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A FIRST ACCOUNT OF
LABOUR ORGANISATION
IN
SOUTH AFRICA

By

ERNEST GITSHAM, B.A.
(ORGANISING TUTOR FOR THE DURBAN WORKERS'
EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION)

and

JAMES F. TREMBATH
(S.A. TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION)



With a Foreword by
THE HON. THOMAS BOYDELL, M.L.A.
(MINISTER OF LABOUR)



Printed by E.P. & Commercial Printing Co., Ltd.,
DURBAN, 1926.

X: 96.63
F6

(First published in October, 1926.)

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Foreword

In few countries has the history of Trade Unionism been so filled with Romance, Tragedy and Comedy, as in South Africa.

Many readers, not only in this country, but also in other parts of the world, will be amazed when they read in this excellent little book of the stirring times, the daring deeds and the tragic and exciting episodes connected with the growth and activities of the Labour Movement in South Africa.

For instance, in what other country, except South Africa, has a Cabinet Minister paid out in the dead of night £47,000 of the Taxpayers' money, in amounts of £300 each, to "Black-legs" for clearing out of a strike area, in order to make way for the return to work of the men on strike?

Or, in what other country have nine Trade Unionists, while taking part in a strike, been kidnapped, thrust into prison, taken out at midnight and rushed five hundred miles by train under strong escort, and then, also in the dead of night, forcibly placed on a steamer and deported six thousand miles by sea, after being provided by the Government with two pairs of socks, an undervest and pants, one overcoat and £3 in cash for pocket money?

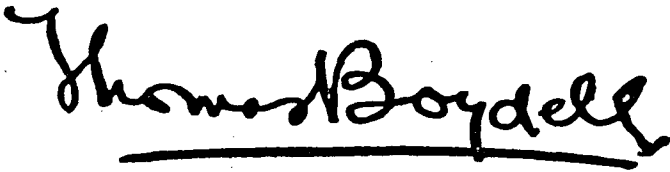
These are two of the many incidents related in this most interesting and informative little volume.

For those who want to study the history and the development of the different Trade Union and Labour Organisations in South Africa, from the early days up to date, this book will prove of great value as well as of absorbing interest. Not only are the main events recorded but additional interest is given by the inclusion of brief biographies and character sketches of many of the men and women who have played a leading part.

For the purpose of quick reference the authors have compiled a most useful chronological table, while, for those who wish to study the Union's Industrial Legislation, a special Chapter outlining South Africa's Industrial Laws will be of great assistance.

This is the first time that any serious attempt has been made to place on record a history of Trade Unionism in South Africa, and the greatest possible credit is due to Mr. Gitsham and Mr. Trembath for the thorough and comprehensive way in which they have carried out their task. The large measure of success which they have achieved has, I think, only been made possible by the fullest use being made of Mr. Trembath's storehouse of knowledge as an active participant in the Labour Movement here for some thirty years, and also to his having faithfully kept, for this period, voluminous scrap-books containing: Trade Union journals, press-cuttings, pamphlets and other essential records. To Mr. Gitsham perhaps goes the credit of taking the initiative in this self-imposed task and of providing the driving-force necessary to make the best of the material available.

The joint-authors are to be congratulated on the results of their efforts, and I am sure that the satisfaction they have experienced in being able to render such a great service to the Labour Movement in South Africa will only be excelled by the appreciation that will be shown by the many thousands who will secure for themselves a copy of this the first "History of Trade Unionism in South Africa."

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Thomas Boydell". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style. Below the signature is a thick, solid black horizontal line.

Minister of Labour.

13/9/1926.
Pretoria.

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BOOK II.

PIONEERS OF TRADE UNIONISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

Short Biographical Sketches, with Photographs, of some of those who have made the movement.

J. T. Bain, J. F. Brown, A. Crawford, T. Kneebone, T. Mathews, C. Wade, J. J. Ware—(the above have passed away)—W. H. Andrews, R. M. Banks, J. Briggs, G. Brown, A. L. Clark, A. Crisp, A. Emanuel, H. W. Green, W. H. Harrison, Wm. Harrison, H. W. Haynes, H. W. Kammeijer, J. W. Keller, W. B. Madeley, G. Mason, C. B. Mussared, F. Nettleton, H. Norrie, H. W. Sampson, R. Sharp, G. Steer, R. J. Stickland, R. Stuart, F. R. Swan, J. F. Trembath, I. L. Walker, A. Watson, R. B. Waterston, J. H. Whitaker, P. Whiteside, B. A. Wilter.

Authors' Preface

We call this book "a first account of Labour Organisation in South Africa," and we hope that it will be only the first of many others. We have felt that the task of recording the chief events in the History of South African Trade Unionism should be undertaken speedily, otherwise the material for the story will slip away into oblivion. This has already happened in the case of several pioneers and also in the matter of written records which have been destroyed.

In the book we have attempted to give a few extracts from the full story which has yet to be told by someone, or by many. If we can stimulate others by our small effort we shall be satisfied. There is much scope for general and specialised accounts of the growth of Trade Unionism in this country. Let these be undertaken and encouraged at once.

Besides the glimpses into the past, we have attempted to take a flashlight photograph of the present position of Trade Unionism. We realise that the position has changed since we took that photograph and many details will not bear a resemblance to some of the observed facts of the present situation. However, we think that a good purpose will be served by the view we are presenting, especially as the main outlines are correct.

The book is intended to assist Trade Unionists to think more about their movement and its problems. It is also given as a contribution to a knowledge of social and economic facts, which should be in the possession of every enlightened public person or student of social and industrial questions.

We desire most sincerely to thank the many Trade Union officials for their willingness to provide information. Their number is too numerous to mention them by name, but perhaps we may be permitted here to thank Mr. W. H. Andrews, the Secretary of the S.A. Trades Union Congress, for his interest and help at all times. The Minister of Labour (the Hon. Thomas Boydell) and some of his staff, notably,

Mr. Ivan L. Walker, have also rendered valuable assistance.

We are grateful also to Mr. W. Shackleton for his fine design for the cover and to Mr. Andrew Goldie for his assistance in putting us into touch with the Unions.

The work has been "a labour of love," because we believe that the movement we have attempted to describe is of great value to the community. The many faults and weaknesses in the movement can be left for treatment by those whose sympathies may differ from our own; the many faults and weaknesses in this book are well known to us. We shall welcome criticism and further information from any source.

J.F.T.

E.G.

9 Alper Mansions,
Durban.

August, 1926.

Introduction

THE REASON FOR TRADE UNIONS.

When Francis Place, in the early part of the Nineteenth Century, urged the repeal of those laws which forbade workers to combine in Trade Unions, he did so on the ground that combinations were being fostered by oppressive measures. If the restrictions were removed, workers would not want to combine. While it is true that we often want to do those things which are forbidden, this was not the reason for the persistence of workers' combinations, in spite of oppressive legislation. The cause was to be found in the new industrial changes that were transforming England—throwing workers together in factories and workshops and taking from them all control over the methods of production and the products of their industry. The loss of their plots of land by the Enclosure movement also left large numbers of workers without an alternative means of earning a livelihood, and forced them into the towns to compete for jobs in the factories. To refuse a job meant starvation, or the Poor Law. The individual hand-loom weaver soon became unable to compete with the large machines owned by the factory employers. He therefore had to seek out work, and because he was more in need of a job than the employer was in need of him (others being ready to accept the job if he refused it), the worker was at a disadvantage in the bargaining for work and wages.

The old methods of State regulation of wages had fallen into abeyance, and workers appealed to Parliament in vain, as a rule, for some statutory fixing of a reasonable standard of life.

We know now that the workers were compelled to combine together to make some attempt to equalise the situation when bargaining with an employer. Without Trade Unions the employer was always in the position of a wholesale buyer, whereas the worker was only a retailer of his labour. By combination the worker could become rather more of a wholesale dealer in his product, and be more likely to get a better price for it.

Without Trade Unions the workers would not have been able to maintain a reasonable standard of life; industry consequently would not have progressed, because half-starved workers are inefficient workers, and one might say that, in the interests of race survival, Nature asserted itself in workers' combinations.

To-day no good employer is against Trade Unions. Every country legalises their existence and uses them in the growing amount of industrial legislation which every State is placing on its statute books. The Trustification of industry, with the elimination of the private employer, makes it necessary from the point of view of easy working and efficient management that wages and conditions be settled by agreements between representatives of employers and workers throughout an industry and not by individual bargaining. In recent years the salaried workers have also realised the need for organisation, and some of these associations are registered as Trade Unions.

THE FUNCTION OF TRADE UNIONS.

Although most enlightened people will see the necessity for Trade Unions to-day, there may be wide differences of opinion among workers, as well as employers and the public generally, as to the proper functions of workers' organisations.

In the narrow sense, Trade Unions are concerned essentially with matters arising out of the wage contract, and these include: Wages, Hours and Conditions of Employment. Some bodies which have started as Friendly Societies have become Trade Unions by reason of their acquiring a "concern" for the conditions of the working-lives of their members. On the other hand some Trade Unions have become merely Friendly Societies through their concentration on Friendly benefits to the neglect of the questions of Wages, Hours and Conditions of Employment.

In recent years, however, some Trade Unions have considered that their functions should be wider. A Union like the Building Workers' Industrial Union (page 71) definitely lays down in its constitution that it is out to abolish the Capitalist system. Upholders of such a view consider that the narrower function of Trade Unionism, referred to above, is only a negative and a defensive one, which aims at putting checks on the employers in regard to Wages, Hours and Conditions. Something further will be said on these points in a later Chapter.

It is proposed now to give a brief account of the Development of Trade Unionism in South Africa, and then a more detailed description of the present position. A certain amount of space will also be devoted to the relation of the Trade Unions to the State—with special reference to Industrial Councils and Conciliation Boards.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

LANDMARKS IN THE HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNIONISM.

ALTHOUGH the Trade Union movement in South Africa is of comparatively recent growth—45 years ago, there was not a single branch of a Trade Union in this country—it is not an easy task to present a reliable summary of its rise and progress. No enthusiastic Labour historian has recorded the struggles of pioneers of the South African movement; and it is feared that the passing, one by one, of the veterans of the Trade Union army will make the task all the more difficult in the future. The gradual process of changing South Africa from a pastoral into an industrial country received a tremendous impetus from the discovery of diamonds and gold, and the opening up of the coal-fields. Side by side with the growth of Industry, came the rise of the Trade Union movement. A quarter of a century or so ago, the Trade Unions might be said to have been in their infancy. Their members were few, their Branches scattered, and their influence almost negligible. Since that period, however, the movement has made rapid progress, and its history has provided many dramatic incidents, well worthy of inclusion in the annals of toil. It has had more than its fair share of tragic occurrences and unforgettable episodes.

If, in this brief summary of the ups and downs of the Trade Union movement in South Africa, the story of its industrial conflicts overshadows the many years of patient negotiation and diplomatic bargaining that is always being exercised on behalf of the organised workers, it would be folly for the reader to imagine that the Unions have run riot in an orgy of strikes. The wise Trade Union leader well knows that the strike weapon is always a costly one, and not always an effectual means of obtaining redress. Hence we have seen in this, as well as in every other industrial country, alternate periods when the Trade Unions have turned from “direct

action" to political action, in their endeavours to better industrial conditions. Thus it is that it is often difficult, if not impossible, to lay down clear lines of demarcation between the political activities of Labour and the Trade Union movement, or to classify clearly the majority of the leaders as Trade Unionists or Labour politicians.

THE TREND OF THE MOVEMENT.

Before dealing with particular incidents, it would be as well to outline the general trend of the Trade Union movement in this country. Beginning as small and scattered little bodies of craft Unions, it was early recognised that some form of co-operation between the various bodies would be of material help. The Trades and Labour Councils were the primary institutions used for linking up the various bodies, and these were formed in Cape Town, Johannesburg, Pretoria, Kimberley and other important centres. Their activities were not strictly confined to Trade Union questions, for they took an active interest in industrial legislation and in all matters affecting the interests of the workers, either in the House of Assembly or in the Town Councils. They were very useful bodies and did yeoman service. They not only paved the way for the Federations of Trades* which followed, but also took an active part in the launching of the South African Labour Party. Although the Trade Unions only paid nominal fees to the Trades Councils, and in no sense permitting those bodies to interfere with their own domestic affairs, the mere existence of these loosely connected little bands of representatives of the organised workers had a restraining influence on the employers, who quickly realised that to offend one section of the workers was to incur the antagonism of them all. The Federation of Trades was the natural outcome of the Trades Council movement—it was in its essence merely an extension of the movement, making it a national, instead of a local, co-operation of the workers. The general trend of the movement has been to organise on industrial, rather than on craft lines, and to federate the whole movement in one big council of the Unions, acting on national lines. How far the movement is from attaining its ideal form will be clearly seen from what follows; but it is safe to say that the vision of the future is the organisation of all the workers on industrial lines, with some controlling Council for the whole of South Africa.

* Transvaal 1911 and Cape 1913.

THE "BOTTOM-DOGS" OF LABOUR.

It is also essential to a clear understanding of the position of the Trade Unions in this country, to state at the outset that up to the present the movement has been essentially a "white" one. Although there is no "colour bar" in several of the successful craft unions, and skilled coloured men have for years enjoyed the privilege of membership, neither the Craft Unions nor the Industrial Unions have attempted to include in their ranks the many thousands of semi-skilled and unskilled workers who are employed in the various important industries. There is in South Africa no vast army of white workers in mines or railways, farms, fields or factories to join up in their tens of thousands in the Trade Union movement, as the British workers did in the days of Robert Owen. The Native workers who monopolise the field of unskilled labour in all our big industries have been left severely alone by the white Trade Union organiser. There is a great gulf between the black and the white workers.

In Australia, New Zealand or Canada, an unemployed mechanic might turn his hand to a labourer's job, if occasion required, without being expected to live on a wage which makes civilised existence an impossibility. Not so in South Africa, where the Native lives on a lower plane of life, and works for a wage on which no white workers could exist. The Native labourer, too, is usually employed under a system of indenture, and any infringement of his contract brings him under the criminal code. For him to use "direct action," to come out on strike against his low pay, his long hours of work, or his conditions of employment, means a speedy visit to the police court, with a stiff fine or a period of imprisonment with hard labour to follow. To be marched to gaol at the point of a bayonet, when a boss refuses to see that an increased task is unreasonable, tends to cool Native Trade Union ardour, and there is nothing like a few weeks in the prison cell to enable a Native to ponder over the wisdom of a too early adoption of the white workers' methods of coercion! It is significant that of late years vigorous attempts have been made by the Natives themselves to organise their own ranks, with a signal measure of success; so much so, in fact, that a great deal of alarming and sensational literary efforts have appeared in the newspaper press, pointing out the dangers of such schemes of organisation. It is quite possible, however, that one of the results of the formation of the Native Trade Unions will be the abolition of the present barbarous methods of curtailing their Trade Union activities,

sadly reminiscent of the bad old days of the "Six Men of Dorset," and the substitution of methods more in accordance with justice and equity. (See page 122.)

It is indisputable that the existence of this lower strata of human labour has been a potent influence in the growth of the white Trade Unions.

THE "GENERAL WORKERS'" FAILURE.

It seems necessary to add one more note of an introductory character before passing on to details of the history.

The Trade Union movement in this country has been entirely unable to accomplish the feat so successfully accomplished in Great Britain—to organise in "General Workers" Unions those scattered groups of workers in various trades and industries who are not eligible to join one or other of the existing Craft Unions. Much time and money have been spent in vain efforts to build up such organisations. One such effort was actually financed by a General Workers' Union in Great Britain. In spite of all the support given them by the leaders in the movement, with the cordial co-operation of the rank and file, every effort has ended in dismal failure. They have had an enthusiastic inauguration, with numbers of optimistic members to commence activities, but they have inevitably gone the way of all flesh. Commercial workers, shop assistants, barmen, waitresses, musicians, and scores of other scattered bands of workers have been successfully organised for brief periods. To keep them as large, permanent organisations, however, seems to be beyond the capacity of the Trade Union Organiser.

THE FIRST TRADE UNIONS.

The English Trade Union of Carpenters and Joiners opened a Branch in Cape Town in 1881, and in 1882 at Durban; but it may safely be claimed that the first purely South African Trade Union to be successfully launched was the Typographical Society, formed in Durban in the year 1888. Mr. "Bob" Patrick, a veteran who is still an active member of the "Typo" Union, had the honour of being the Organiser of that body, and also of a similar Society in Maritzburg. They resisted an early onslaught on their ranks by the Proprietor of the "Natal Advertiser" and the "Natal Witness," one week being sufficient to bring about a satisfactory settlement of the first strike in their history, in the

year of their formation. The two Societies, working independently, not only succeeded in obtaining reasonable conditions of labour from their employers, but successfully dabbled in spheres which might be deemed political—such as securing wherever possible that all Government and Municipal printing should be done in the Colony, and curtailing the activities of the Natal European Immigration Board, an institution apparently devised with the object of importing cheap skilled labour under contract. Johannesburg, Pretoria, Cape Town and other towns soon followed the example set by Natal, and each of the Societies existed as strictly independent units until 1898, when largely due to the efforts of Mr. Alfred Arnold and Mr. H. W. Sampson, M.L.A., the whole of the printing trade in the Cape, Transvaal, Free State, Natal and Rhodesia was united under the banner of the S.A. Typographical Union.

An attempt will now be made to give, in chronological order, a list of the chief events in South African Trade Union History. This will be followed by brief sketches of a few of the memorable struggles.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY. *

DATE.	EVENT.
1881. Dec. 23rd.	Formation at Cape Town of the First S.A. Branch of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners (now the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers). The first Secretary was Mr. A. Copland of Woodstock.
1884. May.	Kimberley shooting tragedy follows a strike amongst the white miners, on the Diamond Fields, who objected to being stripped and searched for illicit diamonds, a custom common to the Kaffir employees.
1888. May.	Durban Typographical Society formed, and shortly after extended its activities to Maritzburg.

* The Authors will welcome from readers any additions to this list.

DATE.	EVENT.
1889.	Strike of employees in Johannesburg Engineering shops. Increased wages and reduction of hours from 54 to 48 per week demanded. Settled by compromise after a fortnight's struggle.
1895. Nov.	Strike of Durban newspaper printers—22 employees on "Natal Mercury" and 12 from "Natal Advertiser" Office demand minimum wage of £2 17s. 6d. per week and increase in piece-rates. "Mercury" capitulates in one day; but "Advertiser" holds out for a week.
1897. January.	Strike of Bricklayers and Plasterers on Witwatersrand against a proposed reduction of wages.
1897. February.	Strike of Printers employed at Messrs. Richards & Sons, the Government Printers at Cape Town. Small rise secured, but several men were proceeded against in the Courts of Law, and ten "leaders" were victimised.
1898. July.	Week's strike of S.A. Typo. Union members on "Pretoria News" on question of payment for a block inserted in news column.
1902. April.	Strike against piece-work by the mechanics on the Crown Reef Gold Mine.
1902.	Durban Railway workers go on strike, but resume work on promise that grievances would be remedied by Natal Government.
1902. Sept.	Printers' strike in "Star" Office, Johannesburg for minimum wage of £6 per week; 55 men involved; office turned into non-union shop, and commencement of long industrial "war" between the Argus Company and the Typographical Union.

DATE.	EVENT.
1903. Feb.	Three days' strike of Pretoria Printers for minimum wage of £5 15s. per week of 45 hours.
May.	Maritzburg Printers' strike for £4 per week of 48 hours; 80 men involved. Out for a month, and beaten by importation of contracted labour from Great Britain.
May.	Carpenters' strike at Pretoria, for increased wages; 80 men involved.
June.	Abortive strike of Bloemfontein Printers for increased wages.
1903.	Strike on Kleinfontein Mine against proposed reduction in contract rates. Men returned to work in five days, and suffered heavy cuts in rates, the excuse given for the reduction in pay being a decrease in the cost of dynamite.
1903.	Transvaal Mines, Works and Machinery Regulation Ordinance.
1904. April 1st. (Good Friday.)	First celebration of Labour Day by Organised workers in Johannesburg.
1904.	Introduction of Chinese Labour into the Mines.
1905. April.	Members of Kimberley Trades and Labour Council victimized by De Beers Company.
1905. May.	Cape Town Printers' strike for increased wages and shorter hours.
1905. June.	Cape Workmen's Compensation Act came into force.
1906. March.	Cape Town Cigarette Makers' Union strike—afterwards develop "Knock Out" and "Lock Out" Co-operative Factory.
1907. May.	General Strike of Miners on the Witwatersrand, against the new regulation that one white miner should supervise three drilling machines.

DATE.	EVENT.
1907. Aug.	Transvaal Workmen's Compensation Act promulgated.
1908. Oct.	De Beers Consolidated Mines, Ltd., "Lock-out" over 90 Trade Unionists who refused to sacrifice their Saturday afternoon half-holiday.
1909. April.	Natal Railway Strike—led to wholesale victimization on failure. Institution of piece-work in workshops the primary cause of outbreak.
1909.	Transvaal Industrial Disputes Prevention Act.
1910. January.	Stonemasons' Strike at Pretoria for increased pay.
1910. May 31st.	Establishment of the Union of South Africa.
1911. May.	Johannesburg Tram Strike, when the "Pickhandle Brigade" was formed.
1911. June.	Great Printers' Strike and Lock-out in Cape Town, on questions of employment of non-Union labour.
1911.	Act for creating a fund for the payment of compensation to Miners who had contracted Phthisis. There were several amending Acts later (1914, 1916, 1917, 1918) and a comprehensive Act in 1919.
1911.	Native Labour Regulation Act.
1911.	Mines and Works Act, and so-called "Colour Bar" Regulations.
1913. May.	Strike in Kleinfontein Gold Mine, arising from an attempt to compel five underground mechanics to work on Saturday afternoon.
1913. July.	General Strike on Rand Mines, and subsequent shooting-down tragedy.

DATE.	EVENT.
1913. Nov.	The Indian "General Strike" in Natal, to secure the abolition of the £3 tax on re-indentured Indian labourers.
1914. January.	Strike on Union Railways, and threatened General Strike, followed by kidnapping and forcible deportations of alleged leaders of the strike movement by the Botha-Smuts Government.
1914. May.	Durban Branch of Typographical Union celebrate 25th anniversary of formation of their Unions. Five foundation members present—Messrs. R. Patrick, G. Hall, G. Empey, T. Armstrong and G. Gibb.
1914.	Workmen's Compensation Act (amended 1917).
1914.	Workmen's Wages Protection Act.
1915. March.	Death of Tom Mathews, the Secretary of Mine Workers' Union.
1916. July.	Sectional Strike of Durban Printers for increased pay; 43 men out for a week. Maritzburg Printers on "Natal Witness" came out for two days as a protest against their employers attempting to assist the "Natal Advertiser" by forwarding stereo "flongs."
1917. May.	Pretoria members of the Building Workers' Industrial Union combine with other organised building workers in successful strike for increased wages and consolidation of pay for the Painters in the building industry.
1917.	Randfontein Mine held up for five days, until grievances of skipmen were remedied; followed by strike of Native mine-workers, who declined to resume work until assured that they would receive pay for five days' enforced idleness.

DATE.	EVENT.
1917. December.	About 140 unmarried Cape Town Policemen came out on strike for a local allowance of two shillings per day—prosecutions and fines and imprisonment followed.
1918. January.	Maritzburg Printers' one-week strike for better pay.
1918. January.	First South African Trade Union Congress held in Johannesburg.
1918. March.	Publication of Arbitration Award by A. G. Macfie, Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg, fixing wages and working conditions of Transvaal Printers.
1918. May.	Over a thousand mining employees strike at Randfontein, the cause of trouble being the under-payment of 2/6 per shift to one man employed by the Company.
1918. May.	Successful hold-up of Johannesburg Municipality by Engineers on Power Station, and enforcement of minimum wage of £8 2s. per week.
1918. September.	Ironmoulders in Transvaal strike for increased wages; 150 men involved.
1918. December	Printers in Jobbing Office in Durban on strike for six weeks to secure increased rates of pay; the newspaper offices, agreeing to the increase were not involved in the dispute.
1918.	Regulation of Wages, Apprenticeship and Improvers Act. Twenty-six Wages Boards were set up under this Act. (This Act was repealed by Wage Act 1925.)
1918.	Factories Act.
1919. January.	Foundation of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (Native).

DATE.	EVENT.
1919. January.	On the last day of this month, the prolonged Strike of the Building Workers in the Transvaal began, and continued for nearly three months. The men demanded a 44-hour week and a minimum wage of 3/5 per hour, and succeeded in obtaining the shorter week.
1919. March.	Municipal Employees strike at Johannesburg, and institution of "Board of Control."
1919. March.	Short Strike of men employed on the Pretoria Municipal Tramways.
1919. July.	Cape Town Tramwaymen's Strike. Minimum wage demanded from private company. Terms conceded, after town being without tram service for three weeks.
1919. November.	Strike of Durban Municipal Tramwaymen for increased wages. Settled by compromise on December 1st, 1919.
1919. December.	Great Strike of 8,000 Natives at Cape Town Docks.
1920. January.	Durban Municipal Employees' set up a "Board of Control."
1920. February.	Great strike of 40,000 Native mine-workers on Reef; higher pay demanded. Numbers imprisoned, and others sent back to their kraals.
1920. March.	Engineers' Strike in Johannesburg for a 44-hour week and increased pay, 600 men being out for more than a month, before their demands were conceded.
1920. March.	Rhodesian railway system held up by General Strike of all employees.
1920. May.	East London Tramwaymen's strike for better conditions of labour. Settled after service being held up for eight weeks; slight concessions granted to men.

DATE.	EVENT.
1920. July.	Engineers' Strike in Durban, 4/- per hour being demanded. Settled within a month by proffer of 3/9 per hour and a fortnight's holiday on full pay per annum, and no victimization.
1920. July.	First Labour Convention of Native African Workers at Bloemfontein.
1920. July.	Durban Barmen and Barwomen strike for better conditions of service.
1920. August.	"Week-end" Strike of Engine Drivers' Society on Witwatersrand, against Sunday hauling, their first strike during the 26 years of their existence. Settled by compromise in a few weeks.
1920. October.	Strike of Natives at Port Elizabeth. Resulting Disturbances led to shooting down of Natives; 23 killed and many injured.
1920. Dec. 21st.	Strike of Bank Clerks for increased pay; lasted one day only. This was the first strike of Bank Clerks within the British Empire. The Clerks won.
1921. February.	Four hours' strike of Durban Tramwaymen.
1921. May.	Durban Tramwaymen's prolonged strike for enforcement of wages' decisions made by Joint Board of Councillors and Employees.
1921.	The Juveniles' Act.
1922. Jan. 1st.	Strike on Transvaal Coal Mines, against proposed reduction of 5/- a day. Strike on Gold Mines of Witwatersrand, followed by workers on Victoria Falls Power Station and in Engineering Works.

DATE.	EVENT.
1922. Feb. 28th.	Strike and Lock-out by armed force of the workers in Johannesburg Municipal Power Station, and Tramway and Lighting Department.
1922. March 6th.	General Strike. Martial Law proclaimed (March 10th). Strikers subdued by armed force (March 15th). Over 250 killed and 1,000 wounded on both sides.
1922.	The Apprenticeship Act. (Amended in 1924.)
1922. Sept.	Builders' Strike in Durban against proposed reduction of pay; 500 men involved.
1924.	The Industrial Conciliation Act.
1925.	Wage Act. (Creation of a National Wages Board.)
1925. August.	World-wide Seamen's Strike extended to Durban, when the crew of the "Sandgate Castle" left the ship at that Port, an example followed by the crews of other boats at other South African Ports. Although there were no scenes of disorder 40 of the Durban crews were convicted under the Merchant Seamen's Act and imprisoned for various terms; but were all released at the conclusion of the Strike.
1926. April.	Establishment of the South African Trade Union Congress. (Formerly S.A. Association of Employees' Organisations.) First Secretary: W. H. Andrews.
1926. May.	Amendment to Mines and Works Act of 1911. "Colour Bar" Regulations legalised. The passing of this Amending Act took place after a joint-sitting of both Houses of Parliament.

SUMMARY OF INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES.

The January 1926 number of "The Social and Industrial Review" (the official organ of the Union Department of Labour) in an interesting review of the development of Trade Unionism in South Africa, gives a tabulated statement of the number of industrial disputes which occurred in South Africa from the year 1906 to the year 1924. Although it is acknowledged that the records of the earlier years are by no means complete, the table is sufficient to show that the strike-fever was at its height in South Africa in the year 1920, when no fewer than 66 strikes occurred—105,658 work-people being involved. The aggregate duration of the strikes of 1922 in working-days is estimated at 1,339,508 and the estimated loss in wages is given as £1,817,593. With the exception of the years 1913, 1914, 1919 and 1922, when big industrial upheavals took place, the totals of strikes occurring have been remarkably low, considering the peculiar industrial conditions prevailing in South Africa.

A KIMBERLEY TRAGEDY.

The earliest instance of an industrial dispute in South Africa leading to bloodshed, occurred in Kimberley as far away back as 1884. It had been the custom on the Diamond Fields to strip and thoroughly search the raw Native boys when they came off "shift," to see that they had not secreted some of the precious stones about their persons. An attempt to impose this indignity on the White miners was fiercely resented as a slur on their character, and the miners in the De Beers mine came out on strike rather than submit to this degradation. The Strikers marched in a body to the Kimberley Mine, in order to persuade the miners to adopt a similar attitude. They were met by the Mine Manager, who drew a revolver and deliberately shot one of the men dead. A moment later, a body of armed men concealed under some trucks opened fire on the other strikers, killing four men outright and wounding over forty others, three of whom succumbed. None of the hired gunmen were hanged for murder, or even prosecuted in the Courts of Law. The only sequel to this industrial tragedy was that "searching" of White miners was incontinently abandoned.

THE "KNIGHTS OF LABOUR."

There are still to be found "old timers" on the Diamond Fields who speak reminiscently of their association with the "Knights of Labour." Although definite records are difficult to obtain, there is no doubt that an organisation calling themselves by that name really existed in Kimberley; but they were not in any way connected with the well-known American organisation! For a brief period the Knights lived a militant life, and managed to make history on the Diamond Fields. The Kimberley Knights appear to have gracefully retired from their activities a few years after their formation, when, in the year 1890, one of the founders of the organisation, J. H. ("Tug") Wilson and a man named Kelly were tried and convicted of the offence of blowing up the De Beers Office and were each sentenced to eight months' imprisonment. There seems to be no reasonable doubt that the verdict was a gross miscarriage of justice. As often happens in these cases, the real culprits escaped and the scape-goats paid the penalty.

STRIKE AGAINST "PIECE-WORK" AND A "CLASSIC" STORY.

There was a short and sharp little industrial dispute on the Crown Reef Gold Mine in April, 1902—a month prior to the actual termination of the Great Boer War. The particulars have been gleaned from an interesting pamphlet issued by the Johannesburg Branches of the A.S. Engineers, the Iron Moulders, the Engine Drivers and the A.S. of Carpenters and Joiners. It is instructive to note from the correspondence between the men's leaders and the Mine Managers and Directors, that there was a remarkable similarity between the methods adopted in those far-off days, and those which prevail in this year of grace. The origin of the strike was an attempt on the part of the Mine Manager to institute a system of piece-work for all mechanics employed on the mine property. He had drafted an elaborate scheme of estimating the time every job should take to complete, together with a scale of rewards for the workers who succeeded in reducing the time set down for a job, as well as penalties for those workers who exceeded it. Needless to say, the Mine Manager's ideas were not acceptable to the men, and they "downed tools" rather than accept the terms offered them. The correspondence demonstrates that the Mine Manager and the Mine Directors were eager to see that no

injustice should be done to their employees. The Chamber of Mines couldn't possibly interfere with the "domestic affairs" of an individual mine. The Chief Inspector of Labour would like to interfere, but he couldn't. Finally, the Directors concluded that there wasn't really a strike on at all—the men had declined to accept new conditions, and had been paid off in the regular order of things. Besides, they could only negotiate with their own employees, and not with Trade Union officials who were unconnected with the Mine. Lord Milner (the High Commissioner) decided that his activities didn't include interfering in industrial disputes. "The Star," the only newspaper permitted to appear under Martial Law, declined to publish any advertisements from the men, on the plea that it couldn't assist in what was "practically a boycott of the Company referred to." The Strike put an end to any attempt to introduce a general system of piece-work along the Reef, and it undoubtedly did not a little to bring about closer co-operation between the various organisations on the Witwatersrand. It is noteworthy that most of the letters written on the men's behalf bore the signature of Mr. T. A. Haynes, Secretary of the A.S. Engineers, and that this stalwart in the Trade Union movement still takes an active part in the official work of the Amalgamated Engineering Union. There is a little gem in the pamphlet which deserves to become a minor Classic in South African Trade Union History, and it is really surprising that the alluring prospect held out in its inspiring phrases should have met with such violent opposition. The Consulting Engineer, in an address to the delegation of the men, is recorded to have made the following oration:—

"Take for instance the Drill Sharpeners. They are on contract. Pass into the Smiths' shop, and see how they work. They first take off their coats and vests, they start as soon as the hooter blows, and never cease until the hooter again gives the signal. Go in at any time of the day and you will observe that they never lose a step, or give an unnecessary blow in their work. See how they perspire!—a fact which shows they utilise every second of their time. This is how we wish the men to work, and show they have an interest in it."

"SACKING" A TRADES COUNCIL.

The passing by the Cape Assembly of one of the earliest pieces of Industrial legislation, The Workmen's Compensation Act, was the cause of at least a couple of interesting incidents in the Cape Colony. The Operative Masons in the Cape Town District came out on strike for a brief period, in

order to convince the building employers of the lack of wisdom in persisting in an attempt to deduct a weekly sum from their wages—intended, presumably, to build up a fund out of which any claims for compensation might be met. A case of the workmen compensating themselves, so to speak!

In Kimberley, the same piece of legislation was responsible for a dispute which undoubtedly had a big influence on the movement on the Diamond Fields, as well as in other large industrial centres. In 1905, when the Workmen's Compensation Bill was before the Assembly, the Kimberley Trades Council, which had only been formed in the early part of the year, had succeeded in bringing pressure to bear on Dr. Jameson, the Premier of the Cape Colony, and had extracted from him a definite pledge that not only should some of their proposed amendments to the Bill be considered, but that he would use every endeavour to make the Bill law during the ensuing session of Parliament. A rumour that the De Beers Company were endeavouring to legislate their employees out of the Bill, on the plea that they had already evolved a mutual scheme of compensation in the Company's Benefit Society, came to the ears of the Trades Council; but they were officially informed by the General Manager that the Company were taking no such steps, and that any movement made by their employees was merely a "spontaneous" effort by members of the Benefit Society. The Trades Council elected a few of their ablest speakers and sent them to the meeting of the Benefit Society, and the "spontaneous" gentlemen were pretty badly routed. The next step was a ballot of all the members of the Society; but this also was a signal failure, and the exemption movement collapsed. Whether or not the General Manager was under the impression that "spontaneous" movements were worthy of being encouraged, it is hard to say. The fact remains that the very next pay day every member of the Trades Council employed by the De Beers Company found himself "sacked." Two members of the Council only escaped victimisation, and they were the representatives of the "Typo" Union not employed by the Company; but to make up for this, two men who were not members, but had taken an active part in the agitation against exemption were dismissed—but were subsequently reinstated. Among the delegates dismissed was Walter B. Madeley, the present Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, who made his first public utterance on a platform during the lively campaign which followed. It is scarcely to be believed that the defence set up by the General Manager of De Beers was that the fact that these men were members of a Trades Council was "merely

a coincidence"! He hadn't the faintest idea that they were connected with such a body. This man was dismissed for this, and that man was dismissed for that—but victimised, perish the thought! This case was probably the only one of its kind in South Africa, and it undoubtedly aroused tremendous interest in the working-class movement.

THE MINERS' STRIKE OF 1907.

The Miners' Strike on the Witwatersrand in this year was as ample proof, if proof were needed, that it is not always the side of justice or reason that prevails in industrial disputes. The Transvaal Miners' Association was in its infancy, with barely 300 members, and with fighting-funds "Nil," when they determined to resist a proposal which was bound to cause a serious diminution of the white miners on the Reef. The general practice had been to place one miner in charge of not more than two rock-drilling machines, and the mine owners insisted that the men should be responsible for the running of three machines, with a hint that this would not necessarily be the limit to the exactions under the new policy. The Miners' Association asserted that one man should not be in charge of more than two machines, 25 hammer boys, or 30 lashing boys; and they pointed out that not only would the miners' health be endangered to a greater extent by the running of a third machine, but that it was impossible for a man to supervise so many natives without contravening the Mining Regulations. Every two men who ran three machines put one white miner out of a job. Every man who ran more than 25 hammer boys tended to keep one or more white men out of employment. By allowing men to run, as they did then, as many as 250 lashing boys, the proportion of white men to coloured men was greatly reduced. Messrs. E. J. Way and George Albu, now Sir George, in the "South African Mining Review" of April, 1907, made no secret of their desire to eliminate the white miner to as large an extent as possible, and to permit the "skilled native" to be the "real miner" at native wages! The resistance of the little handful of the Transvaal Miners' Association to a serious encroachment on the white man's preserve, led to a strike on the Knights Deep, and the dispute speedily extended to every part of the Witwatersrand. The men had little hope of success. The Transvaal Government was on the side of Big Finance, and turned a blind eye to all contraventions of the Mining Regulations. Imperial troops were called upon to

protect the mining properties, many of which were illegally fenced in, and the "loyal" staff did their best to beat the men who were fighting for self-preservation. Although the strike was lost, the struggle gave a great impetus to the Trade Union Movement on the Rand, and public opinion subsequently compelled the Government to insist upon a definite ratio of civilised labour to cheap and indentured natives who, as Mr. Albu declared, "might be the real miners nominally as well as virtually, and thus save much of the money paid to white miners for work they never perform."

THE DE BEERS LOCK-OUT.

