Burns and is but part of the John Burns Library. John Burns, the son of an engine fitter was a skilled craftsman who joined the Social Democratic Federation in the early 1880s, was involved in demonstrations by the unemployed in 1886-7, and was elected to represent Battersea in the newly created London County Council in 1889. He gained national prominence in 1889 when he assumed the leadership, together with Tom Mann, of the dock workers who had come out on strike. His talent as an organiser became apparent in the conduct of the struggle which ended in the procurement of the 'docker's tanner' (or sixpence per hour minimum wage) and the formation of the Docker's Union. (16)

He appeared as a delegate at the TUC in 1890, and although he advocated a Socialist policy for the worker's organisation, he preferred to work with the Liberals, and after being returned to Parliament in 1892, as one of the triumvirate of Labour members in the new Parliament, rejected Keir Hardie's invitation to lead the new Independent Labour Party. Burns was bitterly opposed to the war in South Africa, and many of the pamphlets in his collection bear his name. He also opposed the Chinese Labour Ordinance, and once again published several pamphlets on the issue. He was a member of the Liberal cabinet from December 1905 (when the Liberals took office before dissolving parliament) until 1914 when he resigned office because he was opposed to the declaration of war against Germany. He did not return to public office, but devoted his time to collecting books about old London, and the early history of the Labour movement.

Whereas the John Burns Library collection on the Anglo-Boer War and Chinese Labour Question comprises mostly pamphlets, in the main the material from the Royal Commonwealth Society Library on these subjects is compiled from journal articles. Taken from leading journals of the time in Great Britain (with some from the United States and Australia) the collection is a tribute to the foresight and diligence of the Royal Commonwealth Society librarians of that era; many of the journals can be obtained in well endowed libraries, although some, perhaps, only with difficulty.

The publication of this microfilm is, therefore, a contribution to research undertaken on colonial penetration of Southern Africa at the turn of the century. The complete contents of the material filmed is separately listed in Appendix III and indicates the variety of views included in the collection. The Index is to be found under Appendix IV.

I must thank Dr. Norman Levy, Middlesex Polytechnic, London for valuable suggestions on this essay. He was able to prevent some awkward errors appearing in print. For his work on the supply of labour to the mines over the period covered in this collection see The Foundation of the South African Cheap Labour System, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982.

Footnotes

1. P.J. Cain and A.C. Hopkins, 'The Political Economy of British Expansion Overseas, 1750-1914', Economic History Review, Vol. XXXIII, November 1980, p.487.
2. This phrase, ascribed to a Cape politician, was quoted by Sir William Butler, in his autobiography. Elie Halevy reprints it in Imperialism and the Rise of Labour, Ernest Benn, 1951, p.75.
3. C.W. De Kiewiet, A History of South Africa, Social and Economic, Oxford University Press, 1950, p.121.
4. G.A. Blainey, 'Lost Causes of the Jameson Raid', Economic History Review, Vol. XVIII, 1965; Richard Mendelsohn, 'Blainey and the Jameson Raid: the Debate Renewed', Journal of Southern African Studies, Vol. VI, 1980.
5. Shula Marks and Stanley Trapido, 'Lord Milner and the South African State', History Workshop, 1979, p.60.
6. Ibid.
7. Peter Warwick, 'The African Refugee Problem in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, 1900-1902', Southern African Research in Progress, Vol. 2, University of York, 1977.
8. The work of Dr. Peter Richardson has thrown new light on the problems involved in recruiting this labour force, and his articles have appeared in several journals. See his Chinese Mines Labour in the Transvaal, Macmillan, 1982.
9. Quoted by John S. Galbraith, 'The Pamphlets Campaign on the Boer War', Journal of Modern History, Vol. XXIV, June 1952.
10. Ibid., and Richard Price, The Imperial War and the British Working Class: Working Class Attitudes and Reactions to the Boer War, 1899-1902, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972, pp.19-23.
11. R. Price, op.cit., pp.15-19, 24.
12. J.S. Galbraith, op.cit.
13. Ibid.
14. P. Richardson, op.cit.; Introduction.
15. Ibid.
16. Information on John Burns is taken from the article by G.D.H. Cole in the Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press.