In October, 1908, occurred another big upheaval in Kimberley, arising from the proposal of the De Beers Company to abolish the customary Saturday afternoon half-holiday. There had been a big slump in the Diamond Market, large numbers of men had been "retrenched," the remainder were put on a five-days a week footing, Saturday being a general holiday. When the Diamond Market recovered, it was modestly proposed that the men should resume working for the six days, but with five days' pay. This being promptly rejected by the men, it was next announced that the six days' work should be resumed, but that the same hours be worked on Saturdays as on other days in the week—thus, at the stroke of a pen, abolishing in Kimberley the customary half-holiday enjoyed by workers in nearly all parts of the world. Needless to say, the organised workers put up a big fight against this deprivation of their rightful heritage; but the unorganised workers, although their hours of labour were long enough for most folk, were simply compelled by the force of circumstances to accept the terms thrust upon them. The organised workers refused to return to work on the Saturday afternoon, and as a result they were "locked out"—or, to be more precise, they were instantly dismissed. The result of this autocratic proceeding was the invasion of Kimberley by an army of Trade Union officials—Andrews, Sampson, Tom Mathews, Crawford, Haggard and others, who, with local enthusiasts, kept up an agitation which was destined never to stop until the half-holiday was restored to the men. After the battle the Company made a determined effort to replace the skilled mechanics with non-union men, but the task was too great for them, and it was not long before the Trade Unions were restored to full strength. Approximately ninety men, belonging to the various organisations, were "victimised" in this struggle.

THE NATAL RAILWAY STRIKE.

In April, 1909, there was a general strike of practically all the workers employed on the Natal Government Railways. The immediate cause of the outbreak was a proposal to institute a system of piece-work, or a sort of "bonus" system in the railway workshops—a proposal which met with strenuous opposition from the men concerned. A delegate waited on the Works Manager, but was indifferently received, and on the following day the mechanics in the Durban railway workshops laid down their tools. The whole railway service was seething with discontent. Numerous attempts had been made by the organised workers to endeavour to persuade the Government to remedy some of the disabilities under which they suffered, but the officials were adamant: "Take it or leave it" was their general attitude. It is not surprising that under these circumstances the strike quickly spread to other centres. Maritzburg, Ladysmith, Glencoe, Estcourt and other centres linked up with the Durban strikers, and a serious dislocation of traffic resulted; indeed, the whole service was in danger of being suspended. As far away back as 1902, a brief strike among the Durban railway workers was settled by means of the appointment of a Board to settle grievances, and an attempt was made by the Government to secure peace by a similar method. This failing, the Government resorted to the usual strike-breaking methods, and managed to persuade a number of the running staff to resume duty. The men were without the funds necessary for a prolonged struggle; and, although they succeeded in obtaining assistance from Trade Union organisations throughout South Africa, it soon became apparent that the resources of the Government were too great for the men to succeed in stopping the traffic. Within a month the strike had collapsed, and the men had resumed work, except some 400 or so alleged "ringleaders," who were placed upon the "Black List." Although the strike failed in its immediate object, it undoubtedly did a great deal to strengthen and put heart into the Trade Union movement in Natal. A Board to settle grievances among the men was subsequently set up, and it is interesting to remember that the two delegates elected by the men to represent them on the Board were: Mr. Thomas Boydell (now Minister of Labour) and the late Mr. "Ted" Smith, whose Trade Union activities were unhappily terminated in a railway accident some years ago.

CAPE TOWN PRINTERS' STRIKE.

The greatest trial of strength between the Master Printers and the Typographical Union began in Cape Town in May, 1911. Like many another conflict, its origin was at the time considered to be of a somewhat trivial nature; but it developed into a real contest for supremacy by the whole of the combined Cape Town Master Printers and practically the whole of the Cape Town workers in the Printing Industry. It lasted for eight weeks, it involved the great newspaper interests in tremendous losses, it seriously depleted the funds of the S.A. Typographical Union, and it probably did much to hasten the day when a National Agreement made a similar dispute almost impossible. Should the Trade Unions permit non-members to work side by side with them in the Printing Offices, enjoying the benefits of the men's organisation, but refusing to contribute to its funds? This question has always been of vital interest to the organised workers. In practice, the exclusion of non-members is invariable when the Unions are powerful enough to enforce it, and their intrusion is tolerated when the Unions are not strong enough to prevent it. The Cape Town Branch of the S.A.T.U., prompted thereto by a high official in the Union, had boldly notified all the employers that on and after a certain date they would not permit any new non-union workers to start in any office where their members were employed. It was the "slack season," Parliament was "up," and it is probable that the employers considered it a suitable time to pick up the gauntlet flung at them. A non-union man, made his appearance in the "Cape Times" jobbing room; a deputation from the "Chapel" requested the Manager to withdraw him; the Manager declined to do so. The next step was the immediate withdrawal of all the Union men in the jobbing department—and they brought out the whole staff with them—newspaper staff as well! This was evidently a step beyond the calculations of the employers. There was no "Cape Times" the following morning. The Master Printers met in conclave and solemnly bound themselves to hold common cause with the "Cape Times" Company. They at once set about an ingenious scheme for forcing the issue. The employees in every printing office were to be asked to produce "matter" for the "Cape Times," a refusal meeting with dismissal. The next day saw the "Argus" and "Ons Land" suspended, and before another day was passed every printing office in Cape Town was without workmen. Strange to say, although the struggle was nominally on the question of non-union labour,

the white and coloured workers in the industry, although not members of the Union, came out almost to a man—and the few indentured apprentices nearly created a riot because they were not permitted to come out also. This lock-out almost led to an extension of the dispute to other big towns of the Union—it was “touch and go” for the “Argus” propositions everywhere. The men countered the lock-out movement very neatly, by setting out a programme of demands for shorter hours and increased wages and recognition of their Union as a preliminary to returning to work—a change of front which united their members, but led to bitter expostulations by the masters, who considered it grossly improper to come out on one question, and then to fight on another!

The Cape was without daily papers for a few days, and the first few weeks the sheets issued were mere apologies for the regular editions. It was instructive to watch the numerous devices by which the “Cape Times” in particular, endeavoured to bring out a paper without the aid of either lino or hand-set “matter.” Typewritten sheets reduced down and photographed on zinc plates was the most effective of these substitutes for the “comp.” It remained for the “Argus” Company to set the pace in strike-breaking, and this enterprising firm turned their offices into a kind of barracks, where “free” labour was interned for the period of the strike—and the same pages did duty for every paper in Cape Town, when the “Argus” did manage to produce some sort of an issue. It would take too long to detail all the events of this lengthy contest, but a few incidents are worthy of mention. The Printers ran a “Strike Herald,” in which they gave their side of the case, the paper being issued under conditions almost ridiculously primitive.

The Master Printers imported a number of strike-breakers from the Old Country, and the Government apparently afforded the masters every facility for meeting the “scabs” on the arrival of the mail boats, and took every precaution to see that the strikers were unable to approach the new arrivals. There were enough foot and mounted police, and plain clothes detectives, at the Docks to protect a regiment of strike-breakers, instead of the little handful of men who eventually landed.

Although throughout the whole period of the strike there was not the least disorder of any kind, the police were exceedingly active in arresting strikers. The conviction of a “peaceful picket” and the subsequent comments thereon in the pages of the “Strike Herald” had a sequel in a most interesting case in the High Court, in which the editor (poor

old "Jack" Glasson, who was one of the "missing" in Delville Wood) was charged with "Contempt of Court." After a lengthy hearing, the Judges dismissed the case.

At the end of eight weeks, with the men still solid, but with the Union's finances in a very precarious position, the men took a ballot, and, by a small majority, determined to resume work on the old conditions—395 men being on the strike roll at the date of its termination.

"THE PICKHANDLE BRIGADE."

In May, 1911, an extraordinary series of events occurred in connection with a strike of the Tramwaymen employed by the Johannesburg Municipality. It was during this amazing struggle that the "Pickhandle Brigade" became a household word in the Transvaal. The trouble originated through the victimization of two of the Tramwaymen named Glynn and Glendon, at a period when the men were negotiating with the Tramway Committee for better conditions of service. Both these men were members of the Industrial Workers of the World, and the fateful initials "I.W.W." seem to have put panicky fear into the hearts of the authorities. At the hour appointed for the strike, drivers and conductors left their cars standing in the streets, and there was some difficulty in getting them back to the car-shed. Four hours before the strike actually occurred, three hundred police, armed with rifles and with a supply of ammunition, were brought out to guard the tram station; but the rifles were soon after taken away from the police, and they were armed with pickhandles instead of the more formidable weapons. The Government dug up an old Burgher Law (Law 6 of 1894) which prohibited the assembly of more than six persons in any quarter or street in Johannesburg, and followed this up by breaking up a peaceful meeting of strikers on the Market Square, the pickhandles being used to enforce the dispersal of the crowd. In retaliation, the supporters of the strikers also armed themselves with pickhandles and formed the "Pickhandle Brigade," Mrs. Mary Fitzgerald (afterwards Mrs. Archie Crawford) being a prominent member of the Brigade. It is said that 4,000 "mounted" and "foot" police were drafted into Johannesburg in order to quell the activities of the strikers! Streets were actually barricaded in the heart of Johannesburg, and the pulling down of the barricades was a popular form of amusement to the rising generation of the town. It has been stated that an army of women prevented the taking out of cars by the strike-breakers, by adopting the

simple expedient of sitting on the tramlines, and letting the driver choose whether he should drive the tram over their bodies or stop the car. The car stopped! During the few days that the strike lasted, a number of persons were arrested. Glynn was charged with "inciting men to strike"! An instructive sequel throws a lurid light on the methods adopted by the police. Whittaker and Morant, two of the strikers, were arrested on a charge of placing dynamite on the tramlines. The prisoners were placed in solitary confinement, debarred from communication with the outside world, and deprived of all the customary privileges of prisoners awaiting trial. Whittaker's friends appealed to the Courts of Law, and Mr. Justice Mason, in granting relief to the prisoners, severely commented on the illegal treatment meted out to them. Whittaker was subsequently tried and acquitted. At the trial it was conclusively proved that the chief witness on whom the Crown relied (one Sherman) was not merely an incitor to the offence, but the real culprit! Whittaker brought an action against both the Governor of the Gaol and the Secretary of Justice for the Transvaal, and was awarded contemptuous damages. He took the case to the Appeal Court at Bloemfontein and was awarded a substantial amount. Sherman was afterwards provided with a job on the Government Railways, but did not enjoy the position for long. There were several strikes to secure his dismissal, the railway workers resolutely refusing to work with him, when his identity was disclosed.

THE "1913" UPHEAVAL.

In South African Trade Union circles, the year "1913" will always be remembered. This or that event took place before or after "1913." It is a difficult task to set down in restrained language the fateful happenings of July 4th and 5th, 1913. Much has been written about this great struggle between the Mine Magnates and the organised workers on the Witwatersrand. More or less truthful narratives of this event have appeared in every newspaper in the civilised world.

It is not intended to give more than a mere outline of the general happenings at this eventful period. A student of Trade Union history who would like full details of everything that transpired, might spend some profitable hours in a perusal of the bulky "Minutes of Evidence" given in the judicial enquiry appointed by the Botha Government after the upheaval. In its 460 pages of closely printed matter, every

detail of the struggle is recorded. The diligent student can clearly see why all the elaborate machinery of the Transvaal Industrial Disputes Act failed to work when most needed. It is clearly shown that Governments are as prone to indecision as the humblest citizens. Decisive action was withheld when sorely needed, and applied when it was utterly futile. The "Minutes" also show with what little wisdom our world is governed. It is a fascinating story, and a pitiable one. It is a story of a tiny little dispute, involving at the commencement the interests of nine men, gradually extended into a gigantic upheaval, which ended in suspending the whole gold mining industry, all along the Reef—and finally resulted in the suspension of the elementary rights of free speech, and the shooting down by Imperial troops of unarmed and defenceless men, women and children in the streets of Johannesburg. It is a story of muddle and criminal ineptitude scarcely to be paralleled in any other part of the world, and outrivalling the famous "Peterloo."

On May Day, 1913, a new Manager took over the control of the Kleinfontein Gold Mine, Benoni. He found nine mechanics working underground, under the supervision of the Underground Engineer. He thought nine were too many; so he "sacked" two of them, and sent two to work on the surface. If he had completed his "new broom" stunt at this period, all might have been well; but he didn't. He insisted that the remaining five mechanics should work from 7.30 a.m. to 3.30 p.m. every day, Saturdays included—miners' hours, instead of mechanics' hours. If the men didn't like it they could quit. They quitted. The officials of the Transvaal Federation of Trades, however, were aware of the fact that these autocratic changes of working hours and conditions were against the law of the land—and a Government Inspector of White Labour was deputed to explain the position to the Manager. The only difference it made, however, was that the Manager postponed the date when the new hours should be legally enforced. The Federation of Trades seemed to be desirous of patching up a settlement, but the attitude of the Mine Manager and his Directors made it somewhat difficult. The management seemed one day to be all in favour of a settlement on reasonable lines, and the next day declined to negotiate with any Trade Union officials, but only with their own employees. Delays are proverbially dangerous, and on the 26th May, seeing no hope of a settlement, the workers on the Kleinfontein Mine came out on strike. The management had evidently prepared a plan to cope with this eventuality—they proceeded, illegally, to fence in the mine

property, demanded police protection, and endeavoured to smuggle in sufficient "scab" labour to run the mine. This method of strike-breaking is not popular anywhere, so it is not to be wondered at that Benoni soon became the hub of the Transvaal Trade Union universe. Although for the first week or so, the Trade Union leaders earnestly endeavoured to confine the strike to the Kleinfontein Mine, it was perhaps only natural that this policy was not an over-popular one with the rank and file. While the Government still seemed either unwilling or unable to interfere in the struggle, the propagandists got to work, and on June 14, the "Van Ryan" Mine had joined the strikers, and the "New Modder" followed suit a couple of days later. Before the end of June, all the mines in the neighbourhood were closed down, and some of the employees in the Victoria Falls Power Company had ceased work in sympathy with the strikers. It was unofficially announced that a "General Strike" would take place on July 4th, but before that date arrived the whole of the Mines from Randfontein to Springs were compelled to suspend operations. The official figures of the men on strike were given as 19,000 white workers, but it is probable that this number was greatly exceeded. Up to that date, there had been a remarkable absence of anything in the nature of public violence—a few "scabs" had been molested, and a few acts of hooliganism indulged in, but nothing very serious had occurred. A public demonstration in Benoni had passed off quietly a few days before, the Government running special trains in order to convey those wishing to take part in the proceedings. On July 4th, however, the Government had evidently been at last persuaded that something must be done—human folly could not well have thought out a worse plan of campaign than they attempted to put into force. A huge demonstration had been advertised to be held on the Johannesburg Market Square at three o'clock in the afternoon. Men and women were coming into Johannesburg from every part of the Reef, and the crowds had already assembled around the wagon from which the addresses were to be given, when the leaders were informed that the meeting was prohibited. It seems that the Government had resurrected some forgotten old ordinance of the Kruger Government, which declared that the gathering of six men or more, in streets or squares, was illegal, and without any notice they were now prepared to enforce this preposterous regulation. A large force of Mounted Police surrounded the Market Square, and two squadrons of the Royal Dragoons had been placed at the disposal of the Authorities by the Governor-General, Lord Gladstone (who, by the way, was currently reported to have

told a deputation of workers who waited on him, that he didn't know why the miners were on strike, as he believed they all earned £8 per week). The strike leaders endeavoured to persuade the quickly gathering crowd to disperse quietly; but this was not an easy task. The Mounted Police and the Royal Dragoons rode down on the crowd, with batons and drawn swords, and many of those present were roughly handled. Some stones were thrown at the soldiers and police in retaliation, but the crowd eventually dispersed. Later in the evening, as might have been anticipated, the rougher element took charge of the proceedings, and they burnt down a part of Park Station—in order, it is said, to prevent the trains running, and some misguided individuals set fire to the "Star" office—the "Star" being a decidedly unpopular paper in those days. Late that night troops were firing down the streets of Johannesburg, in a kind of panicky attempt to clear the streets. Next day, as might have been expected, the usual Saturday crowd of visitors to Johannesburg was augmented considerably. Between one and two o'clock in the afternoon, a crowd of sight-seers had gathered round the Rand Club, drawn there by the news that armed men were "defending" the place. It is highly improbable that there were many armed men among them, and beyond a little horse play, there was nothing to be worried about by the behaviour of the crowd. Panic had evidently seized the Authorities, for the Dragoons were again brought forward to disperse the crowd, but, not content with "charging" the crowd, the military were formed up in Commissioner, Fox and Loveday Streets, and commenced firing on every person who appeared in the line of fire. The list of the dead and wounded is pitiable; it included men, women and children, and of the twenty or so killed outright, only a few were miners—among the others being a bioscope proprietor, a photographer, a commercial traveller, a pianist, a municipal clerk and a railway apprentice. It has never been denied that armed civilians from the upper storeys of the Rand Club were participators in the shooting. What further tales of horror would have had to be recorded, if a truce had not been called, it would be difficult to guess. The people, when they were shot down, were often in total ignorance of their peril, having strolled into the danger area with no thought of the fate awaiting them. It was a lamentable exhibition of "nerves," and it is not likely that it will ever be forgotten or forgiven. General Botha and General Smuts met the leaders of the men in the Carlton Hotel, and terms of peace were agreed upon, the signatures of the "Peace Treaty" being those of Louis Botha, Jan Smuts, Andrew Watson, James Hindman and J. T.

Bain. The conditions of settlement included the reinstatement of the whole of the Kleinfontein strikers, as well as the promise that any grievances of the men would receive the earnest attention of the Government. It will be seen from the subsequent history of the miners' struggle that this promise, was more honoured in the breach than in the observance.

A remarkable feature of the ending of this strike was the compensating, by the Government, of the "Black-legs." One night, Government officials paid-out to each man £300!—the total amount distributed reached the large sum of £47,000.

THE INDIAN "GENERAL STRIKE."

One of the most remarkable industrial upheavals this country has witnessed, took place in Natal in November, 1913—generally referred to as the Indian Strike. There were at that time some 22,000 labourers working under indenture in the tea plantations and sugar farms, the collieries, railways, and other important Natal industries.

Among other disabilities which aroused their discontent was a provision in Act 17 of 1895 of Natal, that Indian workers who declined to renew their contract of employment were compelled to pay a Government tax of £3 per annum in order to continue to reside in the Colony. Mr. Gokale, the great Indian leader, had some time previously secured a sort of half-promise from the Botha Government that the tax would be repealed.

Mr. Ghandi, a name to conjure with among the Natal Indians, was apparently not satisfied with the slow progress the Government was making, and he determined to hasten matters. He accordingly inaugurated a policy of "passive resistance" among the Indian workers, the first condition of which was a suspension from toil until the Government made a definite promise to repeal the tax during the ensuing session of Parliament.

The "coolies" on the mines, on sugar farms and tea plantations promptly "downed tools." There was in their case no need apparently for all the elaborate system of organisation which the white Trade Unionists regard as essential preliminaries to industrial action. The Indian workers had probably only hazy ideas on the theory of the much-debated General Strike. They merely stopped work, and not all the persuasions of the distracted sugar and coal magnates could persuade them to resume.

Ghandi's programme included a grand march of the strikers to the Transvaal, where they were apparently to be arrested for contravening the Immigration laws. Some two thousand men, women and children actually straggled into Volksrust, but the arrest of Ghandi, as well as Polak and Kellenbach, his lieutenants, put an end to the expedition, and the labour army was railed back to Natal. On some of the Estates, attempts to arrest strikers led to bloodshed, some policemen being injured, and a few of the strikers killed and wounded.

In the towns, the Indian workers also held a little demonstration in order to show their sympathy with the movement. For a few days the Indian cooks and waiters in the Durban hotels took a holiday and left the guests to carry on as best they could.

Municipal cart drivers ceased to drive; workers on the road left their jobs unfinished; and Indian tailors, saddlers, and printers' assistants were missing from their workshops. The dhobies did not bother about the washing, the vegetable Sammies neglected to market their wares, and even the Indian nurse-girls ceased to look after their youthful charges.

Of course, the business didn't last long; but it was a pretty effective demonstration while it lasted. Ghandi and his fellow-conspirators were sentenced to imprisonment for nine months; but they were soon after released to give evidence before a Special Commission of Inquiry set up by the Government—to which, by the way, they declined to attend. The £3 tax on ex-indentured Indians was speedily abolished as a result of the publicity given to the question by this unorthodox method of propaganda.

THE DEPORTATIONS OF 1914.

A REMARKABLE EVENT.

There was a stirring sequel to the episode of July, 1913. The terms of settlement satisfied neither party to the dispute. The ink on the signatures of Generals Botha and Smuts was scarcely dry, when fresh causes of dissension arose; and it soon became apparent that the Government had no real intention of remedying any of the men's grievances. Victimization and boycott of workers prominent in the July outbreak caused much irritation. The Government had apparently quite enough to do to satisfy its own Railway and Harbour employees, and the Civil Service was seething with discon-

tent. There was talk of a Railway strike, and the Transvaal Federation of Trades had assured the Railway workers of sympathetic action. Rather inadvisedly, the Federation adopted the new idea of a "suspended" strike—the strike to be commenced just when and where the Federation considered it advisable. It was only natural that under these circumstances there was a great deal of talk about a "General Strike of all the Workers"—many irresponsible individuals, not connected in any way with the Trade Union movement, openly advocating this remedy for all South Africa's industrial problems. A wages dispute on the Natal coal fields, involving many members of the Mine Workers' Union, provided the Government with an excellent opportunity of displaying a conciliatory attitude; but the Mine Workers soon realised that the influence of the Government certainly did not lie on their side. The Amalgamated Society of Railway and Harbour Servants, the Trade Union catering for the majority of Railway workers, endeavoured to obtain a promise that several disabilities would be removed. The Government threw a bombshell in their camp by the announcement that it was intended to "retrench" a number of Railway employees. This had the effect of tightening up the organisation of the men. Mr. H. J. Poutsma, the organising Secretary of the Society, retorted with a threat that the whole of the Railway and Harbour workers would cease work at the first sign of "retrenchment."

Subsequent events gave colour to the oft-repeated statement that the Government had embarked on a deliberate campaign to "smash-up" the Trade Union Movement in this country. The inner history of the whole affair will probably never be known, however shrewd may be guesses at the truth. Without consulting the Federation of Trades, the Railway strike commenced in Pretoria on January 12th, 1914, and the rest of the Transvaal followed. The movement soon spread to Bloemfontein, Durban, Salt River and other important railway centres. The significant fact that Poutsma and other leaders of the men were arrested before the strike actually started, and that large bodies of troops and police were drafted to various parts of the country, and took possession of important railway stations and workshops before a man had come out on strike, is abundant evidence of the prescience of the Government. Armed burghers from the outlying country districts, to the number of 10,000, were brought to the Rand, and similar forces were concentrated in parts of Natal and the Free State; whilst numbers of "special constables" were enrolled on the mines. This display of

force was the forerunner of what was to follow. Although not the least disorder was noticeable in any part of the country, on the 15th of January, Martial Law was proclaimed in the Transvaal, the Free State and Natal. It would require a large volume to give details of the "reign of terror" which followed the abrogation of the civil laws of the country. The liberty of no peaceful citizen was secure. In every part of the country men were arrested and thrown into gaol, without the formality of a charge being laid against them. The number of Trade Union "leaders" arrested was prodigious—and hundreds were arrested who were neither Trade Unionists nor "leaders."

Labour members of Parliament were considered to be dangerous persons—Col. Creswell in Johannesburg, and "Tommy" Boydell in Durban, being among those imprisoned; and Labour Provincial and Town Councillors were arrested by the score. There were, of course, many amusing comedies during this orgy of indiscriminate imprisonment. For instance, the Typographical Union Branch Offices in Johannesburg were raided, and the unemployed printers, who were indulging in a quiet game of "Nap," were deemed to be lawless conspirators and were marched off to gaol!

The story of the "rounding-up" by bands of armed and mounted Burgers of the peaceful citizens of Benoni, their march to gaol, and their confinement in a "black hole," reads like a chapter in a story of Czardom. Never was there such a scandalous disregard of human liberty, or such a contempt displayed for the rights of citizenship, as in that evil period of "Martial Law." Private letters were confiscated in the Post Office, telegrams and cables deliberately delayed or withheld altogether; the truth was ruthlessly censored, and garbled and erroneous statements published. All this display of force and mis-application of energy, because a few thousand railway workers had gone out on strike! The crowning folly of a long series of callous actions in which all the principles of law and order were set at defiance is still to be recorded. Rightly or wrongly, the credit of this exploit of "saving civilisation" in South Africa, is laid at the door of the Minister of Defence in the Botha Cabinet—General Smuts. In the dead of night, nine out of the many hundreds of prisoners lying in the gaols of the Transvaal, were removed from their cells, conducted to a special train, and taken to Durban under armed escort. Here they were forcibly put aboard the steamship "Umgeni," which sailed from Durban for London on the morning of January 30th. The names of

the nine "deportees" were H. J. Poutsma, J. T. Bain, A. Crawford, R. B. Waterston, G. Mason, D. McKerrall, W. Livingstone, A. Watson and W. H. Morgan. Although the kidnapping of these men was carried out by stealth, rumours of the affair leaked out, and an enterprising Labour journalist took the risk of publishing the rumour as a fact. The Courts of Law were at once appealed to, but no legal redress could be obtained. A Cape Town tug was chartered, and an endeavour made to intercept the "Umgeni" and take the men off; but this expedient also failed.

Parliament assembled at Cape Town on the same day as the "Umgeni" left these shores. Col. Creswell, the leader of the Labour Party in the House of Assembly, made a statement of the facts of the case, and demanded Parliamentary intervention. The Speaker of the House blandly intimated that as General Smuts had already given notice of his intention to introduce a Bill indemnifying the Government from the consequences of its action, he declined to permit the question to be discussed. A stormy scene ensued; but General Smuts moved the adjournment of the sitting, and a docile majority voted for it—and when the House re-assembled three days later, the time had passed when active intervention on the men's behalf was of value. There is no more interesting record in the whole of the Parliamentary history of South Africa than the story of the gallant stand made in the Union Assembly by the little band of Labourites, in opposition to the Indemnity Bill. Their first move was to obtain consent for the counsel of the "deportees" to appear at the Bar of the House. Advocate Percy Smith, a staunch Labourite, was afforded that rare privilege, and made the most of his opportunity. The aim of the Government was to rush the Indemnity Bill through all its stages, and to gazette it before the ship arrived in London. With a docile majority, and an official Opposition not likely to stand in the way of this project, there was apparently little chance of this design being frustrated. The Government had not taken into consideration the strenuous efforts of the six Labour members. Messrs. Andrews, Boydey, Creswell, Haggart, Madeley and Sampson not only made memorable speeches in the debates which followed the introduction of the Bill, but they demonstrated the fact that a determined body of men, however small they might be in numbers, could be an effective opposition to the Government's proposals. They displayed wonderful resource in their efforts to keep the debate going. They divided the House on innumerable occasions, and raised ingenious problems of Parliamentary

usage and procedure. In committee they fought every clause of the Bill, and moved the deletion in turn of each name of the deportees on the scheduled list—a fresh debate on the whole nine names. An attempt to rush the passing of the Bill ended in an all-night sitting, the House adjourning in the daylight hours.* It was on March 10th, at 12.17 in the morning, that the Indemnity Bill passed its third reading in the Assembly, and made its journey to the Senate to undergo the criticism of Labour's only Senator, the Honourable Peter Whiteside. Ten days later the Bill received Royal assent. The Government never regained the prestige it lost in this great Parliamentary struggle, which strengthened both the industrial and political sides of the movement. Not many months after, the "deportees" were quietly brought back to South Africa in the steamship "Umvoti."

The subsequent careers of some of the deported men throw an interesting light on their mentality. Livingstone preferred to remain in the Old Country. Poutsma became a paid official organiser for the Party led by the General who deported him. Crawford blossomed forth as a "star" industrialist, whose contributions to the columns of the anti-Labour press were in striking contrast to his earlier effusions; he was in high favour with the Smuts Government, who twice sent him to the Geneva Convention to represent the organised workers—in spite of strenuous Trade Union opposition to his selection. Waterston was shortly afterwards elected to the Assembly, and has retained his seat ever since. Bain lived and died honoured and respected in the Trade Union movement, and Messrs. Watson and McKerrall resumed their efforts on behalf of the organised workers as though the deportation incident had never interrupted their activities.

So ended an episode which reads more like a fairy tale than a chapter in a people's history.

AN INTERLUDE.

The outbreak of the World War in 1914, and the Afrikander Rebellion, put a speedy end to industrial strife in this country. Conciliation took the place of coercion.

There was an abnormal rise in the cost of living, and it may be that the method adopted by the engineering employees

* This is the longest "sitting" on record of the House of Assembly in South Africa. It lasted from 2.15 p.m. on one day to 6 p.m. on the following day, without a break.

of the Johannesburg Town Council to adjust the difference between wages and the soaring prices of essential commodities, had not a little to do with a speeding up of conciliation tactics. The engineers who kept the plant going which provided Johannesburg with light and power calculated that £8 1s. od. per week was the equivalent of the purchasing power of £6 os. od. before the War, and they demanded and received the increased pay, on pain of suspending the operations of the Power Stations. The Mining Houses, with gold at a premium, made haste to come to reasonable terms with their employees; the Government also were surprisingly pliant in their attitude towards the Railway and Harbour workers and the Civil Service generally. Other large employers of labour wisely followed the example set them. Trade Unions and Federations of Trades were now recognised as most desirable and laudable institutions for ensuring industrial efficiency and contentment.

For the whole period of the War there was scarcely an incident worthy of being termed an industrial outbreak.

THE JOHANNESBURG "PROVISIONAL BOARD OF CONTROL."

In March, 1919, occurred one of the most dramatic episodes in Municipal and Trade Union history in South Africa—the formation of the Johannesburg "Provisional Board of Control," a body which usurped the functions of the elected Town Councillors of Johannesburg, and carried on for some days the essential services of the town, under the direct authority of the Trade Unions. A calm perusal of the circumstances, many years after the event, leaves no doubt that the idea of a "Board of Control" was not the inspiration of a moment, but that its details had been carefully studied and worked-out beforehand. The beginning of the trouble was a somewhat indiscreet statement in the Johannesburg Council Chamber on March 28th, when Councillor A. S. Reed, chairman of the Tramways Committee, declared that the Power Station was over-staffed, and that a number of the men were idling—"sitting about" and doing nothing. The Council appears to have been impressed with his statement, and passed a resolution in favour of retrenchment in the Power Station. The publication of this item of news had an unlooked-for effect. The men in the Power Station met together the following morning and demanded an immediate apology from Mr. Reed, and also his resignation from the

Chairmanship of the Committee. They further insisted that the resolution of the Council should be rescinded, and unanimously decided to "down tools" until their demands were complied with. It is a significant fact that the men also passed a resolution at this meeting to the effect that a Joint Board of Control, consisting of an equal number of workmen and members of the Town Council (as representing the citizens) be formed to administer the workshops and municipal enterprises. The Tramwaymen's Union took sides with the Engineers, and the Amalgamated Society of Engineers instructed their members to withdraw their labour in other departments of the municipality, 650 men being involved. A Strike Committee was formed with J. T. Bain as Chairman, and the Transvaal Federation of Trades determined to support the strikers. The Town Council seemed to be unable to make up its mind as to what to do, and for a couple of nights the town was in darkness, and much inconvenience was caused by the lack of trams. When Monday morning dawned, the "Joint Board of Control" was in operation. The Municipal servants and a minority of the Councillors countenanced this flagrant breach of all municipal law and order, and Johannesburg folk were pleased enough once again to obtain essential services, and seemed to worry very little about the constitutional aspect of the case. Certain "heads of departments" were apparently not altogether pleased with the position, but a gentle warning to them was sufficient to prevent their active interference in the work of the Board. How long the Joint Board could have carried on the work, without the inevitable complications, is a problem not yet answered. Ministers of the Crown and the Transvaal Administrator hurried to Johannesburg from Cape Town and Pretoria. Mr. Reed, the offending Chairman of Committee, made his apology and retired from the scene, and a new era of peace was instituted, with a permanent Joint Board of Councillors and employees to prevent any further resort to "direct action." The "Provisional Joint Board" experiment was rather a risky undertaking, and will probably never be repeated; although, as is related below, the Durban Municipal Workers shortly afterwards adopted the same expedient to solve a little domestic difficulty of their own.

THE DURBAN "BOARD OF CONTROL."

Early in January, 1920, there was a serious dispute between the Durban Municipal Employees and the Town Council. Friction between a section of the Council and its

employees had been rife for some time. The Employees had formed themselves into a powerful Society, and had succeeded in inaugurating a Joint Board of Councillors and Employees to settle conditions of employment. It was the proposed dismissal of the Assistant Town Clerk (Mr. H. H. Kemp), one of the active officials of the Society, which finally brought matters to a head. The Employees' Society considered that this official was being deliberately "victimised," and that a determined attempt was being made to smash up their Society.

After a period of fruitless negotiation with a stubborn Council, the strike weapon was used. The Clerical Staff ceased work, the Borough Market was suspended, the trams ceased to run in the streets, and it was a moot question as to whether all the "essential services" would or would not be suspended. Inspired no doubt by the example of the Johannesburg Municipal workers, the Strike Committee, three days after coming out, determined to institute a "Board of Control." Calmly installing themselves in a Municipal Office in the Town Hall, the various sub-committees set up by the Strikers successfully usurped the functions of the controlling body—for one brief day! The Council was evidently non-plussed, and promptly came to terms, when it was once more permitted to control Municipal undertakings. The experiment was so brief, that no legal complications were met with, and as practically all the Municipal employees had agreed to carry on as usual under the usurping body, nobody seemed any the worse for the change. Those law-abiding citizens who might have been expected to look askance at such a revolutionary and anti-democratic institution as a "Board of Control," seemed to accept the position with equanimity—being apparently quite satisfied, as long as the trams were running again, to shut their eyes to a flagrant disregard of Municipal practice. The "Board of Control" certainly provided the citizens with essential Municipal services, and some people think that that is probably the only good thing that can be said in favour of that short-lived institution.

DURBAN TRAMWAY STRIKE.

In May, 1921, another conflict between the Durban Town Council and a section of its employees resulted in the total suspension of its tramway service. The dispute was one of wages. The Joint Board had agreed that a ten per cent. increase was justifiable; but the majority of the Council,

although they agreed to the increase being given to several sections of their employees, declined to extend the increase to the Tramway workers. The Tramwaymen's Union was affiliated to the S.A. Industrial Federation, and the solidarity of its members, and the strong backing they were receiving from the organised workers, made victory almost certain. The end of the strike, however, was somewhat akin to a fiasco. "Archie" Crawford, the General Secretary of the S.A.I.F., came down from Johannesburg, and persuaded the men to resume work, on the distinct understanding that a Government Enquiry would be held into the circumstances of the dispute. The Enquiry did not materialise. Whether the Government misled Crawford, or Crawford misled the men, is still a controversial question.

THE RAND "REVOLUTION" OF 1922.

It is a difficult task to describe in moderate and restrained language the tragic story of the alleged "Revolutionary Outbreak" on the Witwatersrand in the early months of 1922. Unfortunately no such restraint was shown by the average South African newspaper when recording the daily incidents in this long drawn-out struggle between the workers in the Transvaal and their employers. "Revolution" was a comparatively mild term in those days. "Bolshevik Upheaval," "Soviet Plot" and "Red Revolt" were freely used as an alternative to "Revolution." It is now-a-days the accepted newspaper code to confine the word "strike" to a dispute involving a small number of workers, and to use the "Revolution" and "Defiance of the State" stunt whenever a really big industrial upheaval occurs. If to offer a firm and unyielding opposition to armed forces of the Crown, when they are called out to shoot down peaceful strikers, can be properly termed a "Revolution," then the 1922 Strike on the Rand was undoubtedly a Revolution. It would be folly to assert that there was then the one-sided slaughter of unarmed and defenceless men, women and children that was witnessed in 1913. Men who had served on the battle-fields of Flanders, or gone through the ardours of the German West and East Campaigns, could not be expected to submit to being massacred without striking a blow in their own defence. It is probable that in many of the pitched battles which occurred along the Reef, there were as many killed and wounded on the side of the Military forces as there were among the Strikers. Nevertheless, the upheaval was in no

true sense of the word a revolutionary outbreak, and no impartial student of the course of events would venture to describe it as one. In November, 1918, the Declaration of Peace found the Gold Mining Industry in the Transvaal enjoying an unprecedented boom. It soon became evident, however, that the days of gold premiums were likely to end, and it was not long before the Chamber of Mines, in common with other large employers of labour, were endeavouring to introduce economy in the wages bill. The agreement entered into with the South African Industrial Federation, in 1921, was that a reduction in wages should automatically occur with a reduction in the cost of living. The Chamber of Mines, evidently not satisfied with this reasonable arrangement, but not seeing their way clear to alter it, hit upon a couple of expedients to lessen the cost of production. As a preliminary step a number of alleged "redundant" workers were sent to swell the ranks of the unemployed. Then the Chamber of Mines proceeded to propose the adoption of a far more sinister policy than a mere reduction of wages. The spokesman of the Chamber openly advocated the removal of the "Colour Bar." Long established custom, as well as definite Government Regulations, had laid it down that certain duties on the mines, such as blasting, removing mine props, and driving engines, were only to be performed by white men, the prevention of accidents being the main reason for the enforcement of these Regulations. The argument used by the Chamber of Mines was that if these and other tasks allotted to the white workers could only be performed by some of the "more experienced Natives" considerable economies could be effected. The acceptance of this policy would undoubtedly lessen the comparatively small number of white workers employed on the mines, and add to the vast army of cheap and servile Native labour already engaged in the industry, and no doubt this simple method of reducing working costs would result in a general reduction in the wages bill.

It is not to be wondered at that the white workers on the mines fiercely opposed this scheme of economy. Their minds were logical enough to perceive that neither wages agreements nor mining regulations would be of any practical value to them, if Natives were to replace them in their jobs. All the fierce denunciations of the Colour Bar as "immoral" and "irrational" fell upon deaf ears. The white mine workers were totally unmoved by all the accusations made against them by Press and Pulpit, that they were guilty of deliberate injustice in their attempt to prevent the Natives from rising into the "higher spheres of labour," for which their ability

and cheapness fitted them. The Chamber of Mines modestly estimated that their proposals would displace merely two thousand white men, but the mine workers calculated that twice that number would be dismissed. The Trade Unions had visions of a Reef run almost entirely by cheap Native labour, and they refused to be beguiled by arguments in favour of the policy. Undaunted by grave warnings of what was likely to follow, the Chamber of Mines, on December 28th, 1921, repudiated the "status quo" agreement under which the miners worked during the War period, and gave notice that on February 1st, 1922, they would introduce new conditions of employment. The first open rupture took place on the Transvaal Coalfields, where the white miners were asked to accept a reduction of 5/- a shift—a gentle hint to the men on the Gold Mines as to what the probable "new conditions" of labour would be for them. The Engineers in the Victoria Falls Power Station were also notified of a reduction in their wages. The workers in these industries demanded arbitration, but this was refused. On the 1st January, 1922, the Coal Miners commenced their strike; on the 10th the Victoria Power Station men and the engineering workers on the Reef came out, and on the same day the strike on the Gold Fields was announced—over 22,000 men being involved. The suspension of work was peacefully accomplished, and there were no signs of disorder anywhere. The Government had prepared Martial Law Regulations early in January, but there did not seem to be any need to suspend the ordinary laws of the country. At the very start of the dispute, however, the Government drafted large forces of mounted police into the Transvaal, on the plea that a large number of idle natives on the mines might lead to serious disorder. The strikers had instituted a system of "commandoes" which were kept under splendid discipline, and for over a month there was not the least sign of disturbance. On February 13th, General Smuts published a letter which plainly indicated that he had accepted the dilution scheme of the mine owners, whom he publicly called upon to re-start the mines, promising to give protection to strike-breakers. This communication strengthened the resistance of the men, who resolved to stand fast in their opposition. A few little skirmishes took place between some of the pickets and alleged "scabs," and a few miners were placed under arrest. On February 27th, the police intercepted a small procession of strikers from Reitfontein, injured a few men in a charge, and lodged some of them in Boksburg gaol. On the following evening a number of unarmed comrades of the imprisoned men serenaded them by singing "The Red Flag" outside the

gaol. They were deliberately fired on by a body of police, under the command of one Capt. Fulford, three of the strikers being killed and a number wounded. This was the first bloodshed in the strike, and eye-witnesses described it as a wanton act of violence, totally unnecessary and unjustifiable. A further illustration of the methods adopted by the Government was shown in another incident. A dispute arose between the Johannesburg Town Council and the workers in the Municipal Power Station, on the proposed use of coal produced by "scab" labour in the Transvaal mines. A "Civic Guard," armed to the teeth, marched to the Power Station and forced the employees to clear out at the point of the bayonet, the light and power plant being closed down. An impudent and insulting communication from the Chamber of Mines to the S.A. Industrial Federation, repudiating that body's qualification to be spokesmen on behalf of mine workers, and declining to hold any further correspondence with them, was a plain indication that the opening of the "shooting down" campaign had not been without influence on their mentality. The Federation determined to conduct a ballot in favour of a General Strike of all workers affiliated; but a self-elected "Council of Action" took matters out of the hands of the Federation, and called on all workers to join immediately in the strike, and, among others, a number of railway workers threw in their lot with the strikers. A series of little skirmishes between Europeans and Natives in several "undesirable" quarters in the neighbourhood of Johannesburg, and rumours of other collisions, were made the excuse for putting into force the Martial Law Regulations prepared in January. March 10th, the day on which Martial Law was proclaimed, ushered in an era of civil war. The East Rand bore the brunt of the first attack by the upholders of Law and Order. Aeroplanes raided Benoni, and destroyed the Benoni Trades Hall, dropping bombs on the building and completely wrecking it. Men, women and children, totally unconnected with the strike, were killed and wounded in the accomplishment of this daring feat of arms. Boksburg was also besieged, and forced to surrender—though the force that capitulated was evidently not composed of fighting units. Fordsburg, which was apparently looked upon as a hot-bed of revolution, was next attacked in force—aeroplanes, artillery, machine guns and rifles being brought to bear on this revolutionary stronghold. At least two alleged revolutionary leaders—Fisher and Spendruff—were found dead after the assault on their citadel. The slaughter was apparently somewhat indiscriminate, judging by the many stories current of

the shooting and bombing of boys and girls. If that had been the end of a pitiful story of Government ineptitude or criminal folly, it would be bad enough, but there is worse to follow. Military forces indulged in a general "round-up" of all suspected of complicity with the active resistance. Two days after hostilities had ceased, the Military took a man named Dowse out of his house in Rosettenville, and, according to eye-witnesses, deliberately shot him in cold blood; and this they also did to a phthisis victim named Smith, who had a large family of small children dependent on him. Then followed the "Hanekom tragedy." Three brothers Hanekom, aged 27, 20 and 17, were arrested, marched off in custody, and then lined up and shot by a firing party. There was no punishment meted out for these crimes against humanity. It was a different tale when it came to strikers. Special "Treason Courts" were set up, consisting of Judges, the right of trial by jury being refused. No less than 46 strikers were tried for wilful murder, and 18 of these were convicted and sentenced to death. Four of these men were hanged, the other sentences being commuted to various long and short terms of imprisonment. Numbers of others (including half-a-dozen women) were charged with various offences, ranging from high treason to assault, and a small proportion of them were either imprisoned or heavily fined. The Transvaal Strike Legal Defence Committee, an organisation which was formed to render legal assistance to the prisoners, in their excellent, if somewhat biassed "Story of a Crime;"* solemnly affirms that at least three of the four men hanged were totally innocent of the crimes for which they were condemned, and that none of them would have been convicted by any jury in the world. Meetings of protest and public petitions failed to save these men from the scaffold. C. C. Stassen was the first victim of the Government's policy. The triple execution of S. A. Long, H. K. Hull and D. Lewis ended the hanging. There is, perhaps, no more thrilling tale in the annals of toil, than that of how these three men bravely marched to the gallows, singing "The Red Flag." A wonderful demonstration of sympathy at the funeral of "Taffy" Long, when "50,000 white men" reverently followed his body to the grave, helped in no small measure to save the lives of the other condemned men. Just as in 1914, the immediate effect of the attempt

* If readers wish to read a less sympathetic account of the "Revolution," they will find one in the well-informed contributions to "The Round-Table" for March and June 1922.

to "wipe-out" Trade Unionism was the defeat of Government nominees for the Transvaal Provincial Council in every constituency along the Reef, so the first-fruits of the 1922 "Revolution" was the defeat of a Government whose record of bloodshed and use of brute force to trample down the rights of the workers aroused resentment among all classes. The Chamber of Mines, in pursuance of its declared policy, contravened the Mining Regulations with impunity, and when a Mine Manager was prosecuted in 1923, the Courts declared the "Colour Bar" Regulations *ultra vires*. How far the Mine Owners might have gone in displacing the white workers, if there had been no change of Government in the Union of South Africa, it would be difficult to estimate; but undoubtedly they would have seriously diminished the facilities for the employment of white workers on the Rand. The Trade Union Movement in South Africa did not suffer so much from defeat as from internal dissensions. The S.A. Industrial Federation lost caste, and soon became merely a shadow of its former self—much of the antagonism shown to that body being due to the tactlessness of its officials.

Trade Union organisation accordingly marked time for a while, and the general desire for conciliation resulted in the passing of the Industrial Conciliation Act in 1924. This Act, together with the inevitable recovery of the workers' organisations, has stimulated Trade Unionism in every part of the country, and may lead to more closely knit organisation between the workers in all industries. The Industrial Conciliation Act will be dealt with in detail later.

CHAPTER II.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE CHIEF TRADE UNIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

(A) INTRODUCTION.

IN attempting to give any classification of Trade Unions, one is always met by insuperable difficulties. The kind of difficulty to be met with may be illustrated by reference to the Mining Industry. Here we have about a dozen Unions catering for workers upon the mines in the Transvaal, among which are: The South African Mine Workers' Union; Amalgamated Engineering Union; Boilermakers' Union; Moulders'; Reduction Workers'; Engine Drivers' and Firemen's Association; S.A. Operative Masons'; Building Workers' Industrial Union; and Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers.

Certain of these Unions (e.g., the Mine Workers' Union and the Reduction Workers' Union) will cater only for workers on the Mines, but the other Unions have members all over South Africa, and working in conjunction with workers in various occupations.

Here we have the central problem of Trade Union Organisation, and it is well we should realise it at the outset. Trade Unions have grown up in the past among groups of workers who believed themselves to have common interests, by reason of the character of their occupations. As a Mason, for example, it was thought that you had more in common with other Masons than you had, say, with Engine Drivers or Reduction Workers; you therefore joined an operative Masons' Union and gave its officials power to bargain for wages and conditions with the employers of Masons. But these same Employers were also Employers of Engine Drivers and Reduction Workers and of other Building Trade operatives, too. The question has therefore arisen as to whether the best wages and conditions for Masons on the Mines can be obtained by isolated action. (We get also, in the case of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, men with one rate of

pay on the Railways and another rate in Engineering shops outside the Railways.) The present view evidently is that isolated action is a thing of the past. On the one hand there is the State prepared to allow, under the Industrial Conciliation Act, the setting-up of Industrial Councils and Conciliation Boards for whole Industries, with representatives of all workers and representatives of all employers in the industry meeting together in conference and drawing-up agreements about work and wages; while, on the other hand, we are not surprised to find organisations of employers and organisations of workers growing-up to provide means for the common expression of the respective views of employers and workers in an industry. In the Mining Industry we have the Chamber of Mines representing the owners, and a Mining Advisory Council being set-up to represent the workers. (See Page 121.)

Specialisation and the inter-locking of trades tend to make the old craft divisions obsolete. The trustification of Industry has also tended to eliminate the single employer. We find therefore that Trade Unions are becoming now-a-days either Industrial Unions or Amalgamated Unions, covering workers in the numerous more or less related sections of any occupation. Wherever an Industry is localised, Trade Union Organisation will be local; but to-day the majority of Trade Unions cover a wide area, and, either directly or indirectly, they are linked-up with some national body.

Most Unions to-day are registered under the Industrial Conciliation Act, but there are many still unregistered.

A point of interest regarding Registered Trade Unions was decided last year when the South African Industrial Union applied for Registration, but was refused on the ground that it did not come under the second part of the definition of a Trade Union. (See page 141.) The Registrar of Trade Unions would not be able to know what to register, if "all-in" Unions were considered as Trade Unions. This ruling has the effect of checking too wide a membership on the basis of One Big Union for all workers.

(B) A LIST OF TRADE UNIONS AND THEIR MEMBERSHIP.

The number and membership of Trade Unions are fluctuating quantities, but an attempt has been made to compile a list of Registered and Un-registered Unions up to June 30th, 1926. As far as possible, where estimates of

membership have been made, we have purposely kept them on the low side. In a few cases we have no records.

Summarising our lists we suggest that the following is a rough statement of the present position (June 30th, 1926):—

Number of Registered Unions	67
Number of Un-registered Unions	38
Total	105
Approximate Membership of Registered Unions	53,000
Approximate Membership of Un-registered Unions (including 20,000 Natives)	50,000
Total	103,000

For the purpose of comparison the following Table is given. It is taken from the report of the Economic and Wage Commission (1926).

NUMBER AND MEMBERSHIP OF TRADE UNIONS.

Reported at September 30th, 1925, and
Registered at November 30th, 1925.

Occupation.	Trade Unions Reported at 30th November, 1925		Trade Unions Registered at 30th September, 1925.	
	No.	Membership	No.	Membership
Mining	9	11,161	7	9,098
Engineering and Metal Working ..	8	4,195	5	5,417
Building	11	7,159	11	6,687
Printing, etc.	1	2,971	1	3,074
General Manufacturing	6	1,228	11	2,267
State Services (excluding Teachers)	10	24,220	2	6,086
Teaching	8	9,524	1	37
Municipal and Tramway Services..	28	7,065	11	6,069
Trading and Clerical	9	5,651	8	5,415
Miscellaneous	7	13,973	6	666
Total	97	87,147	63	44,816

Previous returns (Census) give the membership of Trade Unions as: 132,754 on December 31st, 1920, and 107,507 on December 31st, 1921. This large decrease was due to the falling away of 20,000 members from the "Nurahs" organisation.

TRADE UNIONS REGISTERED ON JUNE 30th, 1926.

Name.	Membership (approx.)
Affiliated Plasterers' Trade Union of South Africa	193
African Stage Employees' Association	25
Amalgamated Building Trades' Union of South Africa	510
Amalgamated Engineering Union	2,800
Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers	2,600
Baking Employees' Association	330
Building Unions of the Eastern and Western Provinces	500
Building Workers' Industrial Union of South Africa	2,000
Cape Town & Camps Bay Tramway Workers' Industrial Union	750
Cape Town Municipal Workers' Association	760
Commercial Employees' Association (Cape)	400
Commercial Workers' Association (Durban)	—
Diamond Workers' Union	160
Durban Hotel Employees' Society	250
Durban Municipal Employees' Society	1,350
Engine Drivers' & Firemen's Protection Society	26
Furniture Workers' Union of South Africa	1,500
Ironmoulders' Trade Union of South Africa	370
Johannesburg Boot & Shoe Workers' Union	300
Johannesburg Municipal Employees' Association	368
Johannesburg Municipal Waterworks Mechanics' Union	32
Johannesburg Musicians' Union	194
Johannesburg Tramwaymen's Union	700
Kimberley Shop Assistants' & Clerks Association	270
Kimberley Tramwaymen's Union	45
Liquor Trade & Catering Staff, Transvaal Division	167
Manufacturing Tailors Workers' Association & Sick Benefit Society	100
Pietermaritzburg Municipal Tramwaymen's Union	43
Mine Surface Officials' Association of South Africa	2,000
Musicians' Union of South Africa	150
Natal Mine Workers' Association	300
Natal Musicians' Association	86
National Union of Railway & Harbour Services	5,000
National Vehicle Builders' Union of South Africa	250
Operative Bakers, Confectioners' & Conductors' Union (Cape)	400
Pietermaritzburg Commercial Workers' Union	150
Port Elizabeth & District Tailors' Union	85
Port Elizabeth Ostrich Feather Sorters' Association	40
Pretoria Musicians' Association	75
Pretoria Shop Assistants' Association	168
Pretoria Tramwaymen's Union	84
Queenstown Municipal Employees' Association	37
Amalgamated Engine Drivers' & Firemen's Association	1,230
South African Association of Assayers	121
South African Association of Municipal Employees	2,700
South African Boilermakers', Ironworkers' & Ship- builders' Society	800
South African Canvas & Rope Workers' Union	80

Name.	Membership (approx.)
South African Hairdressers' & Tobacconists' Association	118
South African Meat Trade Employees' Association	200
South African Mine Workers' Union	2,500
South African Operative Masons' Society	290
South African Postmen's Association	600
South African Railways & Harbours Salaried Staff Assn.	6,254
South African Reduction Workers' Association	920
South African Shop Assistants', Warehousemen's, Clerks' & Hairdressers' Association	870
South African Society of Bank Officials	3,800
South African Typographical Union	3,070
Society of Dental Mechanicians of Natal	20
Sweet Makers' Union of South Africa	200
Transvaal Association of Mine Secretaries	40
Transvaal Explosives & Chemical Workers' Union	118
Transvaal Mineral Waters Employees' Union	34
Transvaal Trades' School Teachers' Association	37
Underground Officials' Association of South Africa	1,359
Witwatersrand Tailors' Association	1,000
Witwatersrand Liquor & Catering Trades' Employees' Union	300

TRADE UNIONS UNREGISTERED ON JUNE 30th, 1926.

Name.	Membership (approx.)
Arme Blanke Vereniging	—
Associated Blacksmiths' & Ironworkers' Society of South Africa	18
Cape Province Fishermen's Society	100
Coloured Operative Bricklayers' & Plasterers' Trade Union of South Africa	218
Durban Tramwaymen	450
General Employees' Association of South Africa	—
General Workers' Union of South Africa	—
Indian Printers' Union	—
Industrial & Commercial Workers' Union of South Africa (Native)	20,000
Johannesburg Municipal Artizans' Union	—
Loco. Engineers' Mutual Aid Society	1,500
Musicians' Union of South Africa (East London and Border)	—
Musicians' Union of South Africa (National)	—
Natal Operative Painters' Society	—
Natal Teachers' Society	800
National Union of Leather Workers	2,737
Orange Free State Teachers' Association	2,800
Permanent Way Employees' Union	—
Postal & Telegraph Association of South Africa	2,304
Public Servants' Association of South Africa	5,500
Railways & Harbours Telegraphists' Association of South Africa	200
South African Electrical Trades' Union	100

Name.	Membership (approx.)
Suid Afrikaanse Onderwysers' Unie	1,585
South African Public Health Officials' Association	—
S.A.R. & H. Employees' Union	2,000
South African Teachers' Association	2,400
South African Telephone & Telegraph Association	1,400
The Locomotive Workers' League	300
Transvaal High School Teachers' Association	500
Transvaalse Onderwysers' Vereniging	2,588
Transvaal Teachers' Association	2,000
United Society of Boilermakers', Iron & Steel Ship-builders' of Great Britain & Ireland	50
Waitresses' Union	200
Witwatersrand White Miners' Association	1,000
Workers' Union	—

(C.) A GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE TRADE UNIONS
IN VARIOUS INDUSTRIES AND OCCUPATIONS.

I.

THE RAILWAYS AND HARBOURS.

At one time there seemed every prospect of there being only one Union for workers on the Railways and Harbours. The National Union of Railways and Harbour Services ("Nurahs") was growing in power about 1918-19, and was out to become an Industrial Union embracing all Railway and Harbour Workers. This ideal, however, was never reached, and the Nurahs to-day is only one of several Unions catering for various classes of workers in the Industry. The following is a list of the Unions existing to-day:—

1. The National Union of Railway and Harbour Services ("Nurahs").
2. Salaried Staff Association of the S.A.R. & H. ("Salstaff").
3. S.A.R. & H. Employees' Union.
4. Locomotive Engineers' Mutual Aid Society.
5. The League of Locomotive Workers.
6. The A.E.U. and A.S.W.
7. The Railway Telegraphists' Association.
8. The Chargemen's Association.
9. The Foremen's Association.
10. The Shop Stewards' Committee.
11. The Rhodesia Railway Workers' Union.

Some members of the Chargemen's and Foremen's Association are on the Salaried Staff, and both of these Associations are affiliated to the "Salstaffs." The S.A.R. & H. Employees' Union organises the daily paid workers, such as Shunters, Wagon Examiners, Porters, Cranemen, and the Labourers in the Railway Shops. The League of Locomotive Workers is more or less a Durban Union, while the Locomotive Engineers' Mutual Aid Society has branches in all parts of the Union.

The Shop Stewards' Committee is representative of the Shop Stewards in the various Railway Shops throughout the Union. There is no official recognition of this Committee by the Craft Trade Unions (A.E.U. and A.S.W.), which are inclined to favour the appointment of Shop Stewards from their own members. The A.E.U. in South Africa has about three-quarters of its membership in the Railway Shops.

THE SALARIED STAFF ASSOCIATION.

This is a powerful and well-organised Union with over 40 Branches. Its membership stands at 6,254, and as its name implies it enrolls members who are on the Salaried Staff of the Railways and Harbours.

Affiliated to the "Salstaff" are the Chargemen's Association, with 200 members, and the Foremen's Association, with 108 members. These Associations manage their own affairs, but are represented on the Divisional and Executive Committees of the "Salstaff." They deal direct with the administration on all matters pertaining to their particular grades, but unite with the "Salstaff" on all matters affecting the general interest of members of the Salaried Staff of the Administration.

The Association is managed through Branches, Divisional Committees and an Executive, which is composed of President, Vice-President, Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Business Manager, and two others, together with five members elected by Divisional Committees stationed within 50 miles of Headquarters. These elections take place at the Annual Congress. The General Secretary is not an Executive member, although naturally he attends all meetings.

The members pay their subscriptions monthly, and the rates are:—

1/- per month for members with salaries up to and including £450 per annum.

1/6 per month for members in receipt of salaries over £450.

The monies are paid into the Banking Account of the Divisional Committees, which are allowed to keep 25 per cent. of the funds received for working expenses of the Branches. After these have been paid, all money in excess of £25 must be remitted to Headquarters every three months.

The last Annual Report, October, 1925, of the "Salstaff," contains no less than 42 items giving details of the achievements during the previous year. In connection with the Association there is a Building Society, and the amount advanced in House Property now stands at over £50,000.

An interesting feature of the Union's activity is an Educational Scheme with Ruskin College, Oxford, by which members are assisted to undertake correspondence courses. The Executive and some Branches of the Association have recently affiliated to the Workers' Educational Association.

The "Salstaff" co-operates with the other Railway Unions, and also with other members of the Public Service Advisory Council, dealt with under the Public Service Section.

THE S.A.R. & H. EMPLOYEES' UNION.

This Union, catering for the daily-paid lower grades, was formed in November, 1924, and it embraces Guards, Ticket Examiners, Signalmen, Station Foremen, Shunters, Checkers, Cranemen, Carriage and Wagon Repairers, Porters, Labourers, and in fact all workers, except the Salaried Staff, the Enginemen and Firemen and the Artisans.

Durban is the Headquarters of the Union, and there are Branches at Pietermaritzburg, Ladysmith, Port Elizabeth and Kimberley. At the present time the membership stands at 2,000.

The Constitution is very similar to that of the "Salstaff," but the rates of subscription are different.

Members in receipt of less than 8/- per day pay 6d. per month; those in receipt of 8/- and over per day, pay 1/- per month.

There seems to be a big future for this organisation if it is properly managed. It is gratifying to know that there are cordial relations existing between this Union and the "Salstaff." A second "Nurahs" may arise some day—embracing all the grades.

THE LEAGUE OF LOCOMOTIVE WORKERS.

This Union came into existence in 1922 when the "Nurahs" disappeared from Durban. One of its chief objects includes the attempt to organise all "Loco" workers in South Africa. So far the activities of the Union have not spread beyond Durban and District and the membership is about 300 strong. Amalgamation or federation, with some other Railway Union, seems desirable.

THE R. & H. TELEGRAPHISTS' ASSOCIATION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

The Association was founded in 1919 under the leadership of Messrs. R. H. Bobbin as Chairman and C. T. Cootzee as Hon. Secretary, with a total membership of 80, representing at that time, some 75 per cent. of the total Telegraph staff of the Union Railways. It was early found that considerable good would result from the formation of the Telegraphists' Association, and a start was made by immediately tackling some questions, as: "Hours of Duty," "Grading," "Payment of Overtime and increased rates for same," with a result that great improvements were obtained for the members. The then standard hours of duty were reduced from 48 per week to 42. Improved grading was obtained and also improved scales of overtime payment.

The improvements which had thus been obtained resulted in a considerable increase in membership.

The Headquarters of the Association are at Johannesburg—the Transvaal, Free State and Natal each having the right to elect one Principal and one Alternate member to the Executive, while the Cape Province is divided into three areas, each area having the right to elect one Principal, and one Alternate member. The Executive is thus comprised of seven members, the Chairman being appointed by the Executive and holding office as Chairman of the Association for the year of appointment.

On the formation of the Grand Council of State Service Organisations in 1921, the unanimous vote of the members was obtained in favour of joining such, and the Association thus became a foundation member of that Council, which, however, is now defunct.

The year 1923 will long be remembered by all interested in the Association. The decision of the then Government of the country to reduce salaries and wages brought such a storm

of protest from all centres that it was early apparent that the Public Service Associations were to be put on their trial. The Telegraph Association, acting in close unity with the other Railway and Public Service organisations, took its share in the great fight put up against the contemplated step, and were successful in obtaining considerable modifications in the original scheme proposed by the Government. Mr. R. M. Banks, of the Salaried Staff Association, played a prominent part at this time.

The Executive of the Association meets at least twice annually at centres mutually agreed upon. The Annual Meeting is also held at different centres throughout the Union. These have been held at Johannesburg, Durban, Bloemfontein, Cape Town being the venue for this year.

From a membership of 80 in 1919 the Association has gradually increased in strength, until to-day it has a total membership of over 200, representing something like 98 per cent. of the Telegraphists of the Union Railways. They can thus claim that although their numbers are small, their percentage is amongst the highest, if not actually the highest of any Railway organisation in existence at the present time. The present Secretary is Mr. J. D. Glaister, of Durban.

THE LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEERS' MUTUAL AID SOCIETY.

This Union was started in Cape Town in 1905, and until lately most of its members were in the Cape. To-day, however, the Society has Branches in all parts of the Union, and has recently appointed a full-time General Secretary. The membership has doubled itself during the last year, and it now stands at 1,500.

Besides undertaking the usual functions of a Trade Union, in regard to collective bargaining, the Society has many other objects, which include Friendly Benefits and the promotion of Industrial Peace.

Contributions to the Society are 2/6 per month.

An interesting and well-conducted journal is published monthly.

RHODESIA RAILWAY WORKERS' UNION.

Founded November, 1916.

The first effort to promote a Railway Workers' Union in Rhodesia was an abortive attempt on the part of Mr. Frank Nettleton, followed some few years afterwards by a similar

failure on the part of Mr. Jack Keller, who was transferred to Livingstone by his employers as a reward for his failure—Livingstone being at that time the most malarial stricken spot in both the Rhodesias. It was not until July of 1916 that any real progress in the formation of a Trade Union was made, and, curiously enough, it directly resulted from the stranding of seven railway workers at Wankie, when the then Railway Administration refused to afford any assistance, save by a suggested advance of wages as a loan to each man. Having regard to the provisions of the Rhodes' Clause, the stranded men, led by J. W. Keller (the present General Secretary), determined to appeal to the Magistrate of the district for assistance, and despite covert threats of prosecution the men faced the issue with determination and won through. Though enquiry was made by the C.I.D., through the Railway Police, nothing further was heard as to prosecution, and the principle was established of the Administration's responsibility for food supplies being available for their employees under certain circumstances.

Following this came a definite desire to create an organisation having for its objects the betterment of the Railwaymen's conditions of service, and, since the country was under Martial Law, and as a combined strike was impracticable, 120 of the running-staff placed signed but undated resignations in the hands of the present General Secretary, and he was instructed by his colleagues to do whatever was essential in order to effect some alleviation of the truly horrible conditions under which the men were working.

Then came the culminating effort and the Union, under its present title, was born, the first President being the late David Payne, and the first Secretary, J. W. Keller (part time). The activities of the Union became of such force that although Keller had been refused leave to proceed to the front on no less than four occasions, he was now granted leave, and matters proceeded quietly until 1918, when owing to the duplicity of one of the Branch Officials an attempt to repeat the procedure of 1916 proved abortive, and an Arbitration Court, presided over by Mr. Justice Ward, was forced upon the men. The Railway Companies' able nominee was Mr. J. G. MacDonald, of the Goldfields of Rhodesia, Ltd., while the Union put forward as the men's nominee, Sir Chas. Coghlan. A few benefits were wrung out of the Railways at this Court, but the proceedings cost the newly-born Union over £1,000, which was only paid by reason of the financial help afforded by the present President, Mr. W. Harrison.

July, 1919, saw the return from the front of Mr. Keller to his part-time secretarial post, but the feeling had grown that, to be effective, a full-time official was required, with the result that the Branches unanimously nominated Keller for the post. As was to be expected, the sacrifice of fifteen years' service was not lightly to be thrown aside, but, yielding to the pressure of his fellow-workmen, Mr. Keller accepted the post, and in January, 1920, started out to organise effectively all sections of the service. A Delegates' Meeting was held, and, following attempts to negotiate "peacefully," a strike took place at 12 noon on the 15th February, 1920. It lasted for 13 days. The concessions gained were immense, viz., an increase of 25 per cent. in substantive pay; consolidation of "cost of living" allowance amounting to £54 per annum; climatic and territorial allowances; increased travelling and booking "on-and-off" expenses; annual leave as a right not a privilege; increased rates for overtime; full pay for public holidays and the removal of the embargo on the clerical staff joining the Union.

The world-wide depression of the Trade Union Movement consequent on world-wide unemployment was felt in Rhodesia as elsewhere, but since 1922 steady and continued progress has been made, with the result that to-day the Union is stronger than ever before, both numerically and financially. The present membership stand at 1,900, or 90 per cent. of the adult workers on the Rhodesia Railways. The Rhodesia Railway Workers' Union aims at the complete organisation of all workers employed on the Railways of Rhodesia and of all workers connected with the transport industry. The rules of the Rhodesia Railway Workers' Union provide for joint action with other Trade Unions and for financing Parliamentary candidates.

It now owns its own spacious offices, its own well-built clubs, with all the comfort and social advantages appertaining thereto, and is undoubtedly one of the best, if not the best, Trade Unions in South Africa. It is regretted that the Railway Workers stand alone in Rhodesia as a Trade Union, but it is hoped and felt that their example will be the means of revivifying the defunct Mine Workers and other kindred organisations. To this end the "Review"—a paper owned, controlled and published by the Rhodesia Railway Workers' Union, is giving assistance.

Note.—The Shop Stewards' Committee is now organised into an Association called "The Artisans' Staff Association." This body seems to be making good progress.

II.

THE MINES.

It has been pointed out already that there are about a dozen Unions organising workers on the Mines; but, as some of these have been treated elsewhere (e.g., Engineers, Woodworkers, Boilermakers, etc.), it is intended only to deal with those Unions specifically catering for Mine-Workers. These are:—

1. The South African Mine Workers' Union.
2. The White Mine Workers' Association.
3. The South African Reduction Workers' Association.
4. The South African Amalgamated Engine Drivers' and Firemen's Association.
5. Mine Surface Officials' Association of South Africa.
6. Underground Officials' Association of South Africa.
7. The Natal Mine Workers' Association.
8. Diamond Workers' Union.

As the South African Mine Workers' Union is the most important of the above an attempt must be made to give a brief resumé of its history.

I. THE SOUTH AFRICAN MINE WORKERS' UNION.

The first steps towards organisation seem to have been made in 1902, and soon afterwards the Transvaal Miners' Association was launched. Its adherents were apparently not over numerous, and the first experiences of its members do not appear to have been too happy. The first General Secretary was W. Mather, who was politely requested to resign his position in 1903, when the post was filled by S. W. Furzey. Mather, on the Rand, took an active part in opposing the introduction of Chinese labourers, but shortly afterwards he paid a visit to England and blossomed-out as a strong supporter of the proposal to introduce the "Chows," much to the deep resentment of the organised workers of the Transvaal, who strongly denounced him for his apostasy. It was not until the great strike of 1907, which is described elsewhere, that the Transvaal Miners' Association grew into the powerful organisation that it proved itself to be in the subsequent General Miners' Strikes of 1913-14 and 1922. The aim of the founders of the Association was to build up a fighting

organisation, and this they succeeded in doing. The objects of the Association, as set forth in the first Rule Book, were:— To raise funds for mutual help; to secure safety of life and limb for their members; to regulate the hours of labour and the conditions of employment; to secure accurate measurement for contract work; to provide for the defence of its members in Courts of Law, in cases where members were charged with contravening the Mining Regulations; to secure compensation for accidents; and to pay strike and lock-out benefits to its members. From its earliest days the Miners' Association was a loosely-organised, "up-and-down" sort of Union, with a "come-and-go" membership, and often with a load of debt. It was kept alive by the dogged efforts of its leaders; and, the rank and file, however careless they were in the matter of paying their Union dues, displayed a militant spirit, which was never daunted by the forces arrayed against them. From 1907 to 1915, Tom Mathews was the General Secretary of the Association, and he served them faithfully and well until his death. If ever the history of Labour in South Africa is written in a book large enough to deal adequately with the prominent men in the movement, Tom Mathews deserves a chapter to himself. Slowly but surely succumbing to that dread disease, miners' phthisis, he never lost his courage or his cheerfulness, but carried on the fight to the end of his days. And here is a fitting place to dilate on one phase of the history of the Transvaal Miners' Association, or, to give it the title which it subsequently adopted, when it extended its activities further afield, and established Branches in the Natal Coal Field and on the Diamond Field—The South African Mine Workers' Union. In a little propaganda pamphlet issued by the Union in 1911, it is stated that the hazardous nature of a miner's occupation (coupled with the fact that the average death-rate from miners' phthisis on the Transvaal is the highest in the world), is sufficient proof of the necessity of an organisation that would help to remedy these evils. In the Report of the British Home Office regarding the mortality among all miners, we find the following statement:—"Out of 142 deaths of Miners, 133 (or 94 per cent.) were from Miners' Phthisis, the average age of death being 37.2 years. Of 147 men who died and had worked rock-drills, in the Transvaal, the average duration of work was only 4.7 years, and the average age of death 31.3 years." Shortly after the 1913 upheaval on the Witwatersrand, Mr. Charles Mussared, writing to the "*Clarion*," placed on record the startling fact that, at that date, out of the eighteen men

who formed the Transvaal Miners' Association Strike Committee of 1907, only four were then alive, thirteen having died from miners' phthisis, and one being killed in a mining accident in Canada. The names given were:—J. H. Brodigan, J. Flanagan, A. Flynn, F. Shadwell, R. Taylor, J. Coward, H. Cowan, S. Crowl, J. Thompson, T. Willis and three others, who died of phthisis, and J. Crean, the victim of the accident. The four living members were:—J. Clough, M. Trewick, J. Johns, and Tom Mathews, all of whom were suffering from phthisis. It is true that, largely through the ceaseless efforts of men like H. W. Sampson, M.L.A., provision to-day is made for the sufferers from this dread disease, and to their widows and orphans; but, the sorrowful fact is still to be recorded that not all the precautions taken have done much to lessen the toll of its victims. The South African Mine Workers' Union, during its comparatively brief career, has had to organise at least three generations of miners, viz., the Cornishmen and North of England men who formed the earliest band of workers in the mines in the Witwatersrand; the various colonies of Continental nationalities who followed them; and, last of all, the large army of pure "Afrikanders" who now constitute some 90 per cent. of the mine workers on the Reef. At present, the South African Mine Workers' Union appears to be in a somewhat parlous state, compared with its former strength, but, there is not the least doubt that, in the near future, it will regain its proud position as a fighting force in the army of Labour.

2. THE WHITE MINERS' ASSOCIATION.

This body is a recent break-away from the South African Mine Workers' Union, but its strength is doubtful. Efforts are being made to heal the breach, and this may be accomplished ere this book is published.

3. THE S.A. REDUCTION WORKERS' ASSOCIATION.

Only European workers are organised in this Association, which has about 900 members. It is contended that non-Europeans are unsuited to come in contact with unwrought precious metal. The Association, therefore, is a strong supporter of the "Colour Bar" Regulations. The present system of grading in Reduction Works is not favoured by the

Association, and efforts are being made to establish a standard minimum-rate of pay, based on service in the industry. It is also desired to have a properly controlled system of juvenile employment in Reduction Works. The Association is pledged to support Compulsory Arbitration in the settlement of industrial disputes.

4. S.A. AMALGAMATED ENGINE DRIVERS' AND FIREMEN'S ASSOCIATION.

This Union, originally, was a Transvaal organisation and was founded in 1895. One of its earliest leaders was Peter Whiteside, who became General Secretary of the Union in 1902. About 1906 a South African Association was formed and later an amalgamation took place with a rival organisation. At the present time the Association has about 1,300 members on the Mines in various parts of South Africa, and, through its efforts on a Conciliation Board, greatly improved conditions have been obtained for its members.

5. MINE SURFACE OFFICIALS' ASSOCIATION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

As the name implies, this body enrolls surface workers of a special kind. The Association's constitution says that the following officials are eligible for membership:—

“All members of the Clerical, Metallurgical, Engineering and General Administrative Staffs of any mine (including Head Office staffs), working on the surface, who are in receipt of monthly salaries and who receive no extra remuneration on account of overtime.” At the present time this Association has about 2,000 members and it is registered under the Industrial Conciliation Act.

6. UNDERGROUND OFFICIALS' ASSOCIATION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

This Association is similar in character to the above and has about 1,300 members.

7. THE NATAL MINE WORKERS' ASSOCIATION.

This is an Industrial Union organising all European Workers on the Coal Mines in Natal. Its membership is 300.

An unsuccessful attempt was made to form a Union in 1910, but, in 1913, several leaders from the Transvaal Mine Workers' Union held propaganda meetings in Natal and succeeded in getting the Workers to strike for an improvement in their wages. After a few days, the Mine Owners conceded an increase of wages for skilled artisans and miners from 15/- a shift to 17/- a shift. Little was done in regard to organisation until 1916, when the rise in the cost-of-living stimulated action. An Association was formed and proper meetings were held. The Association's representatives then met the coal owners and obtained cost-of-living bonuses. In 1918 a Voluntary Conciliation Board was established and questions of hours, wages, health and holidays were dealt with. As a result of the Association's efforts good work has been done in connection with claims for compensation.

The Headquarters of the Association are at Hatting Spruit, and the Secretary is Mr. A. Emanuel. Every week two pages of the "Dundee Courier" are allotted to the Association for news about the mine workers.

8. THE DIAMOND WORKERS' UNION.

This is a small Union of about 200 workers in the Kimberley area.

III.

THE BUILDING INDUSTRY.

There are about 7,000 workers organised in the Building Trade in South Africa. In 1881, the International Organisation of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners (now the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers—the A.S.W.) opened a Branch in South Africa. This Union is a powerful craft Union and has not yet thrown in its lot with other Building Trade Unions which aim at organising all workers in the Building Industry.

To-day we have the following chief Unions catering for Building workers in South Africa:—

1. The Building Workers' Industrial Union (B.W.I.U.).
2. Amalgamated Building Trades' Union (A.B.T.U.).
3. Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers (A.S.W.).

4. South African Operative Masons.
5. Affiliated Plasterers' Trade Union.
6. Building Union of the Eastern Province (Cape).
7. Building Union of the Western Province (Cape).
8. S.A. Electrical Trades' Union.

The B.W.I.U and the Eastern and Western Provinces Building Trade Unions are Industrial Unions, and their membership includes the following:—

Bricklayers, Plasterers, Woodworkers, Painters and Decorators, Plumbers, Electricians, Gas-Fitters and Sheet Metal Workers. There are a few Masons in some areas, but most of the Masons are in the S.A. Operative Masons' Union. With regard to the Woodworkers, the majority are in the A.S.W., but, in some parts (Pretoria, for example), the B.W.I.U. have a large number of Woodworkers in their Union. In the Cape Province also the main body of Woodworkers are in the A.S.W.

The Amalgamated Building Trades' Union (A.B.T.U.) is mainly a Transvaal Union, and it is registered as a Bricklayers' Union. There was a Natal Operative Bricklayers' Society, but this body is now a part of the A.B.T.U.