APPENDIX I

Summary of Microfilms

John Burns Library (JBL)

5 reels Anglo-Boer War 1 reel Chinese Labour

Royal Commonwealth Society Library (RCSL)

2 reels Anglo-Boer War 2 reels Chinese Labour

Anglo-Boer War

JBL
 Reel 1 Vols. 1, 2
 Reel 2 Vols. 3, 4
 Reel 3 Vols. 5, 6
 Reel 4 Vols. 7, 8
 Reel 5 Vols. 9, 10, 11, I, II

RCSL
 Reel 6 Vols. 187, 188, 203
 Reel 7 Vols. 206, 209, 223,
 55c809, 55c8/2, 55c8/7,
 5M/13, 5M/14, 5M/15

Chinese Labour

JBL
 Reel 8 Vols. I, II

RCSL
 Reel 9 Vols. 222, 228, 231,
 55M8/1, 55M83, 55W/3,
 5M/13, 5M/14, 5M/15

Reel 10 Vols. L55

APPENDIX II

Editorial Notes (Microfilm) and Abbreviations

(i) Reels

All reels contain eye legible targets for volume numbers; additionally, markers are given for numerical sequence finding, together with important organisations and year frames, where appropriate.

(ii) JBL (Reels 1-5, 8)

Accession numbers shown on all pamphlets/articles, etc provide an effective finding aid when used in conjunction with Contents listing and Index.

RCSL (Reels 6-7, 9-10)

Some volumes show a hand-written numbered sequence of items. To assist the user where no such sequence occurs, a numerical sequence in square brackets [] has been added for this publication and is linked to the Contents listing and Index.

NB (Some sequences of closely bound pamphlets/articles preclude the addition of this substitute numbering, but in these instances, other supplementary eye legible targets appear on the reels, see (i) above.)

(iii) Contents Listing

Anglo-Boer War (Reels 1-7) and Chinese Labour in Transvaal Mines (Reels 8-10) are separately listed, with a combined Index on page 52.

(iv) Contents entries use the following format:

(a) Identification/Finding Aid

Volume

No. in volume or
added no. []

Numerical pamphlet sequences appearing on original are
noted in () brackets.

(b) Details

Organisation, author(s)/pseudonym, title/or first line,
edition (if other than first), -pp.

Place of publication, publisher, date

Information under (b) will be as complete as can be provided from original item. Those items which comprise quotations, extracts, interview material or other which fail to identify precise authorship are listed under organisation (if this applies), otherwise entry begins with title/first line.

(v) Abbreviations

Where more than five pamphlets have been issued by a particular organisation, committee, or other then an abbreviation is used in contents entries, irrespective of whether the five (or more) pamphlets appear consecutively in the volumes. These abbreviations cover the following:-

Imperial South African Association	ISAA
League of Liberals against Aggression and Militarism	LLAAM
Manchester Transvaal Committee	MTC
Manchester Transvaal Peace Committee	MTPC
Morning Leader Pamphlets	MLP
National Liberal Federation and Liberal Central Association	NLF and LCA
National Union and Conservative Central Office	NU and CCO

South African Association
South Africa(n) Conciliation Committee
South African Vigilance Committee
Stop-the-War Committee
Transvaal Committee

SAA
SACC
SAVC
STWC
TC

(vi) Index

Simple alphabetical compilation, combining Anglo-Boer War and Chinese Labour in Transvaal Mines, keyed to Contents listing and reels.

(vii) General

- (a) The items bound in the JBL volumes are classified under 968:941:325.36 (on Anglo-Boer War) or 968:L115.21 (on Chinese Labour), unless otherwise stated. The classification of the RCSL volumes is simply the volume number as given.
- (b) Assumed all editions of pamphlets etc., are first editions, except where otherwise noted.