All of the Unions mentioned above, except the S.A. Electrical Trades' Union, are members of the National Industrial Council of the Building Industry, which was founded in March, 1925. These Unions meet representatives of the employers who are organised in the National Federation of Building Trade Employers. A special section is devoted to the work of this Council. There is a Coloured Union of Bricklayers and Plasterers with just over 200 members.

A brief account will now be given of the chief Unions in the Industry.

(a) THE AMALGAMATED SOCIETY OF WOODWORKERS.

This Union has about 2,600 members in South Africa, and they are organised in twenty-seven branches—nearly half of which are in the Transvaal. There are five districts:—Cape Peninsula, Eastern Province, Natal, Transvaal, Orange Free State and Rhodesia.

This year, the Society for the first time in its history, will have a governing body of its own in South Africa. The new National Council (consisting of one member from each district) will meet for the first time in September, but not

again for three years, unless an emergency arises. The Society in South Africa has been controlled from Great Britain for over forty years, and the General Secretary (Mr. H. W. Green*) in his New Year address, said that almost invariably the desires and necessities of South Africa had been lost sight of, if not entirely ignored. The following quotation from the General Secretary's letter in the monthly Report for January, 1926, reveals a state of affairs, which may be taken as fairly typical of the interest shown by Trade Unionists generally in the business affairs of their Unions. He says:—"The returns of voting for members of the Executive and the General Organising Secretary, published in this issue, show a lamentable apathy in the affairs of the Society, ten per cent. of the membership alone taking sufficient interest to attend the branch meetings and record their votes; possibly climatic conditions had something to do with this, and also more probably the fact that conditions in the Building Industry have been more stable. Certainly during the past twelve months trade has been exceptionally good, and the average member under such conditions does not worry; he is content to let things drift until they begin to affect him personally, then, he suddenly wakes up, and naturally blames everyone but himself for what happens."

Perhaps, with a greater control of its own affairs, there may be a better interest shown in the business of the Union. It would also be easier now for the A.S.W. to link up with other Unions in the Building Industry, as Mr. Stobart (the Natal District Secretary) has repeatedly urged.

Membership in the A.S.W. is divided into two senior sections and one junior.

Contributions.—Section I., 3/9 per fortnight; Section II., 2/3 per fortnight; Section III., 3d. per week.

Among the benefits given are:—Unemployment, Sickness, Trade Privilege, Tool, Accident, Superannuation and Funeral.

(b) THE BUILDING WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION

This Union was founded in 1916. It seeks to enrol all Building Workers in one organisation and aims at cultivating "sufficient knowledge and power to enable the Union ultimately to control effectively the Building Industry in the interests of the Workers." The Union considers that this

* Since the above was written, Mr. Green has passed away.

object can only be achieved by the abolition of sectional and craft unionism. Nevertheless the Union realises that different groups of workers should have a fair share in the administration and in the election of officers. In order to achieve this the Union is divided into six groups, and each group is entitled to a representative on the Branch Committee. The six groups are as follows:—

- Group I. Carpenters, Joiners, Woodcutting Machinists, Wood-block Floor Layers, Cabinetmakers, Wood Carvers and Steel Ceiling Workers.
- Group II. Bricklayers, Masons, Tilers, Plasterers, Mosaic Workers, Stone Carvers, Stone Machinists, Slaters, Paviers, Granolithic Workers, Asphalt Workers.
- Group III. Painters, Decorators, Upholsterers, French-polishers, Paper-hangers, Glaziers and Sign-writers.
- Group IV. Plumbers, Zinc and Sheet Metal Workers, Electricians, Fitters, Blacksmiths and other Metal Workers allied to the Building Industry.
- Group V. Scaffolders, Labourers, Navvies, Timbermen, Crane Drivers, Hoist Attendants, Steel Erectors and Constructional Workers.
- Group VI. Quarry Workers, Brick and Tile Makers, Potters, Cement Workers, Concrete Workers, and all persons engaged in the manufacture of materials exclusively for building and constructional work.

The Union is strongest in the Transvaal and in Natal. The Building Workers in the Cape Province belong in the main either to the Eastern or Western Province Building Trade Union. The present membership of the B.W.I.U. is about 2,000.

CONTRIBUTIONS: To join the Union there is an entrance fee of 5/6 (this includes 3/- initiation to the Provident Fund) for every member earning 75 per cent. and over of the standard rate of pay; while 3/6 is charged for those earning less than 75 per cent. of the standard rate of wages.

The weekly contribution is 1/6 for the former, with full benefits, and 9d. for the latter, with half benefits.

BENEFITS: These include strike pay, victimisation pay, legal assistance and accident and tool benefit.

The Provident Fund aims at giving the nominees of deceased members fairly large sums of money. The money is raised by a "Call" of a certain amount from all members of the Union.

The B.W.I.U. knows no Colour Bar, and believes in paying all workers (if they are doing recognised jobs) the standard rate of pay for the job. The working rules of the Industry should, in the opinion of the Union, embody the following principles:—

- (a) A uniform standard of conditions in the Industry throughout South Africa.
- (b) A uniform rate throughout South Africa, based on the highest recognised rates.
- (c) Limitation of hours, and rigid opposition to systematic overtime.
- (d) The abolition of grading, piece-work and task-work.
- (e) Employers supplying all tools.

(c) THE AFFILIATED PLASTERERS' TRADE UNION.

This Union was founded in 1896, and has Branches in Johannesburg and Durban. The membership in the former is about 150, and in the latter 50. The Union is a registered one, and the Johannesburg Branch claims to have in its ranks about 90 per cent. of the competent Plasterers in the Transvaal.

The Union exists according to its Constitution: "For the protection of Plasterers while at the trade; accident, sickness or any other infirmity which by the Act of God may be visited upon them."

Membership of the Union is obtained by paying a contribution of 1/- per week; 3d. per week per member goes to a member who is now blind; 6d. goes to Sick and Accident Fund, and 3d. to Provident Fund. The Union has no Unemployment Fund, but any member out of work is exempt from paying his contribution.

The policy of the Union is strictly a Craft one, and it is diffident and suspicious of the attempts to form links with other organisations.

(d) GENERAL.

There are similar Unions to the Affiliated Plasterers' Trade Union, viz. :—

- 1. S.A. Operative Masons' Society.
- 2. Amalgamated Bricklayers' Trade Union.
- 3. Natal Operative Painters' Society.

These Unions are now thinking of joining up with other Unions in some form of amalgamation.

The position in the Building Industry is likely to undergo big changes shortly, largely due to the operation of the Industrial Conciliation Act in bringing the various Unions together in Conference, for the purpose of presenting a common front to the Employers at the Meetings of the Industrial Council.

IV.

ENGINEERING AND METAL WORKERS.

There are five Unions organising Metal Workers, but so far only three are important. These are:—The Amalgamated Engineering Union, the South African Boilermakers', Ironworkers' and Ship Builders' Society, and the Ironmoulders' Trade Union of South Africa. The other Unions are:—The United Society of Boilermakers, Iron and Steel Shipbuilders of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Blacksmiths' and Ironworkers' Society of South Africa.

SUMMARY OF MEMBERSHIP.

A.E.U.	2,800
S.A. Boilermakers', etc.	1,800
Ironmoulders' Trade Union	370
United Society of Boilermakers	50
Associated Blacksmiths	18

An account of the two chief Unions will now be given.

THE AMALGAMATED ENGINEERING UNION (A.E.U.).

This Union is attached to the English A.E.U. through a South African Council. The parent Society opened a Branch in Durban about 1890. Since then Branches have been formed in all parts of the country. Many of the foremost leaders of the Workers' Movement in South Africa have been, or are, members of the A.E.U.

The relation of the South African body to the English A.E.U. is set forth in the Constitution. Briefly the position is this: There is a South African Council, consisting of five members, residing in the neighbourhood of Johannesburg. These men have power to make any arrangements which par-

ticularly concern South African members, such as: Levies, opening of new Branches, Reports, Investment of Funds, etc. Naturally there are occasions when the Union here finds itself handicapped in having to refer matters to the Executive Council in England. It is probable that some day the example of the A.S.W. will be followed and there will be complete autonomy granted for the A.E.U. in South Africa. The rules provide for this.

A very large number of the A.E.U. members work in the Railway Shops where they receive sometimes a higher, or a lower, rate of pay than those who work elsewhere.

MEMBERSHIP.

A man may join one of four sections in the Union.

RATES OF CONTRIBUTIONS AND LEVIES FOR QUARTER ENDING MARCH, 1925.

Section of Membership	Contributions per Week	Superannuation	Contingent	Auxy. Own and other Trades	Benevolent	Trade Union Congress	Total
Section 1	1/6	2/-	1/-	2/-	—	3d.	5/3
Section 2	1/-	2/-	1/-	2/-	—	3d.	5/3
Section 3	6d.	—	1/-	2/-	—	3d.	3/3
Section 4	3d.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Artificer Members ..	1/-	2/-	—	2/-	—	3d.	4/3
Out of Trade Members	1/-	2/-	—	—	—	—	2/-

ORGANISATION: South Africa is divided up into four areas, viz., Transvaal, Cape Colony, Natal and O.F.S., and Kimberley. There is also a district in Rhodesia.

In each area there are Branches. The Branches are organised into Districts, and there are District Committees for Witwatersrand, Cape Town, Durban and Pretoria.

The District Committees have power to deal with and regulate the rates of wages, hours of labour, terms of overtime, piecework and general conditions affecting the interests of the Trades in their respective districts. In seaport towns they have the control over, and fix the rate of wages for, sea-going engineers.

As an illustration of the efficiency of the organisation, the following copy of a monthly Trade Report is illuminating. Of course, other Unions have similar methods of recording their position, but the report on the next page is a good instance.

FINANCE: All subscriptions are paid into the Branches and the Branch Treasurer keeps about £30 in hand. The rest of the money is banked in the names of the five Branch Trustees. The South African Council sends down for money periodically, or when required; but Branches are permitted to keep in hand a sum equal to £1 per member.

The A.E.U. is affiliated to the South African Trades Union Congress and it is one of the largest Unions connected with that body. They have recently felt aggrieved that their representation at the Congress is small in comparison with the amount of their contributions, but the T.U.C. is anxious that no single Union shall be able to dominate the Congress, by reason of numbers and financial strength.

SOUTH AFRICAN BOILERMAKERS', IRON- WORKERS' AND SHIPBUILDERS' SOCIETY.

Before the year 1916 there was no purely South African body catering for Boilermakers, but steps were taken in October, 1916, to form a National Society. This was successfully launched, and sixteen branches were set up in various parts of the Union.

The Executive Council, elected in 1917, soon found that there was plenty of scope for the improvement in the working conditions of Boilermakers. Very soon successful negotiations took place with the Railway Administration and the Chamber of Mines. In connection with the latter, an agreement was reached in regard to the appointment of Foremen Boilermakers and Charge-hands—an agreement which is looked upon as a distinct gain for the members of the Society.

BRANCHES of the Society exist at: Benoni, Springs, West Rand, Germiston, Pretoria, Cullinan, Bulawayo, Salt River, Bloemfontein, East London, Beaufort West, Durban, Kimberley, Uitenhage, Pietermaritzburg and Mafeking.

MEMBERSHIP: The Society has a membership of approximately 800. There are two sections and admission to these is strictly safeguarded.

SECTION A: A member of this section must have served a five years' apprenticeship as a Boilermaker, Angle-Ironsmith, Plater, Riveter, Caulker, Sheet Ironworker, Bridge Builder, or Electric and Oxy-Acetylene Welder and Burner. Written or personal testimony must be given to prove that a candidate for admission has served his apprenticeship.

SECTION B: In this section membership is at the discretion of the Branch and may be sanctioned for any person working as a Holder-up, Rivetter, or Truck Repairer, even though the person has not served an apprenticeship. Section B members are prevented from making "progress" in the trade, and they do not receive as great benefits as Full members. Their contributions, of course, are less than those eligible for Section A.

CONTRIBUTIONS.

SECTION A: Proposition fee, 5/-; entrance fee, 10/-; and thereafter 5/- per month as contribution, and 6d. per month to the Emergency Fund.

SECTION B: Proposition fee, 4/-; entrance fee, 8/-; and thereafter 4/- per month as contribution, and 6d. per month to the Emergency Fund.

Apprentices: Half-price.

GOVERNING BODY.

The Governing Body of the Society is an Executive Council consisting of six members and the General Secretary—all of whom must reside within 50 miles of Johannesburg. Councilmen hold office for two years. They are elected by ballot, at meetings of the Branches.

BENEFITS.

Under the Constitution Members are entitled to the following benefits:—Funeral, Emergency, Strike, Unemployment, Distress.

So far over £6,000 have been distributed in Benefits.

CO-OPERATION POLICY.

The Society has always favoured association with other Trade Unions, and has been willing to take its share of responsibility in furthering the interests of the working class. It is affiliated to the South African Trade Union Congress.

George Brown, M.L.A., is looked upon as the father of the Society, and has faithfully served it in the capacity of Organiser.

INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL FOR THE ENGINEERING INDUSTRY (TRANSVAAL).

Efforts are being made in various districts to set up Industrial Councils in the Engineering Industry. One has recently been formed in the Transvaal, and an agreement was signed on May 5th, 1926. The objects of the Council are interesting, especially the one which deals with the control of the Industry (No. 8).

OBJECTS.

1. To secure the complete organisation of employers and employees throughout the Industry.
2. To promote good relationship between employers and employees in order to secure co-operation and the recognition of mutual interests.
3. To establish and regulate uniform working hours and conditions.
4. To establish and secure the recognition and carrying out of an industrial agreement for the industry, to apply to the Province of the Transvaal.
5. To establish means of securing to the employees the greatest possible security of earnings and employment and endeavour to minimise unemployment and casual labour.
6. To secure recognition by all persons in the industry in the Province of all agreements relating to wages and working conditions.
7. To promote means of securing to employees observance of conditions of health and comfort under which work is carried on.
8. To secure, by co-operation, the enforcement and maintenance of fair conditions of tendering and contracts for employers; and to endeavour to secure that all conditions of tendering shall not be less favourable to South African than to Oversea tenderers; also to prevent the incursion of private persons, and institutions, supported by Government or other public funds, into the trade, so as to ensure continuity of employment and fostering the training of apprentices.
9. To consider, report, advise and make representations upon any legislation or proposed legislation affecting the Engineering Industry.

The agreement provides for a minimum rate of pay per hour to all artisans of $2/7\frac{1}{2}$; a working week of 48 hours; no piece-work unless by special agreement; a Holiday Scheme;

certain rules regarding Apprentices, Improvers and Operatives.

The funds of the Council are to be raised by a 1d. a week from each employee and a similar amount to be contributed by the employer for each employee.

No Strike or Lock-out can take place during the operation of the Agreement, which is for 18 months.

V.

THE PRINTING AND NEWSPAPER INDUSTRY.

A glance at the Constitution and Rules of the South African Typographical Union will show that the Union is most thoroughly organised from the theoretical point of view. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the Union, in actual fact, is one of the most highly organised in South Africa—having obtained for its members conditions which compare favourably with those in any other occupation.

It was the first Union to establish with the employers a National Industrial Council (1920), which confirmed a National Wages Agreement, drawn up the previous year. (See page 132.)

MEMBERSHIP: Just over 3,000.

The S.A.T.U. has jurisdiction over workers in the printing and allied industries in Africa, South of the Equator. The membership of the Union, which has no Colour Bar, is divided into three grades, as follows:—

(a) **GRADE I.**—All persons who were members of the S.A.T.U. prior to July 31st, 1920, journeymen, and last year apprentices, or any other employee considered to be fully qualified.

(b) **GRADE II.** is composed of persons, not eligible for admission to Grade I., who have been employed in the Industry for a period of two years or more.

(c) **GRADE III.** is composed of persons who have been employed in the Industry for a lesser period than two years.

To become a member of the Union the Entrance Fees are:—Grade I., 10/-; Grade II., 5/-; Grade III., 2/6; while the weekly subscription to Headquarters is 20d., 10d. and 5d. respectively.

It should be noted that the Branches have local autonomy and are able to fix the local weekly subscription at such a figure as will cover all the cost of local administration and the amounts which have to be sent to Headquarters. This method of raising funds used to result in the Branches having much more money than the Union Headquarters, which had to bear all the expenses of the benefits given. This state of affairs has been remedied, but some Branches still have large reserves of accumulated funds.

BENEFITS vary according to the Grade of the member, and cover the following:—Unemployment, Strike Allowance, Victimization Allowance, Travelling Allowance and a Mortality Allowance, for which members pay 3d. weekly to the Fund. There is also a small Marriage Allowance for women who are members of the Union, and when leaving the trade upon the occasion of their marriage.

In addition to the weekly subscription members are obliged to pay into a Defence Fund: Grade I., 1/- per quarter; Grade II., 6d. per quarter; Grade III., 3d. per quarter.

- LEVIES may be imposed on the whole membership:
- (a) Should the half-yearly Balance Sheet of the Union show a smaller sum than £3 per Grade II. member on the books (other Grades in proportion), exclusive of the Mortality Trust Fund, same to continue until the amount per member is reached;
 - (b) Whenever the Governing Body shall deem it necessary for the purpose of raising funds to finance a forward movement, strike or lock-out. The fund so raised shall be devoted as far as requisite to the purpose specified.

MANAGEMENT AND ORGANISATION:

The Management of the S.A.T.U. is vested in a Governing Board (G.B.), which has full power to administer the affairs and funds of the Union between Conferences, which are held annually. The G.B. consists of President, two Vice-Presidents, General Secretary and six members elected by the whole of the membership. The four officers form the Executive Council, but the G.B. is the supreme body.

The Union is divided into Branches, only one of which shall be recognised in any one town. A Branch is bound to meet every quarter and must keep in close touch with the Governing Board. Although a Branch may make By-laws of its own, these must not conflict with the General Rules of the Union. All questions of Wages and Conditions cannot be altered by a Branch without the consent of the Governing Board.

Besides Branch organisation there is Workshop organisation in the Industry; and there are interesting relationships existing between these. Every large works is compelled to have (or hold) a "Chapel," which consists of all the Union members in the works. The officials are: A Father, Deputy-Father and a Clerk, and these officers are responsible to the Branches for the proper carrying out of the rules of the Union. Any special "Chapel" Rules must be passed by the Branch in the locality. The Clerk of the "Chapel" collects all Union fees. This unit of workshop organisation plays an important part in the conditions of work in the various offices. Such arrangements as: Times of shifts, holidays, overtime and other domestic matters, come within its scope. All breaches of Union Rules must be reported by the "Chapel" Clerk to the Branch.

VI.

THE PUBLIC SERVICES.

The organisation of workers in the Public Services is of more recent growth and differs somewhat from the Industrial Workers' organisations. The Public Service Associations have no Strike policy, and they are hedged in, as we shall see, by having to voice their demands to their employers—the Government—through a Public Service Commission.

The following organisations may be considered to cater for the Public Services:—

- The Public Servants' Association of South Africa.
- The South African Telephone & Telegraph Association.
- The South African Postal & Telegraph Association.
- The South African Postmen's Association.

These organisations may affiliate with each other, but it is not easy to do so with other Trade Unions. It is interesting to note, however, that the present Minister of Posts and Telegraphs (Hon. Walter Madeley) gave permission for the Postal Unions to attend a Trade Union Congress which was organised this year by the South African Association of Employees' organisations. (See page 119.) Questions were raised in Parliament on the matter, but the Minister insisted on the right being granted to Public Servants to link up with other Trade Unionists, if they desired. The position seems to be this:—

It is not a disciplinary offence to affiliate with outside organisations, i.e., it is not an offence against the Public Service Act or Regulations. But the Public Service Commission makes it a condition of its official recognition of the Associations that they shall not so affiliate. The condition also applies to a "connection."

The recently accorded permission of the Minister to attend the Trades Union Congress makes it difficult for the Commission to place a too narrow interpretation on the word "connection," but otherwise this makes no difference. It is the Commission, and not the Minister, which determines whether the rule has been infringed, and which determines whether official recognition shall, or shall not, be withdrawn.

The withdrawal of recognition by the Commission, of course, would not commit the Minister to a similar course.

(a) THE PUBLIC SERVANTS' ASSOCIATION.

This body has a membership of 5,500, and endeavours "to promote and protect the rights and interests of Public Servants and to obtain uniformity in the Public Services, but not to secure advantages to officers by the exercise of political or undue influence."

Its membership is open to European officers in the Administration, Technical, Professional, Clerical and General Divisions of the Public Service. By arrangement with the Postal and Telegraph Association the bulk of the P.O. Staff is reserved for recruitment by the P.O. organisations.

The Association has District Branches, and where any District Branch has a Women's Section, with more than a hundred members, such section shall be entitled to one woman member on the Executive Committee.

The Executive Committee (with its headquarters at Pretoria) consists of representatives of the Branches—one

representative in respect of every 500 members or portion thereof. The Constitution also allows for representation on the Executive of the various divisions in the Public Service. If the representatives are not resident in Pretoria (or in any other place where the Executive meetings might be held) proxies may be arranged for. No member, however, may represent more than one district or exercise more than one vote at any meeting.

This method of filling Executive positions is adopted by other organisations, too, because of the difficulty of travelling long distances.

The Association is allowed to send representatives to the Public Service Advisory Council—one representative for each of the five divisions of the Service, provided the Association has at least 50 per cent. of the Workers in any division organised as members of the Association. At present the Public Service Advisory Council is only represented in the Clerical Division and the Professional and Technical (Lower). The question of the Public Service Advisory Council is dealt with below. The Association runs a monthly journal called "The Public Servants' Magazine."

(b) THE SOUTH AFRICAN TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH ASSOCIATION.

This body was founded in 1918, and has a present membership of about 1,400. This is roughly 75 per cent. of the workers in the Engineering branch of the Postal Service. The members are largely Telephone and Telegraph Mechanics and Electricians, consequently we are not surprised to find that in this Section of the Public Service some of the workers will be attached to the Amalgamated Engineering Union.

The Association has six Branches, viz., Transvaal (Johannesburg and Reef), Pretoria, Cape Eastern (Port Elizabeth), Cape Western (Cape Town), Natal (Pietermaritzburg, Free State (Bloemfontein). These Branches hold Committees once a month. The Central Executive is in Johannesburg, and consists of President, Vice-President, Treasurer and representatives from Branches.

Like the Public Servants' Association, the South African Telephone and Telegraph Association is represented on the Public Service Advisory Council. The monthly journal of the Association is a Review called "The Live Wire," and is

edited by the General Secretary. This Association has been making efforts to amalgamate all the workers' organisations in the Postal Service.

(c) THE SOUTH AFRICAN POSTMEN'S ASSOCIATION.

All European members of the uniformed staff of the Postal Service are eligible for membership in the Association, which has at present nearly 600 members.

The management of this body is in the hands of an Executive Committee, which is elected by ballot annually from among the members in the Headquarters District, which is Johannesburg. Thus it will be seen that the members of the Branches have no voice in the election of the governing body. A special meeting of delegates, however, may be convened by the Branches and the expenses are borne by a special levy.

Every three years a Conference is called, and every district which has twenty or more members, may send a delegate, whose expenses are paid by the Association. The Districts are: Cape Town and District, including the Western Province; Port Elizabeth and District; East London and District, including Kingwilliamstown; Kimberley and District, including De Aar; Bloemfontein and District; Durban and District; Pietermaritzburg and District; Johannesburg, including the East and West Rand; and Pretoria, including Middelburg and Barberton.

The District Branches may at any time send in cases of grievance for the Executive to consider.

The subscription is fixed at 2/- per month for all members earning £10 a month or over, and 1/- per month for those earning less than £10 a month.

The Union has a Sick Fund, and the allowance averages about £1 per week.

In common with the other Service Associations, the Postmen are represented on the Public Service Advisory Council. Their bi-monthly journal is called "The Postman's Gazette."

(d) THE POSTAL AND TELEGRAPH ASSOCIATION.

Founded in 1902, the membership of this Association is open to all officers of the Administrative or Clerical divisions of the Post Office; at present the membership is about 2,500.

To join the Association there is an entrance fee of 2/- and a monthly subscription of 1/6.

The management of the Association is in the hands of a Central Executive Committee, which is appointed annually. It consists of the following Executive officers: Chairman, General Secretary, General Treasurer, General Organising Secretary, Editor of Magazine and a Registrar, together with representatives of the Districts, of which there are nine.

A Conference is held biennially in various parts of the Union. Cape Town is the Headquarters of the Association.

Each district is allowed, for working expenses, 20 per cent. of its collected subscriptions, the balance to be forwarded monthly to the General Treasurer.

The Postal and Telegraph Association was the pioneer of Service organisations, and it has a long series of achievements to its credit during the 23 years' of its existence. The Association has always played its part in assisting other organisations in the Public Service, and it exercised a prominent influence in the setting-up of a Departmental Committee for the Post Office. This body meets twice a year, and consists of six representatives of the official side, and six of the staff side. All questions affecting the welfare of the workers in the Post Office are dealt with. Sometimes the questions have to be referred to the Public Service Commission through the Advisory Council, on which the Postal and Telegraph Association is represented.

The monthly magazine of the Postal and Telegraph Association is called "The South African Postal and Telegraph Herald." The Association also provides educational bursaries for its members.

THE PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION AND THE PUBLIC SERVICE ADVISORY COUNCIL.

The Public Service Commission in South Africa is the body which has the control of all matters relating to the conditions of work and employment in the Public Service.

In order that the Commission shall get the point of view of the Workers in the Public Service an Advisory Council has been set up. This Council is representative of the various divisions of the Service and meets twice a year to deal with business. The various Associations described above place items on the agenda, while the Council elects its own Chair-

man and Secretary. All decisions arrived at go forward as unanimous on behalf of the whole Council. The decisions are sent to the Public Service Commission, which then advise the Government.

For some time now the above Associations have been pressing for a Joint Council on Whitley lines for the whole Civil Service. They say that the Government does not get first-hand knowledge of the desires of Civil Servants. The advice given to the Government is what the Public Service Commission deems fit. If there were a Joint Council of the Associations and the Administrative side, the Civil Servants consider that they would be able to have their side of the question, not only more adequately represented to the various members of the Cabinet, but the Joint Council's findings would have more weight.

All efforts to get a two-sided Council have so far failed, but the grievance is felt so keenly that the Associations are determined to press for the abolition of the present machinery. It may even be said that the Associations have decided not to work under the present Constitution.

Here it might be mentioned that the Salaried Staff Association of the Railway and the Railway Telegraph Association have much in common with the other Branches of Government Service. Although they are governed by special Railway Regulations, we find that these two Railway Associations are sometimes to be found conferring, in an informal way, with those represented on the Public Service Advisory Council. An account of these Associations is given under the heading of "Railways."

VII.

THE MUNICIPAL SERVICES.

Employees in the Municipal Services of South Africa are fairly well organised. As a rule they belong, either to local Societies, or, to the South African Association of Municipal Employees, which has its Headquarters at Johannesburg.

All European workers, other than heads of departments, are eligible for membership in the Societies. The Tramway-men, however, in most of the large towns have Unions of their own.

It is not possible to give a full account of all the Municipal Employees' Societies, but the South African Association must be dealt with, and the Durban Municipal Employees' Society has been selected for special treatment.

(a) THE SOUTH AFRICAN ASSOCIATION OF MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES.

This organisation has for its aim the linking up of all European workers employed by any "Local authority in British South Africa and allied services in Africa South of the Equator."

The membership of the Association is divided into four sections, viz.:

- Section I. All Employees receiving £15 or over per month.
- Section II. All Employees, not being Juniors or Apprentices, receiving under £15 per month.
- Section III. All Employees who are also members of Trade Unions.
- Section IV. Apprentices and Juniors receiving under £15 per month.

All members must join through a Local Association, if they reside in the area of one. The Local Associations collect all subscriptions and deal with matters affecting their members in the locality. They must not, however, do anything which conflicts with the general objects and rules of the National body. In all cases of dispute they must keep in touch with the General Executive Committee, a body which consists of representatives from various Provinces elected annually by ballot of the whole Association.

OBJECTS OF THE ASSOCIATION.—These are many and varied—twenty-eight in all. Some of the chief are, to:

- (a) Define and maintain the status of members for their mutual benefit, protection and progress.
- (b) Regulate the manner in which admission to the Service shall be obtained.
- (c) Standardise conditions of service, salary, leave, etc., in Local Authorities throughout South Africa.
- (d) Provide for protection against any possible victimisation.

(A RESERVE FUND has been set up for this purpose, and allows for £3 per week to be paid out to members of Sections I., II. and III., and £1 per week to Section IV.)

- (e) Create a fund to permit of a sum to be paid to the Dependants of a deceased member.
- (f) Promote and facilitate the settlement of disputes between Local Authorities and their Employees.
- (g) Establish on a contributory basis a unified and compulsory Pension Fund, also a Sick Fund.
- (h) Arrange for the transferring of Employees from one place to another in the Service without break in continuity or forfeiture of rights.
- (i) Establish a system of Advisory Committees of Employees in the Service.
- (j) Watch all legislation which affects Local Authorities.
- (k) Educate the public to a sense of the importance of the Service and create a spirit of civic pride.
- (l) Support the establishment of Institutes for examining candidates in such objects as are necessary for the furtherance of good local government, and establish a Library of Standard Works on Municipal matters.

At first the Association was a Johannesburg one, and then it extended along the Reef. After 1921 a large number of smaller municipalities formed local associations, until to-day there are nearly 90, covering all parts of the Union. Cape Town, Pretoria, Johannesburg and Durban do not figure in this list. At present the membership stands at 2,700.

While there is a good deal to be said for a National Organisation of Municipal Employees from the point of view of keeping in touch over matters of interest concerning Municipal Services and Employment, it seems that the various Municipalities are too localised in their interests and problems to make national organisation sufficiently attractive. However, it is worth while to state the case for a South African Association of Municipal Employees.

The Town Councils, through their respective Municipal Associations, have found it necessary, owing to the many questions identically affecting all Municipal Councils, to establish a United South African Municipal Association, so likewise it is held that, in order to secure the highest efficiency, to allow of the transfer of the more experienced Municipal officials to positions of Town Clerk, Town Treasurer, etc., in the smaller Municipalities, it is absolutely essential to have a national organisation. It is said that experience has proved that the conditions of employment of

Municipal officials are governed more by comparison with other Municipalities than by a standard based on efficiency. For example, if Boksburg or Potchefstroom or Cape Town is successful in enforcing a change in conditions of employment in wages or salaries this is cited by other Councils for similar action.

Under the Industrial Conciliation Act, 1924, Clause II. makes special provision for all employees connected with the supply of light, power, water, sanitary transportation, fire extinguishing services (they are termed "essential services"), such employees are not permitted to strike, and any dispute not otherwise settled must be referred to an Arbitrator, whose decision is final—binding on both employees and on the Council concerned. Any such decision, however, may, at the discretion of the Minister on application from the parties concerned, be extended to any other area. Those who believe in National organisations are of the opinion that the definition of employer in the Act should be so amended as to include Local Authorities, and that would allow for the establishment of a National Industrial Council for the Municipal Industry. Such a Council could consider: A Pension Scheme for all Municipal Employees, the transfer of such Employees from the employment of one Council to another without loss of service for Pension rights—in fact it would establish similar conditions as those which obtain in the Civil Service, and in order to do that, it is essential that a National Organisation should function for a National Government Service.

(b) THE DURBAN MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES' SOCIETY.

This Society of nearly 1,400 members favours a purely local organisation of Municipal Workers. With the exception of the Tramwaymen, practically all European employees of the Council (other than Heads of Departments) are in the Union. The monthly subscription is 2/6, except for any employees earning £10 per month or less, when the subscription is 6d. per month.

The governing body is a General Committee, consisting of Secretary and/or Treasurer, Trustees and elected members from each Departmental Section of the Society. The present Schedule of Representation is as follows:—

Department.	No. of Representatives.
Tramway	2
Electricity	4
Telephones	3
Markets	1
Native Affairs	1
Treasury	1
General Stores	1
Public Health (including Sanitary Branch)	1
Town Clerk, Licensing, Town Hall, Library, Estates, Audit, Art Gallery, Museum and Musical Departments . . .	1
Water, Parks and Botanic Gardens, and Zoological Departments	2
Borough Engineer's, Public Works, Abat- toir and Transport	5
Fire	1
Police	3
Beach and Town Baths	1
	—
Total	27
	—

This General Committee meets once a month and is elected by ballot annually in July.

In order that the Society may maintain close contact with their employees, the Durban Council, a Joint Advisory Board has been set up consisting of six representatives of the Council, and six representatives of the European employees (four from the Municipal Employees' Society and two from the Tramwaymen's Union). The work of the Joint Board is governed by the following terms:—

- (a) The quorum shall be six, three of whom must be representatives of the Council and three of whom must be representatives of the Employees. Voting shall be by show of hands or otherwise as the Board may determine. The decisions of the Board must be carried by the majority of members present, which majority must comprise half of the representatives present on either side. The Chairman of the Board shall be elected from amongst the Council's representatives. He shall have a deliberate but not a casting vote.

- (b) The Board shall consider and report to the Council, on all matters concerning employees of the Council, except heads of departments, in the same way as Standing Committees report to the Council upon the matters within their reference. Any recognised organisation of Municipal employees may refer business regarding employees to the Board for consideration and report to the Council.
- (c) Cases of individual grievances or complaints and cases of enquiry affecting individual employees shall be reported upon to the Council by the Board after an enquiry by a Sub-Committee consisting of (a) Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Department concerned; (b) a representative of the Municipal Union or Society concerned; and (c) a Councillor to be nominated by the Chairman of the Standing Committee and the Employees' representative referred to, who shall not necessarily be a member of the Joint Advisory Board. The employee or employees (if there be more than one) concerned shall be present at its meetings, but shall retire when the Sub-Committee is deliberating upon its decision, provided that if there are more than four employees concerned, no more than that number shall be present at the meeting of the Sub-Committee. Individual grievances and complaints as to the grading and rates of pay shall be dealt with as aforesaid, save that the enquiry shall be conducted by the Grading Sub-Committee.

This Joint Board (see page 46) is a legal body under an Ordinance of the Natal Provincial Council. Its present Constitution is the outcome of a remarkable strike in 1920 when the Municipal Employees of Durban "held up" the services and then "ran them," under a Board of Control, independently of the Town Council. Three days sufficed for the Employees to win their case—after which (January 10th, 1920) the Services were handed over to the control of the Town Council again.

The Employees' Society is in a sound position financially, having about £2,000 to its credit in the Natal Building Society. The Society also runs an Institute, where games of all kinds are arranged for about 700 members. Recently it has also launched a monthly magazine, which shows much promise.

VII.

TEACHERS' ASSOCIATIONS.

Teachers' Associations differ somewhat from the usual Trade Unions in that, in addition to maintaining the relation between employer and employee, they have to consider the interests of a third party, viz., the pupil. Hence the fact that the Teachers' Organisations are not registered under the Industrial Conciliation Act. (Some have, however, applied for registration). Most Teachers' Associations have for their objects:—

- (a) To be actively engaged in the interests of their members, to take up the cudgels for them where necessary and to support them both morally and financially.
- (b) To further the interests of Education and so to promote the care of the child.

The methods used for attaining these objects will therefore necessarily be of a dual nature. On the one hand the Teachers' Associations will assume the offensive in order to promote the material interests of their members, and in this offensive the methods used by Trade Unions are more or less followed. These are chiefly:—

- (a) Collective bargaining.
- (b) Striving after Parliamentary and other official representation.
- (c) The building up of an Emergency Fund to assist members.
- (d) The providing of legal advice.

On the other hand Teachers' Organisations undertake the task of promoting the cause of Education by propoganda and scientific investigation. They also take an active interest in the work of Juvenile Affairs' Boards, Child Welfare Societies and similar activities.

The Teachers of all grades in South Africa are well organised. There are seven societies, viz., three in the Transvaal, two in the Cape Province, and one each in the Orange Free State and Natal. These bodies are federated in the Federal Council of Teachers' Associations of South Africa. The total membership is about 12,000.

(a) THE TRANSVAAL.**1. TRANSVAALSE ONDERWYSERSVERENIGING:**

This Association has a membership of 2,588, or a little more than half of the Teaching Staff of the Transvaal. The membership is chiefly Dutch, and is made up of Teachers from the Primary as well as from the High Schools. Many Professors are also members. The subscription is £1 per annum.

The Association was founded in 1893, when the then Director of Education, Dr. Mansfield, called a meeting of Teachers in order to discuss with them conditions then prevailing in the "Suid Afrikaanse Republiek." Out of that was born "De Vereniging van Onderwijzers en Onderwijzeressen in Suid Afrika." Some four years ago this name was changed into "Transvaalse Onderwysersvereniging." From its inception the Association has been instrumental in the improvement of the Teachers' qualifications and the general conditions of service.

During the Anglo-Boer War, the work of the Association was interrupted, but as soon as possible it was re-started. After the War it was mainly due to this Association that the C.N.O. schools, i.e., schools for "Christelik National Onderwijs," were maintained and carried on. The difference between this school and the Government School of those days, consisting mainly of the more religious character of the former, which was to be preserved.

Mainly as a result of constant propaganda carried on by this Association, an Education Commission was appointed about 1918, whose task it was to make recommendations with regard to better salaries, more facilities for Secondary Education, etc.

A considerable number of High Schools on the "platte-land" resulted, while the salaries were increased appreciably. Since then Teachers have been paid according to qualifications.

The Executive consists of 16 members, elected by the 16 "circles" into which the Transvaal is divided for this purpose.

Besides the Executive, there is a special Committee composed of Teachers from High Schools to advise the Executive on matters pertaining exclusively to High Schools.

The Association in common with the others, is in favour of a Board of Registration for Teachers, as is the case with the Medical Profession; it furthermore intends pressing

1. For a Commission to enquire into the problem of the second language.
2. For the establishment of a fund from which it will be possible to help members who may be in need of help after they have left the Service.

In order to keep members out of the hands of the moneylender, the Association has affiliated with the Orange Free State Savings and Credit Society, and thereby helps its members financially.

It also aims at bringing about different changes in the conditions of service, especially those affecting Pensions.

The Association has a full-time, paid, Secretary, with two full-time Assistants.

2. **TRANSVAAL TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION:** About 2,000 Teachers are enrolled in this body, and its membership is made up mainly of English Teachers with some Africans. The Association held its 22nd Annual Conference this year, and overhauled its Constitution very considerably. At the time of writing the new Constitution is not available, but the following quotation from the March issue of the Association's Journal ("The Transvaal Educational News") will indicate the nature of the changes contemplated:—

"The present size of the Executive, the limited time at its disposal, the cost of calling it together, are factors militating against efficiency and economy. Frequently important items on the Agenda receive insufficient consideration, and the tendency has been to place more and more work and responsibility on the shoulders of the General Purposes Committee. . . .

"The aim of the Association should be to leave the direction of its policy in the hands of the whole of its District Associations while creating an Executive body to carry out its will within the bounds of that policy. The new proposals seem calculated to meet the changed circumstances. If agreed to, the present Executive will be replaced by a General Council, and the present General Purposes Committee will be enlarged to perform a great many of the functions of the present Executive. In addition there will be created a number of standing committees, to which will be relegated important work that under the old regime could not be efficiently dealt with by the Executive."

It appears that the new Executive will consist of the officers of the Association and seven members of the General Council—two of whom must be members of a rural district Association. The Executive is to meet once a month.

The Standing Committees referred to above are:—

The Legal Defence Committee.

The Education Committee.

The Parliamentary Sub-Committee. Other Committees may be appointed.

The Transvaal Teachers' Association is linked up with the other Transvaal Associations by Joint Committees, and it is a member of the Teachers' Federal Council. The Association aims at developing a wide interest in all matters of education besides those which affect Teachers in the matter of their employment.

The Association is also anxious to press for the reform of the present Pension Regulations.

The annual subscription to the Transvaal Teachers' Association is one guinea.

3. TRANSVAAL HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION.—This is a successful organisation, having about 500 members. Some of its members also belong to the Transvaalse Onderwysersvereniging, and, while wishing to remain a separate organisation, it is in favour of confederation with the other Teachers' Organisations in the Transvaal.

The Association is definitely Bilingual and appoints an Africans-speaking President one year and an English-speaking President the next.

The organisation of the Association is interesting in that the Schools themselves are made the basis for representation. Every Branch appoints an Executive Committee from the Schools in its district in the proportion of one representative for every ten members or portion thereof of the Association on the Staff. This method is also used for appointing representatives to the Annual General Meeting, where only officers and representatives of the Schools may vote.

While, of course, the Association exists for the purpose of looking after the conditions of employment, and the status of High School Teachers, it does not confine itself entirely to this.

Clubs of various kinds have been organised for the purpose of discussing subjects of interest in relation to the teaching of Science, Mathematics, History, Literature, etc.

These Clubs bring Teachers together and much useful work has been done in making suggestions to Examination Boards.

(b) THE CAPE PROVINCE.

There are two Teachers' Societies in the Cape, viz. :—

1. Suid Afrikaanse Onderwysers-Unie.
2. The South African Teachers' Association (Cape Colony).

1. **SUID AFRIKAANSE ONDERWIJSERS-UNIE:** This is a Union chiefly of Dutch-speaking Teachers with a membership of 1,585, and European Teachers may join, either through a Branch, or through an application to the General Secretary. Membership subscriptions vary from 10/- to 30/- per annum according to the salary earned.

THE OBJECTS OF THE SUID AFRIKAANSE ONDERWIJSERS-UNIE: While including the usual aim to improve the general position of Teachers, also states that the Union exists to promote Education in general, but the Afrikaans language in particular.

THE GENERAL EXECUTIVE of the Association has an interesting composition. Out of a total of 15 members—five of whom retire every year—

- 1/5 are representative of Assistant Teachers.
- 1/5 are representative of Principals of Elementary Schools
- 1/5 are representative of Principals of High Schools and Professors.

The remaining six members are elected from the general body of the membership.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE consists of the Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer.

Besides this Committee there is a smaller one consisting of the Chairman and two other members who have to attend to any immediate business.

The Constitution definitely lays it down that the Annual Congress must be opened and closed by Prayer.

REPORT for 1925 shows that the Suid Afrikaanse Onderwysers-Unie has been very active. Efforts have been made to get passed into law the principle of Mother Tongue medium in schools up to Standard VI., while various sub-

committees have been engaged upon work in connection with Intelligence Tests, School Curriculum, Native Education, etc.

The work of the Union has grown so considerably that a full-time Organising Secretary is to be appointed.

2. **THE SOUTH AFRICAN TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION:** This is the oldest Association of Teachers in the Union, having begun its work in 1887. Its activities are confined to the Cape Province, and most of its members are English-speaking. The Association, however, works sympathetically with the Suid Afrikaanse Onderwysers-Unie—a Joint Committee having been formed.

The present membership of the South African Teachers' Association is about 2,400.

Annual subscriptions vary according to salary:

(a)	Salary or Pension not exceeding £150	5/-
(b)	" " between £150 & £250	7/6
(c)	" " " £250 & £350	10/-
(d)	" " " £350 & £450	12/6
(e)	" " " £450 & £600	15/-
(f)	" " " over £600	20/-

Teachers taking up first appointments: Half the above rates, for first year's membership, if paid within three months of taking up first appointment.

THE GENERAL OBJECTS of the Association are:—

- (a) The Improvement of Education in the Union by the study and discussion of matters bearing on the theory and practice of Education.
- (a) The promotion of union and friendly intercourse among teachers, and the improvement of their status.

THE ANNUAL CONGRESS is the governing body of the Association, and it consists of:—

- (a) The officials connected with the General Association, viz., the President, the Vice-President, the General Secretary and Treasurer, the other members of the General Committee of Management, all ex-Presidents of the Association, who are members of the Association at the time of the Conference, the Editor of the "Educational News."

- (b) One representative of each Local Branch Association, recognised as such by the Committee. Local Branches of less than five members will not be recognised unless, in the opinion of the Committee, the circumstances of the case justify it.
- (c) Further delegates of such Local Branch Associations as have more than seven members.

The total number of delegates from a Branch shall be one for every five members, or major portion of five members remaining over, those only being counted who are members of the General Association. The total number of delegates from any one Branch shall not exceed ten.

Delegates must be members of the General Association and of the Local Branch Association which they represent.

In appointing the delegates of a Local Branch, only those members shall vote who are members of the General Association.

No paid officer of the Association shall act as a delegate nor any Local Branch Association.

Any five members of a district so isolated that they cannot conveniently be attached to a Local Branch may elect a delegate to represent them at Conference.

There is a fairly large Committee of Management from which is elected a Standing Committee of six, together with the President and the General Secretary, who are ex-officio members.

The "Educational News" is the official organ of the South African Teachers' Association.

The Bye-laws of the Association allow for the forming of separate branches for European and non-European teachers. This seems to be the only Teachers' Association which enrolls non-European teachers.

(c) THE ORANGE FREE STATE TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION.

The Orange Free State Teachers' Association was founded in 1906, and, when the Orange River Colony passed from the status of a Crown Colony in 1907, General Hertzog was appointed Minister of Education. After this the Teachers rose in status and gained an improvement in salary. When the Free State came into the Union in 1910 General Hertzog retired from his post, and he was honoured by the Teachers for his work on their behalf.

By the year 1916, and after several trials of strength, the Orange Free State Teachers' Association emerged as a powerful organisation, capable of bringing changes in the curriculum, as well as in the position of Teachers. The membership leapt up to 1,400, and from 1916 onwards it more than doubled itself. The efforts of Mr. H. W. Kammeijer have done much to bring about this progress. The Association has branches in all parts of the Free State, and both English and Dutch-speaking Teachers are now organised. Special attention is paid to conditions in purely rural schools.

The Association assumes the following fundamental principles for the furtherance of education:—

- (a) That the Teacher finds in Holy Writ the foundation, the principles and the ideals of complete education.
- (b) Such a treatment of the history of our native land as will clearly indicate:—
 1. The moral value of the principles of the Reformation to South African national life.
 2. The significance of the Great Trek to a self-reliant national existence.
- (c) That South Africa will form the starting-point of all education.

THE MANAGEMENT of the Association is in the hands of a Board and an Executive. The Board is elected at the Annual General Meeting from the candidates nominated by the respective Branches.

BOARD OF MANAGEMENT: The Board of Management consists of the Chairman, Vice-Chairman, the General Secretary and five (other) members and the Editor of "The Teacher." With the exception of the Chairman and the Vice-Chairman, who both resign at the end of each year, and of the General Secretary, who is permanently appointed, half the Board of Management and half the Executive retire each year by rotation. Even though the Editor be also a member of the Board of Management in another capacity he has only one vote.

MEETINGS OF THE BOARD OF MANAGEMENT: As a rule the Board of Management meets four times per annum. Four members form a quorum. A prayer is said at the commencement of meetings. All motions are handed in

in writing signed by the proposer and his seconder. The Secretary shall call an extraordinary meeting of the Board of Management within a fortnight of his receiving a petition signed by not less than four members of the Board of Management.

THE EXECUTIVE consists of the Chairman, the Vice-Chairman, the Editor and another member. The Executive has to bring into effect the decisions of the Board of Management, but is empowered to act on their own initiative in matters of urgency. Decisions taken by the Executive are subjected to the approval of the Board of Management at the latter's first subsequent meeting. Expenses incurred by members to attend meetings of Board of Management and of Executive are refunded by the Association.

The Orange Free State Teachers' Association has a Reserve Fund for the purpose of protecting the rights and position of Teachers.

THE CREDIT SOCIETY OF THE ORANGE FREE STATE TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION.—During the last few years the Association has established a very flourishing Credit Society. Commencing with £200 in 1922, the working capital has in four years reached the large sum of £33,000. A number of teachers and a large number of the public have been assisted during times of financial difficulty. Others have been assisted to buy a piece of ground or commence a business. Altogether there have been paid out by way of small monetary grants a sum exceeding £50,000. Grants for study purposes are regularly made to University Students and those wishing to enter for the Teachers' Examinations. The effect of this assistance on the profession has been most marked.

POINTS OF GENERAL INTEREST: The Orange Free State Teachers' Association is at present negotiating for its own buildings. The organising of Juvenile Affairs Boards in the Free State has been entrusted to its charge, and it is intended to open a bureau for research into industrial and educational problems. In this way the Association will form links with the Departments of Education and Labour. The Association is represented on the 55 School Boards of the Free State, the Council of Examiners and the Child Welfare Committee.

It will be seen, therefore, that the Orange Free State Teachers' Association is a live and useful organisation with a wide outlook.

(d) THE NATAL TEACHERS' SOCIETY.

This Society of 800 members is curiously constituted in many ways. Although there are seven Branches in Natal, it is optional for any Teacher, who may be a member of the Society, to belong to a Branch.

Besides Branches there are three Districts, viz., Coast, Midland and Northern.

THE EXECUTIVE is composed of two representatives from each district elected by Postal Ballot, and the following officers: President, Vice-President, Treasurer, Secretary and two representatives on the Teachers' Federal Council.

A Standing Committee, appointed by the Executive, meets fairly frequently, either at Durban or Pietermaritzburg.

It may happen that a representative from a District may not be attached to a Branch and may not be especially representative of the more active section of the Teachers. It seems a weakness not to have Branch representation, but perhaps this will come in time. The geographical character of the Province may be largely responsible for the present method of organisation.

All members may attend the Annual Conference of the Society and may vote at the proceedings.

The annual subscriptions to the Society are:—

For those under £300 salary, 1 guinea.

For those over £300 salary, 1½ guineas.

BRANCHES have their own subscriptions, which vary from 1/- to 5/- per annum. On the whole the Branches are active and assist the Executive in supplying information of value to the Society and in initiating policy.

AFFILIATIONS, ETC.:

1. The Society is affiliated to the Federal Council of the South African Teachers' Associations.

2. Representatives of the Society are:—

1. On the Natal Technical College Council.

2. On the Workers' Educational Association Executive.

3. On the Juvenile Affairs' Board.

POLICY OF THE SOCIETY:

- (a) To maintain professional standards and status.
- (b) To endeavour to obtain a joint Board composed of representatives of the Society and of the Provincial Administration and Education Committee.
- (c) To secure direct representation on the Provincial Council and in the Legislative Assembly of the Union.
- (d) To press for the setting up of a Teachers' Registration Council—having full control of the Teaching Profession in South Africa.
- (e) To arrange for lecture-tours of prominent Educationists.

The Society's Magazine is called "The Mentor."

THE FEDERATION OF TEACHERS' ASSOCIATIONS OF SOUTH AFRICA.

Before the year 1919, the Teachers of the Union held many joint discussions of a more or less academic nature, but, with the coming together of the Administrations of the four Provinces for the purpose of discussing the Union Standardisation of Teachers' Salaries, there was a stimulus given to closer co-operation among the Teachers' Associations in the Union. This resulted in the formation of a Federation in September, 1922—the initiative being taken by Captain A. Howgrave Graham. A constitution was drafted and agreed to by the seven Teachers' Associations at Cape Town in December.

At this time there was a general overhauling of the finances of the Union, and Teachers' salaries were destined to be considered as suitable objects for treatment with the "Economy axe." The Federal Council got busy on a number of matters which were agitating the minds of Teachers. The chief of these were:—

1. Registration of Teachers.
2. Recognition by Union as well as Provincial Authorities of Teachers' Associations.
3. Union Standardisation of Salaries.

Although difficulties have occurred over the question of a Teachers' Register, the present position is more hopeful, Dr. Malan having expressed his willingness to renew negotia-

tions with the Provincial Administrations in connection with this matter.

In 1923, the Federation was well tested and strengthened through an attempt on the part of the Smuts' Government to reduce Teachers' salaries. The Federation declared that "From no man would be taken one single penny from what he is drawing to-day." Large meetings of Teachers were held in all parts of the country. In August, 1923, the Federal Council rejected a scale of salaries and local allowances put forward by the Public Service Commission. The climax was reached in February, 1924, when a clause in the Financial Relations Bill of that year permitted Provincial Councils to reduce Teachers' salaries if they desired.

A great protest meeting was organised in Cape Town and attended by Teachers from all parts. Strong speeches were made, hinting at a determined opposition to the Government at the next election.

Two days later the Minister of Finance declared that "there was no salary scheme in existence"!

Although certain changes have been made in the Teachers' salaries, during the last two years important victories have been gained. The Federation has also done much to carry out its programme of promoting the best interests of Education. It has dealt with the question of giving grants in aid for children six years of age instead of the present limit of seven years; while much good work has been done for the Juvenile Affairs' Boards in the Union. With the growth of a more National System of Education, it is clear that the Federation will play an increasingly important part, especially if Whitley Councils or Joint Boards are set up.

IX.

BANKS.

The South African Society of Bank Officials came into being in February, 1916. In order to understand the present position of the Union it is necessary to go a little into its history.

The depletion of staffs, and the high cost-of-living, which existed during the Great War period, were the main factors which influenced the more belligerent bank officials in Johannesburg to band themselves together for the purpose of taking

joint action to have the grievances of bank officials throughout South Africa remedied. To-day, members will be found in every branch bank in the Union, Rhodesia, East Africa and South-West Protectorate.

The movement was naturally looked upon with great disfavour by the "powers that be," but the pioneers were men of courage and vision.

Mr. Archie Crawford, the then Secretary of the South African Industrial Federation, acted as the first Secretary, and helped to organise the Society and place it on a sound foundation. Mr. Leonard—No. 1 on the Roll of Members—may rightly be looked upon as one of the founders of the Society. He certainly took a very active part in the formation and early activities of "Sasbo."

The early meetings of the members were very "hole and corner" ones, as the fear of victimisation was ever before them.

The first matter to be taken up with the Banks by the Society was the question of WAR ALLOWANCES, and these, after a deal of pressure had been brought to bear, were granted.

At the beginning of 1919, the following "ESSENTIAL DEMANDS" were placed before the Banks:—(1) Adoption of a suitable Grading system; (2) Each officer to receive a copy of his Annual Report; (3) Widows' and Orphans' Funds Staff representation on the Committee administering same, and the scheme to be introduced into those banks which did not have it; (4) Pension Funds; (5) Fixing of Office Hours for the Staff; (6) Banking Hours for the Public; (7) Overtime to be paid for; (8) Tellers' responsibility for shortages to be met by a Teller's allowance; (9) Annual Leave to be allowed to accumulate under certain conditions; (10) Returned Soldiers; (11) Every officer leaving the Service to have the right to receive a written testimonial; (12) Every officer to receive a copy of his agreement with the Bank; (13) Home Leave; (14) All expenses incurred by any officer who is transferred from one point to another on the Bank's instructions shall be borne by the Bank.

A number of these demands were granted and others have been the subject of negotiations up to the present day.

RECOGNITION BY THE BANKS was then sought, and, as a counter-blast, the National and Standard Bank managements promptly suggested to their respective staffs the formation of sectional societies, one for each bank. These proposed Internal Guilds, or, as they were termed by the

members, "Infernal Guilds," were turned down in no uncertain manner.

Matters dragged on until April, 1920, when it was decided to take a ballot of members on the questions of (1) Consolidated War Bonuses; (2) Increased Salaries; (3) Recognition. This action apparently satisfied the Banks that the Society was not a body that could be insistently ignored, for the next month (May) a Conference was held in Cape Town, under the chairmanship of Sir Frederic de Waal, between representatives of the Banks and the Society.

The Conference is now known as the "RECOGNITION CONFERENCE," as the Society was granted official recognition at it.

Clause 7 of the Recognition Agreement reads as follows:—"That in view of the fact that recognition has been obtained and machinery created for reasonable discussion, and of the desirability that this machinery should be set in motion at the earliest possible date, the first Conference under resolution 6 that shall take place at Cape Town on the 14th day of June, 1920; the settlement of all outstanding difficulties to await the result of this Conference."

Clause 8 reads:—"That in the event of failure to arrive at an understanding, any difference or differences shall be referred to arbitration, one arbitrator to be nominated by each party, and, if necessary, an umpire shall be appointed by agreement between the arbitrators, or, failing agreement, by the Government. The decision of the Umpire shall be final and binding."

In terms of Clause 7, a CONFERENCE was held in Cape Town on the 14th June and sat until the 24th instant. Mr. H. C. Jorissen, the then General Manager of the Netherlands Bank, occupied the chair. There were 17 items on the Agenda, and decisions were arrived at on most of them. However, the principal one, scale of salaries, bonuses and local allowances, was left over.

On the 28th June, the General Council of the Society wired to the four banks claiming immediate arbitration on the outstanding points, and eventually Mr. H. J. Hofmeyr was appointed by the Government as sole arbitrator, both sides having mutually agreed to dispense with the services of intermediate arbitrators.

On the 14th September, 1920, Mr. HOFMEYR ISSUED HIS AWARD. The Editorial comment in the Society's Magazine on the document is as follows:—

"It proves to be a document well enough conceived, in certain respects, in principle; unexpected in its omissions; unorthodox, to say the least, in its inuendoes; and finally crippled by the astounding unfairness of its incidence in application to individuals."

Although, as will be gathered from the foregoing quotation, the Award was viewed by the Society in anything but a favourable light, they accepted the terms of it without demur, in view of their undertaking to accept the Arbitrator's decision as final.

There was some delay on the part of the Banks in applying the Award, which they explained was due to the enormous amount of clerical work necessary to complete the schedules for each branch. When the schedules did eventually appear, there was great dissatisfaction amongst the staffs to the Banks' interpretation of the Award. The views of the Banks were diametrically opposed to those of the Society, on many points, and the Society asked the Banks to approach Mr. Hofmeyr, along with themselves, to obtain his ruling on the contentious points.

True to tradition, the Banks adopted a defiant attitude and refused to meet the Arbitrator. As a result, a ballot of members was taken on the following points:—(1) That the Associated Banks shall forthwith meet the Arbitrator, Mr. H. J. Hofmeyr, jointly with the delegates of the Society, and obtain his interpretation of the Award on all disputed points; the Arbitrator's interpretation to be finally accepted and binding on both parties. (2) That both sides shall agree to submit to immediate arbitration the question of a comprehensive grading scheme to include:—(a) Satisfactory remuneration for officials, based on age, sex, service, position and responsibility; (b) Grading of positions. (3) That the recognition agreement, including Clause 8, shall be thereafter re-instituted between the Associated Banks and the South African Society of Bank Officials. (4) That in the event of a cessation of work there shall be no victimisation whatever of any employee by reason of participation in such cessation, and breach of service shall in every case be condoned. Every employee shall, at the conclusion of the strike, resume duty and be reinstated in all respects and conditions as if the strike had not occurred, pending a settlement of the questions at issue.

When it is pointed out that 96.5 per cent. of the votes recorded were in favour of a strike, some idea of the feeling of resentment at the attitude of the Banks can be gained.

The Banks' appeal to their staffs to be "loyal" received its answer on the 21st December, 1920, for that was the day on which the strike took place. Old Trade Unionists could hardly believe that members of "the black-coated brigade" would sink their "superiority" and come out on strike like the ordinary every-day Trade Unionist—but they did.

The strike was of very short duration—one day only—but it was a sufficient demonstration of strength to spell "victory" all along the line for "Sasbo."

The following terms of settlement were agreed upon by both sides, after the Prime Minister, the Right Honourable J. C. Smuts, had submitted them to the Society and the Banks: (1) The points in dispute in Mr. Hofmeyr's Award to be referred back immediately to him by both parties for definite decision. (2) The question of Grading to be referred immediately to Arbitration. Each side to appoint an Arbitrator and the Government to appoint an Umpire. (3) All future matters in dispute to be referred to a Joint Conciliation Board, the Chairman to be nominated by the Government. (4) No victimisation.

It might be mentioned here that this was the first strike of Bank Clerks within the British Empire; also, that to "Sasbo" belongs the honour of being the first Bank Clerks' Union in the Empire.

The reference to Mr. Hofmeyr of the points in dispute proved that the Society's interpretation was the correct one.

The "immediate" arbitration on Grading did not take place until March, 1921. The Society had 34 witnesses giving evidence, whilst the Banks were satisfied with two. The Arbitrators were Mr. V. E. Lewis (Society) and Mr. Alex. Aiken (Banks), and they sat, with the Umpire, Mr. Peter Dreyer, for twelve days hearing the evidence, and it was not until the 6th April that they issued their Award.

This Award, known as the Aiken/Lewis Award, is in force in the Banks to-day, and, although the Arbitrators distinctly laid down that the salary scale was to be considered as a minimum one, the Banks soon made the minimum a maximum.

The first Conciliation Board, in terms of item (3) of the strike settlement, was held in Pretoria, from the 9th to the 12th January, 1922.

The majority of subjects discussed arose out of the Banks' interpretation and application of the Grading Award.

Up to the present, four Conciliation Boards have sat, and these round-table discussions have undoubtedly been the

means of both sides getting to know and understand one another better and to appreciate each other's view-point.

Branches of the Society have been formed at some 25 places, and each of these branches is controlled by a local committee. The governing body of the Society is the General Council, whose headquarters are in Johannesburg, and is composed of representatives of the various branches and unattached members. The "Parliament" of the Society is the Annual Branch Conference, which is attended by delegates from the constituted branches of the Society.

It might be mentioned that the Banks readily and willingly grant special leave to members of their staffs to attend these Branch Conferences, although some have sat for as long as ten days.

The Banks have also acknowledged the assistance that the Society has been to them, and they now realise that "Sasbo" is not out to fight and oppose them, but rather to work with them for the common good.

Every rank of official is represented in the Society which has amongst its members Head Office Officials, Inspectors, Managers and other Officials down to the last joined Junior.

Taking into consideration the conservatism of Bank Clerks, the progress of the Society has been phenomenal, and its usefulness unquestionable. Ten years ago, the Bank Clerk realised that as long as he was prepared to be selfish he could expect to be imposed upon in some way or another. The great awakening came, and he then realised the truth of "Union is Strength," and to-day he is reaping the benefit, by enjoying better conditions in every respect.

"Sasbo" has a membership of approximately 3,800, and its official Magazine is called "The S.A. Banking Magazine." It has six editors!

X.

THE CLOTHING INDUSTRY.

Except for the Witwatersrand, the organisation of workers in the Clothing Industry is weak. Nevertheless, there are signs of awakening, and quite recently a new Union has been formed in Durban. The possibility of a National Industrial Council for the Industry is probably the cause of this activity. Reference is made (on Page 136) to the difficulties in the Tailoring Industry, which have not been solved

by the Industrial Council in the Witwatersrand. The Wages' Board is at present dealing with the bad conditions in the more sweated branches of the Industry, where Coloured and Indian workers are employed. The abolition of "out-working" would tend to remedy many of the evils. Properly registered workshops would then be required.

WITWATERSRAND TAILORS' ASSOCIATION.

The Witwatersrand Tailors' Association was first established in 1913 at a meeting of workers in the Tailoring Industry held in Johannesburg. Until 1923 it was continued as an organisation catering almost exclusively for workers in the bespoke tailoring industry, and it was only recently realised that the organisation, to become really effective, would have to extend its scope to include workers in ready-made clothing factories.

The carrying out of this policy has been singularly successful, and the Witwatersrand Tailors' Association to-day embraces the majority of the workers in both the bespoke and ready-made sections of the Clothing Industry on the Witwatersrand, where its membership now stands in the neighbourhood of 1,000 strong.

The Association has a branch in Pretoria, which has been in existence since 1918. This branch has an approximate membership of 80. This is the full extent of organisation in the Clothing Industry in the Transvaal Province at the present time, as the Witwatersrand Tailors' Association has no membership outside the Witwatersrand and Pretoria.

MANUFACTURING TAILORS' WORKERS' ASSOCIATION AND SICK BENEFIT SOCIETY.

This organisation can scarcely be called a Trade Union, as its prime object is the provision of sick benefits for its members. It was formed in 1923 as the result of a break-away from the Witwatersrand Tailors' Association following a general reduction of wages. It consists exclusively of the employees of one firm of clothing manufacturers—Messrs. H. J. Henochsberg, of Johannesburg—who are engaged mainly on Government contracts.

The organisation, though registered as a Trade Union under the Industrial Conciliation Act, can not effectively function as such, being confined, as it is, to one factory.

Realising this, and with a view to solidifying the organisation of clothing workers, the Witwatersrand Tailors' Association have repeatedly appealed to them to come back to the fold. This aim has not yet been realised.

The Manufacturing Tailors' Workers' Association and Sick Benefit Society has an approximate membership of 100.

EAST LONDON AND BORDER TAILORS' UNION.

This organisation is not registered under the Industrial Conciliation Act, and we have no particulars as to the length of its existence or its membership. Efforts have been made to get this organisation to link up with the Witwatersrand Tailors' Association, but nothing has come of it so far.

CAPE PENINSULA TAILORS' UNION.

In 1921, a meeting in Cape Town formed the above Union, which continued for about six months and then collapsed owing to lack of interest displayed by the members and the difficulties created by the preponderance of coloured labour (chiefly Malays) in the Industry, which latter fact led to constant friction. Efforts are being made to revive the Union.

BLOEMFONTEIN.

In collaboration with the Bloemfontein Branch of the Building Workers' Industrial Union arrangements are being made to organise the Tailors and Tailoresses in that centre, and any organisation formed will become a branch of the Witwatersrand Tailors' Association.

GENERAL.

The Witwatersrand Tailors' Association aims at establishing a National Union of Garment Workers for South Africa. Tailoring is generally reputed to be one of the worst sweated industries—and with considerable justification. It is therefore essential that a strong national organisation should be set up. If the Witwatersrand Tailors' Association succeeds in linking up with the Eastern Province, Natal, Cape Peninsula and Orange Free State, creating organisations where none at present exist, the Witwatersrand Tailors' Association will merge in a national organisation for South Africa.

Special Note.—Since the above was written, steps have been taken to deal with the question of "out-work" in the Transvaal Clothing Industry.

"A novel proposal has tentatively been agreed upon by the Industrial Council for the bespoke tailoring trade on the Rand to terminate the deadlock which has arisen between the operatives' association and the merchant tailors on the question of abolishing contracting and the establishing of indoor workshops. If this suggestion is carried out the two sides of the Industrial Council will set up and maintain a central tailoring workshop, employing between 300 and 500 workers under conditions which will satisfy in every respect the terms and conditions laid down in the agreement for the industry. The expenses of maintaining the workshop would be met by a levy on the employers and employees.

"It is felt that if the proposal is endorsed by the Merchant Tailors' Association and the Witwatersrand Tailors' Association it will benefit the industry generally and put an end to the abuses of the agreement which are possible under the existing arrangements. It is suggested that the proposal should be put into operation from the time the present agreement expires in September. Contract work would be continued in the central shop, but in order to ensure that correct prices are paid, the merchant tailors will be asked to pay their contractors through the representative of the Industrial Council in charge of the shop."—"Star," July 9th, 1926.)

XI.

WOMEN'S ORGANISATIONS.

"Women all over the world have become the prey of the exploiter. There are many reasons for this. Firstly, women usually are not well organised, for they have not had the opportunity of realising the protective weapon that a Union affords. Secondly, women, as a rule, even when they join a Trade Union, do not take a sufficiently active part in it, and so fail to influence or control the policy of organised Trade Unions."

The above words are contained in the evidence which was put forward by the Secretary of the South African Women Workers' Union (Miss F. Klenerman) at the Economic and Wage Commission Enquiry (1925). That Union was a general organisation of women workers who worked chiefly in Sweet Factories, and as Waitresses. As a "General"

Union cannot become registered under the Industrial Conciliation Act, it was found desirable to break-up the Union and form two independent ones. The Women Workers' Union came to an end in March, 1926, having only been in existence for one year. To-day there are two Unions, viz., the Sweet Makers' Union and the Waitresses' Union. The former is a Registered Union while the latter is waiting for registration.

THE SWEET MAKERS' UNION.

This Union is about 200 strong, and represents about 75 per cent. of the total number of Sweet Makers in Johannesburg. Its activities are spreading to other Provinces in South Africa, and the formation of a National Union is contemplated. Already an Industrial Council has been formed, and an agreement has been arrived at which applies to the Transvaal.

Minimum wages have been agreed upon in various branches of the Industry; a working week of 48 hours is to be recognised; Piece-work is to be abolished, except by special arrangements with the Industrial Council; Union membership is to be compulsory and Agents are to be appointed to assist in ensuring that the agreement is being carried out properly by all concerned.

The operation of the agreement is held over until "the Minister promulgates any wages award in the Sweet Industries made consequent on the first investigation of the National Wages Board in the Union of South Africa during the year 1926." It is probable that the Wages Board will be guided in their award by the agreement which has been drawn up.

THE WAITRESSES' UNION.

This Union is just struggling on to its feet with a membership of 200. It is most difficult to organise the Waitresses, and the conditions to-day are very bad. The wages paid to women of long service are often no more than £8 a month. The evidence given by the Union before the Economic and Wage Commission (1925) deserves publicity and a few extracts will be given here.

"HOURS: The Shop Hours' Ordinance permits Waitresses to work 52 hours per week. Nine hours per day to be completed inside 10 hours—with one break after five hours' work. On Saturday 11 hours to be completed inside 13 hours

with two breaks. An 11 hours' shift on the busiest day of the week, Saturday, with almost continuous standing is not only excessive but inhuman. In our opinion the Shop Hours' Ordinance should be amended in order to provide an eight-hours' shift per day exclusive of meals. In order to meet the demands at the busy lunch hour in many cafés, when hands are short, the lunch hour of Waitresses is curtailed. Pantry-hands and Cooks have to our knowledge to work 13 hours and more per day.

"HOURS IN CLUBS: The hours in Clubs are unlimited. We have known girls who have worked 14 hours per day and who have left the premises so late as to be unable to reach their homes by car, their having been compelled to walk long distances.

"FRAUDING REGISTERS: The general position in cafés is to fraud registers, and we might add that there is little chance of getting redress because of the inefficient shop inspection.

GENERAL CONDITIONS.

"1. FOOD: The food given in some cafés is very bad and unwholesome. In one place recently Waitresses actually suffered ptomaine poisoning as a result of food eaten there. The food is often badly served, and consists of what is left over from the previous day. We have known girls to leave their café during lunch hour in order to get something wholesome elsewhere.

"2. REST ROOMS: Most cafés have no Rest Room worth mentioning. The Rest Room, in our opinion, is a most important factor conducive to the well-being, morally and physically of girls working in cafés. Most Rest Rooms consist of a mere partition in close proximity to the kitchen, where food smells permeate the atmosphere. There is also insufficient seating and little space in which to move about.

"3. FINES: Some cafés make it a practice of fining under the cloak of discipline. These fines are usually deducted from the commissions as distinct from wages, and are imposed on the least provocation. The proportion of Fines to Commissions is from 25 per cent. to 40 per cent."

The Waitresses' Union has a very uphill task in organising these girls, and the public should assist in the matter. The Wages Board can also do much in giving publicity to the bad conditions and in fixing reasonable wages.

XII.

MISCELLANEOUS.

There are other Unions throughout South Africa, and it is proposed to make a very brief reference to some of them under various heads:—

1. SHOP ASSISTANTS, COMMERCIAL EMPLOYEES, CLERKS, ETC.

Associations of these workers have risen and fallen in many South African towns. The Johannesburg area has a fairly strong body; a Cape Town Society is growing rapidly, and Kimberley has a stable organisation. Durban area had nearly a thousand workers organised, but to-day the Union has practically ceased to exist.

An attempt has been made to form a separate Association for Clerks, but progress is slow.

Agreements under the Industrial Conciliation Act have been attempted in one or two instances. One has been gazetted for the Johannesburg area, but the effect of the agreement appears to have caused difficulties. For example, a rising scale of wages laid down reaches £15 a month for a woman with six years' service. It appears that many senior women are being discharged and their places filled with juniors. Only strong Trade Union organisation can prevent this kind of thing happening.

2. THE LEATHER INDUSTRY.

The prospects of organisation in this Industry are good. There are two chief Unions, viz., The National Union of Leather Workers, with nearly 3,000 members, and the Johannesburg Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, with 300 members.

The National Union is of recent growth, and considering the short time of its existence, the progress made has been remarkable. There is a National Industrial Council for the Industry, and a satisfactory agreement has just been concluded. The Industry has so many different branches that numerous minimum rates of wages have had to be drawn up.

3. FOOD AND DRINK INDUSTRIES.

Organisation in these Industries has not proceeded far up to the present. The following is a list of the chief Unions:—Baking Employees' Association (mainly Transvaal), Operative Bakers', Confectioners' and Conductors' Union (Cape), Liquor and Catering Trade Employees' Union (Pretoria), Witwatersrand Liquor and Catering Trades' Employees' Union, Transvaal Mineral Water Employees' Union, South African Meat Trade Employees' Association, and Durban Hotel Employees' Union.

The Baking Industry has two Industrial Councils, but dissatisfaction is expressed with their working.

4. MUSICIANS.

Satisfactory progress has been made of late in organising the Musicians of South Africa. The work of organising is made simpler by reason of the fact that the African Theatres, Ltd., control most of the Theatres and Bioscopes in South Africa. There are Musicians' Unions in all Provinces, and these have met the African Theatres, Ltd., and a National Agreement has been drawn up. The agreement, however, is not one under the Industrial Conciliation Act. Rates of wages vary from £5 to £7, according to the grade of theatre and the place. Wages are higher in the Transvaal than in the Cape or Natal.

5. FURNITURE INDUSTRY.

There are about 1,500 workers in the Furniture Workers' Union of South Africa. This Union is now the only one catering for such workers, apart from the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers in Durban, where the A.S.W. has for a long time enrolled Furniture Workers whose rates of wages have corresponded pretty much to those of Woodworkers in the Building Industry.

Last March a National Industrial Council was formed for the Industry and a National Agreement has been negotiated.

The agreement will operate throughout the Union. Minimum rates of wages have been fixed at 2/3 per hour in

all areas, except the Transvaal, where the minimum rate is to be $2/7\frac{1}{2}$ per hour. A 48-hour week is provided for, and arrangements are made for holidays.

The agreement will probably affect the employment of Indian Workers in Durban and Coloured Workers elsewhere. A considerable number of Indians are employed in some of the Furniture Factories of Durban. The Employers are likely to employ more White Workers when the agreement comes into force, because the present scale of wages for Indians is below $2/3$ per hour.

6. ROAD TRANSPORT.

There is a National Vehicle Builders' and Transport Workers' Union having a few hundred members. Efforts are being made to extend the activities of this Union, which should have a promising future if the right methods of organisation are adopted.

7. ROPEWORKERS.

The Canvas and Ropeworkers' Union is one of the latest recruits to the Trade Union World, and the Union has been registered and has affiliated to the Trade Union Congress. There are good prospects of an agreement with the Employers, and the Union intends to tackle the question of woman and child labour in the Industry. South Africa might, one day, become a large rope and canvas-making country, because steps are being taken in Natal to grow Hemp on a large scale.

8. TRAMWAYMEN.

These men are fairly well organised in South Africa, especially at Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban. Altogether there are about 2,500 organised workers throughout the Union.

The Cape Town Tramwaymen have entered into a five years' agreement with the Cape Town Tramway Company—a private concern. The new conditions are, in some respects, an improvement on those which prevailed previously.

XII.

FEDERATIONS OF TRADE UNIONS.

It is a characteristic of group action that there should be a stretching-out towards, and a linking-up with, other groups which have similar aims. We have therefore Federations of Employers' Organisations and Federations of Workers' Organisations. In South Africa there have been many attempts to federate Trade Unions, and mention has already been made of these in the Chapter on the Development of Trade Unionism in South Africa. The latest grouping is to be found in "THE SOUTH AFRICAN ASSOCIATION OF EMPLOYEES' ORGANISATIONS" (The S.A.A.E.O.)* which was formed in 1924. An older Federation which still exists is that in the Cape Province, called "THE CAPE PROVINCE FEDERATION OF LABOUR UNIONS." We must now give some account of these bodies.

(a) THE CAPE PROVINCE FEDERATION OF LABOUR UNIONS.

In 1913 this Federation was born. Only two or three Unions were affiliated at first, and there was little encouragement given to the organisation. John Thompson, of the Carpenters' Union, was the first President, while Joe Dean held the office of Secretary during the first year. In 1914 Robert Stuart took over this office, which he still holds. By his energy and enthusiasm he aroused the interest of the outstanding Unions, and one by one they became affiliated, thus gradually and surely he built up a powerful institution.

The main object of the Federation is to federate all Labour Unions in the Cape Province, and at the present time the following organisations are members:—The Building Trades' Union of the Eastern and Western Provinces; The Typographical Union; The Cape Town and Camp's Bay Tramway Workers' Association; Branches of the Amalgamated Engineers' Union; The National Union of Furniture Workers; National Union of the Leather Industry; Operative Bakers' and Confectioners' Union; Cape Fishermen's Union; South African Operative Masons' Society; Iron-moulders' Trade Union; Boilermakers' Union; The Butchers' Employees' Union; The Cape Motor Drivers' Association;

* Now, the South African Trades' Union Congress.