APPENDIX III

Reel Contents

(1) ANGLO-BOER WAR, 1899-1902

REEL 1

Volume 1 (JBL)

Accession Ref:

- 1851 TC, Dr. G.B. Clark, M.P., Our Boer Policy: an historical sketch, 32pp.
London, TC, 1900
- 1852 Dr. G.B. Clark, M.P., The Official Correspondence between the Governments of Great Britain, The South African Republic and The Orange Free State, 104pp.
London, William Reeves, 1900
- 1854 Pro Patria, The War: an appeal to the Patriotism of Members of Parliament against Brutality and Cowardice, 7pp.
- 1855 J.H. Hofmeyr, et al, The Dutch Reformed Church and the Boers, iii + 24pp.
London, W.H. Roberts, n.d.
(Classification 968:2:941)
- 1856 TC, G.P. Gooch, M.A., The War and its Causes, Third Edition, 34pp.
London, TC, 1900
- 1857 TC, P.J. Joubert, An Earnest Representation and Historical Reminder to Her Majesty Queen Victoria, in View of the present Crisis, 24pp.
London, TC, 1899
- 1858 Francis Parker, Arbitration or War? A View of the Transvaal Question, 90pp.
London, Harrison & Sons, 1899
- 1859 The New South Africa, 32pp.
- 1860 MTC, The Truth About the Transvaal, 39pp.
Manchester, Taylor, Garnett, Evans & Co, 1899
- 1862 NLF and LCA, The Well Conducted War, [16pp.]
London, Liberal Publication Dept., n.d.
- 1863 Fair Play All Round, Exposure! The Truth about the Bogus Petition and Alleged grievances, ... 24pp.
London, R. Hainsworth, n.d.
- 1864 SACC, Charles F. Aked, et al, The Purpose of Conquest, An Appeal to the Nation, 11pp.
London, SACC, 1900

- 1865 The Workers and the War, [4pp.]
London, [Freedom], n.d.
- 1869 Africander Member of the Cape Parliament, The Pan Africander Conspiracy, a refutation, 16pp.
- 1870 LLAAM, The Financiers and the War, 2pp.
London, LLAAM, n.d.
- 1874 The Oppressed Millionaires, [1p.]
Manchester, Hough & Sons, n.d.
- 1875 William Hill, A Pressing Problem: Who Shall inherit the Goldfields?, 11pp.
- 1876 (1) MTPC, How War was Brought About, 8pp.
Manchester, Hough & Sons, n.d.
- 1877 (1) MTC, What War with the Transvaal would mean: Mr. Chamberlain's View [1p.]
Manchester, Hough & Sons, [1899]
- 1878 (2) MTC, What are we going to fight about?, [2pp.]
Manchester, Hough & Sons, [1899]
- 1879 (4) MTC, Liberals and the Franchise, [2pp.]
Manchester, Hough & Sons, [1899]
- 1880 (5) MTPC, The Story of the Boers, [4pp.]
Manchester, Hough & Sons, n.d.
See also under Volume 7, 1596, National Reform Union. Both versions included for completeness.
- 1881 (6) MTC, Our Right of Interference in the Transvaal, [2pp.]
Manchester, Hough & Sons, [1899]
- 1882 (7) MTC, The Suzerainty Question, [4pp.]
Manchester, Hough & Sons, [1899]
- 1883 (8) MTPC, Why Did the Boers Arm?, [4pp.]
Manchester, Hough & Sons, n.d.
- 1884 (8) MTC, The Internal Independence of the Transvaal, [2pp.]
Manchester, Hough & Sons, [1899]
- 1885 (9) MTC, Canon [E.L.] Hicks, The Duty of England, [4pp.]
Manchester, Hough & Sons, n.d.
- 1886 (9) MTPC, Canon E.L. Hicks, The Mistakes of Militarism, 8pp.
Manchester, Hough & Sons, 1900
- 1887 (10) MTC, A Conservative View of the Transvaal Crisis, [2pp.]
Manchester, Hough & Sons, n.d.
- 1888 (11) MTC, Petition of Dutch Women to the Queen, [1p.]
Manchester, Hough & Sons, n.d.
- 1890 (13) MTC, "Stubborn and Evasive", [2pp.]
Manchester, Hough & Sons, n.d.
- 1891 (15) MTC, Olive Schreiner, Appeal, [2pp.]
Manchester, Hough & Sons, n.d.
- 1892 The Right of Free Speech, 4pp.

Volume 2 (JBL)

- 1735 (1) SACC, Percy A. Molteno, M.A., The South African Crisis, 7pp.
London, SACC, [1899]
- 1736 (2) SACC, The Crisis in South Africa: some answers.... to Sir A. Milner's Reflections upon Colonial Loyalty, 11pp.
London, SACC, n.d.
- 1737 (3) SACC, The War in South Africa: Some Authoratative Sketches of the Boers, 8pp.
London, SACC, [1899]
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