The Cape Explosive Workers' Union. The total membership of these Unions is about 10,000. The Constitution states that the Federation aims at:—

1. Securing a thorough organisation of all workers skilled and unskilled, irrespective of race, colour, creed or sex.
2. Initiating and assisting new Unions.
3. Assisting affiliated Unions, if so desired, in order, by means of negotiations with employers, to settle trade disputes amicably.
4. Assisting affiliating Unions—morally, financially or advisorily—in cases of strikes, lock-outs, disputes arising out of wages, hours, non-union labour, or other causes.
5. Endeavouring to secure representation on local public bodies.

The Funds of the Federation are obtained by all affiliated Unions paying at the rate of one penny per financial member per week, payable to the Federation quarterly.

The Federation is governed by a Council of delegates from the Unions on the basis of one delegate for every fifty financial members or portion thereof. No Union can have more than six delegates. The Executive Committee consists of President, two Vice-Presidents, Treasurer and five other Delegates, and it is elected at the Annual Meeting in January.

The Federation has done much to consolidate Trade Unionism in the Cape, and the latest of its actions has been the successful bringing together of all the Building Trade Workers. Much assistance has also been rendered in the Furniture and Leather Industries. A point of general interest is that there is often a good percentage of Coloured Workers in the various Unions—the Bakers' and Confectioners' Union having as many as 80 per cent. Coloured.

(b) THE SOUTH AFRICAN ASSOCIATION OF EMPLOYEES' ORGANISATIONS.

(Now, the South African Trades' Union Congress.)

From 1911 until 1920 the South African Industrial Federation was generally accepted as the most representative Trade Union Organisation in South Africa. After 1920 other new Federations were born and quickly died. In 1924 the Minister of Labour called together a representative Con-

ference of delegates to consider the question of unemployment. At this gathering the delegates also discussed the desirability of establishing a National organisation which would be representative of the general body of Trade Unions in South Africa. The result was the formation of the South African Association of Employees' Organisations.

The preamble to the Constitution of the S.A.A.E.O. emphasises the necessity of closer union in view of the passing of the Apprenticeship and Industrial Conciliation Acts. It goes on to say: "Employers are well organised, and through their Federation their work is co-ordinated and their welfare advanced. Organised labour must not lag behind. It must promote amalgamation, wherever possible, of Unions representing Workers employed in the same industry. . . . It is not intended that such Association should take the place of any Union. There will be no attempt to divest the Unions of any of their authority or powers vested in them under their own rules for determining matters relating to their own industry or undertaking, or interference when negotiating agreements with their employers. The Association will only act in such matters when it is requested to do so, and when it is in the best interests of the whole of organised Labour."

In a more detailed statement of the objects of the Association, the following objects are given:—

- (a) To co-ordinate the aims and activities of all employees' organisations, and to consider and advise on all questions relating to their interests;
- (b) To assist in effecting the more complete organisation of employees;
- (c) To assist, when requested to do so, in negotiating agreements;
- (d) To act as Trustees or acquire and own property;
- (e) To establish and maintain a statistical research department, and the publication of matters of interest to affiliated bodies;
- (f) To consider and advise on legislation;
- (g) To assist in the nomination and election of persons qualified to represent Labour views on public or government bodies, National or International Conferences, and to recommend that nomination and election of such persons be by ballot in accordance with the Constitution of member organisations wherever possible.

THE MANAGEMENT of the Association is vested in a National Executive Council, which consists of not less than 12 or more than 20 representatives of the member organisations (to be appointed at the Annual Congress), together with the officers of the Association. Representation of Unions at Congresses is on a basis of: "Up to 500 members two delegates, with one additional delegate for each additional 1,500 members, with a maximum of seven delegates for any one Union."

An interesting part of the Constitution of the S.A.A.E.O. deals with the formation of Advisory Councils.

Where Local Federations or Trades and Labour Councils exist (e.g., Kimberley) these may be appointed as Advisory Councils. The National Executive Council may appoint Councils.

An Advisory Council has been set up in the Mining Industry, and already the Unions on the Mines are represented on the Council. This Council has discussed the question of a Flat Rate increase of wages for all workers on the Mines, and it has done useful work in pointing out some of the defects in the Industrial Conciliation Act, which will be mentioned in a later chapter.

THE SECOND ANNUAL CONGRESS of the Association met at Johannesburg last Easter, and the following is a brief summary of the proceedings:—

The Congress was attended by Delegates from 15 affiliated Unions, 9 fraternal delegates and the members of the National Executive of the South African Association of Employees' organisations. (In future this body will be called the South African Trades' Union Congress.)

Senator Briggs, who was Chairman of the Congress, commented on the number of minor registered Unions in the country, resulting in unnecessary overlapping of function and strongly recommended systematic co-ordination and amalgamation.

A resolution "that where Government Contracts were placed overseas, a 'fair-wage clause' shall be inserted" was carried, it being held that enforcement was possible, and the resolution, if given effect to, would encourage work being done in South Africa.

Much discussion took place on a resolution to vote a donation to the International Workers' Relief organisation, a resolution finally being accepted as follows:—"That this

Congress, recognising the value of the International Workers' Relief Organisation, recommends the National Executive Council to establish a National Relief Organisation for the purpose of making donations to any Workers' Relief Organisation."

The question of Native Wages was fully considered, Congress placing on record its opinion that the demand of Bloemfontein Native Workers for 3/6 per day was a reasonable and even modest demand. There was a distinct move made towards a more friendly interest in the Native and his organisation as a Trade Unionist.

The National Executive Council was instructed to take steps to co-ordinate the activities of the various Unions in South Africa with a view to the achievement of a greater degree of co-operation and uniformity. Financial assistance was to be requested of all Unions.

Much discussion took place as to the efficacy of the Industrial Conciliation Act (11 of 1924), but a motion calling for its repeal was defeated. An amendment favouring the rescission of Section II. of the Act on the grounds that it took away "the fundamental right of a large section of workers to withhold their labour if conditions became unsatisfactory," was, however, adopted. A subsequent resolution calling for compulsory arbitration was lost. It was agreed to support the extension of the Conciliation Act to include Natives.

XIV.

THE NATIVE TRADE UNION (I.C.U.).

In June, 1918, the Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg, in sentencing to two months' imprisonment some of the 182 Native strikers for better wages, said:—"While in gaol they would have to do the same work as they had been doing, and would carry out the employment with an armed escort, including a guard of Zulus armed with assegais and white men with guns. If they attempted to escape, and if it were necessary, they would be shot down. If they refused to obey orders, they would receive lashes as often as might be necessary to make them understand that they had to do what they were told."

The Native in South Africa is the unskilled worker, and he occupies in the Trade Union movement a similar position

to that which the unskilled worker did in Great Britain before 1889. And, like the striking rise to power of the unskilled English worker, beginning with the famous London Dock Strike, the Native worker also has begun to enter the Trade Union arena in startling fashion. It was only in January, 1919, that the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union was founded by Clements Kadalie, an educated Native from the interior of the African Continent, but one who had worked on the Mines. In April of the same year a Native organiser, Mr. H. Selby Maimang, was arrested in Bloemfontein in connection with a movement there, for higher wages, but he was afterwards released. It is said that his arrest fired the Natives into action, and caused them to organise rapidly. In the Orange Free State, and in the Cape Colony, there began an active campaign to organise the Natives on modern Industrial Union lines. Before the year ended 8,000 Natives remained on strike for three weeks at Cape Town Docks.

The first Labour Convention of African workers was convened at Bloemfontein in July, 1920, and fifty delegates attended. A few weeks later the I.C.U. (as the Union is called) demanded a large increase in wages for workers on the Docks at Cape Town, and, after a Conference with the Government and the Employers, the Union won a substantial increase for the Natives, without having to resort to another strike.

The news of this success spread to other centres. At Port Elizabeth demands were made for an increase in wages, but there was resistance, and a leader, named Samuel Masabalala, was arrested on October 23rd, 1920. As a result of disturbances twenty-three Natives were shot dead and others were injured. The Natives have not forgotten this attack, and it was resolved at their Annual Conference in 1923 to erect a memorial over the graves of the dead.

This 1923 Conference, held at Cape Town, was the first to be really representative of the rank and file. The Conference had to deal with difficulties of organisation and the serious weaknesses, which the Native Union is constantly faced with in managing its financial affairs. It is here that the White Trade Unions could render assistance, but the "Colour Bar" militates against any widespread co-operation between the I.C.U. and the White Workers' Unions. There is, however, a tendency to come together, and a movement in this direction seems inevitable as the I.C.U. grows in strength, and as the tendency towards union by Industry develops.

It is impossible to see how Industrial Unionism can flourish successfully in South Africa if the present Colour Bar is rigidly kept.

The Constitution of the I.C.U. (Revised 1925) states that the Union sets out to organise the following sections of workers:—Municipal, Waterside, Mine, Building, Agricultural, Marine, Transport, Railway, Factory, Domestic and Warehouse.

The Constitution then calls attention to the existence of the class struggle and the necessity for co-operating with all workers to abolish the Capitalist System. Among the objects of the Union are:—The regulation of Wages and conditions of Labour; the provision of legal assistance to members; sick, unemployed, old age and death benefits; the establishing of clubs and provision for workers' education, and the publishing of literature and newspapers.

In most of the large centres the Union has a Hall, and a flourishing paper, called "The Workers' Herald," is published every month and circulates widely.

Membership of the Union is obtained by payment of the following fees:—

In Industrial Centres.—Men: Enrolment fee, 2/-; weekly contribution, 6d. Women: Enrolment fee, 1/-; weekly contribution, 3d.

In Agricultural Districts.—Enrolment fee, 1/-; weekly contribution, 3d.

Special national levies are called for from time to time.

The government of the I.C.U. is vested in the National Council, which has full control of the branches, all officers, and all finances. Its Headquarters are at Johannesburg. The National Secretary is the chief officer of the National Council, and works at the Head Office. The National Secretary also travels about and assists Provincial and Branch Secretaries in their organising efforts. There is a General Secretary, who is in charge of the finances of the Union.

The strength of the Union is put at over 30,000. Considering the very short period since the formation of the Union in 1919, the progress made is remarkable. The membership is not altogether a stable one, but in spite of fluctuations the curve is going upward.

The present membership in various parts is given as follows:—

	1925 ¹	1926 ²
Cape Town and the Peninsula ..	6,000	5,000
Johannesburg and the whole Reef	5,000	8,000
Port Elizabeth and Suburbs .. .	2,000	2,000
East London	3,000	4,000
Kingwilliamstown	1,500	2,000
Bloemfontein	1,000	2,000
Durban	600	5,000
Kimberley	300	400
Other small Branches	11,000	11,000

1. From Figures given to Economic and Wage Commission, September, 1925.
2. From Figures supplied by I.C.U. August, 1926.

It was stated before the Commission that at any one time only about 50 per cent. of the members were financial members.

The bulk of the members is drawn from urban and de-tribalised Natives* and also from the "Coloured Workers." Except in the Cape, the Coloured Worker (i.e., the Half-Caste) is not admitted into the Trade Unions. The Natives are the real proletariat of South Africa, and they claim that the wealth due to Industrial Development has been greatly produced through their being exploited by the white man—whether worker or employer. They say that their labour has been mainly responsible for the making of the big cities, the railways and the harbours, and the getting of wealth out of the mines. In agriculture, too, their services have been utilised for the benefit of the white man.

The I.C.U. therefore endeavours to raise the status and wages of the Native, so that he may get a bigger share of the good things of life and of the wealth which he helps to produce. As time goes on it is doubtful if the Native can be kept in the position of "a hewer of wood and a drawer of water." Many are becoming skilled workers, and although the Colour Bar Regulations prevent the Native from entering certain skilled occupations, it is difficult to see how the Native can be kept out indefinitely, unless complete industrial segregation takes place.

* Natives, still attached to their tribes and their land, are fairly well-off. They only need to come into the towns to work for six months of the year.

The Constitution of the Union lays it down that "the organisation does not foster or encourage antagonism towards other established bodies, political or otherwise, of African peoples or of organised European Labour." Nevertheless, it is easy for racial feeling to creep in, and some Native leaders try to use the Trade Union for stirring up antagonism to the white races in South Africa. Men like Mr. Kadalie, realise the futility of this, and seek to co-operate with the white worker. As yet, however, the white workers are not disposed towards much co-operation.

CHAPTER III.

THE STATE AND INDUSTRIAL ORGANISATION.

THE very serious industrial upheaval, which took place in 1922, made everybody consider ways and means for the prevention and settlement of disputes in other ways than by Strikes and Lock-outs. A Select Committee was appointed to take evidence and bring forward suggestions for Industrial Conciliation, with the result that, in 1924, an Act was passed "to make provision for the prevention and settlement of disputes between employers and employees by conciliation; for the registration and regulation of Trade Unions and private registry offices and for other incidental purposes."

The Act does not apply to Agriculture or "to any undertaking carried on by the Crown or the Government of the Union or any department thereof, or any provincial administration." But the Act may apply to workers in Government employ if such workers are connected intimately with workers engaged in an industry or occupation, which has set up certain machinery for Industrial Regulation. The Minister of the Department where the workers are employed will have to be consulted in the matter, and his approval obtained.

The main provisions of the Act may be summarised under the following heads:—

- (a) The Prevention and Settlement of Industrial Disputes.
- (b) Trade Unions and Employers' Organisations.

(a)

THE PREVENTION AND SETTLEMENT OF INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES.

For the Prevention of Disputes the Act allows for the setting-up of **INDUSTRIAL COUNCILS** between any Employer or Employers' Organisation and any registered Trade Union or group of registered Trade Unions.

In setting-up such a Council the parties to the agreement must provide certain particulars, viz.:—

1. The authority under which the application is made;
2. The numbers and occupations of the persons authorising the application;
3. The character of the undertaking, industry, trade, or occupation in respect of which it is desired that the Industrial Council shall be registered;
4. The area for which it is desired that the Industrial Council shall be registered; and
5. The situation of the Head Office of the Industrial Council, together with a copy of the Constitution and Rules of the Industrial Council and of any agreements between the parties,

If the Minister of Labour is satisfied that the Constitution is in order, and that the agreement reached is satisfactory, he can order them to be registered and to have the force of law. (But it appears to be necessary for each party to the agreement to make an application to the Minister to have the agreement registered.) He may also decide that the agreement shall be binding on all those employers and workers who have not directly been parties to the agreement for the Industry. If new agreements from time to time are made these must be duly registered. The Council may be broken up if a majority of the members decide on its abolition, or if a majority of the members of either side have resigned from it.

CONCILIATION BOARD.

Where no Industrial Council exists in an area a representative number of employees or employers (whether organised or not) in any industry or occupation may apply to the Minister for a Conciliation Board for the purpose of settling a dispute. An agreed number of representatives from each side may sit on the Board, but if no arrangement can be made in the matter of representatives the Minister himself may appoint the members of the Board.

The Minister has to provide the necessary clerical and secretarial assistance, and any expenses in connection with the Board's proceedings may be met from the Consolidated Revenue Fund.

MEDIATORS, ARBITRATORS AND UMPIRES.

When there are difficulties in coming to an agreement—either in an Industrial Council or a Conciliation Board—a Mediator may be applied for. He will then confer with the members of the Council or Board, and endeavour to settle the dispute. The results of his mediation must be reported to the Minister.

Another method of arriving at a settlement is, through a majority of each side of a Council or Board agreeing to call in one or more arbitrators. But the members of the Council or Board must also agree to the appointment of an umpire who shall be required to give a decision if the arbitrators fail to agree. Any award made by an Arbitrator or Arbitrators, or an Umpire, is binding on both parties, and the Act definitely lays it down that it is unlawful for any lock-out or strike to be declared in respect of any such dispute during the period of the operation of the award.

It is seen, therefore, that while Compulsory Arbitration is not in force in South Africa, any parties which agree to go to arbitration must abide by the Award given.

There is, however, a certain amount of compulsion in the conditions regarding disputes between employees and local bodies.

SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES BETWEEN LOCAL AUTHORITIES AND ITS EMPLOYEES IN ESSENTIAL SERVICES.

Section II. of the Act concerns local bodies, and if an Industrial Council or a Conciliation Board has failed to settle a dispute an Arbitrator must be appointed within three days. The Award of the Arbitrator is binding.

It is interesting to note, also, that the provisions of this section apply to any employer and his employees who supply to a local authority more than fifty per cent. of any of the essential services, viz., light, power, water, sanitary, transportation or fire-extinguishing services.

STRIKES AND LOCK-OUTS.

By Section 12 these are forbidden until the question in dispute has been considered either by an Industrial Council, or by a Conciliation Board; and, also, until the end of any period which had been agreed upon by some existing agree-

ment. Any person who incites any other person to declare or continue a Strike or Lock-out, when such are illegal, will be guilty of an offence.

(b)

TRADE UNIONS AND EMPLOYERS' ORGANISATIONS.

Chapter III. of the Conciliation Act deals with the registration of Trade Unions and Employers' Organisations. A Registrar has been appointed for the purpose and all organisations must furnish particulars of their bodies. If the Registrar is satisfied that the Rules and Regulations are in order and that there is no other Trade Union or organisation of employers existing in, and sufficiently representative of, an occupation or industry in any area, the Registrar may grant a certificate of registration to the Trade Union or Employers' Organisation applying for registration.

There is a right of appeal to the Minister against the decision of the Registrar.

Any alterations in the Rules or Officers of any Trade Union or Employers' Organisation must be forwarded to the Registrar within 30 days of such alteration. Particulars of membership must also be supplied at regular intervals.

TRADE UNIONS AS CORPORATE BODIES.

Section 15 of the Act is important and the details of it will be given in full:—

1. "Every Trade Union or Employers' Organisation registered under this Act shall be a body corporate and shall be capable in law of suing and of being sued, and subject to the provisions of any law prohibiting or restricting the acquisition or holding of land, of purchasing or otherwise acquiring, holding and alienating property, movable or immovable.

2. "The laws for the time being which govern

" (a) the incorporation, registration and winding up of companies;

" (b) life insurance companies;

" (c) the formation, registration and management of friendly societies,

shall not apply to any Trade Union or Employers' Organisation in respect of the exercise by it of any function or the performance by it of any Act under this Act or Rules authorised thereunder."

There is nothing in the Section which would permit of a Trade Union or an Employers' Organisation being sued for damages of a civil character, due to a strike or lock-out, but the provisions of Section 12 of the Riotous Assemblies and Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1914, are not affected by any of the provisions in the Conciliation Act.

The Section 12 referred to contains the following chief provisions:—

1. "All persons employed in Public Utility Services are forbidden to break their contracts.
2. "If any employee of any employer whatever, wilfully and maliciously, either alone or by arrangement with other employees or any other person whatever, breaks any contract of employment whatever, knowing or having reasonable cause to believe that the probable consequence of his so breaking such contract will be to endanger human life or to cause serious bodily injury to the health of any person or to expose valuable property, whether movable or immovable, to destruction or serious injury, he shall be guilty of an offence."

THE INDUSTRIAL COUNCILS.

The Printing and Newspaper Industry was the first to set up an Industrial Council for regulating wages and conditions of labour throughout the industry in South Africa. A National Wages Agreement was signed in 1919.

Since the passing of the Industrial Conciliation Act in 1924, the Printers' Industrial Council has undergone some modifications in its Constitution, and several new National Agreements have been registered. The chief details of this Industrial Council and its agreements will be given presently.

Another important National Industrial Council is that in the Building Industry, and this was set up in March, 1925.

Besides these Councils there are others in the following Industries:—Baking, Clothing, Leather, Furniture, Engineering, Hairdressing and Tramways.

It will not be possible to deal with all of these in detail, but some account must be given of the Councils in the Printing and the Building Industries respectively.

THE NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL OF THE
PRINTING AND NEWSPAPER INDUSTRY OF SOUTH
AFRICA.

(a) **CONSTITUTION:** Membership of the Council consists of 16 representatives of the Federated Master Printers of South Africa, the Newspaper Press Union of South Africa, on the one hand, and 16 representatives of the South African Typographical Union on the other.

The objects of the Council include the complete organisation of the Industry; the promotion of good relationship between Employers and Employees; the securing of uniform working hours, wages and conditions; the securing for employees more power in the determining of the conditions which make for health and comfort in the workshop; and the setting-up of Local Joint Boards of Employers and Employees to deal with local matters.

These Joint Boards have power to deal with any local cases and to settle them as long as the agreements arrived at do not conflict with any National agreements made by the Council. All decisions of Joint Boards are subject to the right of any party to appeal to the National Council.

The Secretariat of the National Council is in the hands of a Secretary who is allowed £850 a year for salary and expenses. The Funds of the Council are raised by a levy on all the employees (1d. per week from each journeyman and ½d. per week from each other employee) and all the Employers (who contribute a similar amount for each person employed).

The Constitution deals with other matters of minor importance and with the question of Disputes. "No Strike, Lock-out or other aggressive or coercive action shall take place within the membership of the National Industrial Council during the currency of the National Agreement."

(b) **WAGES AND OTHER AGREEMENTS:** These have now been published and operate from January 1st, 1926. The country is divided into nine areas, and tables are given of the minimum wages to be paid in each area, subject to certain alterations for variations in the cost of living. Wages vary from £4 10s. 6d. to £8 12s. 6d. for day work, and from £4 19s. 6d. to £9 9s. 9d. for night work. The lower rates prevail largely in Cape Province, while the higher ones are in Natal, the Transvaal and Rhodesia.

All Piece-work is entirely abolished as from January 1st, 1926.

The Working Hours are as follows:—

	Per Day Work.	Per Night Work.
Journeymen (other than type-setting machine operators) ..	46	40
Type-setting machine operators ..	43	40

For Overtime, special rates are allowed, varying under different circumstances from time and one-third to time and one-half to double time.

The question of Holidays is fully dealt with, and special rates of pay are given for work done during the holiday periods.

Special Schedules deal with Contract Labour, Working Rules and Unemployment.

JOINT UNEMPLOYMENT FUND: This Fund has been in existence since 1921 and since amended.

The Fund is maintained by equal contributions from Employers and Employees. The contributions are 5d. per week for Grade "A" workers, and 2½d. per week for Grade "B" workers. Every employer is responsible for the collection of the joint contributions to the Fund from his employees. The amounts are deducted from the wages every week.

UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFIT: For Grade "A," 50/- per week; for Grade "B," 25/- per week.

These benefits are paid for a total of seven weeks in any one half-year. When absent from work through illness an employee need not pay any contribution to the Fund, although he gets no benefit under the scheme. After a certain amount of benefit has been paid in a certain period an employee is not entitled to come on the Fund again until he has completed 26 weekly contributions.

THE NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL OF THE BUILDING INDUSTRY OF SOUTH AFRICA.

The Constitution of this Council differs very little from that of the Printing Industry—instead of Joint Boards there are Local and District Committees.

The National Council is rather smaller than that in the Printing Industry—ten from each side—and is elected for a period of two years, whereas in the Printing Industry the

members of the Council hold office until new representatives are elected at a meeting called for the purpose. A two-thirds majority is necessary to carry any proposal of the Council, or of the Executive appointed by it.

As in the case of the Printing Industry, any matter upon which a decision cannot be reached after three meetings of the Council, must be referred to an Umpire who shall be selected by a majority of two-thirds of the Council. Failing agreement as to selection, the Department of Labour shall be asked to appoint an Umpire. The decision of the Umpire is final and binding upon the parties.

Answers to questions requiring a plain "Yes" or "No" may be taken by a postal vote.

As in the case of the Printing Industry, only bona fide representatives actively engaged in the Industry shall sit on the National Council. Advisory members, however, with no power to vote, may be allowed to attend and take part in the proceedings.

NATIONAL AGREEMENT ON WAGES AND WORKING RULES.

This agreement was drawn up and signed on September 8th, 1925. Wages have been agreed upon for the whole Union, which is divided into 15 areas. Rates of pay per hour vary in different areas and among various craftsmen. As in the Printing Industry, the lowest rates tend to be in the Cape Province (2/-, 2/3, 2/6, 2/9 per hour), while the highest are in Orange Free State and the Transvaal (3/2 and 3/4). Natal rates vary from 2/6 to 3/1.

(A new agreement, operating from August 13th, 1926, makes slight changes in the above.)

The application of this agreement to all Building Employers has been upheld by a recent prosecution under the Act.

THE NATIONAL WORKING RULES cover a wide field and deal with the following subjects, which are briefly summarised:—

1. Working Day.—Eight-hour day for five days and four hours on Saturday. Local Committees may make certain modifications.

2. Overtime.—No overtime except in cases of emergency. Regulations for time and a half and double time. Special cases to be referred to local Committees.

3. Walking time and Country Jobs.
4. Piece-work.—No Piece-work allowed singly or collectively unless employees supply the whole of the material necessary for the work.
5. Discharge.—Two hours' notice for carpenters and one for other trades.
6. Provision of Tools.—A long list for every craft.
7. Refreshments.—Employers to provide a "boy" for preparation of tea twice daily (once daily in the Cape Peninsula).
8. Industrial Council Boards.—Threepence per week shall be deducted by the Employer from the wages of each artisan in his employ; to this sum the Employer shall add an equal amount. The total amount shall be paid to the Council. There is a slight variation in the Cape, where 2d. is retained by the Local Committee.
9. Exemptions.—Certain exemptions are permitted in regard to improvers, infirm and old persons, and semi-skilled workers. These cases must be dealt with by the local or district committees, and any lower rates paid must receive the sanction of the Executive of the National Council. Exemption is for 12 months (renewable), and all exempted persons must have a certificate. Persons working in the erection of small farm buildings are excluded from the operation of the agreement.
10. Holidays.—This question is under discussion.
11. Apprentices. have to conform to those working rules which do not conflict with the Apprenticeship Act, 1922. Indentures are no longer granted to "over-age" men who did not complete a period of apprenticeship.

There are other rules which apply to special work, viz., Sheet Metal work, Electrical work, Plasterers' modelling, Shops and Painting.

THE GENERAL EFFECT OF THE INDUSTRIAL CONCILIATION ACT.

Much has been done to make the resort to industrial strife difficult. Some Trade Unionists feel that the Act has taken all the sting out of their movement; they find workers beginning to say: "Why should we bother to join a Union? We shall be able to get the wages and conditions regulated by the Councils or the Boards." The leaders, of course, try to tell the workers that the agreements arrived at by the Council or the Boards will depend almost entirely on the strength of the

organisations which the workers possess and their ability in the last resort to declare a strike. If the Trade Unions are badly organised the employers will be able to press their views with greater ease and get them carried by the Councils or the Boards. Arbitrators also will tend to take into account, when giving their awards, the relative strengths of the opposing interests.

On the other hand, the working of the Act has tended to foster the growth of Trade Unions among those workers who were previously badly organised. Several new Unions have grown up, or have become stronger since the Act was passed, e.g., in the Confectionery, Furniture and Leather Industries. In fact employers have often encouraged workers to organise so that proper representatives may be appointed on Industrial Councils. Many employers prefer to support the setting-up of Industrial Councils, because they dislike the possibility of having the wages in their industry fixed compulsory by the newly formed Wages Board, which has just been set up under the Wages Act of 1925.

The Conciliation Act is supposed to provide machinery for the better organised trades, whilst the Wages Act is to deal more with the sweated and unorganised occupations. It is too early to say how the Wages Board will operate.

The Industrial Council for the Tailoring Industry complain that by respecting the conditions set down in the agreement for their Industry, they are being badly hit by competition from the "out-worker," who works under sweated conditions, and against whom they are powerless because of these conditions. The owners of several factories have found it unprofitable to continue and have sold out, and several factories are, to-day, in the market. The Industrial Council considers that the position can only be remedied by an amendment to the Factory Act, making it a punishable offence for any firm or person to give out material to be made up on other than registered factory premises where the conditions laid down in the Industrial Council Agreement are observed. The argument has been used that the Council's proposal would entail hardship on people, who, for domestic reasons, are unable to go to work in factories, but the Council contend that this difficulty might be met by a system of carefully scrutinised exemptions. It seems as if the Council has the remedy in its own hands. Could it not draw up certain conditions in an agreement, which would meet their difficulties and get them sanctioned under the Act by the Minister? Such regulations would then have the force of law. The National

Agreement in the Building Industry allows for certain carefully scrutinised exemptions. An amended Factory Act would no doubt materially assist the Industry.*

The South African Association of Employees' Organisations have been considering some minor points in the Act, which they consider requires amendment. The following are the amendments suggested:—

"Section 9. Provision to be made to empower the Minister to vary or withdraw agreements. This is particularly necessary in the case of Conciliation Boards, which cease to function upon the submission of their reports."

"Section 12. (1) (b) Provision to be made requiring Conciliation Boards to report within a certain period, or within what is considered by the Minister to be a reasonable time. Strikes and Lock-outs are unlawful until such time as a Board appointed by the Minister has reported. Consequently it is necessary to ensure submission of report within a reasonable period."

"Section 12. (7) Provision extending the powers of the Registrar in the collection of data from employers and employees' organisations. This is necessary in order to enable the department to maintain close contact with the development of these organisations."

"Section 15. (2) Provision to be made ensuring organisations upon registration remaining possessed of all the rights and assets to which they were entitled prior to registration."

"Section 24. Definition of Employee: Provision to be made to apply the provisions of the Act to all employees, including Natives, in industrial occupations, and to exclude Natives in the mass, or whose domicile is in rural areas."

"This is necessary, as Natives in industrial occupations appear in the original Act to be excluded to a very great extent."

These suggestions have been submitted to a special Committee of the Advisory Council of Labour.

On the whole the Act seems to be working smoothly, and where both sides are well organised, as in the Printing Industry, the results obtained are a step in advance of the old haphazard way of agreement and strife among industrial employers and the Unions representing the workers. The struggle by the workers for better conditions has not been

* See Page 109 for other comments on the Clothing Industry.

eliminated by the Industrial Council method, but it has become less barbarous. This may not suit the sturdy class warriors of both sides, but they can perhaps turn their efforts into more fruitful channels.

The Act has not been working long enough to pass any very definite opinion upon its working. The above considerations must be taken as purely tentative.

AN ADDITIONAL COMMENT.

Since the above was written a most interesting case has arisen in Durban. It illustrates a well-known problem of Craft Unionism and Industrial Unionism, but made more complicated through the action of the State.

On February 17th, 1926, a Bricklayer, named Bakker—a Municipal employee for $3\frac{1}{4}$ years, a member of the Durban Municipal Employees' Society (a Registered Trade Union, covering all Municipal Workers, except Tramwaymen)—was given an hour's notice to leave. This was done by a foreman who said he was giving the notice in accordance with the regulations agreed to by the National Industrial Council of the Building Industry, and to which reference has already been made.

Objection has been taken to this action of the foreman, on the ground that Bakker is a Municipal employee, and a member of the Municipal Employees' Society, which has an agreement with the Town Council that any man who has been in the Council's employ for over three years cannot be dismissed, unless his case has been reported to a Joint Advisory Committee (composed of members of the Town Council and members of the Employees' Union) which has been set up under an Ordinance of the Natal Provincial Council.

The point then, is this:—Under the Industrial Conciliation Act, Section 9, any agreement in a certain industry, approved by the Minister of Labour, may be extended to all employers and their employees in the industry in any area, although such persons were not definitely parties to the agreement. It is claimed, therefore, that the rules relating to—Dismissal of Employees (Rule 10 of the National Working Rules of the Industrial Council of the Building Industry) applied to Bakker—even though he was not a member of any Union which was a party to the agreement.

The point at issue has not yet been decided, but the view of the Durban Municipal Employees' Society is an Industrial

Union view. The Society holds that their members are members of the Municipal Service, and should be governed by the conditions of that Service. They claim to have established the principle in a case some eighteen months ago, when it was decided that engineering artisans in the Council's employ should have their rates of pay governed by agreement between the Municipal Society and the Council, and not necessarily by any rates of pay which might obtain in the Engineering Industry.

In order to achieve this end a suggestion is being made that the Durban Town Council become a Registered Employers' Organisation under the Conciliation Act. The position is being made more interesting by reason of a Law Case now proceeding at Johannesburg, and dealing with the same difficulty, viz., the application of the Building Agreement to the Artisans employed by the Johannesburg Town Council.

It would now appear that, where workers are engaged upon repair and maintenance work they are exempt from the Building Agreement, but, where employed upon constructional work, such workers are governed by the agreement.

A strong criticism on the working of the Industrial Conciliation Act has just appeared in the "South African Nation" (November 6th, 1926). In this article, Mr. W. H. Andrews, the Secretary of the Trades Union Congress, says:—

"Where the Act appears to have been successful, as in the case of well organised national industries, it is probably a fact that the conditions arrived at would have been at least as good had no such Act existed. Where the agreement is a national one, and the industry only poorly organised, it has acted to the detriment of the higher paid districts, and in the poorer paid areas the national agreement is frequently violated.

"In the case of conciliation boards, they appear to have generally failed to benefit the men, while taking away from the unions the one weapon which small isolated employers fear—the sudden withdrawal of labour."

CHAPTER IV.

THE FUNCTIONS, METHODS AND POLICY OF TRADE UNIONS.

IN the earlier part of the book we dealt briefly with the Functions of Trade Unions. We have now to consider the matter in more detail. In the first place: What is a Trade Union?

According to Section 24 of the Industrial Conciliation Act, a "Trade Union means any number of persons associated together either temporarily or permanently for the purpose of regulating relations between themselves and their employers or for protecting or furthering the interests of employees in any particular undertaking, industry, trade or occupation in relation to their employers."

It is interesting to compare this definition with that given by Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb, in their "History of Trade Unionism." The Webbs' definition is:—"A continuous association of wage earners for the purpose of maintaining and improving the conditions of their working-lives."

A Trade Union then consists essentially of persons who work for remuneration under an employer or an employing body. It may be purely a local association or it may cover the whole country. In fact a Trade Union may extend across national boundaries. The Amalgamated Engineering Union is an example of such a Trade Union. Then again a Trade Union may be broad or narrow in its appeal. It may be:—

1. Confined to members of a single craft (e.g., Masons, Pattern-makers).
2. Confined to a group of grades ranging from the more skilled to the less skilled (e.g., Spinners and Piecers; Smiths and Strikers; Engine Drivers, Firemen and Cleaners).
3. Confined to a group of kindred skilled crafts (e.g., Engineers and Woodworkers).

4. Aiming at organising all skilled and unskilled workers in an industry or group of related industries (e.g., Building Workers' Union; Rhodesia Railway Workers' Union). This is Union by Industry.
5. Aiming at organising workers of all types, without regard to skill or industry. General Labour Unions are of this kind, but in South Africa, as we have seen (Page 54), such Unions are ineligible for Registration under the Industrial Conciliation Act.

THE FUNCTIONS AND POLICY OF TRADE UNIONS.

According to the definitions it would seem that almost anything might be included in the functions of Trade Unions as long as it has something to do with regulating relations between workers and employers. In practice, however, the Trade Union Function has been mainly concerned with "negative" action—aimed at putting checks upon employers in the matter of Rates of Wages, Hours, and Conditions of Labour. In more recent years, however, Trade Unions have sometimes adopted a more positive policy in relation to their work, resulting in demands for an increasing control over "the conditions of their working-lives."

Employers have countered this offensive by various means. The chief of these are:—

1. An extension of the system of Payment by Results, i.e., Bonus and Efficiency Systems.
2. Methods of "Scientific Management," to shorten hours, lessen output of energy, but also to increase the production of goods.
3. Profit-sharing and Co-partnership schemes for giving workers a financial interest in the business.
4. "Whitley Councils," Conciliation Boards and Industrial Councils, which aim at giving at least an appearance of "control," and through which agreements may be arrived at which may receive legislative sanction. The "Left Wing" of the Trade Union movement are very critical of such Councils, as we have already seen.

In recent years, there have grown up three views of Trade Union Function and Policy, viz.:—

1. "THE COLLECTIVIST." This view tends to the subordination of Trade Unions to the political side of the

working-class movement. It considers that with the overthrow of Capitalism there will be no longer any need for Trade Unions. Trade Union Policy, therefore, should be directed towards this end. It seems that such a view lays too much emphasis on the control of society by the consumer.

2. "THE REVOLUTIONARY INDUSTRIAL UNIONIST AND SYNDICALIST." According to this view the Trade Unions are to exercise control of the production and distribution of goods, while the "consumers" are to be debarred from a share in control. It might be argued that such a state of affairs would tend to give too much power into the hands of industrial groups, which might exploit "the public," to which the Syndicalist might reply, that "consumers" would be protected by local and central councils or boards representing all industries, and that every producer is also a consumer. Nevertheless, it seems that this view of Trade Union Policy ignores the dangers of putting too much power into the hands of Industrial Groups, however well-intentioned such groups might be.

3. "THE GUILD SOCIALIST." This view aims at reconciling the consumer-view (1) and the producer-view (2). Briefly, the suggestion is that each industry or public service should be organised as a self-governing association of all those engaged in it. No uniform pattern is suggested. "The Community" would be the owner, and through its representative association (e.g., State or Municipality) it would control, quality, quantity and price. The Guild would have democratic control of its internal affairs—such as wages, hours, conditions, etc. A developed Co-operative Wholesale Society might be the Universal Distributor. "The Trade Union is the Guild in Embryo." According to this view it would mean that the function of Trade Unions should be to promote "Union by Industry," and to educate their members for the purpose of carrying on production. The following are some points of criticism:—

1. The dangers of Syndicalism may not be avoided.
2. What guarantee would there be of a sufficient stimulus to Efficient Service?
3. Would not there be a tendency to conservatism?
4. The Workers of all grades are not sufficiently common in their points of view to make the scheme work smoothly.
5. What of the Financial difficulties?

However, there is no doubt that the Guild Socialist view is one which is a serious alternative to the "present system," and certain experiments (e.g., the Building Guilds of England) have not been entirely unsuccessful. The day may yet come when further experiments will concentrate the vague leanings of the Trade Unions towards some form of Workers' Control in Industry. It is probable that both the political and the industrial wings of the Labour Movement will work towards this end.

TRADE UNION METHODS.

In order to attain the aims and objects of Trade Unionism, the Trade Unions adopt certain well-recognised methods. There are four main ones, viz. :—

Mutual Insurance.
Legal Enactment.
Collective Bargaining.
The Strike.

A fifth might be added, namely, Education.

1. **MUTUAL INSURANCE:** By means of regular weekly or monthly contributions from its members, a Trade Union is able to pay Benefits. The amount of the contributions and the nature of the Benefits vary considerably, as we have seen, in different Unions. As a rule there are two main kinds of Benefits, viz., Trade Protection and Friendly Benefits.

(a) **TRADE PROTECTION BENEFITS:** These are, chiefly, Unemployment, Strike and Victimisation benefits.

UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFIT is a big strain on Union Funds and Unions prefer to make the burden one which should be borne also by the State and the Employer.

STRIKE BENEFIT is one common to most Unions. The chief exceptions occur among public servants of all kinds and non-manual workers. The Unions in Industries which are subject to great fluctuations in conditions and unemployment will tend to have larger Dispute benefits than those Unions catering for Workers in more "sheltered" and stable occupations. The Amalgamated Engineering Union is a case in point.

VICTIMISATION BENEFIT (i.e., loss of work through a person's Trade Union activities). Every endeavour is made to protect those who render prominent service for a Trade, and "victimisation benefit" may often be as much as the full wages of the worker victimised.

(b) FRIENDLY BENEFITS: These may include: Sickness, Accident, Superannuation, Funeral, Legal Assistance.

In most cases the payments for these benefits are voluntary and confined to the more skilled craft unions.

There are various views on the desirability of Friendly Benefits. These views may be stated thus:—

1. They tend to take the fighting spirit out of Trade Unionism.
2. They are the only means of ensuring stability of membership by giving members a financial status in the union.
3. They should be optional. Real membership of a Trade Union, should be confined to those who contribute for Trade protection purposes.

It is clear that the question of Friendly Benefits is intimately connected with the functions of Trade Unions, and their origin is deeply rooted in the past. There seems, however, to be a greater tendency to consider the provision of Friendly Benefits as the work of Friendly Societies and not of Trade Unions.

2. LEGAL ENACTMENT: The history of Trade Unionism in one of its aspects is that of a long struggle for legal status. In England the right to combine was won in 1825, but the rest of the Nineteenth Century elapsed before full legal status was obtained, i.e., before collective bargaining was definitely recognised; the funds of Trade Unions protected and the right to strike definitely conceded. In South Africa, Trade Unions have always been legal bodies, and the present Industrial Conciliation Act gives Trade Unions a recognised place in the scheme of Industrial regulation.

The necessity of obtaining legal sanction for Trade Union activity led to much political action on the part of Trade Unions, and out of this grew the Labour Party. With the coming of the Labour Party, Trade Unions began to provide

funds for political purposes. At one time, in England, such funds were declared to be illegal (Osborne Judgment, 1909), but the 1913 Trade Union Act recognised the right of Trade Unions to finance candidates for political offices. In South Africa there is nothing to prevent Trade Unions from doing likewise. Experience seems to show that the success of a political Labour Party is directly bound up with the organised Trade Union Movement.

3. COLLECTIVE BARGAINING: It is still the common practice for workers to be engaged by employers as individuals, but the conditions of employment are largely settled by "collective" rather than by individual bargaining. The change to "Collective Bargaining" was a great gain for Trade Unionism, because it tended to equalise the contracting parties when they were bargaining.

The scales, however, are still weighted in favour of the employers, because the workers must find work or starve. The same urgent necessity is not usually the case with employing bodies.

Collective Bargaining may take place on a local or national basis and may result in agreements on hours, wages and conditions for a whole trade. The tendency is towards more national agreements with certain modifications for different districts. Negotiations may take place on specific points as they arise, or there may be special machinery set up for regular joint conferences between employers and employed. Such joint conferences may be statutory boards or councils with power to draw up agreements which shall be legally binding on all workers and employers in the industry concerned. This is becoming the common practice in South Africa since the passing of the Industrial Conciliation Act in 1924.

4. THE STRIKE: This is a very old weapon of Trade Unionism, but it is rarely used now-a-days until long negotiations have taken place and have broken down. It is the general rule that strikes can only be of use to prevent a lowering of the workers' standard of life. However, it may be used with some success in times of good trade; but, as strikes exhaust Union funds and cause much suffering to the workers and their families, they are resorted to only when conciliation has failed, or the chances of success are good. Of course there are some who hold that the strike weapon is an essential instrument in the class-struggle and a means of educating the workers in acting solidly together.

“Sympathetic” strikes have become more common in recent times, due to the inter-dependence of industries and trades, and the desire among Trade Unionists to forge a weapon which shall be mighty enough to be used as a strong factor when bargaining with the combined employers’ organisations.

The Industrial Conciliation Act has done much to eliminate strikes, and in some cases (among Government and Municipal employees) strikes have been made illegal.

5. EDUCATION: The great interest which is being shown by Trade Unionists in Education is the reason for including it as one of the methods of Trade Unionism. Every Trade Union leader will testify to the fact that his work would be made easier if his members were more enlightened. Now-a-days, in nearly every country, there is some form of Workers’ Education. The character of the Education may vary. In some cases (e.g., the Plebs movement and the National Council of Labour Colleges) the Education given is professedly of a propagandist nature. On the other hand (e.g., the Workers’ Educational Association), there are educational bodies which endeavour to encourage workers to look at a question in an impartial way. Both kinds of organisation flourish side by side and are mutually helpful in arousing an interest in Higher Education among the workers.

Trade Unions sometimes affiliate to these educational bodies and arrange educational schemes for their members.

In South Africa a start has been made by the Workers’ Educational Association, and there are good prospects of development in the near future. Quite a number of Trade Unions have affiliated to the Workers’ Educational Association in Durban, Johannesburg, Pietermaritzburg and Cape Town.

Trade Unionists are realising that their movement will be faced with increasingly complex problems, and more knowledge and clearer thinking will be essential. It is probable, therefore, that we shall see an increasing interest taken in the Workers’ Educational Association. It is also not unlikely that a “Plebs” movement will arise to cater for those who desire to give a propagandist bent to educational classes for Trade Unionists.

The public generally should welcome every effort made towards Higher Education. The outcome is bound to be for the welfare of the community.

CHAPTER V.

PROBLEMS OF TRADE UNION ORGANISATION.

REFERENCES have been made in previous chapters to the difficult problems of organisation which confront the Trade Unions of South Africa. The problems are not peculiar to South African Trade Unionism, and, in order to give our readers the advantage of authoritative opinion on this subject we have decided to present the views of two outstanding men, viz.: Mr. Sidney Webb—the well-known Author of “The History of Trade Unionism,” and Mr. C. T. Cramp—the Industrial Secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen. We shall then make a few comments of our own on the position in South Africa.

I.

THE VIEWS OF MR. SIDNEY WEBB.*

“The structure of Trade Unionism, as of every other organisation, is and will be determined by its function. What does it do? What purpose does it achieve? If we seek to modify structure we may legitimately take into account, along with present functions, any modification of function that we expect or desire. But just because modifications of function must be necessarily slow and gradual (because all life is dependent on uninterrupted continuance of function) any changes of structure must themselves be slow and gradual, so as to achieve simultaneously both the present purpose and any modifications of it that we foresee or desire.

“Historically, and from the standpoint of the economist and sociologist, the primary function of Trade Unionism is to maintain and raise the standard of life, and thereby to safeguard and enlarge the effective freedom of the individuals ;

*..Taken from the Labour Magazine, September 1923.

a function which, unfortunately, the structure is, in every country, very far from fulfilling adequately.

"Now, it is suggested that this relative ill-success is to be attributed largely to the fact that the organisation has proceeded on the basis of craft (so that all engineers, for example, in whatever industry they are working are associated with engineers) rather than on that of industry (so that all who work in or about a mine or a railway, for instance, should, whatever their crafts, be united in one body).

"Sometimes the substitution of industry for craft as the basis of organisation is urged on the plea that, under modern conditions, all the workers in an industry, constitute a more effective fighting unit against the capitalist employers than a craft ; or that, as the strike or lock-out of one craft vitally affects other crafts, any important dispute should be begun and directed by all the workers who will be concerned, rather than only by those of a particular craft. This argument leads to the extreme demand for 'One Big Union.'

"But sometimes the argument is drawn from the future ; and it is urged that the Trade Union should adapt its form to what is conceived to be its future function in the highly evolved Socialist Commonwealth, in which it is assumed that industry will be controlled by the workers. To add to our perplexity this latter argument is now used by both parties to the controversy.

"Those who believe in 'Industrial Unionism' claim that only by such an organisation can the Trade Union gradually take over the control of the industry at which its members work. On the other hand, those who believe in Craft Unionism declare that only by this form of organisation can the associated craftsmen assume the control of the craft by which they live.

"At this point in the argument there comes very forcibly to my mind a lesson I learned a quarter of a century ago from a distinguished lawyer and able statesman with whom I was carrying on a lively argument. He pointed out to me that while my contentions were substantially sound and logically correct, the opposing contentions were also substantially sound and logically correct. He made me realise in a way that I have never forgotten what he called the doctrine of limits. No contention is true, no argument is valid beyond a certain point ; because, if carried to extremes, every truth at some point conflicts with another truth similarly extended. I have ever since realised that in every controversy the essential

thing to discover it, not which of the disputes is right, but up to what point their respective arguments should be carried, so that both may be in due measure accepted.

"Now, whilst it is not easy to define with precision, either a craft or an industry, experience points to difficulties in drawing circles of too great circumference. In the cotton industry, for instance, the mule spinners, the weavers, the operatives in the card and blowing rooms, the tape sizers, the beamers and warpers, and some minor groups form circles within which association is easy, partly because in each group circumstances are similar and controversial issues peculiar.

"On the other hand, these groups differ markedly one from another in numerical strength, in average earnings, in kinds of work and even in habits of thought. This puts obstacles in the way of an all-embracing amalgamation of cotton operatives. Yet they are all engaged in making a common product, exposed to common dangers and encroachments, having certain conditions of employment in common, and sometimes all working for a common employer.

"The form of Trade Union organisation that seems best to meet these requirements is that of a society for each group, having local branches, but co-extensive with the industry, together with regional federations of the branches of all the groups in a particular locality, and an industrial federation of all the groups in a particular locality, and an industrial federation of all the separate societies for such purposes as they have in common.

"It is not the name that matters. Much the same result might be reached by an amalgamation of all cotton workers if such an amalgamation could bring itself to confine its united action and voting absolutely to the very few matters in which there was a universal common interest, and to concede a due measure of autonomy to local groups."

"And even so, we have left out of the picture the engineers employed in the cotton-mills, the mill carpenters, gatekeepers, and various yardmen, the carmen and horse-keepers, not to mention the foremen and mill managers, the clerks in the offices, the company secretaries and the general managers, themselves—all of them engaged not infrequently throughout their whole working lives in the same 'industry' of 'making' cotton cloth.

"Take, by way of contrast, a highly-evolved, modern ship-building yard, where men of a hundred different crafts and trades may sometimes be found under a single employer, working at a common task."

“Here we have the complication that no two shipyards unite exactly the same heterogeneous collection of workers of different crafts and grades. Workers of each craft pass from one to another establishment, and even from one industry to another. The plater goes from a shipyard to a manufacturer of bridges or boilers; the engineer becomes in turn a maker of sewing machines, agricultural implements, motor-cars or bicycles, or takes a trip to sea; the woodworker moves to the joinery workshop of a housebuilder, or to a furniture factory; the man who was upholstering the cabins of the ship may find his next job in upholstering a Town Hall; whilst some of the general workers (who often number one-half of the whole) will serve successively in a score of different ‘industries.’

“What seems indicated here is that, whatever else may be added, each peculiar group of workers absolutely needs his own organisation, which he can follow in whatever industries he may successively exercise his particular occupation.

“On the other hand, a great employer, or the managing committee of a gigantic public enterprise, having among the 10,000 operatives, workers of a hundred different crafts or grades, may well complain if each of these crafts or grades in turn demands some modification of the existing conditions of service, many of which (but not all) are and must be common to the entire establishment or the whole service. Such an employer may well ask, in respect of all the conditions thus necessarily in common, for a Craft Union, nor yet for an Industrial Union, but for what may be termed an Establishment Union Combining irrespective of the craft or vocation practised, or the industry in which it is exercised, all those who are engaged in a single establishment or service.

“This may perhaps explain why, in the railway and the mine, we have so strong a feeling in favour of what is assumed to be industrial unionism; but is really more of the nature of what may be called employment unionism, in which it is sought to include in a single organisation all those who are in the service of the railway companies or the colliery owners.

“Thus, the Miners’ Federation of Great Britain apparently desires the adhesion of every person employed in or about a mine of coal or ironstone, including, therefore, not only miners of all grades and kinds, but also all the various kinds of mechanics, the enginemen, the surface workers of different grades, the growing mass of bye-product workers and, I

suppose, also the clerks, the mining technicians and the business managers.

"I do not myself see any simple or uniform structure that will serve to fulfil all the necessary functions thus indicated, throughout the whole complication of modern society. I think the path of wisdom is to give up the idea of what I may call unitary sovereignty in Trade Unionism.

"The producer must regard himself simultaneously as (1) a member of his craft or specialised vocation, both in his own locality and throughout the Kingdom; (2) a member alongside workers of other crafts or vocations of his workshop or factory, mine or farm; (3) a member of the particular capitalist establishment or public service in which he is engaged; (4) a member of the industry throughout the Kingdom in which, along with workers in other crafts or vocations, in other establishments or services, in all sorts of localities, he is co-operating to produce for the community a specific product.

"I doubt whether all these groupings can be united in any organisation. Yet all are necessary to the worker as such."

"But some practical solution must be found. I should be inclined to look in the direction of (a) each Trade Union frankly and cordially recognising the necessity of its members joining with members of other unions in distinct workshops and establishment organisations whether these take the form of shop stewards, shop committees, Whitley Councils, or otherwise, with strictly limited functions; (b) each Trade Union conceding a large measure of autonomy to sectional organisation among its own members, strictly limited to the specific and peculiar circumstances of separate crafts or vocations; (c) each Trade Union cordially accepting the necessity of its local branches belonging to, and energetically taking part in, the local Trades Councils and Labour Parties—I should add also the local consumer's co-operative societies.

"If these three principles were accepted and eagerly acted upon by national executives and delegate conferences, Trade Union disintegration might be averted, and further growth promoted.

"On the other side, there might well be a "double card" arrangement. The Trade Union might recognise that its members will frequently be working in establishments, industries, or services with the affairs of which that Trade Union is not primarily concerned. There are matters in which the establishment, industry, or service must act as a whole,

irrespective of craft or sectional interests elsewhere. We should seek to facilitate fluidity, so that Trade Unionists can pass without friction from one establishment, industry, or service to another.

"I confess that it seems to me more than ridiculous still further to complicate the problem by trying to devise a form of organisation which will, at one and the same time, serve for the necessary and perpetual function of maintaining and improving the standard of life of the worker, and preventing encroachments on his effective freedom, and also serve as the hypothetical machinery for the future management and control of industry, as the capitalist employer is gradually and increasingly superseded in one service after another by the Socialist commonwealth.

"The pursuit of this will-of-the-wisp seems to me to rest on a fallacy from which it is high time that we rid ourselves. The worker or producer has a large part to play in the management and control of the work by which he lives; but he is never going, as worker or producer, to be that management and control, either individually or jointly. The worker himself would never allow it in the case of all the other workers, whose products he consumes or whose services he enjoys. It is, and must be, the community of Citizens and consumers, whether in Co-operative Society, Municipality, or State, that decides what it wishes to have produced, and when and where, of what kind and quality, and in what quantity. What the producer as producer is concerned with is how he pursues the craft or vocation for which he has deliberately fitted himself, the environment and conditions in which his service to the community is rendered and his working hours are spent, and the improvements and developments which, by taking thought, he can bring to that service."

II.

THE VIEWS OF MR. C. T. CRAMP.

"The respective merits or demerits of industrial as opposed to craft unionism can only be determined when one considers the matter in the light of the application of certain principles towards given cases. One might argue the case from an academic standpoint for a long time without proving

anything whatsoever as to the value of the rival theories, and further it needs to be said that there is more than one interpretation of industrial unionism in the country to-day.

"With a view, therefore, of getting down to practical issues which have recently disturbed the world of organised Labour, I purpose setting forth the attitude and point of view of the National Union of Railwaymen.

"The conception of industrial unionism held by the National Union of Railwaymen is that the nature of the product of any industry determines the definition of the industry, in so far as it applies to the organised workmen who are employed in any capacity in or about the undertaking. The product of the railway industry is transport, and in these days it means not only transport by rail but in many cases by road and by water as well. The railway companies manufacture and maintain their own engines, carriages, wagons, signal apparatus, and a host of other things which are requisite to the running of their concern.

"In order to do this they have to employ an army of men who are engaged in occupations bearing the same name in many cases as occupations outside of the railway industry. Fitters, coachbuilders, painters, blacksmiths, boilermakers, and many others are employed both on the railways and outside of the railways under the same denomination, and, therefore, at first sight it might appear to the casual observer that they should be enrolled in the unions which for years have specially catered for men so designated.

"On closer investigation, however, it is found there is another and highly important side to the question.

"The fitter employed in an engineering works outside of the railways is usually an employee of an undertaking which exists for the purpose of manufacturing and selling its products. It competes in the selling of its products with similar firms in various parts of this country and in many cases outside of this country, and the men who are employed by these undertakings frequently migrate from one firm to another and from one district or country to another.

"Now, the main purpose of the railway companies in building and manufacturing is entirely different. In their case material and articles are produced not for sale but for use, and are not part of the one commodity which it has for sale, namely, transport. Thus the engineering, building, and repairing which it carries on are merely ancillary to its main purpose, in the same way that a colliery company employs

numbers of men for other than coal hewing whose labour is merely accessory to the main business of producing coal.

"The standpoint of the National Union of Railwaymen is that the railway, providing transport as it does, must be regarded as an industry. All whose labour in any way contributes towards the carrying on of this industry are either railway men or railway women, and thus, being part of the industry, their conditions are ultimately governed by the facts and prosperity of the carrying concern which does not produce its chief commodity for sale.

"It will easily be seen that the view of those who claim to organise the workers upon the railways into Trade Unions must be divergent, not merely as regards the union in which they shall be enrolled, but also as to the methods of their remuneration. The craft unionist holds that the rates of pay and conditions of the railway shopmen should be governed by conditions which operate outside the railway industry, e.g., that what are called district rates and conditions should operate in so far as the railway shopmen are concerned.

"The National Union of Railwaymen on the other hand asserts that the financial condition of the railway is not governed by any one district; that most railways run through both poor and prosperous districts; that the fluctuations of this or that industry, with a consequent difference as between the districts in which such industries are situated, does not affect the position of the railway as a whole. The wages of the railway shopmen are paid from the same funds as are those of his comrades in the traffic and other departments. His affairs are administered by people as interested in the prosperity, say, of Glasgow as they are in the prosperity of London, and, therefore, he should be treated in every respect as if he were a railwayman and an essential part of the transport industry.

"In passing, it might be as well to mention that this was apparently the conclusion of the Industrial Court when they issued the now famous Award 728. In paragraph 16 the Court says: 'This Court have, therefore, reached the conclusion that railway service should be regarded by them as being a distinct industry to which special conditions attach, and that the Court's decision should not impose on the companies and the employees any obligation to adopt or follow the rates of wages agreed upon or recognised by employers and workers in other industries employing similar classes of labour.'

"In other words, the Court have decided to proceed upon

the basis of determining railway rates for the various classes of workpeople before them, and not to award district rates as such.

"We believe, also, that the only effective way in periods of great industrial crises in which the railway companies are involved, to put the maximum pressure upon them, is to have one common policy and purpose among all sections of the railwaymen. Modern Trade Unionism must take account of facts such as these in determining its form of organisation.

"It is quite natural for the craft unionist to say that a policy of this kind weakens organisations which have existed for many years and performed good service to the working classes. I think this objection should be frankly faced and met, and not pushed on one side as though it were a negligible one. The National Union of Railwaymen has endeavoured and will endeavour to arrive at agreements with the craft unions whereby they shall not lose hold upon men who may leave the railway service and take up work elsewhere, or vice versa.

"I frankly recognise that the vicissitudes to which various industries in the country are subjected from time to time impose a heavy liability upon the Trade Unions by way of unemployment pay and other benefits. It should be quite possible to arrange a scheme whereby a man who has learned his trade outside of the railway service, and who comes into the railway shop, should continue to pay to his original union such a sum as would secure him what I will term provident benefits.

"He should, however, or rather his original union could, on his behalf, pay to the National Union of Railwaymen what is necessary to secure for him purely Trade Union benefits, by which I mean the conduct of his purely industrial affairs. If this were done it would not merely end the controversy as between the National Union of Railwaymen and the craft unions, but it would result in a common policy and a unity of purpose which is now sadly lacking so far as the railway shopmen are concerned.

"It would also wipe out that section of the non-unionist which flourishes by the presence of more than one union in any given industry. It is comparatively easy for a certain type of man to evade his obligations by saying to his mates that he is a member of some union other than the one he is being invited to join.

"I have no doubt that the plea will be set up that it is necessary to have craft and sectional unions, owing to the

technicality of the men's work, but negotiations with large employers to-day are not influenced by the question of technique. Technical questions are almost always dealt with in the workshops themselves by committees which are elected by the men, and the questions which are dealt with when determining basic remuneration are the broad economic questions which affect every worker in the United Kingdom alike.

"This, then, is the outline of the industrial unionism as represented by the National Union of Railwaymen. It is a policy which, considering the difficulties to be surmounted, has been remarkably successful in application. Given good will and the ability to cast off the shibboleths of the past, Trade Unionism in Great Britain can be more powerful than ever before.

"It needs greater breadth of vision and a spirit perhaps of adventure to break with old traditions, but one must remember that great industries in this country are constantly changing their outline, are constantly assuming larger functions, and the Trade Unionist who believes that industry will shape its course in obedience to antiquated notions of Trade Unionism is living in a world of unrealities. Industry will continue to evolve and assume new and more effective forms, and labour organisations must march with the times or cease to be an effective force in the working-class movement."

III.

A COMMENT ON SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNION ORGANISATION.

There are just over one hundred Trade Unions in South Africa, with a total membership of about 100,000. Some thirty of these Unions have a membership of between 1,000 and 5,000, so it will be realised that the majority of South African Trade Unions are very small indeed. However, as we have seen, there is some form of organisation in most industries, and in a few cases the percentage of organisation reaches nearly 100 per cent., e.g., in the South African Typographical Union.

While it is true to say that the difficulties connected with Craft and Industrial Unionism are common—(there are, at

least, 11 Unions in the Railways, 12 on the Mines and 8 in the Building Trades)—it is also true that there are a fair number of purely Industrial Unions covering the whole of a National Industry. The Industrial Conciliation Act seems to be having the effect of encouraging joint-action among Craft Unions, especially in the Engineering and Building Trades—and of consolidating small local Unions into National Unions. Recent examples of this include the formation of National Unions in the Leather and Furniture Industries. The beginnings of Union by Industry are also evident among women workers—the Sweetmakers' Union is an instance.

Only moderate progress has been made in linking-up the various Trade Unions. There is, however, a Trade Union Congress with about twenty affiliated Unions covering a membership of roughly 20,000. This year the T.U.C. timidly approached the thorny question of showing some sympathy with the Native Trade Union. In South Africa the ratio of white workers to black and coloured is, roughly, 1 to 4. In the mines the ratio of coloured is much higher. The total number of Natives in the mines and factories is approximately half-a-million. It will be seen, therefore, that Trade Unionism in South Africa is a long way off from a recognised Trade Union ideal of 100 per cent. organisation of all workers. It is true that some Unions are favourable to admitting the Native and Coloured workers into their ranks (e.g., the B.W.I.U.), but the majority of Trade Unions are "White," and there is great hostility to any opening of the ranks to the Native. The time will come, however, when racial prejudice must break down—otherwise the problems before Trade Unionists will increase. The Native Trade Union is bound to become more powerful, and separate action may involve industries in disputes which could be avoided by adopting one of the primary assumptions of Trade Unionism, viz., the exercise of the common rule for all workers in a craft or industry.

While it may be inadvisable to admit Native Workers into White Trade Unions on a basis of equality, steps could be taken to form Native sections of White Unions, so that common action may be taken when necessary. White workers complain of the threat to their standard of life by the Native, the Coloured worker and the Indian. Can they avoid the threat becoming even more menacing by ignoring the Trade Union organisation of such workers? It is on this rock that South African Trade Unionism must build or break.

BOOK II.

* BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.

I.

THE DEAD LEADERS.

*" These are of us, they are with us,
All for primal needed work, while the followers there in embryo
wait behind,
We to-day's procession heading, we the route for travel clearing,
Pioneers! O Pioneers!*

WALT WHITMAN.

BAIN, J. T.

James Thompson Bain was born in Scotland, and came to South Africa about 1880. A Fitter by trade, and a member of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, he was many years a prominent figure in the industrial movement in South Africa. Having become a Burgher of the South African Republic, he fought on the side of the Boers in the War, was captured, and sent as a prisoner-of-war to Ceylon. On his return, he worked on the Central South African Railways and afterwards on the Premier Diamond Mine. He took an active part in the work of the Federation of Trades, and was one of the nine men deported by the Botha-Smuts Government in 1914. Returning to South Africa, he started work under the Johannesburg Municipality, took part in the Municipal Power Station and Tramway Strike in 1920, and was Chairman of the "Board of Control" which took control of the power station and trams and ran them in defiance of the authorities. A life-long industrial agitator, he died on the 12th of January, 1920, deeply lamented by his comrades in the movement.

BROWN, J. F.

J. Forrestier Brown, born in Australia, worked in the mines on the Reef, and did much useful work for the South African Mine Workers' Union, of which he was General Secretary from 1916 to 1922. He took an active part in political and industrial movements. Died, November 1st, 1919.

CRAWFORD, A.

Archibald Crawford was born in Glasgow, and came to South Africa with the troops in the Boer War, in 1902, and soon after secured employment as a fitter. A member of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, he worked as a fireman on the C.S.A.R., and afterwards secured a job as a fitter in the Pretoria Railway Workshops. In 1906 he was dismissed, after nearly four years' service, for agitating against unjust retrenchment. From that date, he became a kind of "stormy petrel" of Labour, and was prominent in every sort of industrial and political movement on the Rand. He unsuccessfully contested a seat in Parliament, but was returned as a Labour Councillor in the Johannesburg Municipal Election of 1907. In 1910, after breaking with the Labour

Party, he scored an ignominious vote as a Socialist Candidate for Parliament in the Fordsburg constituency, and subsequently devoted his attention to the Industrial side of the movement. He was deported in 1914; returned, and was elected Secretary of the S.A. Industrial Federation, retaining the position until that body collapsed in the 1922 trouble. He was a delegate to the Washington Conference, and on several occasions represented South Africa at the International Labour Conference at Geneva. Died, December 23rd, 1924.

KNEEBONE, T.

Tom Kneebone, born in Australia, was a prominent member of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers for many years, and was one of the pioneers of the Trade Union and Labour Movement on the Witwatersrand. As organiser of the Engineers' Society, he took a prominent part in the dispute with De Beers Company, when the members of the Kimberley Trades and Labour Council were victimised. Kneebone died in January, 1915.

MATHEWS, T.

Tom Mathews was born in Cornwall, and emigrated to the United States at a very early age. As a young man, he took a prominent part in the Trade Union movement in Montana, and was President of the Bute Section of the Western Miners' Federation. Returning to Cornwall, he studied for a time at the Camborne School of Mines, and on his arrival in the Transvaal, he started work as a miner, and took a prominent part in the organisation of the Transvaal Miners' Association (afterwards the S.A. Mine Workers' Union). He distinguished himself in the 1907 Strike, and the following year was elected the General Secretary of the Union, a post which he held with ability and honour until his death. He passed away on March 10th, 1915, a victim of that fell scourge, miners' phthisis. His funeral at Brixton Cemetery was a remarkable demonstration of the regard and affection with which he was held by the workers of the Transvaal, a procession over a mile long following him to the grave-side.

WADE, C.

Colin Wade, a dentist by profession, was born in London, England. He played an active part in the big industrial struggles on the Reef, and in the 1914 Railway Strike he was kept in prison for a long period without trial, for assisting the strike movement. He was well-known as a lecturer on Industrial and Political problems. He was Labour representative on Germiston Town Council and Transvaal Provincial Council, 1914-17. Leaving the Labour Party on the War issue, he became a leading member of the International Socialist League, and afterwards linked up with the Communist Party. Died, August 29th, 1921.

WARE, J. J.

John Joseph Ware, "Honest John," was born in Australia in 1858, and was a stonemason by trade. He was a prominent member of the Operative Masons' Society in that country, and represented them at the Sydney Conference which initiated the Australian Labour Party. He came to the Transvaal in October, 1897, and took an active part in the Witwatersrand Trades and Labour Council; was elected to the Johannesburg Town Council in 1906 and was afterwards Deputy Mayor. He won the Fordsburg seat on the Transvaal Provincial Council in 1910, and held the seat until elected to the Union Senate in February, 1915. He died in July, 1921.

ERRATA.

Page 169.—Haynes, H. W. Born 1897—should
read “Born 1877.”

Page 171.—Madeley, W. B. Born 1893—should
read “Born 1873.”

II.

THE PRESENT LEADERS.

(There are many others, whose names we should like to have included in this list. Our only plea is "limited space."—The Authors).

ANDREWS, W. H.

Although the name bestowed on him in his baptism was William Henry, "Bill" Andrews is what everybody calls him. A couple of pages of this book could easily be filled with a summary of his activities in the "World of Labour." A fitter by trade, he became a member of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers (now the A.E.U.) in 1890, and has an unbroken period of membership from that date. Turning his back on England, he came to the Transvaal and worked on several of the mines on the Reef. In 1893 we find it recorded that he attended the opening meeting of the Johannesburg Branch of his Union. The year 1897 gave him his first taste of the fruits of organisation. On the Randfontein Estate, the management attempted to reduce the pay of the mechanics on the mine, and "Bill" was one of the strikers. At 24 hours' notice, he and his young wife were evicted from their little home on the mine property, and compelled to seek a new dwelling-place. He devoted a number of years to the work of a delegate and official of the Johannesburg Trades and Labour Council, and was prominent in every political effort made by the workers. He even tried to win a seat on the Johannesburg Town Council, but was not considered "class" enough by a discerning electorate. It was when he was elected to succeed the late Tom Kneebone as General Organiser of the Engineers, that he had an opportunity of showing the stuff of which he was made. Four strenuous years of organising work in the Trade Union movement, and active participation in many labour disputes in various parts of the country, gave ample proof of his ability. In the Kimberley Lock-out and the big Cape Town Printers' Strike, and in other battles with the employers, the calm, cool, almost cold-blooded style of oratory he was wont to adopt, and his resistless logic and precise statement of facts, gave a foretaste of what the Botha-Smuts Government had to contend with when William took his seat in the House of Assembly as the Labour Member for Georgetown. At the first Union Election in 1911, he had suffered a narrow defeat at Fordsburg, but on the first by-election he was elected with a majority over his both opponents combined. When the War-on-War split occurred, the House of



W. H. ANDREWS
(Secretary of the S.A.
Trades Union Congress).



SENATOR BRIGGS
(Chairman of the S.A.
Trades Union Congress).

Assembly lost its most efficient Labour propagandist. As Secretary of the Communist Party, his activities increased, rather than diminished. A trip to Russia gave him first-hand knowledge of life under Soviet rule. He went to gaol in the 1922 upheaval—but nobody knows what was his offence against the law! He was a valued member of the Economic and Wage Commission appointed by the present Pact Government; and has been for some years the Secretary of the S.A. Association of Employees' Organisation (now the South African Trades Union Congress)—his previous long experience in the industrial world making him an ideal man for this responsible position.



A. L. CLARK.

as follows:—"Who does not know him? From the top to the bottom of the Service and right beyond its confines the name of Banks is known and respected. What a happy augury for the future welfare of the Association to have selected and to have obtained the services of a man respected and loved of all his fellow-men. His sterling character, his marked ability, his courteousness, his tenacity of purpose, his insatiable desire to help the under-dog in the Service to better things . . . stamp him as a man eminently suited to the great work to which he has been called by his fellows. Richard Banks knows just where he wants to



A. EMANUEL.

BANKS, R. M.

In September, 1923, the fifth Annual Congress of the Salaried Staff Association of the Railways and Harbours decided to appoint R. M. Banks as its full-time General Secretary. Mr. Banks, at that time, had every prospect of a brilliant official career under the Administration, but his keen interest in Trade Union organisation led him to accept the chief post in the Association. At the time the "Salstaff Bulletin" wrote of Banks

get to be most useful and, like a certain little man we read of in Holy Writ, he will get there, even if it means climbing a tree by the wayside." During the three years he has held office, Banks has fully justified his selection. The "Salstaffs" is stronger to-day than ever before, and many notable achievements stand to its credit. Banks has a wide conception of the function of Railway Trade Unionism, and is prepared for any developments, which seem to promote more co-ordination among all Railway and Harbour employees. He is keen on Education and does much to encourage his members to continue their studies.

BRIGGS, J.

Senator James Briggs, better known as "Jimmy" Briggs, was born in Paramatta, N.S.W., Australia. At ten years of age he was taken to England, and served his time as a Bricklayer at Bolton, Lancashire. On becoming a journeyman, he joined the Operative Bricklayers' Society (Manchester Unity) and was elected to the Chairmanship of the Bolton Branch. In 1890, he emigrated to the United States of America, and worked in various parts of the States

and Canada for eleven years, being a member of the International Bricklayers' Society during the whole of that period. Coming to South Africa in 1902, he became a member of the Durban Bricklayers' Society, but removed to Pretoria in the same year. He was one of the foundation members of the first Branch of the Operative Bricklayers' Society of South Africa, founded in that city, and was its Chairman for five years. He was also delegate to, and Chairman of the Pretoria Trades and Labour Council. He went to Benoni in 1909, formed the Benoni Branch of the Society, and was its Chairman for many years. Briggs was Chairman of the Executive Council of the Society for three years, and a delegate for a very long period. When the Operative Bricklayers took a ballot and decided by a majority of 4 to 1 to link up with the Building Workers' Industrial Union, he transferred to that organisation, and has been an active member ever since, being Chairman of the Executive of the B.W.I.U. for three years, and a delegate for seven or eight years. "Jimmy" was a strong supporter of the South African Industrial Federation, and for a long period was a delegate to that body. When the Trades Union Congress was formed, he was elected President, and was re-elected for 1926. He has always been a strong advocate of Industrial Unionism, instead of Craft Unionism, and firmly believes that too many Unions and too little unity are a waste of valuable time and money. He helped to create the South African Labour Party; was Chairman (an ideal one) for eight consecutive years, and has been a member of the old Administrative Council and present National Council of the Party for the past 13 years. In December, 1925, he was elected to the Transvaal vacancy in the Senate, caused by the resignation of Senator Whiteside.



H. W. GREEN.

BROWN, G.

George Brown, M.L.A., is a Boilermaker, and wherever in South Africa two or three Boilermakers gather together, the name of George Brown is sure to crop up. He was born in 1870, in a typical miner's home on the outskirts of Glasgow. His father, a coal-miner, had a large family to keep on his scanty pay, and George had an early experience of the meaning of the phrase: "The struggle for existence." There are compensations in life, however, which sometimes help to balance things up a little. George's father was an active member of the Scottish Miners' Union of that period, and young George sat and listened to the

tales of the miners who foregathered at his father's fireside to talk over conditions in the pits, and heard of "young" Bob Smillie and other leaders of men who have since made history in the Industrial world. Accordingly there is little to wonder at that he, too, became a leader in the Trade Union movement. He joined the Boilermakers' Society in 1890, before his apprenticeship was completed, and he affirms



WILFRID HARRISON.

that for 36 years he has never permitted himself to be "out of compliance" in the Society, in fact, even to this day, he makes a point of paying his subscription well in advance—an example which Financial Secretaries of many Trade Unions would like to see taken to heart by some of their members. George Brown came to South Africa in 1897, and proceeded to the Transvaal on the day he left the ship. It was not



H. W. HAYNES.

until after the Boer War that the problem of organising the workers along the Reef was seriously tackled. The Boilermakers' Society, too, had a problem confronting them. From the very beginning they found that their membership was almost exclusively made-up of men who had learnt their trade in the older countries. The young South Africans who served their apprenticeship in this country failed to join the Society, as they should have done, on becoming journeymen. Notwithstanding the fact that the stalwarts in the Society adopted the slogan, "Every man an organiser," the young men were not gathered into the fold. Among the many reasons (or excuses) the would-be organisers met with was: that these young men "didn't see why they should pay money

to a Trade Union, and have it sent overseas." It was to put an end to this undesirable state of affairs that a resolute few determined to break away from the parent body, and form the South African Boilermakers' Society. George Brown was elected the first President of the South African Boilermakers' Society, and in that capacity toured the Union of South Africa on several occasions, preaching the gospel of effective organisation. These missionary tours seriously depleted his banking account (if George ever actually went in for such a luxury, which is somewhat doubtful!), but the Society now reaps the benefit

of his strenuous efforts. To relate the full story of his activities would be to give a summary of the history of the Trade Union movement on the Rand—he has been through it all. On his election to the House of Assembly, as the Labour Member for Germiston, he was made Hon. President for life of the Society which he had laboured so long and faithfully to build-up.

CLARK, A. L.

"The racial stunt is a will-o'-the-wisp to divide us; to estrange and separate us; to make us believe that our interests are different. It is a weapon forged by the politician and the exploiter. It is against these classes, not individuals, that we fight; not in hatred, but in the best interests of our

common humanity. The historic mission of the working-class is to abolish all classes. So fight we, so shall we prevail and succeed."

The above words, which appeared in an issue of the "Railway Review, for 1919, give an insight into the character and outlook of the man who wrote them. That man was A. L. Clark, who may be described as the Father of Railway Trade Unionism in South Africa,



CLEMENTS KADALIE.

and also one of the pioneers of working-class emancipation. It was in 1881 that A. L. Clark came to Durban from Scotland. He was then 22 years of age, and during the last 45 years he has been a vital force in the growth of Durban. Whether in Trade Union circles, in Socialist propaganda, Workers' Education or Municipal Government, the personality of A. L. Clark has left its impress for all time. He is a man of tact, push and principle—a Socialist by conviction, and one of the small band of thinkers, speakers and debaters who form the S.D.F. in Durban. Until his retirement recently he has been connected with the Railway Service, and there are many of the younger members of the Service who call him "Dad." Much might be said about A. L. Clark, but it seems better to give him a small amount of space and let the greatness of the man be concentrated, as it is, in the smallness of his physical size. As a Railway Trade Unionist, he was a Chairman of the Natal Railway-men's Association in 1907-8, and at the same time was Chairman of the Durban Labour Party. When the "Nurahs" was founded he came to the front again and was made its first President in 1918. It is no fault of A. L. Clark's that this promising Railway Union has fallen on evil days. He has lost much in time and money through his association with Railway Trade Unionism. As a member of the Durban Town Council he is respected by all, owing to the fact that he speaks with authority on municipal matters. Over twenty years ago he was writing and speaking on the taxation of land values, and the present system in Durban follows closely the lines he proposed in those days when the subject was unpopular. Although nearly 70 years of age, he keeps up-to-date, and is one of the most popular talkers "over the wireless." At present he is also Chairman of the Workers' Educational Association, and was a member of the first national deputation to the Government on the subject of increased facilities for the Workers' Educational Association. As a "side-line," A. L. Clark bottles fruit and makes an excellent brand of chutney. Whatever he does he does well.



H. W. KAMMEIJER.

CRESSWELL, E.

Edward Cresswell was born in South Shields, Durham, England, in 1876. He joined the North-Eastern Railway in 1892, and was a delegate for the men of his area at Conferences with the Railway Representatives both before, and after the great Railway Strike in 1897, in which he took a prominent part. Coming to Cape Town in 1901, during the Boer War, he took an active interest in the Trade Union movement. In 1912, he settled in Krugersdorp, and threw in his lot with the Shop Assistants' Union, being elected Vice-President in the following year. He was conspicuous in the 1913-14 upheaval. He was President of the Shop Assistants' Union



J. W. KELLER.

from 1918 to 1922. He is at present a member of the Advisory Council of Labour set up by the Pact Government, Secretary of the Shop Assistants', Warehousemen's and Clerks' Association, as well as Secretary of the Witwatersrand Industrial Council for the Hairdressers. As a Labour politician, he has done useful service. He was Secretary of the Cape Labour Party for three years, and was elected to the Provincial Council of the Transvaal in 1914.



C. B. MUSSARED.

He fought in German West and German East Africa in the Great War, and has rendered yeoman service to the Returned Soldiers' Movement, in which he still takes an active part. In May, 1919, as a reward for his services in this connection, he was offered the Order of the British Empire, but declined to become an "O.B.E."

member of its S.A. Council for many years, and took an active part in the work of the Transvaal Federation of Trades and the S.A. Labour Party, being Vice-President of the Party at one period. Crisp is now Organiser of the Amalgamated Engineering Union and a member of the Advisory Council of Labour set up by the Government under the Department of Labour.

CRISP, A. E.

"Alf" Crisp was born in London in 1873, and, after serving his apprenticeship in the Engineering trade, he came to South Africa in 1894, and worked in many towns in the Union. A prominent member of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, he has filled every office in that organisation; was

EMANUEL, A.

Emanuel was born in

Wales, and therefore he is interested in coal. He has succeeded in keeping together a small body of Mine Workers in Natal. Being a practical miner and a student of mining problems, he is well-fitted for the post of Organising Secretary, which he has held since 1916. He represents his Union at the S.A. Trades Union Congress and takes an active part in local politics. He is also a Director of the Charlestown and District Co-operative Stores. By arrangement with the "Dundee Courier" he conducts each week two pages of news of interest to the Miners.



F. NETTLETON.

GREEN, H. W.

Harry Green joined the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners (now Woodworkers) at Plymouth in 1894. In 1901, he was a member of the Durban Branch, and was persuaded by the then Secretary of the Branch, Mr. James Cunningham, to take on the duties of Secretary, in 1903. A year later, he was Secretary of the Johannesburg Second Branch, with some 3,000 members, a number which was considerably reduced during the depression of 1906-8. During this period, he was actively associated with the Trades and Labour Council and the Transvaal Federation of

Trades, and was a member of the Amalgamated Executive which, for a period, controlled the 1922 Strike. In 1915 he was appointed Secretary of the S.A. Executive Board (the governing body of the A.S.W. in South Africa), and retained that office until 1919, when he was elected National Organiser of the Society. The successful strike for a 44-hour week, and the inauguration of a Fighting Fund for the Society did much to build up again the fortunes of the Union. Whereas in 1914 the membership had fallen to just over 500 for the whole of South Africa, in 1921 (when the offices of the Secretary to the Executive and National Organiser were combined, and he was elected Secretary-Organiser), the Society had grown to 36 Branches, with over 3,000 members. In 1925, he was appointed to represent the Society on the Witwatersrand Apprenticeship Committee; and in 1925, in addition to being re-elected to the post of General Secretary, Organiser, he was elected to represent the men on the National Council which had been created to control the Building Industry in South Africa. (It is with deep regret that, since these particulars were placed on record, we have to record the death of Harry Green, in August last, at the comparatively early age of 50 years.)

HARRISON, W. H.

Wilfrid Henry Harrison, born in the suburbs of London in 1871, was brought up in a little village named Hammer, an appropriate place for a youth who served his apprenticeship as a Carpenter. A wanderer by instinct, he journeyed to Birmingham, and there joined the Coldstream Guards, eventually finding himself installed as an Artificer in Artillery College, Woolwich. Rejoining his regiment in Dublin, he was despatched with them to the Boer War. In 1903, on receiving his discharge in London, he returned to Cape Town, and joined the old Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, holding many offices, including the President of the Branch; and he was also a delegate to, and Vice-President of, the Cape Town Trades and Labour Council. The depression of 1905 found him compelled to seek some other occupation, and from that time the name of Harrison has been kept well before the public, owing to his ceaseless propaganda, and his unflinching disposition to get himself into a tight corner in every strike and upheaval that came within his sphere of activity. As a "leading-light" in the Social Democratic Federation,



H. W. SAMPSON, M.L.A.



ROBERT SHARP.



ROBERT STUART.

and later in the Communist Party; as leader of "Unemployed" pro-
sions; as a fierce denouncer of every kind of injustice—he certainly has



F. R. SWAN.

done much to keep alive the spirit of revolt against unfair conditions of Labour. In the 1914 Railway Strike, he was fined £50, with the option of six months' imprisonment, for addressing the Salt River strikers before their march to Cape Town. The fine was paid by public subscription. In the Cape Tramway Strike of 1917, he advocated stopping the Power Station, and was again arrested. As the evidence against him seemed rather too weak to ensure conviction, the authorities dug up a six-months' old War-on-War pamphlet of his, and he was fined another £50, or "six months." This was too much, even for good old Tory statesmen like the late John X. Merriman, and, as a result of a Parliamentary debate, the sentence was reduced to four days! For publishing an alleged "Criminal Libel" on the Bulhoek Massacre, he was convicted under an ancient Placat dating back to 1759, and was fined £75, or "six months." Two other offenders were let-off with £40, or four months, and one with 10, or 14 days. This case was taken to the Appellate Court at Bloemfontein, when the proclamation under which they were convicted was found to be obsolete, and the conviction was quashed. He has paid two visits to the Old Country since he has been domiciled in South Africa, the last one after an abortive attempt to visit Russia with Sydney Bunting, as delegate to a Soviet Conference. Harrison got as far as Berlin, and later had some difficulty in persuading a British steamship company to bring him back to South Africa!



PETER WHITESIDE.



Hon. THOS. BOYDELL.

HARRISON, W.

William Harrison, President of the Rhodesia Railway Workers' Union, was born on the 15th November, 1886, at Liverpool; came to South Africa in 1903, and entered the service of the Cape Government Railways the same year, being employed on the line Kimberley—Victoria Falls, when the Bechuanaland & Mashonaland & Rhodesia Railways took over the Catering Service. He has remained in Rhodesia in the Company's employ for 17 years as Chief Steward, and in that capacity has become one of the best known men in Rhodesia, both among Railwaymen and the general public. He took an active part in the formation of the

R.R.W.U., and has assisted that Organisation both from the financial point of view and by personal service. He acted as General Secretary

during the absence of Keller on War Leave in 1919. On his becoming Senior Trustee, he was one of the chief representatives appointed to present the terms of the workers to the Administration in February, 1920. He was the backbone of the Executive Committee during the Strike period, and rendered yeoman service in negotiating the settlement. In October of the same year his splendid services were recognised by his fellows, who elected him to the highest position in their gift, namely, President, which position he has held ever since, performing all duties which have fallen to his lot with a high degree of skill. Trusted by his fellow-workers, he is destined to take a very high position in the Trade Union Movement in Rhodesia.

HAYNES, H. W.

Harry Haynes was born in 1897, and first came to South Africa with the British Army in the Anglo-Boer War, 1899, returning to Dublin for his discharge in 1902. He returned in 1904, and served on the Headquarters Staff of the S.A. Constabulary for two years. In 1906 he worked in the Transvaal Gold Mines, and became an active member of the Transvaal Miners' Association, being first a District Secretary at Boksburg, and later a member of the Executive Committee. He was appointed an Organiser in 1913. During the 1907 Strike he was active, and was Chairman of the Kleinfontein Strike Committee in 1913, but the same year was "put-out" of the mines as a phthisis man, with only five months to live! He became organiser of the Witbank Coal Strike in 1914, and was captured by the Military, removed to Middelburg, kept there two months, and was released without trial. Coming to Durban in 1916, his chief exploit was to be a member of the short-lived "Board of Control." In 1923, Harry Haynes, with H. J. McCarthy and V. C. Woundberg, created a sensation in the House of Assembly by chaining themselves to the railings, while they interrupted the proceedings by appealing for alleviation of the sufferings of the Unemployed. He has been connected in an official position with the Labour Party, the War-on-War League, the International Socialist League, the Johannesburg Tramway Men's Union and the Natal Shop Assistants' Union. In 1922 he returned to the Rand with his health restored, and is now editor of the "Forward." "H.W.H." has a facile pen and a great fund of humour.

KADALIE, CLEMENTS.

Mr. Kadalie is the founder and National Secretary of the Native Trade Union in South Africa. He was educated in Nyasaland by Dr. Fraser, and has used his talents and training to serve the cause of the Native worker in Industry. He is a popular figure among the Natives everywhere in the Union, and he is destined to play an increasingly important part in the Trade Union movement of South Africa. (For details of the Native Trade Union see Page 122.)

KAMMEIJER, H. W.

Among the many good leaders of the seven Teachers' Associations in South Africa perhaps Kammeijer deserves the greatest recognition. Born in Holland in 1887, he came out to South Africa, as a keen young teacher, in 1911. After serving for two years in rural schools he was appointed Vice-Principal of the Model School at Bloemfontein—a school specially attended by children of the working-class. He devoted special attention to the teaching of History, Geography and Nature Study, and many of his suggestions in regard to these subjects were adopted in the

revised code for schools in 1919. He has also devoted much time to work in connection with the Child Welfare Association, the Juvenile Advisory Board and the conditions in rural schools. In 1915 he became Secretary of the Dutch movement in the Orange Free State Teachers' Association which agitated for the improvement of the conditions of service for the Class Teachers—especially those in rural areas. In 1916 Kammeijer organised a conference for the furtherance of those ideals, and became Honorary Secretary of the Orange Free State Teachers' Association in the same year. As a result of his activities the Association went ahead, and its membership increased from 800 to 1400. In 1920 he was entrusted with the finances of the Orange Free State Teachers' Association, and he succeeded in turning a deficit of £350 into a Reserve Fund of £2,500. The year 1922 found him pleading with the Free State Association of English Teachers to amalgamate with his Association, and he was successful in this. His activities at this time were also directed to the condition of teachers and scholars in rural schools. A Court Case fought on this subject resulted in long desired reforms being brought about by the Local School Boards. In 1923 he was appointed full-time Secretary of the Free State Teachers' Organisation, and in the same year he was elected Honorary Secretary of the Federation of Teachers' Associations in the Union of South Africa—which office he still holds. Standing to his credit also is the inauguration of a Savings and Credit Society for teachers. As Secretary-Director of this Society, Kammeijer has succeeded in building up an organisation with an accumulated capital of £33,000. As if he were not busy enough, he finds time to sit on the Bloemfontein School Board and act as Honorary Secretary of the Free State Juvenile Advisory Board. Mr. Kammeijer is still a young man, just under 40 years of age, and consequently should go far.

KELLER, J. W.

J. W. Keller was born on the 15th June, 1885. His first experience of railway work, and also of Trade Union organisation, fell to his lot when he had attained the age of 18—the London & North-Western depôt at Broad Street, London, being the scene of operations. There he experienced the 1911 Strike, becoming an ardent follower of Mr. J. H. Thomas and Mr. C. T. Cramp, on whose experiences he has largely built his organising talent. He left the London & North-Western to join the Rhodesia Railways in 1912, rapidly winning the confidence of his co-workers, and ever striving to better the conditions of the men. He headed a deputation to the General Manager of the Railways in 1913, and though successful in obtaining some alleviation for the men, was rewarded for his own efforts by a transfer to a hot-bed of malaria. He next headed a deputation of "seven hungry men" to the Magistrate at Nankie (1916) and succeeded in establishing a vital principle in regard to relief. Trusted by his fellows to an extraordinary extent, he was handed signed, but undated, resignations to the number of 120 in the same year, with full power to use them as he thought best. He extracted further benefits from the management despite Martial Law, and was then induced to organise the whole of the Rhodesia Railway workers. In 1916 he became the Secretary—at first part-time, and then in 1920 (after his return from "the front") full-time General Secretary of the Union. He organised the successful strike of 1920—unique in the history of Rhodesia. Keller is Chairman of the Rhodesia Labour Party, and though unsuccessful at the last Rhodesian Parliamentary Elections, by some 20 or 30 votes, it is possible that he will become the

Workers' representative in the Rhodesian Legislature at the next election. His organising ability, his knowledge of general and economic Labour questions, has raised him to eminence amongst the workers of Rhodesia, where he is regarded by friend and foe alike as fearless, sincere and able—in brief, the authority on Labour questions in Rhodesia.

MADELEY, W. B.

The Hon. Walter Madeley, Minister for Posts and Telegraphs, was born at Woolwich, England's Arsenal town, in 1893. As a boy of seven, he was taken to India, and stayed in that country until he reached the age of 16, when he returned to his birth-place, and was apprenticed at the Arsenal. He left Woolwich at the age of 23, as a journeyman fitter and a member of the old Amalgamated Society of Engineers, to which body (now the A.E.U.) he is still attached. Coming to Kimberley in 1903, he worked as a fitter and turner in De Beers Workshops. He represented the Engineers on the Kimberley Trades and Labour Council at its inauguration, and was elected its Vice-President. In April, 1905, four months after the Trades Council came into existence, W. B. Madeley, R. Taylor, R. J. Carroll (Engineers), F. Payne (Carpenter), H. Walsh, J. Siebert and C. Fowles (Boilermakers), the seven delegates employed by the De Beers Company, were dismissed on the same day! It was during the agitation caused by this "victimisation" of the officials of Trade Unions that Madeley made his first public speech in South Africa, on the Kimberley Market Square. Removing to the East Rand, his active participation in the industrial movement led to further victimisation, and he was compelled to try his fortune in the business world, where "sacking" would be avoided. A stalwart upholder of the Labour Party, he unsuccessfully attempted to oust Sir George Turner from his seat in the Transvaal Parliament. In the first election of the Union Parliament, in 1910, he was returned as a Labour Member for Springs, and from that time has successfully resisted every attempt to unseat him in an East Rand constituency, viz., Benoni. He took a leading part in all the big industrial disputes on the Rand and elsewhere in South Africa. He accepted the post of Eleventh Minister in the Pact Government, and succeeded the Hon. Thos. Boydell (a fellow-member of the A.E.U.) as Minister of Posts and Telegraphs—on Mr. Boydell's taking up the Portfolio of Minister of Labour.

MASON, G.

George William Mason is a native of Durham, England. As a mere youth he became familiar with the penalties attached to industrial disputes, being compelled, with other members of his family, to exist on a ration of one potato a day each, when the bread-winner was on strike in the Seaham Colliery. A carpenter by trade, and a staunch advocate of Industrial Unionism, he transferred from the Carpenters' Union to the B.W.I.U., on that organisation's coming into existence. His activities as a delegate to the Transvaal Federation of Trades, and his natural genius as a strike leader in the 1913 upheaval, led to his being thrown into gaol; and he was granted a free passage to England on the "Umgeni" in 1914. Deportation did not abate his activities, however, for in 1922 he was a prominent figure in the Augmented Executive.

MUSSARED, C. B.

Charles B. Mussared was born in Kent, England, in 1874. A member of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers from 1895, he became a Chief Engineer in the Merchant Service. He settled in South Africa in 1903, and has always taken an active part in the industrial movement, as well as being prominent in Labour Politics. He was a member of the S.A. Council of the Engineers in 1907; Secretary of West Rand Independent Labour Party in 1909, and contested Eol-sburg as a Parliamentary candidate in 1910. In 1914, with other members of the Executive of the S.A. Federation of Trades, he was arrested and lodged in gaol. After the Deportations, he was elected to Andrew Watson's position as President of the Federation, and in the same year was Vice-President of the S.A. Labour Party, and unsuccessfully contested the Provincial Council seat in Parktown. Mussared is a keen student and has an artistic temperament.

NORRIE, HARRY

Whenever Durban Workers demonstrate it seems appropriate that Harry Norrie should be one of the figures to appear upon the platform. He possesses a striking and picturesque appearance and speaks with a fervour which commands attention. Having a kindly disposition and a logical mind he can present a case with understanding. Long years of experience of open-air speaking has made him an adept at repartee, so that the heckler always gets a sharp and telling thrust in return for his attack. This champion of the workers' cause was born in a cottar household in Forfarshire in the year 1875, so that he has been "in the movement" since the cradle! At 13 years of age he was apprenticed to a local tailor, and became a journeyman at the early age of 17. At that time he knew nothing of Trade Unionism. He was soon, however, to become a member of one. Like many another young lad he left his native village for a larger place. After two years in Arbroath he went to Glasgow, and at 19 he became initiated into the Trade Union world. The year following he journeyed to London, and during his eight years in the Metropolis he took an active part as a member of the committee of the West End Branch of the Amalgamated Society of Tailors. While in London he met many prominent Trade Union leaders and became acquainted with Socialist ideas. After the Anglo-Boer War he came to Durban, where he has resided since 1903. Harry Norrie was soon to be found in the company of A. L. Clark and members of the Clarion Fellowship. He assisted in the revival of the Tailors' Trade Union in Durban and took part in a strike. About this time a Trades' Council was formed in Durban, and Harry Norrie played a leading part in its formation. In 1908 the Clarion Fellowship gave way to the Social Democratic Federation—a body which has conducted propaganda for Socialism in Durban down to the present day. In the same year W. H. Andrews assisted in the formation of the Natal Federation of Trades and Harry Norrie became the first President. From 1908, and until quite recently, Harry Norrie spoke in the Town Gardens every Sunday night. For seven years he was the only regular speaker, and he often held a crowd for four hours. Although the Socialist objective was preached, the meetings became the forum for the discussion of all matters affecting the Workers, and, whenever there were any Trade Union disputes in the town, every occasion was used to support the workers' cause. On many occasions Harry Norrie contested seats for the Town Council without success, but was curiously enough returned unopposed on one occasion. However, the difficulty of earning a living

and attending Council meetings at the same time, made it necessary for Norrie to resign his seat. He unsuccessfully fought a Provincial Council election and on one occasion contested Greyville as a Socialist candidate. In 1920 he sat on the Meat Commission as the consumers' representative and nominee of the South African Industrial Federation. Although his voice is failing, he still takes an active part in the movement, and he is consulted by local Trade Unionists when they want a guide, counsellor and friend. Harry Norrie is a keen reader, and a student of History and Literature, as well as Social and Economic subjects. But perhaps he owes most of his education and ideas to the close interchange of thought which exists among the small band of faithful members of the S.D.F., which still meets week by week to review current affairs and to keep their weapons sharpened for any emergency which might arise in the working-class movement. Durban workers owe much to this keen little band of thinkers, among whom Harry Norrie will ever be remembered.

NETTLETON, F.

Frank Nettleton, J.P., a Coachmaker by trade, has had a long and varied career in the Trade Union and Labour movement in South Africa. Serving his time in Doncaster, England, he joined "The United Kingdom Society of Coach Makers" in 1887, the year of his apprenticeship, and has been an active Trade Unionist ever since. Coming to South Africa at the age of 23, he devoted practically the whole of his life to the movement for securing better conditions of life and labour for the workers. As long ago as 1889, he was a delegate from the Salt River Coach and Wagon Shops on a deputation which secured from the Cape Government an eight-hour-day for the railway artisans. In 1897 he was in Durban battling for the Woodworkers' section of the Natal Government Railways. The year 1904 found him Chairman of the Woodworkers' section of the Railway Works at Pretoria, and Secretary of the Combined Committee representing the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies. This Committee, augmented by delegates from the various Trade Unions, succeeded in obtaining the regulation £1 per day for artisans, and a betterment of conditions for the running-staff. W. H. Andrews was Chairman of that Committee. In 1905 Nettleton was Secretary of the Pretoria Trades and Labour Council, occupying the position for many years. He was appointed J.P. by the Transvaal Government, and took a prominent part in representing the men on Government Commissions. His most notable achievement was the formation of the Amalgamated Society of Railway and Harbour Servants, of which he was appointed General Secretary, a few days before the Natal Strike. This Society started with 37 members and 7s. 6d. capital; in two years it had 15,000 members, and a fixed deposit in the bank of £3,000. He occupied the position of General Secretary until the "Poutsma debacle," when he resigned. For ten years in succession, Mr. Nettleton was a delegate to the Annual Conference of the Transvaal Trade Unions. In 1911, he organised the first Rhodesian Railway's Union, and was appointed its General Secretary. Mr. Nettleton's career in the political field has also been a strenuous and successful one. In 1910 he was the first Labour Councillor for Pretoria, and was re-elected again two years later. In 1918 he was returned the same compliment at the following election. In 1920, he was the first Labour man to be elected to the House of Assembly for the Umbilo Division, but was unfortunate in losing the seat at the next election. He is still active in the movement.

SAMPSON, H. W.

H. W. Sampson, O.B.E., M.L.A., although answering the name of "Harry," is better known throughout South Africa by the nickname "Sammy." If his continuous activities in the Industrial Movement from 1892 to 1926 could be crowded into the brief space allotted, it would merely be a collection of dates. H. W. Sampson was born in Islington, London, in 1872. He served his time as a compositor; was a member of the Islington Branch of the Independent Labour Party and a member of the London Society of Compositors. Coming to Cape Town in 1892, he devoted his spare moments to building-up the Cape Town Typographical Union, and forming a Cape Town Trades and Labour Council. In 1897, after a printers' strike, he went to East London, founded an East London Branch of the S.A. Typographical Union, and was President for five years and delegate to the first Conference after the South African War in Durban, 1902. In 1903, he removed to Johannesburg, and was Secretary of the Witwatersrand Trades and Labour Council from 1903 to 1907. In those strenuous days, when the foundations of the Labour movement were laid in South Africa, his activities were numerous, and ranged from Secretary of Labour Day Committees to managing the Trades Hall. He took a prominent part in the anti-Chinese agitation; in the formation of the Transvaal Political Labour League; the Transvaal Independent Labour Party, and the Transvaal Federation of Trade Unions; as well as helping to form Trade Unions in all sorts of industries throughout South Africa. His chief claim to premier honours in the Trade Union movement, however, is in connection with his long and valuable service to the South African Typographical Union. In 1903, when the Headquarters of the Union were removed from Durban to Johannesburg, he was elected General President of the Union, and he has occupied the position ever since. Surely this record of 23 years' continuous leadership of a Trade Union is unique in history. He has seen the "Typos" grow from a comparatively small sectional Union into a highly-organised Industrial Union, and much of the credit for the Union's present flourishing condition is due to his far-sighted activities on behalf of the Printing Industry. In the "good old days" of plural voting, Harry Sampson met with the same fate as other pioneers when he endeavoured to represent Labour on the Johannesburg Town Council, and was thrice rejected. In 1907, however, he was elected to the first Transvaal Parliament for the City and Suburban constituency, and has been in Parliament ever since. He did strenuous work in linking-up the various Labour Parties in the different Provinces before Union, and in 1910, when the S.A. Labour Party was formed, he was elected the first Chairman of the Party. In the first election for the Union Parliament, he was sent to Cape Town to represent the Commissioner Street Division, and was re-elected for Siemert and Jeppes Divisions in 1915, 1920, 1921 and 1926. Although many of his achievements in securing beneficial Labour legislation are noteworthy, his greatest work has been his efforts on behalf of the victims of Miners' Phthisis, on which he is recognised as an authority. In 1924, his efforts on behalf of the phthisis sufferers was recognised by the offer, by the present Government, of the Chairmanship of the Phthisis Board, with a salary of £1,500 a year. As this would have necessitated his resignation from Parliament and put an end to his political and industrial activities, he declined the offer and elected to remain "on the floor of the House." In 1918, he was appointed an Officer of the British Empire as a reward for services in connection with the Govern-

General's Fund, and he is still a member of the Executive Committee of that institution. In 1925 he acted as the South African Workers' Delegate at the International Conference at Geneva, and was one of South Africa's delegates to the first British Commonwealth Labour Conference held at the House of Commons in July and August of that year. This is a record of public service of which any man might be justly proud.

SHARP, R.

Robert Sharp was a native of Rochdale, the birthplace of the Co-operative Movement, and was brought up in a home where Co-operation was regarded as a sort of religion. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that when Robert Sharp came to the Transvaal in 1896, and entered the Public Service, he should bring with him a few Rochdale ideas, and try to put them into practice. For twenty years of his life, he devoted all his energy to organising the Public Servants, and with other pioneers in the movement, he was successful, in 1913, in founding the Public Servants' Association, and became the editor of its official organ, "The Public Servants' Magazine." He took a leading part in bringing into existence that successful Co-operative Society, the Pretoria Public Service Benefit Society, and the equally flourishing Friendly Society. Since his retirement from the Civil Service, he has been a keen supporter of the Labour Movement, contesting Pretoria East as an official Labour candidate, and considerably reducing the opposition majority. At present he devotes his leisure to literary efforts, and to lecturing on "Public Speaking" and other popular topics.

STEER, G.

George Steer, who has been on the Rand since 1893, was in the Siege of Ladysmith with the Imperial Light Horse in the Boer War, and has played a prominent part in the industrial and political history of the last quarter of a century. He was for many years Secretary of the S.A. Council of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, and was President of the Witwatersrand Trades and Labour Council; and in addition to his industrial activities he has been Chairman of the S.A. Labour Party, a Town Councillor, Mayor of Johannesburg, a Provincial Councillor and a Member of the Union Assembly. One of the old stalwarts of the movement who still takes an active interest in political and industrial questions.

STICKLAND, R. J.

Robert J. Stickland came to Cape Town from London in 1897, and soon after his arrival was appointed Secretary of the Cape Town Typographical Union, taking an active part in the Printers' Strike in February of that year. Removing to Johannesburg the following year, although a member of the newly-formed S.A. Typographical Union, he helped very materially in the development of the Transvaal Miners' Association. After the Boer War, he was delegate to the first Witwatersrand Trades and Labour Council, and helped in the acquisition of the old Trades Hall. He was two or three times a successful candidate for Municipal honours, and was Secretary to the anti-Chinese movement. He went to England with Colonel Creswell to carry on the fight in the Old Country, and re-visited England in connection with Chinese questions shortly after the grant of Responsible Government to the Transvaal. In 1917, Stickland came near to a seat in Parliament as a Miners' Union candidate, and, in the same year, took charge of the organisation of the West Rand during the Miners' Strike. Owing to ill-health, he was compelled to relinquish active work in the Miners'

Union, and secured work on the Roodepoort-Maisburg Municipality, assisted in forming the Municipal Employees' Federation, and was elected Senior Vice-President. At the Conference of Municipal Employees at Port Elizabeth, in 1921 (when it was decided to form the South African Municipal Employees' Union), he was appointed General Secretary to that body, and still holds the position.

STUART, R.

Robert Stuart was born in the granite city, Aberdeen, more than half-a-century ago. After serving an apprenticeship to the trade of stonemason, he emigrated to America and worked there for six years, a period of much value to him in later life, for he there obtained valuable insight into Labour and Industrial questions. In 1893, he was on strike for an eight-hour day, and this created in him an abiding interest in the Trade Union movement. He returned to Scotland but found the conditions intolerable, and in 1901 sailed for South Africa. At Cape Town he worked on the new City Hall, the Houses of Parliament and almost every big building job in Cape Town during the early years of this century. He took an active part in the affairs of the S.A. Operative Masons' Society, and occupied at various times practically all the official positions in the Society. Only those who have lived through the period under review can realise what a task "Bob" Stuart undertook when he, and a few enthusiasts of like thought, took upon their shoulders the task of organising the workers in the Cape. They saw clearly that the system of exclusion from the ranks of Trade Unionism of the large army of coloured mechanics, who had found their way into the various trades and industries (a policy adopted by most Unions in South Africa) was leading to chaos; and their determination to enlist in the ranks of the Unions all workers, regardless of the colour of their skin, led to bitter controversies in the Transvaal and other parts of the Union. In 1913, the Cape Federation of Trades was formed, and the colour question came fiercely to the fore. The Federation's history was not too encouraging. Only two or three Unions affiliated, and there was no enthusiasm displayed on its behalf. John Thompson, of the Carpenters' Union, was its first President, and Joe Dean its first Secretary. In the following year Stuart took over the office of Secretary, and worked with energy and enthusiasm to build up a strong and powerful organisation, and he succeeded. He became the full-time official of the Federation, and kept it afloat in the disastrous years of 1921-23, when so many Labour organisations fell to pieces. To-day the Cape Federation of Trades occupies an honoured position in the Industrial movement, and Bob Stuart has every reason to be proud of his handiwork. A complete history of Stuart's activities would almost mean compiling a record of every industrial and political event in the Cape Colony and in many other parts of South Africa. Not the least of his activities has been his work for the Socialist movement. In 1904, when the Social Democratic Federation found a footing in Cape Town, Stuart, with the late Henry McManus, Leslie Needham, George Martin, Wilfrid Harrison and others, did much to awaken interest in the working-class movement.

SWAN, F. R.

Frederick Robert Swan was born in London in 1883, but spent his boyhood in Queensland, Australia. After passing the Civil Service Examination he received an appointment in the General Post Office in Brisbane at the beginning of 1900, but left for Natal in 1901. He then joined the Natal Bank, Limited, at Pietermaritzburg, and afterwards

was employed at the following branches of the Bank—Pietermaritzburg, Durban, Pietermaritzburg (Chief Accountant's Department), where he was holding the position of Acting-Chief Accountant before his transfer to Johannesburg as a Sub-Accountant. From Johannesburg he went to Stanger as Manager, where he served for three-and-a-half years during the War period. After the amalgamation of the Natal Bank with the National Bank of S.A., Ltd., he returned to his old branch in Durban (Natal Bank Branch), and from 1920 to 1923 was in charge of the important department, "Bills," which charge he relinquished to take over his present duties (in May, 1923), as Organising Secretary of the Bank Officials of South Africa. He has had 22 years' banking service, during which time he has served in every department of the bank. His experience therefore has fitted him admirably for his present position. Under his care the "Sasbos" are making good progress, and have established good relations with the Management of the South African Banks.

TREMBATH, J. F.

James Farquharson Trembath was born at Penzance, Cornwall, in 1874, and served his time as a newspaper compositor. He joined the London Society of Compositors in 1897, and came to Cape Town the same year. Ever since, he has been an active member of the Typographical Union, holding various offices. He assisted in the formation of the first Cape Town Trades Council in 1899, and migrated to Kimberley after the Siege in 1900. From 1904 to 1911 he was Hon. Secretary of the Kimberley Trades and Labour Council; was a local leader in the Victimization agitation of 1905, and in the great De Beers Half-Holiday lock-out in 1908; becoming Hon. Secretary of a General Workers' Union formed during that campaign. He was elected to Kimberley Town Council at a memorable bye-election in 1909, and re-elected the following year with an increased majority. "J.F." unsuccessfully contested a Kimberley seat in the first Union Parliament in 1911, and took a leading part in the great Cape Town Printers' Strike. After a brief visit to Cornwall, he returned to Johannesburg and took part in various election campaigns on behalf of Labour. On coming to Durban he was delegate to, and Chairman of, the Federation of Trades, and has been Chairman of the Durban District Committee of the S.A. Labour Party from 1914 to the present time. Trembath was one of the founders of the S.A. Labour Party, has held numerous offices in it, and was nominated as Natal Senator by the Labour Party at the last election, but was defeated by a small majority.

WALKER, I. L.

Ivan L. Walker was born at Uitenhage, in the Cape Province, in 1882. Starting work as a Printer in Port Elizabeth, he removed to Johannesburg. During the Boer War he served in the Imperial Light Horse. He joined the S.A. Typographical Union in 1903, at Johannesburg, and on arriving at Pretoria took an active interest in the working of the Pretoria Branch, serving on the Committee and acting as Branch Secretary for three years. He was a delegate to the Pretoria Trades and Labour Council, and acted as Secretary of that body in 1909-11. In 1913, he was elected to the Pretoria Health Committee. In the 1914 Railway Strike, he was arrested for printing a "Strike Herald." Tried on two counts, he was sentenced to a month's imprisonment on the first count, and fined £25 on the second, with an alternative of another month. On being released from prison, he was dismissed from the Government

Printing Works, where he had worked for eleven years, most of the time as a Monotype operator, and was refused the repayment of his contributions to the Provident Fund, amounting to some £70. At the election of a General Secretary-Organiser for the Typographical Union, owing to the death of "Josh" Briggs, the first Organiser, Walker was elected to that position. Undoubtedly much of this phenomenal advance in the "Typo's" career as an Industrial Union is due to his earnest efforts on its behalf. He resigned the position on being appointed Chief Inspector of Labour by the present Pact Government. During the 1922 struggle, he devoted himself to the Strike League Defence Committee, an organisation which not only did much to preserve the life and liberty of hundreds of strikers at a time when justice appeared to be a scarce commodity, but which was also responsible for that invaluable pamphlet, "The Story of a Crime."

WATSON, A.

Andrew Watson came to South Africa when quite a young man, in 1902, hailing from Scotland. He was for many years a member of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, but transferred his activities to the Building Workers' Industrial Union, when that body was instituted. Although never a paid official in the industrial movement, he has devoted himself to its service. He took an active part in the work of the Transvaal Federation of Trades, and was holding the position of President during the 1913-14 trouble on the Rand. He was deported for this "crime" in 1914—to the amazement and indignation of his countless friends and admirers.

WATERSTON, R. B.

Robert Burns Waterston, born at Bendigo, Australia, in 1881, came to South Africa as a member of the Scottish Horse during the Boer War. He was one of the Contingent sent to England for the Coronation of King Edward. He served in the Cape Police, and afterwards started work as a fireman on the East Rand Proprietary Mines. He took an active part in the industrial and political movements; was a Labour Councillor in Boksburg, and was one of the nine deported men in the 1914 upheaval, at which time he was holding the position of Secretary of the South African Labour Party. He was elected to the Union Assembly in the 1920 elections, and now sits for Brakpan. Waterston was responsible for the adoption of the "Commando" system in the 1922 Strike, and took a leading part in the dispute.

WHITAKER, J. H.

Everyone in the Postal and Telegraph Association and, in fact, throughout the Public Service organisations, realises the sterling worth of this sturdy son of Yorkshire. After service in England, Whitaker entered the Cape Postal Service in 1901. He was early associated with Trade Union organisation among Postal Workers, and helped to found the Cape Postal and Telegraph Association—the first Government Service organisation on Trade Union lines in South Africa. After serving the Association as its first Editor, he later became its General Secretary, which post he has held from 1909 to the present day. His long acquaintance with Service Trade Unionism has made him the recognised authority on the matter. He is a clear and logical speaker,

and his moderate outlook has caused him to be listened to by all sides. He was the first Secretary of the Public Service Advisory Council (1924-1926). Besides his Trade Union activities, he has figured prominently in local politics, having been Chairman of the Newlands Branch of the Labour Party and first Chairman of the Joint Council of Ratepayers' Associations in Cape Town (1925-26). The Postal and Telegraph Association is fortunate in having such an experienced and honoured General Secretary.

WHITESIDE, PETER

The Hon. Peter Whiteside ("The People's Peter") was born in Ballarat in 1870 and spent his schooldays in Melbourne. His first job was as a mechanic on the cable tramways in that city. He came to the Transvaal in 1893, and started work as an engine driver. He took an active interest in bettering the conditions of the workers on the Reef, and in 1896 founded the Benoni Branch of the Transvaal Engine Drivers' and Firemen's Association—being its Secretary and Delegate to the Executive Council. The Boer War found him serving as a Quartermaster-Sergeant (Queen's Medal). In 1902, he was appointed General Secretary of the Engine Drivers' and Firemen's Association, and he held the position until his resignation in 1919. He took an active part in all phases of the Labour movement, and it would take a large volume to enumerate all his achievements. To his untiring efforts were mainly due the formation of the Witwatersrand Trades and Labour Council in 1902, and the building of both the old and new Johannesburg Trades Halls. He was first President of the Trades Council, holding the office for two years. His Minority Report on the Labour Commission, which he signed with the late Mr. Quinn, did much to stimulate the opposition to the importation of Chinese labourers on the Rand Mines, and his efforts to secure their repatriation were of great value to the anti-Chinese movement. He was one of the first Labour Justices of the Peace; was a nominated member of the Johannesburg Town Council in 1903 and an elected Councillor in 1904. In 1907 he was elected by the Siemert Division to the First Transvaal Parliament and was subsequently appointed by the Government to a membership of the Inter-Colonial Railways Council. At the Union of South Africa he was elected a member of the first Senate, and continued in office until recently, when he was appointed a Railway Commissioner.

WILTER, B. A.

Mr. Wilter is the General Secretary of the South African Telephone and Telegraph Association. He was born in Cape Town, and has spent the greater part of his life in Post Office work. After several years' service in various parts of the Union he became attached to the Central Telegraph Office in Johannesburg, where he remained for twenty years (1902-1922). After a brief visit to England Wilter was offered his present position—a reward for his active services to the Postal Workers in the Transvaal. He edits the Association's Journal, called "The Live Wire."